DEMOCRATIC WHIP

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS

COMMITTEE ON RULES AND ADMINISTRATION

May 9, 2017

The Honorable Rod Rosenstein Deputy Attorney General U.S. Department of Justice Washington, DC 20530

The Honorable Daniel R. Coats Director of National Intelligence Washington, DC 20511

The Honorable John F. Kelly Secretary U.S. Department of Homeland Security Washington, DC 20528

The Honorable James B. Comey, Jr. Director Federal Bureau of Investigation Washington, DC 20535

Dear Deputy Attorney General Rosenstein, Secretary Kelly, Director Coats, and Director Comey:

I am deeply concerned that Russia may be responsible for the recent hacking attack on the campaign of French President-elect Emmanuel Macron, which suggests that Russian President Vladimir Putin is acting with impunity after the lack of accountability for Russia's act of cyber war against the United States during last year's election. Mr. Macron's victory in Sunday's election does not diminish the need for the Trump Administration to take this attack seriously and to work closely with the French government to bring the perpetrators to justice and prevent similar attacks from taking place in the future. I would therefore appreciate a detailed accounting of the Trump Administration's assessment of the attack on the French election and the Administration's response to this attack.

On October 7, 2016, seventeen U.S. intelligence agencies made a damning determination that a foreign adversary deliberately interfered in our election in support of its preferred candidate. The warnings and evidence were overwhelming and a harbinger of future such interference in our elections and those of our Western democratic allies. The conclusions were stark, that Russia would continue to try to undermine confidence in Western democracies and support candidates seen as sympathetic to weakening the Western security alliance. Tragically, a refusal to acknowledge and respond to this serious security threat has resulted in what may have been a Russian attack on the recent French election—and it also leaves our nations at great risk of future such attacks.

Early evidence reportedly points to Russian efforts to hack into the campaign of French President-elect Emmanuel Macron. His campaign called it a "massive and coordinated" hacking operation with the familiar potential to destabilize the election at the last minute. The attacks in France follow a similarly troubling pattern of Russian meddling in recent elections in Germany and the Netherlands and complement ongoing Russian testing and buzzing of Western military defenses in and around Europe. It is of course not surprising that such cyber acts of war continue given the lack of response by this current administration and Congress to the attack on the U.S. election. As one Polish security expert told me recently, the Russians will be watching to see how the United States responds to an attack on its election and will feel emboldened in the absence of any such action—and that appears to be what has happened.

Accordingly, I request responses to the following urgent questions:

- Does the Administration assess that the Russians launched cyber attacks and other acts of disinformation on the French election?
- Has the Administration publicly or privately condemned the Russian actions against the French and other Western elections?
- What has the Administration done to help the French and other Western allies identify and protect against Russian cyber and disinformation campaigns? What is it doing to warn and help allies of such future actions?
- What is the Administration doing to retaliate against such attacks?
- What is the Administration doing to thwart such attacks against future elections in the United States and to help U.S. state governments do the same?
- What is the Administration doing with Congressional leadership to pass appropriate legislation sanctioning Russia for its actions and preventing such attacks in the future?

Quite frankly it is the height of irresponsibility that President Trump still denies Russia's act of cyber war against our election. I fear that this troubling message from the top of the Administration has resulted in inadequate measures to help our allies and our own states protect against such future Russian attacks. Any such continued inaction and denial are a serious abdication of the Administration's urgent national security responsibilities and must be corrected.

Thank you for your time and consideration.

Sincerely,

Richard J. Durbin United States Senator From: Schneck, Dr. Phyllis

To: Spaulding, Suzanne

Subject: Fw: The Homeland Security News Briefing for Tuesday, November 22, 2016

Date: Tuesday, November 22, 2016 6:17:01 AM

Attachments: <u>dhsclips161122.doc</u>

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Dr. Phyllis A. Schneck
Deputy Under Secretary
Cybersecurity and Communications,
National Protection and Programs Directorate
DHS

From: Bulletin Intelligence [mailto:DHS@BulletinIntelligence.com]

Sent: Tuesday, November 22, 2016 05:00 AM

To: DHS@BulletinIntelligence.com < DHS@BulletinIntelligence.com >

Subject: The Homeland Security News Briefing for Tuesday, November 22, 2016

The Homeland Security News Briefing

TO: THE SECRETARY AND SENIOR STAFF

DATE: TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 22, 2016 5:00 AM EST

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Leading DHS News:

PHOTO OF KOBACH-TRUMP MEETING REVEALS IMMIGRATION POLICY PROPOSALS. The AP (11/21, Caldwell) reports, "Kansas Secretary of State Kris Kobach met with Trump on Sunday and brought with him a detailed list of proposals for the agency tasked with enforcing immigration laws and securing the border." The AP goes on to discuss a photo of Kobach with Trump in which his proposals are visible. Kobach's "top suggestion" was to "update and reintroduce" NSEERS, "a program he helped create while working for the Justice Department in the wake of the Sept. 11 terrorist attacks." The AP says NSEERS "was widely derided by civil rights groups who said it profiled foreigners based on their race and religion." Another proposal is to add "extreme vetting questions for high-risk" foreigners entering the US, including questions about visitors' "support for Sharia law, jihad, equality of men and women, the United States constitution," and "ending the flow of Syrian refugees into the United States."

The <u>Washington Post</u> (11/21, Weigel, 11.43M) says, "Kobach, at least in this memo, is suggesting enforcement of laws that would ensnare undocumented immigrants in the country already," a "national version of the immigration bills he helped Arizona and Alabama pass after 2010."

The <u>Wall Street Journal</u> (11/21, 6.37M) says Kobach's document refers to voter rolls, but it is unclear from the photo what part those words play in the plan.

The Los Angeles Times (11/21, 4.52M) reports, "Less legible on Kobach's document, but still visible, are mentions of what defines an undocumented immigrant as a criminal ('any alien arrested for any crime, and any gang member'), the phrase '386 miles of existing actual wall," and "the Patriot Act and 'Draft Amendment to National Voter—," a possible reference to the National Voter Registration Act. The Times quotes Kansas Senate Minority Leader Anthony Hensley's criticism of Kobach: "That's the height of irony if he's wanting a job in Homeland Security and you're able to see in a photograph what should be confidential information." McClatchy (11/21, Lowry, Tate, Wise, 74K) says, "There had been speculation that Kobach might be under consideration to head [DHS] in the lead-up to his meeting with Trump, and photographic evidence appears to confirm that."

KELLY, TOWNSEND SEEN AS POSSIBLE DHS SECRETARY CANDIDATES. The Washington Post (11/21, Markon, 11.43M) reports, "Two new names have emerged as possible candidates for Department of Homeland Security secretary under President-elect Donald Trump," Marine Gen. and former US Southern Command Chief John F. Kelly and Frances Townsend, "a top homeland security and counterterrorism official in the George W. Bush administration." Kelly is "a widely respected military officer" who "opposed the administration's failed plans to close Guantanamo and has strongly defended how the military treats detainees." The Post adds, "People familiar with the selection process said Trump's team is interested in Kelly's experience with the Southern border, where Trump wants to build his controversial wall to keep out illegal immigrants." Townsend "also held senior positions during 13 years at the Justice Department" and, if selected as Secretary, "could also help Trump counter allegations that his Cabinet picks so far have lacked diversity."

WILKINSON: CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS WON'T BE PRIORITY FOR TRUMP, KOBACH. Francis Wilkinson writes in Bloomberg View (11/21, 125K) that Trump "plans to appoint opponents of Islam...to top positions in his administration." Wilkinson says, "Violating the constitutional rights of Muslim citizens wouldn't be easy," but "Trump's authoritarian impulses, including his penchant for propaganda intended to isolate specific minority groups, suggest that fealty to constitutional rights is not a high priority. Safeguarding civil rights is not Kobach's thing, either."

<u>Immigration and Customs Enforcement:</u>

DE BLASIO PLEDGES TO RESIST TRUMP'S IMMIGRATION POLICIES. The <u>Wall Street Journal</u> (11/21, Dawsey, Subscription Publication, 6.37M) reports New York City Mayor Bill de Blasio on Monday pledged to "use all the tools at our disposal to stand up" to President-elect Donald Trump on deportation, a Muslim registry, and stop-and-frisk policing, as well as any other policies that infringe on the rights of New Yorkers. The Journal suggests de Blasio is attempting to gain political points by promoting himself as a foil to Trump.

The New York Times (11/21, Goodman, Subscription Publication, 13.9M) says de Blasio's speech "echoed in theme and some content one that another Democrat, Gov. Andrew M. Cuomo, delivered a day before, also in Manhattan." De Blasio's speech was also "delivered as he has begun his own re-election campaign."

Garcetti: Cutting Funding Due To Los Angeles' Immigration Policy A "Mistake." The Los Angeles Times (11/21, Smith, 4.52M) reports, "Los Angeles Mayor Eric Garcetti said Monday that President-elect Donald Trump would be making a 'mistake' if his administration cuts federal funding to L.A. over the city's immigration stance." Garcetti is quoted saying, "Anything that would take away federal aid would cause social, economic and security problems. ... I am hoping we can have this conversation separate and without threats."

<u>TIME</u> (11/21, 6.98M) reports that "threatened budget cuts" for sanctuary cities "have not dissuaded mayors determined to protect undocumented immigrants." Time also reiterates that "there's no legal definition for" a sanctuary city, and "immigration experts say it may prove difficult to determine which cities should be subject to cuts." Furthermore, "Local officials also argue that their policies are perfectly legal."

Students Launch #Sanctuarycampus Movement. USA Today (11/21, 5.28M) reports on the "#sanctuarycampus movement," a "response to Donald Trump's future immigration policy that's happening on multiple campuses around the country." The movement "has also been modeled after a number of areas around the country that are 'sanctuary cities' and vowing to enact procedures that protect their immigrants." USA Today details the walkouts, petitions, and resolutions related to the movement.

The Hill (11/21, Savransky, 1.25M) "Briefing Room" blog reports, "Columbia University is planning to provide sanctuary and financial support for undocumented students as many face concerns about immigration policy under President-elect Donald Trump, The Columbia Spectator reported." Briefing Room says that if DACA is eliminated, "the university said it would increase financial aid and other support to undocumented students who lose the right to work."

DEMONSTRATORS PROTEST PLANNED DEPORTATION OF DC-AREA IMMIGRANT ACTIVIST. The Washington Post (11/21, Miller, 11.43M) reports that protesters gathered outside ICE headquarters on Monday "to demonstrate against the imminent deportation of a local immigrants rights activist." Protesters demanded the "release of Wendy Uruchi Contreras, an undocumented activist held in federal custody since she pleaded guilty to drunken driving this summer." The Post notes that the protest "came at a crucial moment for both Uruchi and undocumented immigrants around the country." Uruchi "could be deported to Spain any day now after her appeal was recently rejected," and "her supporters are hoping Monday's protest pressures ICE officials to reverse their decision." The Post adds that the election of Donald Trump "has stirred fear among undocumented immigrants locally and across the country."

Customs and Border Protection:

CBP: REDESIGNED ARISTA NETWORKS PRODUCTS NOT WITHIN SCOPE OF IMPORT BAN.

Reuters (11/21, Levine) reports that CBP has determined that Arista Networks may import ethernet switches that were banned by the US International Trade Commission, which ruled earlier this year that Arista infringed on Cisco Systems' patents. An Arista securities filing submitted Monday is cited saying the company received a letter from CBP that indicated the company's redesigned products "are not within the scope" of the import ban.

MarketWatch (11/21, 767K) quotes Arista general counsel Marc Taxay: "We appreciate the hard work and thoroughness of U.S. Customs and Border Protection in reaching this decision, which validates our good-faith efforts to address the ITC's findings."

ILLINOIS STATE BILL WOULD REQUIRE PENSION FUNDS TO DIVEST FROM COMPANIES CONTRACTED TO BUILD BORDER WALL. The Chicago Sun-Times (11/21, 798K) reports that Illinois State Rep. Will Guzzardi, a Democrat, "on Tuesday will announce a bill that would require state pension

funds to divest investments in companies hired by the federal government to build a border wall." Guzzardi "says it's a way to show that Illinois residents don't support the wall or mass deportations."

Andreas: Border Wall Could Be One Of President-Elect's "Biggest Political Successes." Author and professor Peter Andreas writes in the Washington Post (11/21, Graff, 11.43M) "Monkey Cage" that "Under President Trump, the wall will not only be for real, but it may be one of his biggest political successes." Andreas says "the term 'wall' is actually surprisingly fuzzy," and "regardless of what Trump ends up building, calling it a 'wall' will sound like something new and make his followers cheer." Andreas adds, "Nearly 700 miles of various types of border fencing are already in place, and portions of it very much look like a formidable metal wall." Andreas contends that "Trump's wall is likely to be the latest addition to the border barrier-building frenzy first launched by President Bill Clinton, greatly expanded by George W. Bush and continued by Obama. But Trump will take full ownership of it as the only president willing to actually call it a wall." However, "it will not stop migrants from entering the country illegally."

Transportation Security Administration:

INVESTIGATION BLAMES SECURITY FOR "UNFOUNDED PANIC" DURING AUGUST JFK AIRPORT INCIDENT. Reuters (11/21, Ingram) says a "full investigative report" released Monday blamed "the actions of untrained" TSA and CBP agents for exacerbating an "unfounded panic that sent people streaming out of terminals" at New York's JFK airport on Aug. 14 "after rumors spread via social media and word of mouth that there was a gunman in one or more terminals." The report found "airport employees and security personnel, rather than calming the customers, increased the panic by their response which led to a mass evacuation," and while no significant injuries were caused, "the danger posed by a panicked mass of people fleeing for their lives cannot be overstated." Homeland Security Secretary Johnson and New York Gov. Andrew Cuomo "said in a statement they would implement a recommendation by investigators to require emergency training for all airport workers, including vendors."

The <u>New York Daily News</u> (11/21, Bekiempis, 4.45M) says the report found "existing security protocols and systems do not reflect the new changing reality at airports."

The AP (11/21, Hays, Balsamo) reports officials "said that in the end, the airport had no efficient way to let travelers know the threat wasn't real." The report recommends security officials set up a "central command center at JFK manned by the representatives from each security entity." The command center would have the "ability to make announcements to a terminal or the entire airport from a central location."

The New York Post (11/21, Golding, 3.82M) says the report also recommends the need to "coordinate the proliferation of federal, state, local and private security forces at the airport," and recommends "mandatory, annual training for all security personnel." Airport workers are also recommended to receive training in "active violence and insider threats." The Post quotes Secretary Johnson saying, "Implementing these recommendations will enhance safety measures to reflect the current threat environment and will provide necessary training to mitigate panic in the event of an emergency."

The New York Times (11/21, Santora, Subscription Publication, 13.9M) says the report "cited a failure of bureaucracy, where the lack of clear lines of authority and poor communication led to one of the nation's busiest transit hubs grinding to a halt." The Times adds that the report says TSA agents are trained to "run, hide, fight" in the case of an active violence situation. The letter says TSA checkpoints "could be left vulnerable in these situations." One of the letters recommendations "was to add armed law enforcement to the checkpoints," according to the Times.

WORKERS AT O'HARE AIRPORT WILL STRIKE NOV. 29 OVER HOURLY WAGES. The Chicago Tribune (11/21, Elejalde-Ruiz, 2.54M) reports that roughly 500 workers – baggage handlers, airplane cabin cleaners, janitors, and wheelchair attendants – at Chicago O'Hare International Airport committed to a strike after a vote last week to protest what they see as low wages, inadequate working conditions, and retaliation against organizing efforts. The workers' strike is planned for November 29, which will miss the Thanksgiving holiday's busiest travel days, but will coincide with a nationwide day of protests organized by the Fight for \$15 campaign.

The <u>Wall Street Journal</u> (11/21, Carey, Cameron, Subscription Publication, 6.37M) reports a spokesman for SEIU said the O'Hare groups selected November 29 as the day for their strike in order to avoid alienating Thanksgiving travelers and instead gain their support. Protests are planned for the same day at other airports and outside fast-food restaurants as part of a national effort to draw attention to the approximately 64 million Americans who make less than \$15 an hour.

The <u>Chicago Sun-Times</u> (11/21, Dudek, 798K) reports the Chicago Department of Aviation, in a statement issued Monday morning, said officials there do "not anticipate any disruption in service at Chicago's airports due to" the strike. Izabela Miltko-Ivokonoch, an airport worker and an organizer of the strike, said, "There will be some effects on travel for sure."

The <u>CBS Evening News</u> (11/21, story 4, 0:20, Pelley, 11.17M) reported that the strike would be "adding to the travel worries."

TRAVELERS ADVISED TO AVOID BRINGING GUNS TO AIRPORTS. The Charlotte (NC) Observer (11/21, 656K) reports that travelers at Charlotte Douglas International Airport can expect "long security lines, crowded parking lots and plenty of traffic" this week, and airport officials "have another message: Make sure you leave your guns at home before heading through security." Charlotte federal security director Kevin Frederick "said gun owners should go through 'every little pocket,' especially if they haven't used the bag they're flying with in a while." The TSA is also cited advising passengers to "arrive two hours early for domestic flights."

Federal Emergency Management Agency:

PRIVING CONDITIONS TREACHEROUS IN SOME NORTHEAST STATES AS SNOWSTORM POUNDS PARTS OF REGION. ABC World News (11/21, lead story, 2:25, Muir, 14.63M) reported that "at least one person lost their life on icy roads" as a snowstorm created treacherous driving conditions in some parts of America's northeast region on Monday. Upstate New York was "hit especially hard." The CBS Evening News (11/21, story 2, 1:50, Pelley, 11.17M) reported that the snowstorm sent "dozens of vehicles careening off the road" in New York's upstate region. NBC Nightly News (11/21, story 3, 1:50, Holt, 16.61M) reported that the "first major snowstorm of the season" hammered parts of New York and some other Northeast states. Driving conditions were treacherous on some roads in Connecticut and New Hampshire. In the latter state, "two deaths are being blamed on icy roads."

US Citizenship and Immigration Services:

DHS OIG REPORT SAYS USCIS GREEN CARD PROBLEM "WORSE THAN PREVIOUSLY BELIEVED." The New York Times (11/21, Nixon, Subscription Publication, 13.9M) reports the DHS OIG released a report on Monday finding USCIS "sent green cards to people that contained incorrect information or were duplicates, or mailed them to the wrong addresses." The OIG report "said the problem was far worse than originally believed," and "in the last three years, it said, the immigration agency produced at least 19,000 cards that included incorrect information or were issued in duplicate." According to the OIG auditors, the "manual intervention, production controls and system enhancements" implemented by USCIS "have not proven adequate to ensure quality across the volume of cards produced and issued each year."

H-1B VISA PROGRAM FACES SCRUTINY UNDER TRUMP, SESSIONS. Reuters (11/21, Nellis) reports the H-1B visa program faces "renewed scrutiny" under President-elect Donald Trump and US Sen. Jeff Sessions, Trump's pick for Attorney General and a long-time critic of the program. Reuters says Trump has "sent mixed signals on the campaign trail" about the visa program, but Sessions "has long sought to curtail the program and introduced legislation last year aiming to make the visas less available to large outsourcing companies such as Infosys." In a February hearing, Sessions said, "Thousands of U.S. workers are being replaced by foreign labor."

The Christian Science Monitor (11/20, Kauffman, 387K) reports Trump's stance on the H-1B visa program

has largely been unclear, which is reportedly "contribut[ing] to growing speculation and concerns that the tech industry may soon find itself short necessary workers." According to the Monitor, there has been growing bipartisan support for H-1B visa reform, with many critics saying "big companies exploit it to reduce labor costs, leaving more and more skilled American tech workers out of a job."

ARMY SECRETARY CRITICIZES TRUMP'S IMMIGRATION POSITION. The Wall Street Journal (11/21, Lubold, 6.37M) reports that during a naturalization ceremony in Alexandria, Virginia on Monday, Army Secretary Eric Fanning was critical of President-elect Trump's immigration policies, without mentioning him by name. The Journal says Fanning's criticism was the first of its kind from a Pentagon political appointee. Fanning told the ceremony, "This country hasn't grown stronger by building barriers to ambition. ... America is not great because we've kept people from pursuing their dreams. ... It's because of the paths we've created for people to reach this country, for their children to realize their dreams in this country, that we are the strongest and greatest nation the world has ever seen. ... These characteristics are what make Americans – and America – great."

Judge Tells New US Citizens To Leave Country If They Don't Like Trump. The Washington Post (11/21, Wootson, 11.43M) reports that during an induction ceremony for new US citizens in San Antonio, Texas on Friday, Federal Magistrate Judge John Primomo, who presided over the ceremony, "touched on the protests that have cropped up across the nation since [President-elect] Trump's election." According to CBS affiliate KHOU, Primomo said, "I can assure you that whether you voted for [Trump] or you did not vote for him, if you are a citizen of the United States, he is your president and he will be your president. ... And if you do not like that, you need to go to another country." While Primomo told San Antonio CBS affiliate KENS "that he wanted his words to be unifying and respectful of the office of the president, not political or divisive" and that "he didn't vote for Trump," his comments "set off a controversy, with people calling for him to be removed from office."

Immigration:

HOUSE DEMOCRATS' BILL WOULD PROHIBIT CREATION OF MUSLIM REGISTRY. McClatchy (11/21, Hotakainen, 74K) reports that a group of nine House Democrats introduced a bill Monday that would prohibit President-elect Trump "from creating a Muslim registry." The measure's chief sponsor, US Rep. Suzan DelBene, "said Trump 'is breaking his promise to be a president for all Americans' by suggesting Muslims could be forced to register with the federal government." DelBene's bill, the No Religious Registry Act, "would prohibit the attorney general, secretary of Homeland Security or any federal official from establishing or using a registry to classify people on the basis of their religious affiliation."

UNDOCUMENTED IMMIGRANT WRITES ABOUT HIS DEPORTATION WORRIES. Ivy Tech Community College student Miguel Molina writes in the New York Times (11/21, Molina, Subscription Publication, 13.9M) that the election of Donald Trump as US president has left him uncertain of protection for himself and his family in the US, and "for the future of so many families like ours." Molina says Trump's "election legitimizes discrimination against, and the dehumanization of, the entire undocumented community" and that he is worried about his work permit, violence targeting himself and his family, possible deportation, and the separation of his younger, US-citizen siblings from his parents. He also notes his fear that "harsher anti-immigrant laws" will be implemented in many states.

CENTRAL AMERICAN LEADERS MEET TO DISCUSS IMMIGRATION STRATEGY. Reuters (11/22, Menchu) reports a group of Central American leaders met on Monday "to form a strategy to protect their migrants in the United States, in a show of regional solidarity following Donald Trump's win in the U.S. presidential election." Reuters says there are concerns among the "poor nations of Honduras, Guatemala and El Salvador" that "Trump's promise to deport millions would have grave repercussions in Central American countries with few jobs and shaky security." At the meeting, the "foreign ministers of the Central American countries asked Mexico for help to create a migrant protection network, liaise for coordination with U.S. authorities, and to meet regularly for regional talks."

Secret Service:

MILLION PER DAY. CNN Money (11/21, 3.59M) cites New York City officials saying the President-elect and his family are costing the city more than \$1 million per day, "because Melania Trump and their 10year old son Barron expect to stay at their home at Trump Tower in midtown Manhattan, at least until the

NEW YORK CITY OFFICIALS: PRESIDENT-ELECT, FAMILY COSTING CITY MORE THAN \$1

end of the school year. And Donald Trump has indicated he plans to return home regularly, especially while they're still here." NYPD deputy commissioner John Miller is cited saying the cost of assigning police to Trump's adult children and grandchildren adds to the expense. New York City Mayor Bill de Blasio is quoted saying, "The number one imperative here is safety and security. We owe that to the president elect, his family and his team," adding, "It will take substantial resources. ... We will begin the conversation with the federal government shortly on reimbursement for the NYPD for some of the costs that we are incurring."

CBS News (11/21, 4.4M) quotes Miller saying, "You're going to see strict enforcement [on Fifth Avenue]. We're going to lose a block of 56th Street, but you know, this is New York City. We've lost a block for water main explosions and we always work around it."

NO FEDERAL CHARGES FOR MINNESOTA MAN WITH ANTI-CLINTON MESSAGE ON VEHICLE.

The AP (11/21) reports, "The U.S. Secret Service says a Minnesota motorist won't face federal charges for having a violent message aimed at Hillary Clinton written on the back of a minivan." Secret Service Minneapolis special agent in charge Lou Stephens "tells the Star Tribune the agency has completed its investigation and found no evidence" the man "intended to carry out an assault attempt."

The Minneapolis Star Tribune (11/21, 1.27M) reports that local police are still looking into whether the man, Emil Schmiege, "violated any state laws driving along Interstate 94" with the message written on his vehicle.

National Protection and Programs:

ALBUQUERQUE JOURNAL CRITICAL OF REAL ID, MVD AD CAMPAIGN. The Albuquerque (NM) Journal (11/22, 234K) editorializes that "too many New Mexicans are going into the holidays scrambling to comply with the new Real-ID license and ID law." The Journal says the New Mexico ad campaign about the requirements for new or renewed licenses and IDs was a failure because the only notifications were several radio spots and news releases. The Journal says the state should have used social media, television, and billboards to get out the "the simple message that when they go in to get a new license or renew their current one" additional documentation was needed.

Office of Health Affairs:

PCAST LETTER DISCUSSES DANGERS OF BIOENGINEERING ADVANCES. Vocativ (11/21) reports that the President's Council of Advisors on Science and Technology "recently issued a public letter to the administration, calling for a renewed and expansive biodefense strategy." The letter stresses the danger of "new, 'exponential' advances in bioengineering if maliciously or improperly used." The letter is quoted saying, "Relatively straightforward examples of misuse would include the modification of pathogens to overcome existing immunity or to be resistant to available drugs."

Terrorism Investigations:

INVESTIGATORS SAYS KILLING OF THREE US SOLDIERS IN JORDAN WAS DELIBERATE. The Washington Post (11/21, Warrick, Gibbons-Neff, 11.43M) reports that officials investigating the killing of three US soldiers in Jordan earlier this month "say they now know precisely how the Americans were killed but still lack a clear explanation for why a Jordanian guard opened fire on the men as they returned to their base from a training mission." Surveillance video and witness accounts confirm the Special Forces soldiers were shot "without provocation as they prepared to enter Prince Faisal Air Base in southern Jordan," but "no information has emerged linking the guard to extremist groups or causes,"

according to officials familiar with the ongoing investigation.

WSJOURNAL A1: DEA INVESTIGATING US COMPANY FOR LINKS TO FOREIGN TERROR FINANCING. In a front-page article, the Wall Street Journal (11/21, A1, Barry, Stewart, Subscription Publication, 6.37M) reports the Drug Enforcement Administration is leading a Justice Department investigation into Kansas-based Seaboard Corp. over its sales of wheat flour sold to African companies tied to a Lebanese family on the US terror blacklist for supporting the Shiite militant group Hezbollah. The Journal examines the probe and mentions that Seaboard Corp. is well known for its Butterball brand turkeys. Both Seaboard and the African companies deny the allegations.

YEMENI MAN CHARGED IN US WITH ATTEMPTING TO SUPPORT ISIS. Reuters (11/21, Raymond) reports that a Yemeni man living in New York City was arrested on Monday and charged by federal prosecutors "with attempting to provide support to Islamic State, including by expressing support for an attack in Times Square." Mohammed Rafik Naji, "who authorities say last year traveled to Turkey and Yemen in an effort to join the militant group, was charged in a criminal complaint filed in Brooklyn, where he lives." Naji, 37, "is one of more than 100 people to face U.S. charges since 2014 in cases related to the Islamic State militant group, which has seized control of parts of Iraq and Syria." The CBS Evening News (11/21, story 10, 0:25, Pelley, 11.17M) reported that Naji "is accused of traveling to Turkey and Yemen in an attempt to join ISIS." Federal prosecutors said "he also expressed support for a potential truck attack in Times Square, like the one that killed more than 80 people in Nice, France, in July." Authorities, according to Fox News' Special Report (11/21, 1.53M), "say he wanted to use a large garbage truck to attack pedestrians."

The New York Daily News (11/21, Marzulli, 4.45M) reports that authorities used an informant to build their case against Naji. According to prosecutors, Naji told the informant that ISIS was targeting New York, noting that "the Islamic State already put up scenes of Times Square." USA Today (11/21, Eversley, 5.28M) reports that according to the FBI, Naji swore allegiance to ISIS while visiting the Middle East. In an online conversation, Naji allegedly told an associate "I belong to Islamic state only." Staten Island (NY) Live (11/21, 134K) reports that Naji allegedly began expressing support for ISIS via social media in 2014. "Terrorism threats, like Naji, are only mitigated through the joint efforts of law enforcement to protect our communities," said FBI New York Assistant Director in Charge William Sweeney.

STATE DEPARTMENT WARNS OF "HEIGHTENED RISK" OF ATTACKS IN EUROPE. The AP (11/21) reports the State Department on Monday advised US citizens traveling in Europe to be aware of a "heightened risk of terrorist attacks" during the holiday season. The advisory said "credible information" indicates that ISIS and al Qaeda militants continue to plan attacks in Europe, and that "extremist sympathizers or self-radicalized extremists" may try to execute attacks. The department also "praise[d] European efforts to disrupt plots, but says the US remains concerned about the potential for attacks."

French Police Detain Suspects In Terror Plot. The New York Times (11/21, Morenne, Subscription Publication, 13.9M) reports French police arrested seven men allegedly planning a terrorist attack following raids in Strasbourg and Marseille, "the government announced on Monday, sounding an alert about the continuing threat from terrorism barely a year after the attacks that killed 130 people in and around Paris." Interior Minister Bernard Cazeneuve "said investigators were looking into the possibility that the plot involved a 'coordinated attack aimed to hit several sites simultaneously' in the country." According to the Times, Cazeneuve also "said that the seven men arrested, who ranged in age from 29 to 37, were a mix of French, Moroccan and Afghan citizens, but he did not provide a detailed breakdown." The Wall Street Journal (11/21, Landauro, Dalton, Subscription Publication, 6.37M) reports Cazeneuve said the men were linked to five suspects detained in June during a security operation to ensure the safety of the Euro 2016 soccer tournament.

FORMER IRANIAN UN MISSION CONSULTANT PLEADS GUILTY TO VIOLATING SANCTIONS, FILING FALSE TAX RETURN. Reuters (11/21, Humphries) reports that "a former consultant to Iran's mission to the United Nations pleaded guilty on Monday to charges that he filed a false tax return substantially understating how much he was paid and conspired to violating a U.S. sanctions law." Ahmad Sheikhzadeh, 60, "entered his plea in federal court in Brooklyn to charges that he conspired to violate the International Emergency Economic Powers Act and aided in the preparation of false individual income tax

returns." Reuters adds that "as part of a plea deal, Sheikhzadeh agreed to not appeal any sentence of 5-1/4 years in prison or less, said Steve Zissou, his attorney." Sheikhzadeh, "who has also agreed to pay over \$147,000, is scheduled to be sentenced on March 30."

Cyber News:

DEFENSE SECRETARY ANNOUNCES NEW POLICY PROTECTING HACKERS WHO REPORT FLAWS IN PENTAGON WEBSITES. The Washington Post (11/21, Nakashima, 11.43M) reports Defense Secretary Carter on Monday made the Defense Department "the first US government agency to launch a policy enabling researchers to report bugs or flaws they discover in its websites without fear of prosecution." Carter said the "see something, say something" policy "is aimed at improving the security of the Pentagon's unclassified, public-facing networks." The Post adds that the Army on Monday "also opened registration...for Hack the Army, a challenge in which researchers and hackers scour Army sites for software flaws and compete for thousands of dollars in bounty rewards." Assistant Attorney General Leslie Caldwell, the head of the Justice Department's criminal division, praised the new policy as "a laudable way to help computer security researchers to use their skills in an effective, beneficial and lawful manner to reduce security vulnerabilities."

Stars And Stripes (11/21, Dickstein, 24K) reports Carter says the new policy gives white hat hackers a "legal pathway to bolster the department's cybersecurity and ultimately the nation's security." The new policy "will not pay any of the hackers," as "Pentagon officials hope they will challenge Defense Department websites' security as a public service."

Federal Computer Week (11/21, Carberry, 263K) reports the new disclosure policy was developed by DoD in "consultation with the Justice Department's Criminal Division." Caldwell says the new policy is a "laudable way to help computer security researchers use their skills in an effective, beneficial and lawful manner to reduce security vulnerabilities."

Additional coverage is provided by National Defense Magazine (11/21, 165K).

CYBERSECURITY COMMISSION SET TO RELEASE REPORT. Federal Computer Week (11/21, Rockwell, 263K) reports the Commission on Enhancing National Cybersecurity is set to release its recommendations by the mandated deadline of December 1. The commission "will recommend six longand short-term fixes" to "secure cyberspace in the next decade." Executive Director Kiersten Todt "said the commission will meet that deadline, but the report won't be released publicly on that date."

TRUMP WILL CALL ON PENTAGON TO DEVELOP NEW CYBERSECURITY PLAN. CyberScoop (11/21) reports President-elect Donald Trump delivered a video message on YouTube on Monday where he says he will call on the Pentagon to develop "a comprehensive plan to protect America's vital infrastructure from cyberattacks, and all other form of attacks." Trump says he will issue the directive to the Pentagon on his first day in office. CyberScoop adds that no further details about "what a plan might look like" were offered during the message.

Passcode "Influencers" Surveyed On Cybersecurity In Trump's Administration. The Christian Science Monitor (11/21, Sorcher, 387K) reports that while President-elect Donald Trump promised that cybersecurity will be a "major priority" for his administration, Passcode's Influencers Poll found that 75% of respondents "say they do not believe cybersecurity will improve with the Republican in the Oval Office." The results, which are part of a "regular survey of 160 current and former government and intelligence officials, and leaders from the private sector and advocacy community, revealed broad pessimism about country's digital security over the next four years both because of Mr. Trump's stated policies – and his own personal lack of tech knowledge."

ACLU, GOOGLE ASK LAWMAKERS TO DELAY RULE 41 CHANGE. The Hill (11/21, Breland, 1.25M) reports a "coalition of 26 organizations," including the ACLU and Google, sent a letter to leaders in Congress on Monday asking them to "further review proposed changes to Rule 41 and delay its implementation until July 1, 2017." The coalition says, "The consequences of this rule change are far from

clear, and could be deleterious to security as well as to Fourth Amendment privacy rights."

DHS AWARDS \$52 MILLION CONTRACT TO CSRA. Washington Technology (11/21, 118K) reports DHS has awarded a \$52 million contract to CSRA to "continue its support of the Homeland Security Department's Office of Cybersecurity and Communications." CSRA "will provide technical and programmatic professional support to enhance security, resiliency and reliability of the United States cyber and communications infrastructure, the company said in a release."

CSO MAGAZINE EXAMINES FLYNN'S PREVIOUS COMMENTS ON CYBERSECURITY. CSO Magazine (11/21, Kan, 81K) examines Ret. Lt. Gen. Michael Flynn's previous comments on cybersecurity in the wake of being selected as National Security Advisor for the incoming administration. Flynn "believes the government is falling behind on cybersecurity," and has previously called the US' cyber capabilities "underwhelming." CSO Magazine says that upon retiring from the military in 2014, Flynn "started a consulting firm called Flynn Intel Group that specializes in preventing cyber threats for clients." Flynn "also advocates a task force that would meet frequently to discuss new legislation and policies on technology." The task force would include members from the public and private sectors, according to CSO Magazine.

HACKERS TARGETING ATMS IN EUROPE. Reuters (11/21, Finkle) details research by Russian cybersecurity firm Group IB that says hackers "have remotely attacked cash machines in more than a dozen countries across Europe this year, using malicious software that forces machines to spit out cash." The recent cyberattacks "were run from central, remote command centers," which allowed hackers to target "large numbers of machines...before banks uncover the hacks." Group IB "released a report describing its findings late on Monday, saying it believed the attacks across Europe were conducted by a single criminal group which it dubbed Cobalt." Group IB "believes that Cobalt is linked to a well-known cyber crime gang dubbed Buhtrap, which stole 1.8 billion rubles (\$28 million) from Russian banks from August 2015 to January 2016."

ACTIVISTS, TECH EXPERTS SEE RISE IN CYBERSECURITY INTEREST FOLLOWING ELECTION.<u>Government Technology</u> (11/21, 2K) reports tech experts and activists say Donald Trump's victory in the election has caused a "wave of interest in personal cybersecurity" over concerns of how the new administration will utilize surveillance powers. Government Technology says the encrypted messaging app Signal saw a spike in downloads in the days following the election.

"COGNITIVE HACK" AUTHOR DISCUSSES CREATING NEW FRAMEWORK FOR ASSESSING CYBERSECURITY RISKS. Forbes (11/21, 15.17M) contributor Christopher Skroupa, founder and CEO of Skytop Strategies, interviews author James Bone about his new book "Cognitive Hack: The New Battleground in Cybersecurity – The Human Mind." Skroupa says Bone's book focuses on how the "cyber battleground has shifted from an attack on hard assets to a much softer target: the human mind." Bone discusses the idea of a "Cognitive Risk Framework for Cybersecurity (CRFC)" in his book. The CRFC is an "overarching risk framework that integrates technology and behavioral science to create novel approaches in internal controls design that act as countermeasures lowering the risk of cognitive hacks." Bone calls the CRFC a "fundamental redesign of enterprise risk management and internal controls design for cyber security."

ACTIVIST HACKER ON HUNGER STRIKE IN JAIL. The Huffington Post (11/21, 237K) reports a hacker who allegedly conducted "politically motivated cyberattacks" on Boston Children's Hospital is on a hunger strike in jail. Martin Gottesfeld claims he is enduring the hunger strike "to bring attention to what he says is widespread mistreatment of children." Gottesfeld wrote a letter to Attorney General Loretta Lynch and DOJ IG Michael E. Horowitz claiming he is being punished for his hunger strike by being placed in solitary confinement. Gottesfeld also claims he has been denied proper medical care and that the "prison has barred him from making calls to his family and attorneys." He says, "The medically appropriate thing to do would be to place me in a clean hospital bed, hook me up to a heart monitor, and not to punish me." The OIG "said it could not comment on the allegations and the DOJ did not respond."

THAILAND PROPOSING NEW CYBERSECURITY BILLS THAT MAY INCREASE SURVEILLANCE. Reuters (11/21, Tanakasempipat) reports Thailand's government "is pushing ahead with cyber security

bills that rights groups say could mean more extensive online monitoring, raising concerns over privacy protection." The new laws would be amendments to Thailand's 2007 Computer Crime Act. Critics "say the bill could give state officials sweeping powers to spy on internet users and restrict online speech." Reuters previews several of the amendments that "say state officials can obtain user and traffic data from service providers without court approval and can seize a computer device within an unspecified time period." Another amendment would allow the government to remove or suspend a website that is deemed threatening to national security or may "offend people's good morals."

National Security News:

REPORT: ISIS HAS USED CHEMICAL ARMS AT LEAST 52 TIMES IN SYRIA AND IRAQ. The New York Times (11/21, Schmitt, Subscription Publication, 13.9M) reports that a new independent analysis set to be released Tuesday by the London-based IHS Conflict Monitor found that ISIS has used chemical weapons, including chlorine and sulfur mustard agents, "at least 52 times on the battlefield in Syria and Iraq" since 2014. According to the group, "more than one-third of those chemical attacks have come in and around Mosul." The Times says the group's report, which is based on "local news reports, social media and Islamic State propaganda, mark the broadest compilation of chemical attacks in the conflict."

UN HUMANITARIAN CHIEF: SITUATION IN ALEPPO "BARELY SURVIVABLE." The humanitarian crisis in Aleppo is drawing coverage from several outlets, with reports stressing the dire situation resulting from continuous airstrikes by the Syrian government. NBC Nightly News (11/21, story 7, 1:55, Holt, 16.61M) reported there is "urgent new concern" in Aleppo after government forces "bombed yet even more hospitals in the rebel-held part" of the city, leaving 250,000 people "trapped" with "almost no access to medical care" as food is "running out." UN Under-Secretary-General for Humanitarian Affairs Stephen O'Brien "says conditions have gone to terrifying and barely survivable," Fox News' Special Report (11/21, 1.53M) reported. Will Ripley reported on CNN's Situation Room (11/21, 554K) that the situation in Aleppo is "only getting worse," as people who have lived through more than four years of bombing in the city "say this is unprecedented. The worst they have ever experienced."

Fox News' Special Report (11/21, 1.53M) showed President Obama at the APEC summit in Peru saying, "We are still deeply concerned about the bloodshed and chaos that's being sewn by constant bombing attacks by Assad and the Russian military against populations in Aleppo." The CBS Evening News (11/21, story 9, 1:45, Pelley, 11.17M) said the past week's bombings – "some of very the heaviest since the war began" – are part of the Assad regime's effort to force opposition fighters out of eastern Aleppo. Syrian Foreign Minister Walid Muallem said the step after that will be to talk with President-elect Trump to relay that Syria wants the next US administration "to stop funding the armed groups in Syria and to tell its allies to do the same."

Meanwhile, the New York Times (11/21, Rubin, Subscription Publication, 13.9M) reports UN special envoy Staffan de Mistura suggested that President-elect Trump's "desire with Russia to collaborate" to defeat the Islamist militants in Syria "could be effective in eradicating the Islamic State...the carnage and destruction caused by the Syrian and Russian militaries in Syria increasingly make it more problematic politically for Mr. Trump to align with Russia." Said de Mistura, "It could be difficult for any president in the United States, regardless of his own priorities, to ignore the international outrage" over the "humanitarian tragedy in Aleppo." A Wall Street Journal (11/21, Subscription Publication, 6.37M) editorial likewise says the battle for Aleppo may be over before Trump even takes office.

Damascus Remains Relatively Untouched By War. The New York Times (11/21, Barnard, Subscription Publication, 13.9M) reports that more than five years into Syria's civil war, Damascus is "relatively undamaged and functioning" – "especially compared with Aleppo." Despite the relative calm, the Times says "government employees, their salaries gutted by inflation and currency crashes, have slipped from the middle class into poverty."

IRAQI FM SAYS PROGRESS BEING MADE IN BATTLE FOR MOSUL. Reuters (11/21) reports Iraqi Foreign Minister Ibrahim Al-Jaafari on Monday said forces battling to retake Mosul from ISIS militants are "making progress, citing what he called better-than-expected cohesion within Iraqi security forces and the

US-led coalition." While he "said it was difficult to predict how long the battle would take," Jaafari told reporters, "It's going better than we expected." The AP (11/21, Abdul-Zahra) reports Iraqi troops in the eastern outskirts of Mosul "regrouped on Monday in neighborhoods they recently retook from the extremist group, conducting house-to-house searches and looking for would-be suicide car bombs."

IRAQI SHI'ITE MILITIAS CLOSE TO CUTTING MOSUL SUPPLY ROUTE. Reuters (11/21, Coles, Kalin) reports Iraqi Shi'ite militias are massing troops to "cut remaining supply routes to Mosul" and "closing in on the road that links the Syrian and Iraqi parts" of ISIS' self-declared caliphate. Cutting the western road to Tal Afar "would seal off Mosul as the city is already surrounded to the north, south and east by Iraqi government and Kurdish peshmerga forces." The AP (11/21, Rohan) describes the fight for Tal Afar as a "sideshow compared with the street-to-street fighting in Mosul," but says it "is certain to boost Shiite power." The AP also notes that rights groups have accused the militias of "abuses against civilians in other Sunni areas" retaken from ISIS.

US ACCUSES 13 SYRIANS OF COMMITTING ATTACKS, TORTURE. The AP (11/21, Lederer) reports the US on Monday "accused 13 Syrian commanders and prison officials of responsibility for attacks on cities, residential areas and civilian infrastructure as well as acts of torture." Ambassador Power read out the names of Maj. Gen. Adib Salameh, Brig. Gen. Adnan Aboud Hilweh, Maj. Gen. Jawdat Salbi Mawas, Col. Suhail Hassan, and Maj. General Tahir Hamid Khalil at a Security Council meeting, saying the international community is watching "and one day they will be held accountable." According to the AP, the "detailed allegations appeared to be aimed at laying the groundwork for future war crimes prosecutions and marked an 11th hour attempt by the Obama administration to hold the Syrian government accountable for alleged atrocities."

