

# Revue de presse américaine

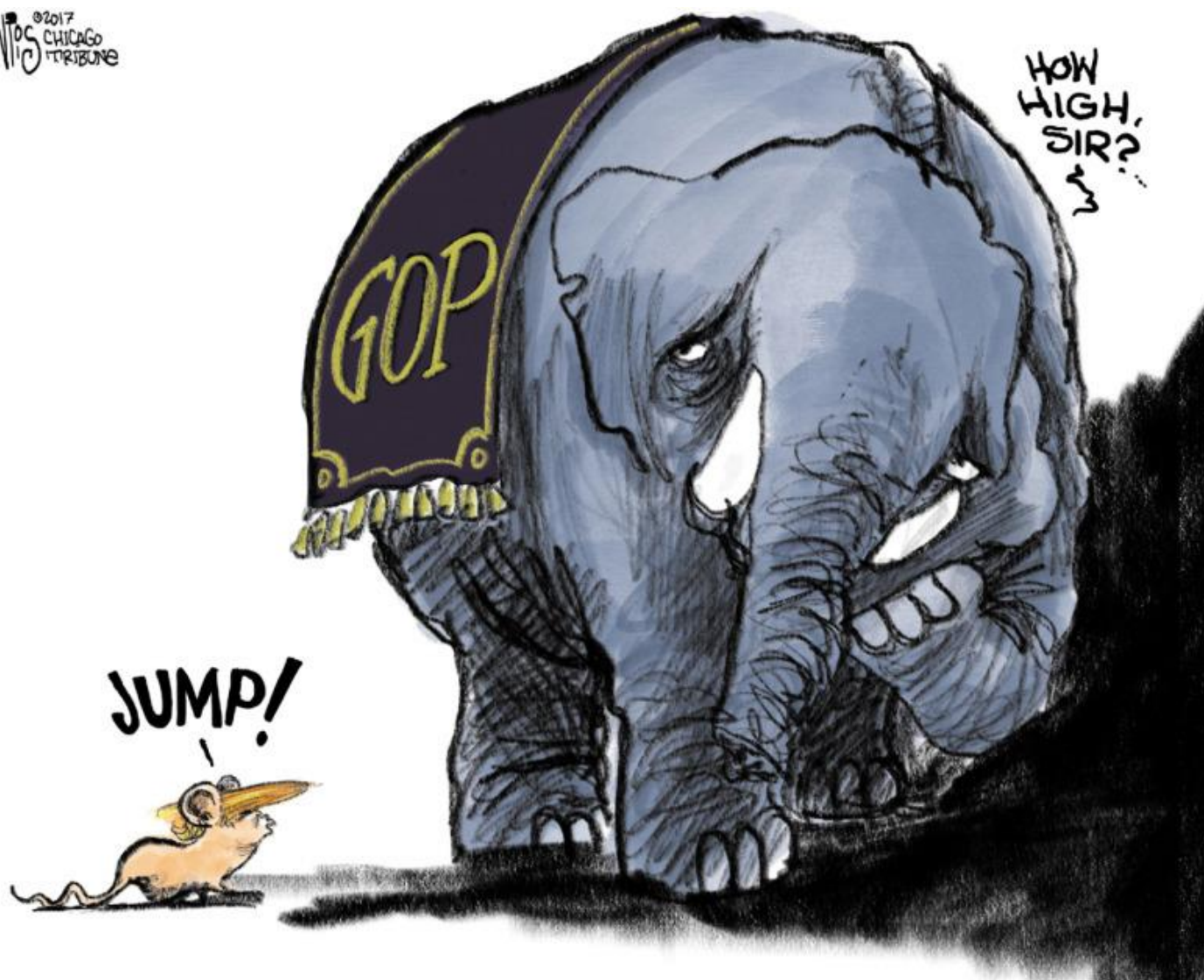
**Ambassade de France aux États-Unis**  
Service de presse et de communication



Liberté • Égalité • Fraternité  
RÉPUBLIQUE FRANÇAISE

*Lundi 30 janvier 2017, réalisation : Josselin Brémaud*

STANIS 2017  
CHICAGO  
TRIBUNE



## **FRANCE – EUROPE .....3**

- The 'Good Samaritan' factor: Why some judges in France are not enforcing the law.....3
- French left chooses a presidential candidate, in an almost hopeless race .....3

- French Left Picks Benoît Hamon as Presidential Election Candidate .....4
- Benoît Hamon Wins French Socialist Party's Presidential Nomination.....4
- Benoit Hamon Wins French Socialist Party Presidential Primary .....5
- Forbes : French Socialists Vote To Lose Presidential Elections, Kill Party But Unite The Left.....5

Hamon to lead Socialists into French presidential election.....	6
Benoit Hamon is known as the Bernie Sanders of France — and he just won the Socialist Party primary for president.....	6
Hard Work Starts Now for France's Socialist Candidate (online).....	7
Newsweek : Socialist candidate Benoit Hamon wants a new alliance for the French presidential election.....	7
French Socialists Pick Presidential Candidate.....	8
NBC : Is France in for a Trump-style election surprise? 8	
Fillon Trains Fire on Macron as Scandal Upends French Vote.....	9
France's 5 main contenders in the presidential race (online).....	9
This Is How You Should Read French Election Polls..	10
Air France Turns Away 15 From Muslim Countries for Trump Ban.....	10
Miss France beats Haiti and Colombia to clinch Miss Universe title.....	10
France Is Banning Unlimited Soda Refills to Fight Obesity.....	11
Ahmari : How Liberals Killed the Freedom of Movement.....	11
Brexit Disruptors Challenge Government's Plans in Court.....	11
Italy Tries to Skirt a Populist Revolt.....	12
Matthew Qvortrup : Angela Merkel's take on how to make a country great (again).....	13
Denmark Creates the World's First Ever Digital Ambassador.....	13

## **INTERNATIONAL.....13**

U.S. Service Member Killed in Yemen Raid.....	14
U.S. Commando Killed in Yemen in Trump's First Counterterrorism Operation.....	14
In Face of Trump's Order, Some Muslim Nations Are Conspicuously Silent.....	15
Trump's Immigration Order Jolts Iraqis, U.S.'s Top Allies Against ISIS.....	16
Iscol : Allies in Combat, Now Unwanted.....	17
Netanyahu Says U.S. Embassy 'Needs to Be' in Jerusalem.....	17
Inside the contentious Israeli settlement that counts Trump as a donor.....	17
Ghaemi : Trump's travel ban is a gift to Iran's rulers... 18	
Rogin : How Tulsi Gabbard became Assad's mouthpiece in Washington.....	19
Quebec City Mosque Shooting Leaves Multiple People Dead.....	20
O'Grady : President Trump's Mexican Standoff.....	20
Vice-Minister Odawara : A New Obstacle to Asian Security.....	20

<b>ETATS-UNIS.....21</b>	
Donald Trump's Immigration Ban Sows Chaos.....	21
How Trump's Rush to Enact an Immigration Ban Unleashed Global Chaos.....	22
Amid protests and confusion, Trump defends executive order: 'This is not a Muslim ban'.....	23
Trump's team gets ready for Supreme Court fight.....	24
Travelers Stranded and Protests Swell Over Trump Order.....	25
Trump Team Kept Plan for Travel Ban Quiet.....	26
Countries Under U.S. Entry Ban Aren't Main Sources of Terror Attacks.....	27
Silicon Valley is debating how far to go to fight Donald Trump's executive order.....	28
Editorial : Trump's Refugee Bonfire.....	29
Editorial : Donald Trump's Muslim Ban Is Cowardly and Dangerous.....	30
Editorial : How Trump created chaos at the airport with his unfair and inhumane order.....	30
Editorial : The way to debate Trump's orders on migrants.....	31
Editorial : Trump's Travel Ban Is Un-American and Unwise.....	31
Editorial : Trump Refugee Order: Right Substance, Wrong Rollout.....	32
Editorial : Trump's refugee ban is frightfully arbitrary.....	32
Rep. Blackburn: Executive order makes U.S. safer.....	33
Boston mayor: Why cities will protect immigrants.....	33
Blow : No, Trump, Not on Our Watch.....	34
Officials worry that U.S. counterterrorism defenses will be weakened by Trump actions.....	34
Questions multiply over Bannon's role in Trump administration.....	36
Trump Needs a Strong NSC. It Doesn't Look Like He Wants One.....	37
Donald Trump Shuffles National Security Council.....	38
The man behind Trump? Still Steve Bannon.....	38
Rothkopf : The danger of Steve Bannon on the National Security Council.....	39
Tough Tasks Await Tillerson at State Department.....	40
What Is Happening With Trump's Cabinet This Week.....	41
John McCain : An Opportunity to Rebuild Our Dangerously Weakened Military.....	41
Editorial : Big Labor's Membership Pains.....	42
Krugman : Building a Wall of Ignorance.....	42
Nakios : Trump's Unfashionable Tax Idea.....	42
Hiatt : Trump considers the media his enemy. We shouldn't treat him as ours.....	43
Samuelson : Trump is obsessed with trade — but it's not a major cause of job loss.....	43
In a Week, Trump Reshapes Decades of Perceptions About America.....	44
Trump promised disruption. That's exactly what he's delivering.....	45
Democrats' dilemma: How to be heard in the hurricane of Trump news?.....	46

## FRANCE – EUROPE



### The 'Good Samaritan' factor: Why some judges in France are not enforcing the law

The Christian Science Monitor

January 30, 2017 Paris—Jon Palais did not dispute the facts. On Oct. 15, 2015, he led a group of activists into a branch of BNP Paribas and walked out with 14 office chairs.

It was a political publicity stunt – one of several similar actions drawing attention to the French bank's alleged role in facilitating tax evasion by its wealthy customers. But the bank took Mr. Palais to court. Charged with gang robbery, he faced a possible five-year jail sentence and an \$80,000 fine.

Last week he got off scot free; even the public prosecutor had told the judge he did not want to see Palais punished, stolen chairs or no.

With the French public angry about revelations of widespread tax evasion, the trial was the latest in a string of recent cases in which moral legitimacy has trumped strict legality. It has echoes of the Anglo-American tradition in which jurors can vote to acquit because they believe it is the moral thing to do.

But in France, judges – not juries – decide guilt and sentencing. That means it is the legal machine itself that is accommodating public opinion on issues where the legal parameters of wrongdoing and the broader perception of morality do not match. And that is a boon to activists trying to draw attention to their causes – and to do the "right" thing, even where the law disagrees.

"When there is a gap between the text of the law and a public sense of what is just, there is a certain suppleness" that

political and social activists can exploit, says Eva Joly, the well known former anticorruption judge and Green party presidential candidate who acted as Palais' defense lawyer. "Judges and prosecutors don't work in a vacuum."

#### Good Samaritans

That is clear from recent trials of "Good Samaritans." Refugees from Syria, Sudan, Eritrea, and elsewhere who slip across the border from Italy do not always enjoy much sympathy. But citizens who shelter and feed them, or who help them on their way by putting them on trains, nonetheless earn respect.

The law was changed in 2012 so as not to criminalize people who simply give illegal immigrants a place to stay, so long as they receive nothing in return. But it remains a crime to transport them.

That did not stop a court from letting Pierre-Alain Mannoni off earlier this month, even though he had admitted carrying three young Eritrean women in his car, with the intention of dropping them later at a train station.

In a public statement, Mr. Mannoni, a scientific researcher, said his action was "neither political nor militant, it was simply human; any citizen could have done it, and whether it be for the honor of our motherland, for our dignity as free men, for our values, our beliefs, for love or for compassion, we cannot leave victims to die on our doorsteps."

The court ruled that it would be "neither just nor proportionate" in the circumstances to punish Mr. Mannoni, and discharged him – a decision that parallels the phenomenon of "jury nullification" in the US and Britain. In such situations, despite believing a defendant to be guilty of a legal wrong, jurors vote to acquit because they believe it is the moral thing to do.

Other people who have helped refugees and migrants have not been so lucky; a retired university teacher was fined 1,500 euros (\$1,600) in December for helping two Eritreans avoid a police checkpoint.

Next month Cedric Herrou, an olive farmer who has drawn national attention to his efforts on behalf of migrants in southern France, comes up for sentencing. The prosecutor, Jean-Michel Prêtre is asking only for a suspended sentence, and said during the trial that he respected Mr. Herrou's "noble" cause.

But Mr. Prêtre argued that "it is not up to the courts to change the law," and complained that the trial had become "a political platform."

#### Flexibility for the law

That is exactly how Ms. Joly used Palais's trial, which she calls a "magnificent" morality play pitting an innocent young protester against a greedy multinational bank. The trial was a valuable tool to mobilize public opinion, she believes, and "changes happen from the bottom up."

In some cases change is not possible and the law is strictly applied, points out Bernard Harcourt, a law professor at the School for Advanced Study of Social Sciences (EHESS) in Paris. In terrorism cases, for example, "the moral questions are already decided and entrenched in ways that they are not with homelessness or immigration," he says.

When "there is a gap to engage the ethical and moral questions of how to treat others," he adds, "where the political debate remains somewhat open, there will be flexibility" for prosecutors and judges to be lenient.

It helps, though, "if they see people are organized to say they don't agree" with the status quo, says Marine de Haas, an official with La Cimade, a nongovernmental group working on behalf of migrants.

Which brings us back to Palais and his chairs. He made good use of them, first contributing them – along with 182 others that other demonstrators had taken from banks – to a meeting of 196 climate activists that coincided with the 196-nation Paris climate summit in December 2015.

And then he gave them back, sort of, in dramatic fashion. On Feb. 8 last year, he and his colleagues left all the chairs outside a Paris courthouse where another trial was starting. Jérôme Cahuzac, a former budget minister, was facing charges of ... tax evasion. The court showed no leniency in his case. He was sentenced to three years in prison.



### French left chooses a presidential candidate, in an almost hopeless race

By James McAuley

PARIS — A struggling French left named its contender for the

presidency Sunday, in the midst of a highly contentious election campaign that is likely to shape the future of a deeply troubled Europe.

The winner was Benoît Hamon, a onetime education minister under François Hollande, the historically unpopular Socialist president whose

unusual decision not to seek reelection led the way to Sunday's leftist primary. Hamon defeated Manuel Valls, Hollande's prime



minister, with roughly 60 percent of the vote.

The newly anointed winner promised to unite the warring factions of the French left in advance of the elections in April and May. "France needs a left that thinks of the world as it is," he said.

Evening Edition newsletter

The day's most important stories.

Please provide a valid email address.

Given Hollande's unpopularity, many were quick to explain the outcome as a rejection of the sitting president, who has struggled with stagnant unemployment figures and terrorist attacks, which claimed the lives of 230 people in France over

the past two years.

But analysts saw Hamon's victory as something far more seismic: the likely demise of the French left, and specifically the Socialist Party, as a force to be reckoned with in French and European politics.

"It's very much the end of the left as a dominant, governing party," said Gérard Grunberg, a leading expert on the history of the French left at Sciences Po in Paris.

This, experts say, is largely because Hamon promises an unrealistically utopian vision of French society unlikely to sway voters from the now-global appeal of populism and its emphasis on national identity and national security.

Having proposed a universal income — 750 euros per person per month, or about \$800 — that would cost close to 30 percent of France's gross domestic product every year, Hamon has consistently polled behind both the race's centrist candidate, Emmanuel Macron, and its leading conservative contender, François Fillon, currently mired in a public spending scandal.

Polls also suggest that Hamon might not even make the second and final round of the vote against Marine Le Pen, the leader of the far-right National Front Party, largely defined by xenophobic and Islamophobic rhetoric.

Although many voters might have simply voted against Hollande and his legacy, Grunberg said, they

ultimately chose a candidate unlikely to appeal to the nation at large — even a nation with as proud a Socialist tradition as France.

"In the end, there is also this evolution in the ideology of the left," he said. "The 'left of the left' is becoming stronger, and its ideology is anti-capitalist and anti-liberal before all. There's a growing distance between the left and social democracy as we know it."

With little chance of a leftist victory in sight, Hollande — who spoke with President Trump for the first time on Saturday — warned the French public of the dangers behind the alternative.

## THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

### French Left Picks Benoît Hamon as Presidential Election Candidate

William Horobin

Updated Jan. 29,

2017 6:01 p.m. ET

PARIS—The French left picked Benoît Hamon as their presidential candidate, securing a come-from-behind victory for a lawmaker popular with die-hard socialists but lacking broad appeal among French voters.

Mr. Hamon, who centered his campaign on a plan to create a universal basic income, won 58.65% of the runoff vote in the leftist primary on Sunday, according to a count of votes from around 60% of polling stations.

At the start of the campaign in December, polls had shown Manuel Valls—a former prime minister from President François Hollande's pro-business wing of the Socialist Party—was the favorite to win the nomination. Mr. Valls garnered

41.35% of Sunday's vote, according to the partial count.

"Tonight the left has picked its head up and turned toward the future," Mr. Hamon said.

"Benoît Hamon won clearly, and I congratulate him warmly," Mr. Valls said.

Mr. Hamon's nomination redraws the lines of France's presidential election, creating more space in the center ground for the Socialist Party's rivals.

Polls show Mr. Hamon is likely to crash out in the first round of the election as voters cautious of his narrow socialist program switch to Emmanuel Macron, a pro-business centrist who quit Mr. Hollande's government last year and has recruited some moderate socialists to his campaign.

With Mr. Hamon on the official socialist ticket, Mr. Macron would

take 21% of the vote in the first round, according to a nationally representative survey conducted by Ipsos Sopra Steria mid-January. That puts Mr. Macron within striking distance of conservative candidate François Fillon, with 25% and National Front leader Marine Le Pen, with 26%. Mr. Hamon would come in fifth with 7%, also trailing far-left candidate Jean-Luc Mélenchon.

The disarray of the Socialist Party is the culmination of an ideological tussle that dogged Mr. Hollande's five-year term in office. Mr. Hamon was a key protagonist in the infighting after he was pushed from government following a spat over economic policy. He opposed key pro-business bills—including one proposed by Mr. Macron—and last May he was a leading figure among Socialist lawmakers who attempted to put forth a vote to bring down Mr. Hollande's government.

Faced with the divisions of the left, Mr. Hamon on Sunday evening said he would seek an alliance with Mr. Mélenchon and Green Party candidate Yannick Jadot.

"We will need to unite the left and the ecologists," Mr. Hamon said.

Mr. Valls said he wished Mr. Hamon "good luck" in bringing together the disparate groups on the French left. But in a sign of the depth of the crisis for the French left, the former prime minister had said ahead of Sunday's vote that he would be unable to defend Mr. Hamon's program.

"If it's not me, we will not be able to create momentum, we won't have the capacity to resist Mélenchon or Macron," Mr. Valls said in a television interview on Friday.

Write to William Horobin at [William.Horobin@wsj.com](mailto:William.Horobin@wsj.com)

## The New York Times

### Benoît Hamon Wins French Socialist Party's Presidential Nomination

Alissa J. Rubin

PARIS — France chose an idealistic, traditional left-leaning candidate in Sunday's primary to represent the Socialist and center-left parties in the presidential election this spring.

The candidate, Benoît Hamon, 49, who ran on the slogan that he would "make France's heart beat," bested Manuel Valls, the former prime minister, whose campaign has promoted more free-market policies and who has a strong law-and-order background.

Mr. Hamon appeared to have won by a wide margin, with incomplete returns showing him with an estimated 58 percent of the vote to Mr. Valls's 41 percent.

"Tonight the left holds its head up high again; it is looking to the future," Mr. Hamon said, addressing his supporters.

"Our country needs the left, but a modern, innovative left," he said.

Mr. Hamon's victory was the clearest sign yet that voters on the left want a break with the policies of President François Hollande, who in December announced that he would not seek re-election. However, Mr. Hamon's strong showing is unlikely to change widespread assessments that left-leaning candidates have little chance of making it into the second round of voting in the general election.

The first round of the general election is set for April 23 and the runoff for May 7.

The Socialist Party is deeply divided, and one measure of its lack of popular enthusiasm was the relatively low number of people voting. About two million people voted in the second round of the primary on Sunday, in contrast with about 2.9 million in the second round of the last presidential primary on the left, in 2011.

However, much of the conventional wisdom over how the elections will go has been thrown into question over the past week, because the leading candidate, François Fillon, who represents the main right-wing party, the Republicans, was

accused of paying his wife large sums of money to work as his parliamentary aide. While nepotism is legal in the French political system, it is not clear that she actually did any work. Prosecutors who specialize in financial malfeasance are reviewing the case.

France's electoral system allows multiple candidates to run for president in the first round of voting, but only the top two vote-getters go on to a second round.

Mr. Hamon is entering a race that is already crowded on the left, with candidates who include Jean-Luc Mélenchon on the far left, and Emmanuel Macron, an independent who served as economy minister in

Mr. Hollande's government and who embraces more free-market policies.

Mr. Hamon, who beat Manuel Valls, the former prime minister, greeted supporters after winning the presidential nomination. Francois Mori/Associated Press

Unless he decides to withdraw, Mr. Fillon, the mainstream right candidate, will also run, as will the extreme right candidate Marine Le Pen. The two have been expected to go to the runoff.

Mr. Hamon's victory can be attributed at least in part to his image as an idealist and traditional leftist candidate who appeals to union voters as well as more environmentally concerned and socially liberal young people. Unlike Mr. Valls, he also clearly distanced himself from some of Mr. Hollande's

more unpopular policies, especially the economic ones.

Thomas Kekenbosch, 22, a student and one of the leaders of the group the Youth With Benoit Hamon, said Mr. Hamon embodied a new hope for those on the left.

"We have a perspective; we have something to do, to build," Mr. Kekenbosch said.

Mr. Hollande had disappointed many young people because under him the party abandoned ideals, such as support for workers, that many left-leaning voters believe in, according to Mr. Kekenbosch.

Mr. Hollande's government, under pressure from the European Union to meet budget restraints, struggled to pass labor code reforms to make the market more attractive to foreign investors and also to encourage

French businesses to expand in France.

The measures ultimately passed after weeks of strikes, but they were watered down and generated little concrete progress in improving France's roughly 10 percent unemployment rate and its nearly 25 percent youth joblessness rate.

Mr. Hamon strongly endorses a stimulus approach to improving the economy and has promised to phase in a universal income, which would especially help young people looking for work, but would also supplement the livelihood of low-paid French workers. The end goal would be to have everyone receive 750 euros per month (about \$840).

"We have someone that trusts us," Mr. Kekenbosch said, "who says: 'I give you enough to pay for your

studies. You can have a scholarship which spares you from working at McDonald's on provisional contracts for 4 years."

Mr. Hamon advocates phasing out diesel fuel and encouraging drivers to replace vehicles that use petroleum products with electrical ones.

His leftist pedigree began early. His father worked at an arsenal in Brest, a city in the far west of Brittany, and his mother worked off and on as a secretary. He was an early member of the Movement of Young Socialists, and he has continued to work closely with them through his political life. He also worked for Martine Aubry, now the mayor of Lille and a former Socialist Party leader.

## Benoit Hamon Wins French Socialist Party Presidential Primary

John Leicester & Sylvie Corbet / AP

(PARIS) — Benoit Hamon, riding to victory from left-wing obscurity on a radical proposal to pay all adults a monthly basic income, will be the Socialist Party candidate in France's presidential election after handily beating ex-Prime Minister Manuel Valls in a primary runoff vote on Sunday.

Hamon's win sends the divided Socialists, weakened by the chronic unpopularity of outgoing President Francois Hollande, into a tough presidential battle behind a candidate with limited government experience and hard-left politics that could alienate some center-left Socialist voters.

With ballots counted at 60 percent of polling stations, Hamon had almost 59 percent of the vote to Valls' 41 percent. Valls immediately conceded defeat in the face of the result that appeared like a clear sanction of both his and Hollande's policies.

With the ruling party having settled on its candidate, the race for the presidential Elysee Palace begins in earnest, although the outcome of the two-round general election vote in April and May looks increasingly uncertain.

Leading conservative candidate Francois Fillon, who also previously served as prime minister, was

rocked during the past week by allegations that his wife, Penelope, held a fake but handsomely paid job as a parliamentary aide. Financial prosecutors are investigating.

At a campaign rally in Paris on Sunday — where a boisterous crowd gave Penelope Fillon a standing ovation and chanted her name, Fillon said, "We have nothing to hide."

"Through Penelope they are trying to break me," he said. "I will never forgive those who chose to throw us to the wolves."

A priority for Hamon, a 49-year-old former junior minister and, briefly, education minister, will be to rally the Socialists, split ideologically and wounded by Hollande's five-year tenure as president.

The party is also squeezed by rivals on both flanks. Fiery far-left leader Jean-Luc Melenchon and centrist Emmanuel Macron, Hollande's former economics minister, are both making hay by appealing to disappointed Socialist voters.

Early polling has suggested the Socialist candidate will struggle to advance to the presidential runoff in May, where far-right leader Marine Le Pen could be waiting, campaigning on anti-Europe, anti-immigration and anti-Islam themes.

The turnout on Sunday, at around 2 million voters, was more robust than in the primary's first round of voting

a week ago, but still suggested a lack of enthusiasm among the 44-million French electorate. The primary was open to all voters who paid 1 euro (\$1.04).

Hamon wasn't as tainted as Valls by Hollande's unpopularity because he rebelled and quit the government in 2014.

Valls served as Hollande's prime minister for more than two years until last December, when it became clear the president couldn't win a second term. But having to defend the government's economic policies and labor reforms against Hamon proved an uphill fight.

Hamon's signature proposal for a 750 euros (\$800) "universal income" that would be gradually granted to all adults also proved a campaign masterstroke. It grabbed headlines and underpinned his surprise success in the primary's two rounds of voting, first against six opponents and then against Valls in the runoff.

Sharply criticized by Valls as unrealistic and ruinous, the no-strings-attached payments would cushion the French in an increasingly automated future, as machines take their jobs, according to Hamon.

He proposes a tax on robots to help finance the measure's huge costs — by Hamon's reckoning, at least 300 billion euros (\$320 billion) if applied to more than 50 million adults.

Hamon also proposes legalizing cannabis and allowing medically assisted deaths.

First-time voter Maayane Pralus said Hamon "has a lot of the youth vote with him, which is sick of the old politics."

"People call him utopian, but that's the politics we've been waiting for," the 18-year-old student said.

Valls, 54, emphasized his government experience. He was prime minister when gun and suicide-bomb attacks killed 147 people in Paris in January and November 2015, and still in office in July 2016 when a man drove a truck into crowds in Nice, killing 86 people.

Such are the left's divisions that some Valls supporters may now shift to Macron's independent run for the presidency.

In such a complex political landscape, some voters cast ballots strategically.

Bernard Biassette, 74, a retired bank worker, voted for Hamon only to eliminate Valls, whom he saw as a greater threat to his hoped-for president — Macron.

Hamon "is throwing money out of the window," Biassette said. "He's not a serious candidate."

## Forbes : French Socialists Vote To Lose Presidential Elections, Kill Party But Unite The Left

Marcel Michelson

The French primary for the Left selected Benoit Hamon as candidate for the presidential

elections in April, over ex-prime minister Manuel Valls.

The choice cements a pull to the left in the party with many members disappointed about the austerity

programme under president François Hollande that failed to make a big impact to reduce unemployment.

It also means that the Socialist Party candidate is unlikely to win the elections in April and it may even lead to the end of that party with that name. In fact, Hollande and Valls were left-of-center politicians but not socialist. Hamon is, like a Jeremy Corbyn or Bernie Sanders – sympathetic programs that do not stand a chance of winning a majority.



## Hamon to lead Socialists into French presidential election

AP Published 5:44 p.m. ET Jan. 29, 2017 | Updated 15 hours ago

Benoit Hamon greets supporters after winning the socialist party presidential nomination in Paris, France, on Jan. 29, 2017. (Photo: Francois Mori, AP)

PARIS (AP) — Beating a politically weakened ex-prime minister proved easy for Benoit Hamon, who will represent France's ruling Socialist Party in the country's presidential election. Far harder will be convincing voters that his hard-left platform isn't the recipe for ruin his critics claim.

Hamon's comfortable victory Sunday in a Socialist primary runoff against Manuel Valls owed much to his radical proposal to give all French adults a regular monthly income to protect them in an automated future where machines will take their jobs.

Hamon's winning margin — nearly 59% of the votes in the three-quarters of polling stations tallied — also appeared as a resounding rejection of unpopular outgoing President François Hollande and Valls, his prime minister for more than two years.

But the path forward for Hamon is littered with obstacles.

First, he will have to unite the Socialists behind him, which could be heavy lifting. Divisions are deep between the party's hard-left wing, which consistently criticized Hollande and Valls policies, and the advocates of more center-left views.

Another major challenge for Hamon will be negotiating with fiery far-left

The Hamon candidacy can rally the Left, from the fringes to those that recently voted Front National because "old Labor" votes did not recognize themselves in the socialist party.

Bury the party and the name and start a new one. The trend is to the left, to have a credible and ideological opposition but not to have a government.

That means the race to the Elysée palace narrows down to Marine le Pen of the Front National — her newest bid in a decades-old

campaign but now on the wings of Brexit and Trump — and the conservative François Fillon of the Republicans and center candidate Emmanuel Macron.

Fillon is currently weakened by a media storm around a paid job for his wife as his assistance and the Socialists elected Hamon.

The market odds for France change — Le Pen would take France out of the euro and the European Union. Hamon — a member of the European Parliament — advocates policies that would in the short term weaken

France's debt situation and its credibility as a euro member.

So the choice narrows — Fillon, Le Pen or Macron.

April is not that far away and the race is still very open.

*Follow me @marmaamic on Twitter. For communications consulting please see my agency website M2Media.fr. My food and recipe blog is on MaitreMarcel*

leader and fellow presidential candidate Jean-Luc Melenchon, who is trying to attract votes from disappointed Socialists. Hamon is proposing a coalition with Melenchon that might have a better chance of winning the general election.

Hamon will also face tough competition from outspoken centrist Emmanuel Macron, who has found increasing popularity with his pro-business views.

Such are the left's divisions that some Valls supporters may now shift to Macron's independent run for the presidency.

The outcome of the two-round vote in April and May looks increasingly uncertain.

Leading conservative candidate François Fillon, who also is a former prime minister, was rocked in the past week by allegations that his wife, Penelope, held a fake but handsomely paid job as a parliamentary aide. Financial prosecutors are investigating.

At a campaign rally in Paris on Sunday — where a boisterous crowd gave Penelope Fillon a standing ovation and chanted her name, Fillon said, "We have nothing to hide."

"Through Penelope they are trying to break me," he said. "I will never forgive those who chose to throw us to the wolves."

A priority for Hamon, a 49-year-old former junior minister and, briefly, education minister, will be to rally the Socialists, split ideologically and

wounded by Hollande's five-year tenure as president.

"Our country needs the left, but a left that is modern and innovates," Hamon said.

Early polling has suggested the Socialist candidate will struggle to advance to the presidential runoff in May, where far-right leader Marine Le Pen could be waiting, campaigning on anti-Europe, anti-immigration and anti-Islam themes.

In defeat, Valls didn't throw his support behind Hamon, but cautioned against the risk of the country shifting to the right.

"We refuse that tomorrow Marine Le Pen becomes the face of France," he said.

In his speech Sunday, Hamon presented himself as an anti-populist candidate who can face the "unstable world" of U.S. President Trump and Russian President Vladimir Putin and protect the French people from the terror threat posed by extremists.

The turnout on Sunday, estimated at around 2 million voters, was more robust than in the first round of voting but still suggested a lack of enthusiasm among the French electorate of 44 million. The conservative primary attracted more than 4 million voters in November.

Hamon wasn't as tainted as Valls by Hollande's unpopularity, because he rebelled and quit the government in 2014.

Valls served as Hollande's prime minister for more than two years until last December, when it became

clear the president couldn't win a second term. Having to defend the government's economic policies and labor reforms against Hamon proved an uphill fight for Valls.

Hamon's signature proposal for a \$800 "universal income" that would be gradually granted to all adults also proved a campaign masterstroke, grabbing headlines and underpinning his surprise success in the primary's two rounds of voting, first against six opponents and then against Valls in the runoff.

Sharply criticized by Valls as unrealistic and ruinous, Hamon says the no-strings-attached payments would cushion the French in an increasingly automated future, as machines take their jobs.

He proposes a tax on robots to help finance the measure's huge costs — by Hamon's reckoning, at least \$320 billion if applied to more than 50 million adults.

Hamon also proposes legalizing cannabis and allowing medically-assisted deaths.

First-time voter Maayane Pralus said Hamon "has a lot of the youth vote with him, which is sick of the old politics."

"People call him utopian, but that's the politics we've been waiting for," the 18-year-old student said.

*Copyright 2017 The Associated Press. All rights reserved. This material may not be published, broadcast, rewritten or redistributed.*

Read or Share this story: <http://usat.ly/2jGW7RC>



## Benoit Hamon is known as the Bernie Sanders of France — and he just won the Socialist Party primary for president

Kim Willsher

He is a radical left-winger often described as a Gallic Bernie Sanders, and was viewed as a

complete political outsider just three weeks ago.

Benoit Hamon handily won France's Socialist Party primary on Sunday, making him the party's best hope to

maintain its grip on power in presidential elections this spring.

A clear majority of the more than 1.3 million voters in the primary cast ballots for Hamon, crushing the

political hopes of former Prime Minister Manuel Valls, an economic liberal who had been seen as the favorite heading into the election.



The Socialists have governed France under the increasingly unpopular President Francois Hollande for four years, and are given little chance in the presidential election this spring. But as Hamon has already demonstrated, political fortunes can change.

Hamon, 49, ran on an anti-capitalist and anti-globalization platform, pledging to introduce a monthly "universal income" for all citizens, to consult the French people in major legislation and to legalize marijuana.

He topped seven other left-wing candidates in the first round of the Socialist Party primaries a week ago and defeated Valls in the second round on Sunday by 58% to 41%.

Hamon was education minister in Francois Hollande's Socialist administration but resigned after disagreeing with the government's broad social democrat economic policy.

He will now face the official opposition candidate François Fillon, of the center-right Republicans

party, the far-right National Front candidate Marine Le Pen as well as independent candidates, including business-friendly former Economy Minister Emmanuel Macron, in the presidential elections that take place in April and May this year.

Fillon, who is anti-abortion and conservative and has proposed major public sector job cuts, was widely considered a favorite but is currently embroiled in a scandal over employing his wife as a parliamentary aide. On Sunday, Fillon told supporters at a rally to

"leave my wife out of the political debate."

Le Pen, who is running on an anti-immigrant, anti-European Union platform, has pledged to put "native" French people first.

France has now four clear choices for its next leader: the left-wing Hamon; the centrist Macron; the traditional conservative Fillon; and the far-right Le Pen.

**Willsher is a special correspondent**

**The New York Times**

## Hard Work Starts Now for France's Socialist Candidate (online)

The Associated Press

PARIS — Beating a politically weakened ex-prime minister proved easy for Benoit Hamon, who will represent France's ruling Socialist Party in the country's presidential election. Far harder will be convincing voters that his hard-left platform isn't the recipe for ruin his critics claim.

Hamon's comfortable victory Sunday in a Socialist primary runoff against Manuel Valls owed much to his radical proposal to give all French adults a regular monthly income to protect them in an automated future where machines will take their jobs.

Hamon's winning margin — nearly 59 percent of the votes in the three-quarters of polling stations tallied — also appeared as a resounding rejection of unpopular outgoing President Francois Hollande and Valls, his prime minister for more than two years.

But the path forward for Hamon is littered with obstacles.

First, he will have to unite the Socialists behind him, which could be heavy lifting. Divisions are deep between the party's hard-left wing, which consistently criticized Hollande and Valls policies, and the advocates of more center-left views.

Another major challenge for Hamon will be negotiating with fiery far-left leader and fellow presidential candidate Jean-Luc Melenchon, who is trying to attract votes from

disappointed Socialists. Hamon is proposing a coalition with Melenchon that might have a better chance of winning the general election.

Hamon will also face tough competition from outspoken centrist Emmanuel Macron, who has found increasing popularity with his pro-business views.

Such are the left's divisions that some Valls supporters may now shift to Macron's independent run for the presidency.

The outcome of the two-round vote in April and May looks increasingly uncertain.

Leading conservative candidate Francois Fillon, who also is a former prime minister, was rocked in the past week by allegations that his wife, Penelope, held a fake but handsomely paid job as a parliamentary aide. Financial prosecutors are investigating.

At a campaign rally in Paris on Sunday — where a boisterous crowd gave Penelope Fillon a standing ovation and chanted her name, Fillon said, "We have nothing to hide."

"Through Penelope they are trying to break me," he said. "I will never forgive those who chose to throw us to the wolves."

A priority for Hamon, a 49-year-old former junior minister and, briefly, education minister, will be to rally the Socialists, split ideologically and

wounded by Hollande's five-year tenure as president.

"Our country needs the left, but a left that is modern and innovates," Hamon said.

