VOL. CLXVI ... No. 57,564

# The New York Times

NEW YORK, TUESDAY, APRIL 11, 2017

**Banking History** 

turn of pay and stock grants — are the largest in banking history and among the largest in corporate America. A four-person commit-tee of Wells Fargo's directors investigated the extensive fraud.
Wells Fargo's board said in a report issued on Monday that Mr. Stumpf had turned a blind eye to the fraudulent accounts being created under his nose and that Ms. Tolstedt, who ran the branch sys-

tem, had focused obsessively on sales targets and withheld information from her boss and the

Wells Fargo's misdeeds, which came to light in September, have at least temporarily become a

more widely recognized symbol of the bank than its signature stagecoach, Bankers across Wells Far-

go's giant branch system were tacitly encouraged to meet their

sales goals by committing fraud;

opening unwanted or unneeded

accounts in customers' names; and, sometimes, moving money

into and out of the sham accounts.

customers lost was relatively small — the company has refunded \$3.2 million — the scope of the fraud was huge: 5,300 bankers

were fired for creating as many as two million unwanted bank and

credit card accounts. In one detail revealed by the report, a branch

manager had a teenage daughter with 24 accounts and a husband

While the amount of money

board.

**WELLS FARGO SAYS** 2 EX-LEADERS OWE \$75 MILLION MORE BLAME OVER A SCANDAL Searing Report Leads to Largest Clawbacks in By STACY COWLEY and JENNIFER A. KINGSON Wells Fargo's board said on Monday that it would claw back an additional \$75 million in compensation from the two executives on whom it pinned most of the blame for the company's scandal over fraudulent accounts: the bank's former chief executive, John G. Stumpf, and its former head of community banking, Carrie L. Tolstedt. The clawbacks - or forced re-

London is filled with landmarks — including the Gherkin building, above — and with 8.7 million inhabitants representing 270 nationalities.

# A Mighty City Trembles at a Global Crossroad

#### With Britain Leaving Europe, Can London Remain a Capital of the World?

By SARAH LYALL

LONDON -- St. Pancras International rail station, a wonder of Victorian architecture resurrected for the 21st century, opened 10 years ago as the embodiment of a particular notion: that Britain is part of something bigger than itself and that belonging to a fellowship of nations is as easy and natural as stepping onto a train.

It was both shocking and thrilling, at first, that you

could catch a Eurostar from a platform in London, slide under the English Channel, hurtle through the French countryside and less than three hours later pull into the Gare du Nord in Paris. To ride the Eurostar was to marvel that the capitals — London so prosaic and straightforward, Paris so romantic and mysterious, the two with their long history of rivalry and discord  $-\!$ were part of the same larger enterprise.

Eurostar symbolized an era in which London seemed to be inevitably rushing toward Europe, too.

At least that was the idea until now, and the beginning of the process known as Brexit. The trains are still running, but the era that created modern London appears

"We've made a horrible statement to the rest of the world, and it's very sad," said Martin Eden, a publisher

LOSING LONDON A Capital in Limbo

waiting to catch the Eurostar to Paris the other day, to celebrate his 43rd birthday. "We should be moving together," he said of Europe, "instead of

I met Mr. Eden as I wandered around St. Pancras at the moment Britain officially filed for divorce from the European Union. It was lunchtime on March 29, Brexit Day, as you might call it, when Britain delivered a letter to Brussels and opened two years of negotia tions over the rules of disengagement.

But as Britain tries to bid farewell to its now-estranged partner of 44 years, London faces a different sort of challenge: how a great global city whose residents voted overwhelmingly against Brexit in last summer's referendum should adjust to an uncertain future governed by principles that feel antithetical to its very being. Brexit has divided Britain from Europe but also divided Britain from itself, with London on one side and much of England on the other (Scotland and Northern Ireland, which also voted to remain, are another story).

To many people in the capital, the vote last year feels like a rejection not just of Europe but also of the values embodied by London, perhaps the world's most vibrantly and exuberantly cosmopolitan city: values like openness, tolerance, internationalism and the sense that it is better to look outward than to gaze in Continued on Page A8

#### Continued on Page A24

# Man Is Dragged From a Full Jet, Stirring a Furor

By DANIEL VICTOR

The disturbing scene captured on cellphone videos by United Air-lines passengers on Sunday went beyond the typical nightmares of travelers on an overbooked flight.

An unidentified man who refused to be bumped from a plane screamed as a security officer wrestled him out of his seat and dragged him down the aisle by his arms. His glasses slid down his face, and his shirt rose above his midriff as uniformed officers fol-

At least two passengers documented the physical confrontaanguishe protests, and their videos spread rapidly online on Monday as peo-ple criticized the airline's tactics. A security officer involved in the episode has been placed on leave, the authorities said, and the federal Transportation Department is investigating whether the airline complied with rules regarding overbooking.

