

What's News

Business & Finance

The Fed moved to lower rates by a quarter point in a pre-emptive strike to cushion the U.S. economy, but stocks sold off as Powell's remarks regarding possible future stimulus disappointed investors.

- The FBI is examining whether the woman charged with stealing data on Capital One customers successfully hit other targets. B1
GE posted a quarterly loss and flat sales but raised its full-year forecast. The company also said its finance chief would be leaving. B1

World-Wide

- Biden and Harris took the brunt of the attacks during a raucous Democratic debate that featured a series of confrontations over health care, immigration, criminal justice, racial issues and how best to defeat Trump. A1
Hamza bin Laden, the son of al Qaeda's founder and a rising figure in his late father's violent Islamist group, is believed to have died. A6

- A U.S. grand jury has indicted a Chinese billionaire on charges that he evaded nearly \$2 billion in tariffs as part of an aluminum-smuggling conspiracy. A3
Trump is preparing to sign an executive order next week on Medicare and moving ahead with allowing some drug imports from Canada. A4

CONTENTS Middle Seat... A11 Banking & Finance... B10 Opinion... A15-17 Business News B35-6 Sports... A14 Crossword... A14 Technology... B4 Heard on Street... B12 U.S. News... A2-5 Life & Arts... A11-13 Weather... A14 Markets... B11 World News... A6-7,18

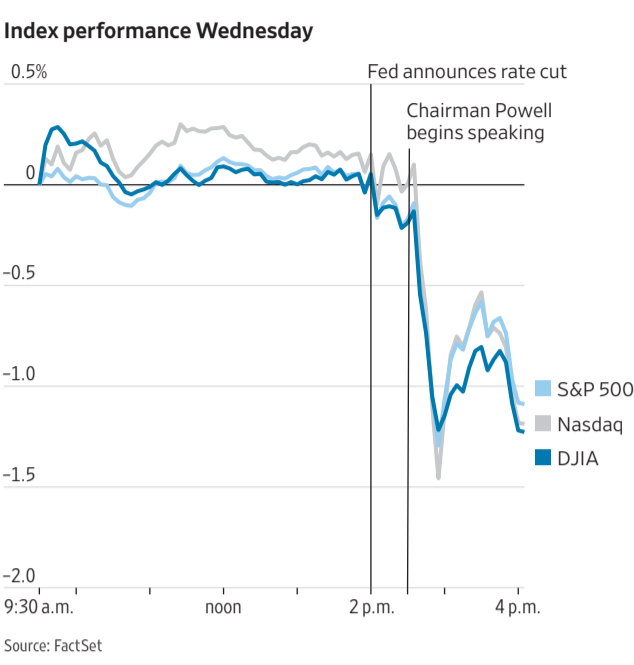
Stocks Drop After Fed Cuts Rates

Powell says he sees limited need for future stimulus; he 'let us down,' Trump says

WASHINGTON—The Federal Reserve moved to cut interest rates by a quarter-percentage point—the first reduction since 2008—in a pre-emptive strike to cushion the economy from a global slowdown and continuing trade tensions.

ditional stimulus in the months ahead. The S&P 500 ended the day down 32.80 points, or 1.1%, to 2980.38, snapping a 36-session streak in which the closing index didn't move more than 1% in either direction.

sion to lower the Fed's benchmark short-term rate to a range between 2% and 2.25% as a "mid-cycle adjustment." Eight of 10 Fed officials voted in favor of the move, while two officials dissented from the decision in favor of holding rates steady.



Former Vice President Joe Biden and Sen. Kamala Harris clashed Wednesday at the Democratic presidential primary debate in Detroit.

FAA Identified High Risk In MAX

BY ANDREW TANGEL AND ANDY PASZTOR

An internal risk analysis after the first of two Boeing 737 MAX airliner crashes showed the likelihood was high of a similar cockpit emergency within months, according to a Federal Aviation Administration official familiar with the details and others briefed on the matter.

Biden, Harris Weather Attacks During Heated Primary Debate

Former Vice President Joe Biden and Sen. Kamala Harris took the brunt of the attacks during a raucous and rapid-fire Democratic presidential primary debate that featured a

bate performance a month earlier that raised questions about the strength of his candidacy. In the early segments of Wednesday's forum, the former vice president stammered several times. But his performance, which grew stronger throughout the night, may help silence some questions about his viability as a potential nominee and chief foil of Mr. Trump.

member of the Obama administration, former Housing and Urban Development Secretary Julián Castro, clashed over how to deal with undocumented immigrants. Mr. Castro has pushed to decriminalize the act of crossing the U.S. border as an illegal immigrant, a proposal Mr. Biden opposes.

guts enough to say his plan doesn't make sense." Earlier, New York City Mayor Bill de Blasio pressured Mr. Biden to say whether he had pushed to stop deportations under Mr. Obama. But Mr. Biden demurred, saying: "I keep my recommendation to him in private."

By John McCormick, Chad Day and Eliza Collins

relentless series of confrontations over health care, immigration, criminal justice, racial issues and how best to defeat President Trump. The gathering Wednesday night in Detroit was especially important for Mr. Biden, who sought to prove he has the vigor and vision to be the party's nominee following a shaky de-

Moscow Turns Screws On American Investor

Michael Calvey was a cheerleader for Putin after foreigners fled; now he faces prison

BY ALAN CULLISON AND THOMAS GROVE

MOSCOW—One year after the West began sanctioning Russia for its 2014 invasion of Ukraine, prompting a retreat of foreign capital, U.S. fund manager Michael Calvey appeared at an annual investor conference in St. Petersburg to deliver a contrarian message.

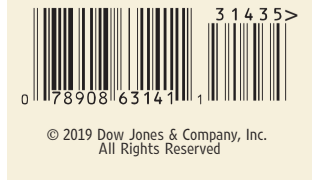
Spurious reports began circulating that Mr. Calvey had been financing Russian President Vladimir Putin's political opposition. The arrests, court proceedings have since shown, came amid a dispute with an up-and-coming Russian businessman, Artyom Avetisyan, who cultivated ties with Russia's security services and had tangled with Mr. Calvey over their joint investment in a Russian bank.

Le Weekend Is Going to Be Le Worst * * * All France is on the move, starting or ending vacation

BY SAM SCHECHNER AND LEE HARRIS

PARIS—In France, where long summer vacations are a religion, there are two sects. The traditionalists, known as aouitiens, who take off August. And the juilletistes, who leave town in July before the country has ground to a sticky halt.

Per IDC's latest annual market share results, Oracle is the #1 Enterprise Applications vendor in North America based on market share and revenue. Includes bar chart comparing Oracle, Salesforce, Intuit, SAP, and MS.



U.S. NEWS

U.S. Workers' Wage Growth Levels Off

By Sarah Chaney

WASHINGTON—Compensation gains for U.S. workers continued to outpace inflation in the second quarter, but those increases leveled off.

The Labor Department said Wednesday that the employment-cost index, which measures wages and benefits, rose 2.7% in the second quarter from a year earlier, following the first quarter's 2.8% annual rise.

The quarterly easing is in line with separate readings on compensation that also have peaked as the overall economy has slowed a bit.

The Labor Department's June jobs report showed average hourly earnings for private-sector workers increased 3.1% from a year earlier, down from 3.4% in February. July hourly earnings will be released on Friday.

Wage growth has steadily

increased since bottoming out in 2012 and remains solid, but the data point to a plateauing trend after an acceleration above 3% toward the end of last year.

A separate Commerce Department reading that captures worker salaries, earnings from investments and government benefits such as Medicaid slowed to 3.3% in June from 4.2% in December.

The same report, released Tuesday, also reported annual revisions that showed higher growth rates for wages, dividends and interest income in the previous two years. Personal income was revised to a 4.7% increase in 2017 from a previously reported 4.4% rise, and to a 5.6% increase in 2018 from a previously reported 4.4% climb. The revisions offer evidence that some workers received bigger income gains than previously thought.

"In an environment also in

which tomorrow looks a little grimmer than today, companies are going to be careful with how much they allow wages to rise," said Gregory Daco, chief U.S. economist at Oxford Economics.

The labor market has continued to churn out jobs, but below the robust pace set in 2018. Companies are investing more cautiously as trade tensions between the U.S. and China continue unabated. And the global economy is faltering.

"We did see...an acceleration in wage growth as the unemployment rate continued to fall," Mr. Daco said. "We're just not seeing any further acceleration as the unemployment rate has somewhat stabilized."

Low inflation helps ease the downsides from slower wage growth. The consumer-price index rose 1.6% from a year earlier in June, the Labor De-

partment reported earlier in July, which means workers' dollars can stretch further.

Service-sector workers have seen heftier pay increases than the average worker. Those workers experienced 3.8% growth in wages and salaries in the year through June, Wednesday's report showed. For transportation and material-moving workers like truck drivers, the rise was 3.9%.

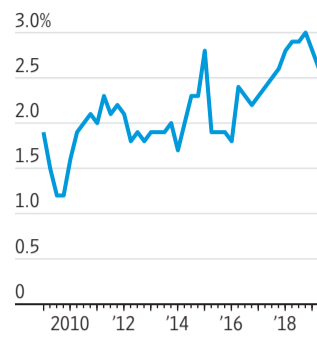
Average pay should grow faster as employers compete for a scarce supply of workers, according to economists. Part of the reason wage growth is no longer speeding up could be tied to a recent stabilization in the unemployment rate, which has bounced between 3.6% and 4% over the last year.

Still, economists are debating why wage growth has yet to rise as fast as in similar periods during which unemployment was similarly as low as

Pay Plateau

Wages and benefits grew more slowly than anticipated in the second quarter.

Employment-cost index for private-sector workers, change from a year earlier



Source: Labor Department

the current 3.7%. In the early 2000s, as unemployment hovered near 4%, average hourly earnings for rank-and-file workers were growing close to

4% annually. Such wage growth hasn't breached 3.5% since the recession ended in mid-2009.

Explanations for the wage puzzle are wide-ranging. Heightened international competition could be limiting companies' pricing power. Another possibility is that the decline of unionization has lowered workers' ability to bargain for higher pay. Yet another theory is that the aging of the U.S. population may be depressing wage data as highly paid baby boomers retire and are replaced by younger, lower-paid workers.

Many of the forces that could be restraining wages from faster growth are largely structural, meaning they aren't likely to change soon. If the job market eases further from last year, there is little reason to expect compensation to break from its current trajectory.

Fed Makes First Cuts Since 2008

Continued from Page One outlook and will act as appropriate to sustain the expansion."

Officials also announced they would end the runoff of their \$3.8 trillion asset portfolio on Thursday, two months earlier than previously planned, halting a process that had been withdrawing monetary stimulus that was added during the 2008 recession.

In June, seven of 17 officials indicated they believed rates would be a half-point lower by year-end, suggesting a significant reservoir of support for at least one more cut.

"Powell increased uncertainty around the direction of policy," said Scott Miner, chief investment officer at money manager Guggenheim Partners LLC. "The discussion around the future path of interest rates was ham-handed and probably undid a lot of the benefit of the rate cut today."

Boston Fed President Eric Rosengren and Kansas City Fed President Esther George dissented from the decision. Both were among a group of Fed officials who had said they didn't see a strong case for cutting rates because U.S. economic data has been good.

Mr. Miner said Mr. Powell's lack of crisp answers may have been a sign "the committee is not fully behind ongoing rate cuts."

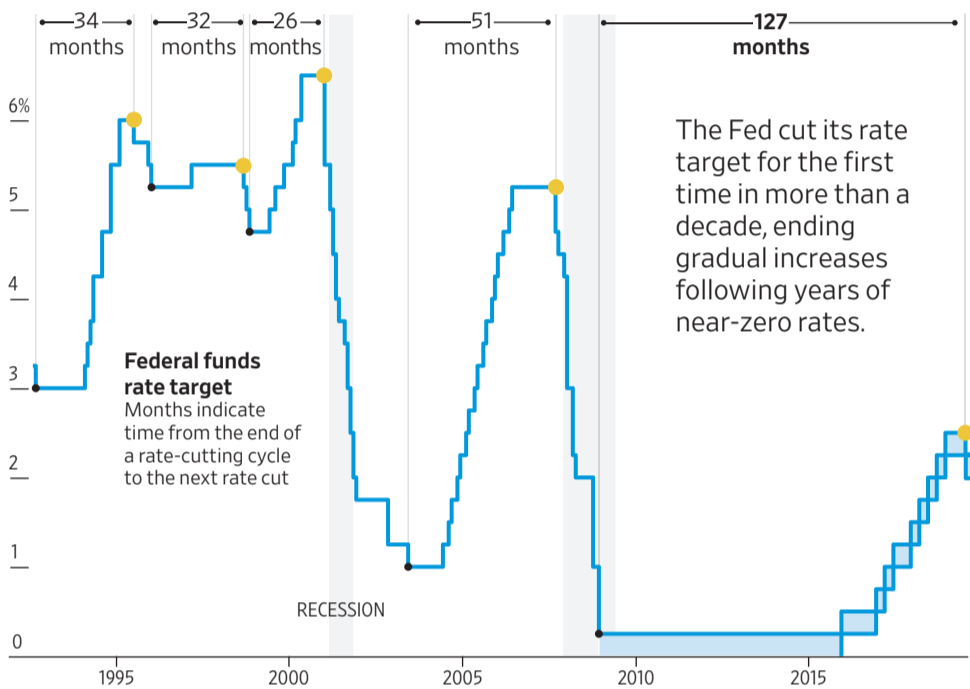
Because markets may have had unrealistic expectations about the Fed's ability to signal more stimulus, "the risks were already skewed towards some degree of disappointment," said Julia Coronado, founder of economic advisory firm MacroPolicy Perspectives. "There is already a strong lean for another cut. He basically told us that by referencing prior mid-cycle cuts."

President Trump had called on Mr. Powell, who goes by Jay, to cut rates more aggressively and expressed his dissatisfaction on Twitter.

"What the market wanted to hear from Jay Powell and the Federal Reserve was that this was the beginning of a lengthy and aggressive rate-cutting cycle," Mr. Trump wrote. "As usual, Powell let us down."

The decision to lower rates

The End to a Long Cycle

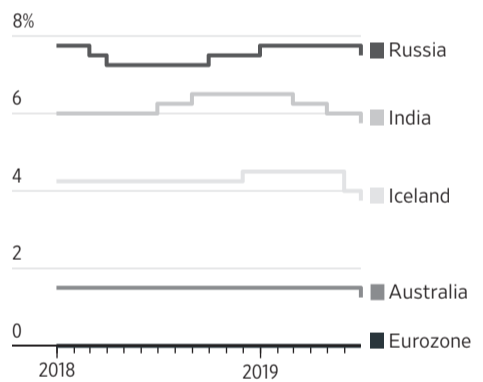


The Fed cut its rate target for the first time in more than a decade, ending gradual increases following years of near-zero rates.

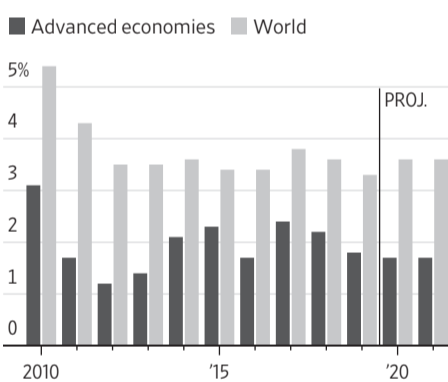
Concern abroad

As global growth slows, other central banks have also begun lowering rates.

Central bank rate targets



Annual change in GDP



Note: As of Dec. 16, 2008, the Federal Reserve rate target became a range. Sources: Federal Reserve (rate target); Bank for International Settlements (bank rates); International Monetary Fund (GDP growth)

reflects fears of an immediate pullback in growth as well as concerns about the Fed's inability to generate more inflation, which is seen as a sign of healthy economic demand.

Mr. Powell said it was hard to be more specific about the Fed's plans because of the fluid nature of trade discussions that have weighed on business investment and because officials wanted to see how the global economy digested the Fed's efforts this year to ease policy, first by shelving plans to raise rates and now to cut them.

"We'll be looking at weak global growth," he said. "I would love to be more precise, but with trade it is a factor that we have to assess in kind of a new way."

The decision effectively reversed the central bank's December rate increase, which came during a period in which it believed interest rates were

still low enough to spur growth and inflation. Since then, inflation has declined.

The unemployment rate, at 3.7% in June, is near a half-century low. The U.S. economy expanded at a 2.1% seasonally adjusted annual rate in the second quarter, buoyed by strong consumer spending. Also, stocks have been near records, largely in anticipation

"I would love to be more precise," Fed Chairman Jerome Powell said.

of Fed rate cuts.

But several sectors of the U.S. economy are slowing, including manufacturing. Others, such as housing, have rebounded due to the Fed's deci-

sion to abandon rate increases at the beginning of the year.

So-called core prices, which exclude volatile food and energy categories, rose 1.6% for the year ended June, down from the central bank's 2% target in December. While this may sound like a small miss, it is notable considering how officials last fall believed inflation would rise above the targeted 2% level without additional rate rises this year.

One risk from Wednesday's market reaction is that the dollar continues to rise, particularly now that other central banks are moving to ease their interest rates. That would make it even harder for the Fed to raise inflation.

Fed officials see tighter linkages than in the past between U.S. and global economies, prompting new questions over how high they can keep domestic rates above those in other advanced economies, which have lower or even negative rates.

The Fed rate cut marks just the fifth time in the past 25 years that the central bank switched from raising to lowering rates. In the four prior cases, the Fed never cut rates just once.

Usually when the Fed starts cutting rates, it doesn't know whether it will make a handful of small moves, as it did in 1995 and 1998 when the economy avoided a downturn—or whether it is the start of longer series of reductions, as in 2001 and 2007 when the central bank cut rates a few months before the economy entered recession.

The most recent Fed rate cut occurred in late 2008, when the central bank lowered its benchmark rate to near zero after the financial crisis. Officials left it there for seven years.

Decision Draws Dissenting Votes

The Federal Reserve's interest-rate cut generated a degree of formal, internal opposition not seen in more than a year to a monetary policy move.

Eric Rosengren and Esther George—presidents of the Boston Fed and Kansas City Fed, respectively—both voted against the Federal Open Market Committee's decision to lower its benchmark rate by a quarter percentage point.

The last time that a Fed rate decision drew two dissents was at the December 2017 FOMC meeting, when the committee voted to raise the rate by a quarter point.

The tally Wednesday also

marked the most "no" votes cast at one FOMC meeting since Fed Chairman Jerome Powell took office in February 2018. The only other formal dissent cast against a monetary-policy decision during his tenure as chief was St. Louis Fed President James Bullard's vote against holding rates steady in June. He wanted to reduce them then.

The dissents Wednesday weren't a big surprise. In recent speeches, both Mr. Rosengren and Ms. George expressed skepticism about the need to lower rates at a time of solid economic growth, a strong labor market and low inflation.

But the two "no" votes likely represent a broader constituency opposing the rate cut, because four nonvoting Fed bank presidents—including the

leaders of the Cleveland, Philadelphia and Richmond Fed banks—had expressed varying degrees of skepticism about the need for easier policy before this week's meeting. The Fed chair and all governors, plus the New York Fed president, have permanent voting seats on the FOMC. The other four voting slots rotate annually among the 11 other regional Fed bank presidents.

Atlanta Fed President Raphael Bostic, another nonvoter this year, also seemed hesitant about a rate cut in his public remarks.

Officials' public comments after the meeting and the meeting minutes will help show the degree of internal opposition. The level of Fed dissent tends to wax and wane over the years.

—Michael S. Derby

U.S. WATCH

PUERTO RICO

Gov. Rosselló Sets Up Ex-Rival as Successor

Puerto Rico's departing Gov. Ricardo Rosselló appointed his 2016 primary opponent as secretary of state, a move that sets him up to be the next governor.

As secretary of state, Pedro Pierluisi would be next in the line of succession to run the U.S. island territory. His appointment sets up a potential battle with legislative leaders who have signaled that he might not clear a confirmation vote.

Officials from the governor's party, the pro-statehood New Progressive Party, are racing against the clock to find an acceptable replacement for Mr. Rosselló, who said last week he would step down following days of protests that drew hundreds of thousands of demonstrators into the streets of San Juan. His resignation takes effect at 5 p.m. Friday.

Mr. Pierluisi posted on Twitter on Wednesday, "I have listened to the people's messages, their demonstrations, their demands and their concerns. And in this new challenge in my life, I will answer only to the people."

—Andrew Scurria

NEW YORK

Epstein Trial Is Set Tentatively for June

Financier Jeffrey Epstein listened passively in a Manhattan courtroom Wednesday as a judge said he wouldn't go to trial on sex-trafficking charges before June 2020, and more likely a few months afterward.

U.S. District Judge Richard M. Berman said a trial, projected to last four to six weeks, could tentatively begin June 8, but he would likely accommodate lawyers if they aren't ready by then.

Mr. Epstein, 66 years old, is accused of arranging to have sex with girls as young as 14. The sex-trafficking charges filed against him carry a potential prison term of up to 45 years. He has pleaded not guilty.

Mr. Epstein sat quietly during his appearance, his hands folded in front of his face through much of the 20-minute proceeding.

—Associated Press

TEXAS

Petrochemical Plant Blast Injures Dozens

A large explosion and fire broke out Wednesday at Exxon Mobil Corp.'s Baytown petrochemical and refinery complex near Houston, causing minor injuries to at least 37 workers.

"We don't know what the cause of that incident is, but I can tell you that we're going to work diligently to figure it out so it doesn't happen again," said Jason Duncan, Exxon's plant manager for the complex's Olefins Plant where the fire happened.

He said propane and polypropylene, a light hydrocarbon mixture, were on fire.

Mr. Duncan said that as of Wednesday afternoon the fire had been isolated and contained but not yet fully extinguished.

Of the 37 injuries, Mr. Duncan said they appeared to be mostly minor burns not requiring a hospital visit, although he added that it was still early. He said all workers at the complex had been accounted for.

—Dan Molinski

WASHINGTON

Trump Will Nominate Treasurer to Lead SBA

President Trump formally announced his intent to nominate U.S. Treasurer Jovita Carranza to lead the Small Business Administration.

The announcement Wednesday came more than three months after Mr. Trump first said on Twitter that he planned to nominate Ms. Carranza as SBA administrator. If confirmed, she would succeed former professional-wrestling executive Linda McMahon, who led the agency until April.

The president also announced his intention to appoint Kendel Ehrlich to be the deputy director of the Office of National Drug Control Policy. She is now the associate director of external affairs in the drug-control office.

Mr. Trump also tapped his former press secretary Sean Spicer to be a member of the board of visitors to the U.S. Naval Academy.

—Andrew Restuccia

CORRECTIONS & AMPLIFICATIONS

U.S.-sponsored media outlets including Voice of America reach more than 14 million Iranians. A World News article Friday about a U.S. information campaign in Iran incorrectly said U.S.-sponsored radio stations alone reached that number of Iranians; VOA doesn't have radio broadcasts in Iran.

The last name of Makan Delrahim, the Justice Department's antitrust chief, was misspelled as Delharim in an Exchange article Saturday about Dish Network Corp.

The Kentucky Three-Day Event is an equestrian competition. An Off Duty article Saturday about souvenir caps incorrectly called it a horse race.

Readers can alert The Wall Street Journal to any errors in news articles by emailing wsjcontact@wsj.com or by calling 888-410-2667.

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U.S. NEWS

Consultant Defends College-Aid Tactic

Adviser says parents were going into debt, using retirement funds to pay for education

By Douglas Belkin

The college consultant who developed a strategy to help wealthy clients access scholarships designed for the poor said she came up with the idea after seeing how much debt parents were taking on to send their children to college.

Lora Georgieva, owner of a consulting company called Destination College, said she has been explaining to families for the last two years that if they legally transferred the guardianship of their college-bound children to a friend or family member, the teens would be considered independent for the purposes of financial aid. That means they wouldn't have to declare their parents' income or assets, making it possible for them to collect state, federal and college scholarships reserved for students from poor families.

The strategy was the topic of a Page One article Tuesday in The Wall Street Journal. Ms. Georgieva hadn't responded to requests for comment for that article, but subsequently spoke Tuesday night with a Journal reporter about her operation.

The U.S. Education Department condemned Ms. Georgieva's actions and said it was

moving to stop them.

"Those who break the rules should be held accountable," spokeswoman Liz Hill said Tuesday in a statement. "The Department is committed to assessing what changes can be made—either independently or in concert with Congress—to protect taxpayers from those who seek to game the system for their own financial gain."

Colleges started receiving applications from Ms. Georgieva's clients last year. The University of Illinois, where annual costs, including tuition, room and board, range from \$32,000 to \$36,000 for in-state students, said it spotted 15 students who may have used the strategy. "The university likely will withhold institutionally funded need-based financial aid until we are satisfied that students who have transferred guardianship don't have other financial resources available," said Andy Borst, director of undergraduate admissions of the University of Illinois.

"I don't think I figured out a loophole," Ms. Georgieva said. "Anybody that goes on the [federal financial-aid] website can find the criteria for being an independent student or a dependent student. It's all right there."

Ms. Georgieva, 38 years old, said she emigrated to Chicago from Bulgaria 16 years ago. She found a job cleaning homes then worked the third shift at a factory before landing a job as a bank teller. After



Lora Georgieva appeared in a 2018 video on her college-consulting firm's YouTube account.

several promotions, she got a job at a financial-services firm, she said. She had earned a college degree in Bulgaria with a double major in accounting and actuarial science, she said.

"I realized that a lot of my clients were dipping into their retirement accounts to pay for college," she said. Most were ill-prepared, poorly informed and very stressed, she said.

She saw a business opportunity. In 2011, she started Destina-

tion College in Lincolnshire, Ill., to advise families how to get their children into, and through college, while managing their finances. She said she saved her clients \$30,000 a year on average—and up to \$40,000 per year. Her business website includes her videos discussing financial aid.

At her first meeting with families, she started by giving the students a 300-question, multiple-choice vocational test to steer them toward a career path. Then she explained the

education that career requires, which schools offer them, how much that career will pay and what the job prospects are.

Her practical approach resonated, especially among recent Eastern European immigrants who have flocked to the good schools in Chicago's northern suburbs, she said. She reached a broader clientele by speaking at events and marketing herself on social media. She declined to say how many clients she has. Some of her clients are

wealthy, she said, but the majority earn \$75,000 to \$125,000, which she considers middle class.

Two years ago when some of the lending rules changed Ms. Georgieva reread the Free Application for Federal Student Aid, or Fafsa, handbook. When she came across the section explaining that if a child transferred guardianship he or she wouldn't have to declare his or her parents' wealth, she got the idea for guardianship transfer. She spoke with the Fafsa help desk several times to make sure she understood the rule correctly, she said. She also ran her idea by a few lawyers she knew.

To transfer the guardianship of a child to a friend or family member, the adult who wants become the guardian has to petition a probate judge. If the family and child want the transfer to happen, the judge has wide discretion to approve it.

Ms. Georgieva declined to say how many times she suggested the strategy to clients or how many followed through with it.

A Journal review of more than 1,000 probate court cases filed in 2018 in Lake County, Ill., where Ms. Georgieva's office is located, turned up 38 cases in which a judge granted the transfer of guardianship to a teenager in his or her junior or senior year of high school.

Her fee was \$5,000, two clients said. Ms. Georgieva declined to confirm her rate.



China Zhongwang founder Liu Zhongtian, at a company plant in 2009, is accused of conspiring to smuggle aluminum into the U.S.

Chinese Aluminum Tycoon Indicted in U.S.

By Dan Frosch and Scott Patterson

A powerful Chinese billionaire has been indicted by a federal grand jury on charges that he evaded nearly \$2 billion in tariffs as part of a conspiracy to smuggle massive quantities of aluminum into the U.S.

The indictment, which was reached in May but not unsealed until this week, accuses Liu Zhongtian, founder of Chinese aluminum giant China Zhongwang Holdings Inc., of conspiring to defraud the U.S. through a sprawling scheme spanning the company's headquarters in Liaoning, China, ports in Los Angeles and a remote desert in Mexico. It alleges that the scheme began in 2008 and has continued to the present day.

Prosecutors said they believe it is one of the largest tariff-related cases ever brought by the Justice Department. The indictment comes as negotiations between the Trump administration and China over their continuing trade dispute resumed this week after weeks of recriminations.

An arrest warrant has been drawn up for Mr. Liu, one of the world's wealthiest aluminum magnates, an official with knowledge of the investigation said. The 55-year-old, known as "Uncle Liu" and "Big Boss," according to the indictment, is believed to be in China. He faces fraud and international money-laundering charges

that carry a maximum prison term of 465 years if he is convicted, according to prosecutors.

"America is not a playground for corrupt businessmen," said Nicola Hanna, U.S. attorney for the Central District of California.

A spokeswoman for China Zhongwang, which was also indicted, didn't respond to an email seeking comment and to speak with Mr. Liu. A call placed to a China Zhongwang representative in Hong Kong wasn't answered. The Wall Street Journal couldn't determine if Mr. Liu has a U.S.-based attorney. An attorney who has represented Mr. Liu in the past didn't respond to an email seeking comment.

The company is accused of using the aluminum shipments to inflate its revenue for years, creating the false impression that U.S. demand for its products was strong. China Zhongwang is publicly listed on the Hong Kong stock exchange.

Mr. Liu previously denied a connection to any illegal shipping schemes. China Zhongwang has long denied any connection as well.

Jeremy Scott, assistant special agent in charge for Homeland Security Investigations in Los Angeles, which led the investigation, said efforts to bring Mr. Liu to the U.S. to face charges will likely have to be worked out through the State Department. The U.S. doesn't have an extradition treaty with China. The foreign

ministry in Beijing and the Chinese embassy in Washington, D.C., didn't respond to requests for comment.

The indictment accuses Mr. Liu and his associates of funneling cash to shell companies effectively owned by Mr. Liu to purchase aluminum from China Zhongwang and then market it to U.S. buyers, masking its origins and skirting U.S. tariffs in the process.

U.S. and Chinese trade negotiators are meeting this

Liu Zhongtian skirted nearly \$2 billion in tariffs, prosecutors said.

week in Shanghai, with the U.S. pressing for expanded intellectual-property protections and cuts in state subsidies and in state-owned enterprises, while China is calling on the U.S. to drop all tariffs.

The Trump administration has alleged that billions of dollars of China-made goods dodge tariffs by entering the U.S. via other countries in Asia, especially Vietnam.

A spokesman for the U.S. attorney in Los Angeles said the trade negotiations had no impact on the investigation into Mr. Liu.

The Journal previously reported that Mr. Liu controlled a string of companies that avoided tariffs by shipping bil-

ions of dollars worth of China Zhongwang's aluminum to the U.S. The ongoing Justice Department investigation began after the Journal—citing company records, trade documents and legal filings and interviews with people who have done business with Mr. Liu—published an article about the alleged scheme in 2016, prosecutors said.

Mr. Liu denied involvement at the time. "These things have nothing to do with me," he said in an interview with the Journal in 2016.

Mr. Liu allegedly skirted punitive tariffs imposed on certain Chinese companies by the Commerce Department by shipping aluminum in the form of pallets, a finished product not on the list of penalized items. But most of the pallets weren't actually finished products, according to the indictment, and were allegedly a way to smuggle aluminum into the U.S. without paying tariffs, investigators said. Between 2011 and around 2014, companies controlled by Mr. Liu imported 2.2 million of the fake pallets into the U.S., according to the indictment, evading about \$1.8 billion in import duties.

In 2016, much of the Chinese-made aluminum that had been shipped to Mexico and the U.S. began making its way to Vietnam as Mr. Liu allegedly sought to elude U.S. authorities investigating the scheme, according to the indictment.

PG&E Disputes That It Neglected Maintenance

By Rebecca Elliott

PG&E Corp. acknowledged the central findings of a Wall Street Journal article, stating it knew for years that its aging power lines could fail and spark wildfires. But the California utility said it disputed the article's suggestion that it had neglected maintenance.

The company made the disclosures in a federal court filing Wednesday after William Alsup, a U.S. district judge in Northern California, ordered PG&E to respond "on a paragraph-by-paragraph basis" to the Journal article published July 10.

In its response, the company acknowledged it has long known that its high-voltage lines could fail and trigger fires, but said that such fires have historically been relatively rare. Nonetheless, the company said, it has been spending more in recent years on improvements, as the threat of wildfires increased earlier this decade following a crippling drought.

"The suggestion that PG&E has ignored investment in its transmission lines is inaccurate," the company said, adding that it spent \$140 million to \$294 million annually on transmission-line-related work from 2008 to 2018.

The company acknowledged it had delayed a number of upgrades to the Caribou-Palermo line, the conduit that broke last November and sparked the Camp Fire, which killed 85 people. But the company continued to assert that the work wasn't maintenance-related, as the Journal has described, saying it was meant to comply with 2010 industry guidelines intended to ensure that lines didn't sag too close to the ground and vegetation. PG&E noted that the tower where

state investigators said equipment failed and sparked the Camp Fire wasn't one of the towers set to receive upgrades. That assertion is consistent with what the Journal reported in an earlier article.

"The Journal's article on PG&E was deeply sourced and thoroughly reported," said a spokesman for Dow Jones & Co., the publisher of the Journal. "Company officials were given ample opportunity to respond in advance of publication. Their lawyers have strained to no avail to challenge our article, which we stand behind fully."

Following publication of the July 10 article, PG&E Chief Executive Bill Johnson wrote a letter to the editor of the Journal.

"In looking at past practices, we cannot change what has transpired. Instead, we will work as hard and as quickly as possible to get it right," he wrote.

Mr. Johnson said PG&E was stepping up efforts to repair its infrastructure, and the "trust and confidence of the people we have the privilege to serve in California."

PG&E acknowledged in its court filing that it doesn't know the age of all of its transmission towers and wires, as the Journal's July 10 article stated. It denied, however, that it has struggled to prioritize which of its lines needed the most attention, saying that it uses data from multiple sources to do so.

Judge Alsup is overseeing PG&E's probation after the company was convicted of safety-related violations following a natural-gas explosion that killed eight people in 2010.

A PG&E spokeswoman said the company had no further comment.



A utility pole was heavily damaged during last year's Camp Fire.

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U.S. NEWS

Debates Leave a Trio of Presidential Battles



CAPITAL JOURNAL By Gerald F. Seib

Over the course of two long nights of debates this week, three different Democratic presidential primary contests emerged:

The first is a battle to knock former Vice President Joe Biden from his position as the front-runner. The second is a deep struggle between the party's moderate and progressive wings. And the third is the quest to find a candidate who might be able to straddle both lanes.

None of these parallel contests were resolved in the debates Tuesday and Wednesday nights. But the lines of the struggles became more clear.

Rivals Jab At Biden, Harris

Continued from Page One

this campaign. You can't do it when it's convenient and then dodge it when it's not," he said.

Unlike the previous night when the moderate candidates teamed up to attack the top progressives in the race, the event Wednesday was more along the lines of every candidate for themselves.

The former vice president appeared better prepared this time, armed with his own attacks on the records of both Mr. Booker, the former Newark mayor, and Ms. Harris, a former prosecutor in California, in their previous offices.

Ms. Harris, who made headlines during the June debate for her criticism of Mr. Biden's record on race, disputed his suggestion that the pair are on the same side on the issue of busing. "On that issue we could not be more apart," she said.

Mr. Biden was hit hard by Ms. Harris in their first encounter over his opposition to mandatory school busing in the 1970s and comments he made about cooperating with segregationist senators decades ago. His stumbling reaction created doubts about his debate skills and reminded voters of his history of unforced campaign errors.

Mr. Biden was more forceful in this round of debates than he was in the first round last month, and, as a result, probably preserved his position as the front-runner. Certainly Mr. Biden was the frequent target of attacks from across the stage—over his record in pushing tough criminal-justice laws in the past, over his views about high levels of immigrant deportations while he was vice president, over long-ago statements about working women.

But the frequency of the attacks was probably the clearest sign that his companions still consider him the leader who needs to be toppled. Mr. Biden was hardly sure-footed in every response, but he surely will emerge still as the top dog. The broader struggle between moderates and progressives spanned both nights of debates and reflects a deep split within about not

just the character of the party, but also about the best approach for beating President Trump. Many of the party's progressive activists remain angry that an establishment figure—Hillary Clinton—won the nomination four years ago and then lost to Mr. Trump, who is deeply despised on the left.

Their reaction now—reflected in particular in the arguments from Sens. Elizabeth Warren and Bernie Sanders for big and bold new domestic programs—is to argue that the party is better off appealing to the passions of its liberal base than to chase voters in the middle of the spectrum. That reflects, among other things, a belief that the 2020 presidential election will be a base election decided not by which party wins the middle, but rather which party turns out more of its committed core voters.

The moderate response is that the progressives are offering programs that will scare off voters the Democrats will need, even in a base elec-

tion. Mr. Biden tried to drive that home on Wednesday night by saying that his more moderate health plan—which principally involves expanding the Obamacare program by expanding its coverage for the poor and allowing others to buy into the Medicare program if they choose—would cost a fraction of the progres-

Joe Biden was more forceful in this round of debates than in the first.

sives' government-run Medicare-for-all plans.

Lurking in the background of this moderates-versus-progressives struggle is a figure that went unspoken in the two nights of debate: \$1.23 trillion. That is the amount of money the federal government will borrow in the current fiscal year, more than double the borrowing

that was done just two years ago. Indeed, the federal government is in the first year of what is forecast to be a four-year stretch of budget deficits topping \$1 trillion annually.

That is a torrent of red ink that raises serious questions about whether the country can afford the big plans Democrats are floating. The issue is how they would be paid for, and New York Mayor Bill de Blasio delivered the most simple and pithy progressive answer of all Wednesday night: "We will tax the hell out of the wealthy," he declared.

Yet there is a real question about whether the progressives' suggested combination of higher taxes on upper-income Americans and corporations would be sufficient to avoid adding to already ballooning deficits.

In Tuesday night's debate, for example, Sen. Warren endorsed a Medicare-for-all plan, which she suggested would be paid for through higher taxes for billionaires and corporations, and a \$2 trillion climate-change program, which

also would be funded through a corporate profits tax. She also said that by imposing a "wealth tax"—a flat tax on the assets of those worth more than \$50 million—the U.S. could finance universal child care, universal prekindergarten programs, universal free college, cancellation of student-loan debt for 95% of those who hold it, additional money for historically black colleges plus higher wages for every teacher and child-care worker in the country.

Mr. Biden and other moderates are asking, essentially, whether those big price tags won't drive some middle-of-the-road voters back into Mr. Trump's arms.

Which leaves the question of whether anyone in the big field of candidates can straddle the moderate and progressive camps. On that front, two candidate—Sen. Harris and South Bend Mayor Pete Buttigieg—emerged as the two most likely to be able to pull off that tricky balancing act.



Ten of the Democratic presidential candidates took the stage Wednesday night in the second of two debates this week in Detroit.

Ms. Harris, who is polling among the top candidates, also was criticized by many of the candidates on stage. "The people who suffered under your reign as prosecutor, you owe them an apology," Rep. Tulsi Gabbard of Hawaii said.