Early polling has suggested the Socialist candidate will struggle to advance to the presidential runoff in May, where far-right leader Marine Le Pen could be waiting, campaigning on anti-Europe, anti-immigration and anti-Islam themes.

In defeat, Valls didn't throw his support behind Hamon, but cautioned against the risk of the country shifting to the right.

"We refuse that tomorrow Marine Le Pen becomes the face of France," he said.

In his speech Sunday, Hamon presented himself as an anti-populist candidate who can face the "unstable world" of U.S. President Donald Trump and Russian President Vladimir Putin and protect the French people from the terror threat posed by extremists.

The turnout on Sunday, estimated at around 2 million voters, was more robust than in the first round of voting but still suggested a lack of enthusiasm among the French electorate of 44 million. The conservative primary attracted more than 4 million voters in November.

Hamon wasn't as tainted as Valls by Hollande's unpopularity, because he rebelled and quit the government in 2014.

Valls served as Hollande's prime minister for more than two years until last December, when it became clear the president couldn't win a second term. Having to defend the government's economic policies and labor reforms against Hamon proved an uphill fight for Valls.

Hamon's signature proposal for a 750 euros (\$800) "universal income" that would be gradually granted to all adults also proved a campaign masterstroke, grabbing headlines and underpinning his surprise success in the primary's two rounds of voting, first against six opponents and then against Valls in the runoff.

Sharply criticized by Valls as unrealistic and ruinous, Hamon says the no-strings-attached payments would cushion the French in an increasingly automated future, as machines take their jobs.

He proposes a tax on robots to help finance the measure's huge costs — by Hamon's reckoning, at least 300 billion euros (\$320 billion) if applied to more than 50 million adults.

Hamon also proposes legalizing cannabis and allowing medically assisted deaths.

First-time voter Maayane Pralus said Hamon "has a lot of the youth vote with him, which is sick of the old politics."

"People call him utopian, but that's the politics we've been waiting for," the 18-year-old student said.

## Newsweek : Socialist candidate Benoit Hamon wants a new alliance for the French presidential election

By Josh Lowe On 1/30/17 at 5:49 AM

France's left-wing Socialist presidential candidate Benoit Hamon has urged other progressive candidates to rally behind his campaign.

Speaking Sunday, after his shock victory in the Socialist Party primary, Hamon reached out to Green Party candidate Yannick Jadot and to Jean-Luc Mélenchon, founder of the Left Party who is standing under the banner of France Insoumise.

He called on his two rivals to unite with him "to build a social, economic and democratic government majority," *Le Monde* reported.

Try Newsweek for only \$1.25 per week Former French education minister Benoit Hamon reacts after partial results in the second round of

the French left's presidential primary election in Paris, France, January 29. He went on to clinch a shock victory as the Socialist's presidential candidate. Christian Hartmann/Reuters

Hamon, who had been placed third in many polls and was not originally

expected to take the Socialist nomination, is from the party's left.

He served as education minister under the incumbent Socialist president Francois Hollande, but left in 2014 after opposing the government's rightward, pro-business turn.

Hollande's former prime minister, Manuel Valls, a major figure on the

right of the party, had been the favorite to take the presidential nomination at the start of the contest.

His defeat by Hamon sees the party veer significantly to the left, which is why Hamon believes there is space for collaboration with more radical leftist candidates.

Hamon's chief focus is on the labor market and welfare policy; he wants a universal basic income, has plans to introduce a tax on profits from robot labor, and believes in fighting for better work-life balance for French voters.

Sunday, Mélenchon cautiously welcomed the fact that Hamon "sang words so close to our own"

but has not yet explicitly responded to his offer.

Meanwhile, the result may give a boost to the independent centrist candidate, Emmanuel Macron, a former economy minister in Hollande's government.

With Valls out of the race, Macron is the only candidate standing on a liberal centrist platform.



## French Socialists Pick Presidential Candidate

Socialists in France have chosen former junior minister Benoit Hamon as their candidate for president in a victory that analysts say is not likely to boost his election chances when French voters begin first-round balloting for a new president in April.

With the vote tally near completion, results from Sunday's Socialist primary runoff showed Hamon holding near 59 percent of the vote, beating his centrist rival Manuel Valls, a former prime minister. Valls has conceded defeat.

"Our country needs the left but a modern, innovative left turned towards the future," the 49-year-old Hamon told cheering supporters in his victory speech.

Analysts give the Socialist party, weakened and divided by the widely unpopular presidency of Francois Hollande, little or no chance of moving past the first round of voting April 23. If no one wins 50 percent of that vote, the two top vote getters will face off for the presidency May 7.

Early polls shows Hamon trailing four others in opinion polls.

The Hamon candidacy and the apparent lack of enthusiasm for his party are expected to boost the chances of independent centrist Emmanuel Macron in a faceoff with leading rivals on the right and far-right.

Opinion polls show those rivals -- Conservative Francois Fillon, the Republican candidate, and far-right leader Marine Le Pen -- headed for a likely showdown in the May 7 election.

Fillon's campaign has been in turmoil since Wednesday when a newspaper reported his wife had

been paid more than a half-million dollars over eight years for a suspected fake job as a parliamentary aide.

Such allegations sparked a preliminary judicial inquiry, but there was even more bad news for Fillon Sunday.

Investigative website *Mediapart* and the *Journal du Dimanche* newspaper reported Fillon had used his parliamentary allowance to pocket tens of thousands of dollars while working as a senator from 2005-2007.

## NBC : Is France in for a Trump-style election surprise?

by Mark Hanrahan

Members of France's governing Socialist party will choose their candidate to stand in April's presidential election Sunday.

But if polls are any indication, whoever wins the contest is not likely to win the presidency.

And with the conservative front-runner facing a scandal, the chances for the far-right populist Marine Le Pen, loathed by the political establishment across Europe, could be on the rise.

French socialists have a choice between the hard-left Benoit Hamon and the more centrist former Prime Minister Manuel Valls.

However, early polls show that, whichever of the pair wins the contest will be running in fifth place in the race to succeed their Socialist colleague, President Francois Hollande.

French member of Parliament and candidate for the right-wing primaries ahead of France's 2017 presidential elections, Francois Fillon gestures as he delivers a speech following the first results of the primary's second round on November 27, 2016, at his campaign headquarters in Paris. France's conservatives held final run-off round of a primary battle on November 27 to determine who will be the right wing nominee for next

year's presidential election. / AFP PHOTO / Eric FEFERBERG/ERIC FEFERBERG/AFP/Getty Images ERIC FEFERBERG / AFP - Getty Images

That puts them behind the frontrunner, conservative Francois Fillon, Marine Le Pen, centrist independent Emmanuel Macron and far-left contender Jean-Luc Melenchon.

In a presidential contest, either socialist candidate is likely to be hurt by their association with President Hollande, who is deeply unpopular with French voters.

That means that the principal competition for Le Pen, the leader of France's National Front party is Francois Fillon, of the conservative Republican party.

But Fillon's popularity has nosedived in recent days, after French magazine *Le Canard Enchaîné* published allegations that his wife was paid around 500,000 euro (approximately \$534,000) for working as his parliamentary assistant. The magazine alleged that there was no evidence that she had actually carried out the work.

Fillon has denied the claims and pledged to drop out of the race if a criminal investigation into his conduct is launched.

A poll carried out after the allegations surfaced this week,

found that some 61 percent of voters have a negative opinion of Fillon, and 38 percent a positive one. That amounts to a drop of 16 percentage points since November last year.

Far-right leader and candidate for next spring presidential elections Marine Le Pen from France celebrates after her speech at a meeting of European Nationalists in Koblenz, Germany, Saturday, Jan. 21, 2017. Michael Probst / AP

That leaves Le Pen in a strong position, and many commentators believe that the rising tide of anti-establishment populism that swept Trump to power in the U.S. and saw Britain vote to exit the European Union could continue in France.

The National Front has long been associated with anti-immigrant and anti-multiculturalism views.

The party's former leader, Le Pen's father Jean-Marie, was convicted of a number of offenses during his public life, including racism and holocaust-denial.

Since assuming the leadership of the National Front, she has sought to de-toxify, the party and distance it from some of the extreme positions advocated by her father.

Le Pen stood for president in 2012, but failed to make it to the one-on-one final round contest, as her father did in 2002.

In that contest, however, Le Pen the elder gained less than 18 percent of the vote, losing to Jacques Chirac.

Le Pen has certainly tried to hitch her wagon to Trump's star, describing his victory as a "sign of hope".

President-elect Donald Trump heads back into the elevator after a meeting at Trump Tower, Jan. 16, 2017 in New York, N.Y. Drew Angerer / Getty Images

The President, however, has been somewhat less ready to politically embrace Le Pen. Earlier this month, she set off rumors of a meeting between her and the then-president elect, after she was spotted in Trump Tower.

It transpired that Le Pen was there for what her team called a "private trip." Asked about her presence in Trump Tower, then-transition spokesman Sean Spicer denied any meeting took place, telling the Reuters news agency: "It's a public building."

The first round of France's presidential election takes place on April 23rd and, in the event no candidate wins a majority, a second round with two candidates will be held the following month.



# Fillon Trains Fire on Macron as Scandal Upends French Vote

@gviscusi More stories by

Gregory Viscusi

by and

29 janvier 2017 à 23:00 UTC-5  
janvier 2017 à 04:51 UTC-5

- Front-runner looks to revive campaign after prosecutors' probe
- Socialist nominate leftist Hamon over establishment candidate

French Presidential front-runner Francois Fillon unleashed a volley of attacks on independent challenger Emmanuel Macron Sunday, as he tried to stabilize his campaign after a turbulent week.

With prosecutors examining whether Fillon broke the law when he employed his wife as a parliamentary assistant, the candidate fought back at a rally in Paris saying that Macron was a typical elitist and out-of-touch with ordinary people, while tying him to the Socialist government's policies. In a further rebuke to outgoing President Francois Hollande, Socialist supporters picked party dissident Benoit Hamon as their nominee in a primary vote.

Francois Fillon on Jan. 29.

Photographer: Marlene Awaad/Bloomberg

Macron, 39, quit the Hollande government last year to mount an independent run for president and is nipping at the heels of the

Republican Fillon and the anti-euro nationalist Marine Le Pen, pitching himself as young outsider who can appeal to voters across the spectrum. While surveys have made Fillon favorite to win May's presidential run-off, bookmakers cut the odds of a Macron upset over the weekend, judging that prosecutors' Jan. 25 decision to open a preliminary criminal investigation into the Fillons may shift public opinion.

"He says he's a reformer -- why not? -- but not as much as me," Fillon shouted to a crowd of about 10,000 waving French flags. "He says he's independent and comes from nowhere: the truth is that he ran Hollande's program and most of his policies. Macron is a prototype of the elite that knows nothing of the deep-down reality of our country."

A Kantar Sofres poll released Monday in Le Figaro shows why Fillon has to fend off Macron. If the April 23 first round were held now, Le Pen would take 25 percent, with Fillon on 22 percent and Macron on 21 percent in a dogfight to take the second slot in the May 7 run-off. Should he make the second round, Fillon would hammer Le Pen 60 percent to 40 percent but if he faced Macron he would lose by a similar margin. Macron would rout Le Pen 65 percent to 35 percent. The poll of 1,032 people was taken after the affair relating to Penelope Fillon's employment broke.

For an explainer on Fillon's legal problems, click here

As Macron's momentum builds, his former colleagues in the Socialist are struggling to maintain unity at the tail end of the most unpopular presidency in modern French history.

## Socialist Tensions

Hamon, 49, made his name rebelling against the leaders of the Socialist Party and President Hollande. He defeated Hollande's former prime minister, Manuel Valls by 58.7 percent to 41.3 percent.

"Starting on Monday, I will propose to all the candidates in the primary, and to all those who are part of other leftist and ecological movements, that together we construct a governing majority that stands for social, ecological and democratic progress," Hamon said in his acceptance speech. "France needs a modern innovative left. Victory is not out of the question."

Mathematically, he could be right. Politically, it looks a long shot.

Hollande is the least popular president in modern French history and the first to decide not to stand for reelection. The Kantar Sofres poll said Hamon would receive 15 percent in the first round of the presidential election, finishing a distant fourth and well out of the running to qualify for the run-off. That poll was an improvement on earlier polls which put Hamon in single digits.

The poll put Jean-Luc Melenchon, who is backed by the Communist Party, at 10 percent. Hamon has

made overtures to Melenchon to unite their forces, but has been rebuffed.

## Defecting to Macron

The party itself is divided over the legacy of the Hollande years. On Sunday night Valls offered a tepid endorsement before launching into a list of his accomplishments in government. And Hamon didn't wait for his defeated rival to finish before starting his acceptance speech, forcing TV networks to cut away from the former prime minister in mid-sentence.

"There will be work to do to unite the party," Socialist spokeswoman Corinne Narassiguin said in a Bloomberg Television interview. "We have to make sure we don't have too many people leave to join Emmanuel Macron."

The Socialists' decision to back Hamon's proposals for a universal income for all French adults over Valls pragmatism offers another boost to Macron, who has already lured many Socialist voters and won the backing of several party figures.

"Supporters of social democracy rather than unreformed socialism have to accept they may have to choose the maverick candidate with a fledgling party structure over the candidate of the established Socialist Party," said Charles Lichfield, an associate at Eurasia Group.

Before it's here, it's on the Bloomberg Terminal.[LEARN MORE](#)



## France's 5 main contenders in the presidential race (online)

By Associated Press

By Associated Press January 29 at 4:53 PM

PARIS — A look at the five main candidates competing in France's April-May presidential election, whose outcome remains highly uncertain.

FRANCOIS FILLON, 62

Today's WorldView

What's most important from where the world meets Washington

Please provide a valid email address.

Fillon won the conservative nomination in November. He's campaigning on promises of drastic free-market reforms, a hard line on

immigration and Islam, support for traditional family values and friendlier ties with Russia's Vladimir Putin.

Allegations that his wife, Penelope, held a fake but handsomely paid job as a parliamentary aide disrupted Fillon's campaign during the last week. Polls suggest his biggest obstacle to advancing in the general election may be far-right leader Marine Le Pen.

BENOIT HAMON, 49

Comparatively inexperienced, Hamon was chosen as the Socialist nominee on Sunday, defeating former Prime Minister Manuel Valls in a primary runoff.

He is a former junior minister and briefly served as education minister under President Francois Hollande.

Hamon then rebelled against Hollande's shift toward more business friendly policies and left the government in 2014. His signature proposal is to give a "universal income" of 750 euros (\$800) gradually to all adults.

The Socialist candidate is now squeezed between far-left and centrist rivals.

MARINE LE PEN, 48

Far-right leader Le Pen, who has strong anti-migrant views, wants to strengthen France's borders and reinstate its national currency, the franc.

Since inheriting the leadership of the National Front party from her father, Jean-Marie Le Pen, in 2011, she has ditched its long-standing anti-Semitism to focus on economic

protectionism and fears of Islam. The makeover has boosted the party's fortunes among French voters before the spring presidential election.

Early polls show Le Pen may be among the two top contenders in the first round of the two-part election and advance to the runoff.

EMMANUEL MACRON, 39

Centrist Emmanuel Macron, 39, is campaigning on pro-free market, pro-European views. He suggests loosening some of France's stringent labor rules, especially the 35-hour workweek, to boost hiring.

Macron is a former investment banker. He became Hollande's economic adviser at the Elysee Palace in 2012 and two years later, economy minister. He left the

government last year after he launched his own political movement, "In Motion" (En Marche). He never has held elected office.

JEAN-LUC MELENCHON, 65

Outspoken Jean-Luc Melenchon, 65, is a former Socialist who left the party in 2008 to create his own far-left movement, the Left Party.

Presenting himself as the people's candidate, he is calling for reforms to make the European Union "more democratic" and advocates

environment friendly measures. He promises a 1,300-euro (\$1,393) minimum wage for employees, up from 1,149-euro (\$1,231) now.

Melenchon was a candidate in the 2012 presidential race, coming in fourth with 11.1 percent of the votes in the first round.

Copyright 2017 The Associated Press. All rights reserved. This material may not be published, broadcast, rewritten or redistributed.



## This Is How You Should Read French Election Polls

It's been a tough run for political polling, leading some to view poll results with an extra dose of skepticism. That might be particularly appropriate in France. Its two-stage presidential election system, with multiple candidates appealing to a highly divided electorate, makes interpreting polls something of an art. Especially as most focus on the first round, rather than the end result.

### 1. Who's up at the moment?

Marine Le Pen, head of the far-right anti-immigrant anti-European Union National Front. She drew 25 percent in a Jan. 30 poll by Kantar Sofres, to 22 percent for Francois Fillon of the center-right Republicans and 21 percent for independent Emmanuel Macron. An Ipsos poll published Jan. 22 had Le Pen at 27 percent, Fillon at 26 percent and Macron at 23 percent.

### 2. How has that moved over time?

Most polls at the end of 2016 showed Fillon with a narrow lead over Le Pen, and Macron much further behind.

### 3. So is Le Pen now favored to be France's next president?

No!

### 4. How can that be?

The headline polling numbers reflect possible outcomes for the first round of the election, on April 23. Under the French

system, if no presidential candidate collects a first-round majority -- and no one ever has topped 50 percent -- the top two finishers face off in a second round, scheduled for May 7. Le Pen may have a solid bloc of support, but she's also France's most controversial figure and her anti-Europe views are rejected by most French. That might hurt her in a one-on-one race.

### 5. Who could beat her in a second round?

Either of her main competitors, apparently. The Kantar poll showed Fillon routing Le Pen by 60 percent to 40 percent and Macron walloping her by 65 percent to 35 percent. In a hypothetical Fillon-Macron faceoff, the poll showed the independent Macron winning comfortably, 58 percent to 42 percent.

### 6. Why is that the case?

France's National Front has a fervent but limited base of support. That makes the party formidable in the crowded first round of voting but leaves it struggling thereafter. In regional elections in 2015, the party led the first-round voting in six of 12 mainland regions but failed to win any of them in the run-offs. Voters from other parties, it seems, held their noses and backed each other, intent to keep Le Pen's party out. "Le Pen still doesn't have any allies who could help her win a presidential runoff," said Antonio Barroso, an analyst at Teneo Intelligence. "Both Macron and Fillon would probably receive the

endorsements of the rest of mainstream parties."

### 7. So is it impossible to foresee a Madame le President Le Pen?

Not impossible. Did the world learn nothing from Brexit and Donald Trump?

### 8. How could Le Pen win?

Any number of things could happen in the next three months. Another terror attack could further undermine establishment parties and draw swing voters to Le Pen's anti-foreigner message. Fillon has recently been hit with a

graft investigation

-- he hired his wife for years as an assistant, and there are doubts about how much work she actually did. That affair could blow over or blow up. Plus, low turnout in the second round could distort the results. While turnout in French presidential elections has always stayed at or above 80 percent, there are doubts about the second round this year. Fillon is openly religious and is calling for a Thatcherite cure for the French economy,

hardly appetizing

for leftist voters who may see little reason to choose him over Le Pen. If they stay home in mass, that could distort the second round results.

### 9. What's a poll-watcher to do?

Keep watching. French polling has been reliable in recent elections, and should be even more so now

that the Socialists have chosen Benoit Hamon as their candidate, the last of the major parties to select a nominee. So far, pollsters have had to run numerous scenarios by voters. Now surveys will be able to gauge whether Hamon really will send moderate Socialists supporters scurrying toward Macron. And keep an eye on Oddschecker.com. The bookmakers have lengthened the odds on a Fillon victory over the past week, reckoning his legal problems will feed through into polls in the coming days. The Republican is now joint favorite alongside Macron, with about a 40 percent chance, while Le Pen has a probability of 25 percent.

### The Reference Shelf

- More on that probe of Fillon.
- Le Pen is just one of Europe's anti-establishment figures seeing hope in Trump's triumph.
- A Le Pen sighting at Trump Tower generated intrigue.
- A Bloomberg View editorial weighed in on Le Pen.



## Air France Turns Away 15 From Muslim Countries for Trump Ban

Air France has blocked 15 passengers from Muslim countries from traveling to the U.S. because they would have been refused entry under President Donald Trump's new immigration ban.

Air France said in a statement it was informed Saturday by the U.S. government of the new restrictions, and had no choice but to stop the passengers from boarding U.S.-bound flights.

An airline spokeswoman said Monday that the passengers were taken back to their point of

departure or otherwise taken care of. She would not provide the passengers' names, nationalities or other details.

The company earlier had reported that 21 passengers had been turned away, but then corrected its count.

The passengers were from seven Muslim-majority countries affected by the three-month immigration ban: Iraq, Syria, Iran, Sudan, Libya, Somalia and Yemen.



## Miss France beats Haiti and Colombia to clinch Miss Universe title

By Marian Liu, CNN

Universe, she will be campaigning for dental and oral care around the world.

"This sash is not only a sash," said Mittenaere, who is from Northern France, in a Miss Universe interview

after the pageant. "This is something to help people, to understand people."

First and second runner-ups were Miss Haiti (Raquel Pelissier) and Miss Colombia (Andrea Tovar). The

top finalists hailed from Kenya, Indonesia, Mexico, Peru, Panama, Colombia, Philippines, Canada, Brazil, France, Haiti, Thailand and the U.S.

Decked out in a gold-sequined gown, 24-year-old dental surgery student Iris Mittenaere beat 12 other finalists to take the crown. As Miss

The pageant changed its format this year; it had 12 instead of 13 finalists, and counted online votes from the Miss Universe app and Twitter.

This was the first time Sierra Leone

TIME

Tara John

France has banned restaurants from offering unlimited refills of soda and sugary drinks, the latest bid to decrease the rise in the nation's obesity rate.

THE WALL  
STREET  
JOURNAL

Jan. 26, 2017 4:03 p.m. ET

Donald Trump's proposed border fence and his order to suspend all immigration from terror-producing countries are dramatic and consequential. But they're also palliative symbols. The message: Your days of anxiety are behind you. We will be a coherent nation once more.

Politicians across the West are saying the same thing in what is shaping up to be the widest rollback of the freedom of movement in decades.

It's not just right-wing nationalists like Marine Le Pen in France or Hungary's Viktor Orbán. Centrists get it, too. Some, like Angela Merkel, are still-reluctant restrictionists. Others, like Theresa May, Dutch Prime Minister Mark Rutte and French presidential aspirant François Fillon, are more forthright. All have wised up to the popular demand for drastically lower immigration rates.

The irony is that freedom of movement is unraveling because liberals won central debates—about Islamism, social cohesion and nationalism. Rather than give any ground, they accused opponents of being phobic and reactionary. Now liberals are reaping the rewards of those underhanded victories.

THE WALL  
STREET  
JOURNAL

2017 5:21 p.m. ET

LONDON—Jolyon Maugham woke up early the morning after Britain's European Union referendum and listened to the radio in shock: With most of the votes in, the odds favored leaving. He began to rack his brain for ways to stop it from happening.

entered the competition and was represented by Hawa Kamara, 2013 Miss West Africa. Miss Canada, Sierra Beachell, also made headlines for taking on trolls who body-shamed her for her size.

The new order, implemented on Jan. 27, will mean that hotels, restaurants and school cafeterias will no longer have soda fountains. The move is part of a spate of health initiatives implemented by the country, which includes a "soda tax" imposed on sweetened drinks, a

The annual pageant was held on Monday at the Mall of Asia Arena in Manila, Philippines. Host Steve Harvey joked on the show that he got the winner right this year, after last year's snafu of getting it wrong.

ban on vending machines in schools and a limit on the servings of french fries to once a week in schools, the New York Times reports.

Even though France's overall obesity rate is relatively low—41% of women and 57% of men between 30 to 60 were obese or

Rapper Flo Rida and R&B group Boys II Men provided entertainment.

overweight—the laws are in accordance with World Health Organization (WHO) recommendations. WHO presented statistics in 2016 on the good effects of imposing a sugar tax.

## France Is Banning Unlimited Soda Refills to Fight Obesity

## Ahmari : How Liberals Killed the Freedom of Movement

Sohrab Ahmari

Liberals refused to acknowledge the link between Islamist ideology and terrorism. For eight years under President Obama, the U.S. government refused even to say "Islamism," claiming ludicrously that U.S. service members were going to war against "violent extremism." Voters could read and hear about jihadists offering up their actions to Allah before opening automatic fire on shoppers and blasphemous cartoonists.

Mr. Obama's linguistic exertions didn't repress the truth. They merely opened the space for others to express it—and sometimes to grossly distort it, by suggesting, for example, that all 1.4 billion Muslims are terrorists or sympathizers and should be kept out.

The left also largely "won" the debate over Muslim integration. For too many liberals, every Islamist atrocity was cause to fret about an "Islamophobic" backlash. When a jihadist would go boom somewhere, pre-emptive hashtags expressing solidarity with threatened Muslims were never far behind.

But liberals don't bother nearly as much about the pathologies in Muslim communities, and in Islamic civilization itself, that were producing so much carnage. Some would sooner abandon their own feminist and gay-rights orthodoxies than criticize what imams in Paris and

London suburbs were telling their congregations.

Amnesty International cozied up to the British-Pakistani radical Islamist Moazzam Begg despite his fawning interviews with the al Qaeda preacher Anwar al-Awlaki. When Amnesty staffer Gita Sahgal went public with her objections in 2010, the organization suspended her and argued in a press release that "jihad in self-defense" wasn't "antithetical to human rights." The Islamist philosopher Tariq Ramadan became the toast of New York intellectuals, though he refused to call for an outright end to the Islamic practice of stoning adulterers.

By contrast, liberal writers sneered at the Somali-born human-rights activist Ayaan Hirsi Ali as an "Enlightenment fundamentalist." Brandeis disinvited her to speak on campus in 2014. The Southern Poverty Law Center last year branded her an "extremist," along with the counterterrorism campaigner Maajid Nawaz.

Liberals thus empowered the most illiberal elements of Muslim communities while marginalizing reformers. Is it any wonder that many voters came to see Muslims as sources of danger and social incohesion?

Liberals, finally, "won" the debate over nationalism. In Europe especially and the U.S. to a lesser

extent, they treated nationalism and the West's Judeo-Christian heritage as relics of a dark past. For European Union leaders, the ideal political community was an ever-expanding set of legal procedures, commercial links and politically correct norms. Citizens could fill in the blanks with whatever cultural content they preferred—preferably "Europe" itself.

But norms and laws didn't inspire political attachment. The hunger for authentic identity drove young European Muslims to the Islamist underground. Among native Europeans, the far right came by default to own nationalism and nationhood. The divergence proved poisonous.

Judging by their breathless editorials and social-media outbursts, leading liberals still blame this reversal in political fortunes on a paroxysm of collective fear and hatred, the forces they've always sought to banish. Yet the main culprits for the popular revolt against liberalism are liberals themselves. If liberal ideals are to survive the current backlash, the West needs sharper, more hard-headed liberals.

*Mr. Ahmari is a Journal editorial writer in London.*

## Brexit Disruptors Challenge Government's Plans in Court

Jenny Gross

Updated Jan. 29, 2017 5:21 p.m. ET

"With a referendum, it's a one-off event" and there is no chance to vote again, said Mr. Maugham, a tax lawyer in London. "The world seemed to change overnight."

Half a year later, after consulting with academics across Europe, Mr. Maugham on Friday filed a legal challenge in Ireland's High Court over whether lawmakers would be able to revoke Article 50—which starts the formal process of

leaving the EU—after it is triggered. In two days of fundraising in December, he raised roughly £70,000 (\$85,000) from nearly 2,000 people to cover the legal costs.

With lawmakers divided in Parliament, Mr. Maugham and a handful of others see the courts as their best chance at disrupting or derailing Prime Minister Theresa May's plans for Britain's exit from the EU. Although political analysts

and economists say the cases are unlikely to be more than speed bumps, they are a rallying point for frustrated opponents hoping to maintain closer ties.

Mr. Maugham's challenge comes days after the U.K. Supreme Court ruled in a separate case that Mrs. May must get parliamentary approval from lawmakers before starting the formal Brexit process.



The prime minister wants the U.K. to leave the bloc's single market for goods and services, a move she says will allow Britain to abandon a requirement that lets EU citizens live in the country freely and to strike new free-trade deals, including with the bloc. Last week's judgment potentially complicates the path out of the EU by giving lawmakers an opening to influence her stance.

The cases illustrate the clash of world views in a polarized Britain. Brexit backers call the legal efforts an attempt to undermine democracy by a liberal London elite and say Britain will have more freedom to pursue its own policies once outside the EU.

They point out that the U.K.'s economy has grown robustly since the Brexit referendum in June. Mrs. May still has approval ratings well above other prominent politicians.

But Mr. Maugham said he worries Britain will be worse off without access to the EU single market. He said voters were misled by promises about the supposed benefits of leaving, including that the national health-care system would be better funded.

"Our political class has abandoned 48% of the population [who voted against Brexit] and people are pretty desperate," said Mr. Maugham, 45 years old, who was born in London and supported himself through the last two years of

high school in New Zealand as a cleaner. "For lots of people in London, it felt like a loss of the things that they love about the United Kingdom: its inclusiveness, its liberality."

On a personal level, he said he spent a year studying in Belgium through the EU's student-exchange program and feels sorry that his three daughters won't have that experience. "I saw the lives of my children getting worse in consequence of the vote," he said.

In another case, Peter Wilding, the director of the British Influence think tank, and Adrian Yalland, a Conservative lobbyist, filed a legal challenge to the assumption that departing the EU means leaving the single market. The case is continuing.

Edward Leigh, a Conservative lawmaker who voted to leave, said there is no way U.K. courts can stop Brexit from happening or force a second referendum. He says Parliament shouldn't have the right to overturn a democratic vote and believes Britain will do better outside the bloc, arguing that the U.K. has been hamstrung by European bureaucracy and should stand on its own.

"We've had a referendum, we're going to leave, and that is that," he said.

## THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

1:22 p.m. ET

Never underestimate Italy's capacity to muddle through.

Following Prime Minister Matteo Renzi's defeat in last December's constitutional reform referendum, the country didn't collapse into turmoil, as many had feared. There was no political crisis leading to a snap election that might have brought the anti-euro 5 Star Movement to power; nor did the fragile banking system implode.

Instead, a new prime minister was swiftly installed at the head of a largely unchanged government, which acted promptly to stabilize the banks.

Now, the Italian establishment has taken further steps to insulate itself against the risk of a future populist government: A constitutional court ruling last week struck down a proposed change to the country's electoral law, which would have created a two-stage process for electing the lower house of parliament, with the second-round

## Italy Tries to Skirt a Populist Revolt

Simon Nixon

Jan. 29, 2017

winner automatically receiving bonus seats to give it an absolute majority.

The court ruled instead for a one-stage election with bonus seats only available to a party that receives more than 40% of the votes. In Italy's fragmented political landscape, that high threshold makes coalition governments more likely.

Even so, there are risks to this muddling-through scenario.

First, the constitutional court's intervention makes the prospect of early elections, perhaps in June, more likely. And even under a revised electoral law, a 5 Star government can't be ruled out, whether because it achieves the 40% threshold or forms a coalition with other populist parties.

Despite relentless, critical media coverage about the performance of the mayor of Rome, Virginia Raggi, some polls put the party marginally ahead of Mr. Renzi's Democratic Party.

Establishment critics question 5 Star's competence, ideological

Stephen Booth, policy director at Open Europe, a think tank that studies Europe and took no position on Brexit, said he sees a narrow path for any impact on the course of Britain's departure, given the results of the vote and that plans are already in motion.

"For the people behind these cases, it seems to be an attempt to make the process of leaving as difficult as possible and to throw as many hurdles in the way," he said.

A U.K. government spokesman declined to comment on Mr. Maugham's case, but said the government was focused on taking the U.K. out of the EU. He said the government rejects the arguments made in Mr. Wilding and Mr. Yalland's case.

"As a priority we will pursue a bold and ambitious free-trade agreement with the European Union," the spokesman said.

Last week, the government said the Supreme Court verdict wouldn't affect Mrs. May's plans to trigger Article 50 of the Lisbon Treaty, which opens the two-year window for exit talks, by the end of March. The Labour Party has said it won't use the verdict to block Brexit, but that it would try to use the legislative process to influence the shape of a deal with Brussels.

Mr. Maugham is plying what he acknowledges is a complex

case. He is arguing in a key point that Mrs. May essentially already triggered Article 50 in October when she informed her European counterparts that the U.K. was leaving the bloc, meaning, he says, that Britons have been deprived of their rights because EU countries aren't yet willing to negotiate. He is joined as a plaintiff in the case by several members of Britain's Green Party, which has one lawmaker in Parliament.

While lawyers for the U.K. government have said that, once started, the process of leaving the EU is irrevocable, some EU leaders say Britain could decide to reverse the process.

Mr. Maugham is hoping the case will be referred to the European Court of Justice—whose jurisdiction Mrs. May wants to leave—and he filed in Ireland because the case has to go through an EU court. If his case is successful, he hopes it will enable lawmakers to call off Brexit if, in two years, they aren't happy with the deal—without requiring consent from all other 27 EU members.

"I worry about how people will feel when the promises of a better future that were made to them are not delivered," Mr. Maugham said.

**Write to** Jenny Gross at [jenny.gross@wsj.com](mailto:jenny.gross@wsj.com)

coherence and governance but following what has become a familiar pattern across Western democracies, this appears to make no dent in its support. Instead, it is tapping into deep public discontent over corruption and resentment of a European Union that many believe has done little to help Italy with its twin challenges of migration and a stalled economy.

Second, the banking system still has the capacity to spring nasty surprises that could darken the political mood. True, the risk of a systemic Italian banking crisis now looks much diminished. The government's promise of a €20 billion (\$21.4 billion) fund to support the banking system halted a run on Banca Monte dei Paschi di Siena SpA, Italy's fourth-largest bank and the primary focus of investor concern.

At the same time, shares in Italy's largest bank by assets, UniCredit SpA, have nearly doubled since December, when chief executive Jean Pierre Mustier announced a radical turnaround plan that included a €13 billion rights issue and the sale of around €17 billion of bad

debts, a landmark transaction that for the first time opens up a private market for nonperforming loans.

Yet, tricky questions about how the government will deploy its €20 billion remain. The European Commission has yet to confirm that a state rescue of Monte dei Paschi is consistent with EU rules. Brussels also needs to give its approval on the terms of any compensation offered to investors who may have been inappropriately sold junior bonds and now face having their bonds forcibly converted into shares.

The government faces a potentially even bigger headache over the fate of two smaller banks from the Veneto region of northern Italy, which were rescued last year by Atlante, a private sector industry-funded bank rescue vehicle. These now need yet another capital injection, and it isn't clear whether Atlante has sufficient funds or whether the banks might be eligible for a state bailout under EU rules, raising the prospect of losses for senior bondholders and uninsured depositors.

But perhaps the biggest risk is that in muddling through, Italy is storing up trouble for the future. The country's primary challenge for 20 years, since it first locked itself into the discipline of eurozone membership, is that it has struggled to adapt to the challenges of operating in an open, global economy.

The small and medium-size



## Matthew Qvortrup : Angela Merkel's take on how to make a country great (again)

Matthew Qvortrup

In 2013, German Chancellor Angela Merkel fractured her hip while skiing in St. Moritz, Switzerland. Doctors ordered her to rest. Feeling bored, she picked up "The Transformation of the World," a 1,500-page tome by the German historian Jürgen Osterhammel. It argued that the most successful 19th century economies championed open markets and liberal immigration laws, and that these policies spurred technological advances. Merkel liked what she read; she felt it reflected her world view. She even invited the academic to give a lecture when she turned 60 later that year.

Merkel has been described as "the liberal West's last defender" and the virtual antithesis to President Trump. And so she is in many ways. She promotes free trade; she espouses ethnic tolerance; she opposes isolationism. She is also a defender of women's rights (she introduced Germany's current abortion law) and an advocate of green policies. But often lost in the conversation is the fact that Merkel adheres to liberal and globalist principles because *she*

enterprises that make up the backbone of its economy may be brimming with technology, but they are typically too small, too reliant on bank lending and too resistant to outside capital and management to deliver the boost to growth and productivity that Italy needs to allay concerns about its high public debt burden.

*thinks that's best for Germany*, not for abstract ideological reasons.

It was Merkel's illiberal personal history that shaped her governing philosophy.

"I once lived behind a fence. That is something I do not wish to do again," Merkel said at an EU summit when the Hungarian prime minister criticized Germany's decision to accept refugees fleeing the Syrian crisis.

Merkel grew up in East Germany, the land of exit visas, where travel was allowed only in exceptional circumstances. More than 100 people were shot and killed when they tried to flee the Stalinist state. As she has said in numerous interviews, Merkel empathizes with the Syrian refugees trying to escape from the no-less totalitarian Islamic State. But she also understands that they can contribute positively to German society, just as communist refugees contributed to Western European and American society.

"No nation can confine itself any more to considering only its own concerns; if it still does so, it will

How much of this is due to cultural factors and how much to longstanding structural issues such as an inefficient judicial system, inflexible labor rules and pervasive corruption is a matter of longstanding debate. But without far-reaching reform, Italy will struggle to break out of its low-growth trap, raising the risk that popular frustration against the current establishment and

mainstream parties will continue to build, culminating in a populist victory.

