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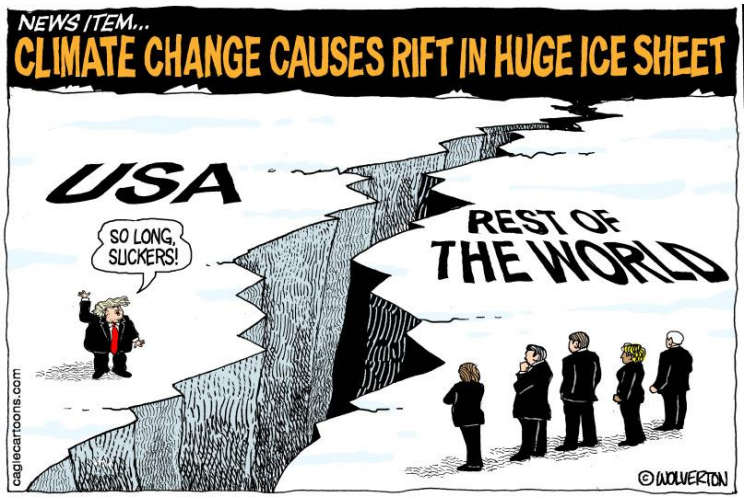

# FRANCE - EUROPE

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL.

## Mead : Has France Found Its Ronald Reagan?

Walter Russell Mead

Surging though France this month is an unfamiliar feeling: hope. François Hollande, a president with the charisma of boiled cabbage, is gone. After years of stagnation at home and frustration abroad, the French now place their hopes in Mr. Hollande's young and energetic successor, Emmanuel Macron.

The new leader is more centrist than conservative, but he is approaching the job like a French Ronald Reagan. In 1980 Americans were weary of President Carter's deliberately uncharismatic style. Sensing this, Reagan presented himself as a heroic and transformational leader. This is what Mr. Macron has been doing.

The French presidency as it exists today was invented by Charles de Gaulle, who believed a powerful executive could bring glamour and glory to politics. France's Constitution gives the office sweeping powers, and French presidents like de Gaulle, Valéry Giscard d'Estaing and François Mitterrand cultivated a certain mystique.

As Mr. Macron's people tell it, the past two French presidents never quite lived up to the role. Nicolas Sarkozy was too hotheaded and frantic. The cold Mr. Hollande never projected the requisite grandeur. Mr. Macron, in contrast, wants to be strong and decisive, to wrap himself in a dignity and prestige that evokes France's heroic past.

What the French want most in a president is someone who will cut a powerful figure in the world. Since his inauguration last month, Mr. Macron's performance on the international stage has electrified the electorate. First he refused to let go during a white-knuckle handshake with Donald Trump. Then he used a joint appearance with Vladimir Putin to denounce Russian propaganda and disinformation. Trolling Messrs. Trump and Putin will not turn France into a superpower, but Mr. Macron is already making his compatriots feel great again.

The strategy seems to be working. As France heads toward legislative elections later this month, Mr. Macron's newly created En Marche! party, founded last year, is favored to win 400 or more of the 577 National Assembly seats—an outcome that seemed impossible only a month ago. If so, the president will have the chance to put his ideas to the test, and he alone will be held responsible for the results.

Aside from the usual scandals already swirling around the new administration, two issues will make or break Mr. Macron: fixing France's economy and relaunching the European Union. To get the economy moving he must take on powerful interests—unions, students, greens, lawyers and more—that have blocked change for decades. To lift Europe he must deal with the euro's problems, which means taking on Germany.

There is little point in pressing Berlin until after Germany's September elections. In campaign mode, Angela Merkel's Christian Democrats will proclaim their undying opposition to clever French schemes that force German taxpayers to bail out lesser economies. If Mr. Macron instead uses the summer to pass legislation reforming domestic labor markets and taxes, he can show Germany his seriousness.

The rub is that he'll need to do it without setting off the street protests and strikes that doomed past efforts. This will be a risky operation, but assuming Mr. Macron navigates the difficulty, it will be Germany's turn to act in the fall. With elections in the rearview mirror, the German chancellor—almost certainly Mrs. Merkel—will sit down with Mr. Macron for the most important negotiations in Europe since the end of the Cold War. They will need to simplify the ungovernable EU's institutions and procedures and find ways to bridge internal divisions before external enemies can exploit them further.

This comes at a difficult time for the Germans. Mr. Putin is hostile, and Mr. Trump is bizarre. Britain is leaving Europe, while Turkey is abandoning the West. The European Union is weaker and more divided than ever. Germany's best, perhaps only, option to stabilize the situation is to relaunch its partnership with France.

Berlin's problems create a unique opportunity for Mr. Macron. Germany may be richer than France, and it may have more power in the EU, but it badly needs French support if Europe is to recover. For the first time since German unification after the Cold War, France can bargain with Germany over Europe's future on something like a level playing field. An opportunity like this may not come again. If Mr. Macron can push through real reforms in France and forge an agreement with Germany on a set of realistic policies for the euro and the EU, he could well be remembered as the greatest French president since de Gaulle.

*Mr. Mead is a fellow at the Hudson Institute, a professor of foreign affairs at Bard College, and editor at large of the American Interest.*

## The Nation : The Way Forward in France

**By Jesse McCarthy**

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In France, there is a distinct, almost literary pleasure in watching the unlikely rise of a handsome, ambitious young man from the provinces and charting his skillful navigation of the treacherous corridors of power, vanity, and ambition. But as Balzac and Stendhal knew well, the motif is also useful as a means of exposing the surprisingly shoddy scaffolding of government—the remarkable extent to which the majesty of state power, upon closer inspection, reveals itself to be a delicate facade masking ugly, unprincipled, and chaotic struggles for domination.

The triumph of Emmanuel Macron in the 2017 French presidential election is undoubtedly novelistic in this sense. At the tender age of 39, Macron is the youngest man ever to become the head of the French republic. Born in Amiens, historically the provincial capital of the northern region of Picardie, he grew up in a solidly bourgeois household. Both of his parents are doctors, and he attended Jesuit schools in the region before going to Paris to enter the Lycée Henri IV, one of the country's most prestigious high schools. A precocious and gifted student, he evinced a passion and a flair for the dramatic arts—skills that have transferred well to his political role and influenced his personal life. In 2007, he married his theater teacher, Brigitte Trogneux, 24 years his elder and the daughter of a prominent family of chocolatiers known for their macaroons and their right-leaning politics. With a stellar résumé, he passed through the nation's business and administrative *grandes écoles*, institutions that have become rites of passage for those seeking to enter the upper branches of state power. His trajectory, in short, has been that of an impeccable golden boy who is more acquainted with success than failure, who has enjoyed the fruits of being born into comfortable circumstances, and who possesses exquisite social-climbing skills and an unerring sense of good timing.

On the evening of his election victory, Macron strode out alone in a long, dark coat, under dramatic lighting, and into the main square in front of the Louvre. He faced I.M. Pei's glass pyramid as loudspeakers played the official hymn of the European Union, Beethoven's "Ode to Joy." It was a pointed musical choice, reflecting the view, at home and abroad, that Macron's victory was a make-or-break moment for the European project, which has recently been imperiled by Brexit, the turmoil in Greece, and the contempt of the Trump administration. More subtly, local political observers also interpreted it as a nod to François Mitterrand and the 1981 election that brought the Socialist Party to power for the first time since World War II: The Louvre's glass pyramid was one of Mitterrand's iconic grand projects, and he also chose the "Ode to Joy" as the musical accompaniment for his victory lap.

Don't expect Macron to lead a return to socialism, however. In fact, his rise to power, and the hope that it has understandably brought to a portion of the French people, actually embodies, and even

magnifies, the extent to which the political foundations of the French republic are rotten. Macron's story symbolizes, for many, not the potential to rise from lowly beginnings to the highest office in the land, but rather the entrenchment of social inequality that protects a culturally liberal, bourgeois class with anti-labor economic priorities. Macron represents a class of French citizens that has flourished under left- and right-wing governments alike, has refused to make any concessions to those who have been left out, and has become increasingly insulated from popular demands to end tax evasion by the wealthy, nepotism in government, and a eurozone monetary policy dictated from Berlin.

Sixty-six percent of voters selected Macron, compared with the 34 percent who voted for Marine Le Pen. Although it was by no means the crushing defeat that her father had experienced in 2002, it was still a decisive rejection of a candidate who seemed incapable of holding back her reserves of pent-up rage and hatred. We can be grateful that Le Pen is not the president, but beyond that there are few encouraging signs in the election results. The abstention rate among voters was 25 percent, the highest since 1969. Young people (18- to 24-year-olds) and the unemployed were the two largest groups of abstainers, with about 35 percent of each failing to show up to vote. Another 9 percent of the electorate (some 4 million people) left their presidential ballot blank—an unprecedented figure for an election in the Fifth Republic. Macron's 66 percent reflects his share of the votes actually cast; when one factors in those who didn't vote, those who left their ballot blank, and those who voted for Le Pen, it becomes clear that he won with only 44 percent of registered voters. In short, more than 50 percent of French voters were either unconvinced by Macron or against him. And in his victory speech, Macron himself acknowledged that an enormous number of people—perhaps nearly half—voted for him out of a duty to oppose Le Pen. On the morning after the election, Régis Debray, a veteran of the French literary left, quipped, "One shouldn't confuse a lifeboat for an admiral's ship."

And yet, liberal elites across Europe and in the United States gloated over their man's win. The stock markets rallied (if only momentarily), and liberal pundits, still licking their wounds after the Trump dump on America, rushed to proclaim a victory. Roger Cohen, writing in *The New York Times*, declared that Macron's victory "raised the possibility that France and Germany will conjure a revival of European idealism," even as it "rebuked the little Englanders who voted to take Britain of out the Union" and "erected a much-needed barrier to the crassness and incivility, the ignorance and the closed-mindedness that seeps from Trump's Oval Office." While these goals are laudable, the enthusiasm for Macron fails to appreciate the potentially catastrophic weaknesses of a man who is the definition par excellence of a politician with far more style than substance—one who has assumed power in a moment of heightened populist reaction, when electorates have repeatedly voiced a desire for authenticity.

Certainly, style is not something the man is short on, at least in the sense of slickness. Despite repeated complaints that his campaign was all show, Macron skillfully brushed off such criticism. In an interview in February with the weekly news magazine *L'Obs*, Macron said that he would propose a political program only because he was obliged to "feed the media-politico Moloch." He suggested that he saw his role as embodying "a moral contract with the nation" and confessed to having dreamed, as an adolescent, of becoming a writer. "Being a presidential candidate is having a certain outlook and style," he added, "just as any writer must have a look and a style." As Macron crisscrossed the country basking in the glow of his televised rallies, I was reminded of Stendhal's words describing his hero Lucien Leuwen (from the unfinished novel of the same name) as he comes into a cynical awareness of his own political talents: "It was through no effort of will that he had suddenly assumed a tone so favorable to his aspirations; he sincerely thought what this tone seemed to say, and thus, for reasons by no means flattering to his powers of diplomacy, his manner of expressing it was perfect."

But what is the stylish Macron's actual record? What can be gleaned from the permanent traces he has left so far? One critique of the man—an occasionally foul-smelling one—likes to focus on his earlier career as a banker, a point that occludes the real significance of his elevation into the power circle around François Hollande at the beginning of his presidency. Macron was deputy secretary general to Hollande between 2012 and 2014. He then entered the cabinet of Prime Minister Manuel Valls as a minister of economy and finance, where he embodied the hopes that a fresh face might mitigate the blowback that would come with the government's imposition of a wildly unpopular so-called labor-reform package known as "the law for growth and purchasing power." Upon taking up his post, Macron renamed the package "the law for growth, activity and equality of economic opportunities." In 2015, the government used a technical loophole to ram it through the National Assembly without a vote. An unwieldy and intensely bureaucratic piece of legislation that principally promotes deregulation across the French economy, including the controversial issue of working on Sundays, it is now known as the "Loi Macron."

By forcing these policy measures on the country—measures that, despite their touted urgency and efficiency, produced virtually no growth—the Socialists managed to alienate voters across the political spectrum. By the end of his term, Hollande—who had casually abandoned his campaign promises to take on the world of finance once he got into office; who had made a career out of consistently promoting a business-friendly, liberalized Socialist Party; and who, it was revealed, was paying $10,000 a month for his haircuts—had an approval rating of just 4 percent, the worst in French history.

"They have forgotten nothing and learned nothing" is the old chestnut about the Bourbons attributed to the 19th-century diplomat Charles Maurice de Talleyrand, and it may end up a fitting coda to the party whose infighting and bungling of Lionel Jospin's campaign brought Le Pen *père* to the second-round election for the first time in 2002, and whose assumed candidate in 2012, Dominique Strauss-Kahn, had to be replaced after he was accused of sexually assaulting a maid at the Hotel Sofitel in New York City. Is it any wonder, given the dismal record of presidents since Jacques Chirac, that wide swaths of the young, the working class, and the precariously employed in France have drawn the conclusion that the traditional parties are too deeply connected to the financial and corporate actors whose interests in lowered wages, compliant labor, and unrestricted capital are antagonistic to their own?

This year's presidential campaign did offer a leftist candidate with more substance than Macron, and maybe as much style: Jean-Luc Mélenchon. But the Socialist Party undermined its own interests by opposing Mélenchon, the only potentially successful presidential contender from the left. Throughout the campaign, he spoke movingly about his vision for reviving a responsible social democracy in France. Apart from Socialist Party hopeful Benoît Hamon, Mélenchon was the only candidate to place ecology at the center of his campaign, and he stood out for his passion on the issues and his defense of solutions—like geothermal energy—that can create economic growth and address France's key strategic quandaries. And just before the election's first round , it was working: No other candidate in the race, including Le Pen, had comparably sized rallies. In Paris on March 18—the anniversary of the uprising that led to the Paris Commune—Mélenchon spoke for over an hour to an estimated crowd of between 100,000 and 130,000 people. He drew 70,000 people in Marseille. Onstage, in interviews, on the fly, he spoke in a workingman's vernacular but with the vocabulary and high locution of the Old Left, peppering his lengthy exegesis of "the program" with learned quotes from Étienne de La Boétie and Victor Hugo. Mélenchon is serious, but witty and light on his feet, and while he likes a good Fidel-length peroration, he can improvise and speak knowledgeably on many subjects at the drop of a hat. The symbol for his campaign was the Greek letter *phi*, a play on the initials of La France Insoumise, the name and slogan of his recently created party, but more importantly the root—as Mélenchon never tired of reminding the crowds—of the Greek word for "love," as in *philosophia*, the love of knowledge and wisdom.

At Champagney, a tiny town in the north of France, deep in Le Pen territory, Mélenchon gave arguably the best speech on slavery by a French politician in living memory, fearlessly quoting Fanon and Césaire and celebrating Toussaint Louverture and the Haitians who fought with him as the truest of French republicans. In the same speech, he paid homage to the all-white inhabitants of the town, who in 1789 sent, as part of their *Cahiers de doléance* to the Estates General, a petition demanding the abolition of slavery in the colonies. In the United States, this kind of high humanist/leftist discourse is all but extinct and, worse, seldom mourned; but in France, it retains its currency and stirs up memories. Young voters flocked to Mélenchon, drawn in part by the most tech-savvy offerings in the campaign (a feat for an outsider party).

In contrast, Hamon, the Socialist Party candidate, polled terribly from the moment he entered the race, and his chances at winning only went south from there. In fact, there doesn't even seem to have been genuine support within the party for his campaign, and he had a terrible social-media presence to boot (a remarkable oversight for a candidate

obsessed with the future of robotic labor and his own scheme to save us from it with a universal income). It was a sign of Hamon's deep unpopularity as a candidate that his signature proposal was simply to give people money every year, and he still couldn't get even 7 percent of the electorate to support him.

As Election Day neared and Hamon's chances showed no signs of improvement, commentators and observers repeatedly asked him the obvious question: Why not support Mélenchon, either by endorsing him or stepping aside? Hamon's fatuous claim was that their programs were different: He wanted a strong European Union, and Mélenchon was willing to leave the EU if Germany's Angela Merkel wouldn't concede to a better deal for France. This was the unbridgeable gulf.

**Related Articles**

And what were the results? Mélenchon failed to make the runoff, clearing the way for Macron to face Le Pen. A closer look at the numbers remains instructive for the future of leftist politics in France. The spread between the leading candidates was very thin: Macron won 24 percent, Le Pen 21 percent, the Republican François Fillon 20 percent, and Mélenchon 19.5 percent. Hamon, whom the Socialist Party backed, garnered only 6 percent of the vote. There were also Philippe Poutou of the New Anticapitalist Party and Nathalie Arthaud of the Workers' Struggle Party, both running to the *left* of Mélenchon, who grabbed about 1.5 percent between them. Altogether, 27 percent of the French electorate voted for serious social-left policies and programs, representing the largest bloc of voters—larger even than the centrist liberals supporting Macron—but their votes were split among four candidates.

Look also at *where* Mélenchon won. In Paris, Fillon and Macron handily won the wealthy *beaux quartiers*, but it was Mélenchon who carried the impoverished and ghettoized suburbs that are the source of fracture in French society. He won Marseille, the second-largest city in France and one deeply divided by cultural and social strains. He won Lille, the largest provincial city in the depressed industrial north. He won Toulouse and Montpellier, where young and engaged students likely helped put him over the top. In fact, Mélenchon was arguably supported by the biggest cross section of social classes and demographics—the citizens who must find a way to unite if France is going to move past its current impasses. Indeed, if the Socialist Party had wanted the left to come to power in this election, it could have facilitated, if not ensured, a path for that to happen. The candidacy of the young and ambitious Hamon was useful only insofar as it crippled Mélenchon's.

But this week's legislative elections in France offer another opportunity: If what remains of the Socialist Party can finally let go of its neoliberal Svengalis and rally to the popular wave that Mélenchon has so painstakingly cultivated, there is a chance for social democracy to form a principled opposition and to steer Macron in the direction of justice and away from a moneyed autocracy. The left still has an opportunity to channel the growing tide of resistance into productive and pragmatic political form. It must do so by clearly rejecting the oligarchization of social relations, and by supporting those who ground that opposition in the universal principles of justice and solidarity, the rejection of fanaticism, the striving for peace, the embrace of sensible ecological reform, and, yes, the cultivation of the human spirit with the love of wisdom, humor, and poetry.

"Only decaying classes are afraid of the truth," wrote Jean Jaurès in the inaugural 1904 editorial of *L'Humanité*, France's flagship paper of the left. There is still room for France to find a path out of its political decay, but it must come with a popular wind from below.

# Maltby : Trump is making Theresa May's life miserable

Kate Maltby is a regular broadcaster and columnist in the United Kingdom. She writes a weekly column on politics and culture for The Financial Times and is a theater critic for The Times of London. She was on the founding team behind the reform conservative think tank Bright Blue and is also completing a Ph.D. in renaissance literature. The opinions expressed in this commentary are hers.

*(CNN)*President Trump is having a difficult week and it's only Monday.

Executive Order 13769 is headed to the Supreme Court; the President's lawyers are arguing it does not constitute a "travel ban," so the President immediately undermined his own team by labeling it just that on Twitter. (Deputy press secretary Sarah Huckabee Sanders repeated the phrase "travel ban" at a news conference Monday afternoon.)

Numerous leaks in recent days claim the President is at odds with most of his senior team, allegedly deliberately countermanding their best advice like an obstreperous toddler. And fired FBI Director James Comey is to testify to a congressional committee later this week. Perhaps it was inevitable that Trump would look for a distraction.

His choice of distraction is unfortunate for all of us, British and American. First thing in the morning after Saturday night's killings in London, Trump decided to renew an old fight with Sadiq Khan, the mayor of London.

Khan gets under Trump's skin for the same reason lawyers have been this week: When the President first publicly insulted Khan, earlier this spring, it was in response to his criticism of Executive Order 13769. Back then, Khan was merely the most popular politician in the UK and its most senior elected Muslim.

By the time of Trump's latest verbal assault, Khan had become the figurehead of a city in mourning. Not just any city: the capital of one of the United States' most important allies. Imagine if Theresa May, the UK Prime Minister, had responded to last year's homophobic attack in Orlando, Florida, by launching a sustained attack on the policies of Orlando Mayor Buddy Dyer.

On a very basic level, Trump's tweets are highly distasteful. They also give the appearance of being racist. Two weeks ago, terrorists also struck in Manchester, a British city with a mayor from Khan's Labour Party. Manchester's first responders may have done a less efficient job than London's in the aftermath, though the toll of the attack was greater: Stories circulate about relatives given no information about missing loved ones. But oddly enough, there was no tweet from Trump attacking Manchester's mayor, Andy Burnham. Could it be because Burnham is a white man with Roman Catholic roots?

Or is it simply because Khan has had the temerity to stand up to Trump before -- when he called him "ignorant about Islam" and suggested he was giving terrorists what they wanted? In an interview with Britain's Piers Morgan last May, President Trump growled like a mafia don and said of Khan's criticisms: "Frankly, tell him I will remember those statements, those very nasty statements." If that's what lies behind Monday's Twitter barrage, it is a mark of the cheapest possible statesmanship to prioritize an old feud over diplomatic relations with an allied nation state in mourning.

**Trump's gift to Sadiq Khan**

If Trump meant to damage Sadiq Khan, he's mistaken. Being marked as an enemy by the former "Apprentice" star is about the surest-fire way to cult popularity in Britain short of personally masterminding a One Direction reunion. By contrast, the people Trump will damage are his supposed conservative allies in Britain. Theresa May, the Prime Minister, is reported to be exasperated.

May comes from the Conservative Party, which she is leading in an election campaign against Sadiq Khan's Labour Party. This should make them opponents, but Khan is not the leader of the Labour Party, and has used the unique position of the London mayoralty to assert his independence from both the federal government and his own party leader, Jeremy Corbyn.

This isn't unusual behavior from mayors and regional governors on both sides of the Atlantic: His job in London allows Khan to play responsible civic leader while being uncontaminated by the mudslinging that goes on in the national Parliament. As mayor, he does not have an official opposition figure to fight with, and he is not up for re-election this cycle.

But May is up for re-election, and she is under huge pressure to disassociate herself from the American President. That is, of course, diplomatically impossible, although UK officials have already taken the step of temporarily severing intelligence-sharing links with the United States, after classified information about the Manchester bombings appeared in the American press.

At a news conference early Monday, when asked about President Trump's comments, the Prime Minister took the unusual step of praising a mayor from another party, telling reporters that Khan was "doing an excellent job as mayor" and stressing that she was fully cooperating with him to jointly oversee anti-terror operations in London. But she stopped short of explicitly condemning Trump's tweets, clearly hoping the matter would go away. How did President Trump reward her? He doubled down on his tweets just three hours later, accusing Khan of a "pathetic excuse" for his failure to prevent terror.

**Worst possible time?**

This comes at the worst possible time for May. Terror attacks usually result in a spike of support for Conservative parties perceived to prioritize law and order: Saturday's attack, coming only five days ahead of the general election, might still have that effect. But Brits don't like being seen to give in to fear.

Labour leader Corbyn, despite his rocky record of supporting far-left terrorist groups himself, has taken the spike in extremism as an excuse to attack Britain's foreign policy and American alliance. Many are buying it: The easiest way of signaling virtue in post-Tony Blair Britain is still to attack the war in Iraq or the American government.

This has precedent. In Madrid in 2004, Spain experienced the deadliest terror attack in Europe since the 1988 Lockerbie bombing. It was three days before the general elections and completely reversed the political narrative. The Spanish people voted overwhelmingly that week to defeat the government, on the grounds that it had sent Spanish troops into the Iraq War alongside America, which was perceived to have inflamed Islamic feelings.

We won't know for sure how the events of this week have influenced British electoral politics until the votes are counted this Friday morning. But one thing is clear. The unpopular President Trump would be well advised to stay out of it. And every attack he tweets against Sadiq Khan only strengthens the position of the British left. Ironically, that does damage Khan slightly: It delays the collapse of the current Labour leadership -- and thus Khan's longheld plan to take over. But I doubt that's much consolation to Theresa May.

The New York Times

# Can Britain Really Do Much More to Tighten Security?

Steven Erlanger

LONDON — British police and security services already have some of the most powerful surveillance laws in the world, with weak judicial oversight and little criticism on privacy issues from a public that generally trusts its government and Civil Service.

Surveillance cameras are everywhere, especially in cities, and there are relatively few restrictions on the mass collection of telephone and internet data by the government.