Ms. Harris defended her record. Critics have said minorities were negatively affected by her aggressiveness as a prosecutor.

"That is my work. I am proud of it. I think you can judge people by when they are under fire and it's not about some fancy

opinion on a stage," she said.

Sen. Kirsten Gillibrand of New York, calling herself "a white woman of privilege," sought to stand out by directing her fire power at Mr. Trump and portraying herself as a fierce advocate for minorities.

Ms. Gillibrand also criticized Mr. Biden for a decades-old article he wrote opposing the expansion of a child-care tax credit. He had argued that wealthier families shouldn't get government assistance for child care and that both parents

shouldn't be encouraged to work outside the home unless absolutely needed for economic survival because it could lead to the deterioration of families.

Mr. Biden gave a lengthy defense of his record on support for women and cited work he had done with Ms. Gillibrand on the push for equality. "You came to Syracuse University with me and said it was wonderful," he said. "I'm passionate about the concern making sure women are treated equally. I don't know what's

happened except that you're now running for president."

Washington Gov. Jay Inslee criticized Mr. Biden's plan to address climate change, which he said is less ambitious than one he has centered his own campaign around. "These deadlines are set by science," he said. "Your argument is not with me, it's with science. And unfortunately your plan is just too late."

The former vice president stood at the center of the stage flanked by Ms. Harris and Mr. Booker, who were again eager

Pompeo Stirs Talk of Senate Run

By Lindsay Wise

WASHINGTON—Reporters had been shooed out of Mike Pompeo's meet-and-greet with Kansas veterans in Orlando, Fla., last week when someone asked the secretary of state if there was any way to bring more military installations to his home state.

Mr. Pompeo answered with "a giant Cheshire grin on his face," according to a person in the room. "I bet your next senator can take care of that," he said.

Everyone burst into laughter.

Mr. Pompeo's moves are becoming grist for speculation about his political future. Republicans in Kansas and Washington mine his utterances and actions for hints that the 55-year-old former congressman from Wichita might leave his perch at the State Department to run for U.S. Senate.

That is what Senate Majority Leader Mitch McConnell and some other prominent Republicans want. They think Mr. Pompeo's closeness to President Trump and his résumé would make him a lock for the seat—and they want to block former Kansas Secretary of State Kris Kobach, who they fear could win a GOP primary only to lose the general election, from getting the nomination.

So why would Mr. Pompeo take a rare summer vacation in Kansas if he is not running? (Family reasons, a person close to the secretary says.) Why would he miss former Sen. Bob Dole's 96th birthday



Secretary of State Mike Pompeo has said that a Senate run was off the table at the moment, but that hasn't stopped speculation.

party in Washington last week if he is running? (He had a conflict.)

And what to make of Mr. Pompeo's own statements?

When a Kansas City radio host asked in a July 17 interview if anything could sway the secretary to run for Senate, Mr. Pompeo seemed to crack the door open, saying he would "always leave open the possibility that something will change and my path in life will change too."

The job could give Mr. Pompeo a soft landing should he leave the Trump administration, and potentially also serve as a springboard for a 2024 presidential run. But on Monday, Mr. Pompeo appeared to nudge the door closed again, telling the Economic

Club of Washington that a Senate run was "off the table" at the moment.

"As a practical matter, I'm going to serve as secretary of state every day that I get the chance to do so," he said.

National Republicans aren't taking those comments Monday as a definitive no.

They find signs of hope in Mr. Pompeo's actions, rather than his words: a speech at the Missouri-Kansas Forum breakfast in February, an official State Department visit to Kansas in March, his planned trip to Kansas in August, and the July 22 meeting in Orlando, where Mr. Pompeo took photos and shook hands with 50 members of the Kansas Department of the Veterans of Foreign Wars.

Trump Counters Call For Medicare for All

President Trump is preparing to sign an executive order next week on Medicare and moving ahead with allowing some drug imports from Canada, part of the administration's effort to engineer a response to Democratic proposals that candidates say would expand health coverage to all Americans.

The executive order would aim to strengthen Medicare for 44 million Americans and portray the president as defending it against Democrats who want to expand it nationwide under their Medicare for All strategy, a White House official said Wednesday.

Wednesday also said it would allow the imports of some drugs from Canada, backing an idea most Democratic candidates have also said they support. More executive orders, including one on drug prices, are possible, according to a person familiar with the plans.

Mr. Trump is taking a two-pronged approach to his 2020 campaign message on health care, attacking Medicare for All as socialism and rolling out a blitz of health-care initiatives intended to position him as the person who can drive down costs and protect health care.

The president is expected to contrast the Democrats' plans with his in a speech set for Aug. 6. "He's going to indict and impugn the idea of Medicare for All," a White House official said of the speech.

Democratic challengers say Mr. Trump has endangered coverage by backing cuts to Medicare and a lawsuit that could dismantle the Affordable Care Act.

"We are not about trying to take away health care from anyone," Massachusetts Democratic Sen. Elizabeth Warren said during the candidates' debate Tuesday. "That's what the Republicans are trying to do."

Mr. Trump may call for agency action to bolster Medicare Advantage plans, which private insurers offer under contract with Medicare and cover about 22 million people, according to two people familiar with the executive order. The president is likely to focus on curbing waste and abuse in Medicare that can add to the program's cost. In addition, the order may aim to let Medicare Advantage plans offer a wider array of supplemental benefits.

Mr. Trump also is expected to push for changes that could lower the price of patient visits to hospital outpatient clinics, two of the people said. Those visits can cost more than visits to clinics operated by doctors. "This is part of the president's broader vision to put American patients first," one person familiar with the executive order said.

—Thomas M. Burton contributed to this article.

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—Thomas M. Burton contributed to this article.

—Courtney McBride contributed to this article.

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U.S. NEWS

Treasury Poised to Step Up Borrowing

By KATE DAVIDSON AND DANIEL KRUGER

WASHINGTON—The Treasury Department said Wednesday that it expects to ramp up borrowing as soon as the president signs a bill suspending the borrowing limit to replenish the government's depleted cash balance.

The Treasury Department has been relying on extraordinary measures to keep paying the government's bills on time since March 2, when the debt ceiling was reinstated after a one-year suspension.

The agency said in May it could run out of cash by early September and could begin to miss payments on its obligations. Congressional leaders announced a deal last week that would suspend the limit through July 31, 2021. The House passed the bill Thursday, and the Senate is expected to vote this week. President Trump has said he supports the measure.

The Treasury Department will begin increasing bill issuance as soon as the borrowing limit is suspended again. It plans to issue \$160 billion over a period of eight weeks, a senior Treasury official said Wednesday. The agency expects the pace of bill issuance will be more gradual than in past debt-limit episodes because the cap is likely to be suspended further in advance of when the Treasury Department risked running out of cash, the official said.

Department officials appear to have been mindful of disruptions in financial markets early last year that followed the rapid increase in borrowing following the passage of tax cuts, analysts said.

"They appear to be doing this carefully," said Jon Hill, a bond analyst at BMO Capital Markets.

Pentagon Outlines Funds Targeted for Wall

By BEN KESLING

WASHINGTON—The \$6.1 billion in Defense Department funds that will be diverted to expand the barrier at the Mexican border will be taken out of programs ranging from funding of Afghan security forces to a retirement program for the U.S. military, as well as construction projects for military bases around the world, Pentagon officials said this week.

For months, the White House has planned to transfer billions for the border wall from other parts of the government, but before this week hadn't completed programs it would draw from. But under a 5-4 Supreme Court decision last week, the administration was cleared for now to use the money to build the border wall.

Under President Trump's emergency proclamation in February, the White House ordered the transfer of \$3.6 billion in military construction money and \$2.5 billion in defense counterdrug funding to help build the border wall. Military construction funds go for bases, buildings and troop housing, while counterdrug funds are for narcotics interdiction efforts abroad.

Mr. Trump later told the Pentagon to augment the spending by transferring up to \$2.5 billion more from other Pentagon accounts to the drug interdiction budget.

Shifting funds between programs is commonplace across the federal government, especially at the Defense Department. However, the border wall transfers are unusual for their size and how they are being carried out, said Todd Harrison, director of the defense budget analysis program at the Center for Strategic and International Studies, a Washington think tank.

Budget "reprogramming" usually takes millions or even hundreds of millions from programs that are unable to spend their budgeted money, shifting it to another program or programs that are experiencing shortfalls.

In this case, however, bil-



The billions diverted from military pensions, Afghan security forces and elsewhere will pay for an additional 100 miles of border wall.

ions are being pulled together from a variety of programs and then put toward what appears to be a single new project, the border wall.

"DoD knows that if they use the authority for controversial reprogramming, they'll lose that [congressional] authority, so they've been very careful," Mr. Harrison said.

Mr. Trump repeatedly pledged during his presidential campaign that Mexico would pay for the wall.

A spokeswoman for the White House Office of Management and Budget said the transfer of drug interdiction money to the border wall project was being done under "standard reprogramming authority."

Of the \$3.6 billion in military construction money being transferred, Defense Secretary Mark Esper hasn't defined which projects will be curtailed, said Pentagon spokesman Maj. Christian Mitchell.

A Wall Street Journal analysis in March found that \$4.4 bil-

lion in projects on a list the Pentagon sent to Congress would meet the military's criteria for cuts to fund a border wall.

Slightly more than half of these projects are either in foreign countries or U.S. territories without a congressional vote. Among U.S. states and territories, Puerto Rico has the

Rep. Adam Smith called the effort to shift the funds a 'violation of trust.'

most projects at risk, with 10 items, totaling \$402.6 million.

On the \$2.5 billion in drug interdiction money, the Pentagon this week identified more than \$1 billion in funds that will be transferred from other accounts to augment the wall spending.

The largest block of those transfers will consist of \$604

million that had been slated to support Afghan security forces, according to a list released by the Pentagon.

The administration also will use \$77.5 million in unclaimed money paid to reimburse U.S. partners involved in counterterrorism efforts under the Coalition Support Fund program.

An additional \$251 million will come out of Pentagon funds used to pay for the destruction of U.S. chemical weapons, part of a program to eliminate those kinds of arms, the Pentagon said.

About \$224 million will be transferred to border-wall funding from the military's new Blended Retirement System, a revamped system that combines the traditional military retirement system with a new system combining pensions and 401(k) programs. The program, standard for new recruits beginning last year, was optional for those already in the military.

Finally, the Pentagon will transfer about \$343 million in spending from Air Force weap-

ons programs where officials have negotiated reductions or canceled systems.

Some of those sources had been identified earlier in the year as likely sources for the wall funding, drawing objections from Democratic lawmakers who said it amounts to circumventing congressional authority. Rep. Adam Smith (D, Wash.), chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, said earlier this year that the effort to shift large sums of money is a "violation of trust" on the part of the administration, a position his spokeswoman, Monica Matoush, said hasn't changed.

However, Pentagon officials said none of the military fund transfers to border wall construction will result in any shortfall in readiness or cuts to military benefits.

The billions in new funding will pay for an additional 100 miles of border wall.

—Nancy A. Youssef, Anthony DeBarros and Kate Davidson contributed to this article.

FAA Identified MAX Risk

Continued from Page One within the 10-month period, this person said.

Boeing and the FAA's risk projections faced a real-world crisis in less than five months. Ethiopian Airlines Flight 302 went down on March 10 in a similar nosedive prompted by the same type of automated MCAS commands pilots couldn't overcome. The dual crashes took a total of 346 lives.

Investigators quickly focused on the central role of MCAS, and regulators around the world grounded the aircraft.

The FAA has said it doesn't have a deadline for approving the final package of fixes but won't allow the planes back in the air until all safety issues are resolved.

A Boeing spokesman said: "Boeing and the FAA both agreed, based on the results of their respective rigorous safety processes, that the initial action of reinforcing existing pilot procedures...and then the development and fielding of a software update, were the appropriate actions."

He said: "The safety of everyone flying our airplanes was paramount as the analysis was done and the actions were taken."

The FAA's internal analysis, prepared in the days immediately following the Oct. 29 Lion Air crash, is called a TARAM, an acronym that stands for Transport Airplane Risk Assessment Methodology. It essentially involves a spreadsheet with formulas that consider a number of factors—such as fleet size, probability that sensors will fail, passenger counts—and aims to predict how many people could die over a certain period because of potential hazards, according to people familiar with the process.

There is also a subjective analysis that, along with the TARAM's numerical forecasts, informs FAA managers and engineers about what types of actions to take and when—for major but also less-serious air-safety issues. "It's kind of a



A Boeing 737 MAX 8 lands following a test flight. Regulators found a high risk of emergency after a Lion Air flight crashed.

cold way of looking at it," the person briefed on the analysis said, adding: "It's not foolproof. It's a tool."

The analysis determined that the underlying risks from the MCAS design were unacceptably high without at least some FAA action, that they exceeded internal FAA safety standards and that the likelihood of another emergency or even accident "was over our threshold," according to the FAA official. "We decided...it was not an acceptable situation," the official said.

The directive to pilots essentially reiterated that cockpit crews should counteract and then disable an MCAS misfire by following long-established emergency procedures for a related flight-control problem that can similarly push down an aircraft's nose.

When the FAA determines an aircraft poses an unacceptably high safety risk, it typically mandates targeted equipment changes, inspections or training to alleviate the hazard. It is unusual for the agency to conclude that reiterating cockpit emergency procedures or tweaking manuals will suffice.

The FAA's Nov. 7 emergency directive, described as an "interim action," didn't mandate design or operational changes. Because it reminded pilots how to swiftly and correctly respond to such an MCAS malfunction, that approach "wasn't removing the risk," the FAA official said, but rather "making it acceptable for a period based on the data we had."

In a report shared with Boeing in late 2018, after the FAA's directive, the agency said its analysis found the "risk is sufficiently low...until the changes to the system are retrofitted," according to the person close to the manufacturer.

Grounding wasn't seriously discussed but "that's always on the table" after a deadly crash, the person briefed on the analysis said. As FAA officials learned of MCAS's design issues, they also learned of other problems that could have contributed to the accident, including maintenance and pilot mistakes, this person said.

At a Senate subcommittee hearing Wednesday, senators pressed the FAA's top safety official on why the agency didn't disclose sooner that it believed the MCAS system needed to be modified. Sen. Susan Collins (R., Maine), referring to The Wall Street Journal's story, said: "What troubles me about this is if the agency's own analysis found MCAS to be an unacceptable risk, why did the FAA not take immediate action to address those risks?"

Ali Bahrami, the FAA's associate administrator for aviation safety, said it is routine for the FAA to take interim actions while undertaking longer term measures to fix problems. Mr. Bahrami said that based on pending outside reviews, the agency plans to reassess whether it handled the safety issues appropriately.

—Alison Sider, Elisa Cho and Jim Oberman contributed to this article.



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WORLD NEWS

Bin Laden's Son Believed Dead, U.S. Says



Hamza bin Laden, believed to be about 30 years old, had made repeated threats of attacks on the U.S.

Figure in Al Qaeda network subject of \$1 million reward from State Department

By WARREN P. STROBEL

WASHINGTON—Hamza bin Laden, the son of al Qaeda founder Osama bin Laden and a rising figure in his late father's violent Islamist group, is believed to have died, U.S. officials said Wednesday.

The date, location and other circumstances surrounding the death weren't immediately clear, but communication among militants suggested that Hamza bin Laden had been killed, the officials said.

President Trump and top administration officials didn't immediately confirm the reports of the death.

"I don't want to comment on it," Mr. Trump told report-

ers earlier in the day at the White House when asked about the reports.

U.S. officials have become increasingly concerned in recent years about Hamza bin Laden's repeated threats and calls for attacks on Americans at home and abroad as well as against U.S. allies.

Earlier this year, the State Department offered a reward of up to \$1 million for information about Hamza bin Laden, and Saudi Arabia revoked his citizenship.

Those moves followed the State Department's imposition of sanctions against him in 2017, saying at the time that he was actively engaged in terrorism.

Hamza bin Laden was believed to have been born in 1989 in Saudi Arabia and was the only known son of Osama bin Laden who was still aligned with the terrorist group behind the Sept. 11, 2001, attacks.

Another son was killed along with his father in 2011 during a Navy SEAL raid on their compound in Pakistan. A third son has distanced himself from al Qaeda.

Al Qaeda leader Ayman al Zawahiri declared Hamza bin Laden an official member of the group in 2015, and the State Department has said that Hamza bin Laden married the daughter of Mohamed Atta, the lead hijacker in the Sept. 11 attacks.

Terrorism experts have warned of Hamza bin Laden's rising profile in al Qaeda and of his potential influence on global jihadist movements because of his heritage.

"While I doubt Hamza was/is next in line in al Qaeda's succession, he was clearly groomed for a leadership position," Thomas Joscelyn, a senior fellow at the Foundation for Defense of Democracies think tank, wrote on Twitter on Wednesday.

Washington Slaps Iran's Foreign Minister With Sanctions

By IAN TALLEY AND VIVIAN SALAMA

WASHINGTON—The Trump administration imposed sanctions on Iranian Foreign Minister Javad Zarif in a marked escalation of tensions between the two countries, citing what top officials called unacceptable provocations by Tehran.

The action Wednesday, signaled by the White House in June, follows Tehran's latest missile-test launch, the seizure of a British oil tanker in the Strait of Hormuz and the shooting down of a U.S. military drone.

The sanctions freeze any assets Mr. Zarif might have in the U.S. and prohibit his travel across U.S. borders. Because companies and people who engage with Mr. Zarif are at risk of being subsequently sanctioned by the U.S., the actions could complicate his travel, fi-

ancing and business.

More important are the potential consequences on Mr. Zarif's ability to conduct diplomacy and the message it sends to Washington's European allies now negotiating with Iran. Those allies have looked to Mr. Zarif to keep Iran's clerical government in compliance with a 2015 nuclear agreement, though senior U.S. officials have criticized Mr. Zarif as a frontman for the theocratic leadership.

Secretary of State Mike Pompeo said Mr. Zarif was sanctioned due to his position as "a key enabler" of the policies of Ayatollah Ali Khamenei, the Iranian government's supreme leader.

"The United States is sending a clear message to the Iranian regime that its recent behavior is completely unacceptable," Treasury Secretary Steven Mnuchin said in a

statement accompanying the designation.

Moments after the announcement, Mr. Zarif fired back. "Is the truth really that painful?" he asked via his official Twitter feed. "Thank you for considering me such a huge threat to your agenda."

Mr. Zarif said the sanctions would have no effect on him because he has no assets outside Iran.

But U.S. analysts said the action against the foreign minister could complicate Iran's ability to negotiate with the world with its top diplomat entangled by the sanctions.

While the Zarif sanctions send a pointed message, the Trump administration may temper the action. The State Department is due to decide by Thursday whether to reissue special sanctions waivers allowing three Iranian civilian nuclear projects that depend on

international cooperation to continue without penalty.

The administration in May approved waivers lasting 90 days, a small diplomatic overture to Iran amid elevated tensions.

During an interview on Fox

The action follows Tehran's missile test and attacks on a British oil tanker.

Business Network Wednesday night, Mr. Bolton confirmed that the Trump administration has decided to waive the nuclear-related sanctions for another 90 days.

"The idea here is we are watching those nuclear activities very, very closely," Mr. Bol-

ton said.

The waivers allow international cooperation to proceed on several civil nuclear projects in the country such as work by the Chinese to convert Iran's heavy water reactor at Arak so it is less of a proliferation risk.

The State Department will evaluate Mr. Zarif's travel to the United Nations—considered international territory—on a "case-by-case basis," a senior administration official said. The official added that "eligible officials will be immune from arrest" when dealing with Mr. Zarif, but that also will be evaluated.

Mr. Pompeo said the U.S. was still seeking a diplomatic resolution to the conflicts with Iran, via "a comprehensive deal that addresses the full range of [Iranian] threats. Until then, our campaign of diplomatic isolation and maximum economic pressure will continue."

The U.S. last year pulled out of the 2015 nuclear agreement, saying the deal didn't do enough to prevent Iran from developing weapons.

The White House then reimposed economywide sanctions in an effort to pressure Tehran into signing a new deal that also curbs its interventions in regional conflicts.

Washington's European allies opposed the decision and subsequent Trump administration threats to punish European companies, officials and institutions for violating U.S. sanctions added to trans-Atlantic frictions.

Targeting Mr. Zarif is likely to exacerbate those tensions, as Europe has been negotiating with Iran's top diplomat about Tehran's decision to accelerate nuclear enrichment.

—Courtney McBride and Michael R. Gordon contributed to this article.

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WORLD NEWS

Beijing Tactic Of Waiting Slows Progress

By CHAO DENG

SHANGHAI—Plodding progress in trade negotiations between the U.S. and China this week is partly the result of a new tactic from Beijing, which increasingly thinks waiting may produce a more-favorable agreement.

U.S. and Chinese trade negotiators held four hours of talks Wednesday, after a dinner the night before, and then wrapped up their first face-to-face meeting since negotiations foundered more than two months ago.

Both sides described the talks as constructive and said the next round will be held in September.

In traveling to Shanghai, the U.S. team, led by Trade Repre-

pers and people briefed on the talks.

The yearlong trade dispute—with punitive tariffs slapped on hundreds of billions of dollars in goods—has exacerbated a slowdown in China’s economic growth. But many Chinese policy makers believe the economy is bottoming out, the experts and others said.

They said a protracted dispute is likely to prove a headache for President Trump, as tariffs pinch U.S. farmers and consumers in the run-up to the presidential vote.

“China can take it easy and wait patiently,” said Mei Xinyu, a researcher at a think tank under China’s Commerce Ministry. China’s economy is recovering, he said, while the U.S.’s is likely to slow. “The impact of the trade war falls in the early stage on China’s economy but in a later stage for the U.S. economy,” he said.

President Trump, in comments in Washington on Tuesday, noted that China’s economy “is doing very badly” and suggested Beijing might delay negotiations until next year’s election to see if he loses.

“The problem with them waiting, however, is that if & when I win, the deal that they get will be much tougher than what we are negotiating now,” he said in a tweet.

Agricultural purchases were supposed to be a good will measure in restarting the negotiations. Mr. Trump has said Chinese President Xi Jinping promised them when the two leaders met a month ago and agreed to resume negotiations, which had broken down over U.S. demands for changes to Chinese policies and laws seen as unfair to American companies.

Beijing is likely holding out on buying large amounts of



Treasury Secretary Steven Mnuchin, left, and Trade Representative Robert Lighthizer chat with Chinese Vice Premier Liu He.

U.S. farm goods while waiting for concessions from the U.S. side, the people following the talks said. Key among those is relaxing the blacklisting of Chinese telecommunications gear-maker Huawei Technologies Co., blocking its access to U.S. technology.

Mr. Trump had previously said U.S. companies would be allowed to resume sales to Huawei as part of his agreement with Mr. Xi.

“The entity list isn’t something that can be done at the snap of a finger,” said Cari N. Stinebower, a trade lawyer at Winston & Strawn in Washington.

Since negotiations faltered in May, Chinese officials have said that for any eventual trade deal, the U.S. must be reasonable about the amount of goods China can purchase and must remove all the tariffs placed on Chinese exports in the dispute.

China’s greater patience over a deal contrasts with Bei-

jing’s attitude late last year, when a precipitous slowdown in the economy unnerved Mr. Xi and his top officials, driving them to the negotiating table.

In recent months, economists and other analysts, at the behest of the government, have been touring the provinces and poring over data to assess whether the domestic economy can withstand the protracted impact of punitive tariffs by the U.S., according to people briefed on the matter. One issue being examined is the potential impact of U.S. companies moving supply chains out of China.

Officials have said publicly that they have enough policy tools to keep growth stable and achieve the government’s target of between 6% and 6.5% this year. At a key economic policy meeting Tuesday, the Communist Party’s Politburo said that authorities will boost measures to tackle “new challenges” in the economy.

Top leaders also urged fi-

ancial institutions to provide longer-term funding to manufacturers to help stabilize investment. An official gauge of activity in China’s manufacturing sector picked up in July, though it remained in contractionary territory as it has been for much of the year.

Some economists believe China’s economic slowdown will worsen in coming months, as domestic demand, particularly from private companies, remains weak.

Others expect Beijing to ratchet up spending and take other measures to support growth and employment ahead of the 70th anniversary of Communist Party rule on Oct. 1.

Despite the uptick in July, economist Larry Hu at Macquarie Group said, “The Chinese economy is still in the middle of a downturn cycle. The worst hasn’t come yet.”

Employment is a high priority for the leadership, with factories shedding workers in re-

sponse to the domestic slowdown, a drop-off in global demand and the tariffs. Some five million Chinese workers have lost their jobs since last July, with as many as 1.9 million due to the tariffs, according to an estimate by securities firm China International Capital Corp. That report covered data through May, before the U.S. increased tariffs on \$200 billion in Chinese goods to 25% from 10%.

With tariffs imposed by both sides affecting businesses in both countries, the two governments are likely to reach a trade agreement at some point, business executives said. “It’s not in their interest to have this confrontational relationship go on too long,” said Eric Zheng, chairman of the American Chamber of Commerce in Shanghai. “Both sides are hurting, and it’s not sustainable.”

—Josh Zumbrun, Lingling Wei, Zhou Wei and Liyan Qi contributed to this article.

U.S. Officials Told to Go Easy On China Over Hong Kong

By VIVIAN SALAMA

WASHINGTON—The Trump administration offered guidance to officials to maintain a measured response to antigovernment protests in Hong Kong over fears that any public statements favoring demonstrators would derail U.S. efforts to get a trade deal with China.

As hundreds of thousands of protesters began taking to the streets of Hong Kong starting in June, administration officials were working to revive their collapsed trade talks with Beijing. Hong Kong is facing its worst political turmoil since the former British colony was returned to Chinese rule in 1997, with marches drawing massive crowds initially demanding a full withdrawal of a controversial extradition bill.

“It was made clear down the chain that we need to be measured on Hong Kong,” one administration official said, noting that the guidance came from “the top” over concern that fragile talks with China might be jeopardized by any outward show of support for the protests.

Negotiators resumed trade talks Wednesday, with China

agreeing to increase its purchases of U.S. agricultural exports, a key demand by Washington. Both sides described the negotiations as constructive and said the next round will be held in September.

The protests weren’t the first time the administration moved to ease its stance toward Beijing. In June, Vice President Mike Pence canceled a speech on China ahead of President Trump’s planned meeting with his Chinese counterpart Xi Jinping at a G-20 summit. The policy address in part had been expected to touch on human-rights violations by Beijing, and was postponed indefinitely amid “positive signs” regarding trade talks with China, according to a senior administration official.

The White House and National Security Council didn’t immediately respond to a request for comment.

The actions reflect the administration’s foreign-policy moves that prioritize Mr. Trump’s interest in safeguarding relationships where he sees opportunity for economic or political gain, sometimes going against the will of allies and even lawmakers within his own Republican Party.

Last week, even as North Korea fired two short-range missiles off its east coast, an official from the National Security Council, who was traveling in the region for unrelated meetings, visited the demilitarized zone between North and South Korea to personally deliver photographs promised by Mr. Trump to North Korean leader Kim Jong Un from their recent impromptu meeting, according to another senior administration official.

Following the tests, Mr. Trump told Fox News last week that “they really haven’t tested any missiles, you know, other than smaller ones, which is something lots test.”

During the brief Korean DMZ encounter, a North Korean official informed the American official, who couldn’t be identified for security reasons, that talks would begin soon, according to the senior administration official.

Similarly, Mr. Trump is treading softly on the question of sanctions on Turkey after Ankara’s recent decision to buy a Russian air-defense system, a move that prompted Washington to withhold sales of Lockheed Martin Corp.’s advanced F-35 stealth jet fighters to the country.



Hong Kong is facing its worst turmoil since the former British colony was returned to Chinese rule.

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FROM PAGE ONE

Moscow Goes After American

Continued from Page One
house arrest in Moscow, appears to have snuffed out the remaining prospects for Western private equity in Russia by jailing its last prominent cheerleader. Russia watchers say it also signals that Mr. Putin, after nearly 20 years in power, cares little about the foreign investment he once courted.

One-time Finance Minister Alexei Kudrin, who has advised Mr. Putin since before he was president, told an economic forum in St. Petersburg June that Mr. Calvey's arrest was a "shock to the economy" and caused a surge in capital flight from the country.

For several years, Mr. Calvey, the son of an Oklahoma oil-field engineer, had been a lonely voice arguing that the West misunderstood Russia, and that corporate governance nightmares described by other investors were exaggerated.

Buying into Russian companies long before most investors arrived, and staying long after most left through his Baring Vostok Capital Partners investment fund, he became a confidant of Western-leaning economic reformers who were once close to Mr. Putin.

Mr. Calvey was "the last man standing," said Patricia Clougherty, who decided to pull her Delta Private Equity Partners fund companies out of the Russian market beginning in 2013, when Mr. Putin was ramping up anti-Western rhetoric.

The warning signs didn't deter Mr. Calvey, who grew up during the booms and busts of the oil business in Oklahoma. The University of Oklahoma graduate told friends he was drawn to Russia after taking a European backpacking trip in 1989, just as revolutions were toppling the continent's communist governments.

Admitted to Harvard Business School, he decided instead to join the newly created European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, which sent him to Moscow to work on oil-and-gas projects. He was soon rubbing elbows with future tycoons, some of whom he invited to join Baring Vostok, which he founded in 1994.

The group raised \$3.7 billion in all and snapped up stakes in fledgling companies that would later be worth billions, including Yandex, Russia's biggest internet search engine, and VimpelCom, the world's 11th-largest mobile operator. His funds rode out two financial blowouts in Russia in 1998 and 2008 and fought off challenges from powerful Russian oligarchs.

After marrying his Russian wife, Yulia, he bought a summer house in New Mexico so his three children could spend more time with his Oklahoma relatives. He later relocated to the London suburb of Surrey so his children could be educated in British schools.

The house he bought, once owned by British novelist Ken Follett, featured an orchard of fruit trees and gardens reminiscent of an upscale Russian summer house, or dacha.

Mr. Calvey's current troubles had their roots in 2014, when the Kremlin seized the Crimean peninsula from Ukraine and Western sanctions hit Russia's already battered banking sector. Mr. Calvey's investment group, which had paid \$200 million for a minority stake in Vostochny Bank years earlier, had to cough up another \$120 million to keep it afloat.

To reduce its risk, Mr. Calvey's group sought a partner for Vostochny Bank. One candidate was Mr. Avetisyan, who owned a midsize corporate bank, Uniastrum. Mr. Avetisyan also had some powerful connections and appeared to be the sort of businessman poised to succeed in Russia. He was a confidant of Mr. Putin's economic adviser, Andrey Belousov, and in 2016, the year of the merger, Mr. Avetisyan's investment-boosting Club of Leaders drew federal officials and important state bureaucrats to its meetings, including Mr. Putin himself.

Mr. Avetisyan also had formed relationships with the children of some of Russia's most powerful officials, including the son of the chief of the top domestic intelligence agency, the Federal Security Service, or FSB, the successor to the KGB.

In August 2016, Mr. Calvey and Mr. Avetisyan met for lunch on the veranda of the Madam Wong restaurant in central Moscow and put the final touches on the deal, a Baring Vostok official said. In exchange for cash and for merging Uniastrum into Vostochny Bank, Mr. Avetisyan would get 40% of the new bank, and an option to later buy another 10% stake that would give him control.

Mr. Avetisyan declined to be interviewed for this article. Earlier this year he told Russian state television that his business conflict with Mr. Calvey was totally unrelated to the criminal case. His longtime business partner, Sherzod Yusupov, said that gaining control of the bank was crucial because Mr. Avetisyan wanted to create a "super bank" that would serve small and medium-size businesses in Russia.

Within a few months, Baring Vostok officials said they began getting reports that commercial loans inherited from Mr. Avetisyan's bank were falling behind on payments. Ivan Zyuzin, an investment professional at Baring Vostok, investigated and discovered that just before the merger, Mr. Avetisyan's bank extended new credit to companies owned by friends of Mr. Avetisyan.

Today, Mr. Avetisyan's colleague, Mr. Yusupov, says there was nothing improper about the loans, which he said involved "very valuable companies." He said those companies fell into arrears on their debts only because staff at the merged bank mismanaged their loan portfolios, something Baring Vostok disputes.

As Vostochny Bank's nonperforming loans grew, alarms



U.S. investor Michael Calvey wound up in a Moscow defendants' cage, above, after tangling with well-connected Russian business partner Artyom Avetisyan, shown with Vladimir Putin.

sounded in the central bank, where Elvira Nabiullina was making her name as a no-nonsense boss intent on cleaning up Russia's banking sector.

In early 2018, the central bank began to threaten revocation of Vostochny's license if it didn't raise its capital to shore up its portfolio and sent dozens of auditors to inspect the bank's corporate loans one by one, a Baring Vostok official said.

The audit, made public later in 2018, confirmed suspicions of Baring Vostok officials about the extent of Uniastrum's activities before the merger. Between June and August of 2016, the number of loans skyrocketed, putting 55% of Uniastrum's corporate loan portfolio essentially in the hands of two men.

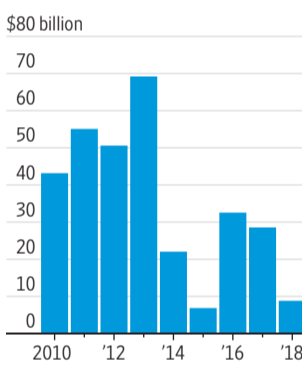
One of them, Vyacheslav Zykov, a longtime friend of Mr. Avetisyan and a co-owner of the Mr. Avetisyan's Club of Leaders, held 15 billion rubles, or 40% of the bank's corporate loans. Mr. Zykov didn't respond to questions about the loans.

The audit also tracked several financial transactions in which the bank bought shares in the companies. On one day in 2016, money for more than 10 different companies was transferred from Uniastrum to a Frankfurt-based Deutsche Bank account owned by a company that would later be bought by Mr. Avetisyan.

Turning Off the Tap

Since Russia's 2014 invasion of Ukraine, inbound investment has slowed to a trickle.

Foreign direct investment in Russia



Source: Central Bank of Russia

According to a Baring Vostok official who investigated the matter, Uniastrum paid \$25 million to Mr. Avetisyan's offshore company in the spring of 2016 for a company that had been purchased a few weeks earlier for less than \$100,000—a payment that he said had been concealed from Baring Vostok before the merger.

The central bank audit concluded that the transactions "may indicate the stripping of assets from Uniastrum Bank." Mr. Yusupov said they had objected to the central bank's interpretation.

Mr. Calvey and his team had decided their option to give Mr. Avetisyan a controlling stake in the bank needed to be annulled due to what they considered to be fraud in the merger, said Ekaterina Lukyanova, a partner at Baring Vostok.

"Once we saw how they ran their bank, Baring knew it didn't want to be a minority shareholder in anything they were managing," Ms. Lukyanova said.

Mr. Yusupov said Mr. Calvey merely changed his mind about giving up control of the bank, which was starting to become profitable. Mr. Calvey's demands, he said, were some of many "blackmail attempts" to get more financial concessions from Mr. Avetisyan's group.

Baring Vostok disputes that.

Mr. Avetisyan sent a series of WhatsApp messages asking Mr. Calvey to give him the controlling stake. Instead, Baring Vostok sued in arbitration court in London for 17.5 billion rubles, or around \$276 million, seeking compensation for the transactions made by Uniastrum before the merger. Mr. Avetisyan's group is contesting the allegations.

Messrs. Avetisyan and Yusupov in turn accused Mr. Calvey of financial impropriety, bringing up a transaction Mr. Calvey made at the time of the merger to cover a 2.5 billion ruble hole in Vostochny Bank's

balance sheet. A company controlled by Mr. Calvey paid off a debt to Vostochny Bank by transferring a 59.9% share of Luxembourg-based International Financial Technology Group. At the time both parties accepted the transaction to get the merger done, according to documents viewed by The Wall Street Journal.

The two Russian businessmen revisited the loan, pointing to the IFTG's charter that said the shares could only be worth 600,000 rubles, a fraction of the hole Vostochny Bank was trying to cover. In response, IFTG updated its charter to allow for a market price, and Mr. Calvey hoped the issue was behind them.

Unknown to them, however, Mr. Avetisyan's longtime business partner, Mr. Yusupov, was already reporting to Moscow police about the IFTG shares, portraying them as alleged fraud.

While the partners squabbled, Mr. Calvey thought his position was unassailable. He had been through disputes with competitors and shareholders and come out on top. High-level friends were on his side, and central bank auditors had just published their 17-volume report on Vostochny Bank, siding with Mr. Calvey's version of events.

In October, Messrs. Calvey and Avetisyan agreed on the outlines of a peace agreement in which they would drop claims against one another and promised to pump another five billion rubles into the bank.

The peace was short-lived. Mr. Yusupov accused Mr. Calvey of undermining Mr. Avetisyan's efforts to raise money by badmouthing him to other bankers in Moscow, denting his efforts to sell another bank he owned.

In February of this year, after months in which the two men hadn't met face-to-face, Mr. Avetisyan was giving signals he wanted to talk, a Baring Vostok official said. The two businessmen, together with Mr. Yusupov, planned a dinner for Feb. 14 in Moscow.

Mr. Yusupov, meanwhile, had gone further with his fraud allegations, which had failed to gain traction with the police. Mr. Yusupov referred the matter to Russia's FSB, he said.

Mr. Calvey flew to Moscow on Feb. 11 for the planned dinner. Three days later he was awakened at his apartment by police, placed in handcuffs and taken to Moscow's Matrosskaya Tishina prison.

Since his detention, Mr. Calvey has been transferred to house arrest—he owns a spacious penthouse apartment with a terrace that looks out to the Bolshoi Theater—but is barred from making public statements.

A Russian court forced Baring Vostok to sell Mr. Avetisyan the additional 10% share, giving the businessman control of the bank, where he has created a new board.

Mr. Calvey's first words in his defense were from a witness cage in the courtroom on Feb. 15, where he told a judge, "I believe in the effectiveness of the Russian judicial system," adding, "I am willing to cooperate and am not going to hide from the investigation."

All France Is On the Move

Continued from Page One
cross in front of each other.

Last year, the dance generated 438 miles of traffic jams at its peak, according to government figures. This year, officials have raised the traffic rating for Saturday to "black"—the most dire level—for the entire country.

Charlotte Arnault, a retirement-home nurse, was at the Gare de Lyon station in Paris last weekend, waiting for a train to Cannes. Her family has given up on driving there after getting caught in four hours of traffic en route to the Riviera town. "It was awful," the *aouïtienne* says.

Few countries take their vacations more seriously than France, and few have more of it. Employees have a legal minimum of five weeks a year, plus as many as 11 national holidays, and many office workers get an extra week or two off as compensation for working more than the country's legal maximum of 35 hours a week.

"Vacation in France," said Jean Viard, a sociologist at Paris's Sciences Po university,



Juliettiste Richard Kruel lounges on a rock in Brittany, left. Right, what happened last year in southeastern France during the first major weekend of French vacations.

"has taken the place of the great religious rites."