If the price of keeping out the populists is a return to weak and unstable governments unable to deliver reforms, then the establishment's victory may be pyrrhic. Muddling though can be both a blessing and a curse.

sooner or later inflict harm on itself," Merkel said in 2014, another opinion substantiated by her past.

The Communist regime imposed punitive tariffs on products from non-communist countries to protect East German factories from competition. Simultaneously, these factories were guaranteed a market for their goods in the Soviet Union. In essence, the Soviet economy was based on the principle "buy Communist, hire Communist." We all know how that went: Protectionism led to inefficiency, scarcity and inferior products.

To Merkel, it's obvious that the best way to keep German factories humming is not to force German consumers to buy German, but to make quality products — and to advance policies that help foreign consumers become wealthy enough to buy them.

Hence Merkel's approach to the European Union. She has endorsed providing economic aid to poorer countries, in part for their advantage, but also — why deny it? — to increase German exports.

Some have criticized Merkel for turning the EU — in Trump's words — into "basically a vehicle for Germany." It's certainly the case that Germany has benefited from EU economic policies, but so too did America benefit from the Marshall Plan after World War II. Merkel, not surprisingly, is concerned about the economic fortunes of the country she leads; but in her universe, cross-border trade ultimately improves conditions everywhere.

Trump believes he can "Make America Great Again" by putting tariffs on imported goods and by shielding American industry. Merkel believes the opposite. She believes that you can make a country great only if its companies are allowed to — indeed, are forced to — prove their worth in open and healthy competition on the world markets.

It is strange indeed that the current great champion of free-market economics is a woman from a former communist country, and not a billionaire capitalist from America.

*Matthew Qvortrup is author of "Angela Merkel: Europe's Most*



Gramer

## Denmark Creates the World's First Ever Digital Ambassador

• By Robbie

It's a digital world out there. And Denmark's decided to get with the times. On Friday, Denmark unveiled plans to put in place a digital ambassador to liaise with some of the world's top tech companies, including Apple, Google, and Microsoft. It's the first position of its kind anywhere in the world.

Big companies "affect Denmark just as much as entire countries," Foreign Minister Anders Samuelsen

said in an interview with Danish newspaper *Politiken*. "These companies have become a type of new nations and we need to confront that," he added.

He isn't wrong. The world's top companies are gaining more dollars, reach, and international influence than many countries. (Though Denmark is not the first to admit businessmen can be akin to ambassadors — Foreign Policy gave its Diplomat of the Year award to Google's Eric Schmidt in 2016).

The new ambassadorship, which hasn't been filled yet, will open a new Danish diplomatic line to the United States beyond Washington (which may be useful in itself, given the prospects of strained U.S.-European relations under President Donald Trump).

It's also a way to lobby digital businesses to invest in Denmark. In this, Denmark's already had some success; both Facebook and Apple announced plans to build massive data centers in Denmark, creating some nice new jobs and cash for the country.

But Denmark won't be closing up shop on its traditional embassies any time soon, Samuelsen said. "We will of course maintain our old way of thinking in which we foster our relationships with other countries. But we simply need to have closer ties to some of the companies that affect us," he said. After all, it's still a Westphalian world out there; Google and Apple can buy a lot of things, but not national sovereignty. Yet.

## U.S. Service Member Killed in Yemen Raid

Gordon Lubold

Updated Jan. 29,

2017 7:33 p.m. ET

A U.S. service member was killed and several were wounded during an operation Saturday against al Qaeda militants in Yemen that marked the first known commando mission authorized by President Donald Trump.

In addition to the fatality, three U.S. special operations forces troops were wounded in the raid, which took place in a remote location in south-central Yemen, according to U.S. military officials. Two other American service members were injured when an American V-22 Osprey tilt-rotor aircraft supporting the mission from another location sustained what aviators termed a hard landing.

The Osprey, which had been serving as a medevac aircraft to transport casualties, was destroyed in place by U.S. forces because it was damaged to the extent that it couldn't be flown again, military officials said.

The operation took place in Shabwah governorate, U.S. military officials said. It resulted in the deaths of as many as 14 members of al Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula, or AQAP, the principal al

Qaeda franchise in Yemen, the Pentagon said in a statement.

U.S. military officials said that intelligence collected at the site of the Shabwah operation "will likely provide insight into the planning of future terror plots," according to the Pentagon statement.

"The goal of this was site exploitation, not any high-value targets, but we knew that there would probably be some people on the objective so we prepared for that," said one senior U.S. military official. The official said the U.S. had been conducting intelligence and surveillance of the area in advance of the operation.

The ground operation in Shabwah over the weekend represented the first combat casualty under the Trump administration.

"We are deeply saddened by the loss of one of our elite service members," said Gen. Joseph Votel, the commander of Tampa-based U.S. Central Command, which oversees U.S. military forces in the region. "The sacrifices are very profound in our fight against terrorists who threaten innocent peoples across the globe."

The White House said Sunday, "Americans are saddened this morning with news that a life of a heroic service member has been

taken in our fight against the evil of radical Islamic terrorism."

Yemen has been the focus of U.S. counterterrorism operations for years. Earlier this month, U.S. forces conducted a strike in a remote area of Bayda province, resulting in the death of Abd al-Ghani al-Rasas, an individual the Pentagon identified as being an al Qaeda "senior leader and facilitator."

Ground raids such as the one in Yemen over the weekend had been conducted rarely under the Obama administration and only after lengthy deliberations that could take weeks or months to get approved. Despite the Obama administration's meticulous scrutiny of such operations, President Barack Obama saw troops die in risky missions, including a Navy SEAL who was killed last year in Iraq during a firefight. Some senior officers had expressed frustration that it was difficult to get the "green light" for such ground operations under Mr. Obama.

Mr. Trump has signaled that he would like to accelerate the fight against Islamic State, al Qaeda and other militant groups. This weekend's operation, coming soon after Mr. Trump assumed the role of commander-in-chief, appears to reflect that sense of urgency.

U.S. military officials had begun planning for a potential strike on the target in Yemen months before Mr. Trump assumed office, a military official said. Once in office, Mr. Trump quickly gave the go-ahead.

"This is one in a series of aggressive moves against terrorist planners in Yemen and worldwide," the Pentagon statement said. "Similar operations have produced intelligence on al Qaeda logistics, recruiting and financing efforts."

According to the independent SITE Intelligence Group, which monitors militant websites and social media, AQAP reported over the weekend that nearly 30 people were killed in an operation in Bayda governorate. The operation, according to the statement by AQAP, resulted in the deaths of women and children.

The AQAP report, which couldn't be verified, said that no al Qaeda members were killed.

U.S. military officials didn't confirm the account and said they were not immediately aware of any civilian casualties in any U.S. operations.

—Mohammed al-Kibsi in San'a, Yemen  
and Asa Fitch in Dubai  
contributed to this article.

**Write to** Gordon Lubold at [Gordon.Lubold@wsj.com](mailto:Gordon.Lubold@wsj.com)

## U.S. Commando Killed in Yemen in Trump's First Counterterrorism Operation

Eric Schmitt

WASHINGTON — One American commando was killed and three others were wounded in a fierce firefight early Sunday with Qaeda militants in central Yemen, the military said on Sunday. It was the first counterterrorism operation authorized by President Trump since he took office, and the commando was the first United States service member to die in the yearslong shadow war against Al Qaeda's Yemen affiliate.

Members of the Navy's SEAL Team 6 carried out the surprise dawn attack, and the military said that about 14 Qaeda fighters were killed during a nearly hourlong battle. A Qaeda leader — a brother-in-law of Anwar al-Awlaki, the American-born cleric and top Qaeda leader in Yemen, who died in a drone strike in 2011 — was believed to have been killed.

After initially denying that there were any civilian casualties,

American officials said they were assessing reports that women and children had died in the attack.

The military's Joint Special Operations Command had been planning the mission for months, according to three senior American officials. Obama administration aides had deliberated extensively over the proposed operation, weighing the value of any information that might be recovered against the risk to the Special Operations forces plunging into hostile territory. But administration officials ultimately opted to hand the decision on the mission to their successors.

Mr. Trump, who has vowed to increase pressure on militant groups worldwide, was quickly persuaded that the rewards were worth the gamble, and he authorized the mission last week, military officials said. Commandos waited for a moonless evening on Saturday to exploit their advantage of fighting at night.

As helicopter gunships and armed Reaper drones provided cover, the commandos carried out the attack against the home of the Qaeda leader in the rugged mountainous region of Bayda Province, a part of Yemen that has been a focal point of United States military operations over the past month. The main target was computer materials inside the house that could contain clues about future terrorist plots.

In a statement on Sunday, Mr. Trump called the raid "successful" and said that it had captured "important intelligence that will assist the U.S. in preventing terrorism against its citizens and people around the world." He also lamented the loss of the American service member "in our fight against the evil of radical Islamic terrorism."

The military's Central Command said in an earlier statement on Sunday that "similar operations have produced intelligence on Al Qaeda logistics, recruiting and financing efforts." In previous raids

in Iraq, Syria and Somalia, commandos have recovered laptop computers, thumb drives and cellphones that yielded important information about militant leaders' locations, activities and associates.

A United States military aircraft helping with the operation experienced a "hard landing" near the site of the raid, resulting in injuries to two other service members, military officials said. That aircraft, identified by a senior American official as an Osprey that was evacuating the troops wounded in the firefight, was unable to fly after the landing and was deliberately destroyed by American airstrikes. The wounded troops and the Osprey's crew were lifted to safety by another American aircraft.

American officials and analysts said the Qaeda leader who was believed to have been killed was Abdulrauf al Dhahab.

The raid took place in Yemen around the time that Mr. Trump was



signing a directive in Washington on Saturday afternoon ordering Defense Secretary Jim Mattis to devise within 30 days a more aggressive plan to defeat the Islamic State.

The Islamic State was born from Al Qaeda's branch in Iraq, but the two terrorist organizations are now sworn rivals not only in Iraq and Syria, but also in other hot spots like Yemen and Afghanistan, where both groups have affiliates.

Because Mr. Trump had been explicit about his intention to ask for the review to accelerate the fight against the Islamic State, also known as ISIS or ISIL, American military planners had begun drafting classified options to present to the new commander in chief. Some of those options, like pushing more authority to conduct strikes to commanders in the field or loosening restrictions designed to limit the risk to civilians, could also be applied to attacks against Qaeda fighters and Islamic State insurgents.

There were no immediate indications that the rules of engagement had been loosened for the mission in

Yemen, military officials said. The Central Command's statement did not elaborate on details of the raid or identify the commando who was killed.

A local resident who witnessed the raid, speaking by phone, said he had seen warplanes bombing several houses in the village around 2 a.m. Sunday. The man said he had seen at least three buildings being struck before he fled. He did not want to be identified because he feared that speaking out would endanger his life.

A Yemeni government official in Bayda Province said the targeted buildings belonged to the Dhahab family, which is known for its ties to Al Qaeda. Two male members of the family have been killed in drone strikes over the past two years.

The Yemeni official said that at least eight women and seven children, ages 3 to 13, had been killed in the raid. Qaeda supporters said that Mr. Awlaki's young daughter was among the dead and denied that any senior Qaeda leaders had been killed, according to the SITE Intelligence Group, which monitors extremist communications.

Faisal Mohamed, a Bayda official whose two sons witnessed the attack, said it severely damaged a school, a health facility and a mosque.

"I was on the way back to town when they called and said that there were Americans everywhere, so I knew I should not go," Mr. Mohamed said by phone from nearby Marib Province. "My kids told me that the sky was crowded with helicopters and that they saw people jumping out of planes."

"The last thing they said to me was that the whole town is devastated now," Mr. Mohamed said.

Just over a week ago, United States drone strikes killed three other men suspected of being Qaeda operatives in Bayda Province, the first such killings reported in the country since Mr. Trump assumed the presidency.

Al Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula, the group's branch in Yemen, has long been seen by American intelligence and counterterrorism officials as among the most dangerous branches of the global terrorist network, and the one posing the most immediate threat to

United States territory. The group's leaders have sought in at least three cases to detonate bombs hidden aboard American commercial jetliners. All of those plots were thwarted.

The raid on Saturday night was the latest in a series of Special Operations drone strikes and ground attacks in Yemen in recent years.

In November 2014, helicopter-borne Special Operations commandos and Yemeni troops rescued eight hostages being held in a remote part of eastern Yemen by Al Qaeda's affiliate there. After landing, the commandos hiked some distance in the dark to a mountainside cave, where they surprised the militants holding the captives.

A month later, in December 2014, United States commandos stormed a village in southern Yemen in an effort to free an American photojournalist held hostage by Al Qaeda. But the raid ended in tragedy, with the kidnappers killing the journalist and a South African held with him.

## The New York Times In Face of Trump's Order, Some Muslim Nations Are Conspicuously Silent

Declan Walsh

CAIRO — The Germans criticized it. The British voiced their discomfort. The French, the Canadians and even some Republican senators in Washington stood in open opposition.

But in Cairo and Riyadh, in the heart of the Muslim world, President Trump's decision to bar millions of refugees and citizens of seven Muslim-majority countries from the United States was met with a conspicuous silence.

King Salman of Saudi Arabia, home of Islam's holiest sites, spoke to Mr. Trump by telephone on Sunday but made no public comment. President Abdel Fattah el-Sisi of Egypt, whose capital, Cairo, is a traditional seat of Islamic scholarship, said nothing.

Even the Organization of Islamic Cooperation, a group of 57 nations that considers itself the collective voice of the Muslim world, kept quiet.

Leaders in Iran and Iraq, two of the countries targeted by Mr. Trump's order, issued furious denunciations on Sunday and vowed to take retaliatory measures. But the silence in the capitals of Muslim-majority countries unaffected by the order reflected a lack of solidarity

and an enduring uncertainty about the direction that Mr. Trump's foreign policy might take in some of the world's most volatile corners.

Will he move the American Embassy in Israel from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem? Designate Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood as a terrorist organization? Fall in line with Russia in dealing with the conflict in Syria?

"Trump has promised to do all kinds of things, but it's not clear what he will move on immediately," said Nathan J. Brown, a Middle East expert at George Washington University. "Nobody seems to know. It's not even clear if Trump knows."

The lack of unity stems from an old problem: Muslim leaders pay lip service to the "ummah," or global community of Muslims, but are more often driven by narrow national interests — even when faced with grave actions seen as an affront to their own people.

"They don't have a strong basis of legitimacy at home," said Rami G. Khouri, a senior fellow at the Issam Fares Institute at the American University of Beirut. "They are delicately perched between the anger of their own people and the anger they might generate from the American president."

Still, Mr. Trump's executive order — which froze all refugee arrivals in the United States and barred the entry of citizens of Iran, Iraq, Libya, Somalia, Sudan, Syria and Yemen for 90 days — has sent a whirlwind of confusion, anxiety and fury across the Middle East and Africa. Refugees have been turned back at airports, families separated indefinitely and long-planned trips upended.

"I thought in America, there were institutions and democracy," said Fuad Sharef, 51, an Iraqi Kurd bound for New York who was turned away from the Cairo airport with his wife and three children on Saturday morning. "This looks like a decision from a dictator. It's like Saddam Hussein."

On Sunday, Trump administration officials backtracked on one aspect of the order, saying green-card holders would be allowed to return to the United States. In a Facebook post on Sunday evening, Mr. Trump insisted that his policy was not a "Muslim ban" and accused the news media of inaccurate reporting. Hours earlier, he had characterized the conflict with the Islamic State in starkly sectarian terms, asserting on Twitter: "Christians in the Middle East have been executed in large

numbers. We cannot allow this horror to continue!"

In fact, a majority of the Islamic State's victims have been Muslims, many of them shot, burned or beheaded. Among the Muslims who managed to escape Islamic State territory are the refugees Mr. Trump has now excluded.

In a phone conversation with Mr. Trump on Saturday, Chancellor Angela Merkel of Germany cited the 1951 Refugee Convention, which calls on signatories to take in people fleeing war, according to Steffen Seibert, Ms. Merkel's spokesman. Yet in much of the Middle East, Mr. Trump is less likely to get such a scolding.

He has drawn close to Mr. Sisi of Egypt, whom he called a "fantastic guy," and is considering designating the Muslim Brotherhood, Mr. Sisi's sworn enemy, a terrorist organization. In a call last week, the two leaders discussed a possible visit to the White House by Mr. Sisi, whose administration faces accusations of human rights abuses — an unthinkable prospect during the Obama administration.

In his order on Friday, whose stated aim is to keep extremists out of the United States, Mr. Trump invoked the Sept. 11 attacks three times.

Yet Saudi Arabia, which was home to 15 of the 19 attackers, was not included on the list of countries whose citizens would be shut out. That reflects the deep economic and security ties between the United States and Saudi Arabia. Mr. Trump also has a personal financial link: In August 2015, just as his campaign was gathering steam, the Trump Organization registered eight companies in Saudi Arabia that were linked to a hotel development in the city of Jidda.

Pakistan, another country whose citizens have carried out attacks in the United States, also ducked Mr. Trump's list. Although Mr. Trump had a chummy phone call with Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif shortly after the election in November, Pakistanis are nervously waiting to see if Mr. Trump will pull American troops from neighboring Afghanistan.

**The  
New York  
Times**

Schmitt

WASHINGTON — President Trump's executive order on immigration is straining relations with the partner the United States needs most to reclaim the Islamic State's stronghold in Mosul: the Iraqis.

Iraqi officials were taken aback by the directive, which they learned about through the American news media because they had not been consulted first.

The order blocks citizens from Iraq and six other predominantly Muslim countries from entering the United States for 90 days. That lumps Iraq together with Iran, Libya, Somalia, Sudan, Syria and Yemen, nations with no strategic alliance with Washington.

"The effect is that many Iraqis will feel that the United States does not want a long-term relationship with Iraq," said Lukman Faily, who completed a three-year stint as Iraq's ambassador to Washington in June. "We hope it is a blip. It makes it difficult for us to decipher what President Trump is up to with regard to Iraq."

Mr. Faily has been directly affected by the order. Though he holds dual British and Iraqi citizenship, he said information he had received from the American Embassy in Baghdad indicated that he would not be allowed to travel to the United States in the coming weeks to participate in a long-planned conference, he said in a telephone interview from Iraq.

"There's a lot of concern," said Zahid Hussain, a political analyst in Islamabad, Pakistan. "For now, they want to keep quiet and see how things go."

On Monday, King Abdullah II of Jordan is scheduled to meet in Washington with members of the Trump administration and Congress, the first Arab leader to do so since the executive order was issued.

Muslim solidarity once existed. As recently as the early 2000s, most Muslim-majority countries agreed on issues like the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and sanctions against Iraq. Now, after several regional wars and a surge in sectarian strife, that consensus has been shattered.

Multinational organizations that represent Muslims are viewed as toothless entities. The head of the Organization for Islamic

The edict followed inflammatory comments that Mr. Trump made during a visit to the C.I.A. this month, in which he said that the United States should have "kept" Iraq's oil after the American-led invasion and might still have a chance to do so.

More broadly, it clashes with a memo that Mr. Trump issued on Saturday calling on the Pentagon to submit a new plan for stepping up operations against the Islamic State, including by empowering "coalition partners."

With Iraq furnishing the ground forces for the coming assault on western Mosul, and with more than 5,000 American troops in the country, the political support of Baghdad is essential. But current and former American officials are worried that the directive will have a corrosive effect on American-Iraqi relations at a critical stage in the fighting.

"My brothers in Iraq's Army, who I proudly fought with, are fighting ISIS tonight," Mark Hertling, a retired Army lieutenant general who led American forces in northern Iraq, wrote on Twitter. "The Iraqi govt is now winning. And we ban their citizens?"

The order, which administration officials said was drafted without the input of Defense Secretary Jim Mattis and Middle East experts at the State Department, has offended the Iraqis in several respects.

During the Bush administration, the United States and Iraq signed a Strategic Framework Agreement, which calls for close diplomatic,

Cooperation, which has headquarters in Saudi Arabia, was forced to quit last fall after he made a joke at the expense of Mr. Sisi of Egypt.

In the early days of Mr. Trump's campaign, the Islamic scholars at Al Azhar, the ancient seat of Islamic learning in Cairo, spoke out against the "smear campaigns being launched against Muslims in America." But the scholars have yet to weigh in on Mr. Trump's executive order, and even if they do, few observers expect them to stray from official Egyptian government policy.

For many citizens of those countries, the docility of their leaders is frustrating. Samer S. Shehata, of the Doha Institute for Graduate Studies in Qatar, said that many of his students had already canceled their plans to study in the United States. "I don't think anyone

economic and security ties and is still in effect.

"If I were an Iraqi, I would be waving this signed agreement in the face of the current administration," said Ryan C. Crocker, who negotiated the accord and served as the United States ambassador to Iraq under Presidents George W. Bush and Barack Obama. "It is totally inconsistent."

Iraqis who are already skeptical about Washington have also seized on the order to stir up opposition against the United States. Moktada al-Sadr, the fiery cleric whom many Iraqi Shiites support, accused the United States of "arrogance."

"So get out U.S. citizens from Iraq before you expel communities from U.S.," he said on Twitter.

To contain the political damage, officials said a long-planned call between Prime Minister Haider al-Abadi of Iraq and Mr. Trump might be arranged for this week. Mr. Trump spoke on Sunday with King Salman of Saudi Arabia and with the crown prince of the United Arab Emirates, but neither Saudi Arabia nor the Emirates are covered by the new order.

Iraqi officials who are close to the Americans worry that the Islamic State will exploit the policy in its propaganda to recruit new volunteers. As of early Sunday, the terrorist group had made no official pronouncement. However, individual members and supporters have been sharing the order and news articles about it.

Yet another worry has been expressed by veterans, and even

is under any illusion that if you are a Muslim or an Arab, you're going to be treated different in this Trump presidency," he said.

Mr. Khouri, of the American University of Beirut, said the disconnect between rulers and civilians in some countries spoke to the underlying anger that fueled the Arab Spring uprisings in 2011. "Even when this American move is insulting Muslims and Islam, they do nothing about it," he said. "That's going to create more anger, and more pressure, in the Arab world. It's terrible."

**Correction: January 30, 2017**

An earlier version of this article referred incorrectly to Rami G. Khouri's role at the Issam Fares Institute. He is a senior fellow, not the director (a position he formerly held).

members of Mr. Trump's own party: that the order will interrupt the flow of former Iraqi interpreters and cultural advisers who have worked closely with the Americans and have sought special visas to move to the United States for their own protection.

"The people we need to accomplish the mission are nervous, and rightly so, that our country is going to turn our backs on them," said Steve Miska, a retired Army colonel, who spent 40 months and three deployments in Iraq.

Senators John McCain of Arizona and Lindsey Graham of South Carolina, Republicans who have been strongly supportive of the military, expressed concern that a strict application of the order might even block Iraqi pilots from coming to the United States for training.

"This executive order bans Iraqi pilots from coming to military bases in Arizona to fight our common enemies," they wrote in a statement issued Sunday.

The more fundamental question is whether the White House can balance the fulfillment of a campaign promise to carry out "extreme vetting" of citizens from Muslim countries with the need to maintain strong ties with Muslim partners in its fight against the Islamic State. The air bases that the United States uses to bomb the group are all in Turkey or Arab countries, as are American troops.

"The president's actions on refugees and immigration are certain to backfire," said Matthew G. Olsen, a former director of the National Counterterrorism Center.

"The policies validate the terrorists' claim that we are at war with Islam, and will alienate our Middle East

allies and isolate American Muslims here at home."

**The  
New York  
Times**

## Iscol : Allies in Combat, Now Unwanted

Zachary Iscol

States on those visas.

Upset with the plight of these close allies, I testified before the Senate in January 2007 about the need to protect our interpreters. In an odd twist of fate, I met with Gen. John Kelly, now President Trump's secretary of homeland security, who was then in charge of legislative affairs for the Marine Corps. Officially, he needed to ensure that I wasn't going to embarrass the Marine Corps. But I'll never forget his words to me: Abood had worn the Marine Corps uniform in combat, and we had an obligation to keep him safe.

Following that hearing, Congress created a special visa program for Iraqis who helped the United States during the war. (A similar program was later created for Afghans.) This was not a partisan issue, but an issue of national honor and responsibility, and thousands of people have come to the United

Seven months after I testified, Abood and his family arrived in the United States, as refugees. He passed away five years ago from cancer, but his daughters and wife are here. One daughter is a New York City police officer, and another is applying to join the force. Abood, like Frank and many other interpreters, joined our ranks because he believed America stood for something bigger than itself. They believed America was an exceptional country.

Two months ago, I got an email from Frank. He was still living in Baghdad with daily fears for his and his family's safety. After six years of vetting, including what seemed like countless interviews and background checks by various government agencies, he had finally been cleared to come to the United States with his pregnant wife and 18-month-old son. My wife and I began to prepare our guest room for their arrival.

But now, because of a new executive order by President Trump, Frank is no longer welcome.

And he is far from alone. The order Mr. Trump signed on Friday suspended entry of all refugees to the United States for 120 days, barred Syrian refugees indefinitely and blocked entry into the United States for 90 days for citizens of seven predominantly Muslim countries, including Iraq. Almost immediately my phone lit up with emails and texts from other military veterans who had been fighting to get their Iraqi or Afghan interpreters to the United States. Some were already on flights to New York and San Francisco. Now those people, including Frank and his family and hundreds of others in the special visa pipeline, are in limbo.

When he signed the order, Mr. Trump declared that his action would keep Islamic terrorists out of America. "We don't want them here," he said. "We want to ensure that we are not admitting into our

country the very threats our soldiers are fighting overseas."

But his measure is keeping out the very Muslims we do want here. Frank and thousands of other Iraqis and Afghans who worked with our forces in combat embody so much of what we stand for as a nation. And like so many past immigrants to America, like so many of our ancestors, they are fleeing repression for the hopes of a better life.

More important, they did something that fewer and fewer Americans have chosen to do: They wore, at great risk, the uniform of our military. Frank fought and bled alongside us. And now, in his time of need, we have turned our backs on him, and on the very ideals that make this country great.

**The  
New York  
Times**

## Netanyahu Says U.S. Embassy 'Needs to Be' in Jerusalem

Ian Fisher

Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu of Israel at a weekly cabinet meeting in Jerusalem on Sunday. He said before the meeting, "Jerusalem is the capital of Israel, and it is proper that not only should the American Embassy be here, but all embassies should come here." Abir Sultan/Agence France-Presse — Getty Images

JERUSALEM — Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu of Israel, who had been close-mouthed on the contentious question of moving the United States Embassy to Jerusalem, said on Sunday that the embassy "needs to be here."

But he pointedly did not demand that President Trump immediately follow through on his campaign promise to move the embassy — made by many presidential nominees since the 1970s but never fulfilled.

"Jerusalem is the capital of Israel, and it is proper that not only should the American Embassy be here, but all embassies should come here," Mr. Netanyahu said before his weekly cabinet

meeting. "And I believe that over time, most of them will indeed come here, to Jerusalem."

The issue seemed to be put off when Mr. Trump told Fox News in an interview last week that it was "too early" to discuss any move. "I don't want to talk about it yet," he told the network.

The announcement of such a move had seemed imminent after Mr. Trump's inauguration on Jan. 20. Officials told the news media to expect news on the embassy, and Mr. Trump, asked about such a relocation on the eve of his swearing-in, said, "You know I'm not a person who breaks promises."

But Palestinian and other Arab leaders spoke forcefully against the move, saying it would amount to a formal recognition of the Israeli annexation of East Jerusalem, after its capture from Jordan in the Arab-Israeli War of 1967. Palestinian leaders said they would revoke recognition for Israel, and leaders on both sides worried about violence, here and elsewhere in the Muslim world.

Israel considers the entire city its capital, and the Palestinians demand that East Jerusalem be the capital of a future state. No embassies are in the city. Most, including the United States Embassy, are in the commercial hub of Tel Aviv, and most world leaders say they will make no moves unless the two sides negotiate a deal on the status of Jerusalem.

While many Israelis say they would like to see the embassy here, few count it high among their priorities, and many say it is not worth risking violence now. Mr. Netanyahu has said almost nothing on the issue since Mr. Trump made his promise during the campaign to move the embassy.

"Great," Mr. Netanyahu said last month on a trip to Azerbaijan. He went no further.

Marc Zell, a chairman of Republicans Overseas Israel, which worked to turn out the vote for Mr. Trump among Americans living in Israel, said he sensed a change in the new administration's stance after Mr. Trump and Mr. Netanyahu

spoke on the telephone a week ago. Mr. Zell said he had since spoken to American and Israeli officials, who he said told him that Israel did not see the embassy move as something that needed to happen immediately.

"It will be resolved," Mr. Zell said. "As soon as they get the green light, the embassy will be moved," he said, referring to the Trump administration.

Mr. Zell said it was of greater importance that the administration made no comment when Mr. Netanyahu last week announced 2,500 new housing units in settlements in the West Bank and another 566 in East Jerusalem. The question of Israeli building in areas beyond the lines of the 1967 war was one of the most contentious in Mr. Netanyahu's difficult relationship with President Barack Obama.

"That is a revolutionary change in U.S. policy," Mr. Zell said.

Mr. Netanyahu is expected to visit Mr. Trump in Washington next month.

**The  
Washington  
Post**

## Inside the contentious Israeli settlement that counts Trump as a donor

<https://www.facebook.com/loveda>

[ymorris?fref=ts](https://www.facebook.com/loveda)

BEIT EL, West Bank — In a modern building of beige and black stone,

hundreds of Jewish students pore over religious texts and learn of



their right to settle the land surrounding this hillside settlement, as promised by God to their forefathers.

The new building for the religious seminary, or yeshiva, opened just a month ago, despite controversy over any new construction here. A sign reading "Danger: Construction" still hangs on the fence outside.

Located deep inside the occupied West Bank, near the Palestinian city of Ramallah, the settlement is considered illegal by most of the international community. But it has some influential backers, the most famous of whom now sits in the White House.

Several of President Trump's close associates have strong links to the right-wing Zionist community, home to 1,300 families. Trump's pick for ambassador to Israel, his former bankruptcy lawyer David Friedman, is president of the American Friends of Bet El Institutions, which raises about \$2 million a year. Its website says the group has helped bring about an influx in young couples and is working to create "facts on the ground" to prevent international attempts to uproot the community.

The family of Trump's son-in-law and adviser Jared Kushner has donated tens of thousands. Trump himself made a \$10,000 donation in 2003, his foundation's tax filings show.

Palestinians say such communities present a major barrier to peace and the creation of a contiguous future Palestinian state. It is a view that much of the world shares.

But Trump's ties to the settler movement could upend decades of U.S. policy on dealing with the conflict here, allowing Israel more freedom to build without censure from Washington, which previously considered West Bank settlements "illegitimate."

*[Israel plans West Bank settlement expansion amid U.S. policy shifts]*

The first signs of a shift emerged last week, as Israel made a bold announcement of 2,500 new housing units in West Bank settlements, including some in Beit El. So far, the Trump administration has avoided condemning the move.

"We are now more hopeful," Yael Ben-Yashar, who has lived in Beit El for 20 years and acts as the settlement's spokeswoman and runs tours, said last week. "We think it may be a new era."

Beit El was established in 1977 by members of a right-wing messianic activist movement that thinks Jews should return to repopulate Judea and Samaria, the biblical name for the West Bank. Despite restrictions on building, Beit El has burgeoned from a hardscrabble hilltop outpost of a few caravans to a small town dotted with palm trees and a clinic and schools.

The area of Beit El, meaning "House of God," held particular resonance for the settlers. It was believed to be the site where, according to the Bible, Jacob had his dream of angels ascending and descending a ladder to heaven, when God promised him that his descendants would return to the surrounding land.

"Today, in Beit El, we are living that dream," Ben-Yashar said from an observation point on top of a water tank, from which the view stretches from Tel Aviv to the west to Mount Scopus to the south and the Golan Heights to the north. In the center of the viewing platform, a mosaic depicts a map of greater Israel.

"You can see why God promised it here," she said. "You can see it all from here."

Nearby, down a dirt track, is the smooth flat rock where believers say Jacob slept. The site and the settlement attract about 5,000 visitors a year, said Ben-Yashar.

Some also visit its small winery, run by Hillel Manne and his wife, Nina, who met Friedman when he came to pick grapes several years ago.

"I think it was just after 2008, because I remember we joked he'd made a lot of money," Manne said with a chuckle, referring to Friedman's work as a bankruptcy lawyer during the financial crash. His wife described Friedman as a "family person."

"He came with all the family. His wife is wonderful, too," she said.

Friedman, the son of an Orthodox rabbi, was picked as ambassador by Trump despite having no diplomatic experience. He has publicly said that the "two-state narrative" needs to end, is a staunch supporter of settlements, and has said he expects to work from Jerusalem. Moving the U.S. Embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem, which has been opposed by Palestinians, would be seen as tacit recognition of Israel's sovereignty over the contested city.

*[Israel says there's never been a more right-wing U.S. ambassador than Trump's pick]*

But Hillel Manne said he fears that Friedman, and a more sympathetic ear in the White House, may not be able to change much.

"It's good to see people excited," he said of Friedman's appointment. "But if you want change, you'll need big change at the State Department. The State Department staff, they've managed the U.S. to bet on a lot of losers."

"This land was promised to me as a Jew," Nina Manne said. "It is ridiculous that we need to live in this situation. That we have to justify ourselves to be here."

But Beit El was largely established on private Palestinian land that had been designated by the Israeli state for military purposes, according to a

report published by the Israeli newspaper Haaretz.

Approval for 20 new units came last week when the expansion in the West Bank was announced, according to Beit El's mayor, Shay Alon.

The plans are "disastrous," Hanan Ashrawi, a member of the Palestine Liberation Organization's executive committee, said, condemning Israeli "land theft."

"It is evident that Israel is exploiting the inauguration of the new American administration to escalate its violations and the prevention of any existence of a Palestinian state," she said in a statement, urging the international community to take action.

For Alon, however, the expansion plan didn't go far enough. He said he felt "ambivalent" about the news, given that 300 new units in Beit El had been promised when several apartment blocks were razed by the government five years ago.

Building permits were restricted for years when Barack Obama was U.S. president, and Alon hopes that Friedman "is the sort of person who can bring about a change."

Like other Orthodox residents here, he believes their presence is preordained.

Yishai Babad was in the ninth family to arrive, and he set up a factory that makes tefillin — small leather phylacteries containing verses from the Torah.

He said Obama "loved the Arabs and not the Jews," but that the incoming administration would make no difference.

"We don't believe that the policy towards Beit El is going to change anything, because it's all written in the scriptures," he said. "We've always had difficulties, but all of Israel was built despite the difficulties."



Hadi Ghaemi is the founder and executive director of the Campaign for Human Rights in Iran.

(Reuters)

Traditional U.S. allies have been quick to criticize President Trump's executive order that bans entry to the United States from refugees, migrants and even green-card holders from seven mostly Muslim countries. Traditional U.S. allies have been quick to criticize

## Ghaemi : Trump's travel ban is a gift to Iran's rulers

By Hadi Ghaemi

Hadi Ghaemi is

President Trump's executive order. (Reuters)

President Trump's travel ban on Iranians is a gift to the Islamic republic and its hard-line rulers. It will not deter terrorism on U.S. soil. Not a single terrorist involved in the 9/11 attacks or other fatal terrorist attacks in the United States since then has been of Iranian origin.

Instead, Trump's policy is a collective punishment of a diverse and changing nationality, and will ironically serve the purposes of Iran's hard-line rulers.

Who are the Iranians who will be harmed by this policy?

Read These Comments

The best conversations on The Washington Post

Please provide a valid email address.

I have been helping Iranian refugees reach safety for more than a decade. A recent case is that of Reza, his wife and their 3-year-old daughter. Reza, whose full name I cannot use for security reasons, is a victim of torture at the hands of

Iranian Revolutionary Guards at Tehran's notorious Kahrizak prison.

Reza fled to Turkey in 2013, and after years waiting, he and his family were recently approved for resettlement in the United States. He hoped to arrive sometime this year, once security vetting by U.S. agencies was complete.

His hopes are shattered. He and his family are suddenly rendered effectively stateless and homeless, with nowhere to turn. Instead of welcoming a regime opponent to the United States, we are effectively

throwing Reza and his family back into the treacherous hands of Iranian Revolutionary Guards.

The Iranian refugees who have settled in the United States over the past decade are chiefly victims of the regime's harsh crackdowns, including students, journalists, women's rights activists and lawyers. These are the Iranians who have vocally and ferociously opposed the Islamic republic.

Another Iranian who was on her way to the United States — but now will likely never reach here — is a young women's rights activist. For years she has led a movement to change Iran's discriminatory practices toward women, anonymously through social media.

Her dream is to strengthen her

activism and knowledge base by attending a U.S. human rights program, and she has just been accepted to an Ivy League university. Without the travel ban, she would be on her way to fulfilling her dream and upon return to Iran would bring back valuable experience and knowledge for her fight against gender discrimination.