Reuters (11/21, Nichols) quotes Power as saying, "The United States will not let those who have commanded units involved in these actions hide anonymously behind the facade of the Assad regime. Those behind such attacks must know that we and the international community are watching their actions, documenting their abuses, and one day, they will be held accountable." However, Russian Deputy UN Ambassador Vladimir Safronkov "accused Power of being hypocritical by not naming militants for killing civilians."

RUSSIA DEPLOYS MISSILES TO BALTICS AS PUTIN WARNS NATO. The AP (11/21, Isachenkov) reports the Russian military has deployed "state-of-the art anti-shipping missiles" in its westernmost Baltic region. Viktor Ozerov, the head of the defense affairs committee in the Russian parliament's upper house, told RIA Novosti news agency that Russia "would also deploy Iskander tactical ballistic missiles and S-400 air defense missile systems to Kaliningrad in response to the US missile defense plans." Reuters (11/21) reports the State Department said the move "is destabilizing to European security." Spokesman John Kirby said, "Russia has made threats to move its Iskander missiles to Kaliningrad for the past decade in response to a variety of developments in Europe, none of which demand such a military response."

The Washington Post (11/21, Filipov, 11.43M) reports Russian President Vladimir Putin on Monday also warned that Russian forces "could target NATO sites if his country feels threatened." In an interview with filmmaker Oliver Stone, Putin said, "We are forced to take countermeasures – that is, to aim our missile systems at those facilities which we think pose a threat to us. The situation is heating up." The Post notes that Putin's "harsh words" were broadcast "just days after his spokesman suggested that [President-elect] Trump could build confidence in Moscow by persuading NATO to move its forces back from the Russian border."

UKRAINE DETAINS TWO SERVICEMEN SUSPECTED OF DEFECTING TO RUSSIA. The New York Times (11/21, Nechepurenko, Subscription Publication, 13.9M) reports the Russian Defense Ministry said Monday that Ukrainian Security Service operatives "abducted two of its servicemen, who were later described by Kiev as deserters from the Ukrainian Army." The two servicemen, identified by Russia as Maksim Odintsov and Aleksandr Baranov, were detained on Sunday near the Crimean border. According to Kiev, the two men are "former Ukrainian Army soldiers, who are now facing charges of treason for defecting to Russia."

ISIS CLAIMS RESPONSIBILITY FOR KABUL ATTACK KILLING AT LEAST 30. The Washington Post (11/21, Constable, Schemm, 11.43M) reports ISIS has claimed responsibility for a suicide bombing at a Shiite mosque in Kabul that killed "at least 30 people" on Monday. The US Embassy issued a statement condemning the attack, which the New York Times (11/21, Mashal, Abed, Subscription Publication, 13.9M) reports took place during a ceremony at the Baqir ul-Uloom mosque commemorating Arbaeen, "a Shiite observance of loss and grief that comes 40 days after Ashura." Hours after the blast, "a Taliban spokesman denied responsibility for the attack," and ISIS "issued a statement by its central Amaq news agency saying that the group's affiliates in Afghanistan had been responsible." The Wall Street Journal (11/21, Amiri, Donati, Subscription Publication, 6.37M) notes the bombing was the third major attack targeting the Hazara minority in Kabul since July.

ADMINISTRATION REPORTEDLY CONSIDERING FORTIFYING IRAN DEAL. Fox News' The O'Reilly Factor (11/21, 767K) reported that with "much of [President] Obama's foreign policy legacy hanging on the...success" of the Iran nuclear deal, the Wall Street Journal is reporting that the outgoing Administration "is considering measures to strengthen the agreement before Donald Trump takes over."

Iran Begins Exporting Excess Heavy Water. The AP (11/21, Jahn) reports that Iran has begun to export its excess quantities of heavy water "as it moves to end a small but significant violation of a landmark nuclear deal, according to diplomats and an Iranian news site." After a recent IAEA report said that Tehran had more heavy water in storage than called for by last year's nuclear agreement, Iran "transferred an amount of its surplus heavy water to Oman for sale."

US Navy Saves Iranian Fishing Vessel. Fox News' Special Report (11/21, 1.53M) said a US Navy helicopter flying from the USS Eisenhower responded to a distress call from a "small Iranian vessel" last Friday. US sailors offered the Iranians a battery for the vessel and water. Lucas Tomlinson reported that the rescue comes after Iranian harassment of US warships in the Persian Gulf in the first half of 2016 "doubled when compared to the same time in 2015."

Reuters Analysis: IRGC Using Trump Victory Regain Power. Reuters (11/21, Hafezi) reports President-elect Trump's victory "and the war on Islamic State have given Iran's hard-line Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps what it sees as a unique opportunity to claw back economic and political power it had lost." After being "sidelined" following last year's nuclear deal, the IRGC "is determined to regain its position," and Trump's "tough stance" against Tehran, "in contrast to Obama's olive branch, is expected to empower hard-liners."

RUBIN: TRUMP WOULD BE ILL-ADVISED TO RIP UP JCPOA. Jennifer Rubin writes in the Washington Post (11/21, Rubin, 11.43M) that for President-elect Trump – who is "ill-prepared to operate in the real world" – and other right-wing groups, "there is no differentiation between preventing something from happening and dispensing with it once it is in place." This should be of "particular concern" in regards to the Iran deal. Rubin suggests several ways Trump could put further pressure on Iran to uphold its end of the agreement, but, "Whatever tools he deploys must be used in the context of the existing JCPOA." Trump, Rubin adds, "should know that those still mouthing his 'rip up the deal on Day One' mantra are ill-informed, childish and/or trying to curry favor at the expense of solid advice."

PHILIPPINES DECLARE LAGOON IN DISPUTED SCARBOROUGH SHOAL A MARINE SANCTUARY. The New York Times (11/21, Ives, Subscription Publication, 13.9M) reports that on Monday, Philippine national security adviser Hermogenes Esperon Jr. said in a statement that President Rodrigo Duterte is expected to declare a lagoon within the disputed Scarborough Shoal as a marine sanctuary and no-fishing zone, which China seized in 2012. The announcement comes after Duterte met with Chinese President Xi Jinping "on the sidelines of the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation summit meeting in Peru over the weekend." It is not yet clear if the move has China's backing, with Esperon Jr calling the announcement "a unilateral action." However, an adviser to the Chinese government and President of the National Institute for South China Sea Studies, Wu Shicun, said last month that China was open to making the lagoon an "environmental protection park."

JAPAN ISSUES TSUNAMI WARNINGS AFTER EARTHQUAKE NEAR FUKUSHIMA. All three networks covered tsunami warnings in Fukushima, Japan, with most reports saying the situation appears

to be less serious than the 2011 disaster. <u>ABC World News</u> (11/21, story 4, 0:55, Muir, 14.63M) reported the US Geological Survey said a magnitude 6.9 earthquake occurred right off the coast of Fukushima, and it was "stronger" than the one that triggered a nuclear power plant disaster there five years ago. There are "still concerns around that plant," although so far waves hitting the coastline are "only a few feet high." The <u>CBS Evening News</u> (11/21, story 5, 0:25, Pelley, 11.17M) said there is "no immediate sign of further damage" at the plant. <u>CNN's Situation Room</u> (11/21, 554K) similarly reported that waves do not appear to be overtaking any seawalls or creating "anything close to the kind of destruction we saw back in 2011."

However, NBC Nightly News (11/21, story 5, 1:30, Holt, 16.61M) reported that the tsunami warnings still "call for waves up to ten feet high." CNN's Situation Room (11/21, 554K) meteorologist Jennifer Gray said there have already been aftershocks above magnitude 4, "and we'll have more aftershocks after hours and even days." Gray added that this could create "more than one" tsunami, which is why people are urged to remain at areas of higher ground until the warning is lifted. Fox News' Special Report (11/21, 1.53M) also briefly reported on the earthquake and the tsunami warning.

TRUMP'S BUSINESS INTERESTS IN INDIA RAISE CONFLICT-OF-INTEREST CONCERNS. The Washington Post (11/21, Gowen, 11.43M) reports that President-elect Trump "is involved in at least 16 partnerships or corporations" in India and "those business interests – and the financial relationship with a leading member of the governing party – will be a significant backdrop to Trump administration policy toward the world's most populous democracy – and toward its warily hostile neighbor, Pakistan." The Post says pictures of Trump posing with three Indian businessmen at Trump Tower last week "raised additional concerns about the president-elect's ability to separate his own business interests from his new role." According to a spokesman for the Trump Organization, "no meeting of any sort took place" and they "greeted one another when passing and briefly exchanged guick hellos and congratulations."

Scott Pelley said on the <u>CBS Evening News</u> (11/21, story 7, 2:15, Pelley, 11.17M) that Trump "faces a thicket of potential conflicts between his businesses and his foreign policy." Anna Werner added that Trump's personal business interests could "create unique conflicts of interest when it comes to national security." In Turkey, "where the US has been critical of the government for its crackdown on dissent and its approach to the Syrian civil war, the new President has licensed his name to the Trump Tower residential building in Istanbul." Citing Vice President-elect Pence's claim on CBS' "Face the Nation" that "all of the laws pertaining to his business dealings and his service as President of the United States will be strictly adhered to," Werner pointed out that "there are no laws on conflict of interest regarding the President or Vice President."

NYTIMES ANALYSIS EXAMINES CAUSES OF BRITAIN'S STRUGGLE WITH BREXIT NEGOTIATIONS. New York Times (11/21, Subscription Publication, 13.9M) London bureau correspondent Stephen Castle discusses the internal tensions within the British government over Prime Minister Theresa May's "self-imposed" March deadline for withdrawing from the EU, suggesting that this appears "the primary sticking point" and "is proving remarkably difficult to resolve." He considers the complicated nature of the Brexit and highlights the complications within the negotiations.

NORTH KOREA EXPERT: UNCERTAINTY BY TRUMP IN KOREAN PENINSULA COULD BE "RECIPE FOR DISASTER." NPR (11/21, Hu, 1.92M) reports former Defense Secretary William Perry said in Seoul after the US presidential election that the "likelihood today of a nuclear catastrophe somewhere in the world is greater than it was than during the Cold War." That is a possibility due to the "uncertainty" of how President-elect Trump will act regarding North Korea, according to Bruce Klingner, a North Korea specialist for the conservative Heritage Foundation think tank. Klingner says that combining that uncertainty with the "uncertainty of the domestic political crisis in South Korea, and then the uncertainty of what Kim Jong Un would do – it could be a recipe for disaster."

To keep the email to a manageable size, the national news summary is available on the website.

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TO: THE SECRETARY AND SENIOR STAFF

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LEADING DHS NEWS

Trump Supporter Pitches Hard-Line Immigration Plan For DHS

By Alicia A. Caldwell

Associated Press, November 21, 2016

WASHINGTON (AP) – An immigration adviser to President-elect Donald Trump and a possible candidate for a top government post wants to make some changes at the Homeland Security Department, including recreating a system that required certain immigrants, including men and boys from 25 mostly Muslim nations, to register with the federal government upon their arrival.

Kansas Secretary of State Kris Kobach met with Trump on Sunday and brought with him a detailed list of proposals for the agency tasked with enforcing immigration laws and securing the border. Kobach carried his "Department of Homeland Security Kobach Strategic Plan for First 365 Days" into his meeting with Trump. It was visible in a photograph from The Associated Press.

The top suggestion was to "update and reintroduce" the National Security Entry-Exit Registration System, or NSEERS, for all foreigners from "high-risk" areas, a program he helped create while working for the Justice Department in the wake of the Sept. 11 terrorist attacks.

The effort, which ultimately included the registration of more than 80,000 foreigners, was widely derided by civil rights groups who said it profiled foreigners based on their race and religion.

The document, which is partially obscured by Kobach's left arm and hand, does not specify which foreigners would be required to register as part of an NSEERS update.

Kobach did not immediately respond to requests for comment.

The Obama administration formally abandoned the system in April 2011, saying a newer data collection program would be sufficient to collect biometric information for all foreigners coming into the country.

Kobach's plan also proposes adding "extreme vetting questions for high-risk" foreigners coming into the U.S. Those would include questions about a would-be visitor's "support

for Sharia law, jihad, equality of men and women, the United States constitution."

The Kansan's list also included ending the flow of Syrian refugees into the United States. As a candidate, Trump proposed a temporary ban on all Muslims coming into the country.

Several other suggestions for DHS were obscured in the photo, taken as Kobach was greeted by Trump.

Immigration was a top issue for Trump in his campaign to win the White House. He has yet to provide specific details about his plans to carry out campaign promises on immigration but last week announced his intention to nominate Sen. Jeff Sessions to lead the Justice Department.

Sessions, like Kobach, has helped Trump craft his stance on immigration and is also a hard liner on the issue.

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Associated Press reporter John Hanna in Topeka, Kansas, contributed to this report.

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Trump Adviser Accidentally Reveals Border Wall, Immigrant-tracking Ideas

By David Weigel

Washington Post, November 21, 2016

Kansas Secretary of State Kris Kobach, a member of the Trump transition team who's been floated as a cabinet member, learned a new lesson the hard way: Don't hold documents where the cameras can see them. In a clear shot of his photo op with Trump, some of the ideas on a position paper are clearly visible.

A quick guide, starting with Kobach's Homeland Security ideas:

1. Update and reintroduce the NSEERS screening and tracking system (National Security Entry-Exit Registration System) that was in place from 2002-2005. All aliens from high-risk areas are tracked.

That tracking system, created after 9/11, was abandoned after tens of thousands of people were tracked and none of them had ties to al-Qaeda. It was opposed vigorously by the American Civil Liberties Union, which has pledged to sue again if a new version is adopted.

2. Add extreme vetting questions for high-risk aliens; question them regarding support for Sharia law, jihad, equality of men and women, the United States Constitution.

"Extreme vetting" was a Trump campaign promise that was never fleshed out this clearly.

3. Reduce intake of Syrian refugees to zero, using authority under the 1980 Refugee Act.

That was another promise, again described in blander terms than the ones given by Kobach.

The second section, obscured somewhat by Kobach's hand, contains ideas for stepping up deportation:

193,000 criminal removal cases dropped by the Obama Administration. ICE guidance memorandums adopted by Obama administration; issue new guidance... "criminal alien" as any alien arrested for any crime, and any gang member.

As choppy as that is, the message is clear: Kobach, at least in this memo, is suggesting enforcement of laws that would ensnare undocumented immigrants in the country already. It's a national version of the immigration bills he helped Arizona and Alabama pass after 2010.

The third section concerns the border wall:

in addition to the 386 miles of existing actual wall... Have entire 1,989 miles planned for rapid build. ... the PATRIOT Act to prevent illegal aliens.

And the final visible section, with just a few legible words, seems to refer to voting rights. Kobach, who campaigned for his office in 2010 saying he needed to stop the plague of voter fraud, suggests drafting "amendments to the National Voter...," with the rest of the phrase blocked by his wrist. It's likely that he's suggesting changes to the National Voter Registration Act, a Clinton-era law that allowed easy voter registration at DMVs, and which some Republicans have argued for clawing back.

Kobach's 'Extreme Vetting' Proposal Is Revealed In Photos With Trump

Wall Street Journal, November 21, 2016

Full-text stories from the Wall Street Journal are available to Journal subscribers by clicking the link.

World Gets A Glimpse Of The Detailed Deportation Plan Kris Kobach Brought To His Meeting With Donald Trump

Los Angeles Times, November 21, 2016

Kris Kobach, the Kansas secretary of state who's been tapped to join Trump's immigration policy transition team, likely didn't intend for the world to see details of his plan to bar terrorists and Syrian refugees when he brought it to a meeting Monday.

But that's what happened when he posed for a photo with President-elect Donald Trump outside of Trump International Golf Club in New Jersey. The document was in full unobstructed view, as Kobach apparently wasn't thinking about the power of a zoom-camera lens. The clearest part reads:

Bar entry of Potential Terrorists

Update and reintroduce the NSEERs (National Entry-Exit Registration System) screening and tracking system. That was in place from 2002-205. All aliens from high-risk areas are tracked.

Add extreme vetting questions for high-risk aliens; question them regarding support for Sharia law, jihad, equality of men and women, the United States Constitution.

Reduce intake of Syrian refugees to zero, using authority under the 1980 Refugee Act.

Record Number of Criminal Aliens in the First Year

Those details aren't exactly new. Trump has made it clear that he intends to deport 2 million to 3 million undocumented immigrants whom he identifies as criminals. And Kobach, who is behind several controversial immigration laws and was the architect behind the NSEERs system, has said previously that he will help Trump reverse President Obama's immigration policies.

The Obama administration has set a second-term priority to deport migrants with criminal convictions. Since taking office, Obama has expelled more people than any other president in history.

Less legible on Kobach's document, but still visible, are mentions of what defines an undocumented immigrant as a criminal ("any alien arrested for any crime, and any gang member"), the phrase "386 miles of existing actual wall," the Patriot Act and "Draft Amendment to National Voter—." It's possible this line refers to the National Voter Registration Act.

Kansas Senate Minority Leader Anthony Hensley criticized Kobach.

"That's the height of irony if he's wanting a job in Homeland Security and you're able to see in a photograph what should be confidential information," Hensley said.

What's That In Kris Kobach's Hand? It Might Be A Hint About What He'd Do For Trump

By Bryan Lowry, Curtis Tate And Lindsay Wise McClatchy, November 21, 2016

WASHINGTON – When Kansas Secretary of State Kris Kobach met with President-elect Donald Trump on Sunday, he was carrying a copy of a plan for the Department of Homeland Security.

The DHS oversees border security and immigration, issues on which Kobach advised Trump throughout the campaign.

There had been speculation that Kobach might be under consideration to head the department in the lead-up to his meeting with Trump, and photographic evidence appears to confirm that.

When Trump greeted Kobach at his clubhouse door in Bedminster, New Jersey, Kobach carried a document with the headings "Department of Homeland Security" and "Kobach Strategic Plan for the Next 365 Days."

The details of the document were first reported by The Topeka Capital-Journal, which zoomed in on a photograph taken by The Associated Press.

A McClatchy analysis of the photograph reveals that Kobach's plan includes reintroducing the National Security Entry-Exit Registration System so that "All aliens from highrisk areas are tracked."

Kobach had previously told Reuters about this idea, prompting accusations that Trump planned to create a Muslim registry.

Kobach's plan includes the use of "extreme vetting" for immigrants from countries that are considered high risk, asking them whether they support "shariah Law, jihad, equality of men and women, the United States Constitution." Kobach would also reduce the number of refugees from Syria to zero.

Bill Stock, the president of the American Immigration Lawyers Association, said Kobach was committed to restricting immigration from an ideological perspective and using whatever tools he had. Stock said if Kobach brought that push to the Department of Homeland Security he would be likely to find himself in court, much as he did with the immigration and voter ID laws he championed at the state and local level.

"The policies that he proposes, in many instances, would be subjected to challenge from those who believe in due process and fairness," Stock said.

Lena Arkawi, campaign manager for the American Relief Coalition for Syria, said Kobach's Syria plan would be "deeply immoral," with Syrians facing bombings, terrorist attacks and shortages of food and medical care.

"They have no choice but to leave in the face of certain death," she said in a statement. "We implore President-elect Trump to reject inhumane proposals to ban refugees and instead embrace the proud American tradition of granting refuge to the world's most vulnerable people."

Naureen Shah, the director of the security and human rights program for Amnesty International USA, called Kobach's plan an "incredibly chilling set of proposals that are reminiscent of the kinds of religiously based discrimination and targeting of minorities that we've criticized governments and armed groups around the world for."

"It is horrifying to think that the U.S. government is poised to go down the road of targeting people based on their nonviolent beliefs," Shah said. "And I also question the wisdom of policies that are sure to, frankly, scare the hell out of people in this country who are law-abiding and would report crimes if they saw them taking place."

The National Security Entry-Exit Registration System, which was established in 2002 under President George W. Bush, was indefinitely suspended by the Obama administration in 2011. Shah said the program was

dismantled because the DHS considered it ineffective and counterproductive to its anti-terror efforts.

She drew a distinction between the program under Bush and its potential re-establishment under Trump. "It's preceded by a campaign where the president-elect and his surrogates specifically talked about Muslims and religion as a basis for policies," she said.

The document also includes what appears to be a plan to deport a "record number of criminal aliens in the first year" and the construction of a wall along the southern border.

Kobach, who could not be reached by phone Monday, has been an outspoken supporter of Trump's idea to construct a border wall, helping to add it to the Republican Party's national platform.

Trump's transition team said in a statement Sunday night that the president-elect and Kobach had discussed "border security, international terrorism and reforming federal bureaucracy."

Missouri Sen. Claire McCaskill, who is poised to become the top Democrat on the Senate Committee on Homeland Security, told McClatchy she hoped Kobach would not be nominated for a post at the DHS.

"I've made my opinion of Kris Kobach very clear," McCaskill, a former prosecutor, said Monday.

McCaskill previously told McClatchy that the idea of Kobach becoming attorney general — another position for which he was rumored to be under consideration — "is frightening to those of us who've watched him in his career."

"I know too much about Kris Kobach," McCaskill said. "There's no way I could ever support him."

She said Kobach had "fashioned some of the most unconstitutional immigration laws around the country, most of which have been thrown out by the courts."

"This is a perfect role for him," said Kelly Arnold, the state chairman of the Kansas Republican Party.

Arnold called Kobach a "border security hawk" who could "make sure that what Donald Trump campaigned on is implemented" if he is tapped to lead the DHS or to serve the administration in another capacity.

Speaking of Kobach and Kansas Rep. Mike Pompeo, a national security hard-liner whom Trump nominated to become CIA director, Kansas Gov. Sam Brownback called both "very talented" and "cutting-edge."

The Federation for American Immigration Reform, a hard-line group that advocates for stricter immigration restrictions, also praised Kobach. He has done extensive legal work for the federation's offshoot, the Immigration Reform Law Institute. (The federation has been labeled a hate group by the Southern Poverty Law Center for its views on immigration. It strongly disputes that characterization.)

"He certainly has a commanding knowledge of the whole immigration issue," said Ira Mehlman, spokesman for the federation. "He has come down very clearly as someone

who champions the interests of the American public as the primary stakeholders in immigration policy, and he has worked with a lot of local governments around the country to provide them with the means by which they can protect their own community interests when the federal government is failing to protect those interests."

Kobach served under then-Attorney General John Ashcroft at the Justice Department in the days immediately following the Sept. 11, 2001, terrorist attacks. Ashcroft tasked him with researching loopholes in the immigration system.

Kobach also helped craft a controversial Arizona law, SB 1070, which requires law enforcement agents to demand to see the immigration papers of anyone they suspect of being in the country illegally.

Kobach helped craft a controversial Arizona law, SB 1070, which requires law enforcement agents to demand to see the immigration papers of anyone they suspect of being in the country illegally

The Homeland Security document appears to include a reference to voter rolls, but the specific proposal is obscured by Kobach's hand.

He has championed stricter voting laws during his tenure as Kansas secretary of state.

The state adopted a requirement that voters provide proof of citizenship, such as birth certificates or passports, when they register. Kobach has contended that the policy prevents noncitizens from voting, but his critics say it makes it tougher for actual citizens to vote.

"I think any proposal that Kris Kobach makes about voting rights is one that we should be concerned about, because he has a record of working to undermine the right to vote," said Micah Kubic, the executive director of the Kansas chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union. "Everything that he's advanced so far has been designed to make it harder for eligible citizens to vote."

Trump Considering Retired General Who Clashed With Obama, Ex-Bush Official For Homeland Security

By Jerry Markon

Washington Post, November 21, 2016

Two new names have emerged as possible candidates for Department of Homeland Security secretary under President-elect Donald Trump, including a retired Marine general who clashed with the Obama administration over women in combat and plans to close the prison at Guantanamo Bay, people familiar with the selection process said Monday.

Marine Gen. John F. Kelly, who retired this year as chief of U.S. Southern Command, is under consideration for the critical homeland security post, the people said. Also under consideration is Frances Townsend, a top homeland

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security and counter-terrorism official in the George W. Bush administration, they said.

Kelly, a widely respected military officer who served for more than 40 years, opposed the administration's failed plans to close Guantanamo and has strongly defended how the military treats detainees, telling The Washington Post in 2014 that criticism of their treatment by human rights groups and others was "foolishness."

He also publicly expressed concerns over the Pentagon's order in December that for the first time opened all jobs in combat units to women, including the most elite forces such as the Navy SEALs. "They're saying we are not going to change any standards," Kelly told reporters at the Pentagon, according to the Marine Corps Times, a weekly newspaper. "There will be great pressure, whether it's 12 months from now, four years from now, because the question will be asked whether we've let women into these other roles, why aren't they staying in those other roles?"

Kelly, whose son died in Afghanistan fighting the Taliban, met with Trump and Vice President-elect Mike Pence on Sunday. A statement from Trump's transition team said the three "had a frank discussion about the global national security situation," along with Kelly's experience running the Southern Command. People familiar with the selection process said Trump's team is interested in Kelly's experience with the Southern border, where Trump wants to build his controversial wall to keep out illegal immigrants.

Townsend, who served as assistant to Bush for homeland security and counter-terrorism, also held senior positions during 13 years at the Justice Department, including counsel to the attorney general for intelligence policy. If selected for DHS, she could also help Trump counter allegations that his Cabinet picks so far have lacked diversity.

Kelly and Townsend join a variety of names reported to be under consideration for DHS secretary, a crucial position whose occupant would oversee Trump's proposed crackdown on illegal immigration. DHS, the third-largest Cabinet department with more than 240,000 employees who do everything from fighting terrorism to protecting the president and enforcing the nation's immigration laws.

Rep. Michael McCaul (R-Texas), chairman of the House Homeland Security Committee, is also a top contender for the post, people familiar with the transition process have said. New Jersey Gov. Chris Christie's name has been floated, though Christie was recently removed from his high-profile role leading Trump's transition team.

Also in the mix but considered less likely to be nominated, sources said, are ousted Arizona sheriff Joe Arpaio and Milwaukee county sheriff David Clarke. Both are vocal Trump supporters whose strong views have caused controversy. Clarke, who is black, has compared the Black Lives Matter movement to the Islamic State while Arpaio, who just lost his bid for re-election is known for forcing inmates to

wear pink underwear and has long been accused of anti-Hispanic bias.

Additionally, Kansas Secretary of State Kris Kobach appeared to be carrying a written plan for DHS into a meeting with Trump on Sunday. According to one page of the plan photographed by the Associated Press, it focused in part on questioning "high-risk" immigrants over their alleged support for sharia law.

Kobach entered the national spotlight several years ago when he advised Mitt Romney on the idea of "self-deportation" for illegal immigrants during the 2012 presidential campaign. A former chairman of the Kansas Republican Party, Kobach also wrote Arizona's strict immigration law, and he has helped lead the fight against President Obama's executive actions on immigration.

It is unclear how seriously Kobach is under consideration for DHS, but he is a strong Trump supporter who helped influence the president-elect's views on immigration.

But a readout from the transition team suggested the Kansan was discussing "border security, international terrorism, and reforming federal bureaucracy" with the president-elect.

Trump has pledged a crackdown on illegal immigration that would require an exorbitantly expensive – and logistically difficult – operation to remove millions from the country.

Overseeing it all would be DHS, which was created after the Sept. 11, 2001 attacks primarily to coordinate the battle against terrorism but is now perhaps equally known for its immigration role. A beefed-up U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE), a DHS component, will be instrumental if Trump follows through on rounding up far more undocumented immigrants. U.S. Customs and Border Protection, also part of DHS, would come under increased pressure to better secure the southwest border.

Perhaps the DHS's secretary's most controversial role would be to help oversee the building of Trump's wall along that border. The wall is the president-elect's signature proposal, and he told The Washington Post in an interview last year that "building a wall is easy...It's not even a difficult project if you know what you're doing."

But experts say the structure would face numerous obstacles, such as environmental and engineering problems and fights with ranchers and others who would resist giving up their land.

Dan Lamothe contributed to this report.

What A Trump Crackdown On Muslims Might Look Like

Bloomberg View, November 21, 2016

Donald Trump plans to appoint opponents of Islam, a religion practiced by roughly 1.6 billion people, to top

positions in his administration. Both Stephen Bannon, whom Trump said he will make his chief White House strategist, and Lt. Gen. Michael Flynn, whom Trump said he will appoint as national security adviser, appear invested in a "clash of civilizations" narrative that demonizes Islam.

The implications go beyond foreign policy. According to an

interview that Kansas Secretary of State Kris Kobach gave last week to Reuters, he's now advising the presidential transition team in Trump Tower. Specifically, Kobach told Reuters that he's promoting something like a Bush-era policy adopted after the Sept. 11, 2001, attacks: the National Security Entry-Exit Registration System, which registered Muslim visitors to the U.S.

Kobach worked on it when he was in the Bush Justice Department. The

program required male visitors over the age of 16, from 24 Muslim-majority countries, including those on student, work or tourist visas, to register. To head off objections that the policy was singling out people based on religion, officials included North Korea as the 25th nation on the list. Thus, instead of being a "Muslim register," upon which American courts might cast a suspicious eye, it was technically geography based, targeting men from nations linked to terrorists.

In an e-mail, Yale Law School professor Muneer Ahmad said, "Several courts upheld that program in the face of constitutional challenges."

The system, which started in 2002, was abandoned in 2011. A 2012 $\,$

report by a civil-rights group at Penn State's Dickinson School of Law stated: "More than 80,000 men underwent call-in registration and thousands were subjected to interrogations and detention, wasting taxpayer dollars through this counterproductive response to September 11th which has not resulted in a single known terrorism-related conviction."

During his campaign, Trump briefly proposed a database of U.S. Muslim citizens. He

repeatedly asserted, without evidence, that American Muslims were aware of the terrorist plot that left 14 dead and 22 wounded in San Bernardino.

"They're not turning over the people," Trump said, "and they know they are. If you look at San Bernardino as an example, San Bernardino, they had bombs all over the floor of their apartment. And everybody knew it, many people knew it. They didn't turn the people over. They didn't do it."

While the Obama and Bush administrations sought to delegitimize Islamophobia, Trump has aggressively stoked it. Will Trump and his team be content merely to reestablish a failed program from the Bush administration? Or will they push for aggressive action against Muslim-Americans as well as visitors?

Violating the constitutional rights of Muslim citizens wouldn't be easy. "I don't see a scenario where a court upholds registration imposed on American citizens," e-mailed David Martin, an international law professor at the University of Virginia and a former principal deputy general counsel at the Department of Homeland Security. "And I don't know of any statutory authority for selective citizen registration, as opposed to that for aliens."

However, Trump's

authoritarian impulses, including his penchant for propaganda intended to isolate

specific minority groups, suggest that fealty to constitutional rights is not a high priority. Safeguarding civil rights is not Kobach's thing, either. A relentless and longtime

promoter of voter-fraud myths, he has a record that includes what the Kansas City Star

called "ugly and unsubstantiated attacks."

American Muslims

recognize the danger, but their population is small, little more than 3 million, and their vulnerability is great. If a candidate who won election despite going too far repeats that pattern in office, Muslims may become an early test case of how much Trumpism the nation's democratic shoulders will bear. As president, Trump will have power to shape events, not just comment on them.

It's worth noting that virtually anyone can claim to be a Muslim, including any of the Smiths, O'Connors, Rodriguezes and Cohens who would be appalled by the notion of a religious registry. While militant Islam is a public affair, theological Islam is private. There is no official bureaucracy to determine who has properly converted to the faith.

If Trump overreaches, civil libertarians from left, right and center will be tested. If they respond patriotically, and defend religious freedom and American pluralism, Trump's crusaders may discover more "Muslims" in the fabric of America than even their wildest, dampest fevers could predict.

IMMIGRATION AND CUSTOMS ENFORCEMENT

Bill De Blasio Vows To Stand Up To Donald Trump

New York City won't help deport immigrants or provide information on them, mayor says

By Josh Dawsey

Wall Street Journal, November 21, 2016

Full-text stories from the Wall Street Journal are available to Journal subscribers by clicking the link.

Mayor De Blasio Vows To Shield New Yorkers From Trump's Policies

By J. David Goodman

New York Times, November 21, 2016

Faced with a Republican president-elect willing to draw hard lines on immigration, policing and funding for social programs, Mayor Bill de Blasio in a formal address on Monday drew some of his own, presenting New York City as a national model of resistance and "a better way."

Mr. de Blasio, a Democrat, vowed to mount a legal challenge if the federal government tried to create a registry of the nation's Muslims. He promised to protect immigrant families threatened with deportation. He pledged that an aggressive stop-and-frisk policing policy would never return to New York.

"The president-elect talked during the campaign about the movement that he had built," said the mayor, referring to Donald J. Trump and the huge rallies he led. "Now, it's our turn to build a movement — a movement of the majority that believes in respect and dignity for all."

The mayor's 40-minute speech — billed as a major address and delivered to supporters, invited guests and 11 center rows filled with city workers at Cooper Union — echoed in theme and some content one that another Democrat, Gov. Andrew M. Cuomo, delivered a day before, also in Manhattan.

Mr. Cuomo, in his remarks at the Abyssinian Baptist Church in Harlem, said he would create a new unit of the State Police to investigate hate crimes, move to expand state human rights law and seek new funds to provide legal representation to immigrants. Mr. de Blasio, too, said he would provide immigrants with lawyers, working with the City Council to do so.

Mr. de Blasio's speech, delivered as he has begun his own re-election campaign, included several instances of call-and-response with the friendly crowd drawn from the full panoply of New York diversity, both in the seats and on the dais. An openly lesbian Protestant chaplain from the Fire Department helped to open the gathering along with an imam from the Police Department.

Mr. de Blasio spoke from a lectern adorned with a hashtag — #AlwaysNewYork — meant to inspire tales of solidarity and pride in New York values. He reminded the audience that Mr. Trump defended those values in abstract on the campaign trail during the Republican primary contests.

"We ain't changing," Mr. de Blasio said, before listing his promises to defend New Yorkers from deportation, unconstitutional police practices and any cuts to federal funding for Planned Parenthood. "We will ensure women receive the health care they need."

Former city lawyers said the mayor could rely on the federalism of the Constitution as well as established case law

to challenge undesired programs from Washington. It could be many more months, if not years, before the issues would be resolved in court.

"There is important value in reassuring people that the city and the state maintain considerable sovereignty over its own policy," said Victor A. Kovner, a partner at Davis Wright Tremaine and a former city corporation counsel.

The federal government may have broad authority over immigration, said Michael A. Cardozo, a partner at Proskauer who served as the corporation counsel under Mayor Michael R. Bloomberg, a Republican turned political independent. "But those laws do not give the federal government carte blanche to do whatever it wants with an immigrant."

Since the presidential election provided a shock to residents in the city and in many areas of the state, Mr. de Blasio and Mr. Cuomo have offered similar messages, appealing to Mr. Trump's New York roots while also presenting themselves as defenders of their constituents who are worried about a new administration that neither of them supported during the campaign.

The speeches were met with derision from state Republicans on Monday. Edward F. Cox, the chairman of the state Republican Party, in a statement accused both of a "naked and unseemly fight" to position themselves for a future presidential run.

"These two scorpions in a bottle are each trying to outdo one another with slanderous fear-mongering hyperbole," he said.

Asked about Mr. de Blasio's attempt to calm fearful New Yorkers, Kellyanne Conway, a top adviser to Mr. Trump, mocked the mayor to reporters outside Trump Tower: "Fearful of the jobs he's killed? Fearful of the bike lanes?"

That sentiment was repeated in the response to Mr. de Blasio's hashtag, which for much of Monday provided a forum on Twitter for those opposed to his handling of the city to vent frustrations, as well as for supporters.

"Mayor de Blasio rolled over for the N.Y.P.D. after they did a back-turning protest," one user wrote. "You think he won't roll over for Trump?"

"So proud to be a New Yorker," another wrote. "They should both be impeached," another said of the mayor and the governor.

Even with a shared antagonist in Mr. Trump, Mr. de Blasio and Mr. Cuomo have not been able to bridge the gap between them that, those close to both men say, has seemingly widened beyond repair. They have not held an event together since the election and have appeared content to go their own way in assuaging the concerns of New Yorkers, even as they end up finding very similar ways of doing so.

"We will stand up and say, 'Yes we are black, white and brown — but we are one," Mr. Cuomo said in his speech.

Mr. de Blasio said in his remarks the next day, "To all Latinos who heard their culture denigrated — we stand by you."

"Yes we are Christian, Muslim and Jews, but we are one," Mr. Cuomo said.

"To all the Muslims who have heard their faith belittled — we stand by you," Mr. de Blasio said.

"And that is the New York way," Mr. Cuomo said.

"We are always New York," Mr. de Blasio ended.

Garcetti Pushes Back Against Possible Cuts In Federal Funds Over Immigration Stance

By Dakota Smith, Contact Reporter

Los Angeles Times, November 21, 2016

Los Angeles Mayor Eric Garcetti said Monday that President-elect Donald Trump would be making a "mistake" if his administration cuts federal funding to L.A. over the city's immigration stance.

"Anything that would take away federal aid would cause social, economic and security problems," Garcetti said. "I am hoping we can have this conversation separate and without threats."

Reince Priebus, Trump's designee to be the White House chief of staff, told CNN on Sunday that the Trump administration is exploring cutting off federal money to so-called sanctuary cities.

Trump vowed during the election to punish such municipalities for their lenient policies toward illegal immigration. Los Angeles is slated to receive about \$500 million this fiscal year directly from the federal government to pay for services such as port security and homeless shelters.

That figure doesn't include federal money that flows to the Los Angeles Homeless Services Authority, a joint citycounty agency. The agency will receive about \$23 million in federal Housing and Urban Development funds this fiscal year.

L.A. police and city leaders have vocally protested any immigration crackdown under Trump, with both Garcetti and LAPD Chief Charlie Beck saying in the last week that police won't change their enforcement policies.

CNN's Jake Tapper asked Priebus on "State of the Union" whether Trump would cut federal funding to Los Angeles given the city's position.

Priebus said he personally feels that funding shouldn't flow to sanctuary cities, but said the issue is open to negotiation.

"The idea that a city would decide to ignore federal law and then want the federal government to help them anyway is an inconsistent position for those local governments to continue to engage in," Priebus said. Garcetti was asked about Priebus' comments Monday at a Boyle Heights event with local high school students centered on the issue of deportation fears under Trump.

"We participate all the time with our federal immigration authorities and we will continue to do so," he said.

Garcetti also suggested that programs targeting clean air and homeless funding may be jeopardized if federal money no longer comes in. Federal funds pay for homeland security, too, he added.

"We have a mutual interest in fighting terrorism," Garcetti said.

Los Angeles County is home to more than 1 million of the estimated 11 million immigrants in the country without legal status.

Beck said last week he would not change the LAPD's stance on immigration enforcement, despite Trump's pledge to toughen federal immigration laws and deport millions of people upon taking office.

Both Beck and Garcetti have said the LAPD will continue to enforce Special Order 40, which bars officers from contacting someone solely to determine their immigration status.

Sanctuary Cities Plan To Defy President-Elect

TIME, November 21, 2016

The day after Donald Trump was elected president, Seattle Mayor Ed Murray visited a local school. Many of the students, he says, were Latino, undocumented and upset about the new president-elect, who vowed during the campaign to deport millions of people just like them.

In the face of Trump's threat and his electoral victory, Murray has vowed to preserve Seattle as a "sanctuary city," one of dozens across the country where local officials refuse to comply with federal immigration orders that could lead to deportation.

"If we were forced to cooperate, those young people who spent their whole lives here would be ripped out of this city and sent to a place they don't know," Murray says. "And I think that is immoral."

The stark differences over immigration policy have set up a clash between the incoming Republican administration and predominantly Democratic mayors around the country. New York City Mayor Bill de Blasio and Chicago Mayor Rahm Emanuel have both pledged to keep their cities' sanctuary status, and mayors in roughly two dozen other cities including Los Angeles, San Francisco, Baltimore, Newark, N.J., and Providence, R.I., have reaffirmed their policies not to comply with federal immigration agents.

Trump, meanwhile, has taken aim at these cities; in his first 100 days, the president-elect has pledged to slash federal money for cities that refuse to work with immigration agents who ask local officials to detain potentially undocumented immigrants. On Sunday, Reince Priebus,

Trump's incoming chief of staff, told CNN that cutting funding for those cities is something the administration will be "looking into." But the threatened budget cuts have not dissuaded mayors determined to protect undocumented immigrants.

Read more: Donald Trump's Immigration Hard Line Would Affect Millions

"It's my personal belief that it's the morally right thing to do," says Philadelphia Mayor Jim Kenney. "But in addition to that, it's the economically smart thing to do. Immigrants helped reverse decades of population decline in our city and they're responsible for almost all our small business growth."

The debate over sanctuary cities can be confusing. That's in part because there's no legal definition for the term, which originated in the 1980s when churches began housing Central American refugees fleeing civil war, says Angela Garcia, a University of Chicago sociologist who studies immigration. A number of cities began adopting policies that allowed the release of undocumented immigrants who had been arrested for low-level crimes but had served their punishment. Local authorities believed that those kinds of policies could aid law enforcement because potential witnesses to a crime would feel more comfortable coming forward. Others implemented similar policies to prevent racial profiling by police.

Today, the term "sanctuary city" is often used to describe cities that refuse to cooperate with detainee requests from the U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement, an arm of the Department of Homeland Security, although many work with federal officials if the person detained has a felony record. Lena Graber, an attorney with the Immigrant Legal Resource Center, says more than 500 counties and about 40 cities routinely reject ICE detainee requests. More than 2 million immigrants were deported under President Obama, many of whom were targeted under the ICE Secure Communities Program, which created stronger ties between local officials and federal agents. In 2014, however, the Obama administration backed away from the program after backlash from some cities and immigration activists. The number of illegal immigrants in the U.S. has remained at around 11 million, according to the Pew Research Center, appearing to show that new arrivals have balanced removals.

During his campaign, Trump regularly criticized cities with sanctuary policies, often discussing the death of 32-year-old Kate Steinle, who was shot in San Francisco in July 2015. The suspect, Juan Francisco Lopez-Sanchez, was a Mexican national who had been deported five times before the shooting. Trump often pointed to cities like San Francisco as havens for undocumented immigrants, which he said could lead to an increase in crime. Studies, however, have shown that sanctuary city policies do not appear to have an effect on crime rates.

If Trump makes good on his promise to punish sanctuary cities, billions of federal dollars could be cut from local budgets across the country, money that goes to a host of programs. New York City, for example, gets roughly \$10 billion in federal funding each year, supporting child services programs and public housing. In San Francisco, roughly 5% of the operating budget comes from Washington, while officials in Santa Fe, N.M., and Minneapolis say federal money comprises about 2% of their budgets.

Read more: Here's How Campuses Could Protect Undocumented Students From Donald Trump's Deportations

Any changes in federal funding would almost certainly have to be approved by Congress, however, and immigration experts say it may prove difficult to determine which cities should be subject to cuts.

"Since there's no legal definition of a sanctuary city, they would have to make up what their definition is and then try to figure out which cities actively have a policy on the books that is creating sanctuary," Garcia says.

Local officials also argue that their policies are perfectly legal. The focus of many cities' resistance involves what's called a detainer, a legal document federal immigration officials send to local law enforcement requesting that they hold someone who's already in custody.

"For a very long time, those were honored unquestionably," says Christopher Lasch, a University of Denver law professor who studies sanctuary policy. "Then it came to light that maybe the legal basis for these is extraordinarily shaky."

Read more: Jorge Ramos Says Donald Trump Should Act on Immigration

Around 2010, a number of jurisdictions argued that they weren't under a legal obligation to follow federal orders, citing the 10th Amendment's separation of powers between federal and local authorities as well as a 1997 Supreme Court decision protecting local officials from complying with a federal gun control law. In 2014, a federal court in Oregon determined that detainee orders also violated the Fourth Amendment's prohibition of holding someone without probable cause.