This rite dates back to 1936. Mass strikes and factory occupations propelled a left-wing coalition into power, and they promptly established a right to paid vacation. "Victory Over Misery!" blared the front page of *Le Peuple*, a union newspaper.

Factories began to close in August, spawning a generation of working-class vacationers who flocked to the shore. Richer people and professionals not tied to manufacturing often headed to the mountains or abroad earlier in the summer, says Pierre Périer, a sociologist at the University of Rennes, who generally prefers to take his vacation in July.

"I'm pretty much in conformity with my social group," Mr. Périer added.

Juliettistes consider themselves free-spirited, preferring exotic destinations such as Bangkok. They return to work in early August, when most offices are deserted, which the August vacationers say allows the July crowd to slack off for an additional month.

The goal, says Richard Kruel, a mathematics student in Paris who is a *juillettiste*, is to vacation until "you're a bit sick of it."

And avoiding the crowds is a plus. Sylvie Siano, a nurse who claims to have never taken a vacation in August, says *juillettistes* are "just looking more for tranquility."

But *aouïtiens* say they are more in tune with the rhythms of French life. David Achille, distribution director for sports newspaper *L'Equipe*, says working through the August doldrums is simply too eerie. "You call, no one answers. You send an email, no one answers," Mr. Achille says. "The average Frenchman is, I think by nature, an *aouïtien*."

Government statistics are on Mr. Achille's side. In 2010, half of all salaried employees in France were on vacation each of the first three weeks of August, compared with a quarter in each of the last three weeks of July, according to national statistics agency Insee.

To track the vacation herds,

the government created *Bison Futé*, or *Clever Buffalo*, a special agency that issues traffic warnings and tallies the miles of jams. It launched in 1976, after public outcry over the *chassé-croisé* of 1975 produced 372 miles of *bouchons*, or traffic jams, and led to 1.2 million hours lost sitting in traffic, according to one calculation.

Juliettistes are beginning to trickle back into the office, tanned and well-rested, as their colleagues prepared to face the summer gridlock.

"When you come back in August, you still have the impression of being on vacation," said Carole Ekizian, a documentary film production assistant who spent July

lounging near Saint-Tropez.

In Paris, throngs of *aouïtiens* were already flocking to train stations. At Gare de Lyon, where trains depart for southern France's beaches and Mediterranean countryside, many people sat on suitcases.

Toting surfboards, tennis gear and pets, they turned to red-jacketed attendants on hand to direct the crowd as staffers passed out bags with activities and snacks to keep children occupied.

Tom Lefèvre, an *aouïtien*, recalled a traffic jam from a few years ago, when his family's Audi took three hours to drive 60 miles on the trip back to Paris. "We were completely stuck," he said, "bickering for the whole journey."



GREATER NEW YORK

City Schools Adopt New Cultural Focus

Plan aims to create more diverse learning environment; critics say it ignores basics

By LESLIE BRODY

New York City formally adopted Wednesday a policy of “culturally responsive-sustaining education,” which has set off a debate about what should be taught in public schools, and how.

For some parents, Chancellor Richard Carranza’s push for more curriculum honoring diverse students’ experiences is a welcome step toward inclusion.

For others, his policy marks another example of how his intense focus on race, class and equity can distract from the urgent need to teach basic

math, reading and science. The city’s Panel for Educational Policy, a group of mostly mayoral appointees, voted unanimously to approve the chancellor’s call for schools to embrace “culturally responsive” education. Eleven members voted yes and two weren’t present.

Mr. Carranza has argued for desegregating schools and fighting bias. The vote comes after months of conflict about admissions to eight specialized public high schools. The chancellor is lobbying state lawmakers to scrap the entrance test to better integrate them. Defenders of the test say the chancellor’s rhetoric has pitted parents from different backgrounds against each other.

About 100 parents showed up at an often raucous meeting Wednesday in Chinatown,

with supporters waving signs saying “My culture matters” and “CRSE 4 NYC.” Critics of the chancellor, including many Asian parents, held signs saying “Fire Carranza.” At one point the crowd burst into competing chants.

Chinese parents were upset and insulted to find there was a Spanish translator but no Chinese translator, which they said showed the department didn’t care about their voices. The department scrambled to find one, delaying the meeting by two hours. A spokeswoman said the agency was investigating what happened.

The one-page definition of “culturally responsive” education says students’ varied perspectives—whether tied to nationality, religion, race or other backgrounds—should be seen as essential assets. It also requires schools to “foster

critical consciousness about historical and contemporary forms of bias and oppression.”

Some parents and teachers applaud this effort, saying students learn critical thinking by exploring biases and reading diverse authors who may not be

Educators must ‘foster critical consciousness’ about forms of bias.

mainstream choices. But others express concern about the chancellor’s priorities for a sprawling system for 1.1 million students, where most children can’t read or do math on grade level.

“The ideas that undergird this proposal are sometimes

offered in lieu of academic solutions and helping kids do better in core subjects,” said Maud Maron, president of the Community Education Council for District 2 in Manhattan, who is running for City Council.

“Of course you should see books that reflect your family of origin, race and gender, but that doesn’t help you learn to read if nobody is helping you learn to read.”

A report from the NYC Coalition for Educational Justice, which advocates for culturally responsive education, found that while 67% of the city’s public-school students are black or Latino, about 84% of authors of commonly used books in elementary schools are white.

Robert Osborne, a Manhattan parent at the meeting, said his son is mixed-race and it was “important for him to read

books about people who look and sound like him. To not hear that means he only hears from the dominant culture.”

For decades, schools nationwide have sought to get students excited about learning through lessons that reflect their own lives. Even so, families and teachers have long been unclear on exactly what culturally responsive education means.

Department of Education officials say it means high expectations for all, and making schoolwork relatable, such as explaining velocity to city children through examples of subways rather than sailboats.

“Research shows that when students see themselves and their peers reflected in the books they read and the lessons they learn, academic outcomes improve,” said Linda Chen, the city’s chief academic officer.

Queens DA Rivals Clash in Court

By ALEXIS GRAVELY

The campaigns for two opponents in the Democratic primary for Queens district attorney squared off in court Wednesday, arguing about the New York City Board of Elections’ ruling on 144 ballots cast in the contest.

The board on Monday officially certified Queens Borough President Melinda Katz as the winner of the June 25 primary, with her defeating Tiffany Cabán by 60 votes. The declaration came after a manual recount of more than 91,000 ballots cast in the race.

Jerry Goldfeder, the attorney for Ms. Cabán’s campaign, said in Queens County Supreme Court on Wednesday that the board wrongly invalidated 21 votes cast for Ms. Cabán, and that 21 votes cast for Ms. Katz should have been tossed.

Mr. Goldfeder said a judge should reinstate at least 68 affidavit ballots that the board invalidated because they were missing the voter’s party affiliation. He called for the reinstatement of 22 other ballots that were invalidated because the voter went to the incorrect polling location. And he said 12 votes should be reinstated after they were deemed invalid because the board incorrectly determined the voter wasn’t registered.

Ms. Cabán’s legal team said ministerial errors by the board’s personnel led to the invalidated ballots. Witnesses were available to testify that poll workers didn’t direct some voters to the correct polling sites and that they didn’t do their job ensuring that all parts of a ballot were filled out, Mr. Goldfeder said.

The board didn’t respond to a request for comment.

Attorneys for Ms. Katz and the board said in court Wednesday that the case should be dismissed because Ms. Cabán’s campaign missed the deadline to raise objections to the ballots, which they say should have occurred before the count was certified.

Gerard Sweeney, an attorney for Ms. Katz, said Mr. Goldfeder should be familiar with the election law because he wrote a book about it. “They lost the election fair and square, and they come back to the court to raise phony objections,” Mr. Sweeney said.

Ms. Katz’s campaign said Ms. Cabán’s legal team is cherry-picking witnesses with invalidated ballots based on who the witnesses voted for and it has yet to provide a list of all the ballots they are objecting to.

Judge John Ingram said he would review 28 affidavit ballots that were submitted by Ms. Cabán’s campaign in early July.

Bill Would Make Dousing A Police Officer a Felony

By BEN CHAPMAN

New York state Republican lawmakers unveiled a bill Wednesday that would make throwing water on police officers a felony punishable by up to four years in prison.

State Assemblyman Michael Reilly, who is from Staten Island and a co-sponsor of the legislation, said the police soakings should be stopped before someone gets hurt.

“It’s only a matter of time until we see that someone is throwing something more than water,” said Mr. Reilly, who is a former New York Police Department officer.

The proposed measure was announced a day after NYPD officials launched a probe into the July 24 dousing of two officers in Queens. The NYPD already had been investigating the dousing of two officers in Brooklyn on July 20 and one in Harlem on July 21.

Investigators arrested one man in the July 20 incident.

Courtney Thompson pleaded not guilty, according to his attorney, Douglas Rankin. Mr. Thompson comes from a law-enforcement family and was engaged in a playful interaction with the officers, Mr. Rankin said.

Videos of the two earlier incidents were shared widely on social media, prompting an outcry from politicians and the local police union.

Assembly Speaker Carl Heastie, who leads the Democratic-controlled chamber, didn’t respond to a request for comment.

Assemblyman Joseph Lentol, a Brooklyn Democrat who runs the chamber’s codes committee, which oversees most criminal-justice legislation, said he supports police officers but was critical of the bill. “Creating felonies will not correct the damaged relationship that exists between police and the communities they serve,” he said.

An NYPD spokeswoman said the department would reinstate the measure.



A list shows that the MTA recommends adding elevators or ramps at 49 subway stations and on the Staten Island Railway.

MTA Stalls Release of Project List

By PAUL BERGER

New York’s Metropolitan Transportation Authority is sitting on a list of dozens of subway stations officials want to make wheelchair accessible, even as disability-rights advocates demand its release, according to an MTA official.

The holdup has come from New York Gov. Andrew Cuomo’s administration, the official said. “It’s so frustrating,” said the official. “We’ve had this list finalized for months but we’ve not been allowed to release it.”

A review of the list by The Wall Street Journal shows that the MTA recommends adding elevators or ramps at 49 stations across four boroughs and on the Staten Island Railway.

The official said that New York City is supposed to select the 50th station, though city officials said Wednesday that the stations are solely determined by the MTA.

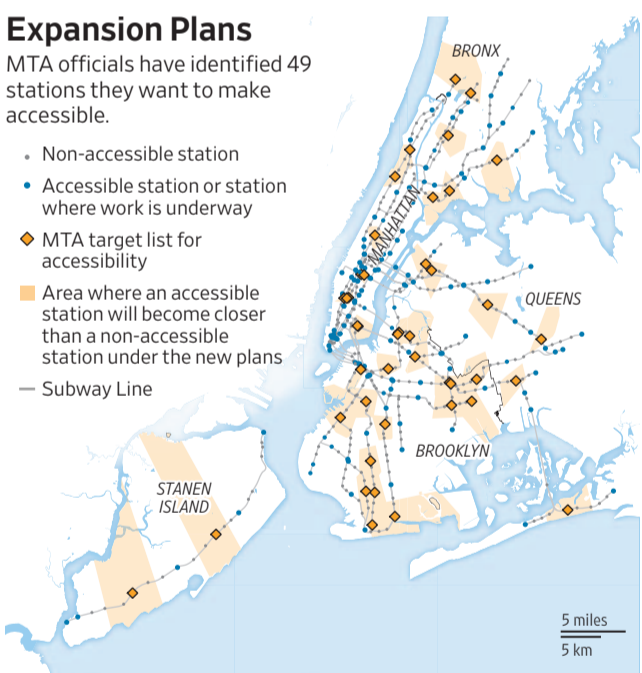
A spokesman for Mr. Cuomo said accessibility upgrades will be included in the MTA’s next five-year spending plan, which runs from 2020 to 2024. The state-controlled authority runs the city’s subway and buses, two commuter railroads and nine bridges and tunnels. Mr. Cuomo’s spokesman said this year’s state budget mandated that the spending plan be reviewed and audited before its release.

“This process is currently under way and the MTA will make their list available at the appropriate time following the

Expansion Plans

MTA officials have identified 49 stations they want to make accessible.

- Non-accessible station
- Accessible station or station where work is underway
- ◆ MTA target list for accessibility
- Area where an accessible station will become closer than a non-accessible station under the new plans
- Subway Line



Sources: MTA, NYCOpenData (subway stations, lines)

completion of the capital plan review,” the spokesman said.

“Despite what sources may say, this list won’t be final until its incorporation into the capital plan, which is not due for several months,” an MTA spokesman said.

About one-quarter of the MTA’s 472 subway stations are accessible. Several disability-rights groups have sued the MTA in state and federal courts over issues ranging from poor maintenance of elevators to failing to add elevators during station renovations.

In 2018, the authority’s head of subway and bus systems, Andy Byford, announced

brought along a life-size cutout of Mr. Cuomo, a Democrat, to address some of their concerns directly to the governor.

Colin Wright, a senior advocacy associate at TransitCenter, said in an interview that advocates fear that by missing the June deadline, the MTA’s commitment to accessibility is wavering. “I think that the cardboard cutout is a really effective tactic to remind people who ultimately controls the subway system and who ultimately has the power to fix accessibility,” said Mr. Wright.

After the advocates spoke, Larry Schwartz, an MTA board member appointed by Mr. Cuomo, said he wants to accelerate elevator projects. Mr. Schwartz said he believes that some accessibility work could be incorporated into the MTA’s current five-year spending plan, which ends in 2019, using unspent funds from delayed projects.

Asked about the MTA’s 50-station list after the meeting, Mr. Byford said the authority is “running final checks” on it. MTA Chairman Patrick Foye said the list is almost complete and would be released shortly.

Mr. Wright said Wednesday that he looks forward to seeing the list incorporated into the authority’s spending programs for New York City Transit, which operates the subway. “Before we have a firm commitment from New York City Transit to make the 50 stations a reality, nothing is guaranteed,” he said.

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LIFE & ARTS



The author and Scott McCartney take a stroll at Dallas Love Field, left. He favors exit-row seats for the extra legroom, below.

THE REAL MIDDLE SEAT

I Married The Middle Seat

A guest columnist—who's also the regular columnist's wife—ponders his obsession with air travel

By KAREN BLUMENTHAL

He travels with a tape measure for recording seat size and legroom. He has a freakish attachment to hotel-branded pens.

And he hasn't simply read airlines' contract of carriage, which is part of each ticket you buy. He's committed some parts to memory.

He's Scott McCartney, your Middle Seat columnist, the one who brings you weekly guidance on surviving the challenges of modern travel and getting the most out of your flying and hotel experiences. Traveling with him is, well, like arguing about basketball with Charles Barkley. As Mrs. Middle Seat, I know.

Consider that contract of carriage. Woe to the gate agent who denies him a hotel room when the evening plane is canceled for mechanical reasons. Or to the airline employee who decided his world-traveler roller bag was suddenly too big. Or to the flight attendant who confiscated our unopened wa-



ter—purchased inside security—just before a 12-hour flight.

He stews. He steams up. He cites the rules, chapter and verse. They don't know him—federal regulations require that he use his first name, which is not Scott. So to the folks on the other side, he's just another irate know-it-all.

My job: Remind him that he has a power greater than indignation.

"Don't argue," I tell him. "Just write about it."

And for your sake, he usually does.

Most of us see the frustrations that go with travel as the price we pay to get somewhere else. I personally dislike airports. The noise! The crowds! The \$4 water!

But Mr. Middle Seat adores them the way some people adore golf courses. He's seen the baggage conveyors, the VIP rooms, the chapels and the control towers. On many business trips, he never leaves the airport grounds, doing his interviews in the air and in the terminal, staying at the airport hotel and then flying somewhere else to do it all over again.

The more dysfunctional and chaotic the place, the more he loves it. Los Angeles International and LaGuardia are at the top of his list.

Honestly, this worries me. Since he knows the best places, he often wants to go early or stop for food after the flight when we travel. One day, walking to a gate in Dallas, he gazed at a row of Whataburger, Chick-fil-A and local pizzeria Campisi's.

"I want my last meal to be at

Love Field," he said wistfully.

(Seriously, doesn't that make you worry, too?)

When our daughters were in college, he hounded them over the weight of their luggage, unwilling to pay extra for any additional pounds when they returned to their distant schools after long breaks. We tried

Don't get him started on a piece of luggage that exceeds an airline's weight requirements.

different scales, rearranging bags. The hours leading up to the flight became fraught and stressful.

Finally, we resolved it with the best Father's Day present ever, a hand-held device for weighing bags.

Some of his tips and tricks are useful. He has an almost encyclopedic knowledge of each airline's routes and schedules. If a family member or colleague's flight is canceled, he'll know several possi-

Should Teens Relax or Work in the Summer?

Students feel pressure to burnish college applications

By FLEMING SMITH

FOR MANY TEENAGERS, summer break has become a multiple-choice pressure cooker, when they must decide whether to:

- (a) rest and recharge,
- (b) work and make money, or
- (c) rack up activities that stand out on college applications.

With college admissions feeling ever more competitive, high schools and colleges are scrambling to combat the mental-health crisis affecting young adults. Counselors and psychologists say the bar for achievement keeps rising, and not just during the academic year.

The pressure is contributing to a national wave of anxiety among overworked teens who feel guilty for wanting a little down time in summer, experts said. In a 2018 Pew Research Center study, 70% of surveyed said anxiety is a major problem of their generation, citing pressure to get good grades, do extracurricular activities and fit in socially.

Lilly Francis, a 16-year-old in St. Paul, Minn., is working two part-time jobs. For much of the summer, she spent weekdays from early morning to 6 p.m. as a restaurant hostess or a counselor for children at her former grade school. Lilly, who is entering her junior year, likes earning money and said the jobs have taught her how to be patient, hospitable and effective in difficult situations. She and her father said they hope her busy schedule will impress colleges.

"Colleges want to know, what have you done with yourself?" said

her father, John Francis, a franchise-industry consultant. He worried that an idle summer might encourage his daughter to be complacent. "I want her to have a decent work ethic," he said.

"I don't really have any time to relax at all," Lilly said. "I miss having free days." She has cut back and now works one day a week at the school and two to three a week in the restaurant.

Summer jobs for teens climbed back somewhat after falling during the most recent recession, but remain part of a longer-term decline in youth employment, according to a recent study of U.S. data by the Pew Research Center.

Some colleges today are trying to emphasize quality, not quantity, of activity. "Don't do something just to check a box on a college application. Do something you enjoy," said Stefanie Niles, head of admissions at Ohio Wesleyan University and president of the National Association for College Admission Counseling.

Colleges examine how a student's choices contributed to their personal growth, not just what they chose, Dr. Niles said. Whether a teen spent a summer working, traveling with family or painting pictures, his or her essays and interviews can show colleges why he or she made the right decision.

Parents can unwittingly amp up the stress. Katherine Pastor-Lorents, a counselor at Flagstaff High School in Arizona, often hears parents bragging about where their children applied for college, and she says their compet-



Tanishk Sinha, left, who is 17, worked in a lab with Noor Sohal, a University of Georgia student, during a summer-internship program the university runs.

Finding a Balance Between Rest and Productivity

Tips from psychologists and counselors for high-school students on getting a good summertime mix of productivity and R&R:

- Remember that summer is a time to explore, not make long-term decisions.
- Don't overbook; instead, choose

activities with half-days or several weeks free.

Focus on honing interpersonal skills such as communication and teamwork.

Avoid a 'summer slide' by reading and learning new things; be ready for the next school year.

itive mindset can infect teens.

Psychologists who study adolescent behavior and well-being said it's a delicate balance between spending a summer constructively and leaving plenty of time for teens to unwind. Erich Merkle, a psychologist with Akron Public Schools in Ohio, counsels against students having a summer completely free of obligations—but notes that teen anxiety is on the rise.

Beyond college applications, a summer activity can help prepare students for the rigors of undergraduate life. Eric Anderman, a

psychologist and professor at Ohio State University, finds many students unprepared for college pressures.

Psychologists and college counselors recommend that parents work with their teens to see what excites them. Some counselors say too many students come to them asking, "What do I need to do to look better?" on college applications.

When Steve Frappier, director of college counseling at the Westminster Schools in Atlanta, was working in college-admissions offices

during the early 2000s, he recalls using an unwritten checklist. Mr. Frappier said he used to scan students' applications for part-time jobs, community service, team participation or some evidence of leadership—but didn't focus much on the quality of that involvement.

Looking back, he recalls being concerned that the approach screened for deficits and shortcomings instead of looking at the student as a whole. He believes the checklist encouraged students to work more on their résumés than themselves as individuals.

Eventually, Mr. Frappier switched to counseling high-school students about college applications and now asks them two questions when planning their summers: "How much gas do you have in your tank?" and "What haven't you had time for this year that you wish you could have done?"

Tanishk Sinha, of Suwanee, Ga., spent part of the summer on an unpaid internship the University of Georgia runs for high-school students. Students must have a 3.7 grade-point average or higher to participate in the program, which helps them explore careers.

Tanishk, who is 17 and going to be a senior, spent six weeks in a research lab. During the internship, he worked with University of Georgia student Noor Sohal, 21, who attended the same high school and also participated in the internship program before college. While in high school, Ms. Sohal spent one summer creating and working in a science camp for children. During another, she participated in Georgia's Governor's Honors program, taking classes.

She and Tanishk both said a summer spent exploring your passions can be invigorating instead of draining.

Ms. Sohal warns against picking a summer activity just to burnish college applications. "Make sure you're doing things for the right reason," she said.

LIFE & ARTS



Jay Maisel in his office at 190 Bowery, left; Mr. Maisel with Stephen Wilkes; the façade of the former Germania Bank building, below

at Yale University, convinced him to turn to photography.

The beauty, shapes and history of the objects in his collection reflect his aesthetic. "Objects are there only if you really see them," Mr. Maisel says in the documentary. "And art is trying to make others see what you see."

Mr. Maisel isn't familiar with Marie Kondo, the Japanese organizing phenomenon who helps people shed items. "I'm for clutter," he says. He likes to photograph his things and mourns long-gone collections of comic books and autographed baseballs he put together as a boy in Brooklyn.

Over almost five decades, Mr. Maisel filled the Bowery town house's 72 rooms with abacuses, mismatched table legs and a pair of wood supports for a huppah. He says he can't resist what others would toss out. "Basically, I want minimalism and I end up Salvation Army," he says.

He and his wife, Linda Adam, were married at the house in 1989, standing on top of a file cabinet in front of 500 guests. They raised their daughter, Amanda, in the Bowery and Mr. Maisel remembers a junkie on the front steps helping right her stroller once when it tipped over. It was a gritty contrast to where he and his wife live now in Brooklyn's Cobble Hill.

Ms. Adam says she didn't blink—and even helped—as her husband gradually filled the rooms of the house. "You see things in the city and you end up bringing them home," she says. "So, we kind of facilitated his passion for collecting things."

"I do give him hell for it and I have to kind of roll my eyes," she adds.

Culling his collection was painful for Mr. Maisel, especially with a film crew underfoot. "I needed time to think," he says.

Each of his objects has a story. The two African xylophones? "One I bought, one I traded for about 50 prints," he says. The dozens of long-fingered mannequin hands? "I used to work in a factory that made rubber gloves. And those were the hands they used to form the gloves on. So about 40 years later, when I found them at a flea market, there was no choice. I had to have them."

Mr. Maisel expected the objects he put in storage in New Jersey to stay there, but earlier this year a 4,200-square-foot commercial space two doors down from his new home became available and he pounced.

Mr. Wilkes, the filmmaker, noticed a spring in Mr. Maisel's step once he started reuniting with his things. "He's putting all his toys together," Mr. Wilkes says.

The new space in Brooklyn is filling up. Mr. Maisel's bottle collection is back, as is his Japanese calligraphy poster announcing a sumo-wrestling match.

For the first time in decades, Mr. Maisel isn't seeking out new things and hauling them home. "When you don't have room to show what you have, it's a little crazy to buy a lot more," he says. "However, if I saw something I really loved—then, maybe."

King of Clutter Finds New Home For His Collection

A new documentary shows photographer Jay Maisel reluctantly pack up his landmark abode

By BRENDA CRONIN

DRILL BITS, circuit boards, shoe trees, bolts and cigar-making molds: to anyone else it's junk. To 88-year-old photographer Jay Maisel, it's a visual feast.

"I'm fascinated with industrial things," says Mr. Maisel, who also collects monkey wrenches, wire models, porcelain masks and metal fragments. "If you really want to collect things, you can convince yourself that everything is necessary."

Four years ago, when Mr. Maisel downsized from his six-story home on New York City's Bowery to a 10,000-square-foot townhouse in Brooklyn, he wondered, "Where the hell am I going to put everything?" The former Germania Bank building at 190 Bowery that he left behind measured more than 35,000 square feet. It had a graffiti-scarred façade, a makeshift kitchen and a temperamental, hand-operated elevator. Mr. Maisel bought the 1898 Renaissance Revival building for \$102,000 in 1966 and sold it to a developer for \$55 million in 2015.

A new documentary, "Jay My-



self" chronicles Mr. Maisel's final months in the Bowery. It follows Mr. Maisel, his wife and a team of assistants and movers as they pack up about 30 truckloads of scavenged ephemera and decide which objects to take to the house in Brooklyn, which to put in storage

and which to throw out. The movie, which premieres in New York this week, was directed by Stephen Wilkes, a photographer who became Mr. Maisel's protégé after meeting him in 1978.

Mr. Maisel, who photographed Miles Davis for the cover of his

1959 jazz album "Kind of Blue," spent much of his career traveling the world shooting advertisements, images of everyday life and covers for magazines including "Sports Illustrated." He originally wanted to become a painter but says that the artist Josef Albers, who taught him



The Inspiration for a Generation of Science Fiction

By DON STEINBERG

"WORLDS OF Ursula K. Le Guin" is the first documentary about the pioneering science-fiction writer—and pretty much the first film of any kind to showcase her work. Although Ms. Le Guin was writing about dragons and wizard schools back in 1968 for her Earthsea series, there have been no high-profile movies based on her 20 novels or more than 100 short stories.

'I don't think Harry Potter would have existed without Earthsea,' says author Neil Gaiman.

"I don't think Harry Potter would have existed without Earthsea existing," author Neil Gaiman says in the documentary, which premieres Friday on PBS. Ms. Le Guin's Earthsea cycle, a young-adult series about a sprawling archipelago of island kingdoms, included five novels and many stories written between 1968 and 2001.

Other writers who discuss Ms. Le Guin's work and influence in the film include Margaret Atwood ("The Handmaid's Tale"), David Mitchell ("Cloud Atlas") and Michael Chabon ("The Amazing Adventures of Kavalier & Clay").

"I think she's one of the great-

est writers that the 20th-century American literary scene produced," Mr. Chabon says.

Ms. Le Guin, who died in 2018 at age 88, was born in Berkeley, Calif., the daughter of anthropologist Alfred Louis Kroeber. (That's where her "K." comes from).

"I never wanted to be a writer—I just wrote," she says in the film. Believing science fiction should be less about predicting the future than observing the present, she invented fantastical worlds that were their own kind of anthropology, exploring how societies work.

In her 1969 novel "The Left Hand of Darkness," she introduces a genderless race of beings who are sexually active once a month, either as a man or woman—but don't know which it will be. Her 1973 short story, "The Ones Who Walk Away From Omelas," introduces a utopian city where everyone is happy. But readers learn that this blissful world is entirely dependent on one child being imprisoned in a basement and mistreated. The joy of all the people hinges on the child being forced to suffer, and everyone



'Earthsea' author Ms. Le Guin saw she was writing as "a woman pretending to think like a man."

knows it. The author had been horrified to learn through her father's research about the slaughter of native tribes that made modern California possible.

"She wanted people to think pretty deeply about the foundations of their society—what's holding up the way they live," says Arwen Curry, who spent 10 years making the documentary. It includes a gallery of rejection letters Ms. Le Guin received from publishers in the 1950s, early in her career. Editors thought she wrote well but didn't get what she was trying to do and

didn't think readers would be interested. In 1962 a pulp sci-fi magazine accepted one of her stories for \$30, and things got rolling.

As a female sci-fi writer, "my stories were once believed to be mythological, like the tribble and the unicorn," Ms. Le Guin said in an address before the 1975 Worldcon science-fiction convention in Melbourne, Australia. Her work was called feminist sci-fi, but she grew into that label awkwardly. "There was a considerable feeling that we needed to cut loose from marriage, from men, and from motherhood.

And there was no way I was gonna do that," she said. "Of course I can write novels with one hand and bring up three kids with the other. Yeah, sure. Watch me."

She took it to heart when critics said her work had a male perspective. Her genderless characters were "he" by default. In "Earthsea," Ms. Atwood comments, "just about everything in it, including the dragons, is male." Ms. Le Guin, who smoked a pipe, realized she was writing as "a woman pretending to think like a man."

"The Earthsea books as feminist literature are a total and complete bust," Ms. Le Guin said at the 1975 Worldcon. "From my own cultural upbringing, I couldn't go down deep and come up with a woman wizard. Maybe I'll learn to eventually." She began to create more powerful female characters.

"In a way, she'd always been a feminist, if you think of feminism as believing that women are equal to men," Ms. Curry says. "But she didn't really embrace the cultural movement right away. She did have to step into that, and that took a lot of self-examination."

Ms. Curry, a former editor of Maxim magazine, overcame the author's initial reluctance and interviewed Ms. Le Guin many times for the documentary.

A 2016 Kickstarter campaign that raised \$234,202 from more than 3,100 backers helped Ms. Curry secure a National Endowment for the Humanities grant to finish the film.

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LIFE & ARTS

EXHIBITION REVIEW

Natural History Does the Full Pander

The New York museum caves to woke critics of its statue under the guise of providing ‘context’

By EDWARD ROTHSTEIN

New York

IT IS NOT the kind of statue that would be erected today. It is so monumental it can be only partially taken in, even from across the width of Central Park West. First unveiled in 1940, it was conceived of as emerging from John Russell Pope’s equally monumental 1936 building, now the main entrance to the American Museum of Natural History. A 126-foot-long frieze borders the statue’s plaza, in which are chiseled such words as SOLDIER, STATESMAN, HISTORIAN, EXPLORER, CONSERVATIONIST and NATURALIST.

The statue, created by James Earle Fraser, displays the object of this encomium, Theodore Roosevelt, erect on horseback, stern and triumphant, gazing outward. Flanking his horse, on foot, are an American Indian and an African tribesman. They wear loosely draped traditional clothing; the first figure is of an indeterminate Plains tribe, the latter can be vaguely associated with the Maasai people of East Africa. They stand considerably lower than Roosevelt’s mounted figure.

Is there any doubt about what happens once woke standards are applied to this grouping? It has been the focus of multiple protests in recent years, many of whose objections and charges recur in “Addressing the Statue,” a small exhibition inside the museum about the controversies. The statue is “a monument to white supremacy,” declares one scholar. It is about “taming the savage,” says another. And Roosevelt himself? “Absolutely” a racist.

Such assessments are accompanied by man-and-woman-on-the-street interviews in an introductory video. Some reactions? There should be a dinosaur instead. Or the figures should all be at the same height so they are “equal.” A timeline gives us information about Roosevelt, emphasizing shortcomings in his racial perceptions while citing his progressive and conservationist creds.

The exhibition is in response to the January 2018 report by the Mayoral Advisory Commission on City Art, Monuments and Markers about controversies inspired by

New York statues. According to the report, no conclusion was reached about this one. About half the commission thought additional historical research was needed, about half advocated removing the statue, and a few advocated keeping it while providing context. The museum seems to be hoping the third approach, as executed, will suffice.

But the exhibition actually does very little to help explain the statue or to put it in context. And while it claims to want to participate in a “national conversation” by presenting a variety of views, its own weigh down the scales. In “support” of the statue it cites the architect Pope’s assertion that it portrays a “heroic group,” and it offers some defense

of Roosevelt from the scholar Douglas Brinkley (“He was closer to the ideal we have today of integration and equality than the other political characters of the era”). But

just as the Mayoral Commission began with premises about our nation’s “challenging legacy of racism, colonialism, ableism, sexism, prejudice, and inequality” and the need for an “intersectional” approach to the city’s art, so too does the museum begin by asserting that the statue portrays a “racial hierarchy” that it has “long found disturbing.” Its timeline also cites Roosevelt’s “disturbing views” in an 1886 lecture in which he said: “I don’t go so far as to think that the only good Indian is the dead Indian, but I believe nine out of every ten are, and I shouldn’t like to inquire too closely into the case of the tenth.”

But that sentiment, now widely cited, was expressed by a man in his late 20s and is not, as far as I can tell, echoed in Roosevelt’s actions or his published works. His attitudes, at any rate, became far more complex.

As for the statue, only one commentator in the exhibition, Harriet F. Senie, who teaches Art Museum Studies at the City College of New York, challenges the overall caricature by noting that the two accompanying figures in the statue are allegorical representations of two continents (as a member of the Mayoral Commission, she must have been a lonely voice). Her assertion is supported by the fact that the plaza’s frieze includes bas-relief sculptures showing 18 animal species from those same two conti-



James Earle Fraser’s 1940 statue depicts Roosevelt on horseback flanked by an American Indian and an African tribesman.

nents. The allegorical interpretation is also reflected in the figures’ appearance. Neither the American Indian nor the African are subservient. They are gun-bearers and guides. And their faces show absolutely no evidence of racial condescension by the sculptor. They are proud, even fierce. They stride without deference.

That allegorical element is amplified in the building’s rotunda, which contains three murals by William Andrew Mackay covering more than 5,200 square feet. They are partly narrative, partly fantasy, partly allegory. They glorify Roosevelt by showing the immense spheres of his action. He is bringing something remarkable to his encounters on nearly every continent. He reviews plans for the Panama Canal, stands regnant over African creatures he will bring back from his 1910 expedition (it took the Smithsonian eight years to catalog them), and brings peace to great warring peoples in Japan and Russia (and thus wins the Nobel

Prize). And yes, there are themes that would also animate today’s critics. A Kiplingesque homage is being paid to the imperial benefactor, who moves among natives of all continents. There is also a racialist overtone in the African mural with its image of Noah’s condemned son Ham as the continent’s progenitor.

For at least some of the glory, there is good reason. The problem is that for a generation or more, our culture has been preoccupied with a particular theme: If hierarchy of any kind exists, it must be a sign of inequity and also of racism. And that assessment eclipses all others. If that happens in this case we will never understand these murals, the statue, Roosevelt, or, in fact, the museum itself.

It would be in the interest of the museum to aggressively challenge this approach to culture. It apparently refuses. But what, after all, led to the founding of natural history museums in the first place? They were Rooseveltian celebra-

tions—mythic temples portraying the realms from which Western Civilization arose. The natural world with its minerals and fossils and fish became closely associated with artifacts from cultures also deemed closer to nature. Right now we might characterize that approach as racist or ignorant—but only in part. There is still something to be learned from it. And think, too, of the deeper impulse here: These museums reflected a civilization’s unbounded curiosity about the principles governing other cultures and the natural world. No similar impulse can be found in any other culture of the time; it is far more rare than racism which, in varied forms, is pretty much universal. That past does not need to be jettisoned; it needs to be understood along with its astonishing achievements.

Addressing the Statue
American Museum of Natural History

Mr. Rothstein is the Journal’s Critic at Large.

By LEE SEYMOUR

HAROLD PRINCE, the legendary Broadway impresario, died yesterday. He was 91.

Known in the business as Hal, Mr. Prince garnered 21 Tony Awards during his career for his work as both a producer and director. Over seven decades of prodigious output, his name became synonymous with ambitious, high-quality entertainment, starting with his first Tony win in 1955 for “The Pajama Game.” He then went on to shepherd a long string of seminal megahits that shaped the modern theatrical landscape, and helped turn it into the billion-dollar industry it is today.

Those with only a passing interest in Broadway (and likely even those with none at all) would still recognize his work. Immediately after “The Pajama Game,” he opened two eventual classics in as many years: “Damn Yankees” and “West Side Story.”

The last holds such a significant place in entertainment history that two new revivals are in development more than 60 years after its premiere. Scott Rudin, the prolific producer whose output rivals that of Mr. Prince himself, is mounting a stage version, while Steven Spielberg is currently shooting a new film in New York.

After “West Side Story,” Mr. Prince’s cachet only deepened as he crafted hit after hit, collaborating most frequently with fellow Tony collector Stephen Sondheim. A notorious workaholic, his oeuvre grew to encompass such seminal works as “A Funny Thing Happened on the Way to the Forum,” “Fiddler on the Roof,” “Cabaret,”

“Sweeney Todd,” and a lavish revival of 1927’s “Show Boat.”

That last was in 1994, after which his output slowed dramatically compared to his early career, when he’d mount as many as three shows in a single year. He was honored with a special Tony Award (his 21st) in 2006 for lifetime achievement in the theater, and then by a revue of his greatest hits, “Prince of Broadway,” which he directed in 2017.

His most visible mark on the industry, however, is likely “The Phantom of the Opera,” which he directed.

It opened in London in 1986 and then on Broadway in 1988, winning several Tonys, including Best Musical and Best Direction of a Musical, and swiftly became a trans-Atlantic hit. Mr. Prince wrangled its high melodrama and Andrew Lloyd Webber’s synthy, symphonic score into a lush package, including the

APPRECIATION

Remembering Harold Prince, Synonymous With Broadway



Producer-director Hal Prince at his Manhattan office in 2010

show’s now-iconic chandelier. The result commanded top-dollar prices at the time, and capped producer Cameron Mackintosh’s trio of 1980s megahits, the first two being “Cats” and “Les Misérables.”

Now in its 31st year of continuous operation in New York, “Phantom” regularly grosses over \$1

million weekly. It is also still running in London, and has been seen by over 140 million people in 35 countries, according to show representatives. The original cast recording, which became the first in British musical history to enter the charts at No. 1, has since sold over 40 million copies.

Driven primarily by the global success of “Phantom,” productions bearing Mr. Prince’s stamp have grossed close to \$10 billion world-wide—and that’s not adjusting for inflation.

Even his commercial failures often became beloved fixtures of the industry, cementing their places in the musical theater canon as instrumental to the form’s evolution—particularly his collaborations with Mr. Sondheim.

Mr. Sondheim’s body of work is famously adored by fans and critics, but more often than not his

musicals fail to turn a profit in their initial outings. It was not until the 2017 revival of “Sunday in the Park With George,” starring Jake Gyllenhaal, that a Sondheim show grossed over \$1 million in a single nonholiday week. Only three of his compositions recouped their initial costs: “A Funny Thing Happened on the Way to the Forum,” “A Little Night Music” and “Company.”

Perhaps not incidentally, all three were produced by Mr. Prince.

The pair also collaborated on “Follies,” “Pacific Overtures” and “Sweeney Todd,” none of which made their money back initially. However, they’ve all seen successful revivals in recent years.

“Sweeney” notably became one of the biggest off-Broadway success stories of the decade in its recent incarnation at the Barrow Street Theatre, which was redesigned to be a functioning pie shop and contracted former White House pastry chef William Yosses to craft the menu.

Mr. Prince himself was pragmatic about commercial theater’s vagaries.

