

# Revue de presse américaine

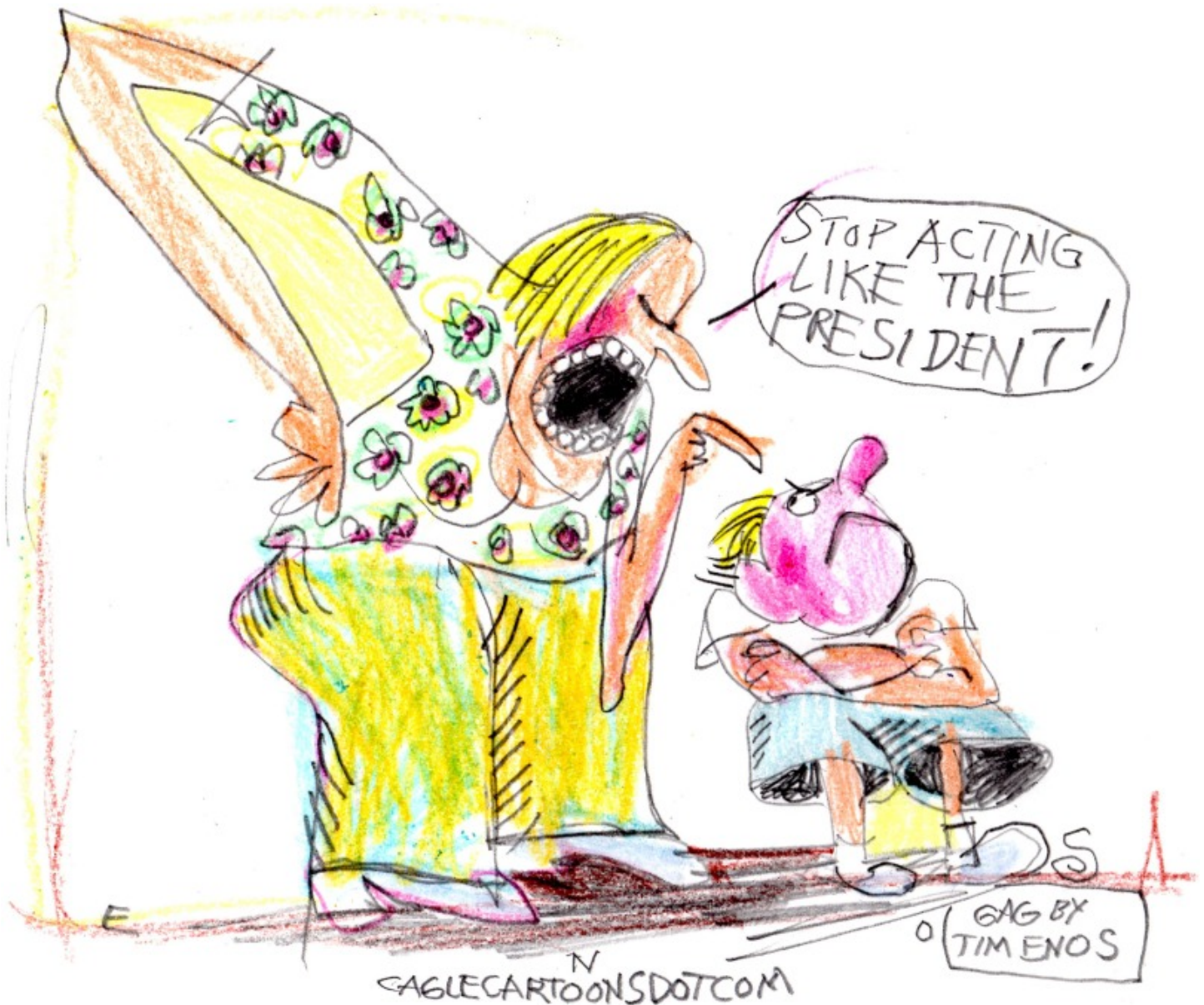
**Ambassade de France aux États-Unis**  
Service de presse et de communication



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RÉPUBLIQUE FRANÇAISE

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# FRANCE - EUROPE

## POLITICO Fall of the (French) house of socialism

Nicholas Vinocur  
and Quentin Ariès

PARIS — Sorry, Mr Mitterrand. We failed you.

That might be the gist of an apology from France's Socialists today to their founding father, as the party of Michel Rocard, Lionel Jospin and François Hollande faces a kind of doomsday in 48 hours.

Expected to lose more than 200 seats to President Emmanuel Macron's centrist party in the runoff round of the parliamentary election Sunday, the Socialists are staring at a financial and political collapse that will be hard to shake off.

The loss of parliamentary seats will automatically provoke a cliff-drop in public subsidies, with as much as €21 million set to go up in smoke. As much as half of the party's 160-strong permanent staff face layoffs, with another 1,000 or so jobs that rely indirectly on party funding — parliamentary assistants, local aides — also threatened, according to four people with direct knowledge of the party's financial position.

In a party known for factionalism, the human drama is sure to be explosive. But nothing captures the desperation of French socialism as much as the fate of the party's iconic headquarters on Paris' Left Bank — now being considered for sale to shore up finances, according to people familiar with the situation.

For more than 30 years, the 3,000-square meter *hôtel particulier* (a grand townhouse) on Rue de Solférino has stood as a glorious monument to the party's contradictions. Opulent, ostentatious and located smack dab in the nexus of French power, it housed a party officially obsessed with equality. Screaming royal privilege, the building hosted dreams of socialist utopia.

"I'm of the generation that grew up with Mitterrand. For us, it was the golden age of socialism ... Seeing it be sold would be the end of that. Of course it's sad to consider" — *Activist Alain Le Garrec*

But now those internal contradictions — to borrow a phrase from Marx — are set to be resolved in brutal fashion.

Party chief Jean-Christophe Cambadélis, commenting on the rout to come Sunday, hinted this week that "Solférino" — as the building is known by metonymy — could be put up for sale. "Everything has to change," he said when asked about a possible sale, which could bring in €53 million, to judge by surrounding property values.

Rachid Temal, the Socialists' number two, said the party was studying various options — including letting go of property.

"The party is going to position itself to get moving again," he said. "Public subsidies are one part of the equation; our property is another. Every option is possible."

### End of an era

For party bigwigs intent on surviving the cull, a possible sale of Solférino would be a step toward the future that recalibrates the party to make it leaner, fitter, and better able to take on Macron's liberalizing agenda.

But for activists like Alain Le Garrec, a neighborhood organizer, lifelong socialist and member of the party's Paris federation, it would mean something else.

"It would be the end of our era," he said.

"I'm of the generation that grew up with Mitterrand. For us, it was the golden age of socialism ... Seeing it be sold would be the end of that. Of course it's sad to consider."

Garrec waxed nostalgic about the history of a building that came into Socialist hands back in 1981, when French politics was almost the reverse image of what it is today.

At the time, a centrist president — the obsessively modernizing, somewhat remote Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, who is frequently compared to Macron — was on his way out of power. The Socialists were on the rise, with Mitterrand having just won the presidency, in what many conservatives at the time feared was a disguised takeover by communist forces.

The new president, as France would discover, loved monuments; and he wanted his Socialist Party housed in style. Modesty be damned: The HQ had to be big, showy and perfectly located.

Solférino was an ideal candidate. But like many facets of Mitterrand's history, the details of how he came to acquire such a fancy building are murky.

Reports from court filings show a mutual fund linked to the Socialist Party bought Solférino in 1981 for 17 million francs, or about €2.6 million today — a cut-rate price far below market value. Five years on, the party bought Solférino from the fund for 53 million francs, or about €8 million, still about €20 million below surrounding property values. The deals prompted a legal investigation into possible use of political influence to lower the price, but no one was ever convicted.

What followed was a long and heady experiment in radical chic at 10 Rue de Solférino.

Students from nearby Sciences Po, an elite political science university, made the HQ a second home. Election parties, debates and countless soirées were held, with talks on social justice made all the more vivifying by the proximity of so much bourgeois wealth.

### Sinking ship

Alas, the good times could not last. A warning shot was fired when Prime Minister Lionel Jospin crashed out of the 2002 presidential election in the first round, slicing off a chunk of subsidies.

Plans to sell Solférino were raised during bouts of ritual self-criticism, then forgotten.

But this time, the threat is real. The party faces what is known, in corporate terms, as an orderly liquidation.

It's already received its final outlay of subsidies linked to the previous legislature. Depending on how many MPs get elected this time (projections based on scores from the election's first round last Sunday suggest the number will be less than 30), funding will drop by between €18 million and €21 million, for a total wage budget of more than €22 million.

Temal pointed out that the party still has 108 senators, worth about €4 million in subsidies. But there is no reason why an election in September will not see them decimated too, just like their

colleagues in the lower house of parliament.

When the hammer drops, there will be layoffs. The question for staffers is who — and on what terms.

"There is zero sense of collective interest. Since the castle is collapsing, everyone is trying to save themselves. It's sad, because it was an admirable project" — *Benoît Hamon campaign aide*

"They will be looking to sacrifice the left fringe of the party," said a top member of Socialist presidential candidate Benoît Hamon's campaign, asking not to be named. "Cambadélis is going to take care of people close to him. The others will pay."

She added: "There is zero sense of collective interest. Since the castle is collapsing, everyone is trying to save themselves. It's sad, because it was an admirable project."

Indeed, the cuts are a chance for Cambadélis to exact revenge against internal rivals of Hollande, the former party chief whose extremely unpopular term as French president came to an end last month. Hamon backers, rebel backbenchers who fought the government for five years, participants at the Nuit Debout round-the-clock sit-in movement — they all stand to pay.

But getting rid of them won't be cheap or painless. There is talk of in-house unions, unwilling to go quietly into the night, launching a strike against Cambadélis, who lost his own parliamentary seat in Paris to a centrist rival.

The threat of a nasty labor battle in — irony of ironies — the party of workers' rights, may compel Cambadélis to move quickly with a sale of Solférino.

Christian Paul, one leader of the rebel backbencher faction, suggested converting it into social housing.

An online joker who advertised a "building needing renovation" on the classified site *leboncoin* had a more cutting proposal: Make it a museum.





## Haddad : Emmanuel Macron Is No Anti-Trump

The meeting between Emmanuel Macron and Donald Trump at their first international summit last month — and the now-infamous handshake that accompanied it — certainly caught the world by surprise.

To some observers, it looked like Macron, white-knuckled and determined, was trying to position himself as a leading voice in the European resistance to the U.S. president. The weeks that followed have only fueled this impression: In an interview with a French newspaper after the handshake, Macron mischievously declared that the act was “not innocent.” The French president continued his happy trolling a few days later, announcing, in a speech in English following Trump’s announcement that he would withdraw the United States from the Paris climate agreement, that France would “make the planet great again.” (The slogan was even later turned into a website to attract American researchers to France.)

The two men are indeed very different. Though they can both point to business experience, Macron once taught philosophy and can recite Molière from memory; Trump was a reality television star who famously starts out his day on Twitter. More importantly, they won on opposite worldviews: In the debate over open and closed societies, Macron unabashedly embraced the former, with a free market, pro-EU platform, while Trump advocated closed borders, “America First,” and protectionism. Trump himself made little secret of the fact that he would have been happy with the election of Marine Le Pen, Macron’s second-round opponent, calling her “the strongest on what’s been going on in France” just before her resounding loss. Macron himself sharply criticized the U.S. president during his campaign and was endorsed by former President Barack Obama.

It is tempting to see in Macron’s election a direct repudiation of Trump’s populism and, thus, to see the man himself as Europe’s best hope for standing up to Trump. That would be a mistake. In fact, Macron and Trump, different as they are, are likely to get along rather well.

First, the election of Macron wasn’t quite the repudiation of Trumpism that it seems. Macron may have run on a liberal platform — but he was no Hillary Clinton. A newcomer to politics, running for office for the first time with a party created a year ago, Macron managed to capture some of the anti-establishment anger that doomed traditional politicians in France and the United States. Macron explicitly ran against the economic failures of both major French parties, the Socialists and Les Républicains, to reform France’s rigid labor market and fight high unemployment. Like for Trump, few “experts” would have bet on Macron’s victory just a few months before the election. His likely pending victory at the parliamentary elections this weekend will usher in hundreds of new MPs who have never previously held elected office while incumbent parties will be swept away. In addition, his first bill will be aimed at “moralizing” French politics by imposing term limits and barring MPs from hiring family members or working as consultants. You could almost describe it as ... draining the swamp?

The U.S. president will find in this former investment banker a pragmatic dealmaker more interested in defending French interests than lecturing Washington about liberal values. Macron sees himself as a realist and claimed the “Gaullo-Mitterrandien” tradition of realist French foreign policy during the campaign. Shortly after the G-7 meeting, he invited Russian President Vladimir Putin for a bilateral summit in Versailles; the press coverage focused on Macron’s strong words against the Russian media outlets RT and Sputnik and their interference in the French presidential campaign. Lost amid the excitement, however, was the straightforward fact that Macron chose to invite Putin to France so early in his presidency to begin with, to discuss cooperation, especially against terrorism. For years, this French attitude of independence has raised eyebrows in Washington; these days, it fits perfectly with Trump’s agenda.

Macron and Trump might also find unexpected common ground on what they expect from Europe. Shortly after Trump’s inauguration, the then-candidate Macron wrote that it was an opportunity for Europeans to finally speak with a

common voice: “We must defend and strengthen a union that allows European countries to speak with a louder voice on the world stage. Mr. Trump’s recent critical remarks about the EU highlight how important this is.” From one perspective, this push for a more integrated and autonomous Europe looks like a challenge to American dominance; from another, it seems to dovetail with Trump’s wariness of free-riding allies.

The French president intends to make the eurozone more effective by promoting better budgetary coordination and the creation of a common finance minister. This will mean convincing Germany to accept deeper integration of the common currency area and to give up trade surpluses that have reinforced imbalances within the EU. While Macron won’t question France’s commitment to NATO, he will nevertheless encourage his European partners to increase their coordination on intelligence sharing, border control, and fighting terrorism. France and Germany have already started discussing proposals for a European defense fund to join forces in developing common technologies on drones and military transports, as well as fund joint efforts in Africa. Instead of embracing movements like Brexit that weaken Europe and leave it even more dependent, the America First president should welcome European leaders who want to strengthen the continent and shoulder more responsibility for defending their own interests and security.

The Obama administration was happy to outsource European affairs to Angela Merkel’s prudent leadership. By contrast, French officials never forgave the administration for its about-face on the infamous red line incident in Syria, when the Obama administration failed to respond to the Bashar al-Assad regime’s use of chemical weapons. During the campaign, Macron supported the Trump administration’s strike on the Shayrat airbase.

Paris — always more comfortable with hard power than Berlin — could be a more natural partner for the Trump administration.

Paris — always more comfortable with hard power than Berlin — could

be a more natural partner for the Trump administration. Like Donald Trump, Macron has repeatedly said his top foreign-policy priority would be fighting Islamism, a term that does not stir the same nervousness among the French political establishment, left or right, that it does in the United States. The new French president supports raising France’s defense spending to 2 percent of GDP.

He also shows signs of continuity with France’s assertive foreign policy of recent years. While Macron poached key figures from the right on economic affairs for his cabinet, the only outgoing Socialist minister he kept was the 69-year-old Jean-Yves Le Drian, who, for five years, was François Hollande’s defense minister. Le Drian, widely respected in French military circles, will be Macron’s Europe and foreign affairs minister and is best known for leading the military intervention against al Qaeda in the Sahel (for which the United States provides logistical and financial support). He was the first French official to visit the United States after the election to meet the transition team. His presence in the new cabinet sends a clear message, as does the fact that Macron’s first visit outside of Europe was to visit troops in Mali. While there, he repeated the message that France would be “uncompromising” in its fight against terrorism. France has 3,000 troops stationed in Mali, its second-largest deployment after Operation Sentinelle on its own soil to fight terrorism. Macron has vowed to continue both operations.

Trump is unpopular in Europe, no doubt, which may in part be why so many have invested their hopes for an anti-Trump champion in Macron. But the widespread loathing for the U.S. president, real though it may be, is unlikely to have a major impact on Macron’s decision-making. The French Constitution grants the president much more leeway than it does, say, the German chancellor in making foreign policy; he is especially unfettered by parliamentary control.

Their initial handshake was uncomfortable, there’s no doubt. And it remains unlikely that Macron and Trump will be taking in any Molière performances together anytime soon. But sometimes a rough handshake can nonetheless be the start of a fruitful relationship.

## UNE - Grenfell Tower Death Toll Rises to 17; U.K. Government Is Criticized

Dan Bilefsky

Among the key questions confronting investigators and government officials: Did a policy of telling people to remain in their apartments until firefighters arrived put residents in danger? What role did exterior cladding, installed as part of a renovation completed last year, play in the rapid spread of the flames? And should older buildings — Grenfell Tower was completed in 1974 — have to be retrofitted with sprinklers and alarm systems?

Some residents said an exploding appliance had caused the fire, but officials have not verified that account.

Mrs. May announced the inquiry shortly after the mayor of London, Sadiq Khan, asked for one, and as questions arose about the role of Gavin Barwell, who was housing minister until last week. (He lost his bid for re-election to Parliament, and is now Mrs. May's chief of staff.)

Critics say a much-needed review of fire safety regulations languished under Mr. Barwell's watch. The review was demanded after a deadly fire at an apartment building in Camberwell, in southeast London, in 2009.

A residents' association, the Grenfell Action Group, had complained for years that concerns about fire hazards in Grenfell Tower were ignored by the building's owner — the Royal Borough of Kensington and Chelsea — and by the company the borough council hired to manage it.

Survivors said they first learned their lives were in danger through word of

mouth. They described harrowing scenes, including at least one child thrown from a window who landed safely in the arms of a man below.

"The only alarm that went off was my neighbor's smoke alarm," said Eddie Daffarn, a 16th-floor resident and member of the Grenfell Action Group. "I thought he had burned some chips. I opened the door and there was smoke, loads of smoke, so then I closed it and thought: This is a real fire, not my mate's chip pan."

He said a friend on the fifth floor phoned him and urged him to run. "I wrapped a towel around me and opened the door," Mr. Daffarn recalled. "The smoke was so thick and heavy, I couldn't see anything. I thought: 'This is me, I'm a goner.'" He finally descended and was helped by a firefighter.

Mrs. May, under pressure after a series of terrorist attacks and political setbacks in the election last week, visited the scene on Thursday. So did the leader of the opposition Labour Party, Jeremy Corbyn, who said in a statement: "There are thousands of tower blocks around our country. Every single person living in one today will be frightened."

As the government tried to reassure anxious citizens, the policing and fire minister, Nick Hurd, said there was "no room for cool, plodding bureaucracy" as the inquiry gets underway. The housing minister, Alok Sharma, promised help for displaced families.

Critics were not assuaged. David Lammy, a Labour lawmaker representing Tottenham, in northeast London, called the fire

"corporate manslaughter" and demanded a criminal investigation.

"Those '70s buildings, many of them should be demolished," he said. "They have not got easy fire escapes. They have got no sprinklers. It is totally, totally unacceptable in Britain that this is allowed to happen and that people lose their lives in this way."

Mark Hardingham, an official at the National Fire Chiefs Council, which represents Britain's firefighters, said he expected the inquiry to reassess the so-called stay put policy and regulations covering sprinklers and alarms.

"The fire was truly an exceptional fire, the likes of which I haven't seen in 26 years, and that has to be borne in mind," he said.

The exterior cladding added in 2016 will also be a focus. Matthew Needham-Laing, an architect and engineering lawyer who specializes in building defects, said the dark smoke that had engulfed the building was a telltale sign.

"It looks to me like a cladding fire," he said in an interview, echoing assessments by other experts. He added that the material is "flame retardant, so it doesn't catch fire as easily, but the temperatures you're talking about are often 900, 1,000 degrees centigrade, and in those conditions, any material will generally burn."

After the Camberwell fire in 2009, which killed six people, a parliamentary group called for a review of fire safety rules, and an inquest advised the government to require that older buildings be

retrofitted with sprinklers. That did not happen.

An inquest after the 2009 fire concluded that residents followed the stay put advice 30 minutes longer than they should have.

"If you have good fire resistance between flats, there is less risk if you stay in place than if everyone runs out of the building at the same time," Sian Berry, chairwoman of the Housing Committee of the London Assembly, said in an interview. "But this shouldn't be applied in a hard and fast manner."

Ms. Berry said central fire alarm systems were not required for residential buildings because, to be effective, such systems must be monitored constantly. Grenfell Tower did not have one. Instead, individual apartments were fitted with smoke detectors.

The building also lacked a sprinkler system; sprinklers were not required in buildings built before 2006.

Commissioner Cotton, the head of the fire brigade, said she did not expect that any more survivors would be found, but that special crews were trying to make the tower safe enough "so our firefighters can continue to progress throughout the building, making a detailed, fingertip search, for anyone who may still be inside."

"This will be a slow and painstaking process which will require a large amount of shoring-up work inside the building, especially on the upper floors, which will be the most challenging for us to access and search," she said.

THE WALL  
STREET  
JOURNAL

## London Tower Fire Death Tolls Climbs to at Least 17

Jenny Gross and  
Wiktor Szary

LONDON—Prime Minister Theresa May's government came under mounting pressure over the fire that engulfed a high-rise building, killing at least 17 and leaving authorities bracing for far more, as critics pushed for answers about how a disaster of such scale could have happened in the U.K.

The charred building, which looms over a rapidly gentrifying neighborhood not far from central London, continued to smolder Thursday and was at risk of internal collapse with bodies still inside. The death toll was expected to rise,

possibly significantly, though authorities said the process of identifying the dead could take weeks.

London police commander Stuart Cundy wouldn't speculate on the total number of people who died, but said he was hopeful it wouldn't reach more than 100.

"It is not inevitable it will reach triple figures," Mr. Cundy said. "From my personal perspective I really hope it is not."

The early-morning fire that blazed through the hulking 24-story tower where hundreds lived has raised questions about whether officials were too slow to address concerns

about fire-safety measures in low-income housing.

Mrs. May ordered a public inquiry. "We need to know what happened," she said. "We owe that to the families, to the people who have lost loved ones, friends, and the homes in which they lived."

The U.K. government provides a significant share of local-government income, and political opponents say spending cuts directed by the Conservative government have forced local governments to cut corners. Critics also accuse the Conservatives of being lax in enforcing adequate housing regulations.

The blaze comes on the heels of a trio of terrorist attacks, including one in London less than two weeks ago, in a procession of dispiriting news over the past three months. Donations flooded into community centers. Families appealed on social media for information on people who were unaccounted for.

Mr. Cundy said 17 of 37 people receiving hospital treatment were in critical care.

It wasn't clear how many may have been trapped inside and weren't yet counted. But witnesses have described people screaming for help or attempting to signal from their apartments with lights. Others

jumped from high floors to escape the flames.

"Our absolute priority for all of us is identifying and locating those that are missing," Mr. Cundy said. Officials were using teams of dogs to search because it was too dangerous for firefighters to go to the top floors. Victims would be identified using fingerprints, DNA and dental records, he said.

Details began to emerge about some of the victims. David Lammy, a Labour lawmaker, said his friend living on the 20th floor of the building was communicating on Facebook that she was about to faint hours after the fire started. She is missing, and likely dead, he said.

Another victim was identified as Mohammed AlHajali, a Syrian refugee who arrived in the U.K. in 2014 and was studying civil engineering. He lived on the 14th floor.

"His dream was to be able to go back home one day and rebuild Syria," said the Syrian Solidarity Campaign, a U.K. network of refugee-rights activists. "Mohammed undertook a dangerous journey to flee war and death in Syria, only to meet it here in the U.K., in his own home."

He was separated from his older brother, Omar, who managed to get

out. He went back to his flat where he talked to a friend on the phone, waiting to be rescued. After two hours, he said goodbye and asked his friend to pass the message on to his family because the fire had reached him, the group said.

The fire's swift spread revived concerns about the safety of low-income public housing in one of the world's wealthiest cities, where housing for the poor can butt up against some of the world's most expensive real estate. The building, Grenfell Tower, sits amid an otherwise upscale area in the tony district of Kensington and Chelsea.

The public-housing block was built in 1974 and recently went through an £8.6 million (\$11 million) refurbishment that included new exterior cladding and a new heating system.

Fire experts have suggested that the materials used on the outside of the building may have enabled the fire to swiftly spread. Ray Bailey, the managing director at Harley Facades Ltd., which completed the refurbishment work, said that the company was "not aware of any link between the fire and the exterior cladding to the tower."

Residents said they heard few, if any, alarms, and had complained for years about the building's fire safety,

including that it lacked adequate emergency exits. It wasn't clear if the building had sprinklers installed, but residents who escaped the fire said none had come on.

Labour leader Jeremy Corbyn said at a committee hearing in Parliament to discuss the crisis that residents had raised concerns about the building that went unanswered.

"Some hard questions have got to be answered," he said. "It cannot be right that a fire like this takes so many lives in the 21st century, in modern Britain. Somewhere along the line, regulations, or something, failed."

Fire-services minister Nick Hurd said a complex investigation into what happened would take several months and that bureaucracy wouldn't get in the way.

"It is the intention of the government to leave absolutely no stone unturned," he said.

Critics said the government failed to conclude a fire-safety review following a July 2009 fire that broke out in a 14-story residential public-housing block in Camberwell, south London, killing six.

Jim Fitzpatrick, a Labour lawmaker and former firefighter, said that because of when the Grenfell Tower was built it wouldn't have been

required to have sprinklers, unlike newer buildings of its type.

"The government hasn't been responding to the pressure, probes and questions we've been asking them" regarding fire-safety regulations. He said he is concerned the public inquiry could drag on. "This is far too urgent for that."

The department for communities and local government said it was "simply not true" that the government hadn't done enough to review fire-safety regulations. It said work on the review continues.

"Our priority is to make sure we have the highest possible standards," the department said. Following the 2009 fire, the government wrote to local councils to encourage them to retrofit water sprinklers in older buildings, the department said.

The Kensington and Chelsea Tenant Management Organization, which manages Grenfell Tower for the local council, didn't respond to requests to comment on whether sprinklers had been installed. It said on Wednesday that it was too early to speculate on the cause and what contributed to the fire's spread.



## Kirkup : Is Grenfell Tower Britain's Katrina?

If the images of the Grenfell Tower fire in west London are painful to see, the stories not caught on camera are unbearable to hear.

Imagine what goes through the mind of parents as they take the decision to throw their child from a 10th-story window.

Inevitably, grief soon turns to anger and anger leads to questions.

How could this happen?

How, in the capital of one of the world's great economies -- a city that even more than New York encapsulates all that's good about society in our globalized and networked world -- can people burn to death in a way that would have been familiar to Londoners of the 17th and 18th centuries?

Even before Jeremy Corbyn, leader of the opposition Labour Party, got involved, questions such as these made the fire a political event.

Even if Corbyn hadn't used the fire to ask questions about the responsibility of the various public bodies involved in managing and

overseeing the tower, people would have wanted answers.

Some commentators on the left are hoping to make this a simple story of austerity: A heartless Conservative government cut central government spending on public housing and cut the wages of the firefighters who battled the blaze, they argue.

This is Prime Minister Theresa May's fault, they imply, talking of the Grenfell fire as a Katrina moment.

Mishandling the emergency in New Orleans after the 2005 hurricane destroyed any claim President George W. Bush had to provide competent or compassionate government. Will it do the same for May?