Tyler Bridges, a passenger on Sunday's flight who posted a video to Twitter, said in a telephone

Continued on Page A24

# Many Voices on Syria Policy, but One Is Silent | He Led the Yankees to 4 Titles.

## By PETER BAKER and GARDINER HARRIS

WASHINGTON - In the days since President Trump ordered a cruise missile strike against Syria in retaliation for a chemical attack on civilians, his administration has spoken with multiple voices as it seeks to explain its evolving policy. But one voice has not been heard from: that of Mr. Trump himself.

As various officials have described it, the United States will

#### Trump Lets Officials Comment, but Their Message Is Mixed

intervene only when chemical weapons are used — or any time innocents are killed. It will push for the ouster of President Bashar al-Assad of Syria — or pursue that only after defeating the Islamic State. America's national interest

the humanitarian crisis there. Or to restore stability.

The latest mixed messages were sent on Monday in both Washington and Europe. Secretary of State Rex W. Tillerson – during a stop in Italy on his way to Moscow for a potentially tense visit, given Russian anger at last week's missile strike — outlined a dramatically interventionist approach. "We rededicate ourselves to holding to account any and all

Continued on Page A22

For ISIS



# **New Strategy**

A funeral on Monday in Alexandria, Egypt, for victims of the Palm Sunday terror rampage. The attacks suggest that the Islamic State has new targets: Christians in the cities of mainland Egypt. Page A6.

# Now, Can He Revive Them?

#### By TYLER KEPNER

There was no grand unveiling, no ceremony to show it off. But when the Mets opened their 2017 season at Citi Field, a new placard was affixed to the overhang down the left-field line. It proclaimed the Mets as winners of a 2016 National League wild card.

As the Yankees prepared for their home opener on Monday, they had nothing comparable to display. We live, for the moment, in that rare baseball weather pattern in which the skies are sunnier over Oueens than over the Bronx. The Mets' attendance is rising, and while the Yankees still outdraw them, their attendance is

As they market young players rather than marquee names, and as two teams — the Los Angeles Dodgers and the Detroit Tigers — outspend them on salaries, the Yankees are striving to retain their sense of identity. This was the motivation behind General Manager Brian Cashman's moves last summer, when he steered the franchise on a course he has sought for years.

Cashman wants the Yankees to stand out again. Acting like so many competitors - scheming to



Brian Cashman, the Yankees' general manager since 1998

spot, and then trying to get lucky again in October — was not workagain in October — wing. It was not them.

"We don't stick up banners for being a wild-card team," Cashman said as he sat on the bench in the Yankees' dugout late in spring training. "We never stuck up banners for American League champions. I'm not saying you're not proud to get into the postseason, whether it's a wild card or division

champion, but the ultimate thing Continued on Page A29

INTERNATIONAL A4-14

#### An Uneasy Iran-Russia Union

Tehran joined the Russians in denouncing the U.S. strike in Syria, but mistrust persists between the two sides. PAGE AS

#### Sculpting Sand and Memories

A museum of intricate sand art is a key part of an effort to attract more foreign tourists to Tottori, Japan. PAGE A4



#### NATIONAL A16-24

Alabama Governor Resigns Robert Bentley pleaded guilty to two misdemeanors and quit in a sex scandal that brought him to the brink of im-PAGE Al6 peachment.

## 3 Dead in School Shooting

Two adults and a child were killed in an apparent murder-suicide in a San Bernardino, Calif., classroom. PAGE A23

#### Judge Rejects Voter ID Law

A federal judge in Texas ruled that a voter identification law the state's legislature passed in 2011 was enacted with the intent to discriminate against black **BUSINESS DAY B1-9** 

## G.M.'s Confidence Problem

General Motors has achieved steady profits in a booming domestic market and has tried to prove its innovative approach, but it is Tesla that is winning

#### The 2017 Pulitzer Prizes



The New York Times won three awards, and The Daily News and ProPublica shared the public service PAGES B6-7 SCIENCE TIMES D1-6

#### The Vitamin D Dilemma

There is no epidemic of vitamin D deficiency, experts say, yet pointless testing and treatment are rampant among healthy people.

#### SPORTSTUESDAY B10-15

#### U.S. Shares World Cup Bid

The United States, Canada and Mexico have submitted a joint plan to host the 2026 World Cup.

### Champions Raise a Banner

The Cubs returned to Wrigley Field for the first time as World Series winners. On Baseball.

ARTS C1-8

## After an Iconic Beyoncé Photo

The artist Awol Erizku is opening his first solo show in Europe with his most political work to date.

#### He Wasn't Always Trump

Alec Baldwin's memoir is a sophisticated take on the person he was and the person he has become. A review.

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A30-31

David Brooks