"There are very strong legal reasons why many jurisdictions have adopted these policies," Lasch says, adding that there would likely be serious legal challenges if President-elect Trump cuts federal funding to sanctuary cities.

In Seattle, which spent roughly \$85 million in federal funds last year on programs and departments like homelessness services, transportation and the police, Mayor Murray says he'll do what he can to prevent budget cuts—potentially including litigation.

"I think for the federal government—for the president and the Republicans in Congress—to start reaching into very intricate programs that send money to the cities is going to be a big lift," Murray says. "Under the current law, we are legally a sanctuary city and we will remain one under the rule of law."

Students Vow To Fight Trump's Immigration Policy With #sanctuarycampus Movement

USA Today, November 21, 2016

At noon on Wednesday, Nov. 16, 2016, NYU students staged a schoolwide walk out, joining 107 universities across the nation in the #sanctuarycampus movement. (Photo: Carly Tennes)

As the daughter of immigrants and a first-generation college student, Boston University student Kimberly Barzola says she feels "privileged" to be supporting the #sanctuarycampus movement — a response to Donald Trump's future immigration policy that's happening on multiple campuses around the country.

"In this time following the presidential election, I think it is crucial that these undocumented folks know that citizens, students and other people that make up our cities and towns, stand in solidarity with them and will fight for their right to stay here in the U.S.," Barzola told USA TODAY College. What does it mean to be a sanctuary campus?

The trend — part of the larger efforts of the national immigrant rights group Cosecha Movement — is a movement on campuses nationwide to protect the some 250,000 undocumented college students whose futures may be threatened by President-elect Donald Trump's vow to deport millions of undocumented immigrants once he takes office.

The concept has also been modeled after a number of areas around the country that are "sanctuary cities" and vowing to enact procedures that protect their immigrants.

While Trump has pledged to focus attention first and foremost on deporting and incarcerating undocumented immigrants who are criminals, many also fear that President Obama's signature DACA policy — which grants deportation immunity to undocumented immigrants who arrived to the country as children — could also be threatened under Trump's presidency, and is a big fear for many international students.

Requesting to become a "sanctuary campus" means pressuring college officials to refuse any cooperation with federal immigration authorities.

All with the same goal in mind, here's what several schools are doing to promote the #sanctuarycampus movement. Walk-outs

At New York University, student protesters took part in the national day of action from the Cosecha Movement on Wednesday, Nov. 16, and took part in a walkout to defend and protect undocumented students. The walkout at NYU rallied over a thousand people, whose energy was referred to as "unwavering" by the event's organizer, Hannah Fullerton.

"It was one of the biggest actions, if not the biggest, that I've seen in my time here," Fullerton told USA TODAY College. "I think this signals that NYU students are ready to make waves, ready to mobilize and ready to create a new and more meaningful form of community on this campus."

Over at Swarthmore College on the same day, students organized another walkout – also attracting a number of the school's faculty members and alumni who wanted to take part in the action to ensure that all students continue to feel safe, according to Swarthmore student and the event's emcee Jordan Reyes.

The walk-out attracted over hundreds of people who showed support for the national effort. But for Reyes, motivation to hold the rally was also personal.

"I know that if Trump's proposed policies became reality, me and my people would be under an immense amount of scrutiny," Reyes said. "You can't open up any news site without reading about hate crimes against minority groups." Petitions

In addition to the walkout, Swarthmore students also created a petition, which writer Killian McGinnis said was modeled after letters of peer institutions and specific requests of the Cosecha Movement.

Less than two days after its release, the petition generated over 1,500 signatures from the school's students, alumni and faculty, and has motivated the school's provost and president to explore the possibility of making Swarthmore a sanctuary campus, McGinnis added.

McGinnis told USA TODAY College that she hopes these efforts will shed light on the obstacles that undocumented immigrants face, which she believes will only be heightened under Trump's presidency.

"We cannot remain silent in the face of a leader who promises to further divide the nation based on immigration status, race, gender or any other identity factor," she said.

Boston University also joined the petition trend, gaining 600 signatures in less than 24 hours, according to Barzola, a main organizer.

The petition, Barzola says, is one of the many ways U.S. citizens can stand up for those who are unable to defend themselves, due to fear of deportation.

"I will organize for them because I have the privilege to do so." she said. Resolutions

At the University of Kansas, members of the school's executive staff, along with an undocumented immigrants' support group called KU Dreamers, passed three resolutions in favor of the needs of undocumented immigrants on their campus. One resolution specifically requests that the university immediately establish itself as a sanctuary campus, by not complying with future deportations or disclosing a students' immigration status, among various other demands, according to Student Body President Stephonn Alcorn.

The KU provost and chancellor's Diversity, Equity and Inclusion Advisory Group issued a statement that expresses "unwavering support" to these resolutions and encourages campus and local officials to act upon the requests, Alcorn added.

Alcorn said the student governing body is continuing to rebuild its image by remaining committed to all KU students and being proactive in addressing any issues that arise.

"There needs to be a clear message sent to our undocumented students that KU will be a campus free from aggression, hostilities, etc.," Alcorn said. What now?

Reyes believes that the effort is still ongoing, and hopes that Swarthmore College and other colleges continue to implement "institutional buffers" that protect marginalized groups on campuses under the Trump presidency.

"Like any other movement, the momentum has to be strong and steady," said Reyes. "I am excited to see where we go from here and how the students, faculty, staff and alums come together to achieve a larger goal."

Columbia University To Provide Sanctuary, Financial Help For Undocumented Students

By Rebecca Savransky

The Hill, November 21, 2016

Columbia University is planning to provide sanctuary and financial support for undocumented students as many face concerns about immigration policy under President-elect Donald Trump, The Columbia Spectator reported.

Provost John Coatsworth said in an email sent to students and teachers Monday that the university would not let immigration officials onto its campus without a warrant or provide the information of undocumented students to authorities without a court-ordered subpoena.

If the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) is terminated — as Trump has threatened to do — the university said it would increase financial aid and other support to undocumented students who lose the right to work.

Trump's victory has "prompted intense concern for the values we hold dear and for members of our community who are apprehensive about what the future holds," the provost said in the email.

"The experience of undocumented students at the College and Columbia Engineering, from the time they first seek admission through their graduation, will not be burdened in any way by their undocumented status," he said.

University President Lee Bollinger said the university is in a period where it doesn't know what will happen to "a lot of students and faculty and staff with respect to immigration policy.

"There are lots of areas that are uncertain and it's a deeply puzzling and concerning time," he said in a statement.

"Where we have opportunities to provide specific policy decisions like financial aid to students, we'll think about these very carefully and act where we can."

Faculty members and students at universities across the country have been asking school leaders to make their campuses sanctuaries for undocumented students who could face immigration action under the president-elect.

The move comes after several leading U.S. mayors have promised their cities will be safe havens for law-abiding undocumented immigrants.

'I Beg Them To Release Her': Outside ICE, A Plea For Mercy For An Undocumented Immigrant

By Michael E. Miller

Washington Post, November 21, 2016

Protesters gathered outside U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement headquarters Monday to demonstrate against the imminent deportation of a local immigrants rights activist.

As police watched, about 40 protesters — many of them undocumented immigrants — marched in the whipping wind to demand the release of Wendy Uruchi Contreras, 33, an undocumented activist held in federal custody since she pleaded guilty to drunken driving this summer. Among the protesters were her husband, Giovani Jimenez, and their two children.

"My wife is not a criminal," said Jimenez, calling his wife's DUI arrest near their house in Northern Virginia "something that can happen to anybody" and asking ICE officials to reunite his family in time for Christmas.

"I beg them to release her," he said, breaking into tears as workers hung golden holiday wreaths on ICE headquarters behind him.

The protest came at a crucial moment for both Uruchi and undocumented immigrants around the country. Uruchi, who was profiled in The Washington Post in September, could be deported to Spain any day now after her appeal was recently rejected. Her supporters are hoping Monday's protest pressures ICE officials to reverse their decision.

The election of Donald Trump, meanwhile, has stirred fear among undocumented immigrants locally and across the country. During his campaign, Trump called Mexican immigrants "rapists" and promised to deport the more than 11 million people in the country illegally. More recently, he has vowed the immediate removal of 2 to 3 million undocumented immigrants who "have criminal records." Protesters said they feared he would keep his word.

"I'm afraid of the racism that is on the rise since Donald Trump was elected," said Ana Gonzalez, a 45-year-old undocumented immigrant from Mexico as she held a sign reading "Justice and dignity for immigrants."

"There is a lot of fear in our community right now," said another undocumented immigrant who declined to give her name.

The demonstration was organized by CASA, the immigrants rights organization where Uruchi worked before arrest. Born in Bolivia and raised in Madrid, Uruchi had come to America in 2002 to escape from an abusive stepfather. As a Spanish citizen, she entered the country under the United States' visa waiver program, which allows visitors from 38 countries to stay for up to 90 days without a visa.

Uruchi stayed beyond her 90 days, however, instead starting a life with Jimenez, another undocumented immigrant from Bolivia. They married, had kids and settled in Fredericksburg, Va. He worked as a truck driver; she cleaned hotel rooms. Three years ago, Uruchi joined CASA, first as a volunteer and then, in 2014, as a paid, full-time community organizer.

At the protest, friends and co-workers described how Uruchi had helped undocumented immigrants, even as she hid her own undocumented status.

"She helped a pregnant woman access prenatal care," said Naldy Sandoval, 44, who is from Guatemala. "The woman was six months pregnant and had never seen a doctor."

The work took a toll on her marriage, however. And on May 28, after drinking margaritas and discussing her marital problems with a friend, Uruchi was pulled over by a Stafford County sheriff's deputy. Her blood alcohol level was twice the legal limit for driving of 0.08 percent.

She has been held in a jail in Williamsburg, Va., since July.

Under Obama administration guidelines, her DUI conviction makes her a priority for deportation. And because Uruchi entered the United States under a visa waiver, she is not entitled to see an immigration judge.

For the past four months, Jimenez and his two American-born children, Lucia, 7, and Alex, 13, have driven 200 miles round-trip every Sunday to visit Uruchi in a tiny interview room, divided in two by plexiglass. With the help of CASA and an immigration attorney, the family filed a last-ditch appeal in early October asking ICE officials for a stay of deportation.

On Nov. 4, Uruchi learned that her appeal had been denied. She was given documents authorizing her deportation to Spain, but refused to sign them. During a telephone interview from jail on Sunday, she said she thought the protest would change officials' minds.

"I still have faith that somebody in immigration will hear my case," she said. "The Obama administration promised to keep families together. So I hope in my case they will keep my family together, let me stay in the United States with my kids, who are citizens, and my husband. I really miss them." During the protest, Jimenez told reporters that Alex, who has been diagnosed with Asperger's syndrome, had only just realized his mother could be deported at any moment. The teenager took the microphone but struggled to address reporters, prompting cries of "You can do it, Alex!" from fellow protesters.

"I have a hard time making friends and communicating with others," he said, adding that he was struggling without his mom, who "would try to bring the best out of me."

Jimenez said the family hadn't yet decided what they would do if Uruchi was deported. Even if, against all odds, she is released, Urichi would be far from safe in Donald Trump's America, he said.

"She now has a bad record," he said. "She would be the first person they will come looking for."

CUSTOMS AND BORDER PROTECTION

U.S. Customs Sides With Arista Amid Cisco Patent Allegations

By Dan Levine

Reuters, November 21, 2016

Full-text stories from Reuters currently cannot be included in this document. You may, however, click the link above to access the story.

Arista Networks Hits New Highs After Import Ban Lifted

MarketWatch, November 21, 2016

Arista Networks Inc. ANET,+7.39% shares hit record highs Monday after an import ban stemming from a patent dispute with Cisco Systems Inc. CSCO, -0.43% was lifted. Arista's networking gear was blocked by the International Trade Commission in June, after the regulatory body determined that Arista's products infringed on three Cisco patents. Arista redesigned the products in question, and said Monday that U.S. Customs had agreed to allow the company's new networking gear to be imported into the U.S. "We appreciate the hard work and thoroughness of U.S. Customs and Border Protection in reaching this decision, which validates our good-faith efforts to address the ITC's findings," Marc Taxay, Arista's general counsel, said in an email. "We look forward to resuming the importation of our redesigned products into the United States." Arista shares hit an all-time intraday high of \$94.76 Monday and closed at \$94.48, a 7.4% gain from Friday's closing price.

Guzzardi Bill To Push Back Against Trump Border Wall

Chicago Sun-Times, November 21, 2016

A Northwest Side Democrat says Illinois' values don't stand in line with President-elect Donald Trump's plan to build

a wall between the U.S. and Mexico, and he's filed an Illinois House bill to help send that message.

State Rep. Will Guzzardi, D-Chicago, on Tuesday will announce a bill that would require state pension funds to divest investments in companies hired by the federal government to build a border wall. Guzzardi said he has the support of many Democratic colleagues and hopes for a vote on the bill when legislators return to Springfield next week.

Guzzardi says it's a way to show that Illinois residents don't support the wall or mass deportations.

"I think it's really important to note Illinois rejected this agenda overwhelmingly on Election Day," Guzzardi told the Sun-Times. "Not just in Chicago. Secretary Clinton won all over this state and counties, and I think it's important to represent that Illinois values were made very clear and now is the time for us to stick up for those values."

Guzzardi also urged Gov. Bruce Rauner to support the bill, saying it's time for him to speak out about Trump's views on immigration and find a way to protect the state's immigrants.

"I hope this bill gives the governor an opportunity to show us that he is with the people of Illinois, with the immigrant community and with all of us who support that community and not on these issues of mass deportations, and building walls and scapegoating immigrants," Guzzardi said.

Rauner last week revealed he spoke with Trump in a private phone call, although he didn't detail what was discussed. The governor for months refused to discuss Trump or the presidential race, but did denounce his rhetoric, including his comments about women. Rauner has said he supports comprehensive immigration reform.

Guzzardi's district represents parts of Avondale, Belmont-Cragin, Hermosa, Old Irving Park, Portage Park and Logan Square. He said a recent community meeting unveiled a sense of fear for many of his constituents.

"I represent a predominantly Latino district and there are a lot of undocumented families in my district, a lot of (Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals) families, whose children came over when they were very young. They haven't even been to Mexico since they were 6 months old, and Donald Trump is talking about deporting them," Guzzardi said

"That's very scary. That's very scary to the families in my neighborhood and frankly scary for everyone who lives in our community."

Yes, Trump Will Build His Border Wall. Most Of It Is Already Built.

By E.j. Graff
<u>Washington Post</u>, November 21, 2016

Can Donald Trump actually keep his pledge to build a Southern border wall?

"Build that wall! Build that wall!" was a favorite chant at Trump campaign rallies. As a real estate developer, this would be his most impressive construction job. As he said early in his campaign, "I would build a great wall, and nobody builds walls better than me, believe me, and I build them very inexpensively."

Critics were as dismissive of Trump's wall as they were of Trump as a presidential candidate. The wall proposal, they said, was nothing more than a political fantasy.

But under President Trump, the wall will not only be for real, but it may be one of his biggest political successes. Here's how.

Whatever is built or is already there, Trump will call it a wall

Words matter. When one thinks of a wall, one thinks of something solid — which, no doubt, is part of its enormous political appeal for Trump supporters. But the term "wall" is actually surprisingly fuzzy. The various Oxford dictionary definitions of a wall include "any high vertical surface, especially one that is imposing in scale." That broad definition would seem to leave Trump a lot of wiggle room.

It is important to remember that Trump's predecessors carefully avoided calling any new border barriers a "wall." Before Trump, the term was politically taboo, viewed as sending the wrong message to Mexico and to the world. When Pat Buchanan ran for president in 1996, he proposed building a "sea wall" to stop the "tidal wave" of illegal immigration across the border — and was dismissed as an extremist and ostracized by the Republican Party.

But times have changed. Trump broke the taboo. His fans have loved him for it. So regardless of what Trump ends up building, calling it a "wall" will sound like something new and make his followers cheer.

Much of the wall has already been built

Since the early 1990s, politicians of all stripes have scrambled to show their commitment to border security. During that time, annual federal funding for border and immigration control mushroomed from \$1.5 billion to \$19.5 billion. According to one estimate, Washington spends \$5 billion more on border and immigration control than for all other federal law enforcement combined.

And the result? Hundreds of miles of metal barriers have gone up. Technologies initially developed for the military have been adapted for border enforcement. A fleet of manned and unmanned aircraft have been deployed to monitor from the air. Thousands of new agents have been hired. The size of the Border Patrol doubled in the 1990s and has more than doubled again since the beginning of the century, from about 4,000 personnel to more than 21,000.

This massive enforcement buildup has been lethal for many migrants trying to cross, with thousands of deaths to

date, while enriching the smugglers on whom migrants must rely. As I showed in my book "Border Games: Policing the U.S. Mexico Divide," it has been politically rewarding for both Democrats and Republicans alike. Trump is simply taking it to the next level.

Trump has dismissed the current state of border security as "a joke," but he'll soon find that the bipartisan border policing boom started in the 1990s will be crucial to keeping his wall pledge. Trump's plan calls for a wall that covers 1,000 miles of the nearly 2,000-mile-long border — with natural obstacles covering the remainder. Nearly 700 miles of various types of border fencing are already in place, and portions of it very much look like a formidable metal wall. It is hard to imagine Trump tearing all that fencing up and starting from scratch.

What's much more realistic is that Trump will simply add more miles of fencing; reinforce existing fencing in key, visible places; and deploy even more border guards, stadium lighting, and the latest high-tech detection and surveillance equipment. The newest, tallest part of the Trump Wall — probably erected at one of the most visible, urban spots on the border — would be an effective backdrop for the president's celebratory news conference announcing its construction.

In the end, Trump's wall is likely to be the latest addition to the border barrier-building frenzy first launched by President Bill Clinton, greatly expanded by George W. Bush and continued by Obama. But Trump will take full ownership of it as the only president willing to actually call it a wall.

It will not stop migrants from entering the country illegally — going over, under or around it, with many of them dying in the process. But when Trump supporters grumble that the wall is too porous, Trump will no doubt promise to make the wall even longer, taller and stronger in his second term.

TRANSPORTATION SECURITY ADMINISTRATION

Security Agents Fueled Panic At New York Airport In August: Authorities

By David Ingram

Reuters, November 21, 2016

Full-text stories from Reuters currently cannot be included in this document. You may, however, click the link above to access the story.

Officials Call For Major Overhaul Of Kennedy Airport Security, Training After False Shots Fired Incident Over The Summer

By Victoria Bekiempis, New York Daily News

New York Daily News, November 21, 2016

State and federal officials are calling for a major overhaul of security and training at Kennedy Airport in the wake of last summer's mass panic at the airport.

A special review ordered by Gov. Cuomo and federal Homeland Security Secretary Jeh Johnson after the Aug. 14 incident concluded that the sprawling airport lacked a unified command structure and cohesive training among the various federal, local and private security providers.

The panic began after a false report of shots fired at one of the terminals.

"In short, we have found that our existing security protocols and systems do not reflect the new changing reality at airports," the review panel wrote in a letter to Cuomo and Johnson.

"While the number of security personnel has increased, the coordination and standard protocols for operations have not adjusted to the increased presence," the panel continued.

According to the panel's findings, the panic began just after 9:30 p.m. when the NYPD 911 call center received a report of a large disturbance in Terminal 8 where a large crowd had gathered near the Juan Valdez Café and were "loudly celebrating" the Olympic victory of Jamaican sprinter Usain Bolt.

A special review ordered by Gov. Cuomo and federal Homeland Security Secretary Jeh Johnson after the Aug. 14 incident concluded that the sprawling airport lacked a unified command structure. (Theodore Parisienne/for New York Daily News)

The disturbance then triggered additional 911 calls, social media posts and some on-site reports, including some indicating that shots had been fired.

Port Authority police officers already in the terminal were alerted to a possible shooter and headed toward the location with their guns drawn.

Meanwhile, Transportation Security Agency agents, seeing the crowd and the PA cops advancing with guns drawn, ran away with the crowd.

"Seeing TSA agents running away and PAPD with guns drawn created obvious fear and panic," the report stated. "Immediately thereafter, passengers began a self-evacuation of the terminal."

The report found that law enforcement officers responded quickly — about 88 Port Authority and 187 NYPD cops — but were hampered by a lack of central command. Also, because each terminal had its own command center, there was no one location for security personnel to review all the camera footage.

The panic began after a false report of shots fired at one of the terminals on Aug. 14. (Skyhobo/Getty Images)

"As a result of this setup, during the events of August 14, PAPD officers had to go to separate locations to access security footage," the report stated.

The panel recommended a number of reforms to avoid a repeat performance, including the creation of a single, unified operations center with shared communications to direct all security personnel at the airport.

It also recommended new, coordinated training among all security providers at the airport and that all airport employees undergo emergency preparedness training. They also called for the creation of a mass evacuation plan for the airport.

Cuomo and Johnson, in a joint statement, vowed to implement the recommendations.

"The events at JFK were a wake-up call to rethink and reevaluate our security procedures to reflect the new, changing reality of 21st century threats and to better ensure the safety of all New Yorkers," Cuomo said. "These recommendations will serve as a national model to better train our airport workers, establish new protocols to respond to emergencies, and enhance coordination and communication among all stakeholders."

Sen. Charles Schumer, in response to the report, said he was "deeply troubled" that security loopholes remain at JFK and said JFK must quickly implement the recommendations.

Review Of Airport Panic: Bolt Spurred It, Cops Made It Worse

By Tom Hays And Michael Balsamo Associated Press, November 21, 2016

NEW YORK (AP) — Poor communication among police, private security and other personnel contributed to a mass panic that erupted at a New York City airport when loud cheers for Usain Bolt somehow led to a false report of gunshots, according to a review by a team of top security officials.

Passengers at Kennedy Airport ran for the exits on Aug. 14 after cheering at a terminal bar during the Olympics was mistaken for something sinister. Panic spread to two other terminals when news of a gunman spread on social media, and police responded by drawing their weapons.

A letter from the officials to Gov. Andrew Cuomo and Homeland Security Secretary Jeh Johnson, made public on Monday, blamed both airport employees and law enforcement for fueling the hysteria by overreacting to several mistaken reports of gunshots, instead of seeking to calm travelers.

Among the more glaring missteps: At the height of the chaos, the flight crew of a Korean Air jetliner deployed evacuation chutes, "producing a 'popping' sound that may have been mistaken for gunfire." The officials also said that in the end, the airport had no efficient way to let travelers know the threat wasn't real.

Since the Sept. 11 attacks, "the specter of terrorism has embedded itself in the national psyche and created a persistent, abiding tension that cannot be ignored," the letter concluded. "Coordination and training ... is absolutely fundamental to properly address this new paradigm."

Cuomo ordered the review after the episode raised questions about the ability of the Port Authority of New York and New Jersey, which runs the airport, to respond to an actual terror attack.

"The events at JFK were a wake-up call to rethink and reevaluate our security procedures to reflect the new, changing reality of 21st century threats and to better ensure the safety of all New Yorkers," the governor said in a statement Monday.

A review of security video and recordings of 911 calls found that the chain-reaction scare began with a call about a disturbance at a cafe, where travelers were watching TVs showing Usain Bolt sprint to a gold medal victory in the Olympics. Several calls that followed reported shots fired in the same terminal, the letter said.

After spotting Port Authority police officers pull their weapons and move toward the commotion, Transportation Security Administration agents began heading for the emergency exits, it said. Passengers followed their lead, with some even fleeing onto the tarmac.

"Seeing TSA agents running away and PAPD with guns drawn created obvious fear and panic," it said. As the result of the self-evacuation, "secure areas were compromised, which left the terminals, tarmac and airplanes vulnerable to a possible terrorist attack or other illegal conduct," it added.

Over the next 90 minutes, a total of 275 officers — 88 from the Port Authority and 187 from the New York Police Department — responded to the calls before authorities determined there was no evidence of a shooter, the review concluded.

Among the recommendations by the security officials is setting up a central command center at JFK manned by the representatives from each security entity. The center "should have access to closed-circuit television feeds and the ability to make announcements to a terminal or the entire airport from a central location," the letter said.

Democratic U.S. Sen. Chuck Schumer of New York called on authorities to make the command center a priority, saying he remains "deeply troubled that many loopholes remain at JFK, especially with camera security."

Port Authority Executive Director Pat Foye said the agency is "committed to providing coordinated training and drills recognizing the needs and strengths of all agencies, and to make internal and external communications seamless."

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Officials Rip JFK Security Over False 'active Shooter' Incident

New York Post, November 21, 2016

A scathing report released Monday on a false "active shooter" incident at JFK Airport blames security personnel and other workers for fueling the widespread panic that left eight people with minor injuries as hordes more stampeded for the exits.

A review by state and federal officials found that "existing security protocols" proved inadequate when cheering patrons watching the Olympics in a terminal bar somehow sparked pandemonium the night of Aug. 14.

Rumors that shots had been fired spread throughout the airport and via social media, leading gun-wielding Port Authority cops to respond to Terminal 8, at which point Transportation Security Agents abandoned their posts and fled, the report says.

"Seeing TSA agents running away and PAPD with guns drawn created obvious fear and panic," the report says.

The report cites an "urgent need" to coordinate the proliferation of federal, state, local and private security forces at the airport, and lays out four recommendations, including a "single, unified operations center" and mandatory, annual training for all security personnel.

It also recommends training for all airport workers on "active violence and insider threats" and evacuation procedure, as well as creation of a mass-evacuation plan for the entire airport.

The report was submitted Wednesday to Gov. Cuomo, who issued a statement saying the state would work with the Port Authority to follow the advice.

"The events at JFK were a wake-up call to rethink and reevaluate our security procedures to reflect the new, changing reality of 21st century threats and to better ensure the safety of all New Yorkers," Cuomo said.

Homeland Security Secretary Jeh Johnson, who also received a copy, said: "Implementing these recommendations will enhance safety measures to reflect the current threat environment and will provide necessary training to mitigate panic in the event of an emergency."

Pat Foye, the executive director of the Port Authority, said his agency was "committed to providing coordinated training and drills recognizing the needs and strengths of all agencies, and to make internal and external communications seamless."

Lack Of Protocol Added To Chaos During J.F.K. Scare, Inquiry Finds

By Marc Santora

New York Times, November 21, 2016

A joint New York State and federal investigation into how false reports of gunfire at Kennedy International Airport

in August led to mass panic found security protocols seriously lacking, with poor coordination between agencies and widely divergent levels of training for security personnel exacerbating the chaos.

Within minutes of the first reports of gunfire on the night of Aug. 14, a wave of panic swept across the airport as thousands of travelers and employees, receiving no official direction, took it upon themselves to run or hide.

The investigation by the task force, the details of which were outlined in a six-page letter released by Gov. Andrew M. Cuomo on Monday, offered the first official account of how fear led to hysteria and ultimately put lives at risk.

The task force cited a failure of bureaucracy, where the lack of clear lines of authority and poor communication led to one of the nation's busiest transit hubs grinding to a halt. The episode also raised serious concerns about what would have happened if it had not been a false alarm but an actual emergency.

"In this case, although thousands of people participated in an uncontrolled immediate evacuation, there were no significant injuries," according to the letter from the John F. Kennedy International Airport Multi-Agency Security Review Team that summarized the findings and was sent to Mr. Cuomo, a Democrat, and Jeh Johnson, the secretary of Homeland Security. "However, the danger posed by a panicked mass of people fleeing for their lives cannot be overstated."

Mr. Cuomo and Mr. Johnson said in statements that they would implement a series of recommendations to deal with the problems that the episode exposed, including the creation of a single unified command center to oversee security operations for the airport.

The panic started with the most unlikely of triggers: the victory of Usain Bolt, the Jamaican track star, during the Summer Olympics.

It was around 9:30 p.m. when patrons at the Juan Valdez Café in Terminal 8 erupted in celebration.

"A review of the videotape from the incident shows passengers in the terminal panicking immediately after the celebration," the letter said.

At 9:33 p.m., someone called 911 to report a disturbance in the terminal. More calls followed and were echoed by people taking to social media, many claiming shots had been fired.

Things escalated rapidly.

Police officers for the Port Authority of New York and New Jersey, which operates the airport, drew their weapons and advanced to where they thought there might be a gunman, according to the findings.

At the same time, federal agents with the Transportation Security Administration "began to run with passengers from the public area of Terminal 8," according to the letter.

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"Soon after the initial reports of a shooter in Terminal 8 were made, additional reports of a shooter in Terminal 1 and 2 were received by 911 operators," the letter said.

In Terminal 1, officers from Customs and Border Protection took a "hard stand," guns drawn, which caused passengers at the Federal Inspection Service area to panic.

Some fled the area through emergency exits onto the tarmac.

"Others returned to the gate and boarded a Korean Air airplane, where airline employees deployed its emergency evacuation chutes, producing a 'popping' sound that may have been mistaken for gunfire," the letter said.

In all, 275 police officers responded to the false alarm, including 88 from the Port Authority and 187 members of the New York Police Department.

The letter noted that as the threat of terrorism has increased, so too has security — with federal, state, local and private security forces all deployed at the airport.

"While the number of security personnel has increased, the coordination and standard protocols have not adjusted to the increased presence," the letter said.

In addition to establishing a unified command center, Mr. Cuomo and Mr. Johnson said they would implement coordinated training for the various security forces at the airport.

After the chaos at the airport subsided, scores of travelers began to question how after more than 15 years of increased vigilance and warnings about the threat of terrorism — not to mention the billions of dollars spent to combat the threat — there was seemingly no evacuation plan in place.

The authorities said that would change.

"A security plan should be developed to address mass self-evacuation," the letter said.

However, one difficulty that needs to be addressed surrounds the most visible layer of airport security, the T.S.A. agents.

"Since T.S.A. employees are not armed law enforcement, and are trained to 'run, hide, fight' in the event of an active violence situation, T.S.A. checkpoints could be left vulnerable in these situations," the letter said.

One recommendation was to add armed law enforcement to the checkpoints.

"The events at J.F.K. were a wake-up call to rethink and re-evaluate our security procedures to reflect the new, changing reality of 21st-century threats and to better ensure the safety of all New Yorkers," Mr. Cuomo said. "These recommendations will serve as a national model to better train our airport workers, establish new protocols to respond to emergencies, and enhance coordination and communication among all stakeholders."

Hundreds Of O'Hare Workers To Strike Next Week As Part Of Fight For \$15 Protests

Chicago Tribune, November 21, 2016

A strike planned for Nov. 29 at Chicago O'Hare International Airport will miss the Thanksgiving holiday's busiest travel days and coincide with a nationwide day of protests that the Fight for \$15 movement claims will be its most disruptive yet.

The Fight for \$15 asserted Monday that after the election of Donald Trump to the White House it "won't back down" from its activism in the face of an incoming administration it believes "threatens an extremist agenda to move the country to the right."

The campaign announced protests at 20 airports and strikes and acts of mass civil disobedience at McDonald's restaurants in 340 cities, including in Chicago and its suburbs. It said it expects "tens of thousands" of people to participate.

Airport and fast-food workers are expected to be joined on picket lines by child care workers, home care workers and graduate assistants, who are among the estimated 64 million U.S. workers who earn less than \$15 an hour.

O'Hare is the only airport where workers are planning to walk off the job. About 500 O'Hare workers — baggage handlers, airplane cabin cleaners, janitors and wheelchair attendants, all employed by private contractors — committed to a strike after a vote last week to protest what they see as low wages, inadequate working conditions and retaliation against organizing efforts. They are being organized by the Service Employees International Union Local 1.

The airport workers plan to picket outside the terminals and conduct silent pickets inside. The Chicago Department of Aviation said it doesn't anticipate any disruption in service.

O'Hare workers fight for \$15

O'Hare baggage handler Raquel Brito said at a news conference Monday that the strike was scheduled after the brunt of the Thanksgiving travel rush is over so as not to alienate holiday travelers and instead get their support.

"O'Hare airport workers often can't afford a proper Thanksgiving dinner and know what it's like to miss Thanksgiving with our families," said Brito, 21. "However, we respect families traveling to be together, and that is why we're holding off our strike until after the Thanksgiving holiday."

National Fight for \$15 organizers said that Nov. 29 was selected because it is the fourth anniversary of the fast-food worker strikes that launched the Fight for \$15 campaign.

In addition to demanding a \$15 minimum wage and union rights, the campaign said it will keep up "unrelenting opposition" to efforts to "block wage increases, gut workers' rights or health care, deport immigrants or support racism or racist policies."

"On Nov. 8 our fight got tougher, but it only recommits our resolve," Kendall Fells, organizing director with the campaign, said in a conference call with reporters.

The protests are scheduled to begin at 6 a.m. Nov. 29 with strikes at McDonald's restaurants. The airport protests are to start at noon.

Though the protests are in large part directed against Trump's rhetoric and policy promises, which include deporting illegal immigrants and repealing the Affordable Care Act, they also are in reaction to economic conditions that ushered in his win.

"America does not feel fair anymore to a lot of people the elites" ignore, Oliwia Pac, a wheelchair attendant at O'Hare, said during a conference call the campaign held Monday. A \$15 wage "would mean I might have money to spend on something other than just surviving."

Fells said it's hard to say if Trump would support an increase in the minimum wage, as "he's been all over the place."

Airport Workers Plan A Nov. 29 Strike At O'Hare Airport

Demonstrations also are planned at 18 other U.S. airports

By Susan Carey And Doug Cameron Wall Street Journal, November 21, 2016

Full-text stories from the Wall Street Journal are available to Journal subscribers by clicking the link.

O'Hare Workers Won't Strike Over Holiday Weekend

By Mitch Dudek

Chicago Sun-Times, November 21, 2016

Workers at O'Hare International Airport have decided to hold off on going on strike until after the Thanksgiving holiday weekend.

Instead, hundreds of workers who handle baggage, push wheelchairs and clean airplanes and airport terminals will begin their strike next Tuesday, Nov. 29.

Their end goal is to join a union and receive a \$15 minimum wage.

More than 500 workers voted to walk off the job, Raquel Brito, a baggage handler speaking on behalf of the workers, said at a news conference at O'Hare Monday morning.

"O'Hare Airport workers often can't afford a proper Thanksgiving dinner, and [we] know what it's like to miss Thanksgiving with our families," she said.

"However, we respect families traveling to be together and that is why we are holding off our strike until after the Thanksgiving holiday."

The workers are employed by three main subcontractors — Prospect Airport Services, Scrub Inc. and

Air Serv — which have contracts with United and American Airlines.

The workers want to join to join the Service Employees International Union.

Izabela Miltko-Ivokonoch said even a delayed strike will still inconvenience passengers. | Mitch Dudek/Sun-Times

"It is their intent to bring light to these conditions that they work under," said SEIU spokeswoman said Izabela Miltko-lykovich, noting that the workers lack health benefits.

There is a difference of opinion on whether a strike will result in passenger delays.

The Chicago Department of Aviation, in a statement issued Monday morning, said officials there do "not anticipate any disruption in service at Chicago's airports due to this development."

The statement continued: "The CDA remains committed to maintaining a work environment that is safe and healthy for employees and expects the same commitment from its contractors and partners."

United Airlines spokesman Luke Punzenberger said the carrier is "taking the necessary steps to ensure a safe and on-time operation for our customers."

At American Airlines, "we are working closely with our vendors to ensure there is no disruption to our operation," spokeswoman Leslie Scott said.

"American supports better pay for workers across the board, but does not believe initiatives should target a specific group or industry. We also respect the right of employees and workers to organize, but we do not get involved in union representation discussions with our vendors and their employees."

Miltko-lykovich said she expected the contractors would attempt to find replacements, but said: "There will be some effects on travel for sure."

"We don't expect to shut the airport down, but there certainly could be some delays. We don't know how the airlines or contractors will respond," she said, adding: "Anything that happens here does have a ripple effect nationally."

Miltko-lvkovich anticipated about 1,500 supporters would join the strikers Nov. 29 to march silently through Terminals 1,2 and 3 as well as demonstrate on the sidewalks outside the terminals.

There's little chance, she said, for all parties involved to reach a resolution before the strike, as no progress has been made in more than a year of trying.

"The contractors make it very difficult for them to come together and form a union," Miltko-lvkovich said. "Every time the workers speak out, they get fired."

Suzanne Mucklow, a spokeswoman for Prospect Airport Services, said the company is "aware of reports that a strike is planned for November 29th and are working closely with our airline clients and airport authorities to ensure that

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operations will not be disrupted and passenger travel is not affected."

A woman who answered the phone at Scrub Inc., on the Northwest Side, said: "We don't give any comment thank you so much have a good day."

A message seeking comment with Air Serve was not immediately returned.

Charlotte Douglas International Airport Officials Warn Of Long Lines, Tight Parking

Charlotte (NC) Observer, November 21, 2016

If you're flying from Charlotte this week, get ready for long security lines, crowded parking lots and plenty of traffic.

And Charlotte Douglas International Airport officials have another message: Make sure you leave your guns at home before heading through security.

Aviation officials are gearing up for Thanksgiving and bringing on extra workers for what's typically the airport's busiest time of the year. Charlotte Douglas officials say they are expecting a 2 percent to 4 percent increase in the number of passengers going through security checkpoints this year compared to the holiday season last year.

"Come prepared and come early," said Jack Christine, deputy aviation director. "The traffic on the curb front will be very, very heavy. ... We want people to understand parking will be at a premium."

The airport's busiest day for departing passengers before Thanksgiving will likely be Wednesday, with an estimated 28,180 local travelers. That's up from 25,964 the same day last year. Tuesday will likely see a similar number of travelers.

The Saturday and Sunday after Thanksgiving will also be heavy travel days, with the single busiest day all week projected to be Sunday. That's when 28,500 passengers will pass through the checkpoints on their way home. And those numbers are in addition to the airport's usual 100,000 or so daily passengers who travel through the terminal connecting between flights and don't use the security checkpoints.

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Guns found at TSA checkpoints at Charlotte Douglas so far this year

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Guns found at TSA checkpoints at Charlotte Douglas all of last year

Here are five tips make your holiday travel as smooth as possible:

• Check parking online: Charlotte Douglas has added 700 parking spaces this year, bringing the total to about 28,000. But most of the airport's four long-term lots (the cheapest) will likely fill up by Tuesday or Wednesday. You can see where there are open spaces and which lots are full online in real-time at parking.charlotteairport.com.

■ Leave your guns at home — no, really: Airport officials aren't sure what's behind the big jump in people bringing guns to security checkpoints this year, but they said passengers who do so always claim they forgot the gun was in their bag. About 40 percent of those who do so are concealed weapon permit holders.

"You're going to go to jail, and that's really going to impact your holiday plans," said Charlotte-Mecklenburg police Capt. Greg Collins. "When they get arrested, they're just shocked."

Kevin Frederick, the Transportation Security Administration's federal security director for Charlotte Douglas, said gun owners should go through "every little pocket," especially if they haven't used the bag they're flying with in a while.

- Picking someone up? Use the hourly deck: If you're picking up Grandma from the airport, park in the hourly deck across from the terminal and walk to meet her, instead of circling the terminal road and adding to traffic. The first hour in the deck is free.
- Come early and use any checkpoint: The TSA recommends passengers arrive two hours early for domestic flights. Any checkpoint at Charlotte Douglas can get you to any gate, so use the one with the shortest line (You don't have to use Checkpoint A to get to the A gates, for example). Checkpoints A and B, along with American Airlines counters and kiosks, will open at 3:30 a.m. on Tuesday, Wednesday and next Monday.
- Check the weather at your destination: American Airlines spokeswoman Katie Cody said the carrier will have up to 690 departures per day from Charlotte Douglas during the week. Although the forecast is pretty good at most American hubs, the air travel network is complex, and a storm in Buffalo, for example, might keep the plane you're supposed to fly on from getting to you in Charlotte. Check the weather at your destination and sign up for flight alerts with your airline to get early notifications of any delays.

US CITIZENSHIP AND IMMIGRATION SERVICES

Agency's Green Card Errors Said To Be Worse Than First Thought

By Ron Nixon

New York Times, November 21, 2016

The United States Citizenship and Immigration Services sent green cards to people that contained incorrect information or were duplicates, or mailed them to the wrong addresses, according to a report released on Monday by the Department of Homeland Security's Office of Inspector General.

The immigration agency, which is part of the Department of Homeland Security, told auditors that it had received more than 200,000 reports of cards that were not being delivered to approved applicants.

The report also found that more than 2,400 immigrants who were approved for two-year conditional resident status were instead given cards that were good for 10 years.

The report was a follow-up to a March 2016 review that found the agency had possibly sent hundreds of green cards to the wrong addresses.

The latest report said the problem was far worse than originally believed. In the last three years, it said, the immigration agency produced at least 19,000 cards that included incorrect information or were issued in duplicate.

Homeland Security auditors said the immigration agency had instituted several methods for addressing problems with erroneous or duplicate green cards.

"However, these methods — manual intervention, production controls and system enhancements — have not proven adequate to ensure quality across the volume of cards produced and issued each year," auditors wrote.

The report released on Monday comes after an inquiry in September that found the immigration agency had used incomplete fingerprint records to grant citizenship to hundreds of people who were to have been deported.

That inquiry, also from the Office of Inspector General, found that nearly 900 people were granted citizenship because neither Homeland Security nor F.B.I. databases contained all of the fingerprint records of people who had previously been designated for deportation.

Nearly 150,000 older fingerprint records were not digitized or simply not included in Homeland Security's databases when they were being developed, the report said. In other cases, fingerprints that were taken by immigration officials during the deportation process were not forwarded to the F.B.I.

The immigration agency is supposed to check the fingerprints of applicants for citizenship against a number of databases to make sure that they do not have criminal records or pose a threat.

But because the fingerprint databases are incomplete, the report found that the agency had no way of knowing if the individuals were actually who they said they were.

As naturalized citizens, these individuals retain many of the rights and privileges of American citizenship, including serving in law enforcement, obtaining a security clearance and sponsoring the entry of other foreigners into the United States, the report said.

Tech Worker Visas Face Uncertain Future Under Trump, Sessions

By Stephen Nellis

Reuters, November 21, 2016

Full-text stories from Reuters currently cannot be included in this document. You may, however, click the link above to access the story.

How Trump's Immigration Stances Could Affect The Tech Industry (+video)

Christian Science Monitor, November 20, 2016

Since declaring his candidacy last June, President-elect Donald Trump's promise to build a border wall on Mexico's dime has become one of the rallying cries of his campaign, drawing cheers from some crowds and boos from others.

But it's Mr. Trump's stances on legal immigration reform that have tech industry leaders in Silicon Valley concerned for the future.

Trump's feelings toward the H-1B visa program for temporary foreign workers – the majority of which work in technology fields – appear to have reversed course throughout his campaign, raising anxiety among industry leaders who say there aren't enough skilled Americans to fill those jobs.

After initially proposing that the H-1B program be restricted, that tech companies be required to hire Americans first, and that the prevailing wage for H-1B workers be raised, Trump appeared to have changed his mind, saying during a Republican debate, "We need highly-skilled people in this country and if we can't do it, we'll get them in." Shortly after, he put out a statement promising to "end forever" the H-1B program, calling it a "cheap labor program."

The president-elect's stance on the program has remained largely unclear since, and the days following the election – during which he has surrounded himself with advisers and backers with strict views on immigration and said that sweeping changes to US immigration policy would rank among his top three priorities – have contributed to growing speculation and concerns that the tech industry may soon find itself short necessary workers.

Silicon Valley "would be the first to suffer if it got harder to come to America or if increasing xenophobia made fewer people want to," investor Paul Graham, co-founder of startup accelerator Y Combinator, told Bloomberg.

"If you're a US tech company, your recruitment just got a lot harder," added Ava Benach, founding partner of Benach Collopy, an immigration law firm in Washington. "Finding people who want to come to the US now may be more difficult. People who have brown skin might feel pretty uncomfortable coming to the US under these circumstances."

But Trump isn't the H-1B program's only critic, and there has been bipartisan support for reform, as Schuyler Velasco reported for The Christian Science Monitor in February.