In truth, the Grenfell tragedy is not a perfect parallel for Katrina. The politics too are different.

Bush bore direct responsibility for the Katrina aftermath because the response was federalized -- his administration was directly managing the operation.

May's government did not own or run the Grenfell Tower. Nor did the Royal Borough of Kensington and

Chelsea, the municipal authority in whose territory the tower stands.

Instead, it was owned and managed by a tenant service organization, or TSO, a nonprofit company run by professional managers and overseen by residents and local politicians.

The TSO in turn employs private companies to service and maintain the building, putting contracts out to tender in a process that encourages those companies to complete that work as cheaply as possible.

Responsibility for keeping buildings such as Grenfell safe and secure, in other words, has moved further and further away from the state and thus from the politicians who answer to the people for the actions of that state.

The reasons for outsourcing -- putting management at arms' length and the responsibility in the hands of the lowest bidder -- were respectable and even popular ones.

Central government has a poor record of directly managing services and operations, measured in terms of both money and quality. So successive governments, both

Labour and Conservative, sought to give power (and responsibility) away.

But even before Grenfell, that idea of the state was facing serious challenge.

Corbyn saw surprise gains for Labour in last week's general election after promising an old-fashioned 1970s vision of the British economy before the reforms of the Thatcher government in the 1980s. Labour would take private utility companies back into public ownership, and the state would provide services directly again.

May, who missed out on her parliamentary majority, didn't go so far, but she still moved in the same direction.

Her campaign suggested ditching the Conservatives' recent tradition of a hands-off approach to markets, promising a more active role for the state.

In the aftermath of the election, some Conservatives have questioned that thinking, suggesting the party should once again devote itself to shrinking the state and



putting more faith in the private sector.

Public horror at the Grenfell Tower fire and anger at the system of management and oversight around public housing should cause Conservatives to think again.

Markets create and spread wealth, but in a fair society, there is always a role for the state.

This awful fire wasn't a Katrina moment for a single politician, but it may just have similar effects on an idea -- the idea that the job of politicians is, wherever possible, to

reduce the power of the state and let people and companies run things for themselves.

Katrina ended Bush's authority. From the ashes of Grenfell, a new role for the British state may rise.



## Britain's Katrina Moment Could Put Radical Left into Power

Nico Hines

LONDON—They have not yet said it in public, but police and firefighters fear this week's high-rise fire in West London is the most deadly British disaster in a generation.

The list of missing people stretches to 400. Officials believe the number of dead is lower than that because they have many instances of duplicated missing-persons reports—but the truth is they have no idea exactly how many people were crammed into the dangerous, outdated public housing block that stands in London's richest borough. The average price of a property (taking into account studios, larger apartments and mansions) is over \$1.5 million in Kensington and Chelsea. Neighbors include the royals William, Kate and Harry.

Yet the poverty-stricken occupants of the doomed tower had begged the authorities to listen to their fears of a major fire for years.

Fed up and in despair, the Grenfell Action Group admitted defeat in November, comparing the Kensington and Chelsea Tenant Management Organisation to the regime of Kim Jong Un and predicting that only a devastating inferno would force their landlords to act.

"We have blogged many times on the subject of fire safety at Grenfell Tower and we believe that these investigations will become part of damning evidence of the poor safety record of the KCTMO should a fire affect any other of their properties and cause the loss of life that we are predicting," they wrote last year.

A blaze that is believed to have started in an apartment on one of the lower floors engulfed the building within 20 minutes. Residents who called the emergency services were told to shelter in place rather than try to escape. The authorities now admit that they may never be able to identify some of those victims.

As the smoke and flames grew more intense some people are believed to have leaped to their deaths from the burning building. Children were thrown from windows to be caught by the crowds below.

Unlike the private high-rises built for wealthier families and businesses in Central London, Grenfell had no sprinkler system and only one staircase. The Times reports on Friday that the cladding used in a refurbishment last summer has been banned in the U.S. for use on high-rise buildings. Those overseeing the construction reportedly opted to buy the \$28 panels instead of the \$30 fire-proof panels, that decision is estimated to have saved around \$6,000 in total.

With sporadic fires still burning in the blackened remains of the building—where at least 30 people are confirmed to have died—Britain's leading politicians arrived on the scene on Thursday. Their instinctive approaches to the horror could hardly have been more different.

Prime Minister Theresa May, who is trying to form a minority Conservative government after last week's humbling election, refused to meet any of the survivors or members of the devastated community—presumably for fear of a hostile reception that would be captured by the cameras. Instead she met privately with the first responders who had risked their lives to deal with the blaze, then got back into her armored car and raced home to Downing Street.

Jeremy Corbyn, Labour's left-wing leader, took an altogether different approach. He was seen hugging survivors, taking questions from infuriated residents, and demanding action to re-house those who have lost everything. As one woman broke down in tears sharing her fears for a missing 12-year-old girl, Corbyn put his arm around her shoulder and pulled her in tight.

Another woman told Corbyn: "Theresa May was here but she didn't speak to any of us. She was shit."

A speedy, smart summary of all the news you need to know (and nothing you don't).

Just as she flunked her first prime ministerial election campaign, May has misread the mood of the public.

She has called for a full public inquiry into the fire, but the righteous anger brought to the fore by an avoidable catastrophe on this scale cannot be quelled so easily. Her failure to meet those affected by the disaster has drawn inevitable comparisons to George W. Bush's response to Hurricane Katrina.

Michael Portillo, the former deputy leader of the Conservative party, said she should have been with the residents. "Alas Mrs. May has been what she has [been like] for the last 5 or 6 weeks. She wanted an entirely controlled situation in which she didn't use her humanity," he told the BBC.

With May's grip on power so weak after an election, the Conservatives are terrified that Corbyn's populist Labour Party stands on the brink of power. If the minority government falls, it is now possible to imagine that Labour would secure the most seats in an upcoming election.

Emboldened by last week's results in which 40 percent of voters backed a radical leftwing Labour manifesto, Corbyn raised the prospect of seizing empty houses owned by foreign investors in order to shelter those families who were burned out of their homes high above London's billionaire paradise.

"The south part of Kensington is incredibly wealthy, it's the wealthiest part of the country. The ward where this fire took place is, I think the poorest ward in the whole country," Corbyn said in the House of Commons on Thursday. "Properties must be found, requisitioned if necessary, in order to make sure those residents do get re-housed locally. It cannot be acceptable that in London you have luxury buildings and luxury flats kept as land banking for the future while the homeless and the poor look for somewhere to live."

His words will seem appealing to many when set against the apparently unmoved Conservatives.

Last year, Labour tabled an amendment to a housing bill that would require private landlords to ensure the properties they were renting out were "fit for human habitation." It was voted down by the Conservatives, who argued that the move would force up rents.

The law change would not have affected public housing like the tower that caught fire this week, but it has captured the mood. According to Parliament's register of interests, 72 of the MPs who voted the amendment down were landlords themselves. A list of those MPs became popular on social media last year and the roll call of shame has returned with a vengeance in the days since the flames swept through Grenfell.

To make matters worse for the Conservatives, Gavin Barwell was the housing minister until this month, and he failed to deliver a promised review into fire risks in high rise buildings. May appointed him as her new chief of staff just four days before the devastating fire.

Helped by May's clumsy politicking, Labour unexpectedly succeeded in turning the London Bridge terror attack into a debate about cuts to public services. The same issues are being debated in Britain today, not least since Conservative cuts—overseen by Foreign Secretary Boris Johnson in London—have resulted in drastic reductions in the fire service. In London alone, 10 fire stations have been closed down, 27 fire engines scrapped and 600 firefighting jobs have been lost since 2010.

With the economy already straining under the threat of Brexit, Britain could be ready to usher in the most leftwing government in its history.

## London fire: Death toll rises to 17 as investigators comb fire-gutted Grenfell Tower

A fire tore through a 24-story apartment building on June 14 in west London, shortly before 1 a.m. A fire tore through a 24-story apartment building on June 14 in west London, shortly before 1 a.m. (Amber Ferguson, Karla Adam, Griff Witte/The Washington Post)

(Amber Ferguson, Karla Adam, Griff Witte/The Washington Post)

LONDON — Residents vented their anger Thursday over a fire that raced through a London high-rise and claimed 17 lives, as concern grew that the blaze will not be the last such tragedy without dramatic changes to Britain's public housing towers.

As firefighters continued to search the burned-out hull of the 24-story Grenfell Tower — where flames were still visible Thursday afternoon, nearly two days after the first panicked emergency calls — displaced residents on the streets below demanded that public officials provide answers about a disaster they say was preventable.

"Someone needs to be held accountable!" people shouted as London Mayor Sadiq Khan visited to pay his respects.

As others shouted for legislation requiring that Britain's aging public high-rises be retrofitted with sprinkler systems and multiple stairwells — which were lacking at Grenfell Tower — Khan said he shared their frustration and called for a government inquiry into the blaze to publish its initial findings by the end of the summer.

"We can't afford to wait many years for those answers," he said.

The outcry came as police raised their estimate of the death toll from 12 to 17, acknowledging that it could go far higher as search crews work through the wreckage of the 120-unit building that remains hazardous.

Authorities said they did not expect to find more survivors, and that the number of people who are unaccounted for is "unknown." But the posters bearing photos of children in bike helmets, young mothers and entire families testified to the fact that many remain missing.

"I really hope the number of fatalities does not reach triple figures," said London Police Cmdr. Stuart Cundy.

Cundy said the recovery of bodies, assisted by sniffer dogs, may not be completed for weeks.

As of late Thursday, 30 people remained hospitalized, 15 of them in critical condition.

Grenfell Tower had been home to 500 people, among them the disabled, the poor and others seeking an affordable place to live in a city that's increasingly unaffordable for all but the wealthiest.

British Prime Minister Theresa May visited the scene of the blaze and spoke to firefighters who had been working round-the-clock. She later ordered a full public inquiry, to ensure that "this terrible tragedy is properly investigated."

"We need to have an explanation for this," she said. "We owe that to the families."

But she was criticized for not meeting with relatives or survivors, as did her rival, Labour leader Jeremy Corbyn. Corbyn said afterward that he was "very angry that so many lives have been lost when the system didn't work."

Grenfell Tower residents had complained for years to the management organization — and to the borough council — that they feared that their building was unsafe.

The cause of the fire remains unknown. But attention among experts has focused on a 2016 refurbishment that could have contributed to the fire spreading so quickly. Witnesses said the blaze tore through the high-rise's exterior cladding within minutes and seemed to offer a path for it to leap from floor to floor.

Bart Kavanagh, associate director at Probyn Miers, a forensic architecture firm that examines design defects, said the focus of the investigation may turn to how the cladding was installed.

He said that there are strict requirements in Britain on materials used in cladding, and that there was no evidence that those rules had been flouted.

"But it isn't only just the materials that matter — it's the way they are put together," he said.

The contractors involved in the renovation have said they believe their work was up to code, and the management organization has said

it complied with Britain's strict fire safety rules.

But Khan said that there were critical concerns about a number of other tower blocks in the British capital that were refurbished in a similar fashion.

"There are pressing questions which demand urgent answers," he said.

David Lammy, a Labour Party lawmaker, went further, calling the disaster "corporate manslaughter."

"This is the richest borough in our country treating its citizens in this way," he told the BBC. "There should be arrests made, frankly."

He said that his friend, Khadija Saye, a 24-year-old photographer, is among those reported missing. She lived on the 20th floor with her mother.

"We grow more sad and bleak at every second," he said.

As of late Thursday, more than \$1.2 million had been raised to help those affected by the tragedy, while displaced residents were welcomed at area churches and mosques. Clothes, food and blankets continued to be brought to local collection points, with some overwhelmed by the generosity. A cardboard sign outside of one read: "No more donations please. Maybe in a few days."

Just around the corner from the tower, a makeshift wall of condolences expressed people's grief and defiance.

"Bonds formed in fire are difficult to break," read one message.



## Bershidsky: Lessons from the Grenfell Tower Fire

The Grenfell Tower fire in London on Wednesday, which killed at least 12 people and left at least 74 injured, may have been preventable with better oversight and renovation technology. But there is a strong reason why it wasn't prevented: High-rise buildings aren't suitable for public housing (often called social housing in the U.K. and Europe), and wherever they are used in this way, they are a source of danger.

The investigation is ongoing, but so far the facts of the Grenfell Tower case appear straightforward. Residents have long complained of inadequate fire safety in the 24-story building -- power surges, insufficient

and outdated firefighting equipment, an insufficient frequency of inspections. In response, they received at least one lawyerly demand that they take down blog posts.

Last year, the building was refurbished, receiving new windows, heating and ventilation systems -- and also new, cheap plastic-and-aluminum-based exterior cladding, the same type that was responsible for a similar quick upward-spreading fire in a Melbourne apartment block in 2014. The local government, which owns the building, splashed out on the cladding to spruce up the grim-looking tower, built in 1974, because

it was tall and visible from anywhere in the affluent area -- Kensington, where the average rent on a one-bedroom apartment runs to 1,900 pounds (\$2,400) a month, compared with an average rent of \$1,650 a month for London as a whole.

As in much of Europe, the use of tower blocks as public housing in the U.K. began in the 1950s with a decision to provide public subsidies based on building height. The 1965 Housing Subsidy Act spawned 4,500 tower blocks by 1979. It wasn't a great idea for a lot of social reasons. By the end of the 1970s, a growing body of research showed that the social alienation of living in a high-rise

increased psychological stress, that toxic materials used in industrial construction and insufficient thermal insulation led to health problems, and that widespread crime and disaffection was linked to the faulty urban planning.

These kinds of social problems are fixable to some extent, given a lot of determination on the residents' part. New York's Queensbridge Houses, the largest housing project in the U.S., recently celebrated a year without a single shooting. But one thing about high-rises cannot be fixed: They have higher maintenance costs per square foot than human-scale buildings.



High land values in cities like London, New York, Hong Kong and Tokyo make it more cost-effective to build tall. But these are the kind of savings you make when you buy a cheap car: They are erased by the ownership costs over the years. Tall buildings have more public areas, expensive elevators, and complex wiring, heating, water supply and ventilation systems that are hard to service without disrupting the lives of hundreds of people. The buildings that sprung up during the early industrial construction boom have their own set of problems: The building technology was untried and developing on the go, so structural problems have since emerged with many of the buildings. Buildings populated by the poorest tenants ended up with the highest maintenance and repair costs.

In a market-driven environment, operating costs passed on to condo owners are higher in tall buildings. But when the buildings are owned by a municipality, there's a high degree of moral hazard for local

officials that nationally adopted policies cannot remove. In 2000, the U.K. adopted a program called Decent Homes, meant to improve social housing to modern standards. According to a July 2016 report by the Chartered Institute of Public Finance and Accounting, 85 percent of housing owned by the local authorities is now up to the mark set by the program; Grenfell Tower has just been "regenerated" at a cost of 8.7 million pounds. The cost was clearly insufficient, and the aesthetic changes may have made the building more vulnerable.

In many cases, local residents actually resist regeneration programs because they fear they may be a step toward gentrification and their eventual displacement. That's far from unique to the U.K.: In Berlin, for example, residents of Communist-era high-rises often fight the city authorities, demanding that their homes be left alone. That adds an incentive for the local governments to make their renovation efforts minimally

intrusive. Meanwhile, problems accumulate.

London is in love with tall buildings again after a hiatus that lasted from the late 1970s through the 1990s. According to New London Architecture's Tall Buildings Survey, 455 high-rise projects with an average height of 30 stories are in the pipeline in the British capital, after a record 26 of them were completed in 2016. These, however, are luxury-to-middle-class housing built by commercial developers. Local councils often require them to include affordable units in their projects, but that's still not social housing: It's meant for people who can handle the maintenance costs.

That's the way it should be. Homes for the less affluent that are built today in countries such as the Netherlands and Denmark, which have extensive social housing programs, are not tall. Almere, not far from Amsterdam, is one of Europe's fastest-growing cities; meant to create an

affordable alternative to life in the Dutch capital, it's predominantly low-rise.

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Countries that still house many of their poor in tower blocks need to work on moving them out into human-scale housing that can be maintained more efficiently, including, when necessary, by the people who live there. The fundamental disconnect between the high maintenance cost of these buildings and their purpose is inevitably going to lead to more tragedies like that of Grenfell Tower. Poor oversight and underinvestment tend to become obvious only after the fact; they are both endemic to the failed high-rise solution.

**The  
New York  
Times**

## London's New Normal: Resilient, Yes. But Not Entirely Intrepid.

Katrin Bennhold

LONDON — For the fourth time in 12 weeks I marked myself safe on Facebook. In Britain.

It was Wednesday morning, and Londoners had reason to be a bit optimistic.

Borough Market, a lively bar and restaurant district near the Thames, was reopening, less than two weeks after terrorists dressed in fake suicide bombs went on a stabbing rampage. The attacks came a week after a suicide bomber blew himself up at a pop concert in Manchester, and two months after a terrorist rammed his car into pedestrians on Westminster Bridge before stabbing a policeman outside Parliament. Altogether, 34 people died.

London was ready for a break. Instead, the city awoke on Wednesday to black smoke spiraling into the morning sky as fire raged through Grenfell Tower, a 27-story apartment building, killing at least 17 and injuring dozens more. The fire was not an act of terrorism, though when images first appeared on social media, some people worried it was. The sight of a burning tower and accounts of people jumping from windows inevitably conjured reminders of the Sept. 11 attacks.

Our reporter Amie Tsang was live from Borough Market, which opened 11 days after the London Bridge terror attack of June 3.

Once again, my phone buzzed with frantic messages, not just from editors, but from anxious family and friends abroad: "Are you O.K.?"

London is O.K. (just ask a Londoner) and mostly feels normal. Mostly. Police with machine guns patrol train stations. There are steel and concrete barriers lining major bridges now to protect pedestrians. When I bike to work, across Waterloo Bridge, I find myself planning my escape if a car comes charging. My children's school sent out a note, saying it was reviewing planned class trips into central London and will "be avoiding travel on the underground and public transport."

I found myself wondering: Is this what they call the new normal?

It is not so much that Londoners are changing their lives in response to terrorism. It is more that terrorism has become part of life in London. Nervous glances passing between passengers on a subway car when the train gets stuck in the tunnel for a little too long — and relieved smiles when it starts moving again. A group of students outside a south London high school joking that the latest variation on "the dog ate my homework" is "sorry, miss, I was caught up in a terrorist attack." One of my neighbors recounting how the loud "bang" of a blown exhaust pipe had given him a fright earlier this week. "I thought it was them terrorists again," he said and chuckled at himself.

Many here know someone who knows someone who could have been caught up in an attack. One friend of mine, a civil servant, was crossing Westminster Bridge just minutes before the March attacker ran over pedestrians at 70 miles an hour. Another friend runs a stall in Borough Market but had already closed for the day when the attack happened. "I thought food was sacrosanct," she texted.

You start thinking that way when no attacks happen for several years. London lived with terror at the hands of the Irish Republican Army for decades. It suffered the 7/7 attacks in 2005, when four coordinated suicide bombs killed 52 people in the morning rush hour. In 2013, a British soldier was slaughtered on a London street in plain daylight. But since then, as Paris and Brussels and Berlin were hit, London seemed apart from the violence.

Last weekend, in response to the latest attack, the mayor of London, Sadiq Khan, basically urged Londoners to go out and party — to show off "how we pull together in the face of adversity."

My friend Nadja Stokes, who runs Gourmet Goats in Borough Market, told me the market was practically mobbed by visitors who wanted to show their support when it reopened Wednesday. "London is a big city," she said. "But in the end we're a community."

Perhaps the best summary of the mood was a fake Underground sign that went viral after the Westminster

bridge attack in March: "All terrorists are politely reminded that THIS IS LONDON and whatever you do to us we will drink tea and jolly well carry on thank you." Made to look as if it had been written by subway staff and displayed in a London subway station, the image had actually been generated online. But no matter; it was shared by thousands, quoted by the prime minister and on the BBC's flagship "Today" program as capturing the London spirit.

Two attacks later, when The New York Times printed a headline referring to Britain as "reeling," there was an outcry, too: Under the hashtag #ThingsThatLeaveBritainReeling Londoners listed everything from microwaved tea and incompetent queuing to noisy American tourists — everything except terrorism.

To a nonnative Londoner (I am German, married to a Welshman who, for the record, was also appalled at that headline) there is something admirable in this reflexive British spirit of not being cowed and pushing back against any notion that the country is "reeling," even if it can seem a bit defensive. Many people do admit to a degree of uneasiness.

Gustavo Lou, a 21-year-old student from West London, said he tried to avoid taking trains these days. "If I do, I get on the front or back," he said.

Londoners of a different generation often call upon the city's history as proof of local resilience, from the Blitz — the German bombardments

during World War II — to the terrorist campaign by the I.R.A. in the 1970s, '80s and into the '90s.

Mick Bailey, a 63-year-old taxi driver from north London, grew up with "lots of amusing stories about the blackouts and bombing raids" during the war. Once, his mother came out of the shelter to find the family home bombed to pieces. "So they moved in with other family," he said. "Everyone just got on with it."

In 1983, when an I.R.A. car bomb exploded outside Harrods department store at the height of the Christmas shopping season, Mr. Bailey was working as a firefighter. During the recent attacks at Borough Market, he was out driving

his cab. "It feels much as it did during the I.R.A. days," Mr. Bailey said. "It happened and people were thankful that they weren't involved. And they carried on."

He worries about his son, who is a policeman in London. But he is determined not to change his life, "because if you do," he said, "then it controls you, and you can't let that happen."

The thing that worries Mr. Bailey the most is that attacks carried out in the name of Islam are exploited by populists.

"I live in a very mixed area, I work around Muslims," Mr. Bailey said. "We do have to make sure that we

don't point the finger in the wrong direction."

"London is a very special place," he said. "All these people from all over."

That made me think of something Richard Thompson, a former MI6 official, told me. "Terrorism is not an enduring strategic threat to this country," he said. Wednesday's fire could well have killed more people than all three attacks combined, he said, warning against loss of perspective and knee-jerk reactions.

Perhaps the earliest recorded terrorist plot in London was the so-called Gunpowder Plot in 1605, when a pro-Catholic conspiracy tried to assassinate King James and blow

up Parliament with 36 barrels of gunpowder. The plot was foiled and Guy Fawkes, who had been guarding the barrels under the palace of Westminster, was hanged, drawn and quartered.

To this day, Londoners celebrate Guy Fawkes Day every Nov. 5 with fireworks. It is one of the biggest family outings of the year. As John Robin, a history teacher in East London, said, beaming: "What better way to deal with terrorism?"

**Bloomberg**

## Crook : What the British Election Means for Brexit

The U.K.'s Brexit ordeal looked complicated and unpredictable even before the election. Now things are worse. Theresa May is weakened by her narrow victory -- the closest thing to a humiliating defeat a technical win could be. From now on, she's even less in command of the process. One more slip and she might be out of a job. Another election is possible, to be followed by who knows what.

So where does this leave Brexit? The popular line of analysis is that a weakened May will no longer be able to pursue the "hard Brexit" she previously had in mind. This is half-right at best. The chance of a certain kind of soft Brexit has indeed improved -- but not because May's ambitions have been checked.

May's ambitions for Brexit have been misunderstood throughout -- a consequence of the prevailing hard-or-soft framing of the Brexit choices.

Two limiting cases are easy to define. In the first, the country changes its mind and stays as a full member of the EU. This still looks extremely unlikely. In the second, the clock runs out on the talks without an agreement, so the U.K. leaves the EU with no new deal to take its place. This so-called cliff-edge exit is quite possible. In between these poles, there's a range of outcomes combining varying degrees of access to the EU's single market (up to and

including full membership) and varying degrees of submission to the EU's system of governance.

What May wants is maximum access to the single market and minimum submission to the EU's system of governance. Soft on trade, you might say, and hard on sovereignty. In particular, she wants to regain full control of the U.K.'s borders so that she can manage immigration. The EU's position on this has been clear: Control of immigration rules out full access to the single market. The four freedoms -- free movement of goods, services, capital and people -- are indivisible, it maintains. So if the U.K. wants to control its borders, it can't have maximum access to the single market.

This all-or-nothing position -- there's hard Brexit (hard on trade and hard on sovereignty) or no Brexit, and not much in between -- has been Europe's bargaining posture, not Britain's. To be sure, this position is intelligible, internally consistent, and politically defensible. But it's also a choice, not something that the laws of logic, economics or good government require. A significant hardline euroskeptic faction of May's Tory Party see things the same way. They want a Brexit that's hard on sovereignty, and if that also means hard on trade, so be it.

But not May. Remember she was a Remainer. Her stance is not "to hell with free trade and the economy." She wants the best mixed deal she

can get. Her chancellor Philip Hammond calls for a pragmatic Brexit -- a good way to put it. True, the government has said that "no deal is better than a bad deal," causing something close to hysteria among Britain's pro-EU commentariat. But please: What else are you supposed to say at the start of a negotiation? "For us, any deal is better than no deal. In the end, we'll be willing to accept whatever terms you dictate." It isn't recommended.

May's election drubbing certainly increases the chance of a cliff-edge Brexit, because of the delay and confusion it will introduce on the British side. The clock is running and the deadline of having something signed by March 29, 2019, is still there. But what does the election mean for the probabilities of those various middle outcomes?

There are countervailing forces. First, May is weaker within her party. This strengthens the Tories' no-compromise-on-sovereignty faction, whose votes she'll need. She called the election to strengthen her hand against these hardliners, for the sake of a softer Brexit not a harder one. Yet May's electoral failure also strengthens the soft-on-sovereignty forces elsewhere in her party and across the aisle in the Commons. So on the one hand, she'll need the votes of her hardliners to get anything done, but on the other she'll be able to argue that if they refuse to compromise,

the Tories might end up out of government. There's also the possibility (faint as yet) of cross-party collaboration, again with a softer-on-sovereignty Brexit in mind.

But the biggest effect of May's election disaster may be that it softens Europe's posture. British commentators almost invariably take EU declarations as given: What the EU insists upon is not a policy one can analyze or criticize, they seem to think, but a state of nature that just is. In fact, it's another variable, and May's humiliation will influence it. Specifically, her setback might attenuate the EU's desire to inflict punishment on the U.K. in order to discourage other exits. What further punishment is required, really?

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With luck, all this could open up new possibilities in that wide trade-and-sovereignty space. Maybe Europe will be a bit more willing to give an inch on immigration, or on trade in financial services. Maybe Britain will accept a smaller recovery of sovereignty in return. New opportunities could present themselves. Sadly, a prime minister with the wit to seize them would not have bungled this election in the first place.

**The  
Washington  
Post**

## As Britain softens its Brexit aims, E.U. leaders say their doors are still open

BRUSSELS — European leaders have a message for Britons reeling from a shock election result: All is

forgiven if London wants to abandon its divorce from the European Union.

The sentiment, voiced by France's president, Germany's finance minister and a host of Brussels

diplomats, comes after British voters quashed Prime Minister Theresa May's dreams of a commanding majority — and a firmer hand — as she led her nation into Brexit talks. Instead, her Conservative Party lost

its majority, and politicians in favor of closer ties to Europe appear ascendant just days before divorce negotiations are set to begin Monday.

May has already rejected the idea of an "exit from Brexit," and there is little chance London will actually reverse course. But many British politicians see the results of the June 8 election as a signal that voters do not want the full split that May once proposed, but rather a gentler breakup that could leave strong trade ties in place.