All of which raises the uncomfortable question of what more can be done to prevent the kind of terrorist attack that killed seven people in central London over the weekend. After three terrorist attacks in 73 days, Britain is engaged in a new debate about balancing civil liberties and security, just days before voting in parliamentary elections on Thursday.

It is a familiar dilemma in the United States, where President Trump's effort to restrict immigration from predominantly Muslim countries is blocked by courts, as well as for governments across Europe, particularly in France, which has suffered even deadlier terrorist attacks than Britain in recent years.

France has repeatedly extended a state of emergency imposed after the November 2015 attacks in Paris. Despite the huge armed presence in public spaces and new detention and surveillance powers, the impact has been limited, and, if anything, it may be further alienating already marginalized communities.

Prime Minister Theresa May talked tough as she addressed the nation on Sunday, the morning after the attack at London Bridge and Borough Market. "There is, to be frank, far too much tolerance of extremism in our country," she said.

Her comments were criticized as political and brought concerns about whether, if re-elected, her antiterrorism plans could be effective and also protect civil liberties. In her remarks, she announced a review of counterterrorism policy, harsher sentences for terrorism offenses, and an effort to crack down on "safe spaces" online and in self-segregated Muslim communities that can harbor extremism.

"It will only be defeated when we turn people's minds away from this violence," she said, and make young people "understand that our values, pluralistic British values, are superior to anything offered by the preachers and supporters of hate."

That was a departure for the British government, said Alan Mendoza, executive director of the Henry Jackson Society, a politically conservative research organization in London that focuses on democracy and anti-extremism.

"For a long time, this government didn't really look at the ideology of radical Islam, but law and order," he said.

Mrs. May recognized on Sunday, he added, "that ideology is the central point, and that the ideological challenge will be tougher, to talk to communities and push them to resolve the ideological fight within themselves."

François Heisbourg, a security expert and adviser to the new French president, Emmanuel Macron, agreed. For the last decade, he said, the British have promoted a policy of getting Muslim communities to cooperate with security forces, "which is pretty much the opposite of the French approach."

Mrs. May is acknowledging that "the communities are not so good at policing themselves," Mr. Heisbourg said.

"You need more grass-roots intelligence, not community intelligence," he said, with less delicacy about community sensitivities and more willingness on the part of the British to use the vast powers they already have under the law.

In a time of growing anxiety over terrorism, it is a bargain that Europeans may be more inclined to accept. There were, for instance, no protests when France's new government suggested last month that it would seek a sixth extension for the state emergency the country has been living under for a year and a half.

But it is not clear that tougher surveillance and policing measures alone are the solution. Mrs. May promises more help for stretched counterterrorism police and intelligence agencies.

But Mrs. May was selling old rope, said Peter R. Neumann, a professor of security studies at King's College London and director of the International Center for the Study of Radicalization. The statements amount to a recycling of previous efforts to toughen antiterrorism laws, he added, and of the Conservative Party's criticism of the powers of internet and social media companies to resist targeted government surveillance of suspects. That theme is also prominent in the party's election platform.

In fact, Mr. Neumann said, technology companies are much more responsive now to government requests to shut down accounts or videos expressing extremist views than they were three years ago. But that has pushed extremists to use encrypted channels of communication, like Telegram, he said.

"You can't eradicate the internet," he said. "These people have not gone away but gone to a different platform, one much more difficult for intelligence agencies to monitor."

Mrs. May and her predecessor, David Cameron, regularly pushed big technology companies to allow a "back door" for intelligence agencies into encrypted communications. While the companies have quietly been much more helpful on security cases, they have refused those "back door" requests, although intelligence agencies are working separately to create them.

On Sunday, Mrs. May's successor as home secretary, Amber Rudd, said that technology companies could do "so much more" to restrict extremism online. "It is not good enough to say, 'Do no harm.' We have to get them to actively work with us to stop their platforms being used to radicalize people."

She said that more needed to be done to take down extremist materials, but she also said that social media giants should limit end-to-end encryption, which many extremist groups use to plot attacks.

These are familiar Tory themes. Mrs. May herself has called for democratic governments to demand greater controls over how services like WhatsApp and FaceTime could be used by attackers to spread extremist messages online, as well as how extremists could use social media to promote their views to a global digital audience.

These demands have raised concerns from some of Silicon Valley's largest companies, as well as from online-privacy campaigners, which claim that the new powers would infringe on people's liberties.

After last month's terrorist attack in Manchester, for instance, Mrs. May and other British lawmakers said they would revisit plans to force tech companies to open their encrypted message services to the country's intelligence agencies, allowing them to monitor messages sent by people suspected of planning attacks.

The step comes less than a year after the British government passed some of the most far-reaching legislation in the world, giving law enforcement agencies widespread powers to monitor both internet and phone traffic. Britain currently has access to the metadata of online communications without a warrant, but not to the content of individual messages.

In recent years, tech companies have repeatedly said they are willing to work with law enforcement to crack down on extremists using their services, but they have added that

weakening encryption could also allow for the illegal collection of personal information by domestic or foreign intelligence services, among others.

"In terms of surveillance power, Britain is already better equipped than any other European country," said Mr. Neumann of King's College London. "There is no real judicial oversight: Cabinet ministers sign off on warrants, so the executive signs off on itself."

Unlike in the United States, the British Parliament's intelligence oversight committee is weak and has very little subpoena power.

"The British have no trouble listening in to anyone's phone or going into anyone's house," he said. "But the government uses those powers very carefully, which shows how the unspoken consensus here works," he added, noting that the country has no written Constitution.

In countries with written Constitutions, like Germany and the United States, "you can define extremism as those opposed to the precepts of the Constitution," Mr. Neumann said. "May talked of 'British values' as the antithesis to extremism, but it's hard to articulate what extremism means and enforce it legally" — let alone decide what British values actually mean."

"You can say that means being friendly, moderate and polite," he continued. "But you can't legislate politeness."

He pointed to the case of Anjem Choudary, a lawyer who managed to avoid breaking the law while spending nearly two decades preaching jihadist views. He was convicted in 2016, only when film emerged of him pledging allegiance to the Islamic State, and he was sentenced to five years and six months in prison.

There are unconfirmed reports that at least one of the London assailants was a Muslim who had been influenced by Mr. Choudary.

"Choudary was for years the single person most responsible for Islamist recruiting and propaganda, but he wasn't charged until 2015, when May had been home secretary for five years," Mr. Neumann said.

"He was a real life radical preacher who recruited people face to face," he said, "and much more important for jihad in Britain than Twitter or Facebook."

The New York Times

## British Police Name Two of Three London Attackers as May Calls for Crackdown (UNE)

Georgi Kantchev, Riva Gold, Mike Bird and Margot Patrick

LONDON—One of three knife-wielding assailants who killed seven people in a weekend terror attack here was known to security services, authorities said Monday. Neighbors said his zeal for Islamic extremism was broadcast to the nation in a television documentary called "The Jihadis Next Door."

But police said they had no intelligence suggesting the man, Khuram Shazad Butt, a 27-year-old Pakistan-born British citizen, was plotting violence ahead of Saturday's rampage.

Several neighbors said Butt had appeared in the documentary, which followed radical preachers calling for Islamic law in Britain and was aired early last year. One neighbor said Butt was reported to the police as a potential danger two years ago. Police declined to comment.

On Monday, police also identified a second attacker as Rachid Redouane, 30, who they said had claimed to be Moroccan and Libyan. They said they were working to determine the identity of the third attacker.

Saturday night's attack in a crowded area of pubs and restaurants was the third by Islamist terrorists this year in the U.K.—and the third involving someone who had come to the attention of security officials but wasn't deemed threatening enough to be closely monitored or detained before they struck.

"We cannot go on as we are," British Prime Minister Theresa May said Monday, pledging to take tough new steps against Islamist extremism. She vowed to crack down on online radicalism and said she would consider expanding the powers of the police.

London's police chief, Cressida Dick, named one thing she didn't think should be considered: arming regular officers. "I don't think the public in this country want to live in a place where we are all armed to the teeth," she told the British Broadcasting Corp. on Monday.

With national elections set for Thursday, Mrs. May's political opponents have gone after her on security issues. Her main rival, Labour Party leader Jeremy Corbyn, criticized her Monday for cuts made to the police forces in her six-year stint heading the Home Office, which oversees policing.

Meanwhile, authorities said that by Monday evening, all 12 people arrested in the wake of the attack had been released from custody.

The three assailants plowed into pedestrians with a van before leaping out and going on an eight-minute spree of slashing and stabbing before they were shot dead by police. In that time they wounded dozens of people, 18 of whom were still in critical condition on Monday, authorities said.

Islamic State on Sunday said on its official Amaq news agency that a "covert unit" had carried out the attack, but without independent confirmation, the extent of its possible involvement in inspiring or carrying out the attack wasn't clear.

Neighbors of Butt in Barking, a district of east London, described him as a father of two who spent time proselytizing in a way that made them feel uneasy, sometimes seeking out children in a local park and offering them sweets while lecturing them on religion.

"He said very Islamic things. He said he was a soldier," said one man. "My partner reported him for his extremism" but the authorities "never came back to us," the man said. "Nothing ever happened."

The suicide bomber who killed 22 people outside a pop concert in the northwestern city of Manchester last month had also been reported to the police by activists who feared he was veering into extremism, community leaders said.

That man, 22-year-old Salman Abedi, was the British-born son of Libyan immigrants who fought as a teenager alongside rebels battling to oust Libyan dictator Moammar Gadhafi. Home Secretary Amber Rudd described him as having been known to security agencies "up to a point."

After that attack, Britain's MI5 security service launched an internal probe into how it handled intelligence about Abedi, a U.K. security official said last week. Abedi was one of 20,000 suspected extremists MI5 has tracked in the past, but not among 3,000 under active investigation by the agency at the time of the bombing, the official said.

"We're looking back and want to learn lessons," the official said.

Butt's connections to Islamist extremism appear to have been more evident.

Shown still photos from the 2016 TV documentary "The Jihadis Next Door," several neighbors said Butt was one of the men filmed taking part in a group prayer session in a London park behind a black flag. It was led by extremist preacher Mohammed Shamsuddin.

The 46-minute documentary by Jamie Roberts also included Siddhartha Dhar and Abu Haleema. British media dubbed Mr. Dhar "Jihadi Sid" after a man believed to be Mr. Dhar appeared in Islamic State videos making threats against the U.K. Mr. Haleema, who is shown alongside Butt in one scene, said in the film he had been in regular contact with a teenager convicted of plotting to kill police officers.

Mr. Haleema and Mr. Shamsuddin were reviled in the British press when the documentary aired. In one scene, the two men are shown laughing and snacking as they watch an Islamic State execution video played for them by the filmmaker.

A spokeswoman for Channel 4, which aired the documentary in January 2016, declined to comment. Netflix said it had removed the film from its services globally at the request of the distributor.

Mr. Roberts didn't immediately respond to requests for comment. Mr. Dhar has been widely reported to have left for Syria. The whereabouts of Messrs. Haleema and Shamsuddin couldn't immediately be determined.

Around the apartment complex where Butt lived in Barking, he was seen as sometimes menacing and focused on religion, neighbors said. One, Jean Morrison, said, "Everywhere he went, he was preaching."

Another person who lived nearby, Regina Khan, said, "He mostly hung around with the teenage boys round here."

"We didn't find it comfortable, we found it scary," she said. "I used to tell my daughter there's something wrong with this guy, his aggression."

Michael Demitir, 33, said Butt once asked if he and his family watched TV. When Mr. Demitir said yes, he said Butt replied: "TV is the devil. I don't watch TV. I only watch Allah."

About two months ago, Butt asked Mr. Demitir if he could take his 10-

year-old son for a ride in his car. “I said, ‘Oi, are you crazy, why do you want my kid, man? Stay away,’” Mr. Demitir said. “He raised his hands, smiled and walked away.”

Ramana Huczko said she had been to the park with Butt and her children. “He would be playing with the kids and would sometimes get down to pray,” she said, adding that he was “very religious.”

“He loved kids,” she added. But Ms. Huczko said she had refused a request from Butt to take her children, aged between 10 and 16, to McDonald’s. “I said no, I’m not happy with this.”

Samiya Mohammed, 18, who lives near Butt’s apartment complex, said recently she had seen a change in his behavior.

“Maybe towards the end, people started feeling a bit weird about him. With the kids it was kind of too much. He was really close with one of the kids,” she said, saying that the boy was around nine years old.

Said Mohammed, who helps run a nearby mosque, said Butt’s religious practices were a mystery.

“I always asked everybody where he prayed and no one knew,” the 52-year-old repairman said. He said he had seen Butt pray in a few local mosques, but not regularly.

“He wasn’t much of a Muslim,” he said.

The Washington Post

## Trump’s fight with London mayor baffles his critics

President Trump has reignited a year-long public battle with London Mayor Sadiq Khan, one of the most prominent Muslim politicians in Western Europe, drawing criticism for reviving the feud in the wake of a terrorist attack.

In the two days since a group of terrorists killed seven people and injured many others on London Bridge on Saturday night, Trump has tweeted several times about the attack and used it to promote his travel ban, which is being blocked by the courts.

Among the president’s barrage of tweets have been two pointed messages directed at Khan.

“At least 7 dead and 48 wounded in terrorist attack and Mayor of London says there is ‘no reason to be alarmed!’” Trump tweeted Sunday morning, misrepresenting a comment the mayor made over the weekend when he told the city’s residents to not be alarmed by an increased police presence in the coming days. Trump was criticized for the tweet, but Monday morning he dived right back into the controversy: “Pathetic excuse by London Mayor Sadiq Khan who had to think fast on his ‘no reason to be alarmed’ statement. MSM is working hard to sell it!”

Although Khan has responded to past attacks from the president, he has refrained from doing so this week, with his office saying on Sunday that the mayor “has more important things to do than respond to Donald Trump’s ill-informed tweet.”

Republicans and Democrats on June 4 commented on President Trump’s tweets calling for a travel ban and criticizing the mayor of London after an attack in Britain’s capital left seven people dead the day before. Republicans and Democrats on June 4 commented on President Trump’s tweets about an attack in London that left seven people dead. (Video: Bastien Inzaurralde/Photo: Jabin Botsford/The Washington Post)

(Bastien Inzaurralde/The Washington Post)

Khan, a human rights lawyer and practicing Muslim whose parents are from Pakistan, has repeatedly challenged Trump’s calls to ban Muslims or people from majority-Muslim countries from entering the United States, saying the president has an “ignorant view of Islam.” Trump, meanwhile, has said that “it is ignorant for him to say that” and has raised questions about London’s approach to confronting terrorism.

During the White House briefing Monday, a reporter asked deputy press secretary Sarah Huckabee Sanders if the president went after Khan because he’s Muslim.

“Not at all,” Sanders said, “and I think to suggest something like that is utterly ridiculous.”

The president’s tweets come as London grapples with the aftermath of the attack and Khan tries to explain that the religious beliefs of the terrorists involved are not the same beliefs embraced by him and most of the world’s 1.6 billion Muslims.

“The action of these three men on Saturday night was cowardly, was evil,” Khan said at a news conference Monday. “And I’m angry and furious that these three men are seeking to justify their actions by using the faith that I belong to. . . . The ideology they follow is perverse, it is poisonous, and it has no place in Islam. And I condemn this terrorist act but also the poisonous ideology these men and others follow.”

The president’s decision to lash out at the London mayor was widely questioned, with several critics asking why Trump was picking a fight with Khan as his city attempts to recover from Saturday’s attacks. Some noted that after a mass shooting at a gay nightclub in Orlando in June 2016, Khan tweeted: “I stand with the City of Orlando against hate and bigotry. My thoughts are with all the victims of this horrific attack #lovewins.”

Trump’s tweets were widely mocked in Britain, where the overwhelming mood is one of unity against terrorism and praise for security services. Jeremy Corbyn, leader of the opposition Labour Party, accused the president of lacking “grace” and “sense.” British Prime Minister Theresa May, who has tried to foster a productive relationship with Trump, came to Khan’s defense Monday, telling journalists that the mayor was “doing a good job, and it’s wrong to say anything else.”

Lewis Lukens, the acting ambassador at the U.S. Embassy in London, tweeted Sunday: “I commend the strong leadership of the @MayorofLondon as he leads the city forward after this heinous attack.”

Suhaib Webb — an imam who leads Center DC, which has a large online youth following — said he is angry that the president and those close to him are “quick to pull the trigger on anything that has to do with Islam or involves a person of color.”

“I think it’s also extremely embarrassing as Americans that our president is engaged in a Twitter war with the mayor of a city in a sovereign country,” Webb said. “It’s shameful that we’ve reinforced a bully personality. . . . We have someone who is unhinged.”

Khan, a member of the Labour Party, took office in May 2016. Much of last year’s mayoral race focused on Khan’s religion and family background, and his then-rival Zac Goldsmith accused him of having “repeatedly legitimized those with extremist views.”

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“What I think the election showed was that actually there is no clash of civilization between Islam and the West,” Khan said in an interview with Time magazine. When asked about Islamist extremists, he said: “What better antidote to the hatred they spew than someone like me being in this position?”

Soon after Khan became mayor, then-candidate Trump told the New York Times that he would make an exception to his proposed ban on foreign Muslims for Khan — an offer he turned down.

“I think Donald Trump has ignorant views about Islam. It’s not just about me. I don’t want to be the exception to be allowed to go to America,” Khan said in an interview on a British morning show in May 2016. “You can be a Muslim and you can be European.”

Trump wasted little time firing back. “He doesn’t know me, never met me, doesn’t know what I am all about,” he said. “I think they are very rude statements. Frankly, tell him I will remember those statements.”

Abigail Hauslohner and Samantha Schmidt in Washington and Griff Witte in London contributed to this report.

The Washington Post

## Editorial : Britain answered the latest attack with substance and strength. Trump, not so much.

BRITAIN CONTINUES to respond with impressive fortitude and sobriety to a string of terrorist attacks claimed by the Islamic State. London bar customers who suddenly found themselves confronting armed attackers Saturday responded by hurling glasses and stools at them. Police ended the assault by shooting and killing the terrorists just eight minutes after the first emergency call. Though the country is only days away from a hard-fought and surprisingly close parliamentary election, both Prime Minister

Theresa May and her opponents responded with relatively substantive proposals and arguments rather than rhetorical incitement.

The latter was left to President Trump, who would appear to be doing his best to ruin U.S. relations with its closest ally — if any calculation can be imputed to his reckless and irresponsible tweets. Even before expressing support for the British people, Mr. Trump tried to use the latest attack to justify his misguided ban on travel to the United States from six predominately Muslim countries. Then he chose to attack London's popular Muslim mayor, misrepresenting his statement urging people not to be alarmed by a heightened police deployment and, predictably, doubling down when the distortion was widely ridiculed.

In fact, Mayor Sadiq Khan has been principled as well as responsible in reacting to the attack. While urging Londoners to remain calm, the city's first Muslim mayor said he was "angry and furious" that the terrorists "are seeking to justify their actions by using the faith I belong to." Displaying a restraint that is glaringly absent in the White House, he had his spokesman respond to Mr. Trump's provocation by saying Mr. Khan "has more important things to do than respond to Donald Trump's ill-informed tweet."

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For her part, Ms. May also called on citizens to "go about their lives as they normally would" while stressing the need for better measures to combat the "evil ideology of Islamist extremism." She rightly observed that it "cannot be defeated by military intervention alone" or by "the maintenance of a permanent, defensive counterterrorism operation." Instead Britain must convince all its citizens that "pluralistic, British values" are superior to ideological extremism; to do so, more must be done to reach out to "separated, segregated communities." That wisdom applies not just to Britain but also to nations across continental Europe where de facto Muslim ghettos fester.

Other proposals from Ms. May were less grounded. She pushed for more powers for police in a society where surveillance already is pervasive, as well as "international agreements that regulate cyberspace" — something that would be unlikely to eliminate extremist propaganda but could open the way to greater limits on free expression and privacy. Hammered by Labour Party leader Jeremy Corbyn over cuts to police forces, she ducked.

Whether Ms. May's fragile-looking lead over Mr. Corbyn will be helped or harmed by all this will be evident on Thursday when Britons go to the polls. What's already clear is that Mr. Trump has done himself and U.S.-British relations another disservice. Ms. May has tried to build a constructive relationship with the Trump administration; even if she wins handily, she now will have less political leeway to do so. Britain is holding steady under terrorist attack. But U.S. global leadership is in free fall.

The Washington Post

## British voters head to polls in a political landscape jolted by terrorism

By Isaac Stanley-Becker

LONDON — A country once again buffeted by terrorism will go to the polls Thursday in the latest test of the relationship between mass violence, carried out with the most everyday of tools, and democratic debate over security and ties to the outside world.

Saturday's attack, which left seven people dead, marked the third major terrorist strike in Britain in as many months — the first unfolding steps from Parliament and the second outside a packed pop concert in Manchester. Each was claimed by the Islamic State.

The latest assault, in which three suspects mowed down pedestrians on London Bridge before slashing their way through a nearby market, inserts an unpredictable new dynamic — the fear and uncertainty sowed by terrorism — into this week's contest, which was already tightening.

*[Authorities begin to unravel deadly London plot, carrying out new raids]*

Once projected to end in a landslide for Theresa May, the Conservative prime minister who called the election in a bid to consolidate her majority, the race has appeared less lopsided in recent days. Polls suggest it could even offer a lifeline to Jeremy Corbyn, the firebrand Labour chief whose leadership had been in doubt as his party struggled to gain traction.

British Labour Party leader Jeremy Corbyn on June 4 said he supports giving "full authority for the police to use whatever force is necessary to protect and save lives" after a terrorist attack in London left seven people dead the day before. Labour Party leader Jeremy Corbyn says he supports giving "full authority for the police to use whatever force is necessary to protect and save lives." (AP)

(AP)

The mass-casualty event will jolt the election even if it does not transform its outcome, said Edward Fieldhouse, a political scientist at the University of Manchester.

While noting that such attacks generally have a short-term effect on voters' judgments, Fieldhouse said that because this one occurred so close to an election, "you would expect it to have some impact. And since it's an issue around security, you would expect this to favor the more right-wing parties."

Other experts said the attack underscores the issue of leadership, already a dominant theme in a contest where the biggest question, Britain's exit from the European Union, has been decided.

"Individuals in times of crisis look for leaders who portray a sense of resolve and strength that in turn restores feelings of hope," said Elizabeth J. Zechmeister, a political scientist at Vanderbilt University and co-author of "Democracy at Risk: How Terrorist Threats Affect the Public."

The outcome, in a moment of feverish politics on both sides of the Atlantic, could shed light on how deeply Islamist terrorism has swayed Western political culture, analysts also said, as voters hostile to open borders and global markets search for candidates who promise them protection.

President Trump seemed to sense a political opening, tweeting Saturday that the latest attack in Britain illustrated the urgency of his travel ban, which has been blocked in the courts.

*[In Twitter barrage, Trump ramps up push for travel ban]*

Timothy Snyder, a Yale historian and author of the best-selling "On Tyranny: Twenty Lessons from the Twentieth Century," said uproar is a reaction that far-right politicians crave.

"Whereas terrorism might frighten populations, it is a welcome relief to a leader like Trump, because it gives him an opportunity to direct political discussions away from rights and welfare and toward fear and preemption," Snyder said.

In Britain, Fieldhouse said, cultivating hysteria in that way would probably backfire with voters who pride themselves on resilience. The Conservative leader, he said, would instead seek to sow doubt about Corbyn's credibility. On Monday, in a speech in London, May warned that there was "no time for learning on the job."

Studies suggest that terrorism boosts incumbents, particularly conservative ones. But in this week's election, a wrinkle is May's six-year service as home secretary, when she oversaw policing and national security.

Bella Gough, an interior architect in London, said Saturday's attack made clear to her "what a letdown Theresa May is." She blamed the Conservative leader for cutting security services and said the question now is: "Who's responsible and who can be a strong leader?"

Corbyn, stumping Sunday evening in the northern city of Carlisle, sought to capitalize on that idea, accusing May and the Conservatives of threatening public safety with cuts to the police. "You cannot protect the public on the cheap," he said.

The Labour leader has rejected claims that he is soft on terrorism, specifically that he is sympathetic to followers of the Irish Republican Army and lenient toward Islamist militants.

May, for her part, has adopted a muscular tone, blaming the attack on the "evil ideology of Islamic extremism" and outlining several ways to crack down, including tougher jail sentences and tighter regulation of online activity.

The stern response testifies to May's calculation that the British public is willing to trade civil liberties for "the promise of security," Zechmeister said.