Its supporters, including the Obama administration, have touted the H-1B as a way to inject highly sought-after skills into the US talent pool. But more often, critics say, big companies exploit it to reduce labor costs, leaving more and more skilled American tech workers out of a job.

"There are literally tens of thousands of American workers who have trained their foreign replacements," says Ronil Hira, a public policy professor at Howard University and a leading authority on H-1Bs. "And the workers being imported have no more than ordinary skills that are abundantly available in the US."

Mr. Hira believes the H-1B can be a boon for the US economy and for immigrants in search of a better life – his parents came to the US as skilled workers in the 1950s – but that it needs some serious revisions. And as the controversy over both H-1Bs and immigration writ large heats up, a growing force of economists and lawmakers, are offering up ways to do it, from requiring companies to prove they recruited in the US first to limiting the program to foreign workers with advanced degrees. Workers like [Leo Perrero, a former IT worker at Walt Disney World who was replaced by an Indian guest worker], meanwhile, are starting to speak up.

Critics of the H-1B program – and supporters of Trump – are harder to find among Silicon Valley executives. In July, nearly 150 current and former tech executives for firms including Apple, Facebook, eBay, Twitter, and Wikipedia signed an open letter in which they argued that the then-presumptive Republican nominee, who "traffics in ethnic and racial stereotypes," would be "a disaster for innovation," noting that 40 percent of Fortune 500 companies were founded by immigrants or their children.

"We believe that America's diversity is our strength," the letter's signers wrote. "We also believe that progressive immigration policies help us attract and retain some of the brightest minds on earth – scientists, entrepreneurs, and creators."

Army Secretary Needles Trump On Immigration Stance

By Gordon Lubold

Wall Street Journal, November 21, 2016

Full-text stories from the Wall Street Journal are available to Journal subscribers by clicking the link.

'Go To Another Country' If You Don't Like Trump, Judge Tells New U.S. Citizens

By Cleve R. Wootson Jr.

Washington Post, November 21, 2016

The photographs and hugs and congratulations from family members would have to wait.

First, several dozen of the nation's newest citizens who gathered at the Institute of Texan Cultures in San Antonio

would have to endure some harsh words about the state of the country they had just become a part of. The topic: President-elect Donald Trump.

Federal Magistrate Judge John Primomo presided over the induction ceremony on Friday. In his speech to the émigrés, he touched on the protests that have cropped up across the nation since Trump's election.

And he told those gathered what they could do if they didn't like the person who won on Nov. 8.

"I can assure you that whether you voted for [Trump] or you did not vote for him, if you are a citizen of the United States, he is your president and he will be your president," the judge said, according to CBS affiliate KHOU. "And if you do not like that, you need to go to another country."

Primomo, who did not return messages from The Washington Post on Sunday, also criticized American protesters who carried signs saying, 'He's not my president,' including some in San Antonio, according to the news station.

Primomo lashed out against NFL players such as Colin Kaepernick who choose to take a knee instead of standing during the national anthem.

"I detest that, because you can protest things that happen in this country; you have every right to," Primomo said. "You don't do that by offending national symbols like the national anthem and the flag of the United States."

Primomo told San Antonio CBS affiliate KENS that he wanted his words to be unifying and respectful of the office of the president, not political or divisive. He said he didn't vote for Trump.

Still, his words set off a controversy, with people calling for him to be removed from office. Critics started a petition on MoveOn.org to censure the judge, who was appointed in 1988.

Since Trump won, thousands of people have protested in dozens of American cities.

Among them were eight people who were arrested Saturday near Austin as White Lives Matter protesters clashed with counter-protesters, according to the Associated Press. The conflict happened after Texas Gov. Greg Abbott (R) dedicated a monument honoring African Americans' contributions to the state.

Protesters interviewed by The Post have cited myriad reasons for taking to the streets — fears about climate change, even concerns about the electoral system and capitalism itself.

But mostly, they don't like Trump.

The protesters have faced their own criticism from people who said they should be working to unite the country, not divide it.

According to The Post's Abigail Hauslohner and Mark Berman, "Trump and his surrogates have insulted the protesters on television and social media, calling them paid professionals 'incited by the media,' jobless 'crybabies,' people with mental disorders and 'goons.' "

Read more:

'I'm planning to populate hell': Judge is disciplined for 'undignified' comments in court

Take a ship 'back to Africa': Florida judge reassigned after alleged comments about black people

This attorney wore a Black Lives Matter pin to court — and went to jail for it

IMMIGRATION

Trump Would Be Barred From Creating Muslim Registry Under Democratic Bill

By Rob Hotakainen

McClatchy, November 21, 2016

President-elect Donald Trump would be prohibited from creating a Muslim registry under a bill introduced Monday by a group of nine House Democrats.

Washington state Rep. Suzan DelBene, the bill's chief sponsor, said Trump "is breaking his promise to be a president for all Americans" by suggesting Muslims could be forced to register with the federal government.

"This kind of xenophobic and hateful rhetoric has no place in our government," said DelBene, a member of the House Judiciary Committee.

This kind of xenophobic and hateful rhetoric has no place in our government.

Washington state Democratic Rep. Suzan DelBene, a member of the House Judiciary Committee

The cosponsors include Minnesota Rep. Keith Ellison, the first Muslim elected to Congress, and California Rep. Doris Matusi, a Japanese-American who was born in an internment camp during World War II.

The cosponsors include Minnesota Democratic Rep. Keith Ellison, the first Muslim elected to Congress, and California Democratic Rep. Doris Matusi, a Japanese-American who was born in an internment camp during World War II.

DelBene said her bill, called the No Religious Registry Act, would prohibit the attorney general, secretary of Homeland Security or any federal official from establishing or using a registry to classify people on the basis of their religious affiliation.

On Sunday, Trump's incoming chief of staff Reince Priebus said on NBC's "Meet the Press" that the president-elect is not planning to create a Muslim registry, but he would not rule it out.

Look, I'm not going to rule out anything. We're not going to have a registry based on a religion. But what I think what we're trying to do is say that there are some people, certainly not all people... there are some people that are radicalized.

And there are some people that have to be prevented from coming into this country.

Reince Priebus, President-elect Donald Trump's incoming chief of staff, on NBC's "Meet the Press"

"Look, I'm not going to rule out anything," Priebus said. "We're not going to have a registry based on a religion. But what I think what we're trying to do is say that there are some people, certainly not all people... there are some people that are radicalized. And there are some people that have to be prevented from coming into this country."

A Dreamer's Deportation Nightmare

By Miguel Molina, Student at Ivy Tech Community College

New York Times, November 21, 2016

PORTAGE, Ind. — I was working the night of the election — helping ship merchandise to convenience stores around Indiana — so I kept up on the news by texting a friend. "Should I worry?" I asked around 10 p.m. Not yet, he said. An hour later, the response had changed: "Pressing the worry button now." I got off work at midnight, and listened to the radio as I drove home. It was by then Nov. 9, and the election was coming to an end. But it didn't hit me until I saw my mom.

When I got home, she was awake and watching the television, her face paralyzed by distress. I realized we were in trouble.

I have lived in the United States as long as I can remember, but I am undocumented, Mexican by birth. My parents came to the United States because my father was in danger. He served in the Mexican military, but was scapegoated for leaked information and could have been killed. My parents decided to leave for California in 1997, and a year later, my sister and I, ages 5 and 2, joined them.

My parents scraped by selling tamales in the streets of Los Angeles, and my sister and I grew up as Californians. But there was always a huge difference between us and many of our classmates. After my sister graduated, she returned to Mexico because she couldn't see a future here, blocked from pursuing higher education and a job. Her absence has been extremely painful for my family. We haven't seen her in five years.

Still in high school, I thought I would have to follow her, but the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals executive order issued by President Obama in 2012 changed my life. It allowed me to work provisionally in the United States and even qualify for college scholarships. Most important, I was protected from deportation. Around the same time, progressive states like California began to implement laws that provided access to higher education and employment. I started to dream about stability, about a secure life in the United States.

But then a gang member threatened my father, and my parents had no choice but to move or risk being killed. They left for Indiana, where my aunt lives, and she helped them start over again. I decided to stay in California where there was more opportunity for undocumented people, so I said goodbye.

I fell into a routine of working and going to high school. I was making enough to make ends meet, thanks to a kind landlord who kept my rent cheap. But I couldn't keep my grades up while I was working more than 40 hours a week. Finally, after four years apart from my family, I joined them in Indiana.

Things started looking up: I found a well-paying job at a convenience store chain and started to attend Ivy Tech Community College, where I became the vice president of the student government. I noticed an immense difference because of being closer to my family. I was doing better. I got my own car and raised my grades to a 3.5 G.P.A.

Now, with Donald Trump soon to be president, I'm uncertain of any protection for what my family has built, let alone for the future of so many families like ours. His election legitimizes discrimination against, and the dehumanization of, the entire undocumented community. I'm worried about my work permit. I worry about violence and the deportation of my parents and myself. I worry that my two younger siblings — both U.S. citizens — will be separated from my parents.

I fear that many conservative states like Indiana will push for harsher anti-immigrant laws, and that Mr. Trump will nominate Supreme Court justices who will rule in favor of harsh state laws like those that Alabama and Arizona passed several years ago. Although parts of those laws were softened or ruled unconstitutional, they were unprecedented in the power they gave to the police to check immigration status. Alabama's law even allowed teachers to question students they suspected of being undocumented, and made it a crime to employ, house or even give rides to undocumented people.

That law was also an economic disaster. After it was passed, tens of thousands of people left the state, costing up to \$10.8 billion in lost income and tax revenues, according to one University of Alabama study. Farms dried up, construction slowed and investment went down.

But a Republican-run House, Senate and executive branch, and a Supreme Court that may soon have a conservative majority, may approve similar anti-immigration laws that will make conditions in the United States unbearable for many families. I fear that all the hard-won progress to create a friendly country for immigrants will be destroyed, and the federal government will forgo any initiatives to establish a path to citizenship.

Undocumented people are not a drag on the United States. Not only do we contribute billions of dollars in taxes (and would pay more if we had some sort of legal status), we

are part of a long history of people who came to this country to seek opportunity through hard work. The United States economy needs the work of immigrants. It always has.

I am trying to remain hopeful. The next four years will be difficult for many groups — not just undocumented immigrants but also women, black and L.G.B.T. communities, and Muslims. We can coalesce around one another. Progress is made by resisting, and pushing back, by holding on to hope and building resilience. Immigrants are here to stay. So we will wait for Mr. Trump's next move, hold our lawmakers accountable and fight back.

Mexico, Central America Seek Joint Strategy On Migrants As Trump Looms

By Sofia Menchu

Reuters, November 22, 2016

Full-text stories from Reuters currently cannot be included in this document. You may, however, click the link above to access the story.

SECRET SERVICE

Protecting Donald Trump Costs New York City More Than \$1 Million A Day

CNN Money, November 21, 2016

Protecting President-elect Donald Trump and his family is costing New York City more than \$1 million a day, according to three city officials.

And those costs won't necessarily drop significantly once he moves to the White House.

That's because Melania Trump and their 10-year old son Barron expect to stay at their home at Trump Tower in midtown Manhattan, at least until the end of the school year. And Donald Trump has indicated he plans to return home regularly, especially while they're still here.

Adding to the expense is the cost of police assigned to Trump's adult children and his grandchildren, who are also receiving Secret Service protection, John Miller, NYPD's deputy commissioner of intelligence & counterterrorism, told WCBS Monday. All of them live in the city, and all are entitled to receive Secret Service protection.

"The number one imperative here is safety and security. We owe that to the president elect, his family and his team," said New York Mayor Bill de Blasio at a press conference on Friday. But he added the city will need help with those costs, particularly police overtime.

"This is a very substantial undertaking. It will take substantial resources," he said. "We will begin the conversation with the federal government shortly on reimbursement for the NYPD for some of the costs that we are incurring."

While primary responsibility for the protection of the president, or president-elect, rests with the Secret Service, local law enforcement is charged with assisting them, particularly in controlling movements of the general public.

Every president is required to have local law enforcement protection when they return home during their terms. But protecting Trump in New York City is particularly costly, given that he lives in the most densely-populated neighborhood of the nation's biggest city.

"We have never had a situation where a POTUS (president of the United States) would be here on such a regular basis," said de Blasio. "The details of his future plans are unknown, but we certainly know over these next 65 days [until the inauguration] he will be here regularly. The NYPD is up to the challenge and the city of New York is up to the challenge, I have no doubt about that."

Related: Donald Trump says SNL was 'biased' and asks for 'equal time'

The city has sought and received reimbursement for protecting world leaders in the past, such as when heads of state visit the United Nations, de Blasio said. City records show it received \$26 million in reimbursements for such expenses in the 12 months ending June 30, or about \$500,000 a week. But the fact that the city will need to protect Trump on an ongoing basis is unprecedented, de Blasio said.

"This makes [previous protection efforts] look quite small obviously," he said. "We'll have to establish a new set of ground rules."

The police have set up barricades around Trump Tower at 56th Street and 5th Avenue, smack in the middle of the city. While a block of 56th street has basically been closed to traffic, 5th Avenue remains open, although the traffic flow on that major thoroughfare has been affected.

And as Trump moves through the city, police need to close streets accordingly. For example, the Lincoln Tunnel was closed to traffic on Friday afternoon during rush hour when Trump traveled to New Jersey.

NYPD's John Miller On Trump Tower Security, Protecting Thanksgiving Day Parade From ISIS Threat

CBS News, November 21, 2016

Securing the area around President-elect Donald Trump's New York City residence is being called an "unprecedented challenge." Roadblocks, concrete barriers and police officers now surround Trump Tower, a skyscraper on Fifth Avenue in one of the busiest parts of Manhattan.

"The biggest challenge is trying to blend the two things that we have to make work as a police department: one is securing the president of the United States when he's in New York, or right now, the president-elect. And the other is, doing it on what could be a very regular basis, at what we consider

practically the center of the earth, which is 57th Street and Fifth Avenue," said John Miller, NYPD's deputy commissioner of intelligence and counterterrorism and former CBS News senior correspondent.

NYPD officers have been assigned to security posts around the property and have to assist Secret Service at screening checkpoints, managing barriers to control vehicle access.

"First thing you've got to do is figure out, what were the traffic laws there in the first place? And you know, one thing I learned was Fifth Avenue is a no commercial traffic street. It just wasn't very enforced because it's kind of a live-and-let-live environment," Miller said. "So you're going to see strict enforcement there. We're going to lose a block of 56th Street, but you know, this is New York City. We've lost a block for water main explosions and we always work around it."

Miller also said the fact that the president-elect's wife, Melania Trump, and her 10-year-old son, Barron, are not moving to the White House until "right after [Barron] finishes school," per Mr. Trump, should not change the security picture.

"The big footprint here is the president-elect or the president. Whoever that is, when they move, it comes with a lot of moving parts," Miller said.

In addition the president-elect's security, Miller has his eyes on the Macy's Thanksgiving Day Parade on Thursday. On Nov. 11, the ISIS propaganda magazine, "Rumiyah," suggested the parade would be an "excellent target" for a terror attack. The magazine features a "Just Terror Tactics" section focused on vehicular attacks, pointing to the July 16 truck attack in Nice, France, which killed 86 and injured 434.

"I think what you're seeing here is that [ISIS] is still struggling with complex external attacks in the U.S., or their ability to launch them," Miller said. "But what they're asking anybody who's following their propaganda to do, is something low-tech, low-cost and potentially high impact. So the idea of renting a big truck and ramming it into crowds is something that they find attractive."

But this not news for the New York Police Department.

"For the last several years, we have had blocker cars at every intersection on that route, very much the way we do when the president of the United States moves through town. ... You take the route and you make it basically sterile to outside traffic," Miller said.

The department has ordered 81 sand trucks as part of the security plan.

"You can ram a New York City Sanitation Department sand trucks with a lot of things, but you're not going to move it." Miller said.

No Federal Charges For Motorist With Anti-Clinton Message

Associated Press, November 21, 2016

MINNEAPOLIS (AP) — The U.S. Secret Service says a Minnesota motorist won't face federal charges for having a violent message aimed at Hillary Clinton written on the back of a minivan.

Lou Stephens, special agent in charge of the Secret Service Minneapolis Division, tells the Star Tribune the agency has completed its investigation and found no evidence the 47-year-old Zimmerman man intended to carry out an assault attempt.

But police are still looking into whether the man violated any state laws when he drove along Interstate 94 near Rogers with the handwritten message on his vehicle. The message contained profanities and said it wished that someone would shoot Clinton in the head if she won the presidential election.

Another motorist photographed the words on the van on Nov. 9, the day after the election, and reported to authorities.

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No Federal Charges Against I-94 Driver For Violent Anti-Clinton Message

Minneapolis Star Tribune, November 21, 2016

A Twin Cities motorist under investigation for having a profanity-laced and violent message about Hillary Clinton on the back of his minivan will not be charged by federal authorities, a Secret Service official in Minneapolis said Monday.

However, police in Rogers said Monday they are still looking into whether Emil Schmiege violated any state laws driving along Interstate 94 near the Hwy. 101 exit in Rogers with this handwritten message on his vehicle: "If Hillary wins I hope to god some one shoots her in her [expletive] head." A second sentence of three words included two more vulgarities.

The words on the van were photographed on Nov. 9, the day after Election Day, by a fellow motorist and turned over to authorities.

Schmiege, 47, of Zimmerman, said, "The way it was worded, it cannot be construed as any kind of a threat. It's only a wish, which falls under freedom of speech. ... I don't regret it at all."

Lou Stephens, special agent in charge for the Secret Service in Minneapolis, said, "We have completed our investigation and didn't uncover any evidence that [he] intended to carry out an assault attempt. ... Our investigation is now closed."

Schmiege described the members of the Secret Service who contacted him as "more cordial and nicer than I

expected. Good people; at least the ones I talked to, and very understanding of my feelings of the situation."

Rogers Police Chief Jeff Beahen said Monday he's still trying to reach Schmiege so he can determine whether a charge of disorderly conduct or some other offense is warranted.

As far as a possible charge of disorderly conduct, Schmiege said, "You got a million Americans out there that have bumper stickers on their cars [with] swear words on them, and you can't [classify] that as disorderly conduct."

NATIONAL PROTECTION AND PROGRAMS

Editorial: State Could Have Avoided The Real ID/MVD Mess

Albuquerque (NM) Journal, November 22, 2016

Here's a guess that the folks who run the New Mexico Motor Vehicle Division are not Black Friday shoppers, but the folks who scramble on Christmas Eve to find the gifts they need.

And while it's on you if come Christmas morning everyone around your tree opens gas station chimichangas and air fresheners, it's on MVD that far too many New Mexicans are going into the holidays scrambling to comply with the new Real-ID license and ID law.

Real ID was passed by Congress in 2005 after 18 of 19 terrorists used state-issued driver's licenses to board planes and then crash them into the World Trade Center towers, the Pentagon and, thwarted by heroic passengers, a field in Pennsylvania on Sept. 11, 2001. In fact, Robert Thibadeau, director of Carnegie Mellon's Internet Security laboratory, has said "the 19 terrorists on Sept. 11 were holding 63 state driver's licenses for identification."

After numerous delays, the federal law took effect this year, and the New Mexico Legislature passed, and the governor signed, legislation to put the state into compliance by requiring certain documents for new or renewed licenses and IDs.

N.M. Taxation and Revenue Secretary Demesia Padilla, who oversees MVD, says her agency had radio spots and sent out news releases in English and Spanish in July and August about the changes, which kicked in last week.

That message "got drowned out by politics," she says.

And now MVD, like the gas station holiday shopper, is drowning in criticism. Because just as not everyone likes gas station chimichangas or air fresheners, not everyone listens to the radio at the precise time the Tax & Rev secretary calls in.

People read newspapers. They watch television. They use social media. They drive past billboards. And all of these

folks would have benefited from the simple message that when they go in to get a new license or renew their current one, things have changed and they need to bring their Social Security card, birth certificate, and two bank/utility statements that show their residential address.

There are some other acceptable documents, but those are the most common types accepted under the new system.

And ensuring that the vast majority of residents understood what is now required would have freed MVD up to field – early and often – the nonroutine cases, including from folks like the ones who have called the Journal because they have never had a birth certificate because they were born at home or at a time when Jim Crow laws did not provide them for newborns of color.

Padilla clearly thought the Real ID changes were significant and complex enough that she required all MVD staff, managers and partners to attend at least two days of inclass training, and she handed out revised manuals and accepted document lists.

Those lists, which MVD finally linked to from its homepage on Nov. 16 – after it had started issuing licenses – cover the four types of IDs the department now issues (Real ID licenses and ID cards accepted for federal purposes as well as non-compliant licenses and ID cards) and the three categories of ID required to get them (ID number, proof of ID and proof of residency).

It's all important information, and compliance is required by state and federal law in an effort to prevent easy access to those who would do our country harm. Getting at least the basics of the new requirements out to the public as soon as possible after Gov. Susana Martinez signed the enabling legislation in March could have, would have, should have prevented much of the confusion and avoided multiple trips to the MVD New Mexicans are now experiencing.

Instead, it is like it's Christmas Eve and we're all at the gas station.

OFFICE OF HEALTH AFFAIRS

America Is Unprepared For The Bioterror Threat Of Gene Editing

Vocativ, November 21, 2016

For all its national security focus on terrorism, America is deeply unprepared for future terror threats that could come from emerging biotechnologies, says an Obama administration advisory committee.

The President's Council of Advisors on Science and Technology (PCAST) recently issued a public letter to the administration, calling for a renewed and expansive biodefense strategy. While noting that the world has had to contend with plenty of natural microbial threats, such as the Zika virus, the letter highlights the dangers in new,

"exponential" advances in bioengineering if maliciously or improperly used. These involve everything from relatively cheap, speedy gene-editing methods like CRISPR to techniques that now allow scientists to create synthetic DNA from scratch.

"Relatively straightforward examples of misuse would include the modification of pathogens to overcome existing immunity or to be resistant to available drugs," the council offered as a possibility in their letter. For example, CRIPSR technology, which allows scientists to selectively and precisely edit DNA in living cells, could theoretically allow terrorists to craft viruses that damage, repress, or modify important human cell genes with sleek precision, while microchips could carry the portable DNA blueprints of a synthesized living or viral bioweapon.

Although the 19-member group was quick to note that even creating a "truly novel and effective" supergerm would be hard and likely impossible for any non-state sponsored terrorist group to do right now, they're hardly the first to sound an alarm over the potential threat of these much-heralded technologies.

This September, the Pentagon's Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency (DARPA) announced their Safe Genes program, a research initiative aimed at developing ways to contain accidents created by "gene drive" technology. Gene drives could allow scientists to quickly propagate a new genetic trait through a population by eliminating the randomness of gene inheritance. One of its major applications, for instance, would allow a gene that prevents mosquitos from carrying malaria to be passed down between generations 100 percent of the time, rather than the normal 50-50 shot. This could help quickly end the threat of malaria around the world, but the chances of some scary mutation in the modified genes aren't nil–and there would be no way to control it after it's released.

And in May, National Intelligence Director James Clapper and his office named gene-editing technology a "major threat to the security of the United States, its deployed troops, and allies," in their latest Worldwide Threat Assessment of the U.S. Intelligence Community.

The scientific community, for its part, has largely preached restraint with CRISPR technology and its ilk. Many scientists have called for a uniform ban on the practice of using CRISPR to edit human sperm or egg cells. Gene edits in these cells would allow the creation of so-called designer babies who could pass their changes down to the next generation, a process we might have little control over.

The major theme underlying these warnings is that our capacity for bioengineering has outpaced our ability to prepare for the many things that could go wrong. And on top of these new concerns is the underlying reality that we're not even that great at currently containing emerging natural diseases, such as the Zika or Ebola viruses.

PCAST has recommended several short- and long-term actions to better prepare for natural and man-made germ threats. These include creating a new federal position to coordinate a collaborative national biodefense strategy, the implementation of a \$2 billion "rainy day fund" for public health emergencies, and a yearly \$250 million investment in "medical countermeasures," with a long-term decade-long goal of being able to design, manufacture, and deploy vaccines within 6 months' time. Echoing their earlier 2014 report on antibiotic resistance, they've also called for strengthening disease surveillance efforts and streamlining the development of new antibiotics.

President-Elect Donald Trump, in case you're wondering, hasn't spoken much about bioterrorism. During the GOP debate in September 2015, though, he took a moment to say vaccines were causing an "autism epidemic," a debunked claim he's repeatedly supported over the years. During the lead-up to his first presidential run under the Reform Party way back in 1999, he did outline how he would fight germ warfare if elected, in his companion book, "The America We Deserve." According to excerpts detailed by the Independent, Trump called for the stockpiling of antibiotics in major cities, sensors to detect biological devices, and poaching Russian scientists away from foreign terrorist groups.

As for how he planned to fund these and other counterterrorism measures?

"Imagine this for a second: The (Trump) National Security Lottery would sell tickets just like in a Powerball Lottery, but dedicate every cent to funding an anti-terrorism campaign," he wrote. "Talk about a good reason to buy a lottery ticket."

TERRORISM INVESTIGATIONS

Investigators: Killing Of 3 US Soldiers In Jordan Appears To Have Been Deliberate

By Joby Warrick And Thomas Gibbons-Neff Washington Post, November 21, 2016

Officials investigating the slayings of three U.S. soldiers in Jordan this month say they now know precisely how the Americans were killed but still lack a clear explanation for why a Jordanian guard opened fire on the men as they returned to their base from a training mission.

Surveillance video and witness accounts confirm that the soldiers from the 5th Special Forces Group were shot without provocation as they prepared to enter Prince Faisal Air Base in southern Jordan on Nov. 4. Yet, more than two weeks later, no information has emerged linking the guard to extremist groups or causes, according to U.S. and Middle Eastern officials familiar with the ongoing probe.

The shooter, who was critically wounded in an exchange of fire with the Americans, has remained in an induced coma in a Jordanian hospital since the incident. A team of investigators led by the FBI has conducted an extensive search for possible connections to terrorist groups, interviewing relatives and associates and scouring the man's computer and cellphone, so far without finding links to jihadists or even evidence of strong religious views, the officials said, speaking on the condition of anonymity to discuss an ongoing investigation.

The absence of such evidence has hampered efforts to determine whether the shooting was an act of jihadist-inspired terrorism or was triggered by a grudge, mental illness or some other cause, said a senior Middle Eastern security official briefed on the preliminary findings.

What appears certain, however, is that the guard fired deliberately and repeatedly at the Americans, shooting one of them as the victim tried to take cover, the official said. "What we don't know at this point is what exactly set him off," said the official.

The Defense Department and the CIA both declined to comment on the investigation.

The soldiers — Staff Sgt. Matthew Lewellen, Staff Sgt. Kevin McEnroe and Staff Sgt. James Moriarty, all based at Fort Campbell, Ky. — were detailed to a CIA-led training program for Syrian opposition fighters at the time of the incident. All were killed as their convoy was preparing to enter the Jordanian facility near the village of al-Jafr, in what is believed to be the deadliest single incident involving a CIA team since December 2009, when seven officers and contractors were killed in a suicide bombing in Khost, Afghanistan.

Jordanian officials earlier suggested that the shooting might have been triggered by an accidental gun discharge or a failure by the Americans to follow established security protocols for entering the military base, about 150 miles south of Amman, U.S. and Middle Eastern officials said. But evidence from the surveillance video and surviving witnesses has all but ruled out the possibility that a misunderstanding caused the event, the officials said.

A spokesman for the U.S. Embassy in Jordan said in a statement last week that there was "absolutely no credible evidence" that the Americans had violated security procedures at the gate. He added that all possible motives, including terrorism, were still being explored.

One official familiar with the surveillance video said it shows the convoy's lead vehicle being cleared through the gate. But as the second vehicle approaches the barrier, bullets are seen to rip through the windshield, hitting the two occupants inside.

Two U.S. soldiers then leap from other vehicles in the convoy to take cover behind a concrete blast wall. But the Jordanian guard, wearing body armor and carrying his

assault rifle, is seen in the video to charge toward the Americans, firing several bursts into one of them. The fourth U.S. soldier then fires back at the guard with his pistol, hitting him several times, the official said.

The wounded Jordanian was described by investigators as a seasoned noncommissioned officer and father of three children, with a clean record and extensive experience on the base.

Jim Moriarty, father of slain Staff Sgt. James Moriarty, said he has been briefed on some details of the attack but is still waiting to learn how his son could have been killed at a secure military facility while transiting a gate he and his comrades used regularly.

"They lived on this base, they went through that gate all the time," Moriarty said in an interview. "I got no rational explanation for what happened other than that this guy killed these Americans on purpose."

Moriarty said he had been skeptical of the earlier stories about an accidental discharge by one of the Americans' weapons, noting that the soldiers were highly skilled experts who were in Jordan to train Syrians on the use of firearms. But he added, "I want the truth to come out, whatever the truth is."

Terror Finance Abroad Touches Thanksgiving At Home

By Rob Barry And Christopher S. Stewart Wall Street Journal, November 21, 2016

Full-text stories from the Wall Street Journal are available to Journal subscribers by clicking the link.

Yemeni Man Charged In U.S. With Trying To Support Islamic State

By Nate Raymond

Reuters, November 21, 2016

Full-text stories from Reuters currently cannot be included in this document. You may, however, click the link above to access the story.

FBI Arrests Brooklyn Uber Driver Who Joined ISIS In Hopes Of Planning Nice-style Terror Attack In Times Square

By John Marzulli, New York Daily News New York Daily News, November 21, 2016

An Uber cab driver from Brooklyn was arrested Monday on federal charges that he allegedly traveled to Turkey and Yemen last year to join ISIS and expressed support for a Nice-style attack with a garbage truck in Times Square, authorities said.

Mohamed Rafik Naji, 37, revealed his support of the terrorist organization on his Facebook page, including a photo of an ISIS flag, videos of jihadists engaged in fighting, and a

YouTube link of an ISIS spokesman exhorting attacks on Western targets, according to court papers.

Last summer, Naji allegedly expressed support to an informant for carrying out a deadly attack in Times Square with a garbage truck crushing pedestrian just like the ISIS truck attack in Nice, France in July.

"They (ISIS) want an operation in Times Square," Naji told the informant on July 19.

"They want an operation in Times Square, reconnaissance groups already put out a scene, the Islamic State already put up scenes of Times Square ... I said that was an indication for whoever is smart to know."

Gov. Cuomo said in a statement that New Yorkers "must remain vigilant in the face of hate and intolerance" and noted that authorities do not have any specific terrorist threat at the present time.

78 photos view gallery (Graphic Images) Dozens dead after a truck plows into a crowd in Nice, France

Defense lawyer Susan Kellman cautioned against jumping to conclusions about the Times Square comments attributed to Naji. "We don't know if he actually said those words if or if they were fed to him by the confidential source," Kellman said.

Previously, Naji had been persistent in his efforts to join ISIS, Brooklyn U.S. Attorney Robert Capers pointed out. Naji apparently made it to the ISIS battlefield in his Yemeni homeland.

He allegedly emailed his wife from Yemen in March 2015 that "it's very hard to get in I'm on my 5 (sic) try ... keep trying if not m have to go from somewhere else."

Naji sent the wife another email from Yemen on April 21, 2015 with the subject line, "First day on the job," and a video attached in which gunfire could be heard, according to the complaint unsealed in Brooklyn Federal Court.

The unidentified wife was also wiring thousands of dollars to Naji to support his adventure.

French police forces and forensic officers stand next to a truck that ran into a crowd on July 15, 2016. (ERIC GAILLARD/REUTERS)

He is charged with attempting to provide material support to a terrorist organization.

The feds made the arrest three days before Thanksgiving as the NYPD remains on high alert for an ISIS inspired attack at the holiday parade. ISIS recently published an alarming article in its English language magazine calling the parade an "excellent target."

The Thanksgiving Parade is not mentioned in Naji's complaint, but the court papers note that "jihadist propaganda has long counseled followers to commit acts of violence like the one describe by Naji."

Naji appeared briefly in Brooklyn Federal Court wearing a black sweatshirt and black basketball shorts. He was also dressed all in black attire in selfie photo he emailed his wife

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from Yemen, but in that photo he was wearing a tactical vest, armed with a large knife and the lower half of his face was covered with a black and gray bandana, court papers state.

Magistrate Judge Robert Levy ordered Naji held without bail. Naji has a wife and three children in Yemen, and another wife with whom he is estranged in New York, Kellman said.

Brooklyn, N.Y., Man Arrested For Trying To Aid Islamic State

By Melanie Eversley

USA Today, November 21, 2016

NEW YORK – A Brooklyn man is charged with trying to provide material support to the terrorist organization Islamic State, according to a complaint filed in federal court in New York City on Monday.

Mohamed Rafik Naji, 37, of Brooklyn, N.Y., was scheduled to appear Monday afternoon in federal court for the Eastern District of New York in downtown Brooklyn.

Robert Capers, U.S. attorney for the Eastern District of New York, said in a statement that Naji "attempted to join ISIL and support its terrorist objectives."

According to a statement released by the Justice Department, Naji expressed support for the terror attack in Nice, France, that took place in July, and liked the idea of a similar attack in Times Square.

Naji's support for Islamic State began with social media posts back in 2014 and a trip to Yemen in 2015, during which he proclaimed allegiance to the terrorist organization, said William Sweeney, assistant director in charge of the FBI's New York field office.

During that six-month trip that began in March 2015, Naji tried to join ISIL and attempted multiple times to travel to areas controlled by the organization. when he returned to the United States months later, he continued to express his support for ISIL, according to the complaint.

In an online conversation, Naji told an associate, "I belong to Islamic state only," according to the complaint.

After he returned to the United States in September 2015, Naji continued expressing his support for ISIL and violent overthrow of the government.

Brooklyn Man Arrested In Connection To Times Square Terrorist Plot

Staten Island (NY) Live, November 21, 2016

STATEN ISLAND, N.Y. – A Brooklyn man was arrested Monday for allegedly attempting to provide material support to the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) in a Times Square terrorist plot, authorities said.

Mohamed Rafik Naji, 37, allegedly travelled from New York to Yemen in March 2015 with the hope of joining the terrorist group, according to a media release from the Department of Justice.

"As alleged, the defendant expressed a devotion to join ISIL through both conversation and social media, traveling to Yemen in an effort to join their ranks," NYPD Commissioner James O'Neill said.

Naji, a permanent resident of the United States, allegedly began using social media to display his support for ISIS in December 2014.

He told an associate in the United States via email that the March 2015 trip to Yemen was his fifth attempt to reach territory controlled by the terrorist group, according to the release.

Following the terrorist attack in Nice, France in July, Naji allegedly expressed support for a similar attack in Times Square.

Governor Andrew Cuomo issued a statement Monday evening saying there were no specific threats to public safety in the city, but that his office would continue to work aggressively with all local and federal partners.

"The arrest of Mohamed Rafik Naji on charges he provided material support to ISIL is a sharp reminder of the evolving threat of global terrorism," Cuomo said, "New York must remain vigilant in the face of hate and intolerance, and continue to advance the core values of democracy that this state and nation were founded upon."

FBI Assistant Director in Charge of the New York Field Office William Sweeney said Naji told a confidential source "I belong to Islamic State only" in an online conversation.

"He continued to express support for ISIL and violent jihad upon his return in the US months later," Sweeney said. "Terrorism threats, like Naji, are only mitigated through the joint efforts of law enforcement to protect our communities."

State Dept. Warns Of "Heightened Risk" Of Attacks In Europe

Associated Press, November 21, 2016

WASHINGTON (AP) – The State Department is advising U.S. citizens traveling in Europe to be aware of a "heightened risk of terrorist attacks" during the holiday season.

The advisory issued Monday says "credible information" indicates that Islamic State and al-Qaida militants continue to plan attacks in Europe around the holiday season. It also warns that "extremist sympathizers or self-radicalized extremists" may try to execute attacks.

The department is encouraging travelers to be cautious at holiday festivals and outdoor markets. It is urging Americans to avoid large crowds and be vigilant when visiting tourist sites, riding public transportation and meeting in places of worship, hotels, restaurants and other gathering spots.

The advisory praises European efforts to disrupt plots, but says the U.S. remains concerned about the potential for attacks.

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France Detains 7, Saying It Has Thwarted A New Terrorist Attack

By Benoît Morenne

New York Times, November 21, 2016

PARIS — Seven men who French authorities say were planning a terrorist attack have been arrested in France, the government announced on Monday, sounding an alert about the continuing threat from terrorism barely a year after the attacks that killed 130 people in and around Paris.

The arrests followed an eight-month-long investigation led by France's domestic intelligence service, according to Interior Minister Bernard Cazeneuve, who said investigators were looking into the possibility that the plot involved a "coordinated attack aimed to hit several sites simultaneously" in the country.

The seven men were arrested in the eastern city of Strasbourg and the Mediterranean port city of Marseille in an operation that began Sunday night, Mr. Cazeneuve said at a news conference, adding that the operation had "thwarted a terrorist attack that had been envisaged on our soil for a long time."

Mr. Cazeneuve said that the seven men arrested, who ranged in age from 29 to 37, were a mix of French, Moroccan and Afghan citizens, but he did not provide a detailed breakdown. Six of them were unknown to French intelligence before the investigation began, he said, and the seventh, a Moroccan citizen, had been flagged to the French authorities by what he called a "partner country."

The arrests occurred a few days before the opening of the popular Christmas market in Strasbourg, which attracts over two million visitors every year. In 2000, Islamist militants who had trained in Afghanistan and were active in France and Germany planned to bomb the market, but the plot was averted.

The mayor of Strasbourg, Roland Ries, said at a news conference on Monday that the market was not the target of the latest plot. He said the market would go on unless there were a "direct and proven threat."

Five people suspected of having links to the same network as the seven men were arrested on June 14 — a few days into the Euro 2016 soccer tournament being held in France — and two of them were kept in custody, Mr. Cazeneuve said.

The arrests were not made public at the time. Only a day earlier, a 25-year-old Islamic State sympathizer killed a police captain and his companion in the town of Magnanville, outside Paris. But the soccer tournament, which stretched over a month, occurred without incident.

France has been under a state of emergency since the November 2015 attacks in the capital region. That gives the authorities broad powers to conduct raids and detain people under house arrest, among other powers. President François Hollande has said the government will seek to extend the state of emergency until the presidential election next spring.

Islamic State militants carried out the November attacks, and men inspired by the group carried out an assault in Nice that claimed 86 lives on July 14, the Bastille Day holiday, and the killing of a priest in the northern town of St.-Étienne-du-Rouvray 12 days later.

France is wary that it may be hit again. Security and migration are among the main issues in the presidential campaign.

Mr. Cazeneuve said on Monday that 418 people had been arrested in relation to terrorist networks since the beginning of the year, including 43 this month alone.

"The challenge is huge and zero risk can't be guaranteed — those who guarantee it are lying to the French people," Mr. Cazeneuve said, taking an implicit swipe at the right-wing critics of Mr. Hollande, who is expected to face a tough battle if he decides to seek re-election.

French Police Detain Suspects In New Terror Plot

Seven French, Moroccan and Afghan nationals held after arrests in Marseille and Strasbourg

By Inti Landauro And Matthew Dalton Wall Street Journal, November 21, 2016

Full-text stories from the Wall Street Journal are available to Journal subscribers by clicking the link.

Ex-consultant To Iran's UN Mission Pleads Guilty To Filing False Tax Return And Violating US Sanctions Law

Business Insider, November 21, 2016

Iranian President Hassan Rouhani takes part in a news conference near the United Nations General Assembly in the Manhattan borough of New York

Thomson Reuters

A former consultant to Iran's mission to the United Nations pleaded guilty on Monday to charges that he filed a false tax return substantially understating how much he was paid and conspired to violating a U.S. sanctions law.

Ahmad Sheikhzadeh, 60, entered his plea in federal court in Brooklyn to charges that he conspired to violate the

International Emergency Economic Powers Act and aided in the preparation of false individual income tax returns.

As part of a plea deal, Sheikhzadeh agreed to not appeal any sentence of 5-1/4 years in prison or less, said Steve Zissou, his attorney. Sheikhzadeh, who has also agreed to pay over \$147,000, is scheduled to be sentenced on March 30.

Sheikhzadeh was arrested in March, two months after when world powers led by the United States and the European Union lifted crippling sanctions against Iran in return for curbs on Tehran's nuclear ambitions.

Prosecutors said Sheikhzadeh had been a long-term consultant to Iran's U.N. mission since 2008 and had been paid a regular cash salary, often through a someone employed there, which he deposited into a Citibank checking account.

Prosecutors said from 2008 to 2012, Sheikhzadeh under-reported his U.N. income on his person tax returns.

The indictment said he also used his Citibank account for side transactions with two U.S.-based co-conspirators who wished to invest in Iran, and at their request directed an Iran-based co-conspirator to funnel money to people in that country.

Prosecutors said Sheikhzadeh did not obtain any license from the U.S. Treasury Department authorizing these and other activities.

CYBER NEWS

Hackers Can Now Report Bugs In Defense Dept. Websites Without Fear Of Prosecution

By Ellen Nakashima

Washington Post, November 21, 2016

The Defense Department on Monday became the first U.S. government agency to launch a policy enabling researchers to report bugs or flaws they discover in its websites without fear of prosecution.

Calling it a "see something, say something" policy for the digital domain, Defense Secretary Ashton B. Carter said the program is aimed at improving the security of the Pentagon's unclassified, public-facing networks.

The Army also opened registration Monday for Hack the Army, a challenge in which researchers and hackers scour Army sites for software flaws and compete for thousands of dollars in bounty rewards.

The Army contest explicitly authorizes researchers to try to hack a limited set of Army systems to find weaknesses. Meanwhile, the new policy is aimed at creating a way for hackers or researchers who come across flaws to report them without exposing themselves to criminal liability.

"This is a historic moment for hackers and the U.S. government," said Katie Moussouris, founder of Luta Security

and an adviser to the Pentagon on the new policy. "For the first time since hacking became a felony offense over 30 years ago, the Department of Defense has now opened the doors for ongoing vulnerability disclosure from helpful hackers who want to help secure these systems without fear of legal prosecution."

There are security researchers who conduct broad scanning of Internet systems to discover and map vulnerabilities. In doing so, they might come across flaws in Pentagon websites. There are also hackers who, for an intellectual challenge, probe systems to try to find flaws that might be exploited. In either case, these researchers and hackers could be charged with violating the Computer Fraud and Abuse Act, a prospect that has chilled security research.

Assistant Attorney General Leslie Caldwell, head of the Justice Department's criminal division, called the new policy "a laudable way to help computer security researchers to use their skills in an effective, beneficial and lawful manner to reduce security vulnerabilities." Her division advised in the crafting of the policy.

Pentagon networks are under constant assault from hackers seeking to find weaknesses they can exploit. In recent years, there have been intrusions into the unclassified email systems of the secretary of defense and at the Joint Chiefs of Staff. In 2008, the department's classified network was compromised in an operation thought to have originated in Russia.

The vulnerability disclosure policy will provide a standard avenue of reporting for all department websites. Bug data that is reported will be used for defensive purposes only, the policy states, to fix vulnerabilities in the department networks or applications, or in the software of vendors.

Individuals who report flaws will not receive bounties. The policy states that they may not harm the network, withdraw any data, compromise the privacy of department personnel or disclose details of the vulnerability without permission from the Pentagon.

The policy is aimed at people who come across the bugs in the course of their jobs or through research, said Alex Rice, chief technology officer and co-founder of HackerOne, a tech firm that helps companies set up bug-bounty and vulnerability disclosure programs. It has been working with the Pentagon on the program.

"The Department of Defense is not explicitly asking them to hunt for vulnerabilities," he said, "but they want to make sure they have a clear line of disclosure when they find them."

The program grew out of Hack the Pentagon, a bugbounty challenge earlier this year in which about 250 people found and submitted flaws found in Pentagon sites. Of those, 138 received bounties totaling \$75,000. One of the lessons learned from that experience, Rice said, was the lack of a way for people to report these vulnerabilities to the department outside of the bounty program.