Most European leaders would welcome as close a relationship with Britain as possible, but they remain adamant that the more benefits Britain wants from the E.U., the more sovereignty it will have to leave in the hands of Brussels. Meanwhile, they say that the British election has wasted precious time needed for negotiations, which by treaty are limited to two years before Britain is unceremoniously kicked out without any deal at all.

"Of course, the door remains open, always open, until the Brexit negotiations come to an end," French President Emmanuel Macron told reporters in Paris on Tuesday, speaking alongside May after a meeting focused on counterterrorism. "But let us be clear and organized. And once negotiations have started, we should be well aware that it will be more and more difficult to move backward."

The cautiously friendly French comments came hours after Germany's influential finance minister, Wolfgang Schäuble, raised the possibility of an all-is-forgiven reconciliation.

"The British government has said, 'We will stay to the Brexit.' We take

the decision as a matter of fact, as a matter of respect. But if they would want to change their decision, of course, they would find open doors," he told Bloomberg News, speaking in English.

But May, in Paris, quickly shot down the possibility of a British reversal.

"We stand at a critical time, with those Brexit negotiations starting only next week," May said.

Diplomats in Brussels say they would be delighted if Britain softens its aims and opts for a status similar to that of Norway, which is not a member of the European Union but takes part in many of its trade and migration agreements.

One option might be for Britain to remain in Europe's customs union, which would mean that London would leave its power to negotiate trade deals to Brussels but would also maintain full access to duty-free trade with the European Union. That would eliminate the need for a significantly stronger border between Northern Ireland and Ireland, a step that many leaders on that island have worried could spark new violence in a dormant conflict.

But it would still leave large portions of the British economy outside the E.U. sphere. The finance sector and other services — 78 percent of Britain's economy — are not covered by the customs union.

A different possibility would be for Britain to remain inside Europe's single market, which would leave the economic relationship with the E.U. largely untouched. That would be a Norway-style step, but many

observers argue that it is unlikely because it would force Britain to keep its doors open to E.U. workers. Ending that requirement was the core driver of last year's successful Brexit campaign.

European leaders' biggest concern, however, is that Britain's political chaos is wasting time that could be used to negotiate. May triggered the two-year clock in March. In April, she was tempted by opinion polls that put her Conservative Party 20 points ahead of its Labour rival, and she called the snap election. But she squandered the lead in what was criticized even by her allies as a bumbling and wooden campaign.

The E.U.'s chief Brexit negotiator, Michel Barnier, said this week that he was anxious for May to get her house in order.

"My preoccupation is that time is passing — it's passing quicker than anyone believes — because the subjects we need to deal with are extraordinarily complex from a technical, judicial and financial point of view. That's why we're ready to start very quickly. I can't negotiate with myself," he said in an interview with several European newspapers.

But European leaders also believe that time is on their side, giving them little reason to compromise early in the negotiations. Britain's economy will be churned into crippling turmoil if there is a sharp, sudden split, with trade barriers suddenly snapping back to their high, default levels. The remaining 27 nations of the European Union would suffer, but not nearly so much, European leaders say.

"They think Britain is being somewhat in denial of reality at the moment," said Pierre Vimont, a former high-ranking French diplomat who is now a senior fellow at Carnegie Europe, a Brussels-based think tank. "And they hope that at some stage Britain will come back to a somewhat more realistic state of mind."

That means that European leaders have remained firmly united on what their red lines are, even as attitudes appear to be softening on the British side. There has been no willingness to allow Britain full access to Europe's single market unless it allows European workers access to Britain, for example.

"Even those on the E.U. side who are ready to be more accommodating are not willing to deviate from some of the red lines," said Janis Emmanouilidis, director of studies at the European Policy Center, another Brussels-based think tank. "If you play by the rules, then we can find a compromise. If we can't, then time is ticking."

Even though most people in Europe hope that Britain will remain as close as possible to the E.U., Emmanouilidis said, few were taking pleasure in May's troubles.

"Everyone is feeling that this is a mess," he said. "If May had a big majority, then there would be a degree of clarity. Now there is none."

## **Bloomberg** Editors : Europe's Smart Compromise on London Clearing

The City of London has been anxiously awaiting the European Commission's review of clearinghouses that handle euro-denominated transactions. It's a nice line of business -- one the European Central Bank, even before Brexit, had wanted to bring more firmly under its supervision. The question was, would euro clearing have to migrate from London?

The report is out, and the answer is: not necessarily. The commission is wisely suggesting a compromise.

Clearinghouses provide an essential service, guaranteeing the settlement of trades and managing the risks

involved. London clears around three-quarters of trading in euro-denominated derivatives, mainly through LCH.Clearnet Ltd. The ECB fears it might be harder to deal with breakdowns if these activities are based outside the euro zone. The ECB and the Bank of England have an agreement to cooperate in such a case, but the ECB doubts that's enough.

The commission's plan draws a distinction between systemic institutions and the rest. Smaller clearinghouses can carry on as they are, it says; they pose no risk to financial stability. Larger ones should face stricter scrutiny wherever they're based -- complying with the same prudential rules (on

capital adequacy, for instance) as clearinghouses inside the EU, and subject to inspection by the European Securities and Markets Authority. This kind of arrangement is familiar: It mirrors what U.S. regulators demand of foreign clearinghouses handling dollar transactions.

Crucially, though, the commission isn't insisting on immediate relocation. There'd be a cost attached to that -- and not just for the City. LCH offers central clearing in multiple currencies, which can lower transaction costs for traders. It would be a pity to call that service into question. There's a risk of disruption, too. It's hard to move large numbers of staff and

supporting infrastructure to a new place.

Granted, the commission is proposing to retain the right, in conjunction with ESMA and the ECB, to demand that a clearinghouse relocate within the EU if it deems this necessary. That isn't unreasonable -- so long as the power is reserved to meet legitimate regulatory concerns.

Overall, the commission's proposal should assuage fears that the EU is only concerned with punishing the U.K. for Brexit and to grabbing what business it can. That's good. Large mutual interests are at stake, and a willingness to compromise can make both sides better off.

## **Bloomberg** Sri-Kumar : Euro's Outlook Brightens as Germany Fills Void

President Donald Trump's recent decisions have a left a void in the

U.S.'s global leadership. He decided to reduce the country's global trade ties by withdrawing from the Trans-

Pacific Partnership, insisted that North Atlantic Treaty Organization allies pay their "rightful share" of 2

percent of gross domestic product for their defense, and announced



that the U.S. would exit the Paris climate control accord.

Global integration -- through closer trade, currency and policy-making ties -- and U.S. leadership have served financial markets and investors well since the end of World War II. Channeling American aid to war-devastated Europe between 1948 and 1951 through the Marshall Plan was a major factor in the recovery of the region, and helped make the continent a major destination for U.S. investment and exports. European and Japanese exports to the U.S. -- then, and now, the largest economy in the world -- helped revive those countries and provided a basis for their equity markets to grow.

Which country is best equipped to take on the global role that the U.S. used to play, and how can investors take advantage of the changing situation? As the largest European economy, and a leading member of the euro zone, which has a regional population bigger than the U.S., Germany is getting global attention. Chancellor Angela Merkel has recently taken steps that appear to consolidate her and nation's positions on the global front.

Responding to Trump's criticism of Germany's large trade surplus with

the U.S., and for not contributing sufficiently to NATO's finances, Merkel said at a recent campaign rally that Germany could no longer rely on the U.S., and that Europe would have to take its future into its own hands. Recent moves suggest that she is taking on the global mantle being relinquished by the U.S.

When it comes to climate change, Peter Altmaier, Merkel's chief of staff, called the U.S. withdrawal from the Paris Accord a "major setback." He indicated that Germany and the European Union would work with large emerging markets such as China and India to reach a new global climate agreement.

Merkel moved on the financial front as well. She was in Latin America this month in preparation for hosting a meeting of G-20 leaders in Hamburg in July. After conversations with President Enrique Peña Nieto of Mexico, the chancellor expressed interest in updating the EU's free trade agreement with Mexico that has been in effect since 2000. She indicated that German companies would closely follow negotiations to reset rules for the North American Free Trade Agreement because of their interest in investing in Mexico.

Providing another contrast with Trump on trade, Merkel said at a press conference in Buenos Aires that she would seek a trade agreement involving Mercosur, the South American free trade region, and the EU. Such an accord would strengthen ties between Europe and the Southern Cone countries, especially the large economies of Brazil and Argentina, prompting additional European investments in the region.

While these steps are positive, Germany needs to do more to assume the mantle of global leadership. At issue is Germany's huge surplus in the current account of the balance of payments (billions of dollars, solid white line in the chart below), larger than even that of China, the other country criticized for its surpluses (yellow dotted line).

The solution would be on two major fronts. First, the government should encourage employers to accelerate wage increases that were suppressed as part of the structural reforms initiated in 2003. Last year's 2.9 percent increase in wages and salaries (chart below) can be increased significantly, allowing German workers to better enjoy their economy's health and, just as important, increase imports and lower the current account surplus.

Second, the euro zone is still an imperfect currency union with no fiscal transfers across countries or common bonds. As a large creditor, Germany is probably the only European country that could loosen fiscal purse strings and structure a program -- its version of the Marshall plan -- that Italy or Greece could follow to revive growth as they stabilize their economies. This would be a better solution than German officials' emphasis on Greece, for example, following austerity measures that do little to revive growth or financial markets.

If Germany does implement such measures after elections in September, it could be a once-in-a-lifetime opportunity for investors. The benefits are likely to come in three related fronts. First, expect a medium-term strengthening of the euro, boosting returns for non-euro based investors. Second, there would be less sovereign risk for investors in Italy, Mexico or Argentina if the countries' economic policies are better coordinated with those of Europe's giant economy. And third, watch for a significant decline in European bond yields, lowering the cost of capital for new investment projects.

## POLITICO The new Catalans

Saim Saeed

Gagandeep Singh Khalsa might seem like an unlikely name for a Catalan nationalist. And indeed, before he moved to Barcelona from India nine years ago, Khalsa didn't even know the region's inhabitants had their own language, culture and history -- or that many of them wanted to break away from Spain.

Today, Khalsa is an *independentista*, part of a large migrant population whose views Catalan's separatists are hoping will prove critical if the region holds a planned referendum on independence on October 1.

The region is "always shortchanged," says Khalsa, a spokesman for the Catalanian Sikh community. Catalonia, he's convinced, doesn't need Madrid. "We've got everything," he says.

At a time of rising xenophobia across Europe, Catalanian nationalists have been remarkably welcoming toward migrants. That stance has the potential of paying off.

Between 2000 and 2010, the region's population swelled by 20 percent to 7.5 million -- an increase

driven in large part by immigration. While many of those new arrivals can't vote, a growing number can.

Between 2009 and 2015, some 220,000 people became naturalized Spanish citizens in Catalonia -- equivalent to about 3 percent of the region's population. Saoka Kingolo, an independence campaigner focusing on migrants, said that up to 500,000 foreign-born Catalans will be eligible to vote in the referendum.

That's not a big number. But it could nonetheless be decisive. If Catalan's *independentistes* are to eke out a victory, it's likely to be a close one. A recent poll put the vote for leaving Spain at 44.3 percent, just over 4 points behind remaining at 48.5 percent (if the region is able to overcome Madrid's resistance to holding a referendum at all).

Independence campaigners have set out to win over the region's new arrivals with welcoming rhetoric and policy promises.

Polls on Catalanian independence are notoriously volatile, but they show a few clear broad trends. Voters with Catalan parents are overwhelmingly for independence, while those with parents from other parts of Spain are cool to the concept.

Recent migrants lie somewhere in the middle, almost evenly split between those who would vote for independence, those who would choose to remain part of Spain and those who would abstain, according to a 2013 poll by the Institute of Political and Social Sciences of the Autonomous University of Barcelona.

That makes them fertile ground for those seeking to break with Madrid, and independence campaigners have set out to win over the region's new arrivals with welcoming rhetoric and promises of policies that would make it easier to obtain work permits and citizenship.

If every legal resident could be granted a vote and convinced to go to the ballot box, the unionists would suffer "a thrashing," says Diego Arcos, a spokesman for Barcelona's Argentinian community.

"We're talking 10 percent of the electorate," says independence campaigner Kingolo, who is leading a team of 12 people reaching out to migrants at the Catalan National Assembly, a pro-independence grassroots organization. "If they are motivated [to vote], the impact of their vote would be great," Kingolo says.

### Growing participation

Catalans separatists will tell you the independence movement began in the 18th century, when Catalan forces were defeated by the Spanish crown in the War of Spanish Succession in 1714. But as a cause it only really took off in the 20th century.

The region enjoyed a brief moment of autonomy in the 1930s before being brutally suppressed following the Spanish Civil War. The Catalan language was banned from schools and public offices until 1975.

Separatism has taken on new life over the last decade, as Catalans chafe at what they say is heavy-handed treatment by the central government.

"It's a country that doesn't ask anyone to get rid of its own identity." Instead, it encourages them "to be part of a diverse and shared society" -- Oriol Amorós, *Catalan secretary for equality, migration and citizenship*

In 2015, a coalition of pro-independence parties won regional elections by promising to hold a binding referendum on independence no later than September this year -- a move

Madrid says would violate the Spanish constitution.

The approaching vote makes the subject difficult to avoid, even for those who may not be well-acquainted with it.

“Nowadays, you have to say if you are for independence or not,” says Míriam Hatibi, a spokeswoman for Ibn Battuta, an NGO that helps migrants, primarily Muslims, integrate into Catalan society.

More and more recent arrivals are getting involved in politics, she’s noticed. “The first one [to get involved] was 10 years ago. Now you can’t count them, there are so many.”

And as migrants have gotten interested in politics, Catalan parties have sought to harness their participation, painting it as an opportunity to help create an ideal state in which they will be fully represented.

For Ana María Surra, the argument was compelling. Born in Uruguay, Surra moved to Catalonia to be closer to her son, who lives in Barcelona. She arrived in the city to celebrate her grandson’s first birthday in 2005, and never left.

Now an MP for the Catalan Republican Left (ERC) party, a member of the ruling coalition, Surra also founded a group called *Sí, amb Nosaltres* (Yes, with Us) a pro-independence group of Catalan residents originally from elsewhere.

### The (migrant) case for independence

The classic case for Catalan independence, Surra says, is based on two factors: identity and economics. Catalonia is a nation with a distinct language, history and culture. And since the region pays more in taxes to the national government than it takes out, it merits full control over its finances.

For migrants, the case for independence looks a little different. Its appeal lies the promises of employment, papers and dignity.

Free from Spain’s “plunder” of its resources, says Surra, the Catalan government would be able to provide migrants with better employment opportunities.

Under Spanish labor laws, many recent migrants are unable to secure proper contracts with paid holidays. That would be fixed in an independent Catalonia, she claims.

“When we can have papers, we are going to be citizens of the first category, like everyone else,” Surra says. “We will be able to vote, we will be able to participate in public life, we will be giving a bonus to the future Catalan republic as migrants.”

Oriol Amorós, the Catalan government’s secretary for equality, migration and citizenship, says the ERC intends to grant immediate citizenship to all legal residents living in Catalonia when it becomes independent.

Even if legal residents can’t vote in the referendum, “they will be immediately added to the new Catalan electoral body to express their opinion in the, for example, the referendum for a new Catalan constitution.”

He also intends to provide visas for people searching for job opportunities, as well as group visas to help citizens and residents bring their families over — all within EU parameters — he added, since the region hopes to maintain its membership in the bloc after independence.

Catalonia is a ‘nation of immigrants’ much like the United States, Amorós says. “Catalonia has been built thanks to many waves of migrations.”

People come to Catalonia — and end up staying — “because it’s a country that doesn’t ask anyone to get rid of its own identity.” Instead, it encourages them “to be part of a diverse and shared society — that is, to become Catalan.”

When the ERC had to appoint a senator in Madrid earlier this year, it chose Robert Masih Nahar, an Indian who moved to Barcelona 12 years ago. In office, Nahar has worked to convince fellow parliamentarians to allow the referendum to take place later this year.

“When you are living here, the emotion that you feel, the strong feeling of ... self-determination is very strong,” says Nahar.

### Catalonia Dreaming

Marta Pascal, the secretary-general of the ruling *Partit Demòcrata*, the ERC’s coalition partner, outlined Catalonia’s pro-migrant philosophy, what she calls “the Catalan Dream.”

“This is a prosperous and interesting territory in the south of Europe

where the Catalan Dream ... works,” Pascal says. If you come to Catalonia and speak Catalan, Pascal says, you will belong.

“In my city, Vic, you can see students in the school, boys and girls in the streets ... coming from different nationalities, and speaking lovely Catalan.” She smiles. “You say, something is working.”

For Khalsa, the Sikh spokesperson, the path to separatism also passed through the language. Now 31, Khalsa quickly picked up Spanish after first arriving from India in his early twenties. His teacher recommended he learn Catalan and help his community — Punjabis from India and Pakistan — acclimate to life in Catalonia.

For Khalsa, switching from Spanish to Catalan was not only expedient, but also transformative.

When he started out, “they [Catalan people] appreciated me for speaking only two to four words of Catalan.” He was amazed.

“I thought my beard or turban would create distance, but they are very happy to hear Catalan,” he says. “I have never seen a country love its language so much.”

He soon stopped speaking Spanish altogether.

Does he feel Catalan? “The feelings inside me are mixed. I am Sikh, I am Punjabi, but I think I am now Catalan as well.”

Any Spanish feeling? “Nothing at all.”

Khalsa won’t be able to vote if there’s a referendum; he’s not yet naturalized. But that doesn’t stop him from campaigning for separation. On May 9, he was joined on stage by Catalan President Carles Puigdemont, who had written a foreword to Khalsa’s new book — a Catalan language guide for the region’s Punjabi community.

### Picking a fight with Madrid

For many migrants, however, promises of self-determination have a double edge.

Campaigning for independence is an act of privilege, says Huma Jamshed, a naturalized Catalan resident from Pakistan and the head of ACESOP, a Barcelona-based NGO that helps integrate Pakistani women into their new communities.

“You need financial independence, you need an aptitude for language,

you need to have been culturally integrated, you need to be young [the process for Spanish citizenship takes up to 10 years], maybe you’ve married a Spanish woman, so have no further family members to bring.”

Despite the success of many integration schemes, racism still haunts the lives of many new Catalans.

Only then, she says, can you “pick a fight with the government.”

The Pakistani community in Catalonia have “got their own problems,” says Jamshed. The activist spends most of her time fighting against the eviction of families who find themselves on the wrong side of Barcelona’s gentrification or “urban renewal” schemes.

Many migrants fear reprisals, imaginary or not, from the national government for supporting independence. Madrid could withhold passports from legal residents, or not issue visas to loved ones abroad, Jamshed argues. And the Catalan government doesn’t have embassies in India or Pakistan.

Despite the success of many integration schemes, racism still haunts the lives of many new Catalans. Jamshed says she was discriminated against at her former position in the Barcelona city council.

Fatima Taleb, a city councilor in a Barcelona suburb, was subjected to a wave of racist and Islamophobic abuse related to her Moroccan heritage and Muslim faith since she took office in 2015. Khalsa says he has to issue statements in defense of the Sikh community whenever there is an Islamic terror attack. He complains that many compare his appearance to Osama bin Laden’s.

Nahar, the senator, attributes the abuse Taleb faced to the suburb’s former conservative mayor, Xavier García Albiol, a unionist belonging to Spain’s ruling Popular Party, who was charged — and later acquitted — of racism after his government spread pamphlets that equated Roma people with delinquency.

Referring to racist abuse he suffered after being appointed senator, Nahar attributed it to people from outside the region.

“It’s not Catalan to be exclusive like that,” he said.

## POLITICO Finland’s open door roils its politics

Marion Sollety

HELSINKI — In absolute terms, the number of migrants coming to Finland isn’t striking. But the sharp

increase in recent years is, and it is helping fuel an unusually divisive

debate over identity in this northeastern outpost of the EU.

Earlier this week, these disputes burst out into the political open. Finland's Prime Minister Juha Sipilä, who once offered to put up refugees in his own home, threatened to break up the government when one of his coalition partner parties — The Finns — put in charge a hardline anti-immigration leader.

"There is no basis for continuing cooperation with The Finns," he said on Twitter. After a brief stand-off, The Finns — the far-right party which is Finland's third-biggest political force — imploded and 20 of its more moderate MPs left to form the "New Alternative" movement which will continue to prop up Sipilä's government.

For Sipilä, who has run the country since 2015, the coalition between his Center Party, the National Coalition Party and The Finns became untenable when The Finns elected the right-wing blogger-turned MP and MEP Jussi Halla-aho on Saturday. He replaced Timo Soini, who stepped down after 20 years as leader of The Finns; the party's new leader has a much more hardline stance on refugees.

The prime minister acknowledges that the sharp rise in the number of refugee arrivals has prompted a debate in Finnish society.

"The amount of asylum seekers in 2015 was about 10 times what we normally have here. And it has been quite a challenge for the society," Sipilä said in an interview in his official residence in Helsinki. "We have a special program for integration and I think that, in general, it works well. But there have been some incidents and some debates also in Finland on that field."

Some 15,000 immigrants came in from outside the EU last year, a 50 percent increase on the year before. Iran, Afghanistan and Syria represent one-third — 5,212 people — of the new arrivals. In 2015, Finland saw an 822 percent increase — the highest in the EU — in the number of first-time refugee applicants. Those numbers, even in per capita terms, are below neighboring Sweden or Norway.

And Muslims account for less than one percent of Finland's population of 5.4 million.

"We have students who have not been here for long. The only thing they are looking for is peace" — *Suud Onniselkä, teacher at a Helsinki school, following an anti-Islam demonstration*

Yet it's a big political and social issue. On May 31, a handful of far-right protesters with a megaphone demonstrated against "the Islamization of society" a few meters from a school playground in Eastern Kontula, a working-class neighborhood of Helsinki with a relatively high concentration of immigrant families.

"I have been a principal for 10 years and it is the first time this happens," Juha Juvonen, a principal at Vesalan school, said in his small office. About 200 of the 920 pupils are Muslim, some of them refugees but the majority Finnish-born.

The trigger for the protest had come a week earlier when some pupils made a short presentation for the whole school about Ramadan, with a few verses from the Quran recited out loud. The ensuing protest was live-streamed on Youtube by Marco de Wit of the anti-immigrant group Finland First (Suomi Ensinnä) — and was viewed by many of the students and staff.

"Our pupils don't deserve that," said Suud Onniselkä, who teaches physics and mathematics as well as Islamic religious education at the school. A Muslim convert married to a man with a Somali background, with whom she has three children, she has bright blue eyes and high cheekbones and wears a headscarf. "We have students who have not been here for long. The only thing they are looking for is peace."

#### 'People who shout'

Eastern Kontula's challenging socio-economic status means that Vesalan school gets extra funding, though creeping gentrification and its good reputation mean it is oversubscribed, according to the principal. Its buildings are colorful and newly renovated and there is a

brightly lit greenhouse used for biology classes.

Onniselkä, the physics and maths teacher, said the influence of immigrants has been positive because they are often families who "value education. They see that it's one way of going up in the society."

All Finnish schoolchildren are entitled to religious instruction according to their own denomination, rather than just Finland's traditionally Lutheran brand of Christianity, and nonreligious families can opt for ethics instruction instead.

Unlike elsewhere in the EU, large-scale Muslim immigration is relatively recent in Finland, taking off in the 1990s when the country welcomed refugees from conflict areas such as Somalia.

Not all of them have been made to feel welcome, however. Onniselkä said she has witnessed discrimination both through her family and her pupils, while Islam classes provide an opportunity for pupils to share their distressing experiences. "We talk a lot about discrimination," she said. "They can tell me about their experiences, people who shout at them."

Looking at the school building from the playground, she whispers: "It is very frustrating to see some idiots can come and destroy the work we have been doing here."

#### 'Soft' on immigration

For Onniselkä, the rise of The Finns party has allowed "a lot of people to be openly racist." According to a 2016 report by the Finnish police academy, the number of suspected hate crimes and racially motivated crimes in Finland rose from 919 a year in 2011 to 1,250 a year in 2015.

Halla-aho himself was convicted in 2012 for inciting ethnic hatred in a blog post where he suggested that "robbing passers-by and living on taxpayers' expense" as "cultural, and possibly genetic, characteristics of Somalis."

Finland First, which called the protest at Vesalan school, is a hardline offshoot of Halla-aho's

blog. Many of its members connected through the online platform Hommaforum, which was built in 2008 by Halla-aho's supporters, according to Niko Hatakka, a researcher at the Centre for Parliamentary Studies in the University of Turku, who specializes in populist online activism.

Although Finland First's membership numbers are low — the school protest attracted only about 25 people — it punches well above that weight through social media and vocal public protests.

"They are ideologically very much connected to The Finns party," said Hatakka, adding that while Finland First and other anti-immigration online groups felt emboldened by the elevation of Halla-aho and others to elected political positions, they became rivals as Finland First had attracted people "discontented with The Finns' party's [perceived] 'softness' on immigration."

If this is their idea of respecting the outcome of a democratic election [in the party], then I have a different view" — *Jussi Halla-aho, new leader of the True Finns, speaking about the party split*

Under Halla-aho's leadership, The Finns may no longer be seen as soft.

"Timo Soini kept The Finns party under control," said Mari K. Niemi, a political historian at the University of Turku. "The fact that they joined the government was because Soini had broad legitimacy."

It remains to be seen whether the hardline nationalists will be able to break into government positions.

Halla-aho, who didn't respond to requests for comment for this article, was apparently caught off-guard by the disavowal of his fellow party members.

"It was expected that one or a few MPs might have come to that kind of conclusion, but I didn't expect such a large-scale movement," he told a news conference. "If this is their idea of respecting the outcome of a democratic election [in the party], then I have a different view."



## POLITICO Russia claims it has killed Islamic State leader al-Baghdadi

Russia claimed Friday it killed the leader of the Islamic State group in an airstrike targeting a meeting of IS leaders just outside the group's de facto capital in Syria.

The Russian Defense Ministry said Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi was killed in a Russian strike in late May along with other senior group commanders.

There had been previous reports of al-Baghdadi being killed but they did not turn out to be true. The IS leader last released an audio on Nov. 3, urging his followers to keep up the fight for Mosul as they defend the city against a major offensive that began weeks earlier.

The spokesman for the U.S.-led anti-IS coalition said in a statement Friday he could not confirm the Russian claim.

The report of al-Baghdadi's death comes as IS suffers major setbacks in which they have lost wide areas of territory and both of their strongholds — Mosul in Iraq and Syria's Raqqa. Both are under attack by various groups who are fighting under the cover of airstrikes by the U.S.-led coalition.

U.S. officials and Syrian activists say many commanders have fled Mosul and Raqqa in recent months for Mayadeen, a remote town in the heart of Syria's IS-controlled, Euphrates River valley near the Iraqi border.

The claim of al-Baghdadi's possible demise also comes nearly three years to the day after he declared himself the leader of an Islamic caliphate in Iraq and Syria, from a historic mosque in Mosul.

If confirmed, it would mark a major military success for Russia, which has conducted a military campaign in support of Syrian President Bashar Assad since September 2015.

The Defense Ministry said the air raid on May 28 that targeted an IS meeting held on the southern outskirts of Raqqa in Syria also killed about 30 mid-level militant leaders and about 300 other fighters.

The ministry said the IS leaders were gathered to discuss the group's withdrawal from Raqqa, the group's de facto capital. It said the military began planning the hit after getting word that the group's

leadership was to meet in order to plan IS's exit to the south.