But now the door has been slammed in her face. She and her generation of women's rights activists in Iran will continue their work, make no mistake, but they will have to struggle harder to break out of their isolation and confront their oppressive rulers.

Indeed, the people who are most likely to travel between Iran and the United States — the people most affected by any ban — are Iranians

who hold Western values of moderation and tolerance and believe in open political and economic systems. It's in the interest of the United States to strengthen these values in Iran however it can.

Isolating Iran from engagement with the West is not the way to fortify the forces of moderation in Iran — and it is exactly the opposite of strategy adopted by previous presidents, such as Ronald Reagan, who conscientiously encouraged nongovernmental and cultural interaction between citizens of the Soviet Union and its satellite countries and the United States, even at the height of the Cold War.

The Iranian government thrives on isolating its population and choking off criticism. But Iran's young

population has been striving to break free of this isolation. In Iran, public opinion of the United States is much more favorable than in any other country in the Middle East and North Africa.

By excluding all Iranians, Trump is only making it harder for the most promising elements of Iranian society to stand up to their repressive system and change their country for the better.

This policy will extend the Islamic republic's longevity, disrupt the lives of 1.5 million Iranian Americans and fan the flames of anti-Americanism in the region. None of these developments will help secure our country from terrorism.



## Rogin : How Tulsi Gabbard became Assad's mouthpiece in Washington

<https://www.facebook.com/josh.rogin>

The Bashar al-Assad regime in Syria has had a quiet but well-funded lobbying effort in Washington since well before he began murdering his own people. But that influence campaign's clearest triumph came only this month, when it succeeded in bringing Rep. Tulsi Gabbard (D-Hawaii) to Damascus and having her parrot Assad's propaganda on her return.

Gabbard was not the first U.S. elected official to meet Assad. In the early years of Assad's presidency, several senior U.S. lawmakers publicly traveled to see the young English-speaking optometrist-turned-ruler, in the hope that he might be a reformer, break with Iran and even make peace with Israel. Then-House Speaker Nancy Pelosi (D-Calif.) visited Assad in 2007. Then-Sen. John F. Kerry (D-Mass.) led a delegation in 2009.

After the killing began in 2011, however, Assad's friends in Washington largely went underground and a covert influence and intimidation campaign blossomed. The FBI began investigating Syrian ambassador Imad Moustapha, due to evidence he was keeping tabs on Syrian Americans who showed disloyalty so the Syrian government could threaten their families back home. Moustapha departed for Beijing in 2012, but he left in place a network of friends, Syrian Americans who nurtured close ties to the regime and worked on Assad's behalf.

[Read These Comments](#)

The best conversations on The Washington Post

Please provide a valid email address.

One Syrian American who was close to Moustapha and would often visit his Washington residence was Cleveland businessman Bassam Khawam, according to three Syrian Americans who saw them together but do not wish to be identified for fear of retribution. Five years later, Moustapha is nowhere to be seen, but Khawam is still active. He organized and joined the trip to Damascus for Gabbard and arranged a meeting with Assad.

"This guy has been lobbying on behalf of Bashar Assad in the U.S. even before there was a revolution, and we are deeply troubled he would try to help a war criminal build relationships with sitting members of Congress," said Mohammed Alaa Ghanem, director of government relations for the Syrian American Council, a nongovernmental organization that works with the Syrian opposition.

(Reuters)

Syrian President Bashar al-Assad says he is ready to negotiate everything at proposed peace talks on the Syrian conflict. Syrian President Bashar al-Assad says he is ready to negotiate everything at proposed peace talks on the Syrian conflict. (Reuters)

Former congressman Dennis Kucinich (D-Ohio) also joined the trip, which is no mere coincidence. Khawam arranged for Kucinich to meet Assad multiple times, most recently in 2013. He donated to

Kucinich's campaigns and in related Federal Election Commission filings listed himself as a self-employed physician.

In other FEC filings, Khawam has listed himself as executive director of ACCESS Ohio, which presents itself as a branch of the Michigan-based Arab Community Center for Economic and Social Services. Gabbard says that ACCESS Ohio paid for her trip. The problem is, ACCESS Ohio hasn't existed for several years.

"I can assure you [Khawam] has never been an employee of the organization and he is not at all affiliated with ACCESS," Rana Taylor, director of communications for the entire ACCESS organization, told me.

She explained that ACCESS had set up a national network for Arab American communities and that there had been an Ohio member organization many years ago, but said it was long defunct. "They don't have any type of structure or governing body," said Taylor. "They are non-functioning, not active as a member in any way."

Gabbard, in a press release, called Bassam Khawam and his brother, Elie, who also joined the trip, "longtime peace advocates." Her office told me she had "no prior knowledge or relationship" with the pair and directed all inquiries to the organization or Kucinich. Messages left for Khawam and Kucinich were not returned.

The actual source of the funding for the trip is murky, too. But there's no doubt the Assad regime facilitated it. Not only did the group get an

audience with the president, but they also received access to sensitive areas under the protection of government forces. In several arranged meetings, Syrians told Gabbard that Assad is a benevolent ruler fighting terrorists and that the U.S. policy of opposing him is unjust.

Upon her return, Gabbard referenced those Syrians in interviews and op-eds to reinforce her long-held opposition to what she calls the U.S. "regime change" policy in Syria. She also asserted there are no moderate rebels in Syria and that the United States is funding and arming al-Qaeda and the Islamic State. Neither is true, but both match the talking points that the Assad regime has been pushing for the entirety of the war.

Principled opposition to U.S. intervention in Syria is one thing. Becoming a tool of a mass murderer's propaganda and influence campaign is another. Gabbard's cooperation with the Syrian regime damages her effort to promote herself as a legitimate foreign policy voice.

If Gabbard really didn't know the men who sponsored her "fact-finding mission" to Syria, she should have. To many, the entire affair proves that Assad's Washington influence campaign is alive and well and now has a sitting congresswoman for a mouthpiece, whether she realizes it or not.

*Read more from Josh Rogin's archive, follow him on Twitter or subscribe to his updates on Facebook.*

## Quebec City Mosque Shooting Leaves Multiple People Dead

Elena Cherney

Updated Jan. 30,

2017 4:00 a.m. ET

A shooting at a Quebec City mosque has left six dead and at least eight injured, police said.

Two suspects were arrested at the Centre Culturel Islamique de Quebec on Sunday night, Quebec City Police spokeswoman Christine Coulombe said.

Canadian Prime Minister Justin Trudeau condemned what he called a "terrorist attack on Muslims in a centre of worship and refuge" in a statement released early Monday morning.

The shootings at the city's biggest mosque took place around 8 p.m., during the evening prayer, when between 50 and 100 worshippers were in the building, said Ikbél Jouchi, the wife of mosque president Mohamed Yangui.

"It's shocking, especially in Quebec City, where everything is so calm," Ms. Jouchi said in an interview.

Ms. Jouchi said her husband is normally at the mosque during the evening prayer but stayed home Sunday night because their son needed help with his homework. Mr. Yangui headed to the mosque when he heard the news, she said.

"It's crazy in the community," as news of the shootings spread and

names of the injured and dead began to circulate, Ms. Jouchi said.

French-language media reported that one of the suspects was armed with an AK-47.

Quebec Premier Philippe Couillard was quick to condemn the mosque shootings, saying "Quebec rejects categorically this barbaric violence."

**Write to Elena Cherney at**  
elena.cherney@wsj.com

## O'Grady : President Trump's Mexican Standoff

Mary Anastasia  
O'Grady

Jan. 29, 2017 6:43 p.m. ET

The author of "The Art of the Deal" has badly botched his first big one on the world stage, and not because he failed to stake out a tough position. In his effort to extract concessions from Mexico on the North American Free Trade Agreement, President Trump has failed to understand his opponent.

It isn't quite right to say that negotiations were scheduled to begin this week, with Mr. Trump hosting Mexico's President Enrique Peña Nieto in Washington. Mr. Trump has been negotiating since last year's campaign. His strategy has been to soften up the opponent with verbal abuse and extreme threats, including the possibility of tearing up Nafta altogether.

"The president-elect has done a wonderful job of preconditioning other countries [with] whom we will be negotiating that change is coming," Commerce Secretary-designate Wilbur Ross gloated during his Senate confirmation hearing. "The peso didn't go down 35% by accident. Even the Canadian dollar has gotten somewhat weaker—also not an accident. He has done some of the work that we need to do in order to get better trade deals."

Having witnessed his nation and its currency pummeled in the public square, the Mexican president was supposed to crawl to Washington and agree to whatever terms his U.S. counterpart put on the table. Maybe Mr. Trump should have Googled the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. Mexicans are still smarting over that one.

After Mr. Trump told Mexico that a promise to pay for a border wall was a prerequisite for the scheduled meeting, Mr. Peña Nieto canceled. The White House responded by saying it would extract the money for the wall with a 20% tariff on Mexican exports to the U.S. Of course American consumers would be the ones paying. But in any case it would be the end of Nafta.

Americans have to hope their new president is not that reckless. Even the Soviets recognized that mutually assured destruction was a bad idea. A phone call between the two heads of state on Friday ended with both sides agreeing to future discussions.

North American free trade cannot be dissolved without inflicting great harm on the country that Mr. Trump has sworn to protect. Mexico is the U.S.'s third-largest trading partner, and some six million American jobs rely on trade with the southern neighbor. According to the Agriculture Department, "sales of food and farm products to Mexico

totaled a record \$19.5 billion in fiscal year 2014." That was 13% of U.S. agricultural exports.

Mr. Trump says that the U.S. has been outfoxed in manufacturing because American companies now make things in Mexico. But imports from Mexico contain significant American content, and production-sharing across the continent has given U.S. companies an edge in the global market. New tariffs on Mexican imports would damage that competitiveness and may result in retaliatory Mexican tariffs on U.S. exports.

Legal experts say it isn't clear how much unilateral power Mr. Trump has to maneuver. Article 2205 of Nafta allows the president to withdraw from the agreement. But it is being debated whether that would repeal the congressional legislation that put it into effect. If so, tariffs would revert to pre-Nafta levels, which implies using the World Trade Organization tariff schedule. American exporters to Mexico would face greater tariff hikes than Mexican exporters to the U.S., because Mexico accepted much greater tariff reductions under Nafta than the U.S. did.

A Jan. 10 paper from the international law firm White & Case says that its reading of the agreement and U.S. law "implies that substantive modifications of the Nafta outside of tariffs and rules of

origin would require congressional authorization." The rules of origin—the share of a product that must be Nafta-sourced—have changed several times already, and Mexico might agree to alter them again. But it has said that it won't budge on tariffs.

Mr. Trump might try to invoke the International Economic Emergency Powers Act of 1977 to slap his oft-promised punitive tariff on Mexican imports. But it is hard to argue that national security is being threatened.

The 45th president has said he wants to craft new bilateral trade agreements. Mexico says it is not interested. It has learned a hard lesson about relying on an unreliable partner, and its aim now is to diversify its trade portfolio. Policy makers are said to be exploring new agreements in the region with countries eager to replace U.S. agricultural suppliers.

Mr. Trump's demagoguery has offended Mexican pride. But it has also destabilized an economy that was already buffeted by low oil prices. As the rector of ITAM, one of the most prestigious universities in Latin America, said earlier this month, "It would be, perhaps, preferable to leave Nafta aside rather than a long process of negotiation and tension." Mexicans can bargain too.

**Write to O'Grady@wsj.com.**

## Vice-Minister Odawara : A New Obstacle to Asian Security

Kiyoshi Odawara

Jan. 26, 2017

1:02 p.m. ET

On Dec. 28, 2015, Japan reached a historic agreement with the Republic of Korea on the comfort-women issue, in which the honor and dignity of many women were at stake. In the agreement, the issue is "resolved finally and irreversibly," thereby removing an obstacle to

better Japan-R.O.K. relations. This breakthrough won praise from many countries, including the United States, the United Kingdom, France, Germany and Australia.

Japan literally has steadily implemented its responsibilities based on this agreement. In August of last year, the government contributed ¥1 billion (\$8.8 million) to a newly established foundation

for the purpose of providing support for former comfort women.

Using these funds, in October the foundation began its projects to support such people. Of the 46 surviving former comfort women at the time of the agreement, 34 agreed to the projects and 29 have already received medical treatment, nursing care and other support.

We also expected that the R.O.K. would strive to solve the issue of the comfort-woman statue in front of the Embassy of Japan in Seoul, in accordance with the agreement. By so doing, we believed that we would be able to celebrate the one-year anniversary of this agreement on Dec. 28 of last year together with the R.O.K.

However, a situation occurred that threatens to shake the essential

foundation of the agreement. On Dec. 30 of last year, a new comfort woman statue was installed on the sidewalk in front of the Consulate-General of Japan in Busan by a Korean activist group with the approval of the relevant municipality.

The fact that such a situation occurred despite the agreement to resolve the comfort-women issue finally and irreversibly has an undesirable impact on Japan-R.O.K. relations and is highly regrettable. The installation is also problematic in light of the Vienna Convention on Consular Relations.

This agreement is the second agreement reached on this issue after many years of tremendous efforts by our predecessors. In 1965, the two governments completely and finally settled the problems concerning property and claims between Japan and the R.O.K. At a time when the people of both countries are concerned about the peace and prosperity of the

region, it is difficult to accept the actions of activists undermining the trust and expectation of friendship that we have strenuously worked to build up.

On Jan. 6, the government of Japan, as an initial response, had no choice but to take certain measures, including the temporary recall of its ambassador to the R.O.K. and its consul general in Busan. It is a bitter disappointment that we had to protest against the installation of the statue at a time when our two countries should have been celebrating the one-year anniversary of this agreement.

The R.O.K. is Japan's most important neighbor and one that shares strategic interests. Now more than ever, when North Korea continues to conduct nuclear tests and launch ballistic missiles, increasing its military capabilities, Japan and the R.O.K. should be working together to deter these reckless provocations. This must be recognized as a new level of threat,

capable of reaching even the mainland of the United States. The security environment in the Asia-Pacific region is becoming more severe.

In response to these threats, coordination between Japan and the R.O.K., and the trilateral partnership between Japan, the R.O.K. and the United States is absolutely necessary. Such partnership is important for the region as a whole, as well as the United States. The conclusion of the General Security of Military Information Agreement between Japan and the R.O.K. in November of last year will largely contribute to this partnership.

There are many other areas in which Japan and the R.O.K. can cooperate. Japan and the R.O.K. are both energy-importing countries with few natural resources, and face common issues such as a rapidly declining birth rate and an aging society. It is possible to work together to solve these common

challenges through cooperation in industry and technology between SMEs and regional areas. Indeed, Japan and the R.O.K. have worked closely together both bilaterally and globally in the past.

In light of the fact that execution of the agreement is the foundation of trust and cooperation between Japan and the R.O.K., it is the duty of both governments to implement the agreement. Japan's desire to advance the relations with the R.O.K. has not changed. The government is determined to continue to contribute to peace and stability in the international community through cooperation with the R.O.K.

*Mr. Odawara is Japan's parliamentary vice minister for foreign affairs.*

## ETATS-UNIS



Miriam Jordan,  
Siobhan Hughes and Kristina  
Peterson

Updated Jan. 30, 2017 7:13 a.m.  
ET

President Donald Trump on Sunday defended his executive order restricting immigration from seven Muslim-majority countries as his plan to tighten national security spawned legal challenges, congressional criticism, widespread protests and confusion at airports across the country and around the world.

The order, issued Friday, fulfilled a campaign pledge by Mr. Trump to clamp down on immigration from countries affected by terrorism. He suspended the U.S. refugee program for four months and banned for 90 days entry into the U.S. of nationals from Iran, Iraq, Libya, Somalia, Sudan, Syria and Yemen.

What followed was immediate detention of many arrivals at America's major international airports, and even some deportations back to nations of origin. Late Saturday, a federal judge in Brooklyn, N.Y., issued a temporary injunction that blocked

## Donald Trump's Immigration Ban Sows Chaos

the deportation of those detained, but the judge stopped short of allowing them into the country and didn't rule on the constitutionality of Mr. Trump's measures.

Other judicial decisions called into question enforcement of other parts of the order, prompting what is likely to be a long legal review.

Meantime, clearing up one of the points of confusion, the new Department of Homeland Security chief said late Sunday that the order wouldn't affect holders of so-called green cards, or legal permanent residents, after the agency had said it did.

The result was uneven enforcement. Scientists, athletes, airline crews and immigrants were detained for hours, denied lawyers and in some cases returned to the countries they had left. Across the country, the court order blocking removals hasn't been honored in a consistent way, according to attorneys for the American Civil Liberties Union.

The orders prompted massive protests Saturday and Sunday at airports in New York, Dallas, Atlanta, San Francisco, Seattle, Chicago, Los Angeles and near Washington, D.C., where some

travelers remained in detention Sunday afternoon.

At Los Angeles International Airport, large crowds gathered to demand the release of travelers held there, including two grandmothers from Iraq and Iran who refused to board flights back to their home countries, according to immigrant-rights lawyers. Late Sunday afternoon, airport officials in Los Angeles closed the roads around the arrivals area because of the protests.

Attorneys seeking to help potential detainees at Dulles International Airport, near Washington, said it wasn't clear whether federal customs officials were complying with court orders. They were refusing to give information about any potential passengers detained, the attorneys said. From conversations with families at the airport, the attorneys believed there were about 50 or 60 people potentially being detained under the executive order.

Justin Dillon, a Washington attorney working pro-bono at the airport to represent any potential detainees, said that Customs and Border Patrol officials were refusing to tell attorneys on the ground, as well as four congressmen, whether there were any lawful permanent

residents being detained under the executive order.

Sirine Shebaya, another attorney who spent the weekend at Dulles, said that customs officials were in violation of a Virginia judge's ruling because they were not giving lawful permanent residents access to attorneys.

The Trump executive order states that while the moratorium is in place, the U.S. can admit individuals on a case-by-case basis. It makes no mention of specific religions but says the government would continue to process requests from individuals claiming religious persecution, "provided that the religion is a minority religion in the individual's country." That suggests the U.S. would admit Christians from Muslim-majority countries.

Yet at least one Christian family from Syria with approval to immigrate was turned away in Philadelphia over the weekend, family members and local officials said. Ghassan Assali, a Syrian dentist in Allentown, Pa., filed a petition 13 years ago to sponsor two brothers and their families who were living in Damascus. But en route to the airport, he received a call from a U.S. official informing him the family had been barred from entering the



country and would be returning to Qatar, their point of departure. "It's a nightmare," Mr. Assali said.

While he was running for president late in 2015, Mr. Trump had called for a "total and complete shutdown" of Muslims entering the U.S., before later moving off that blanket promise.

At least a dozen GOP senators raised some measure of concern by Sunday. Sens. John McCain of Arizona and Lindsey Graham of South Carolina said in a statement that Mr. Trump's order "may do more to help terrorist recruitment than improve our security" by alienating U.S. allies in the Muslim world.

Senate Majority Leader Mitch McConnell, meanwhile, tried to express support for Mr. Trump's national-security goals while raising questions about his tactics.

"We need to be careful; we don't have religious tests in this country," Mr. McConnell said on ABC. The top Senate Republican demurred when asked whether he supported Mr. Trump's policy, saying that courts would decide "whether or not this has gone too far."

Mr. Trump responded Sunday afternoon, writing on Twitter that Sens. McCain and Graham were "sadly weak on immigration" and "should focus their energies on ISIS, illegal immigration and border security instead of always looking to start World War III."

In a statement on Facebook Sunday night, Mr. Trump said the "seven countries named in the Executive

Order are the same countries previously identified by the Obama administration as sources of terror. To be clear, this is not a Muslim ban, as the media is falsely reporting. This is not about religion—this is about terror and keeping our country safe."

Over the weekend, federal judges in three states issued separate rulings that blocked the deportation of those detained at airports. But the rulings differed. The Brooklyn judge issued a nationwide injunction on deportations but stopped short of allowing the travelers into the country and didn't address the constitutionality of Mr. Trump's measures. A Boston judge said officials at Logan International Airport could not detain those with valid visas. That prompted lawyers to advise green-card holders to reroute their trips so they enter the U.S. in Boston.

By Sunday night, after nearly two full days of implementation, the extent and limits of the policy—which continued to morph through legal challenges and White House statements—were still unclear.

A senior Homeland Security official said Saturday that in the first 23 hours the order was in effect, 375 people had been detained on arrival in the U.S., prevented from boarding flights at their overseas point of departure or intercepted while en route to the U.S.

Critics, including David Leopold, past president of the American Immigration Lawyers Association, said the hasty rollout of the measures had prevented both U.S.

authorities and U.S.-bound travelers from adequately preparing.

Beyond new immigrants and refugees, those detained over the weekend also included green-card holders, students and employees of many U.S. companies and universities.

Green-card holder Pouyan Mashayekh, a researcher at a financial firm in New York, landed at John F. Kennedy International Airport at 10 p.m. Friday after a weeklong business trip in London and was met at the gate by polite immigration officials.

He soon joined a group of several other detainees, including several Iraqis and a young Sudanese-American woman. All except him were handcuffed, he said. Lawyers for Mr. Mashayekh, who first came to the U.S. from Iran in 1994 to study for a doctorate in economics, arrived and secured his release at 3 a.m.

"I was unhappy and very tired," he said. "But you know, I was so numb, so I was very calm." Mr. Mashayekh eventually returned to his home in a Trump Plaza condominium apartment in Jersey City, N.J.

Immigration lawyers Sunday said border agents at a handful of airports around the country weren't complying with the order, and that some refugees could still face deportation, including at Los Angeles International Airport and San Francisco International Airport.

Elnaz Ghotbi Ravandi, a doctoral student in biology at Southern Methodist University in Dallas,

arrived at Dallas-Fort Worth International Airport early on Saturday morning to meet her parents and sister flying in from Iran for their first family reunion in more than two years.

Her relatives were detained for over 30 hours at the airport and barred from speaking with Ms. Ravandi. "I was feeling very bad—I felt like I'm not welcome in this country," she said.

But Sunday afternoon, a security escort brought her to a building nearby the airport, where Dallas Mayor Mike Rawlings awaited her with her family members, all holding white bouquets.

Timing was key as the doors to the U.S. shut, then were pried opened again: NBA Milwaukee Bucks forward Thon Maker, once a refugee from Sudan, scored a career high in a game against the Toronto Raptors Friday night in Canada—and made it back across the border into the U.S. without incident just hours after Mr. Trump signed the order.

But a 27-year-old Sudanese internal medical resident at the Cleveland Clinic, Suha Abushamma, was detained on arrival at Kennedy Airport Saturday morning, then put on a plane back to her point of origin in Saudi Arabia 20 minutes before the judge's emergency ruling was issued, according to a colleague and friend.

—Ian Lovett, Alejandro Lazo, Jennifer Levitz and Michelle Hackman contributed to this article

## **The New York Times** How Trump's Rush to Enact an Immigration Ban Unleashed Global Chaos

Michael D. Shear and Ron Nixon

WASHINGTON — As President Trump signed a sweeping executive order on Friday, shutting the borders to refugees and others from seven largely Muslim countries, the secretary of homeland security was on a White House conference call getting his first full briefing on the global shift in policy.

Gen. John F. Kelly, the secretary of homeland security, had dialed in from a Coast Guard plane as he headed back to Washington from Miami. Along with other top officials, he needed guidance from the White House, which had not asked his department for a legal review of the order.

Halfway into the briefing, someone on the call looked up at a television in his office. "The president is signing the executive order that

we're discussing," the official said, stunned.

The global confusion that has since erupted is the story of a White House that rushed to enact, with little regard for basic governing, a core campaign promise that Mr. Trump made to his most fervent supporters. In his first week in office, Mr. Trump signed other executive actions with little or no legal review, but his order barring refugees has had the most explosive implications.

Passengers were barred from flights to the United States, customs and border control officials got instructions at 3 a.m. Saturday and some arrived at their posts later that morning still not knowing how to carry out the president's orders.

"The details of it were not thought through," said Stephen Heifetz, who

served in the Justice and Homeland Security Departments, as well as the C.I.A., under the previous three presidents. "It is not surprising there was mass confusion, and I expect the confusion and chaos will continue for some time."

Stephen K. Bannon, the chief White House strategist, oversaw the writing of the order, which was done by a small White House team, including Stephen Miller, Mr. Trump's policy chief. But it was first imagined more than a year ago, when Mr. Trump, then a candidate for the Republican nomination, reacted to terrorist attacks in San Bernardino, Calif., by calling for a "total and complete shutdown of Muslims entering the United States."

In the months that followed, Mr. Trump's campaign tried to back

away from the proposal, which was seen by Democrats as over-the-top campaign rhetoric that would never be reality. Mr. Trump offered few details as the campaign progressed, and as president-elect he promised to protect the country from terrorists with only vague promises of "extreme vetting."

But Mr. Bannon, who believes in highly restrictive immigration policies and saw barring refugees as vital to shoring up Mr. Trump's political base, was determined to make it happen. He and a small group made up of the president's closest advisers began working on the order during the transition so that Mr. Trump could sign it soon after taking office.

A senior administration official said that the order was drafted in cooperation with some immigration

experts on Capitol Hill and members of the “beachhead teams” — small groups of political appointees sent by the new White House to be liaisons and begin work at the agencies.

James Jay Carafano, a vice president of the conservative Heritage Foundation and a member of Mr. Trump’s transition team, said that little of that work was shared with career officials at the Homeland Security Department, the State Department or other agencies.

There was “a firewall between the old administration and the incoming one,” Mr. Carafano said.

One reason, he said, is that when the Trump transition team asked pointed questions suggesting new policies to the career officials, those questions were swiftly leaked to the news media, generating negative stories. So the Trump team began to limit the information they discussed with officials from the previous administration.

“Why share it with them?” Mr. Carafano said.

R. Gil Kerlikowske, who served as commissioner of Customs and Border Protection under former President Barack Obama, said that his staff had little communication with Mr. Trump’s transition team, who made no mention of a bar on entry for people from certain countries.

White House officials in the meantime insisted to reporters at a briefing that Mr. Trump’s advisers had been in contact with officials at the State and Homeland Security Departments for “many weeks.”

One official added, “Everyone who

needed to know was informed.”

But that apparently did not include members of the president’s own cabinet.

Jim Mattis, the new secretary of defense, did not see a final version of the order until Friday morning, only hours before Mr. Trump arrived to sign it at the Pentagon.

Mr. Mattis, according to administration officials familiar with the deliberations, was not consulted by the White House during the preparation of the order and was not given an opportunity to provide input while the order was being drafted. Last summer, Mr. Mattis sharply criticized Mr. Trump’s proposed ban on Muslim immigration as a move that was “causing us great damage right now, and it’s sending shock waves through the international system.”

Customs and Border Protection officers were also caught unaware.

They contacted several airlines late Friday that were likely to be carrying passengers from the seven countries and “instructed the airlines to offload any passport holders from those countries,” said a state government official who has been briefed on the agency’s actions.

It was not until 3 a.m. on Saturday that customs and border officials received limited written instructions about what to do at airports and border crossings. They also struggled with how to exercise the waiver authority that was included in the executive order, which allowed the homeland security secretary to let some individuals under the ban enter the country case by case.

One customs officer, who declined to be quoted by name, said he was given a limited briefing about what

to do as he went to his post on Saturday morning, but even managers seemed unclear. People at the agency were blindsided, he said, and are still trying to figure things out, even as people are being stopped from coming into the United States.

“If the secretary doesn’t know anything, how could we possibly know anything at this level?” the officer said, referring to Mr. Kelly.

At the Citizenship and Immigration Service, staff members were told that the agency should stop work on any application filed by a person from any of the countries listed in the ban. Employees were told that applicants should be interviewed, but that their cases for citizenship, green cards or other immigration documents should be put on pause, pending further guidance.

The timing of the executive order and the lack of advance warning had homeland security officials “flying by the seat of their pants,” to try to put policies in place, one official said.

By Saturday, as the order stranded travelers around the world and its full impact became clear, Reince Priebus, the chief of staff, became increasingly upset about how the program had been rolled out and communicated to the public.

By Sunday morning, Mr. Priebus had to defend the immigration ban on NBC’s “Meet the Press,” where he insisted that the executive order was rolled out smoothly. He also backpedaled on the policy and said that the executive order’s restrictions on entry to the United States would not apply to legal permanent residents “going forward.”

As White House officials also insisted on Sunday that the order had gone through the usual process of scrutiny and approval by the Office of Legal Counsel, the continuing confusion forced Mr. Kelly to clarify the waiver situation. He issued a statement making clear that lawful permanent residents — those who hold valid green cards — would be granted a waiver to enter the United States unless information suggested that they were a security threat.

But senior White House officials insisted on Sunday night that the executive order would remain in force despite the change, and that they were proud of taking actions that they said would help protect Americans against threats from potential terrorists.

That assertion is likely to do little to calm the public furor, which showed no signs of waning at the beginning of Mr. Trump’s second full week in the Oval Office.

Mr. Carafano said he believed that the substance of Mr. Trump’s executive order was neither radical nor unreasonable. But he said that Mr. Trump’s team could have delayed signing the order until they had better prepared the bureaucracy to carry it out.

He also said the president and his team had not done a good job of communicating to the public the purpose of the executive order.

“If there is a criticism of the administration, and I think there is, I think they have done a rotten job of telling their story,” he said. “It is not like they did not know they were going to do this. To not have a cadre of people out there defending the administration — I mean, really guys, they should have done this.”



## Amid protests and confusion, Trump defends executive order: ‘This is not a Muslim ban’

By Brady Dennis and Jerry Markon

President Trump’s executive order temporarily prohibiting entry into the United States for migrants from seven mostly Muslim countries and refugees from around the world fueled confusion, angst and a wave of protests across the country Sunday.

Even as administration officials tried to clarify the reach of Trump’s action — “This is not a Muslim ban,” the president said in a statement — the exact limits of its scope and legal questions over its constitutionality remained unresolved. So did the question of whether the administration would

comply with orders from federal judges to temporarily halt the travel ban.

Raucous protests erupted in airport terminals from coast to coast. Tens of thousands of people protested outside the gates of the White House, in Boston’s Copley Square and in New York’s Battery Park, with its views over the Statue of Liberty.

Scenes of relief, anxiety and sorrow played out around the globe.

At Dallas Fort Worth International Airport, a 70-year-old Iranian woman who recently received her green card was released after being detained overnight. In New York City, a graduate student

contemplated whether he would quit his doctoral program to rejoin his wife in Iran after she was blocked from returning to the United States.

(Alice Li/The Washington Post)

Protesters rallied outside the White House against President Trump’s executive order to bar U.S. entry to refugees and migrants from seven predominantly Muslim nations. Protesters rallied outside the White House against President Trump’s executive order to bar U.S. entry to refugees and migrants from seven predominantly Muslim nations. (Alice Li/The Washington Post)

And in Iraq, a man who had risked his life working on behalf of the U.S. government bleakly wondered

about his future and that of his wife and three children. Visas in hand, the family was due to fly Monday to the United States. “It’s like someone’s stabbed me in the heart with a dagger,” he said.

*[Scholars: Many more legal challenges likely for Trump’s executive order on immigration]*

Trump issued a statement late Sunday afternoon that offered little clarity, even as he defended his executive order as necessary to protect the United States from terrorism.

“To be clear, this is not a Muslim ban, as the media is falsely reporting,” Trump said in the statement. “This is not about

religion — this is about terror and keeping our country safe. There are over 40 different countries worldwide that are majority Muslim that are not affected by this order.”

The president reiterated that the country would resume issuing visas to all countries “once we are sure we have reviewed and implemented the most secure policies over the next 90 days.”

Still, barely 48 hours after Trump issued his order, confusion reigned over its reach and its implementation. Even as the president and other top advisers defended the ban, some Trump officials appeared on Sunday to walk back one of the most controversial elements of the action: its impact on green-card holders, who are permanent legal residents of the United States.

“As far as green-card holders going forward, it doesn’t affect them,” Trump’s chief of staff, Reince Priebus, said on NBC News’ “Meet the Press,” contradicting what government officials had said only a day earlier.

In a separate statement, Homeland Security Secretary John F. Kelly was less definitive, suggesting that green-card holders’ status would help them gain entry to the country but that they nonetheless would be subject to a “case-by-case” review.

Meanwhile, Kelly’s department indicated separately Sunday that it would continue to implement Trump’s directive, even as it said it “will comply with judicial orders” issued by federal judges over the weekend, blocking enforcement of the ban to varying degrees.

“Prohibited travel will remain prohibited, and the U.S. government retains its right to revoke visas at any time if required for national security or public safety,” the agency said in a statement. “No foreign national in a foreign land, without ties to the United States, has any unfettered right to demand entry into the United States or to demand immigration benefits in the United States.”

Trump’s virtually unprecedented executive action applies to migrants and U.S. legal residents from Iraq, Iran, Sudan, Somalia, Syria, Libya and Yemen, and to refugees from around the world. People subject to the ban include dual nationals born in one of the seven countries who also hold passports from U.S. allies such as the United Kingdom.

As the legal questions surrounding the order remained unanswered

Sunday, the uncertainty and resentment unleashed by the executive order he signed two days earlier showed few signs of waning.

At Dulles International Airport, lawyers seeking to represent people who had been detained failed to get information from Customs and Border Protection officials despite repeated attempts.

Even three Democratic members of Congress — Reps. Gerald E. Connolly and Don Beyer of Virginia and Jamie Raskin of Maryland — ran into similar roadblocks. Connolly pressed an airport police officer to get a Customs and Border Protection official to meet with the lawmakers to tell them how many people were detained and to see whether they had been able to communicate with their attorneys.

“Are people being detained?” Connolly asked the officer. “How can you enforce the law if you’re not enforcing a judge’s order?”

Connolly soon was on the phone with a CBP congressional affairs official. He and the other members pressed for information on possible detainees, including those traveling on a flight from Turkey. No one on site from the agency would meet with them.

“That is unacceptable. It is our understanding you are detaining people,” Connolly said. “Our understanding is you have not followed that [court] order.”

The president’s far-reaching action triggered a wave of criticism from Democrats on Capitol Hill, who plan to assemble Monday on the steps of the Supreme Court in a show of solidarity with legal attempts to block Trump’s travel ban. In addition, at least one House member said he plans to introduce legislation to overturn Trump’s action by forcing him to comply with the 1965 Immigration and Nationality Act, which banned discrimination against immigrants on the basis of national origin.

Trump also encountered growing opposition Sunday from lawmakers in his own party.

“You have an extreme vetting proposal that didn’t get the vetting it should have,” Sen. Rob Portman (R-Ohio) said Sunday on CNN’s “State of the Union,” even as he stopped short of opposing the order outright.

Sens. John McCain (R-Ariz.) and Lindsey O. Graham (R-S.C.) also spoke out against the action, saying in a joint statement that the

government has a responsibility to defend its borders but must uphold “all that is decent and exceptional about our nation.”

“It is clear from the confusion at our airports across the nation that President Trump’s executive order was not properly vetted,” they said, adding, “Such a hasty process risks harmful results.”

In a tweet Sunday afternoon, Trump was quick to criticize McCain and Graham as “sadly weak on immigration.” And Republican leaders in Congress on Sunday did not join the opposition to Trump’s order.

“I don’t want to criticize them for improving vetting,” Senate Majority Leader Mitch McConnell said on ABC’s “This Week.” He cautioned that the United States doesn’t have a religious test for entry into the country, and he stopped short of saying that Trump’s action amounted to a Muslim ban.

“I think we need to be careful,” McConnell said. “We don’t have religious tests in this country.”

The Department of Homeland Security noted that “less than one percent” of international air travelers arriving Saturday in the United States were “inconvenienced” by the executive order — though the situation described by lawyers and immigrant advocates across the country was one of widespread uncertainty and disorder at airports where travelers from the targeted countries were suddenly detained.

Federal judges began stepping in late Saturday as requests for stays of Trump’s action flooded courtrooms.

A federal judge in New York temporarily blocked deportations nationwide. Her ruling was followed by similar decisions by federal judges in California, Virginia, Seattle and Boston.

*[The tumultuous politics of U.S. immigration policy, from Roosevelt to Trump]*

Trump, who centered his campaign in part on his vow to crack down on illegal immigration and to impose what became known as his “Muslim ban,” remained unbowed Sunday. As White House officials insisted that the measure strengthens national security, the president stood squarely behind it.

Just after 8 a.m. Sunday, Trump tweeted: “Our country needs strong borders and extreme vetting, NOW. Look what is happening all over

Europe and, indeed, the world — a horrible mess!”

Later in the morning, Trump tweeted, “Christians in the Middle-East have been executed in large numbers. We cannot allow this horror to continue!”

Many Americans agreed with Trump. “He doesn’t hate Muslims,” said Kelley Anne Finn of Manassas, Va., who was interviewed at Dulles airport Sunday. “He doesn’t hate anybody. He’s trying to protect us.”