"Our work suggests that the public tends to have an appetite for exactly the type of stances that Prime Minister May has expressed" since the attack, she said.

Snyder said this may play into the hands of terrorists, who set out to provoke a harsh response. "Terrorists do what they do in part to support right-wing governments who will espouse the alienating rhetoric and exclusionary politics that help them recruit," he said.

At the same time, Islamist extremist groups focus on elections because they see them as opportunities to effect regime change, weakening the resolve of governments participating in the coalition against militants in Iraq and Syria, said Rita Katz, director of the SITE Intelligence Group, which monitors extremist propaganda. Terrorists had their desired effect in 2004, she said, when bombings in Madrid appeared to help cast out the ruling center-right Spanish government, which had supported the war in Iraq.

Today's WorldView

What's most important from where the world meets Washington

Radical Islamist literature urges adherents to strike leading up to Western elections. The effect of an attack in the heart of Paris before the first round of voting in April was difficult to assess, however, as voters ousted mainstream candidates before ultimately rejecting the far-right, anti-Islam option, Marine Le Pen.

"Election time is perfect" for groups like the Islamic State, Katz said. "At the end of the day, they really want Britain to stop attacking them and weakening them in the Middle East."

If Britain's defiance is any indication, that outcome seems improbable. But just as those targeted by the attacks promised not to change their behavior, so, too, militants are unlikely to be dissuaded as their demands go unheeded, Katz said.

"Will they carry out attacks regardless?" she said. "Yes."

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL.

## After Three Attacks Since March, U.K. Reviews Strategy on Terror

Jason Douglas and Stephen Fidler

LONDON—British counterterrorism authorities are engaged in soul-searching. After 12 years in which the country avoided mass-casualty terrorism attacks, three have taken place since March.

In the weeks since the first attack—on London's Westminster Bridge on March 22—officials say five credible plots were also thwarted. That compares with 13 the authorities say were foiled between June 2013 and the Westminster attack.

British Prime Minister Theresa May has promised a review of counterterrorism strategy.

London's Metropolitan Police Commissioner Cressida Dick said on Monday that the terror threat's "center of gravity" has shifted to the domestic arena from foreign-directed plots.

One of the London Bridge attackers was identified Monday by police as Khuram Shazad Butt, a 27-year-old British citizen born in Pakistan, and second as Rachid Redouane, 30, who police say claimed to be Moroccan and Libyan. Police said one of them had been known to security services but no prior intelligence suggested he was planning an attack.

Ms. Dick said a review was needed of the counterterrorism strategy, tactics and resources—and of the relationship between the security services and local Muslim communities.

Islamic State, which claimed Saturday's attack, has been exhorting its followers to strike with vehicles and whatever materials come to hand, a tactic harder for the authorities to detect. Mrs. May suggested Sunday that a copycat factor was involved.

In each attack, individuals responsible were born or grew up in the U.K. and were known to the authorities. But they weren't deemed a sufficient threat to trigger action. Those assessments will be examined, though officials say they can't follow every one of the 20,000 extremists that have been in their sights over the years.

The attacks varied in tactics and sophistication. Khalid Masood mowed down pedestrians on Westminster Bridge and stabbed a policeman before being shot and killed. The three terrorists on Saturday also used a vehicle to target pedestrians but then went after revelers in the bars near London Bridge. Salman Abedi, 23 years old, blew himself up May 22 outside a pop concert in Manchester.

Tim Wilson, a terrorism expert at the University of St. Andrews in Scotland, said the attacks shared at least one common feature that underscores the challenge before the authorities: "All five of the attackers went out, apparently, with a firm death wish and absolutely no intention of coming back."

Counterterrorism experts say the renewed effort in the U.K. should focus on strengthening the security services' ability to pinpoint and monitor would-be assailants rather than reviving controversial policies—such as internment—Britain has tried in the past.

"We have a very full arsenal of counterterrorism laws in the U.K.," said David Anderson, who until late 2016 was the U.K.'s reviewer of counterterrorism legislation, an independent official who scrutinizes government policy. "It is absolutely right to keep these powers under review in light of changing circumstances."

Responding to the terror threat has become a leading issue in a national election scheduled for Thursday. Mrs. May has outlined proposals including lengthier jail terms for extremist offenses and the creation of an advisory commission on countering extremism. She also pledged to crack down on online recruitment by jihadist groups and to lead an international effort to rid the internet of extremist propaganda.

The main opposition Labour Party has said it would hire thousands of extra police officers and engage in "difficult conversations" with Middle East allies over the alleged funding of terror groups.

The small, right-wing UK Independence Party has said it wouldn't rule out introducing internment, or detention without trial, for terror suspects. The policy, deployed in World War II, became controversial when it was briefly revived in Northern Ireland during the early 1970s in response to Irish republican violence. The party has previously suggested prosecuting British-born terrorists for treason.

Thursday's election has led to increased scrutiny on changes in counterterrorism policy under Mrs. May's Conservative Party, in power since 2010. Analysts say a future government could seek to reverse those policies.

Current law allow police to hold for questioning without charge terror suspects for up to 14 days but the government could seek to extend that limit; it was 28 days until 2011, when Mrs. May as Home Secretary agreed to reduce it.

The government could also revisit so-called control orders that, when initially introduced in 2005, allowed the state to detain those deemed a risk to the public indefinitely, but have since been watered down.

Analysts also say there is a need for effective programs to counter radicalization. "Terrorism is driven by violent ideology," said Otso Iho, senior analyst at Jane's Terrorism and Insurgency Centre. "We have to combat that ideology head on."

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL.

## Attack Makes Security Focus of U.K. Election

Jenny Gross

LONDON—Prime Minister Theresa May sought on Monday to fend off accusations that a decision years ago to cut police numbers showed bad judgment, after the deadly rampage at London Bridge put security at the center of Thursday's general election.

The initially restrained political response to Saturday's attack—Britain's third in as many months—has quickly given way after a temporary suspension of campaigning to wrangling between the two main parties about their records on public safety.

The main opposition Labour Party criticized Mrs. May for presiding over a decision to cut the number of police officers when she was home secretary, a decision it said put Britain at risk.

The recent attacks in Britain have shifted dynamics ahead of the election. Pollsters and analysts still expect Mrs. May to win, but her party's 20-percentage-point lead in mid-April had shrunk to single digits before the latest attack on Saturday.

Jeremy Corbyn, leader of the Labour Party, called on Mrs. May to resign for her decision to cut police numbers in the six years that she was in charge of the Home Office, from 2010 until last year.

A lot of "very responsible people" were very worried "that she was at the Home Office for all this time, presided over these cuts in police numbers and is now saying that we have a problem," he said. Yes, we do have a problem. We should never have cut police numbers,"

Mr. Corbyn said the government was warned repeatedly about police cuts, adding the Labour Party if it wins would recruit 10,000 more policemen.

At a campaign event in central London, Mrs. May said she could provide the leadership that would keep the U.K. safe and framed the election as a choice about which leader the British people trust to

make big decisions that matter to the U.K.

"The question of leadership has always been at the heart of this campaign—and it is absolutely crucial we get the answer right," she said, citing "the ability to say the courageous thing and do the difficult thing."

Tony Travers, politics professor at the London School of Economics, said it was notable that both Mrs. May and Mr. Corbyn have so quickly used the attack to score political points.

"It has been turned into a matter of political dispute, immediately. That is unusual and slightly against the rules of the game," Mr. Travers said.

Mrs. May defended herself against criticism about police cuts, saying the budget for counterterrorism policing and the resources available to the security and intelligence agencies had increased under her watch. She also said Mr. Corbyn had opposed efforts to give more powers to the security forces to deal with terrorism.

Home Office figures show the number of police officers fell in each of the seven years to 2016. In the year to September 2016, the total police workforce declined by 3%, with a 2.2% reduction in police-officer numbers, according to the Home Office. The sharpest decline was in community-support officers, who are often the first to detect and monitor signs of possible radicalization.

Polls suggest that Mrs. May's center-right Conservatives will increase its majority in Thursday's election, but also that the win will likely be much narrower than earlier predicted. Recent polls have signaled she may only be able to increase her lead by a handful of seats.

The three terror attacks—one near Parliament in March, one outside a concert in Manchester last month, and Saturday's rampage—may not give either party a big advantage, said Tim Bale, politics professor at Queen Mary University of London. "I'm not sure there will be an obvious flight to the incumbent government because there are legitimate criticisms, but I do think people worry about Jeremy Corbyn's ability to cope with a crisis situation," he said, referring to the Labour leader's record of voting against antiterror legislation.

Mr. Travers, the professor at the London School of Economics, said terror attacks don't typically have significant effects on British elections. "The electorate sees these as issues that are outside the norm of politics and doesn't relate them to judgments about the election," he said.

—Joanna Sugden and Stephen Fidler contributed to this article.

## Who Is Theresa May and What Does She Stand For?

By Will Inboden

Even as the United Kingdom deals with the aftermath of its third terrorist attack in three months, on Thursday British voters will cast their votes in their nation's parliamentary elections. This comes at a pivotal moment, with much at stake for the future of Europe and the U.S.-U.K. relationship. The immediate questions include in what ways the spate of terrorist attacks will influence the election, whether the British public will give Prime Minister Theresa May a meaningful mandate for her government, and to what extent voters will reaffirm last year's Brexit vote as the U.K. government prepares to take up the formal Brexit negotiations in Brussels.

I have just returned from a week and a half in London (though I departed before Saturday night's attack) and found it a city beset by a split psychology. On one level Londoners continue to display the preternatural calm, poise, and resolve of British renown, even as they look anxiously towards the elections, while being gripped by elevated security measures in the wake of the London Bridge attack and Manchester massacre, the latter being the nation's bloodiest instance of terrorism since the "7/7" attacks of 2005.

On another level, the visitor to London detects pervasive disquiet, as the U.K. faces new uncertainties in virtually every direction. Across the Channel, the country's historic ties with the European continent continue to fray in anticipation of the forthcoming institutional separation. Over the Atlantic, Britain sees new traumas destabilizing its most important alliance, exemplified by the broken confidence of American leaks from the Manchester investigation, President Donald Trump's petulant and disgraceful Twitter invective against the London Mayor Sadiq Khan within hours of the most recent attacks, and Trump's recent disparagement of NATO allies and withdrawal from the Paris climate accords. Within the U.K., in the north the murmurings of potential Scottish independence continue, and the threat of jihadist terrorism is ever-present and possibly growing throughout the country. The government's recent disclosure that it is monitoring over 23,000 Muslims living in the U.K. as potential violent jihadists shows the grim scale of the challenge. The fact that the Manchester suicide bomber was of Libyan origin and had recently traveled back to his ancestral homeland also brings a new geographic dimension to Britain's domestic counterterrorism challenge. Jihadists of South Asian background have perpetrated most other attacks in the U.K., likely including Saturday night's attack.

Such uncertain times call for inspired and inspiring leaders, and the question is whether May is up to the task. She arrived at 10 Downing Street last summer by default rather than by design. In the wake of former Prime Minister David Cameron's resignation after the Brexit vote, May's Tory rivals formed a circular firing squad and eliminated each other while she astutely kept her head down and emerged as the least objectionable candidate for the position. Now, having not yet won a proper election in her role as prime minister, the lack of a popular mandate is a burden she is eager to shed on June 8.

Yet the campaign thus far has not answered the questions that have lingered since her surprise accession to the office last June: Who is Theresa May and what does she stand for? She is evidently a cautious and skilled politician, but what else besides? A pragmatic centrist in the mold of John Major and David Cameron? A committed conservative in the tradition of Margaret Thatcher? Or something else altogether, destined to put her own distinctive stamp on British politics? On the issues, May has adopted a posture of "hard Brexit" to appeal to her conservative base and pick off the bulk of erstwhile United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP) voters, even as she otherwise tacks to the center on social and economic policy. Her recent and virtually unprecedented reversal (or "U-turn" as the British press gleefully described it) on the Conservative party platform's policy on government funding of elder care showed her unfamiliarity with important policy details and relative lack of economic literacy. Thatcheresque it was not.

After both the Manchester bombing and London attacks, May sought to remind voters of her experience and resolve on national security issues, in sharp contrast to her Labour opponent Jeremy Corbyn, who faulted U.K. foreign policy for the Manchester attack. To his credit, Corbyn issued a more unequivocal condemnation of the London attacks, but the discordance only highlights his many previous years of equivocation on terrorism and sympathetic expressions for numerous terrorist organizations and state sponsors. Yet notwithstanding Corbyn's vulnerabilities on terrorism, some voters might instead ascribe accountability to May, especially given that she previously served six years as minister for homeland security, with primary responsibility for preventing domestic terrorism. In short, the election implications of terrorism are hard to assess at this juncture.

Perhaps the most telling indictment of May's leadership is that she has not solidified a more commanding lead in the polls despite having an opponent as singularly feckless and fringe as Corbyn. One periodically hears Corbyn described as a British version of Bernie Sanders, but given Corbyn's socialist economic views, sympathies for terrorists and other violent radicals, and history of foreign policy views drawn from the fever swamps of the far Left, the more apt comparison is to some combination of Dennis Kucinich and Noam Chomsky. When one adds to Labour's ineptitude the almost complete demise of UKIP in the wake of its Brexit triumph last June and the near extinction of the Liberal Democrats, the political stage would seem to be set for a Tory triumph of historic proportions. But that does not appear to be in the offing. While polling remains uncertain and spans a broad gamut of potential outcomes, the most likely outcome continues to be a Tory victory, albeit by a modest margin.

The other surprise is how little of a factor Brexit seems to be in the upcoming vote. Mostly this is because the British public appears to have made its peace with the fact of Brexit, insofar as one hears no calls for holding another referendum to revisit the question, and the consensus of political observers I spoke to is that in the hypothetical that Brexit were to be put to a vote again it would pass rather handily. This may be in part a function of timing: Financial markets have already factored in the initial Brexit shock with comparatively little harm to the British economy, while the precise terms and consequences of Brexit lie off in a to-be-determined future.

Assuming that the Conservatives do retain their majority, May is likely to reshuffle her cabinet. Foreign Minister Boris Johnson seems almost certain to be removed, and Chancellor Philip Hammond's days are probably numbered as well. One indicator of the May government's emerging direction will be whether talented and principled Tories such as Ian Duncan Smith and Michael Gove are brought back into the fold with senior cabinet posts. They are not personally close to May and her political advisors regard them warily, but both Smith and Gove are first-rate policy entrepreneurs, and one hopes the U.K. will be able to benefit from their talents once again.

But before that can happen, May needs to lead her party to victory on Thursday. If not, a bigger reordering will take place in the Tory ranks, with May herself most likely among the first to be reshuffled.

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## Southern Europe's Most Troubled Lenders Stumble Toward Solutions

Jeannette Neumann and Giovanni Legorano

Problems at several long-suffering lenders in southern Europe are coming to a head, a reminder of weak links remaining in the region's banking system despite progress made by many larger lenders to repair their balance sheets.

Concerns about the future of Spain's Banco Popular Español SA have driven down the bank's share price by 49% since May 26. Investors worry the lender could need around €5 billion ($5.6 billion) of capital to cover potential provisions on €37 billion in soured loans, foreclosures and other nonperforming assets left over from the country's property boom-gone-bust.

Meanwhile, as the Italian government prepares to take control of Banca Monte dei Paschi di Siena SpA, a state bailout looms over two other troubled lenders in Italy.

Spain's Banco Popular has been working for weeks to accelerate asset sales, negotiate a takeover by a competitor or raise capital. But each alternative faces major hurdles, leaving the bank looking like a forced seller to some investors. Its market value has plunged to less than €1.4 billion as investors flee on concerns that a potential resolution could involve losses on shareholders and some bondholders.

"We see risks building further at Popular, which alongside appearing a distressed seller, has increasingly limited options available to resolve a crisis in confidence and capital," Barclays analysts wrote in a research report Monday.

A Banco Popular spokesman declined to comment. Banco Popular Chairman Emilio Saracho assured employees on Friday in an email, reviewed by The Wall Street Journal, that the lender "continues to be solvent."

Banco Popular's troubles are a black spot in a sector that has otherwise recovered well from Spain's economic crisis earlier this decade. Indeed, its recent problems have had little impact on other Spanish banks. The lack of contagion is a testament to the relative financial health of other lenders, which boosted provisions and shed billions in bad loans accumulated when Spain's building binge went bust starting in 2008.

On Thursday, for instance, investor demand for €1 billion in contingent convertible—or CoCo—bonds issued by CaixaBank SA, a major Spanish bank, pushed the coupon to 6.75% from the initial offering of 7%. Still, some analysts noted that CaixaBank could have offered an even lower rate had investors not been skittish about Banco Popular.

In other parts of southern Europe, weak banks remain a major concern. Banks in Italy, Greece and Portugal carry hundreds of billions of euros of bad loans, squeezing lending and badly crimping any economic recovery in those countries.

In Italy, Rome is poised this summer to take control of Monte dei Paschi di Siena, a perennial trouble spot in Europe's banking system. Last week, the European Commission cleared the way for an €8.8 billion government rescue of the lender. The fresh funds come with a painful new restructuring plan aimed at finally steadying the bank for the long term.

Rome will also have to bail out in the coming months two other struggling Italian lenders, Banca Popolare di Vicenza SpA and Veneto Banca SpA. However, drawn-out talks about a new business plan for the banks after the bailouts are straining their finances, likely deepening a capital hole already estimated at €6.4 billion. And while Vicenza and Veneto are small, their failure could erode confidence in the fragile recovery of Italy's banks.

"The time it's taking to find a solution to the crisis is becoming unsustainable. What was sustainable a month ago risks becoming unsustainable in a month's time," Banca Popolare di Vicenza's chief executive, Fabrizio Viola, said in Friday's edition of Italian daily Corriere della Sera.

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL.

## Fissures Grow Between Germany, Turkey Over Air Base Ban

Zeke Turner

BERLIN—A German diplomatic mission to Turkey on Monday aimed at forcing an end to an almost yearlong standoff between the two allies ended with Germany on the brink of pulling troops out of the country.

Germany's Foreign Minister Sigmar Gabriel suggested withdrawing soldiers stationed at Incirlik Air Base in southern Turkey after the host country continued to forbid German lawmakers from visiting.

"It's regrettable, but I ask for understanding: For internal reasons we will have to relocate the soldiers," he said.

Mr. Gabriel arrived in Ankara on a mission to address tensions around the base, where about 250 German troops are stationed to fly reconnaissance missions as part of a coalition fighting Islamic State.

Turkey's Foreign Minister Mevlut Cavusoglu stood firm on barring German lawmakers from visiting the base after speaking face-to-face with Mr. Gabriel on Monday.

Before the meeting, Mr. Gabriel said that he planned to "call it like it is."

"We cannot allow our soldiers to become a political football," he added.

Domestically the issue of pulling troops from Incirlik has opened a fault line between Chancellor Angela Merkel's Christian conservative alliance and her coalition partner, Mr. Gabriel's Social Democrats. Ms. Merkel and her bloc have searched for a way to compromise with Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan's government and weighed the downside of pulling away from the air base.

Across the aisle, Mr. Gabriel's Social Democrats along with smaller opposition parties have favored a firm stance to counter Turkey.

"I'm against hollow compromises with Turkey," Thomas Oppermann, the Social Democrat's whip in the Bundestag, said on Monday. The parliament, which has final say over the army's missions, should adopt to pull the troops this week, Mr. Oppermann said.

Jürgen Hardt, a lawmaker in Ms. Merkel's party, said that after the latest rounds of "fruitless talks" he expected the Bundestag to decide this week to relocate the troops to a base in Jordan.

On the international stage, negotiations over the base have taken on outsize proportions after a year of episodes that put Germany and Turkey's usually close ties under repeated strain.

This spring, Mr. Erdogan's constitutional referendum spilled over onto German soil, host to the largest Turkish diaspora in the world, with Germany trying to block Turkish politicians from campaigning here. Since this winter, Turkey has been holding a correspondent for the German newspaper Die Welt in prison on terrorism-related charges that Germany says are trumped up. Following the last summer's coup attempt in Turkey, Germany began hosting asylum seekers affiliated with the Turkish opposition, which the country's government has targeted in a sweeping crackdown.

The ban began last summer after German lawmakers voted to rate Ottoman Turks' killing of more than a million Armenians about 100 years ago as genocide.

At last month's North Atlantic Treaty Organization summit in Brussels, Mr. Erdogan and Ms. Merkel met to discuss the visitation issue, according to the Turkey's Mr. Cavusoglu's remarks Monday.

"In Brussels, our suggestion was...that the German delegation visit the NATO base in Konya right now," Mr. Cavusoglu said Monday. "Right now it is possible to visit…Konya, not Incirlik."

A spokesman for Ms. Merkel didn't immediately respond to a request for comment about that meeting.

Turkish media on Monday reported that because of his busy schedule,

Prime Minister Binali Yildirim canceled a planned meeting with Mr. Gabriel.

# INTERNATIONAL

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL.

## Syria's Assad Presses Offensive on Opposition in Wake of U.S. Strikes

Raja Abdulrahim

Busloads of forcibly displaced Syrians arrive almost weekly to an increasingly crowded corner of northwest Syria, doubling the local population of Idlib province as the regime systematically empties the opposition from its former strongholds elsewhere.

Syrian warplanes pressed forward with airstrikes and bombardments despite an April 7 attack the U.S. launched on regime targets in retaliation for its use of sarin gas in Idlib, targeting hospitals, markets and rescue centers and killing hundreds more civilians, according to opposition activists and human rights groups. The regime's offensive slowed somewhat after an internationally brokered deal to create de-escalation zones in early May, but strikes have persisted, even in the wake of a second U.S. attack on regime forces later that month.

Syrian President Bashar al-Assad appears emboldened rather than chastened in his efforts to eliminate his opponents. His main international backers, Russia and Iran, haven't wavered in their support despite U.S. and Western allegations of ongoing atrocities.

"Idlib has become like the Gaza Strip. Turkey has closed its borders and it has become an open-air prison," said Muhammad Jaffa, a volunteer who helps displaced people in the northern province, which borders Turkey and is largely surrounded on the other sides by Syrian forces and their allies. "People are living in a constant state of fear."

Leaders of the opposition fighting the Assad regime initially hoped the U.S. attacks showed greater willingness in Washington to confront it.

But U.S. defense officials said President Donald Trump only meant for an April strike on a Syrian airfield to deter Mr. Assad from using chemical weapons again, not to signal the beginning of a campaign against the Syrian military.

"And, thus far, I think we've been successful in deterring him from using chemical weapons again," one U.S. defense official said.

Since the April gas attack on the Idlib town of Khan Sheikhoun, airstrikes by the regime and its Russian allies have killed nearly 400 civilians in Idlib province alone, including more than 160 women and children, according to the pro-opposition Syrian Network for Human Rights—though the attacks have eased somewhat since Russia and Iran, both regime allies, agreed with Turkey to set up four de-escalation zones.

In April, the regime attacked 29 medical facilities in opposition-held territory—14 of them in Idlib—according to the World Health Organization.

The regime has also continued to besiege many areas held by the opposition—sieges that have often ended in deals to transfer rebels and residents to Idlib. In May, the last of 12 convoys of buses left the remaining opposition-held foothold in the city of Homs—once called the "capital of the revolution" by the opposition—and some 17,000 people were moved to Idlib and another rebel-controlled pocket in Aleppo province.

Rebels have also used siege tactics. Pro-regime fighters and civilians began leaving two besieged Idlib towns in April for the city of Aleppo, which the regime recaptured last year.

Over the past year, at least 13 opposition-held towns and neighborhoods have been forced to surrender to the regime after months or years of siege and bombardment.

On Tuesday, the U.N. undersecretary general for humanitarian affairs, Stephen O'Brien, told the U.N. Security Council there needed to be accountability for the regime's use of "starve-and-surrender tactics" to force evacuations.

"The tactics are all too obvious: make life intolerable and make death likely; push people to choose between starvation and death or fleeing on green buses to locations that are just as unsafe," he said.

Idlib and small parts of three adjacent provinces—together, an area smaller than Connecticut—are now home to many of the displaced Syrians.

Many live in vast tent camps along the Turkish border—some within yards of a wall meant to prevent Syrians from crossing north into Turkey.

Among the displaced people, there are persistent fears the regime is concentrating its enemies in one place to wipe them out more efficiently.

"Everyone is asking: 'Why are they putting us all in this corner?'" said Yakzan Shishakly, director of Maram Foundation, which runs three transit centers for newly displaced people in Idlib.