The Russian military sent drones to monitor the area and then dispatched a group of Su-34 bombers and Su-35 fighter jets to hit the IS gathering.

"According to the information that is being verified through various channels, IS leader Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi also attended the meeting and was killed in the airstrike," the military said in a statement.

The Defense Ministry added that it had warned the U.S. of the coming strike.

Syrian opposition activists reported airstrikes on May 28 south of Raqqa that killed more than a dozen people.

The Britain-based Syrian Observatory for Human Rights, which tracks Syria's war, said airstrikes on the road linked the villages of Ratla and Kasrat killed 18 people while the activist-operated Raqqa is Being Slaughtered Silently said 17 civilians were killed in the airstrike on buses carrying civilians.

The Observatory said the dead included 10 Islamic State group

members. It did not elaborate at the time.

The Russian ministry said that among other militant leaders killed in the raid were IS leaders Abu al-Khadji al-Mysri, Ibrahim al-Naef al-Khadj and Suleiman al-Shauah.

Al-Baghdadi declared a caliphate in Syria and Iraq in June 2014 days after his fighters captured Mosul, the largest city they ever held. The group has since horrified the world with its atrocities in areas they held as well as attacks they claimed around the world that killed hundreds.

Al-Baghdadi is a *nom de guerre* for a man identified as Ibrahim Awwad Ibrahim Ali al-Badri al-Samarrai. The U.S. is offering a \$25 million reward for information leading to his death or capture.

Alexei Pushkov, the head of the committee for information policies at the upper house of the Russian parliament tweeted that "if confirmed, al-Baghdadi's death will be a powerful blow to the IS. It has been retreating on all fronts, and the death of its leader will accelerate its demise."



## Russian Military Says It Might Have Killed ISIS Leader

Russia's military claimed Friday that it believes it killed Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi, the self-declared caliph of the Islamic State terror group, in an airstrike in the

Syrian desert last month. If confirmed, it would be a major military victory for Moscow. The Kremlin's defense ministry said in a statement to Russian news agencies that its planes struck a May 28 meeting of ISIS leaders

outside the de facto capital Raqqa that would have likely killed Baghdadi. Still, his death is not confirmed and ISIS-watchers and leaders around the world remain skeptical of the proclamation. "According to information which we

are checking through various channels, the leader of the Islamic State, Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi was at the meeting and the strike destroyed him," the statement said.



## Is ISIS Leader Al-Baghdadi Dead?

Krishnadev Calamur

Russia's Ministry of Defense says it is investigating whether Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi, the ISIS leader, was killed in a Russian airstrike near Raqqa, Syria, on May 28.

Baghdadi has been reported dead several times previously, but Russia has rarely made such claims since its military involvement in the Syrian civil war began in September 2015. The report, which was published in Sputnik, the state-run news service, would be a devastating blow to the group that has steadily lost ground in Iraq and Syria in recent years—pushed back by U.S.-led airstrikes, as well as ground offensives by

Iraqi, Kurdish, Shia, and other forces in the region. Russia's involvement in Syria has also hurt the group, which still provides potent reminders of its ability to carry out deadly attacks in Western cities.

"According to information that is checked through various channels, IS leader Ibrahim Abu-Bakr al-Baghdadi, who was killed as a result of the strike, was also present at the meeting," the Russian Defense Ministry said. "As a result of the Su-35 and Su-34 airstrikes, high-ranking commanders of the terrorist groups who were part of the so-called IS military council, as well as about 30 mid-level field commanders and up to 300 militants of their personal security, have been killed."

The BBC cited a U.S. military spokesman as saying the U.S. could not confirm the Russian claim.

Not much is known about Baghdadi. One of the only known images of him is from June 2014, when he is seen delivering a sermon in Mosul, Iraq, soon after his group took over the city. He was last heard from in a recording that was released in December 2015.

Raqqa, ISIS's de-facto capital, has also been targeted by groups allied with the U.S. This week, the Syrian Democratic Forces (SDF), a group of Kurdish and Arab fighters backed by the U.S., captured a number of key neighborhoods near the city, which was captured by ISIS in 2014.

It's unclear whether Baghdadi's death, if confirmed, would have an impact on ISIS's activities—or its success in radicalizing people through its online propaganda. In 2011, many predicted the end of al-Qaeda when Osama bin Laden's was killed by U.S. Navy SEALs, but the group remains a potent presence in many of the countries where it operated freely—even if it has lost some of its allure to would-be jihadis who look to ISIS for inspiration. Indeed, ISIS has expanded beyond its strongholds in the Arab world, becoming a presence in Afghanistan (where it recently captured Tora Bora, once bin Laden's stronghold, from the Taliban), and the Philippines.



## Levitt & Bauer : Qatar Doesn't Need a Blockade. It Needs an Audit.

One grievance underpinning the ongoing diplomatic conflict between Qatar and its fellow Gulf Arab countries is Doha's close ties to a variety of extremist elements spanning the spectrum from the Taliban to Iran to the Muslim Brotherhood. But Qatar's most disturbing relationship of all is with al Qaeda. It is past time for it to come to an end.

Al Qaeda in Syria enjoys a (misplaced) air of legitimacy in Qatar as a group fighting both the Bashar al-Assad regime and the Islamic State. Many of the group's major donors give to the cause because they see al Qaeda in Syria as the "moderate extremists" in the multi-sided conflict. Al Qaeda in Syria is often viewed in this light either because people agree with the ideology, they see it as more moderate than the alternatives, or simply because they are willing to put ideological issues aside and support the side that offers a real possibility of ending Assad's murderous regime, seeing their contributions as something other than explicitly financing al Qaeda.

That perception was always misplaced, but must now be aggressively challenged. Al Qaeda's present strength in Syria has given the group new opportunities, both operationally and financially, and it remains a threat to the West. A July 2016 U.N. Security Council report claimed that the al Qaeda in Syria "remains one of the most effective branches of Al-Qaida worldwide." Many of the group's top terrorist operatives have relocated to Syria from South Asia. Closing off the group's current sources of revenue and resources is thus critically important.

Donors and fundraisers based in the Persian Gulf have long supported al Qaeda's central organization, as well as its affiliates in Iraq and more recently Syria. But while most such affiliates have diversified their methods of fundraising, away from reliance on individual donors and exploitation of charitable flows to mask their transactions, al Qaeda in Syria is the major exception. According to the Security Council, as of January 2017 the group has continued to derive its income "mainly from external donations," along with criminal sources of funding such as kidnapping for ransom, extortion, and war spoils.

The group's budget could be as much as 10 million dollars annually, with several million dollars a year coming from private donors in the Gulf, facilitated by false online fronts. Hajjaj al-Ajmi, a Kuwaiti who was sanctioned by the United Nations in 2014, used Twitter to solicit donations for al Qaeda in Syria. Ajmi and others, such as Qatari national Saad bin Saad al-Kaabi, who posted solicitations on Facebook and WhatsApp accounts for "arming, feeding, and treating" fighters in Syria. This includes openly crowdsourcing donations for al Qaeda and other jihadi groups in Syria.

It's for this reason that back in March 2014, then-Treasury Department Under Secretary David Cohen singled out Qatar as an especially "permissive jurisdiction" for terrorist financing. The problem was not limited to support for Hamas, Cohen stressed, but to Qatari support for extremist groups operating in Syria.

"To say the least," he concluded, "this threatens to aggravate an already volatile situation in a particularly dangerous and unwelcome manner."

"To say the least," he concluded, "this threatens to aggravate an already volatile situation in a particularly dangerous and unwelcome manner."

Indeed, it has. According to a *Financial Times* report, Qatar secured the release of members of the Qatari royal family kidnapped in Iraq by paying several hundred million dollars in ransom money, including to groups tied to al Qaeda. If true, then even if these sums of money prove to be grossly exaggerated, the ransoms amount to payment from Qatar state coffers to al Qaeda.

Qatar has taken some limited action against individual terrorist financiers: freezing assets, imposing travel bans, shutting down accounts, shutting down the Madad Ahl al-Sham charity tied to al Qaeda in Syria, and pursuing several prosecutions. But in all these instances, the country only acted in response to considerable U.S. pressure and was remarkably reluctant to publicly take credit for successes.

Meanwhile, Qatar's actions often have had mixed or unclear results.

For example, although the 2014 State Department country report on terrorism credited Qatar with shutting down Saad al-Kaabi's online fundraising platform, Madad Ahl al-Sham, a subsequent Treasury sanctions designation noted Kaabi was still actively involved in financing al Qaeda in Syria at least a year later in 2015. Another case involves Abd al-Malik Abd al-Salam (aka Umar al-Qatari), a Jordanian with Qatari residency, who provided "broad support" to al Qaeda in Syria, according to the Treasury. In 2011 and 2012 he worked with associates in Turkey, Syria, Lebanon, Qatar, and Iran to raise and move funds, weapons, and facilitate fighter travel. According to the State Department's 2014 report, authorities in Doha deported a Jordanian terrorist financier residing in Qatar who had been employed by a Qatari charity that year; it is possible this was Abd al-Malik Abd al-Salam, but that has never been publicly confirmed.

Doha has been particularly sketchy on the issue of the prosecution of terrorism financiers in Qatari courts. According to the State Department's 2015 terrorism country report, for example, while individuals and entities in Qatar continued to finance al Qaeda, Doha had "made efforts to prosecute significant terrorist financiers." In fact, five terrorist financiers were prosecuted. The five are Ibrahim al-Bakr, Saad al-Kaabi, Abd al-Latif al-Kawari, Abd al-Rahman al-Nuaymi, and Khalifa al-Subaiey. Of these, two (Kaabi and Nuaymi) were acquitted in 2016 and three were convicted: Subaiey in 2008, and Bakr and Kawari in 2016. Bakr was convicted in absentia and remains at large somewhere outside Qatar. This was not his first conviction: Bakr was arrested in Qatar in "the early 2000s" and "released from prison after he promised not to conduct terrorist activity in Qatar," according to his 2014 Treasury designation. Subaiey was convicted in absentia in a Bahraini court in January 2008 and arrested two months later in Qatar, where he served a six-month term in prison. Kawari is reportedly serving his sentence under house arrest in Qatar, while Kaabi, Nuaymi, and Subaiey are reportedly under regular surveillance. The nature of that surveillance is a matter of debate, however. In the case of Subaiey, the U.N. committee on al Qaeda sanctions reported that he resumed terrorist financing

activities after his release from prison, when he was purportedly under surveillance.

It should therefore not surprise that former senior U.S. Treasury official Daniel Glaser lamented in February 2017 that U.S.- and U.N.-designated terrorist financiers continue to operate "openly and notoriously" both in Qatar and Kuwait. Qatar had not yet made the kind of "fundamental decisions" on combating terror finance that would make the country a hostile environment for terror financiers, Glaser added, concluding that those positive steps Qatar had taken were "painfully slow."

Last week, Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, Egypt, and Bahrain collectively designated 59 individuals and 12 institutions (including the five prosecuted by Qatar) accused of financing terrorist organizations and receiving support from Qatar. Many of these are entities previously designated by the United States and United Nations for financing al Qaeda, though the list includes others with ties to Muslim Brotherhood and Salafi extremists in Egypt, Libya, and elsewhere. Some of those listed are not Qatar residents, and according to a Qatari official at least six of the people listed are dead.

While likely intended as another shot across the Qatari bow, the list provides Doha an opportunity to help resolve its fight with its Gulf Cooperation Council neighbors, and a face-saving way to do so: It could immediately take action at least against those persons and entities on the list who are already designated by the United States or U.N. and therefore should already have been targeted by Doha. In particular, Qatar could focus on the many al Qaeda financiers on the list, and take action based on its recent (re)commitment to counter terrorist finance at the Riyadh summit last month.

To be sure, Qatar is overdue in aggressively targeting its financing of terrorist groups, in particular al Qaeda's Syrian affiliate. But belatedly addressing this problem would be far better than not at all.

## Arab Diplomats Seek to Sway Trump Administration in Middle East Rift

Jay Solomon

WASHINGTON—Diplomats from feuding Arab nations are squaring off in Washington in a bid to bend President Donald Trump to their positions on the future of Qatar, an issue that could broadly impact U.S. interests across the Middle East.

Qatari officials pressed the White House this week to directly mediate a dispute with Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates, after those nations and two others cut diplomatic and commercial ties with the energy-rich Persian Gulf state, according to U.S. and Arab officials.

"We hope it happens, with the U.S. as a witness," Qatar's government spokesman, Sheikh Saif Al Thani, said of direct mediation to end the dispute.

The Saudis and Emiratis, conversely, have lobbied the White House to back their intensifying economic pressure campaign on Doha. They say it is the only way to force Qatar to stop its alleged financing of international terrorism, a charge Doha has repeatedly denied.

The U.A.E.'s ambassador to Washington, Yousef Al Otaiba,

suggested this week that the U.S. pull out its forces from the massive Al Udeid air base in Qatar. The facility has been the central staging ground for most American airstrikes against Islamic State in Syria and Iraq.

"If I want to be honest, I think the reason action hasn't been taken against Qatar is because of the air base," Mr. Otaiba told reporters in Washington. "The air base is a very nice insurance policy against any additional pressure."

U.S. officials said the concurrent arrival of Arab diplomats in Washington this week was extraordinary.

Saudi Foreign Minister Adel al-Jubeir met Secretary of State Rex Tillerson on Tuesday, and the U.A.E.'s top diplomat, Sheikh Abdullah bin Zayed al Nahyan, dined with Mr. Tillerson on Wednesday.

Also on Wednesday, Qatari Defense Minister Khalid al-Attiyah signed a \$12 billion arms deal with Defense Secretary Jim Mattis at the Pentagon. The country's foreign minister will arrive in Washington next week, said Qatari officials.

"We believe that this agreement will propel Qatar's ability to provide for its own security while also reducing the burden placed upon the United States military in conducting operations against violent extremism," Mr. Attiyah said.

Qatari officials said Al Udeid and Qatar are crucial to the fight against terrorism and the national security of the U.S.

Senior U.S. officials described Mr. Trump and Mr. Tillerson as seeking to balance the demands of the three U.S. allies, but acknowledged the task might not be possible in the short term.

Mr. Tillerson is scheduled to make more calls on the Qatar dispute on Friday, said U.S. officials. But they played down the prospect for a quick resolution or a formal meeting in Washington between the feuding parties, an approach that has been promoted by Doha, said these diplomats.

The Trump administration also is waiting for Saudi Arabia and the U.A.E. to send a list of formal demands that Qatar would need to meet to restore economic and diplomatic ties with its neighbors.

Mr. Tillerson is "trying to bring some alignment where there's a willingness among the parties to find a resolution and de-escalate the situation with some of the factors that created it in the first place," said a senior U.S. official.

Arab diplomats said their descent on Washington has been fueled, in part, by the conflicting statements coming out of the Trump administration.

Mr. Trump, at times, has appeared to openly side with Saudi Arabia and the U.A.E. Mr. Tillerson and Mr. Mattis, however, have sought to be neutral and have called for the easing of the economic siege on Qatar.

One Arab diplomat quipped that Washington's hotels are filled with Middle East officials striving to interpret the meaning of Mr. Trump's tweets.

Mr. Attiyah hosted a roundtable with journalists and academics on Thursday at a Georgetown hotel. Qatar's finance minister spoke to the Hoover Institution in Washington. And a senior member of Qatar's royal family appeared on the Charlie Rose show, and called for the U.S. to end the dispute.

### The Washington Post **Ignatius : When there's a quarrel in the Middle East, 'let Rex handle it'**

The sudden embargo on Qatar pushed this month by the United Arab Emirates and Saudi Arabia has peeved the State Department and Pentagon, drawing sharp criticism of those two close Persian Gulf allies.

The Qatar flap has also opened a fascinating window on the inner workings of the Trump administration's foreign policy. It's a rare instance in which Secretary of State Rex Tillerson, the quiet man on the Trump team, appears to have persuaded the president to back off his initial course and, as a White House official put it, "let Rex handle it," at least for now.

The June 5 announcement of the anti-Qatar blockade surprised the United States on several levels, officials said. It was a diktat, without clear demands or a pathway to resolution. The timing was awkward, coming soon after President Trump had attended a regional summit in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, at which Qatar appeared to be a valued participant, and just as the United States was launching the final phase of its campaign to clear Islamic State extremists from Raqqa, Syria.

Some senior U.S. officials saw the Qatar boycott plan as half-baked, escalating a feud among allies that might have unintended consequences, and potentially benefiting Iran and other common adversaries. Defense Secretary Jim Mattis feared the blockade might jeopardize U.S. operations at Al Udeid Air Base, south of Doha, the most important U.S. military hub in the region.

Yousef al-Otaiba, the UAE ambassador to Washington, acknowledged the State and Pentagon criticism of his country's action. But he argued in an interview that the United States should see the issue as an "opportunity" to reduce Qatar's support for extremism in the region, rather than as "a crisis that needs to be defused."

Otaiba said that a formal list of demands to Qatar hadn't been completed yet, because of coordination among the four main boycotters, Egypt, Bahrain, Saudi Arabia and the UAE. The message to Qatar will be: "If you want to be part of our team, here's a clear list of things you have to do." Otaiba added that many of the demands would focus on pledges Qatar made

in 2014 to reduce support for opposition groups in neighboring countries.

When the blockade was announced, there was an obvious disconnect in U.S. policy. Tillerson said June 5 in Australia: "We certainly would encourage the parties to sit down together and address these differences." He wanted to de-escalate this Arab family feud before it got too hot, and potentially violent.

But Trump's instinct was to side with the Saudis and Emiratis. He tweeted June 6: "During my recent trip to the Middle East I stated that there can no longer be funding of Radical Ideology. Leaders pointed to Qatar — look!" That was hardly even handed. On a broader level, Trump is said to believe that the United States shouldn't try to solve problems for Middle Eastern countries and should instead let "the natural order play itself out," as one official put it.

But over the subsequent 10 days, Trump decided to give Tillerson responsibility for negotiating a solution. Partly, that reflects the White House's deference to Tillerson's decades of personal relationships in the gulf, and

probably also its appreciation that the former ExxonMobil chief stays out of the news.

Tillerson noted his long experience in the region in a comment June 6 in New Zealand, as the crisis was festering: "I have been in dealings with the Qatari leadership now for more than 15 years, so we know each other quite well. I know the father emir well. I know the current emir well." He's equally familiar with Saudi and UAE leaders.

Mattis's concern partly reflects his desire to concentrate fire on the Islamic State. Commanders say the final conquest of Raqqa, which began more than a week ago, is going better than expected. The U.S.-backed assault force numbers more than 40,000, with somewhere between 35 and 50 percent local Arabs, and the rest Kurds. There's fragile liaison with the disparate combatants in eastern Syria — Russians, Iranians, Turks and the Syrian regime. The United States wants to "deconflict" (as in its near-daily "professional and responsive" contacts with the Russian military over Syria), not complicate matters with regional feuds.



Qatar's defense minister, Khalid bin Mohammed al-Attiyah, told me in an interview Wednesday that in the negotiations ahead, Qatari officials

"will have maneuvering space to get to a deal that does not jeopardize our sovereignty."

If that happens, this Arab family quarrel is on the way to getting resolved — and the argument to "let Rex handle it" will gain strength in

an administration that's still learning the diplomatic ropes.

**The  
New York  
Times**

## UNE - Moving to Scuttle Obama Legacy, Donald Trump to Crack Down on Cuba

Julie Hirschfeld Davis

In making the shift, Mr. Trump is delivering on a politically potent promise he made to the Cuban-American exile community based in Miami, which backed him in last year's election and was deeply opposed to the détente. The new policy was shaped in large part by Cuban-American Republicans in Congress, including Senator Marco Rubio and Mario Diaz-Balart, both of Florida, and both of whom wanted even stiffer American sanctions on the Castro government.

But many business leaders and human rights groups are profoundly opposed to the change. Even members of Mr. Trump's own administration have privately argued that the move toward normalizing relations between Washington and Havana had yielded national security, diplomatic and economic benefits for the United States that should not be sacrificed.

The internal conflict is evident in the new approach, which will be enshrined in a policy directive that Mr. Trump plans to issue on Friday, according to the officials, who spoke on condition of anonymity to avoid pre-empting the president.

Although Mr. Trump has repeatedly said that Mr. Obama made a "bad deal" with Cuba, his shift falls well short of the wholesale reversal that many hard-liners, including Mr. Diaz-Balart, were seeking.

Embassies in Washington and Havana that reopened in 2015 for the first time in a half-century will remain open. The Trump administration is not moving to unwind other regulations that have carved out exceptions to the trade embargo, including those allowing

direct financing of certain exports and allowing American dollars to be used in transactions with Cuba, the officials said.

Nor does Mr. Trump plan to restore the "wet foot, dry foot" policy that Mr. Obama ended last year, which allowed Cubans who arrived on United States soil without visas to remain in the country and gain legal residency.

Still, Mr. Trump's expected changes are substantial.

The directive calls for reversing a rule that Mr. Obama put in place last year to allow Americans who are making educational or cultural trips to initiate their own travel to Cuba without special permission from the United States government and without a licensed tour company so long as they kept records of their activities for five years. The 2016 change punctured a major element of the American embargo against Cuba, which bars tourism.

Now, such trips, sometimes known as "people-to-people" exchanges, will only be possible as part of a licensed tour group, as was the case before last year. And the Treasury Department, which will be tasked with drafting the new rules, will be directed to strictly enforce the law regarding travel to Cuba, including with routine audits.

Mr. Trump is also directing a broad prohibition against Americans doing business with companies controlled by the military, intelligence or security services in Cuba, which control of large swaths of the economy, including many foreign-owned hotels, through the military's business arm known as Grupo de Administracion Empresarial S.A., or Gaesa. However, White House officials said there would be

exceptions, including for airports and seaports, meaning that the operation of cruise ships and commercial flights would not be affected.

The current policy, officials argued, enriched the Cuban military and empowered a government that has engaged in human rights abuses. Mr. Trump's directive will call for the State Department to issue a list of blacklisted companies to comply with the prohibition.

The Trump administration will lay out conditions that the Cuban government would have to meet before the restrictions could be lifted, including holding free and fair elections, releasing political prisoners and allowing Cuban workers to be paid directly, one White House official said.

The impending changes drew sharp criticism from architects of the Obama-era policy.

Benjamin J. Rhodes, a former deputy national security to Mr. Obama who helped broker the opening first announced in 2014, called the clampdown a politically motivated move that would ultimately be self-defeating. He said it would revive an adversarial dynamic between the United States and Cuba that would harm citizens of both countries while allowing the Castro government to once again cast Americans as the root of all its people's ills.

"For nothing more than a partial rollback, Trump has made us the bad guy again," Mr. Rhodes said on Thursday. "They are not going as far as the real hard line, but they are going far enough to cause damage."

Business organizations that have been pushing Congress to lift the embargo, to foster potentially

lucrative commercial relationships and closer personal and cultural ties between the United States and Cuba, also voiced opposition.

"The idea that after 55 years of failure, going back to isolationist policies will produce any results is insane," said James Williams, the president of Engage Cuba, a pro-engagement group.

Mr. Trump plans to cast his decision on Cuba as a matter of human rights, arguing that the changes will ensure that the United States is not rewarding a government that deprives its citizens of basic rights.

"This is going to have a dampening effect, but so be it," said Jorge Mas, the president of the Cuban American National Foundation, a Cuban exile group. "The Cuban government's behavior has to change, and they will now understand the cost of not changing behavior."

Human rights groups had implored the administration not to roll back the engagement policy, arguing that while the Castro government's record continued to be poor, cutting nascent ties with Cuba would only hurt its citizens.

"The Cuban government was able to use the old policy as an excuse for all the problems on the island and as a pretext for repression," Daniel Wilkinson, the managing director of the Americas division at Human Rights Watch, said in an interview on Thursday. "It's true the repressive system in Cuba has not changed, but the fact that two years of a different policy didn't change things isn't a reason to go back to one that was a clear failure for decades."

**THE WALL  
STREET  
JOURNAL.**

## Donald Trump to Issue Directive Narrowing Obama's Cuba Opening

Felicia Schwartz

President Barack Obama's steps toward normalization.

Speaking from Miami, Mr. Trump will direct the Treasury and Commerce departments to prohibit direct financial transactions with Cuba's military and intelligence services, White House officials said Thursday. The directive will allow exceptions for airlines and cruise lines and will

aim to not disrupt business under way, they said.

Perhaps the most tangible effect of the changes will be the elimination of loosened travel regulations that allowed individuals to self-certify their travel as cultural exchange without joining a tour group.

That regulation essentially lifted the travel ban, allowing anyone who

wanted to go to Cuba from the U.S. to go, as long as they declared their trip was aimed at engaging with Cubans. Tourist travel by U.S. citizens to Cuba is forbidden by law, but the changes undertaken by the Obama administration basically allowed for it.

Longer term, lawyers and others who have been working with companies to explore deals on the

island said, the shift could affect companies that have been looking into potential business opportunities but haven't made it very far. But the effects will depend on how final regulations are crafted.

"It's freezing the ability to do future deals," said James Williams, president of Engage Cuba, a group that advocates on behalf of businesses to lift the embargo and which backs normalization.

Mr. Trump's announcement Friday will trigger a 30-day process for Treasury and Commerce to begin drafting new regulations, and the changes won't go into effect until that process is completed, officials said at a news briefing Thursday.

The officials didn't provide a date for when they expect the process to be completed, saying that it will take "as long as it takes."

The White House said it hopes its Friday announcement will encourage the Cuban government to take steps to allow free elections, release political prisoners and directly pay Cuban workers, among other changes.

"It's very much the hope of the administration that the Cuban regime will see this as an opportunity to implement reforms that they paid lip service to a couple of years ago," said one White House official briefing reporters ahead of the announcement.

Mr. Obama, beginning in December 2014, moved to normalize ties and loosen the longstanding U.S. embargo, including by easing trade and travel regulations, restoring diplomatic ties, making a historic

presidential visit to the island, and eliminating the "wet foot, dry foot" policy that allowed Cuban émigrés who reached U.S. soil without visas to stay in the country and apply for a green card after one year.

While the individual cultural travel rule will be terminated, many of the regulations to relax trade and travel will remain, along with some of the measures that allowed increased telecommunications services. The countries' embassies will remain open and the "wet foot, dry foot" policy won't be reinstated. And U.S. travelers who still head to Cuba will continue to be able to bring back as many cigars and as much rum as they want.

Individual travel will remain legal through more than 10 categories, including research and humanitarian work, and family visits.

But Sen. Jeff Flake (R., Ariz.), who backs lifting the embargo, said, "Any policy change that diminishes the ability of Americans to travel freely to Cuba is not in the best interests of the United States or the Cuban people."

Collin Laverty, president of Cuba Educational Travel, said it is unclear how the Treasury and Commerce departments will interpret Mr. Trump's directive. But he said his company ahead of the directive on Thursday changed the hotel reservations for 25 groups over the next six months from one connected to a Cuban military entity to other hotels that don't have military ties.

"If you look at the growth over the last two years, the travel of Americans has exploded, and you'll see that slow down," Mr. Laverty

said, speaking by telephone from Havana. "Where you really saw an increase is individuals who bought a ticket from JetBlue or Southwest, especially because routes are new and fares are really competitive right now."

Most U.S. airlines that fly to Cuba had no comment Thursday on the impending Trump administration in procedures. Southwest Airlines Co., which flies to Havana and two smaller destinations from Florida, said it will review the administration's statement to assess the impact on its Cuba schedule.