The new policy does not cover the use of bugs for offensive or hacking purposes. The White House has a separate policy addressing that issue as applied to government agencies that discover or purchase software flaws. Tech policy experts have called for more disclosure of the policy's details and how it has been implemented.

Pentagon Waives Penalties For Hackers To Test Its Cybersecurity

Stars And Stripes, November 21, 2016

WASHINGTON — The Pentagon has approved all socalled "white hat" hackers to test the cybersecurity of its public websites without fear of prosecution, the Defense Department announced Monday.

Any hackers who promise to "do no harm" can attempt to hack into the Defense Department's many public websites as long as they report any potential security vulnerabilities directly to Pentagon officials, in an expansion of a pilot program launched earlier this year known as "Hack the Pentagon," defense officials announced. The new program, called the Vulnerability Disclosure Policy, marks the first time a federal agency has asked for public assistance in protecting its websites from threats. The program is backed by the Department of Justice.

Defense Secretary Ash Carter described the policy as "see something, say something."

"We want to encourage computer security researchers to help us improve our defenses," Carter said in a statement. "This policy gives them a legal pathway to bolster the department's cybersecurity and ultimately the nation's security."

Carter launched the initial "Hack the Pentagon" bug bounty challenge in April. The monthlong initiative allowed about 1,400 hackers approved by the Pentagon to test five Defense Department websites for security vulnerabilities that could have allowed malicious attacks where personal information could have been stolen, or where hackers could have hijacked the website to force it to post unauthorized content. The hackers discovered 138 vulnerabilities, and the Defense Department paid them a total of \$75,000 for their efforts.

The new initiative will not pay any of the hackers. Pentagon officials hope they will challenge Defense Department websites' security as a public service.

Monday also marked the opening of registration for "white hat" hackers to enroll in the Defense Department's second bug bounty program, "Hack the Army." The initiative asks vetted hackers to find vulnerabilities in some of the Army's non-public web applications in exchange for reward money.

Army Secretary Eric Fanning announced the new bounty program earlier this month. He said it was designed to help prevent the kind of attack hackers launched in 2015 on the Office of Personnel Management's database that led to the theft of millions of Defense Department employees' personal information.

In addition to that hack, other federal government systems in recent years have faced repeated threats. In January 2015, an Islamic State group-affiliate called the "Cyber Caliphate" briefly hijacked some U.S. Central Command websites.

Carter has vowed to continue to expand cybersecurity and find additional ways for the public to help the Pentagon secure its websites. Additional bug bounty programs through the other military services are expected in the future, according to the Defense Department.

DOD Paves The Way For More Hacker Research – FCW

Federal Computer Week, November 21, 2016

Defense Secretary Ash Carter released a new policy that gives hackers legal cover to turn their talents on Pentagon website vulnerabilities.

The Defense Department has launched a new program to provide legal authorization for hackers to find and disclose vulnerabilities in any of DOD's public websites.

The Pentagon announcement coincides with the official kickoff of the "Hack the Army" program, which is modeled on the "Hack the Pentagon" bug bounty program that took place earlier this year.

The vulnerability policy stipulates that DOD will deal in good faith with hackers as long as they adhere to a set of guidelines.

"The security researcher community regularly makes valuable contributions to the security of organizations and the broader internet, and DOD recognizes that fostering a close relationship with the community will help improve our own security," states the policy guidance published on the website of HackerOne, which administers the bug bounty programs for DOD in partnership with the Defense Digital Service.

"The Vulnerability Disclosure Policy is a 'see something, say something' policy for the digital domain," Secretary of Defense Ash Carter said in the release announcing the new policy.

The policy is billed as a first step in creating "a positive feedback loop between researchers and DOD."

The guidelines state that researchers are only allowed to test for vulnerabilities and share findings. They must not exploit vulnerabilities beyond "the minimal amount of testing required to prove that a vulnerability exists." Furthermore, they must not exfiltrate any data, conduct denial-of-service

testing or publicly disclose any details of vulnerabilities they find

If hackers comply with the guidelines, DOD states that it will "not initiate or recommend any law enforcement or civil lawsuits related to such activities," and should any law enforcement agency take action against compliant hackers, "DOD will take steps to make known that your activities were conducted pursuant to and in compliance with this policy."

DOD developed the vulnerability disclosure policy in consultation with the Justice Department's Criminal Division. Assistant Attorney General Leslie Caldwell described the policy in a DOD press release as "a laudable way to help computer security researchers use their skills in an effective, beneficial and lawful manner to reduce security vulnerabilities."

The Pentagon's earlier bug bounty revealed 138 vulnerabilities that DOD resolved. The Hack the Army program will focus on "dynamic" rather than static sites and is open to hackers who are members of the military or employees of the federal government as well as private-sector hackers.

Pentagon Moves To Crowdsource Cyber Fight

National Defense Magazine, November 21, 2016

Defense Secretary Ash Carter announces the results of the "Hack the Pentagon" pilot program

In a tacit acknowledgement that conventional tactics no longer suffice, the Pentagon is crowdsourcing the cyber fight. The strategy to rely on white hat hackers and anonymous sleuths to detect vulnerabilities in networks has been embraced by the private sector, and the Pentagon is now following suit.

In a new "vulnerability disclosure policy" effective Nov. 21, the Defense Department is encouraging anyone who finds weak spots in defense networks to report them to the government without fear of being prosecuted.

The Pentagon for the first time is providing a legal avenue for security researchers to find and disclose vulnerabilities, said Charley Snyder, senior cyber policy adviser at the Defense Department. Secretary Ashton Carter championed this move after he saw the success of a bug bounty program known as "Hack the Pentagon." The results of that program showed the value of crowdsourcing, Snyder said at a meeting with reporters.

In "Hack the Pentagon," more than 1,400 "security researchers" signed up for the chance to win a monetary prize, based on how serious a vulnerability they were able to detect. Carter said in June he was encouraged by the results: 252 hackers uncovered weaknesses in networks, and 117 received payments ranging from \$100 to \$15,000. The Pentagon later fixed the newly found bugs.

The disclosure policy announced Nov. 21, officials predict, will motivate security researchers to report bugs as a

matter of routine practice regardless of whether they are participating in a bounty program. "It is a commitment to security researchers to work in good faith," said Snyder. "This reduces the legal uncertainty that has had a chilling effect."

The Pentagon has many layers of cyber defenses in place — such as red teams, automated tools that scan sites and armies of contractors monitoring networks — but that is still not enough as cyber criminals and intruders continue to sharpen their tactics. "When you open it to the crowd you get people who come at this with different perspectives," said Snyder.

To manage cybersecurity crowdsourcing, the Pentagon has enlisted Silicon Valley technology firms HackerOne and Synack. Both have received a huge influx of funding from venture capitalists as crowdsourcing cyber efforts increasingly take hold in many industries. HackerOne was started by former security experts from Facebook, Microsoft and Google. The crowdsourcing of Defense Department public sites is handled by HackerOne, and Synack manages the more sensitive assets.

The Pentagon's vulnerability disclosure policy was given the green light by the Department of Justice's criminal division. Assistant Attorney General Leslie Caldwell called it a "laudable way to help computer security researchers use their skills in an effective, beneficial and lawful manner to reduce security vulnerabilities."

Beyond the legalities, the idea that people will be able to anonymously report bugs and not have to fear prosecution marks a "big change in attitude" at the Defense Department, said Chris Lynch, director of the Defense Digital Service, another Carter initiative. The DDS, in place since November 2015, is an offshoot of the White House's U.S. Digital Service—a team of IT experts brought in to inject private-sector ideas and thinking into the government.

The crowdsourcing push in cybersecurity is driven by necessity, as agencies face growing threats, Lynch told reporters. "How can we use the best and brightest in industry to work with us?" he asked.

The next big test starts Nov. 21 when a new bounty program, "Hack the Army," gets under way. This one will set a higher bar than "Hack the Pentagon," Lynch said. "We were criticized," he noted, because "Hack the Pentagon" was restricted to public websites in defense.gov. The Army challenge ups the ante as it is asking hackers to find weaknesses in recruiting sites that store sensitive personal identity data of every recruit. "This is a very critical system," Lynch said. The data in these sites are not public, but hidden behind firewalls.

The Army is trying to prevent the type of breach that compromised the personal data of millions of federal employees and contractors when hackers penetrated the database of the Office of Personnel Management.

Lisa Wisnell, bureaucracy hacker at the Defense Digital Service, oversees the bug bounty programs. She said "Hack the Army" is the first service-specific challenge. The recruiting websites are "crucial assets," she said. "'Hack the Pentagon' gave us confidence that we could do this against more interesting assets."

Government employees, if authorized by their supervisors, will be allowed to participate, although they will not be paid any bounties, said Wisnell. At a time when federal agencies are looking to plug holes in their networks and beef up their cybersecurity skills base, "this provides real-world free training."

Cyber Panel Closes In On Final Recommendations – FCW

Federal Computer Week, November 21, 2016

Tom Donilon, chair of the Commission on Enhancing National Cybersecurity, said the group's upcoming report "is unusual in the breadth of issues" it covers. (Photo by Pete Souza, White House photographer)

The commission charged with developing a plan to secure cyberspace in the next decade will recommend six long- and short-term fixes to the Obama administration by Dec. 1.

The Commission on Enhancing National Cybersecurity was mandated in President Barack Obama's Cybersecurity National Action Plan in February and given a deadline of producing a report and recommendations by Dec. 1.

Executive Director Kiersten Todt said the commission will meet that deadline, but the report won't be released publicly on that date.

"The goal is to present a set of concrete actions" the federal government and private sector can take to enhance the security of federal networks and consumer-oriented efforts in the coming years, said Tom Donilon, commission chair and former national security adviser, during the group's Nov. 21 public meeting.

The commission includes a dozen officials from industry and the federal government. Former IBM CEO Sam Palmisano is vice chair, and other members include retired Gen. Keith Alexander, former director of the National Security Agency and now CEO of IronNet Cybersecurity; Ajay Banga, president and CEO of MasterCard; and Steven Chabinsky, general counsel and chief risk officer at CrowdStrike.

The commission is responsible for recommending bold, actionable steps that the government, private sector and country as a whole could take to bolster cybersecurity in today's digital world. Donilon said the commission's report will focus on a handful of overarching "imperative" areas and key issues such as aligning research and development efforts with future needs, determining how to evolve security in device design and clarifying the intertwined roles of the

government and private sector when it comes to cybersecurity.

The report will also address the role of consumers in making the internet more secure and the importance of a trained cybersecurity workforce.

Todt said the report will not be released publicly until Obama provides feedback on the document. The comment period is 45 days, giving him time to weigh in before his successor takes office on Jan. 20, 2017.

After it receives Obama's comments, the commission plans to release the report publicly.

Todt said the report is still being assembled from remarks and presentations from the commission's meetings, and she expects the final 60- to 70-page document to be written in "easily readable" language. "It will outline the big ideas – some actionable immediately and some in the longer term," she added.

Donilon said the report "is unusual in the breadth of issues" it covers.

Trump Will Direct Pentagon To Develop New National Cybersecurity Plan

CyberScoop, November 21, 2016

On his first day in office, President-elect Donald Trump will direct the Department of Defense and the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff to develop "a comprehensive plan to protect America's vital infrastructure from cyberattacks, and all other form of attacks."

Trump delivered the plan as part of a two minute video message published on YouTube on Monday.

No details were offered on what a plan might look like other than the few seconds he spent announcing his intention.

Confidence in Trump's ability to improve U.S. cybersecurity is low among security and privacy experts according to a new poll.

Michael Hayden, a retired Air Force general and the former director of the CIA and National Security Agency, said "the president elect himself has shown no interest in understanding the issue."

The most valuable insight into what Trump's cybersecurity plans might look like come from his campaign statements and the selections he's made for top White House positions.

The stock values of defense contractors, many of whom sell cyberweapons to the U.S. government has risen since Trump's election in part because of the President-elect's plan to further invest in the creation of cyberweapons.

Retired General Michael Flynn will be Trump's national security adviser. After leaving the military, Flynn founded a consulting firm called Flynn Intel Group focused on cybersecurity.

A Trump supporter, Flynn has gone on the record with hawkish statements saying that the U.S. needs to be ready to hack back against foreign countries. The problem of attribution, however, looms large in that process.

FBI Director James Comey, who heads the bureau responsible for investigating major cybercrime against the U.S., may stay on board. Comey has been among the most vocal voices in favor of government-mandated backdoors into encrypted data, a move widely panned by technologists as dangerous for American cybersecurity.

NSA Director Adm. Michael Rogers, who has been floated as a possible Trump cabinet pick, has expressed an appetite for mandated backdoors as well.

In a September presidential debate opposite Democratic challenge Hillary Clinton, Trump was asked how he would improve American cybersecurity. His response was widely criticized as a defense of Russia, strong skepticism of the U.S. intelligence community, and an inexplicable mention of his grandson.

"So we have to get very, very tough on cyber and cyber warfare," Trump said. "It is—it is a huge problem. I have a son. He's 10 years old. He has computers. He is so good with these computers, it's unbelievable. The security aspect of cyber is very, very tough. And maybe it's hardly doable."

Influencers: Trump Won't Improve Cybersecurity

Christian Science Monitor, November 21, 2016

—President-elect Donald Trump has promised that protecting the country from cyberattacks will be a "major priority" for his administration, but three-quarters of Passcode's pool of digital security and privacy experts say they do not believe cybersecurity will improve with the Republican in the Oval Office.

Passcode's latest Influencers Poll, a regular survey of 160 current and former government and intelligence officials, and leaders from the private sector and advocacy community, revealed broad pessimism about country's digital security over the next four years both because of Mr. Trump's stated policies – and his own personal lack of tech knowledge.

"I voted no simply because the president elect himself has shown no interest in understanding the issue," says Michael Hayden, a retired Air Force general and the former director of the CIA and National Security Agency.

Trump's response to a question about how he would improve the country's cybersecurity at a presidential debate this fall – in which he brought up his 10-year-old son's "unbelievable" computer skills and referred to digital threats as "the cyber" – was largely panned by the security community as an indication he didn't understand the complexity of digital threats facing the country. And many security experts were mystified by his refusal to blame Russia

for the high-profile hacks on political organizations that took place during the campaign, a public break with the conclusions of the US intelligence community and prominent researchers who investigated the cyberattacks.

While Mr. Hayden, now a principal at global advisory firm The Chertoff Group, says "there may be some hope, however, that the government under him will continue to move albeit slowly in the right direction," other experts are wondering if Trump's campaign trail comments make it less likely top tech talent will choose to work in his administration over (typically) higher-paying jobs in the private sector.

"Set aside the lack of understanding (10-year-old sons excluded) and turning a blind eye to Russian role in an attack on American institutions, the real damage may be on the people side," says Peter Singer, strategist and senior fellow at New America think tank. "It is hard enough for government to recruit and retain talent, especially in a field like cybersecurity. It just got bigly harder."

Several security and privacy experts voiced concerns with Trump's strong stance against encryption. During the campaign, he went so far as to call for a boycott of Apple as it pledged to fight a court's ruling to help the FBI unlock the iPhone used by the shooter in the San Bernardino terror attack. Those who believe that strong encryption is essential for protecting consumers' data from cyberattacks are alarmed at the prospects of Trump's administration trying to mandate companies build in ways for the US government to access secure communications.

"To date, Trump's stance on encryption, backdoors, and cybersecurity appears naive and contrary to our founding fathers' vision and innovation," says Nico Sell, cofounder of encrypted messaging app Wickr. "Everyone in the global information security community is now watching to see who Trump surrounds himself with. Security is a global critical challenge; my hope is that he brings his views up to date once briefed by intelligence experts. The world needs a strong role model on this very important issue that impacts us all."

Cindy Cohn, executive director of the Electronic Frontier Foundation, is also calling for Trump to listen to security experts on encryption policy. "We desperately need leadership that recognizes that empowering users and companies to provide the strongest security and creating incentives for them to do so is the best way for us to actually be more secure," she says. "That means supporting strong encryption and helping companies fix security problems rather than keeping them open and hoping no bad guys find them. While Mr. Trump could remedy his lack of knowledge with some reasonable appointments, there's no indication yet that he will."

However, 25 percent of Influencers said they believed cybersecurity would improve under Trump. "Yes, I think The Cyber will continue to enjoy more attention from both the

executive and legislative branch under the new administration," said one Influencer who chose to remain anonymous. "Cyber will be a priority issue for the Trump administration, and progress will continue, as it would had the election results been different," another Influencer added. "It is a 'must do,' not a 'nice to do' issue." Passcode allows Influencers to reply on the record or anonymously to preserve the candor of their responses.

The cybersecurity plan on Trump's campaign website offers some ideas about how he might improve cybersecurity, including commissioning an "immediate review" of both the country's defenses and security weaknesses, and creating task forces to respond to digital threats. Trump has also said he will seek recommendations on how to enhance the military's Cyber Command with "a focus on both offense and defense." He's also already tapped retired Army lieutenant general Michael Flynn, a former director of the Defense Intelligence Agency, as his National Security Adviser.

"Could this be a Nixon to China moment? I hope so. Trump's more aggressive rhetoric on cybersecurity gives him an obvious opportunity to set norms of restraint on certain kinds of destabilizing behaviors," says Steve Weber, professor at the School of Information at the University of California — Berkeley. "A 'no first use' pledge around something like critical infrastructure would mean a lot coming from this new administration."

Other Influencers were optimistic even if they didn't think that the president-elect or his administration would be the ones to alleviate the cyberthreats. "If there is some major national hack, Congress will act instead," one Influencer said.

And some privacy advocates said they thought Trump himself could be the reason people fortify their digital defenses – in opposition to his embrace of surveillance and government access to encrypted communications. "Trump's presidency," says Elana Zeide, a research fellow at New York University's Information Law Institute, "gives everyone more incentive to secure their communications."

Jack Detsch contributed to this article. What do you think? VOTE in the readers' version of the Passcode Influencers Poll. Who are the Passcode Influencers? For a full list, check out our interactive masthead here. Comments: NO

"With change in administrations there is opportunity, but in the near term they will be learning how to govern. While cybersecurity played out as a backdrop to the election it was not focal to Trump's campaign. Immigration, trade, infrastructure, and Obamacare reform will suck all the oxygen out of the room and leave little room for the (civilian) security community to make gains." – Jeff Moss, founder of Black Hat and DEF CON

"Data security and security of IoT is a major concern for consumers. My biggest concern is the next administration mandating broad exceptional access mandates which would undermine the security of IoT." – Terrell McSweeny, Federal Trade Commissioner

"The current mix of incentives and disincentives in the US is not driving improvements and the Trump stated goals for information sharing are unlikely to improve the situation. Hopefully his focus on more efficient and effective government causes reform of acquisition and procurement, which would have a net positive effect within government." – Influencer

"The answer of course depends on who the advisors to the president are and on the final policy decisions that are made and enacted, but initial indications are not favorable overall with respect to cybersecurity policy. Based on his prior comments (essentially anti-Apple/anti-encryption), president-elect is likely to favor less security in exchange for more government access, which would weaken our security overall. Further, with a closely divided Senate, the current glacial rate of policy developments on cybersecurity will not likely accelerate, placing us further 'behind the curve' relative to worldwide developments and needs in cyberspace over time. One outstanding issue that could improve under the Trump administration is the Wassenaar Agreement, more specifically its language on 'intrusion software' to which cybersecurity technology firms and legitimate cybersecurity are strongly opposed. As this ongoing debate will run into the next presidential term, the Trump Administration has an opportunity (and presumably an interest) in 'rebooting' the conversation, hopefully aiding in bringing it to a more acceptable conclusion. With proper industry expertise being applied to the renegotiation of this problematic contract, cybersecurity companies can confidently take a more active role in stopping cybercrime and cyberespionage without running the risk of prosecution or other negative impacts to their business or freedom." - Influencer

"My assessment is based on the initial challenges I believe the Trump administration will face in retaining and attracting the best technical talent and the most strategic policy and law thinkers. I believe we will continue to maintain a robust cybersecurity technical and tactical capacity, but I worry that episodic interference from President Trump's senior political advisors, or unconventional geopolitical decisions by President Trump himself, may complicate a coherent approach. This challenge may, ironically, lead to public discussion. debate. papers. more white recommendations, etc. from the establishment cyber-warrior class and perhaps have more influence of time on the global cybersecurity strategy of a Trump administration over time." – Influencer

"Nothing suggests Trump – or anyone on his staff – understands even the basics of why we need to improve the nation's defenses. – Chris Finan, CEO of Manifold Security

"It is too early to tell, and not enough is known about their concrete policy objectives to speak with authority on whether they will take actions that improve or weaken cybersecurity. I am open to working to educate the administration about the Internet, and others should be as well." – Christian Dawson, executive director and cofounder of the Internet Infrastructure Coalition (i2Coalition)

"[What's on Trump's website] is extremely vague and contains no meaningful indication that Trump would improve the current state of cybersecurity. – Yan Zhu, engineer at Brave

"Trump has advocated an 'America first' foreign policy, but this type of isolationism will not work for cybersecurity. Improving cybersecurity will require US leadership and global partnerships as this is not a problem that the US can solve on its own." – Influencer

"Our most capable adversaries will exploit the gaps created by a change in leaders and capabilities. State sponsored activity is frequent, and taking fewer steps to disguise the activity." – Jenny Durkan, global chair of the Cyber Law and Privacy Group at Quinn Emanuel law firm

"One tries to be hopeful. In reality there's no way to predict." - Influencer

"Trump will not regulate the IoT makers or the software makers for fear of hurting their growth and jobs. Cybersecurity under Trump will be more of the same current reactive 'cyber smoke alarm and cyber fire station' approach which has proven in the physical world not to prevent cities from burning down. It's not until we have the fortitude to mandate the equivalent of brick firewalls between buildings and sprinkler systems will things change. Expect to see plenty of offense from our cyber glass house." — Chris Wysopal, cofounder at Veracode

"I haven't seen any urgency on this matter during his campaign, nor do I think his base is particularly concerned with matters of cybersecurity." – Jeffrey Carr, president and CEO of Taia Global, Inc.

"US cybersecurity will continue to grow in relevance and attention regardless of who the president is, and companies will have to dedicate more resources and time to making good and secure decisions about how to protect data. Now, whether US *government* cybersecurity will improve – for that we'll have to wait until a cybersecurity chief is named to begin to guess." – Influencer

"Trump and his advisors have demonstrated no understanding of cybersecurity, nor any comprehension of its importance. Moreover, the recent purge of any qualified cybersecurity experts such as Mike Rogers from his team – in favor of hacks from Breitbart and Jeff Sessions' office – makes clear that they are more interested in absolute power than any constructive accomplishments." – Influencer

"Trump lacks the discipline and vision to implement a coherent and effective approach to cybersecurity." – Tor Ekeland, managing partner of Tor Ekeland, P.C. law firm

"My biggest fear is Trump's implied support for extension of law enforcement powers to include forcing vendors to break their end-to-end security in order to accommodate search warrants. The FBI's analogy is a bank's safety deposit box; I believe data to be fundamentally different though, and without precedent. A lot of damage can be done between now and when a relevant Supreme Court decision on this is made." – Nick Selby, cofounder and chief executive officer of StreetCred Software

"It is *WAY* too soon to say cybersecurity will get better or worse under a Trump Presidency, or whether the Presidency will have any influence on the state of cybersecurity. We have zero track record on what his administration will or will not champion and what his administration will or will not mandate." – Influencer

"There are not enough 400 pound hackers." – Influencer

"US cybersecurity will improve during the Trump administration. But any improvements will have more to do with overcoming an era of cyber inertia than with anything stemming from a Trump presidency." – Influencer

"Cybersecurity defenses are always getting better and the next four years will not be an exception (in large part because most improvements in cybersecurity arise from the private sector with its own motives). Unfortunately, cybersecurity offenses are always getting better too. Finally attack surfaces are growing, as an increasing number of Internet of Things stories reminds us. So, a broad answer has to balance three very different trends. Then there's the question: improved relative to what? Will science advance in a Trump administration? Undoubtedly, because science never goes backwards and that would be true if science funding were cut to zero. But, with cybersecurity as with science, the question is one of comparison. If cybersecurity would have advanced more in a hypothetical Clinton administration than in a Trump administration is the answer to your question still 'yes'? And of course, we have no clue who Trump is going to appoint – and, otherwise, I really cannot tell what Trump's cybersecurity policies are going to be." – Martin Libicki, senior management scientist at RANDYES

"Fresh eyes." - Mark Weatherford, principal at The Chertoff Group

"While Trump in his campaign program gave little or no indication of a concrete plan to improve cybersecurity in the US, the reality is so dire that improvements in cybersecurity will be a must." – Influencer

"Yes, contingent on him walking the talk regarding regulation accelerating the protection of the .gov morass. He needs to support the transformation at NSA and rethink the role of government." – Influencer

"I really don't see how he can make it worse so any changes at all will likely be improvements no matter how small. Obama couldn't get stuff through Congress and so had

to make his changes through executive proclamation. Barring some major national hack I don't see Trump doing that. If there is some major national hack, Congress will act instead. So really I don't see much improvement under Trump other than incremental changes. Anything like CFAA reform or changes to DMCA are pretty much off the table now I am sure. We may see a new 'cyber' bill get passed but it will be about as effective as CISA, in other words sound real good and have 'cyber' in the title but not really make a whole hell of a lot of difference." – Influencer

"President-elect Trump has been more specific about the need to improve cybersecurity than about most defense issues. At a minimum, he's likely to continue initiatives from the Obama administration to strengthen cybersecurity." – Influencer

"Previous presidents have so far been unsuccessful in constructing cohesive and well informed cybersecurity policies or installing multi-disciplinary leadership. As the International cyber threats have increased in sophistication and scope, we're rapidly approaching an inflection point where if something isn't done, it will be done to us via external entities. Just as hacking, cybersecurity, and email breaches have been core to the election process, they will continue to grow and affect Trump's new government. Hence, in Trumps presidency, the US government and agencies are having their hands forced in to dealing with this invasive hacking epidemic. – Günter Ollmann is chief security officer at Vectra

"In October, the US Chamber wrote an open letter to the 45th president to recommend that the incoming administration prioritize three cybersecurity issues: First, we need to build on the momentum behind the joint industry-National Institute of Standards and Technology Framework for Improving Critical Infrastructure Cybersecurity, which business leaders and policymakers see as a key pillar for managing cyber risks at home and internationally. Closely linked, we urge the incoming Trump administration to harmonize existing regulations with the cyber framework. Cutting cyber red tape will serve the cause of bolstering security. Second, the Trump team starts in a strong position with the enactment of the Cybersecurity Information Sharing Act (CISA). By working as an ally with industry, the next administration can lead a culture shift to bring businesses off the sidelines to engage in effective threat information-sharing. Third, Washington's policies ought to encourage greater adherence to international norms of acceptable behavior and deterrence in cyberspace. The pros and cons of cyber deterrence deserve more careful scrutiny than they have received to date." - Matthew Eggers, executive director for cybersecurity policy in the National Security and Emergency Preparedness Department at the US Chamber of Commerce

"The reason for 'Yes' is that, in cybersecurity, offense has permanent structural advantage. Al applied to offense will

result in Mexican standoff, which will be called 'peace.' – Dan Geer chief information security officer for In-Q-Tel

"It is not possible at this point to predict this. Trump changes his mind all the time and the direction is most likely to be determined by top advisors who as yet remain unnamed." – Influencer What do you think? VOTE in the readers' version of the Passcode Influencers Poll.

Google, ACLU Call To Delay Government Hacking Rule

By Ali Breland

The Hill, November 21, 2016

A coalition of 26 organizations, including the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) and Google, signed a letter Monday asking lawmakers to delay a measure that would expand the government's hacking authority.

The letter asks Senate Majority Leader Mitch McConnell (R-Ky.) and Minority Leader Harry Reid (D-Nev.), plus House Speaker Paul Ryan (R-Wis.), and House Minority Leader Nancy Pelosi (D-Calif.) to further review proposed changes to Rule 41 and delay its implementation until July 1, 2017.

The Department of Justice's alterations to the rule would allow law enforcement to use a single warrant to hack multiple devices beyond the jurisdiction that the warrant was issued in.

The FBI used such a tactic to apprehend users of the child pornography dark website, Playpen. It took control of the dark website for two weeks and after securing two warrants, installed malware on Playpen users computers to acquire their identities.

But the signatories of the letter — which include advocacy groups, companies and trade associations — are raising questions about the effects of the change.

"The consequences of this rule change are far from clear, and could be deleterious to security as well as to Fourth Amendment privacy rights," the coalition wrote. "Government hacking, like wiretapping, can be much more privacy invasive than traditional searches."

Robyn Greene, policy counsel and government affairs lead at New America's Open Technology Institute, echoed that sentiment in a statement separate from the letter, which the group signed on to.

"This rule change is far too complex and raises too many privacy and cybersecurity concerns for Congress to let the rule go into effect without conducting any oversight whatsoever."

Sens. Patrick Leahy (D-Vt.), Mike Lee (R-Utah) and Ron Wyden (D-Ore.), and Rep. Ted Poe (R-Texas) have previously voiced their concerns and questioned the changes to Rule 41 which is set to go into effect on Dec. 1.

CSRA Wins \$52M Cybersecurity Recompete – Washington Technology

Washington Technology, November 21, 2016

CSRA has won a \$52 million recompeted contract to continue its support of the Homeland Security Department's Office of Cybersecurity and Communications.

Under the contract, CSRA will provide technical and programmatic professional support to enhance security, resiliency and reliability of the United States cyber and communications infrastructure, the company said in a release.

CSRA will also help develop new cybersecurity strategies and policies to help mitigate the risk of cyber incidents.

For more contract awards, see our WT Insider-exclusive Contract Award Database, featuring every award we have covered since January 2013.

Trump's National Security Pick Is A Cybersecurity Hawk

CSO Magazine, November 21, 2016

Michael Flynn, the man President-elect Donald Trump plans to name as U.S. national security advisor, believes the government is falling behind on cybersecurity.

Trump named Flynn to his cabinet on Friday after the former military intelligence leader acted as the top military advisor to Trump's presidential campaign. Flynn previously was director of the Defense Intelligence Agency and has served in U.S. intelligence operations in Afghanistan and Iraq.

Flynn holds strong views on cybersecurity. He's called U.S. cyber capabilities "underwhelming."

"We have competitors out there that are rapidly catching up with us," he said in a speech posted online last year. In 2014, after retiring as a general, he started a consulting firm called Flynn Intel Group that specializes in preventing cyber threats for clients.

"It is stunning how often nation-states such as China, Russian or Iran, or transnational criminal organizations, attack our networks," he said in an interview last December. "It's something we are frankly not prepared for."

On the campaign trail, Trump said the U.S. government needs to be ready to use offensive cyberweapons in response to hacking attempts from other nations.

Flynn said he agreed with that position during a separate interview with the Security Ledger last month. Experts have said a key challenge in retaliatory cyber attacks is attribution. Accurately pinning down the true culprit in any hacking attempt is often difficult. Jeffrey Prunera/DOD

Defense Intelligence Agency Director Lt. Gen. Michael T. Flynn speaks in Washington, D.C., on June 24, 2014.

"We cannot win playing on one side of the playing field, on the defensive end," Flynn said. "You only are going to win if you go on the offensive once in a while."

To do so, the U.S. needs to have a technological edge over the enemy, he said. "In order to win, you want to have an unfair advantage."

The outgoing Obama administration has also considered cyber retaliation. This became an issue in October when U.S. intelligence agencies blamed Russia for trying to meddle in this year's presidential election by hacking high-profile political targets.

During the presidential campaign, Trump said he was skeptical that Russia was involved. However, Flynn said it made sense that the country would have tried to tamper with a political campaign.

"We should not be surprised that a communist state run by a totalitarian dictator wants to expose the weaknesses of capitalism," he said.

In that same interview, Flynn also discussed overhauling the way the U.S. approaches cybersecurity, given the rapid changes to the IT industry. He called for a "storyteller-in-chief" who can explain to the public complicated cyber matters in way everyone can understand.

He also advocates a task force that would meet frequently to discuss new legislation and policies on technology. Leaders from the private sector as well as federal and state government would participate in the task force.

"There has to be some means to speed up how the government functions in this world," he said. "There has to be an acknowledgement that we are falling behind."

Hackers Target ATMs Across Europe As Cyber Threat Grows

By Jim Finkle

Reuters, November 21, 2016

Full-text stories from Reuters currently cannot be included in this document. You may, however, click the link above to access the story.

Cybersecurity Interest Increases Over Fears Of Government Spying Under Trump

Government Technology, November 21, 2016

(TNS) – The day Donald Trump ascends from president-elect to commander in chief, he will assume control over U.S. intelligence agencies and some of the most advanced surveillance systems in the world.

That realization has launched a wave of interest in personal cybersecurity, the likes of which tech experts and activists said they have never before seen.

The surge is prompted by concerns of how Trump, a reality-TV star and real estate mogul who forged an unconventional and controversial path in politics filled with

personal attacks and feuds, may use this country's intelligence apparatus.

Privacy advocates have long fretted over the scope and potential use of U.S. espionage programs and tactics. Years before former contractor Edward Snowden revealed that the National Security Agency was engaged in widespread domestic surveillance, the government had been bolstering its ability to gather and keep massive amounts of data on people's communications and online activities.

But Trump's election, which has stoked fears of marginalization and violence among communities of color, Muslims, LGBT people and immigrants, has brought concerns over digital privacy to the public.

"The Obama administration drastically expanded and codified a lot of these programs that are now being handed over to Donald Trump," said Evan Greer, the campaign director at activist group Fight for the Future. No matter who wields them, she said, "these types of mass surveillance programs that operate without accountability are simply too dangerous to exist."

It remains unclear how Trump plans to use the government's arsenal of espionage tools, including the controversial NSA programs that have operated with limited oversight and few restrictions since the terrorist attacks on Sept. 11, 2001. But his remarks on the campaign trail have left many security experts troubled.

Trump has repeatedly called for the surveillance of mosques in the United States. During the Republican primaries, Trump said he would "absolutely" keep a database of Muslims in the U.S. — an idea that has since evolved into a national security registry of immigrants from countries with known terror cells.

The president-elect has called social justice group Black Lives Matter a "threat" and told conservative talk show host Bill O'Reilly over the summer that "at a minimum, we're going to have to be watching."

Trump has supported a re-expansion of the Patriot Act, a surveillance-enabling law passed in the wake of 9/11. In 2015, Congress passed the USA Freedom Act that constrained how the government can obtain records using the Patriot Act and largely limited the NSA's ability to request data, like the private Internet and phone communications of Americans, from telecom companies en masse.

Trump could make many of those changes without the public even realizing, experts said, so long as companies comply.

Weakening protections from government spying could also open doors to others who want eyes on Americans' data, said Gabe Rottman, a deputy director at the nonprofit Center for Democracy and Technology.

"These privacy protections also protect people from identity theft, trade secret theft and so on," he said. "A more private society is also a more secure society."

Snowden, who has been heralded as a hero in certain circles, encouraged people to lean on tech companies to better protect their data and stand up to government espionage.

Speaking through a video-chat robot at the Real Future Fair in Oakland last week, Snowden said tech companies, though privately owned, can be less fickle than law and government.

"Laws are simply letters on a page," he said. "They're not going to jump up and protect your rights."

Pressuring tech companies to build more secure devices and protect user information, Snowden said, is a safer bet than relying on the integrity of government officials.

Earlier this year, Trump loudly criticized Apple for refusing to build special software to unlock an iPhone used by Syed Rizwan Farook, the gunman who killed 14 and injured 22 people in a mass shooting in San Bernardino last September. Trump encouraged his Twitter followers to boycott all Apple products.

At the time, Apple was cheered by many of its customers, tech professionals and security experts for its decision to resist the government's demands. Complying, they believed, would set an unwieldy precedent for future government data requests.

But companies are not infallible. Yahoo reportedly built a program last year that allowed U.S. intelligence officials to scour hundreds of millions of peoples' emails to find a signature associated with a terrorist group, according to Reuters. (Yahoo has denied building such a program and called the report "misleading.")

On Friday, news reports indicated Trump had asked retired Lt. Gen. Michael Flynn, a three-star general who specialized in intelligence gathering, to serve as his national security adviser. It was not immediately clear whether Flynn shares Trump's views on domestic espionage.

In the days after Trump was elected, downloads of the encrypted messaging app Signal spiked. It began trending in the App Store. Security experts and tech workers took to Twitter to espouse its virtues and encourage others to download it — particularly those planning to participate in protests.

The app, which was created by nonprofit Open Whisper Systems, offers a slew of privacy features including disappearing messages. ProtonMail, an encrypted email service, reported a similar jump in interest after the election.

Encryption helps prevent text messages, emails, phone calls and video chats from being intercepted during transmission, which is often how governments, law enforcement and hackers can spy on people's communication.

When messaging or phone calls are encrypted, that means the communication is scrambled during transmission and then unscrambled by the intended recipient using a

secret key, typically held by the sender, recipient and the app maker. With end-to-end encryption, which apps like Signal provide, the companies do not keep a copy of the key.

Security experts suggest starting small by downloading Signal or another messaging app with end-to-end encryption like Facebook's WhatsApp, Viber or Apple's iMessage and FaceTime. (Skype, Snapchat and Google Hangouts have weaker encryption, according to a recent Amnesty International report.)

Smarter use of existing tools may help, too.

"It may not seem like much, but even basic cyberhygiene can make a huge difference," Rottman said.

Greer recommended using a hard-to-guess password — not a last name or "password123" — and enabling two-step verification when possible, using text messages or a code-generating app to add security.

If there's a bright side to the fears Trump's election has brought up in those who oppose him, she said, it may be that people are finally taking an interest in security and privacy.

"It's exciting that people finally want to get educated," Greer said. "It's a good moment for that, and I think the challenge for people who are tech savvy and who have been banging our heads against the wall about this for the past eight years is to really try to make these things not feel overwhelming."

The New Battleground In Cybersecurity

Forbes, November 21, 2016

Christopher P. Skroupa:

What is the thesis of your book

Cognitive Hack: The New Battleground in Cybersecurity—The Human Mind

and how does it fit in with recent events in cyber security?

James Bone:

Cognitive Hack

follows two rising narrative arcs in cyber warfare: the rise of the "hacker" as an industry and the "cyber paradox," namely why billions spent on cyber security fail to make us safe. The backstory of the two narratives reveal a number of contradictions about cyber security, as well as how surprisingly simple it is for hackers to bypass defenses. The cyber battleground has shifted from an attack on hard assets to a much softer target: the human mind. If human behavior is the new and last "weakest link" in the cyber security armor, is it possible to build cognitive defenses at the intersection of human-machine interactions? The answer is yes, but the change that is needed requires a new way of thinking about security, data governance and strategy. The two arcs meet at the crossroads of data intelligence, deception and a reframing of security around cognitive strategies.

The purpose of Cognitive Hack

is to look not only at the digital footprint left behind from cyber threats, but to go further—behind the scenes, so to speak—to understand the events leading up to the breach. Stories, like data, may not be exhaustive, but they do help to paint in the details left out. The challenge is finding new information buried just below the surface that might reveal a fresh perspective. The book explores recent events taken from today's headlines to serve as the basis for providing context and insight into these two questions.

Skroupa:

loT has been highly scrutinized as having the potential to both increase technological efficiency and broaden our cyber vulnerabilities. Do you believe the risks outweigh the rewards? Why?

Bone:

The recent Internet outage in October of this year is a perfect example of the risks of the power and stealth of IoT. What many are not aware of is that hackers have been experimenting with IoT attacks in increasingly more complex and potentially damaging ways. The TOR Network, used in the Dark Web to provide legitimate and illegitimate users anonymity, was almost taken down by an IoT attack. Security researchers have been warning of other examples of connected smart devices being used to launch DDoS attacks that have not garnered media attention. As the number of smart devices spread, the threat only grows. The anonymous attacker in October is said to have only used 100,000 devices. Imagine what could be done with one billion devices as manufacturers globally export them, creating a new network of insecure connections with little to no security in place to detect, correct or prevent hackers from launching attacks from anywhere in the world?

The question of weighing the risks versus the rewards is an appropriate one. Consider this: The federal government has standards for regulating the food we eat, the drugs we take, the cars we drive and a host of other consumer goods and services, but the single most important tool the world increasingly depends on has no gatekeeper to ensure that the products and services connected to the Internet don't endanger national security or pose a risk to its users. At a minimum, manufacturers of IoT must put measures in place to detect these threats, disable IoT devices once an attack starts and communicate the risks of IoT more transparently. Lastly, the legal community has also not kept pace with the development of IoT, however this is an area that will be ripe for class action lawsuits in the near future.

Skroupa:

What emerging trends in cyber security can we anticipate from the increasing commonality of IoT?

Bone:

Cyber crime has grown into a thriving black market complete with active buyers and sellers, independent contractors and major players who, collectively, have

developed a mature economy of products, services, and shared skills, creating a dynamic laboratory of increasingly powerful cyber tools unimaginable before now. On the other side, cyber defense strategies have not kept pace even as costs continue to skyrocket amid asymmetric and opportunistic attacks. However, a few silver linings are starting to emerge around a cross-disciplinary science called Cognitive Security (CogSec), Intelligence and Security Informatics (ISI) programs, Deception Defense, and a framework of Cognitive Risk Management for cyber security.

On the other hand, the job description of "hacker" is evolving rapidly with some wearing "white hats," some with "black hats" and still others with "grey hats." Countries around the world are developing cyber talent with complex skills to build or break security defenses using easily shared custom tools.

The implications of the rise of the hacker as a community and an industry will have long-term ramifications to our economy and national security that deserve more attention otherwise the unintended consequences could be significant. In the same light, the book looks at the opportunity and challenge of building trust into networked systems. Building trust in networks is not a new concept but is too often a secondary or tertiary consideration as systems designers are forced to rush to market products and services to capture market share leaving security considerations to corporate buyers. IoT is a great example of this challenge.

Skroupa:

Could you briefly describe the new Cognitive Risk Framework you've proposed in your book as a cyber security strategy?

Bone:

First of all, this is the first cognitive risk framework designed for enterprise risk management of its kind. The Cognitive Risk Framework for Cyber security (CRFC) is an overarching risk framework that integrates technology and behavioral science to create novel approaches in internal controls design that act as countermeasures lowering the risk of cognitive hacks. The framework has targeted cognitive hacks as a primary attack vector because of the high success rate of these attacks and the overall volume of cognitive hacks versus more conventional threats. The cognitive risk framework is a fundamental redesign of enterprise risk management and internal controls design for cyber security but is equally relevant for managing risks of any kind.

The concepts referenced in the CRFC are drawn from a large body of research in multidisciplinary topics. Cognitive risk management is a sister discipline of a parallel body of science called Cognitive Informatics Security or CogSec. It is also important to point out as the creator of the CRFC, the principles and practices prescribed herein are borrowed from cognitive informatics security, machine learning, artificial intelligence (AI), and behavioral and cognitive science,

among just a few that are still evolving. The Cognitive Risk Framework for Cyber security revolves around five pillars: Intentional Controls Design, Cognitive Informatics Security, Cognitive Risk Governance, Cyber security Intelligence and Active Defense Strategies and Legal "Best Efforts" considerations in Cyberspace.

Many organizations are doing some aspect of a "cogrisk" program but haven't formulated a complete framework; others have not even considered the possibility; and still others are on the path toward a functioning framework influenced by management. The Cognitive

Risk Framework for Cybersecurity is in response to an interim process of transitioning to a new level of business operations (cognitive computing) informed by better intelligence to solve the problems that hinder growth.

Christopher P. Skroupa is the founder and CEO of Skytop Strategies, a global organizer of conferences.

Jailed Activist Hacker Says He's Being Punished For His Hunger Strike

Martin Gottesfeld says he's been placed in solitary confinement and is barred from placing calls to his family and attorneys.

Huffington Post, November 21, 2016

Martin Gottesfeld, an activist jailed since February on charges stemming from a politically motivated cyberattack on Boston Children's Hospital, has been on a hunger strike in prison for 49 days to bring attention to what he says is widespread mistreatment of children.