Administration officials said Sunday that they think it is possible for the White House to both comply with a judge’s order and continue enforcing Trump’s executive action. Their thinking is that the court order affects only people now in the United States, and that since the State Department is proactively canceling visas of people from seven predominantly Muslim countries, other travelers who would be affected by the court order are not expected to be able to travel to the United States in the first place.

The officials pointed out that while the order affects deportations, the travelers stranded at U.S. airports are not legally considered to be deported if they go back to their home countries, because they were never technically admitted to the United States.

That interpretation of the law will almost certainly lead to more court battles in coming days and could keep overseas travelers detained at airports in a state of legal limbo. As Sunday wore on, it became clear that the answers to those questions would have to wait until another day.

The protesters outside the White House pushed on, wielding poster boards with messages such as “Islamophobia is un-American” and “Dissent is patriotic,” chanting “No justice! No peace!” and singing renditions of “This Land is Your Land.”

And in airports from Baltimore to Bangor, from Dallas to Denver, shouts of “Let them go!” and “Let them in!” reverberated Sunday. In many cities, demonstrators invoked the same chant: “No hate, no fear. Refugees are welcome here.”

Philip Bump in New York, Daniel Gross in Boston, and Michael Chandler, Steve Hendrix, Jenna Johnson, Sarah Larimer, Michael Laris, Ellen Nakashima, Ed O’Keefe, Abby Phillip, Kelsey Snell, Elise Viebeck and David Weigel in Washington contributed to this report.

By Shane Goldmacher

President Donald Trump's controversial executive orders on immigration and refugees — which were immediately challenged in federal court — brought into sharp relief the high political and legal stakes for the Supreme Court fight that will unfold this week.

With Trump planning to announce his nominee on Thursday, but now considering an earlier rollout, his allies are moving quickly to sharpen a battle plan, and the first formal meeting of the de facto war room for the coming confirmation fight took place on Friday at the Capitol Hill headquarters of the National Republican Senatorial Committee on Friday.

Story Continued Below

Inside the room were officials from the White House, Senate GOP leadership and the outside groups that have spent months researching the records of Trump's potential picks and are now prepared to unload at least \$10 million in ads backing the nominee—much of it directed at Senate Democrats up for election in 2018 in states Trump carried.

The session was informal and introductory — many around the room were only meeting for the first time — but attendees agreed upon the enormity of the undertaking before them. "The Supreme Court," as one person who was at Friday's gathering put it, "is a big fucking deal."

They met the same day Trump signed his controversial order suspending the admission of refugees to the U.S. and imposing new restrictions on non-citizens wishing to enter the country. A federal judge ordered an emergency stay Saturday night for green card holders and others

detained at airports around the country, and other lawsuits have been filed elsewhere around the country, setting up a challenge that may reach the nation's highest court.

That fight underscored the power Trump's pick will have to determine whether his agenda stands, and not just the Court's stance on a host of issues conservatives have long been concerned about, from limiting abortion access to rolling back gun control. Congressional Democrats are now planning to rally on the steps of the Supreme Court on Monday night.

Trump has said he plans to make an announcement Thursday naming his pick to replace the late Justice Antonin Scalia, who died almost a year ago, but White House officials said the pick could be made public sooner. Republicans prevented former President Barack Obama from filling the seat, blocking even a hearing on his nominee, Judge Merrick Garland.

Inside the White House, the selection and confirmation process is moving along multiple tracks, according to people familiar with the administration's plans.

Planning for an expected media and surrogate blitz is being overseen by White House press secretary Sean Spicer. Four of his deputies attended Friday's meeting at the NRSC, including communications adviser Boris Epshteyn, a lawyer by training, rapid-response specialist Steven Cheung and deputy communications director Jessica Ditto; and staffer Alexa Henning.

Behind the scenes, Trump's team has tried to lay the groundwork for a smooth confirmation. One official familiar with the process said that either White House Counsel Don McGahn or Vice President Mike

Pence have spoken to almost every Democratic member of the Senate Judiciary Committee to sound them out on potential picks. White House legislative affairs director Marc Short is managing the Hill outreach efforts.

White House counsel Don McGahn has continued his task of vetting those under consideration. During the presidential transition, Trump had a legal team of five or more people working out of the seventh floor of the official transition offices researching and preparing for the Supreme Court nomination, according to another person familiar with the matter.

America Rising, a GOP research firm that had two representatives at Friday's meeting, has also combed through the work history of the potential nominees, as has the Judicial Crisis Network, which was among attendees.

The two leading contenders, according to multiple people close to the search process, are Judge Thomas Hardiman of the Third Circuit and Judge Neil Gorsuch of the Tenth Circuit, both of whom were confirmed to appeals courts without a dissenting vote.

Judge Bill Pryor of the 11th Circuit is now considered a longer shot. "We don't want to pick a fight," said an official involved in the selection process. "Pryor would be a fight."

Trump echoed that thinking on Friday, when he said a top consideration was choosing someone "who's going to get approved."

But Trump has also said he'd support using the so-called nuclear option—ending the Senate filibuster—if Democrats seek to block his pick. Justices currently require 60 votes to be confirmed, meaning Trump would have to bring

eight Democrats over to his side. Senate Minority Leader Chuck Schumer has threatened to oppose any Trump pick that falls out of the "mainstream."

"This is will be the most robust confirmation effort in the history of the Republican Party," said Republican strategist Greg Mueller, a veteran of past Supreme Court fights whose PR firm, CRC Public Relations, was also represented at Friday's gathering.

Marge Baker, executive vice president of the liberal group People for the American Way, said none of the 21 names Trump promised to select from during the campaign were acceptable. "They're all going to be a fight," Baker said. "This is not a question of deference to a president. And if we're talking about deference, what kind of deference did anyone show to Merrick Garland?"

The Judicial Crisis Network has said it will spend \$10 million boosting Trump's choice, targeting mostly Senate Democrats up for reelection in 2018 in states that Trump carried. "They're going to have to choose between the interest of their constituents — who clearly wanted Donald Trump to choose the next Supreme Court justice — and Chuck Schumer's plan to obstruct this vacancy for the next four years," said Carrie Severino, the group's chief counsel.

Many involved in the outside efforts are veterans of court battles dating back to the Bush administration. "You feel like a band, kind of like U2," said Gary Marx, a Republican strategist involved in mobilizing conservative groups on behalf of the nominee. "You've done a number of world tours, a whole lot of albums and looking to release another major one."

## The New York Times Travelers Stranded and Protests Swell Over Trump Order

Peter Baker

WASHINGTON

— Travelers were stranded around the world, protests escalated in the United States and anxiety rose within President Trump's party on Sunday as his order closing the nation to refugees and people from certain predominantly Muslim countries provoked a crisis just days into his administration.

The White House pulled back on part of Mr. Trump's temporary ban on visitors from seven countries by saying that it would not apply to those with green cards granting them permanent residence in the United States. By the end of the day, the Department of Homeland

Security formally issued an order declaring legal residents exempt from the order.

But the recalibration did little to reassure critics at home or abroad who saw the president's order as a retreat from traditional American values. European leaders denounced the order, and some Republican lawmakers called on Mr. Trump to back down. As of Sunday evening, officials said no one was being held at American airports, although lawyers said they believed that dozens were still being detained.

More than any of the myriad moves Mr. Trump has made in his frenetic opening days in office, the

immigration order has quickly come to define his emerging presidency as one driven by a desire for decisive action even at the expense of deliberate process or coalition building. It has thrust the nine-day-old administration into its first constitutional conflict, as multiple courts have intervened to block aspects of the order, and into its broadest diplomatic incident, with overseas allies objecting.

The White House was left to defend what seemed to many government veterans like a slapdash process. Aides to Mr. Trump insisted they had consulted for weeks with relevant officials, but the head of the customs and border service in the Obama administration, who

resigned on inauguration day, said the incoming president's team never talked with him about it.

White House officials blamed what they portrayed as a hyperventilating news media for the confusion and said the order had been successfully carried out. Only about 109 travelers were detained in the first 24 hours, out of the 325,000 who typically enter the United States in a day, they said. As of Sunday evening, the Department of Homeland Security said 392 green card holders had been granted waivers to enter. That did not count many visitors who remained overseas now unable to travel.



Reince Priebus, the White House chief of staff, said Mr. Trump simply did what he had promised on the campaign trail and would not gamble with American lives. "We're not willing to be wrong on this subject," he said on "Face the Nation" on CBS. "President Trump is not willing to take chances on this subject."

The order bars entry to refugees from anywhere in the world for 120 days and from Syria indefinitely. It blocks any visitors for 90 days from seven designated countries: Iran, Iraq, Libya, Somalia, Sudan, Syria and Yemen. The Department of Homeland Security initially said the order would bar green card holders from those seven countries from returning to the United States.

With thousands of protesters chanting outside his White House windows and thronging the streets of Washington and other cities, Mr. Trump late on Sunday defended his order. "To be clear, this is not a Muslim ban, as the media is falsely reporting," he said in a written statement. "This is not about religion — this is about terror and keeping our country safe."

He noted that the seven countries were identified by former President Barack Obama's administration as sources of terrorism and that his order did not affect citizens from dozens of other predominantly Muslim countries. "We will again be issuing visas to all countries once we are sure we have reviewed and implemented the most secure policies over the next 90 days," he said.

Mr. Trump expressed sympathy for victims of the long-running civil war in Syria. "I have tremendous feeling for the people involved in this horrific humanitarian crisis in Syria," he said. "My first priority will always be to protect and serve our country, but as president, I will find ways to help all those who are suffering."

While Mr. Trump denied that his action focused on religion, the first iteration of his plan during his presidential campaign was framed as a temporary ban on all Muslim visitors.

As late as Sunday morning, he made clear that his concern was for Christian refugees, and part of his order gives preferential treatment to Christians who try to enter the United States from majority-Muslim nations.

In a Twitter post on Sunday morning, Mr. Trump deplored the killing of Christians in the Middle East without noting the killings of Muslims, who have been killed in vastly greater numbers in Iraq, Syria and elsewhere.

"Christians in the Middle East have been executed in large numbers," he wrote. "We cannot allow this horror to continue!"

His order, however, resulted in a second day of uncertainty at American airports. The American Civil Liberties Union said it was investigating reports that officials were not complying with court orders in New York, Boston, Seattle, Los Angeles and Chicago.

New York's attorney general sent a letter to federal authorities demanding a list of all individuals detained at Kennedy International Airport. The Department of Homeland Security said on Sunday evening that it was "in compliance with judicial orders."

#### Affected by Trump's order?

Are you affected by President Trump's executive order on immigration, or do you know someone who is? If you have information, please contact us at [immigration@nytimes.com](mailto:immigration@nytimes.com).

Still, at Dulles International Airport outside Washington, even the arrival of four Democratic members of Congress did not prompt customs officers to acknowledge whether they were holding anyone or provide lawyers access to anyone detained.

The lawmakers arrived after 3 p.m. and were rebuffed by police officers when they tried to enter the Customs and Border Protection offices at the airport. Representative Gerry Connolly, Democrat of Virginia, said he was told to call the main office of the agency in Washington.

His staff got a legislative liaison from the customs service on the phone, and "they said we'll put you in touch with the deputy commissioner," Mr. Connolly said.

"I said that's not acceptable," he continued. "We want to talk to the person in charge of operations at Dulles Airport. That's where the problem is, and that's where the federal judicial ruling is applicable."

The clash over the order provoked emotional responses. At a news conference, Senator Chuck Schumer, the Democratic minority leader from New York, choked up as he vowed to "claw, scrap and fight with every fiber of my being until these orders are overturned."

The mayors of New York, Chicago and Boston spoke out, as well. In Dallas, Mayor Mike Rawlings personally offered regrets to four released detainees at Dallas-Fort Worth Airport. "We have wished them welcome, and we have apologized from the depths of our heart," he said. Chelsea Clinton joined a protest in New York.

The order roiled relations with America's traditional allies in Europe and the Middle East. The spokesman for Chancellor Angela Merkel of Germany said she "is convinced that the resolute fight against terrorism does not justify blanket suspicion on grounds of origin or belief."

Prime Minister Theresa May of Britain, who met with Mr. Trump in Washington on Friday and has sought to forge a friendship with him, initially declined to comment on the policy on Saturday when pressed by reporters during a stop in Turkey.

But under pressure from opposition politicians, her spokesman later said the British government did "not agree with this kind of approach."

The matter was especially sensitive in Muslim countries, and Mr. Trump spoke by telephone on Sunday with King Salman of Saudi Arabia and Sheikh Mohammed bin Zayed Al Nahyan, the crown prince of Abu Dhabi. White House statements on the calls said they discussed the fight against terrorism but did not say whether they discussed the immigration order, which did not include their countries.

In Washington, protesters gathered by the thousands outside Mr. Trump's front lawn to denounce his order and show solidarity with Muslim Americans.

"Shame," they chanted, hoisting homemade signs toward the executive mansion, where Mr. Trump was scheduled to host a private screening of the movie "Finding Dory."

"No hate, no fear," they added later. "Refugees are welcome here."

Security fencing and reviewing stands still in place from the inauguration prevented the crowd from getting more than a couple hundred yards away from the building, but did not stop crowds from swelling through the afternoon, when protesters departed to march to Capitol Hill.

Some Republicans grew increasingly alarmed by the backlash to the order. "This executive order sends a signal, intended or not, that America does not want Muslims coming into our country," Senators John McCain of Arizona and Lindsey Graham of South Carolina said in a statement. "That is why we fear this executive order may do more to help terrorist recruitment than improve our security."

Some conservative donors also criticized the decision. Officials with the political network overseen by Charles G. and David H. Koch, the billionaire conservative activists, released a statement on Sunday criticizing Mr. Trump's handling of the issue.

"We believe it is possible to keep Americans safe without excluding people who wish to come here to contribute and pursue a better life for their families," said Brian Hooks, a chairman of the Kochs' donor network. "The travel ban is the wrong approach and will likely be counterproductive."

Senator Bob Corker, the chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, said the order was "poorly implemented" and urged the president to "make appropriate revisions." Other Republicans were more circumspect. Senator Mitch McConnell, the Republican majority leader, said the issue would be decided by the courts.

Mr. Trump fired back at Mr. McCain and Mr. Graham on Twitter. "They are sadly weak on immigration," he wrote. "Senators should focus their energies on ISIS, illegal immigration and border security instead of always looking to start World War III."

#### Correction: January 30, 2017

An earlier version of this article misstated when Prime Minister Theresa May initially declined to comment on the immigration policy. It was Saturday, not Sunday.

**THE WALL  
STREET  
JOURNAL**

Paletta and Devlin Barrett

## Trump Team Kept Plan for Travel Ban Quiet

Peter  
Nicholas, Damian

Updated Jan. 29, 2017 11:28 p.m.  
ET

Inside President Donald Trump's political team, the travel ban was something of a secret.

Even before Mr. Trump won the election, aides were working up a plan to make good on a campaign

pledge to keep potential terrorists from slipping into the U.S.

They kept the circle tight as the work stretched from the campaign to the transition and then the White House. If word seeped out, they said, terrorists would enter the country before the new barriers were in place. There was another benefit of staying mum: It would keep opponents guessing about precisely what the incoming president had in mind.

On Friday, Mr. Trump unveiled the final product: an executive order indefinitely barring Syrian refugees from entering the U.S. and restricting travel by people from seven Muslim-majority countries.

Mr. Trump's action upended decades of U.S. immigration policy and capped a turbulent first week of his presidency. Demonstrators massed at the nation's airports over the weekend. Travelers holding valid visas were held without warning at points of entry. Lawsuits followed, and by Saturday evening, hours after Mr. Trump told reporters in the Oval Office that the program was "working out very nicely," a federal judge in Brooklyn issued a stay, stopping the Trump administration from sending home the refugees and immigrants who had been detained.

On Sunday, White House officials said they weren't deterred. They said the travel ban delivered on a central campaign promise with broad public backing. It was part of a rapid-fire series of executive actions that is keeping the Democratic opposition off balance, a senior White House official said. He said that as attention shifts to the president's immigration policies, critics have grown distracted and are less mobilized against Mr.

Trump's plans to build a wall on the Mexican border.

Critics say the executive order and Mr. Trump's broader governing style seem ad hoc and needlessly disruptive.

"In the future, such policy changes should be better coordinated with the agencies implementing them and with Congress to ensure we get it right—and don't undermine our nation's credibility while trying to restore it," said House Homeland Security Committee Chairman Michael McCaul, a Texas Republican.

Mr. Trump and his aides have said several times the travel ban doesn't single out Muslims. "This is not about religion. This is about terror and keeping our country safe," the president said in a statement Sunday.

The White House was revising the executive order nearly up to the time Mr. Trump signed it, toughening the travel ban while ultimately leaving out a plan to establish "safe zones" in Syria and surrounding areas to protect Syrian nationals.

A draft of the executive order circulating on Capitol Hill and elsewhere Jan. 25 included just a 30-day ban on people from Iran, Iraq, Libya, Somalia, Sudan, Syria and Yemen from entering the U.S. By the time Mr. Trump signed the document on Jan. 27, the ban was extended to 90 days.

Though drafts of the document were circulating at some agencies as early as Wednesday, many current U.S. immigration officials didn't see it until after it was signed. Many immigration officials critical to the implementation of the order were in the dark about the particulars of the

policy up until they were called on to enforce it, according to people involved in the matter. Senior officials at Customs and Border Protection and agents working at airports were left with key questions unanswered when they began detaining people at the airports on Saturday, these people said.

Officials at the State Department said they received little information about the temporary ban from the Trump team before it took effect.

There was particular confusion about what to do with people in transit and how broad exceptions to the policy were, officials said.

Adding to the confusion over the weekend, four judges weighed in with rulings halting removals from the U.S., but each judicial decree was different, making it difficult to tell whether federal agents were fully complying with court orders.

Advocacy groups and congressional Democrats mobilized quickly to try to neutralize the plan.

Staff at the American Civil Liberties Union had heard rumblings, so they began planning early on a strategy to push back. Lee Gelernt, a lawyer at the ACLU who argued a case that led to a stay in federal court, said the group got word Friday night the order would also apply to people who had made it to the U.S.

Mr. Gelernt said the ACLU learned that two Iraqi nationals would be the first to land at JFK Airport in New York. The two men landed sometime in the afternoon.

"We tried to reach someone with authority," Mr. Gelernt said. "We wanted assurance no one would be sent back. We scrambled to find anyone to talk to us."

The ACLU filed an emergency motion in federal court by 5:30 p.m. Saturday. By about 10 p.m., he said, the emergency stay was granted.

Democratic aides on Capitol Hill said that key committee and party leadership received no advance notice the executive actions were coming and learned of them from press reports.

Legislation is being drafted in the House that would undo Mr. Trump's executive orders around immigration, though it is unlikely to advance in a GOP controlled Congress.

Late Sunday, about 48 hours after the executive order was issued, Homeland Security Secretary John Kelly issued a statement clarifying its scope.

He said allowing "lawful permanent residents," meaning "green-card" holders, to enter the U.S. was "in the national interest. Accordingly, absent the receipt of significant derogatory information indicating a serious threat to public safety and welfare, lawful permanent resident status will be a dispositive factor in our case-by-case determinations."

The Department of Homeland Security, late Sunday, said it was now working with airlines to prevent people from boarding flights overseas if they would not be allowed into the U.S. under the new rules.

—Stephanie Armour and Byron Tau contributed to this article.

**Write to** Peter Nicholas at [peter.nicholas@wsj.com](mailto:peter.nicholas@wsj.com), Damian Paletta at [damian.paletta@wsj.com](mailto:damian.paletta@wsj.com) and Devlin Barrett at [devlin.barrett@wsj.com](mailto:devlin.barrett@wsj.com)

## THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

### Countries Under U.S. Entry Ban Aren't Main Sources of Terror Attacks

Felicia Schwartz and Ben Kesling

Jan. 29, 2017 11:45 a.m. ET

WASHINGTON—President Donald Trump's executive order to temporarily ban entry from seven Middle Eastern and African countries states that it is intended to "protect the American people from terrorist attacks by foreign nationals admitted to the United States."

However, few of the dozens of plots in the U.S. during and after 2001 were attempted or carried out by suspects who came from the countries targeted under the ban.

Of 180 people charged with jihadist terrorism-related crimes or who died before being charged, 11 were identified as being from Syria, Iraq,

Iran, Libya, Yemen, Sudan or Somalia, the countries specified in Mr. Trump's order, according to an analysis of data on the attacks by The Wall Street Journal.

None of the 11 were identified as coming from either Syria, Libya or Sudan, and none of the 11 were involved in any major U.S. plot resulting in the deaths of Americans, including the attacks of Sept. 11, 2001.

The Journal analyzed U.S. law enforcement records on terror-related plots and arrests that were compiled by the nonpartisan New America Foundation. The data include those charged with conducting attacks, killed while executing attacks, taking steps toward violence in the U.S., or

materially supporting terrorism. It doesn't include people charged with attempting to travel abroad for jihadist purposes, with no direct correlation to a U.S. attack.

The New America Foundation data also didn't include the 19 Sept. 11 attackers. They were added as part of the Journal's analysis of the data.

President Trump's chief of staff, Reince Priebus said Sunday on Meet the Press that the seven countries were deemed countries of concern by Congress and the Obama administration.

The countries list originates from a bill Mr. Obama signed in 2015 that was originally introduced by Republican lawmakers, with some Democrats supporting it. The legislation grew out of concerns

about citizens from a variety of countries becoming fighters for Islamic State or other groups in Iraq and Syria, then potentially visiting the U.S. The House version of the bill had 93 co-sponsors, about a third of whom were Democrats.

A federal program allows people from the U.K., France and about three dozen other nations to travel to the U.S. for business or vacation without a visa.

The 2015 law curtailed the program. That required anyone from the list of approved countries who has traveled to Iran, Iraq, Sudan and Syria to obtain a U.S. visa before entering the country. In 2016, the Department of Homeland Security added Libya, Somalia and Yemen to the list.

The data from the New America Foundation is similar to other estimates that have emerged since Mr. Trump signaled his immigration crackdown and that have been cited by those critical of Mr. Trump's immigration ban, even if they think some changes are warranted.

"We have a lot of things that we need to build upon, some stuff we need to refine, some stuff we need to do better," said Ali Soufan, a former FBI agent who worked on high-profile terrorism cases and worked on some of the systems in place to vet travelers during the Bush administration. "But we can't be bulls in a China shop and say you're not allowed in the U.S., period. Because that's going to create a lot of animosity and that's going to feed the ideology of many of the terrorist groups we're concerned about."

Approximately 85% of all suspects who took steps toward terrorist-related violence inside the U.S. since the Sept. 11 attacks were U.S. citizens or legal residents and about half were born U.S. citizens, New America Foundation officials calculated. Birthplaces couldn't be definitively determined in 10 of the cases.

None of the major U.S. terrorist attacks or plots on or since Sept. 11, 2001, appear to have been carried out by people from the seven countries. The 19 men involved in the Sept. 11 attacks were from Egypt, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia and United Arab Emirates. The same is true of other prominent

incidents since the Sept. 11 attacks.

In the 2009 Fort Hood shooting, Nidal Hassan, then a U.S. Army major who killed 13 and wounded 31, was born in the U.S.

The 2013 Boston marathon bombing that killed three and wounded hundreds more was carried out by brothers Tamerlan and Dzhokhar Tsarnaev, born in Russia and Krygystan respectively.

In the 2015 San Bernardino attack, Pakistan-born Tashfeen Malik and her American-born husband, Syed Rizwan Farook, killed more than a dozen co-workers and injured 21 more.

The 2016 Orlando, Fla., nightclub attack, killing 49 and wounding more than 50, was carried out by Omar Mateen, who was born in New York.

Several major U.S. plots that were thwarted over the years also didn't involve people from the seven countries specified in Mr. Trump's order.

British-national Richard Reid failed to detonate a shoe bomb in a Detroit-bound airliner 2001. American-born Jose Padilla was arrested in 2002 as he plotted to build and detonate a so-called dirty bomb with the goal of spreading radioactive material with conventional explosives. Umar Farouk Abdulmutallab is a Nigerian-born man who attempted unsuccessfully to blow up a jetliner with explosives placed in his underwear in 2009. A botched bombing of Times Square in 2010 was attempted by Pakistani national Faisal Shahzad.

All were convicted in those plots and are serving U.S. prison sentences.

Of the 11 terror suspects who did come from one of the seven countries targeted by Mr. Trump's order, three were from Iraq, one was from Iran, two were from Yemen and five were from Somalia.

Two of the 11 were involved in acts of violence. Iranian native Mohammed Taheri-azar was convicted after authorities said he intentionally struck people with an SUV at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, injuring nine, in 2006. Somali Abdul Razak Ali Artan carried out a knife rampage at Ohio State University in 2016, injuring 11 before he was confronted and killed by a police officer.

Of the other suspects from the seven countries targeted by Mr. Trump, two of the 11 were convicted based on sting-style law enforcement operations. Several others were convicted after they declared their intent to back Islamic State causes or for unsuccessfully attempting to ally with Islamic State on attacks in the U.S.

In recent years, counterterrorism experts and law-enforcement officials have said that a greater danger is posed by homegrown extremism, which can feed on ideas emanating from the Middle East, than by radicalized immigrants physically coming to the U.S.

"It is no longer necessary to get a terrorist operative into the United States to recruit," said FBI Director James Comey in testimony before a Senate committee in late 2015.

"Terrorists, in ungoverned spaces, disseminate poisonous propaganda and training materials to attract troubled souls around the world to their cause. They encourage these individuals to travel, but if they can't travel, they motivate them to act at home."

Many advocates for refugee resettlement criticized Mr. Trump's order, calling it misguided and an overreaction.

"This nation has a long and rich history of welcoming those who have sought refuge because of oppression or fear of death," said Cardinal Joseph Tobin of the Archdiocese of Newark in a statement. "Even when such groups were met by irrational fear, prejudice and persecution, the signature benevolence of the United States of America eventually triumphed."

In fiscal year 2016, the U.S. admitted approximately 85,000 refugees, including approximately 12,500 Syrians. Mr. Trump said the U.S. will admit 50,000 in fiscal year 2017, with a permanent freeze on Syrians. The entire program will be suspended for four months, and Mr. Trump moved to prioritize Christian refugees.

—Joe Palazzolo and Will Mauldin contributed to this article.

**Write to** Felicia Schwartz at [Felicia.Schwartz@wsj.com](mailto:Felicia.Schwartz@wsj.com) and Ben Kesling at [benjamin.kesling@wsj.com](mailto:benjamin.kesling@wsj.com)



## Silicon Valley is debating how far to go to fight Donald Trump's executive order

By Elizabeth Dwoskin and Todd C. Frankel

SAN FRANCISCO — As news about President Trump's temporary ban on immigrants and visitors from seven Muslim-majority countries filtered through Silicon Valley on Saturday, tech leaders from firms such as Apple and Tesla began condemning the move.

But in anguished phone calls, late-night text messages and emails over the weekend, Silicon Valley executives were struggling to figure out whether they would — or should — take bigger and more coordinated actions to condemn the executive order, which also suspended the nation's refugee program, according to people who spoke on the condition of anonymity because the conversations were private.

There was even discussion in some circles of finding ways to pressure Peter Thiel, a billionaire venture capitalist who was Trump's highest-profile supporter in Silicon Valley and was mocked by critics over the weekend for predicting that Trump wouldn't follow through on his campaign proposal to ban Muslims. (Thiel said this weekend that the executive order falls short of a Muslim ban.)

But by Sunday evening, it wasn't clear whether Silicon Valley planned to go beyond statements and a few other isolated actions to counter Trump's move to restrict immigration.

"Right now, everyone is facing different levels of conflict between what they know would be right, to stand up for American values, versus what they might have to

lose," Ali Partovi, an entrepreneur and early investor in Airbnb, Uber, Dropbox and Facebook, said in an interview. "Leaders of tech companies have been talking for a year about when to take a stand or draw the line, and I think last week was sort of an awakening that the time is now."

(Reuters)

President Trump told leaders of companies ranging from Lockheed Martin Corp. to Under Armour that he believes his administration can cut regulations governing companies by 75 percent or more, at a meeting on Jan. 23 at the White House. Trump promises to cut business regulations in meeting with executives (Reuters)

Technology leaders have previously pinballed as they weighed the

benefits of a Trump relationship against the potential costs to the bottom line. For Silicon Valley, the weekend represented a watershed moment in those deliberations, said Sam Altman, president of the Silicon Valley start-up incubator Y Combinator.

During the presidential campaign, tech executives were sharply critical of Trump. But after he was elected, industry leaders, including Apple chief executive Tim Cook, Microsoft chief executive Satya Nadella and Tesla Motors chief executive Elon Musk met with him in an attempt to gain the good graces of the administration. During the meeting, the executives raised many issues where the government could help their businesses, including cutting the corporate tax rate, navigating the Chinese market, improving the contracting and bidding process for



start-ups, and supporting development of cloud computing.

Then over the weekend, dozens of technology leaders, including those who attended the Trump Tower meeting, denounced the immigration ban. In strongly worded, companywide emails, open letters, and on Twitter, Cook quoted the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr., while Google chief executive Sundar Pichai wrote that it was "painful to see the personal cost of this executive order on our colleagues."

"Any fairly elected president deserves an open-mind," Altman said of the initial meetings. "But clearly something has happened here that people feel is important and that it is time to stand up and object."

Altman was among the thousands who gathered at San Francisco International Airport this weekend to protest, as was Sergey Brin, co-founder of Google (Brin, a refugee, was careful to say he was not attending as a Google official).

Not all technology leaders were vocal about the new immigration policies. Oracle, whose chief executive, Safra Catz, was a Trump ally and attended the tech summit at Trump Tower, didn't make a statement. Amazon.com sent a companywide email advising employees who were from the seven affected countries to avoid traveling outside the United States, but chief executive Jeffrey P. Bezos did not personally speak out against the policy. (Bezos owns The Washington Post.)

It's not clear whether tech companies' concerns will make a difference with Trump and his advisers. During the campaign, Trump defended in a radio interview with then-Breitbart chief executive Stephen K. Bannon the importance of high-skill immigration. "We have to keep our talented people in this

country," the candidate said.

Bannon, now Trump's chief strategist, seemed to take issue with that perspective.

"When two-thirds or three-quarters of the CEOs in Silicon Valley are from South Asia or from Asia, I think ... " Bannon said, without completing the thought. "A country is more than an economy. We're a civic society."

Immigration's home

Few industries benefit from immigration as much as Silicon Valley. The tech industry is the biggest user of high-skilled visas for engineers. Apple founder Steve Jobs was the son of a Syrian immigrant; Syria is one of the countries included in the ban. Just over half of all start-ups valued more than \$1 billion by private investors were founded by immigrants, according to the think tank National Foundation for American Policy.

Over the weekend, in response to the executive order, several companies took actions beyond public statements. Airbnb promised to host families stuck overseas, and ride-sharing company Lyft announced a \$1 million donation to the American Civil Liberties Union. (Several companies, including Google and Salesforce, recalled overseas staff members and helped employees sort visa issues.)

Partovi, who was among the organizers of an open letter last year from dozens of chief executives protesting discriminatory travel restrictions in an act signed by President Barack Obama, said that travel restrictions were just bad for business and that the concerns were not partisan.

"Discrimination is un-American whether it's done by a Democrat or a Republican. Every smart businessman knows that draconian travel restrictions are bad for business," he said.

The sharpened political division that followed Trump into office has greeted tech leaders, as well, with critics saying the tech industry could do much more.

When Jack Dorsey, chief executive of Twitter and Square, said this weekend that the refugee ban "goes against our principles," many people responded with pleas to ban Trump from Twitter — depriving the president of what seems like his favorite way to level criticisms far and wide. Dorsey so far has resisted doing so.

Worries that Trump plans to build a computerized Muslim registry led to a review of which tech firms would be willing to help assemble such a database. Some, such as Microsoft, IBM and Facebook, have announced they would not help with such an effort. Separately, hundreds of tech workers have signed a pledge to not help with a registry.

Uber's maelstrom

The ride-sharing juggernaut Uber — a Silicon Valley darling valued at more than \$60 billion — was pulled into the weekend's protests at airports when it said it was not increasing fares at John F. Kennedy International Airport, despite heightened demand from people flocking to the terminal to protest. The ride-hailing company thought it was doing the right thing. But its message came on the heels of a call by the New York Taxi Workers Alliance to stop picking up customers at JFK from 6 to 7 p.m. Saturday to protest Trump's order. To some, it sounded as if Uber was attempting to undercut the taxi strike.

That fed an online campaign to "Delete Uber." And it took off.

Author Ayelet Waldman said she was done with the service.

Facebook co-founder Chris Hughes accused Uber of collaborating with "Trump's anti-immigrant actions."

Sanho Tree, a fellow at the progressive think tank Institute for Policy Studies, said he chose to boycott Uber because this was just the latest in questionable tactics by the company.

"They keep punching themselves in the face," Tree said.

Evening Edition newsletter

The day's most important stories.

Please provide a valid email address.

Uber tried to clarify its position, explaining in social-media posts and to reporters that it intended to lower fares for protesters, not undercut the taxi stoppage. It also promised to compensate drivers stuck abroad.

"We're sorry for any confusion about our earlier tweet — it was not meant to break up any strike," an Uber spokesman told The Post. (Bezos, the newspaper's owner, is an investor in Uber.)

Uber previously was criticized for comments by its chief executive, Travis Kalanick, that the company would "partner with anyone in the world" if they agree with Uber's views on transportation.

Kalanick is also one of several corporate leaders serving on Trump's economic advisory team — the only other person from the technology sector is Musk — which is scheduled to meet for the first time this Friday. Kalanick said in a Facebook post that he planned to bring up the refugee ban at that meeting. Musk did not respond to requests for comment.

"I'll leave it to each individual to decide the relationship they want to have with the administration," investor Hunter Walk said. "But I'm seeing a norm move toward ensuring we preserve human rights ahead of short-term business decisions."

**THE WALL  
STREET  
JOURNAL**

## Editorial : Trump's Refugee Bonfire

Jan. 29, 2017  
7:10 p.m. ET 527

COMMENTS

President Trump seems determined to conduct a shock and awe campaign to fulfill his campaign promises as quickly as possible, while dealing with the consequences later. This may work for a pipeline approval, but the bonfire over his executive order on refugees shows that government by deliberate disruption can blow up in damaging ways.

Mr. Trump campaigned on a promise of "extreme vetting" for refugees from countries with a history of terrorism, and his focus on protecting Americans has popular support. But his refugee ban is so blunderbuss and broad, and so poorly explained and prepared for, that it has produced confusion and fear at airports, an immediate legal defeat, and political fury at home and abroad. Governing is more complicated than a campaign rally.

Start with the rollout late Friday with barely an explanation for the public,

or apparently even for border agents or customs officials. The order immediately suspended entry for nationals from seven countries for 90 days, except for exceptions authorized by the secretaries of State or Homeland Security. It also banned refugee entries from Syria indefinitely.

The airwaves were suddenly full of stories of scientists, business travelers and even approved visa holders detained at the airport and denied entry to the U.S. Tech companies immediately recalled

employees for fear that they may not be able to return.

Even some green-card holders—who have permanent legal residence in the U.S.—were swept up in the border confusion. The White House scrambled Sunday to say green-card holders are exempt from the order, but that should have been made clear from the start.

The White House legal review was also slipshod. The President has wide discretion over refugee policies, and the overall Trump order is no doubt legal. But surely

someone in the executive branch knew that anyone who touches down on U.S. soil is entitled to some due process before summary removal.

Opponents of the policy pounced to sue in several jurisdictions, and no fewer than four judges have rebuked the order in some way. One government lawyer who had to defend the White House position couldn't explain why those detained were a security threat or why they weren't at risk if they were sent back to their native countries.

The larger problem with the order is its breadth. Contrary to much bad media coverage, the order is not a "Muslim ban." But by suspending all entries from seven Muslim-majority nations, it lets the jihadists portray the order as applying to all Muslims even though it does not. The smarter play would have been simply to order

more diligent screening without a blanket ban.

The order does say the government should "prioritize refugee claims made by individuals on the basis of religious-based persecution, provided that the religion of the individual is a minority religion" in that country.

That could apply to Christians, whom the Obama Administration neglected in its refugee admissions despite their persecution in much of the Middle East. But it could also apply to minority Sunni Muslims in Iraq who have fought with the U.S. Yet that wasn't explained, and in an interview with a Christian broadcast network Mr. Trump stressed a preference for Christian refugees.

The order also fails to make explicit exceptions for Iraqis, Afghans and others who have fought side by side with Americans. These include

translators and others who helped save American lives and whose own lives may now be at risk for assisting GIs. The U.S. will fight wars in foreign lands in the future, and we will need local allies who will be watching how we treat Iraqis, Kurds and other battle comrades now.

The U.S. is in a long war with jihadists that is as much ideological as military. The U.S. needs Muslim allies, while the jihadists want to portray America as the enemy of all Muslims. Overly broad orders send the wrong signal to millions of Muslims who aren't jihadists but who might be vulnerable to recruitment if they conclude the U.S. is at war with Islam, rather than with Islamist radicals.