What was expected to be a hot market has been a bit of a disappointment, airlines have conceded. American Airlines Group Inc. and JetBlue Airways Corp. ended up cutting their seats, either by substituting smaller planes or reducing the number of daily flights to some destinations. A turboprop carrier, Silver Airways, dropped out of eight secondary destinations in April. Low-fare Frontier Airlines and Spirit Airlines left the Havana market in recent weeks.

But those three idle daily slots to Havana are now being fought over by the other big carriers flying to the island-nation capital. All the major players are jousting with the Transportation Department to take up those routes, despite the higher costs and mediocre passenger loads on trips to the capital from the U.S. They fear if they don't hold this territory, they could be foreclosed for a generation, said one carrier's chief executive officer.

Mr. Trump had promised on the campaign trail to roll back Mr. Obama's policy changes on Cuba,

and officials said his announcements on Friday are aimed at following through on that promise.

But officials also signaled that Mr. Trump will retain portions of the policy shift that has won the endorsement of business groups and many Republicans, particularly those in agricultural states that want to expand trade with Cuba.

The Trump administration worked closely with Sen. Marco Rubio (R., Fla.) and Rep. Mario Diaz-Balart (R., Fla.), lawmakers who vociferously protested Mr. Obama's moves to normalize ties.

One target of the policy directive is the Grupo de Administración Empresarial SA, better known as GAESA, a conglomerate owned by Cuba's armed forces and run by President Raúl Castro's former son-in-law, Gen. Luis Alberto Rodríguez. GAESA owns a wide portfolio of more than 50 companies, many in the tourism industry, which for a long time has been one of Cuba's few cash-producing industries, analysts say.

Through the Gaviota hotel chain, GAESA has nearly 29,000 hotel rooms, including the majority of Cuba's four- and five-star hotels, including the recently inaugurated Gran Hotel Manzana Kempinski, which also houses top boutiques. Gaviota also has signed an agreement with Sheraton's Starwood chain to administer the Four Points Hotel in Havana.

## *the Atlantic* Trump's Cuban Policy Reversal

J. Weston Phippen

President Trump will announce Friday a drastic change in the U.S.-Cuba relationship, swapping a policy of cultural exchange to bring about democratic ideals for something closer to the embargo-style policies from past decades. White House officials said Trump plans to cut off income to the Castro regime, with the hopes of bringing about free elections, by once again limiting tourism and trade to the island.

Reversing U.S.-Cuba policy was a campaign promise of Trump's—one that has grown increasingly unpopular with the majority of Republican voters—but one that White House officials said Trump planned to keep. The largest change from current policy will be doing away with "people-to-people"

exchanges, which the White House said some tourists were taking advantage of. These trips were enabled under the Obama administration so Americans could travel to Cuba without asking permission first from the U.S. government or having to schedule the trip through a licensed tour company. Trump's new policy also prevents U.S. companies from doing business with Cuba's Armed Forces Business Enterprises Group (GAESA), which, because it is involved with nearly every sector of the economy, will severely limit trade. Trump's policy is expected to make an exception for U.S. companies already doing business with GAESA, so flights, cruises, and already-scheduled hotel deals will likely be exempt. The White House offered few more specifics of the policy Thursday night, leaving some to be announced by Trump, or worked out more finely by

government agencies like the Department of Treasury.

The goal of the President's plan, the White House said, is to limit resources from flowing to the Castro regime. The policy is thought to be borrowed from Florida Senator Marco Rubio and Representative Mario Diaz-Balart, both Republicans who represent many Cuban American voter, and both of whom have called for continuing the 50-year old trade blockade against Cuba. But Rubio and Diaz-Balart, and now the Trump administration, are in a shrinking minority.

Leading up to May 20—the date of Cuba's 1902 independence from the U.S.—there was speculation Trump would use the moment to announce changes to U.S.-Cuba policy. When the day came and went without word, seven GOP representatives signed a letter last week that argued

for keeping the current relationship on the grounds of national security. They cited nine bilateral agreements signed between the U.S. and Cuba since the thaw, including those that combat human trafficking, identification fraud, and drug smuggling. They also said if the U.S. didn't expand into the Cuban economy, Russia and China surely would, as they've already begun to do. Republican voters, too, have come around, and overall more than 75 percent of Americans support the Obama administration's policy. So why is Trump reversing it?

Much of Obama's six major policy changes, starting in 2014, were done through executive order or regulatory changes, since only Congress can reverse the embargo. Most significantly, Obama loosened travel restrictions so that practically any American could visit Cuba, as long as their trip included

educational activities, including people-to-people cultural exchange. The administration also opened trade, allowing certain medical supplies, telecommunication technology, and agricultural goods to flow between nations. At the embassy flag-raising ceremony, which announced the opening of U.S.-Cuba diplomatic relations, Secretary of State John F. Kerry said there'd been "too many days of sacrifice, and, sorry, too many days of suspicion and fear." In March of last year, Obama made a historic visit to Cuba, the first sitting president to do so since Calvin Coolidge in 1928. And as the door to trade creaked open, U.S. companies took advantage.

On his trip, Obama mentioned an Alabama business that would "be the first U.S. company to build a factory here in more than 50 years." He was speaking of two businessmen, Horace Clemmons and Saul Berenthal, whose proposal to assemble tractors in Cuba was the first approved by the administration. Obama spoke too soon, because Cuba rejected the project (possibly because the tractor technology was 70 years old). However the government has accepted many other U.S. companies since then, all of them eager to tap into the Cuban market. Starwood Hotels and Resorts struck a deal to manage hotels in Cuba. Technology companies like Airbnb let Cubans rent their homes to tourists, and last year some 600,000

Americans visited the island. To accommodate travel, airlines like JetBlue, Southwest, and American Airlines began some 20 flights per day to Cuban cities. In the Midwest, farmers looked on eagerly, hoping for an end to the embargo and the opening of Cuba's speculated \$1 billion agricultural market.

In Cuba, the trade of technology meant internet access flourished. This undermined the Castro regime's hold on the information, and it spurred entrepreneurship. Last year the Cuban government even legalized small- and medium-sized private businesses. In the short period it was active, the policy seemed to be doing what half a century of embargo had not for Cubans. Domestically, in the U.S., it even seemed to be changing minds.

A U.S. Senate bill to lift travel restrictions that in 2015 had just eight supporters, now has 55, both Democrat and Republican. "Recognizing the inherent right of Americans to travel to Cuba isn't a concession to dictators, it is an expression of freedom," Arizona Republican Jeff Flake said.

His current stance against the embargo notwithstanding, as recently as last March, Trump said he'd be interested in opening a hotel in Havana. "I would, I would," he told CNN. "At the right time, when we're allowed to do it." And though he has long called Fidel Castro, the late Cuban leader, a "killer" and a "criminal," as early as 2012 Trump

Organization executives were traveling to Cuba to scout a possible golf course investment deal, according to an investigation by *Bloomberg Businessweek*. Trump the candidate even praised Obama's deal, though he had one qualm. The policy is "fine," he told *The Daily Caller*. "I think it's fine, but we should have made a better deal. The concept of opening with Cuba—50 years is enough—the concept of opening with Cuba is fine. I think we should have made a stronger deal."

His change of opinion seemed to come a couple months before the election. Trump and then-candidate Hillary Clinton were about tied in Florida, and as he campaigned in Miami he took a stance that would please some of Florida's older Cubans. He demanded "religious and political freedom for the Cuban people," though he avoided policy specifics. As the race grew tighter, with some polls giving Clinton a slight advantage in Florida, a few weeks before the election Trump accepted the first-ever presidential endorsement from the influential Brigade 2506, the veterans of the failed Bay of Pigs invasion. At their headquarters in Little Havana, Trump uttered a few words in Spanish, and he promised to reverse Obama's policy. "The United States should not prop up the Castro regime economically and politically, as Obama has done and as Hillary Clinton plans to do," Trump said. "They don't know how to make a good deal, and they

wouldn't know how to make a good deal if it was staring at them in the face."

While Trump may have received an election endorsement from Brigade 2506, its hardline stance toward Cuba does not represent that of the Cuban-American community's. In fact, Cuban-Americans are almost evenly split on whether the U.S. should engage more with the island, and generally the younger generation supports a closer relationship. Whether it's Cuban-Americans, his own Republican voters, or even Congress, the future would seem to be pointing to an end to embargo-style policies. It's one reason Trump's timing is a mystery, though there's been plenty of speculation.

Reversing Obama's executive orders, while unpopular to most people, didn't require much finesse, assuaging of opponents, or even coordination of his team. All Trump needed to do was borrow policy ideas from Rubio and Diaz-Balart and sign an order. In 56 years, the embargo has not brought democracy to Cuba, has done little to improve human rights, and has not removed the Castros from power. Only time has managed to help that. But Trump has struggled to pass policies domestic or foreign. He needed a win, and Cuba was as close as it gets to a sure thing.

## *the Atlantic* Rhodes :Trump's Cuba Policy Will Fail

One of the most depressing things about President Donald Trump's decision to roll back elements of the Cuba opening is how predictable it was. A Republican candidate for president makes last-minute campaign promises to a hard-line Cuban American audience in South Florida. Senator Marco Rubio and Congressman Mario Diaz-Balart hold him to those promises. The U.S. government announces changes that will hurt ordinary Cubans, harm the image of the United States, and make it harder for Americans to do business and travel somewhere they want to go.

While President Obama raised the hopes of Americans and Cubans alike with a forward-looking opening in diplomatic, commercial and people-to-people ties, President Trump is turning back the clock to a tragically failed Cold War mindset by reimposing restrictions on those activities. While not a full reversal of the Obama opening, Trump's actions have put relations between the United States and Cuba back

into the prison of the past—setting back the prospects for reform inside of Cuba, and ignoring the voices of the Cuban people and a majority of Americans just so that he can reward a small and dwindling political constituency.

It didn't have to be this way, and it won't stay this way.

In the fall of 2014, after 16 months of secret negotiations, I travelled to the Vatican to tell representatives of Pope Francis that the United States and Cuba were prepared to begin normalizing relations. The Vatican diplomats met separately with the U.S. and Cuban delegations to verify that we were telling the truth. Then we all met together and read aloud the steps we were prepared to take. A Cardinal said the world would be moved by this example of former adversaries putting aside the past. One Vatican official who had lived in Cuba had tears in his eyes, a look of deep remembrance on his face.

Cuba has long played an outsized role in the world's imagination. To

Americans, it has been the setting for the drama of mobsters, Castros, the Cold War, assassination attempts, boatlifts, and ideological conflict—mixed with the allure of a culture that finds full expression in Miami. To Latin America, Cuba has been a symbol for how United States tries to dictate the politics of the hemisphere—a legacy of democracy and economic progress, as well as coups and death squads. To the developing world, Cuba has been a symbol of sovereignty and resistance, and a supporter of revolution—for good or bad. From the Missile Crisis to the anti-apartheid movement; from the Kennedys to Obama era, this small island has put itself at the center of world events.

Can anyone credibly argue that Trump's Cuba policy is motivated by a commitment to promote human rights around the world?

But Cuba is also a place where more than 11 million people live, and for decades they have suffered because of the U.S. embargo stacked on top of socialist

economics and stifled political dissent. Basic goods are unavailable. Businesses cannot attract investment. Farmers are denied equipment to grow more food. Those classic cars? Cubans have had to keep them running because they're imprisoned in an economy that is not allowed to grow along with the rest of the world. Meanwhile, Americans—who are supposed to value freedom above everything else—have been told that the only country in the world where we cannot travel is 90 miles from Florida.

Yes, the Cuban government shoulders its share of the blame. But there are dozens of authoritarian governments; we do not impose embargoes on China or Vietnam, Kazakhstan or Egypt. Last month, President Trump travelled to Saudi Arabia—a country ruled by a family, where people are beheaded and women can't drive. He announced tens of billions of dollars in arms sales, and said: "We are not here to lecture. We are not here to tell other people how to live." Can anyone



credibly argue that Trump's Cuba policy is motivated by a commitment to promote human rights around the world? No. Moreover, as a democracy-promotion vehicle, the embargo has been a failure. For more than 50 years, it has been in place; for more than 50 years, a Castro has governed Cuba. If anything, the embargo has provided a justification for the Cuban government to suppress political dissent in the name of protecting Cuban sovereignty.

By breaking with this past, the Obama administration improved the lives of the Cuban people, and brought hope to people who had learned to live without it. The nascent Cuban private sector—shops, restaurants, taxis—grew dramatically, fueled by unlimited remittances from the United States. Over a quarter of Cubans today work in the private sector. This represents both an improvement in their quality of life, and in their human rights, as they are no longer reliant on the state for their livelihoods.

With the establishment of direct flights, cruise lines, and broadened authorization for travel to Cuba, the number of Americans visiting increased by 50 percent to over 500,000 in 2016. These travelers brought new ideas and more resources directly to the Cuban people—Airbnb estimates that \$40 million in revenue have reached Cuban hosts since April 2015. Cuba also expanded access to the Internet and mobile phones. U.S. technology companies like Google took advantage of the opening to forge new agreements, including one that enhances access to the Internet for Cubans.

Two governments that once plotted how to undermine one another began working together. Embassies were opened, and bilateral cooperation was initiated on the types of issues that usually guide diplomacy between neighbors:

counter-narcotics, law enforcement, agriculture, testing vaccines for cancer, and responding to natural disasters like oil spills and hurricanes. In the final days of the Obama administration, the so-called Wet Foot Dry Foot policy was terminated, ending an arrangement in which any Cuban who reached the United States was paroled into the country—a hostile policy that endangered the lives of Cubans who made long overland crossings, and robbed Cuba of young people who simply came to the United States.

The opening to Cuba also opened up new opportunities in Latin America and around the world. In 2015, instead of spending a Summit of the Americas defending why Cuba wasn't allowed to attend, the United States found itself in the new position of being celebrated. U.S. diplomats participated in Cuban-hosted talks that helped end Colombia's 40-year civil war. Cuban health care workers helped us stamp out the Ebola epidemic in West Africa.

President Trump's actions will not reverse all of this progress, but they represent a step backwards. By restricting engagement with large swaths of the Cuban economy controlled by the military, Trump is simultaneously demanding that Cuba embrace capitalism while making it harder for them to do so. Cuba will be exposed to less engagement from American companies and less incentives from American revenue. U.S. businesses can only press for reforms in how Cuba structures its economy—like allowing foreign companies to hire Cubans directly—if they can actually do business in Cuba. Meanwhile, the Cuban government is not going to let go of their holdings because the U.S. tells them to; they're far more likely to turn to Russia and China. By removing America from the equation, Trump delivered a better deal for Vladimir Putin and Xi Jinping.

While Trump did not take dramatic steps to restrict travel, he made it more difficult. U.S. travelers now have to go through the absurd process of figuring out if a hotel they're staying at is owned by the Cuban military, which applies to most of Old Havana. Ominous language about requiring Americans to document their activities, and warning that they could be audited, will have a chilling effect. Despite rhetoric about supporting Cuban entrepreneurs, any reduction in travel is going to hit them—common sense suggests that someone who stays at a military-owned hotel will also ride in taxis, eat in restaurants, and shop at stores owned by ordinary Cubans. Those are the Cubans that Trump is hurting—not hotel owners who will still welcome tourists other countries.

So what is gained by these actions? Trump will say he is promoting democracy, but the opposite is true. Cuba is going through its own leadership transition, with Raul Castro set to step aside later this year. What could have been an opportunity for the United States to support an evolution in Cuba's system through engagement has now become an opportunity for hard-liners to tighten their grip on power. Meanwhile, there is no evidence that the Cuban government is about to collapse and give way to a democratic movement. On the contrary, the Cuban government is comfortable containing the dissidents that the United States supports.

The consequences in Latin America, and around the world, are even worse. Critics of Obama's opening accused us of making concessions to the Cuban government. But by restoring diplomatic relations, we brought about a symbolic end to the U.S.-Cuban conflict even though we did not lift the embargo or return Guantanamo Naval Base. It's not a "concession" to allow Americans to travel and do business somewhere. But Trump just gave the Cuban

government a huge concession: Even though he didn't fully reverse Obama's policy, Cuba will now claim the high ground in a renewed ideological conflict with the U.S., and will find support for that position around the world.

The instinct for isolation that Trump embraced will fail. Ironically, the hard-liners who pressed Trump to make these changes are only condemning themselves to future irrelevance. Polls show that over 70 percent of Americans—including a majority of Republicans—support lifting the embargo. Younger Cuban Americans are far more likely to support lifting the embargo than their parents and grandparents. Fifty-five senators have co-sponsored a bill to lift the travel ban, and Republicans from states that depend on agriculture want to promote business in Cuba. Meanwhile, the *Washington Post* reported that a poll showed 97 percent of the Cuban people supporting normalization with the United States.

Donald Trump is delivering his remarks on Cuba at the Manuel Artime Theater, named for a leader of the Bay of Pigs Invasion. He couldn't have found a better symbol for the past. But ultimately, the past must give way to the wishes of the people. Fidel Castro is dead. A new generation, in Cuba and the United States, doesn't want to be defined by quarrels that pre-date their birth. The embargo should—and will—be discarded. Engagement should—and will—prevail. That is why Trump's announcement should be seen for what it is: not as a step forward for democracy, but as the last illogical gasp of a strain of American politics with a 50-year track record of failure; one that wrongly presumes we can control what happens in Cuba. The future of Cuba will be determined by the Cuban people, and those Americans who want to help them, not hurt them.



## Editors : How Asia Can Take the Lead on Climate

Ever since the U.S. announced its withdrawal from the Paris agreement, China and India have been hailed for firmly recommitting to the global emissions pact. The praise is fair: It's good that two of the world's three biggest greenhouse-gas emitters have renewed their promise to act. But if they really hope to lead on climate, they'll have to be more ambitious.

Both countries were climate laggards until recently, prone to blaming the West for rising

concentrations of greenhouse gases. Now they're genuinely trying to cut their emissions. Earlier this year, China pledged to invest more than \$360 billion in green energy projects through 2020, and it has canceled plans to build more than 100 new coal-fired power plants. India says that renewables will account for more than half of its installed electricity capacity by 2027.

These and other investments could reduce global carbon emissions by as much as 2 billion to 3 billion tons below recent projections -- more

than making up for the U.S. withdrawal.

Yet slippage is all too possible. Prices for solar power in India may rise from recent record lows, and coal might get cheaper. China still has many more coal projects in the works than it needs, and it's paying for others abroad. Data on emissions in both countries is still questionable. There are doubts about how well their grids can accommodate renewable energy and whether governments are willing to enforce more stringent rules.

Also, in the post-Paris glow of praise, they may be tempted to relax. On present trends, India could meet its none-too-demanding limits for carbon emissions without doing much at all. China may already have reached its target of seeing emissions peak before 2030.

Both ought to try harder. They should set more demanding targets, putting pressure on others to do the same. They should look beyond renewables. Climate aside, India would reap huge gains from stricter energy-efficiency standards in industry, construction and

transportation. China should renew its fading efforts to cut overcapacity in dirty sectors such as steel and coal.

Investment in better power grids is essential. In some western Chinese provinces, roughly 40 percent of wind power is wasted because it can't be sent where it's needed. India's debt-ridden utilities will need

government help for this; relief from political pressure to set electricity rates too low also wouldn't hurt. Allowing inter-state trading of electricity would let Indian solar and wind farms sell their power more widely.

India could cut its dependence on coal by building more natural-gas terminals and pipelines. Up to now,

price controls have discouraged such investment. China should cut its support for coal-fired power plants abroad, and ensure that its numerous "Belt and Road" projects are environmentally sound.

It isn't all down to China and India. Japan and Europe also need to do more. And U.S. cities, states and businesses have pledged to deliver

on the promises President Donald Trump has abandoned. (Mike Bloomberg, founder and majority owner of Bloomberg LP, submitted their statement to the United Nations.) But Asia's giants, if they choose, can lead the way.

Los Angeles Times

## Editorial : Trump is dropping out of the Paris agreement, but the rest of us don't have to

The Times Editorial Board

The gap between President Trump's climate change policy and the science-based needs of the world grows wider by the day. But if there's a silver lining to the president's rash and dangerous decision to withdraw the U.S. from the Paris climate agreement, it's that it has reinvigorated the environmental ambitions of a wide range of local, state and foreign governments, as well as businesses — persuading them not only to carry on with their existing efforts to reduce carbon emissions, but to create broad coalitions to achieve even bigger gains.

You could see the manifestation of that in the photos of California Gov. Jerry Brown sitting recently with Chinese President Xi Jinping in Beijing, discussing ways California can work with China, the world's biggest carbon emitter, to reduce greenhouse gases. Trump's policy is damned, the picture implies; the American people will continue to work with the rest of the world.

State and local governments — with the assistance of forward-looking market forces — already were reducing emissions when Trump won the White House. Brown's

Under 2015 MOU, a 2015 agreement of subnational governments around the world to reduce emissions, now has more than 170 signatories representing more than 1.1 billion people and 39% of the global economy. Nearly 300 U.S. mayors, led in part by L.A. Mayor Eric Garcetti, have joined together to reduce carbon emissions within their jurisdictions. Businesses have been moving in a similar direction.

Local and state governments are economic engines that can expand demand for renewable energy by helping drive down the costs for nongovernmental consumers.

These are more than "Kumbaya" steps. Local and state governments are economic engines that can expand demand for renewable energy by helping drive down the costs for nongovernmental consumers. This is one way around Trump's fossil fuel-burning agenda. In March, Los Angeles joined 30 other cities in asking the automotive industry about the feasibility of buying a combined 114,000 electric vehicles for their fleets, a potential \$10-billion deal that would reduce city fleet emissions and drastically expand the market for such vehicles. Last year, only 159,139 electric vehicles were bought, a tiny fraction of the 17.55 million total vehicles sold.

California and 10 other states already have a mandate in place setting specific goals and applying pressure to auto manufacturers to increase sales of zero-emissions vehicles. In another arena, the Los Angeles Department of Water and Power announced last week that it is postponing a \$2.2-billion investment in renovating aging natural gas-fired power plants in the face of a statewide supply glut, and that it would search out renewable sources to help meet a state mandate that half of California's electricity must come from clean energy sources by 2030. At the same time, Senate leader Kevin de León (D-Los Angeles) is seeking to push that mandate to 100% renewables by 2045.

Of course, setting goals is one thing and meeting them is another. But even officials with firms such as Sempra, which is heavily involved in natural-gas power generation, and the California Independent System Operator, which oversees about 80% of the state power system, see the 100% renewables goal as attainable.

It's not just California making these inroads. Washington recently announced a plan to make at least 20% of its state fleet of motor vehicles electric-powered. Houston, of all places, is the nation's largest

municipal user of renewable energy, with wind and solar providing 89% of its power. Minneapolis works with two investor-owned utilities to analyze usage data and target energy-saving programs to non-complying buildings. Across the Pacific, smog-choked Beijing is looking to replace nearly 70,000 taxis with electric vehicles.

Businesses have taken steps too, recognizing that there is money to be made and saved through reduced carbon emissions. Many major corporations publicly lobbied Trump to remain in the Paris agreement, arguing that their interests are "best served by a stable and practical framework facilitating an effective and balanced global response."

What subnational governments and corporations do now could have a significant impact on where the world winds up (businesses could help more if they stopped donating to the campaigns of climate-skeptic politicians). Yes, much more needs to be done and the effort would be far more effective if it were made in tandem with the U.S. government. But that Trump has turned his back on a habitable planet doesn't mean the rest of us should. Or can.

## ETATS-UNIS

The Washington Post

## UNE - After shooting, investigators probe trail of political anger left by attacker

The day before he turned a semiautomatic rifle on congressional Republican baseball players and was fatally shot in a firefight with police, James T. Hodgkinson went on a profane rant

against President Trump at a nearby garage.

Law enforcement officials continue piecing together the final nomadic months of the shooter whose anger toward Trump apparently erupted in a rage of gunfire that left House Majority Whip Steve Scalise (R-La.)

and four others wounded at the Alexandria field where the team was holding practice.

Among the many remaining questions for investigators is whether Hodgkinson — a 66-year-old unemployed home inspector from the St. Louis suburb of

Belleville, Ill. — had long planned Wednesday's assault and had possibly studied the movements of lawmakers in the months he spent living in his van in Northern Virginia.

Hodgkinson bought the high-powered 7.62mm rifle and a 9mm handgun he used in the ambush

from licensed gun dealers, according to the FBI, which said Thursday that it had no evidence suggesting the sales were illegal.

He had been living in his white cargo van on a street in Alexandria, the FBI has said, and it was that van that Hodgkinson pulled into the Del Ray Service Center around 10 a.m. Tuesday, said manager Crist Dauberman, 47.

"The gentleman — the shooter — came in and he asked me to put air in his tires," Dauberman said. They made small talk. Hodgkinson said he had a home inspection business back in Illinois but had been in Alexandria for a while and had been looking for temporary work.

Dauberman said that when he mentioned he worked six days a week, Hodgkinson erupted into a tirade against the president rife with profanity.

Amid the torrent of expletives, Dauberman recalled Thursday, Hodgkinson's central point was that the president had messed up the country "more than anyone in the history of this country."

The intensity of the outburst made Dauberman step back, he recalled. Hodgkinson was passionate, waving his arms and speaking in a loud, deep voice, Dauberman said. "It was a little abnormal," he said. So he changed the subject back to tires, and with that, he said, Hodgkinson's anger "fizzled."

But Hodgkinson also suggested to the mechanic that he was planning to head back to Illinois; he asked whether the newly inflated tires would be able to carry him back to the Midwest.

The garage is just a few blocks from the baseball field where the following day, Hodgkinson fired on the GOP lawmakers, staffers and others as they practiced for Thursday's charity ballgame against

Democrats.

Of those hospitalized after the shooting, Scalise remained in critical condition Thursday night but had improved over the previous 24 hours, according to officials at MedStar Washington Hospital Center, where Special Agent Crystal Griner, U.S. Capitol Police, also was treated and remained in good condition Thursday. Lobbyist Matt Mika was upgraded Thursday afternoon from critical to serious, according to a statement from George Washington University Hospital, where he had been taken.

Sue Hodgkinson, the wife of the shooter, told a group of reporters outside her home in Belleville on Thursday that she had no idea her husband was planning violence when he left for the Washington area.

She also said her husband had recently run out of money when reporters asked her about accounts that he was headed home, according to video posted by KTVI in St. Louis.

Hodgkinson said her husband left their home in a rural area outside St. Louis two months ago saying only that he wanted to go to Washington to "work with people to change the tax brackets." She declined to discuss his political views, saying that "he really didn't say much." When asked whether he had become fed up with the political system, she said: "Probably."

She said Hodgkinson made preparations for leaving, selling almost everything he owned from his business before the trip. A neighbor told The Washington Post that Hodgkinson put his motorcycle up for sale this spring.

Sue Hodgkinson also said that her daughter had recently moved back home and has a 2-year-old child, and that her husband was home all day with them and "just wanted a break from it."

There was no warning that there would be any violence, she said.

"I had no idea this was going to happen, and I don't know what to say about it," she said. "I can't wrap my head around it. . . . I'm sorry that he did this, but there's nothing I can do about it."

The rifle he used was an SKS, according to two law enforcement officials, which is a semiautomatic rifle designed in the Soviet Union. While it fires the same round as the early versions of the Kalashnikov, it can fire only in a semiautomatic mode unless the trigger is specially modified.