New exiles often arrive in Idlib with little more than a suitcase of clothing, and volunteers like Mr. Jaffa and a loose network of humanitarian organizations scramble to figure out how to transport them and where to house them.

"There are people who are sleeping in the mosques, in the halls of schools," he said. "There is no other place to put them."

The displaced people have at times set up ramshackle settlements, sometimes with little more than a sheet strung up for protection and foraged food to survive on, according to local residents and humanitarian organizations.

There is not enough humanitarian aid for the newly arrived and already taxed local resources such as water and electricity are increasingly under strain, they said.

"We left one small besieged area for another larger besieged area," said Hytham Ghazal, who was forced to leave his hometown of Daraya on the outskirts of Damascus last year.

The dangers of the six-year conflict are a persistent presence. On a recent day in the town of Binnish, a math lesson was interrupted by a visit from a civil-defense group known as the White Helmets, which operates in opposition-held areas.

The group members taught the children how to hide under the stairs when warplanes are flying above, how to curl up on the ground and how to identify cluster bombs. At the end of the lesson, the young students were given dolls and plastic trains, and a book on how to avoid stepping on unexploded bombs.

—Noam Raydan, Nour Alakraa and Dion Nissenbaum contributed to this article.

FP Foreign Policy

## Will Qatar's Diplomatic Exile Spark the Next Great War?

By Simon Henderson

Sarajevo 1914, Doha 2017? We could be at a historic moment akin to the assassination of the heir presumptive to the Austro-Hungarian Empire, which resulted in what became known as the Great War. This time, though, the possible clash is between a Saudi-United Arab Emirates force and Iran. Washington is going to have to act quickly to stop the march to war, rather than wait for the carnage to begin.

The nominal target of Saudi Arabia and the UAE is Qatar, which has long diverged from the Arab Gulf consensus over Iran. Riyadh and a growing list of Arab countries broke ties Monday with the gas-rich emirate, and Saudi Arabia announced that it had halted permission for Qatari overflights, closed the land border, and banned ships bound for Qatar transiting its waters. This is a casus belli by almost any definition. For perspective, the Six-Day War, which occurred 50 years ago this week, was prompted by Egypt's closure of the Straits of Tiran, thus cutting off Israel's access to the Red Sea.

In response, Iran reportedly announced it will allow Qatar to use three of its ports to collect the food imports on which the country is dependent — a gesture that Riyadh and Abu Dhabi will probably see as

only confirming Doha's treacherous ties with Tehran.

There are at least two narratives for how we got here. If you believe the government of Qatar, the official Qatar News Agency was hacked on May 24 and a fake news story was transmitted quoting Emir Tamim bin Hamad al-Thani as saying, "There is no reason behind Arabs' hostility to Iran." The allegedly false report reaffirmed Qatar's support for the Muslim Brotherhood and its Palestinian offshoot, Hamas, as well as claiming Doha's relations with Israel were good.

The government-influenced media in Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates, meanwhile, adopted an alternative narrative, treating the news story as true and responding quickly with a burst of outrage. The emir's comments were endlessly repeated and, to the anger of Doha, internet access to Qatari media was blocked so that the official denial could not be read.

There is a possibility that the initial hacking was orchestrated by Tehran, which was annoyed by the anti-Iran posture of the May 20-21 summit in Riyadh, when President Donald Trump met King Salman bin Abdul-Aziz Al Saud Salman and representatives of dozens of Muslim states. On June 3, the Twitter account of Bahraini Foreign Minister Sheikh Khalid bin Ahmed al-Khalifa was hacked for several hours in an incident his government blamed on Shiite opposition activists, rather than pointing the finger at Iran. Iran's motive would be to show Gulf disunity — as well as its irritation with Trump's endorsement of the GCC stance against Tehran.

For its part, Qatar sees itself as a victim of a plot by Riyadh and Abu Dhabi, which have had a traditionally antagonistic relationship with Doha despite the shared membership of the Gulf Cooperation Council.

Riyadh views Qatar, which, like the kingdom, gives Wahhabi Islam a central role as a regional troublemaker.

Riyadh views Qatar, which, like the kingdom, gives Wahhabi Islam a central role as a regional troublemaker. Doha, which allows women to drive and foreigners to drink alcohol, in turn blames the Saudis for giving Wahhabism a bad name. Meanwhile, Abu Dhabi despises Doha's support for the Muslim Brotherhood, which is banned in the UAE.

Although there was an awkward eight-month diplomatic hiatus in 2014, the root of today's trouble harkens back to 1995, when Emir Tamim's father, Hamad, ousted his increasingly feckless and absent father from power in Doha. Saudi Arabia and the UAE regarded the family coup as a dangerous precedent to Gulf ruling families and plotted against Hamad. According to a diplomat resident in Doha at the time, the two neighbors organized several hundred tribesmen for a mission to murder Hamad, two of his brothers, as well as the ministers of foreign affairs and energy, and restore the old emir. The UAE even put attack helicopters and fighter aircraft on alert to support the attempt, which never actually happened because one of the tribesmen betrayed the plot hours before it was to take place.

With such events as background, any paranoia on the part of Emir Tamim may be justified. Over the weekend, a UAE newspaper reported that an opposition member of Qatar's ruling al-Thani family, Sheikh Saud bin Nasser, intended to visit Doha "to act as mediator."

With just 200,000 or so citizens, it can be hard to explain the importance of Qatar. Foreigners living there sometimes regard it with bemusement. The Doha skyline at night is dominated by often-empty though lit-up skyscrapers, one of them nicknamed, because of its shape, "the pink condom." Yet, Qatar has the planet's highest per capita income. After Iran, the emirate boasts the largest natural gas reserves in the world and is a huge exporter to markets stretching from Britain to Japan. It also is host to the giant al-Udeid Air Base, from which American aircraft flew combat operations during the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq and which is a command center for the U.S. campaign against the Islamic State.

For the 37-year-old Emir Tamim — who rules in the shadow of his father, who abdicated in his favor in 2013 — the key priorities are probably to remain a good U.S. ally while not doing anything to annoy Iran. His country's gas wealth is mostly in a huge offshore field shared with the Islamic Republic. So far, the Qatari drinking straw has taken more out of this hydrocarbon milkshake than Iran has.

Washington can play an important role in defusing this potentially explosive situation. U.S. officials may believe that Qatar was being less than evenhanded in its balancing act between the United States and Iran — but a drawn-out conflict between Riyadh and Doha, or a struggle that pushes Qatar into Tehran's arms, would benefit no one. In this respect, Secretary of State Rex Tillerson is arguably well-placed. ExxonMobil, where he was CEO before joining the U.S. government, is the biggest foreign player in Qatar's energy sector, so he presumably knows the main decision-makers well.

Riyadh and the UAE also seem to be establishing their bona fides as alternative sites for the U.S. forces now at al-Udeid. Their credentials are not as good as they might argue. In 2003, Saudi Arabia pushed U.S. forces out of Prince Sultan Air Base, as Riyadh tried to cope with its own Islamic extremism in the aftermath of the 9/11 attacks. Abu Dhabi already hosts U.S. tanker and reconnaissance aircraft, but it would take time to establish a fully equipped command center to replace the facility at al-Udeid.

The confrontation marks a test for Trump's young administration. It was only weeks ago when at the photo-op in Riyadh, Emirati Crown Prince Muhammed bin Zayed Al Nahyan shouldered aside Emir Tamim so he could be at the U.S. president's right hand. Now, Saudi Arabia and the UAE are trying to do the same thing on the international stage. Of all the possible Middle East crises, Trump's advisors probably never mentioned this one.

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## Saudi Arabia, U.A.E., Bahrain and Egypt Cut Diplomatic Ties With Qatar

Asa Fitch and Nicolas Parasie in Dubai and Margherita Stancati in Beirut

Arab powers severed ties with one of their own on Monday, exposing deep divisions among U.S. allies who provide crucial aid to Washington's campaign against Islamic State.

Saudi Arabia blamed the tiny Persian Gulf emirate of Qatar for "financing, adopting and sheltering extremists," singling out its alleged links to groups ranging from the Muslim Brotherhood and Islamic State to the Iran-backed Houthi rebels Saudi Arabia is fighting in Yemen.

Egypt, the United Arab Emirates and Bahrain joined Saudi Arabia in breaking diplomatic and some commercial ties with Qatar, as did Yemen's Saudi-backed government.

Qatar called the measures unjustified and said they were based on false allegations. It denied interfering in the domestic affairs of other members of the six-member Gulf Cooperation Council.

The spat among U.S. allies in the Middle East carries high stakes for the Trump administration, coming two weeks after President Donald Trump tried during a visit to Riyadh to rally Arab allies around fighting terrorism and countering Iran's influence in the Middle East.

The command center overseeing the U.S.-led air war against the extremist group Islamic State is located at a U.S. military base in Qatar, America's largest military facility in the Middle East. On Saudi Arabia's side of the dispute is Bahrain, which hosts the Fifth Fleet, one of the U.S.'s largest naval fleets.

Tensions among the Arab countries rose late last month when Qatar's official news agency posted comments, purportedly by its emir, that praised Iran, which led Saudi Arabia and others in the region to block websites of Qatari news outlets. Qatar said the news agency had been hacked and denied the emir had made the comments.

Monday's sudden diplomatic rupture led to a rush on supermarkets in the Qatari capital, Doha, as residents worried about the closing of the country's only land border, with Saudi Arabia, from which Qatar imports large amounts of food.

In addition to breaking relations, Qatar's Gulf Arab neighbors said they would close off their air, sea and land routes to Qatar and bar its aircraft and vessels from using their airspace and territorial waters, though they didn't indicate they would in any way restrict Qatar's shipping or air links to other countries. Qatar is the world's largest exporter of liquefied natural gas.

The rift disrupted international air travel as U.A.E.-based Emirates Airline and Etihad Airways suspended flights to Doha, as did airlines in Saudi Arabia, Bahrain and Egypt. Qatar Airways responded by immediately suspending flights to Saudi Arabia, and later cancelled flights to the U.A.E, Bahrain and Egypt from Tuesday "until further notice."

Like many of its Gulf Arab neighbors, Qatar has spent tens of billions of dollars on American and European arms in recent years, and it has been part of a U.S.-led coalition carrying out strikes against Islamic State since 2014.

A Pentagon spokesman indicated that U.S. warplanes continued to

conduct missions from Qatar to Iraq, Syria and Afghanistan despite the break in ties. "We have no plans to change our posture in Qatar," said the spokesman, Maj. Adrian Rankine-Galloway. "We encourage all our partners in the region to reduce tensions and work towards common solutions that enable regional security."

An official familiar with the situation said there have been no discussions about moving the base or changing the relationship with Qatar.

At a news conference Monday in Sydney, Australia, U.S. Secretary of State Rex Tillerson played down the rift, saying he hoped it would be resolved diplomatically and offering to mediate. Defense Secretary Jim Mattis, who appeared with Mr. Tillerson, said he doubted the diplomatic rift would have an impact on the fight against terrorism.

Before last month's summit in Saudi Arabia, Saudi and Emirati officials discussed their concerns about Qatar with the Trump administration, according to senior Arab officials. These officials believed Mr. Trump understood the importance of pushing back on Qatar, given the president's efforts to contain Islamic State and Iran, they said. "Trump's Middle East policy reflects an America drifting back towards its traditional partners after a period of disengagement," said a senior Arab official involved in the discussions.

Trump administration officials didn't respond to questions about the contacts, but have expressed frustration with Qatar's actions, as did officials during the Obama administration.

It wasn't clear whether Qatar's change in relations with Saudi Arabia, the U.A.E. and Bahrain—also members of the coalition—would affect Qatar's participation in the anti-Islamic State campaign.

The Trump administration has tried to build a regional consensus around containing Iran and a shared disdain for the landmark nuclear deal the Obama administration negotiated with Iran. The 2015 deal offered Iran relief from sanctions in exchange for curbs on its nuclear program.

Some observers saw a link between Monday's diplomatic break and Mr. Trump's visit to Riyadh, during which he announced arms sales worth almost $110 billion and pledged close cooperation with Saudi Arabia on counterterrorism.

"The Saudis and Emiratis feel emboldened by the alignment of their regional interests—toward Iran and Islamism—with the Trump administration," said Kristian Ulrichsen, a fellow at Rice University's Baker Institute for Public Policy.

The official Saudi Press Agency said on Monday that Doha had been expelled from the Saudi-led, anti-Houthi coalition fighting in Yemen.

Saudi Arabia also shut the Riyadh offices of Al Jazeera, which is based in Qatar.

In Doha, local news outlets showed pictures of long lines of people with full carts at supermarkets and shelves emptied of their contents. Doha residents said some markets had begun running out of water and canned and frozen goods, and that people were withdrawing large amounts of cash from ATMs.

Qatar, with a population of about 2.3 million people, has carved out a role as a hub for the region, upgrading the Doha airport and positioning its national carrier—Qatar Airways—as a major player in international travel.

But Qatar has long pursued policies out of step with its neighbors. It has used its financial muscle to back both political and armed groups that the other Sunni monarchies in the region view as a threat to their rule and their brand of Islam.

That has included throwing its support behind the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt in the aftermath of the Arab Spring in 2011 and hosting former Hamas leader Khaled Meshaal. It also has offered a haven to armed groups such as Afghanistan's Taliban.

"This is a major escalation and I don't think there is an easy way out of it," says Andreas Krieg, an assistant professor in defense studies at King's College London who until recently worked as an adviser to Qatar's government.

"The Qataris have been hosting so-called outlaws for a long time and I don't see them turning around and saying tomorrow: 'Hamas, out! Muslim Brotherhood, out!' You can't kick them out overnight."

Israeli officials welcomed the split.

Michael Oren, deputy minister in the office of Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, called the move a "new line drawn in the Middle Eastern sand."

"No longer Israel against Arabs, but Israel and Arabs against Qatar-financed terror," said Mr. Oren, a former Israeli ambassador to the U.S.

Qatar has been the target of anger from its Gulf Arab neighbors before. In 2014, Saudi Arabia, the U.A.E. and Bahrain withdrew their ambassadors from the country and accused it of meddling in their internal affairs. That rupture, which lasted eight months, didn't include a ban on travel to Qatar or a complete shutdown in air and sea links.

Oman and Kuwait, two members of the GCC that haven't broken ties with Qatar, served as mediators to help resolve that breakdown in relations.

—Dahlia Kholaif, Maria Abi-Habib, Rory Jones, Gordon Lubold, Jenny W. Hsu, Felicia Schwartz and Jay Solomon contributed to this article.

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL.

## Qatar's Spat With Neighbors Threatens its Vital Air Industry

Nicolas Parasie and Robert Wall

DUBAI—Qatar's rift with its Arab neighbors threatens to hit one of the tiny Gulf state's economic arteries: air transport.

Airlines from the United Arab Emirates—including heavyweights Emirates Airline and Etihad Airways—Saudi Arabia, Bahrain and Egypt suspended flights to Doha on Monday, hours after their countries announced they were cutting diplomatic, air and maritime links to Qatar. The step marks an escalation in a dispute over Qatar's alleged support for Islamist groups in the region.

Qatar has said its neighbors' moves are founded on "baseless and unfounded allegations" and has vowed to ensure they won't harm the economy.

However, the flight suspensions are a major blow for state-owned, flag carrier Qatar Airways, which relies on shuttling passengers from larger nearby countries like Saudi Arabia across its network of more than 150 destinations. The airline carries millions of passengers every year, many of whom stop over in Doha, helping boost tourism and business, which are vital to Qatar's plan to reshape its energy-dependent economy.

Qatar Airways responded by immediately suspending flights to Saudi Arabia. Later in the day, it cancelled flights to the U.A.E, Bahrain and Egypt from Tuesday "until further notice." Passengers would be rebooked or provided refunds for unused portions of flights, the airline said.

"As a hub carrier with a small domestic market, feed traffic is their bread and butter," airline consultant John Strickland said.

The loss of that traffic, particularly from Saudi Arabia and Egypt, as well as on lucrative Dubai routes, will hurt, Mr. Strickland added. Qatar Airways declined to comment.

Air traffic between Doha, Dubai and Abu Dhabi—three of the world's busiest international travel hubs—has sharply increased in recent years, as the Gulf carriers expand routes world-wide using newly built airports as bases.

Dubai's Emirates and Abu Dhabi's Etihad operate 11 daily flights in total to Doha. Other airlines, including budget carriers, such as Flydubai and Air Arabia, also fly regularly to Doha.

The suspension comes as Middle Eastern carriers experience one of the most difficult chapters in their relatively short history.

A prolonged slump in oil prices has dented earnings and subdued business travel and a U.S. ban on carrying some electronics in plane cabins and the threat of a wider travel ban has added to woes.

Qatar Airways has vowed to continue growing despite these headwinds, but being cut off from nearby markets could pose a bigger challenge.

Many Qatar Airways flights to Southeast Asia fly over the U.A.E. and rerouting these would add time and cost as planes burn more fuel, Mr. Strickland said. Saudi Arabia has said it would bar overflights, although the U.A.E.'s position remained unclear on Monday. If Qatar Airways's operations are impact for a protracted period, it could drive away customers.

Routes to Europe and the U.S. should be largely unaffected, although passengers looking to fly via Doha to other Middle Eastern destinations may be forced to make alternative arrangements.

Plus, the ban dents Qatar Airways' ability to steal traffic from the likes of Emirates and Etihad by luring passengers from the U.A.E. with cheap fares to fly to Europe and the U.S. via Doha.

Qatari residents told The Wall Street Journal they were concerned about how the flights suspensions would impact their travel plans. Many overseas residents plan to travel home in June for the end of

Ramadan and may consider flying with other regional airlines such as Turkish Airlines .

Meanwhile, Qatar may face economic headwinds as it becomes politically and economically isolated from its neighbors. Reflecting these concerns, Doha's stock-market index ended 7.3% lower on Monday.

The geopolitical tensions in the Gulf coincide with an economic downturn triggered by low energy prices. Qatar is one of the world's top gas exporters and a member of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries. The country also depends on its connections to its neighbors, importing a large amount of food through Saudi Arabia and the U.A.E. One local newspaper reported on Monday that residents reacted to the news of the rift by rushing to supermarkets in Doha to stock up on supplies.

The New York Times

## 5 Arab Nations Move to Isolate Qatar, Putting the U.S. in a Bind (UNE)

Anne Barnard and David D. Kirkpatrick

Some analysts saw the sudden escalation as a sign that Saudi Arabia and its allies had been emboldened by the recent visit from President Trump, in which he publicly embraced the Saudis as a leading partner in fighting terrorism and countering Iran's influence.

In that view, Mr. Trump, by strongly embracing the Saudis, pulled the gloves off a brawl that had long threatened to turn ugly. But it could also end up hurting American efforts to build broader coalitions in the region, and weaken an ally that has provided a vital base for the American military in its campaign against the Islamic State.

Randa Slim, at the Middle East Institute in Washington, said the move raised questions about whether the Trump administration knew what it was unleashing when it further empowered the Saudis.

"Regionally, the decks are stacked against Qatar: If denied U.S. support, the Qatari emir has no option but to back down," Ms. Slim said. "The question is what, if anything, will this administration do about it?"

Signaling concern, Secretary of State Rex W. Tillerson offered to broker the impasse on Monday. "We certainly would encourage the parties to sit down together and address these differences," Mr. Tillerson said.

The move was announced by Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, Egypt, Bahrain and Yemen. The Maldives and the eastern government in divided Libya also said they were joining in the sanctions. But in a sign that some Saudi allies were still on the fence, neither Jordan nor Kuwait joined in.

Air traffic was immediately disrupted, with the United Arab Emirates suspending service to Qatar by its three carriers, Etihad Airways, Emirates and FlyDubai, beginning Tuesday morning. Qatar Airways was banned from Saudi airspace.

The Foreign Ministry of Qatar released a statement saying the action had "no basis in fact" and was "unjustified."

The Iranian government criticized the Saudi-led action in a diplomatically worded rebuke. "Neighbors are permanent; geography can't be changed," Foreign Minister Mohammad Javad Zarif said on his Twitter account.

"Coercion is never the solution," Mr. Zarif said. "Dialogue is imperative, especially during blessed Ramadan."

Qatar, one of the richest countries in the world, has used that wealth in recent years to play an outsize role in regional politics. It has often sought to cast itself as a broker, trying to mediate the region's intractable conflicts. But just as often, it has ended up angering all sides.

Its actions are a study in contradictions. Qatar has good relations with Iran, but hosts the American air base. It is helping to fight the Iranian-linked Houthi rebels in Yemen, and it is backing insurgents fighting Tehran's ally, President Bashar al-Assad of Syria. Yet it has also established back channels to Iran and brokered deals with it.

Tensions had been building for years. There was Qatar's support for the Muslim Brotherhood, which challenged the established order in Egypt before being suppressed by the current government. Qatar also has supported Hamas, which governs the Gaza Strip and is a rival of the Palestinian Authority. And the broadcasts of the Pan-Arab news network Al Jazeera, which Qatar funds, have long ruffled feathers across the Middle East.

Qatar's rivals have also faulted it for condoning fund-raising for militant Islamist groups fighting in Syria — including groups tied to Al Qaeda and the Islamic State — although several of the other Sunni-led monarchies in the region have played similar roles.

Qatar's opponents have added a third allegation to those grievances: that it is conspiring with their regional rival, Iran.

That is in part because Qatar has taken an important back-channel role with Iran to defuse points of contention in the Syrian war. It has repeatedly brokered hostage and prisoner exchanges, paying millions of dollars to insurgent and militant groups in the deals.

The most notable of those deals came in April, when Qatar paid a huge ransom to free 26 members of a Qatari falcon-hunting party, including members of the royal family, who had been taken hostage by Iran-backed militiamen in Iraq. Officials said Qatar paid millions of dollars, most of which was said to have gone to militia leaders loyal to Iran.

Qatar is also a sponsor of the Four Towns agreement in Syria, negotiated with Iran and Hezbollah, in which civilians trapped under siege by government troops or by rebel forces have been bused to other areas. The deals are hailed by some as the only way to rescue civilians, but they have been criticized by others as forced displacements.

The Qataris complain that they are being targeted. They say they were the victims of a cyberattack last month when the state news media outlet released a false report quoting the emir, Sheikh Tamim bin Hamad al-Thani, as referring to tension with Washington over Iran policy and saying that Mr. Trump might not be in power for long.

The F.B.I. was investigating and has not yet released its findings. But one analyst, Gerd Nonneman, a professor of international relations and gulf studies at Georgetown University's campus in Doha, Qatar, said F.B.I. and British intelligence officials had "no doubt" that the article on the emir was the result of a hack.

"This is the first time we've seen this level of cyberattack in the gulf, the hacking of a news site," Mr. Nonneman said. "We've not seen these countries engage in these types of online attacks before, at least against each other. It is new ground for them."

The isolation of Qatar was widely being taken as a clear message from Saudi Arabia that in the new order, no softness on Iran or on the Muslim Brotherhood would be tolerated. But even though Saudi anger at the Qataris has brewed for a long time, on several fronts, some analysts believe Mr. Trump's visit provided a moment to act.

"It is entirely possible that the catalyst to this crisis was the feeling in Riyadh and Abu Dhabi that the U.S. under the Trump administration is aligned with them," said Emile Hokayem, a Middle East analyst with the International Institute for Strategic Studies.

Yezid Sayigh, a senior fellow at the Carnegie Middle East Center in Beirut, said the new moves reflected a "bullishness" prompted by the Trump administration's stances — on the confrontation with Iran and on a willingness to look the other way on human rights violations.

Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates are getting "no U.S. pushback" on human rights or on the Yemen intervention, he said, while "Egypt also feels off the hook with Trump, and is using the opportunity to repair ties with the Saudis, reinforce with the Emiratis and be more assertive in Libya."

But the move carries perils for the other countries as well, Mr. Sayigh warned. "Cutting relations with Qatar suggests a worrying readiness to be assertive and belligerent," he said, adding that it "may prove to be a case of overreach."

But the escalating confrontation between Qatar and other Sunni-led Arab states presents a new and unwelcome complication for the United States military, which has made strenuous efforts to forge a broad coalition against the Islamic State.

Mr. Tillerson and Defense Secretary Jim Mattis, who appeared in their first joint news conference, in Sydney, Australia, after talks with their Australian counterparts on Monday, insisted that it would not undermine the fight against the Islamic State, also known as ISIS or ISIL.

"I am confident there will be no implications," Mr. Mattis said.

But there were few immediate answers to some difficult questions for American operations.