The reaction to the refugee order is also a warning that controversial policy changes can't merely be dropped on the public like a stun

grenade. They need their own extreme internal vetting to make sure everyone knows what's going on. They need to be sold and explained to the public—again and again.

Mr. Trump is right that the government needs shaking up, but the danger of moving too fast without careful preparation and competent execution is that he is building up formidable political forces in opposition. The danger isn't so much that any single change could be swept away by bipartisan opposition, but that he will alienate the friends and allies at home and abroad he needs to succeed. Political disruption has its uses but not if it consumes your Presidency in the process.

**The  
New York  
Times**

## Editorial : Donald Trump's Muslim Ban Is Cowardly and Dangerous

The Editorial Board

Joan Wong

First, reflect on the cruelty of President Trump's decision on Friday to indefinitely suspend the resettlement of Syrian refugees and temporarily ban people from seven predominantly Muslim nations from entering the United States. It took just hours to begin witnessing the injury and suffering this ban inflicts on families that had every reason to believe they had outrun carnage and despotism in their homelands to arrive in a singularly hopeful nation.

The first casualties of this bigoted, cowardly, self-defeating policy were detained early Saturday at American airports just hours after the executive order, ludicrously titled "Protecting the Nation From Foreign Terrorist Entry Into the United States," went into effect. A federal judge in Brooklyn on Saturday evening issued an emergency stay, ordering that those stuck at the airports not be returned to their home countries. But the future of all the others subject to the executive order is far from settled.

It must have felt like the worst trick of fate for these refugees to hit the wall of Donald Trump's political posturing at the very last step of a yearslong, rigorous vetting process. This ban will also disrupt the lives and careers of potentially hundreds of thousands of immigrants who have been

cleared to live in America under visas. On Saturday, as mass protests against that ban were held in various cities, the White House scaled back the reach of the policy, though not by much, exempting legal permanent residents.

That the order, breathtaking in scope and inflammatory in tone, was issued on Holocaust Remembrance Day spoke of the president's callousness and indifference to history, to America's deepest lessons about its own values.

The order lacks any logic. It invokes the attacks of Sept. 11 as a rationale, while exempting the countries of origin of all the hijackers who carried out that plot and also, perhaps not coincidentally, several countries where the Trump family does business. The document does not explicitly mention any religion, yet it sets a blatantly unconstitutional standard by excluding Muslims while giving government officials the discretion to admit people of other faiths.

The order's language makes clear that the xenophobia and Islamophobia that permeated Mr. Trump's campaign are to stain his presidency as well. Un-American as they are, they are now American policy. "The United States must ensure that those admitted to this country do not bear hostile attitudes toward it and its founding

principles," the order says, conveying the spurious notion that all Muslims should be considered a threat. (It further claims to spare America from people who would commit acts of violence against women and those who persecute people on the basis of race, gender or sexual orientation. A president who bragged about sexually assaulting women and a vice president who has supported policies that discriminate against gay people might well fear that standard themselves.)

The unrighteousness of this new policy should be enough to prompt the courts, Congress and responsible members of Mr. Trump's cabinet to reverse it immediately. But there is an even more compelling reason: It is extremely dangerous. Extremist groups will trumpet this order to spread the notion, today more credible than ever, that the United States is at war with Islam rather than targeting terrorists. They want nothing more than a fearful, recklessly belligerent America; so, if anything, this ban will heighten their efforts to strike at Americans, to provoke yet further overreaction from a volatile and inexperienced president.

American allies in the Middle East will reasonably question why they should cooperate with, and defer to, the United States while its top officials vilify their faith. Afghans and Iraqis supporting American

military operations would be justified in reassessing the merits of taking enormous risks for a government that is bold enough to drop bombs on their homelands but too frightened to provide a haven to their most vulnerable compatriots, and perhaps to them as well. Republicans in Congress who remain quiet or tacitly supportive of the ban should recognize that history will remember them as cowards.

There may be no one better positioned to force a suspension of this policy than Mr. Trump's secretary of defense, Jim Mattis. Mr. Mattis was clear-eyed about the dangers of a proposed Muslim ban during the election, saying that American allies were reasonably wondering if "we have lost faith in reason." He added: "This kind of thing is causing us great damage right now, and it's sending shock waves through this international system."

His silence now is alarming to all who admire his commitment to American security. Mr. Mattis and other senior government officials who know better cannot lend their names to this travesty. Doing so would do more than tarnish their professional reputations. It would make them complicit in abdicating American values and endangering their fellow citizens.

**Los  
Angeles  
Times**

## Editorial : How Trump created chaos at the airport with his unfair and inhumane order

The Times Editorial Board

The mere idea of President Trump's executive order suspending the entry into the country of various visitors, migrants and refugees was bad enough, based as it was on the erroneous assertion that people from predominantly Muslim countries posed an escalated threat to the United States, and the contention — also without evidence — that existing vetting of arrivals from those countries was inadequate.

In execution, it was a disaster, plunging U.S. airports into chaos and displaying a shocking lack of forethought and planning and a deeply troubling failure of basic communication and coordination among and between federal and local authorities.

Would the ban apply to arriving passengers who already are lawful permanent residents holding so-called green cards? Yes, said the White House and the Department of Homeland Security on Saturday. But on Sunday, they changed their minds, saying it would not. What about holders of properly issued visas, who left their home countries under U.S. assurance that they would be admitted here? Why was Saudi Arabia (where Trump has business

interests but where most of the 9/11 hijackers came from) left off the list of banned countries?

Set aside for a moment the question of whether denying entry to such people is manifestly unfair, illegal or even unconstitutional, and whether it is likely to set off a chain reaction of retaliatory measures against U.S. citizens living, working or visiting in other countries. Some more basic and urgent questions are what rules apply, who on the ground is interpreting them and whether those interpretations are being adequately and uniformly communicated.

At Los Angeles International Airport, and presumably at other airports around the country, it was unclear well into Sunday how many people were being detained. Loved ones and others awaiting the arrival of passengers had little to no access to information.

The horrendous episode smacks not just of a disregard for basic rights and decency, but of a level of amateurism not usually associated with the federal government. The president appeared to believe he could spring his order on the world the same way he might suddenly switch plumbing contractors on one of his buildings. He displayed a blind spot — or a callous contempt

— for the impact of his action. If there was planning or consultation with career officials or homeland security experts, it was not apparent.

The inescapable question is whether this is the manner in which we can expect other new presidential programs to be rolled out. We can hope the answer is "no" — that the president will now have learned something of how government bureaucracy works, and of the impact of his decisions on real people in real time — but we fear the answer will be "yes." Consider the president's insistence, in the face of criticism over the weekend, that he did nothing much different on entry to the U.S. than President Obama did in the first months of his administration. If that were indeed the case, why did Trump previously make such an issue of how different his policies were from Obama's? Can he truly believe that the chaotic scenes at airports were something manufactured by his political opponents? Trump's learning curve may be long. Let's hope that one at least exists.

At stake is more than the fate of refugees fleeing desperate conditions in war-torn countries, or

the American traditions of welcome and fair play.

Also on the line is the confidence that Americans have, ought to have and are entitled to have in their government — and the confidence that other governments have in us. In the event of a real emergency — an act of war, a natural disaster, the outbreak of disease — that confidence is essential.

The good news arising from this weekend's events is that the American system of law, of constitutionality and of checks and balances did work, after the fact and up to a point. Plaintiffs went to court. Judges stayed application of parts of Trump's order.

That's good, but it came after an awful lot of anxiety and consternation. Coming on top of Trump's battle with Mexican leaders last week, his petulant squabbles with the press, his pointless obsession with the size of his inauguration crowd, his irresponsible order on Obamacare, we have to wonder: What on earth will week two bring?



The Christian Science Monitor

## Editorial : The way to debate Trump's orders on migrants

January 29, 2017 —Public reaction has been swift and strong to President Trump's executive orders on immigration. One order calls for building more barriers along the border with Mexico. The other aims to set a short-term ban on immigration from seven countries deemed to be sources of "radical Islamic terrorists."

Both orders still face hurdles before they can be implemented. Paying for a "wall" with Mexico remains uncertain. And federal courts have temporarily blocked the immigrant ban in order to judge it on moral and legal grounds; Mr. Trump insists the ban does not target Muslims.

In both cases, a delay will help buy time for the Trump administration and its opponents to see if they can find common ground. Doing so might avoid a long and polarizing standoff.

One possible path of reconciliation is for each side to recognize the other already cares about the reasons for the flow of migrants toward the United States, especially refugees seeking asylum. Both seek to help end the adverse conditions that drive people to flee their countries while continuing to aid their humane resettlement.

Both sides, for example, worry that much of Central America as well as parts of Mexico are home to high rates of corruption and gang violence. And of the countries targeted by Trump with an immigration ban — Iran, Iraq, Libya, Somalia, Sudan, Syria and Yemen — almost all are considered to be fragile states with failing governance or high levels of warfare, or both.

Last year, Trump warned against cutting off aid to countries, especially those with nuclear weapons, because "we don't want to see total instability." And his

choice to be US secretary of State, Rex Tillerson, said in his confirmation hearings that oppression in a country and a deterioration of human rights help create instability. He promised that "these most precious of human values that we advocate" will never be absent in US policy.

"Our leadership demands action specifically focused on improving the conditions of people the world over," said Mr. Tillerson. "Our moral light must not go out if we are to remain an agent of freedom for mankind."

Another possible member of the Trump administration, former national security advisor Stephen Hadley, also cites a practical reason to help fragile states. "Americans need to understand that these are problems that, even if the locus of them seems to be far away, they end up on America's doorstep." The US, for example, has long recognized one way to reduce

Mexican migration. It has provided an average of \$320 million of aid a year to Mexico.

By 2030, more than 60 percent of the world's poor will be living in countries with fragile conditions, such as political violence or famine, according to the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development. The waves of such desperate people trying to reach the US cannot be stopped simply by walls and immigration bans. Rather than fight over such measures, it would be more far-sighted and productive to work on solving the problems at their root.

But first that takes a joint recognition that the victims of violence and hunger need not live in such conditions. They can live in safety, under honest and accountable governance.



Leave aside the moral, legal, economic, political and practical objections -- and it's quite a list -- and instead consider just the

## Editorial : Trump's Travel Ban Is Un-American and Unwise

The Editors

security implications of the executive order President Donald Trump issued late Friday: Will temporarily banning the entry of all refugees and nationals from seven countries make the U.S. safer?

Regrettably and emphatically, the answer is no. First, if the goal is "Protecting the Nation From Foreign Terrorist Entry Into the United States," as the order is titled, then it would make sense to focus on

countries from which terrorist attackers have entered. Of the seven countries on the administration's list (Iraq, Iran, Libya, Somalia, Sudan, Syria and Yemen), only one (Somalia) comes



close to fitting that bill. Meanwhile, several countries that do (Egypt, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia) don't make the list.

Nor does the order convey any acknowledgment that refugees are the most vetted group of travelers to the U.S. That is even more true after they apply for their green cards and undergo another round of biometric screening.

Trump's directive will also make it more difficult for any government official -- federal or otherwise, at home or abroad -- to work closely with those in a position to help stop terrorists. Consider the case of an Iraqi citizen who has risked his life providing

intelligence or even translation to the U.S. military, or one of the hundreds of thousands of Iraqi green-card holders in the U.S. After this order, will they be more willing to cooperate with military or law-enforcement officials?

Finally, there is the effect on international cooperation in the fight against terrorism. Allies such as Canada, France, Germany and the U.K. are not pleased with this order. And their exemption from the policy will not make it any easier for Saudi or Egyptian leaders to justify their assistance to the U.S.

There are, of course, more profound reasons to oppose this order. It degrades U.S. moral authority. It

offends U.S. values. On a human level, it plays to people's worst instincts while also being unreasonably cruel to tens of thousands of the world's most vulnerable people.

Trump insists it is "not a Muslim ban," even as defenders of the order point out that he campaigned on just such a promise. Regardless, it is now up to the other branches of the U.S. government -- and America's civic institutions more broadly -- to defend against the White House's reckless incompetence. Two federal judges have already issued stays on the deportation of those trapped at U.S. airports by its provisions, and many business leaders have spoken out

against it. Among congressional Republicans, who are in the best position to act as an immediate check on the administration's worst impulses, the response has been disappointingly muted.

They need to do more. President Trump needs to know that this policy is as unwise as it is un-American.

To contact the senior editor responsible for Bloomberg View's editorials: David Shipley at davidshipley@bloomberg.net.

**NATIONAL  
REVIEW  
ONLINE**

## Editorial : Trump Refugee Order: Right Substance, Wrong Rollout

On Friday, Donald Trump signed an executive order halting admission of refugees for 120 days and halting travel from seven majority-Muslim countries — Iraq, Iran, Syria, Yemen, Sudan, Libya, and Somalia — for 90 days while the federal government undertakes a review of admission procedures. He has also imposed an annual cap of 50,000 refugees. The instant backlash, which has culminated in thousands of protesters creating chaos at the nation's airports, is the result more of knee-jerk emotion than a sober assessment of Trump's policy.

It's a well-documented fact that would-be terrorists are posing as refugees to obtain admission into Europe, and visa screenings have routinely failed to identify foreign nationals who later committed terrorist attacks in the United States. As the Islamic State continues its reign of terror across a large swath of the Middle East, it should be a matter of common sense that the U.S. needs to evaluate and strengthen its vetting.

Trump's executive order is an attempt — albeit, an ill-conceived attempt in several ways, about which more momentarily — to address this problem. Rhetoric about "open arms" aside, the United States has been modest in its approach to refugees for the past two decades. During the George W. Bush administration, the U.S. regularly admitted fewer than 50,000 refugees. Barack Obama's tenure was little different — he increased the

refugee cap to 70,000 at the beginning of his second term but normally admitted numbers on par with Bush's — until he dramatically expanded the cap (to 110,000) for 2017. Trump's order is, to this extent, a return to recent norms.

Similar myths have dominated the public understanding of the Syrian-refugee program. Until ratcheting up the program in 2016, the Obama administration admitted fewer than 2,000 Syrian refugees between 2011 and 2015 — this at the time that the former president was dithering over his "red line." The 13,000 Syrian refugees admitted during 2016, pursuant to President Obama's expansion, still constitute an infinitesimal fraction of the refugee population, which is in the several millions, of that war-torn country. Trump has suspended that program temporarily, pending review.

When that program comes back on-line, it will include a directive to prioritize Christians, Yazidis, and other persecuted religious minorities — against which the Obama administration effectively discriminated at the same time that it was declaring Christians to be victims of "genocide" at the hands of ISIS. Given the unique threats these groups face, moving them to the front of the line should be an obvious measure, and contrary to outraged claims otherwise, prioritizing religious minorities is in accordance with law; religion is already used as a criterion for evaluating refugee-status claims.

Finally, there is recent precedent for Trump's order. In 2011, the Obama administration halted refugee-processing from Iraq for six months in order to do exactly what the Trump administration is doing now: ensure that terrorists were not exploiting the program to enter the country. No one rushed to JFK International to protest. Also, the seven countries to which the order applies are taken from Obama-era precedents.

All of this said, Trump's order displays much of the amateurism that dominated his campaign. There seems to have been no guidance provided by the White House and the Department of Homeland Security to the officials nationwide who would be responsible for executing the order; and on Saturday, as refugees were being detained at airports across the country, it was reported that local officials were struggling to contact Customs and DHS higher-ups.

In 2011, the Obama administration halted refugee-processing from Iraq for six months in order to do exactly what the Trump administration is doing now.

The confusion extended to the question of whether the executive order applied to green-card holders. It took DHS secretary John Kelly more than 24 hours to clarify that this is not the case.

Similarly, the White House should stipulate that this policy does not apply to the many Iraqi refugees

who have acted as aides and translators to Allied forces in the region. The order allows the relevant officials to intervene on a case-by-case basis to "issue visas or other immigration benefits to nationals of countries for which visas and benefits are otherwise blocked," but this permission seems to have gone initially unnoticed. Kelly, who served in Iraq, should make sure that this power is used liberally.

Most of this confusion could have been avoided if the White House had slowed down, taken time to brief the officials responsible for carrying out the order, and ensured that the legal details were airtight. Instead, it seems that White House political advisers overrode cautions from DHS lawyers and pushed the order forward, to their own detriment. The country is now embroiled, once again, in spectacular protests, and reasonable policy has been drowned in outrage. The White House's approach here has probably damaged future efforts in this area.

The United States needs to bolster its immigration policies across the board, and assessing whether our refugee-admitting procedures are adequately protecting American citizens is entirely reasonable. But President Trump has failed abjectly in the prudential considerations without which even good policy is often doomed. Refugees are not the only thing in need of more vetting.

**USA  
TODAY**

## Editorial : Trump's refugee ban is frightfully arbitrary

The Editorial Board, USA TODAY

Protesters at Washington Dulles International Airport on Jan. 28,

2017.(Photo: Paul J. Richards, AFP/Getty Images)

In President Trump's dark view of America, thousands of shadowy foreigners from the Middle East are

infiltrating our neighborhoods and waiting for an opportunity to kill us. "We have evil that lurks around the corner," he told *Fox News'* Sean

Hannity last week. "They're sneaky, dirty rats."

This kind of indiscriminate fear-mongering is bad enough as campaign rhetoric. It's outright

harmful to innocent people when ham-handedly translated into White House policy.

On Friday, which happened to be International Holocaust Remembrance Day, Trump signed an executive order suspending admission of any refugees to the U.S. for 120 days and banning entry for 90 days of people from seven predominantly Muslim nations: Iran, Iraq, Libya, Somalia, Sudan, Syria and Yemen. The prohibition on Syrians, millions of whom are women and children fleeing a war-ravaged humanitarian crisis in that country, is open-ended.

The predictable result: chaos and confusion at the borders for people who had been legally eligible to enter the United States. Refugees were halted at airports. An Iraqi man who had risked his life working as an interpreter for U.S. troops was temporarily barred. Students admitted to some of the nation's finest universities were prevented from starting school. And an Iranian scientist who had been awarded a fellowship to study cardiovascular medicine at Harvard found that the visas for him and his

wife had suddenly been suspended.

Even legal U.S. residents, people holding green cards who had left the U.S. to visit relatives, were being prevented from returning. When a lawyer representing one of the dispossessed at Kennedy International Airport demanded answers, a border agent responded: "Call Mr. Trump."

In issuing his order, Trump at least stopped short of his hyperbolic demand during the Republican primary for an all-out ban on Muslim foreigners. But not by much. He directed that Christians and members of other minority religions be given preferential consideration over Muslims on future immigration decisions involving the nations covered by the order. Trump took the action after telling the Christian Broadcasting Network on Friday that it was "almost impossible" under the Obama administration for Christian refugees from Syria to be allowed into the USA.

That's untrue, according to Pew Research Center figures showing equal numbers of Christian and Muslim refugees admitted last year.

For any other new chief executive, a temporary and measured pause in immigration, to examine program efficacy, might be a reasonable step. But Trump, who within his first week in office has already demonstrated a frightening detachment from facts, has now disrupted countless lives with a bludgeoned approach to immigration.

'Extreme vetting' executive order spawns protests, rallies

For an executive order aimed at keeping out terrorists, it is strangely arbitrary. The 9/11 terrorists were from Egypt, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates, all of which were exempted from the order. And since 9/11, no one has been killed in the USA as a result of a terrorist attack by an emigrant from the seven targeted nations.

The president has enormous discretion under the immigration laws. But he doesn't have a blank check. His decision to give priority to religious minorities could violate First Amendment safeguards against discrimination based on religious beliefs. And by selectively banning all people from certain countries, Trump could run afoul of 50-year-old revisions in the

immigration law preventing discrimination based on country of origin. All this is likely to be fought out in court; late Saturday, a federal judge temporarily blocked part of Trump's order.

For all of the new president's tough talk about imposing "extreme vetting" on refugee and immigration processes, the current policies were already pretty stringent. The 12,587 Syrian refugees allowed into the country last year waited, on average, two years as the vetting process played out.

The libertarian Cato Institute estimates that the chances of a refugee killing an American in a terror attack are extremely remote: one in 3.6 billion annually. Trump would caution us to be afraid, very afraid. But fear itself shouldn't be allowed to undermine America's values.

*USA TODAY's editorial opinions are decided by its Editorial Board, separate from the news staff. Most editorials are coupled with an opposing view — a unique USA TODAY feature.*



## Rep. Blackburn: Executive order makes U.S. safer

Marsha Blackburn 1:16 p.m. ET Jan. 29, 2017

President Trump at the Pentagon on Jan. 27, 2017. (Photo: Pool photo by Olivier Douliery)

President Trump issued an executive order on Friday to do exactly what he promised — protect the American people. The order, titled "Protecting The Nation From Foreign Terrorist Entry Into The United States," pauses the U.S. Refugee Admissions Program for 120 days, with Syrian refugee admissions being suspended indefinitely, in order to closely examine the refugee application and

adjudication process.

In December 2015, intelligence officials advised Congress that Islamic extremists were targeting our refugee program to infiltrate America. The president's common-sense approach simply imposes a security test for entering our country at a time of heightened terrorist activity.

There were 11,774 terrorist attacks worldwide resulting in over 28,000 deaths in 2015, according to the State Department. There was also a 39% increase in Islamic State-related attacks in Syria. Then-CIA Director John Brennan chillingly testified before Congress last June that ISIL "is probably exploring a variety of means for infiltrating

operatives into the West, including refugee flows."

Despite overwhelming evidence that Islamic extremists are looking to infiltrate our refugee program, the Obama administration accelerated refugee admissions — a counter-intuitive approach. The U.S. admitted 84,994 refugees with 12,587 coming from Syria in fiscal 2016. The announcement in September to increase the refugee cap in fiscal 2017 to 110,000 was reckless and delusional. Further, the Office of Refugee Resettlement has struggled with transparency by failing to timely produce annual reports to Congress as required by law.

President Trump's decision to temporarily suspend refugee admissions is a responsible approach, as I filed legislation last Congress calling for the same. Our intelligence and security agencies must ascertain the scope of the Islamic terror threat in order to develop proper refugee vetting protocols — if possible. The president's executive order is a security test, not a religious one. Democrats lived by "a pen and a phone" for the past eight years, and their misguided policies will meet their demise in a similar fashion.

*Rep. Marsha Blackburn, R-Tenn., serves on the House Energy and Commerce Committee.*



## Boston mayor: Why cities will protect immigrants

By Martin J. Walsh

### Story highlights

- Martin J. Walsh: Actions on sanctuary cities and refugees will cause havoc for cities
- Our nation's success has always depended on newcomers, Walsh says

Martin J. Walsh, a Democrat, is the 54th mayor of Boston. The views

expressed in this commentary are his own.

(CNN)In Boston, 48% of children have at least one parent who was born outside the United States. I identify with those kids because I was one of them. My mother and father came from Ireland to Boston looking for opportunity. They found their American Dream, and I got to live mine by becoming mayor of the city that embraced us.

My family was far from alone. In Boston, immigrants make up nearly one-third of our population. We welcome and cherish those who are fleeing persecution or simply seeking a better life. We know our success -- and our nation's success -- has always depended on the drive, talent, community and culture of newcomers.

Martin J. Walsh

That's why I was so angered by the White House's executive orders this

week, aiming to strip cities like Boston of their federal funding and shut the door to desperate refugees. They sent the message that America is rejecting its heritage as a nation of immigrants and giving up on its role as a beacon of hope in the world. More immediately for cities like Boston, these orders threaten to undermine public safety, sap our economic vitality and tear apart our families.

My response has been swift and certain. I stood up -- joined by the

dozens of Boston leaders who are first- and second-generation immigrants -- and said that we will not change our values or turn our back on immigrants. I will do everything lawful within my power to protect our immigrant neighbors, documented or not. If necessary, I will use City Hall itself to shelter and protect them from persecution.

Trump set to sign sweeping immigration orders 02:02

I'm hopeful that it won't come to that. The fact is, we have American values, common sense and the United States Constitution on our side.

In the meantime, we'll continue to build trust between law enforcement and immigrant communities. For everyone's safety, both documented and undocumented immigrants need to know they can report crimes without fear of being targeted over civil issues or mere suspicions. The Boston Police Department has worked hard to build this trust while focusing its energies on serious crimes. Cities with "Trust Acts"

**The  
New York  
Times**

Charles M. Blow

Not only is Trump a literacy-lite, conspiracy-chasing, compulsively lying bigot, he is also a narcissistic workaholic who now wields the power of the presidency. You could not have conceived of a more dangerous combination of characteristics. He is the paragon of the clueless and an idol of the Ku Kluxers. Already, people feel deluged by a never-ending flood of national damage and despair. But Americans are not prone to suffering in silence. America's period of mourning has ended; the time of anger and active opposition has dawned. The greatest two motivators of electoral activism in this country are a desire for change and durable fear: In Trump, those two are wed.

The most recent move to excite and outrage the opposition was Trump's move to "indefinitely suspend the resettlement of Syrian refugees and temporarily ban people from seven predominantly Muslim nations from entering the United States," according to a New York Times editorial.

**The  
New York  
Times**

are among the safest in the United States.

We won't be intimidated by threats to our federal funding, either. The Supreme Court has ruled that federal funds may not be withdrawn over issues unrelated to the funding legislation's purposes. In any case, we won't place money ahead of our neighbors' safety and security.

If we are concerned about economic impacts, we have to recognize how much we depend on immigrants. In Boston, immigrants reflect a significant amount of medical and life science workers; more than one-third of all business owners; and 22% of our university students. Immigrants also contributed \$3.5 billion to our city's economy in consumer spending alone.

Nationally, urban regions -- the gateways for immigrants -- account for 91% of America's economic output and total wages.

With Obama gone, it's time for comprehensive immigration reform

And regarding this nonsense about a wall, let's be clear: Undocumented southern border crossings have fallen dramatically over the past eight years. A wall is a waste of money, a useless substitute for real reform and a dismal symbol of fear at a time when we need confidence.

The federal government's energy and resources should be aimed instead at solving the serious challenges we face, from healthcare to education to retirement security. Consider what's possible with the White House as our partner. In response to a challenge by former First Lady Michelle Obama, Boston has housed more than 800 homeless veterans since 2014, ending chronic veteran homelessness in our city.

Contrary to the narrative in Washington, for mayors across the country, immigration is an area of bipartisan agreement. At the United States Conference of Mayors last week, leaders from red states and blue states agreed: The actions the White House is threatening would wreak havoc on urban economies and communities.

Follow CNN Opinion

Join us on Twitter and Facebook

Finally, and importantly, these measures cannot be defended by differentiating between documented and undocumented immigrants. First, we reject the cruelty of breaking up families and pulling students out of colleges. More generally, immigrant communities have long blended a variety of legal statuses, because federal immigration law has not kept up with our economy's need for talent and hard work from around the world.

What we need, and what mayors have called for over many years, is comprehensive immigration reform. If Washington continues to fail to deliver on that responsibility, cities will continue to step up. Far from ignoring the challenge, mayors are upholding America's most deeply held values every day.

## Blow : No, Trump, Not on Our Watch

The ban is nonsensical and likely unconstitutional, as well as chaotic and damaging to our national security interests.

As The Times noted Saturday: "Since the terrorist attacks of Sept. 11, 2001, no one has been killed in the United States in a terrorist attack by anyone who emigrated from or whose parents emigrated from Syria, Iraq, Iran, Libya, Somalia, Sudan and Yemen, the seven countries targeted in the order's 120-day visa ban, according to Charles Kurzman, a sociology professor at the University of North Carolina."

The report continued: "There was a random quality to the list of countries: It excluded Saudi Arabia and Egypt, where the founders of Al Qaeda and many other jihadist groups have originated. Also excluded are Pakistan and Afghanistan, where persistent extremism and decades of war have produced militants who have occasionally reached the United States. Notably, perhaps, the list avoided Muslim countries where Mr. Trump has major business ventures."

Furthermore, as CNN reported on Sunday, on Friday night the Department of Homeland Security decided that the restrictions "did not apply to people with lawful permanent residence, generally referred to as green card holders."

The report continued, however: "The White House overruled that guidance overnight, according to officials familiar with the rollout. That order came from the President's inner circle, led by Stephen Miller and Steve Bannon."

Yes, *that* Steve Bannon, the one who was recruited to the Trump campaign from his job as executive chairman of Breitbart News and is now Trump's chief strategist, the one who said of Breitbart to Mother Jones in July: "We're the platform for the alt-right." Alt-right is just a slick, euphemistic repackaging and relabeling of white nationalists, whether they be white separatists, white supremacists or actual Nazis.

Also, as The Wall Street Journal reported on Sunday, Trump added Bannon to the National Security Council while removing the director of national intelligence and the

chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. This is outrageous. What does Bannon know about national security? It is becoming worrisome that in this reign of bigotry, Bannon may be the brain and Trump the brawn; Bannon the spiritual president and Trump the spurious packaging.

America will not stand for this, so if obsequious conservative politicians or lily-livered liberal ones won't sufficiently stand up to this demagogic dictator, then the American people will do the job themselves.

Over the weekend, protesters spontaneously popped up at airports across the country to send an unambiguous message: Not in our name; not on our watch. It is my great hope that this will be a permanent motif of Trump's term. If no one else is going to fight for American values, it falls to the American people themselves to do so.

## Officials worry that U.S counterterrorism defenses will be weakened by Trump actions

<https://www.facebook.com/missy.ryan>

Though cast as measures meant to make the country safe, the Trump administration's moves during its first week in office are more likely to weaken the counterterrorism defenses the United States has erected over the past 16 years, several current and former U.S. officials said.

Through inflammatory rhetoric and hastily drawn executive orders, the administration has alienated allies, including Iraq, provided propaganda fodder to terrorist networks that frequently portray U.S. involvement in the Middle East as a religious crusade, and endangered critical cooperation from often-hidden U.S. partners — whether the leader of a mosque in an American suburb or the head of a Middle East intelligence service.

An executive order — issued Friday and titled “Protecting the Nation from Foreign Terrorist Entry Into the United States” — bans entry to people from a list of Muslim-majority nations including Iraq, where U.S. military and intelligence agencies have for years relied on cooperation from Iraqi and Kurdish authorities, not to mention thousands of individual translators and contractors.

Checkpoint newsletter

Military, defense and security at home and abroad.

Please provide a valid email address.

“Ultimately, we fear this executive order will become a self-inflicted wound in the fight against terrorism,” Republican Sens. Lindsey O. Graham (S.C.) and John McCain (Ariz.) said Sunday in a statement. “This executive order sends a signal, intended or not, that America does not want Muslims coming into our country. That is why we fear this executive order may do more to help terrorist recruitment than improve our security.”

*[Trump redefines the enemy and 15 years of counterterrorism policy]*

Trump administration officials defended the president's executive order temporarily banning entry to the U.S. from seven mostly Muslim countries, but lawmakers from both parties expressed strong concern or objection. Trump administration officials defended the president's executive order temporarily banning entry to the U.S. from seven mostly Muslim countries. (Bastien Inzaurrealde/The Washington Post)

(Bastien Inzaurrealde/The Washington Post)

Already, supporters of the Islamic State, also known as ISIS, quickly claimed the travel ban as a victory. Postings on social-media sites linked to the terrorist group predicted that President Trump's order would galvanize Muslims and claimed that it showed that the United States is at war with Islam.

The White House did not respond to a request for comment. In tweets Sunday, Trump said, “The joint statement of former presidential candidates John McCain & Lindsey Graham is wrong — they are sadly weak on immigration. The senators should focus their energies on ISIS, illegal immigration and border security instead of always looking to start World War III.”

Separately, in a statement, Trump said the “seven countries named in the Executive Order are the same countries previously identified by the Obama administration as sources of terror,” and he noted that Obama had barred refugees from Iraq for six months in 2011.

Trump's inauguration vow to put America first and “only America” rattled allies. A leaked draft of an order on U.S. detention policies compounded those concerns by raising the prospect of rebuilding the CIA's network of notorious “black site” prisons around the world. The immigration measures imposed late Friday were seen by U.S. counterterrorism officials and analysts as particularly counterproductive and poorly conceived.

*[CIA would face hurdles to reopen 'black site' prisons, regardless of president's orders]*

“The whole order is and will be read as another anti-Islam, anti-Muslim action by this president and his administration,” said Paul Pillar, a former top official at the CIA's Counterterrorism Center. “It is not targeted at where the threat is, and the anti-Islam message that it sends is more likely to make America less safe.”

Absent from the Trump list: Saudi Arabia or any of the other countries connected to the Sept. 11, 2001, attacks. Nor does the president's action limit travel from Pakistan, where al-Qaeda's leadership still resides.

Former CIA director Michael V. Hayden said that the order and other possible measures have probably forced U.S. diplomats, military commanders and agency station chiefs abroad into damage-control mode.

“We've got good people who will work hard at it, but there is no question that this has already created an irretrievable cost,”

Hayden said. The refugee order “inarguably has made us less safe. It has taken draconian measures against a threat that was hyped. The byproduct is it feeds the Islamic militant narrative and makes it harder for our allies to side with us.”

Despite acute concerns about the impact overseas, analysts said much of the damage may happen in the United States. Counterterrorism officials have for years cast the successful integration of Muslims in the United States as a major security advantage over countries in Europe, where Muslims are more likely to be isolated and marginalized.

Those who study extremism fear that the sense of belonging among U.S. Muslims may begin to fray, increasing the likelihood that a U.S. citizen or resident becomes radicalized, and complicates the already-difficult task for the FBI and local authorities to cultivate relationships with Muslim community leaders.

“It was already an uphill climb,” said Seamus Hughes, a former National Counterterrorism Center official who frequently traveled the country to meet with Muslim community members after terrorist attacks.

*[A raid in Yemen leads to the first combat death of the Trump era]*

Tips to the FBI or local police from concerned parents, religious leaders and concerned Muslim citizens have been “the lifeblood of most terrorism investigations” in the United States, said Hughes, who is now at George Washington University. “I don't see anyone hesitating to report an imminent threat,” he said, but adding, “I can't see these orders as helping.”

Marcel Lettre, who oversaw intelligence matters at the Pentagon until earlier this month, said the new measures could affect decisions by allies in Europe or the Middle East, possibly affecting intelligence-sharing and law enforcement cooperation. “The political and policy environment might make it such that their publics will insist that they distance themselves from us in terms of tight partnering,” Lettre said.

But Rep. Devin Nunes (R-Calif.), chairman of the House Intelligence Committee, said in a statement, “In light of attempts by Islamic militant groups to infiltrate fighters into refugee flows to the West, along with Europe's tragic experience coping with this problem, the Trump Administration's executive order on refugees is a common-sense security measure to prevent terror attacks on the homeland.”

In terms of overseas partnerships, no relationship has been placed under more immediate strain than that of the United States and Iraq.

Trump used his speech at CIA headquarters on his first day in office to declare that it was a mistake for the United States not to have seized Iraq's oil reserves after the U.S. invasion in 2003, and to hint that there might be another chance to do so.

The executive order sparked confusion and condemnation in Baghdad. Iraqis who had worked with the U.S. military for years, often at great risk, were among the first people affected by the regulations.

Even before the new measures were issued, Iraqi Prime Minister Haider al-Abadi told reporters that his country's oil “is for Iraqis.”

The comment also explicitly confirmed widely held suspicions in the Middle East of U.S. geopolitical motivations. “It's about oil and it's a plot to destroy Islam,” said Dan Byman, a terrorism expert at Georgetown University. “If you want to combine conspiracy theories, [Trump] is doing a good job.”

*[He risked his life working for the U.S. in Iraq. Now his visa's no good.]*

Iraqi lawmakers over the weekend insisted that Iraq impose similar measures on the United States. Moqtada al-Sadr, an influential Shiite cleric, called the decision to block Iraqi entry while Americans still come and go “arrogance,” and he demanded that U.S. nationals leave the country.

Iraqis also have questioned the omission from the travel ban of certain Gulf and North Africa countries, whose nationals have been involved in high-profile terrorist attacks

Saad al-Hadithi, a spokesman for Abadi, said that the U.S. security partnership with Iraq, including American support for operations against the Islamic State and a robust arms sales program, should make the relationship with Iraq different from other countries on the list.

The new measures take place as the Pentagon continues to rely closely on Iraq in its campaign to defeat the Islamic State. More than 6,000 U.S. troops are stationed in the country, advising Iraqi forces during a major battle in Mosul, the militant-held northern city.

*[Inside the battle for Mosul]*

The decision undermines Abadi, straddled between a Western ally whose support he needs to fight militants and Shiite political peers



who view the U.S. presence with hostility. Lukman Faily, who served as the Iraqi ambassador in Washington until last year, said that Abadi would try to draw a distinction between Iraq's security partnership with the United States and the perceived snub contained in

Trump's new order

"It will certainly put the prime minister in the most awkward position," Faily said. "It will not help him navigate his politics while he's completing [a major battle] and while he has an oil crisis to deal with."

Hadithi sought to stress the temporary nature of the order. "We will have a discussion with the American side," Hadithi said. "If it's only for a short time to reorganize their visa and refugees work, we will understand it and take it positively."