“The idea is to work and to experiment,” he said, quoted at the Tribeca Film Festival. “Some things will be creatively successful, some will succeed at the box office, and some will only—which is the biggest only—teach you things that see the future. And they’re probably as valuable as any of your successes.”

Mr. Seymour is a theatrical producer and writer who covers Broadway as a senior contributor for Forbes.

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BEATRICE DE GEA FOR THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

SPORTS

Greinke Deal Jolts the Trade Market

While most of their biggest competitors stood pat, the Astros acted aggressively to bolster a dynamic starting rotation

By JARED DIAMOND

At approximately 3:10 p.m. ET on Wednesday, Zack Greinke struck out Aaron Judge to end the fifth inning of the Arizona Diamondbacks' matchup at Yankee Stadium. About 10 minutes later, in a driving thunderstorm in the Bronx, the umpires summoned the tarp and sent the teams to their clubhouses, ending Greinke's afternoon.

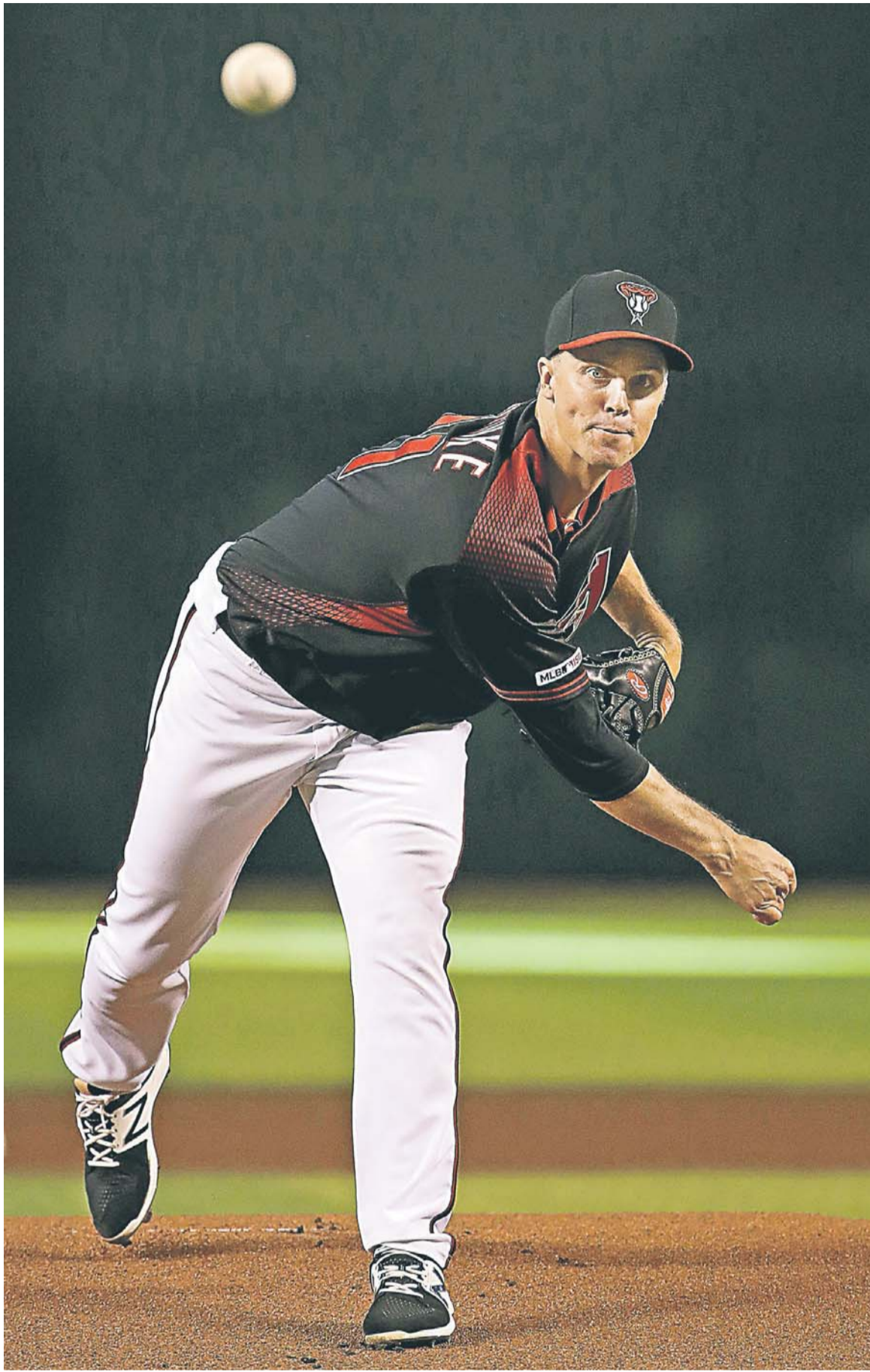
Quite a bit happened during the rain delay, apparently. Because about 15 minutes after the conclusion of what initially looked like one of the most uneventful baseball trade deadlines in recent memory, news broke of the blockbuster that shook up the entire industry: The Houston Astros, already the American League's best team, had acquired Greinke, one of the game's best pitchers—a stunning, buzzer-beating move that could completely reshape October.

While most of their biggest competitors stood pat, the Astros acted aggressively to bolster a dynamic starting rotation that already included Justin Verlander and Gerrit Cole. They sent four prospects to the Diamondbacks in exchange for Greinke, a 35-year-old right-hander with a 2.90 ERA in 2019. The Astros agreed to pay \$53 million of the \$77 million still owed to Greinke through the 2021 campaign—a price paid to emerge as the World Series favorites in 2019.

The last-minute shocker livened an otherwise quiet deadline. The New York Yankees, in desperate need of pitching help, did nothing significant. Neither did the bullpen-starved Boston Red Sox—last year's champions—or the upstart Minnesota Twins. The Los Angeles Dodgers, the owners of baseball's best record, stayed mostly quiet.

Virtually all of the big names rumored to be available stayed put. The San Francisco Giants, unexpectedly back in contention after a torrid July, held onto Madison Bumgarner. The New York Mets, hanging around on the fringes of the wild-card race, kept Noah Syndergaard and Zack Wheeler. The Pittsburgh Pirates retained standout closer Felipe Vázquez. Other than Greinke, the two most notable players traded went to sub-.500 teams: pitcher Marcus Stroman to the Mets last Sunday and pitcher Trevor Bauer to the Cincinnati Reds late Tuesday night.

Major League Baseball hoped that a structural change this season would inspire a flurry of action Wednesday. It made July 31 a hard deadline, the final day for clubs to bolster their rosters for October, believing it would force indecisive general managers to



The Houston Astros acquired starting pitcher Zack Greinke from the Arizona Diamondbacks in a trade on Wednesday.

act. Previously, teams could complete deals all through August as long as they navigated baseball's Byzantine waiver system, something the Astros know a lot about: They added Verlander that way on Aug. 31, 2017, just two months before they won the World Series

for the first time in franchise history. Despite a wide-open playoff race involving a record number of contenders—16 teams entered Wednesday either in a postseason spot or within three games of one for the first time ever—few major

trades happened. Mostly, contending teams added pieces around the edges, the types of deals that usually would happen in August. The Atlanta Braves upgraded their bullpen with Shane Greene and Mark Melancon. The Washington Nationals improved their re-

liefs corps, too, with Daniel Hudson, Roenis Elías and Hunter Strickland. The Chicago Cubs picked up outfielder Nicholas Castellanos. All of these trades could matter in the playoffs, even if they don't command splashy headlines, Greinke aside.

The overall behavior of teams Wednesday reflected the current state of baseball's competitive landscape. MLB installed the second wild card in 2012 to give more teams hope and limit meaningless September contests. But the format of it—a treacherous one-game play-in—has perhaps resulted in the opposite effect, with clubs perhaps not viewing it as enough of an incentive to seriously push for.

In an era where data-driven executives covet young, cost-controlled assets more than at any other point in history, the idea of sacrificing prospects for the possibility of bowing out after nine October innings fails to pass muster. It created an environment with a few juggernauts, and a handful of terrible teams and a giant mush of homogenous mediocrity all in a similar position: too good to give up, but not good enough to truly go for it, either.

Dave Dombrowski, the president of baseball operations for the Red Sox, admitted as much Wednesday. Speaking to reporters after his team failed to execute a trade, he said that he couldn't justify the cost of any potential deal because of how much they trailed the Yankees in the division. With the Red Sox essentially playing only for a wild-card slot, Dombrowski decided to stick with his current group for the stretch run.

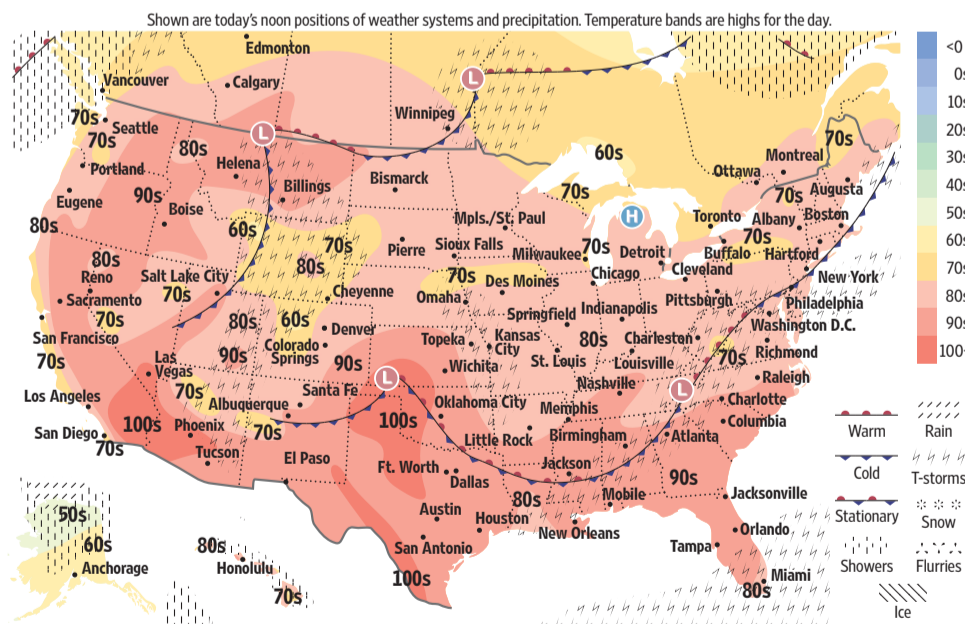
Mike Hazen, the Diamondbacks' general manager, essentially said the same last week. His team went into Wednesday just three games out of the wild card spot, yet he still opted to part with Greinke, his best pitcher. (He replaced him with Mike Leake, acquiring him from the Seattle Mariners.)

Who could argue? From 2000 through 2011, nine wild-card teams went to the World Series. Since 2012, only two—the Giants and Kansas City Royals in 2014—advanced that far.

For sure, MLB and its players' union will discuss how this trade deadline went this winter to see if it needs to enact further changes. Some general managers have suggested that shifting the deadline from July 31 to Aug. 15 might help and plan to propose that as a possibility. The sport could also, at some point, look to turn the one-game wild-card playoff into a three-game series, serving as a greater inducement for teams on the bubble.

But for now, the baseball world will turn its attention to the Astros—a great team that on Wednesday got even greater.

Weather



U.S. Forecasts

s...sunny; pc...partly cloudy; c...cloudy; sh...showers; t...t-storms; r...rain; sf...snow flurries; sn...snow; l...ice

City	Today			Tomorrow		
	Hi	Lo	W	Hi	Lo	W
Anchorage	66	58	pc	70	59	pc
Atlanta	91	71	t	87	70	t
Austin	98	74	s	97	74	pc
Baltimore	88	70	t	86	68	t
Boise	98	70	s	96	66	s
Boston	84	68	pc	81	68	s
Burlington	82	58	t	85	62	s
Charlotte	91	69	t	86	69	t
Chicago	81	62	s	83	62	s
Cleveland	80	66	s	82	66	s
Dallas	98	78	s	98	78	pc
Denver	85	62	pc	88	61	c
Detroit	82	60	s	84	62	s
Honolulu	90	80	pc	90	78	sh
Houston	93	73	pc	93	73	pc
Indianapolis	83	66	s	85	65	pc
Kansas City	82	68	t	74	67	r
Las Vegas	103	85	pc	106	88	pc
Little Rock	88	70	pc	85	70	pc
Los Angeles	84	63	pc	87	64	s
Miami	88	78	t	88	78	t
Milwaukee	77	59	s	79	64	s
Minneapolis	84	67	pc	85	68	pc
Nashville	90	69	pc	92	70	s
New Orleans	90	77	t	90	76	pc
New York City	86	71	pc	84	71	s
Oklahoma City	98	74	s	97	75	pc

International

City	Today			Tomorrow		
	Hi	Lo	W	Hi	Lo	W
Amsterdam	71	61	t	72	59	c
Athens	96	79	s	95	77	s
Baghdad	116	82	s	115	84	s
Bangkok	89	81	sh	88	79	sh
Beijing	88	74	pc	88	74	pc
Berlin	75	59	t	75	60	pc
Brussels	76	57	pc	73	58	c
Buenos Aires	61	42	pc	57	37	s
Dubai	104	92	s	105	93	pc
Dublin	68	53	pc	68	56	pc
Edinburgh	68	55	sh	67	54	sh

City	Today			Tomorrow		
	Hi	Lo	W	Hi	Lo	W
Frankfurt	79	60	pc	81	60	c
Geneva	80	60	pc	79	57	pc
Havana	88	72	t	89	73	t
Hong Kong	87	80	t	87	80	t
Istanbul	91	76	s	88	72	s
Jakarta	91	74	s	91	74	s
Jerusalem	87	68	s	85	66	s
Johannesburg	68	43	s	65	46	s
London	76	59	pc	76	59	pc
Madrid	95	66	s	97	67	s
Manila	87	79	t	86	78	t
Melbourne	56	45	c	57	46	c
Mexico City	75	55	t	75	55	t
Milan	88	68	pc	83	63	c
Moscow	61	52	c	62	49	c
Mumbai	85	80	sh	84	80	sh
Paris	80	61	pc	82	59	pc
Rio de Janeiro	82	69	s	90	69	pc
Riyadh	114	81	s	114	83	s
Rome	87	69	s	86	68	s
San Juan	90	77	pc	89	79	pc
Seoul	87	77	pc	89	76	t
Shanghai	96	82	t	93	81	t
Singapore	90	82	pc	90	81	t
Sydney	67	51	s	64	46	pc
Taipei City	97	79	s	97	79	pc
Tokyo	89	79	s	90	79	s
Toronto	79	61	pc	82	63	s
Vancouver	76	62	c	75	59	sh
Warsaw	76	56	pc	74	55	pc
Zurich	80	58	pc	76	57	t

The WSJ Daily Crossword | Edited by Mike Shenk

1 3-D shape important in geometry

5 Celebration's start?

10 Remove conductor

14 Impulse

15 Earth, in sci-fi stories

16 Congresswoman

17 Hebrew name meaning "lion"

19 Admission receipts

20 Guileful

21 "Agnus ___"

22 Etailer's help option

23 "A pox on you!"

24 Big name in 19th-century fur trading

26 Joe Biden's wife

28 Guileful

29 Letters on many towers

30 Site of some hookups: Abbr.

31 Capital at about 12,000 feet

33 It might hold grog

37 With 39-Across, a description of the answers inside 17-, 24-, 49- and 60-Across

39 See 37-Across

41 Iron production

42 3-D shape important in topology

44 Title character for Will Ferrell

45 Gala garb

47 Boolean operator

48 Attracted

49 Common unit of work

53 Cranberry crop setting

54 Approaching

55 Palindromic woman's name

56 Home of the annual Jamboozie music festival

59 Apply in a slapdash way

60 Fancy plates

SURROUNDED BY LOVED ONES |
By Jeff Chen

- 62 Almond's relative
- 63 Rap reply
- 64 Havarti additive
- 65 Layered cut
- 66 Michelle's younger daughter
- 67 Number before novem
- 68 "___dale and hill the summons flew": Sir Walter Scott
- 69 When some get paid
- 70 Forest makeup
- 71 Small house in the Southwest
- 72 Box for a boxer
- 73 It's across the Missouri from Council Bluffs
- 74 Like some flaws
- 75 Guitar features
- 76 Prez of the 1950s
- 77 24 Mole
- 78 Place of safety in a hot zone?
- 79 Small sails
- 80 "Law & Order: SVU" co-star
- 81 Book followed by the sequel "Ayesha"
- 82 Sacha Baron Cohen voices one in "Madagascar"
- 83 "Hair" dos
- 84 Full of pep
- 85 Warning letters on some forwards
- 86 One using legs as paddles
- 87 Hazard for a hog
- 88 Short stage works
- 89 Event including BMX Big Air
- 90 Fish also called mahi-mahi
- 91 Aconcagua's range
- 92 Extract through filtering
- 93 "Little House on the Prairie" heroine
- 94 Donald Jr.'s mother
- 95 Disallow
- 96 Euro precursor
- 97 Arm raiser, informally
- 98 Capital on a fjord
- 99 Sound of amusement

Previous Puzzle's Solution

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

► Solve this puzzle online and discuss it at WSJ.com/Puzzles.

OPINION

The Trump-Cummings Brawl



WONDERLAND
By Daniel Henninger

The street fight over “racism” between Rep. Elijah Cummings of Baltimore and President Trump reminds us that all political traumas eventually fade from memory to become an abstraction.

Last weekend, when Rep. Carolyn Maloney of New York proposed a Canyon of Heroes parade honoring 9/11 first responders, it struck me as grandstanding. Then the thought occurred: Why not? That awful day was 18 years ago, and it’s already drifting into the fog of history. Some people visit Civil War battlefields or World War I cemeteries in France and Belgium to revive a palpable sense of that incredible carnage.

Decades after the Civil Rights Act, racism is passing into political abstraction.

So one has to wonder: What is it with the constant claims and charges of racism these days? Is it to remind us of the real and violent racism that existed before Martin Luther King Jr. led the civil-rights movement in the 1960s?

Or would it be truer to say that 55 years after Congress passed the Civil Rights Act of 1964, racism is being pushed into the realm of abstraction, reduced mainly to use as a weapon of political rhetoric? If one happened to be alive

at the time, the reality of the urban riots in the 1960s sits forever in the mind’s eye as one of America’s most unforgettable traumas. Merely mention “the Watts riot” or “the Hough riots,” and there’s hardly a person living then who doesn’t know you’re talking about the burning, rage and destruction that engulfed African-American neighborhoods in Los Angeles, Cleveland, Newark, Detroit and many other cities.

After King’s assassination in 1968, horrific inner-city riots broke out in New York, Washington, Detroit, Baltimore, Chicago, St. Louis, Pittsburgh, Kansas City and Trenton, N.J. For much of the U.S. population born since then, those events have about as much immediacy as a World War II documentary.

Still, political control of virtually all these cities has remained in the hands of the Democratic Party. Baltimore, Boston, Chicago, Detroit, Philadelphia and St. Louis have had nothing but Democratic mayors since then.

New York has had several Republican mayors, though the chances of another ever winning election are about zero. As elsewhere, the city’s politics is so noncompetitive that most of New York’s Democrats don’t even bother to vote. When Bill de Blasio was first elected in 2013, turnout was 26% of registered voters, a record low.

That suits the keepers of America’s sterile status quo in its most rundown neighborhoods just fine. Urban Demo-



Baltimore owns more than 10,000 vacant homes.

crats are now in a destructive co-dependent relationship with public-sector unions. Inner-city residents have become an afterthought.

Walking past a public-housing complex in lower Manhattan recently, I noticed the date on the cornerstone: 1963. That is about when these projects were erected all over the U.S. They, like so much urban infrastructure, are falling apart through neglect because city budgets are consumed by labor costs.

Public schools in every city mentioned in this column are failing to educate black American children adequately because the teachers unions won’t permit reform.

According to recent FBI data, the most violent cities in the U.S. include—still—St. Louis, Detroit, Baltimore, Milwaukee, Cleveland and Oakland, Calif.

A 16-year-old gangbanger in Chicago today was born in 2002 or 2003, after 9/11. Stories like his, passing from innocence to ruin before reaching adulthood, have repeated themselves every 20 years in all these Democratic-controlled cities. If that’s not racism caused by political failure, the word has no meaning. Yet the press, or part of it, has been consumed the past week

with Trump vs. Cummings and such irrelevant stories as “Cummings has long frustrated the president.”

During the Clinton presidency, a brief period of “moderate” reform surfaced on welfare, schools and, yes, crime, but progressives have repudiated all that, as the liberal traditionalist Joe Biden has learned.

And so we return to seeking explanations for the profligate use of the word “racism” today. Here’s one: Liberals and the liberal media have internalized this embarrassing and disgraceful urban failure. They’ve moved past it. They’ve given up.

After 55 years of wheel-spinning, it’s all getting abstracted into “racism.” The gentry liberals who drove up housing prices for the poor and middle class walk past the human and physical debris like 18th-century Parisian aristocrats holding perfumed handkerchiefs to their noses. In Queens, they sent Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez to Congress to keep them entertained on Instagram.

Messrs. Cummings and Trump are footnotes in this unhappy saga. The important difference is that the Baltimore congressman no longer has much to add, but Mr. Trump is president. Mr. Trump brought up the subject of Baltimore. Now he should put it and these other cities on his campaign agenda. Let the left scream racism. Everyone else in American knows the reality is deeper than that.

Write henninger@wsj.com.

BOOKSHELF | By Jason Willick

The Power Of Numbers

The Human Tide

By Paul Morland
(PublicAffairs, 344 pages, \$28)

Visiting an Israeli settlement in the West Bank this year, I was struck by the residents’ confidence that the territory could soon be integrated into the Jewish state. They see the number of Jewish Israelis growing rapidly—the village was brimming with children—and Europe’s Jews flocking to Israel. There are also, one man insisted, not as many Palestinians in the West Bank as official data suggests. Before long, Israel could annex biblical Judea and Samaria, make all residents full citizens, and retain a Jewish majority.

This view is probably unrealistic, yet it reflects a harsh truth: Numbers matter in politics and have a history of unsettling the expected course of events. In “The Human Tide” Paul Morland, a research fellow at the University of London, uses a series of historical examples to argue that the most powerful force shaping the modern world has been not ideology or economics or great men but demography—the growth and decline of national populations.

Societies go through three demographic phases, Mr. Morland explains. In most places, through most of history, birth rates were high, but death rates, especially for infants, were also high. So populations didn’t grow quickly, and when they did grow, they often depleted their available resources, provoking starvation or war.

English scholar Thomas Malthus described this “trap” at the turn of the 19th century, just as his country was breaking out of it, thanks to new agricultural techniques and trade.

The second phase of modernizing societies, Mr. Morland writes, occurs when public health improves and food becomes more abundant: Death rates decline, birth rates stay high and populations explode. A third phase begins, though, when birth rates fall. Women have fewer children as they gain access to education and participate fully in the wage economy

and as birth control becomes widely available. At this point, populations plateau, and the average age of citizens climbs.

“One of the most important factors in history at any one time,” Mr. Morland explains, “is where in this transition different societies and cultures are.” Partly because of its political stability in the 18th century, Britain was the first country to transition from phase one to phase two. In the early 19th century, its natural rate of population growth reached an unprecedented 1.7% per year. As a result, the British could export millions of people to Canada, Australia and New Zealand. By contrast, Mr. Morland notes, “there were simply not enough Spaniards to make a real population impact on the lands they conquered.” The fecundity of Americans surged alongside that of their British cousins, driving the U.S. acquisition of sparsely populated North American territories from Spain, Mexico and France.

Demography remained at the core of great-power politics in the 20th century. When “wave after wave of soldiers met in battle on the Western Front,” the author asserts, “what ultimately mattered was not superiority of courage, technology or strategy but sheer weight of numbers.” Britain summoned manpower from across the Commonwealth, improving its fortunes. In World War II, Germany faced a demographic obstacle on the Eastern Front. The better-equipped, better-trained German soldiers at Stalingrad observed with astonishment that no matter how many they killed, Russian men “just kept coming.” By the end of the war, the Nazis were infamously deploying children in the battlefield.

The growth and decline of national populations can shape world events as dramatically as ideology or economics or political leadership.

Yet a turning of the human tide would undermine the Soviets in the Cold War. When Russia’s population growth slowed amid Communist modernization efforts, it lost not only its economic dynamism but also its ability to transfer ethnic Russians to the periphery of the Soviet Empire. As non-Russian populations within the Soviet sphere experienced their own population explosions, ethnic conflicts emerged. Muslim populations like those in Afghanistan were harder to dominate militarily from a demographically weakening center.

Mr. Morland’s analysis helps explain why Western politics are currently fraught with instability. The U.S. and Europe, by the end of their second demographic phase in the mid-20th century, began to have large elderly populations for the first time and constructed pension programs for old age. Yet these programs work “only if each new generation of workers is larger than the last,” Mr. Morland writes. Simultaneously, populations in the rest of the world were exploding. When birth rates explode and death rates plummet, countries inevitably send citizens abroad, and Western democracies have a strong incentive to accept immigrants to increase the number of workers and shore up their old-age programs. “In some twelve-month periods since 2000,” Mr. Morland notes, “more people were arriving in Britain than had been the case in the whole period 1066-1950.”

Such influxes of immigrants can cause near-term political instability, and Mr. Morland argues that they will only serve as a “temporary palliative” for Western economies. By 2100 the world’s population will likely start to decline. In much of Asia and Latin America, the large 20th-century population surges are already coming to a screeching halt. “Demographic development is like a film playing at different times at different cinemas,” Mr. Morland says. “Although the screening has yet to finish at a number of venues, we know how it ends.”

But before the credits roll, balances of power will shift. Nigeria is still growing fast and projected to reach a population of 800 million, making it into a regional great power. If fertility rates elsewhere decline less rapidly among religious groups, like the settlers I met in Israel, social conservatism could prove more resilient than many liberals imagine.

As for the aging West, perhaps it could settle into a new equilibrium, more stable (if more stagnant) than the past two centuries of colonization and war. Or perhaps Mr. Morland’s demographic analysis, like Malthus’s, will be overtaken by events. New technology such as cloning, space travel and artificial intelligence could mean the current demographic slowdown is not an endpoint but an interregnum before another era of radical political change sweeps all before it.

Mr. Willick is an assistant editorial features editor at the Journal.

Democrats’ ‘Big Ideas’ May Re-Elect Trump

By Karl Rove

“I get a little tired of Democrats afraid of big ideas,” Sen. Bernie Sanders said in Tuesday’s debate. But Democrats will lose in 2020 if enough Americans believe those “big ideas” threaten their families, communities, values and pocketbooks. Talk of “political revolution” may rev up democratic socialists like Bernie, but for many ordinary Americans, it’s too much and too radical.

The most obvious example is Mr. Sanders’s Medicare for All. Co-sponsored by four other presidential hopefuls—Sens. Cory Booker, Kirsten Gillibrand, Kamala Harris and Elizabeth Warren—it would make it “unlawful” for companies to provide employees health insurance or for private insurers to sell coverage that “duplicates” benefits of a new government health program.

It’s laughable to think that the nearly 170 million Americans who have private coverage would be excited about losing their plans and their doctors. Nor are they eager to lose control over their health decisions. Add the long wait lists for appointments and procedures common to single-payer health-care systems and the huge middle-class tax increase needed to pay for Medicare for All’s \$32 trillion price tag, and it’s easy to see why swing voters will be horrified if Mr. Sanders’s plan is

part of the 2020 Democratic platform.

At least one candidate who initially supported abolishing employer-provided health insurance now realizes that was a mistake. Ms. Harris released her own plan Monday, rejecting Mr. Sanders’s approach and saying she favors a role for private insurance.

From Medicare for All to the Green New Deal, candidates work hard to repel swing voters.

But she’s being duplicitous. While Mr. Sanders phases out private insurance in four years, Ms. Harris has a 10-year transition during which her new government program would “automatically enroll newborns and the uninsured.” With the deadline looming, many companies would end coverage earlier, leaving employees to be automatically enrolled into the new single-payer program. That’s what counts for moderation these days—a BernieCare that kills employer-provided health insurance a little more slowly.

As Ms. Harris’s new government-run program would cover “all medically necessary services,” the role of private insurance would be to augment those services. The only two supplemental coverage examples Ms. Harris mentions are

cosmetic surgery and health expenses incurred during foreign travel—not exactly a broad private market.

Mr. Sanders and Ms. Harris have forgotten an important lesson of the Affordable Care Act. After its passage in March 2010, it became widely unpopular as Americans worried they couldn’t keep their plans, their doctors or control of their health-care decisions. By Election Day 2010, the RealClearPolitics average of polls found 40% of Americans rated ObamaCare favorably while 51% rated it unfavorably. Yet today 47% are for it, with only 41% against. Why the shift? Probably because while many people lost their plans, the vast majority of Americans with private insurance were able to keep it: Only 8.5 million people get theirs through the ACA exchanges. The attitude of the public seems to be: *Since it didn’t affect me, I’m OK with ObamaCare if it helps others.*

Medicare for All is dramatically different. It would change everybody’s circumstances. And that’s not the only revolutionary change Democratic presidential candidates are pushing.

The Green New Deal is co-sponsored by six presidential candidates—Sens. Booker, Gillibrand, Harris, Sanders, Warren and Amy Klobuchar—and endorsed by at least three other contenders. It would touch everything, stopping the use of oil and gas in 10 years,

retrofitting every house and other building in the country, ending traditional agriculture, crimping commercial air travel, guaranteeing every American a job and more.

Then there’s reparations for slavery. At least nine candidates—including the Green New Deal’s six senatorial sponsors—support some form of reparations or a commission to study the issue. The idea of paying descendants of slaves who were freed more than a century and a half ago—and figuring out who gets what—will be a tough sell for Democrats in the general election.

Americans like bold, aspirational ideas, such as sending a man to the moon. It’s less clear that they like revolutions and forced upheavals in their own lives, not to mention loss of control over important decisions and massive raids on their pocketbooks.

Democratic presidential candidates are outbidding one another with structural transformations of America. The cumulative effect may be to saddle the Democratic Party with an ambitious leftist agenda that repels swing voters in 2020, sending the Democrats’ left wing into—one can hope—political exile.

Mr. Rove helped organize the political-action committee *American Crossroads* and is author of *The Triumph of William McKinley* (Simon & Schuster, 2015).

A Marriage of Man and Machine

By Lance Morrow

Somewhere in Putnam County, N.Y., southbound to New York City on the Taconic Parkway, the odometer on my 2004 Volkswagen Golf hit 250,000 miles. I felt like Chuck Yeager breaking the sound barrier.

The car, silver in color, with a raffish crease in the right front fender (a sort of dueling scar) and a cigarette burn in the driver’s seat, has my affection and respect. Over time, it has become my power animal—my objective correlative, almost. Like me, it has had several of its engine parts replaced. My heart’s got six bypasses stitched into it, so that I and the VW (with its new fuel pump, timing belt, alternator and exhaust system) are inspirations to each

other—heroes of patched-up longevity.

Despite its age and miles, I’d rather drive it than anything newer or fancier. If I were offered a new Mercedes in trade, I guess I’d take it, because I’m not a fool. But I’d regret it, too, and would tell myself that I had sold out.

Self-driving cars will ruin our connection to the metal beast.

The engineers who put together the machine achieved an unexpected perfection of relationships so that, for example, its weight and power are harmonized (each, so to speak, understanding the other), and the thing jumps from the start-

ing gate like a thoroughbred—like Seabiscuit. Its primitive excellence is a remnant of an earlier world.

The car’s manual transmission connects me to its energies and motions. Among other things, it returns me (in the dreamy subliminal dynamics of gears and speed and memory) to the time when I was 19 and drove west across Kansas in the middle of the night, the Volvo 544 coupe plunging through violent prairie line storms—wind, soundless lightning, lashing rain. The Volvo’s manual transmission was like my Volkswagen’s—fluent and, as it were, comprehending—as I ran up and down the gears, my brain integrated with the living engine, left foot working the clutch, right foot the accelerator, left hand the

steering wheel and right hand on the knob of the gearshift: man and beast colluding sweetly and roaring along through the tremendous electricity of the Kansas night and the bright meteor showers of rain. I felt happy and free.

The Volvo yesterday, like the VW today, was modest. Luxury was not the point. Luxury is a mug’s game—a moral disability. The point was something we did not sufficiently love—the purity in the execution, in the skills, the simplicity of the gears. Now luxury offers us cars that drive themselves while we doze off. I wonder if that’s a good idea. Someday we may need the earlier skill.

Mr. Morrow is a senior fellow at the Ethics and Public Policy Center.

OPINION

REVIEW & OUTLOOK

The Democratic Divide

Tuesday night's Democratic presidential debate was a public service in showcasing the choice confronting primary voters who want to beat Donald Trump. Do they choose a left-wing populist promising to transform American capitalism and even democracy, or a liberal pragmatist who would nudge America to the left in more gradual fashion?

Most party nominating fights are about differences in temperament, age, experience, or between outsiders and Washington veterans. Not this time. The debate underscored that Democrats will make a fundamental ideological choice of the kind they haven't faced since perhaps 1948 when Henry Wallace defected to run as a third-party candidate. The sharp exchanges on health care, energy and slavery reparations illuminated the stakes.

Bernie Sanders and Elizabeth Warren dominated in time-allowed and more important in setting the terms of debate. They both want to remake America's market economy at the roots, and they are running as class warriors against American business.

Ms. Warren said no fewer than five times that companies want to "suck" profits from everyone else, as if they're vampires providing no social good. She wants to eliminate private health insurance because the companies "sucked billions of dollars out of our health-care system." She opposes trade deals because "they have become a way for giant multinationals" to "suck more profits out for themselves."

She blends this call for "big structural change" with contemporary identity politics: "We live in a country now where the President is advancing environmental racism, economic racism, criminal-justice racism, health-care racism." How about telecom racism?

Mr. Sanders's call to socialism isn't new, but he put it in stark form on climate change: "We've got to ask ourselves a simple question. 'What do you do with an industry that knowingly, for billions of dollars in short-term profits, is destroying this planet?' I say that is criminal activity that cannot be allowed to continue."

So legally drilling for oil and gas, employing millions of people, and providing cheaper energy for hundreds of millions is now criminal? And they say Donald Trump is demagogic.

Pete Buttigieg, the South Bend mayor, has a smoother veneer but his radicalism is aimed at breaking America's constitutional restraints on

what Democrats want to accomplish. He wants to "end the Electoral College, amend the Constitution, if necessary, to clear up *Citizens United* [the 2010 political speech ruling], have D.C. actually be a state and depoliticize the Supreme Court with structural reform." He means packing the Court.

Mr. Buttigieg often sounds like the Twitter feed of an associate professor at Oberlin College explaining the moral failures of his fellow Americans. If only they listened to a 37-year-old Midwest mayor who went to Harvard, America would be redeemed.

The radicalism of all this was highlighted by the criticism from other candidates who are hardly conservatives. Every one of the 10 on stage endorses a public option for ObamaCare that was too extreme for a Democratic Congress in 2010. Every one supports higher taxes in some form. And every one embraces vast new spending on health care, transportation, energy and much more.

But by raising doubts about eliminating private insurance, or ending border enforcement, John Delaney, Tim Ryan and John Hickenlooper provided a service to Democratic voters. They are warning that the desire to oust Donald Trump doesn't justify a transformation of American society. They are making the point, as Mr. Delaney put it, that "bad policies like Medicare for all, free everything and impossible promises" will "turn off independent voters and get Trump re-elected."

The revolutionaries are betting on the opposite, which is that Mr. Trump's polarizing Presidency has opened a new opportunity for the left. If voters will take a flyer on a celebrity willing to break every political convention, why wouldn't they take a gamble on them? They believe the path to victory in 2020 is a left-wing populism that mobilizes a new movement of the young, minorities, women and gentry liberals that will realign American politics.

As Mr. Sanders put it: "We have got to take on Trump's racism, his sexism, xenophobia and come together in an unprecedented grassroots movement, to not only defeat Trump but to transform our economy and our government."

Four years ago this combination of policy and strategy was dismissed as an impossible dream. Now it could capture the party's nomination, as Democrats consider how much of their inner socialist to indulge in choosing someone to defeat Donald Trump.

The debate showed the sharpest ideological differences in decades.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Can Any Change to Social Security Happen?

Jeff Yass and Stephen Moore make a great case for investing in the stock market long term ("Counter Inequality With Private Social Security Accounts," op-ed, July 26) and building a retirement fund over 40-plus years. But comparing the stock market investment return to Social Security is not accurate. Social Security is not an investment, and calculating an individual's Social Security return is not possible. Some will die before collecting benefits and will lose all their contributions, whereas some will receive more than they paid in contributions (all depending on how long they live). Social Security is not passed to heirs except to a living spouse, whereas investments are passed to heirs. By law Social Security assets can't be invested in anything except Treasury loans.

If 10% of Social Security contributions is great for the individual, then why not 100%? What about inflation? What will \$1 million be worth in 40-plus years? Is this plan only for those with 40-plus years remaining? What about those with only a decade left? Their risk may be too high.

Yes, wealth is created saving and investing over a long period of time. But this is hard for individuals on their own. Wealth is built by parents and grandparents investing money for kids in their early years. If 40-plus years of saving is good, think about 60-plus years, starting when a baby is born. Grandparents, pay attention. Start with a set amount each month and adjust that by the inflation rate each year, thus adjusting the value of the future amount accumulated at the end. A minimum investment goal is to make 3% real (after inflation) return.

DON B. STUART
Pensacola Beach, Fla.

Current Social Security taxes are not set aside to provide future benefits for current workers; they are transferred directly to current retirees to pay their monthly benefits. The 10% to which Messrs. Yass and Moore refer is simply not available to be saved and invested because

Social Security is currently funded on a "pay as you go" basis.

In order to transition to the authors' advance-funded, floor-offset type of arrangement (with current benefit levels guaranteed as the "floor"), additional federal debt approximating \$800 billion per year (to pay current benefits no longer covered by the 10% of payroll being diverted) would have to be incurred for many years to come, and ultimately repaid.

In addition, Social Security's current actuarial shortfall would remain unresolved, and a government backstop would be needed to cover unexpected minimum-benefit costs in the event of poor stock- and bond-market returns. All in the "expectation," or should we say "hope," of someday increasing benefits (mostly for higher-earning workers) or lowering payroll-tax rates.

ROBERT J. SARTORIUS, ASA, MAAA, FCA
Palm Beach Gardens, Fla.

The authors say that over the past 40 years stocks have paid an average annual return of 6%, while Social Security trust-fund investments in Treasury securities have earned only 1%. The reason Social Security pays so little is that Social Security is not just an investment program. It includes large family-benefit payments. The actual returns on Social Security investments have been several times the suggested 1%.

Messrs. Yass and Moore are right in suggesting that some of the Social Security funds be invested in stocks rather than just in Treasuries. Congress endorsed this approach for the civil service fund investment in stocks and bonds when it established the Federal Retirement Thrift Investment Board. However, the board's administrative expenses are less than three basis points, while the Yass-Moore fund, which would not be government guaranteed, would probably be well over 100 basis points (1%). So the Yass-Moore proposal would clearly not be cost-effective and would not be chosen by well-informed workers.