In a letter addressed to Attorney General Loretta Lynch and Department of Justice Inspector General Michael E. Horowitz, Gottesfeld calls on the DOJ to release him from solitary confinement and alleges that he's being mistreated at Metropolitan Correctional Center, the prison in New York where he is currently housed. Gottesfeld provided the letter to The Huffington Post, which then forwarded the letter to the officials' offices seeking comment.

The Office of the Inspector General said it could not comment on the allegations, and the DOJ did not respond.

Gottesfeld says he has lost 45 pounds since he began his hunger strike on Oct. 3 and that his kidneys are in constant pain, but instead of receiving proper medical care, he believes he's being punished by the prison for participating in his hunger strike. In his letter, he says that as "a direct result" of his strike, prison staff moved him into solitary confinement, that the prison has barred him from making calls to his family and attorneys and has threatened to put him on "suicide watch." He also says that one of the prison doctors threateningly told him that inmates who are housed at MCC in New York "are quickly forgotten." All of which, Gottesfeld believes, is an attempt by the prison to break his hunger strike.

He also notes that the prison has defended how its treating him as medically necessary, but Gottesfeld claims that he's not being medically monitored. He also claims that his cell is cold and has standing water leaking on the floor, which Gottesfeld says concerns him because his immune system is compromised due to the weeks of starvation he's undergone. He says the conditions in his cell increase the odds of infection.

"The medically appropriate thing to do would be to place me in a clean hospital bed, hook me up to a heart monitor, and not to punish me," Gottesfeld says.

MCC New York didn't immediately respond to a request for comment.

In a message published exclusively on HuffPost in September, Gottesfeld said he took out the Boston hospital's internet in the spring of 2014 to protest the controversial treatment of teenager Justina Pelletier and to protest the "troubled teen industry" more broadly. (The Huffington Post recently published an investigation into the industry, which has been accused of abusing children for decades.)

Gottesfeld is among those who criticize the hospital for separating Pelletier from her parents after they sought medical treatment for her. The hospital and state of Massachusetts claimed the parents had abused her with unnecessary and harmful medical treatments. (Check here for more information on Pelletier's controversial case, and here for a primer on Gottesfeld's involvement as part of the hacker collective Anonymous.)

Gottesfeld's wife, Dana Gottesfeld, told HuffPost that for the last two days her husband has been drinking fluids again as a show of good faith as he awaits the Department of Justice's response to his letter.

Martin Gottesfeld has said he'll continue his hunger strike unless two conditions are met: President-elect Donald Trump must promise to work toward ensuring American children are spared the kind of mistreatment he says has victimized Pelletier. And the office of Carmen Ortiz, the U.S. Attorney for Massachusetts, which is prosecuting Gottesfeld, must end its "political," over-aggressive style of prosecution. (HuffPost catalogued Ortiz's controversial record of targeting progressives in a July report that caused a political dust-up in Massachusetts.)

"The result of my hunger strike will serve as an appropriate backdrop to the upcoming Pelletier lawsuit, and accurately highlights the human rights records of Carmen Ortiz and Boston Children's Hospital," Gottesfeld said in a written statement provided to HuffPost. "The feats made public in those proceedings, which the courts would deny me the right to raise at my 'trial,' should be known to the world."

Here is Gottesfeld's letter, published in full:

Dear Attorney-General Lynch and Inspector General Michael E. Horowitz.

First, please allow me to apologize for the public forum of this message, all my other attempts to contact you more privately have gone unanswered. I have not eaten solid food since October 3rd, and I have not drank any fluids since Friday, November 13th. I have lost over 45 pounds at measure, and my kidneys hurt constantly.

My name is Martin Gottesfeld, and I am a human rights activist and defender of institutionalized children, who suffer from atrocious abuses in our nation, often with no one to protect them. These abuses are well documented by The Government Accountability Office (1,2,3), PBS, as well as the American Bar Association and Bazelon Center. I sent your office a detailed report of the violations of the U.S.-ratified Convention Against Torture that fifteen-year-old Justina Pelletier suffered while institutionalized at Boston Children's Hospital and a residential treatment center appropriately called Wayside. I am accused of causing financial damage to these places during the struggle to protect Justina, who is still in a wheelchair more than two years later. Unlike what was done to Justina, which maimed and nearly killed her, I am not accused of harming any person.

Rolling Stone is working on a feature about my flight to protect these kids, the Huffington Post has published multiple articles, and television networks are also working on multiple pieces. Justina thanked me in her Rolling Stone Interview and said that I do not belong in jail. Reverend Mahoney, Director of the Christian Defense Coalition, to Rolling Stone he is praying for me, and the Pelletier family spoke in detail regarding the horrible abuses that paralyzed Justina and nearly took her life at Boston Children's. Additionally, the Pelletier's have sued the hospital so the totality of Justina's suffering will be heard in open court. I take great comfort in knowing that the whole truth will inevitably be brought to light, further vindicating me.

As a direct result of my hunger strike, I am currently being punished at the DOJ facility MCC New York, despite never having been adjudicated of any crime by any court, nor even a prison disciplinary process. I am being held in solitary confinement, have not been able to call my family, nor my attorneys. I have been threatened with being placed on suicide watch, forcefully hydrated by IV, and force-fed. I am told if I don't drink voluntarily, I can leave segregation. This is a clear and blatant attempt to break the hunger strike; there is no medical reason for restricting my calls to my wife, nor placing my in solitary.

One of the doctors here told me that inmates who come to MCC New York are quickly forgotten, but I know with all the journalists currently working on coverage, this thinly-veiled threat is simply not accurate in my case.

Further, while the reasons for these conditions are claimed to be medical, I am not being medically monitored. If I were to pass out at the wrong time, it could be several hours before I am discovered. My cell is cold, with standing water

leaking on the floor, which given the compromising effects of starvation on my immune system, infection greatly increases the odds of a catastrophic and deadly infection. The medically appropriate thing to do would be to place me in a clean hospital bed, hook me up to a heart monitor, and not to punish me.

I could be mere hours or days away from death, and I would like to call my wife, who I have not embraced in 9 months.

My case is being pursued by Carmen Ortiz, and the last activist she targeted with anti-hacking law was the late Aaron Swartz. Her administration has become infamous on both sides of the political aisle. I believe she is attempting to rewrite history by using my case to justify her abhorrent treatment of Swartz and Boston Children's near homicide of Justina, but I know that thanks to the Rolling Stone, the Huffington Post, and others the whole truth will come out.

The results of my hunger strike will reflect on Carmen Ortiz and her cybercrime chief, Adam Bookbinder, but I see no reason for their sordid past to reflect on you, unless you choose to allow it too. If this does reach the point of forceful hydration/ feeding, those will have to go on for months, until the Rolling Stone piece is published, TV has broadcasted, and the Huffington Post has run more articles.

It is my hope that instead though, you pursue true justice by allowing me to finally return home to my loving wife and family.

Best regards, Martin Gottesfeld, ID # 12982-104 SHU – MCC New York

Thailand Seeks To Tighten Cyber Security, Raising Questions About Privacy Protection

Reuters, November 21, 2016

Full-text stories from Reuters currently cannot be included in this document. You may, however, click the link above to access the story.

NATIONAL SECURITY NEWS

ISIS Used Chemical Arms At Least 52 Times In Syria And Iraq, Report Says

By Eric Schmitt

New York Times, November 21, 2016

WASHINGTON — The Islamic State has used chemical weapons, including chlorine and sulfur mustard agents, at least 52 times on the battlefield in Syria and Iraq since it swept to power in 2014, according to a new independent analysis.

More than one-third of those chemical attacks have come in and around Mosul, the Islamic State stronghold in northern Iraq, according to the assessment by the IHS Conflict Monitor, a London-based intelligence collection and analysis service.

The IHS conclusions, which are based on local news reports, social media and Islamic State propaganda, mark the broadest compilation of chemical attacks in the conflict. American and Iraqi military officials have expressed growing alarm over the prospect of additional chemical attacks as the allies press to regain both Mosul and Raqqa, the Islamic State capital in Syria.

"The coalition is concerned about ISIL's use of chemical weapons," Col. John Dorrian, a military spokesman in Iraq, said in an email on Monday, using another name for the Islamic State. "ISIL has used them in Iraq and Syria in the past, and we expect them to continue employing these types of weapons."

Colonel Dorrian said that the Islamic State's ability to use chemical weapons is "rudimentary," and that American, Iraqi and other allied troops are equipped to deal with the impact of these chemical attacks — typically rockets, mortar shells or artillery shells filled with chemical agents. The effects of these chemical munitions thus far have been limited to the immediate area where they land.

The IHS assessment is to be made public on Tuesday. The New York Times obtained an advance copy of the assessment and the location of the 52 reported chemical attacks. The analysis did not break down the cases by type of chemical attack.

In an effort to blunt the Islamic State's ability to make the weapons, the American-led air campaign has bombed militants associated with overseeing their production and the facilities where chemical ordnance is manufactured. In September, for instance, allied warplanes attacked a converted pharmaceutical factory in northern Iraq thought to have been a chemical weapons production facility.

As Iraqi forces now advance into Mosul, analysts warned that the Islamic State could unleash more chemical attacks as they cede control. Iraqi forces have reclaimed about one-third of Mosul, Iraq's second-largest city.

"As the Islamic State loses ground around Mosul, there is a high risk of the group using chemical weapons to slow down and demoralize advancing enemy forces." said Columb Strack, a senior analyst and the head of the IHS Conflict Monitor. "And to potentially make an example of — and take revenge on — civilian dissidents within the city."

At least 19 of the 52 chemical attacks have taken place in and around Mosul, according to the IHS data, but the assessment noted a decline in attacks before the Iraqi-led offensive against the city.

"Mosul was at the center of the Islamic State's chemical weapons production," Mr. Strack said. "But most of the equipment and experts were probably evacuated to Syria in the weeks and months leading up to the Mosul offensive,

along with convoys of other senior members and their families."

The Islamic State is not the only actor in Syria to carry out chemical weapons' strikes: The Syrian government has conducted many more such attacks.

Syrian military helicopters dropped bombs containing chlorine on civilians in at least two attacks over the past two years, a special joint investigation of the United Nations and an international chemical weapons monitor said in August.

Beginning last year, American officials confirmed the first instances of the Islamic State using sulfur mustard, a chemical warfare agent, and the presence of the mustard gas on fragments of ordnance used in attacks by the group in Syria and Iraq. Laboratory tests, which were also performed on scraps of clothing from victims, showed the presence of a partly degraded form of distilled sulfur mustard, an internationally banned substance that burns a victim's skin, breathing passages and eyes.

Chemical warfare agents, broadly condemned and banned by most nations under international convention, are indiscriminate. They are also difficult to defend against without specialized equipment, which many of the Islamic State's foes in Iraq and Syria lack. The chemical agents are worrisome as potential terrorist weapons, even though chlorine and blister agents are typically less lethal than bullets, shrapnel or explosives.

It was unclear how the Islamic State had obtained sulfur mustard, a banned substance with a narrow chemical warfare application. Both the former Hussein government in Iraq and the current government in Syria at one point possessed chemical warfare programs.

Chlorine is commercially available as an industrial chemical and has been used occasionally by bomb makers from Sunni militant groups in Iraq for about a decade. But it is not known how the Islamic State would have obtained sulfur mustard, the officials said.

Abandoned and aging chemical munitions produced by Iraq during its war against Iran in the 1980s were used in roadside bombs against American forces during the occupation that followed the 2003 American invasion of Iraq. But American officials have said the types of ordnance that have been publicly disclosed so far have not matched known chemical ordnance in the former Iraqi inventory.

The attacks have been geographically scattered and have varied in their delivery systems, suggesting that the Islamic State had access to, and was experimenting with, different types of rockets and shells configured to carry chemical warfare agents or toxic industrial chemicals.

One theory is that the militants were manufacturing a crude mustard agent themselves, American officials say. Another theory is that the Islamic State acquired sulfur mustard from undeclared stocks in Syria, either through

capture or by purchasing it from corrupt officials, although this theory is not widely held by American analysts.

UN's Syria Envoy Suggests Donald Trump Has Limited Window To Work With Russia

By Alissa J. Rubin

New York Times, November 21, 2016

BEIRUT, Lebanon — The United Nations special envoy to Syria offered unsolicited advice on Monday to President-elect Donald J. Trump: Pay attention to what happens between now and January in Syria, particularly in Aleppo, the storied city at risk of obliteration by Russian-backed Syrian forces.

The envoy, Staffan de Mistura, suggested that Mr. Trump's shared desire with Russia to collaborate to annihilate the Islamist militants ensconced in eastern Aleppo and elsewhere presents new circumstances that could alter the war — for better or worse.

While such a collaboration could be effective in eradicating the Islamic State, Mr. de Mistura said during an interview in Beirut, the carnage and destruction caused by the Syrian and Russian militaries in Syria increasingly make it more problematic politically for Mr. Trump to align with Russia.

Mr. de Mistura's remarks, after a weekend of frustrating diplomacy in Syria, represented the first time that he has spoken about Mr. Trump's potential role in the war through the president-elect's eagerness to work with Russia, which backs the government of President Bashar al-Assad of Syria.

If Russia desires a new approach with the incoming Trump administration on Syria, Mr. de Mistura said, "it could be difficult for any president in the United States, regardless of his own priorities, to ignore the international outrage" over the "humanitarian tragedy in Aleppo."

Unless dramatic steps are taken, Mr. de Mistura said, "eastern Aleppo will not be there by the new year in terms of structural destruction."

For now, the Syrian government's apparent determination to eradicate the anti-government insurgents in eastern Aleppo appears to have overwhelmed all other considerations.

While the bombing of Aleppo abated during Mr. de Mistura's visit to Damascus on Saturday and Sunday, it resumed as he was departing on Monday. Humanitarian agencies have pleaded for respite from the assaults, which they say have destroyed or incapacitated all hospitals in the rebel-held part of the city.

At the United Nations on Monday, the organization's top relief official told the Security Council that he was "more or less at my wit's end as a human being" about the suffering in Aleppo and other besieged parts of Syria.

"We are not just seeing a resumption of violence in Aleppo — this is not business as usual," said the relief official, Stephen O'Brien, the undersecretary-general for humanitarian affairs and emergency relief coordinator. "What has been unleashed on civilians this past week is yet another low in an unrelenting inhuman onslaught."

Mr. de Mistura went to Syria with a short-term proposal to help civilians in Aleppo, which included the evacuation of about 200 wounded people at risk of dying because their injuries cannot be treated in a war zone; the delivery of medical supplies, and food aid for the most vulnerable. The emergency plan also would allow doctors, who have been working around the clock, to rotate out for rest.

The Syrian government rejected all tenets of Mr. de Mistura's plan except the evacuation of the wounded.

Mr. de Mistura also has proposed asking the fighters who are part of the Nusra Front, the Al Qaeda affiliate operating in Syria, to voluntarily leave east Aleppo to allow aid deliveries for the civilians there.

Syria's foreign minister, Walid al-Moallem, has rejected that proposal.

Mr. de Mistura said he nonetheless believes the Russians are sympathetic to his ideas for Aleppo because they do not want to seen as helping to destroy the historic city.

In articles quoting Russian sources and disseminated by the Russian-based Sputnik news agency and by a Chinese newspaper, Russia has sent decidedly mixed messages about its intentions.

In the Sputnik articles, the officials criticized the United Nations for having failed to use a pause in the Aleppo bombing this fall to evacuate wounded people. The articles also said traces of chlorine and white phosphorus bombs had been found in attacks on government-held western Aleppo. If true, the claims would suggest rebels are using banned weapons.

Mr. Assad's forces also have been accused of using banned weapons, including by a United Nations panel of inquiry.

However, China's People's Daily newspaper has asserted that Russia is not participating in the bombing, suggesting that as Mr. de Mistura indicated, Russia does not want to be associated with the flattening of Aleppo and untold civilian casualties.

The newspaper also suggested that Mr. Trump's election victory may factor into what it described as Russia's reticence.

"At this stage Russia all the more does not want any trouble with regard to civilian casualties on the Syrian battlefield and other issues that could complicate bilateral relations," the newspaper said.

The Syrian Charnel House

This is what the world looks like under the Putin-Iran axis.

Wall Street Journal, November 21, 2016

Full-text stories from the Wall Street Journal are available to Journal subscribers by clicking the link.

Damascus Diary: A Syrian City Filled With Life, And Hints Of Brutal Death

By Anne Barnard

New York Times, November 21, 2016

There is always a rush of tension and excitement driving into Damascus, a city inhabited for thousands of years, where cultures and influences have mixed and accumulated like coral on a reef.

More than five years into Syria's chaotic civil war, the capital is relatively undamaged and functioning, bustling with commuters, markets and restaurants — especially compared with Aleppo, where government airstrikes this week are pummeling rebel-held districts and rebels are shelling government-held ones. But my stay in Damascus early this month, even under the restrictions of government minders, revealed new ways that war has wounded and warped the city, which I have visited nine times since 2001.

When we drive from Beirut into Damascus, we take the highway past President Bashar al-Assad's hilltop palace. Rebel-held suburbs are visible, sometimes smoking from government airstrikes or shelling. Also nearby is an air base where detained opponents of the government sometimes disappear without a trace. Then we enter the capital on the Mezze Highway, a broad avenue of apartment buildings, government offices, cafes and cellphone shops.

Suddenly, we are in the heart of the city.

At the base of the Umayyad Mosque, one of the most layered and beautiful sites in the Old City, couples and families hang out, feed pigeons and pose for a man who's been using the same Polaroid camera for decades. The Roman-era walls of the mosque once housed a pagan temple, then a cathedral, and its courtyard remains one of the most peaceful spaces I've seen.

Inside, children play on a polished marble floor that reflects the sky; women sit, murmuring their news; gilded murals and stained glass catch the sunset. But sometimes the crescendo of unseen warplanes bores into the quiet.

At the Sheraton Damascus Hotel, lavish weddings and, in warm weather, afternoons lounging by the pool have continued throughout the war, but fewer and fewer can partake.

Government employees, their salaries gutted by inflation and currency crashes, have slipped from the middle class into poverty, forcing many young people to postpone weddings they can't afford. And with men ensconced in the

army and militias — or in exile to avoid the draft — there is a shortage of grooms.

Downtown Damascus feels busy and alive, with people boarding vans and buses to get to work as in any other city. But the heavy traffic is partly a result of the security checkpoints that have proliferated.

We were forbidden to photograph checkpoints during our 12-day stay in Syria, but they are ubiquitous. Our government-required minder alternately castigated, teased and charmed the soldiers and militiamen to speed our passage. But the checkpoints are more than a nuisance for many Syrians, who can be forced to pay bribes, detained or seized and sent off to army service.

Mount Qasioun towers above the city as always. But the cafes near the top, once a popular date spot, are closed. Artillery guns atop the mountain have been the backbeat of the war, the strange spectacle of a capital shelling its own suburbs, and sometimes being shelled back.

The simple act of changing money underscores how the economy has crashed with the costs of war, the destruction of manufacturing and the flight of capital as wealthy Syrians flee or send assets abroad.

For \$600, we got a four-inch brick of Syrian pounds at the Lebanese border.

The value of the pound against the dollar is a tenth of prewar levels. So restaurant tabs are paid in sheafs of bills but seem ridiculously cheap compared with past visits. At Naranj, the fanciest restaurant in the Old City, a lavish spread of traditional Syrian food around the marble fountains and mosaics came to the equivalent of about \$10 per person.

Sanctions imposed by the United States and Europe, meant to punish the government for human rights abuses, leave most Syrians unable to use credit cards or open international bank accounts. Even industries intended to be exempt, like pharmaceuticals, are sometimes hampered by international banks' caution against running afoul of the sanctions.

Taxi and bus drivers have always seen themselves as impresarios in Damascus: playing Arabic classics and Western pop music, making coffee in little electric pots while weaving through traffic, setting up romantic lights they flick on at night for an instant party atmosphere. But this cabby was a moonlighting soldier, trying to supplement a salary whose shrinking value could not support his family, still stuck in the army several years past the normal two-year requirement.

At a central roundabout were these two contrasting ads side by side.

On the right, a recruitment poster sponsored by a women's group declares: "Our army means all of us. Join the armed forces." On the left, a clinic offers a weight-loss treatment that promises "losing one kilogram after each session," as well as "hair removal and bleaching without pain." A short drive away is Moadhamiyeh, a suburb where,

during a government siege earlier in the war, some of the most vulnerable starved to death.

The Old City of Damascus is its most beautiful, famous section, with pedestrian streets, alleys overhung with vines and centuries-old houses built around courtyards.

No tourist museum, it is a thriving set of interlocking neighborhoods reflecting the city's cultural and religious diversity, where a shop selling classic Syrian crafts and antiques might be next door to ones selling toothpaste and detergents, or lingerie and sweatsuits.

But many of those shops have closed, or remain open only for their owners to keep company drinking coffee and playing backgammon with neighboring merchants. Militiamen from the Lebanese militant group Hezbollah, or Syrians they have helped train, keep watch on the streets.

Some shop owners whisper that they feel as if they are under occupation or grumble that they were forced to paint the Syrian flag on their doors. Others want to leave Syria but can't afford it because all their wealth is tied up in inventory — silver, tiles, brass, silk brocade, mosaic woodwork — they cannot sell. Rebel shells still occasionally crash down, killing people at random.

Some owners are coping by transforming antique shops into bars for the locals, especially on the thoroughfare known as the Street Called Straight, the destination of the Apostle Paul's biblical journey to Damascus.

The Tiki Bar, shown in the video below on the Saturday before Halloween, had a bartender D.J.-ing from his laptop as costumed patrons drank and smoked.

I noticed only later, watching the video, that the man next to me was, startlingly, dressed as a Nazi. There was a swastika on his armband.

The stunning shrine of Sayeda Rokaya, a figure revered by Shiites, is encrusted with layers of decoration: Why choose between blue ceramic tiles, Iranian-style cutglass sparkle and voluminous chandeliers when you can have them all?

There is a sense of community at the shrine among women who bring ailing children to try to absorb its blessing, and wipe dolls and garments against its grille. They beat their chests in lamentation. Many are pilgrims from Iraq, Iran and Lebanon, countries with militias supporting the Syrian Army, an intervention that has deeply divided Syrians.

The privations of war intrude here, as everywhere. The electricity goes off, a result of the daily power cuts imposed across Damascus because of fuel shortages. The chants continue even when the loudspeaker cuts off. Then the lights come back on, along with the amplified prayers.

Iraq Lauds Progress On Mosul, Expects Trump To Continue Support

Reuters, November 21, 2016

Full-text stories from Reuters currently cannot be included in this document. You may, however, click the link above to access the story.

Iraqi Troops Search For Suicide Car Bombs In Eastern Mosul

By Qassim Abdul-Zahra

Associated Press, November 21, 2016

MOSUL, Iraq (AP) – Iraqi troops fighting Islamic State militants in the eastern outskirts of Mosul regrouped on Monday in neighborhoods they recently retook from the extremist group, conducting house-to-house searches and looking for would-be suicide car bombs, a top Iraqi commander said.

Maj. Gen. Sami al-Aridi of the Iraqi military's special forces told The Associated Press that his men also foiled two attempted suicide car bombings earlier in the day, firing from a U.S.-made tank on the approaching vehicles, which exploded before hitting their intended targets.

A civilian woman was wounded in the blasts, the commander said.

The Iraqi military launched a campaign on Oct. 17 to retake Mosul, Iraq's second-largest city and the extremist group's last major urban bastion in the country. Most gains have been made by the special forces operating in the part of the city east of the Tigris River. Other forces are advancing on the city from different directions, and the U.S.-led coalition is providing airstrikes and other support.

But Monday's pause and the continuing danger to troops posed by suicide car bombs and sniper fire underline the difficulty of the campaign – even in eastern Mosul where Iraq's most combat-seasoned troops are operating. Weighing heavily on their battle plans is the safety of some 1 million civilians still residing in Mosul, a sprawling city cut in half by the Tigris.

The resilience of the IS fighters and the reluctance of the Iraqi military and its Western backers to use overwhelming firepower – in order to avoid civilian casualties – have led to the slow pace of the battle to retake Mosul. More than a month since the operations started, the special forces remain some 10 kilometers (6.2 miles) from Mosul's city center.

Meanwhile, Mosul residents reached by telephone inside the city and two special forces' officers said an airstrike on Monday by the U.S.-led coalition destroyed a major bridge over the Tigris in the southern part of the city.

It's the third of the city's five bridges on the Tigris to be targeted by the coalition. One was hit shortly before the offensive to retake Mosul began and the other soon after it started.

Targeting the bridges appears designed to limit the IS capacity to reinforce or resupply fighters on the east bank of

the Tigris where most of the fighting is taking place. The Iraqi military is known to have received U.S.-made pontoon bridges designed for use in combat.

The residents spoke to the AP on condition of anonymity because they feared reprisals by the IS. The two officers insisted on anonymity because they were not authorized to speak to the media.

In Baghdad, Prime Minister Haider al-Abadi made an impassioned call for unity in an address to the nation Monday. Accusing unnamed parties of seeking to raise the specter of sectarian strife, he said: "Our strength lies in our diversity ... we have a tough task ahead of us to rebuild what Daesh destroyed." Daesh is the Arabic acronym for IS.

"All Iragis are first-class citizens," he said.

The address came on the occasion of a major Shiite Muslim holiday, but it was not immediately clear why the prime minister would make a call for unity now.

The battle against the Islamic State group, which is Sunni, has consistently been accompanied by sectarian undertones since Iraqi security forces and the military are predominantly Shiite. Also, complaints by some Sunni Iraqis and international rights groups against alleged abuses by either the Shiite-led security forces or government-allied Shiite militias have fueled those undertones. There are also rising tensions in the anti-Is battle between the Shiite militias and the Kurdish peshmerga forces from the semi-autonomous northern Kurdish region in Iraq.

Mosul was captured by IS in the summer of 2014 as part of a blitz that placed nearly a third of Iraq under the group's control. Iraqi troops, federal police and allied Shiite and Sunni militias have over the past year pushed IS militants from most of the vast Sunni province of Anbar, west of Baghdad, and areas to the north and east of the Iraqi capital.

Also Monday, three separate attacks in and around Baghdad killed at least five civilians and wounded 26, according to police and health officials who spoke on condition of anonymity because they were not authorized to talk to reporters.

Baghdad has for more than a decade experienced near daily attacks that have claimed thousands of lives. The attacks have mostly been blamed on IS, its forerunner al-Qaida or extremist Shiite groups.

Associated Press writers Maamoun Youssef in Cairo and Sinan Salaheddin in Baghdad contributed to this report.

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This story has been corrected to show the Iraqi prime minister's first name is spelled Haider, not Haidar.

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Iraq Shi'ite Paramilitaries Close To Cutting Mosul Supply Route

By Isabel Coles And Stephen Kalin Reuters, November 21, 2016

Full-text stories from Reuters currently cannot be included in this document. You may, however, click the link above to access the story.

Iraq's Ascendant Shiite Militias Take The Fight To Tal Afar

By Brian Rohan

Associated Press, November 21, 2016

TAL AFAR AIRPORT, Iraq (AP) – A sandstorm is brewing west of the Iraqi city of Mosul, kicked up across a barren landscape by thousands of men and machines headed to war.

Trucks, armored transports and even tanks carry fighters through a cloud of fine dust past a series of base camps and heavy weapons depots dotting the route to the front line against the so-called Islamic State.

These are the Shiite militias, and their goal is Tal Afar, on the main road to the Syrian city of Raqqa, the capital of IS' self-declared caliphate.

Currently a sideshow compared with the street-to-street fighting in Mosul, some 70 kilometers (44 miles) to the east, the battle for Tal Afar is certain to boost Shiite power. And its significance could be just as great – if not greater – for Iraq and the future of the region than the main battle for Mosul itself.

Officially, the Iraqi government and top militia leadership say that only Iraqi army units will enter Tal Afar, once dominated by Shiites but now primarily Sunni Turkmen, a minority in the country with cultural and historic links to nearby Turkey to the north.

But some of the militias' most powerful units, as well as field commanders and troops – all backed by a newly empowered Iran – tell a different story.

Jaafar al-Husseini, spokesman for Iraq's Hezbollah Brigades, said it is the militias backed by Shiite-heavy army units and Iranian weapons that will lead the charge into Tal Afar to drive out IS extremists.

"The Iranians are with us," he said, adding that Tehran was supporting the militias directly, including strategy from Revolutionary Guards commander Gen. Qassem Soleimani, who is in charge of a crescent of Shiite power stretching from Tehran to Beirut.

"Our mission and that of the (Iraqi Shiite) Badr Brigades is to encircle Tal Afar from the east. Then we will storm it," he

said, adding that Soleimani visited a nearby staging ground three days ago.

Iraq's Shiite militias mobilized against IS in 2014. Since then, they have shown a growing determination to be a major force shaping the country.

The prospect worries Iraq's Sunni minority but also some officials in the military and the Shiite-led government, who fear the militias, bolstered by prestige from battles with IS, could one day dominate the country like the Revolutionary Guard does in Iran and the guerrilla group Hezbollah does in Lebanon.

The larger militias, like Asaib Ahl al-Haq, the Hezbollah Brigades, Badr and the Peace Brigades, emerged after the 2003 ouster of Saddam Hussein, and are linked to political parties. But their ranks surged after IS overran nearly a third of Iraq in 2014, and Grand Ayatollah Ali al-Sistani, Iraq's top Shiite cleric, called on able-bodied males to fight the militant group's Sunni extremists.

Thousands rallied to the militias late last month, bringing their strength to at least 15,000 men in the push toward Tal Afar to cut off IS supply lines west of Mosul. Their umbrella group, Hashd al-Shaabi, has agreed not to enter Mosul itself, but the same cannot be said of all groups when it comes to Tal Afar.

On the winding route through the desert, a relentless flow of pickup trucks and Humvees carried men bristling with weapons. The Iraqi flag was a rare sight; instead, most carried banners from various Shiite militias, with their distinctive font and iconography similar to that of Iran's Revolutionary Guard and Lebanon's Hezbollah.

The deployment has not gone unnoticed in the region.

Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan warned that the militias could prompt a Turkish response if they "terrorize" the area's Iraqi-Turkmen. Ankara has deployed tanks and other vehicles to Silopi, a Turkish town on Iraq's northern border.

"In this respect, mistakes in Tal Afar could re-ignite a Sunni-Shiite civil war, or at the very least create obstacles to liberating Mosul," said Ayham Kamel, Director of Middle East and North Africa at Eurasia Group, a global political risk consultancy.

Iraqi Prime Minister Haider al-Abadi's official plan to have only the army enter Tal Afar played down the chance of an escalation, although the militias' actions may not.

Rights groups have accused the militias of abuses against civilians in other Sunni areas retaken from IS – allegations the militia leaders deny. Residents of Fallujah said Shiite groups exacted revenge during operations to retake the Sunni city last summer, alleging Sunni Arab civilians who fled IS-held areas were detained, tortured and killed.

Erdogan's ire probably was directed more toward Iran. The two countries' rivalry extends to northern Syria, where Iranian-backed militias fighting alongside Syrian forces are

competing with Turkish-backed opposition forces for supremacy around the northern city of Aleppo.

Turkey launched Operation Euphrates Shield in August, partly to drive back Islamic State militants from its borders. But the rebels it backed have advanced south, raising alarm among hundreds of Shiite militiamen from Iran, Iraq and Lebanon trying to seize opposition-held eastern Aleppo.

Outside Tal Afar, the commander who led the operation to retake its airport last week said forces in the area would not stand for any Turkish intervention.

"We are Iraqis, and this is our country, and we consider any foreign intervention to be a provocation for us and our national sentiment," said Abu Taha Naser, "and God willing, this will not happen if the Turkish leadership is wise."

Should the militias take the city, it would cut a main IS artery into Syria, where the militants already face a recent offensive by a Syrian Kurdish-led force. That would be another major blow for the retreating militants and a boost for Syrian President Bashar Assad, an ally of Iran. Tal Afar would then be the last of a string of Shiite cities and towns stretching from Iran across Iraq toward the Syrian border.

No matter who leads the offensive into Tal Afar, the Shiite forces will inevitably hold the city because they – and not the Iraqi army – are in the area by the thousands, said Dana Jalal, a Kurdish specialist on Iraqi militias.

"Yes, they will enter Tal Afar, along with the Iraqi army's 92nd brigade," he said. "It's actually more the will of the Iraqi army and less that of the government."

Iraqi officials still deny that the military will play a secondary role to the militias or leave it in their hands once Tal Afar is taken. But a look at the army unit intended to join the militias in the days ahead raises further doubt that Iraq's central government will be the main force in the fight for the city.

The 92nd brigade, nicknamed the "Tal Afar Brigade," is made up almost entirely of Shiites from the city. But it also goes by another label: the "Hussein Brigade" – named for the revered Imam Hussein, the Prophet Muhammad's grandson and a key figure in Shiite Islam.

Flags featuring the Iman Hussein were a common sight on vehicles racing through the desert, with militiamen exclaiming, "On to Tal Afar!" At a provisions depot farther behind the front line, militiamen ate sandwiches while listening to hymns chanting the imam's name.

With the thud of incoming mortar rounds from IS positions and ricochets from sniper fire as a backdrop, militiaman Taha Naser was clear.

"The priority is to cut the supply route between Tal Afar and Raqqa," he said, "and then to liberate the city of Tal Afar."

Associated Press writer Qassim Abdul-Zahra contributed from Erbil.

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US Accuses 13 Syrians Of Responsibility For Attacks, Torture

By Edith M. Lederer

Associated Press, November 21, 2016

UNITED NATIONS (AP) – The United States on Monday accused 13 Syrian commanders and prison officials of responsibility for attacks on cities, residential areas and civilian infrastructure as well as acts of torture.

U.S. Ambassador Samantha Power read out the names of Maj. Gen. Adib Salameh, Brig. Gen. Adnan Aboud Hilweh, Maj. Gen. Jawdat Salbi Mawas, Col. Suhail Hassan, and Maj. General Tahir Hamid Khalil at a Security Council meeting, saying the international community is watching "and one day they will be held accountable."

The detailed allegations appeared to be aimed at laying the groundwork for future war crimes prosecutions and marked an 11th hour attempt by the Obama administration to hold the Syrian government accountable for alleged atrocities.

Power accused President Bashar Assad's regime and close ally Russia of continuing their "starve, get bombed, or surrender" strategy in rebel-held eastern Aleppo and stressed that this was not an isolated case.

"Across Syria, Russia and the Assad regime are waging a campaign that includes sieges, the blocking of humanitarian aid, the indiscriminate bombardment of civilian areas, and the use of barrel bombs," she said. The United States also knows where torture allegedly takes place in Syria, she said, citing four military intelligence branches, the Air Force Intelligence Investigation Branch in Mezzeh military airport, and the Tishreen and Harasta military hospitals.

Power named eight commanding officers and prison officials who work at these facilities saying the United States "will continue fighting to hold them accountable for their hateful crimes."

She identified them as Maj. Gen. Jamil Hassan, Brig. Gen. Abdul Salam Fajr Mahmoud, Brig. Gen. Ibrahim Ma'la, Col. Qusai Mihoub, Brig. Gen. Salah Hamad, Brig. Gen. Sha'afiq Masa, Maj. Gen. Rafiq Shihadeh, and Hafiz Makhlouf.

The U.S. Mission said Makhlouf, Hassan and Mihoub are already subject to U.S. sanctions.

"I know right now, today, with wind at their backs, these individuals feel impunity," Power said, but she reminded them

that others who felt that way including Bosnian Serb leader Slobodan Milosevic and Liberian president Charles Taylor were eventually arrested and brought before the International Criminal Court.

Power said the United States recognizes that opposition groups and Islamic State extremists have also committed abuses, but she didn't identify any individuals.

Russia's deputy ambassador Vladimir Safronkov demanded to know "where are the names of the terrorists?"

"You need to be impartial," he told Power. "There's a presumption of innocence. ... This is something that can only be decided by legal proceedings."

When Syria's Ambassador Bashar Ja'afari was called on to address the council, Power walked out of the chamber along with the British and French ambassadors, Matthew Rycroft and Francois Delattre.

Safronkov called the walkout "unacceptable behavior."

Ja'afari defended the bombing campaign saying Syria was "fighting a terrorist statelet."

But U.N. humanitarian chief Stephen O'Brien strongly criticized Assad's government for invoking national sovereignty "to bomb its own people."

He said the number of Syrians living in areas besieged mainly by government forces has more than doubled in the past year to nearly one million people.

"It is a deliberate tactic of cruelty to compound a people's suffering for political, military and in some cases economic gain, to destroy and defeat a civilian population who cannot fight back," O'Brien said.

In eastern Aleppo, he said, humanitarian conditions have gone "from terrible to terrifying and now barely survivable."

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U.N. Says Nearly 1 Million Syrians Besieged; U.S. Names, Shames Commanders

By Michelle Nichols

Reuters, November 21, 2016

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Russia Deploys New Missiles To The Baltic Sea Region

By Vladimir Isachenkov Associated Press, November 21, 2016 MOSCOW (AP) – The Russian military has deployed state-of-the art anti-shipping missiles in the nation's westernmost Baltic region, the Interfax news agency reported Monday, a move that comes amid spiraling tensions in Russia-West ties.

Interfax said Monday that the military has put Bastion missile-launchers on duty in the Kaliningrad exclave that borders NATO members Poland and Lithuania. The Russian Defense Ministry said over the weekend that the Baltic Fleet was rearming itself with new missile-launchers, but didn't provide specifics.

The ministry had no immediate comment on the Interfax report.

The Bastion fires supersonic Oniks cruise missiles, which have a range of up to 450 kilometers (280 miles) and can be used against ships as well as ground targets. Last week, it made its combat debut in Syria where the Russian military used it against militants.

Separately, Viktor Ozerov, the head of the defense affairs committee in the Russian parliament's upper house, told RIA Novosti news agency Monday that Russia would also deploy Iskander tactical ballistic missiles and S-400 air defense missile systems to Kaliningrad in response to the U.S. missile defense plans.

"We are facing two main tasks – to penetrate air defenses and ensure protection from possible strikes," Ozerov said.

The S-400, which Russia has used to protect its air base in Syria, is a sophisticated system that can simultaneously track and strike multiple aerial targets at ranges of up to 400 kilometers (250 miles). Based in the Kaliningrad region, the S-400s will be capable of targeting NATO aircraft and missiles over most of the Baltic region.

Iskander has a range of up to 500 kilometers (310 miles) and high precision, allowing it to target facilities in several NATO member nations neighboring Russia with pinpoint accuracy. It can be fitted with a conventional or a nuclear warhead.

Last month, the deployment of Iskander missiles to the Kaliningrad region worried Russia's neighbors. The Russian military said the move was part of regular training, but didn't specify whether the missiles were sent there temporarily or deployed on a permanent basis.

The Kremlin long has warned that the development of NATO's U.S.-led missile defense system poses a danger to Russia's security and vowed to take countermeasures. Moscow also has complained strongly against the deployment of NATO's military units near Russia's borders.

"To counter these threats, we will be forced to strengthen our air and missile defenses in the western vector and to deploy additional means to defend the relevant command-and-control infrastructure," Ozerov told RIA Novosti.

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U.S. Says Russian Deployment Of Missiles 'Destabilizing' To Europe

Reuters, November 21, 2016

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Putin Says Russia Planning "Countermeasures" To NATO Expansion

By David Filipov

Washington Post, November 21, 2016

MOSCOW — Russian President Vladimir Putin is warning that his forces could target NATO sites if his country feels threatened.

But it's not so much the warning that's important; it's the timing.

"We are forced to take countermeasures — that is, to aim our missile systems at those facilities which we think pose a threat to us," Putin said in an interview with American filmmaker Oliver Stone for a documentary broadcast Monday. "The situation is heating up."

Putin's harsh words for the Western alliance were broadcast on Russian television as -President-elect Donald Trump, who has been critical of NATO, pulls together a team and calls for closer ties with the Kremlin.

The broadcast of Putin's warning came just days after his spokesman suggested that Trump could build confidence in Moscow by persuading NATO to move its forces back from the Russian border.

Just hours before the Kremlin leader's threat hit the airwaves, Russia announced that it had bolstered its defensive missile strength in Kaliningrad, a Russian enclave wedged between NATO members Lithuania and Poland.

The Stone-produced documentary — about the events that led up to the conflict in Ukraine between pro-Moscow separatists and the Western-allied government — premiered on Russian television after advance transcripts of Putin's remarks were circulated by Russian state-run media.

"Why are we reacting to NATO expansion so emotionally? We are concerned by NATO's -decision-making," Putin said.

Smaller NATO countries would find it "next to impossible to resist pressure from a major NATO leader such

as the United States" to deploy missile systems or host new bases, he said.

"And what are we supposed to do?" Putin said in the interview for Stone's "Ukraine on Fire."

Putin and his diplomats have threatened to strike NATO in self-defense before, as the alliance increasingly focuses on the threats it perceives from Russia.

But for the Stone interview, Putin "probably guessed that this documentary would be aired when the new POTUS was already elected, so in part that's messaging to the new president," said Simon Saradzhyan, founding director of the Russia Matters Project at the Harvard Kennedy School's Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs.

Putin probably expected that his message would be heard by Hillary Clinton. But a major wild card has been introduced by the election victory of Trump, who has called the alliance a bad deal for America and has suggested that his administration will seek to improve relations with Russia.

In October, Putin stationed nuclear-capable land- and ship-based cruise missiles in Kaliningrad, following a July decision by NATO to send additional troops to the region.

The brinkmanship also extends to defenses against possible cyberattacks.

Finland's undersecretary of state, Jori Arvonen, told reporters Monday that a joint -NATO-European Union center is planned for Helsinki to study "hybrid" warfare, including -cyberespionage and propaganda via social media.

Arvonen said the planned center will seek to battle online incursions that could be "diplomatic, military, technological or financial in their nature."

U.S. intelligence officials suspect high-level Russian involvement in email-hacking targeting Clinton's campaign chief and others during the presidential campaign.

Brian Murphy in Washington contributed to this report.

Ukraine's Detention Of 2 Servicemen Ignites Dispute With Russia

By Ivan Nechepurenko

New York Times, November 21, 2016

MOSCOW — Russia's Defense Ministry said Monday that Ukrainian Security Service operatives had abducted two of its servicemen, who were later described by Kiev as deserters from the Ukrainian Army.

The two servicemen, identified by Russia as Maksim Odintsov and Aleksandr Baranov, were detained and whisked by the operatives over the disputed border of Crimea into the Mykolaiv region of Ukraine on Sunday, the Russian Defense Ministry said in a statement.

"The Ukrainian special services are trying to fabricate a criminal case against Mr. Baranov and Mr. Odintsov," the statement said, as carried by the Interfax news agency. "It is not excluded that psychological and physical evidence will be

applied against the Russian servicemen in order to get the 'right' testimony."

The statement described what happened as a "rude provocation" and demanded the immediate return of the men.

In Kiev, the Ukrainian Security Service confirmed that the two servicemen had been detained on the border with Crimea, but it described them as former Ukrainian Army soldiers, who are now facing charges of treason for defecting to Russia.

"These are two former Ukrainian servicemen, who broke the oath of enlistment and went to serve in the Russian Army," a representative of the Security Service told Interfax.

In contrast to the Russian statement, the Ukrainian official said the servicemen had been detained on Ukrainian territory after crossing the border.

Russia annexed Crimea in 2014 after deploying thousands of troops throughout the peninsula and conducting a hastily organized pro-Russian referendum there. Many soldiers and officers of the Ukrainian Army and Navy have switched sides and begun to serve in the Russian military.

After the annexation, Crimea was the site of a number of episodes, especially along its disputed border with Ukraine.

This month, Russia's main security service said it had arrested several Ukrainian citizens in Crimea, accusing them of planning to attack military sites and infrastructure there. Ukrainian officials dismissed the reports as false.

In August, Russia said it had dismantled a Ukrainian spy network and accused the Ukrainian leadership of sponsoring terrorism in Crimea. Kiev denied both claims as "fantasies."