It's not yet clear, however, whether the 90-day period stipulated in the executive order will be extended.

Joby Warrick, Julie Tate and Mustafa Salim in Baghdad contributed to this report.

**The  
Washington  
Post**

## Questions multiply over Bannon's role in Trump administration

By Karen DeYoung

President Trump's elevation of his chief political strategist to a major role in national security policy, and a White House order banning refugees from certain Muslim-majority countries from U.S. entry, appeared to come together as cause and effect over the weekend.

Stephen K. Bannon — whose nationalist convictions and hard-line oppositional view of globalism have long guided Trump — was directly involved in shaping the controversial immigration mandate, according to several people familiar with the drafting who requested anonymity because they were not authorized to speak publicly.

The order, which has ignited sweeping domestic and international backlash, came without the formal input of Trump's National Security Council, the committee of top national security aides designed to ensure the president examines all policy issues from different perspectives.

In Trump's case, the NSC has not yet been fully formed. Key department heads, including the secretary of state, have either not been confirmed or had little chance to be briefed by those under them.

But even as the mechanism for full consultation with defense, diplomatic, intelligence and other national security chiefs remains incomplete, Bannon's policy influence was established late Saturday in a presidential directive that gave him something no previous president has bestowed on a political adviser: a formal seat at the NSC table.

The same directive appeared to downgrade the status of the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and the director of national intelligence — the president's senior intelligence and military advisers under statute — by limiting their attendance to some meetings.

*[Trump orders ISIS plan, talks with Putin and gives Bannon national security role]*

Former president Barack Obama's national security adviser, Susan E. Rice, called the measure "stone

cold crazy" in a tweet on Sunday. Former Obama defense secretary and CIA director Robert M. Gates, who said he was unconcerned about Bannon's role, told ABC's "This Week" that "pushing [the DNI and Joint Chiefs chairman] out of the National Security Council meetings, except when their specific issues are at stake, is a big mistake."

Every president finds their judgment useful, "whether they like it or not," Gates added.

A senior NSC official said Sunday that negative interpretations of both measures misunderstood both the intention and the effect of a directive whose overall aim was to make policy formation more inclusive and more efficient.

Here's what you need to know about the man who went from Breitbart News chairman to Donald Trump's campaign CEO before his appointment as chief White House strategist and senior counselor. Here's what you need to know about the man who went from being Breitbart News's chairman to Trump's campaign CEO and now to chief White House strategist. (Jenny Starrs/The Washington Post)

(Jenny Starrs/The Washington Post)

Bannon "is a trusted adviser," said the official, who spoke on the condition of anonymity to discuss internal organization. "He's got substantial policy responsibilities, and I think it's very important that he is there to hear and to provide context to what is going on."

"I think, candidly, that things in Washington, everything is political," this official said. "We wanted to make sure that all viewpoints were considered at critical points." Despite his listing in the NSC organizational chart, Bannon "doesn't have to be there all the time," the official said.

The intelligence and military chiefs, the official said, "are invited as attendees to every single NSC meeting. ... There's nowhere in that document that says they are excluded."

While they are listed as attendees to meetings of the NSC — the

highest decision-making body, chaired by the president — the directive says they will attend meetings of the national security principals meeting without Trump "where issues pertaining to their responsibilities and expertise are to be discussed."

In surveying senior officials from previous administrations, those charged with organizing the NSC were frequently told meetings were too frequent, too long and often inconclusive, and that officials were "tired of nano-management," the official said of Obama-era complaints that were well-reported at the time.

K.T. McFarland, the deputy national security adviser, began her first meeting of NSC deputies Friday by saying that "this going to be tight ... 90 minutes. You're going to come in, going to have your positions, going to be a decision-making body." The feedback we got was great," the official said.

The directive, based on a template that all modern presidents have used in organizing national security decision-making, changed a number of things from the Obama White House. It limits the number of deputy assistants to the president, under Trump national security adviser Michael T. Flynn, in three categories of issues organized by geographical regions, issues such as cyber and counterterrorism, and functions such as legal matters.

Some offices such as cyber have been expanded, while others have been collapsed. Obama's separate directorates on Europe and Russia have now been combined, the official said.

While Obama was criticized for the size of his NSC staff, and Congress enacted legislation to shrink the number of bodies, Rice cut it by about 17 percent in recent years to fewer than 180 policy positions. Trump's is unlikely to be much smaller, the official said, and numbers were a secondary consideration. All positions on the White House payroll have now been filled, and those detailed from other agencies — usually appointed for two-year secondments — will eventually rotate out.

Outside the White House, reaction to the new NSC organizational directive was less positive, with some saying that the immigration directive suffered from jumping ahead of the normal policy process, allowing it and other orders to be composed by political operatives such as Bannon and Stephen Miller, the White House senior adviser for policy, who is a Bannon ally and a former aide to Sen. Jeff Sessions (R-Ala.). Trump's populist and conservative nominee for attorney general.

Senior Trump officials offered differing public explanations for the Bannon appointment. Asked what the strategist contributed to NSC discussions, White House press secretary Sean Spicer told "This Week" that Bannon "is a former naval officer. He's got a tremendous understanding of the world and the geopolitical landscape that we have now."

Asked if Bannon was "giving advice" on national security matters, Spicer said he was contributing analysis. "It's about the intelligence that comes in and the analysis that comes out of that," he said. "Having key decision-makers, and the chief strategist for the United States for the president to come in and talk about what the strategy is going forward is crucial."

*[How Bannon flattered and coaxed Trump on policies key to the alt-right]*

Bannon has no job experience in foreign policy. After serving in the Navy for seven years in the late 1970s and early 1980s, his eclectic career took him to Goldman Sachs, to consulting to documentary filmmaking and then to the running of Breitbart News, a far-right website known for peddling conspiracy theories.

From his perch as chief of Breitbart News, which produced a satellite radio show, Bannon cemented his role as a champion of the alt-right, an anti-globalism movement that has attracted support from white supremacists and helped power Trump's populist White House victory.

Trump sees Bannon as a generational peer who shares his

anti-establishment instincts and confrontational style. According to several people familiar with their relationship, Bannon has cultivated a rapport with Trump over security issues in recent months, and impressed Trump with his grasp of policy in talks they have held together with top intelligence and military officials.

The new president relies on Bannon to ensure that his campaign promises and nationalist worldview are being followed and are shaping national security strategy. Trump's approval of Bannon's new role is seen inside the White House as the formalization of a dynamic that has already been at work for weeks, these people said.



directive may be the most consequential ... in a bad way.

• By David Rothkopf

In this, the 70th anniversary year of the establishment of the U.S. National Security Council (NSC), we have good news and bad news about this vital nerve center of the U.S. government out of the new administration. The good news is that — after a first week in office in which it was clear that there was little or no inclusive, government-wide decision-making process on any of the White House's major moves — we now know that they have actually started to give thought to just such a process. The bad news is that the president continues to show little understanding of how such processes are supposed to work and bad judgment about who should be involved in them.

The past week has been an excellent case in point on the dangers of not having a process by which executive branch decisions are arrived at through consultation with senior officials within Cabinet agencies (not to mention with Congress or other sources of expertise). From the Executive Order on Friday of the president's un-American, ill-considered, and badly executed suspension of U.S. refugee programs and ban on admission to foreign nationals from seven predominantly Muslim nations to the continuing damage being done to America's global standing as a consequence of the commander-in-chief's itchy Twitter finger, the dangers of shoot-from-the-lip government were once again revealed.

According to a CNN report, Secretary of Homeland Security John Kelly did not see the Executive

For many outside the White House, the optics of Bannon's NSC appointment were bad, regardless of the motivation or the substance of his participation.

In previous administrations, political advisers have been banned from national security discussions — or at least not publicly acknowledged.

Today's WorldView

What's most important from where the world meets Washington

Please provide a valid email address.

George W. Bush barred his political strategist, Karl Rove, from NSC meetings, according to Josh Bolten,

Bush's chief of staff. "The president told Karl Rove, 'You may never come to a National Security Council meeting,'" Bolten said at a conference on the NSC and politics last fall.

"It wasn't because he didn't respect Karl's advice or didn't value his input," Bolten said. "But the president also knew that the signal he wanted to send to the rest of his administration, the signal he wanted to send to the public, and the signal he especially wanted to send to the military is that the decisions I'm making that involve life and death for the people in uniform will not be tainted by any political decisions."

While Obama did not include political strategist David Axelrod in his own NSC organizational directive, Axelrod frequently showed up at the meetings — particularly those having to do with strategy in Afghanistan and Iraq — to the consternation of Gates and others.

"It is true that the Obama administration did it," said Peter Feaver, a political-science professor at Duke University who served on the Bush NSC staff. "It's also true that we Republicans, myself included, sharply criticized them for doing it, precisely on the grounds that you are feeding the image that politics drove the decision."

## Trump Needs a Strong NSC. It Doesn't Look Like He Wants One.

Order regarding refugees and the Muslim ban-lite, until shortly before it was issued. (Despite a denial from the administration that the order amounted to a Muslim ban, close Trump pal and advisor Rudy Giuliani indicated that the origins of this weekend's action were an expressed desire by the president to craft just such a program targeting Muslims.) The result is that neither Kelly nor the agency he runs was able to prepare to implement the ban.

Chaos reigned at American airports, where arrivals from these countries — including some who had supported the U.S. military in Iraq and others who had special visa clearances and had been carefully vetted — were turned away. Of course, beyond such purely practical matters, the absence of a broad policy development process where multiple voices are heard and active debate of pros and cons takes place (as was the intention behind the creation of the NSC with the National Security Act of 1947) increases the likelihood that one ends up with extreme, ill-considered, very likely illegal, and certainly mean-spirited policies — contrary to the American spirit and our traditions. This is exactly what happened with Trump's orders this weekend. But in this administration, according to many sources — including some at the State and Defense Departments — no such process has taken place on virtually any issue of importance.

One might argue it is early days. But the reality is that the transition period could have been a time for consultation and preparation. It was not. The transition will almost certainly go down in history as the most badly executed and chaotic in modern American history, as has been reported and noted previously here at **Foreign Policy**. Even though senior officials are not yet in

place in key agencies (due as much to delays in appointing deputies and next-level officials from the Trump team as to hold-ups in Congress) consultation could have taken place with "acting" officials from the agencies to at least ensure legal precautions were taken and that implementation was practicable. But no, there was none of that. And that's to say nothing of the off-the-cuff elements of Trump's foreign policy, as occurred when the president escalated a growing problem surrounding the impending visit of Mexican President Enrique Peña Nieto with an ill-considered, early-morning tweet that resulted in the cancellation of his visit — starting off on a very wrong foot a relationship with our important neighbor to the south.

Trump seems to believe that it is appropriate for him to make foreign policy on the fly. Sometimes he seems as though he does not understand that is what he is doing — that indeed, everything a president does is foreign policy. His continued attacks on the U.S. press send the message to despots everywhere that such affronts are now okay in the eyes of the world's most powerful nation and its leading democracy. This has a chilling effect on the advance of the values that have long been central to U.S. foreign policy, and that specialists from both parties have long believed were strongly in the U.S. national interest.

The presidential memorandum about the NSC suggests at least that Trump's team may undertake something of a more traditional, perhaps slightly more disciplined process — although there is little in the president's history to suggest he will have the patience or open-mindedness to actually reap the benefits such processes, well-run, typically provide.

This is where the bad news comes in. In Trump's NSC directive, he tipped his hand about how he views the process. He established that two vital members of his national security team — the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and the director of national intelligence — would be "as needed" members of the Principals Committee of the NSC, joining discussions only when their expertise was requested. This is a departure from past practice, as the last two administrations made them permanent members. Given the sometimes fluid nature of NSC meetings, where discussions and topics can change in real time, not having them in the room will mean that their expertise and views will not be taken into consideration. Given that one of these individuals is the senior member of the U.S. military and the other is mandated to be the head of the U.S. intelligence community, it is difficult to imagine any national security discussions that would not benefit from their perspectives and involvement.

Worse — much worse, in my view — the president decided to give a permanent seat at the National Security Council table to his chief strategist and senior counselor, Stephen Bannon. Bannon, formerly the publisher of an extreme right-wing, often racist and sexist website called Breitbart, not only has very limited U.S. government experience, he has almost no relevant experience with any aspect of high-level national security decisionmaking (beyond a master's degree and a seven-year stint in the Navy, some three decades ago). Combine that with the egregious lack of character his exploits at Breitbart illustrate and his past radical statements — like the instance in which he characterized himself as a "Leninist" seeking to bring down the entire system of the U.S. government — and you have

precisely the sort of person who has no business at all being at an NSC meeting. But even if you were to set aside such profound character flaws and gaps in experience, the idea that a purely political advisor should be at the table while the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and the director of national intelligence are not shows a profound lack of understanding of what the NSC has been — or what it should be.

The National Security Council was created in the wake of World War II to ensure that the

## THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

Carol E. Lee and Peter Nicholas

Updated Jan. 29, 2017 8:48 a.m. ET

WASHINGTON—President Donald Trump added his top adviser and strategist Steve Bannon to the National Security Council while removing the Director of National Intelligence and the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, as he signed a trio of executive measures on Saturday.

Mr. Trump has picked Mike Flynn, a retired lieutenant general, to lead the NSC. Mr. Flynn feuded with the then-head of the Office of the Director of National Intelligence while leading the Defense Intelligence Agency before being removed from the post in 2014. He has also had disagreements with some of Mr. Trump's cabinet picks and raised concerns within various agencies that he'd consolidate power and decision-making in the council. In addition, Mr. Flynn has raised eyebrows by staffing the NSC with a number of officials with military backgrounds.

Mr. Trump criticized U.S. intelligence agencies on the campaign trail and during his transition to the

president not only had the best advice of his Cabinet, but that once a presidential decision was made on how to act, that the agencies of the U.S. government could implement it in an effective and efficient way. For the NSC to work properly, you need the right people at the table, a well-managed process where all feel they have a fair say, and a president that will respect that process. The Trump NSC will not have the right people at the table. National Security Advisor Flynn, who is supposed to

White House. He concluded that the ODNI, which was formed after the Sept. 11, 2001 attacks and coordinates work between the government's 16 intelligence agencies, has become bloated and politicized, The Wall Street Journal reported in early January. Mr. Trump has selected former Indiana Sen. Dan Coats to head the agency.

Mr. Bannon, the architect of Mr. Trump's campaign strategy, is a former media and financial executive.

The NSC is a principal advisory group to the president on national security and foreign affairs and is typically charged with coordinating activity in other departments represented on the council.

"The overall view was that some of the agencies would send people not at the appropriate level and/or people who are neither empowered to make decisions nor represent their departments; that there was too much discussion with too few decisions," a White House official said.

An administration official said the changes to the NSC would make the operation "more adaptive to the modern threats that we face."

manage that process, was at least until recently under FBI investigation for his too cozy relationship with the Russian government. Just as bad, he has a reputation for being a "my way or the highway" manager during his tenure running the Defense Intelligence Agency. Add to all this a president who has no experience in foreign policy, is alarmingly impulsive and seemingly allergic to advice, especially that which might run contrary to his own views, and is inclined to pursue policies that

The presidential memorandum suggests a greater emphasis on cyberthreats.

"The security threats facing the United States in the 21st century transcend international boundaries," the memorandum says. "Accordingly, the United States government's decision-making structures and processes to address these challenges must remain equally adaptive and transformative."

A second measure signed Saturday is an executive order barring Mr. Trump's appointees from lobbying their former agencies within five years of leaving government service, part of what the administration official described as an effort to "drain the swamp" in Washington, D.C.

The order also imposes a lifetime ban on lobbying foreign governments.

Past presidents have also put into place various lobbying bans, though over time the restrictions have proved porous and difficult to enforce.

Signing the measure, Mr. Trump looked at the officials arrayed

could be damaging to the United States (as we have seen from Mexico to the refugee fiasco, from China to Russia), and you have a recipe for disaster.

In other words, if there was ever a president that needed a high-functioning National Security Council it is this one. The early signs as to whether he will have one or whether he will listen to it even if he does are not encouraging.

behind him and quipped: "So, you have one last chance to get out."

They chuckled.

Mr. Trump said he spoke "a lot" on the campaign trail about the planned lobbying ban, "and we are now putting it into effect."

The third measure Mr. Trump signed was an executive memorandum targeting the Islamic State terrorist network. It directs the Trump administration to develop a plan to defeat the group, calling on Defense Secretary Jim Mattis to submit a proposal in 30 days with help from other agencies.

"The Islamic State of Iraq and Syria, or ISIS, is not the only threat from radical Islamic terrorism that the United States faces, but it is among the most vicious and aggressive," the memorandum says.

Since taking office on Jan. 20, Mr. Trump has signed a total of 15 executive orders and memorandums meant to fulfill various promises he made on the campaign trail.

Write to Carol E. Lee at [carol.lee@wsj.com](mailto:carol.lee@wsj.com) and Peter Nicholas at [peter.nicholas@wsj.com](mailto:peter.nicholas@wsj.com)

## POLITICO The man behind Trump? Still Steve Bannon

By Josh Dawsey, Eliana Johnson and Annie Karni

As protests erupted around the country late Saturday in response to President Donald Trump's executive order on immigration, many of his key White House staff left for the black-tie Alfalfa Club dinner—but not his top adviser, Stephen Bannon, who stayed behind at the White House with the president, according to a senior White House official.

In the 10 days since Trump's inauguration, Bannon — the former head of Breitbart News — has rapidly amassed power in the West Wing, eclipsing chief of staff Reince

Priebus, who was among those at the Alfalfa Club event. Along with charting the early direction of the Trump administration, he's been named to a seat on the National Security Council, giving him a part in the nation's most sensitive intelligence operations.

Story Continued Below

Bannon and senior presidential adviser Stephen Miller helped lay the political and ideological foundations for Trump's rise before Trump came on the scene. Breitbart was instrumental in promoting the idea that establishment Republican lawmakers had betrayed American workers on issues like immigration

and trade, a theme Trump rode to victory in November.

They've been responsible for setting an "action plan" for Trump's first weeks in the White House, developing executive orders and memoranda and deciding when Trump would sign each new document, according to people familiar with the process.

The plan has so far produced executive actions weakening Obamacare, beefing up immigration enforcement, and freezing federal hiring — and on preventing refugees and visa-holders from majority-Muslim countries from entering the U.S.

"He's telling Trump that he can do everything he said he would do on the campaign trail," said a person close to the administration.

That's won Bannon the president's favor, and endeared him to his son-in-law and adviser Jared Kushner. Rather than telling Trump what he can't do, Bannon — a self-made multimillionaire who Trump sees as a peer rather than as an employee, according to people familiar with their relationship — has positioned himself alongside Trump as an enemy of the Washington establishment, including the Republican Party.

During the transition, Bannon stayed away from many of the lower-level hiring decisions and avoided staff meetings where others attended, instead focusing on shaping the Cabinet. He was "integral" in the process of selecting Trump's appointees, one person close to the team said.

Unlike some of Trump's other advisers, Bannon doesn't often appear on television or go to Washington dinners. He swears frequently and often dresses more casually than most White House staff, and generally seems most comfortable huddling with Trump privately or standing off to the side during large meetings.

"He has a great understanding of the American public and why Trump won the election, and he tells Trump about what people are really upset about and what they're really concerned about," said former New York City Mayor Rudy Giuliani. And, Giuliani added, "Trump generally agrees with him."

Bannon's rise has worried Trump's critics because he led Breitbart, which associates itself with the alt-right and groups supporting nationalism and other fringe beliefs. After he was hired in the White House, the Southern Poverty Law Center called him "the main driver behind Breitbart becoming a white ethno-nationalist propaganda mill." Bannon and his friends have denied the attacks and say he is not racist or anti-Semitic.

At Bannon's right hand is Miller, a close ideological ally who traveled with Trump

almost constantly during the campaign, forging a close bond with him and even introducing Trump at rallies.

Together, Bannon and Miller wrote Trump's inaugural address. Since his swearing in, they've pushed Trump to take his most combative stances, particularly toward the media.

Both of the men have sometimes clashed with other Republican and White House staffers, who have accused them of keeping information from others. And other White House aides have worried that their policies are being implemented too quickly with little planning. Yet Trump seems to appreciate both men.

"Steve mastered [Trump's] voice," said the person close to the administration, referring to Miller. "He takes him stuff he knows the president will like, and he puts it in words the president will want to say."

The working relationship between Bannon and Miller stretches back to 2013, when Miller was an aide to Sen. Jeff Sessions, the Alabama Republican who's now Trump's nominee for attorney general. The two worked together to scuttle the Gang of Eight immigration reform bill, which many Republicans thought was a done deal in the wake of Mitt Romney's 2012 defeat, when the party was focused on reaching out to Latino voters.

Miller provided Breitbart a constant flow of information designed to undermine the bill, which surfaced

in articles on the website and ricocheted through Washington. The general thrust presaged Trump's campaign with the argument that comprehensive immigration reform was orchestrated by a cadre of elites—politicians, CEOs, special interests—with an interest in importing cheap foreign labor, and at the expense of American workers.

The immigration reform bill ultimately died after House Speaker John Boehner refused to bring it to the floor for a vote.

On Sunday, #StopPresidentBannon was trending on Twitter as protests raged at airports across the country in reaction to Friday's executive order prohibiting Syrian refugees and travelers from seven Muslim countries from entering the United States as well as Bannon's elevation to the NSC.

The president's sharpest critics seized on Bannon's addition to the NSC as another sign Trump will take a hard-right approach to governing.

"Steve Bannon is not on the White House staff for his national security expertise," said Paul Begala, a former political adviser to President Bill Clinton. "He's there because he was a successful publisher of what he describes as a platform for the alt-right, which is part of Trump's base. That's politics. There should be no seat at the table at the NSC for that person."

President George W. Bush's chief political adviser, Karl Rove—often referred to as "Bush's brain" and

seen as an aide with massive influence over the president—was prohibited by Bush from attending national security meetings. President Barack Obama's political adviser, David Axelrod, said in an interview that he'd occasionally observe meetings in the Situation Room, but "there were occasions where I was expressly told I could not attend."

Former House Speaker Newt Gingrich, a Trump ally, reached back to Harry Hopkins, a close political adviser to President Franklin Delano Roosevelt who had a hand in influencing policy during World War II, to find an example of a political aide influencing national security policy to a similar degree.

"If Trump trusts his instincts and judgment, it's a perfectly legitimate plan," Gingrich said in an interview. "Bannon thinks about strategy all the time, and a large part of the NSC is about strategy." Gingrich also pointed out that Bannon is a former naval officer, a talking point that was repeated by White House press secretary Sean Spicer, as a reason he is qualified for the role.

Another former naval officer, Republican Arizona Sen. John McCain, disputed that view, calling it a "radical departure" to elevate a political adviser while diminishing the role of the joint chiefs of staff. "I am worried about the National Security Council," he said Sunday on Face the Nation.

*With Tara Palmeri and Shane Goldmacher*



## Rothkopf : The danger of Steve Bannon on the National Security Council

By David J.

Rothkopf

As nationwide protests against President Trump's immigration mandate rage on, he reshuffled the National Security Council and put chief strategist and former Breitbart News chair Stephen Bannon in an unprecedented national security role. As nationwide protests against President Trump's immigration mandate rage on, he put chief strategist Stephen Bannon in an unprecedented national security role. (Jenny Starrs/The Washington Post)

By David J. Rothkopf January 29 at 5:43 PM

*David J. Rothkopf is chief executive and editor of the FP Group, which publishes Foreign Policy magazine. He has written two histories of the NSC, "Running the World" and last year's "National Insecurity."*

While demonstrators poured into airports to protest the Trump administration's draconian immigration policies, another presidential memorandum signed this weekend may have even more lasting, wide-ranging and dangerous consequences. The document sounds like a simple bureaucratic shuffle, outlining the shape the National Security Council will take under President Trump. Instead, it is deeply worrisome.

The idea of the National Security Council (NSC), established in 1947, is to ensure that the president has the best possible advice from his Cabinet, the military and the intelligence community before making consequential decisions, and to ensure that, once those decisions are made, a centralized mechanism exists to guarantee their effective implementation. The NSC is effectively the central nervous

system of the U.S. foreign policy and national security apparatus.

Trump's memorandum described the structure of his NSC — not unusual given that the exact composition shifts in modest ways from administration to administration. The problem lies in the changes that he made.

First, he essentially demoted the highest-ranking military officer in the United States, the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and the highest-ranking intelligence officer in the United States, the director of national intelligence. In previous administrations, those positions or their equivalent (before the creation of the director of national intelligence, the CIA director occupied that role) held permanent positions on the NSC.

Now, those key officials will be invited only when their specific

expertise is seen to be required. Hard as it is to imagine any situation in which their views would not add value, this demotion is even harder to countenance given the threats the United States currently faces and the frayed state of the president's relations with the intelligence community. A president who has no national security experience and can use all the advice he can get has decided to limit the input he receives from two of the most important advisers any president could have.

The president compounded this error of structure with an error of judgment that should send shivers down the spine of every American and our allies worldwide. Even as he pushed away professional security advice, Trump decided to make his top political advisor, Stephen K. Bannon, a permanent member of the NSC. Although the



White House chief of staff is typically a participant in NSC deliberations, I do not know of another situation in which a political adviser has been a formal permanent member of the council.

Further, Bannon is the precisely wrong person for this wrong role. His national security experience consists of a graduate degree and seven years in the Navy. More troubling, Bannon's role as chairman of Breitbart.com, with its racist, misogynist and Islamophobic perspectives, and his avowed desire to blow up our system of government, suggests this is someone who not only has no business being a permanent member of the most powerful consultative body in the world — he has no business being in a position of responsibility in any government.

Worse still, it is a sign of other problems to come. Organizing the NSC this way does not reflect well on national security advisor Michael Flynn — whether the bad decision is a result of his lack of understanding of what the NSC should do or because he is giving in to pressure from his boss.

Moreover, elevating Bannon is a sign that there will be more than one senior official in Trump's inner circle with top-level national security responsibility, an arrangement nearly certain to create confusion going forward.

Indeed, rumors are already circulating that Bannon and senior adviser Jared Kushner are the go-to people on national security issues for the administration, again despite the lack of experience, temperament or institutional support for either. Kushner has been given

key roles on Israel, Mexico and China already. History suggests all this will not end well, with rivalries emerging with State, Defense, the Trade Representative and other agencies.

Combine all this with the president's own shoot-from-the-lip impulses, his flair for improvisation and his well-known thin skin. You end up with a bad NSC structure being compromised by a kitchen cabinet-type superstructure and the whole thing likely being made even more dysfunctional by a president who, according to multiple reports, does not welcome advice in the first place — especially when it contradicts his own views.

(Jenny Starrs/The Washington Post)

Here's what you need to know about the man who went from

Breitbart News chairman to Donald Trump's campaign CEO before his appointment as chief White House strategist and senior counselor. Here's what you need to know about the man who went from being Breitbart News's chairman to Trump's campaign CEO and now to chief White House strategist. (Jenny Starrs/The Washington Post)

The executive order on immigration and refugees was un-American, counterproductive and possibly illegal. The restructuring of the NSC, and the way in which this White House is threatening to operate outside the formal NSC structure, all but guarantees that it will not be the last bad decision to emerge from the Trump administration.

## THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

### Tough Tasks Await Tillerson at State Department

Jay Solomon and Felicia Schwartz

Jan. 29, 2017 7:48 p.m. ET

WASHINGTON—Rex Tillerson is expected to take the helm of the State Department this week with the U.S. facing a host of national-security issues and questions about President Donald Trump's ability to unify his diplomatic and military corps behind his foreign policies.

The immediate challenges Mr. Tillerson will confront when he enters office by midweek, said current and former U.S. officials working on foreign policy, include addressing the rift with Mexico over Mr. Trump's plans to build a border wall; implementing and dealing with a temporary immigration ban on seven Muslim-majority countries; and possibly implementing Mr. Trump's suggestion to relocate the U.S. embassy in Israel to Jerusalem from Tel Aviv.

In the longer term, Mr. Tillerson, 64 years old, the former Exxon Mobil chief executive, will be asked to make good on Mr. Trump's pledge to drastically recast U.S. relations with major global powers Russia and China, to intensify the war against the Islamic State terrorist organization, and potentially to scrap the landmark nuclear agreement the Obama administration forged with Iran in 2015.

Complicating the job, Mr. Tillerson's mission will be launched in a State Department that has seen many of its top administrators and diplomats exit government service in recent days, with many being pushed out by the Trump administration.

A number of U.S. diplomats have voiced opposition to the Trump administration's policies, particularly the 90-day ban on entry for nationals from Iran, Iraq, Libya, Somali, Sudan, Syria and Yemen.

"What the president has done in barely a week, when you think about it, is rather remarkable. It goes so far beyond the unilateralism and the tough rhetoric of the [George W. Bush] administration," said Aaron David Miller, who worked for both Republican and Democratic administrations at the State Department and is now a scholar at the Wilson Center in Washington.

He added: "What he's done in his first week is create a set of broad philosophical parameters and specific policy directives that essentially hung a 'closed for the season' sign on the State Department."

Trump administration officials didn't respond to questions about how Mr. Tillerson would handle the job of secretary of state.

Some former U.S. officials said they couldn't remember a secretary of state entering the State Department in this much tumult since George Shultz took the post in the aftermath of a presidential assassination attempt in the early 1980s.

"Between the turbulent international environment and a demoralized State Department, Tillerson is going to be inheriting the toughest hand since Shultz," said William Inboden of the University of Texas and a former national-security aide to George W. Bush. "President Trump has had a very vigorous and active and controversial first week, which

is only further fueling concerns of America's allies and partners."

Mr. Tillerson won the backing for nomination from the Senate Foreign Relations Committee last week, despite uniform opposition from Democrats. The full Senate is expected to confirm the Texas native as early as midweek.

Opposition to Mr. Tillerson has focused largely on his business ties to Russia and President Vladimir Putin while he worked at Exxon. The Kremlin awarded Mr. Tillerson its Order of Friendship honor in 2013.

Congressional officials who met with Mr. Tillerson in recent weeks concerning his confirmation said he stressed a willingness to confront Moscow once he is at the State Department. These assurances paved the way for Republican hawks on Russia, including Sens. John McCain of Arizona and Marco Rubio of Florida, to back his nomination.

Mr. Tillerson, during his nomination process, offered few specifics of how he would operate as America's top diplomat. His predecessor, John Kerry, served as a global firefighter, constantly shuttling across the Middle East and Europe to try to end conflicts or forge peace agreements, with mixed results.

Mr. Tillerson has said he spent as much as 60% of his time on travel while at Exxon. But the Trump administration has voiced an aversion to engage in major diplomatic undertakings, suggesting Mr. Tillerson won't be an activist like Mr. Kerry.

"For those who don't have our back, we're taking names; we will make points to respond to that accordingly," said Nikki Haley, the Trump administration's Ambassador to the United Nations, on Friday.

Mr. Tillerson's influence inside Mr. Trump's national security team also remains uncertain, said current and former U.S. officials.

On Saturday, Mr. Trump signed an executive order that drastically shuffled the personnel on his National Security Council. The order removed the chairman of the Pentagon's Joint Chiefs of Staff and the director of national intelligence as standing members. In their place, Mr. Trump appointed his top political adviser, Stephen Bannon.

That announcement immediately raised concerns on Capitol Hill that Mr. Bannon and members of Mr. Trump's immediate family could have more influence on shaping foreign policy than top cabinet officials, such as Mr. Tillerson.

"I am worried about the National Security Council, and who's on it," Mr. McCain said on CBS on Sunday. He called the appointment of Mr. Bannon a "radical departure" from traditional White House practice.

Many current and former members of the State Department said Mr. Tillerson's greatest near-term challenge would be to rally the ranks of the State Department behind Mr. Trump's foreign-policy priorities.

This included getting a senior leadership team in place quickly to deal with the potential security threats that have come up in the

wake of Mr. Trump's immigration ban as well as the ones that could spring up if he proceeds with the plan to move the U.S. embassy in Israel.

Mr. Trump's team asked for the resignations last week of several

key management officials in the State Department without announcing their replacements.

"The challenge for Tillerson will not just be the diplomatic fallout from Trump's policies but embassy security," said Ilan Goldenberg, a

former State Department official during the Obama administration who is now director of the Middle East Security Program at the Center for New American Security in Washington. "The Trump team decapitated all of the people responsible for that."

**Write to** Jay Solomon at [jay.solomon@wsj.com](mailto:jay.solomon@wsj.com) and Felicia Schwartz at [Felicia.Schwartz@wsj.com](mailto:Felicia.Schwartz@wsj.com)

## THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

Andrews

Jan. 29, 2017 4:31 p.m. ET

WASHINGTON—President Donald Trump's nominees to lead the State and Transportation departments are expected to win confirmation in the Senate this week, and Senate committees will consider whether to send at least seven other nominees to the full chamber for confirmation votes.

Republicans on Monday are set to hold a procedural vote on Rex Tillerson to be secretary of state. GOP lawmakers are aiming to get around Democratic opposition and are headed for a confirmation vote, likely on Wednesday.

Sen. Chuck Schumer (D., N.Y.), the Senate minority leader, said Sunday that Mr. Tillerson should explain where he stands on Mr. Trump's recent immigration orders, which Democrats oppose. Mr. Tillerson, formerly chief executive of Exxon Mobil Corp., will play a role in implementing some aspects of the orders, which block some people from certain Muslim-majority countries from entering the U.S. and ban Syrian refugees indefinitely.

Mr. Tillerson had testified that he didn't support "a blanket-type rejection of any particular group of people." Democrats may question how committed he is to defending

that principle. They can delay the vote on his confirmation, but they are unlikely to summon the votes to block it.

Mr. Trump's orders could affect the nomination process for Sen. Jeff Sessions (R., Ala.) to be attorney general.

At least five of the 11 Republicans on the Senate Judiciary Committee, which will vote on the nomination Tuesday, have said they oppose or have questions about Mr. Trump's recent orders, though none so far have said they would press Mr. Sessions on the matter.

A sixth Republican on the judiciary panel, Sen. Mike Lee (R., Utah), has said he wants clarification from the White House on some parts of the orders.

The Senate so far has confirmed four of Mr. Trump's nominees, all of them members of his national-security and foreign-policy team. Mr. Tillerson and Elaine Chao, who is likely to win confirmation this week to be transportation secretary, would bring the total to six.

"They could move faster on the other side—I will say that," Mr. Trump said last week at a GOP retreat in Philadelphia, referring to Senate Democrats.

Senate committees are expected to hold approval votes on seven nominees and send their confirmations to the full chamber.

## What Is Happening With Trump's Cabinet This Week

**Monday:** The Senate Finance Committee will vote on Steven Mnuchin, the former chairman of OneWest Bank and Mr. Trump's pick to be Treasury secretary.

**Tuesday:** Committees are scheduled to vote on Mr. Sessions and four other nominees: school-choice advocate Betsy DeVos as education secretary; former Texas Gov. Rick Perry as energy secretary; Rep. Ryan Zinke (R., Mont.) to lead the Department of the Interior; and Rep. Tom Price (R., Ga.) to lead the Department of Health and Human Services.

**Wednesday:** Oklahoma Attorney General Scott Pruitt's nomination to head the Environmental Protection Agency is scheduled for a committee vote.

Waiting in the wings are Ben Carson, picked to lead the Department of Housing and Urban Development, and Wilbur Ross, selected as commerce secretary. Both were approved by Senate committees and are on a list known as the executive calendar, which means they are waiting on the Senate to agree to schedule a confirmation vote.

Democrats have little power to block most of Mr. Trump's nominees, who can win confirmation on a simple majority. Republicans control 52 seats compared with 48 for Democrats. But Democrats can drag out the confirmations.

The confirmation process is playing out as Mr. Trump settles on his selection to fill a nearly yearlong vacancy on the Supreme Court. Mr. Trump has said he plans to announce the pick on Thursday, which likely will touch off the most contentious confirmation fight of the year.

Mr. Trump has said he wants the Senate to end the requirement that Supreme Court nominees win 60 votes on a procedural motion in order to win confirmation—a step so controversial it is known as the nuclear option. That stance will put pressure on Senate Majority Leader Mitch McConnell (R., Ky.), an institutionalist who defends traditional Senate procedures, to change the rules and allow the nominee to the high court to be confirmed on a simple majority vote.

Mr. Trump has begun to complain that Senate Democrats are cramping his style.

"I'm meeting with the prime minister tomorrow, as you know. Great Britain," Mr. Trump told Republicans last week. "I don't have my commerce secretary. They want to talk trade. So, I'll have to handle it myself."

**Write to** Siobhan Hughes at [siobhan.hughes@wsj.com](mailto:siobhan.hughes@wsj.com) and Natalie Andrews at [Natalie.Andrews@wsj.com](mailto:Natalie.Andrews@wsj.com)

## THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

John McCain

Jan. 29, 2017 6:30 p.m. ET

As he assumes the awesome responsibilities of the presidency, Donald Trump has inherited a world on fire and a U.S. military weakened by years of senseless budget cuts. I am encouraged that he recognizes these problems and has pledged to rebuild the military. The work to get the armed forces back up to speed must begin now.