The weapon, while not as accurate as more-modern rifles, can still be lethal at close to medium ranges. The rifles are widely available at U.S. gun stores and are inexpensive, compared with other semiautomatic weapons such as the AR-15 family of rifles. The SKS is usually loaded from a 10-round clip of bullets inserted through the top of the weapon, but it can be modified to fire from a detachable magazine.

For a man given to passionate political tirades against conservatives and the "super rich," Hodgkinson appears in his social-media postings to have taken little interest in local politics, which lean toward the conservative side of the Democratic spectrum and have for decades, according to St. Clair County Clerk Tom Holbrook.

Holbrook said Hodgkinson wasn't active among Democrats there. "He didn't run with the pack — he was a lone wolf," Holbrook said.

On Thursday morning, FBI agents swarmed through Alexandria's Del Ray neighborhood.

The baseball field, a parking lot and a YMCA facility remained closed Thursday, as did several streets in the area. Hodgkinson's white van remained parked in the YMCA lot

until the FBI had it towed about 4:30 p.m.

As part of its investigation, the FBI scoured the vehicle, recovering a cellphone, computer and camera.

Throughout the day, Alexandria residents who had had chance encounters with Hodgkinson continued to look back on them.

Hodgkinson was in the YMCA on Sunday afternoon, according to Del Ray resident Kris Balderston, who said he had seen Hodgkinson in the gym before, alone and not in workout clothes.

"He always stood out as somebody who was not attached to anybody," Balderston said.

Balderston said that on Sunday, Hodgkinson was climbing on and off a stationary bike, walking in and out of the room and "talking back to the news, switching among all three stations."

Hodgkinson reportedly was also a regular presence in recent weeks on Mount Vernon Avenue, the main commercial street through the Del Ray neighborhood.

Sara Robishaw, a server at Junction Bakery and Bistro, said she began noticing him about three weeks ago, sitting on a bench in front of the Walgreens drugstore across the street from her shop.

"I felt bad for the guy," she said. "He'd be sitting on the bench all day in the hot sun with his black bag."

As an area native, Robishaw is familiar with many of the homeless men and women in the neighborhood, and had not seen him before three weeks ago.

"I thought he was a new homeless person" in the neighborhood, Robishaw said.



## Wenstrup: Baseball aside, we're all playing for the same team

(CNN)I never expected a baseball field in America to feel like being back in a combat zone, but Wednesday morning it did.

For months, a group of my colleagues and I have been heading to Alexandria early in the morning before work to practice for the charity baseball game that Democrats and Republicans have participated in since 1909.

I was pulling on my batting gloves and heading to the batting cages along the first base line when I heard the crack of a rifle shot. I

turned -- only to hear my Mississippi colleague and fellow Iraq War veteran Trent Kelly yell, "shooter!"

Everyone started dashing for cover. I saw House Majority Whip Steve Scalise, at second base, drop. The minutes ticked by as we watched the gunman, who started out near the third base line, move steadily around the diamond. Shot after shot ripped through the air. It felt like being back in Iraq, only without my weapon or any infantry.

What happened could have been far worse, had it not been for the courage of the Capitol Police who

ultimately took down the shooter. Steve may have taken the bullet, but his presence -- he's one of the few lawmakers in Congress with a security detail -- saved all of us. Without his security detail, we would have been completely defenseless. Special Agents Crystal Griner and David Bailey are the true heroes of the hour.

As soon as the shooter was down, I ran alongside Jeff Flake and Mo Brooks, and others, to provide emergency medical attention to Steve and stanch the bleeding until the medics could arrive. In the following hours, reporters kept

asking me: "What were you thinking out there? Were you afraid you were going to die?" But in the flash of the moment you don't think. Instincts kick in. I simply did what I had been trained to do. Only after it was over and I was back at the Capitol hugging my wife and 3-year-old son did I really think about how blessed I was to have made it out alive.

Later, as we learned more about the individual behind the shooting, it became clear the act was politically motivated, fueled by hatred of our President, Republicans, and anyone with a political ideology that differed



from his own. It is a single event, but it provides a piercing commentary on today's political climate -- both in Washington and across the country.

Blame it on social media's anonymity, the 24-hour news cycle, the vitriol of the campaign trail, or a dozen other factors, but it is undeniable that there is a chilling undercurrent to political discourse in our country today. It is not simply the presence of anger or frustration, which are often well-deserved when it comes to our bloated government and the arrogance of Washington-knows-best-policies. Beyond that, though, our political dialogue has become tainted with a stunning lack of civility that points to an even deeper problem: a lack of humanity.

It might be politically effective to demonize and dehumanize our

opponents -- it is certainly easier than taking time to empathize, listen closely, research the facts, and understand the other side's arguments. But what is easy isn't always what is right. We have tremendous freedom in this country to speak and act as we wish, but that liberty requires responsibility. As Pope John Paul II said, "Freedom consists not in doing what we like, but in having the right to do what we ought." As we passionately debate policy and argue our ideas, we need to hold on to our humanity. We need to rediscover the lost art of civil disagreement, the ability to hold opposing viewpoints without resorting to hate.

Perhaps most sobering is the fact that by demonizing one another, we have effectively forgotten who our true enemies are. While we are

bogged down in partisanship, our adversaries across the globe are not so easily distracted. Whether it is Russia, China, Iran, North Korea, or radical Islamic terrorists -- there are actors around the world who are actively working to undermine, diminish, and ultimately destroy the security and democracy of the United States of America. As long as our strength is segmented into factions and our political process consumed by partisan theatrics, we are playing directly into their hands.

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Ultimately, the attacker in Alexandria was an example of the worst in this country, but the response afterwards represents what is best about this country. That same morning, the House floor was

packed as members of Congress stood shoulder to shoulder, hands over hearts, pledging allegiance to our flag. One nation, under God. Democrats huddled in prayer for their colleagues across the aisle. It was an important reminder that our unity is our strength. We've seen it before -- let's not forget it. Despite all the disagreements and differences, at the end of the day, we're all Americans. It's this communal bond and American spirit that spurs us to greatness. It's what sets us apart from the others. It's what will move us forward.

Because, baseball games aside, we're all playing for the same team.



## Editorial : Why politicians must play ball

The Christian Science Monitor

citizens and their elected leaders must focus more on their enduring bonds than their temporary differences over policies.

One heartening example of nurturing civility is the fact that the Congressional Baseball Game was not canceled after the shooting. For 108 years, this sport activity has been one of the few places where lawmakers of different parties could get to know each other as regular folk, building trust that might then open doors for bipartisan cooperation. Other joint activities range from a Senate prayer group to a gym that members of both parties use.

In January, the newest members of the House of Representatives signed a letter of commitment to civility -- in large part to counter the ill will of the 2016 elections. The new members vowed not to disparage each other. So far they have tried to maintain that pledge.

June 15, 2017 —The attempted killing of Republican lawmakers on a baseball field near Washington has united members of Congress in a way rarely seen in recent years. Many praised each other's consoling responses. Others vowed to temper the rhetoric of personal attacks that may have incited the June 14 shooting. And some revived the notion of creating friendships across the aisle despite the regular verbal combat over issues.

This unusual moment of common reflection should not be lost. Civility in politics must be an active quality, one that needs constant nurturing. This can counter the disrespect rising in politics that has begun to seep into workplaces, friendships, families, and religious bodies. To uplift civic life,

At the state level, the National Institute for Civil Discourse has been offering courses on civility to legislators and others for a few years. In the Idaho statehouse last year, Democrats and Republicans who took the course agreed to organize social events to help them go beyond partisan labels and better understand their shared motives for public service. Several legislators asked their staff to come up with bills that could find bipartisan support.

For decades, a visible model of civility in Washington was the friendship of two Supreme Court justices, Ruth Bader Ginsburg and the late Antonin Scalia. Their close ties allowed a rapport that may have softened their differences in court rulings. "I attack ideas. I don't attack people," Justice Scalia told "60 Minutes."

One reason for the success of the 1787 Constitutional Convention, according to scholar Derek Webb of

Stanford Law School, was the extensive social interaction among the delegates before and during the event. "Delegates like [James] Madison and [Ben] Franklin themselves suggested that, without this foundation, the Convention may not have even been able to last a few weeks, much less four months," he writes.

In a survey after the 2016 election by KRC Research, 65 percent of Americans supported the idea that civility starts with citizens -- by encouraging friends, family, and colleagues to be kind. If that behavior were to become more commonplace, the type of incivility that often leads to violence would find little place to flourish.



## Miller : After Alexandria, is there a way forward?

(CNN)On Wednesday, both the best and the worst of America was on display. The heroism and commitment of the Capitol Police, the selflessness of those who cared for the wounded, and the outpouring of unity among our political elite seems -- at least for the moment -- to have drowned out the voices of those trying to politicize the event and the darker side of the American story represented by the shooter who attacked members of Congress as they practiced for a charity baseball game.

It would be nice to believe that the horrific attack on the republican congressional baseball team would provide the catalyst to transform our dysfunctional and polarized politics into something more functional and courteous. But as we work toward that goal it's critical that we do so without any illusion about how hard it's going to be.

### We've been here before

There are moments -- even in our polarized and atomized political culture -- that can bring people together and offer the promise of positive transformation. In the wake of 9/11, there was an outpouring of

unity, selflessness and comity as Congress gathered on the steps of the Capitol and sang "God Bless America." There were no Rs or Ds that day -- just Americans.

But the spirit of 9/11 would fade as would the traumatic impact and national resonance of so many other violent events such as Sandy Hook, the shooting of Gabby Giffords, and the killings in Charleston. These events would have their redemptive moments as individuals heroically struggled to overcome grief and communities came together.

The impact on the nation was less sustained. It's a big country, with little sense of shared narrative or a common set of national obligations. National traumas and triumphs are fleeting as the nation is pulled in many different directions. And an impatient media is as quick to move on to another story as we are to change the channel.

Moreover, the issue of gun violence -- a common thread in many of these traumas -- is a deeply divisive one. The horror of a Sandy Hook -- however unspeakable -- ultimately became just a headline rather than a trend line auguring momentum for sensible gun control measures or

mental health treatment reforms. And one can easily conclude that if the murders of 26 children and teachers in what one would have thought to be America's safest space -- an elementary school -- couldn't create momentum for change, what event possibly could?

### Can we really transform?

The precise motives of the shooter, who was a former Bernie Sanders volunteer and was vocally anti-Trump on social media, in the Alexandria tragedy may never be fully known -- any more than those of the shooter in the Orlando terror attack. Still one might argue that yesterday's attack was driven by a witches' brew of objective circumstances -- easy access to automatic weapons by unstable emotionally disturbed individuals with a history of violence; and triggered by hateful partisanship perhaps empowered by social media.

If that theory is at all credible, then addressing these challenges will neither be quick nor easy. These are systemic problems. And while Americans love declaring war on big issues -- drugs, crime, mental illness, poverty, and lately terror -- our system is hardly set up to identify, let alone impose, comprehensive solutions.

We may be the fix-it people. But

after decades of effort and despite all the progress made, we are hardly on the cusp of overcoming them. Indeed, the very notion of government generated comprehensive solutions to anything seems to run counter to the independent and anti-authority values, the nature of our political system and how things change in America. We aren't Canada or Sweden and we will never be.

Reinhold Niebuhr had it right. The American story is more consistent with one of proximate solutions to insoluble problems. It's a transactional not a transformational one. Having now been the victim (again) of gun violence by an angry, probably mentally unstable individual, Congress has the power to begin a different kind of conversation aimed at building a consensus on the challenges we face. But will it?

### Civility is more than politeness

The definition of civility -- a term that's become quite fashionable more by omission in today's politics -- seems much misunderstood. The formal definition is courteousness or politeness in behavior or speech. But the essence of the notion must go well beyond that if it's going to be truly relevant to our current partisanship and polarization. The Institute of Civility in Government (yes there is such a thing) opines

that civility is "about disagreeing without disrespect, seeking common ground as a starting point for dialogue about differences, listening past one's preconceptions, and teaching others to do the same. Civility is the hard work of staying present even with those with whom we have deep-rooted and fierce disagreements."

And there lies the real challenge. Civility is political in the sense that it is a necessary prerequisite for civic action. But even if you create an environment that would change the tone, and replace personal attacks with politeness, you are still left with Grand Canyon-like policy differences that divide us on issues from immigration to health care to entitlements to climate change. It will take more than polite dialogue to bridge those. What is required to bridge those divides is a genuine recognition that neither party has the answers and that in our system legitimizing change over time requires bipartisan support.

Having worked, and voted, for Democrats, Independents and Republicans all my life, I've come to believe that none of our political parties have a monopoly on how to fix what ails the republic, let alone on the truth. And while it's easier to be nonpartisan in foreign policy, it's always seemed to me that the dividing line for the country

shouldn't be between left and right, liberal and conservative, Republican and Democrat instead it should be between dumb and smart policy approaches. And the only question that matters is what side of the line do you want America to be on. And being on the smart side requires a deep commitment to a currency of bipartisanship, and non-tribalism that is simply marginalized now in our politics.

The calmer tone sounded in the wake of Wednesday's attack won't and cannot last without sustained commitment by the President, the Congress, and the media to exercise greater care in the tone they set; and of course by the rest of us too. We must find a way to turn the "m" in the word "me" upside down so it becomes a "w" in the word "we"; and to exercise our collective responsibilities as citizens.

I'm hoping that a country that survived, at great cost, the far more horrific challenge of blue and gray can find a way to manage blue and red too. The American experiment retains its promise. The only question that remains to be answered is how many more disasters will it take before we begin to realize it.



Chokshi

## UNE - How We Became Bitter Political Enemies

Emily Badger and Niraj Niraj

By 2016, that average dropped by about five more percentage points, dragged down in part by a new phenomenon: For the first time, the most common answer given was zero, the worst possible option. In other words, voters on the left and right now feel downright frigid toward each other.

### Disliking the Other Party

On a 100-point thermometer scale -- from cold to warm -- Democrats and Republicans have been giving lower and lower scores to the opposite party.

Last year, for the first time since it began asking the question in 1992, the Pew Research Center reported a majority of Democrats and Republicans said they held "very unfavorable" views of the opposing party. Since Pew published those findings last summer, that extreme distaste has receded a bit: So far this year, 45 percent of Democrats and 46 percent of Republicans hold "very unfavorable" views of the opposing party.

That conclusion follows a sweeping 2014 Pew study that found that "partisan antipathy is deeper and

more extensive" than at any point in the last two decades.

That negativity appears to have fed a growing perception that the opposing party isn't just misguided, but dangerous. In 2016, Pew reported that 45 percent of Republicans and 41 percent of Democrats felt that the other party's policies posed a threat to the nation.

The fear of what harm the other party could cause appears to be a major motivator behind party affiliation. "It's at least as much what I don't like about the other side as what I like about my own party," said Jocelyn Kiley, associate director of research at the Pew Research Center.

When asked why they identified as Republican, 68 percent of respondents told Pew that a major factor was the harm that Democratic policies posed, just surpassing the 64 percent who cited the good that could come of their own party's policies. Among Democrats, 62 percent said fear of Republican policies was a major factor for their affiliation, while 68 percent cited the good of their own party's policies.

Independents, who outnumber members of either party and yet often lean toward one or the other, are just as guided by fear. More than half who lean toward either party say a major reason for their preference is the damage the other party could cause. Only about a third reported being attracted by the good that could come from the policies of the party toward which they lean.

Opposing partisans are also likely to find each other harder to reason with. Last year, Pew found that 70 percent of Democrats and 52 percent of Republicans considered members of the opposing party to be more close-minded than other Americans. Significant shares also considered opposing partisans exceptionally immoral, lazy and dishonest, though Democrats held those views somewhat less. About a third of either party viewed the opposition as less intelligent than other Americans.

Past surveys show that such views have worsened with time. Americans in 1960 were more likely to allow that members of the other party were intelligent, and they were

less likely to describe opposing partisans as selfish.

In 1960, just 5 percent of Republicans and 4 percent of Democrats said they would be unhappy if a son or daughter married someone from the other party. In a YouGov survey from 2008 that posed a similar question, 27 percent of Republicans and 20 percent of Democrats said they'd be "somewhat" or "very upset" by that prospect. By 2010, that share had jumped to half of Republicans and a third of Democrats.

Today, partisan prejudice even exceeds racial hostility in implicit association tests that measure how quickly people subconsciously

associate groups (blacks, Democrats) with traits (wonderful, awful). That's remarkable, given how deeply ingrained racial attitudes are in the United States, and how many generations they've had to harden, according to work by Mr. Iyengar and the Dartmouth political scientist Sean J. Westwood.

"We have all of these data which converge on the bottom-line conclusion that party is the No. 1 cleavage in contemporary American society," Mr. Iyengar said.

Political scientists suspect that attack ads, which have grown in number and nastiness, have played a role. And the rise of partisan

media has amplified the rhetoric of campaigns, providing confirmation of our worst stereotypes about each other.

Mr. Iyengar also points out that Americans are willing to impugn members of the other party in ways that aren't publicly acceptable with other groups, like minorities, women or gays. There simply aren't strong social norms holding partisans back. And critics fear that the president's own contributions to incivility are further eroding what norms do exist.

A part of the problem is that Americans are less likely to have the kind of interpersonal contact across party lines that can dampen

harsh beliefs about each other. Neighborhoods, workplaces, households and even online dating lives have become politically homogeneous. Voters are less likely today to have neighbors who belong to another party than they were a half century ago. Bipartisan marriages are on the decline.

Just as interpersonal contact has been shown to ease prejudice against racial minorities and gays, psychologists believe that more such contact would be good for political civility, too. But Americans increasingly live in a world where that contact is hard to come by — and many go out of their way to avoid it.



## McArdle : Both the Left and the Right Wink at Political Violence

In their far corners, both the left and the right have always flirted with political violence. Right-wing militia members saying the government will have to pry their guns from their "cold, dead hands"; liberals feting the veterans of the "days of rage." Nonetheless, after events like this week's shooting at a congressional baseball practice, the mainstream voices of both sides conveniently forget their own radical factions. They feign naivete and say, "What can be done?"

We're all too familiar with the ideas that are offered and why they're rejected.

Gun control might help, but the kind of gun control that would be necessary to make a difference -- mass seizure of the hundreds of millions of firearms currently in private American hands -- looks politically and practically infeasible.

"Media contagion" also seems to drive this sort of violence, as news reports of one shooting inspire the next shooters. But in the internet age, a media blackout of these events would be as impractical as a house-to-house weapons search (even if it weren't legally and morally questionable...).

But there's one small step that shouldn't be dismissed as impractical. The U.S. could end its political culture that celebrates violence, metaphorically or otherwise. After

the shooting of Representative Gabby Giffords, for example, Sarah Palin caught a great deal of grief because she had tweeted out an image of a map with crosshairs on certain congressional districts, including Giffords's. The tweet urged "Don't retreat, Instead -- RELOAD."

Palin surely did not intend for her followers to literally shoot the representatives in each of the districts marked as targets. Her tweet was part of a long tradition of using martial metaphors in the context of political battles. (In the first draft of this column, for example, I wrote that Palin had "come under fire" for her tweet.)

Such charges have mostly been leveled at the right by the left, but the right certainly has room to make a similar critique today. There has been a more explicit embrace of political violence, and not just from the sort of fringe groups that can always be found in a country of 300 million people. There was our president during the campaign, lauding the idea of beating up protesters, some of whom may have been acting in a threatening manner, but some of whom were not. And of course, on the left, there is the increasing violence of protests, an evolution that has often met with clinical discussions of the history of political violence, rather than the outright condemnation it deserves.

The shooter in Virginia this week was reported to have been a supporter of Senator Bernie Sanders's presidential bid. The senator immediately and unequivocally condemned not just political violence, but also all violence. Whatever you think of Sanders's politics, take notes here: This is how a political figure encourages civil discourse and discourages violence. Not by telling your supporters that if they hurt someone, "I'll defend you in court."

The left's past failures to condemn political violence did not cause the shooting this week. I would argue, however, that legitimating political violence is, in general, certainly not going to result in fewer such incidents. The attack on members of Congress should remind us of precisely why our society decided to eschew such violence in the first place. Whatever this man was thinking, it seems that he targeted those men because they were Republicans, which is as clean an example of political violence as you're ever going to find.

Politics is always unlovely. There's a reason that more movies get made about wars and revolutionary movements than about the congressional budget process; violence is dramatic and offers the prospect of total victory. Compromise among large groups, on the other hand, is tedious, involves unsavory compromises with people you don't much admire, and usually at best offers the

prospect of walking away from the table with half a loaf.

The main benefit that politics can be said to offer is that it generally does not end with blood on the ground. The alternatives to bloodshed only work, however, when people accept the possibility that they may lose -- that no matter how just their grievance, they will have to swallow their anger and accept the will of the majority if that will opposes them.

Everyone in America has the right to politically organize for a cause they believe in. They have the right to say almost anything in support of that cause and in opposition to its foes. But they do not have the right to win. When people start to think victory is an inalienable right, the fists and guns come out.

If members of Congress cannot get up early in the morning to play baseball together without wondering whether the playing field will turn into a charnel house, then where are they safe? Where are the rest of us safe? Political violence rarely stays contained; it breeds an escalating reaction from the other side. The biggest losers of political violence are often the ones who started it.

However unsatisfied we may be with "politics as usual," after the events of this week, we should be grateful for every day that those politics save us from something far worse.



## Cupp : Republicans, resist the temptation to blame liberals for this tragedy

(CNN)"If rhetoric vilifying one's political opponents is to blame, then self-righteous lunatics in fragile, ecofriendly houses shouldn't throw stones. The truth is, nut jobs ...

aren't emboldened by rhetoric. They aren't emboldened by anything, save for maybe the voices in their heads."

I wrote that in 2011, in the wake of the horrific shooting of Rep. Gabby Giffords that killed six people. At the time, we didn't know if Jared Loughner had any self-proclaimed

political "motivations," and it turned out he was severely mentally disturbed. That didn't stop Democrats and liberals in the press



from blaming Republicans and their "heated rhetoric" for the shootings.

Now the shoe is on the other foot. James Hodgkinson -- a volunteer for Bernie Sanders' presidential campaign and anti-Trump socialist, according to his social media -- sought out Republican lawmakers on Wednesday at a practice for a charity baseball game, taking aim at members of Congress and severely injuring one, as well as a Capitol Hill police officer and two others.

His motives seem far clearer than Loughner's, whose journals revealed an incoherent maze of anti-God, anti-government paranoia and affection for gold currency and apocalyptic conspiracy theories. Hodgkinson's Facebook page alone offers a treasure trove of evidence that he simply believed Republicans and the Trump agenda must be stopped.

Rep. Rodney Davis, an Illinois Republican who survived the shooting, was ready to concede that "This could be the first political rhetorical terrorist attack."

And yet, as tempting as it is for Republicans to blame liberals for Hodgkinson's attack, we still must resist blaming political rhetoric for the ginned-up whims of a madman. Murder is murder: Focusing solely on why he claims he did it, no matter whose argument that may serve, doesn't benefit anyone.

One of the first casualties of politically charged tragedies like this one is consistency.

Some Republicans, who are always quick to insist that right-wing ideology, angry rhetoric and even the unprecedentedly divisive language that

President Trump used on the campaign trail are not to blame for individual actions, are loosening their grip on that mantra.

Former Speaker of the House Newt Gingrich blamed "increasing hostility on the left," for inciting Hodgkinson, and "a series of things, which sends signals that tell people that it's OK to hate Trump, it's OK to think of Trump in violent terms, it's OK to consider assassinating Trump."

Radio host Michael Savage tweeted giddily, exclamation point and all, "I warned America the Dems' constant drumbeat of hatred would lead to violence!"

Of course, back in 2011, Gingrich was one of the first to slam liberals for blaming the Giffords shooting on conservative rhetoric.

"In a country with free speech, people occasionally use strong language," he said. Distancing Republicans even further from Loughner, he said, "There's no evidence that I know of that this person was anything except nuts."

He was right, then, at least.

To be sure, the inconsistencies abound on the left as well. One of the most glaring examples comes from Bernie Sanders, who, in a 2011 fundraising email was very clear about whom he thought was to blame for the Giffords shooting:

"Nobody can honestly express surprise that such a tragedy finally occurred. ... Congresswoman Giffords publicly expressed concerns when Sarah Palin, on her website, placed her district in the crosshairs of a rifle -- and identified her by name below the image -- as an encouragement to Palin

supporters to eliminate her from Congress." He further insisted the burden was on Sen. John McCain to do more:

"As the elder statesman of Arizona politics, McCain needs to stand up and denounce the increasingly violent rhetoric coming from the right wing and exert his influence to create a civil political environment in his state."

And yet, when he took to the Senate floor on Wednesday to condemn the attack, Sanders made no such connections to the virulent anti-Trump rhetoric many of his supporters have used. And, as the vessel of Hodgkinson's political adoration, he said nothing to denounce the actual violence at far-left protests in places like Berkeley, California, and Portland, Oregon.

Others on the left were likewise quick to blame Trump for inciting violence and are just as quick to denounce any connections between Hodgkinson and left-wing rhetoric.

New York Daily News writer Shaun King, who has written that Donald Trump "must be held accountable" for the violent behavior of his supporters, seems, in fact, to celebrate this naked inconsistency.

In his latest column, posted just hours after the shooting on Wednesday, he insists, "I don't know James Hodgkinson or what inspired him, but I can say with complete confidence that it damn sure wasn't Bernie Sanders or the progressive movement he helps lead."

He makes no mention at all of the violence at anti-Trump rallies but does anecdotally (and irrelevantly) offer that "Not once, publicly or

privately, did a single person in a single meeting I was a part of ever suggest, explicitly or implicitly, that someone should go do what James Hodgkinson allegedly did today."

And then, with almost impressive inconsistency, King suggests it's once again Trump's rhetoric, not the left's, that created a climate in which a lunatic would go after Republicans. Try to make sense of that one.

This isn't to say that rhetoric is meaningless. This is a terrific time, if a tragic one, to call for a lowering of the temperature on both sides. That, first and foremost, should come from our leaders, and that should start with President Trump.

I always believe that only one thing is true of all these horrific episodes: Happy, healthy people don't shoot up baseball games, or schools, or cinemas, or Navy yards. Hodgkinson had reportedly quit his job, left his home, and was living out of a gym bag in Alexandria, Virginia. He had a troubled past that included a history of domestic violence. Once again, I fear a real conversation about mental health will go ignored as we fight over politics, guns and anything else.

In trying times like these, it's admittedly difficult to keep our heads cool and our voices sane. But it's also imperative that we do. Consistency in our arguments, regardless of whose politics is benefiting from the situation, is the very least we should demand.



## McLaughlin : Who's to blame for political violence?

Dan McLaughlin

On Wednesday morning, a Trump-hating Bernie Sanders volunteer shot five people at a Republican practice for the annual congressional baseball game. One of them was the third-ranking House Republican, Louisiana Congressman Steve Scalise. We could blame Democrats and Sanders supporters for this crime, if we wanted to imitate past liberal tactics. But the rush to score partisan points by using incidents of violence to discredit your political opponents is not only all too common but also cheap and dishonest.

The blame for violent acts lies with the people who commit them, and with those who explicitly and

seriously call for violence. People who just use overheated political rhetoric, or who happen to share the gunman's opinions, should be nowhere on the list.