Suicide Bomber Kills At Least 30 Inside Shiite Mosque In Kabul During Ceremony

By Pamela Constable And Paul Schemm Washington Post, November 21, 2016

KABUL — A suicide bomber slipped into a crowded Shiite mosque in Kabul on Monday and blew himself up during a prayer ceremony, killing at least 30 people and wounding scores in the latest attack claimed by the Islamic State on Afghanistan's Shiite minority.

The Amaq news agency, which is affiliated with the Islamic State, carried a statement saying that a member of the militant group had carried out the blast, according to the SITE Intelligence Group, which monitors online messages from extremist factions.

The midday attack occurred in the Baqir-ul Ulum mosque and cultural center in a Shiite district in western Kabul during a ceremony marking the end of the traditional 40-day mourning period since Ashura, one of the holiest days in the Shiite calendar. An attack on another Kabul mosque during Ashura killed 17 people.

Several hours after Monday's blast, volunteers were sweeping glass from shattered windows and rolling up bloodstained carpets in the main worship hall.

"I heard a huge noise and the room filled with smoke. When it cleared, I saw bodies everywhere," said Hussein Ali Nazari, 37, one of the volunteers.

Huge chunks from the badly damaged stone pillars lining the large prayer room littered the floor. Near the ceiling, a sign in Arabic said, "A mosque is only for spiritual pursuits."

Nazari said several hundred men and boys had been praying in the main hall at noon when the bomber struck among them. Women and girls had been gathered on an upstairs balcony. He said survivors used scarves and shawls to carry the dead and wounded outside until ambulances arrived.

The Ministry of Public Health reported late Monday that at least 30 people were killed, including children, and about 80 injured. Earlier in the day, Faridoon Obaidi, head of Kabul's criminal investigations department, said 27 people were killed and 35 wounded.

Officials from the United Nations' mission in Afghanistan condemned the attack as an "atrocity," noting that the bomber had targeted civilians at a special ceremony that had drawn a "particularly large congregation." In a statement, U.N. official Pernille Kardel expressed "revulsion at this latest effort by extremists to stoke sectarian violence in Afghanistan."

The U.S. Embassy and the U.S. military assistance mission also issued statements condemning the attack.

The blue-domed mosque and cultural center is in the heart of Kabul's Shiite and ethnic Hazara enclave, a bustling but poor area lined with used-clothing and vegetable stalls, as well as bicycle-repair and carpentry shops.

The bombing was the third deadly attack in five months on the Shiite and Hazara community. All the attacks have been claimed by a local affiliate of the Islamic State, which views Shiites as heretics.

During Ashura ceremonies on Oct. 11 — commemorating the 7th-century death of Imam Hussein, a grandson of the prophet Muhammad — gunmen attacked a Shiite shrine in Kabul and left 17 dead. On July 23, a peaceful protest by young Hazara activists in the capital was bombed, killing 80 people.

The attacks appeared intended to stoke sectarian tensions in a country where the majority Sunnis and the minority Shiites, who make up about 15 percent of the population, have historically had amicable relations.

That tolerance has been tested as Sunni Taliban insurgents have continued their assault on the state and as Hazara rights groups have become more vocal. The provocative injection of the Islamic State, a rival of the Taliban, has generated both fear and defiance among local Shiites.

Several people visiting the mosque on Monday afternoon noted that Sunnis had been among the worshipers at the prayer service. They said their community was determined not to let outside forces sow divisions.

"The people who did this want to create fear among Shiites and divide us from Sunnis, but we know they are the enemies of all Islam and all Afghans," said Ali Hadi Laghwani, a worshiper and member of the Hazara high council.

Schemm reported from Addis Ababa, Ethi-o-pia.

Islamic State Again Strikes At Afghan Shiites, Killing At Least 30 In Kabul

By Mujib Mashal And Fahim Abed New York Times, November 21, 2016

KABUL, Afghanistan — A suicide bomber struck a crowded gathering of Shiite Muslims in the Afghan capital on Monday, officials said, killing at least 30 people in the latest assault against religious minorities here to be claimed by militants loyal to the Islamic State.

The suicide bomber detonated his explosives just as hundreds of worshipers had packed into the Baqir ul-Uloom mosque, in western Kabul. They were commemorating Arbaeen, a Shiite observance of loss and grief that comes 40 days after Ashura, when a grandson of the Prophet Muhammad was martyred. The Islamic State had claimed an attack during that holiday as well, bombing another Shiite shrine in Kabul on the eve of Ashura, and killing at least 14.

Sediq Sediqqi, a spokesman for the Interior Ministry, said that at least 30 people had been killed and at least 40 wounded.

The blast was so powerful that the windows from all three floors of the mosque were blown away. The walls looked as if they had been hosed with blood. Human remains, shoes, bloodied copies of the Quran and broken prayer beads were scattered around the hall.

The large pots of rice cooking in the yard to feed about 700 people after the event remained unopened.

Salman Firuzi, one of the worshipers present at the mosque during the blast, said about 500 men were on the ground floor, where the bomber detonated his explosives, and a similar number of women were on the second floor.

"We were offering the final prayer when we heard a big bang and saw a big flame," said Mr. Firuzi, his clothes soaked with the blood of the bodies he had helped load into cars. "We personally transferred some 20 dead bodies to private vehicles that we had take them to hospital."

Hours after a Taliban spokesman denied responsibility for the attack, the Islamic State issued a statement by its central Amaq news agency saying that the group's affiliates in Afghanistan had been responsible for the assault.

This was the third major attack against Shiites that the terrorist group had carried out in Kabul in the past three

months, and the frequency of the assaults has many worried that the government is unable to protect vulnerable groups. That concern, and the outrage by minorities who say the government and its American allies are not doing enough, has further stoked sectarian and factional tensions that are roiling Afghanistan.

The deadliest of the attacks claimed by the Islamic State targeted a protest by the Hazaras, who are mostly Shiite, in July, leaving at least 80 people dead.

"This appalling attack on worshipers is an atrocity," said Pernille Kardel, the United Nations secretary general's deputy special representative for Afghanistan. She expressed "revulsion at this latest effort by extremists to stoke sectarian violence in Afghanistan."

The Islamic State's ability to strike the capital city with regularity has punctured the Afghan government's assurances that the extremist group has been contained to small pockets in the east of the country.

Since early 2015, the group has gained a foothold across several districts in Nangarhar Province, where it has wrecked havoc. Estimates for the number of Islamic State fighters in Nangarhar have ranged from 1,500 to 4,000, most of them former members of the Pakistani and Afghan Taliban.

The Afghan government has maintained pressure on the group's havens, allocating both ground and air resources, and backed up by American airstrikes. American military advisers have also been deployed to help, and have been killed in the fighting. But in recent months, officials have admitted that their operations have not rooted out the threat, with the Islamic State simply relocating to another district when pressed in one.

Still, some officials have expressed doubt that the group of Islamic State fighters in Nangarhar was behind the latest urban attacks. One senior Afghan security official, speaking on the condition of anonymity to discuss intelligence, said there was some doubt about whether the pocket of Islamic State-affiliated fighters in the east had the capacity or the networks to pull off such large-scale terrorist attacks.

Shahgul Razaee, a member of the Afghan Parliament, said that the recent attacks in Kabul targeting Shiites "are a part of a systematic killing of a specific ethnic and religious group," and that the government had proved unable to do anything about it.

"What the government is doing by being careless is that it is leading people to ethnic divisions," Ms. Razaee said. "It will increase the distance between the government and the people, and some people will think that the government belongs to a specific group and not all of the people."

Islamic State Claims Responsibility For Kabul Mosque Bombing

At least 30 people are reported dead after a suicide bombing inside a mosque packed with Shiite Muslim worshipers

By Ehsanullah Amiri And Jessica Donati Wall Street Journal, November 21, 2016

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Obama Seeks To Fortify Iran Nuclear Deal

By Carol E. Lee And Jay Solomon Wall Street Journal, November 20, 2016

Full-text stories from the Wall Street Journal are available to Journal subscribers by clicking the link.

Iran Begins Exporting Excess Heavy Water

By George Jahn

Associated Press, November 21, 2016

VIENNA (AP) – Iran has begun to export excess quantities of heavy water, which could be used in the process to make atomic arms, as it moves to end a small but significant violation of a landmark nuclear deal, according to diplomats and an Iranian news site.

Heavy water is used to cool reactors that can produce substantial amounts of plutonium. That, in turn, can be applied to making the fissile core of nuclear warheads. A recent report from the U.N.'s International Atomic Energy Agency said that Tehran had more heavy water in storage than called for by the agreement between it and six world powers.

While the overhang was slight – 100 kilograms (220 pounds) over the allotted 130 metric tons – it is the second time that Iran had exceeded its limit since the deal came into effect in January. U.S. diplomats have criticized the violation, and with the incoming U.S. administration warning it could try to overturn the deal, Iran's repeated breach of its commitment is adding concerns about its durability.

Iran has recently pledged to ship out five tons of the material to return to compliance to the agreement, which gives it sanctions relief in exchange for limits on its atomic program. Both Iran's semi-official ISNA news agency and two diplomats familiar with Iran's nuclear program reported that by Monday the country had transferred an amount of its surplus heavy water to Oman for sale.

The diplomats are familiar with the issue but demanded anonymity because they weren't authorized to comment on what are confidential developments.

In February, a month after the deal went into effect, the agency noted for the first time that Iran had exceeded its allotted limit of heavy water. The amount was greater in that case and some of the excess was exported to the U.S. under an arrangement criticized by U.S. congressional opponents as facilitating Iranian violations of the deal.

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Iran's Guards Using Trump Victory To Claw Back Power

By Parisa Hafezi

Reuters, November 21, 2016

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Ripping The Iran Deal Up Is Different Than Preventing It

By Jennifer Rubin

Washington Post, November 21, 2016

Having endured a presidential election in which the winner lowered our national IQ each time he opened his mouth, we now face a president ill-prepared to operate in the real world. Fake facts, empty slogans and emotional outbursts proved to be a winning formula in the race. President-elect Donald Trump however now, to his shock and amazement, actually must govern.

For him, talk radio, right-wing advocacy groups, the Freedom Caucus and Fox Non-News evening programming, there is no differentiation between preventing something from happening and dispensing with it once it is in place. Legitimate opposition to President Obama's use of executive orders to change immigration law is a far cry from turning around to deport those who self-identified and passed initial vetting. The facts have changed. In the context of Obamacare, there was good reason up front to reform rather than merely extend Medicaid, but having put millions onto Medicaid rolls (and millions more onto the exchanges) "repealing" Obamacare on Day One becomes nonsensical. If you are going to blow up the bridge, you better get everyone on it to shore first. Social conservatives who opposed samesex marriage now live in a country in which the Supreme Court has ruled and gay marriages take place every day. There is no going back. And by the way, straight marriage has not collapsed in the wake of the Supreme Court ruling. We ascribe no causation but divorce rates are at a 40-year low. Perhaps "traditional marriage" advocates should be cheering this:

The U.S. divorce rate dropped for the third year in a row, reaching its lowest point in nearly 40 years, according to data released Thursday.

Marriage rates, on the other hand, increased last year. In 2015, there were 32.2 marriages for every 1,000 unmarried women age 15 or older, according to the National Center for Family and Marriage Research at Bowling Green State University. This represents a jump from 31.9 in 2014 and is the highest number of marriages since 2009, which suggests that marriage rates may be stabilizing after decades of decline.

On the divorce side, the 2015 rate was 16.9 divorces per 1,000 married women age 15 or older, which is down from 17.6 in 2014 and a peak of almost 23 divorces in 1980.

This phenomenon should be of particular concern in national security. In January 2017 Trump will enter office in a world in which sanctions have been lifted on Iran; Iran has successfully extracted "ransom" for multiple hostages; Iran has illegally launched multiple missile tests; Bashar al-Assad is still in power in Syria (thanks to Iran and Russia); and Iran has received \$150 billion or so in sanctions relief. In this context what does "ripping up" the Iran deal on Day One really mean?

We would have to be prepared to reimpose sanctions, sanction our own companies and our allies for doing business with Iran, threaten to and be prepared to use military force if Iran proceeded with its nuclear program, etc. Even if you think all that is possible and desirable — we do not — it is a far cry from objecting to the deal up front (precisely because one anticipated all these terrible consequences). Trump inherits a world in which the Iran deal is a fact, and he must devise policies designed to achieve our original objectives, namely checking Iran's regional aggression and forestalling it from becoming a nuclear power.

Critics of the JCPOA suggest a variety of approaches:

First, the Treasury Department could put further pressure on the Iranian economy and nefarious Iranian actors such as the IRGC by limiting foreign companies' willingness to enter Iranian markets. . . . Second, the Treasury Department could clarify that — in the case of the Iran sanctions program — offshore dollarized transactions would be subject to U.S. jurisdiction Third, the new administration could adopt a more aggressive enforcement posture towards foreign companies re-entering Iranian markets in ways that violate U.S. sanctions. . . .

In addition to pushing Iran over its continued support for terrorism, ballistic missile development, and human rights abuses, this added economic pressure would also increase Trump's hand if he were to decide that the United States should push to renegotiate the JCPOA. While these changes in U.S. sanctions regulations and guidelines would not be in violation of the current nuclear agreement, as they were neither contained nor bargained for in the JCPOA, they could be used in future negotiations as bargaining chips to obtain additional concessions from Iran, either related to its nuclear program or its continued support for terrorism.

Whatever tools he deploys must be used in the context of the existing JCPOA. We might, with clever negotiations and economic leverage get Iran to walk away from the deal but ripping it up is a campaign slogan, not a policy. Trump should know that those still mouthing his "rip up the deal on Day One" mantra are ill-informed, childish and/or trying to curry favor at the expense of solid advice. He shouldn't hire them.

Governing is hard enough without having said a long list of ludicrous things along the way to a gullible echo chamber. As he departs from his fantasy list, critics of his ludicrous promises should cheer. We are gravely disturbed by a candidate who gets into office by lying and advancing nonsense. We would be even more disturbed if he stuck with his nonsense.

Philippines To Declare Marine Sanctuary In South China Sea

By Mike Ives

New York Times, November 21, 2016

HONG KONG — Philippine officials said Monday that President Rodrigo Duterte planned to declare a marine sanctuary and no-fishing zone at a lagoon within Scarborough Shoal, a reef China seized in 2012.

The announcement followed Mr. Duterte's meeting with President Xi Jinping of China on the sidelines of the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation summit meeting in Peru over the weekend. It was unclear whether the plan had Mr. Xi's backing; the Philippine national security adviser, Hermogenes Esperon Jr., said in a statement on Monday that creating the proposed sanctuary was "a unilateral action."

The plan comes about four months after the Philippines largely won an international arbitration ruling that had challenged China's seizure of Scarborough Shoal. It also comes as Mr. Duterte has tried to reset frayed relations with China and has publicly questioned his country's longstanding ties to the United States.

Mr. Duterte's communications secretary, Martin Andandar, quoted Mr. Xi as having called for a "favorable environment" at Scarborough Shoal, which both countries claim. The Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs did not respond to a faxed request for comment on Monday.

Experts said Monday that it would be difficult to assess the feasibility of Mr. Duterte's plan without further details, and that a crucial question was whether China would be involved in the implementation or enforcement of the proposed sanctuary.

Last month Wu Shicun, president of the National Institute for South China Sea Studies and an adviser to the Chinese government, said that the government was open to making the lagoon within the shoal into an "environmental protection park."

"Until we have a management plan, we won't know," said Clive Wilkinson, an expert on coral reefs in Australia and the former lead coordinator for the nonprofit Global Coral Reef Monitoring Network.

He added that the Philippines probably did not have enough ships to enforce such a ban, and that the lagoon sanctuary would offer only marginal fisheries protection in the absence of a corresponding fishing ban along the shoal's outer flanks.

The South China Sea has some of the world's most productive fisheries. A 2015 academic study found that the sea had 571 known species of reef corals alone, significantly more than most other reefs around the world.

But the sea is also facing an overfishing crisis, and scientists say that China's campaign to turn seven disputed reefs into artificial islands and build military facilities on some of them is damaging crucial spawning grounds. They say the establishment of port facilities at the new islands may also encourage Chinese fishing fleets to travel farther afield from the Chinese mainland, putting even greater pressure on beleaguered fish stocks.

Scientists have long called for the creation of marine conservation areas in disputed parts of the South China Sea, arguing that the areas would help defuse tension over competing territorial claims while protecting ecologically sensitive spawning grounds from commercial fishing fleets.

Leaders from China and Southeast Asian nations have mostly ignored the suggestion.

Scarborough Shoal, known in the Philippines as Panatag Shoal and in China as Huangyan Island, is at the center of both the ecological and political dramas.

Although Chinese Coast Guard ships have granted Philippine fishermen access to the shoal in recent weeks as part of a reconciliation between the countries, the shoal is still widely seen as a potential target of the island-building campaign. Scientists say that is especially worrying because the shoal plays an important role as a site where countless fish and coral species can breed, helping to maintain the sea's extraordinary biodiversity.

Mr. Wu, the Chinese government adviser, said in an interview last month that the Chinese government had decided that no fishermen from the Philippines or China should be allowed into the Scarborough lagoon because both sides had inflicted "huge" damage on it by fishing with dynamite. He added that a Chinese-administered "environmental protection park" in the lagoon would represent an effort at bilateral cooperation, but he included an important caveat.

"A precondition for that is that the Philippines will respect China's sovereignty and jurisdiction in Scarborough Shoal." Mr. Wu said.

lan J. Storey, a South China Sea expert in Singapore, said that scientists had been seeking multilateral

conservation agreements in the sea for decades. Despite that, and a call by Ma Ying-jeou, a former president of Taiwan, for joint management as part of a "South China Sea Peace Initiative," Mr. Storey said the idea had so far been a diplomatic nonstarter because there are so many overlapping territorial claims.

Mr. Storey said that a multilateral management plan of the Scarborough lagoon had a chance to succeed and would be a logical extension of the reconciliation between China and the Philippines. But he said China would almost certainly not respect a unilateral fishing ban by the Philippines, much in the way that Vietnam has long ignored a unilateral fishing ban that China sporadically enforces in another part of the South China Sea.

The Philippine proposal is "a unilateral initiative," Mr. Storey said, "and unilateral initiatives in the South China Sea have a history of going nowhere."

Trump's Extensive Deals In India Raise Conflict-of-interest Concerns

By Annie Gowen

Washington Post, November 21, 2016

NEW DELHI — Donald Trump's company has partnered with Indian developers to create more business ventures than in any other foreign nation or territory, a Washington Post analysis of financial filings shows. In doing so, the Trump Organization has forged deals with leading moguls here, and with a billionaire politician.

One Trump-branded project is under investigation for land-

acquisition irregularities, among several projects in India now prompting conflict-of-interest concerns.

The president-elect — who has called India a "great country" — is involved in at least 16 partnerships or corporations here. Those business interests — and the financial relationship with a leading member of the governing party — will be a significant backdrop to Trump administration policy toward the world's most populous democracy — and toward its warily hostile neighbor, Pakistan.

At an October campaign event with the Indian American community in New Jersey, Trump boasted of his "massive" and "very beautiful" development projects in the country and vowed that the relations between India and the United States would be "the best ever."

The Trump Organization has struck lucrative licensing deals to lend its name to a luxury high-rise Trump Tower in Mumbai, a residential project in the smaller city of Pune, a large office-and-

retail complex in the high-tech hub of Gurgaon, outside the capital, and another residential project and tower in Kolkata. Two Trump businesses associated with the Kolkata project were organized in November 2015, after Trump had formally begun his campaign for president.

At least 111 Trump companies have done business in 18 countries and territories across South America, Asia and the Middle East, the Post analysis showed, ranging from luxury real estate complexes to small holding companies and branding deals. Some of the properties had multiple entities created for a single deal, records showed.

A consortium of watchdog groups has raised concerns about potential conflicts of interest and called for the president-elect to set up a proper blind trust for his vast empire, instead of turning over the day-to-day management to his three grown children, as he has suggested he will do.

"To sell the Trump name in a foreign country, that's just an excellent way to have him receiving gifts from all over the world. They'll say, 'I'll just pay you to get the name Trump on my building,' as a way to curry favor," said Richard Painter, a professor of law at the University of Minnesota who was the chief ethics lawyer for President George W. Bush.

Painter said that if "foreign government money got in there through the back door," that would be a violation of the constitutional ban on foreign gifts to U.S. officials, a potentially impeachable offense.

"It's a big problem," Painter said.

Pictures that emerged of three Indian businessmen posing for the cameras with Trump during a visit to Trump Tower in New York last week raised additional concerns about the president-elect's ability to separate his own business interests from his new role.

Two of the men in the photo are brother developers of a residential tower complex bearing Trump's name. Atul and Sagar Chordia are under investigation after a civic activist, Ravindra Barhate, alleged that the land where the complex sits, in Pune, was acquired with fabricated documents.

Authorities are investigating whether the developers built the complex "without adhering to all the required formalities" and without the "required permissions," according to Mukund Mahajan, a police inspector in Pune. Calls to the Chordias' office were not returned. The third Indian visitor to meet with Trump, -Kalpesh Mehta, told the Indian Express newspaper this month that the development value of Trump's projects in India is \$1.5 billion, making the country one of the organization's largest markets.

A spokesman for the Trump Organization said that "no meeting of any sort took place" and that the parties "greeted one another when passing and briefly exchanged quick hellos and congratulations."

Trump swept into India in 2014 on his private jet with a phalanx of security and his son, Donald Jr., in tow, causing a stir in both Mumbai and Pune. He was feted at events with politicians and stars from the Bollywood film industry, saying at one point, "I have tremendous confidence in India."

Trump was there to promote the Trump Tower Mumbai, the 75-story building currently under construction by the Mumbai-based Lodha Group, with luxury apartments starting at \$1 million and penthouses at \$3 million.

The company was founded by Mangal Prabhat Lodha, a state legislator from the governing Bharatiya Janata Party, who leveraged his political connections into millions over the past 30 years — a "meteoric rise," as one analyst put it, that confounded many. Lodha currently ranks No. 56 on the Forbes list of India's richest, with an estimated net worth of \$1.55 billion.

Lodha, 60, a teetotaling vegetarian of the Jain faith, has two sons who run the company now, prompting comparisons to the Trump scions Donald Jr. and Eric. "Is this India's Donald Trump — minus the flash?" the Indian Express wondered in 2014.

"He must be elated. You have a partnership with the president of the United States? That's a huge thing," said Praveen Chakravarty, a political economist with the IDFC Institute in Mumbai.

Buyers into the Trump Tower project have been promised such amenities as a 24-hour gym and spa and access to a private jet, according to promotional materials.

But wealthy residents enticed into buying at another one of Lodha's recently built properties — the Bellissimo, which was not Trump-branded — thought they were getting similar amenities but wound up clashing with the developer over luxuries that failed to arrive, according to former residents.

A tennis court was too small to be useful, the pool brown with construction dust, and the guaranteed "breathtaking views" of the Arabian Sea disappeared -after another high-rise went up next door. The hot-water heaters routinely burst, causing floods. An elevator on the 48th floor opened to a brick wall.

"There were many owners for whom the multimillion-dollar flats didn't live up to their billing," said Anil Kakani, 46, a tech investor who used to live in the building. A spokesman for the Lodha Group said it was investigating the complaints.

Experts say that the Trump name is likely to remain marketable for the Trump family in India and that this could result in millions in future licensing fees. Indeed, a spokesman for the Lodha Group said that "enthusiasm and trust of the Trump brand" was well reflected in the fact that the luxury apartments in its project in Mumbai were selling at 30 percent above the value of comparable residences nearby.

The fractious presidential campaign had caused residents in the United States to demand that Trump lettering be removed from the front of their buildings is not likely to have the same impact here, experts say.

"The Trump name is already associated with high-end, luxury buildings. Now it will be even more so," said

Anshuman Magazine, the South Asia chairman of the property consulting firm CBRE.

Prithviraj Chavan, a former chief minister of the state of Maharashtra, said that he met with Trump's son Donald Jr. about five years ago and that the family was chiefly focused on licensing agreements.

"Very soon it was clear to me that Trump Junior wasn't really interested in investing in India, or putting in hard cash. He was only giving his brand name," Chavan said.

Drew Harwell in Washington and Rama Lakshmi and Swati Gupta in New Delhi contributed to this report.

Why U.K. Is Struggling To Find The Path To "Brexit"

By Stephen Castle

New York Times, November 21, 2016

LONDON — A recently leaked memo from a consultancy firm has highlighted cabinet divisions over Britain's withdrawal from the European Union, while suggesting that the government may need six additional months to settle on a plan and to recruit tens of thousands of extra civil servants.

The document identified tensions between enthusiasts for British withdrawal, including the foreign secretary, Boris Johnson, and the international trade secretary, Liam Fox, and those fighting to preserve closer economic ties to the bloc, such as the chancellor, Philip Hammond. The enthusiasts believe Britain has to make a clean break with the European Union, while the more cautious types want to preserve Britain's access to the European market by maintaining membership in the customs union or the single market, or perhaps some combination of the two.

As Prime Minister Theresa May's self-imposed deadline of March for starting negotiations on withdrawal with the European Union draws closer, this clash is emerging as the primary sticking point. But it is proving remarkably difficult to resolve.

Both the customs union and the single market eliminate tariffs between member states. The customs union sets tariffs with non-European nations, so members share a common trade policy with the rest of the world. The single market removes non-tariff trade barriers, too, for instance by maintaining common product standards. Unlike most free trade deals, the single market also covers some services, which are crucial for Britain, with its big financial sector.

For example, without Britain's single market membership, banks based in London (including foreignowned ones) could not offer many services to clients in Continental nations.

Norway has considerable (but not unlimited) access to the single market without being part of the European Union, or its customs union, through membership in the European Economic Area. The downside is that Norway has no vote in making rules it must follow.

A maze of rules and regulations aimed at leveling the playing field and harmonizing product standards infuriates British euroskeptics and helped fuel the campaign to leave the European Union, known as Brexit.

More important, leaders of the European Union are adamant that all members of the single market adhere to the four freedoms: free movement of labor, capital, goods and services. Yet control of immigration was seen by many as the driving force behind the Brexit vote. So that chasm needs to be bridged. The question is how.

To secure full single market membership, Britain would most likely have to contribute to the European Union budget, accept the free movement of workers from the rest of the bloc, and accept rulings from the European Court of Justice or a similar body such as the European Free Trade Agreement (EFTA) court. That would be a tough sell to hardened supporters of Brexit in Mrs. May's Conservative Party.

It might be. Not all members belong to the European Union; Turkey, for example, is not a European Union member but is in the customs union. Britain would be able to trade freely in goods within the union, which would free it of the burden and inefficiency of checking the origins of all the products coming to and from the bloc. But Britain would have to comply with some European Union regulations. Quitting the customs union could mean significant new tariffs, for example for British-based automakers. Consequently, the chancellor, Philip Hammond, is reported to want to retain customs union membership.

Besides being subject to some European Union rules, already anathema to the Boris Johnson faction, members of the customs union cannot strike their own bilateral trade deals around the world. During the referendum campaign, one of the bedrock arguments of Brexit supporters was that Britain would regain this power and become a beacon of global commerce.

As little as possible. Accused of lacking a strategy, it refuses to give a running commentary, saying that would weaken its negotiating position. But British officials had not prepared for Brexit before the referendum and are having to examine its impact on every sector of the economy — a huge exercise. In doing so, they appear to be uncovering more questions than answers.

In October, she stressed the importance of regaining control of immigration policy and of freeing Britain from the European Court of Justice — comments that suggested she was aligning herself with the proponents of a clean break. That set off a precipitous decline in the pound.

But she has since tread more cautiously, saying that Britain does not face a "binary" choice between maintaining a formal relationship with the European Union — either in the

customs union or the single market, or some combination of the two — or a complete divorce. That implies that she wants some kind of hybrid settlement. This might mean leaving, then opting back into parts of Europe's economic arrangements, for example those that help finance and the auto industry, while offering some budget contributions in exchange.

European nations are not so sure. To many it sounds like a variant of Mr. Johnson's statement that, as far as the European Union is concerned, he is pro having his cake and pro eating it. Donald Tusk, president of the European Council, responded to that by inviting Mr. Johnson to undertake an experiment: "Buy a cake, eat it, and see if it is still there on the plate."

Britain's decision to quit the European Union was fundamentally a political one, rather than economic, so it is logical to assume that politics will shape the negotiating position of its partners, too.

Many European nations will resist any agreement with Britain that undermines the bloc's fundamental principles, particularly the movement of labor, or its basic economic structures. The fear is that this would prompt other countries to copy the British, which could be the beginning of the end of the entire postwar European drive to greater integration. Though Britain is a big market, the rest of the European Union collectively is bigger, and therefore the survival of the single market of the 27 is more important to most nations.

How Uncertainty In The Korean Peninsula Could Be A 'Recipe For Disaster' : Parallels : NPR

NPR, November 21, 2016

As in so many foreign policy issues, there's considerable confusion about what U.S. policy toward North Korea will look like under President-elect Donald Trump. Pyongyang's expanding nuclear capability will not be something he can ignore.

"The likelihood today of a nuclear catastrophe somewhere in the world is greater than it was than during the Cold War," former U.S. Defense Secretary William Perry said in Seoul a week after the American election.

He doesn't think a catastrophe will come from a nation launching an actual attack, but rather through an accident.

"The danger is we blunder into a nuclear war. The reason we are blundering into these positions is that people do not understand the dangers," Perry said.

One of the dangers is North Korea's growing nuclear arsenal, estimated at anywhere between 10 to 16 warheads and an unclear number of bombs. Pyongyang twice this year tested nuclear devices and has launched missiles dozens of

times. It is the only nation in the world to have tested nuclear weapons in the 21st century.

"When it comes to changing Pyongyang's behavior, it's tough," President Barack Obama said in September, acknowledging the fruitlessness so far of efforts to stop or slow North Korea during his time in office.

"It is entirely fair to say they have continued to engage in the development of their nuclear program and these ballistic missile tests. And so we are constantly examining other strategies we can take," Obama said.

That examination is about to be passed off to America's new leader — whose statements about North Korea have run the gamut from saying he'd sit down with Kim Jong Un over a burger to suggesting American allies South Korea and Japan should develop their own nuclear weapons.

Where does that leave Northeast Asia?

"Key words, I think, are uncertainty and anxiety," says Bruce Klingner, a North Korea specialist for the conservative Heritage Foundation think tank.

"If [Trump] goes against sanctions or fails to implement them more fully, if he seeks a bilateral summit without consultation with our allies, he'll run into strong congressional resistance," Klingner says.

Klingner favors tougher sanctions. The U.N. Security Council ordered stricter sanctions on Pyongyang in the spring, but by the time of North Korea's second nuclear test of the year, it was clear the measures didn't accomplish much. The U.N. has yet to come up with a response to the latest nuclear test.

"The further we go in time, they will get better at doing what they intend to do, which is to have a deterrence capability that has the ability to reach the United States. So this is a matter, I think, which should be a concern for everyone," said James Kim of the Seoul-based Asan Institute for Policy Studies.

Even if North Korea has no intention of using its nuclear weapons, Perry worries it could sell a bomb to a terrorist group, for example. So a lot is at stake in the region, and nothing's coming easy.

In South Korea, a domestic political scandal has crippled President Park Geun-hye. Her approval rating is at 5 percent and her administration is besieged by protests and calls for her to resign. This is only raising the jitters, as uncertainty piles on uncertainty.

"Having [an] uncertain Asia policy by Trump, by having the uncertainty of the domestic political crisis in South Korea, and then the uncertainty of what Kim Jong Un would do — it could be a recipe for disaster," Klingner says.

NATIONAL NEWS

For Obama, A Bittersweet Farewell From The World Stage

By Juliet Eilperin

Washington Post, November 21, 2016

LIMA, Peru — One local radio host declared President Obama's motorcade "impressive," and Peruvians gathered along the streets to watch it roll by.

But for the most part, the crowds turning out to see the outgoing American president on his final foreign trip were smaller and quieter than on his previous outings. Those crowds were just one sign that Obama's week-long valedictory journey had turned into less of a celebratory goodbye tour and more of a bittersweet farewell for a president whose worldview is now under siege.

At each stop — in Greece, Germany and Peru — Obama talked about the importance of respect for democratic norms and ensuring a smooth transition of power to President-elect Donald Trump, whom he mocked and dismissed for months. He made fond remarks about a few longtime allies, telling German Chancellor Angela Merkel he wished he "could be there to lighten her load" as she carries on their shared vision of a more inclusive West.

The president voiced optimism about the "strong handoff" he's giving Trump and about the future course of global events. But he also fretted about the rise of a "crude nationalism" that has gained currency worldwide, and the fact that social media discourse makes no distinction between fact and fiction.

Throughout it all, Obama made appeals to Trump as he fended off questions about how his successor would rewrite U.S. policy on trade, immigration, the environment and other issues. At one point, he plaintively predicted that reality would force Trump to adjust his approach to problems he has promised voters he would easily solve.

"And I've said before, if these issues were easy — if ensuring prosperity, jobs, security, good foreign relations with other countries — if all that was simple, then it would have been done by every previous president," he said at a news conference Sunday. "And I'm a pretty good presidential historian; I've looked at my 43 predecessors, and it seems like for all of them — even the best ones — that you end up confronting realities that you didn't anticipate."

Obama faced the same predicament as both of his immediate predecessors: He hoped to make one final mark on the world stage even as a very different president, from the other party, waited in the wings.

Bill Clinton journeyed to Ireland and Britain, in part to make the case that the Northern Ireland peace accord his administration would stand the test of time. But he ended up staying up most of the night while visiting then-Prime Minister Tony Blair and his wife, Cherie Blair, at Chequers, watching Vice President Al Gore concede the 2000 presidential election after the Supreme Court's ruling on the outcome in Florida.

Although George W. Bush emerged the victor that December day, he experienced an even more fraught final trip eight years later, when he journeyed to Iraq and Afghanistan. Standing at a news conference beside then-Iraqi Prime Minister Nuri al-Maliki, Bush was nearly hit by a shoe thrown by a reporter, Muntadhar al-Zaidi — the worst expression of contempt in Iraq.

"This is a farewell kiss!" Zaidi yelled at first, unsuccessfully throwing a second shoe before Iraqi security officers tackled him.

For Obama, the crowds were friendlier than they were for Bush — but they were much smaller than when he started his political rise in 2008.

As he traversed Athens for a day and a half, the city's residents were barely visible — largely because of security measures imposed by the Greek government. Some Greeks stood by the roadside for a glimpse of Obama's motorcade, but few waved, and it was nearly impossible to spot the enthusiastic handmade signs that invariably popped up along Obama's route in world capitals as well as small American towns.

The president had been scheduled to deliver his "big speech" of the trip, with the iconic Athens landscape as the backdrop, but weather concerns forced it indoors. As a result, Obama made his pitch for addressing global inequities inside a brand-new and well-appointed concert hall, whose very construction amid an ongoing economic crisis rankled ordinary Greeks.

The night Obama arrived, Katarina Sarficka, a Slovakian tourist, asked young people on the street whether they were gathering to see the American president — only to learn they were using the occasion to demonstrate their opposition to globalization. "They were protesting their own government," she said.

Greek author and journalist Yannis Palaiologos noted that Greeks' view of the United States has improved under Obama's tenure; there were riots when Clinton came in 1999. But "there is considerable fatigue and fatalism among the people regarding the prospects of the country — a sense accentuated by the victory of Donald Trump, which took a lot of the air, in terms of substance, out of Obama's visit."

Jeff Shesol, a Clinton speechwriter who traveled with him on his last trip, said there's "a cognitive dissonance" that happens once someone has been selected to take the president's place.

"You still have some say over the course of events, but the center of action is elsewhere, and the focus of action is elsewhere," Shesol said. "In the run-up to election, there's always a sense of being on marked time, but there is still only one president. When there's a president-elect, it's different. And when that person is vowing to undo much of what you've done, it is much, much worse."

In many ways, it was the shock of Trump's win that appeared to reverberate across every country Obama visited, despite the distance between them. In Lima, taxi driver Alfredo Baca said that Latin America has "demagogues, but this is the United States."

Still, he said he understands that Americans' frustration could translate into a shift in direction. "It's the laws of physics: For every action, there is an equal and opposite reaction."

Many world leaders appeared sorry to see Obama go. The normally unsentimental Merkel, who has made no secret of her concerns about Trump's commitment to liberal social values, remarked during their joint news conference, "Now, taking leave from my partner and friend, well, yes, it is hard."

Obama heaped appreciation on his closest allies and worked to cultivate younger leaders who could carry on some of the efforts he has pursued over the past eight years. Sitting next to Canadian Prime Minister Justin Trudeau in a conference room in Lima, with the Canadian and American flags draped behind them, the president spoke approvingly about his younger counterpart's work on climate change and humanitarian causes such as refugee resettlement.

"So I have to say that there are few leaders around the world who I think combine vision and talent and values the way that Justin does," he said. "And I am very much looking forward to his continued leadership in the years to come."

And although Europeans appeared weary after struggling with unrelenting economic, security and social challenges for the past decade, Peru gave Obama some cause for optimism. His last public event of the trip was a town-hall meeting with 1,000 young people, including 100 participants in the new Young Leaders of the Americas Initiative. The administration program, which has counterparts in Africa and Asia, aims to train the next generation of global activists through exchanges with the United States.

Pacing a stage in the middle of the gym at Lima's Pontifical Catholic University, his jacket off, Obama spent an hour answering questions from students. He noted that half of the global population was younger than 30, and after meeting members of that age cohort from "around the world, it makes me very optimistic to know that you are going to be in charge."

They cheered when he said that girls need to be told often that "they're smart, and you got to tell them they're ambitious, and you have to give them opportunity." They laughed when he said he would "not be attempting the Marinera" because his wife is a better dancer. And they seemed to share his impatience when he told them that they should begin organizing now rather than waiting until they held political office.

"Don't wait, saying to yourself, 'Oh, someday, when I'm president of Peru, I'm going to help poor children,' "he said. "If you care about the environment, don't wait."

Shortly afterward, Obama wrapped up the town hall meeting, singer Marc Anthony's "Vivir Mi Vida" blasted through the gym's speakers, and Obama moved around shaking hands. Many in the audience held up smartphones and took one last round of images of an American president making his exit from the world stage.

As Obama's Tour Ends, He Says U.S. Involvement Abroad Must Not

By Gardiner Harris

New York Times, November 21, 2016

LIMA, Peru — President-elect Donald J. Trump, with his "America First" campaign slogan, sees an America that has for years been taken for granted by weaker nations and is too guick to intervene in intractable conflicts far away.

But in his final news conference on his last foreign trip as president, President Obama argued on Sunday for a foreign policy in which America continues to take on the biggest global problems of the day, lead where others stand on the sidelines and help the least fortunate.

Mr. Obama pointed out that before the order imposed in large measure by the United States after World War II, war and famine ravaged the globe. He said that while the United States could not maintain global order on its own, it was the linchpin in ensuring that it continued.

China is an important country, he told reporters in Lima, the final stop on his tour, but the Chinese did not organize the Paris climate talks, help write the agreement to reduce global warming or undertake the negotiations ensuring that all parties agreed to it.

"Russia is a very significant military power, but they're not worrying right now about how to rebuild after a hurricane in Haiti. We are," Mr. Obama said, his voice rising. "And I've said before, that's a burden that we should carry proudly."

Mr. Obama's final overseas trip while in office was supposed to be a valedictory tour, but it has instead been one long exercise in crisis counseling, as he seeks to reassure foreign leaders and audiences that Mr. Trump will not upend alliances and trade relationships that presidents from both major parties have spent decades carefully constructing.

His toughest task was here, at a summit meeting of the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation group, which helped bring forth the Trans-Pacific Partnership, a trade accord that Mr. Trump has vowed to kill. Peru, like the rest of Latin America, has also been made uneasy by the prospect of a sudden shift in United States immigration policy under Mr. Trump.

The atmosphere during this trip has been noticeably different from that of previous ones. Mr. Obama's schedule

has had surprising gaps, when he seemed to have little to do, and staff members — out of their jobs in two months — have been unusually somber.

Some of the leaders Mr. Obama has met with have grown wistful. Chancellor Angela Merkel of Germany, not known for emotional frankness, seemed genuinely moved when she said Wednesday that "taking leave from my partner and friend, well, yes, it is hard." And on Saturday, President Xi Jinping of China commended Mr. Obama for his intensive focus on their relationship, noting that the two had met nine times, including three times in 2016.

But President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia betrayed no obvious regret when he met with Mr. Obama for a few minutes on the sidelines of the summit meeting here. Mr. Obama has blamed Russia for deepening the humanitarian crisis in Syria and accused it of meddling in the United States election by hacking into the emails of the Democratic National Committee. Mr. Trump, meanwhile, has praised Mr. Putin and has openly called for improving ties.

Both Mr. Obama and Mr. Putin looked grim in their brief chat, which Mr. Obama said was "candid and courteous." He said he had asked Mr. Putin if they could end the slaughter in Syria or complete an agreement in Ukraine before Mr. Obama left office. At its end, Mr. Obama said, "O.K.," before a brief and probably final handshake.

Mr. Obama ranked the problems resulting from alleged Russian hacking far below those generated by fake news being circulated on social media.

"The concern I had has less to do with any particular misinformation or propaganda that's put out by any particular party, but a greater concern about the general misinformation from all kinds of sources, domestic, foreign, on social media, that make it very difficult for voters to figure out what's true and what's not," Mr. Obama said.

If elections are "full of fake news and false information and distractions, then the issue is not going to be what's happening on the outside," he added. "The issue is going to be what are we going to be doing to ourselves from the inside."

The remarks followed similar comments at a news conference in Berlin on Thursday in which Mr. Obama was sharply critical of the role Facebook and other social media companies play in spreading false news — a remarkable change in tone for a man who has spent so much of his presidency praising the transformational and beneficial effects of social media.

Mark Zuckerberg, Facebook's chief executive, published a detailed post early Saturday describing ways the company was considering dealing with the problem of fake news.

In his news conference on Sunday, Mr. Obama suggested, for the first time, that he would continue to be active politically when his presidency ends.

He said that at first, he would "get some rest, spend time with my girls, and do some writing, do some thinking."

But he added that he reserved the right to speak out.

"If there are issues that have less to do with the specifics of some legislation issue but go to core questions about our values and our ideals, and if I think it's necessary or helpful for me to defend those ideals, then I'll examine it when it comes," he said.

Then he said, to laughter, "But what I do know is that I have to take Michelle on vacation."

In Video Address, Trump Promises Executive Action On Trade, Energy, Regulations

Washington Post, November 21, 2016

In video address, Trump promises executive action on trade, energy, regulations

Trump Outlines Priorities In Video Address

By Donovan Slack

USA Today, November 21, 2016

WASHINGTON --- President-elect Donald Trump released a "video message" Monday to the American people outlining the core principle of his presidency – "putting America first" – and laying out executive actions he wants to take beginning on day ones, including scrapping regulations on energy production and withdrawing from trade agreements.

"Whether it's producing steel, building cars, or curing disease, I want the next generation of production and innovation to happen right here, in our great homeland: America – creating wealth and jobs for American workers," Trump says in the video, his first address since his acceptance speech on election night.

The president-elect has been holed up in Trump Tower and his golf club in New Jersey in recent days, meeting with a parade of potential advisers and cabinet members.

"Our transition team is working very smoothly, efficiently, and effectively," Trump said in the video. "Truly great and talented men and women, patriots indeed are being brought in and many will soon be a part of our government, helping us to Make America Great Again."

He said he wanted to provide an update on the White House transition and policy plans for the first 100 days of his administration.

Trump said he plans to issue formal notification that the United States will withdraw from the Trans-Pacific Partnership, a trade agreement hammered out with a dozen Pacific-rim countries which had already stalled and virtually died in Congress when Trump was elected.

Instead, Trump said he will seek to negotiate "fair" bilateral agreements.