How, for example, can the American-led air campaign include warplanes from Bahrain, Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates if those governments will no longer allow their military representatives to be based at, or

even to visit, a major United States command center?

Beyond the military difficulties, several multinational corporations have operations in the feuding nations. A Saudi call for companies to withdraw from Qatar could present international executives with difficult choices about where to do business.

Qatar is hosting the 2022 World Cup, for instance, and is building facilities for the tournament that are part of an ambitious construction boom, including creating branches of major international museums and universities.

About 80 percent of Qatar's residents are foreign workers, including white-collar professionals and construction and service workers. There are about 250,000 Egyptians working in Qatar, which is perhaps why Cairo did not call for its citizens to leave as Saudi Arabia did.

The Washington Post

# 5 Arab Nations Move to Isolate Qatar, Putting the U.S. in a Bind (UNE)

DUBAI — Four Arab nations led a diplomatic break with Qatar on Monday, moving swiftly to isolate the small but influential country in a feud that stunned the Middle East and divided a coalition of monarchies that the United States had hoped to rally to fight the Islamic State and counter Iran.

The countries — Gulf Cooperation Council members Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates and Bahrain, along with Egypt — released coordinated statements accusing Qatar of supporting terrorist groups and saying that as a result they were cutting links to the country by land, sea and air. Other countries, including Yemen, later joined the four-nation bloc in severing ties with Qatar, which hosts a forward base for the U.S. military's Central Command and is home to the widely watched Al Jazeera television network.

The feud, the most serious in decades among the Persian Gulf monarchies, has been simmering for years as Qatar has sought to project its influence across the region, including backing the Muslim Brotherhood and Islamist fighters in Libya and Syria. But the flaring tensions raised fears of another destabilizing conflict in a region already grappling with three civil wars and jihadist insurgencies on several fronts.

The diplomatic break also complicated U.S. efforts to rally Arab and Muslim leaders to form a united front against Sunni extremists and Iranian influence. That had been the principal reason for President Trump's visit to Riyadh, the Saudi capital, last month, a trip that the president and his allies had hailed as a success.

*[By backing Saudi Arabia's vision for region, Trump stokes tensions]*

But observers in the Middle East warned that the trip also amounted to a tacit endorsement of Saudi Arabia's frequently domineering and sharply contested leadership in the Middle East and was likely to aggravate local rivalries and disputes. Saudi Arabia is often accused of indirectly fueling militant views through its rigid Wahhabi brand of Islam.

"I do think it's fair to say that it emboldened Saudi Arabia and the UAE to reshape the region and the immediate neighborhood in ways that they had wanted to do for a long time," said Karen Young, a senior scholar at the Arab Gulf States Institute in Washington, which receives funding from the United Arab Emirates (UAE). "I think it's because they saw an opening in American policy — that Trump would support them in efforts that could be perceived as counterterrorism."

Qatar's Foreign Ministry called the measures "unjustified" in a statement and said the decision to sever ties was a violation of the country's sovereignty, and one "based on claims and allegations that have no basis in fact."

The Indian Ocean nation of Maldives also joined the break with Qatar. But two other Persian Gulf states, Kuwait and Oman, which have frequently played mediating roles in Arab disputes, did not announce any measures against Qatar.

Secretary of State Rex Tillerson and Defense Secretary Jim Mattis, traveling in Australia on Monday, said the feud would not affect the U.S.-led coalition fighting Sunni extremist groups in the Middle East. The United States uses bases in several of the countries to launch air operations against the Islamic State group. The U.S. headquarters for the air war is at the Al Udeid Air Base in Qatar.

*[In Australia, Mattis and Tillerson address growing concerns about American isolationism]*

"What we're witnessing is a growing list of irritants in the region that have been there for some time, and obviously they have now bubbled up to a level that countries decided they needed to take action in an effort to have those differences addressed," Tillerson said.

Other nations with strategic ties in the region, including Turkey and Russia, quickly urged efforts to keep the diplomatic spat from widening.

While the other Persian Gulf states have expressed anger over Qatar's ties to Iran, with which it shares a massive oil field, others in the region also maintain strong economic relations with Tehran. The UAE is Iran's biggest non-oil trading partner, and Oman conducts an open dialogue with the government there.

Far deeper is the dispute over Qatari support for political Islam, in particular the Muslim Brotherhood. In its early days, the Trump administration prepared an executive order designating the Brotherhood as a terrorist organization, only to pull back after a number of Arab leaders, including Jordan's King Abdullah II, advised against it. Egypt and Saudi Arabia have long pushed for Qatar to expel Brotherhood figures, as well as members of the Palestinian militant group Hamas, who live there.

Qatar has also drawn the ire of Arab neighbors for its sponsorship of the Al Jazeera television channel, which hosts frank discussions of politics in the region while amplifying Qatar's -pro-Islamist views. And Qatar is among several gulf countries, including Kuwait, Bahrain and Saudi Arabia, accused in recent years of looking the other way as their citizens privately sent money to Islamist militants abroad, including in Syria.

*[This is how Trump is pressuring the Muslim Brotherhood]*

The statements by the Arab countries Monday, however, went far beyond the usual criticism of Qatar for supporting Sunni extremists, accusing it of interference in conflicts from Yemen to the Sinai Peninsula.

A battery of charges included some that appeared implausible. Saudi Arabia, for instance, accused Qatar of supporting Yemen's Houthi rebels — even though Qatar has participated in a Saudi-led coalition fighting the Houthis, who have ties to Iran. Bahrain, a stalwart ally of Saudi Arabia, accused Qatar of financing "groups associated with Iran to subvert and spread chaos in Bahrain."

The first signs of the intensifying feud emerged soon after Trump's visit to Saudi Arabia. In the days that followed, the Saudi government and its allies attacked Qatar for statements allegedly made by its emir that were sympathetic to Iran and militant groups such as Hezbollah and Hamas.

Qatar later said that the statements, which were posted on the state news agency's website, were fake and that the agency's site had been hacked. That explanation, however, did not stop the attacks on Qatar from media outlets loyal to the Saudi or Emirati government.

It remained unclear what exactly led the Arab states to move so suddenly and forcefully to isolate Qatar. Young and others suggested that the timing of the move might be related to the upcoming release of an FBI report on the alleged Qatari hacking. The Qatari government had invited the bureau to assist in an investigation of the incident.

And last month, a Washington-based think tank, the Foundation for Defense of Democracies, which has been supportive of the Emirates and at the forefront of efforts to cancel the Iran nuclear deal, held a day-long meeting in which a series of speakers were sharply critical of Qatar. The keynote speaker was former defense secretary Robert M. Gates, who described Qatar as a strategic U.S. ally but expressed concern over its apparent support for groups that the United States considers terrorists.

But at the heart of the dispute is Qatar's refusal to fall in line behind Saudi Arabia and its partners, said Mishaal Al Gergawi, the managing director of the Delma Institute, a political consultancy in the UAE. "Now that you have a post-Arab Spring reconstitution of some kind of alliance," he said, "there is really little room for dissent on this side of the gulf."

For Qatar, a peninsula nation that shares its only land border with Saudi Arabia, the effects of the partial blockade could be catastrophic, as airlines in the four Arab countries announced that they were halting flights and as residents flocked to supermarkets to hoard supplies.

There was also growing uncertainty among the large community of Egyptian expatriates who had fled Egypt's dismal economy and found work in Qatar. Estimates of the number of Egyptian workers in Qatar range from 180,000 to 300,000.

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Rania Dorrah, a 38-year-old Egyptian interior designer, said she and her husband were concerned that they would not be able to renew their work visas because of the crisis. Her husband, an accountant, tried to renew his visa Monday but was told to come back later, "because everything has been halted for now," she said.

"What I fear the most now is to return to Egypt without notice, and this means returning back to nothing," she said. "Absolutely nothing."

Dan Lamothe in Sydney, Heba Farouk Mahfouz in Cairo, and Brian Murphy and Anne Gearan in Washington contributed to this report.

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL.

## Turkey Steps Up Pressure on Citizens Abroad Over Failed Coup

Ned Levin

ISTANBUL—The Turkish government threatened to strip citizenship from U.S.-based cleric Fethullah Gulen and 129 other individuals if they don't return to Turkey within three months to face criminal investigations or prosecutions related to last year's failed military coup.

The development is the latest escalation in what Turkish officials have characterized as a counterterrorism campaign to repatriate hundreds of so-called Gulenists who, in many cases, fled the country after last July amid what they say is a witch hunt against their organization and other political opponents of President Recep Tayyip Erdogan.

Turkish officials accuse Mr. Gulen, a onetime ally of the Turkish leader, of masterminding the coup attempt last July, in which roughly 270 people were killed. Mr. Gulen, who has lived in the U.S. since 1999, has denied any role in the coup, saying he rejects violence.

A spokesman for Mr. Gulen's Hizmet movement called the development "the latest example of targeting people who dissent against Erdogan's increasing authoritarianism." The spokesman didn't respond to a question about how Mr. Gulen might be affected by losing his Turkish citizenship. Since he is a legal resident of the U.S., Mr. Gulen would be able to remain there without a Turkish passport, a U.S. official said.

Turkish officials have requested that U.S. authorities extradite Mr. Gulen to face charges including terrorism and treason, yet they have been increasingly frustrated with the lengthy and complex nature of that process. U.S. officials say privately that the evidence provided by Turkey doesn't meet American standards of evidence.

Since this spring, Turkey has moved more aggressively against suspected Gulenists by canceling passports of dozens of citizens abroad, an effort officials say is meant to force foreign governments to deport them. At least 16 Turkish teachers and businessmen were detained for having invalid documents and deported in May from Malaysia, Saudi Arabia and Myanmar.

NBA star Enes Kanter, one of the most high-profile Gulenists outside of Turkey, escaped such deportation two weeks ago, after Turkey canceled his passport while he was traveling on a global charity tour. Mr. Kanter is currently back in the U.S., where he is a legal permanent resident.

Rights campaigners have criticized the Turkish moves, calling them part of Mr. Erdogan's effort to eliminate all political opponents. In the wake of the failed coup, Turkey has arrested roughly 50,000 people and purged around 140,000 others from the civil service, accusing most of links to Mr. Gulen.

On Monday, Turkey published the names of 130 people in its official government gazette, including their ID numbers, dates of birth, parents' names and birthplaces.

The announcement cited Turkey's citizenship law, which was amended in January under Turkey's ongoing state of emergency enacted after the coup attempt. The amendment states individuals being investigated or prosecuted for crimes including armed rebellion against the government and membership in an armed terror organization can be stripped of citizenship if they don't return within three
months following a public summons from Turkey's Ministry of Justice.

In addition to Mr. Gulen, other notable people listed are two parliamentarians from the pro-Kurdish opposition Peoples' Democratic Party, or HDP, who face terror-related charges. Thirteen HDP lawmakers are already in jail in Turkey on terror charges.

The list didn't include information about which suspects were wanted for questioning and which had already been charged.

Interpol, the international police organization that assists member nations in arresting criminal suspects, has no public information about arrest warrants for Turkish nationals wanted by Turkey. Interpol says it doesn't publish such information—so-called red notices—without approval from the relevant country.

THE DAILY BEAST

## White House Looked at Dropping Russia Sanctions—Even After Firing Michael Flynn

Kimberly Dozier

The White House explored unilaterally easing sanctions on Russia's oil industry as recently as late March, arguing that decreased Russian oil production could harm the American economy, according to former U.S. officials.

State Department officials argued successfully that easing those sanctions would actually hurt the U.S. energy sector, according to those former officials and email exchanges reviewed by The Daily Beast.

In one email exchange, a State Department official feels the need to explain that lowering punitive sanctions on the Russian oil industry would be rewarding Moscow—without getting anything from the Kremlin in return.

"Russia continues to occupy Ukraine including Crimea—conditions that led to the sanctions have not changed," the official wrote.

The continued discussion of unilaterally lifting sanctions on Russia came after the dismissal of retired Lt. Gen. Michael Flynn as White House national security adviser. Flynn is now in the crosshairs of congressional and Justice Department investigators looking into whether the Trump campaign colluded with Russia, which the U.S. intelligence community concluded carried out a year-long campaign to influence the 2016 elections in Trump's favor.

The Obama administration imposed sanctions against Russia for annexing Crimea, invading eastern Ukraine, supporting the Syrian regime, and later, for alleged cyberattacks meant to influence the U.S. election. European nations imposed similar sanctions over Ukraine in 2014 and renewed them late last year.

Just after Trump took office, it sounded like he was going to change all that. "They have sanctions on Russia—let's see if we can make some good deals with Russia," Trump said in January to the *Times of London*. "Russia's hurting very badly right now because of sanctions, but I think something can happen that a lot of people are gonna benefit."

True to his comments, NSC officials then working for Flynn considered how they might lift all sanctions on Russia almost immediately, one of the former officials said—a charge first reported by Yahoo News, but denied as false by a senior administration official speaking to The Daily Beast.

But the March NSC request to the State Department, asking its experts to consider the possible damage of U.S. sanctions on the Russian oil industry, came under the tenure of Lt. Gen. H.R. McMaster, long after Flynn resigned because of misleading the vice president about conversations with the Russian ambassador to Washington about lifting sanctions.

It was also before relations with Moscow took a turn for the worse, after Syrian leader Bashar al-Assad used another volley of chemicals against his own people, Trump responded with a volley of Tomahawk cruise missiles at a Syrian base where Russian troops were stationed.

This query was a snapshot of administration thinking in mid-March, according to the emails obtained by The Daily Beast.

A senior Trump administration official said NSC strategist Kevin Harrington was simply examining the sanctions on Russia and trying to determine their impact, as part of the review of overall policy toward Russia.

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"He did an economic analysis of what the Russian sanctions are doing. He said according to his analysis, they weren't causing any significant pain," the official said, speaking anonymously to provide context on NSC policy. "His view was, if these sanctions are harming our economy without putting any pressure on Russia, what's the point?"

So that's why the query was made.

"He got the answer the back and it didn't go anywhere," the official said, griping about the U.S. media's portrayal of the Team Trump being in league with Moscow.

But on the receiving end, in the State Department sanctions office that had originally crafted the punishments, the query seemed suspect—especially given the swirling backdrop of charges of Trump campaign collusion with Russia, the two former U.S. officials said.

According to one of those officials, State argued that such unilateral U.S. government action would discourage other countries from joining the U.S. in tougher sanctions against Iran and North Korea in future.

The State Department's sanctions office also explained that lowering Russian oil prices would be harmful to the U.S. energy industry, according to the unclassified email exchange reviewed by The Daily Beast.

"He asked us to 'determine whether U.S. national interests were being harmed by sanctions on Russian oil, which were bad for the world economy and therefore bad for the U.S. economy,'" according to the former U.S. official.

A second former U.S. official confirmed that Harrington "was very aggressively pushing this out of the gate," from the time he was brought to the White House by Flynn.

"Apparently, there was not only interest from a geopolitical perspective, but also a sense that it would open up major opportunities in Russian energy projects in eastern Russia, post-sanctions," the former official said.

(The Treasury Department has already nixed one of those possible deals, after the *Wall Street Journal* reported that Exxon Mobil sought a waiver from sanctions in April to continue a previously signed deal with Russian state energy giant Rosneft.)

Harrington came to the White House without significant government experience, but he did have a powerful patron: Silicon Valley investor and Trump ally Peter Thiel. Flynn and deputy K.T. McFarland found the former hedge-fund director to be intellectually impressive and enthused about what his economics background could add to the NSC's strategic planning office. Harrington also became close with an ally of Flynn's, NSC intelligence director Ezra Cohen-Watnick, whom McMaster and the CIA subsequently sought, unsuccessfully, to oust.

Not all of Harrington's colleagues were as bowled over, finding his work superficial, according to one former NSC official who spoke on condition of anonymity to describe working with Harrington.

But one firm belief Harrington held was that sanctions don't work as instruments of policy, and that they were "hurting us, not helping us," the former official said. His arguments tended toward saying that if the U.S. was looking for a tool to punish Russia, sanctions were a poor one.

In the March email, the State Department official explained to Harrington why helping Russia's oil industry would damage the U.S. energy market, in particular, the shale oil industry.

"We explained, you've got it backwards. There's an oil glut. The reason global oil prices originally collapsed is our shale oil," the former U.S. official said in an interview, speaking anonymously to describe the interagency conversations with the White House.

In the email, the State Department official wrote "Russian production competes with US tight oil production at prices above $50/bbl," meaning $50 a barrel. He was referring to the U.S. shale oil industry's ability to make more money as long as the cost of oil stays above $50.

He explained how the U.S. tracked Russia and Saudi Arabia's agreement in 2013 to lower the price of oil globally in order to decimate the U.S. shale oil industry by dropping their prices below $90 a barrel, which was roughly the cost to U.S. oil businesses to produce a barrel of oil at the time. Russian and Saudi Arabian officials did not immediately respond to requests for comment.

Other energy experts had a slightly different interpretation, seeing the agreement as Saudi Arabia, and Russia among other oil producers continuing to produce the same amount of oil to maintain relationships with oil distributors, especially in Asia where business is based more on who you know and how long you've known them—business relationships that are hard to reproduce if lost.

"The shale industry's rise really did flatten global oil prices, together with some flattening in demand," said Samantha Gross, fellow at the Brookings Institution in the Energy Security and Climate Initiative. "It's not that they got together to drive the shale oil producers out of business. They elected not to drop production but to try to hang on to market share."

Whatever the reason, the U.S. shale oil industry suffered a massive crash in 2014. But thanks to innovations in U.S. oil technology, manufacturers have been able to lower the cost of producing shale oil to $50 a barrel, putting the pressure back on both Russia, Saudi Arabia and other members of OPEC, Gross said.

Perhaps in response, Russia last year joined with the OPEC countries including Saudi and said all would agree to decrease oil production and work off inventory to push prices back up, an agreement they just extended through 2018, Gross explained.

In any case, Moscow isn't getting out from under U.S. sanctions in the near future, the senior administration official said.

"There's a consensus that the sanctions aren't coming off anytime soon until we see some significant improvement in Russian behavior," the official said.

The New York Times

# ISIS Says It's Behind Hostage Siege and Killing in Australia

Damien Cave

MELBOURNE, Australia — The Australian authorities are treating an abduction and a killing here in Melbourne on Monday, which ended with the gunman dead, as a terrorist attack.

The police killed the gunman after he held a woman hostage at an apartment complex in Brighton, one of Melbourne's wealthiest suburbs. The woman was rescued, and another man was found dead in the lobby, the police said. The authorities did not immediately identify the victims.

The police identified the gunman as Yacqub Khayre, an Australian citizen with a long criminal record who came to the country from Somalia as a child refugee. Graham Ashton, the chief police commissioner for Victoria State, said Mr. Khayre was known to the police "for a whole range of offending," including drug and violent crimes and arson.

Mr. Khayre served a significant amount of prison time and was on parole at the time of the attack, the commissioner said. The gunman was acquitted in an investigation of a terrorism plot in New South Wales several years ago, but since then, he was involved in routine criminal activity, Mr. Ashton said. "There wasn't anything suggesting he was about to do this."

The Islamic State claimed responsibility for the attack early Tuesday morning, Melbourne time, calling the assailant a "soldier" of the terrorist group. The statement said he had acted in response to the group's public calls to supporters to carry out violent attacks against countries in the coalition that is trying to defeat the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria. Australia is part of the coalition.

"There are some very, very grave questions," Prime Minister Malcolm Turnbull said Tuesday. "How was this man on parole? He had a very, very long record of violence."

The episode started with reports of a possible explosion about 4 p.m. Roughly two hours later, the police declared that they had the situation under control.

The attack sent jitters through much of the country, coming so soon after the attacks in London and Manchester, England.

"People just came running down the street, saying, 'There's just been shots fired down the road,'" said George Baker, an employee at a bistro a few hundred yards from the apartment complex. "Everyone was in a panic."

The evidence pointing to terrorism first emerged with a call to a television station during the siege, in which a man said, "This is for I.S.," presumably a reference to the Islamic State, and, "This is for Al Qaeda." The station, 7 News Melbourne, said that it and the police believed that the call had come from inside the building where the siege took place. A woman could be heard screaming in the background, 7 News said.

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL.

## Top U.S. Diplomat Urges China to Act on North Korea

Gordon Lubold and Rob Taylor

SYDNEY—Secretary of State Rex Tillerson forcefully called on China to stop militarizing islands in the South China Sea, to pressure North Korea and broadly to assume a more responsible role in Asia-Pacific stability.

Mr. Tillerson, speaking here on Monday amid annual talks between Australia and the U.S., echoed remarks made by Defense Secretary Jim Mattis last week as the U.S. leans heavily on Beijing to persuade North Korea to stop its ballistic-missile and nuclear programs.

But the U.S.-China relationship is also strained by a host of other diplomatic and economic issues, including over the South China Sea, where the U.S. has been needling Beijing with so-called freedom of navigation patrols.

China claims sovereignty over islands in the South China Sea islands and adjacent waters but denies it is militarizing them.

Mr. Tillerson's latest comments were some of the most forceful to date at a time when the U.S. also wants China's help on North Korea.

"China is a significant economic and trading power, and we desire a productive relationship, but we cannot allow China to use its economic power to buy its way out of other problems, whether it is militarizing islands in the South China Sea or its failure to put appropriate pressure on North Korea," Mr. Tillerson said at a press conference here. "They must recognize that with a role as a growing economic and trading power come security responsibilities as well."

Pyongyang's missile and nuclear programs are an urgent concern for U.S. allies in the region, including its most recent missile test on May 29.

Recognizing there are few viable military options, the U.S. and its Asian allies are banking on economic and diplomatic approaches to stop North Korea.

They view China as the key to pressuring North Korea since Beijing provides it aid and maintains a robust trading relationship with the country. U.S. officials have praised China for its efforts, but is pressing Beijing to do more.

Asked about Mr. Tillerson's comments, a Chinese Foreign Ministry spokeswoman said China's efforts for peaceful resolutions on the nuclear issue and in the South China Sea were "there for all to see" and that she hoped "relevant countries could fully respect and support efforts made by countries in the region."

North Korea's outlawed nuclear and missile program also has raised worries in Australia that the country could be targeted in any conflict. It has triggered a debate on whether Australia should join U.S. efforts to deploy a ballistic-missile defense shield.

"We are committed to working very closely together and with our regional partners to impose greater costs on the regime for that destabilizing behavior," Australia's Defense Minister Marise Payne said at the press event Monday.

The Chairman of the U.S. House Armed Services Committee, Mac Thornberry (R-Texas), recently proposed a bill that would appropriate $15 million for joint ballistic missile defense exercises between the U.S., Australia, Japan and South Korea next year. Sen. John McCain (R-Ariz.) has proposed a similar measure that would beef up American presence and training in the region.

Australia's Prime Minister Malcolm Turnbull, speaking last week at a regional security summit in Singapore, urged China as North Korea's biggest economic benefactor to help uphold regional security rules.

"This means cooperation not unilateral actions to seize or create territory or militarize disputed areas," he said.

It his strongest comments yet criticizing Australia's biggest trade partner, he urged Beijing to use its leverage with North Korea to help enforce sanctions and curb Pyongyang's "unlawful, reckless and dangerous conduct."

The New York Times

## China Looks to Capitalize on Clean Energy as U.S. Retreats (UNE)

Keith Bradsher

LIULONG, China — China's devastating pollution problems began here, in coal country, where legions of workers toiled and often died to exhume the rich deposits that fueled the country's sooty rise to economic power.

Today, these muddy plains are home to a potent symbol of China's new ambition: to bypass the United States and cement its dominant role in clean energy.

On a lake created by the collapse of abandoned coal mines, China has built the world's largest floating solar project, enough to provide light and air conditioning to much of a nearby city. The provincial government wants to expand the effort to more than a dozen sites, which collectively would produce the same amount of power as a full-size commercial nuclear reactor.

The project reflects China's effort to reshape the world order in renewable energy as the United States retreats. Such technological expertise will form the infrastructure backbone needed for countries to meet their climate goals, making China the energy partner of choice for many nations.

The wave-proof solar panels are an affordable and viable option for power-hungry countries. Delegations from Japan, Taiwan, Vietnam, Singapore and elsewhere have come to study the project while the maker, Sungrow, prepares to license the technology for overseas sale.

China is capitalizing on the leadership vacuum left after President Trump said last week that he would pull the United States out of the Paris accord to limit climate change.