In 1995, Bill Clinton famously used Timothy McVeigh's bombing of a federal building in Oklahoma City to tar Newt Gingrich and Rush Limbaugh and turn the public against small-government Republicans. The 2011 shooting of Congresswoman Gabrielle Giffords led to an orgy of Republican-blaming, mostly based on the fact that Sarah Palin had released a map of 20 vulnerable Democratic districts with a set of crosshairs to mark each target. Never mind that the shooter had never seen the map and turned out to have no Republican connections and few conservative-sounding ideas.

(Scalise's shooter, by contrast, used his social media account to endorse and spread partisan arguments).

Since President Trump's inauguration, several House Republicans have been targets of violence. A woman was arrested for trying to run Tennessee Congressman David Kustoff off the road after a healthcare town hall; a man was arrested for grabbing North Dakota Congressman Kevin Cramer at a town hall; a 71-year-old female staffer for California Congressman Dana Rohrabacher was knocked out at a protest and the FBI arrested a man for making death threats against Arizona Congresswoman Martha McSally.

The more we blame speech for violence, the more likely we are to use violence to stop speech.

Everyone can see that the political climate has gotten a lot nastier lately. Americans used to despise politicians they disagreed with; now they hate the people who vote for them. Fewer and fewer people can tolerate friendships with political adversaries, and polls show more and more Americans — yes, especially Democrats — have trouble respecting anyone who voted for the other candidate. Donating to the wrong cause can get your business boycotted, and a stray tweet can bring down the online rage mobs.

All the talk of "resistance" and "treason," plus the apocalyptic rhetoric about the climate and healthcare, certainly doesn't lower the country's temperature. But drawing a line from rhetoric to violence will only make matters

worse. Each half of the country deciding that the other half is literally responsible for murder will only deepen that divide.

Every political and religious cause will inevitably attract some zealots who take strong words too far. It's fair to blame a movement for the violence it inspires if — and only if — its leaders actually, seriously urge and celebrate and perpetrate

violent acts, as the leaders of groups like Islamic State do.

But even at a time when American political figures call each other fascists and traitors and rant about resisting tyranny, there remains a world of difference between our political factions and Islamic State. If you hear someone shoot their mouth off, just remember it's still only their mouth.

The more we blame speech for violence, the more likely we are to use violence to stop speech. Blurring the lines between bullets and tweets eventually will leave us with more bullets. Nobody forced Scalise's shooter to pick up a gun over politics; he did that himself. It cheapens the moral consequences of that decision to credit angry words with an assist.

Democracy and free speech need room for people to exaggerate and vent. It wasn't right when Democrats blamed Republicans instead of the Arizona shooter for the Giffords attack, and it wouldn't be right for Republicans to return the favor just to get even. Keep the blame where it belongs.

## NATIONAL REVIEW ONLINE

### Political Violence in America & Big Government

What's the worst part about horrific, murderous violence in America? Well, except for the death, the ruined lives, the pain, and the fear and the rush to pass laws that wouldn't have prevented it, I think it has to be the media criticism.

The challenge, at least for conservatives, is that the media's double standard is so profoundly obvious and at the same so passionately denied that bringing it up feels like an exercise in gaslighting.

If a former Ted Cruz volunteer tried to murder a bunch of Democratic congressmen at a baseball practice, the instant conventional wisdom from the mainstream media would be to blame Donald Trump, Republican rhetoric, and conservatism generally. We know this because that is what always happens, even when the villain isn't a conservative.

When then-congresswoman Gabby Giffords was shot by Jared Lee Loughner in 2011, the media went into paroxysms of finger-pointing sanctimony, insisting that a map Sarah Palin had posted on Facebook was to blame because it had crosshairs drawn over certain targeted districts. It turned out that Loughner was a largely apolitical

paranoid schizophrenic and drug abuser prone to extreme delusions and hallucinations. Not only did Loughner believe the government carried out the 9/11 attacks, he thought the conspiracy went much deeper: The government was using mind control through its manipulations of grammar.

And yet, some cherished myths die hard. As news came out that the "Ballfield Shooter," James Hodgkinson, was a passionate progressive and Bernie Sanders supporter, was a member of a Facebook group called "Terminate the Republican Party," and had deliberately targeted Republicans because they were Republicans, the *New York Times* posted an editorial that resurrected the utterly debunked "link" between Palin's map and Loughner, while casting the link between political rhetoric and this week's shooter as more debatable. (In the face of intense criticism, the *Times* issued a correction the next day.)

This is not to say that conservatives always color themselves with glory in the wake of these horrors either. In the cases when a murderer is clearly of some kind of right-wing bent, many conservatives rush to insist that right-wing rhetoric either played no role or should not be blamed. That's defensible in and of itself, but if your position is that

political speech should never be indicted when a right-winger commits a crime, you probably shouldn't let your understandable desire for payback seduce you into insisting that left-wing rhetoric is to blame when the shooter is a left-winger.

What is remarkable about this fixation with political rhetoric is how shallow it is. I think political rhetoric, on the right and the left, does play a role in violence, though perhaps not in the case of Loughner or the equally deranged Sandy Hook shooter who murdered all those children.

But not every murderer is a paranoid schizophrenic. Some of them get their ideas from *somewhere*. Popular culture is surely one source. Another is our political rhetoric.

But not every murderer is a paranoid schizophrenic. Some of them get their ideas from *somewhere*. Popular culture is surely one source. Another is our political rhetoric. The literary critic Wayne Booth defined rhetoric as "the art of probing what men believe they ought to believe." The political rhetoric of America these days is deeply sick, afflicted with a zero-sum tribalism: What is good for my side must also be bad for their side.

Where does that come from? I can come up with a dozen partial or possible theories (in part because I've been writing a book on all this for the last several years). But I think one contributor to this dire predicament is obvious: the size and scope of government.

For decades we've invested in the federal government ever-greater powers while at the same time raising the expectations for what government can do even higher. The rhetoric of the last three presidents has been wildly outlandish about what can be accomplished if we just elect the right political savior. George W. Bush insisted that "when somebody hurts, government has to move." Barack Obama promised the total transformation of America in palpably messianic terms. Donald Trump vowed that electing him would solve all of our problems and usher in an era of never-ending greatness and winning.

When you believe — as Hodgkinson clearly did — that all of our problems can be solved by flicking a few switches in the Oval Office, it's a short trip to believing that those who stand in the way are willfully evil enemies bent on barring the way to salvation. That belief won't turn everyone into a murderer, but it shouldn't be that shocking that it would turn someone into one.

## The Washington Post

### Gerson : America is riding a carousel of hate

Tragedies such as the attack on a congressional baseball team cry out for interpretation, and resist it.

By intention or not, the shooter was strategic in his malice, going after one of Washington's few remaining symbols of openness and normality. Members of Congress — who are some of the best, most interesting people I know — spend much of their time treated either like mini-monarchs or like beggars at the gate, asking for money and votes. Sport is a rare chance to be teammates and friends. Political violence, among other horrible

things, makes it harder to be human in public.

Those who work on Capitol Hill — as I did for a decade — live with a certain level of risk. They know that Congress has been used as a stage for dramatic violence before. The Capitol was bombed in 1915, bombed in 1971 and bombed again in 1983. In 1954, four Puerto Rican nationalists opened fire on the House chamber. In 1998, two Capitol policemen were murdered. With each tragedy, more separation: magnetometers, surveillance systems, bomb-sniffing dogs, ugly concrete flowerpots, hydraulic barriers. Greater security

often means greater distance. And our politics already seems so distant from normal life. There is nothing to be done about it; but something has been lost.

Attempts to find political messages in attempted murder are usually either excruciatingly obvious — we are an angry, divided country — or obscene. After the 2011 Tucson shooting of Rep. Gabrielle Giffords, some liberals tried to pin a portion of the blame on conservatives such as Sarah Palin. In turn, Rush Limbaugh judged the baseball diamond shooter to be "a mainstream Democrat voter." Some partisans seem determined to

attract attention by taking advertising space on someone else's cross. Can you imagine the unseemly satisfaction in some quarters if the shooter had turned out to be an illegal immigrant or a Syrian refugee? Such salivation is one of the worst things about our politics. Our discourse is being materially damaged by the endless search for Twitter leverage.

At the risk of committing sociology without a license, there are a few conclusions we might draw. Extreme partisanship may not be the direct cause of violence. But political violence acts like lightning, illuminating and freezing the whole

political landscape for a moment. And what we see is a ready recourse to violence — punches at rallies, assaults, death threats, violent protests and intimidation. The system seems unbalanced — easily veering off course with every provocation.

The capacity for human evil is always there. But stable societies construct restraints. Some of those restraints are institutional — balancing interest against interest, power against power. In America, such institutions are strong, even under considerable current strain. Yet human beings are also

restrained by norms — unenforced and unenforceable standards of civility and respect. We rely on character in countless ways to keep people from destroying themselves and each other. And here all the demonization and decapitation fantasies — all the talk of revolution and warfare against our fellow citizens — have taken a toll.

This type of language isn't new, of course. But the Trump era has unleashed it with a kind of fury. The routine violation of norms has taken on the nature of an arms race. Each transgression justifies and requires a response. Both sides cultivate a

merciless certainty. And, in some cases, they have made anger into an industry — using it to run up the number of listeners, viewers and hits. The trashing of norms has been not only normalized but monetized. This type of hashtag animus is not merely change but decay. The damage is clear. If words can inspire, then they can also incite or debase. We are on a descending path of enmity.

In our politics, dehumanization is far along. This is true against outsiders and political opponents. And it is true against those who govern us. We have often dehumanized the

leaders who result from our free choices — men and women, on the whole, of public spirit, with a talent for friendship and persuasion. And this should be a reminder to opponents of President Trump as well. His violation of norms is a reason for criticism and opposition; it is not a justification for demonization. As offense and response spin faster and faster, someone must get off this carousel.

The success of our politics, the quality of our culture and the order of our society are very much at stake.



## Zakaria : The country is frighteningly polarized. This is why.

Wednesday's shooting at a congressional baseball practice was a ghastly example of the political polarization that is ripping this country apart. Political scientists have shown that Congress is more divided than at any time since the end of Reconstruction. I am struck not simply by the depth of partisanship these days, but increasingly also by its nature. People on the other side of the divide are not just wrong and to be argued with. They are immoral and must be muzzled or punished.

This is not about policy. The chasm between left and right during much of the Cold War was far wider than it is today on certain issues. Many on the left wanted to nationalize or substantially regulate whole industries; on the right, they openly advocated a total rollback of the New Deal. Compared with that, today's economic divisions feel relatively small.

Partisanship today is more about identity. Scholars Ronald Inglehart and Pippa Norris have argued that, in the past few decades, people began to define themselves politically less by traditional economic issues than by identity — gender, race,

ethnicity, sexual orientation. I would add to this mix social class, something rarely spoken of in the United States but a powerful determinant of how we see ourselves. Last year's election had a lot to do with social class, with non-college-educated rural voters reacting against a professional, urban elite.

The dangerous aspect of this new form of politics is that identity does not lend itself easily to compromise. When the core divide was economic, you could split the difference. If one side wanted to spend \$100 billion and the other wanted to spend zero, there was a number in between. The same is true with tax cuts and welfare policy. But if the core issues are about identity, culture and religion (think of abortion, gay rights, Confederate monuments, immigration, official languages), then compromise seems immoral. American politics is becoming more like Middle Eastern politics, where there is no middle ground between being Sunni or Shiite.

I have seen this shift in the reactions to my own writing and my television show. When I started writing columns about two decades ago, the disagreements were often

scathing but almost always about the substance of the issue. Increasingly there is little discussion about the substance, mostly ad hominem attacks, often involving my race, religion or ethnicity.

Today, everything becomes fodder for partisanship. Consider the now-famous production of the Public Theater's "Julius Caesar" in Central Park, in which Caesar resembles President Trump. Conservatives have pilloried the play, raising outrage among people who have never seen it, saying that it glorifies the assassination of a president, and seeking to defund the production. Since I tweeted a line praising the production, I've received a barrage of attacks, many of them quite nasty. In 2012, a production of the same play had an Obama-like Caesar being murdered nightly, and no one seemed to have complained.

In fact, the central message of "Julius Caesar" is that the assassination was a disaster, leading to civil war, anarchy and the fall of the Roman Republic. The assassins are defeated and humiliated and, racked with guilt, die horrible deaths. If that weren't clear enough, the Public Theater play's director, Oskar Eustis, has

explained the message he intended to convey: "Julius Caesar can be read as a warning parable to those who try to fight for democracy by undemocratic means."

Political theater is as old as human civilization. A sophisticated play by Shakespeare — that actually presents Caesar (Trump) in a mixed, somewhat favorable light — is something to be discussed, not censored, and certainly not to be blamed for the actions of a single deranged shooter, as some on the right have suggested.

I recently gave a speech at Bucknell University in which I criticized America's mostly liberal colleges for silencing views they deem offensive, arguing that it was bad for the students and the country. The same holds for conservatives who try to mount campaigns to defund art that they deem offensive. Do conservatives now want Central Park to be their own special safe space? I, for one, will keep arguing that liberals and conservatives should open themselves to all kinds of opinions and ideas that differ from their own. Instead of trying to silence, excommunicate and punish, let's look at the other side and try to listen, engage and, when we must, disagree.



## Bergen & Sterman : The return of leftist terrorism?

On Wednesday morning, a gunman attacked congressional Republicans practicing baseball, injuring five people including House Majority Whip Steve Scalise. The man identified as the shooter, 66-year-old James T. Hodgkinson III, was taken into custody and later died.

While the incident remains under investigation, a review of Facebook pages belonging to Hodgkinson show he supported Sen. Bernie Sanders during the election and was fervently opposed to President Donald Trump. One Facebook post

read: "Trump is a Traitor. Trump Has Destroyed Our Democracy. It's Time to Destroy Trump & Co." Sanders confirmed that Hodgkinson had volunteered for his presidential campaign and, in no uncertain terms, condemned his violent acts.

Two Republican congressmen who were at the baseball practice, Florida Rep. Ron DeSantis and South Carolina Rep. Jeff Duncan, also said that a man who looked like the shooter had asked them before the shooting if the players were Republicans or Democrats. Duncan replied they were Republicans.

Hodgkinson's political leanings, his potential targeting of GOP victims and the symbolic importance of those victims raises the very strong possibility the shooting was an act of leftist terrorism.

Hodgkinson's attack appears to fit the commonly accepted definition of terrorism, which is politically motivated violence against civilians by an entity other than a state, and once again reminds us that terrorism is the province of no single ideology.

In this age of political polarization, the United States must be prepared

for violence from the left, the right, jihadists, and also those who subscribe to hard-to-categorize conspiracy theories. One such recent example of conspiracy-inspired violence occurred not far from Alexandria, when a man armed with a rifle fired shots inside a Washington DC pizza joint, while he was there to "investigate" an Internet-fueled hoax that the restaurant was a front for a child sex ring organized by Democratic Party officials.

While less prevalent in the national consciousness today, in the 1960s



and 1970s, left-wing terrorism was a common occurrence in the United States, with many attacks perpetrated by radical groups such as the Black Panthers, the Weather Underground and other smaller, less-well-known groups. The 1960s and 1970s were also a time of great political polarization given the protests around the Vietnam War and the intensification of the civil rights movement.

The Weather Underground was an anti-Vietnam War organization that targeted the Pentagon, the US Capitol and banks. The group claimed credit for 25 bombings in

1975 alone, according to the University of Maryland's Global Terrorism Database.

Anti-war militants also carried out major bombings at City Hall in Portland, Oregon, and the University of Wisconsin-Madison, while the Black Panthers mounted 24 bombings, hijackings and other assaults.

Since the 1970s, left wing terrorism has largely declined, with the exception of some more extreme animal rights groups and eco-terrorists. But these groups have largely targeted property rather than aiming to conduct lethal attacks.

In addition, there have been occasional instances of politically motivated violence from the left, including a 2013 shooting at the conservative Family Research Council motivated in part by its opposition to same-sex marriage. Fortunately no one was killed.

The necessary comparison of incidents of far-left and far-right terrorism raises important questions

Two months ago, on April 18, Kori Ali Muhammad, a 39-year-old African-American man, was arrested and charged with killing three people in a shooting in Fresno, California. Police said they

believed race was a factor in the murders and Muhammad's social media presence included Black Nationalist posts. Muhammad's father said his son believed he was part of a war between whites and blacks and that "a battle was about to take place."

Although these two attacks motivated by black nationalist ideology share little in common with the politics of Hodgkinson, the three of them together summon echoes of the past, when the United States experienced domestic terrorism at the hands of leftists and black nationalists.

## NATIONAL REVIEW ONLINE

### Left's Violent Tactics -- Resisting Trump

Violence is in the air these days. It was visible to the world in Manchester, Birmingham, and London in the days before the British general election June 8. It was visible on the baseball field in Alexandria, Va., on Wednesday morning as a Donald Trump hater and Bernie Sanders volunteer took a rifle and shot House majority whip Steve Scalise and four others while Republicans were practicing for Thursday's congressional ballgame.

Violence is increasingly visible from or threatened by ski-masked, hammer-armed Antifas — people employing fascist-style intimidation on those who disagree — on campuses from Berkeley to New England and in the streets of "cool cities" such as Portland. Contrary to mainstream media expectations, the violence and threats come almost entirely from the political left, not the right.

Sanders immediately issued a strong statement denouncing violence. That's in character. He had also called for free speech on campus when Ann Coulter was barred from Berkeley, as did fellow left-wingers Elizabeth Warren and Maxine Waters. That's in line with longtime liberal tradition yet contrary to the policies and actions of so many college and university administrators these days.

Unfortunately, it's not hard to find left-wing tweets advocating violence against President Trump and

Republicans. And the "arts" community contributes its share. Comedian Kathy Griffin posted a picture of herself holding a likeness of the bloody severed head of the president. In New York, Shakespeare in the Park's staging of *Julius Caesar* features an orange-haired Caesar being stabbed to death by political rivals.

And there have been multiple violent threats and some actual instances of violence against Republican House members. Virginia's Tom Garrett canceled town halls in response to a message that said, "This is how we're going to kill your wife." The message to upstate New York's Claudia Tenney was, "One down, 216 to go."

A Tucson school official was arrested for threatening that Arizona's Martha McSally's "days are numbered." A woman was charged with felony reckless endangerment for trying to drive Tennessee's David Kustoff's car off the road.

Not all the violence has come from people on the left. Just before a May 25 special election, Montana Republican candidate Greg Gianforte body-slammed a reporter who was questioning him persistently. He won anyway and apologized at his victory party. Charged with assault, he was sentenced to 40 hours of community service and, unprompted, contributed \$50,000 to

the Committee to Protect Journalists, a worthy cause.

Some will say that this is a natural reaction to Trump's offenses against propriety and the allegedly harmful policies he and congressional Republicans support. Certainly, Trump has repeatedly transgressed long-standing political etiquette, and in ways that often harm him and his party more than his opponents. His tweet about having tapes in the White House motivated James Comey, according to his own account, to leak information to the *New York Times* in the hope that it would prompt the appointment of a special prosecutor.

Too many Americans have convinced themselves that they are morally entitled to use violence to "resist," as if Trump were some reincarnation of Adolf Hitler.

Which it did, even though regulations limit such appointments to criminal cases and the investigation of Russian involvement in our election is an intelligence investigation in which, as far as we know, there is no indication that anyone committed a crime.

Trump's violations of political protocol have also sparked a political backlash. It hasn't resulted in a Republican defeat yet in congressional special elections — all so far in districts Trump carried handily — but it could in the runoff

next Tuesday for the seat representing Georgia's sixth district.

That seat, in the northern Atlanta suburbs, is packed with affluent college graduates. Last year, it gave Trump only a 1.5 percentage-point edge, in contrast with the 20-point margins Republicans usually win there. Democratic candidate Jon Ossoff nearly won the seat by getting 48 percent of the vote in the April 18 all-party primary against multiple Republicans. He has led Republican Karen Handel by an average of three points in recent polling.

Even if Ossoff loses, a close race in such a district spells trouble for Republicans. It suggests that they can't count on traditional margins — that they only can count on Trump's much lower numbers — for such upscale seats. The good news for Republicans is that Democrats already hold most of these districts outside the South.

The political process provides avenues for those opposed to Trump or Republican policies. Too many Americans have convinced themselves that they are morally entitled to use violence to "resist," as if Trump were some reincarnation of Adolf Hitler.

As I write, the congressional baseball game is scheduled to go on Thursday night. Is there a chance we can return to normal, nonviolent politics, as well?

## The Washington Post

Parker

A heightened sense of unease gripped the White House on Thursday, as President Trump lashed out at reports that he's under

### UNE - Trump lashes out at Russia probe; Pence hires a lawyer

By John Wagner  
and Ashley

scrutiny over whether he obstructed justice, aides repeatedly deflected questions about the probe and Vice President Pence acknowledged hiring a private lawyer to handle fallout from investigations into Russian election meddling.

Pence's decision to hire Richard Cullen, a Richmond-based lawyer who previously served as a U.S. attorney in the Eastern District of Virginia, came less than a month after Trump hired his own private lawyer.

The hiring of Cullen, whom an aide said Pence was paying for himself, was made public a day after The Washington Post reported that special counsel Robert S. Mueller III is widening his investigation to examine whether the president attempted to obstruct justice.

A defiant Trump at multiple points Thursday expressed his frustration with reports about that development, tweeting that he is the subject of “the single greatest WITCH HUNT in American political history,” and one that he said is being led by “some very bad and conflicted people.”

Trump, who only a day earlier had called for a more civil tone in Washington after a shooting at a Republican congressional baseball practice in Alexandria, Va., fired off several more tweets in the afternoon voicing disbelief that he was under scrutiny while his “crooked” Democratic opponent in last year’s election, Hillary Clinton, escaped prosecution in relation to her use of a private email server while secretary of state.

The special counsel overseeing the investigation into Russia’s role in the 2016 election is interviewing senior intelligence officials to determine whether President Trump attempted to obstruct justice, officials said. The special counsel investigating Russian election interference is interviewing officials to about whether President Trump attempted to obstruct justice. (Patrick Martin,McKenna Ewen/The Washington Post)

(Patrick Martin,McKenna Ewen/The Washington Post)

Before the day ended, the White House was hit with the latest in a cascade of headlines relating to the Russian probe: a Post story reporting that Mueller is investigating the finances and business dealings of Jared Kushner, Trump’s son-law and adviser.

“The legal jeopardy increases by the day,” said one informal Trump adviser, who spoke on the condition of anonymity to discuss conversations with White House aides more freely. “If you’re a White House staffer, you’re trying to do your best to keep your head low and do your job.”

At the White House on Thursday, aides sought to portray a sense of normalcy, staging an elaborate event to promote a Trump job-training initiative, while simultaneously going into lockdown mode regarding Mueller’s probe.

At a previously scheduled off-camera briefing for reporters, Sarah Huckabee Sanders, the principal deputy White House press secretary, was peppered with more than a dozen questions about ongoing investigations over about 20 minutes.

In keeping with a new practice, she referred one question after another to Trump’s personal lawyer.

Sanders, for example, was asked whether Trump still felt “vindicated” by the extraordinary congressional testimony last week by James B. Comey, the FBI director whose firing by Trump has contributed to questions about whether the president obstructed justice.

“I believe so,” Sanders said, before referring reporters to Marc E. Kasowitz, Trump’s private attorney.

As Trump’s No. 2 and as head of the transition team, Pence has increasingly found himself drawn into the widening Russia investigation.

Pence — along with Attorney General Jeff Sessions, Kushner, Chief of Staff Reince Priebus and White House Counsel Donald McGahn — was one of the small group of senior advisers the president consulted as he mulled his decision to fire Comey, which is now a focus of Mueller’s investigation.

He also was entangled in the events leading up to the dismissal of Michael Flynn, Trump’s former national security adviser, who originally misled Pence about his contact with Russian officials — incorrect claims that Pence himself then repeated publicly.

The vice president was kept in the dark for nearly two weeks about Flynn’s misstatements, before learning the truth in a Post report. Trump ultimately fired Flynn for misleading the vice president.

There were also news reports that Flynn’s attorneys had alerted Trump’s transition team, which Pence led, that Flynn was under federal investigation for his secret ties to the Turkish government as a paid lobbyist — a claim the White House disputes. And aides to Pence, who was running the transition team, said the vice president was never informed of Flynn’s overseas work with Turkey, either.

On Capitol Hill on Thursday, Russian election meddling and related issues were a prominent part of the agenda.

Director of National Intelligence Daniel Coats spent more than three hours in a closed session with the Senate Intelligence Committee, just days after he refused to answer lawmakers’ questions in an open session about his conversations with Trump regarding the Russia investigation.

Several GOP lawmakers said they think Mueller should be able to do his job — including probing possible obstruction by Trump — but added that they were eager to put the probe behind them.

Sen. John Cornyn (Tex.), the second-ranking Senate Republican, said he retains confidence in Mueller and that he’s seen nothing so far that would amount to obstruction by Trump. His assessment, Cornyn said, includes the testimony last week by Comey, who said he presumed he was fired because of Trump’s concerns about the FBI’s handling of the Russian probe.

“I think based on what he said then, there doesn’t appear to be any there there,” Cornyn said. “Director Mueller’s got extensive staff and authorities to investigate further. But based on what we know now, I don’t see any basis.”

Sen. John Thune (R-S.D.) said he didn’t find news that Mueller is exploring obstruction of justice particularly surprising given it’s clear he is “going to look at everything.”

“There has been a lot of time spent on the collusion issue — 11 months by the FBI and six months by Congress — and both sides agree they haven’t found anything there,” Thune said. “I hope at some point all this stuff will lead to an ultimate conclusion, and we’ll put this to rest.”

In the meantime, the Republican National Committee appears to be girding for a fight.

“Talking points” sent Wednesday night to Trump allies provided a road map for trying to undercut the significance of the latest revelation related to possible obstruction of justice.

“This apparent pivot by the investigative team shows that they have struck out on trying to prove collusion and are now trying to switch to another baseless charge,” the document said.

The RNC also encouraged Trump allies to decry the “inexcusable, outrageous and illegal” leaks on which it said the story was based and to argue that there is a double standard at work.

The document said there was “an obvious case” of obstruction that was never investigated against former attorney general Loretta E. Lynch related to the FBI investigation of Clinton’s email server.

In his afternoon tweets, Trump picked up on that argument. In one tweet, the president wrote: “Crooked H destroyed phones w/ hammer, ‘bleached’ emails, & had husband meet w/AG days before she was cleared- & they talk about obstruction?”

“Why is that Hillary Clintons family and Dems dealings with Russia are

not looked at, but my non-dealings are?” Trump said in another.

Trump restricted his musing Thursday on Mueller’s investigation to social media, passing on opportunities to talk about it in public.

The president did not respond to shouted questions about whether he believes he is under investigation as he departed an event Thursday morning designed to highlight his administration’s support of apprenticeship programs.

That event was part of a schedule that suggested no outward signs of concern by Trump about his latest troubles.

He was joined at the apprenticeship event by several governors, lawmakers and other dignitaries. Before turning to the subject at hand, Trump provided an update on the condition of Rep. Steve Scalise (R-La.), who was shot Wednesday during the attack on Republican lawmakers at an early-morning baseball practice.

Attempting to strike a unifying chord, Trump said: “Steve, in his own way, may have brought some unity to our long-divided country.”

Later in the afternoon, Trump and the first lady traveled to the Supreme Court for the investiture ceremony for Justice Neil M. Gorsuch.

Among the questions Sanders deflected Thursday was to whom exactly Trump was referring as “bad and conflicted people” in one of his early morning tweets.