FRANCIS X. CAVANAUGH
Washington

The Fed Buys 'Insurance'

The Federal Reserve lived down to recent expectations in two ways on Wednesday. It cut interest rates by 25 basis points for the first time since 2008, and it didn't seem entirely sure why it is doing so.

The economy is doing well and has a "favorable outlook," Chairman Jerome Powell said at his press conference. Recent economic news, such as second quarter growth of 2.1%, has surprised on the upside, and credit markets have responded well since the Fed signaled it was off its earlier path of tightening.

Why then cut the fed-funds rate, and only to 2% from 2.25%, which won't provide all that much stimulus? Mr. Powell's justification was that the Federal Open Market Committee wants to protect against "downside risks," including trade disputes, a slowdown in manufacturing, slower growth abroad, and the persistence of inflation below its target of 2%.

This is monetary policy as "insurance," which strikes us as what you say when you lack a good

reason to ease policy. Mr. Powell would have been more believable if he had said the Fed is correcting for its mistake of raising rates in December.

Mr. Powell added to the puzzlement when he said at his presser that this was a "mid-cycle adjustment to policy," rather than the beginning of a longer-term rate-cutting period to rescue the economy from looming recession. Markets promptly sold off on the hint that this could be the last rate cut when they had anticipated two more this year. Mr. Powell then half corrected himself as reporters pressed for clarification, and who knows what other explanations will follow in the coming days.

In better news, the Fed Board of Governors (not the FOMC) voted unanimously to cut the interest rate on excess bank reserves to 2.1% from 2.35%. This will be an incentive for banks to hold fewer reserves at the Fed and put the money to work in the real economy. Meanwhile, stay tuned for the next episode in the unpredictable monetary adventures of Jay Powell.

Monetary policy isn't a job with Jay Powell. It's an adventure.

Compromise Can Promote Green Policy Goals

Regarding Robert Bryce's "A Reality Check for Solar and Wind" (op-ed, July 22): Simple math may show that oil and gas production is leaving solar and wind in the shade, but simple physics shows that carbon-dioxide emissions from fossil fuels damage our climate and our future prosperity. Our energy future will look different than its past. That transition is under way, but it doesn't have to be a binary choice between 100% renewables or unmitigated carbon emissions from fossil fuels.

Smart policy planning would protect our energy supply while also reducing the costs and risks associated with greenhouse-gas emissions. On Jan. 17 the Journal published "Economists' Statement on Carbon Dividends" signed by 3,500 U.S. economists, including all living former chairs of the Federal Reserve and 15 former chairmen of the president's

Council of Economic Advisers, urging immediate national action to address climate change, and calling a carbon tax "the most cost-effective lever to reduce carbon emissions at the scale and speed that is necessary."

If the cost of pollution is included in the cost of energy, the market will efficiently shift toward cleaner forms of energy, including natural gas, renewables and nuclear. Technologies like carbon-capture utilization and storage will finally have a predictable market price to justify large-scale deployment, allowing use of fossil fuels without climate-harming emissions.

KATHY FACKLER
Citizens' Climate Lobby
Durango, Colo.

President Eisenhower Was Cool About Nuclear Threats

Regarding Robert D. Kaplan's "Why We Need Someone Like Ike" (op-ed, July 18): It was an erroneous Sputnik era belief that the old Soviet Union possessed overwhelming missile superiority over the U.S. At the time, this theory had impressive scientific endorsements including from the father of the hydrogen bomb. After the 1960s moonshot this concept died until the 1980s. President Eisenhower played this down and upgraded a science-advisory committee and moved it to the White House. Eisenhower and Richard Nixon brokered treaties with Nikita Khrushchev and Leonid Brezhnev, respectively, and the world didn't blow up. Perhaps we should return to the time of new highways, airports and electric grids and stop exaggerating every threat.

DOUG SCHROEDER
Jacksonville, Fla.

California Bans Trump

Remember all that angst and anger expressed by progressives that President Trump would ignore judicial orders, rig election laws, and maybe even refuse to give up power if he loses in 2020? We're still waiting for any of that to happen. But that hasn't stopped Democrats from stretching the Constitution to defeat Mr. Trump.

The latest example came Tuesday from California when Governor Gavin Newsom signed a law that would bar Mr. Trump from the state primary ballot unless he discloses his tax returns. That's right. California Democrats are trying to keep a sitting President from running for re-election in their state.

"These are extraordinary times and states have a legal and moral duty to do everything in their power to ensure leaders seeking the highest offices meet minimal standards, and to restore public confidence," Mr. Newsom, a Democrat, said in a statement.

Even if this means rigging the ballot to defeat an opponent they loathe? Apparently so. We're on record saying Mr. Trump should release his tax returns, but there's nothing in the Constitution that says he must. Americans can factor his refusal into their voting calculations, and most Democratic presidential candidates have released their tax returns or promised that they will.

California may be violating the Constitution with this law. Mr. Trump's lawyers are promising a legal challenge, and they have a strong case that a state can't add onerous qualifications for ballot access that go beyond the Con-

stitution's requirements for age, citizenship and residency. That was the basis for the Supreme Court decision barring term limits in Congressional elections.

This is one reason that Jerry Brown, Mr. Newsom's predecessor, vetoed a similar bill in 2017. "First, it may not be constitutional," Mr. Brown wrote in a veto statement, and

the rest is worth quoting at length: "Second, it sets a 'slippery slope' precedent. Today we require tax returns, but what would be next? Five years of health records? A certified birth certificate? High school report cards? And will these requirements vary depending on which political party is in power? A qualified candidate's ability to appear on the ballot is fundamental to our democratic system. For that reason, I hesitate to start down a road that well might lead to an ever escalating set of differing state requirements for presidential candidates."

Don't be surprised if some Republican on the make in Alabama or Missouri pulls a similar stunt to keep a Democratic candidate off the ballot. The California law applies only to the primary, and the President still could appear on the general election ballot if he wins the Republican nomination.

But the attempt to rig the ballot against Mr. Trump shows the extent to which Democrats have become so unhinged in their hatred that they are willing to violate political norms to oust him. How about trying the old-fashioned method of nominating a candidate who can defeat him at the ballot box?

Ideologues Look Bad When Beating Heroes Like Rivera

Regarding your editorial "Mariano Rivera Gets Beated" (July 26): The Daily Beast hit piece on Mariano Rivera amounts to a big swing and a miss in the game of life. Mr. Rivera has distinguished himself not only as an exceptional pitcher at the highest levels of baseball—the first honoree to make the Hall of Fame unanimously on the first ballot—but by his faithful following of Jesus Christ, his own character and winsome humility. We need more people modeling their lives after Mo than after left-wing, secular Jacobins set upon the destruction of all that is honorable in America.

JAMES EDWARDS
Oakton, Va.

Rationalizing Emotional Decisions Using Logic Later

Regarding Dana H. Shultz's "Brexit and England: Buy On Emotion, Justify Later" (Letters, July 29) responding to Tunku Varadarajan's "Why the EU Lost Middle England" (op-ed, July 23): An "emotional" decision, justified by logic, would be a logical decision. However, emotional decisions are justified by rationalization, which may or may not be logical.

ALAN JEANS
Missoula, Mont.

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Pepper ... And Salt

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL



"The latest numbers are in. More voters want you to drop out than run."

OPINION

An Originalist Libel Defense

By David B. Rivkin Jr. And Andrew M. Grossman

A federal judge in Kentucky dismissed high-school student Nicholas Sandmann's libel suit against the Washington Post last week. That's no vindication of the newspaper's skewed reporting on the teen's run-in with American Indian activist Nathan Phillips on the National Mall in January. But it's a vindication of the First Amendment's limitations on state libel law, which have come under scrutiny of late, including from President Trump and Justice Clarence Thomas.

Mr. Sandmann and his peers were targeted by a Twitter mob, and the Post joined in portraying him as the villain in a "white privilege" morality play. Mr. Sandmann claimed the Post had defamed him by repeating Mr. Phillips's claim that Mr. Sandmann had physically "blocked" him. That judge held that was an opinion, not a factual claim, and therefore shielded by the First Amendment.

Justice Brennan might have stumbled onto a standard that comports with the Constitution.

That conclusion may be debatable, but the First Amendment's protection of opinion shouldn't be. It is the legal expression of America's "national commitment to the principle that debate on public issues should be uninhibited, robust, and wide-open," as Justice William Brennan put it in *New York Times Co. v. Sullivan* (1964), which established that the Constitution imposes limits on state libel law.

Mr. Trump said in 2016 that he wanted to "open up" libel laws, and in February Justice Thomas wrote a solo opinion arguing that *Sullivan* departs from the Constitution's original meaning. He has a point: Brennan's reasoning is all policy. For decades, originalists like Justice Antonin Scalia have criticized it as an exercise of raw judicial power. Yet there's a good



Nicholas Sandmann and Nathan Phillips on the National Mall, Jan. 18.

originalist case for limits on libel law. *Sullivan* established that government officials suing for defamation must demonstrate that the defendant either knew that the defamatory statements were false or acted with "reckless disregard" for their accuracy—a standard confusingly known as "actual malice." Later decisions extended the requirement to all "public figures," whether or not they hold office.

Sullivan made it far more difficult for plaintiffs to win libel suits, even for statements that are false and seriously damaging. That price is worth paying, the justices reasoned, to provide breathing room for "uninhibited, robust, and wide-open" debate of public issues, given that inadvertent falsehoods are inevitable. Critics blame *Sullivan* for declining journalistic standards—including the Post's mobbing of Mr. Sandmann and his classmates.

But that's all policy. What about the law?

Sullivan was right to recognize the Constitution's relevance in libel cases. It doesn't matter that libel suits are brought by private parties, rather than the state, because it is the state's law that imposes the liability. If the First Amendment precludes a statute imposing fines for speech criticizing government officials, why would the constitutional analysis be different for a law that awards money to a plaintiff?

And while it may be that "the freedom of speech" recognized by the First Amendment does not pro-

tect defamatory speech—which was Scalia's view and apparently is Justice Thomas's—no one seriously argues that a state can punish any speech it wants, free from constitutional scrutiny, merely by labeling it "defamation." That means the court has to define the term somehow.

For all Justice Thomas's criticism of *Sullivan*, he doesn't take issue with its conclusion that the Constitution limits the reach of libel law. His beef is with the actual-malice standard. And that's where things get complicated.

To begin with, he doesn't say what he thinks the proper constitutional standard should be. He observes that judge-made common law provides the "backdrop" for understanding the First Amendment's guarantees of freedom of speech and the press, and he cites cases showing that the adoption of the First and 14th amendments "did not abrogate the common law of libel." That suggests he would have courts scrutinize libel claims for whether they comport with the historical understanding of defamation—if so, the speech would be unprotected. As he notes, it was black-letter law at the time of the framing that a libel plaintiff didn't have to assert actual malice at the outset of the case.

But plaintiffs often *did* have to prove actual malice to prevail. The law recognized circumstances in which a libel defendant could assert a "qualified" or "defeasible" immunity from damages and thereby put the plaintiff to the burden of proving

"express" or "actual" malice under more or less the same standard *Sullivan* prescribed. One musty treatise, published in 1877, reports such immunity applies whenever the speaker has a "legal, social, or moral" duty to comment on another's character, fitness or conduct, including in matters of business, crime, morality or religion. Moreover, libel claims concerning government officials' conduct were often subject to the actual-malice standard, as were claims for punitive damages. *Sullivan*'s reasoning was loose, but it didn't fashion actual malice out of whole cloth.

And it may be that Justice Thomas's understanding of the First Amendment is wrong. What if "the freedom of speech" *does* protect defamation? There was no reason for it to be excluded. James Madison's view was that freedom of speech should be understood as a broad natural right, not a specialized legal concept. The only other appearance of "speech" in the Constitution is the Speech or Debate Clause, which completely immunizes members of Congress from liability for legislative speech. The federal government had no general authority to punish or regulate libel. No one expected in 1789 that the First Amendment would apply to state law, and it didn't until it was incorporated under the 14th Amendment.

Yet this poses a conundrum: Imposing so strict a rule on the states would abolish libel laws altogether. Among the ways a court might reconcile the First and 14th amendments, actual malice has the benefits of historical pedigree, practical experience, and balancing vigorous public debate with at least some compensation and deterrence.

Modern originalism is young, and answers to these questions of original meaning often involve some doubt. Yet the *Sullivan* court might have stumbled onto a standard that comports with the Constitution.

Messrs. Rivkin and Grossman practice appellate and constitutional law in Washington. Mr. Rivkin served at the Justice Department and the White House Counsel's Office. Mr. Grossman is an adjunct scholar of the Cato Institute.

It's Absurd To Ask China To Disarm

By Zhou Bo

The Chinese government sent Vice Premier Liu He to the U.S. in April with a brief to settle the tariff war between Beijing and Washington. But during an Oval Office news conference to address the progress of trade negotiations, President Trump abruptly changed the subject: "Between Russia and China and us, we're all making hundreds of billions of dollars' worth of weapons, including nuclear, which is ridiculous." Mr. Trump has since ordered his administration to prepare a push for new arms-control agreements with Russia and China.

If Mr. Liu was surprised by the pivot from trade to arms control, he was not alone. To Chinese ears, Mr. Trump's claims make no sense. Between them, the U.S. and Russia possess 90% of the world's nuclear weapons. China has fewer nuclear warheads (290) than France (300), according to the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute.

Russia and the U.S. have more than 12,000 nuclear weapons between them. We have fewer than 300.

No wonder China's Ministry of National Defense essentially laughed at the idea of a three-way deal on arms control involving the U.S. and Russia. For such an agreement to work, either the U.S. and Russia would need to bring their nuclear arsenals down to China's level, or China would need to increase the size of its arsenal drastically. Neither scenario is realistic.

At the moment, the Trump administration is building up U.S. nuclear capability, developing low-yield warheads for submarine-launched ballistic missiles and tactical nukes for use in battlefield situations. Russian President Vladimir Putin announced in March 2018 that Moscow is developing a nuclear-powered cruise missile with "unlimited range and unlimited ability to maneuver."

Since China has pledged no first use of nuclear weapons and only seeks a small and effective deterrent force, it has to keep a larger arsenal of ground-based intermediate-range missiles for strategic equilibrium with other nuclear powers. In other words, if China reduces the number of its ground-based intermediate-range missiles, most of which are subject to the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty, it has to increase its nuclear-strike capabilities massively. Which is the "lesser evil" for the West?

China is no stranger to nuclear disarmament. In 1994 China presented a draft of a no-first-use policy to France, Russia, the U.S. and the U.K.—the four other countries in the nuclear club at the time. After India and Pakistan conducted nuclear tests in 1998, China and the U.S. agreed to point their nuclear missiles away from one another. Other nuclear powers followed suit in 2000.

Do we really need another ineffective nuclear-disarmament treaty, as Mr. Trump suggested? The Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons only recognizes the nuclear powers that conducted tests before January 1967. It hasn't prevented India, Israel and Pakistan—not to mention North Korea—from becoming de facto nuclear states. The 2017 Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons understandably reflects frustration over "the slow pace of nuclear disarmament," but it probably won't come into effect. So far only 23 nations have ratified the treaty, which requires 50 to go into force. Ironically, Japan refuses to join. The only country to have suffered a nuclear attack claims to see no use in the treaty.

Washington and Moscow need to take the lead on this issue and reduce the size of their nuclear arsenals if they want to live in a world with fewer weapons. The prospect of this happening appears remote. The U.S. is set to withdraw from the INF treaty on Aug. 2. North Korea refuses to make even superficial concessions without the promise of an economic payoff, and if Iran decides to go for a bomb, Saudi Arabia will follow. Dominoes in Egypt and Turkey would likely fall after that.

The number of nuclear warheads in the world has fallen from about 65,000 at the peak of the Cold War in the mid-1960s to 13,865 at the start of 2019. That's progress but it didn't happen by accident. It required brave leaders to make smart decisions.

Mr. Zhou is a senior colonel in China's People's Liberation Army and an honorary fellow of the PLA Academy of Military Science.

How Hitler and Stalin Made Modern Poland

By Sean McMeekin

Thursday marks the 75th anniversary of the heroic yet doomed Warsaw Uprising against German occupation forces in Poland. Every Aug. 1 at 5 p.m., Poles mark the bitter occasion with a moment of silence for the fallen. Alarm sirens wail in a would-be call to arms that captures the defiant spirit of this proud, pugnacious nation.

Warsaw's stupendous Uprising Museum, one of the city's few tourist attractions, illustrates the painful side of this defiance. For the battle of 1944 left behind almost nothing of old Warsaw for visitors to admire. The martyrs of the Polish Home Army lost not only their lives but also the city they loved. The fate of Warsaw—reduced to rubble by the vengeful cruelty of one dictator, Hitler, in unspoken connivance with his enemy doppelgänger, Stalin—epitomizes the catastrophe of World War II better than any other single event.

Why, then, is this shattering episode in European history almost forgotten in the West? Perhaps because the battle for Warsaw does not have a happy ending. Germany's eventual defeat did not mark the liberation of Poles but the beginning of another brutal occupation by the Communists. This unsettles the narrative of World War II as a "good war" and looms large over Polish and European politics to this day.

If the war that broke out in September 1939 was about anything, it was about Poland. Germany's blitzkrieg against its eastern neighbor was the casus belli for Britain and France. Yet Germany wasn't the only country to attack Poland that month.

Only after Soviet troops invaded Poland on Sept. 17 did the Polish government give up the ghost and flee to Romania. The Allies did virtually nothing to check Stalin's aggression. He invaded five more countries over the next year while somehow remaining "neutral" in the war—a credit to Allied hypocrisy.

The neglected history of the Warsaw uprising helps explain the country's nationalist politics today.

Hitler's invasion of the U.S.S.R. in June 1941 then wrought a public-relations miracle, turning Stalin from totalitarian butcher and swallower of small nations into plucky "Uncle Joe," worthy of full Allied support. The Roosevelt administration showered the Red Army with Lend-Lease largess, from Spam, Studebakers and warplanes to steel and aluminum. So desperate were Churchill and Roosevelt to keep Stalin happy they endorsed his lies about the Katyn Forest massacre of 1940, in which Soviet secret policemen carried out the premeditated mass execution of 21,892 Polish war prisoners. Roosevelt even apologized to Stalin when the exiled Polish government in London demanded a Red Cross investigation of the crime after Germans discovered a mass grave in February 1943.

Paying no price for the Katyn Massacre, Stalin saw no need to change course in Warsaw. Despite broadcasting messages in late July 1944 encouraging Warsaw residents

to rise up against the German occupiers, Soviet forces did not stir to help them. Though the Red Army was positioned right across the Vistula River outside Warsaw and could have intervened, Stalin was happy to let the Germans slaughter the Polish Home Army. He saw the Polish forces as a rival to postwar Communist rule. The Germans killed as many as 16,000 insurgents alongside nearly 200,000 civilians and put Warsaw to the torch, saving Stalin the trouble.

During the uprising, Polish, American, British and Commonwealth pilots ferried aid packets—ammunition, medicine, food, cigarettes—to the Warsaw insurgents, but Stalin did not allow them to land on Soviet air bases until mid-September. Some were even fired on by Russian anti-aircraft guns. Hundreds of Allied pilots were killed. They are heroes in Poland today.

As for the few Polish warriors who survived the battle of Warsaw—its downgrade to an "uprising" came later, to excuse Soviet inaction and soothe Western consciences—they were rounded up by the Soviets, deported to labor camps or shot. Sixteen Polish resistance leaders, invited to Moscow for "talks" in March 1945, were put on trial for the absurd charge of collaborating with the Nazis, despite ineffectual protests from

Washington and London.

Americans and Britons have forgotten this sordid story. Poles have not. Without knowing this history, Westerners will never understand how Poles, like other Eastern Europeans who endured 45 years of Soviet occupation, view the world today. For Poland, World War II did not end in 1945 with a parade and a Paris kiss, but in the ruins of Warsaw ruled over by hostile conquerors who had stood by as the city burned. Poles can perhaps be forgiven for failing to share today's Western predilections—born of decades of peace and prosperity taken for granted—for postcolonial guilt and ennu, or the fashionable denigration of the nation-state.

The rise of Poland's nationalist Law and Justice Party in the wake of the 2015 migrant crisis should not surprise anyone who knows 20th-century history. The Polish people know in their bones the horrors that can follow the collapse of a nation's borders and sovereignty, and they are reminded every Aug. 1. They are in no hurry to risk such a nightmare again.

Mr. McMeekin is a professor of European history at Bard College. His book on World War II, due out in 2020, is tentatively titled "Stalin's War."

Notable & Quotable: Snopes

From "Fact-Checking Satire—Is Snopes Serious?" by Bill Zeiser, *RealClearPolitics.com*, July 31:

Humor website the Babylon Bee is like The Onion for the politically conservative and evangelical Christian set. That is, it offers satirical articles written in the style of a legitimate news outlet. Recent headlines include "Futuristic, Utopian Paradise of Baltimore Completely Baffled By Trump's Attacks," "Alyssa Milano's Political Activism Prompts Millions To Ask Themselves 'Who Is Alyssa Milano?'," and "Youth Pastor Rocking Beanie Just In Case Blizzard Hits In Middle Of July."

In case the playful tone does not make it obvious that the editors are joking, their "About Us" page clearly labels the site as satirical. Search for "Babylon Bee" on Google and the top result is a link to the site accompanied by the line "Your Trusted Source for Christian News Satire."

But the Bee is dead serious about its threat of legal action against venerable fact checker Snopes. At the heart of the dispute is a fact check written last week by Snopes'

content manager, Dan Evon. The Snopes article concerns a piece from the Bee that jabs at Georgia state Rep. Erica Thomas, who issued the muddy claim that a man in a supermarket told her to go back to her own country. In the Bee's version, which pokes fun at the dubious nature of Thomas' assertion, the confrontation occurred at a Chick-fil-A restaurant. The fictionalized Thomas claimed that an employee told her to go back to her country, only to later recall that he actually said "my pleasure." While the Bee was making light of a divisive current event, Snopes gave the piece the full fact-check treatment.

This is not the first time it has fact-checked the Bee's work. In a particularly notable example, Snopes took up the Bee's obviously absurd claim that CNN had purchased industrial washing machines to launder the news. The consequences of fact-checking can be grave. In previous coverage, RealClear Fact Check Review reported that Pacer Deemed false by fact-checking outfits stand to lose as much of 80% of their Facebook audience.

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WORLD NEWS

Europe's Stalling Economy Sounds Alarm

Slowdown raises likelihood of monetary easing; manufacturers blame trade tensions

By PAUL HANNON

The eurozone economy slowed sharply in the second quarter, with growth at less than half the pace of the start of the year.

Figures released Wednesday by the European Union's statistics agency showed that the eurozone's gross domestic product grew at an annualized 0.8% rate in the three months through June, a slowdown from 1.8%. During the same period, the U.S. economy grew 2.1%.

The step down in growth dating back to the start of last year has been led by manufacturing, particularly factories in Germany and Italy, the two eurozone economies most dependent on the sector.

Germany has yet to release official figures for the second quarter, although its central bank estimates that GDP fell during the period. Italy reported Wednesday that its economy stagnated in the three months through June, while growth in France and Spain slowed.

The slowdown is a fresh indication that the global economy had a weak second quarter, with the U.S. and China also losing some momentum. The prospect of a global slowdown has prompted a number of central banks, including the Federal Reserve, to provide stimulus or consider such a move.

Fed Chairman Jerome Powell indicated in testimony to U.S. lawmakers last month that weakness in Asia and Europe was a leading motivation for looser policy. The Fed lowered its benchmark short-term rate by a quarter percentage point on Wednesday, citing "the implications of global de-

velopments for the economic outlook."

The eurozone's weakness makes it more likely that the European Central Bank will roll out new stimulus measures in September in an effort to limit the impact of the manufacturing sector on the rest of the economy, which is in better shape.

ECB President Mario Draghi last week said the outlook for the currency area was becoming "worse and worse."

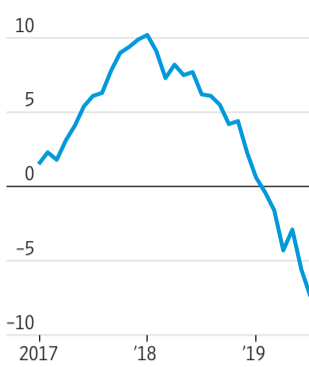
"The reasons were basically found to be in the general uncertainty that's now been with us for several months, actually more than a year, and which relates as I said many times to trade wars," he told reporters after announcing preparations to launch stimulus programs.

European manufacturers say more customers are reluctant to place big new orders that would keep them busy for months to come. "What we see is that clients are making

Mood Swing

The optimism felt by eurozone manufacturers in 2017 has given way to pessimism amid trade disputes.

Eurozone industrial confidence index



Source: European Commission

short-term, small orders and tend not to build a stock," said Mario Caldonazzo, chief executive of Arvedi Group, an Italian steelmaker.

Businesses had hoped to see some of that uncertainty ease, but were disappointed with a meeting between President Trump and Chinese President Xi Jinping at a Group of 20 summit in late June.

"There were a lot of people hovering for the outcome of G-20 in terms of some of their strategic calls," said William McDermott, chief executive of German business-software maker SAP SE, which attributed a dive in its software-licensing business in the latest quarter to uncertainty in Asia.

That disappointment delivered a blow to manufacturing confidence, which fell to its lowest level for six years in July, according to a survey by the European Commission.

Trade uncertainty isn't the only drag on European manufacturing. Auto makers wrestling with new rules on carbon emissions and an anticipated shift away from gasoline have seen sales fall 3.1% in the first

six months of the year from the same period in 2018.

The U.K.'s departure from the EU is also a source of volatility. Ahead of the previous Brexit deadline on March 29, British buyers stockpiled goods to avoid shortages, boosting output at their European suppliers. But that turned into a drag on growth in the second quarter as the departure date was delayed until Oct. 31, and British businesses drew down inventories.

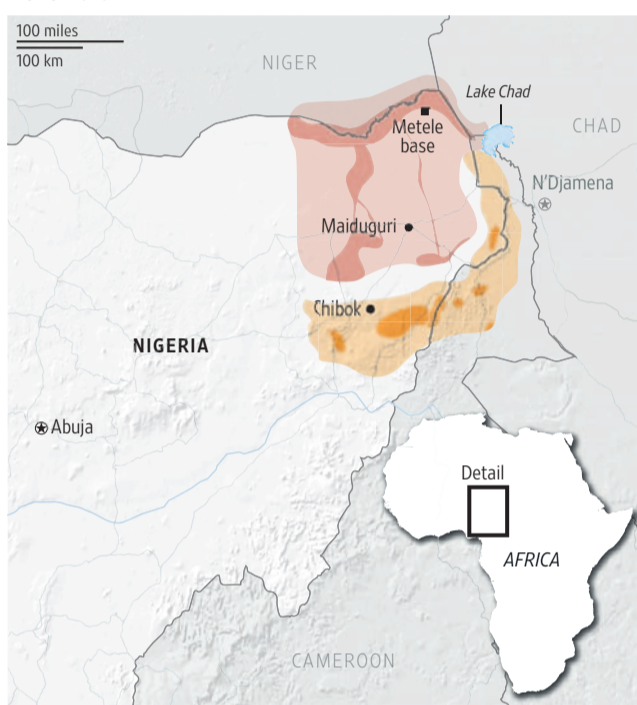
There is now a heightened likelihood that the U.K. will leave the EU without an agreement to smooth its exit, which would hit eurozone manufacturers. The rest of the eurozone economy is in better shape than its factories. Figures also released Wednesday showed the jobless rate fell to 7.5% in June from 7.6% in May to its lowest level since July 2008.

That is a boon for retailers and service providers as household spending power rises.

Front Lines

The Islamic State chapter ISWAP and the Boko Haram insurgency have thousands of fighters in northeastern Nigeria.

ISWAP	Presence	Influence
Boko Haram	Presence	Influence



Source: Control Risks

Nigeria Secretly Buries War Dead To Mask Toll

By JOE PARKINSON

MAIDUGURI, Nigeria—At the northern edge of this city's military base, a vast field of churned soil conceals the hidden toll of a deadly offensive by the allies of Islamic State.

After dark, the bodies of soldiers are covertly transported from a mortuary that at times gets so crowded the corpses are delivered by truck, according to Nigerian soldiers, diplomats and a senior government official. The bodies are laid by flashlight into trenches dug by infantrymen or local villagers paid a few dollars per shift.

"Several of my comrades were buried in unmarked graves at night," said a soldier from the Maimalari barracks, where more than 1,000 soldiers are based. "They are dying and being deleted from history."

The secret graveyard isn't the only one in Nigeria's troubled northeast, the senior government official said.

The burials convey a picture at odds with a war Nigerian President Muhammadu Buhari, a former general, has repeatedly claimed his army has won.

The reality is that Africa's largest land force—a U.S. counterterrorism ally—is struggling against an insurgency that first flared a decade ago and is now rejuvenated by Islamic State and the return of fighters from Libya, Syria and Iraq.

The insurgents control hundreds of square miles of territory across four countries around the Lake Chad basin, a crossroads of Africa where the U.S., U.K. and French militaries have bases or provide special-forces training. On Sunday, gunmen attacked a funeral on the outskirts of Maiduguri, killing at least 65 people, according to government officials.

"This group is one of the most effective, if not the most effective Islamic State contingent at the moment," said Site Intelligence, a terrorism-monitoring group.

Nigeria's government last summer stopped reporting the deaths of soldiers in its fight with Boko Haram insurgents and a splinter group that calls itself Islamic State West Africa Province, or ISWAP. Mr. Buhari was re-elected in February after a security-focused campaign in which he repeated that the Islamist insurgencies in Nigeria had been "technically defeated."

But the sprawling secret graveyard in Maiduguri and an official cemetery at the base, the operational command for the northeastern front in Borno State, now hold the bodies of at least 1,000 soldiers killed since the terror groups began an offensive last summer, according to soldiers and military officials—some of whom estimated a far higher death toll.

The Nigerian military and the presidency didn't respond to requests for comment on the war, casualties and the secret cemeteries.

In November, Mercy Tamuno was told her husband, Adah, had been killed in an insurgent attack on an outpost in Cross Kauwa, a town about 100 miles north of Maiduguri. When she demanded to see where he was buried, she was taken to the official cemetery at Maimalari, where graves are marked with plywood headstones. There she was led to a spot marked with a plastic bottle with her husband's name written on it.

"It was the only one marked in this way. I'm not sure it was his grave but that's what the army told me," Mrs. Tamuno said.

Two soldiers from Lance Cpl. Tamuno's unit said he had



After Mercy Tamuno's husband Adah was killed by insurgents, she demanded to see his grave.

"See the weapons they bring here. These are not working," he says. "No less than 100-plus soldiers died here. Many are missing in action, they are nowhere to be found."

Nigeria's military initially refused to comment on the attack. After questions from the senate, the military said 23 soldiers had been killed. It said false casualty figures and the sharing of inaccurate videos were boosting the "propaganda intent of the terrorists."

When Timothy Olanrewaju, a journalist based in Maiduguri, couldn't reach his brother, Sgt. Samuel Olanrewaju, for four months, commanders repeatedly assured him that his brother was well, stationed in a sensitive combat zone.

Mr. Olanrewaju learned of his brother's fate when Islamic State published a video that showed his execution. Several hours later, he was still in shock, slumped on a mattress in his living room, struggling for words. "I couldn't believe my eyes," he said. "Why didn't they tell me the truth?"

The military's secrecy about casualties is so widespread it is unclear whether Nigeria's political leaders are aware of the state of the conflict.

When President Buhari visited the Maiduguri base in November, commanders rushed to bury bodies that had collected at the morgue from the recent attack on the base in Metele and several others, according to some soldiers at the base. They moved the bodies from the morgue into the unmarked graves under cover of darkness.

Mr. Buhari delivered a rousing address to the soldiers. "Please maintain your loyalty to the country," he said.

—Gbenga Akingbule contributed to this article.

WORLD WATCH

CHINA Beijing Curbs Tourism to Taiwan

China will stop issuing travel permits for individual leisure trips to Taiwan amid soured ties between the two governments, as Beijing dials up economic and political pressure on the democratic self-ruled island.

The suspension, effective Thursday, was imposed "due to current relations" between mainland China and Taiwan, according to a notice published online Wednesday by China's Ministry of Culture and Tourism.

The curbs could rattle Taiwan's travel sector and hit the broader economy, as mainland Chinese visitors account for about a quarter of the island's total tourism arrivals, the bulk of whom are independent travelers, industry insiders say.

Restricting travel marks an escalation in Beijing's campaign to pressure the island's leader, President Tsai Ing-wen, who has angered the Chinese leadership by refusing to acknowledge that the mainland and the island are part of "one China"—which her predecessor did.

—Chun Han Wong

RUSSIA Officials Say Activist Wasn't Poisoned

Russian opposition leader Alexei Navalny, who was being treated for a mysterious illness, wasn't poisoned as he and his supporters have claimed, Russian medical officials said, an announcement challenged by a doctor for Mr. Navalny.

The outspoken Kremlin critic was discharged from the hospital on Monday and returned to jail to finish serving a 30-day sentence for organizing unauthorized protests that led to a police crackdown and the detention of more than 1,000 protesters on Saturday.

Hospital officials said he suffered from an acute allergic reaction. Mr. Navalny and his team, however, questioned the diagnosis, saying he had never had allergies before.

On Wednesday, Russian officials said results from toxicology tests showed no traces of poison. Mr. Navalny's doctor, Anastasia Vasilyeva, posted on Facebook that she was skeptical about the results as the hospital didn't have the proper equipment to test for all types of poison.

—Georgi Kantchev

AFGHANISTAN Roadside Bomb Kills At Least 32 on Bus

A roadside bomb tore through a bus in western Afghanistan on Wednesday, killing at least 32 people, including children, a provincial official said.

Mohibullah Mohib, spokesman for the police chief in Farah province, said the explosion also wounded 15 people. Most of the wounded were said to be in critical condition, indicating the death toll could rise. The bus was traveling on a highway between Herat and Kandahar.

No one claimed responsibility, but the Taliban operate in the region and frequently use roadside bombs to target government officials and security forces. Islamic State's affiliate in Afghanistan is also known to have been behind attacks in the area.

—Associated Press

BUSINESS & FINANCE

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THE WALL STREET JOURNAL.

Thursday, August 1, 2019 | B1

S&P 2980.38 ▼ 1.09% S&P FIN ▼ 0.43% S&P IT ▼ 1.47% DJ TRANS ▼ 0.77% WSJ IDX ▲ 0.37% LIBOR 3M 2.266 NIKKEI (Midday) 21525.85 ▼ 0.02% See more at WSJ.com/Markets

FBI Probes if Hacker Struck Others

By ANUJ GANGAHAR AND DANA MATTIOLI

The Federal Bureau of Investigation is examining whether the woman charged with stealing data on millions of Capital One Financial Corp. customers from an Amazon.com Inc. cloud service successfully hit other targets.

Michigan State University said Wednesday it was working with the FBI and assessing whether the hacking suspect also got into its systems, though it said it had no knowledge of a breach. Like Capital One, Michigan State is an Amazon Web Services customer.

UniCredit SpA, Italy's largest bank, also said Wednesday it is investigating the possibility of a breach related to the Capital One incident.

Companies have fervently embraced cloud computing for its speed, ease, cost and security, giving Amazon and others a large and profitable business. But the widening probe points up a possible weakness: A hacker who figures out a way around the security fence of one cloud customer not only gets to that customer's data but also has a method that might be usable against others.

The alleged hacker, Paige Thompson, appears to have

made online postings suggesting she had dozens of purloined files. UniCredit and MSU are mentioned in the postings, as is Ford Motor Co. A Ford spokeswoman said the company was investigating.

The Ohio Department of Transportation, also mentioned, said it too was working with the FBI. A department spokeswoman said it couldn't confirm if there had been a breach but said that the file referenced in the postings contains "publicly accessible traffic crash data and doesn't contain any personal information." She said the department isn't an Amazon Web Services customer.

An Amazon spokesman said the company has reached out to customers mentioned in on-line forums by the alleged hacker "to help them assess their own logs for any evidence of an issue." He said Amazon doesn't have proof "that the perpetrator in the Capital One incident found similar application flaws in a few other customers."

In a blog post Tuesday, cybersecurity blogger Brian Krebs published a screenshot that purports to show a list of files containing data that the hacker accessed. One of the files was named "unicredit." This list was posted by Ms. Thompson

to a discussion group on the digital-messaging service Slack in late June, according to screenshots reviewed by The Wall Street Journal.

In online chats on Slack reviewed by the Journal, Ms. Thompson said she had access to a massive trove of data, including files that federal investigators had linked to the Capital One hack. The compressed UniCredit files were more than double the size of the Capital One files, according to the screenshots.

UniCredit is examining whether a directory held on a cloud server was accessed. Please turn to page B6

Cash-Strapped

GE's cash flow was negative for the second straight quarter.

Industrial adjusted free cash flow, quarterly



GE Raises Outlook For Its Reset Year

By THOMAS GRUYA

General Electric Co. posted a second-quarter loss and flat sales, but said it was making progress in restructuring its long-struggling power division and raised its full-year financial projections.

GE also said its finance chief, Jamie Miller, will be leaving her role and the company is beginning a search for a successor. Ms. Miller, who has been chief financial officer since October 2017, will stay in her role during the transition, the company said.

The conglomerate now expects adjusted cash flow for 2019 ranging from negative \$1 billion to positive \$1 billion, an improvement from previous guidance of negative cash flow of as much as \$2 billion from its core industrial operations.

Cash is in focus for management and investors as the company has cut its dividend twice in recent years stemming from deep problems in its power business and financial-services division. In the second quarter, GE reported negative \$1 billion in cash flow from industrial operations, at the low end of its own target.

"I'm encouraged by the steady progress we are making," Chief Executive Larry Culp said in an interview, saying the power business "seems to be stabilizing."

Mr. Culp recently spent two weeks traveling in Asia and said he has a close eye on U.S.-China trade talks, along with the direction of interest rates. "There is still a lot to do."

Mr. Culp said he "made the call" that now is the time for the CFO change and he plans on speaking with "new friends and old" in considering candidates for the job.

Ms. Miller said given the progress made to stabilize the business, it was the right time to switch CFOs.

GE reported a \$300 million reduction in cash flow in the second quarter related to Boeing Co.'s grounding of its 737 Max airplane, which is powered by jet engines made by GE in partnership with Safran SA of France. GE executives had said the grounding could cut cash flow in the quarter by \$200 million to \$300 million.

The company reduced its production rate of its LEAP engines used in the plane and expects the grounding to cut cash flow by \$400 million for each of the third and fourth quarters if the plane remains unable to fly, it said in a regulatory filing.

Meanwhile, Boeing recently pushed back the expected first flight of its 777x long-haul jetliner, blaming problems with GE's new engine for the plane. GE has said it will redesign a part that was wearing out faster than expected.