By BRAD PLUMER, A.J. CHAVAR and SUSAN JOAN ARCHER on June 1, 2017. Photo by Doug Mills/The New York Times. Watch in Times Video »

China has already started an expensive campaign at home and abroad to solidify its considerable hold on solar, wind and other energy-saving businesses. If successful, China would win the economic and diplomatic spoils that the United States and some European countries have long enjoyed from dominating businesses like software, computer chips and airplanes.

China's sway will be on display in Beijing this week at the Clean Energy Ministerial, a gathering of top energy officials from two dozen countries and the European Union that represent producers of three-quarters of the world's greenhouse gas emissions. While the United States will be there, its representatives reflect the country's deep split. Energy Secretary Rick Perry, an enthusiastic supporter of fossil fuel industries, will attend, along with Gov. Jerry Brown of California, a vocal supporter of renewable energy.

China is an unlikely champion in fighting climate change. The country is the world's largest polluter, and its problems could grow as people buy more cars and use more power. It remains deeply dependent on coal, an especially dirty source of power.

And the race in renewables hasn't been won. The United States and European Union accuse Beijing of unfairly subsidizing its green industries and have raised trade barriers against Chinese-made goods. American companies and local governments are set to continue their clean-energy push despite Mr. Trump's withdrawal from the Paris accord.

As with much in China, the clean-energy drive is much more about economic advantage, national security and political stability than an idealistic commitment to saving the earth.

The country's "Made in China 2025" program, the heart of Beijing's domestic industrial policy, calls for heavy spending on clean-energy research and development, as a way to bolster the economy. State-owned banks are pouring tens of billions of dollars each year into technologies like solar and wind along with energy conservation strategies like high-speed rail and subway lines.

China's "One Belt, One Road" plan — a $1 trillion global offensive by President Xi Jinping to nurture economic and diplomatic ties through infrastructure building — is poised to bankroll clean-energy projects across Asia, including the Mideast; East Africa; and Eastern

Europe. The projects give China an edge, pushing countries to buy from Chinese companies.

China is already dominant in many low-carbon energy technologies. It produces two-thirds of the world's solar panels and nearly half of the wind turbines. China is also rapidly expanding its fleet of nuclear reactors and leads the world by far in hydroelectric power.

"It's different from traditional energy, which is dominated by Western countries," said Li Tao, the technical director at JA Solar, the Chinese supplier of Sungrow's panels. "China has an opportunity to surpass Western countries in new energy."

Choking pollution problems and worries that rising ocean levels could devastate coastal cities forced Beijing a decade ago to begin a campaign to find green solutions. Local governments provided land for nearly free, and state-owned banks handed out enormous loans at very low interest rates. Sometimes government agencies helped companies repay their loans.

Coal is getting far less attention. While China is still building some coal-fired power plants, it has canceled plans for others. Many existing ones are running well below capacity.

"Coal is over," said Li Junfeng, a longtime renewable-energy official at the National Development and Reform Commission, China's top economic planning agency. "Every year, it will be gradually reduced, city by city."

China's green campaign is still in the early stages.

The solar industry employs more than one million workers in everything from making panels for export to installing them domestically, though solar accounts for only 2 percent of its electricity needs. By contrast, China has four million coal miners to supply the power plants that generate 70 percent of the country's electricity.

But the clean-energy effort is already transforming coal country.

For decades, Yang Xuancheng, a former coal miner in Liulong, here in Anhui Province in east-central China, toiled for 12-hour days in sweltering heat. A natural gas explosion killed half his 20-member drilling team.

When mines emptied of coal began collapsing underground, the land subsided and his boyhood village disappeared into a 25-foot-deep hole. The hole soon filled with rainwater and groundwater, creating a mile-wide lake.

The lake is now the home of Sungrow's floating solar power project. Mr. Yang, 57, wires together the plastic tubes that carry the connective wiring for the panels.

"This aboveground work is so much more pleasant than the hot air down in a coal mine," Mr. Yang said.

Such solar efforts have put China at the leading edge of renewables.

The United States and Japan invented many of the key technologies for solar panels over the past half century. But they were more cautious about building very large factories, fearing they would have to cut prices below cost to sell all the panels. Extremely cheap Chinese panels have driven dozens of Western companies out of business, including several more in recent months.

Chinese players like JinkoSolar and Trina Solar, the world's biggest makers of solar panels, invested heavily in production. Their highly automated plants churn out vast numbers of panels with consistent quality at ever-falling cost.

GCL Group, a large manufacturer in Suzhou, now relies on robots for much of its production, from melting the raw materials for the silicon to assembling the final equipment. The company has nearly doubled production in the past four years even while cutting its work force nearly in half.

"If you don't have the factories as a manufacturing base, then new ideas and technical innovation will stay in the air and not amount to anything," said Lu Jinbiao, an executive vice president at GCL.

That technical know-how is helping Chinese companies capture sales in some of the world's fastest-growing solar panel markets, like India and Saudi Arabia. China is tailoring the technology for developing markets that will need innovative and cost-effective solutions to meet their climate goals.

JA Solar is redesigning some panels for very hot, dry deserts and others for very humid jungles. Doing so will make them cheaper to manufacture than a module created to withstand extreme heat and extreme humidity.

The panels at the lake in Liulong are made to be waterproof. Xiao Fuqin, the chief engineer at Sungrow's floating solar panel project, said delegations arrive almost daily from around China and across Asia to examine the nitty-gritty specifications, like how to lay large power cables underwater to connect many panels.

"This technology shows that China is keeping the leading role in solar, as it has for many years," Mr. Xiao said. "We have been the pioneers, and pushed our industry another small step forward."

The Washington Post

# Senior diplomat in Beijing embassy resigns over Trump's climate change decision

By Carol Morello

The No. 2 diplomat at the U.S. Embassy in Beijing resigned Monday, telling staff his conscience would not permit him to formally notify the Chinese that the United States is withdrawing from the Paris climate accord.

David H. Rank, a career Foreign Service officer of 27 years, had been acting ambassador until former Iowa governor Terry Branstad (R) was confirmed as the new ambassador last month. Rank held a town meeting with embassy employees to explain he had offered his resignation and it had been accepted.

As the head of the embassy until Branstad arrives, it was Rank's responsibility to deliver a formal notification of the U.S. intention to withdraw from the climate pact.

According to a State Department official, who spoke on the condition of anonymity to be more candid, Rank was unwilling to deliver the demarche.

He told his staff that as "a parent, a patriot and a Christian," he could not in good conscience play a role in implementing President Trump's decision to withdraw, according to a colleague familiar with Rank's comments.

Fact Checkers Glenn Kessler and Michelle Lee examine several of President Trump's claims from his speech announcing the U.S. withdrawal from the Paris climate accord on Thursday. The Fact Checker examines several claims from Trump's speech announcing the U.S. withdrawal from the Paris climate accord. (Video: Meg Kelly/Photo: Jabin Botsford/The Washington Post)

(Meg Kelly/The Washington Post)

Rank's resignation was a display of the diplomatic unease over Trump's decision to exit the Paris accord. Under the Obama administration, climate change was incorporated into the daily business of diplomacy at every level, and Rank was known for his personal concern about the environment. Career diplomats like Rank have been overseeing embassies around the world because of how slowly the Trump administration has been nominating political appointees as ambassadors.

*[Trump already has taken the U.S. out of the climate game]*

"Mr. Rank made a personal decision," said a spokeswoman for the East Asian and Pacific Affairs Bureau. "We appreciate his years of dedicated service to the State Department."

Rank did not immediately respond to a request for comment. His resignation was first reported by John Pomfret, editor at large at SupChina.

Adding to the awkwardness, over the weekend another career diplomat broke ranks with Trump after he criticized London Mayor Sadiq Khan for suggesting there was "no reason to be alarmed" by armed police patrols in the city. A few hours later, Lewis Lukens, the acting ambassador at the U.S. Embassy in Britain, used the embassy's Twitter account to say Khan had shown "strong leadership" in responding to the London Bridge terrorist attack.

Foreign Service officers take pride in putting their personal politics aside and representing their country, under both Republican and Democratic presidents, making this type of resignation unusual.

The State Department moved swiftly to replace Rank, informing the Chinese Foreign Ministry that Jonathan Fritz would be the new charge d'affaires, the deputy who heads the mission in the ambassador's absence. Branstad is undergoing diplomat training, and has not arrived yet.

Checkpoint newsletter

Military, defense and security at home and abroad.

Rank, who speaks Mandarin Chinese, French, Dari and Greek, was a China hand who was on his fourth tour in China. Before that, he

had been a political counselor at the U.S. Embassy in Kabul and director of the State Department's Office of Afghanistan Affairs.

Dan Feldman, who was the special representative for Afghanistan and Pakistan when Rank was a senior adviser there, said Rank was the quintessential nonpolitical diplomat.

"I couldn't tell you what his politics were until now," he said. "I don't remember having a political conversation with him in which he espoused issues or concern about anything other than serving the president, and the secretary of state, whomever they may be, and the interests of the American people."

Although Rank told his staff he had expected to retire by the end of the year, being acting ambassador for a large and important embassy like the one in Beijing would have put him in line to become ambassador in another, smaller country.

## The New York Times — Some U.S. Diplomats Stage Quiet Revolt Amid Tensions With Trump

Mark Landler

The State Department has been a hotbed of resistance to the Trump administration's policies from the start. About 1,000 staff members signed a cable protesting the temporary ban on visas for visitors from seven predominantly Muslim countries the administration tried to impose in January. There has been a small exodus of senior diplomats, which, combined with the slow pace of appointments, has left the State Department's headquarters noticeably depleted.

But the tensions between the White House and the diplomatic corps are now flaring up more publicly, and at a more senior level. Mr. Lukens, Mr. Rank, and Ms. Smith have all spent decades in the Foreign Service, rising to posts at or close to the ambassadorial level.

"It's an extraordinarily unusual situation for the Foreign Service," said R. Nicholas Burns, who served as undersecretary of state for political affairs in the George W. Bush administration, traditionally the top-ranking position for career diplomats. "They pride themselves on being nonpartisan. You serve each president 150 percent."

Mr. Burns said the conflicts were more difficult for diplomats at the senior level because their jobs require them to represent or issue statements on behalf of the United States government, sometimes with little guidance from the State Department.

In Mr. Rank's case, several friends said, he had been directed to present the White House's rationale for withdrawing from the Paris climate accord to the Chinese government. He told colleagues at a town-hall meeting at the embassy that he could not defend the policy.

Friends said Mr. Rank, who became chargé d'affaires in Beijing in January, was deeply frustrated by the general direction of American policy toward China, but particularly about climate change. He was scheduled to serve until the arrival of Terry Branstad, the former governor of Iowa, who was confirmed as Mr. Trump's ambassador to China in May.

The climate agreement struck between the Obama administration and the Chinese government in 2014 laid the groundwork for the global agreement signed in Paris. China's official media has been scorching in its criticism of Mr. Trump's decision to withdraw from it.

Mr. Rank did not reply to an email seeking comment. Friends said he was on his way back to the United States.

A State Department official, speaking on background because he was not authorized to discuss personnel matters, characterized Mr. Rank's resignation as a "personal decision." He declined to say whether it involved climate policy.

A 27-year veteran of the Foreign Service and fluent speaker of Mandarin, Mr. Rank also served in Taiwan, Greece and Mauritius. In recent years, he worked extensively on Afghanistan, serving as the Afghan desk director in Washington and political counselor in Kabul.

"He was a complete pro, extremely well-regarded," said Daniel F. Feldman, a former special representative for Afghanistan and Pakistan. "In all his years working for me, I never even knew his politics; exactly what you'd hope for from a career Foreign Service officer."

In Mr. Lukens' case, the flap was less about principle than a case of mixed signals with the White House. The statement he put out on Sunday, in the wake of the deadly attack on Saturday night, was the kind of statement issued routinely by embassies all over the world.

Mr. Lukens, 53, said in an email that he did not obtain clearance from the State Department for the tweets he posted on Sunday on the embassy's Twitter account because it was standard practice to express support and condolences to a host country after a terrorist attack.

"I commend the strong leadership of the @MayorofLondon as he leads the city forward after this heinous attack," Mr. Lukens wrote, adding praise in another post for the "extraordinary" response of the emergency services, law enforcement, and London officials.

Earlier that day, Mr. Trump tweeted, "At least 7 dead and 48 wounded in terror attack and Mayor of London says there is 'no reason to be alarmed!'" His post misrepresented Mr. Khan, who had told Londoners not to be alarmed by the heavy police presence on the streets after the attack.

On Monday, the president continued his attack against Mr. Khan, the city's first Muslim mayor, labeling his explanation of his remark about the public not being alarmed as a "pathetic excuse" and accusing the news media of "working hard to sell it."

Ambassador Smith, who continues to serve in Qatar, could not be reached for comment. Over the weekend, she retweeted a post supporting Mr. Khan from the mayor of Los Angeles, Eric Garcetti.

The divergence between Mr. Lukens and the president drew immediate attention on social media, with some praising the envoy for his grace and humanity and others calling for his head.

Several noted that Mr. Lukens worked for Hillary Clinton when she was secretary of state and played a role in setting up the communications system she used, which allowed her to send and receive email on a private server using a personal email address.

Mr. Lukens, whose father was ambassador to the Republic of Congo, became a familiar figure to the diplomatic press corps as the coordinator of Mrs. Clinton's overseas trips. He is an affable, low-key diplomat who colleagues said was unlikely to go rogue.

A 28-year veteran of the Foreign Service, Mr. Lukens was named ambassador to Senegal and Guinea-Bissau by President Barack Obama, after tours in Canada, Ivory Coast and China. He became the acting ambassador in London in January after the White House recalled Mr. Obama's envoy, Matthew Barzun.

Mr. Burns said, "There's no question he used his best judgment yesterday." But the State Department official said only that Mr. Lukens' tweets "speak for themselves."

# ETATS-UNIS

## The Atlantic — Trump's Selective Responses to Terror

Alex Wagner

It is no secret that the President of the United States is a quick draw when it comes to expressing indignation or anger in response to news of the day. This is especially true when it comes to certain acts of terror—in the immediate aftermath of the Paris, Manchester and London attacks, Trump expressed his feelings within hours. And indeed, the American public has seen its commander in chief at turns combative, sneering, dyspeptic and outraged when extremists maim and kill in the name of Islam.

Very often there is some policy prescription laced in his responses,

as well—a push for "extreme vetting" or a renewed call for his original and apparently not-politically correct version of a ban targeting Muslim travelers. These are Trump's targeted solutions to what he calls the problem of "Islamic extremism," dished out with the same munificence and gusto as his often emotional responses.

And yet in other, equally horrific instances, when innocents have been attacked or killed in the name of a different sort of extremism, President Trump has remained mostly quiet. Either he has said nothing at all, or he has waited days to respond—and when the responses have been issued, they are missing Trump's signature fury and attendant solutions. Sometimes, these responses don't even sound like the president.

What makes these acts of terror different, what renders them presumably less urgent and immediately offensive to America's commander in chief, is that they have involved assailants raging under the banner of white supremacy or violent nationalism. The discrepancy in these responses says a great deal about Trump: not simply his own values, but his fundamental understanding of what it means to govern this country.

In the wake of an attack at the Champs Elysees that killed one police officer, Trump immediately addressed the situation in a bilateral press conference, then tweeted:

Less than 24 hours after the Manchester attack that killed 22, Trump animatedly and repeatedly declared the perpetrators "losers." And in the wake of the London attacks that killed seven on Saturday evening, Trump was on his preferred medium of Twitter by early Monday morning—issuing a spate of angry responses.

There was a message of solidarity:

There was an extended push for the renewal of his controversial Muslim ban….

And there were a series of controversial tweets directed at the (Muslim) mayor of London, Sadiq Khan, and his calls to remain calm.

In short: President Trump had a lot to say about these attacks.

Yet a little over two weeks ago, he had nothing to tweet when a white man in Maryland with ties to an online group called "Alt Reich: Nation" fatally stabbed a black student named Richard W. Collins III. Collins had just been commissioned as a second lieutenant in the Army, and, according to the *New York Times*, "was preparing to move to Fort Leonard Wood, Missouri, for training in defending the country against chemical attacks." There was no response to his murder from America's Commander-in-Chief.

Just over a week ago, when a knife-wielding white supremacist killed two men and maimed another in Portland, Oregon as they sought to defend two women—one black, the other in a hijab—President Trump waited three days before commenting. In the interim, as Eliot Hanon points out, he tweeted about the "fake news media," the deadness of Obamacare, and the coming benefits of his massive (and thus far unseen and uncertain) tax reform package.

When Trump finally did weigh in on the Portland terror act, on his official @POTUS feed and not his personal one, the tweet was relatively boilerplate:

There was nothing in the way of follow-up, no suggestion that Americans needed to band together in some fashion, no policy aimed at tackling the (increasing) problem of hate crimes here in the United States. If you weren't familiar with Trump's history on this strain of white nationalist terrorism, it would have been surprising—but given his behavior over the last four months, it was not.

Trump was silent in February, when three Indian-born men, working for an American company in Kansas, were attacked at a bar—one was killed, the others injured—by a white assailant screaming, "Get out of my country." For six days, the president was mute on the subject, long enough for the editorial board of the *Kansas City Star* to deem his silence "disquieting:"

"Surely the White House team could have cobbled together a statement of some sort, a response to at least address growing fears that the U.S. is unwelcoming of immigrants, or worse, that the foreign-born need to fear for their lives here….

During such moments of crisis, people look to the president for strength and guidance.

They need to hear their moral outrage articulated, the condemnation of a possible hate crime and the affirmation that the U.S. values everyone's contributions, whether you're an immigrant or native-born. For Trump, this was a crucial opportunity to condemn such hateful acts and to forcefully declare that this is not who we are."

It was not until the president spoke to a joint session of Congress, seven days after the slaying, that he addressed the incident:

"Recent threats targeting Jewish Community Centers and vandalism of Jewish cemeteries, as well as last week's shooting in Kansas City, remind us that while we may be a nation divided on policies, we are a country that stands united in condemning hate and evil in all its forms," Trump said.

Those scripted lines were the only comments Trump would make on the topic.

When Alexandre Bissonnette, a Canadian with ties to the white supremacist movement, opened fire on Muslims worshipping at an Islamic center in Canada in late January, killing six and wounding eight, Trump was nowhere to be heard. Senior White House Advisor KellyAnne Conway offered an anemic defense: "He doesn't tweet about everything," she said. "He doesn't make a comment about everything."

Donald Trump is the president of the United States, but in moments like these, his attitude calls into question whether he is not, in fact, more the president of certain states—certain people—than others.

Conway's comments were revealing then and remain so, especially today: for the Trump White House, there are the issues that matter enough for comment, and then there is "everything" else. Apparently, terror inflicted upon innocent civilians falls in to the former category (things that matter) if the perpetrators are tied to extremist ideologies rooted in Islam. But terror inflicted upon innocent civilians falls into the latter category ("everything" else) if the perpetrators are tied to extremist ideologies rooted in white nationalism.

For Trump and his defenders, there is no apparent hypocrisy in this duality, but it is an important indicator as to how the president sees the American landscape: irrevocably and perhaps existentially divided into certain tribes and cultures, with a chasm among its citizens so deep that the murders of Americans for certain political reasons do not always warrant outrage (or even a tweet). Donald Trump is the president of the United States, but in moments like these, his attitude calls into question whether he is not, in fact, more the president of certain states—certain people—than others.

In announcing his withdrawal from the Paris climate change accords, Trump (tellingly) declared, "I was elected to represent the citizens of Pittsburgh, not Paris," but if you have listened carefully enough to Trump and his line of reasoning, "Paris" is really a placeholder for the values of liberalism and progressivism, blue state sacraments about tolerance and globalism.

His response in the wake of the terror attacks of the last two weeks mirrors this worldview: he is the president when a certain set of values are threatened, but not others. Victims who were Muslim, foreign-born or progressively-minded and preaching tolerance, would seem to have been citizens of Trump's mythic (and maligned) "Paris"—he was not elected to represent their interests, he was not placed in office to empathize with their sorrows and tragic ends.

Nor does he serve to necessarily rebuke their tormentors. I spoke with Heidi Beirich—the Director of Intelligence at the Southern Poverty Law Center, which tracks hate crimes in America—about the asymmetry in Trump's responses.

"It doesn't seem like Trump cares about hate crimes against these populations," she said, speaking of the attacks in Kansas and Quebec and Portland. "When it comes to extremism bred from our own culture, he says nothing—or very, very little. It makes you wonder whether the alt right and the extremists who supported him during the campaign—whether he's somehow afraid of offending them. The [victims] are fellow citizens—he should care about them."

Trump is unlikely to be swayed by any arguments dictating what he "should" do in any instance—his whole political career has effectively been a campaign against expectations, after all—but this is a clear break from what Americans, until now, have expected of their presidents. And not simply because sympathy and empathy are expected emotional responses from any leader in a time of grief, but also, more urgently, because presidents have an actual role to play in staving off future horrors.

Beirich recalled the days after 9/11, when then-president George W. Bush addressed a shattered and angry nation and said:

"These acts of violence against innocents violate the fundamental tenets of the Islamic faith. And it's important for my fellow Americans to understand that.

The English translation is not as eloquent as the original Arabic, but let me quote from the Koran, itself: In the long run, evil in the extreme will be the end of those who do evil. For that they rejected the signs of Allah and held them up to ridicule.

The face of terror is not the true faith of Islam. That's not what Islam is all about. Islam is peace. These terrorists don't represent peace. They represent evil and war."

Beirich explained, "There was a lot of violence, but the murder sprees in the weeks after 9/11 came to a full stop after Bush's comments. And the following years saw the [hate crimes] numbers going back to pre-9/11 stats. I think it matters that he said something. It's not purely coincidental that these things happened in parallel."

President Trump is eager to offer solutions when the terror emanates from extremism tied to fundamentalist Islamic ideologies, but his suggestions are often ethically questionable or legally complicated. If he chose to act more forcefully against terror driven by white nationalism, one powerful solution—public condemnation—would be readily available to him, without much complication.

And yet, at this moment, it is hard to imagine him using it.

## John Dean: Why Trump's Comey concession is a sham

*(CNN)*The White House has made an absurd announcement -- that it will not invoke executive privilege to prevent James Comey's testimony before the Senate Intelligence Committee, scheduled Thursday.

Deputy press secretary Sarah Huckabee Sanders first claimed, "The President's power to assert executive privilege is well-established." So is the President's power to issue pardons, but those are for another day. Huckabee Sanders proceeded from her non-sequitur, adding, "However, in order to facilitate a swift and thorough examination of the facts sought by the Senate Intelligence Committee, President Trump will not assert executive privilege regarding James Comey's scheduled testimony."

As a leading student and expert on the subject of executive privilege, Mark J. Rozell, has written, it is an accepted doctrine when appropriately applied in two circumstances: (1) certain national security needs and (2) protecting the privacy of White House deliberations when doing so serves the public interest.

Clearly, Donald Trump's conversations with James Comey do not fall into either area. Trump was wise not to try to concoct a phony justification for using the doctrine, which at best would have been a delaying tactic and only increased the already-fiendish interest in the specifics of Comey's testimony.

Pretending James Comey is testifying only because the President is not invoking executive privilege is not only disingenuous, it borders on small-bore fraud. To claim you have a power you do not, in fact, possess is dishonest. When executive privilege does exist, it is as the Supreme Court noted in US v. Nixon, always a "qualified privilege," meaning there must be balance between presidential privacy and the public's right to know -- in contrast with other, absolute, presidential privileges, like the "state secrets privilege" (which the Bush/Cheney administration consistently abused, but was unavailable here for Trump).

This approach to former FBI Director Comey's testimony is a drill symptomatic of the Trump White House. They either do not know what they are doing or when they do they believe no one else does, so they play games. In the annals of executive privilege, it has never been used to block the testimony of a former federal employee. To do so, the White House would have to go to federal court to try to persuade a judge to block Comey, a former employee, from publicly discussing his conversations.

There is no basis for a court to make such a move to prevent Comey from coming before the panel to testify about President Trump's efforts to get him to pull back on the FBI's investigation of Russia's hacking the 2016 presidential race. If the testimony involved classified information, there might be a colorable argument if the former employee agreed the conversation was confidential, and both thought it was covered by executive privilege and held the conversation on that basis, but absent even that dubious argument, conversations with the president of the United States do not give him the power to revoke the First Amendment. Nor do courts engage in prior restraint, enjoining speech before it has been made.

While the term "executive privilege" dates to the Eisenhower presidency, the concept of the executive branch withholding information from its constitutional co-equals goes back to the earliest days of our government. President George Washington convened his Cabinet to discuss and agree to withhold information about a military expedition from Congress. Thomas Jefferson's notes from a Cabinet meeting show he discussed withholding information from Congress and the courts.