“Again, I would refer you to the president’s outside counsel on all questions relating to the investigation,” Sanders said.

Mark Corallo, a spokesman for the outside counsel, did not respond to an email and phone call seeking comment on the questions Sanders referred to him.

Earlier this week, one of the president’s sons, Donald Trump Jr., highlighted on Twitter an op-ed in USA Today that argued that Mueller should recuse himself from the Russia investigation because he has a potential conflict of interest, given his longtime friendship with Comey, a crucial witness.

The piece, which Donald Trump Jr. retweeted, was written by William G. Otis, an adjunct law professor at Georgetown University who was a special counsel for President George H.W. Bush.

Christopher Ruddy, a friend of Trump’s, made headlines this week when he said during a PBS

interview that he believed Trump was considering firing Mueller.

The White House didn't immediately deny that notion but made clear that Ruddy was not speaking for Trump.

## THE WALL STREET JOURNAL.

Peter Nicholas

President Donald Trump vented his unhappiness Thursday over a federal investigation that is now looking into his conduct in the White House, saying he is the target of baseless attacks and getting harsher treatment than his Democratic opponent in the 2016 presidential election.

By 8 a.m., Mr. Trump tweeted twice about Special Counsel Robert Mueller's widening probe into Russia's alleged interference in last year's election, calling it "the single greatest WITCH HUNT in American political history - led by some very bad and conflicted people!"

In the late afternoon, the GOP president returned to the Russia probe, suggesting that it is unfair to investigate whether he obstructed justice given how Hillary Clinton, the 2016 Democratic presidential nominee, was treated.

In one tweet he wrote, "Why is that Hillary Clintons family and Dems dealings with Russia are not looked

The following day, Sanders said Trump had no intention of trying to dislodge Mueller.

at, but my non-dealings are?"

Asked for a comment, Mrs. Clinton's former campaign chairman, John Podesta, wrote in an email: "Psychotic transference."

Mr. Mueller's office is now looking into whether Mr. Trump obstructed justice in a chain of events that included the president's decision last month to fire James Comey as FBI director. Mr. Comey was overseeing a probe into whether associates of Mr. Trump colluded with Russia to influence the 2016 election.

Russia has denied any government interference in the election, and Mr. Trump has denied his campaign colluded with Moscow.

In another afternoon tweet, the president made reference to a meeting on an airport tarmac in Phoenix last year between former President Bill Clinton and then-Attorney General Loretta Lynch. Critics said the meeting was improper, coming at a time when the FBI was investigating Mrs. Clinton's use of a private email

Sanders was asked again Thursday whether Trump still has confidence in Mueller.

"I believe so," she said, later adding: "I haven't had a specific

system when she served as secretary of state.

Mr. Trump's tweet suggested, without offering any substantiation, that Mrs. Clinton set up the meeting between her husband and Ms. Lynch.

Using the nickname he gave her in the campaign, Mr. Trump mentioned Mrs. Clinton's email practices and tweeted that "Crooked H ... had husband meet w/AG days before she was cleared - & they talk about obstruction?"

Ms. Lynch has said the airport tarmac meeting consisted of nothing more than a cordial conversation about grandchildren and other pleasantries, but that she regretted it.

Mrs. Clinton's former campaign spokesman, Nick Merrill, tweeted: "The most surefire indication that the right is running scared is when they turn things back to false attacks on Hillary Clinton."

Advisers to Mr. Trump have urged him not to tweet about the Russia investigation, cautioning that his comments could provide fodder for

conversation about that, but I think if he didn't, he would probably have intentions to make a change, and he certainly doesn't.

Mr. Mueller's investigation. White House press aides have been batting away any questions about the Russia probe, referring reporters to the president's outside counsel, Marc Kasowitz.

The White House staff continued Thursday to refer all questions about the issue to Mr. Trump's personal legal team, but acknowledged that the president himself was willing to discuss it.

"I think there were some developments yesterday and he was responding to those," said Sarah Huckabee Sanders, principal deputy press secretary, referring to the president's morning tweets. Asked why he could respond and she couldn't, Ms. Sanders said: "because I'm not the president."

Steve Schmidt, a GOP strategist who worked for former GOP President George W. Bush, said that Mr. Trump's tweets "show a deep sense of grievance and anger and increasingly demonstrate a lack of impulse control, the ability to do simple and smart things in the course of the investigation."

## THE WALL STREET JOURNAL.

# UNE - Senate Passes Bill That Would Expand Russia Sanctions, Limit Trump's Say

Paul Sonne and Natalie Andrews in Washington and Anton Troianovski in Berlin

The U.S. Senate overwhelmingly passed a bill Thursday to expand sanctions on Moscow and wrest more control of Russia policy from the Trump administration, bucking criticism of the legislation from European allies, the State Department and the Kremlin.

The bipartisan bill, which passed on a 98-2 vote, requires that the administration receive congressional approval to lift existing sanctions on Russia. It also broadens sanctions on Russia's energy sector, mandates punishment of malicious cyber actors and crimps financing available to Russia's banking and energy sectors.

The result is the strongest rebuke yet from U.S. lawmakers to Moscow

over Russia's alleged interference in the 2016 U.S. presidential campaign, which is cited specifically in the legislation.

Sen. John McCain (R. Ariz.) chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, said the legislation "finally holds Russia accountable for its brazen attack on our 2016 presidential election."

Russia has denied any government effort to meddle in the U.S. election.

The bill marks a warning shot to the White House from the Senate, which is controlled by the Republicans but where lawmakers on both sides of the aisle have raised concerns the Trump administration isn't responding forcefully enough to Russia.

The bill in effect makes any decision to lift sanctions on Russia a matter for Congress and the White House to decide together. Without the legislation, the executive branch

can decide to reverse the sanctions on its own.

Both the White House and Congress traditionally have the power to initiate sanctions, but the U.S. sanctions initiated against Russia since 2014 have been done primarily through executive order. The bill would codify the executive orders into U.S. law. So to lift them, it no longer would be simply a matter of rescinding an executive order. It would be a matter of approving a change to the law.

The congressional approval applies to the existing sanctions the Obama administration imposed through executive order. The bill doesn't limit the White House's ability to impose any future sanctions on its own.

If the bill becomes law, it would essentially kill any hopes in Moscow for sanctions relief in the short term and hamper President Donald

Trump from removing the penalties until Russia displays a significant change in behavior.

The legislation comes six months after U.S. intelligence agencies issued the declassified version of a report concluding Russia ordered an influence campaign to aid Mr. Trump in his battle in the 2016 election against Democratic candidate Hillary Clinton.

The two senators to vote against the bill were Sen. Rand Paul (R., Ky.) and Sen. Bernie Sanders (I., Vt.)

Democratic lawmakers largely supported the bill because of the check it put on the White House. "Any idea of the president's that he can lift sanctions on his own for whatever reason are dashed by this legislation," Senate Minority Leader Chuck Schumer (D, N.Y.) said on the Senate floor on Thursday before the legislation was passed.



The bill also steps up sanctions against Iran over human rights abuses, support for terrorism and ballistic missile development, measures the Trump administration supports.

To become law, a form of the legislation needs to be passed by the House of Representatives. The House Foreign Affairs Committee is reviewing the Senate bill's details, and House Speaker Paul Ryan (R., Wis.) believes "we must do more to hold Russia accountable," his spokeswoman said.

Sarah Huckabee Sanders, White House spokeswoman, said Thursday that the administration was still reviewing the new sanctions and would wait until there was a final product to "weigh in."

Should Mr. Trump veto the legislation, a vote from two-thirds of each chamber of Congress could override it. He could also let it pass into law without his signature by declining to sign for 10 days after its passage.

Secretary of State Rex Tillerson has sounded deeply skeptical of such legislation. He said Wednesday that Russia should be held accountable for interference in the 2016 campaign but argued that Congress shouldn't tie the president's hands when it comes to applying or lifting sanctions.

"Essentially, we would ask for the flexibility to turn the heat up when we need to, but also to ensure that we have the ability to maintain a constructive dialogue." Mr. Tillerson said in testimony before the House Foreign Affairs Committee.

The bill cites the U.S. intelligence community's assessment that Russia intervened in the 2016 presidential election. It says the U.S. should increase efforts to enforce sanctions in "response to the crisis in eastern Ukraine, cyber intrusions and attacks, and human rights violators in the Russian Federation."

Russian President Vladimir Putin criticized the Senate bill before its final passage, describing it as the product of domestic political battles in the U.S.

Certain energy-related provisions of the Senate bill also prompted a rare public rebuke from European allies, which largely have imposed sanctions on Russia in lockstep with Washington since the Ukraine-Russia conflict erupted in 2014.

Germany and Austria issued a joint statement taking issue with a section of the bill that allows the president to sanction companies providing certain goods, services or investments for the construction of Russian energy export pipelines.

"We cannot accept a threat of extraterritorial sanctions, illegal under international law, against European companies that participate in developing European energy supplies," German Foreign Minister Sigmar Gabriel and Austrian Chancellor Christian Kern said in their statement. "Europe's energy supply is Europe's business, not that of the United States of America."

Berlin and Vienna supported the U.S. State Department's efforts to change the legislation, Mr. Gabriel and Mr. Kern said.

The legislation, they added, would have a "very negative" impact on European-American ties and damage Western efforts to resolve the Ukraine crisis. The bill's stipulation that the U.S. "should prioritize the export of United States energy resources in order to create American jobs" also drew a rebuke from Berlin and Vienna.

Sen. Bob Corker (R., Tenn), chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, said he was unaware of which provision upset U.S. allies in Europe, but said the House could change the bill if necessary.

The pipeline provision, which says the president "may" impose such penalties but stops short of mandating them, poses a potential risk to a consortium of five European companies, which pledged to provide up to €4.75 billion (\$5.3 billion) in long-term financing to the Russian-backed Baltic Sea pipeline. The Nord Stream 2 AG project is a wholly owned subsidiary of Russia's state-owned PAO Gazprom.

Engie SA, OMV AG, Royal Dutch Shell PLC, Uniper SE and Wintershall Holding GmbH signed their agreement in April, after Polish regulators had blocked them from owning 50% of Nord Stream 2.

"Any decision we take, like this one when we made that financing commitment, we make it by our best commercial interest, while abiding by applicable trade controls and international sanctions," said Sally Donaldson, a spokeswoman in London for Shell.

Nord Stream 2 is seeking construction permits from Russia, Finland, Sweden, Denmark and Germany, and has begun stockpiling pipes to start construction, scheduled for early next year.

"We see absolutely no impact on the project," said Sebastian Sass, Nord Stream 2's representative to Brussels. "The bill makes clear that the objective is about American jobs and commercial projects being pursued at the expense of prosperity and jobs in Europe."

The Senate measure reiterates the continued U.S. opposition to NordStream 2 because of "its detrimental impacts on the European Union's energy security, gas market development in Central and Eastern Europe, and energy reforms in Ukraine."

Oregon Sen. Ron Wyden, the top Democrat on the Senate Finance Committee, which oversees trade policy, said "this bill is obviously not about U.S. gas exports, it's about ensuring we hit critical leverage points in countering Russian aggression."

Another portion of the bill would prohibit U.S. citizens and entities from exporting goods, nonfinancial services and technology in support of deep-water, Arctic offshore or shale-exploration projects involving Russian firms.

The Senate bill also tightens restrictions on the extension of credit to Russian entities. It reduces the maturity period of new debt issuance to Russia's financial sector from 30 to 14 days and Russia's energy sector from 90 to 30 days.

## THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

### Editorial : Congress Steps Up on Russia

Whatever you think about Donald Trump's relationship with Russia, the controversy has achieved one positive result. On Wednesday the Senate voted 97-2 to strengthen sanctions on Vladimir Putin's regime, a rare moment of bipartisan agreement these days.

The amendment to an Iran sanctions bill would require congressional approval before President Trump lifts current sanctions on Russian entities. It broadens the field of potential sanctions targets to include those involved in human-rights abuses or doing business with Russian intelligence and defense industries, among others. It also expands the range of Russian industries that could be subject to sanctions.

The Administration objected to the proposal, but what did Mr. Trump expect? Ordinarily we'd agree with Secretary of State Rex Tillerson, who warned a House committee this week not to limit the President's "flexibility to adjust sanctions to meet the needs of what is always an evolving diplomatic situation." The Constitution intends for the executive to have broad discretion on foreign policy.

But it's hard to fault Congress for being skeptical. Though there's no evidence of campaign "collusion" with Russia, Mr. Trump has been oddly solicitous of Mr. Putin. Congress is sending a useful message that Mr. Trump has little running room to negotiate unless the Russian changes his behavior.

Mr. Putin is giving American leaders plenty of reasons to act. Russians have spread misinformation and

used computer hacks to disrupt elections in France, Germany and the U.S. Russia still occupies Ukrainian territory in Crimea; frequently violates the Minsk cease-fire agreements the Obama Administration helped negotiate for eastern Ukraine; and is propping up Bashar Assad in Syria.

U.S. sanctions are also a message of support for the thousands of Russians protesting against corruption this week in the streets of major cities. The protests were inspired by opposition leader Alexei Navalny, who was sentenced this week to 30 days in jail for organizing a rally in Moscow. In a sign of how worried the Kremlin is, up to 1,700 protesters may have been arrested and courts are sentencing some to weeks in prison.

One question is why Democrats on Capitol Hill took so long to notice. Their new enthusiasm for Russia sanctions follows eight years during which most—although not all—Congressional Democrats endorsed President Obama's and Hillary Clinton's "reset" with Mr. Putin, supported Mr. Obama's refusal to offer lethal defensive weapons to Ukraine, and granted him ample loopholes in sanctions legislation on both Russia and Iran. Their conversion now looks more political than principled.

That doesn't make them less right, and we hope the House picks up the Senate sanctions legislation. Mr. Trump would then have to decide whether to veto, but an override wouldn't improve his standing on the world stage. The better choice would be to sign the bill, enforce the sanctions vigorously, and work with Congress to forge a bipartisan

approach to Russia. That would help the President rebut fears that he can't be trusted on Russia, while

telling Mr. Putin that rogue behavior won't be rewarded.

**NATIONAL  
REVIEW  
ONLINE**

## Donald Trump & Republicans -- Join Or Die

Donald Trump, the erstwhile Democrat, independent, and member of the Reform Party, finally has a fixed partisan identity.

The president may be besieged, unpopular, and prone to lashing out self-destructively, but all of this cements his bond to his party rather than erodes it. Commentators who ask wishfully and plaintively, "When will Republicans dump Trump and save themselves?" are missing the point: Trump's weakness makes him more Republican than ever before.

It was possible to imagine Trump, with a head of steam after his upset victory in November, cowing swamp-dwelling Republicans and wooing infrastructure-loving, anti-trade Democrats into supporting a populist congressional agenda. Maybe this was always a pipe dream given the instantaneous rise of the #resistance against him. But this scenario would have required a strong, focused president marshaling his popularity and driving Congress.

We've seen close to the opposite. And, of course, there's the so-called

Russia investigation. "Russia" is a misnomer. The controversy is now shifting from being about supposed Trump-campaign collusion to alleged obstruction of justice and whatever else special counsel Robert Mueller dredges up in what will probably be a free-ranging, years-long investigation.

So, whatever Trump's true ideological predilections, there's no place for him to go. Make deals with the Democrats? At this point, Democrats are more likely to cooperate with Sergey Kislyak on an infrastructure package than with Donald Trump.

Dump or triangulate away from Republicans? Well, then who would do scandal defense, besides a handful of White House aides and outside media loyalists? Imagine what the Comey or Sessions hearings would have looked like if Republicans had joined Democrats in the pile-on.

The need for support on Capitol Hill could well get more urgent if things go badly the next year and a half. If Democrats take the House, Trump will rely on Republicans for an impeachment defense and, if it

comes to that, for the votes in the Senate to block removal.

In one sense, this suits Trump. He may have a questionable partisan pedigree, but he is a natural partisan — smash-mouth, heedless of process and norms, willing to make whatever argument suits him at any particular time. There have been many Republicans who have opposed Chuck Schumer before; it took Trump to call him a "clown."

As for congressional Republicans, they, too, don't have much choice. Like it or not, whatever they tell reporters privately about their true feelings about Trump, his fate is their fate.

First, a president's approval rating heavily influences midterm elections. The outcome in the campaign for the House will presumably be much different depending on whether Trump is at 35 or 45 percent. Republicans dumping Trump wouldn't make him any more popular.

Second, such a distancing is not really politically practicable. If Republicans try to skitter away from Trump, their base will roast them. There's no reason to think that at this point the dynamic would be any

different than after the release of the *Access Hollywood* tape, when Republicans dumping Trump were quickly forced to pick him right back up again.

Third, Republicans want to get some things done legislatively. A poisonous split with the White House wouldn't help. Trump may be a mercurial and frustrating partner, but he is a partner all the same.

Finally, most Republicans — quite legitimately — think the Russian controversy is a media-driven travesty. If there were a smoking gun, this posture would probably change (obviously, in that circumstance, it should change). But Democrats are in no position to lecture Republicans on cutting loose a president of their own party when they twisted themselves in knots to defend Bill Clinton after he lied under oath over an affair that violated every feminist principle the party professed to hold.

If Trump and Republicans had their druthers, neither would be in quite this position. But this is the reality for everyone. For now, there's no way out, only through, and through it together.



## Robb : Conservatives should love the Trump presidency. Why don't they?

Conservatives are frustrated about Donald Trump, but not for the reasons expected.

The expectation was that Trump wouldn't be conservative enough. There was nothing in Trump's history or campaign for president to suggest that he was a principled, full-spectrum conservative.

In fact, just the opposite. Trump's political philosophy seemed mercurial and opportunistic. The assumption was that he would be a rootless, transactional president.

That hasn't been the case. I doubt that Trump has been reading Michael Oakeshott or Russell Kirk. But his administration has been stoutly, and astonishingly, conservative.

He has appointed unflinching conservatives to posts where most

Republican presidents flinch, such as the Environmental Protection Agency and the Food and Drug Administration. He is fulfilling his pledge to appoint conservative judges.

He has been fearless in rolling back the regulatory state, in cooperation with Republicans in Congress.

There is a tension in Trump's foreign policy. He clearly still harbors the belief that the United States is overextended and other countries are free-loading. I think he's right.

But most conservatives believe in maintaining the U.S. role as the guarantor of an international rules-based order, and Trump has appointed a national security and foreign policy team that sees the world that way as well.

Uncharacteristically, Trump has actually removed uncertainty regarding the domestic economy. Whether he and the GOP Congress can enact tax, health care or financial market reforms is unknown. But at least economic actors can believe that things won't get worse during a Trump presidency on regulation and taxation. That's an underappreciated big deal.

There is also tension in Trump's trade policies, but the fear that he would be a bull in a china shop has abated.

From a conservative perspective, things couldn't get better during the first five months of the president who succeeded Barack Obama. Except for one thing: Trump's impulsive egoism keeps stepping on the good news and wasting political capital needed for the big lifts.

Trump is a continuous political soap opera. It's tiring and exasperating.

Trump is mostly right about the forces aligned against him. But they are a declining influence in American politics. The country can be governed around them.

Imagine how the political world would be different if Trump had just done two things: shut down his Twitter account; and let the investigation of Russian interference in the election run its course.

All of which, from a conservative perspective, raises the question: How do you save a presidency from the president?

That's a pretty weird question to have to ponder.

## Mann : Trump runs on flattery

President Donald Trump and his cabinet both have the same job: praising — and overpraising — Trump on camera. That's what happened on Monday. The job is so demanding that Trump can't do it alone.

"Never has there been a president, with few exceptions ... who has passed more legislation and who has done more things than what we've done," Trump said, proving himself to be a student neither of history nor of the present.

Trump's message of how awesome he is resonated with members of his cabinet, who took turns thanking and praising him.

Labor Secretary Alexander Acosta: "I am privileged to be here — deeply honored — and I want to thank you..."

Chief of staff Reince Priebus: "We thank you for the opportunity and the blessing to serve your agenda."

Vice President Mike Pence: "The

greatest privilege of my life is to serve as vice president to the president." Being his wife's husband and his children's father are probably not far behind.

Monday was Thanksgiving Day at the White House. In all, Trump's cabinet thanked him 46 times. They said "great" 32 times, "honor" 15 times and "privilege" seven times. They found a thesaurus zero times.

History repeats itself, and so does the Trump administration, which has a history of praising itself. In April, the White House issued a press release declaring its support of itself: "Senior Administration Officials Praise President Donald J. Trump's Buy American, Hire American Executive Order." This is what happens when only a third of Americans approve of the job you're doing and a large percentage of those people work for you.

Flattery is Trump's cocaine — he's addicted to it — and, like cocaine, it's not always genuine. Listening to "You're the Best" from The Karate Kid soundtrack does not make you

the best. Trust me, I've tried. Likewise, praising Trump does not make him praiseworthy. This I haven't tried.

Trump's dependency, enabled by his sycophantic staff, distorts his grasp of reality. If he ever holds a debate at the White House, it will be about whether he is the best president ever or the best human ever. When his children got good grades at school, Trump probably forced them to give him a round of applause.

After the meeting with his cabinet-cult, Trump tweeted that he's bringing "real change to D.C.," which unfortunately is true. The change is of the North Korean variety, and it's real. Kim Jong Don is not entirely a figment of our paranoid imaginations. As we're learning daily, reality is sometimes more cartoonish than cartoons.

Tuesday was the 51st anniversary of the Supreme Court's Miranda decision — a reminder that Trump's staff has the right to remain silent. Wednesday was Flag Day—a

reminder that the Pledge of Allegiance is to the flag, not to The Donald.

Trump's slogan is "America First," but his policy is "Me First." What's disconcerting about this policy is how swiftly it is being executed. While Trump is free to speak his "mind" about anything, no one else in the administration has this privilege. They speak honestly only when anonymously. Their privilege is thanking Trump for the privilege of thanking him and getting paid for it.

Checks and balances, as David Frum pointed out in *The Atlantic*, are "a metaphor, not a mechanism." Someone must do the checking and balancing, and so far there's no sign of either in Trump's coterie.

Speaking of balancing, I'd like to take this opportunity to balance my criticisms with some praise. Trump makes my job easy by doing his job poorly, and for that I am (sort of) thankful.

Gourguechon

## Gourguechon : Is Trump mentally fit to be president? Let's consult the U.S. Army's field manual on leadership

Prudence L.

Since President Trump's inauguration, an unusual amount of attention has been paid to the 25th Amendment to the Constitution. That's the measure, ratified in 1967, that allows for removal of the president in the event that he is "unable to discharge the powers and duties" of the office. What does that mean, exactly? Lawyers surely have some ideas. But as a psychiatrist, I believe we need a rational, thorough and coherent definition of the mental capacities required to carry out "the powers and duties" of the presidency.

Although there are volumes devoted to outlining criteria for psychiatric disorders, there is surprisingly little psychiatric literature defining mental capacity, even less on the particular abilities required for serving in positions of great responsibility. Despite the thousands of articles and books written on leadership, primarily in the business arena, I have found only one source where the capacities necessary for strategic leadership are clearly and comprehensively laid out: the U.S. Army's "Field Manual 6-22 Leader Development."

The Army's field manual on leadership is an extraordinarily sophisticated document, founded in sound psychological research and psychiatric theory, as well as military practice. It articulates the core faculties that officers, including commanders, need in order to fulfill their jobs. From the manual's 135 dense pages, I have distilled five crucial qualities:

### Trust

According to the Army, trust is fundamental to the functioning of a team or alliance in any setting: "Leaders shape the ethical climate of their organization while developing the trust and relationships that enable proper leadership." A leader who is deficient in the capacity for trust makes little effort to support others, may be isolated and aloof, may be apathetic about discrimination, allows distrustful behaviors to persist among team members, makes unrealistic promises and focuses on self-promotion.

A good leader "demonstrates an understanding of another person's point of view" and "identifies with others' feelings and emotions."

### Discipline and self-control

The manual requires that a leader demonstrate control over his

behavior and align his behavior with core Army values: "Loyalty, duty, respect, selfless service, honor, integrity, and personal courage." The disciplined leader does not have emotional outbursts or act impulsively, and he maintains composure in stressful or adverse situations. Without discipline and self-control, a leader may not be able to resist temptation, to stay focused despite distractions, to avoid impulsive action or to think before jumping to a conclusion. The leader who fails to demonstrate discipline reacts "viscerally or angrily when receiving bad news or conflicting information," and he "allows personal emotions to drive decisions or guide responses to emotionally charged situations."

In psychiatry, we talk about "filters" — neurologic braking systems that enable us to appropriately inhibit our speech and actions even when disturbing thoughts or powerful emotions are present. Discipline and self-control require that an individual has a robust working filter, so that he doesn't say or do everything that comes to mind.

### Judgment and critical thinking

These are complex, high-level mental functions that include the abilities to discriminate, assess, plan, decide, anticipate, prioritize and compare. A leader with the

capacity for critical thinking "seeks to obtain the most thorough and accurate understanding possible," the manual says, and he anticipates "first, second and third consequences of multiple courses of action." A leader deficient in judgment and strategic thinking demonstrates rigid and inflexible thinking.

### Self-awareness

Self-awareness requires the capacity to reflect and an interest in doing so. "Self-aware leaders know themselves, including their traits, feelings, and behaviors," the manual says. "They employ self-understanding and recognize their effect on others." When a leader lacks self-awareness, the manual notes, he "unfairly blames subordinates when failures are experienced" and "rejects or lacks interest in feedback."

### Empathy

Perhaps surprisingly, the field manual repeatedly stresses the importance of empathy as an essential attribute for Army leadership. A good leader "demonstrates an understanding of another person's point of view" and "identifies with others' feelings and emotions." The manual's description of inadequacy in this area: "Shows a lack of concern for others'



emotional distress” and “displays an inability to take another’s perspective.”

The Army field manual amounts to a guide for the 25<sup>th</sup> Amendment. Whether a president’s Cabinet would ever actually invoke that amendment is another matter. There is, however, at least one historical precedent. The journalists Jane Mayer and Doyle McManus tell the dramatic story in their 1988 book, “Landslide: The Unmaking of the President 1984-1988.”

Before he started his job as President Reagan’s third chief of staff, in early 1987, Howard Baker

asked an aide, James Cannon, to put together a report on the state of the White House. Cannon then interviewed White House staff, including top aides working for the outgoing chief of staff, Donald Regan. On March 1, the day before Baker took over, Cannon presented him with a memo expressing grave concern that Reagan might not be sufficiently competent to perform his duties. Reagan was inattentive and disinterested, the outgoing staff had said, staying home to watch movies and television instead of going to work. “Consider the possibility that section four of the 25<sup>th</sup> Amendment might be applied,” Cannon wrote.

After reading the memo, Baker arranged a group observation of Reagan for the following day. On March 2, Baker, Cannon and two others — Reagan’s chief counsel, Arthur B. Culvahouse Jr., and his communications director, Tom Griscom — scrutinized the president, first at a Cabinet meeting, then at a luncheon. They found nothing amiss. The president seemed to be his usual genial, engaged self. Baker decided, presumably with relief, that Reagan was not incapacitated or disabled and they could all go on with their business.

Much has changed since the Reagan era, of course. Because of Trump’s Twitter habits and other features of the contemporary media landscape, far more data about his behavior are available to everyone — to citizens, journalists and members of Congress. And we are all free to compare that observable behavior to the list of traits deemed critical for leadership by the U.S. Army.