For the second quarter, GE reported a net loss attributable to common shareholders of \$61 million, compared with a year-earlier profit of \$615 million. Revenue fell 1% to \$28.83 billion, as a sharp decline in the power division, which makes turbines for power plants, offset gains in other units, including aviation.

GE booked a \$744 million. Please turn to page B2

The World's Most-Littered Item Draws Fire

By SAABIRA CHAUDHURI

Cigarette butts, the world's most littered items, are posing an intractable trash problem for regulators and tobacco companies: Throwing them on the ground is a firmly entrenched habit for many smokers.

Regulators are taking a tougher stance on cigarette filter pollution amid concerns about the environmental impact of single-use plastic. Butts for decades have been made from cellulose acetate, a form of plastic, which takes years to break down. Studies show that butts—which often wash from sidewalks into drains and then waterways—can be toxic to fish.

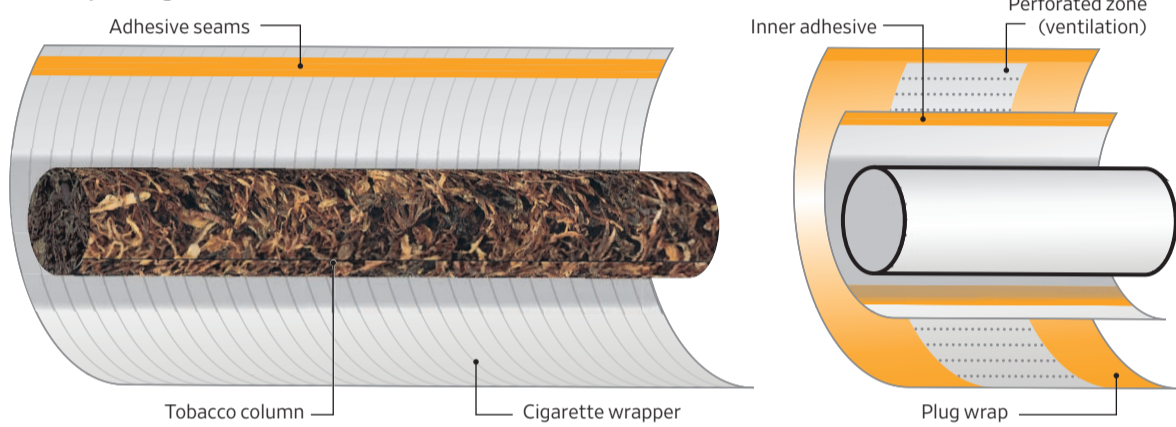
About 65% of cigarettes smoked in the U.S. are littered, according to Keep America Beautiful, a nonprofit whose cigarette litter prevention program is funded by the tobacco industry.

"That whole habit is so ingrained it becomes part of the ritual of taking the cigarette out of the pack, lighting it, smoking it, putting it on the ground," said Christopher Proctor, chief scientific officer at British American Tobacco PLC, whose cigarette brands include Kent, Newport and Camel. "Changing ingrained behavior is a really difficult thing to do."

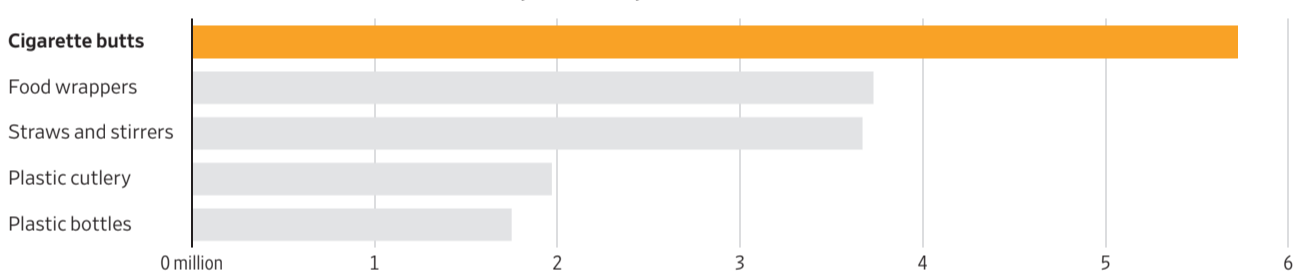
The European Union in May adopted new rules under which members must pass laws within two years requiring tobacco companies to fund

Cigarette filters are made from cellulose acetate, a form of plastic, and the most commonly littered item globally.

Anatomy of a cigarette



Number of items collected on beaches and waterways in one day*



*The cleanup was conducted in more than 120 countries on Sept. 15, 2018. Sources: British American Tobacco (cigarette); Ocean Conservancy International Coastal Cleanup (items)

the cleanup of filter litter as part of a crackdown on single-use plastics. A bill proposing banning filters has made its way through the California Senate and will be heard by the lower house next year.

In response, BAT and Japan

Tobacco Inc. are testing biodegradable filters, while Philip Morris International Inc. is assessing the appetite for portable ashtrays. Companies also are tapping behavioral psychologists to understand what propels smokers to litter, hop-

ing to forestall stricter regulation.

"It has become the issue of the decade, I think, plastics and their fates in the environment," Mr. Proctor said. "I don't think the pressure's going to go away so [BAT's] re-

search program has got to deliver something."

Previous efforts to make eco-friendly filters have fallen flat. In 2013, BAT tested filters made from natural fibers but found toxin levels were too high. Please turn to page B2

Nordstrom Family Is in Talks to Boost Stake

By CARA LOMBARDO AND DAVID BENOIT

The family behind Nordstrom Inc. is seeking to strengthen its grip on the department-store chain following a decline in its shares that has stoked tension on the board.

Members of the founding Nordstrom family are in the early stages of discussing a proposal to boost their roughly one-third stake to over 50%, according to people familiar with the

matter. It isn't clear how the family would increase its stake—one possibility is through a share buyback at a premium, one of the people said—and there is no guarantee it will follow through.

Should they, the family may encounter resistance: Some independent directors are wary of allowing the family to take advantage of the stock drop to increase its ownership when they blame its management for the decline, one of the people said.

The board has been seeking

to bring in an outsider to replace the two great-grandsons of the founder, who have been serving as co-presidents, some of the people said. In 2017, the family attempted to take the company private, offering about \$8 billion, or \$50 a share, when it was trading at around \$40 a share. But a special committee of the board rejected the offer as too low and the family abandoned the effort early last year.

Since then, the stock has dropped by more than one-

third compared with a roughly 19% rise for the S&P 500 Retailing index. Like other retailers, Nordstrom has struggled to remake itself amid rapidly changing shopper habits. Its shares closed Wednesday at \$33.11, up nearly 8% after The Wall Street Journal reported on the family's plans, giving the Seattle company a market value of just over \$5 billion.

The oldest brother, Blake Nordstrom, died in January at the age of 58, shortly after re-

vealing he had been diagnosed with cancer. He had shared the title of co-president with his brothers Erik and Pete, who now run the company jointly. Of the three brothers, Blake handled more of the traditional chief-executive duties such as communicating with Wall Street. Pete oversees merchandising and has helped build Nordstrom's designer business. Erik is in charge of e-commerce and has been involved in the rapid growth of the

Please turn to page B5

INSIDE



CORPORATE

Airbus posts upbeat results as the jetliner maker works through huge order backlog B3

STOCKS

Chinese consumer stocks rally despite worries about slowing economic growth B10

Diapers Get a Change With Pricey Upgrades

By SHARON TERLEP

Diapers promising to soften babies' behinds and digitally track their sleep are hitting the market. Billed as parental aids, the new products also are helping the biggest diaper makers lift prices.

Demand for diapers has declined in the U.S. and is set to fall further as Americans have fewer babies, a dilemma for Procter & Gamble Co., the maker of Pampers and Luvs, and Kimberly-Clark Corp., which makes Huggies.

The number of babies born in the U.S. last year fell to a 32-year low, dropping 2% from the year before to 3.79 million births.

Both Procter & Gamble and Kimberly-Clark have been increasing diaper prices successfully without losing sales to less expensive brands, and executives say they can push higher as long as they make



Procter & Gamble and Kimberly-Clark dominate the \$3.6 billion U.S. disposable-diaper business.

improvements.

"We've far from exhausted that lever," Kimberly-Clark Chief Executive Michael Hsu said in an interview. "There are bigger problems for the

consumer that we can still solve."

Kimberly-Clark in July rolled out a Huggies line called Special Delivery, which is made from plant-based mate-

rials, comes in black packaging and costs roughly five times the least costly diaper on the market.

P&G, meantime, has teamed with Kimberly-Clark. Please turn to page B2

INDEX TO BUSINESSES

These indexes cite notable references to most parent companies and businesspeople in today's edition. Articles on regional page inserts aren't cited in these indexes.

A	D	N
Activision Blizzard.....B4	Deutsche Bank.....B11	Nissan Motor.....B3
Advanced Micro Devices.....B11	Dish Network.....A2	Nordstrom.....B1
Airbus.....B3,B12	E	O
Alibaba Group Holding.....B10	EssilorLuxottica.....B5	Opimas.....B10
Amazon.com.....B1,B4,B6,B10,B12	Exxon Mobil.....A2	P
Apollo Global Management.....B10	F	Pacific Investment Management.....B10
Apple.....B5,B11	Fiat Chrysler Automobiles.....B3	PG&E.....A3
Ares Management.....B10	Ford Motor.....B1	Procter & GambleB1,B12
B	Foshan Haitian Flavouring & Food..B10	Q
Baring Vostok Capital Partners.....A10	G	Qualcomm.....B4
BlackRock.....B10	General Electric.....B1,B2	R
Blackstone Group.....B10	Grandvision.....B5	Realogy Holdings.....B12
BNP Paribas Asset Management.....B11	Gree Electric Appliances of Zhuhai.....B10	Redfin.....B12
Boeing.....B1,B3,B12	Greenbutts.....B2	Renault.....B3
British American Tobacco.....B1	H	S
C	Huawei Technologies..B4	Safran.....B1
Capital One Financial.....B1,B6	I	Spotify Technology.....B5
Carlyle Group.....B10	IM Capital Partners..B10	Starbucks.....B3
China International Travel Service.....B10	Imperial Brands.....B2	T
Cofense.....B10	ING Groep.....B6	Take-Two Interactive Software.....B4
Coffee Day Enterprises.....B3	K	U
Credit Suisse Group.....B10,B11	Kimberly-Clark.....B1	UniCredit.....B1
	KKR.....B10	UnitedHealth Group...A4
	Kweichow Moutai.....B10	W
	M	Wuliangye Yibin.....B10
	Molson Coors Brewing.....B5	Z
		Zhejiang Supor.....B10
		Zillow Group.....B12

INDEX TO PEOPLE

A	H	McCarthy, Barry.....B5
Aguilar, Joshua.....B2	Han, John.....B4	McCullough, Jack.....B2
B	Hattersley, Gavin.....B5	Miller, Jamie.....B1,B2
Black, Leon.....B10	Heymann, Nicholas..B2	Misra, Priya.....B11
C	Hsu, Michael.....B1	Mollenkopf, Steve....B4
Carranza, Jovita.....A2	Hunter, Mark.....B5	Morris, Nigel.....B6
Culp, Larry.....B1,B2	K	N
D	Khan, Iqbal.....B10	Nordstrom, Erik.....B1
Das, Arnab.....B11	Kinahan, JJ.....B11	Nordstrom, Pete.....B1
Dewan, Neeraj.....B3	Kirby, Ben.....B11	P
E	Krebs, Brian.....B1	Perkin, Eddie.....B11
Ek, Daniel.....B5	Kwong, Arthur.....B10	S
Epstein, Jeffrey.....B10	L	Sungho, Im.....B10
F	Lau, Louis.....B10	T
Fairbank, Richard.....B6	Lee, Kewsong.....B10	Taylor, David.....B2
Faury, Guillaume.....B12	Lorizio, Michael.....B11	Trink, Lee.....B4
Fridman, Mikhail.....B10	M	Z
	Marenzi, Octavio.....B10	Zhwei, Ren.....B11

BUSINESS & FINANCE



Tobacco makers have turned to psychologists to understand why smokers litter.

Tossed Filters Under Fire

Continued from page B1
high. That same year rival **Imperial Brands PLC** launched a paper filter for its Gauloises brand in France but scrapped it after consumers complained about the taste. The World Health Organization says that filters do break down they lead out some of the 7,000 chemicals contained in cigarettes, many of which are toxic. Now BAT is testing the toxicity of biodegradable filters made by San Diego startup Greenbutts LLC and examining how quickly they break down to see if they meet third-party certification standards. Critics say cigarette makers have moved too slowly on the issue, instead focusing re-

sources on developing e-cigarettes and tobacco-heating products as traditional cigarette volumes decline. They complain companies haven't put labels on packs telling smokers filters contain plastic or explaining the toxicity of waste. Industry executives say they haven't previously invested much in eco-friendly filters because existing ones decrease tar levels. Cellulose acetate filters were added to cigarettes in the 1950s after studies linked smoking to lung cancer. By 1960, filtered cigarettes made up 51% of the U.S. market, according to BAT. Today, almost all cigarettes contain filters. Studies have questioned their health benefits, saying they don't block all chemicals. The U.S. Surgeon General says filters may have increased lung-cancer risks by enabling smokers to inhale more vigorously, while WHO has said marketing claims that filtered cigarettes are healthier are fraudulent. Companies say filters collect tar par-

ticles and carcinogens and are necessary to meet regulations. Tobacco makers have turned to psychologists to understand why smokers litter and whether their behavior can be changed. Wesley Schultz—a psychology professor at California State University San Marcos who is working with Keep America Beautiful—said the number and placement of bins matter. His research showed that for every additional receptacle, the littering rate for butts dropped by 9 percentage points. Companies say the small size of filters means littering seems of little consequence to smokers and they often stamp out butts to cut fire risks. A 2012 study in the *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health* showed 14% of smokers don't consider butts as litter. The WHO says filters are the biggest source of litter world-wide, while Keep America Beautiful says the trend

holds true for the U.S. In Memphis, Tenn., and Columbus, Ohio, Keep America Beautiful next month will use billboards and other outdoor advertising to tell residents "cigarette butts don't go in smoke," and "cigarette litter doesn't go away on its own." Prof. Schultz is helping the nonprofit test whether advertising, and the placement of ads in relation to cigarette urns, influences behavior. "Our hypothesis is that a combination of access and advertising should dramatically improve littering," said Noah Ullman, the nonprofit's marketing head. In the U.K., Philip Morris is running focus groups with nonprofit Clean Up Britain to test the public's appetite for portable ashtrays. So far, testers have expressed concerns about the smell or loose ash escaping, said John Read, head of Clean Up Britain. Design has also emerged as a consideration. Mr. Read thinks more smokers would use portable ashtrays if they became fashionable.

GE Posts Loss for Quarter

Continued from page B1
pretax impairment charge to move some assets from its electrical-grid division into its renewable-energy division. Excluding that charge and including a 6-cent-a-share benefit from a tax audit, GE said its adjusted earnings were 17 cents a share, ahead of an analyst projection of 12 cents a share, according to Refinitiv. GE shares fell less than 1% to \$10.45 on Wednesday. Before the earnings release, the stock had rallied more than 40% this year but was down

about 17% over the past 12 months. The company has positioned 2019 as a "reset year" as it undergoes a restructuring. In the latest quarter, revenue fell 25% at its power unit and the unit's profit tumbled. Other major business units fared better, with revenue rising 5% in the company's aviation unit, which makes jet engines, and slipping 1% in the health-care division, which makes hospital equipment. GE has been shrinking its finance unit and selling assets to pay down its debt, including a deal to sell its biotechnology business for more than \$20 billion earlier this year. In the second quarter, GE raised \$1.8 billion by selling half of its 25% stake in Westinghouse Air Brake Technologies which merged with GE Transportation this year.

Chief Executive To Be Central in Hunt for New CFO

General Electric Co. Chief Executive Larry Culp wants a new finance chief, and he intends to play a bigger-than-customary role in the selection process as he approaches his sophomore year at the helm of the industrial conglomerate. Mr. Culp said Wednesday he plans to speak with "new friends and old" in vetting candidates to succeed departing Chief Financial Officer Jamie Miller, underscoring the importance of the relationship between the CEO and CFO in the company's transformation. "The CFO has emerged as a true strategic partner to the

CEO," said Jack McCullough, president of the CFO Leadership Council, a professional organization for finance chiefs. "It is the most important relationship within a company, and this is especially true in one going through a transition like GE is." Mr. Culp said he "made the call" that now is the time for a change in the CFO position. Ms. Miller, who was appointed to the top finance role in October 2017, will remain in her post to assist with the transition, GE said. She joined GE in 2008 and served in various finance roles, including controller and chief accounting officer, before her appointment to the CFO job. Executive-search processes are often conducted by external recruitment firms on behalf of a company's management and the board, and rarely involve the

chief executive publicly taking a lead role. And while GE is expected to conduct a search through a recruitment firm, Mr. Culp's close involvement and comments didn't surprise people familiar with his management. "This is Larry's style," said Joshua Aguilar, an equity analyst at Morningstar Inc., adding that the executive has a reputation for hands-on leadership. The decision to search for a new CFO comes about 10 months into the tenure of Mr. Culp. He succeeded John Flannery, who was forced out of the CEO role after the industrial giant said it would miss its financial targets. Ms. Miller was brought in by Mr. Flannery, and it was a matter of time before she would be replaced as part of the leadership transition under Mr. Culp,

analysts said. "Jamie was part of the legacy team," said Scott Davis, chief executive at Melius Research LLC. She helped Mr. Culp understand the complexities of GE's finances, said Nicholas Heymann, co-head of the global industrial infrastructure unit at William Blair & Co. "He really needed somebody who was intimately familiar with GE's accounting," Mr. Heymann said. "Jamie knew a lot about where the hot spots were after the meltdown." GE's stock price suffered a substantial decline under Mr. Flannery as the company slashed its dividend, booked a \$22 billion goodwill impairment charge and disclosed a shortfall in reserves in a legacy insurance business. —Nina Trentmann

Diapers Get Pricey Upgrades

Continued from page B1
up with Google's research division to develop a technology-infused diaper system that includes monitors and activity sensors that track when babies sleep and go to the bathroom, sending alerts to parents' phones. Both companies are introducing new products in China,

Demand is expected to decline as Americans have fewer babies.

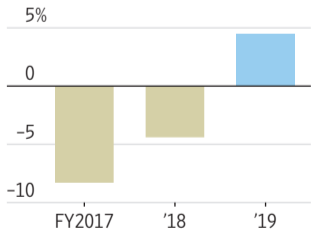
a massive market in which parents are willing to pay up for diapers, creating categories P&G refers to as "super premium" and "super, super premium." "Moms and dads dwell appropriately on their babies," P&G CEO David Taylor said in an interview. "There is evidence that if you provide a meaningful benefit, consumers are generally willing to pay," he said. That diapers rank among the products that generate the most feedback for P&G is evi-

dence parents see room for improvement, Mr. Taylor said. Diapers could be softer, less leaky and do more to prevent skin irritation, he added. The company's new offerings include all-natural diapers and ones with extra-sturdy fasteners. P&G and Kimberly-Clark together dominate the \$3.6 billion U.S. disposable-diaper business, accounting for 80% of sales, according to Nielsen data provided by Wells Fargo. After years of trying to stoke demand by cutting prices, P&G and most of its competitors switched course about a year ago and have been pushing up prices across a range of consumer products. The price moves have paid off as consumers have been willing to absorb the increases, some of which were prompted by higher costs and some of which have padded company profits. Kimberly-Clark's Mr. Hsu said there is room in the U.S. market for more expensive diapers. A private-label diaper costs about 11 cents, while the most expensive offering until recently was around 35 cents a diaper, he said. Huggies' new Special Delivery line goes for 55 cents apiece. Other consumer-products categories have bigger differences between the discount and high-end offerings. The least expensive toothpaste, for instance, goes for 18 cents an ounce, while pricier options can be more than \$1 an ounce, said Mr. Hsu, referring to the

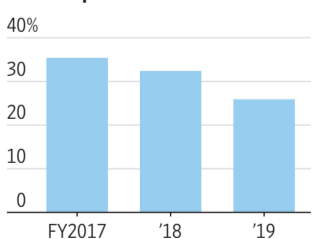
Bottom Line

U.S. diaper sales rose in the past year as companies cut back on promotional pricing.

Annual sales, change from a year earlier



Percentage of diapers sold on promotion



Note: Fiscal years end from July 13-15. Source: Nielsen data provided by Wells Fargo

overall U.S. industry. Natasha Colon, an Appleton, Wis., resident who is the mother of a 3-month-old daughter, said the eye-catching designs on the Special Delivery diaper line appealed to her. "I'm all about cute," said Ms. Colon, who has been switching between brands. She said the look, combined with the diapers' softness, make them worth the extra cost. The high-tech P&G diapers are part of a new baby-monitoring system called Lumi that

includes a separate webcam. The system also has a sensor that detects moisture and is attached each time a diaper is changed. P&G hasn't disclosed pricing for the product, which is expected to go on sale later this year. Some analysts question whether price increases could open the door for private-label and startup competitors, which so far have struggled to make inroads within the diaper market. P&G has acknowledged that ever-higher razor prices opened the way for online shave brands to steal away customers. "Everybody has been talking about raising prices. That's well and good to offset the headwinds, but if it's not being matched with value-added innovation, that's the challenge," Morningstar analyst Erin Lash said. The strategy can be successful, she said, if the companies introduce useful features and figure out ways—either through marketing or offering free trials—to persuade parents to try their diapers. The diaper category "is robust and it's competitive, and our eyes are wide open," Mr. Taylor said. On Tuesday, P&G reported its highest quarterly sales growth in more than a decade. P&G said organic sales, which strip out currency moves, acquisitions and divestitures, rose 7% in the quarter. About half the gains came from higher prices.

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BUSINESS NEWS

Death of India Coffee Magnate Raises Questions

By ERIC BELLMAN AND RAJESH ROY

Indian police said they are investigating the death of coffee-chain mogul V.G. Siddhartha, including the possibility of suicide, after finding his body in a river in the southern city of Mangalore on Wednesday.

Mr. Siddhartha built India's answer to Starbucks Corp. and was worth an estimated \$600 million last year, according to the Barclays Hurun India Rich List. The country's coffee king was last seen walking across a bridge Monday evening in Mangalore.

The possibility of suicide is getting a close look because of a letter in the possession of Mr. Siddhartha's company. Also, tracker dogs seeking the businessman's whereabouts this week had lost his scent in the middle of the bridge.

Mr. Siddhartha's body was pulled out of the Netravathi river Wednesday morning, state police said.

Mr. Siddhartha, as chairman of Coffee Day Enterprises Ltd., oversaw Café Coffee Day, which with 1,700 outlets is India's largest coffee chain. Starbucks has 151 stores in the country.

Coffee Day shares plunged 20%, the maximum allowed, for a second day in a row as investors worried about what Mr. Siddhartha's death means for the Bangalore-based company's prospects.

State police in Karnataka, the state where Mr. Siddhartha was found and in which Bangalore is located, said they were investigating the death and considering all possibilities, including accident, suicide and even murder.

The board of Coffee Day chose an interim chairman Wednesday. It also created an executive committee to decide how the company will proceed,

particularly in dealing with its debt.

The company said it was still trying to confirm the veracity and contents of what may have been a suicide note from Mr. Siddhartha.

"The board took cognizance of statements in the purported letter from Mr. V.G. Siddhartha relating to financial transactions outside the knowledge of the senior management, auditors and the board," Coffee Day said in a statement sent Wednesday to Mumbai's stock exchange, BSE Ltd.

"While the authenticity of the letter is unverified and it is unclear whether these statements pertain to the company or the personal holdings of Mr. V.G. Siddhartha, the board took serious note of the same and resolved to thoroughly investigate this matter," Coffee Day said.

The company released a copy of a letter Tuesday that it said was purportedly from Mr. Siddhartha, addressed to the board and employees.

The letter included an apology for financial problems at the company. It complained about pressure from investors and tax authorities, while accepting responsibility for "every financial transaction" taken amid a "serious liquidity crunch" at the company.

"The law should hold me and only me accountable," said the letter, which carried what looked like Mr. Siddhartha's letterhead and signature. "I have withheld this information from everybody including my family."

Investors need to know more before they can confidently buy Coffee Day shares again, said Neeraj Dewan, director at Quantum Securities in New Delhi. "If someone at the top has died by suicide and cited financial pressure" that worries investors, he said.



The European aerospace company is on track this year to supplant U.S. rival Boeing as the largest plane maker by deliveries.

Airbus Cranks Out Strong Profit

Jetliner maker tackles production problems as it works through huge backlog of orders

By OLIVIA BUGAULT AND DOUG CAMERON

Airbus SE said its quarterly profit increased more than fivefold, driven by a rise in jetliner deliveries that positions the European aircraft maker to overtake Boeing Co. this year as industry No. 1.

The upbeat results come despite production bottlenecks that have hobbled Airbus's efforts to deliver on a backlog of almost 7,300 aircraft. Still, the company wants to boost its output of commercial jetliners after 2021.

The aerospace giant has been struggling to produce more of the largest version of its A321 single-aisle aircraft, and delays in deliveries to customers have aggravated air-

lines' capacity issues caused by the grounding of the Boeing 737 MAX.

A decadelong order splurge has left Airbus and Boeing with a combined backlog of 13,000 jets.

Airbus delivered 389 planes in the first half, up 28% from a year earlier, and needs to deliver about 500 jets in the second half of 2019 to meet its financial targets.

"While 2019 is another backloaded and challenging year, we are on track," Chief Executive Guillaume Faury told analysts.

The larger A321 has outsold similar versions of the 737 MAX by a wide margin, and Mr. Faury said Airbus is looking at options to assemble them at its main production facility in Toulouse, France. The narrow-body planes are currently made in Mobile, Ala., and at a plant in Hamburg, which has suffered the most production problems.

With its single-aisle jets sold out through 2024, Airbus has

limited opportunities to capitalize on the uncertainty over when the 737 MAX will return to service. It continues to be outsold by Boeing in the market for larger wide-body jets, where orders have slowed sharply over the past two years.

Mr. Faury said Airbus will maintain output of its A350 and A330neo wide-body jets at current levels to avoid "price wars." Boeing recently boosted output of its rival 787.

Airbus is on track to become the largest plane maker by deliveries this year for the first time since 2011. Its 389 deliveries in the first half topped Boeing's 239. The U.S. company had originally targeted 900 deliveries in 2019, but pulled the projection following the MAX's grounding.

The A320 family of single-aisle planes—which includes the A321—accounted for a majority of Airbus's first-half total. The company has boosted monthly A320 production to 60

jets and plans to increase the rate to 63. A further increase after 2021 is under discussion, though engine makers General Electric Co. and Safran SA have so far resisted such a move.

Slower growth in airline traffic has triggered caution among suppliers to both Airbus and Boeing about supporting higher aircraft production.

Airbus reported net profit of €1.16 billion (\$1.29 billion) in the second quarter, up from €213 million a year earlier. Sales climbed 23% to €18.32 billion on the increase in jetliner deliveries, as well as a tailwind from the strong dollar. Aircraft are generally paid for in U.S. dollars, and the majority of Airbus's costs are in euros.

Airbus retained its full-year financial guidance based on delivering 880 to 890 jets this year, 80 more than in 2018. A surge in free cash flow has helped boost Airbus's share price by about half this year. The stock rose 0.3% to €128.06 on Wednesday.



Jeep and Ram were strong performers in the quarter for the auto maker.

North American Business Powers Fiat Chrysler Results

By ERIC SYLVERS

Fiat Chrysler Automobiles NV surprised investors by confirming its upbeat outlook for this year and reporting relatively strong second-quarter results, even as questions remain about its future after the failed merger with French rival Renault SA.

The Italian-American company has lagged behind rivals in areas such as electric vehicles and self-driving technology. Sergio Marchionne, the longtime former chief executive who died a year ago, had focused for years on finding a partner that would ensure the company's long-term viability.

Fiat Chrysler in June looked ready to seal a merger with Renault that would have helped both confront the financial and technical demands of developing technology. The merger fell apart after the French government and Renault partner Nissan Motor Co. didn't fully back the deal.

Some analysts were expecting Fiat Chrysler to trim its targets as the global auto market softens and the company continues to struggle in China and Europe.

But the company confirmed financial guidance for this year, including reiterating a forecast of adjusted operating profit of more than €6.7 billion (\$743 billion) and a corresponding profit margin of more than 6.1%. Both would be improvements over last year.

Adjusted operating profit, which strips out one-time

10%

Profit margin forecast for the region in the second half of 2019

items, was little changed in the second quarter at €1.53 billion (\$1.71 billion) compared with the same period last year, the company said Wednesday. Revenue dropped 3% in the quarter to €26.74 billion.

Strong results in North America powered earnings in the quarter in large part due to the performance of Jeep, which recently began selling the Gladiator truck, and of Ram.

Adjusted operating profit in North America was €1.57 bil-

lion, more than all other geographic regions combined and a 12% improvement from the second quarter last year. Profit margin in North America rose by almost a percentage point to 8.9%, even as volume fell 12% and revenue was little changed.

The company is expecting its profit margin in North America to rise to 10% in the second half of 2019 as it sells more high-margin trucks, reduces low-margin fleet sales and cuts industrial costs.

Latin America provided Fiat Chrysler with a small amount of profit. Increased volumes in Brazil offset declines elsewhere in the region, generating an adjusted operating profit of €110 million compared with €9 million in last year's second quarter.

The Asia Pacific region swung to a small loss in the quarter as deliveries in China fell by a third, while Europe posted a profit of €22 million. Persistent disappointing results in the two regions have helped fuel speculation that Fiat Chrysler will continue its search for a merger partner.

—Max Bernhard contributed to this article.

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TECHNOLOGY

Qualcomm Cuts Forecast, Citing China

By ASA FITCH

Qualcomm Inc. warned of multiple challenges out of China that are hurting its outlook, including a ban on exports to telecom company Huawei Technologies Co. and a sharp drop in smartphone sales.

The chip maker cut its full-year forecast for global smartphone sales by 100 million units to a range of 1.7 billion to 1.8 billion, in large part reflecting weaker demand in China. Some handset makers are holding off on releasing new phones as they prioritize a new generation of high-speed 5G devices coming next year, Chief Executive Steve Mollenkopf

said during a call with analysts. Qualcomm stopped all business with Huawei in May, when the U.S. imposed a ban on shipments to the Chinese company, but it resumed some shipments it determined didn't violate the restrictions imposed by the Trump administration amid a broader political and trade dispute. Huawei accounted for about 3% of Qualcomm's revenue before the ban, according to a Bernstein Research estimate.

Mr. Mollenkopf said Huawei became a less-lucrative customer after the ban because the Chinese telecom company switched focus to its domestic market, selling more devices that don't feature Qualcomm's

chips. Those factors contributed to Qualcomm issuing a subdued outlook for the current quarter, projecting another revenue decrease and a fall of as much as

The latest earnings mark the end of a tumultuous quarter for the chip maker.

40% year-over-year in its chip shipments. Shares fell more than 4% in aftermarket trading. The company reported a

12.5% slump in adjusted revenue to \$4.89 billion for the quarter ended June 30. That figure missed the \$5.09 billion expected by analysts surveyed by FactSet. Its adjusted earnings per share of 80 cents exceeded a consensus forecast of 76 cents, due to expanding margins and lower research and development spending, among other factors.

The latest earnings mark the end to a tumultuous quarter for Qualcomm. It got a boost from an April settlement with Apple Inc. in a protracted legal battle over its technology-licensing practices. That triggered a \$4.7 billion boost to Qualcomm's quarterly sales, lifting them to \$9.6 billion.

In May, a San Jose, Calif., federal judge ruled in a case brought by the Federal Trade Commission that Qualcomm violated antitrust laws by leveraging its dominance as a supplier of mobile communications chips to extract higher patent royalties from customers. Qualcomm is seeking a stay of an order requiring it to renegotiate its licensing deals. The order could lower revenues for its licensing division, which collects royalties from Qualcomm-developed technologies when other companies use them.

Mr. Mollenkopf said existing licensees were continuing to pay Qualcomm, although John Han, an executive in Qual-

comm's licensing division, said in a recent court filing that several customers were already either threatening to stop paying royalties or would seek to renegotiate their deals if the court doesn't grant a stay during Qualcomm's pending appeal before the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals.

Qualcomm is banking on the rollout of new 5G networks to boost its fortunes. The company has been an early leader in putting the technology into some of the newest phones, including Samsung's flagship S10 model. But while 5G networks are appearing in more markets across the globe, the technology remains far from ubiquitous.

For 'Fortnite' Champ, Winning Comes With Strings Attached

By SARAH E. NEEDLEMAN

The Pennsylvania teen who won a \$3 million prize last weekend in the world's largest "Fortnite" videogame competition won't get to keep all of his contest winnings despite being vaulted into esports stardom.

Kyle "Bugha" Giersdorf signed a one-year contract with the Sentinels esports team in March, after a team scout was impressed by the "Fortnite" skills he displayed on Amazon.com Inc.'s Twitch, where he streams live broadcasts almost daily.

His contract calls for sharing a portion of competition earnings with the organization, among other stipulations. Kyle's "Fortnite" tournament takeaway is likely to be about \$2.4 million, with about \$600,000 going to the organization, according to a person familiar with esports player contracts.

The 16-year-old, who will be a high-school junior this fall, said he is comfortable with the deal and that his family had an attorney review it before he signed it. "Everything looked in order," said Kyle's



Kyle Giersdorf celebrated Sunday after winning \$3 million in the Fortnite World Cup in New York.

mother, Darci Giersdorf.

Such arrangements are common in the burgeoning world of esports, where skilled gamers are often scouted from the internet and signed to teams, some of which are backed by venture-capital firms and celebrity investors. Attorneys and those connected with the players have raised concerns about the contracts, arguing the players—most of

whom are teenagers—may be prone to accepting unfavorable terms out of excitement and social pressure.

"There are tons of players at the lower tier that still don't have a good handle on the business side of being an esports player," said Bryce Blum, an attorney for the Sentinels and other teams.

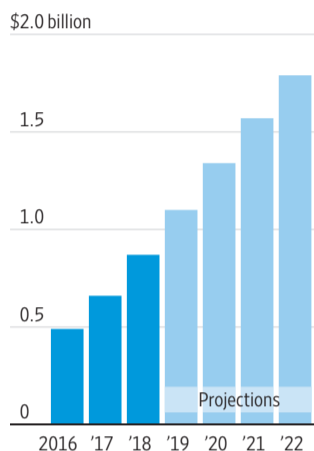
Esports is a small but fast-growing niche within the \$150

billion global videogame industry, with revenue projected to climb around 26% this year to reach roughly \$1.2 billion, according to research firm Newzoo BV.

In recent years, Activision Blizzard Inc. and Take-Two Interactive Software Inc. have launched professional leagues around their games, while more real-estate owners are developing dedicated esports

Esports on the Rise

Revenue from sponsorship deals, media rights and more



Source: Newzoo BV

financial backing.

"There's a staggering lack of anything that resembles a traditional sports league structure," said Joshua Kurnick, an agent whose clients include Milwaukee Brewers pitcher Jeremy Jeffress. He compared the esports ecosystem today to the early days of pro baseball. "That's where we are at now with esports," he said.

In May, a player on the esports team FaZe Clan sued the Los Angeles organization in an effort to terminate a multiyear contract he had signed at age 20, claiming it unfairly restricted him from pursuing sponsorships, among other grievances.

FaZe Clan Chief Executive Lee Trink said he offered to renegotiate the contract for Turner "Tfue" Tenney, now 21 years old, with a \$1 million signing bonus but was turned down. Mr. Trink said the team covers expenses for players, such as travel to and from competitions, in addition to helping them secure sponsors and manage social media.

Mr. Tenney's lawyers didn't respond to a request for comment.

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THE BEST SOURCE FOR COINS WORLDWIDE™

BUSINESS NEWS

Family Seeks to Boost Stake

Continued from page B1
 retailer's off-price chain, Nordstrom Rack. The brothers have spent their entire careers at Nordstrom.

Nordstrom has had only one nonfamily CEO since its founding by John W. Nordstrom, a Swedish immigrant, in 1901: John Whitacre led the company from 1997 until 2000, when he resigned following poor results. Blake Nordstrom succeeded him. Nordstrom's sales dropped 3.5% year over year in the three-month period ended May 4. Revenue fell 5.1% at its roughly 140 full-price stores and less than 1% at its more than 240 discount outlets. The company also lowered its earnings outlook for the

Since early last year, the retailer's stock has fallen by more than one-third.

fiscal year in May.

Pete Nordstrom has said the company needs to do a better job anticipating the tastes and budgets of its customers, including younger shoppers.

While many department stores are shrinking by closing stores or reducing the size of existing locations, Nordstrom has been expanding.

The company is spending roughly \$500 million to gain a toehold in Manhattan, including the planned opening of its first women's store in the city this fall. It has snapped up e-commerce companies such as flash-sale website HauteLook and subscription service Trunk Club. The retailer also is opening smaller stores called Nordstrom Local that don't carry any clothes.

Nordstrom is set to report its second-quarter earnings Aug. 21.

—Suzanne Kapner contributed to this article.

Spotify Gains Users Amid Podcast Boom

By ANNE STEELE

Spotify Technology SA posted greater-than-expected user growth in the latest quarter as the music-streaming giant improved long-term retention of its listeners and broadened its podcasting business.

The company ended the quarter with 232 million monthly active users, above estimates for as many as 228 million. Spotify said it now has 108 million premium subscribers, its most lucrative type of customer, in line with the company's guidance.

On a call with investors, Chief Executive Daniel Ek said the company believes its 31% year-over-year subscriber growth is roughly twice the rate of its closest competitor, Apple Music. In an interview, finance chief Barry McCarthy said the company is adding about two million subscribers a month globally, compared with about one million for Apple. Apple declined to comment.

Apple Music surpassed Spotify in paying customers in the U.S., the largest music market, The Wall Street Journal reported earlier this year.

Spotify's latest period included a biannual campaign offering three months of its premium service—regularly priced at \$9.99 a month—for 99 cents. The company said



Podcasters and media get a look at Spotify's Soundtrap for Storytellers on May 9 in New York.

monthly churn, or the number of users who end a subscription, declined from the previous quarter and year over year to a record low 4.6%.

To help retain more customers, Spotify has been experimenting with its product offerings. During the quarter, it rolled out Spotify Lite—a smaller version of its app for older or lower-end Android devices—to 36 markets. It also expanded a beta test of Spotify Stations, a radiolike app that serves up music based on genre and artist.

The company says the lifetime value versus the acquisition cost of its subscribers is

on the rise. "We're seeing a virtuous cycle of growth," said Mr. McCarthy.

Average revenue per user fell less than 1% to €4.86 (\$5.42) in the quarter. That decline—pressured by new subscribers coming in via discounted plans through family and student accounts, and from international markets with lower pricing power—is expected to continue to subside this year.