It was not until Richard Nixon withheld his secretly recorded conversations from the Watergate special prosecutor who had issued a grand jury subpoena did the US Supreme Court give executive privilege constitutional status based on the separation of powers of the branches. While the high court recognized the concept, it also recognized that President Nixon was using it to prevent the prosecutor from obtaining evidence of his criminal behavior. Nixon's use of executive privilege during Watergate gave it a bad name, and subsequent presidents have invoked it only reluctantly.

No post-Watergate president used executive privilege more aggressively than Bill Clinton, when confronted with the most aggressive special prosecutor in American history, Independent Counsel Kenneth Starr. It is difficult to imagine any president wanting to silence a witness more than Clinton surely wished to quiet Monica Lewinsky. Yet unlike the Trump White House, the Clinton administration never pretended prohibiting her from testifying before a grand jury or Congress was possible. Before Trump, I have never even heard of a president seriously thinking he could silence someone with whom the president had conversed by invoking executive privilege.

Conspicuously absent from Huckabee Sanders' announcement was any reference to the White House Counsel's office, which surely knew the claim of privilege was nonexistent, and wanted nothing to do with the charade the communications team is playing with Comey. Now we will have to wait to see if any Trump apologists on the Senate Intelligence Committee are so foolish as to join the White House mini-sham.

## The Real 'Resistance' to Trump? The GOP Congress.

By Josh Chafetz

Donald Trump's young presidency is already prompting many Americans to dust off their high-school civics knowledge and think again about concepts like the "separation of powers," interbranch "checks and balances," and the proper functioning of the federal government. At the same time, it is prompting many pundits, especially but not exclusively on the left, to worry that Trump presents an unprecedented threat to the Constitution.

Many are asking aloud questions that in recent times had only been whispered: Do the Constitution's checks and balances still work? Is James Madison's eighteenth-century notion that "ambition" could be trusted to "counteract ambition" applicable to an era of partisanship so intense that it's warping people's very conceptions of reality? Can the other constitutional branches—and especially Congress—check President Trump?

Story Continued Below

As it turns out, the answer thus far is—more or less—yes: Congress is providing a check on President Trump's powers. It may not be happening as swiftly or as comprehensively as some Democrats might like, but the legislative branch is making its weight felt in the Trump era in a manner that, if it continues, bids fair to leave Trump with a reputation as an extraordinarily weak modern president.

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To understand why, we need to correct a common misperception about the separation of powers. The (quite brief) written Constitution does not allocate political power between the branches in a fully, or even largely, determinate manner. Instead, it gives each branch a set of potent tools that it can use to battle with the other branches for power in specific political contexts.

The Constitution, for instance, is very clear that "No money shall be drawn from the Treasury, but in Consequence of Appropriations made by Law." In other words, for the federal government to spend money, Congress must have passed a law authorizing that expenditure. But "How is the federal budget passed?" is a question primarily suited for the classroom. (I should know—it's one I ask my students every year.) "Who will decide the government's spending priorities for the coming year?", by

contrast, is the sort of question that we actually care about in politics, because what we want to know as citizens is how much we will pay in taxes, what the money will be spend on, and who will decide the answer to those questions.

Obviously, a classroom understanding of the written Constitution is important to answering that question: If the president could spend money unilaterally, then Congress's say over expenditures would be much reduced. But the constitutional text, while necessary, is by no means sufficient to understanding how the power is actually allocated. In 2011, the Republican-controlled House was able to force President Barack Obama and the Democratic Senate to make a huge number of concessions to Republican policy priorities as a price for keeping the government open. In 2013, the Republican-controlled House tried the same gambit and actually shut down the government—but this time, it was forced to retreat after a couple of weeks, reopening it almost entirely on Democrats' terms.

The Constitution hadn't changed in the interim, nor had partisan control of the relevant institutions. What had changed were the political dynamics: The 2010 elections had made clear that the Republicans had the electorate behind them in 2011; the 2012 elections, by contrast, proved that the political winds had shifted. In different political contexts, the same institutions, operating under the same written Constitution, had different levels of power.

So how might we relate this deeper understanding of the separation of powers back to the Trump era? First, note the importance of actors' standing with the public: Republicans controlled the same institution in 2011 and 2013, but what changed was their popularity. In that vein, it's worth noting that Trump came into office having lost the popular vote by quite a bit, with many of those who did vote for him having done so reluctantly, and his approval rating has been significantly underwater since the second week of his presidency. And he never had much support from GOP elites.

Republicans' control of both houses of Congress and the Supreme Court means of course that opposition to Trump from those institutions will have to overcome significantly higher inertial barriers than it would were at least one of them controlled by Democrats. But partisanship is not a static phenomenon—its forms and patterns change over time. When presidents' standing in the public sphere is low, they often have trouble getting cooperation even from members of their own party. Think of George W. Bush's inability to reform Social Security or to get Harriet Miers confirmed to the Supreme Court, or even the trouble that Obama had moving certain nominees (Dawn Johnsen, Goodwin Liu and Debo Adegbile, for example) through Democratic Senates.

If Trump remains unpopular—and especially if his unpopularity drags down the reelection prospects of other Republicans, as this year's special elections thus far suggest—then conditions will be especially ripe for Republican pushback. And, at the extreme, if Trump's presidency at some point really does look like it's going down in flames, Republicans might sense the chance to develop a bipartisan reputation for heroism by vigorously opposing him.

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So that brings us back to our initial question: Is Congress strong enough to stand up to Trump?

Let's begin with a congressional tool already discussed above: the power of the purse. Republican elites—both governors and members of Congress—have been overwhelmingly critical of the Trump White House's budget proposals, and it seems apparent that both the deep cuts to many existing programs and a number of the specific programs that Trump does want to fund (the border wall, for example) are unlikely to survive the congressional budget process.

Relatedly, Congress appears to be in no hurry to enact much of Trump's desired legislative agenda. After significant turmoil, the House finally passed the American Healthcare Act, but even before its dismal CBO score, a number of Senate Republicans made it clear that the upper chamber would draft its own bill. Senator Burr recently said that he did not think the Senate would pass a health-care bill this year—a remarkable on-the-record admission from a member of the majority party. And, of course, even if the Senate passed a health-care bill, it would be another Herculean struggle to get it through the House again.

Nor is health care the only part of Trump's legislative agenda that has failed to make it through Congress. Neither an infrastructure bill nor a tax reform plan has yet materialized, and Trump faces the very real possibility of having no major legislative accomplishments in his first year in office.

Another domain in which Congress might push back against a president is that of personnel. Here, Trump's record with Congress has in some sense been better. Only one of his cabinet nominees, Andrew Puzder, nominated as secretary of labor, has failed in the Senate. And by nominating an establishment conservative—the sort of nominee President Marco Rubio might have chosen—as his Supreme Court pick, Trump ensured that the Senate Republican caucus held together.

But in another sense, appointments have been a trouble spot for this administration. The administration has been almost shockingly slow to staff up at the sub-cabinet level, and the time required to confirm those nominees later will detract still further from Trump's legislative agenda. Moreover, Trump is certain to face significant trouble getting his choice of a new FBI director confirmed after having fired James Comey—which may partly explain why five candidates have withdrawn from consideration in the last few weeks.

Investigations offer another potent means by which Congress can confront a president, especially this president. There are currently four committees investigating links between Russia and the Trump campaign and administration. Many critics of the administration are frustrated by the pace of these investigations. But while there is little doubt they'd be going faster if Democrats controlled one chamber, the extent to which these investigations have proceeded and have damaged the administration is remarkable, especially for an administration less than 150 days old.

The March testimony of then-FBI director James Comey and NSA director Michael Rogers before the House Intelligence Committee generated the headline-making confirmation that the FBI was, indeed, investigating the Trump campaign's ties to Russia. After Trump fired Comey, the lead story out of Acting FBI director Andrew McCabe's testimony before the Senate Intelligence Committee was that McCabe denied the White House's claim that Comey had lost the confidence of the FBI rank and file. And in recent weeks, soon-to-retire House Oversight Committee chair Jason Chaffetz has become increasingly confrontational toward the administration, insisting that the existence of a special counsel investigation is not sufficient reason for the FBI to withhold documents that have been requested by his committee.

Comey, of course, is set to testify before an open session of the Senate Intelligence Committee this week, and both Intelligence Committees continue to ponder how to respond to Michael Flynn's invocation of the Fifth Amendment in refusing to turn over various documents under subpoena. All of these investigative moves required Republican buy-in, and none of them are exactly helpful to this administration.

So, what is the verdict on Congress's uses of its tools to push back against Trump? So far, mixed. It certainly has not been a record of unalloyed partisan subservience, but neither has it been one of sustained opposition. But it is worth noting that opposition tends to be self-reinforcing: insofar as it prevents the administration from getting policy wins, or furthers a narrative of failure, fecklessness or corruption, it will tend to lower the president's public standing still further. That, in turn, will encourage and embolden congressional opposition, which will, in turn, produce more failures and embarrassments for the administration.

Nothing about that dynamic is inevitable, of course. Trump could conceivably turn things around, and an exogenous shock to the system could scramble political incentives and interactions. But the mere fact of unified Republican government does not guarantee Trump a free hand, and Congress has plenty of tools with which to push back, should it choose to do so.

The Washington Post

## As Trump lashes out, Republicans grow uneasy (UNE)

President Trump, after days of lashing out angrily at the London mayor and federal courts in the wake of the London Bridge terrorist attack, faces a convergence of challenges this week that threatens to exacerbate the fury that has gripped him — and that could further hobble a Republican agenda that has slowed to a crawl on Capitol Hill.

Instead of hunkering down and delicately navigating the legal and political thicket — as some White House aides have suggested —

Trump spent much of Monday launching volleys on Twitter, unable to resist continuing, in effect, as his own lawyer, spokesman, cheerleader and media watchdog.

Trump escalated his criticism of London Mayor Sadiq Khan, incorrectly stating that Khan had told Londoners to not be "alarmed" about terrorism. He vented about the Justice Department, which he said pushed a "politically correct" version of his policy to block immigration from six predominantly Muslim countries, which Trump signed before it was halted in court. He also complained that Senate Democrats are "taking forever to approve" his appointees and ambassadors.

Inside the White House, top officials have in various ways gently suggested to Trump over the past week that he should leave the feuding to surrogates, according to two people who were not authorized to speak publicly. But Trump has repeatedly shrugged off that advice, these people said.

"Not that I'm aware of," White House principal deputy press secretary Sarah Huckabee Sanders said Monday at a news conference when asked if the president's tweets were being vetted by lawyers or aides.

President Trump's travel ban is facing multiple court battles, and his tendency to tweet about it isn't helping his lawyers. President Trump's travel ban is facing multiple court battles, and his tendency to tweet about it isn't helping his lawyers. (Jenny Starrs/The Washington Post)

(Jenny Starrs/The Washington Post)

"Social media for the president is extremely important," Sanders said. "It gives him the ability to speak directly to the people without the bias of the media filtering those types of communication."

Trump's refusal to disengage from the daily storm of news — coming ahead of former FBI director James B. Comey's highly anticipated public testimony before the Senate Intelligence Committee on Thursday — is both unsurprising and unsettling to many Republicans, who are already skittish about the questions they may confront in the aftermath of the hearing. In particular, they foresee Democratic accusations that Trump's exchanges with Comey about the FBI probe into Russian meddling in the 2016 presidential campaign were an effort to obstruct justice.

Some Republicans fear that Trump's reactions will only worsen the potential damage.

"It's a distraction, and he needs to focus," said former Trump campaign adviser Barry Bennett. "Every day and moment he spends on anything other than a rising economy is a waste that disrupts everything."

Rick Tyler, a veteran Republican consultant, said Trump's relentlessness in using Twitter poses a serious obstacle for the White House.

"I can't imagine internally they're happy with his performance," Tyler said. "The president is undermining his presidency whenever his staff says one thing and then he does another. They'll say something you'd expect, and then he'll go off and bring in the gun debate to a terror attack."

Some Trump supporters also fear that his extemporaneous rebukes are upending the priorities he is trying to implement.

George Conway, a well-known GOP lawyer who recently took himself out of the running to lead the Justice Department's civil division and is the husband of Trump adviser Kellyanne Conway, wrote on Twitter on Monday that Trump's fulminations on the travel ban could damage its chances.

"These tweets may make some ppl feel better, but they certainly won't help OSG get 5 votes in SCOTUS, which is what actually matters. Sad," he wrote, using abbreviations for the Office of Solicitor General and the Supreme Court.

Trump's friends say he's just being himself.

"He's rightly frustrated, and he isn't always checking with his lawyers about each tweet. But he's getting his message out there," said Christopher Ruddy, a close associate of Trump and president of Newsmax Media, a conservative news organization. "He is relying on himself to be the messenger."

It is an increasingly lonely endeavor. Trump's poll numbers have sagged, with Gallup's daily tracking number showing him at 37 percent approval Monday, nearing the nadir of his presidency so far, while the RealClearPolitics polling average shows his approval rating just under 40 percent.

Yet even among party leadership and senior advisers in the West Wing, many remain supportive of Trump's combative posture, unable or unwilling to usher him toward a less incendiary approach.

"It's all infighting and leaks to the point where Trump is diluting his own proposals," Bennett said. "I don't get it. Rather than getting him to talk about jobs, they stand by as he goes on about Mayor Khan."

The few who have spoken up have been careful to not provoke Trump. "Unfortunately, the president has, I think, created problems for himself by his Twitter habit," Sen. John Cornyn (Tex.), the No. 2 ranking Senate Republican, said with a tight smile during a Sunday interview on Dallas TV station WFAA.

Comey's testimony is one of a number of items on the White House radar this week that risk stoking Trump's rage.

A week after Trump declared his trip to the Middle East a success, the region was swept into turmoil Monday after four Arab nations — Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, Egypt and Bahrain — broke diplomatic relations with another U.S. ally, Qatar, which they have accused of supporting terrorism.

Several U.S. allies in Europe also have grown weary with Trump after he decided to withdraw the country last week from the Paris climate accord. One of his closer allies there, British Prime Minister Theresa May, responded uncomfortably Monday to Trump's outbursts about Khan, who is Muslim, as the United Kingdom was coping with the aftermath of the London Bridge attack, which killed seven.

"I think Sadiq Khan is doing a good job, and it's wrong to say anything else," May tersely told reporters.

In Congress, Trump's ambitions to pass a health-care overhaul and tax changes have been stymied by party infighting and growing nervousness about the potential political cost, especially in the more moderate Senate. The only major legislative accomplishment so far has been the confirmation of Supreme Court Justice Neil M. Gorsuch, which came in April after bypassing a Democratic blockade.

David Winston, a Republican pollster who works closely with congressional GOP leaders, said lawmakers are eager to avoid discussions on issues that do not have to do with their agenda — including Trump's tweets — and said an extended delay on big-ticket legislation would pose a problem.

"Anytime they're not talking about the economy or jobs, they know that's not what the electorate is looking for," Winston said. "It's going to be the responsibility of the White House to provide that context" when the news cycle and media has their attention elsewhere, he added.

Ongoing turmoil in the White House only exacerbates the problems. Talk of possible staff changes has fueled a rush of stories that irritate Trump, who disdains news coverage of his advisers and their many rivalries. Former campaign loyalists, such as Corey Lewandowski and David Bossie, have been spotted heading to the Oval Office for meetings.

Meanwhile, the Russia-related questions are ubiquitous. Robert S. Mueller III, the special counsel delving into potential ties between Trump's campaign and Russia, is busy at work, and Trump's son-in-law and senior adviser, Jared Kushner, is a focus of the investigation, according to people familiar with the probe.

Trump allies have for weeks discussed the possible formation of a Russia-focused "war room" either inside or outside the administration, but any such operation has yet to be formally announced. The president has retained an outside legal team, however, while Bossie and Lewandowski have been mentioned as possible leaders of an advocacy group that would defend Trump after Comey's testimony.

Local Politics Alerts

Breaking news about local government in D.C., Md., Va.

The White House has gamely attempted to ignore the fallout from Trump's latest tweets, pressing forward Monday with a conventional rollout of parts of a promised infrastructure program.

Standing in a dark suit and red-striped tie at the White House in front of Cabinet officials and Vice President Pence, Trump endorsed a plan to spin off more than 30,000 federal workers, including thousands of air traffic controllers, into a private nonprofit corporation — and he railed against the Obama administration's previous work to improve the Federal Aviation Administration.

"The current [aviation] system cannot keep up, has not been able to keep up for many years," Trump said. "We're still stuck with an ancient, broken, antiquated, horrible system that doesn't work."

It was a brief respite from rancor. A few hours later, this time on Facebook, Trump was back at it, posting a video and fervent note to his millions of followers.

"We need the Travel Ban — not the watered down, politically correct version the Justice Department submitted to the Supreme Court, but a MUCH TOUGHER version!" Trump wrote. "We cannot rely on the MSM to get the facts to the

people. Spread this message. SHARE NOW."

## Trump Promotes Original 'Travel Ban,' Eroding His Legal Case (UNE)

Adam Liptak and Peter Baker

Even a lawyer with strong ties to the administration said Mr. Trump was hurting his chances in the Supreme Court and undercutting the work of the Justice Department's elite appellate unit.

George T. Conway III, who withdrew last week as Mr. Trump's nominee for assistant attorney general for the civil division and whose wife, Kellyanne Conway, is the president's counselor, commented on one of Mr. Trump's posts.

"These tweets may make some ppl feel better, but they certainly won't help OSG get 5 votes in SCOTUS, which is what actually matters," he wrote in his own Twitter post, using acronyms for the Office of the Solicitor General and the Supreme Court of the United States. "Sad."

Still, some administration supporters said the court should not consider the tweets. While looking beyond the letter of the order might be appropriate in domestic policy, the president has a freer hand in foreign policy, said David B. Rivkin Jr., a lawyer in the administrations of Ronald Reagan and George Bush. "As a constitutional matter, as a legal matter, it should make absolutely no difference," he said of the president's extracurricular messaging.

Last week, lawyers in the solicitor general's office filed polished briefs in the Supreme Court. They urged the justices to ignore incendiary statements from Mr. Trump during the presidential campaign, including a call for a "Muslim ban." The court should focus instead on the text of the revised executive order and statements from Mr. Trump after he had taken the inaugural oath to "preserve, protect and defend the Constitution," the briefs said.

Mr. Trump, his lawyers said, was now a changed man, alert to the burdens and responsibilities of his office.

"Taking that oath marks a profound transition from private life to the nation's highest public office, and manifests the singular responsibility and independent authority to protect the welfare of the nation that the Constitution reposes in the president," they wrote.

On Twitter early Monday, though, Mr. Trump appeared to say that the latest executive order was of a piece with the earlier one, issued in January, and with his longstanding positions.

In calling the revised order "politically correct," Mr. Trump suggested that his goal throughout had been to exclude travelers based on religion. And in calling the revised order "watered down," he made it harder for his lawyers to argue that it was a clean break from the earlier one, which had mentioned religion.

The Supreme Court has asked people and groups challenging the executive order to file their responses to the government's briefs next Monday. Those responses will almost certainly rely on Mr. Trump's tweets in arguing that the justices should not revive the order. The court will probably act on the government's requests in the coming weeks.

In his posts, Mr. Trump seemed to betray a misunderstanding of how two branches of the federal government work. His criticism of the Justice Department was misplaced, because it works for him. He could have insisted that it defend his original order. It was Mr. Trump's decision, too, to issue the revised order.

Mr. Trump also suggested that the Justice Department could ask the Supreme Court to impose a "much tougher version" of his executive order. But the court's role is limited to evaluating the lawfulness of the current order.

Insulting judges is also generally a poor litigation strategy. But Mr. Trump also posted that "the courts are slow and political!"

Mr. Trump's adversaries certainly welcomed his tweets.

"It just adds to the mountain of already existing evidence that the government has had to ask the court over and over to ignore," said Omar Jadwat, a lawyer with the American Civil Liberties Union, which represents people and groups challenging the law. "Blinding the courts to a reality that everyone else is aware of is never an attractive position, but is especially problematic when you have to ignore in real time what's being said by the president of the United States."

Neal K. Katyal, who represents Hawaii in a separate challenge to the order, said there was a yawning gap between Mr. Trump's tweets and his lawyers' filings.

"The president's statements, before, during and after his inauguration, continually demonstrate what his so-called travel ban is really about," Mr. Katyal said. "It's not surprising his story and his tweets don't match up with what the solicitor general has been trying to say in court."

There was also daylight between the president and his aides about what to call the executive order.

"People, the lawyers and the courts can call it whatever they want, but I am calling it what we need and what it is, a TRAVEL BAN!" Mr. Trump wrote.

But his own staff members had insisted it was not a travel ban. Sean Spicer, the White House press secretary, spent much of one early briefing telling reporters not to call it that. "It's not a travel ban," Mr. Spicer insisted. "When we use words like travel ban, that misrepresents what it is."

At the time, John F. Kelly, the secretary of homeland security, also rejected the phrase. "This is not a travel ban," he said. "This is a temporary pause that allows us to better review the existing refugee and visa vetting system."

Mr. Trump's posts came as Ms. Conway went on NBC's "Today" show and chastised the news media for focusing too much on the president's Twitter feed, calling it an "obsession with covering everything he says on Twitter and very little of what he does as president."

The revised executive order, which the president criticized on Monday, took Iraq off the list of countries that would be affected and made clear that the restrictions did not apply to those who held green cards or valid visas. It also eliminated a provision that seemed to prioritize Christian refugees for entry.

The revised order, like the first, barred all refugees from entering the country for 120 days. It limited entry for 90 days for visitors from six countries: Iran, Libya, Somalia, Sudan, Syria and Yemen.

"In any event we are EXTREME VETTING people coming into the U.S. in order to help keep our country safe," Mr. Trump wrote on Monday.

The administration said it chose those six nations and Iraq from a list of "countries of concern" identified in a law signed by President Barack Obama in 2015. But experts have said that since the Sept. 11 attacks, no one has been killed in the United States in a terrorist attack by anyone who emigrated from or whose parents emigrated from any of those nations.

This was not the first time the president had expressed second thoughts about revising the original order. In March, after a Federal District Court in Hawaii blocked the revised version, Mr. Trump complained that it was only "a watered-down version of the first order" and told a rally of supporters that "I think we ought to go back to the first one and go all the way" to the Supreme Court, "which is what I wanted to do in the first place."

## Trump's latest tweets will probably hurt effort to restore travel ban (UNE)

President Trump on Monday derided the revised travel ban as a "watered down" version of the first and criticized his own Justice Department's handling of the case — potentially hurting the administration's defense of the ban as the legal battle over it reaches a critical new stage.

Trump in a tweet called the new ban "politically correct," ignoring the fact that he himself signed the executive order replacing the first ban with a revised version that targeted six, rather than seven, Muslim-majority countries and that blocked the issuance of new visas rather than revoking current ones.

Trump said the Justice Department should seek a "much tougher version" and made clear — despite his press secretary's past remarks to the contrary — that the executive order is a "ban," not a pause on some sources of immigration or an enhanced vetting system.

"People, the lawyers and the courts can call it whatever they want, but I

am calling it what we need and what it is, a TRAVEL BAN!" Trump wrote.

*[Federal appeals court maintains freeze of Trump's travel ban. Attorney general vows Supreme Court appeal.]*

The president's tweets could significantly damage his administration's effort to restore the ban, which has been put on hold by two federal courts.

Next week, those suing are expected to file arguments on the matter with the Supreme Court, and Trump's latest remarks will surely be part of their briefs. The administration appealed to the nation's highest court after the U.S. Court of Appeals for the 4th Circuit upheld the freeze on the ban last month.

Neal Katyal, the lawyer who argued for the challengers in the U.S. Court of Appeals for the 9th Circuit, wrote on Twitter, "Its kinda odd to have the defendant in HawaiivTrump acting as our co-counsel. We don't need the help but will take it!" He also wrote that he was "waiting now for the inevitable cover-my-tweet posts from him that the Solicitor General will no doubt insist upon."

Even George Conway, a prominent lawyer who recently took himself out of the running to lead the Justice Department's Civil Division and who is the husband of top Trump adviser Kellyanne Conway, posted on Twitter that the remarks might hurt the legal case.

"These tweets may make some ppl feel better, but they certainly won't help OSG get 5 votes in SCOTUS, which is what actually matters. Sad," he wrote, using abbreviations for Office of Solicitor General and the Supreme Court.