The world order America has led since the end of World War II—which has benefited the American people most of all—is now under unprecedented strain. The U.S. has

## John McCain : An Opportunity to Rebuild Our Dangerously Weakened Military

entered an era of great-power competition, even as it continues to face an enduring conflict against Islamist extremist groups.

Yet many Americans have forgotten that the world order is not self-sustaining. Not all threats have purely military solutions, but they all have military dimensions. Hard power matters: It is what gives the U.S. leverage to deter aggression and achieve peace through strength.

The Budget Control Act of 2011, which cut and arbitrarily capped military spending for a decade, epitomizes this country's

forgetfulness about its role in the world. The provision, known as the "sequester," was designed to be so harmful to the military that Congress would be forced to enact reforms to control federal spending. Reforms never came, so the cutting and capping of military spending did. The military has paid a terrible price.

From 2010 through 2014, the defense budget was cut by 21%, according to analysis from the Center for Strategic and Budget Assessments. Across the board, the military got smaller and less capable. Critical investments in new technologies were deferred, which

helped adversaries like Russia and China close the gap. The combination of rising threats, declining budgets, aging equipment, shrinking forces and high operational tempo has produced a military readiness crisis.

President Trump is now commander in chief of a military that is underfunded, undersized and unready to meet the diverse and complex array of threats confronting our nation. That is why every member of the Joint Chiefs of Staff has testified to Senate Armed Services Committee that years of budget cuts have placed the lives of

the men and women of our armed forces at greater risk.

President Trump has committed to eliminating the defense sequester and rebuilding the military. I fully agree, and we need to get started right away. There are two main tasks.

The first is modernizing the military for the new realities of deterring conflict and competing with great powers that possess advanced capabilities. For too long, the U.S. has taken for granted that its forces could operate anywhere and dominate any environment with minimal effort. That assumption no longer holds. However, with greater investments in technology such

as hypersonic munitions and artificial intelligence, the military can become much more capable over the next five years.

The second priority is regaining capacity for the military to perform its current missions at acceptable levels of risk. Today the armed forces simply do not have enough ships, aircraft, vehicles, munitions, equipment and personnel. Adding capacity alone is not the answer, and increasing capacity, especially personnel, must be done deliberately and sustainably. But this is a yearslong process that should begin immediately.

The military has to become not only bigger but more efficient. There is room to cut wasteful spending at the

Defense Department. And patience remains important: The harm that has been done to the military over eight years will not be reversed quickly. But the longer the wait, the longer it will take to reform.

This won't come cheap. It will require a base defense budget for fiscal year 2018, excluding current war costs, of \$640 billion. That's \$54 billion above current plans, and sustained growth will be required for years thereafter. Defense is the country's No. 1 priority. It must be a political priority on par with repealing and replacing ObamaCare, investing in public-works projects, and reforming the tax code.

I was a humble foot soldier in the Reagan Revolution. The 40th president is remembered as one of the greatest because he embraced his role as commander in chief, rebuilt America's military and secured peace through strength. President Trump has a similar opportunity. If he is committed to seize that opportunity, I will be a committed partner in that effort.

*Mr. McCain, a Republican from Arizona, is chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee.*

**THE WALL  
STREET  
JOURNAL**

## Editorial : Big Labor's Membership Pains

Jan. 29, 2017  
7:11 p.m. ET 23 COMMENTS

President Barack Obama tried but couldn't stop the decline in union membership, according to the new annual report from the Bureau of Labor Statistics. The unionized share of the U.S. workforce fell to 10.7% last year from 11.1% in 2015 as overall membership declined by 240,000. A mere 6.4% of private workers belong to a union, while membership

among state (29.6%) and local government (40.3%) workers hit a 15-year low.

One big surprise is that even as manufacturing employment grew 236,000, union membership fell 74,000. In part this reflects that manufacturers are expanding in right-to-work states where workers can choose whether to join a union. Since Michigan's right-to-work law took effect in 2013, the share of unionized workers has fallen 2.2-percentage points. Union

membership has fallen by 40% or about 136,000 workers in Wisconsin since public unions lost their monopoly bargaining power in 2011.

Last year union membership declined by about 290,000 in the 25 states that had right-to-work laws (to 6.5% from 7.1%) while increasing by roughly 50,000 in the other half. Union membership increased in nearly 60% of states that don't give workers a choice, but in only a quarter of the right-to-work

states. Kentucky and West Virginia joined the right-to-work ranks within the last year and Missouri may soon follow.

If workers want a union to represent them, then go right ahead. The important point is that workers have the right to join or not, and more often than not these days they choose not to.

**The  
New York  
Times**

## Krugman : Building a Wall of Ignorance

Paul Krugman

As economists quickly pointed out, however, tariffs aren't paid by the exporter. With some minor qualifications, basically they're paid for by the buyers — that is, a tariff on Mexican goods would be a tax on U.S. consumers. America, not Mexico, would therefore end up paying for the wall.

Oops. But that wasn't the only problem. America is part of a system of agreements — a system we built — that sets rules for trade policy, and one of the key rules is that you can't just unilaterally hike tariffs that were reduced in previous negotiations.

If America were to casually break that rule, the consequences would be severe. The risk wouldn't so much be one of retaliation — although that, too — as of emulation: If we treat the rules with contempt, so will everyone else.

The whole trading system

would start to unravel, with hugely disruptive effects everywhere, very much including U.S. manufacturing.

So is the White House actually planning to go down that route? By focusing on imports from Mexico, Mr. Spicer conveyed that impression; but he also said that he was talking about "comprehensive tax reform as a means to tax imports from countries that we have a trade deficit from." That seemed to be a reference to a proposed overhaul of corporate taxes, which would include "adjustable border taxes."

But here's the thing: that overhaul wouldn't at all have the effects he was suggesting. It wouldn't target countries with which we run deficits, let alone Mexico; it would apply to all trade. And it wouldn't really be a tax on imports.

To be fair, this is a widely misunderstood point. Many people who should know better believe that value-added taxes, which many

countries impose, discourage imports and subsidize exports. Mr. Spicer echoed that misperception. In fact, however, value-added taxes are basically national sales taxes, which neither discourage nor encourage imports. (Yes, imports pay the tax, but so do domestic products.)

And the proposed change in corporate taxes, while differing from value-added taxation in some ways, would similarly be neutral in its effects on trade. What this means, in particular, is that it would do nothing whatsoever to make Mexico pay for the wall.

Some of this is a bit technical — see my blog for more details. But isn't the U.S. government supposed to get stuff right before floating what sounds like a declaration of trade war?

So let's sum it up: The White House press secretary created a diplomatic crisis while trying to protect the president from ridicule over his

foolish boasting. In the process he demonstrated that nobody in authority understands basic economics. Then he tried to walk the whole thing back.

All of this should be placed in the larger context of America's quickly collapsing credibility.

Our government hasn't always done the right thing. But it has kept its promises, to nations and individuals alike.

Now all of that is in question. Everyone, from small nations who thought they were protected against Russian aggression, to Mexican entrepreneurs who thought they had guaranteed access to our markets, to Iraqi interpreters who thought their service with the U.S. meant an assurance of sanctuary, now has to wonder whether they'll be treated like stiffed contractors at a Trump hotel.

That's a very big loss. And it's probably irreversible.

**The  
New York  
Times**

## Nakios : Trump's Unfashionable Tax Idea

Thomas Nakios

Let's look at how this would play out for a typical fashion designer in New

York City. Her 20-employee company has \$10 million in annual sales; her cost of goods sold is \$4

million; and expenses like payroll and rent are \$5 million. That leaves her company with a tidy pretax profit

of \$1 million, which is then subject to federal, state and local taxes. But with the border adjustment, her



company's imports will now be subject to tax — assuming she imports 100 percent of her goods, that would raise her tax base from \$1 million to \$5 million, even though she isn't making any more money. Based on the proposal, her tax bill would in all likelihood exceed her profits.

Our fashion designer has three options. She can shut her doors — and I know many people in the industry who, already skating on thin profit margins, probably will. She can start buying domestically — an option for some, but again, domestic supply chains in textiles and other sectors are spotty and expensive.

Her third option is to pass on the cost to consumers, and that's what most businesses will probably do. These wouldn't be small increases; in many industries, imported goods are one of the biggest expenses. If the tax passes, consumers will have to get used to paying a whole lot

more for shoes and shirts.

And for TVs as well, because it's not just fashion designers who will be affected. Anyone reliant on the global supply chain will be hurt by this tax — from electronics manufacturers to toymakers — and the American consumer will be stuck with the tab.

Supporters of a border adjustment tax say it levels the playing field for exporters. By allowing profits from foreign sales to be excluded from income taxes, the tax is a countermeasure, they argue, to the value-added taxes that American manufacturers face in other countries. But that's a fundamental misunderstanding of how a V.A.T. works — it's a consumption tax on all goods consumed within a country, charged to domestic manufacturers and importers alike. It does not pick winners and losers, or put import-reliant companies at a disadvantage.

The tax's proponents also argue that encouraging domestic consumption — which, put differently, means sending fewer dollars overseas — would drive up the value of the dollar, making imports cheaper and offsetting the higher tax bill. If it were only that easy. Many factors other than trade affect the value of our currency, including interest rate differentials and expectations, geopolitical concerns and domestic policies. A stronger dollar might help a little, but as a business owner, I wouldn't bet on it.

And while encouraging exports in manufacturing is a good idea, a border adjustment tax could have a distorting effect on commodities like oil. America is much less dependent on imported petroleum than in the past, in large part because we produce so much of it at home. A border adjustment tax would encourage domestic oil producers to sell their bounty abroad, where it would be exempt from income

taxes. But the imports that would then be required to meet domestic demand would be subject to the tax. Commodities traders will leap at the chance to make money off the difference between the cost of imported and domestic oil; by some estimates, they could drive its price 25 percent higher.

We do need corporate and personal tax reform: The tax code is too complex, and compliance is too costly. But a border adjustment tax is not reform. It is a penalty on those industries that rely on imports and have no easy replacement for them. It shifts the costs of corporate tax reform and domestic manufacturing incentives directly onto the backs of American consumers in the form of significantly higher retail prices. Congress and the White House may be pro-business, but a border adjustment tax is anything but.



## Hiatt : Trump considers the media his enemy. We shouldn't treat him as ours.

<https://www.facebook.com/fhiatt1>

By Fred Hiatt Editorial Page Editor January 29 at 7:49 PM

It is not unprecedented for a White House to view the media as the enemy — the “opposition party,” as presidential adviser Stephen K. Bannon labeled us last week.

But it is vital that we not become that party.

After an exhausting, often alarming first week of the Trump administration, many people were telling journalists that we can no longer conduct business as usual.

Read These Comments

The best conversations on The Washington Post

Please provide a valid email address.

“You're bringing a spoon to a knife fight,” one acquaintance told me.

We need to stop covering the president's tweets, we were advised. We need to label his false statements as lies. If White House counselors are dishonest, we should stop interviewing them. If Breitbart or parts of Fox peddle Trump propaganda, we should be

the voice of the other side.

No. The answer to dishonest or partisan journalism cannot be more partisan journalism, which would only harm our credibility and make civil discourse even less possible. The response to administration insults cannot be to remake ourselves in the mold of their accusations.

Our answer must be professionalism: to do our jobs according to the highest standards, as always.

If the president makes a statement, we report it. If it is false, we report the evidence of its falsehood. If the president's critics say he is a totalitarian, we report that. If their charge is exaggerated, we provide the evidence of exaggeration. We investigate relentlessly.

So far, I believe The Post has been setting the standard in this difficult job. It is not boasting for me to say so, because as editorial page editor I have no input in The Post's news coverage. I am only a reader, like all of you.

On the opinion side of the house, which I oversee, we are entitled to our opinions. But here too it is important to maintain a thoughtful perspective.

We on The Post's editorial page spent the better part of the past two years warning the country not to elect Donald Trump. We said he was unfit by temperament and experience, misguided on many issues and a potential danger to democratic norms.

Now we find ourselves in the unusual position of hoping to be proved wrong.

The opening of the Trump administration has not been encouraging, to put it mildly. But that doesn't change our mission.

We must distinguish between words and deeds. We must sort the good from the bad. And, in a political culture inclined to view every adverse action as the onset of a potential apocalypse, we must distinguish the merely regrettable from the genuinely harmful, and the genuinely harmful from the irreversibly damaging.

When, as one of his first executive actions, Trump blocked a fee reduction for federally insured mortgages, he was taking a prudent, modest step to protect federal finances, not opening a war on working people.

When Trump ordered the creation of an office to assist the victims of crimes committed by undocumented

immigrants, he sent an inaccurate message about the prevalence of such crime, but the office itself seems unlikely to do much harm. But barring refugees from war-torn countries, and favoring one religion over another — that defaces our democracy. It betrays a tradition of American generosity and tolerance that we have occasionally strayed from in the past — and always have come to regret doing so.

I am not complacent. There is nothing normal or healthy about a White House counselor telling the media it should “keep its mouth shut” for a while, nor about a president obsessing over his ratings, taunting those he calls his “enemies” and branding journalists “among the most dishonest human beings on earth.” Such attitudes should be frightening to all Americans, not just those of us who work in the business.

But we can't allow ourselves to be brought down to that level. We do not spoil for a knife fight. Whatever comes at us over the next four years, what we should wield is our pens and our laptops, our facts and our fairness.

Read more from Fred Hiatt's archive, follow him on Twitter or subscribe to his updates on Facebook.



## Samuelson : Trump is obsessed with trade — but it's not a major cause of job loss



By Robert J. Samuelson

Trade wars, encouraged by President Trump, are inching closer. The White House has rejected the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP), an agreement involving 12 Asian-Pacific countries, including the United States, Japan, Malaysia and Vietnam. It is threatening to do the same with the North American Free Trade Agreement by slapping a 20 percent duty on Mexican exports to the United States. All this is advanced in the name of bolstering U.S. manufacturing jobs, which are regarded as being sacrificed to imports and "unfair" foreign trade.

There's only one problem: It isn't true.

Contrary to popular opinion, trade is not a major cause of job loss. It's true that U.S. manufacturing has suffered a dramatic long-term employment erosion, sliding from roughly one-third of nonfarm jobs in 1950 to a quarter of jobs in the early 1970s to a little less than 9 percent now, according to economist J. Bradford DeLong of the University of California at Berkeley in an essay posted on Vox. But the main cause is automation.

Note that manufacturing's decline began in the 1950s and '60s, well before the onset of annual trade deficits. In these years, we ran trade surpluses as Europe and Japan recovered from World War II. The first postwar U.S. trade deficit occurred in 1971. But since then, haven't we been hurt by our trading partners' predatory trade policies and "offshoring" by U.S. multinationals?

You can be excused if you answer "yes." We are constantly bombarded with images of shuttered factories and the message, implicit or explicit, that these plants closed because they couldn't compete with imports. This happens. It's not a myth. But the effect is overstated. We've lost perspective.

On his fourth day in office, President Trump signed an executive order formally withdrawing the U.S. from the Trans-Pacific Partnership trade deal. Crafted by the Obama administration, the trade deal failed to be ratified by Congress during Obama's two terms. President Trump signed an executive order formally withdrawing the U.S. from the Trans-Pacific Partnership trade deal. (Daron Taylor/The Washington Post)

(Daron Taylor/The Washington Post)

In his essay, DeLong makes a novel argument to demonstrate that automation and new technologies are the biggest causes of job destruction. Suppose, he says, we examine Germany, the world's powerhouse exporter. It seems to have done everything right. It has first-rate workers and engineers; it benefits from a weak euro (which make its exports cheaper); it has routine trade surpluses. If any country should have maintained its share of manufacturing jobs, it should be Germany.

It hasn't. Instead, DeLong says, "it has seen the same pattern as the U.S." — that is, a steady decline of

manufacturing jobs as a share of the total. From 1971 to 2012, German manufacturing employment fell from about 40 percent of the total to roughly 20 percent. About one-third of the decline reflected the closing of wildly inefficient factories in the former East Germany, but the rest reflected the normal "shedding" of workers at less efficient firms. Fewer workers were "needed to make each car, each refrigerator, each chair" than in the past. That's true for the United States as well.

This suggests that Trump, although he may achieve some high-visibility victories in preventing large firms from moving factories abroad, will struggle to influence overall job trends. About 98 percent of the 252,000 U.S. manufacturing firms have fewer than 500 workers, reports the National Association of Manufacturers. These firms will do whatever they can to improve competitiveness. Since 1950, DeLong says, only 5 percent or less of manufacturers' job losses reflect trade agreements, including China's entry into the World Trade Organization.

So what did Trump get by killing TPP? Most economic analyses suggest that TPP would give its member countries a slight boost in economic growth by lowering tariffs and streamlining regulations. By 2030, U.S. incomes would be 0.5 percent higher and incomes in Vietnam — a big winner — would be 8 percent higher, estimates a study for the Peterson Institute. That modest boost is gone.

"But the real benefit of TPP went beyond trade," says economist Russell Green of Rice University, "it was about leadership in Asia." A trading alliance led by the United States would provide a counterweight to China's influence. The opposite has happened, Green says. Leaders in the other 11 countries made difficult political decisions to try to ensure the TPP negotiations would succeed. By "throwing it in the trash," Trump has earned their distrust.

Will TPP's collapse foster a new trading system built around China, not the United States? Will Trump's abdication of leadership of an open and rules-based system inevitably lead to more trade conflicts, as countries adopt protection and mercantilist policies (tariffs, export subsidies and preferences for domestic goods)?

We don't know, but the chances today are greater than they were yesterday. Already, some disappointed TPP countries are indicating interest in strengthening ties with China, says Jeffrey Schott, a trade expert at the Peterson Institute. He puts Australia, Canada, Chile, Peru and New Zealand in this group.

So what Trump gets from his trade crusade is a (false) rallying cry for more U.S. jobs. What the United States gets, if anything, is less clear.

*Read more from Robert Samuelson's archive.*

**The  
New York  
Times**

## In a Week, Trump Reshapes Decades of Perceptions About America

David E. Sanger

In a statement on Sunday, Mr. Trump appeared to try to soften his action, arguing that "this is not a Muslim ban, as the media is falsely reporting." He promised to "find ways to help all those who are suffering," words that were missing on Friday when he announced that all refugees from Syria would be barred from entry to the United States, indefinitely.

"It's one week in," Robert M. Gates, the former secretary of defense and C.I.A. director, said on ABC's "This Week" on Sunday. "Every administration I've worked for begins with a flurry of executive orders" meant to distinguish itself from its predecessor.

But Mr. Gates, who has served eight presidents, of both parties, quickly added that Mr. Trump risks accelerating a sense of an America that is pulling back and putting up

walls, leaving a power vacuum around the globe.

"That vacuum will not be filled by benign forces," he said. Two other prominent, establishment Republicans, Senators John McCain of Arizona and Lindsey Graham of South Carolina, called the lumping together in the immigration order of a major adversary, Iran, with an ally, Iraq, one of many reasons that the moves are "a self-inflicted wound in the fight against terrorism."

Mr. Trump is hardly the first president to announce shifts in policy that surprised allies and upturned the existing order. President Richard M. Nixon's decision to abandon the gold standard and to recognize China were shocks to the system. So was President George W. Bush's decision to invade Iraq, though it was telegraphed for more than a year, as was Mr. Obama's decision

to strike a nuclear accord with Iran and to reopen diplomatic relations with Cuba.

But in the case of Mr. Trump, there is a sense that the rush for change has superseded a study of unintended consequences.

The ban on immigration and visitors from seven nations came with minimal, if any, input from the State Department about the regional fallout — as did Mr. Trump's declaration that he intends to move the American Embassy in Israel to Jerusalem. The absence of advance thinking about how to deal with green card holders and Iraqi interpreters who were promised entry to the United States in return for their service to American troops forced the White House to amend its interpretations of the order less than 48 hours after Mr. Trump signed it.

It was all symptomatic of a new president eager to tweet first and work out details later. "This is policy by thunderbolt," said Joseph Nye, a Harvard professor who served as the head of the National Intelligence Council and has written extensively on how the United States can gain leverage from its "soft power" — the attractiveness of its culture and democracy. "You don't want to tear up 70 years of foreign policy until you think hard about what replaces it."

But inside the halls of the State Department, where Rex W. Tillerson, the pick for secretary of state, has just begun to find his way around, there is definitely the sense among career diplomats that this is Year Zero.

Last week, the "landing team" of Trump designees told several of the department's most senior diplomats — career officials, some with decades of service — to clear out of

their offices. Almost all had submitted their resignations, the protocol when administrations changed, but had volunteered to stay on for a month or two until successors were appointed, to ensure that State Department facilities were safe, American citizens were evacuated from perilous places and passports were issued.

The Trump team made it clear it had no interest in transitions. (Mr. Tillerson also never met one-on-one with his predecessor, John Kerry, before the inauguration.)

It was not exactly a purge, but the fact remains that some of the government's

most experienced diplomats have moved on — including some of the highest-ranking women in the department. Among them is Anne Patterson, 67, the assistant secretary of state for Near Eastern affairs and a former ambassador to Pakistan and Egypt, two of the biggest tinderboxes Mr. Trump will face. Victoria J. Nuland, 55, one of the department's top Russia experts and former ambassador to NATO, who dealt with the Ukraine crisis, decided to retire after concluding there was probably no place for her in Mr. Trump's administration.

Such a housecleaning leaves open the question of whether Mr. Tillerson, who has extensive

experience abroad as chief executive of Exxon Mobil but none as a diplomat, will have the kind of help he needs in a very different kind of enterprise than negotiating on behalf of the world's largest oil company.

In such an atmosphere, even seemingly routine moves — like the reorganization of the National Security Council — take on a political air. On Sunday, Mr. Trump's chief strategist, and chief ideologue, Stephen K. Bannon, was designated a permanent member of the "principals committee" of the National Security Council, putting a political aide on par with the secretaries of state and defense.

Meanwhile, the director of national intelligence and the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff appeared to be downgraded, told to attend only when their issues were on the table.

"This is stone cold crazy," Susan E. Rice, the national security adviser until earlier this month, wrote in a Twitter post. "Who needs military advice or intell to make policy on ISIL, Syria, Afghanistan, DPRK?" she said, using acronyms for the Islamic State and North Korea.

Mr. Trump's answer is simple: When you have come to upend the establishment, the establishment must vacate the premises.



## Trump promised disruption. That's exactly what he's delivering.

<https://www.facebook.com/chris.cillizza>

(Dalton Bennett/The Washington Post)

Demonstrators gathered at New York's JFK airport to protest against President Trump's executive order on refugees. Demonstrators gathered at New York's JFK airport to protest against President Trump's executive order on refugees. (Dalton Bennett/The Washington Post)

Donald Trump is who we thought he was.

The 45th president campaigned as a radical break from both politics and policy as usual in Washington, promising to restore strength to the White House and the country while ignoring all tradition and political correctness.

He spent the first week of his presidency doing just that — beginning with an executive order triggering the United States's withdrawal from the Trans-Pacific Partnership, continuing through a midweek executive order to begin the process of building a wall along our southern border and culminating Friday with Trump's executive order temporarily halting refugees from entering the country and instituting a full entrance ban on visitors from seven predominantly Muslim countries.

*[Despite growing dissent, Trump gives no sign of backing down from travel ban]*

In between all of that, Trump again invoked his idea that millions of illegal votes had been cast in the 2016 election, and he pledged to get to the bottom of it.

Hundreds of protesters gathered at the arrivals gate of Washington Dulles International Airport to push

back against President Trump's executive order that targeted citizens from seven predominantly Muslim countries. A federal judge in New York blocked deportations nationwide late Saturday of those detained on entry to the United States. Hundreds of protesters gathered at the arrivals gate of Washington Dulles International Airport to push back against President Trump's executive order that targeted citizens from seven predominantly Muslim countries. A federal judge in New York blocked deportations nationwide late Saturday of those detained on entry to the United States. (McKenna Ewen/The Washington Post)

(McKenna Ewen/The Washington Post)

Through it all, he kept tweeting.

Here's Trump on immigration: "Our country needs strong borders and extreme vetting, NOW. Look what is happening all over Europe and, indeed, the world — a horrible mess!"

And here he is on alleged vote fraud: "I will be asking for a major investigation into VOTER FRAUD, including those registered to vote in two states, those who are illegal and ... even, those registered to vote who are dead (and many for a long time). Depending on results, we will strengthen up voting procedures!"

Any one of those moves would have caused a furor among Democrats. The combination of those moves — and all of them being made within the first full week of the Trump presidency — sent people opposed to Trump's agenda into an absolute frenzy.

That frenzy was defined by a single question: How can he be doing this?

The answer is simple, if noxious, to those who oppose Trump: He ran for president on *exactly* the sorts of ideas he has begun to implement as president.

Take, for one, the Muslim ban. Trump proposed the idea of temporarily halting Muslims from entering the United States in the wake of the Paris and San Bernardino, Calif., terrorist attacks in late 2015. He was widely pilloried for the proposals by the establishments of both parties — with Republican leaders such as House Speaker Paul D. Ryan (R-Wis.) and former Florida governor Jeb Bush insisting that such a proposal was the antithesis of conservatism.

(Reuters)

Traditional U.S. allies have been quick to criticize President Trump's executive order that bans entry to the United States from refugees, migrants and even green-card holders from seven mostly Muslim countries. Traditional U.S. allies have been quick to criticize President Trump's executive order. (Reuters)

Know who didn't feel that way? Republican primary voters.

Trump's numbers surged in the wake of the proposed Muslim ban; it was the springboard that catapulted him from a modest front-runner in the race to the clear person to beat.

Trump talked less about the ban during the general election and tried to moderate the terms somewhat. But he never abandoned it — or even came close.

And so, when Trump signed an executive order Friday that stopped all refugees from entering the country and restricted entrance by all visitors from Iraq, Syria, Iran, Libya, Somalia, Sudan and Yemen,

no one should really have been shocked.

Ditto Trump's moves on the Affordable Care Act, the border wall and the totally unsubstantiated allegation that he lost the popular vote to Hillary Clinton because of widespread voter fraud.

The assumption — even after Trump was elected — seems to be that he either a) didn't really believe many of the things he said on the campaign trail or b) wouldn't spend the political capital necessary to attempt their implementation.

Local Politics Alerts

Breaking news about local government in D.C., Md., Va.

Please provide a valid email address.

The first week of the Trump presidency suggests that those assumptions were deeply misguided. Trump meant *exactly* what he said and appears totally committed to executing on the campaign promises he made in spite of the furor they might cause.

But it's more than that, too. This Trump is the Trump who won 306 electoral votes and almost 63 million votes. (Yes, I am aware Clinton got almost 66 million.) People voted for this Trump. He did almost nothing — far less than your average politician — to obfuscate or fudge his views.

While he didn't attach a ton of specifics to his proposals, it's very hard for me to believe that the vast majority of people who voted for Trump expected anything other than what they got from him in this first week. In fact, they are likely overjoyed that Trump — unlike most pols — is doing what he said he would.

None of the above is to invalidate or undermine those who oppose Trump. Their objections — and willingness to act

on them via protests, petitions and legal means — is at the heart of a healthy democracy.

My point is only this: Trump is governing almost exactly how he said he would during a campaign

that he won. No one should be surprised.



## Democrats' dilemma: How to be heard in the hurricane of Trump news?

<https://www.facebook.com/pages/Ed-OKeeffe/147995121918931>

House Minority Leader Nancy Pelosi (D-Calif.) arrived at her weekly news conference determined to talk about saving the Affordable Care Act. She was flanked by 15 uniformed nurses and spoke from a lectern with a sign reading "#ProtectOurCare."

But after just one question on her chosen topic, reporters moved on to other subjects: President Trump's allegations of voter fraud, Trump's plans for a new border wall, Trump's desire to ban refugees from Muslim countries and Trump's hiring freeze.

Pelosi's responses grabbed headlines. Her warning about repealing Obamacare did not.

The scene, which played out Wednesday in front of eight television cameras, underscores the stark challenge Democrats face in getting their message out in the early days of an administration that is generating rapid-fire headlines — sometimes shifting the story line several times a day.

*[Reality check: Many of Trump's early vows will never actually happen]*

Since taking office just a week ago, the new Republican president has issued a slew of attention-grabbing executive actions, on topics as far flung as pipeline construction and global abortion policy, caused uproars with comments on Twitter that no one saw coming and dominated the conversation with off-the-cuff musings about crowd sizes and voter fraud.

With a Supreme Court pick coming next week, growing discord with Mexico and a renewed debate about torture, there's no sign of things settling down anytime soon.

The dynamic makes it difficult for Democrats to break through the noise with sustained pushback on any one of these issues, let alone mount a campaign around some of their own priorities — and expect the media to pay attention.

Aides say Trump's primary aim has been to show that he is a "man of action," as White House counselor Kellyanne Conway put it in a tweet this week. But others also see a deliberate strategy meant to keep

Trump's detractors unsettled — not unlike what he did during the presidential campaign.

"It's very much a part of how he does business," said former Republican National Committee chairman Michael Steele. "He's not going to give people a chance to catch their breath before he moves on. It's part of how he operates. He likes to keep political opponents back on their heels."

*[Trump pledges to work with Republicans in 'busiest Congress ... maybe ever']*

During the campaign congressional Republicans often balked at being asked to respond to the latest controversy stirred by Trump, but now some in the GOP are noting the benefits of this style when it comes to drowning out the opposition.

"You have so much going on at once, it's hard to find one thing to be critical of," said Republican strategist Doug Heye.

On a day this week when Trump was particularly prolific, Jared Leopold, the communications director for the Democratic Governors' Association, acknowledged a dilemma.

"I can't even decide which executive order to speak out on today," he said.

He wound up issuing a lengthy news release about the steadfast opposition of Democratic governors to Trump's plan to turn Medicaid into a block-grant program, calling it "a scheme that would throw state budgets into disarray and threaten health care benefits for millions."

Much of the media had already moved on to other things, Leopold acknowledged, but he said the decision reflected a desire to try to stay focused on issues with the most impact on real people.

One of the new challenges facing Democrats is finding the discipline to disregard many of the less weighty things the president says, Leopold and others suggested.

"I think the flurry of activity its having its desired effect," said Connecticut Gov. Dannel Malloy, chairman of the DGA. "I worry that it is a long-term subterfuge to make sure people aren't paying attention to the real issues."

Adam Green, co-founder of the Progressive Change Campaign Committee, argued it would be a mistake for Democrats to engage Trump on his terms.

"While Trump floods the zone, we need to have a consistent, thematic message," he said. "Our side will be at its weakest if we're offering ad hoc responses to issue after issue."

The core of the opposition message, Green said, should be that Trump is "betraying even his own voters by giving away the farm to billionaires and Wall Street at the expense of working families."

*[Trump seeks to revive Dakota Access, Keystone XL oil pipelines]*

That can be a challenge, however, for groups seeking to fight Trump on individual issues.

Following an executive order this week seeking to revive the Dakota pipeline, Our Revolution, an advocacy group that grew out of the presidential campaign of Sen. Bernie Sanders (I-Vt.), took up the flag opposing the project.

Native American groups have protested the pipeline, which would carry oil from the booming shale reserves in North Dakota to refineries and pipeline networks in Illinois. Opponents say it would imperil their water supplies and disturb sacred burial and archaeological sites.

Jeff Weaver, president of Our Revolution, acknowledged difficulty in getting the mainstream media to pay attention to the group's arguments.

"Not only do you have to get your views out there, you have to break through the coverage of these other outlandish things," said Weaver, who served as Sanders's campaign manager. "The Dakota Pipeline is a big issue, but no one's talking about the Dakota Pipeline just a couple of days later. That's the problem. The media wants to chase the newest shiny object."

He credited the Trump White House for understanding how that works.

"I do think the White House is artful in throwing up smokescreens to protect itself from the bad things it's doing," Weaver said.

*[Senate Democrats unveil a Trump-size infrastructure plan]*

Several senior Democrats in Congress expressed confidence that over time, Trump, who already has low approval ratings, will suffer from his scattershot focus.

House Minority Whip Steny H. Hoyer (D-Md.), said he thinks Democrats are already connecting with the public on the need to protect the Affordable Care Act, for example.

"The Affordable Care Act has energized people," Hoyer said. "I think we're doing well so far. As time goes by and the American public has more time to focus on the machine-gun issuance of policies without thought, vetting or consideration, I think we're going to be even more successful."

Hoyer was aboard a plane about to depart for Utah, where he was set to visit the Sundance Film Festival to attend Democratic fundraisers "and see some movies." At the airport, he said two or three people had stopped him and said, "We want to get involved, you stay in there we need to fight this administration from doing things he proposes to do."

Drew Hammill, the longtime spokesman for Pelosi, said Democrats "need to be out there beating the drum about what's good about the Affordable Care Act."

"You're not going to poke through every single day, but we consistently do," he said.

"That lack of message discipline is not going to be good for this White House," Hammill added. "Straying from topic to topic based on whatever verbal pretzel you've gotten yourself into is not the way to get things done at the end of the day. These executive orders are largely message, there's not much reality to them. At the end of the day, [Trump will] have to build public support to get them through Congress. That requires message discipline."

In the short term, however, what broke through at Pelosi's weekly news conference were her reactions to Trump. She called him "insecure" for suggesting that millions of fraudulent ballots had been cast. She said that freezing federal employees hiring was an "assault" on the public sector and that the new administration seemed eager to establish a "fact-free zone."

Today's WorldView

What's most important from where the world meets Washington

Please provide a valid email address.

Arguably the biggest messaging success for Democrats of the past week was a news conference staged by Senate Democrats to detail a plan they crafted in

response to one of Trump's signature campaign promises: investing in the country's infrastructure.

Their \$1 trillion plan to revamp the nation's airports, bridges, roads and seaports drew widespread media coverage.

Sen. Debbie Stabenow (D-Mich.), who leads her caucus's policy and messaging operation, said there

have been other successes. She cited the slowed-down consideration of some Trump Cabinet nominees after Democrats spoke out "so that the American people have more time to engage." It remains unclear if any of the nominees Democrats have targeted will actually be derailed.

Stabenow said Democrats plan to keep speaking out to their constituents, particularly to those

feeling downtrodden by Republican control of the White House and Congress.

"We're going to let them know that this democracy is about everybody in this country and it's not owned by a privileged few," she said. "What I'm hearing when I go through the airport is, 'Thank you. Thank you for engaging.'"



## Editorial : Mr. Trump is picking a fight with urban America over sanctuary cities

<https://www.facebook.com/washingtonpostopinions>

HAVING ORDERED that unspecified federal funding be halted on the basis of unspecified legal authority to unspecified sanctuary cities and counties, President Trump has triggered a showdown with large swaths of urban America, most of which voted heavily against him. Mayors in Los Angeles, Boston, New York, Chicago, Seattle and San Francisco and leaders of other localities vowed defiance, lending the dispute the air of a standoff between tough guys.

His campaign rhetoric notwithstanding, Mr. Trump is unwise to pick a divisive fight impelled by the fiction that the nation's 11 million illegal immigrants constitute a community of predatory and violent criminals. His inflated rhetoric on that point served to rile

up his campaign events. As a tactic in governance, or to promote public safety, it is likely to be less effective.

The president is also on shaky legal ground to demand that local authorities, including police and jail officials, enforce federal immigration law, just as he would by insisting they enforce the federal tax code, federal environmental regulations or federal food and drug rules. In 2014, the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Third Circuit in Philadelphia ruled that detention requests made by the federal government to localities — specifically, that they hold undocumented immigrants — are just that: requests, not commands.

It remains unclear which federal funding Mr. Trump would or legally could try to suspend as a means of coercing jurisdictions to cooperate with federal officials, and whether such a threat would amount to

much leverage. The Supreme Court has also ruled that there is no legal basis by which the president, or Congress, could withhold federal funding to localities that is unrelated to immigration — for instance, for housing or hospitals. Assuming that's the case, then the president's leverage with most localities would be limited.

Nor is it clear which of the more than 300 cities and counties that withhold some form of cooperation from federal immigration officials would fall into Mr. Trump's definition of a sanctuary jurisdiction. Some localities, notably San Francisco, refuse almost all forms of cooperation. Others ignore detention requests from U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement for undocumented immigrants convicted of minor crimes but not those found guilty of serious or violent crimes. Many

others simply instruct their police not to ask detained suspects about their immigration status.

No doubt, there are instances of localities having behaved with outrageous irresponsibility by refusing to turn over repeat offenders to ICE. That was the case, in 2015, when San Francisco refused to honor an ICE detainer for an undocumented immigrant with an extensive criminal record, who, shortly after he was released, shot and killed a young woman strolling on the waterfront.

Still, Mr. Trump stands to gain very little by declaring what amounts to a culture war on huge swaths of urban America that, with good reason, would defy his attempts to deport millions of productive and largely law-abiding immigrants, many of whom have children and other relatives who are U.S. citizens.