Spotify's revenue from subscriptions rose 31% to €1.5 billion, higher than anticipated. Ad-supported revenue, a smaller contributor to the top line, jumped 34% to €165 mil-

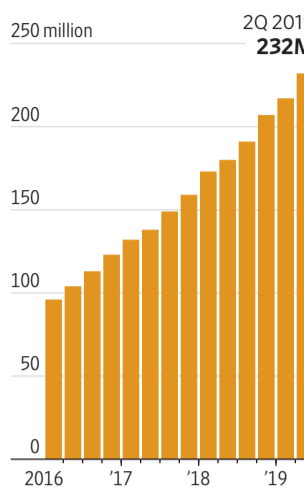
lion amid increased demand for podcast advertising as the company builds out that business through acquisitions and developing original content.

The company said tens of millions of users are now streaming podcasts on the platform monthly, with its overall podcast audience growing more than 50% from the previous quarter and nearly doubling since the beginning of the year.

During the quarter, Spotify struck a deal for the entertainment-production company started by Barack and Michelle Obama to develop and produce podcasts that will be available

Tuning In

Spotify's monthly active users



Source: the company

only on the streaming service. (The Wall Street Journal has a joint venture with Spotify's Gimlet unit.)

Overall for the period ended June 30, Spotify posted a loss of €76 million, or 42 European cents a share, compared with a loss of €394 million, or €2.20 a share, a year ago. Revenue increased 31% to €1.67 billion, in line with estimates.

Free cash flow—a measure of the cash a company generates, and a gauge that many investors view as a proxy for performance—was €50 million in the quarter, up from €18 million a year earlier.

BUSINESS WATCH

MOLSON COORS

Chief to Exit Amid Drop in Beer Demand

Molson Coors Brewing Co. said its chief executive is stepping down as the company struggles with declining sales and a consumer shift away from light lagers to Mexican imports, craft beers, wine and spirits.

Mark Hunter, who oversaw the acquisition of MillerCoors, making Molson the No. 2 brewer in the U.S., will retire in September, the company said. He will be

replaced by Gavin Hattersley, who now serves as CEO of Molson's U.S. subsidiary.

The brewer Wednesday posted second-quarter sales and earnings that missed expectations amid a drop in demand, particularly for its largest brand, Coors Light. The company's stock fell more than 5%.

"There will be change," Mr. Hattersley said on a call with analysts Wednesday. "We need to consider all options that we can take to maximize the future potential of our business and to create additional firepower to

put behind our brands and in order for us to innovate, and that's what I plan to do."

—Jennifer Maloney

ESSILORLUXOTTICA

Eyewear Maker Buys European Competitor

EssilorLuxottica SA agreed to buy control of European rival GrandVision NV for about €5.49 billion (\$6.1 billion), in a move that would further cement the Ray-Ban maker's global position as the leading manufacturer and

retailer of eyewear and lenses.

The deal comes after EssilorLuxottica disclosed earlier in July its talks to acquire the almost 77% stake from HAL Holding NV, a holding company.

EssilorLuxottica said that after completing the HAL transaction it would seek to buy out the rest of GrandVision, which could ultimately value the Dutch company at more than €7.15 billion.

EssilorLuxottica, based in Paris, was created last year from the €46.3 billion merger between Italian sunglasses maker Luxot-

tica and French lens manufacturer Essilor. That tie-up allowed the two companies to access each other's markets of frames and lenses without competing.

It didn't, however, address the competitive shortcomings of the combined company's network of stores. An acquisition of GrandVision, a big optical retailer, is meant to help fill that gap.

EssilorLuxottica operates more than 9,000 stores, with a large presence in North America through brands like LensCrafters and Pearle Vision.

—Ben Dummett

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BUSINESS NEWS

Capital One's Tech Image Suffers

Long before Silicon Valley became enamored with financial-technology startups and the promise of using better data and algorithms to remake banking, Capital One Financial Corp. was already blazing that trail.

By Peter Rudegeair, AnnaMaria Andriotis and David Benoit

Now, the data breach affecting 106 million past, present and prospective customers threatens to upend its long-held reputation for digital prowess.

"While we didn't use the term back then, we were an original fintech," Chief Executive Richard Fairbank said on an earnings conference call in April. "It is striking that our battle cry at the founding of our company was to build a tech company that does banking."

That ethos prompted Capital One to leap into cloud computing about five years ago, making it one of the first big banks to migrate reams of customer and corporate data and applications off its own data centers and onto Amazon.com Inc.'s cloud services.

That decision could prove to be a liability. The hacker accused of breaking into Capital One's customer data, Paige Thompson, is a former employee of Amazon Web Services Inc.

She is accused of getting through a Capital One firewall to access data the bank had stored on the Amazon cloud service.

The hack is likely to put Capital One on the front line of concerns about what the trade off is for banks looking to emulate the practices of tech companies, which themselves have been criticized over their handling of consumer information.

Many big banks are following Capital One's lead to outsource more of their tech processes, but questions remain about whether new security gaps are being opened and how closely regulators should be able to watch.

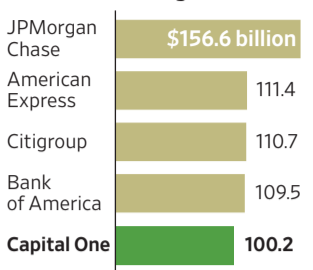
Capital One said that the "vulnerability" the hacker exploited wasn't specific to the cloud. The bank also said its cloud computing model helped it with diagnosing and fixing the problem.

Startups and software companies were early adopters of the cloud, and for years, banks had resisted moving sensitive data or processes there because of security concerns.

Capital One executives were among the first to embrace the cloud, believing that such a move would enable the bank to build new financial apps and products faster.

They also thought it could provide tools for software developers at other firms interested

Top U.S. credit-card issuers, by loans outstanding



Source: Nilson Report

in building their own services on top of Capital One's technology.

"Given the amount of tech investment...and the underlying perception of being ahead of the tech game compared to peers in the business, we are a bit surprised that a single individual could penetrate [Capital One's] defenses and gain access to so many accounts," Oppenheimer analysts wrote Monday.

These days, bank executives often view the cloud as a standard way of doing business, and as a way to save costs from building their own storage.

For Mr. Fairbank, the rise of fintech firms in the wake of the financial crisis created a sense of urgency to keep his bank ahead of the startups.

Capital One spent years building a competitive advantage in the databases and machines needed to underwrite

even the riskiest borrowers and analyze data for future card solicitations and loan performance.

Cloud computing enabled small companies to leverage data in a similar way at a fraction of the price. The bank worried that fintech lenders would start to gain scale, poaching consumers who would have otherwise borrowed from Capital One.

Mr. Fairbank and a colleague, Nigel Morris, left their careers as management consultants in 1988 to lead strategy for the credit-card unit of Signet Bank, a small lender in Richmond, Va.

Signet listed Capital One on the stock market in 1994 with Mr. Fairbank as CEO.

Capital One bet on the internet being the future of banking in 2011 when it agreed to pay \$9 billion to acquire the U.S. online banking business of ING Groep NV.

Since then, Capital One has acquired startups that specialize in gamifying personal finance and budgeting, applying machine-learning to different business problems and scouring the internet for lower prices and rebates for goods of interest to particular shoppers.

Its tech capabilities have positioned the company to win coveted deals in the credit-card sector.

FBI Probes If Hacker Hit Others

Continued from page B1 without authorization, the person said.

UniCredit said in a statement that it had contacted the relevant authorities and is actively investigating the matter.

"Data security and privacy are our key priorities at all times," the statement said.

Capital One, the fifth-largest U.S. credit-card issuer, said Monday that a hacker accessed the personal information of approximately 106 million card customers and applicants, one of the largest-ever data breaches of a big bank.

The FBI said Tuesday it seized digital devices from the alleged hacker's home that referenced Capital One and other companies that may have been targeted.

Prosecutors said Capital One failed to fully secure its firewall to wall off data inside Amazon Web Services.

UniCredit's main regulator, the European Central Bank's supervision arm, said it doesn't comment on specific banks. The arm looks closely at cybersecurity risks at banks, including through on-site inspections.

audit the outsourcing activities of banks, meaning it can audit companies that provide cloud services to a bank it supervises.

Contracts between banks and outsourcing providers must include a clause allowing the ECB to audit the provider.

Italian banks have been slow to invest in technology as they have struggled to digest piles of bad loans that accumulated on their balance sheets during the financial and sovereign debt crisis.

Only three years ago, 17% of Italian banks loans, whose face value was €360 billion (\$401 billion), were sour, according to the Bank of Italy.

The bad loans dented lenders' profits for years, as the banks were forced to set aside provisions for losses on loans and to sell fresh shares to shore up their capital base.

UniCredit, Italy's largest bank by assets, has pushed through a strategic plan in the past years that improved its financial health.

It raised €13 billion of fresh capital, sold assets, such as an online bank and a Polish lender, got rid of billions of bad loans and cut costs.

The bank, which has retail businesses in several European countries and an investment banking unit, including in the U.S., has said it would complete the plan based on organic growth this year.

—Giovanni Legorano and Robert McMillan contributed to this article.

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CLASS ACTION table with columns for Case Name, Description, and Court/Status.

SUMMARY NOTICE OF PENDENCY OF CLASS ACTION TO: ALL PERSONS WHO PURCHASED OR ACQUIRED METLIFE, INC. COMMON STOCK IN THE AUGUST 3, 2010 OFFERING OR THE MARCH 4, 2011 OFFERING

AND ALL PERSONS OR ENTITIES WHO PURCHASED OR OTHERWISE ACQUIRED METLIFE, INC. COMMON STOCK BETWEEN FEBRUARY 9, 2011, AFTER THE PUBLICATION OF METLIFE, INC.'S FOURTH QUARTER AND FULL YEAR 2010 RESULTS, AND OCTOBER 6, 2011, INCLUSIVE, AND WHO WERE DAMAGED BY DEFENDANTS' ALLEGED VIOLATIONS OF THE SECURITIES EXCHANGE ACT OF 1934.

YOU ARE HEREBY NOTIFIED, pursuant to Rule 23 of the Federal Rules of Civil Procedure, that the above-captioned securities class action lawsuit (the "Litigation") is currently pending against the Defendants' before the Honorable Lewis A. Kaplan, United States District Judge, Southern District of New York.

Two plaintiff classes (the "Classes") were certified by the Court. One class, the Securities Act of 1933 class (the "1933 Act Class"), includes all persons who purchased or acquired MetLife common stock in the Company's August 3, 2010 Offering or the Company's March 4, 2011 Offering (the "Offerings").

The Court has directed that notice of the Court's certification of the Litigation as a class action on behalf of the Classes be provided to such persons and entities. No resolution of the Litigation has yet been reached.

If you purchased or acquired MetLife common stock in the August 3, 2010 Offering, the March 4, 2011 Offering, or during the Class Period, you may be a "Class Member" and your rights may be affected by this Litigation.

Inquiries, other than requests for the Notice, may be made to Court-appointed Class Counsel: Shawn A. Williams, ROBBINS GELLER KUDMAN & DWYER LLP.

IF YOU ARE A CLASS MEMBER, you have the right to decide whether to remain a member of the Classes. If you choose to remain a member of the Classes, you do not need to do anything at this time other than retain your documentation reflecting your transactions in MetLife common stock.

PLEASE DO NOT CONTACT THE COURT OR THE CLERK'S OFFICE REGARDING THIS NOTICE. DATED: June 17, 2019

BY ORDER OF THE COURT UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF NEW YORK

"Defendants" include MetLife, Inc. ("MetLife" or the "Company"), C. Robert Henrikson, William J. Wheeler, Peter M. Carlson, Steven A. Kandarian, William J. Mullaney, Sylvia Matthews Burwell, Eduardo Castro-Wright, Cheryl W. Grisé, R. Glenn Hubbard, John M. Keane, Alfred F. Kelly, Jr., James M. Kilts, Catherine R. Kinney, Hugh B. Price, David Satcher, Kenton J. Sicchitano and Lulu C. Wang (the "Individual Defendants").

IN THE UNITED STATES BANKRUPTCY COURT FOR THE SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF TEXAS, HOUSTON DIVISION. NOTICE OF DEADLINES FOR THE FILING OF PROOFS OF CLAIM, INCLUDING REQUESTS FOR PAYMENT PURSUANT TO SECTION 503(B)(9) OF THE BANKRUPTCY CODE.

THE GOVERNMENTAL CLAIMS BAR DATE IS JANUARY 7, 2020, AT 5:00 P.M. (PREVAILING CENTRAL TIME). PLEASE TAKE NOTICE OF THE FOLLOWING: On July 29, 2019, the United States Bankruptcy Court for the Southern District of Texas (the "Court") entered an order (Docket No. 92) (the "Bar Date Order") establishing certain deadlines for filing proofs of claim.

Each Proof of Claim must be filed, including supporting documentation, so as to be actually received by either the Clerk of the Court or Donlin Recano as follows: (a) if to the Clerk of the Court, by electronic submission through PACER (Public Access to Court Electronic Records) at http://efcf.tsbx.uscourts.gov, or if submitted through non-electronic means, by U.S. Mail or other hand delivery system at the following address: Clerk of the Court, United States Bankruptcy Court, 515 Rusk Street, Suite 5300, Houston, TX 77002 (b) if to Donlin Recano, by electronic submission through the interface available at https://www.donlinrecano.com/Clients/ssghy/FileClaim, or if submitted through non-electronic means, by U.S. Mail, overnight delivery or other hand delivery system at the following address: If by U.S. Mail, Donlin, Recano & Company, Inc., Re: Shale Support Global Holdings, LLC, by Hand Delivery or Overnight Mail: Donlin, Recano & Company, Inc., Re: Shale Support Global Holdings, LLC, et al., 6201 15th Avenue, Brooklyn, NY 11219.

BUSINESS OPPORTUNITIES

Request for Information SOLICITATION NO. 62000-19-9926 Industry Day: August 6, 2019 Washington, DC U.S. Securities & Exchange Commission

The SEC is searching for a contractor or contractors to provide Trustee/Custodian and/or Recordkeeper services for an established Section 401(a) defined contribution program, known as the SEC Supplemental Retirement Plan (SRP). Assets currently exceed \$80 million with approximately 4,400 participants.

Interested parties may attend in person or virtually. However, all interested parties participating must register via FedBizOpps (FBO) no later than Aug. 3, 2019. To obtain a copy of the full announcement and draft Statement of Work (SOW), visit: www.fbo.gov; enter 62000-19-9926 in the Keyword/Solicitation # search box.

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The following explanations apply to the New York Stock Exchange, NYSE Arca, NYSE American and Nasdaq Stock Market stocks that hit a new 52-week intraday high or low in the latest session. % CHG-Daily percentage change from the previous trading session.

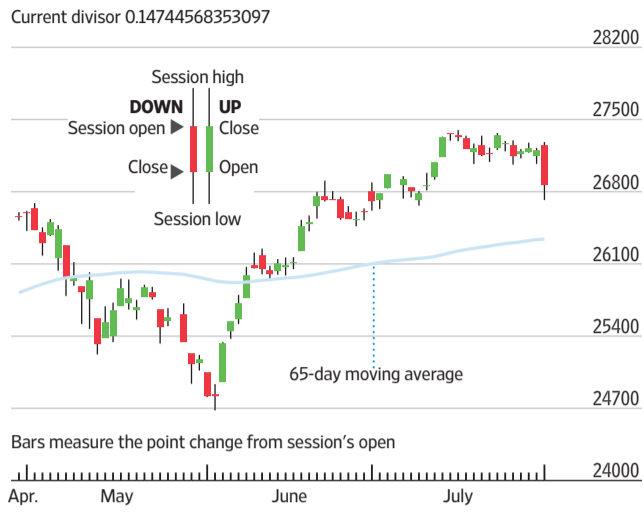
Market data table for Wednesday, July 31, 2019, showing Highs and Lows for various stocks with columns for Stock, Sym, Hi/Lo, Chg, and percentage change.

MARKETS DIGEST

EQUITIES

Dow Jones Industrial Average

26864.27 ▼ 333.75, or 1.23%
 High, low, open and close for each trading day of the past three months.



*Weekly P/E data based on as-reported earnings from Birinyi Associates Inc; †Based on Nasdaq-100 Index

S&P 500 Index

2980.38 ▼ 32.80, or 1.09%
 High, low, open and close for each trading day of the past three months.



Nasdaq Composite Index

8175.42 ▼ 98.19, or 1.19%
 High, low, open and close for each trading day of the past three months.



Major U.S. Stock-Market Indexes

	High	Low	Latest Close	Net chg	% chg	High	Low	% chg	YTD	3-yr. ann.
Dow Jones										
Industrial Average	27281.65	26719.60	26864.27	-333.75	-1.23	27359.16	21792.20	6.0	15.2	13.4
Transportation Avg	10819.32	10598.57	10701.75	-83.09	-0.77	11570.84	8637.15	-2.6	16.7	10.9
Utility Average	817.09	804.46	808.94	-2.71	-0.33	831.33	692.00	12.7	13.5	4.4
Total Stock Market	31035.07	30432.47	30653.00	-324.20	-1.05	31091.22	24126.04	5.0	19.2	10.9
Barron's 400	705.29	691.80	696.13	-5.05	-0.72	786.73	571.68	-7.5	14.2	8.4

Nasdaq Stock Market										
Nasdaq Composite	8299.83	8110.02	8175.42	-98.19	-1.19	8330.21	6192.92	6.1	23.2	16.6
Nasdaq 100	7979.20	7774.93	7848.78	-103.69	-1.30	8016.95	5899.35	7.9	24.0	18.4

S&P										
500 Index	3017.40	2958.08	2980.38	-32.80	-1.09	3025.86	2351.10	5.9	18.9	11.1
MidCap 400	1991.51	1956.34	1966.72	-20.08	-1.01	2050.23	1567.40	-0.6	18.3	8.0
SmallCap 600	977.96	958.40	963.40	-4.30	-0.44	1098.36	793.86	-8.1	14.0	9.0

Other Indexes										
Russell 2000	1599.40	1568.40	1574.61	-10.99	-0.69	1740.75	1266.93	-5.7	16.8	8.9
NYSE Composite	13196.85	12979.37	13066.60	-120.61	-0.91	13239.87	10769.83	1.3	14.9	6.6
Value Line	541.13	531.07	534.33	-4.32	-0.80	593.57	446.06	-7.4	13.1	3.6
NYSE Arca Biotech	4742.35	4632.14	4657.70	-41.23	-0.88	5400.34	3890.37	-7.9	10.3	11.2
NYSE Arca Pharma	587.07	578.60	580.97	-4.12	-0.70	612.45	535.91	2.0	2.1	1.7
KBW Bank	102.75	101.73	102.03	-0.28	-0.28	111.44	80.78	-6.8	18.9	14.5
PHLX ^S Gold/Silver	91.81	87.11	87.64	-4.60	-4.99	92.93	61.84	15.5	24.0	-7.4
PHLX ^S Oil Service	81.25	78.83	79.41	0.57	0.73	154.64	71.99	-4.6	-1.5	-21.0
PHLX ^S Semiconductor	1583.90	1527.38	1542.44	-51.38	-3.22	1622.02	1069.39	13.0	33.5	26.2
Cboe Volatility	16.55	13.46	16.12	2.18	15.64	36.07	10.85	22.6	-36.6	10.7

^SNasdaq PHLX Sources: FactSet; Dow Jones Market Data

Late Trading

Most-active and biggest movers among NYSE, NYSE Arca, NYSE Amer. and Nasdaq issues from 4 p.m. to 6:30 p.m. ET as reported by electronic trading services, securities dealers and regional exchanges. Minimum share price of \$2 and minimum after-hours volume of 50,000 shares.

Company	Symbol	Volume (000)	Last	Net chg	After-Hours % chg	High	Low
VanEck Vectors Gold Miner	GDX	26,302.2	26.45	-0.05	-0.19	26.53	26.43
Fidelity National	FIS	22,132.4	133.25	...	unch.	133.51	132.88
SPDR S&P 500	SPY	10,799.7	296.31	-1.12	-0.38	297.87	296.13
iShares MSCI Emg Markets	EEM	6,672.9	41.78	0.01	0.02	42.18	41.65
VanEck Vectors Jr Gold	GDXJ	5,961.1	37.54	...	unch.	37.64	37.46
Chemical Financial	CHFC	5,510.8	42.19	0.15	0.36	42.28	41.83
Tetra Tech	TTEK	4,483.1	76.77	-2.43	-3.07	79.21	73.00
Amicus Therapeutics	FOLD	4,235.2	12.40	...	unch.	12.40	12.40

Percentage gainers...

SunPower	SPWR	675.7	13.60	1.91	16.34	14.77	11.46
Boot Barn Holdings	BOOT	59.7	35.50	4.21	13.45	36.65	31.29
Five9	FIVN	145.9	56.00	6.63	13.43	60.00	49.37
Skyline Champion	SKY	65.0	30.84	2.34	8.21	31.36	28.50
Allison Transmission	ALSN	352.6	49.65	3.70	8.05	49.65	45.95

...And losers

Pluralsight CIA	PS	1,831.0	21.50	-9.19	-29.94	30.69	19.57
Whiting Petroleum	WLL	263.5	14.74	-2.94	-16.63	17.70	14.65
Fitbit	FIT	2,467.8	3.62	-0.58	-13.81	4.27	3.27
Concho Resources	CXO	82.8	88.25	-9.43	-9.65	99.50	87.75
Equity Residential	EQR	90.0	74.95	-3.94	-4.99	78.89	74.95

International Stock Indexes

Region/Country	Index	Close	Net chg	Latest % chg	YTD % chg
World					
	The Global Dow	3067.09	-20.27	-0.66	12.2
	DJ Global Index	402.70	-2.80	-0.69	14.8
	DJ Global ex U.S.	244.88	-0.60	-0.25	10.0
Americas					
	DJ Americas	706.69	-7.11	-1.00	19.0
Brazil	Sao Paulo Bovespa	101812.13	-1120.63	-1.09	15.8
Canada	S&P/TSX Comp	16406.56	-59.49	-0.36	14.5
Mexico	S&P/BMV IPC	40863.09	-296.18	-0.72	-1.9
Chile	Santiago IPSA	3567.95	-20.62	-0.57	-5.2
EMEA					
	Stoxx Europe 600	385.77	0.66	0.17	14.3
Eurozone	Euro Stoxx	375.93	0.63	0.17	14.4
Belgium	Bel-20	3701.43	28.34	0.77	14.1
Denmark	OMX Copenhagen 20	999.45	4.00	0.40	12.1
France	CAC 40	5518.90	7.83	0.14	16.7
Germany	DAX	12189.04	41.80	0.34	15.4
Israel	Tel Aviv	1624.42	13.88	0.86	11.0
Italy	FTSE MIB	21398.19	119.95	0.56	16.8
Netherlands	AEX	572.09	-2.25	-0.39	17.3
Russia	RTS Index	1360.04	7.15	0.53	27.6
South Africa	FTSE/JSE All-Share	56784.61	-456.93	-0.80	7.7
Spain	IBEX 35	8971.00	-15.60	-0.17	5.0
Sweden	OMX Stockholm	615.13	0.41	0.07	17.1
Switzerland	Swiss Market	9919.27	28.37	0.29	17.7
Turkey	BIST 100	102082.48	-603.62	-0.59	11.8
U.K.	FTSE 100	7586.78	-59.99	-0.78	12.8
U.K.	FTSE 250	19666.52	-108.30	-0.55	12.4
Asia-Pacific					
Australia	S&P/ASX 200	6812.60	-32.48	-0.47	20.7
China	Shanghai Composite	2932.51	-19.83	-0.67	17.6
Hong Kong	Hang Seng	27777.75	-368.75	-1.31	7.5
India	S&P BSE Sensex	37481.12	83.89	0.22	3.9
Japan	Nikkei Stock Avg	21521.53	-187.78	-0.86	7.5
Singapore	Straits Times	3300.75	-49.79	-1.49	7.6
South Korea	Kospi	2024.55	-14.13	-0.69	-0.8
Taiwan	TAIEX	10823.81	-7.09	-0.07	11.3
Thailand	SET	1711.97	5.48	0.32	9.5

Sources: FactSet; Dow Jones Market Data

Percentage Gainers...

Company	Symbol	Close	Net chg	% chg	High	Low	% chg
Quad/Graphics	QUAD	11.31	2.69	31.21	24.93	7.22	-54.4
Enphase Energy	ENPH	28.15	6.50	30.02	28.93	3.70	403.6
ACCO Brands	ACCO	9.78	1.64	20.15	13.35	6.07	-23.0
North Amer Construction	NOA	12.50	1.95	18.48	13.62	6.68	76.1
Lattice Semiconductor	LSCC	19.34	2.93	17.85	20.25	5.38	153.8

Most Active Stocks

Company	Symbol	Volume (000)	% chg from 65-day avg	Latest Session Close	% chg	52-Week High	Low
General Electric	GE	172,378	235.6	10.45	-0.67	13.25	6.40
SELLAS Life Sciences	SLS	141,712	578.0	0.17	-15.63	2.46	0.10
VanEck Vectors Gold Miner	GDX	125,254	169.7	26.50	-4.78	28.41	17.28
Advanced Micro Devices	AMD	118,805	75.2	30.45	-10.10	34.86	16.03
SPDR S&P 500	SPY	103,839	55.0	297.43	-1.09	302.23	233.76

* Volumes of 100,000 shares or more are rounded to the nearest thousand

Percentage Losers

Company	Symbol	Close	Net chg	% chg	High	Low	% chg
ZU	TWOU	12.80	-23.70	-64.93	90.31	11.37	-83.3
Castlight Health CIB	CSLT	1.61	-1.40	-46.51	4.15	1.50	-50.5
MGP Ingredients	MGPI	49.99	-17.15	-25.54	100.00	46.26	-38.0
Tenable COMM	ORBC	5.86	-1.93	-24.78	11.25	5.65	-38.2
Belden	BDC	45.46	-10.82	-19.23	76.39	37.79	-37.9

Volume Movers

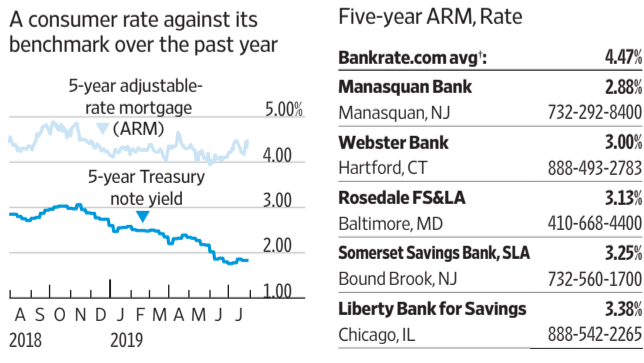
Company	Symbol	Volume (000)	% chg from 65-day avg	Latest Session Close	% chg	52-Week High	Low
ZU	TWOU	54,390	5481	12.80	-64.93	90.31	11.37
Tetra Tech	TTEK	12,255	3456	79.20	-0.35	86.56	48.52
Origin Bancorp	OBNK	1,584	2707	34.81	-0.40	41.86	27.41
DFB Hlthcr Acquisitions	DFBH	2,080	2579	10.21	-0.20	10.87	9.70
WisdomTree Japan SC	DFJ	1,606	2412	66.07	-0.24	78.50	60.85

* Common stocks priced at \$2 a share or more with an average volume over 65 trading days of at least 5,000 shares *Has traded fewer than 65 days

CREDIT MARKETS

Consumer Rates and Returns to Investor

U.S. consumer rates



Interest rate	Yield/Rate (%)	Last (●) Week ago
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COMMODITIES

Futures Contracts

Table of Metal & Petroleum Futures including Copper, Gold, Silver, Platinum, and various oil products with columns for Open, High, Low, Settle, Chg, and Open interest.

Table of Interest Rate Futures including Ultra Treasury Bonds, Treasury Bonds, Treasury Notes, and 5 Year Treasury Notes.

Table of Currency Futures including Japanese Yen, Canadian Dollar, British Pound, Swiss Franc, Australian Dollar, Euro, and Mexican Peso.

Table of Agriculture Futures including Corn, Oats, Soybeans, Soybean Meal, Soybean Oil, and Hogs-Lean.

Table of Index Futures including Mini DJ Industrial Average, S&P 500 Index, Mini S&P 500, Mini S&P 500, and Mini S&P Midcap 400.

Table of Cattle-Feeder, Lumber, Milk, Cocoa, and Coffee futures.

Table of Euro, Japanese Yen, Canadian Dollar, British Pound, Swiss Franc, Australian Dollar, Euro, and Mexican Peso.

Macro & Market Economics

Watching the Gauges: U.S. Supply and Demand

Inventories, imports and demand for the week ended July 26. Current figures are in thousands of barrels or thousands of gallons per day, except natural-gas figures, which are in billions of cubic feet.

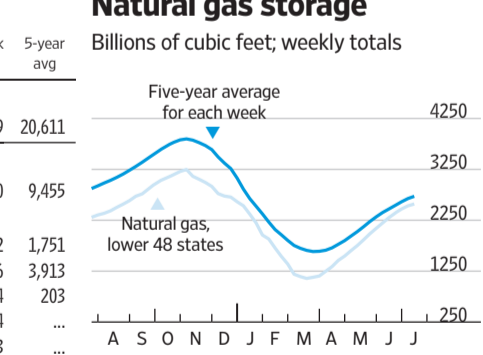
Table of Inventories, 000s barrels, showing current, expected change, previous week, year ago, 4-week avg, and 5-year avg for various petroleum products.

Table of Imports, 000s barrels per day, showing current, expected change, previous week, year ago, 4-week avg, and 5-year avg for various petroleum products.

Weekly Demand, 000s barrels per day

Table of Weekly Demand, 000s barrels per day, showing current, expected change, previous week, year ago, 4-week avg, and 5-year avg for various petroleum products.

Natural gas storage



Note: Expected changes are provided by Dow Jones Newswires' survey of analysts. Previous and average inventory data are in millions. Sources: FactSet; Dow Jones Market Data; U.S. Energy Information Administration; Dow Jones Newswires

Exchange-Traded Portfolios | WSJ.com/ETFResearch

Table of Exchange-Traded Portfolios showing the largest 100 exchange-traded funds, latest session, with columns for Symbol, Price, Chg, YTD, and ETF details.

Cash Prices

These prices reflect buying and selling of a variety of actual or "physical" commodities in the marketplace—separate from the futures price on an exchange, which reflects what the commodity might be worth in future months.

Table of Cash Prices for Energy, Metals, Fibers and Textiles, Grains and Feeds, and Fats and Oils, including various commodities like Palladium, Aluminum, Iron Ore, and Wheat.

KEY TO CODES: A=ask; B=bid; BP=country elevator bids to producers; C=corrected; E=Manfra,Tordella & Brooks; G=ICE; H=American Commodities Brokerage Co; M=monthly; N=nominal; n.a.=not quoted or not available; R=SNL Energy; S=Platts-TSI; T=Cotlook Limited; U=USDA; W=weekly, Z=not quoted. *Data as of 7/30 Source: WSJ Market Data Group

Bonds | WSJ.com/bonds

Tracking Bond Benchmarks

Return on investment and spreads over Treasuries and/or yields paid to investors compared with 52-week highs and lows for different types of bonds

Table of Bond Benchmarks showing Total return, YTD total return, and Index for various bond categories like Broad Market, U.S. Corporate, Mortgage-Backed, and High Yield Bonds.

*Constrained indexes limit individual issuer concentrations to 2%; the High Yield 100 are the 100 largest bonds. *In local currency \$ Euro-zone bonds. *EMBI Global Index. Sources: ICE Data Services; Bloomberg Barclays; J.P. Morgan

Global Government Bonds: Mapping Yields

Yields and spreads over or under U.S. Treasuries on benchmark two-year and 10-year government bonds in selected other countries; arrows indicate whether the yield rose (▲) or fell (▼) in the latest session

Table of Global Government Bonds showing Coupon, Maturity, Country, Yield, and Spread for various countries like U.S., Australia, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, Spain, and U.K.

Source: Tullett Prebon

Corporate Debt

Price moves by a company's debt in the credit markets sometimes mirror and sometimes anticipate, moves in that same company's share price.

Investment-grade spreads that tightened the most...

Table of Corporate Debt showing Issuer, Symbol, Coupon, Maturity, Current, Spread, Last week, and Stock Performance for various companies like EQT, NISource, and International Paper.

...And spreads that widened the most

Table of Corporate Debt showing Issuer, Symbol, Coupon, Maturity, Current, Spread, Last week, and Stock Performance for various companies like FirstEnergy Solutions, DCP Midstream Operating, and Bank of New York Mellon.

...And with the biggest price decreases

Table of Corporate Debt showing Issuer, Symbol, Coupon, Maturity, Current, Spread, Last week, and Stock Performance for various companies like Whiting Petroleum, Tish DHB Holdings, and Uber Technologies.

*Estimated spread over 2-year, 3-year, 5-year, 10-year or 30-year hot-run Treasury; 100 basis points=one percentage pt.; change in spread shown is for Z-spread. Note: Data are for the most active issue of bonds with maturities of two years or more

Sources: MarketAxess Corporate Bond Ticker; Dow Jones Market Data

BIGGEST 1,000 STOCKS

How to Read the Stock Tables
The following explanations apply to NYSE, NYSE Arca, NYSE American and Nasdaq Stock Market listed securities. Prices are composite quotations that include primary market trades as well as trades reported by Nasdaq BX (formerly Boston), Chicago Stock Exchange, Cboe, NYSE National and Nasdaq ISE.

The list comprises the 1,000 largest companies based on market capitalization.

Underlined quotations are those stocks with latest changes in volume compared with the issue's average trading volume.

Boldfaced quotations highlight those issues whose price changed by 5% or more if their previous closing price was \$2 or higher.

Footnotes:
*New 52-week high.
*New 52-week low.
dd-Indicates loss in the most recent four quarters.
FD-First day of trading.
h-Does not meet continued listing standards.
lf-Late filing.
q-Temporary exemption from Nasdaq requirements.

†NYSE bankruptcy.
v-Trading halted on primary market.

vj-In bankruptcy or receivership or being reorganized under the Bankruptcy Code, or securities assumed by such companies.

Wall Street Journal stock tables reflect composite regular trading as of 4 p.m. and changes in the closing prices as of 4 p.m. the previous day.

Table with columns: Stock, Sym, Close, Chg, Net Chg. Includes sub-tables for Wednesday, July 31, 2019, with sub-headers A, B, C.

Table with columns: Stock, Sym, Close, Chg, Net Chg. Includes sub-tables for Wednesday, July 31, 2019, with sub-headers D, E, F.

Table with columns: Stock, Sym, Close, Chg, Net Chg. Includes sub-tables for Wednesday, July 31, 2019, with sub-headers G, H, I.

Table with columns: Stock, Sym, Close, Chg, Net Chg. Includes sub-tables for Wednesday, July 31, 2019, with sub-headers J, K, L.

Table with columns: Stock, Sym, Close, Chg, Net Chg. Includes sub-tables for Wednesday, July 31, 2019, with sub-headers M, N, O.

Table with columns: Stock, Sym, Close, Chg, Net Chg. Includes sub-tables for Wednesday, July 31, 2019, with sub-headers P, Q, R.

Table with columns: Stock, Sym, Close, Chg, Net Chg. Includes sub-tables for Wednesday, July 31, 2019, with sub-headers S, T, U.

Table with columns: Stock, Sym, Close, Chg, Net Chg. Includes sub-tables for Wednesday, July 31, 2019, with sub-headers V, W, X, Y, Z.

Table with columns: Stock, Sym, Close, Chg, Net Chg. Includes sub-tables for Wednesday, July 31, 2019, with sub-headers A, B, C.

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Mutual Funds

Top 250 mutual-funds listings for Nasdaq-published share classes by net assets.

e-Ex-distribution. F-Previous day's quotation. f-Footnotes x and s apply. f-Footnotes e and s apply. k-Recalculated by Lipper, using updated data. p-Distribution with costs apply. 12b-1. r-Redemption charge may apply. s-Stock split or dividend. f-Footnotes p and r apply. v-Footnotes x and e apply. X-Ex-dividend. z-Footnote x, e and s apply. NA-Not available due to incomplete price, performance or cost data. NE-Not released by Lipper; data under review. NN-Fund not tracked. NS-Fund didn't exist at start of period.

Table with columns: Fund, NAV, Chg % Ret, Net YTD % Ret. Includes sub-tables for Wednesday, July 31, 2019, with sub-headers A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I, J, K, L, M, N, O, P, Q, R, S, T, U, V, W, X, Y, Z.

Dividend Changes

Dividend announcements from July 31.

Table with columns: Company, Symbol, Yld %, Amount New/Old, Frq, Payable/Record. Includes sub-tables for Increased, Initial, Stocks, Foreign, Special, Spin-off.

IPO Scorecard

Performance of IPOs, most-recent listed first

Table with columns: Company, SYMBOL, IPO date/offer price, Wed's close, % Chg From IPO date, Offer price, Company SYMBOL, IPO date/offer price, Wed's close, % Chg From IPO date, Offer price.

Sources: Dow Jones Market Data; FactSet

NOTICE TO READERS

Effective Thursday, August 1, 2019, the WSJ U.S. Prime rate will be 5.25%, the Federal Funds Discount Rate will be 2.75% and the Federal Funds Target rate will be 2.00-2.25%.

Borrowing Benchmarks | WSJ.com/bonds

Key annual interest rates target to borrow or lend money in U.S. and international markets. Rates below are a guide to general levels but don't always represent actual transactions.

Table with columns: Inflation, U.S. consumer price index, Other short-term rates, Call money, Prime rates, Commercial paper (AA financial), Labor, Policy Rates, Overnight repurchase, U.S. government rates, Discount, Federal funds, Treasury bill auction, Secondary market, Fannie Mae.

DTCC GCF Repo Index

Table with columns: Treasury, MBS, Value, 52-Week Traded, High, Low.

Notes on data:

U.S. prime rate is the base rate on corporate loans posted by at least 70% of the 10 largest U.S. banks, and is effective December 20, 2018.

Other prime rates are effectively comparable, lending practices vary widely by location.

Discount rate is effective December 20, 2018.

DTCC GCF Repo Index is Depository Trust & Clearing Corp.'s weighted average for overnight trades in U.S. dollars. CUSIPs. Value traded is in billions of U.S. dollars. Federal-funds rates are Tullett Prebon rates as of 5:30 p.m. ET.

Sources: Federal Reserve; Bureau of Labor Statistics; DTCC; FactSet; Tullett Prebon Information, Ltd.

BANKING & FINANCE

Credit Suisse Restructuring Fuels Profit

BY PIETRO LOMBARDI
AND JULIE STEINBERG

Credit Suisse Group AG's profit growth accelerated in the second quarter, bolstered by its global markets businesses and domestic operations despite a challenging environment for Europe's lenders.

The Swiss bank's performance is a further endorsement of the sweeping restructuring efforts that it started in 2015 to streamline its investment-banking operations and

sharpen its focus on wealth management.

Shares in Credit Suisse settled 2.4% higher Wednesday.