*[Conway: President's tweets 'certainly won't help']*

A Justice Department spokesman declined to comment. White House spokeswoman Sarah Huckabee Sanders said the president was "not at all" concerned that his tweets might muddy the legal case, and his attention was instead on the substance of his executive order. She said she was not aware of any vetting of his tweets by lawyers or aides.

How Trump's travel ban broke from the normal executive order process

"The president is very focused on exactly what that order spells out, and that's protecting Americans, protecting national security, and he has every constitutional authority to do that through that executive order and he maintains that, and that position hasn't changed in the slightest," Sanders said.

Trump himself indicated late in the day that he had no intention of backing down from his early morning sentiments, tweeting, "That's right, we need a TRAVEL BAN for certain DANGEROUS countries, not some politically correct term that won't help us protect our people!"

Federal judges across the country have focused acutely on Trump's own comments in ordering that the ban be frozen, determining that the president's words expose the measure as being a tool for discrimination disguised as a national security directive.

*[President Trump's lawyers on revised travel ban repeatedly asked about campaign promises]*

The majority opinion in the 4th Circuit maintaining the freeze on the ban quoted extensively from Trump's tweets and media interviews, and from those of his advisers. On the campaign trail, Trump called for a "total and complete shutdown of Muslims entering the United States."

Omar C. Jadwat, the American Civil Liberties Union lawyer who argued the case in the 4th Circuit, wrote that Trump's tweets amounted to "a promise: let me do this and I'll take it as license to do even worse." In an interview, Jadwat said the president's tweets "seem to undermine the picture the government's been trying to paint."

"I can't say for sure what our brief is going to look like, but this stuff seems relevant," Jadwat said.

Government lawyers have sought to convince judges that they should not consider the president's statements but instead limit their analysis to the text of the ban. They have also sought to portray the president's words as campaign trail rhetoric, and noted that many of the remarks in question — though not all — came before Trump was elected.

"We shouldn't start down the road of psychoanalyzing what people meant on the campaign trail," acting solicitor general Jeffrey B. Wall told judges at a recent court hearing in the 9th Circuit.

Trump's latest tweets — which were later set to dramatic music and posted in a video on his Facebook page — will provide those challenging the ban more examples of post-election remarks and a stronger case that Trump's revised travel ban had the same purpose as the original version.

That version, which unilaterally revoked the visas of tens of thousands of people from seven Muslim-majority countries, was seen as much harder to defend because it was more onerous and had a provision in the text that seemed designed to exempt Christian travelers.

Trump tweeted Monday that the Justice Department "should have stayed with the original Travel Ban, not the watered down, politically correct version they submitted" to the Supreme Court. In addition to creating possible headaches in court, that misstates the process. Trump signed the executive order imposing the ban. The Justice Department defends his policies in court.

Trump also wrote that the Justice Department "should ask for an expedited hearing of the watered down Travel Ban before the Supreme Court — & seek much tougher version!" The Supreme Court would not be the body to enact a ban; the justices will be weighing whether Trump's order is constitutional.

The travel ban seems to have been on Trump's mind since the terrorist attack in London on Saturday, when Trump wrote on Twitter, "We need to be smart, vigilant and tough. We need the courts to give us back our rights. We need the Travel Ban as an extra level of safety!"

*[Trump ramps up push for travel ban even as opposition hardens]*

Legal analysts were quick to point out that the president was hurting his own case.

"In case it's not obvious, these will only undermine the government's case before #SCOTUS for both a stay & on the merits of the #TravelBan," University of Texas law professor Stephen Vladeck posted on Twitter. "These will also go a long way toward mooting debate over use of campaign statements; no need when, as President, he still says these things."

Checkpoint newsletter

Military, defense and security at home and abroad.

Trump also wrote on Twitter that the administration was already "EXTREME VETTING" travelers coming into the United States — which he said was necessary to keep the country safe because courts are "slow and political!" The Department of Homeland Security has previously suggested such vetting was taking place, but that, too, seems to undercut the Justice Department's legal position.

The travel ban was supposed to be a temporary measure, designed to afford the administration time to conduct a review and decide what new vetting procedures were necessary. When a federal judge in Hawaii ordered the ban frozen, though, the government interpreted his order as stopping even that review — and the judge declined to clarify that it did not.

Wall told the 4th Circuit last month that the administration had "put our pens down" and had "done nothing to review the vetting procedures for these countries."

If the administration already has implemented new vetting procedures, that would seem to call into question the necessity of a temporary ban. Legal analysts, though, have previously said that president's remarks indicate he might not view the measure as temporary — despite what the text of the executive order says.

The Washington Post

## Fighting climate change saved these workers' jobs. Now they are worried about Trump (UNE)

CHARLOTTE — Mike Catanzaro, a solar panel installer with a high school diploma, likes to work with his hands under the clear Carolina sky. That's why he supported President Trump, a defender of blue-collar workers. But the 25-year-old sees Trump's withdrawal from the Paris climate agreement as a threat to his job.

"I'm a little nervous about it. The solar business is blowing up and that's great for a lot of people around here," Catanzaro said, just after switching on an 86-panel array atop a brick apartment building.

"I was in favor of Trump, which I might regret now," he said. "I just don't want solar to go down the wrong path."

While some employed in particular industries have celebrated the U.S. exit from the Paris agreement, the responses of workers such as

Catanzaro add a considerable wrinkle to Trump's promises that scrapping the accords could save millions of people "trapped in poverty and joblessness."

The more complicated truth, experts say, is that while there could well be some winners — such as workers in the coal industry — the Paris departure embodies the government's abandonment of a suite of policies that promised to create hundreds of thousands of jobs at the same time as fighting climate change.

About 370,000 people work for solar companies in the United States, with the majority of them employed in installations, according to the Department of Energy. More than 9,500 solar jobs have cropped up in North Carolina alone, the study found. That's more than natural gas (2,181), coal (2,115) and oil generation of electric power (480) combined.

The growth followed federal government tax credits and other supports, under President Barack Obama.

The country today has roughly 51,000 coal mining jobs, a sharp fall from 89,400 in 2011, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics. The latest jobs report, out Friday, showed coal mining added 400 jobs in May.

Not everyone in the renewable industry will be affected by the departure from the Paris accord. Major players in the power industry, such as Duke Energy, a utility based in Charlotte that has heavily relied on coal in the past, say they remain committed to moving away from the older, more polluting sources of energy.

But Trump's move could be devastating for small-scale operators like Catanzaro's employer.

Catanzaro, 25, quit college after his first semester and has been as a technician in the solar industry for most of the time since then, most recently doing electrician's work. He found his current job at Accelerate Solar five months ago on Craigslist.

"It's the energy of the future," Catanzaro said. "I mean, really: It's electricity from the sun. It's self-sustaining."

Solar is a rare expanding blue-collar opportunity in North Carolina, said Jason Jolley, an economics professor at Ohio University who grew up in the state.

The state's traditional blue-collar sources of employment — tobacco, textile and furniture manufacturing — have all declined since the nineties, in part because of cheaper labor abroad.

Catanzaro's job pays about $20 an hour, but offers no benefits. His $40,000 a year annual wages are in the same range as the older blue-collar jobs. Workers in North Carolina's furniture factories earn an average salary of about $39,300. Those in tobacco make about $45,000.

North Carolina generally doesn't employ coal miners, but if Catanzaro found work as a coal miner in West Virginia he could expect to earn $55,000.

He is earning enough to rent a four-bedroom house for his wife and three children, and is hoping to save up enough to pursue his electrician's license. That will open up a more lucrative path in the solar field, he said.

Summer, meanwhile, is overtime season — "the top of the solar coaster," as he says — and Catanzaro said he hopes to work at least 50 hours per week until fall.

Chris Verner, co-founder of Accelerate Solar and Catanzaro's employer, got his start as a college student in Vermont, setting up a business after graduation that took advantage of green energy rebates under an Obama-era stimulus package.

He moved to North Carolina five years ago to launch Accelerate Solar with $3,000. The company's sales last year hit $5.2 million, Verner said.

He said he is hoping to double his 20-person installation team this year.

Verner's experience reflects the growth of the solar industry across the United States.

An analysis last year from the Solar Foundation found solar jobs in the U.S. have jumped at least 20 percent annually every year since 2012.

Trump rolling back environmental policies won't stop the spread of renewable energy, said Mark Muro, an economics scholar at the Brookings Institution. "Renewables growth is inevitable," he said. But Muro added: "Trump's rhetoric certainly won't help it as it creates uncertainty."

Duke Energy said Trump's decision to pull out of the Paris agreement hasn't affected its plan to reduce carbon emissions 40 percent by 2030. It has already closed half of its coal-powered plants in North Carolina.

"We plan our system and our investments over decades to deliver reliable and increasingly clean power to our customers at affordable rates," spokeswoman Dawn Santoianni said in a statement. "Reducing emissions cost-effectively and delivering on our commitment to a lower carbon future remains an important tenet of our investment strategy."

Solar technology had been around for decades but the industry really only took off in the United States in 2006 after George W. Bush introduced the solar investment tax credit, offering a 30 percent tax credit for businesses and homeowners. The credit — reauthorized by Congress in 2016 — has been extended through 2021.

A drop in the manufacturing costs of solar components also helped make solar more affordable, but the supportive policies were key, said Conor Casey, the chief operating officer at Accelerate Solar.

"I think it definitely became more mainstream while he was in office," Casey said. "I couldn't speak to cause and effect but the administration was very good about promoting good policies. I think we have an openly hostile administration today."

Verner and Catanzaro have already seen how policy shifts can hurt their business.

Catanzaro, the installer, was laid off from his first job in the solar industry last year after his company left the state, citing a tough regulatory environment, including North Carolina's law that allows only utilities to sell electricity to customers.

Verner took a hit around the same time when Republican legislators in the state let its 35 percent tax credit for renewable energy investments expire, saying the industry could stand up on its own.

Business in North Carolina fell sharply forcing Verner to refocus his home installation business on South Carolina. The border is a 15-minute drive from his Charlotte office.

Since Trump took office, Verner said, buyers seem to think government support for rooftop solar could soon disappear.

"We've had a ton of customers that are concerned — will they be able to get their tax credits?" he said. "It makes them a lot more skeptical that they'll be able to get those when they complete their project."

In a Thursday speech, Trump lamented the decline of coal, which has claimed livelihoods from West Virginia to Wyoming. He blamed it on environmental regulations and Obama's commitment to renewable energy.

"We are effectively putting these reserves under lock and key, taking away the great wealth of our nation," Trump said of clean power measures, "and leaving millions and millions of families trapped in poverty and joblessness."

President Trump has decided to pull the U.S. out of the Paris Agreement. Here's what you need to know. President Trump has decided to pull the U.S. out of the Paris Agreement. Here's what you need to know. (Daron Taylor/The Washington Post)

President Trump has decided to pull the U.S. out of the Paris Agreement. Here's what you need to know. (Daron Taylor/The Washington Post)

The president said complying with the Paris agreement would cost up to 2.7 million jobs by 2025, citing a study from the National Economic Research Associates, which was funded by the U.S. Chamber of Commerce and the American Council for Capital Formation, both of which opposed the deal.

Trump did not account for jobs that would be created as a result of the transition to a clean energy economy.

Economists say coal jobs started disappearing decades ago, a decline that deepened as natural gas got cheaper, thanks to the rise of fracking and horizontal drilling. Electricity companies began shutting down coal-powered plants and switching to natural gas, further driving down the demand for coal.

Duke chief executive Lynn Good has said the company has no intentions of reviving its coal use. "Our strategy will continue to be to drive carbon out of our business," she said in an April speech.

Trump supporters believe the president's decision to exit Paris will help restore the nation's coal jobs. In an interview with CNBC, Gary Cohn, the director of Trump's National Economic Council, predicted opportunities will return for miners: "Coal will be competitive again."

S.T. Karnick, director of research at the Heartland Institute, a right-leaning Illinois think tank, said that the possibility of new solar jobs wouldn't make up for the loss Kentucky, Pennsylvania and Ohio have experienced.

"The promise of employment 10 years or more down the road rings hollow to people who have already lost their jobs — and see all the new tech employment gravitating to San

Francisco and other places they'll never even get to visit, much less find jobs in," Karnick wrote in an email.

Solar industry analysts, meanwhile, argue the future remains bright, regardless of what's happening in Washington.

Wonkbook newsletter

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"We supported the Paris agreement when it was signed and still believe the U.S. should be engaged," Dan Whitten, vice president of communications for the Solar Energy Industries Association, said in a statement. "However, we expect America's solar industry to continue to create jobs, boost the economy and reduce greenhouse gas emissions whether we are a part of the accord or not."

Joel Hart, 28, an installer for Accelerate Solar, said he is grateful for finding a job after returning home to Albany, N.Y., following his time in the Marines and deployments to Afghanistan and Iraq.

"I went from being told I was America's finest, a U.S. Marine," he said, "to you don't have any experience so we're not hiring you."

Solar, he said, could be his generation's ticket to the middle class.

"Every generation has a trade," Hart said. "It used to be the steelworkers. The coal miners. Now this can give us the best job security."

## Milbank : Our president is simply unpresidented

Not one-eighth of the way through his term, Donald Trump has each day become more isolated: from his own appointees and staff (whom he routinely contradicts and undermines); from world leaders (whom he regularly offends); from the courts (whose integrity he has repeatedly assaulted); from his current director of the National Security Agency and his past director of the FBI (who are both expected to give damaging testimony this week on the Russia scandal); and even from his most ardent supporters (whose enthusiasm has softened markedly in polls).

In the space of a few hours on Monday, Trump managed to attack not just Democrats ("OBSTRUCTIONISTS!") and the mayor of London ("pathetic") but also the judicial system ("slow and political!") and even his own Justice Department (for submitting a "watered down, politically correct" measure to the Supreme Court). He undermined his own administration officials and lawyers, who for legal reasons had painstakingly argued that Trump's ban on travel from several Muslim-majority countries was not a "travel ban." Tweeted Trump: "I am calling it what we need and what it is, a TRAVEL BAN!"

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On top of all this Twitter madness, Politico's Susan Glasser reported that Trump blindsided his secretary of state, defense secretary and national security adviser, who had made sure that his speech to NATO reaffirmed the alliance's collective-defense clause. Trump removed the language — the cornerstone of the military alliance — at the last minute without even telling the advisers.

Trump reacted Monday to all the chaos he created by hunkering down further, canceling without notice a scheduled "pool spray" with reporters at which he was expected to answer questions.

President Trump's travel ban is facing multiple court battles, and his tendency to tweet about it isn't helping his lawyers. President Trump's travel ban is facing multiple court battles, and his tendency to tweet about it isn't helping his lawyers. (Jenny Starrs/The Washington Post)

(Jenny Starrs/The Washington Post)

It has become cliche to observe that Trump's behavior is both unprecedented and unpresidential. Perhaps we should combine the two and simply accept that Trump, to borrow one of his Twitter misspellings, is "unpresidented."

So isolated is Trump that he accidentally hits send on a tweet with gibberish and there's nobody who can get him to delete the errant missive for hours. CNN's Gloria Borger last week quoted a Trump confidant describing a lost man: "He now lives within himself, which is a dangerous place for Donald Trump to be. I see him emotionally withdrawing. He's gained weight. He doesn't have anybody whom he trusts."

This is indeed dangerous. Though Trump's ineffectiveness comes as a relief, his isolation is no cause for celebration. Whenever his back is to the wall, he becomes even more aggressive. The further he falls, and the more alienated he grows, the greater the danger that he will do something desperate — and there is much that a desperate commander in chief can do.

There's no telling when that might happen. Perhaps if the Supreme Court strikes down his travel ban, as lower courts have done? Neil Gorsuch, Trump's appointee to the high court, said Friday night that he is confident "government can lose in its own courts and accept the judgment of those courts without an army to back it up." I hope he's right. But, as if by way of reply, Trump attacked the courts again Monday with the sort of language Gorsuch had in the past called disheartening.

Trump even seems to be alienating some of his base, that 35 to 40 percent of the country that seems to back him no matter what he does. Numbers cruncher Nate Silver of FiveThirtyEight observed recently that while Trump's overall floor of support remains about the same — 36 percent approve of the job he's doing in the latest Gallup poll — the number of Americans who strongly approve of Trump has declined sharply, from 30 percent in February to 21 or 22 percent now — a falloff of nearly a third.

Is there nobody outside of Trump's family who is in sync with Trump? Actually, there is.

"I haven't seen, even once, any direct proof of Russian interference in the presidential election in the United States," Vladimir Putin told Megyn Kelly for her NBC debut Sunday night.

The Russian president said hackers can make it appear "as if your 3-year-old daughter carried out the attack." He went on to say "there were no meetings" between the Russian ambassador and officials affiliated with the Trump campaign, and, invoking the Kennedy assassination, floated a conspiracy theory that U.S. intelligence was trying to frame Russia.

These were curiously similar to Trump's responses — casting doubt on Russia's involvement, suggesting the hacking could have been done by a 400-pound man in his bed, decrying facts as "fake news" and planting conspiracy theories.

At least somebody is on the same page as Trump. Unfortunately, the words are in Cyrillic.

## Leonhardt : The Lawless Presidency - The New York Times

David Leonhardt

They are a pattern of his presidency, one that the judicial system, Congress, civic institutions and principled members of Trump's own administration need to resist. Trump's view of the law, quite simply, violates American traditions.

Let's walk through the major themes:

**LAW ENFORCEMENT, POLITICIZED.** People in federal law enforcement take pride in trying to remain apart from politics. I've been talking lately with past Justice Department appointees, from both parties, and they speak in almost identical terms.

They view the Justice Department as more independent than, say, the State or Treasury Departments. The Justice Department works with the rest of the administration on policy matters, but keeps its distance on law enforcement. That's why White House officials aren't supposed to pick up the phone and call whomever they want at the department. There is a careful process.

Trump has erased this distinction.

He pressured Comey to drop the investigation of Trump's campaign and fired Comey when he refused. Trump has called for specific prosecutions, first of Hillary Clinton and more recently of leakers.

The attorney general, Jeff Sessions, is part of the problem. He is supposed to be the nation's head law-enforcement official, but acts as a Trump loyalist. He recently held a briefing in the White House press room — "a jaw-dropping violation of norms," as Slate's Leon Neyfakh wrote. Sessions has proclaimed, "This is the Trump era."

Like Trump, he sees little distinction between the enforcement of the law and the interests of the president.

**COURTS, UNDERMINED.** Past administrations have respected the judiciary as having the final word on the law. Trump has tried to delegitimize almost any judge who disagrees with him.

His latest Twitter tantrum, on Monday, took a swipe at "the courts" over his stymied travel ban.

It joined a long list of his judge insults: "this so-called judge"; "a single, unelected district judge"; "ridiculous"; "so political"; "terrible"; "a hater of Donald Trump"; "essentially takes law-enforcement away from our country"; "THE SECURITY OF OUR NATION IS AT STAKE!"

"What's unusual is he's essentially challenging the legitimacy of the court's role," the legal scholar Charles Geyh told The Washington Post. Trump's message, Geyh said, was: "I should be able to do what I choose."

**TEAM TRUMP, ABOVE THE LAW.** Foreign governments speed up trademark applications from Trump businesses. Foreign officials curry favor by staying at his hotel. A senior administration official urges people to buy Ivanka Trump's clothing. The president violates bipartisan tradition by refusing to release his tax returns, thus shrouding his conflicts.

The behavior has no precedent. "Trump and his administration are flagrantly violating ethics laws," the former top ethics advisers to George W. Bush and Barack Obama have written.

Again, the problems extend beyond the Trump family. Tom Price, the secretary of health and human services, has used political office to enrich himself. Sessions failed to disclose previous meetings with Russian officials.

Their attitude is clear: If we're doing it, it's O.K.

**CITIZENS, UNEQUAL.** Trump and his circle treat themselves as having a privileged status under the law. And not everyone else is equal, either.

In a frightening echo of despots, Trump has signaled that he accepts democracy only when it suits him. Remember when he said, "I will totally accept the results of this great and historic presidential election — if I win"?

**Trump Will Accept Election if He Wins**

At a rally in Delaware, Ohio, Donald J. Trump said he would accept the outcome of the Nov. 8 vote if it falls in his favor.

By NETWORK POOL on October 20, 2016. Photo by Damon Winter/The New York Times. Watch in Times Video »

The larger message is that people who support him are fully American, and people who don't are something less. He tells elaborate lies about voter fraud by those who oppose him, especially African-Americans and Latinos. Then he uses those lies to justify measures that restrict their voting. (Alas, much of the Republican Party is guilty on this score.)

The efforts may not yet have swung major elections, but that should not comfort anyone. They betray the most fundamental democratic right, what Locke called "the consent of the governed." They conjure a system in which the benefits of citizenship depend on loyalty to the ruler.

Trump frequently nods toward that idea in other ways, too. He still largely ignores the victims of terrorism committed by white nationalists.

**TRUTH, MONOPOLIZED.** The consistent application of laws requires a consistent set of facts on which a society can agree. The Trump administration is trying to undermine the very idea of facts.

It has harshly criticized one independent source of information after another. The Congressional Budget Office. The Bureau of Labor Statistics. The C.I.A. Scientists. And, of course, the news media.

Trump attacks the media almost daily, and McClatchy has reported that these attacks will be part of the Republicans' 2018 campaign strategy. Trump has gone so far as to call journalists "the enemy of the people," a phrase that authoritarians have long used to paint critics as traitors. "To hear that kind of language directed at the American press," David Remnick, the editor of The New Yorker, has said, "is an emergency."

All Americans, including the president, should feel comfortable criticizing the media. (I certainly do.) Specific media criticisms are part of the democratic cacophony. But Trump is doing something different.

He demonizes sources of information that are not sufficiently supportive. He tells supporters that they can trust only him and his loyal mouthpieces to speak the truth. La vérité, c'est moi.

The one encouraging part of the rule-of-law emergency is the response from many other parts of society. Although congressional Republicans have largely lain down for Trump, judges — both Republican and Democratic appointees — have not. Neither have Comey, the F.B.I., the C.B.O., the media or others. As a result, the United States remains a long way from authoritarianism.

Unfortunately, Trump shows no signs of letting up. Don't assume he will fail just because his actions are so far outside the American mainstream. The rule of law depends on a society's willingness to stand up for it when it's under threat. This is our time of testing.

The New York Times

# Editorial : Where Are the United States Attorneys?

The Editorial Board

The problem is, the Democrats couldn't obstruct any United States attorney nominations if they wanted to because Mr. Trump has not made any.

It's possible that Mr. Trump is having a hard time luring competent, experienced candidates to work for an administration mired in perpetual chaos and widening scandal. Since Mr. Trump considers loyalty the highest qualification for federal office, that might be. But United States attorney is a highly coveted job under any president, and there should be no shortage of people eager to be considered.

For now, local offices are being run by acting United States attorneys, often career lawyers or deputies held over from the Obama administration. They're able to manage day-to-day operations, but don't have the authority to push forward major policy changes. While those changes, like Attorney General Jeff Sessions's ordering prosecutors to seek more severe punishments, may be ill-advised, a serious president needs to have the people in place to implement the programs that supposedly matter to him.

Especially when it comes to higher-profile, long-term cases, Senate-confirmed heads are needed to work in coordination with the Justice Department.

The United States attorneys are only the tip of the iceberg. Mr. Trump has yet to nominate a new F.B.I. chief after firing the former director, James Comey, last month. The Justice Department's criminal, civil and national-security divisions are all under temporary leadership.

These delays are strange even for a White House that ran what one former official called the "slowest transition in decades" and that has dealt with key government posts with all the urgency of a summer barbecue.

While his hiring freeze, which is leaving many lower federal jobs unfilled, is part of a broader strategy to hobble or suffocate entire federal agencies, this seems less deliberate and harder to understand. The prosecutors certainly won't be coming on board anytime soon. Even in a fully functioning administration, it takes months for nominees to be screened by the F.B.I. and approved by the Senate.

One familiar rationale — that Mr. Trump wasn't prepared because he never expected to win — may account for some of the delay, but it's an increasingly embarrassing excuse. You don't run for president on a major-party ticket as a lark, and you don't pink-slip top federal prosecutors en masse without a long list of qualified candidates in your back pocket.

There are two other obvious, and perhaps simpler, explanations, and both may be correct. Mr. Trump does not actually believe in or care about his campaign claim of "lawless chaos" in our streets. And Mr. Trump is not a good manager — not of his businesses, certainly, and not of the vastly larger, more complex organization he now runs, the one that matters to the well-being of every American.