The bank said Wednesday that its second-quarter net profit rose 45% to 937 million Swiss francs (\$946.3 million) from 647 million francs a year earlier, after a smaller rise in the prior quarter. Revenue was flat at 5.58 billion francs.

Analysts had expected the bank to post a second-quarter net profit of 806 million francs on revenue of 5.32 billion francs, according to a con-

sensus forecast provided by the bank.

"If you had asked me a year and a half ago, I would have been negative on Credit Suisse and said [Chief Executive Tidjane Thiam] was a dead man walking," said Octavio Marenzi, CEO of Opimas, a consulting firm to banks. "He has pulled a rabbit out of the hat. He has been able to manage costs in a very disciplined way without sacrificing revenues too much."

Earnings at its domestic bank were up 18% at 654 mil-

lion francs. Revenue from bond and currency trading world-wide was up 6% in dollar terms, though fees from advising on deals and from bond underwriting were down.

Credit Suisse posted three consecutive annual losses from 2015 through 2017—due to restructuring costs, legal settlements and U.S. corporate tax changes—but earned a profit of 2.06 billion Swiss francs last year.

The bank said the latter part of the second quarter led to a "more supportive revenue

environment" amid expectations of a U.S.-China trade agreement and dovish central bank statements.

Earnings at the bank's Asia-Pacific division, where it has been investing resources over the past few years, rose 9%.

Credit Suisse's key international wealth-management division, whose head, Iqbal Khan, quit at the start of July, undershot expectations with a 3% increase in pretax income. The bank attracted 9.5 billion francs of net new assets in wealth management in the

quarter.

"We view these as strong results," analysts at Citigroup wrote. "Global markets have been the main cause of consensus earnings downgrades over the past 18 months, but has now shown signs of recovery for a second consecutive quarter."

Credit Suisse said it has "experienced healthy levels of client engagement" so far in the third quarter, but said whether that would translate into activity is dependent on market conditions.

Many Chinese Consumer Stocks Hit Records

BY JOANNE CHIU

Chinese alcohol, sportswear, travel and home-appliance stocks are reaching records, reflecting rising confidence about the outlook for consumer spending in the world's second-biggest economy.

The pattern is echoed in both U.S. and European markets where, despite worries of slowing growth, consumer stocks are among the best performers. The S&P 500's consumer-discretionary index is up 22% this year, compared with a 19% rise for the S&P 500. The MSCI Europe Consumer Discretionary Index has risen 7% while the MSCI Europe Sector is up 11%.

Still, the rally in China is striking given broader concerns about the country's slowing growth, trade tensions and a rapid run-up in corporate debt.

Arthur Kwong, head of Asia-Pacific equities at BNP Paribas Asset Management, said many companies had grown in experience, established strong brands and begun generating strong cash flows after earlier phases of heavy investment. "I'm a big fan of China's consumer sector," Mr. Kwong said, pointing to drinks, sportswear, travel and instant-noodle companies.

The market gains span companies providing goods considered staples, such as food and drink, and those specializing in discretionary items such as refrigerators or vacations, and are partly a reversal of a steep selloff last year.

Shares of Shanghai-listed **Kweichow Moutai** Co., a distiller of the potent Chinese spirit baijiu, have risen about 65% this year. Stocks of several of the company's smaller rivals, such as **Wuliangye Yibin** Co., have more than doubled. **China International Travel Service** Corp., the nation's biggest travel agent, has risen 50%.

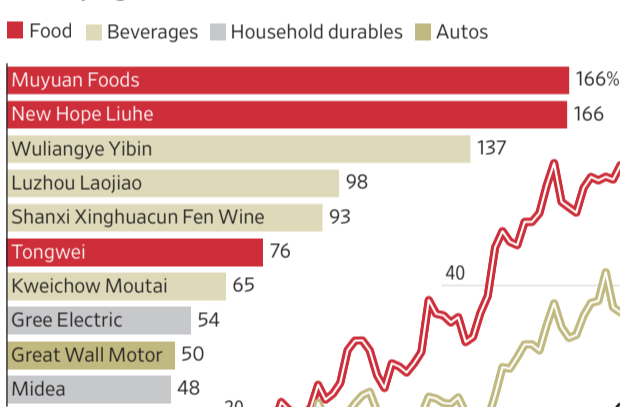
These and other mainland stocks, such as **Foshan Haitian Flavouring & Food** Co., air-conditioner maker **Gree Electric Appliances** Inc. and cookware specialist **Zhejiang Supor** Co., all have hit records in 2019. In New York, e-commerce behemoth **Alibaba Group Holding** has risen 26%. Like U.S. rival **Amazon.com**, it is considered a consumer-discretionary stock by major index providers.

Louis Lau, director of investments at Brandes Investment Partners, said many makers of

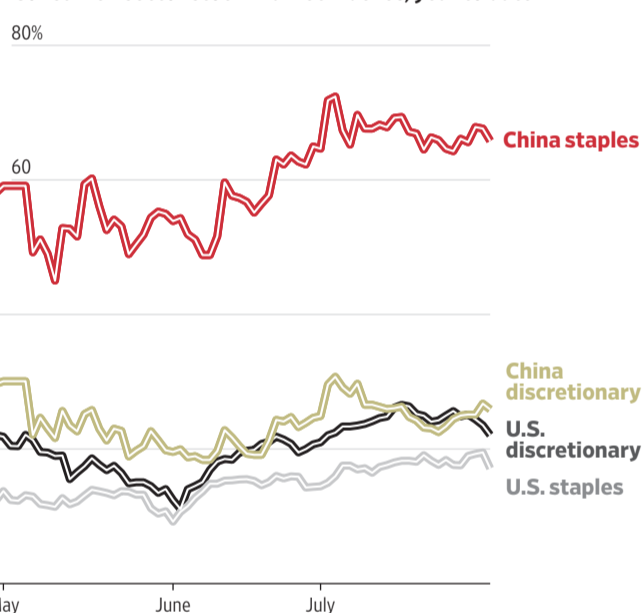


This year's rally in consumer shares spans Chinese makers of staples and discretionary items. Bottles of the spirit baijiu are packed.

Big gainers among providers of consumer discretionary and staple goods in China's CSI 300 index



Consumer-sector stock-market indexes, year to date



Note: Performance of Chinese sectors is for the CSI 300 and U.S. is for the S&P 500. Source: FactSet

baijiu had shown solid growth in sales and profit, with healthy consumer demand helping them to push through price increases.

The gains also contrast with signs of weakness in other parts of the consumer economy. These include falling car sales, declining imports, a slackening housing market and even some public anxiety about the afford-

ability of small luxuries.

Cars and houses are big-ticket items, making them more sensitive to even small shifts in consumer confidence and more dependent on the cost and availability of credit. That has made these markets more exposed to Beijing's efforts in recent years to rein in the country's big shadow-banking

sector. Auto sales have slumped for 12 straight months, partly dented by market saturation in major urban centers and a credit crunch in smaller cities.

Some money managers say consumer stocks also have benefited as investors switched money out of other sectors, like technology hardware, that are more exposed to U.S. import

tariffs and other trade frictions.

Sungho Im, chief executive at asset-management firm IM Capital Partners Ltd., said consumer-goods companies were likely to deliver more sustainable growth than firms in industries facing bigger trade or regulatory headaches, and so foreign investors favored Chinese spirits, food and travel companies.

Carlyle Adopts Corporate Form

BY MIRIAM GOTTFRIED

Carlyle Group LP said Wednesday it would abandon its partnership structure and become a corporation with a single class of shares, going a step further than private-equity peers that have already converted.

Each of the new Carlyle shares will have one vote, giving greater say to the roughly 30% of shareholders who aren't insiders at the firm. The changes are expected to pave the way for Carlyle's inclusion in indexes such as FTSE Russell's, which have minimum requirements for public-shareholder voting rights, and the S&P 500, which doesn't allow companies with more than one class of shares.

The conversion is slated to be complete on Jan. 1, 2020. Carlyle is the latest in a wave of private-equity firms to convert to a C corporation, prompted by the passage of a new U.S. tax law in late 2017. The law lowered the highest corporate rate to 21% from 35%, making a switch more palatable.

Firms including **Ares Management** Corp., **KKR & Co.**, **Blackstone Group** Inc. and



Co-Chief Executive Kewsong Lee promised liquidity improvements.

Apollo Global Management LLC have made the change over the past year or so, with the aim of making their stocks more attractive to mutual funds and other institutional investors that typically don't invest in publicly traded partnerships.

They have had some success in expanding their shareholder base, but their dual-class share structure and voting control have held them back from more widespread

adoption. Inclusion in broad market indexes would allow Carlyle to benefit from ownership by more passive investors and index-tracking funds, which make up vast segments of the market.

"This is a very simple, transparent and aligned structure that benefits Carlyle," said co-Chief Executive Kewsong Lee in an interview. "You're going to see real improvements in liquidity."

Apollo Chief Addresses Epstein Association

BY MIRIAM GOTTFRIED
AND ALLISON PRANG

Leon Black, chief executive of **Apollo Global Management** LLC, said that he doesn't think his previous association with jailed financier Jeffrey Epstein is affecting the firm's relationship with investors.

Mr. Epstein, who pleaded not guilty in July to sex-trafficking counts stemming from what federal prosecutors alleged was a years-long scheme to procure and sexually abuse dozens of girls, provided tax and estate-planning advice to Mr. Black and his family office and foundation over the years.

Mr. Black also made donations to foundations associated with Mr. Epstein and hosted him at Apollo's office as he pitched tax strategies for wealthy individuals, *The Wall Street Journal* reported.

On Apollo's earnings call Wednesday, Mr. Black answered questions from an analyst about his relationship with Mr. Epstein. He also read from an email he sent to Apollo employees last Friday which stated that Apollo, as a

firm, had never done business with Mr. Epstein.

In the email, he said that he and related family entities had received professional services from Mr. Epstein that included tax, estate-planning and philanthropic advice.

"I was completely unaware of, and am deeply troubled by, the conduct that is now the subject of the federal criminal charges brought against him," Mr. Black read from the email.

For the second quarter, Apollo posted a profit of \$164.8 million, up from \$63.6 million a year earlier. Apollo shares declined 5.9%.

Distributable earnings, the portion of earnings that can be returned to shareholders, were 56 cents a share, up from 52 cents a year earlier. Analysts polled by FactSet were expecting 57 cents.

Apollo's private-equity funds appreciated by 2.5% during the quarter.

Apollo's assets under management stood at \$311.9 billion, up 16% year over year.

Fight Over Security Firm Stake Rages On

A battle is brewing between a U.S. national-security panel and a Russian-oligarch-backed private-equity firm that failed to meet their agreement.

The U.S. government told private-equity firm **Pamplona Capital Management** last year to sell all of its stake in Leesburg, Va., cybersecurity firm **Cofense** Inc. U.S. officials raised national-security concerns about the level of foreign money behind Pamplona and the nature of Cofense's business.

Pamplona committed to find-

ing a buyer to take over its minority investment by July 19, but it failed to do so. Now both the firm and Cofense are in "material breach" of that agreement, according to an email that the Committee on Foreign Investment in the U.S. sent to Pamplona and Cofense last week. The panel, known as Cfius, told Pamplona and Cofense they could face fines each day that they fail to find a buyer for the stake, among other potential penalties, according to the email, which was read to *The Wall Street Journal*.

People familiar with the matter say Pamplona has dragged out parts of the deal process. It is a rare snub to the Treasury Department-led interagency panel that vets foreign investment in U.S. businesses for national-security concerns, lawyers and investors say. Few challenge the panel, which can seek a presidential order to enforce its decisions. A Treasury Department spokesman declined to comment.

Cofense simulates and detects attacks transmitted via email to help companies deal with security threats. It counts major U.S. corporations among its customers.

A Pamplona spokesman said dealing with the investment has been "a multiparty process."

"We have worked expeditiously with all parties including Cfius and the company," he said. "This process remains ongoing and we are working diligently towards a solution."

Pacific Investment Management Co. explored buying Pamplona's stake, but weeks before the deadline decided not to proceed with deal talks, according to people familiar with the matter. An initial bid for the Pamplona stake by **BlackRock** Inc., already a minority stakeholder in Cofense, was rejected as too low, other people said.

Another possible buyer group expressed interest in July, said other people familiar with the matter. An initial deal document included a clause preventing all parties from suing one another. When Pamplona pulled the clause, the buyer walked away from that deal, the people said.

Pamplona reached out to BlackRock to restart talks in recent days, one of the people said. But talks between the two firms faltered in the past day and a half, said people familiar with the matter. The asset manager could change its mind and reengage with Pamplona at any point.

Several fund investors of Pamplona have been wealthy Russians.

One is Mikhail Fridman, according to people familiar with the matter. Through a spokesman, Mr. Fridman, a founder of Russian conglomerate Alfa Group, said his understanding was that Cfius was concerned about the general level of foreign ownership in Pamplona, and not specifically him.

By Will Louch, Dawn Lim and Kate O'Keeffe

MARKETS

Gas Rises Ahead of Inventory Report

BY IRA IOSEBASHVILI AND DAN MOLINSKI

Natural-gas prices shot higher as some investors locked in profits on bearish bets a day ahead of weekly inventory data.

Natural gas for September delivery closed up 4.5% at \$2.2330 per million British thermal units.

COMMODITIES

Prices hit their lowest level in more than three years earlier this week.

Prices have plummeted this summer, as bountiful supplies outweighed demand from electricity providers for the gas needed to power air conditioners after a heat wave hit the eastern U.S. this month.

Global natural-gas consumption grew by an estimated 4.6% in 2018, according to the International Energy Agency.

Yet supplies have been plentiful, with producers in West Texas getting natural gas as a byproduct of their oil drilling.

Hedge funds and other speculative investors have pushed net bearish bets on natural-gas prices to their highest level since November 2015, Commodity Futures Trading Commission data showed, with bearish wagers by speculators outnumbering bullish ones by 184,231 contracts in the week ended July 23.

The Energy Information Administration will release its weekly natural-gas storage report on Thursday.

Analysts surveyed by WSJ on average expect a 58 billion-cubic-foot increase to inventories in the week ended July 26, which would be larger than normal due to last week's cool air that curbed demand.

Meanwhile, U.S. oil prices rose 0.9% to \$58.58 a barrel after EIA data on Wednesday showed U.S. inventories of crude oil fell sharply last week, while stockpiles of gasoline and other fuels also declined.

Crude-oil stockpiles declined 8.5 million barrels to 436.5 million barrels and are precisely at the five-year average for this time of year, the EIA said.

Analysts surveyed by The Wall Street Journal had predicted crude stockpiles would fall 2.1 million barrels from the prior week.

Prices for Brent, the global benchmark, rose 0.7% to \$65.17 a barrel.

In precious metals, gold fell 0.3% to \$1,426.10 a troy ounce as investors awaited the conclusion of the Federal Reserve's monetary policy meeting Wednesday afternoon.

Blue Chips Fall Over 300 Points

BY GUNJAN BANERJI AND LAUREN ALMEIDA

Major U.S. stock indexes slid after the Federal Reserve signaled caution on future interest-rate cuts shortly after the central bank lowered rates for the first time in a decade.

Some investors are betting on more than one rate cut this year, and while the Fed's policy statement left the door open for the Fed to reduce rates again, Federal Reserve Chairman Jerome Powell suggested Wednesday that this cut wasn't the beginning of a long easing cycle. He also reiterated that the central bank would continue monitoring incoming economic data.

"They always say the market's a greedy beast and no matter what it gets, it wants more," said JJ Kinahan, chief market strategist at TD Ameritrade.

The S&P 500 ended the day down 32.80 points, or 1.1%, to 2980.38. The Nasdaq Composite dropped 98.19 points, or 1.2%, to 8175.42. The Dow Jones Industrial Average closed down 333.75 points, or 1.2%, to 26864.27 after falling more than 400 points in afternoon trading.

The S&P 500's drop snapped a 36-session streak in

which it didn't move up or down more than 1%.

Stocks had been little changed ahead of the Fed decision and swung as Mr. Powell spoke during his press conference, with investors parsing his words and recalibrating their outlooks on potential rate cuts ahead.

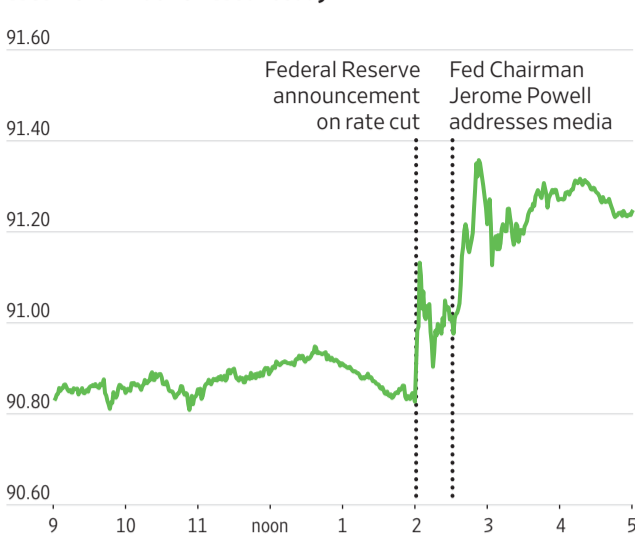
Mr. Kinahan said it was notable that the statement showed that two Fed officials voted against lowering the short-term benchmark rate.

Major stock indexes have rallied this year, fueled by the prospect of the first rate cut, with some investors betting on a half-percentage-point cut ahead of the meeting. On Wednesday, the Fed delivered a quarter-point cut, which was widely expected.

The meeting's end marks a pivotal moment for stocks, bonds and currencies, with the Fed moving to trim rates even as they remain low. This cut marks just the fifth time in the past 25 years that the Fed moved to trimming rates from increasing them.

Treasuries and the dollar notched gains. The WSJ Dollar Index rose 0.4% to 91.25, its highest closing level since May. The yield on the 10-year Treasury note fell to 2.034% from 2.063% Tuesday.

WSJ Dollar Index on Wednesday



Source: Dow Jones Market Data

The policy statement showed that the global economy cast a shadow over the central bank's outlook. Mr. Powell also cited trade tensions as a significant effect on the economy. These dynamics led some investors to say they still expect more rate cuts.

"We're entering a period of slower economic growth," said Ben Kirby, a portfolio manager overseeing stocks at Thornburg Investment Management. "I'm still in the camp that we get one more [rate cut] this

year."

Investors sold stocks after the policy statement was released, and losses deepened after Mr. Powell said the central bank's cut was a "mid-cycle adjustment to policy" and that the Fed isn't beginning a long series of rate cuts.

Still, the idea that a rate cut was needed confounded some investors, who pointed to major U.S. stock indexes near records and unemployment near a half-century low.

Many companies that re-

ported earnings beat analysts' expectations, helping propel stocks to highs last week.

"Why exactly are we cutting rates?" said Eddie Perkin, chief equity investment officer at Eaton Vance Management. "It doesn't really make sense to me."

Mr. Perkin said unresolved trade tensions appear to be a bigger headwind for financial markets than the level of interest rates at the moment.

Earnings continued to drive individual stock moves.

Apple stock jumped \$4.26, or 2%, to \$213.04 after the company reported strong revenue growth on Tuesday. Advanced Micro Devices Inc. fell \$3.42, or 10%, to \$30.45 after it projected weaker-than-expected revenue growth for its current quarter.

Elsewhere, the Stoxx Europe 600 climbed 0.2%. European bank stocks rose amid strong earnings reports.

Credit Suisse climbed 2.4% and BNP Paribas gained 1.6%. Deutsche Bank's stock rose 2.1%.

At midday in Tokyo Thursday, the Nikkei was up less than 0.1%. Also early in the trading day, Hong Kong's Hang Seng Index was down 0.6% and the Shanghai Composite was down 0.7%.

Some Investors Still See a Path to Higher Yields

BY SAM GOLDFARB

The Federal Reserve has cut interest rates for the first time in more than a decade. Inflation remains stubbornly low. And government bond yields are negative in Europe.

CREDIT MARKETS

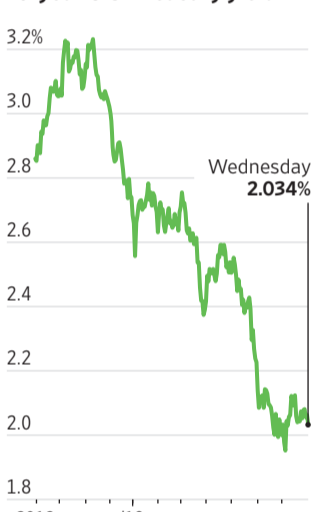
The conditions are firmly in place for U.S. Treasury yields to stay low, pushing down interest rates for a range of borrowers. Yet a path remains for borrowing costs to move higher, according to investors and analysts. They say that path exists precisely because the Fed is now open to rate cuts.

In the short term, lower interest rates should drag down yields on shorter-term Treasuries, which are particularly sensitive to changes in monetary policy. But over the medium to long term, easy-money policies from the Fed could potentially drive up inflation, a main threat to the value of longer-term bonds.

Policy makers led by Fed Chairman Jerome Powell reduced their benchmark interest rate by a quarter of a percentage point on Wednesday. Their goal in part is to stoke inflation, which has surprised officials by remaining tepid despite a decadelong economic expansion and an extremely tight labor market.

Already, there are signs investors think there is at least a chance that a rate cut could spur long-awaited consumer price increases. The yield on

10-year U.S. Treasury yield



Source: Ryan ALM

the 10-year Treasury note, which rises when the price of the bond falls, has recently climbed above 2.0% from 1.95% earlier in July.

A key driver of that move has been an uptick in inflation expectations, with the 10-year break-even rate, derived from the extra yield investors demand to hold standard 10-year Treasuries over 10-year Treasury inflation-protected securities, rising to near 1.8% from 1.6% in June.

"As you see TIPS breakevens start to accelerate, that could, for sure, put some pressure on the back end of the Treasury curve," says Michael Lorizio, a senior trader at Manulife Asset Management.

New data on Tuesday

Prices of Long-Term Treasuries Advance

Yields on longer-term U.S. government bonds fell Wednesday after Federal Reserve officials lowered interest rates but signaled they were in no rush to cut them further.

Swinging sharply after the Fed's decision, the yield on the benchmark U.S. Treasury note settled at 2.034%, compared with 2.063% Tuesday. Yields fall when bond prices rise.

At the same time, the yield on the two-year Treasury note, which is highly sensitive to

changes in the outlook for monetary policy, climbed to 1.896% from 1.850%. The dollar also rose, with the WSJ Dollar Index up 0.4%.

Taken together, the moves suggested investors now anticipate a higher path for interest rates than they did before Wednesday but also possibly slower economic growth as a result of that change.

While short-term yields are highly sensitive to the outlook for monetary policy, longer-term yields are more influenced by growth and inflation expectations.

Investors also often buy longer-term Treasuries when

stock prices fall, as they did after the Fed decision.

Volatility in bond yields reflected shifting interpretations of the Fed's move as Fed Chairman Jerome Powell neither promised nor ruled out further rate cuts at a press conference.

"You can tell the Fed is trying to figure out its next move, and the market wants more certainty," said Priya Misra, head of global rates strategy at TD Securities in New York.

Treasury yields had already declined early in the session after a report said the Chicago Purchasing Managers Index fell deeper into contraction territory in July. —Sam Goldfarb

Valuation of \$1 Trillion Stays Out of Reach For Apple

Apple Inc. hasn't quite been able to rejoin the world's most exclusive club of companies.

The tech company's shares were up 4.3% at about midday Wednesday after a better-than-expected earnings report. That seemed to put it on track to be worth more than \$1 trillion again, based on a count of shares outstanding that the company released in May.

But Apple's rally lost steam amid a marketwide swoon, and its shares closed at \$213.04, up 2%. Then after markets closed, Apple reported that its number of shares outstanding had shrunk by about 82 million over the past quarter.

That put its market capitalization at \$963 billion—well short of \$1 trillion.

To surpass the \$1 trillion mark, Apple would need to close at \$221.28 a share or higher.

Currently, only Microsoft Corp. has a market cap north of \$1 trillion. It has been nearly nine months since Apple last flirted with such a valuation. The iPhone maker first closed above \$1 trillion on Aug. 2, 2018, and stayed above that level through Nov. 1, 2018, according to FactSet. —Alexander Osipovich



Financial Experts Shift Approach to Portfolios

BY LISA BEILFUSS

The Federal Reserve rate cut is prompting investors and financial advisers to reposition portfolios, including buying stocks, to yield more income.

Fed officials lowered their benchmark rate on Wednesday by a quarter percentage point from its previous range between 2.25% and 2.5%. For some investors and money managers, the shift has felt abrupt.

Pat Savu, a retired engineer in Minneapolis, has been a fan of fixed-income investments since weathering the tech-bubble bust in the early 2000s.

Back then, she put 40% of her 401(k) in bonds to help her sleep at night, and she kept a chunk in fixed income through the financial crisis and the recovery that followed.

Lately, she and her husband are moving some of that money around in response to shifting Fed expectations.

"It's made me change what I'm doing," Ms. Savu said of the Fed's flip from raising rates after a decade at rock bottom and now likely heading

back lower.

"Treasuries are really stable but they don't pay," she said.

Meanwhile, Ms. Savu said she is putting the money she had in individual municipal bonds in muni bond funds, where she is still getting 4% or more in annual income.

Many financial advisers expect the Fed to lower rates at least once more this year.

David Romhilt, chief investment officer at Summit Trail Advisors in New York, said his firm is counseling clients to make several changes given the turn in monetary policy.

Many were holding on to more cash or short-term municipal funds, but it now makes less sense to hold shorter-duration securities that tend to be more sensitive to monetary policy, he said.

One way investors can get exposure to medium- and longer-term municipal bonds, he said, is by buying funds such as Vanguard's Intermediate-Term Tax-Exempt Fund and Long-Term Tax-Exempt Fund.

In addition, Mr. Romhilt said his firm is moving clients out of corporate credit and into mortgage funds.

HEARD ON THE STREET

FINANCIAL ANALYSIS & COMMENTARY

What if Fed Was Wrong to Cut Rates?

The central bank had good reasons to lower the benchmark, but that easing move comes with its own risks

The Federal Reserve has cut interest rates and it has given its reasons why. The big question now is whether those reasons will hold up.

The central bank's decision on Wednesday to lower its target range on overnight rates by a quarter-point hardly counts as shock after all the signaling Fed policy makers provided. Considering the Fed was raising rates just over half a year ago, though, its policy shift is something of a head-scratcher—especially with the unemployment rate near 50-year lows and the stock market near records.

But the Fed is worried that weaker global growth and trade tensions are casting a pall over U.S. business spending and that there is a risk it might spread to

other areas of the economy. In its statement, it also pointed to muted inflation pressures as a factor in the decision to lower rates—a nod to worries that the longer inflation remains below the Fed's 2% target, the more ingrained too-low inflation will become in consumer expectations.

Additionally, some influential Fed policy makers have argued that because rates are already low, leaving them with less room to cut in the event of a downturn, pre-emptively cutting to head off risks lest things get out of hand makes sense. Or as Fed Chairman Jerome Powell recently put it, “an ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure.”

The Fed may end up being correct on all three counts. If, for example, economic data weaken over

the next several months, its worries about global spillovers will look prescient and its move to act pre-emptively will seem wise.

But the Fed also could be wrong

A pre-emptive move to head off danger seems like a good idea, but only if danger is really there.

in its assessment, and that carries its own risks.

Take its concerns about how global weakness and trade uncertainty are hitting businesses: An analysis conducted by UBS economists suggests that declines in

business investment and manufacturing activity earlier this year were driven by last year's tariff increases and that those effects are now fading. The Fed, on the other hand, thought that any tariff effects would be small and has misread the slowdown as a confidence shock that could persist, the UBS economists argue.

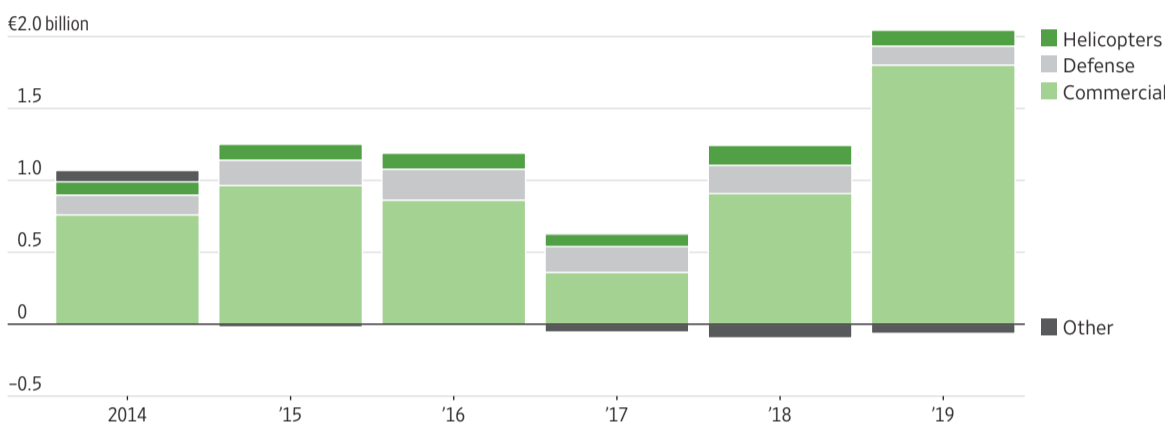
The cooling in inflation that it is worried about also could end up being more noise than signal given how easy it is for figures to bounce around in a low-inflation environment. Its preferred measure of inflation, excluding food and energy costs, advanced at a 2.5% annual rate in the three months through June after increasing at just a 0.5% rate in the first three months of the year.

Finally, while acting pre-emp-

tively to head off danger when rates are low seems like a good idea, that is only if the danger is really there. Simulations run by economists at Goldman Sachs showed that following pre-emptive rules doesn't actually lower the risk of recession. In some cases they lead policy makers to ease aggressively in response to false alarms, leaving them short of ammunition later. Moreover, the economists found that following such rules can lead to increased financial volatility and asset-price excesses—economic risks in their own right.

Stocks fell Wednesday after Mr. Powell signaled caution on whether the Fed would keep easing. Considering the costs more cuts could come with, that caution may be warranted. —Justin Lahart

Airbus, second-quarter operating earnings excluding one-off charges



Note: €1 million=\$1.12 million Source: Airbus

Sky Isn't the Limit for Airbus

Production bottlenecks crimp opportunity to take market share from Boeing

The plane business is booming for European manufacturer Airbus. The only problem is that it can't make more of them.

Airbus said Wednesday that operating earnings rose 72% in the second quarter from a year earlier, excluding one-off charges. The company so far has delivered 86 more commercial jets in 2019 than in the same period of 2018, and the margins on them keep growing because they are produced at a declining unit cost. Meanwhile, U.S. rival Boeing has been forced to slash production rates of the infamous 737 MAX, which remains grounded across the world.

It might seem like the European aerospace giant is in an unbeatable position to gain market share, but there is a catch: Both Airbus and Boeing are fully booked for at least the next six years.

This caps investors' downside in case demand for air travel slows after years of expansion. It also means, however, that plane makers have a hard time pressing their advantage if an opportunity arises.

Airbus is in this situation right now. Amid Boeing's woes, it has an early lead in a new and exciting market: small, nimble jets that are

able to fly longer routes, potentially allowing for cheaper flights in the range of five to 10 hours.

To this end, Airbus has been aggressively marketing new variants of its A321 jet—a stretched version of the best-selling A320. Last year, it even came up with a simple re-configuration of its fuselage to seat more passengers, making the jet more attractive for longer flights.

But ramping up production of these rejiggered models at Airbus's factories in Hamburg, Germany, and Mobile, Ala., has proven complicated, forcing it to produce more of the old-configuration A321 models instead. There will continue to be delays in delivering planes to airlines in the second half of the year, the company admitted Wednesday.

Airbus is looking at whether these factories or some others—like the ones in Toulouse, France, and Tianjin, China—could further increase production of the A320 family from its target rate of 63 units a month by 2021, and tilt output toward the A321. But such a move isn't fully in Airbus's control.

“We are making another assess-

ment this year to see what we can do beyond 2021,” Airbus Chief Executive Guillaume Faury said Wednesday in a call with analysts. “There's a number of small bottlenecks here and there on the suppliers, but the most challenging one last year was the feedback from the engine manufacturers, which clearly expressed that they were not ready to commit for a ramp-up beyond 2021.”

Airbus already has been putting extra pressure on its suppliers to accumulate a month's worth of inventories to ride out a possible no-deal Brexit—if the U.K. leaves the European Union with no formal trade agreement—in October.

The A321 saga seems like a bit of a lost opportunity, both because the jets are costing more to produce than they should and because Boeing has likely delayed the announcement of its own new midmarket model—expected to fly around 2025—after the MAX crisis.

There is little that Airbus's all-important commercial aviation division could be doing better from a sales perspective. Production, not product, is the limit.

—Jon Sindreu

China's Gloom Shows Some Signs of Easing

It is still too soon to say the worst is over, though, even after a decent economic reading for July

It is typhoon season in Hong Kong, but up north on the Chinese mainland, the weather forecast cleared a bit on Wednesday.

The nation's official July purchasing managers index, the first real read on the month's growth, showed that service and construction activity kept expanding, albeit at a marginally slower pace. Meanwhile, manufacturing, which has been in the doldrums for months, nosed upward for the first time since March. Activity rose to 49.7 from 49.4 in June.

All of these are welcome signs that China's slowdown is abating, thanks to easier monetary policy and a fiscal boost from infrastructure investment in June. That said, it is risky to read too much into a single set of monthly data. Small and medium-size companies, a crucial source of employment, continue to struggle. And output is still growing rapidly, while orders are falling. As long as that imbalance persists, China remains at risk of a renewed bout of industrial deflation, which could trip up heavily indebted factories and cause big

problems in the debt markets.

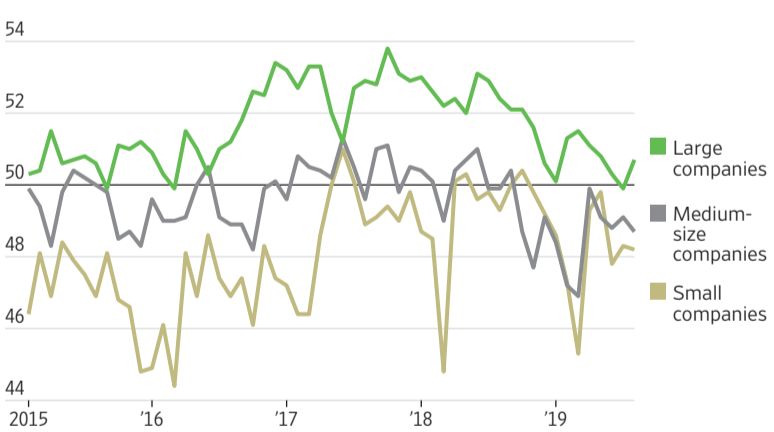
Notably, the recovery in new orders was entirely at large manufacturers. That may reflect a nascent recovery in auto sales or the boost from infrastructure spending. But without better times at export-focused small manufacturers and in the service sector, a sustainable recovery in consumer demand and income growth may prove elusive. Outside of food, consumer-price inflation remains anemic.

The official readout from Tuesday's meeting of the Politburo, the top leadership committee of China's ruling Communist Party, emphasized cutting taxes and fees, helping private firms access long-term finance and “digging deep” to unleash the economy's potential. That suggests top policy makers understand that small businesses and consumers are still on the ropes.

The challenge for the authorities now is finding a way to alleviate those strains without overheating the property market or giving too much ground on trade. That remains a very big ask.

—Nathaniel Taplin

China's official manufacturing purchasing managers' indexes



Note: Numbers above 50 represent expansion on the month. Source: CEIC

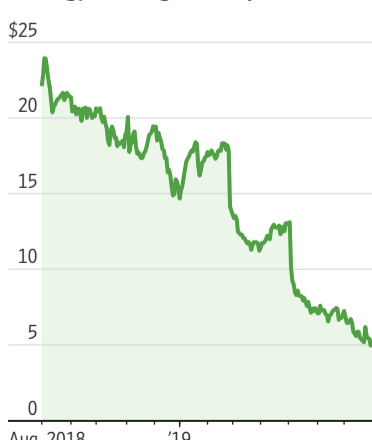
Amazon Goes Further to Enter Homes

Amazon.com may have taken over the majority of your purchases, but the buck stops at real estate, apparently.

Last week, the retail giant said it was joining with the nation's largest residential brokerage company Realty Holdings Corp. to refer motivated consumers on Amazon's platform to real-estate agents from Realty's brands such as Coldwell Banker and Century 21. Despite some hyperbolic declarations in the press, Amazon isn't getting into real estate, much less taking on the likes of Zillow Group and Redfin.

With the partnership, home buyers referred through the TurnKey program can qualify for up to \$5,000 in Amazon home equipment and services, courtesy of Realty. For Realty, which primarily offers traditional brokerage services, the partnership offers access to Amazon's enormous customer base, which it desperately needs. Once boasting a \$7 billion market capitalization, Realty's stock has shriveled in the past year. Increasingly, tech-enabled players like Zillow have

Realty Holdings share price



Source: FactSet

begun to disrupt the traditional brokerage model with online lead generation and services like iBuying, which offers streamlined home buying with the help of algorithms.

Amazon has danced around real estate before. Two years ago, the company posted a cryptic “Hire a

Realtor” page under its Home and Business Services section that quickly vanished. Zillow's stock fell about 4% that morning.

An Amazon spokesperson confirmed that the TurnKey partnership isn't a move into real estate but rather one to connect new home buyers with its smart home products and services. According to eMarketer, last year nearly half of all online product searches originated on Amazon, while in 2015 the lion's share of search origination began on Google.

Despite the lead, eMarketer reported that buyers took six days longer to purchase on Amazon than on Google, suggesting consumers use Amazon as a first stop but turn to Google when they know what they want. The TurnKey partnership could help change this dynamic, essentially placing Amazon products such as Alexa in homes to instantly service their needs.

Realtors can breathe easy. Amazon's e-commerce competitors aren't so fortunate.

—Laura Forman

OVERHEARD

Technology has long been scrutinized for discouraging interpersonal interaction in favor of our phones. We may now have reached a new low.

Procter & Gamble's Pampers earlier recently unveiled Lumi, a “smart diaper” system that enables your phone to track when your baby has gone number one, though not number two. Special diapers are required (of course) which have velcro-like patches over the relevant parts of the infant upon which a plastic-looking sensor is attached. Sleep also is tracked.

Smart devices for babies aren't new but have been criticized by some physicians for increasing, rather than alleviating, new parents' anxiety. A study published last year in the Journal of the American Medical Association re-

vealed concerning and inconsistent results with several instances of missed detection and false positives. The wearable monitors studied, including the Owlet Smart Sock 2 and Baby Vita, track a baby's heart rate and blood oxygen levels.

Pampers boasts its new product will take parents “beyond sight to insight.” As one parent proclaims in rave review on Pampers' website, “My sixth sense is called Lumi.”

As low-tech parents know, one of the five existing senses seems to work all too well.

Procter & Gamble's Lumi system



PAMPERS