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Trump, On YouTube, Pledges To Create Jobs

By Michael D. Shear And Julie Hirschfeld Davis New York Times, November 21, 2016

WASHINGTON — President-elect Donald J. Trump on Monday released a two-and-a-half-minute infomercial-style video, turning to social media to deliver a direct-to-camera message in which he vowed to create jobs, renegotiate trade agreements, end restrictions on energy production and impose bans on lobbying.

Mr. Trump offered what he called an update on his transition, which he said was going "very smoothly, efficiently and effectively." Reading from a script and looking into a camera, he steered clear of his most inflammatory campaign promises to deport immigrants, track Muslims and repeal the Affordable Care Act.

"Whether it's producing steel, building cars or curing disease, I want the next generation of production and innovation to happen right here, in our great homeland: America — creating wealth and jobs for American workers," Mr. Trump said in the video.

The brief YouTube video offered one of the few opportunities for the public to hear from Mr. Trump directly since he was elected two weeks ago. The president-elect has declined to hold a news conference since his victory, and instead has used early-morning Twitter bursts to communicate.

Mr. Trump gave a brief middle-of-the-night speech after Hillary Clinton called him on Nov. 9. And he sat for an interview with The Wall Street Journal and a gauzy appearance, surrounded by his family, on CBS News's "60 Minutes" last week. Since then, he has mostly been hunkered down behind closed doors as he assembles a cabinet and White House team.

In the video, Mr. Trump described his plans to "make America great again" on Day 1, but his message seemed aimed less at the supporters who chanted that slogan at rallies and more at the Americans who remain skeptical about it.

The president-elect appeared to try to emphasize his appeal to those voters at the end of the video, and he promised to provide more updates as he worked together with everyone to reach his goals.

"And I mean everyone," he emphasized.

The video — in which the president-elect is sitting in front of an American flag — is Mr. Trump's way of telegraphing the themes that will undergird his inaugural address and try to present himself as inclusive even as his staffing decisions may suggest otherwise, said Kathleen Hall Jamieson, a professor of communication and the director of the Annenberg Public Policy Center at the University of Pennsylvania.

"What it does is cast him as presidential, because it establishes that the things that he forecasts are important to the electorate as a whole and he's not emphasizing the divisive elements that you would have expected to dominate his presidency," Dr. Jamieson said. "He's signaling to his base, 'See, I'm keeping my word,' but he's signaling to the world, 'See, I'm going to be a president for all the people.""

The video underscored the extent to which Mr. Trump intends to try to navigate around the traditional newspaper and television media outlets as he seeks to communicate his message to the public.

In releasing it, said Ari Fleischer, who served as White House press secretary under George W. Bush, Mr. Trump was using technology to communicate with the public in a format that Mr. Bush's staff would never have dreamed of doing 15 years ago, because the news media would have dismissed it as propaganda. President Obama has become adept at doing the same thing in recent years, through videos posted on Facebook and other media.

Mr. Fleischer said, "He's just doing more of what President Obama successfully did, and what I'm fascinated about is, what does this mean for the future?"

On Monday, the president-elect met privately with television executives in a confidential session that was described later as a sometimes contentious effort to clear the air after a campaign season in which Mr. Trump often clashed with members of the media.

Kellyanne Conway, a senior adviser to Mr. Trump and his former campaign manager, called the meeting "candid and very honest."

"From my own perspective, it's great to hit the reset button," she said.

Mr. Trump is also scheduled to meet with editors and reporters at The New York Times on Tuesday.

But his decision to deliver a highly scripted video message suggests that he, like Mr. Obama, is eager to embrace new media opportunities. By Monday, Mr. Trump's @RealDonaldTrump Twitter account, which he enjoys using, had 15.7 million followers. Once in the White House, he will inherit @POTUS, with its 12.1 million online followers.

Mr. Trump also spent Monday at his office in Trump Tower, interviewing a stream of potential Republican cabinet candidates. They included Rick Perry, a former governor of Texas; former Senator Scott Brown of Massachusetts; and Representative Tulsi Gabbard of Hawaii, a Democrat.

Perhaps the most interesting thing about Mr. Trump's video was what he did not say in it.

On immigration, he avoided any mention of his plan to build a wall along the border with Mexico or his desire to deport immigrants here illegally, whether or not they have a criminal record. He made no mention of ending President Obama's program that grants work permits to immigrants who were brought illegally to the United States as children.

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Instead, Mr. Trump simply promised to direct the Labor Department to investigate visa abuses.

The tough-talking president-elect, who has often railed against Mr. Obama and "the generals" for what he often called their "stupid" conduct of foreign policy, said nothing in the video about fighting terrorism, confronting Russian aggression or pressuring NATO allies to pay more for their common defense.

Instead, he said he would ask his top military officials for a comprehensive plan to guard America's vital infrastructure from "cyberattacks, and all other form of attacks."

Mr. Trump's other promises in the video recapped points that he made repeatedly during the campaign, offering a series of executive actions that he says he will order on his first full day in the Oval Office.

Some, like his pledge to "issue our notification of intent to withdraw from the trans-Pacific Partnership" trade deal, will be well within his power as president to accomplish. But his additional promise to "negotiate fair, bilateral trade deals that bring jobs and industry back onto American shores" will be in the eyes of the beholder, and may not produce the results he expects.

Others appear to be overblown political hyperbole, like his promise in the video to "cancel job-killing restrictions on the production of American energy — including shale energy and clean coal — creating many millions of high-paying jobs."

He did not specify in the short video what restrictions he will lift or how that would result in "many millions" of jobs. Even supporters of the Keystone XL oil pipeline, which Mr. Trump has said he will greenlight once in office, do not believe it would create millions of jobs if it was built.

Mr. Fleischer said Mr. Trump's more inclusive tone in the video was the latest example of a pattern he set during the campaign of dialing back his impulse for fiery speech when he felt it was in his interest.

"He has said this about himself, that he knows how to be really boring when he wants to be," Mr. Fleischer said of Mr. Trump. "He's so self-aware about the fact that there are these two Trumps, and we're seeing more of the other one since he won."

Trump Lays Out Agenda For First Days In The White House

By Jonathan Easley

The Hill, November 21, 2016

Donald Trump has instructed his transition team to develop a list of executive actions he can issue on his first day in office aimed at rolling back regulations, cracking down on illegal immigration and withdrawing the nation from global trade deals.

In a 2 minute, 38 second video posted to YouTube Monday evening, Trump spoke directly into the camera as he laid out his early governing priorities.

"Our transition team is working smoothly, efficiently and effectively," Trump said. "Truly great and talented men and women, patriots indeed, are being brought in and many will soon be a part of our government, helping us to make America great again."

There was little new in Trump's video, which primarily served as a declaration that he intends to focus heavily on the issues he campaigned on.

Trump's first order of business will be to issue a notification of intent to withdraw from the Trans Pacific Partnership.

The president-elect also vowed to loosen restrictions on shale energy and "clean coal," saying those actions would create "millions of high-paying jobs."

And he said he would "formulate a rule that says that for every new regulation, two old regulations must be eliminated."

On national security, Trump said he would work with the Department of Defense and the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff "to develop a comprehensive plan to protect America's vital infrastructure from cyber-attacks and all other form of attacks."

On immigration, Trump said he'd direct the Labor Department to investigate abuses of the U.S. visa program.

And he reiterated his crackdown on former administration officials becoming lobbyists, saying he would institute a five-year ban on domestic lobbying and a lifetime ban on lobbying foreign governments.

"These are just a few of the steps we'll to reform Washington and rebuild our middle class," Trump said, promising more updates in the coming days.

The president-elect spent Monday holding meetings at Trump Tower in New York, as he faces decisions on who will make up his Cabinet and his top-level advisers.

Trump's decision to release a video, rather than hold a press conference to discuss his early governing priorities, angered some members of the media.

Trump has not held a full press conference since July. Earlier Monday, top Trump aide Kellyanne Conway told reporters that the president-elect will hold a press conference in "due course."

Trump's Day-One Actions: Kill TPP And Energy Regs, Boost Cyberdefense

By Daniel Chaitin

Washington Examiner, November 21, 2016

President-elect Trump announced a set of executive actions he plans to issue on "day one" to roll back President Obama's agenda and begin to implement his own.

"Whether it's producing steel, building cars, or curing disease, I want the next generation of production and innovation to happen right here, in our great homeland: America – creating wealth and jobs for American workers," Trump said at the outset of a "video message" released Monday evening.

"As part of this plan, I've asked my transition team to develop a list of executive actions we can take on day one to restore our laws and bring back our jobs. It's about time," he added.

Trump's executive actions centered on six policy areas that were central to his campaign against Hillary Clinton: trade, energy reform, deregulation, national security, immigration and ethics reform.

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The president-elect vowed to "issue our notification of intent to withdraw from the Trans-Pacific Partnership, a potential disaster for our country" upon taking office. Although Obama has continued to defend the agreement, Trump campaigned vigorously on his promise to renegotiate on a bilateral basis deals he considers unfair to American workers.

"I will cancel job-killing restrictions on the production of American energy – including shale energy and clean coal – creating many millions of high-paying jobs," Trump said. "That's what we want, that's what we've been waiting for."

Former manufacturing hubs and coal-rich areas of Pennsylvania and Ohio, among other key states, helped deliver Trump the presidency after environmental regulations choked factories and mines out of business. Trump drummed up an intense following among communities that had been ravished by Obama's EPA.

In a nod to his campaign pledge to scale back regulations in all sectors, Trump proposed an executive action that would require his administration to scrap two regulations for each new one it created.

"On national security, I will ask the Department of Defense and the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff to develop a comprehensive plan to protect America's vital infrastructure from cyber attacks, and all other form of attacks," Trump said in the video.

The president-elect has promised a massive infrastructure revitalization package that would create jobs all over the country. While that program has most often been described as an effort to rebuild crumbling roads and bridges, it could also include a cybersecurity component that focuses on girding the electric grid and other vulnerable elements of the country's infrastructure against possible cyber attacks.

Trump also promised to crack down abuses in visa programs "that undercut the American worker." His message of enforcing immigration laws has resonated among groups

that blame unchecked immigration and guest worker programs for the loss of their jobs.

Critics say some of those visa programs, such as the H-1B program, encourages multinational corporations to supplant American workers with cheaper foreign employees.

Trump also said his promise to "drain the swamp" would begin with a five-year domestic lobbying ban and lifetime foreign lobbying ban for employees of his administration. Although some have questioned how the Trump administration would enforce such a prohibition, the president-elect's team has said it is a way for them to prevent aides from cashing in on their government experience.

The video message was Trump's first direct address to the nation since his victory speech on the night of the election.

Donald Trump Will Withdraw From Asian Trade Deal

By Laura Figueroa

Newsday (NY), November 21, 2016

President-elect Donald Trump on Monday said he would issue a series of executive orders in his first 100 days in office to abandon the Trans-Pacific Partnership free-trade deal and remove restrictions on the coal and shale energy industries.

Another order will direct the U.S. Department of Labor to investigate visa abuses.

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However, Trump did not mention other signature campaign planks including constructing a wall along the Mexican border, repealing Obamacare and deporting illegal immigrants with criminal records. See alsoWho voted for Trump like LI?See also6 things to know about Melania TrumpSee alsoTrump's family tree: Meet the new first family

"My agenda will be based on a simple core principle — putting America first," Trump said in a nearly three-minute video released by his transition team Monday evening.

Trump said he plans to withdraw from the Trans-Pacific Partnership, calling the trade agreement with 12 other nations, including Japan, Malaysia, Vietnam, Canada and Mexico, "a potential disaster for our country."

"Instead, we will negotiate fair, bilateral trade deals that bring jobs and industry back onto American shores," Trump said.

The trade agreement emerged as a flash point in the 2016 presidential race — supported by President Barack Obama, but criticized by former Democratic presidential candidate Bernie Sanders.

Sanders supporters said the deal was created to protect the interests of multinational corporations, not workers. Democratic presidential candidate Hillary Clinton initially supported the deal, then came out against it after

capturing Sanders' endorsement and the Democratic nomination.

Trump had touted many of the initiatives he released Monday during the presidential campaign.

Trump said he will direct the Department of Defense and the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff "to develop a comprehensive plan to protect America's vital infrastructure from cyberattacks and all other form of attacks."

Another executive order will mandate that the labor department "investigate all abuses of visa programs," Trump said.

Others will impose a five-year ban on executive officials becoming lobbyists after they leave the Administration and institute a lifetime ban on executive officials lobbying on behalf of a foreign government.

Trump also said he will "formulate a rule which says that for every one new regulation," introduced by federal lawmakers and agencies, "two old regulations must be eliminated."

Presidential executive orders do not require congressional approval.

Earlier Monday, Trump resumed meeting with prospective cabinet members at Trump Tower in Manhattan. Among them were former Texas Gov. Rick Perry and former Sen. Scott Brown of Massachusetts.

Speaking to reporters in the lobby of Trump Tower after his meeting with Trump, Brown said he was interested in heading the Department of Veterans Affairs.

"I think the toughest job in the cabinet is to lead the VA," said Brown, who previously served in the U.S. Army National Guard. "While it has so many angels working there, it has so many great problems as well."

Trump's former campaign manager Kellyanne Conway said on Fox News that Perry, a two-time GOP presidential candidate, is under consideration for the posts of Secretary of Defense and Secretary of Energy.

Trump also met Monday with Rep. Tulsi Gabbard (D-Hawaii), an Iraq War veteran who was a vocal supporter of Sanders' presidential bid.

In a statement posted online, Gabbard said she met with Trump at his invitation to discuss foreign policy issues including a measure she has introduced calling for the United States to halt efforts to remove Syrian President Bashar al Assad from power.

"I felt it important to take the opportunity to meet with the president-elect now before the drumbeats of war that neocons have been beating drag us into an escalation of the war to overthrow the Syrian government," Gabbard said.

Asked about reports that Gabbard was under consideration for the role of UN ambassador, Trump spokesman Jason Miller told reporters, "she obviously has a very distinguished track record." Miller said it was too early to

comment on whether Gabbard was being vetted for a role in the Trump administration.

Also making their way through the revolving doors of Trump Tower were Former House Speaker Newt Gingrich, former Labor Secretary Elaine Chao, who served in the administration of President George W. Bush, and Oklahoma Gov. Mary Fallin, who transition aides said is under consideration to lead the Interior Department.

Trump, who has not held a news conference since July, also met privately with the heads and anchors of several major networks including CNN president Jeff Zucker, MSNBC president Phil Griffith and NBC News president Deborah Turness.

Conway told reporters Trump would follow up in the coming days by meeting with representatives of major newspapers and other news outlets that have raised concerns about Trump's reluctance to institute a "protective pool" to cover his daily movements. Such pools traditionally have been allowed by incoming presidents.

Trump is expected to spend Thanksgiving Day at his Mar-a-Lago estate in Palm Beach County, Florida.; Vice President-elect Mike Pence will spend the day in Mississippi where his son, a U.S. Marine, is stationed, Miller said.

Cabinet Hopefuls Continue Trek To Trump Tower

By Melissa Fares And Emily Stephenson

Reuters, November 21, 2016

Full-text stories from Reuters currently cannot be included in this document. You may, however, click the link above to access the story.

Donald Trump Calls For List Of Day-One Executive Actions, Outlines First 100 Days

In video, Trump vows to order withdrawal from TPP trade deal, investigate immigration visa fraud and create a plan to counter cyberattacks

By Michael C. Bender And Damian Paletta Wall Street Journal, November 21, 2016

Full-text stories from the Wall Street Journal are available to Journal subscribers by clicking the link.

President-Elect Donald Trump Outlines His Plans For The First 100 Days, But Key Campaign Promises Are Missing

By Brian Murphy

McClatchy, November 21, 2016

President-elect Donald Trump, in a video released Monday, proposed six policies that he wants to implement in his first 100 days.

The polices touched on several key themes of Trump's winning election campaign, including trade and immigration,

but did not include several of his biggest campaign promises such as repealing the Affordable Care Act or building a wall on the nation's southern border with Mexico.

Trump said his agenda would be based "on a simple core principle: putting America first."

"Whether it's producing steel, building cars or curing disease, I want the next generation of production and innovation to happen right here on our great homeland, America, creating wealth and jobs for American workers," Trump said in the video.

He then outlined executive actions he wants to take on his first day in office "to restore our laws and bring back our jobs. It's about time," he said.

On Trump's list:

- Issuing notification of intent to withdraw from the Trans-Pacific Partnership trade agreement
- Canceling restrictions on American energy including shale and clean coal. Trump said this would create millions of high-paying jobs.
- Removing regulation and creating a new rule that states "for every one new regulation, two old regulations must be eliminated."
- Instructing the Department of Defense and other national security agencies to develop a comprehensive plan to protect American infrastructure from cyberattacks and all other attacks.
- Instructing the Department of Labor to investigate all abuses of visa programs
- And instituting new limitations on lobbyists, including a five-year ban on executive officials becoming lobbyists when they leave the administration and a lifetime ban on executive officials from lobbying on behalf of foreign governments.

Trump promised to provide more updates in the coming days. Trump has not held a traditional post-election press conference nor has he held press events to introduce his choices for administrative and Cabinet positions, like Sen. Jeff Sessions for attorney general.

He said the transition team "is working very smoothly, efficiently and effectively" and meeting with "patriots" "many of whom will soon be a part of our government."

Donald Trump To Withdraw U.S. From Asia Trade Deal On First Day In Office

By Stephen Dinan

Washington Times, November 21, 2016

President-elect Donald Trump said Monday that on his first day in office, he will issue a notice that the U.S. is withdrawing from the Pacific trade deal negotiated by President Obama, calling it "a potential disaster for our country."

"Instead we will negotiate fair, bilateral trade deals," he said in a brief video message posted to YouTube laying out his top priorities for the beginning of his administration.

He said he will cancel Obama administration rules that limit energy production, and will order his Labor Department to investigate abuses of America's visa programs, going after those visas that are used to undercut American workers.

And he said he'll order security agencies to come up with a cybersecurity strategy.

Mr. Trump campaigned against the Trans Pacific Partnership and his vow to withdraw from the deal makes good on those campaign promises.

The deal, negotiated by Mr. Obama under authority from Congress, involves 12 Pacific Rim nations, but has come under fire from both sides of the aisle, who say Mr. Obama failed to win enough concessions to protect American workers.

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Trump Announces Executive Actions For Day One

By Yousef Saba

Politico, November 21, 2016

President-elect Donald Trump released a recorded video message to the nation Monday evening, in which he outlined several executive actions he plans to take on his first day in office.

"I am going to issue our notification of intent to withdraw from the Trans-Pacific Partnership," Trump began, vowing to withdraw from the 11-country trade agreement pushed by President Barack Obama. Trump said he will instead negotiate bilateral trade deals that "bring jobs and industry" back to the country.

Trump also promised to "cancel job-killing restrictions on the production of American energy – including shale energy and clean coal," though he did not specific which restrictions he planned to eliminate. This step would create "many millions of high-paying jobs," he said.

Trump vowed to "formulate a rule which says that for every one new regulation, two old regulations must be eliminated," repeating a proposal he made near the end of the election.

Notably absent from Trump's announcement: His campaign-trail promise to build a wall along America's southern border with Mexico. He did say, however, that he would "direct the Department of Labor to investigate all abuses of visa programs that undercut the American worker."

Trump also promised to instruct the Pentagon and the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff to "develop a comprehensive plan to protect America's vital infrastructure from cyber-attacks, and all other form of attacks."

Trump said he would impose a five-year ban on government officials becoming lobbyists, and a lifetime ban for lobbying on behalf of foreign governments. He made no mention of his previous proposal to introduce term limits for members of Congress.

Trump also made no mention of the Affordable Care Act, after repeatedly vowing to repeal and replace it. In a recent interview with the Wall Street Journal, the president-elect said he was considering retaining portions of the law.

Also missing: Any calls to Congress to take action on Trump's policies. Trump's team has been in touch with the offices of House Speaker Paul Ryan and Senate Majority Leader Mitch McConnell legislative priorities, but he made no mention of either congressional leader.

Trump said he would "provide more updates in the coming days."

Trump's Agenda For First 100 Days: 'Putting America First'

By Ken Schwartz

Voice of America, November 21, 2016

President-elect Donald Trump says his agenda for his first 100 days in office will be based on one simple principle — "putting America first."

Trump posted a YouTube video Monday saying he has asked his transition team to put together a list of executive actions he can take on his first day in office. He said those actions will "restore our laws and bring back our jobs."

"Whether it's producing steel, building cars or curing disease, I want the next generation of production and innovation to happen right here ... creating wealth and jobs for American workers," he said.

Trump said one action he will take on Day One will be to issue a notification of intent to pull out of the Trans-Pacific Partnership trade deal and renegotiate what he said are fair bilateral deals. Other plans include a rule saying two federal regulations must be eliminated for every new one created; and asking the Pentagon to create a comprehensive plan to protect U.S. infrastructure from cyberattacks.

He did not mention his previously stated plan to build a wall along the southern U.S. border with Mexico. However, he did say he will "direct the Department of Labor to investigate all abuses of visa programs that undercut the American worker."

And he promised to cancel "job-killing restrictions on the production of American energy — including shale energy and clean coal."

Parade of candidates

Meanwhile Monday, a parade of political faces — some familiar, others a lot more obscure — made their way through the lobby and into the elevators of Trump Tower in New York to be considered for jobs in the incoming administration.

Trump said his transition team is working very smoothly, efficiently and effectively. He described them as "truly great and talented men and women, patriots indeed are being brought in and many will soon be a part of our government."

Among those Trump met with Monday were former Texas Governor Rick Perry, who briefly ran for the Republican nomination last year. He is reportedly being considered for one of several jobs, including defense or agriculture secretary.

Perry once accused Trump of running for president merely to stroke his own celebrity status.

Liberal Democratic Congresswoman Tulsi Gabbard of Hawaii also met with Trump. She endorsed Bernie Sanders for president, but agrees with Trump's opposition to increased U.S. military involvement in Syria.

Oklahoma Governor Mary Fallin, a possible interior secretary, and former Massachusetts Senator Scott Brown, who reports say could become the nation's next veterans affairs secretary, also chatted with the president-elect.

No details of any of the talks were disclosed Monday. Trump officials say no new announcements are imminent.

Campaign manager Kellyanne Conway said not all those who have met with Trump will get jobs. But she said, "They are all incredibly important in offering their points of view, their experience and certainly their vision for the country."

They include former New York Mayor Rudy Giuliani, who is reportedly looking to be the next secretary of state. Giuliani is known for helping New York emerge from the Sept. 11, 2001, terrorist attacks, but has little foreign affairs experience.

Another former Trump rival-turned-supporter is New Jersey Governor Chris Christie. He led Trump's transition team until he was replaced by Vice President-elect Mike Pence.

President-elect Donald Trump, left, and New Jersey Gov. Chris Christie shake hands at the Trump National Golf Club Bedminster clubhouse in Bedminster, N.J., Nov. 20, 2016.

It is unclear what role Christie would have in the Trump administration. Critics say he brings too much baggage after two of his aides were convicted for their role in a politically motivated scheme to shut down all but one lane of a bridge between New Jersey and New York City.

The 2013 closure caused a massive and potentially lifethreatening traffic jam. Federal prosecutors allege Christie knew about the scheme.

Trump plans to leave New York on Tuesday or Wednesday to spend Thanksgiving at his Florida resort.

Donald Trump Outlines Policy Plan For First 100 Days

By Tom Lobianco

CNN, November 21, 2016

Washington (CNN)President-elect Donald Trump unveiled plans Monday for his first 100 days in office, including proposals related to immigration, trade deals and defense policy, using a video published online to briefly outline his proposals.

Trump promised to withdraw from negotiations on the Trans-Pacific Partnership trade deal, cancel environmental restrictions put in place by President Barack Obama, ask his national security team to buttress against infrastructure attacks, have the Labor Department investigate federal worker visas and impose broad new bans on lobbying by government employees.

The six items Trump detailed Monday are all somewhat easy lifts inside Washington – because they can be done with a simple signature by Trump and do not require congressional approval.

But Trump also left out his biggest campaign promises – including promises to build a wall along the Mexican border, establish a "deportation force," place new restrictions on immigration from some majority Muslim countries, repeal Obamacare and spend \$1 trillion on infrastructure.

Unlike his items unveiled Monday, those measures would require the approval of Congress and are likely to take significantly more work.

Time and speed are very likely to be key factors as the new president looks for bigger, more durable wins in his first year. Republicans control the House and Senate, as well as the White House – but Democrats struggled to pass key items, like Obamacare, when they were in a similar position eight years ago.

Republicans hold a firm majority in the House, but could struggle in the Senate, where Democrats will hold 48 seats next year, enough to blockade Trump measures.

Trump cast his measures as completely focused on American workers.

"Whether it's producing steel, building cars, or curing disease, I want the next generation of production and innovation to happen right here, in our great homeland: America – creating wealth and jobs for American workers," Trump said in the two-and-a-half-minute video statement. "As part of this plan, I've asked my transition team to develop a list of executive actions we can take on day one to restore our laws and bring back our jobs."

Among his first actions, the Republican said he would "issue our notification of intent to withdraw from the Transpacific Partnership" and replace it with negotiating "fair bilateral trade deals." Trump campaigned on a promise to halt the progress of the TPP trade deal, an agreement President

Barack Obama had hoped would be a part of his administration's trade legacy.

On immigration, Trump promised to "investigate all abuses of visa programs that undercut the American worker," but did not mention his signature campaign promise of building a wall along the US border with Mexico.

The items are all measures he broadly campaigned on, though Trump has begun moderating some of the toughest stances he took on the campaign trail. In an interview with "60 Minutes," he said that he would likely keep key portions of Obamacare. And not long after his election win, his campaign took down the web page with his earlier promise to ban all Muslims from entering the country – he has since moderated that view greatly, but left major questions on how precisely he would limit immigration.

Donald Trump Outlines Policy Plans For First 100 Days

By Mahita Gajanan

TIME, November 21, 2016

Donald Trump released a video on Monday to detail his policy plans for his first 100 days in office, including withdrawing from the Trans-Pacific Partnership trade deal.

In the short message released online, Trump rehashed some of his campaign promises. Among the plans he addressed, Trump promised to "restore our laws and bring back our jobs."

To do so, Trump said he would withdraw from the TPP, cancel restrictions on shale and clean coal and develop a plan to protect American infrastructure.

Regarding his immigration plan, Trump said he would direct the department of labor to "investigate all abuses of visa programs that undercut the American worker." Following up on his promise to "drain the swamp" of Washington D.C., Trump said he would enact a five-year ban on executive officials becoming lobbyists. He also said that he would implement a new rule requiring the elimination of two regulations for every new one.

Notably missing from his policy points were the building of a wall along the U.S.-Mexico border and repealing Obamacare—platforms Trump repeated throughout his campaign.

Donald Trump's First Promises Since Winning The Election Leave Out The Border Wall, NAFTA And His Muslim Ban

By Noah Bierman

Los Angeles Times, November 21, 2016

President-elect Donald Trump spent more than a year campaigning to build a border wall, repeal Obamacare and rescind President Obama's moves to protect from deportation some immigrants who came to the U.S. illegally.

But in his first extensive public comments since winning the election this month, Trump mentioned none of those issues. Nor did he talk about withdrawing from the North American Free Trade Agreement, banning Muslims from entering the country, or ending the Syrian refugee program.

Trump instead made five more modest promises for his first day in office during a nearly three-minute video released Monday that presented him as a more moderate figure and appeared to be an effort to soften Trump's message while he establishes an inner circle of advisors and Cabinet picks of hard-liners.

In the video, Trump promises to withdraw from the massive Trans-Pacific Partnership trade deal, "a potential disaster for our country," and instead pursue bilateral agreements with some of the Pacific countries involved. He promised to lift restrictions on energy production, including shale and coal, implement a rule that any new government regulation must be accompanied by removing two regulations on the books and to instruct his Joint Chiefs of Staff to develop a new cybersecurity plan.

His only discussion of immigration involved the legal immigration system — a crackdown on visa fraud.

Trump also said his previously announced ethics rules — barring employees in his administration from lobbying for five years after they leave the government and from lobbying for foreign governments for life — would take effect as soon as he is inaugurated.

Trump vowed in the video to release more plans in the days to come.

"These are some of our Day 1 executive actions," spokesman Jason Miller said in an email. "By no means is it everything he'll work on day one or after that — many additional good things to come."

Japan PM Says TPP Trade Pact Meaningless Without U.S.

By Kiyoshi Takenaka

Reuters, November 21, 2016

Full-text stories from Reuters currently cannot be included in this document. You may, however, click the link above to access the story.

A Trump Pacific Partnership

Washington Post, November 21, 2016

TO THE extent the divided American electorate can be said to agree on anything after Nov. 8, it would seem to be broad rejection of "trade deals" such as the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP). Both major-party candidates, Republican winner Donald Trump and Democratic loser Hillary Clinton — as well as her erstwhile primary opponent, Sen. Bernie Sanders (I-Vt.) — opposed it. Not surprisingly, the Senate will not take up the TPP in the lame-duck session.

Therefore, there was a certain pathos to President Obama's valedictory performance at last weekend's Asia-Pacific economic summit. With Mr. Trump, the most vehement protectionist to win the presidency in recent memory, preparing to take over at the White House on Jan. 20, Mr. Obama urged the region's leaders not to give up on the TPP or the American presence in Asia that it would embody and perpetuate. Meanwhile, China's strongman, Xi Jinping, offered membership in its alternative to the TPP, the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership, a less ambitious tariff-cutting plan whose main impact would be to substitute Beijing for Washington as the Asia-Pacific region's economic and, potentially, strategic heavyweight.

Abandoning the TPP would be a self-inflicted injury to the United States and its democratic partners, from the west coast of South America to Australia to Japan. Yet even as the various leaders of those nations declared themselves open to China's blandishments, they refused to close the door on some new arrangement that might include the United States. New Zealand's prime minister, John Key, observed that he would consider renaming the TPP the "Trump Pacific Partnership" if it would help bring the new American administration on board; while Mr. Key was obviously joking, his offer to reopen negotiations in search of a bargain that would meet with Washington's approval seemed genuine enough. Surely no nation in this prosperous, strategically vital area of the world can relish its abandonment by the United States, after 70 years in which the area benefited from American investment, trade and military strength.

Unfortunately, there is every indication that Mr. Trump's opposition to trade agreements and, indeed, to free trade itself is deep-seated, not a position he adopted for transitory political purposes. Doubly unfortunately, he is surrounding himself with advisers, notably future White House political adviser Stephen K. Bannon, who relish the label "nationalist" and may see engagement with Asia as part of the "globalist" paradigm Mr. Trump was elected to undo. In a brief video statement Mr. Trump released Monday, he reiterated his intention to jettison the TPP.

The president-elect also said he would seek new "fair, bilateral" deals. We hope that represents an opening to maintaining U.S. leadership in the Pacific region. Everything the would-be TPP partners said at the summit suggests that they would welcome such a U.S. role. If Mr. Trump wants to avoid going down in history as author of one of the most short-sighted diplomatic errors for the United States since the rejection of the League of Nations, he will not compound the mistake of withdrawing from the TPP by also withdrawing the United States from a role that has kept the peace and promoted prosperity for so long.

Donald Trump Poised To Pressure Mexico On Trade

While an abrupt withdrawal from Nafta trade deal is unlikely, the president-elect and his advisers are gunning for big changes

By William Mauldin And David Luhnow Wall Street Journal, November 21, 2016

Full-text stories from the Wall Street Journal are available to Journal subscribers by clicking the link.

For Trump And GOP, 'Obamacare' Repeal Is Complex And Risky

By Alan Fram

Associated Press, November 21, 2016

WASHINGTON (AP) – Here's the idea: Swiftly pass a repeal of President Barack Obama's health care law, perhaps soon enough for Donald Trump to sign it the day he takes the presidential oath. Then approve legislation restructuring the nation's huge and convoluted health care system – despite Republican divisions, Democratic opposition and millions of jittery constituents.

What could go wrong?

With Republicans controlling the White House and Congress in January, they're faced with delivering on their long-time promise to repeal and replace "Obamacare." Here are hurdles they'll face:

SPEED VS DELIBERATION

Trump and congressional Republicans will be under intense pressure from their core conservative supporters to repeal Obama's 2010 health care law – and fast. After all, Congress already sent Obama a repeal bill last January, which he vetoed, and many GOP voters will see no reason for delays this time.

But there probably won't be anything fast about this process, which is likely to take at least months.

While the replacement effort is underway, Republicans will risk aggravating up to 30 million people who are covered by the law or buy policies with prices affected by its insurance marketplace. Democrats will be sure to accuse the GOP of threatening the health care of millions.

A SOLUTION

Nothing's been decided, but here's one likely scenario:(backslash).

The new Congress, which convenes Jan. 3, tries to quickly approve legislation repealing Obama's health care law, maybe completing it by Trump's Jan. 20 inauguration or soon after. But the repeal would not take effect until the future, perhaps a year later, to give lawmakers time to fashion a replacement. The version Obama vetoed had a two-year delay.

Seemingly acknowledging that two-step process, Vice President-elect Mike Pence said Sunday on "Fox News Sunday" that Trump "wants to focus out of the gate on repealing Obamacare and beginning the process of replacing Obamacare."

Because Republicans will control the Senate by just 52-48, Congress will first have to approve special budget procedures to prevent Democrats from stopping repeal legislation by filibuster. Bill-killing filibusters require 60 votes to end.

But those special rules would apply only to items that affect the federal budget. Republicans, for example, would need a simple Senate majority to end IRS penalties against people who don't buy insurance but would still need 60 votes – requiring Democratic support – for other changes such as raising limits on older people's premiums.

House Budget Committee Chairman Tom Price, R-Ga., says that will restrain Republicans' ability to ram a "lock, stock and barrel" repeal through Congress.

GOP RISKS

One GOP danger: Congress and Trump might repeal Obama's law, but while they're laboring on a replacement, nervous insurance companies begin pulling out of markets and raising premiums. Insurers have been doing that under Obama, but now it would occur under a Republican government.

Another hazard: Congress' work could spill into the 2018 campaign season, when the entire House and a third of the Senate face re-election. Republicans will grow increasingly timid about anything that might anger voters.

"We want to be the rescue party instead of the party that pushes millions of Americans who are hanging by the edge of their fingernails over the cliff," says Sen. Lamar Alexander, R-Tenn., who chairs the Senate Health committee.

GOP PATHWAYS

Virtually all Republicans want to get rid of the health law's mandates that individuals buy coverage or risk IRS fines, and that large employers insure workers.

They also want to erase taxes on higher-earning people and the health care sector. And they'd like to retain parts of the law guaranteeing coverage for people with pre-existing medical problems and keeping children under age 26 on family plans.

Unifying Republicans much beyond that is a work in progress.

Trump's health care views have varied and lack detail. His campaign website touts tax deductions for health insurance premiums and permitting policies to be sold across state lines. He'd also revamp Medicaid, which subsidizes health coverage for low-income people, directing fixed

75

amounts of money to states and letting them structure benefits.

House Speaker Paul Ryan, R-Wis., last summer unveiled an outline of the House GOP's solution, though it lacked cost estimates and details. It would provide tax credits, impose taxes on the most generous employer-provided health care plans, revamp Medicaid and let Medicare beneficiaries pick private plans instead of today's fee-forservice coverage.

Senate Finance Committee Chairman Orrin Hatch, R-Utah, has also advanced a framework relying heavily on tax credits.

REMAINING QUESTIONS

Thirty-one states – including Pence's Indiana, where he is governor – plus the District of Columbia have expanded Medicaid coverage to 9 million additional people under Obama's law. Curtailing that program will divide Republicans.

Taxing the value of some employer-provided health plans, aimed at curbing the growth of costs, is "a political land mine," says GOP economist Douglas Holtz-Eakin. Republicans have long resisted tax increases.

Obama's law mandates coverage for individuals because without that requirement many healthy people would forgo policies, driving up costs for everyone else and destabilizing insurance markets. Ryan has proposed shielding people from higher premiums if they've had "continuous coverage," allowing higher rates for people who have not had policies, but Republicans have yet to decide how to keep insurance markets viable.

AP reporters Mary Clare Jalonick in Washington and Bill Barrow in Atlanta contributed to this report.

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House Seeks Delay In Health Law Appeal Pending New President

Associated Press, November 21, 2016

WASHINGTON (AP) – The Republican-led House of Representatives is asking the federal appeals court in Washington to delay consideration of a case involving the Obama health care law because Donald Trump has pledged to repeal and replace it when he becomes president.

The House won a ruling in U.S. district court that held the administration is illegally subsidizing medical bills for millions of people while ignoring congressional power over government spending.

The administration appealed both the substance of the ruling and whether a chamber of Congress can even mount a legal challenge.

Lawyers for the House said in their filing Monday that the appeals court should put the case on hold because there is a "significant likelihood of a change in administration position" under Trump.

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Trump Auditions Cabinet Prospects High Above Manhattan

By Jonathan Lemire

Associated Press, November 21, 2016

NEW YORK (AP) – Donald Trump held court from his perch high above Manhattan on Monday, receiving a line of former rivals, longtime allies and TV executives while overseeing a presidential transition that at times resembles a reality show like the one he once hosted.

Trump met with nearly a dozen prospective hires, all of whom were paraded in front of the cameras set up in the Trump Tower lobby as they entered an elevator to see the president-elect. Out of public view himself, he fell back on his TV star roots by filming a video that touted his legislative goals once he takes office.

Trump; did not immediately announce any appointments after the meetings, which came on the heels of a two-day whirlwind of interviews at his golf course in Bedminster, New Jersey.

Unlike his predecessors, who often spoke with Cabinet candidates under a cloud of secrecy, Trump has turned the search into a very public audition process. The extraordinary exercise took on a routine feel on Monday: First, former Massachusetts Senator Scott Brown stepped off the gold-plated elevator into the marble-coated lobby after his meeting to declare to waiting reporters that he was "the best person" to become Veterans Affairs secretary.

Next, Oklahoma Gov. Mary Fallin, a candidate for Interior secretary, did much the same, striding off the lift to say she had "a wonderful discussion" with Trump. Former Texas Governor Rick Perry declined to speak to reporters, but he did take time for a photo with the Naked Cowboy, the underwear-sporting, guitar-strumming New York institution who is normally a fixture at Times Square but has spent

recent days camped out at Trump Tower singing about the president-elect.

Democratic Hawaii Rep. Tulsi Gabbard, who resigned her post on the Democratic National Committee after endorsing Bernie Sanders over Hillary Clinton, also met with Trump but entered and exited out of sight. She later defended crossing party lines to meet with Trump about U.S. involvement in Syria, saying in a statement she would never "play politics with American and Syrian lives."

Former House Speaker Newt Gingrich, a longtime Trump ally, also arrived with his wife, Callista, for a meeting.

Senior adviser Kellyanne Conway said of the visitors, "Not all of them will be in his Cabinet and his federal government, but they are all incredibly important in offering their points of views, their experience and certainly their vision of the country."

No one was saying whether Trump would announce more appointments before heading to Florida for Thanksgiving. He was planning to leave Tuesday or Wednesday to spend the holiday at his Mar-a-Lago estate, while Vice president-elect Mike Pence will spend Thanksgiving in Mississippi, where his Marine son is stationed.

Trump has largely remained out of sight since winning the election, save for a flurry of brief public appearances over the weekend, often with Pence at his side, to flash thumbsups and provide quick updates on his progress in building a government. He remained in the upper floors of his skyscraper Monday, seeking counsel on the phone and interviewing candidates all while keeping an eye on the cable news coverage of the day's events.

The video he made, expected to be released late Monday, continues the president-elect's practice of trying to go over the heads of the media and take his case directly to the American public. Since Election Day, he has twice ditched the group of reporters designated to follow his movements and has so far eschewed the traditional news conference held by the president-elect in the days after winning.

Trump has not held a full-fledged news conference since July.

But the media were clearly on his mind as he met with executives and on-air personalities from TV networks. He frequently singled out the media – declaring them "so dishonest" – for criticism during the campaign, but it's not unusual for presidents to hold off-the-record meetings with journalists when trying to promote policies or programs.

Among the attendees were NBC anchor Lester Holt and "Meet the Press" host Chuck Todd, ABC "Good Morning America" host George Stephanopoulos and anchor David Muir, CBS "Face the Nation" host John Dickerson, CNN's Wolf Blitzer and several executives at the networks.

None of the attendees would discuss the meeting with reporters in the lobby, though Conway said it was "very cordial, very productive, very congenial."

Those Trump met with over the weekend included former Massachusetts Gov. Mitt Romney, a former critic now being considered for secretary of state; retired Marine Corps Gen. James Mattis, who Trump dubbed an "impressive" prospect for defense secretary, and billionaire investor Wilbur Ross, who is under consideration for Commerce secretary.

"We've made a couple of deals," Trump said Sunday. He gave assurances that "incredible meetings" would be bringing "incredible people" into the government.

Associated Press writers Catherine Lucey in Bedminster, New Jersey, Dave Bauder in New York and Julie Bykowicz and Laurie Kellman in Washington contributed to this report.

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Trump Is Seeking To Build A Diverse Administration, Aides Say

By Karen Tumulty And Jerry Markon Washington Post, November 21, 2016

Though President-elect Donald Trump's first five picks for top jobs in his administration have all been white males, transition officials insisted Monday that the team he ultimately put together will represent a cross-section of America.

Trump spokesman Jason Miller told reporters on a conference call that the president-elect met with a "high-caliber and broad and diverse group" of job-seekers and advisers in recent days and predicted that the top rungs of the executive branch Trump assembles in the coming weeks "will be very broad and diverse, both with the cabinet and the administration."

That point was echoed by Trump's campaign manager Kellyanne Conway, who said that assuring diversity — both in backgrounds and political philosophy — is a priority for Trump.

"And diversity means meeting with people across the aisle who are traditionally more Democratic, who are coming together and wanting to offer him advice, perhaps vie for a spot in his cabinet." Conway said. "But willing to give him

counsel and willing to share experiences and have candid conversations about their views and their backgrounds."

The Trump aides were seeking to dismiss speculation that the parade of people summoned by the president-elect — which has included women, nonwhites and erstwhile political foes — has been merely for show.

That skepticism comes in the aftermath of a brutal presidential campaign that was punctuated by frequent incidents in which Trump said and did things that offended women, Latinos and Muslims, while drawing support from white nationalist groups.

Exit polls suggest that Trump owes his victory to white voters, of whom 58 percent supported him. By comparison, he won only 8 percent of African American voters, and 29 percent each of Hispanics and Asian Americans, the exit polls showed.

"It is time for us to come together as one united people. It's time," Trump said in his election-night victory speech. "I pledge to every citizen of our land that I will be president for all Americans, and this is so important to me."

At the same time, Trump has made clear he is not ready to let bygones be bygones, feuding in recent days on Twitter with the cast of the hit play "Hamilton" and with "Saturday Night Live." On Monday afternoon, he had a contentious Trump Tower meeting with another one of his chief adversaries: members of the news media.

In the session with more than a dozen television executives and on-air journalists, Trump was highly critical of coverage of him, according to several people familiar with the gathering. Keeping his voice calm and his tone flippant, he told the group sitting around a conference table that they failed to provide their viewers with fair and accurate coverage and told them they failed to understand him or his appeal to millions of Americans.

Trump expressed particular ire at CNN and at several reporters at other cable networks whom he sees as unreasonably antagonistic toward him, though he did not mention them by name.

The people variously described Trump as "combative," "proud," and "dismissive" toward the news organizations present. He also shrugged off the need for a constant pool covering him, they said, although he did not delve into specifics.

On Tuesday, he is scheduled to meet with publisher Arthur Sulzberger Jr., as well as editors and reporters of the journalistic institution that Trump frequently refers to as "the failing New York Times."

Trump's meetings on Monday included Rep. Tulsi Gabbard (D-Hawaii), who was the first Hindu member of Congress and who supported Vermont Sen. Bernie Sanders, a socialist, in the Democratic primary. On foreign policy, Gabbard, a combat veteran who served in Iraq, has been

critical of the Obama administration's handling of the war in Syria.

After the meeting with Trump, she issued a statement saying that her "frank and positive conversation" with the president-elect had centered on "our current policies regarding Syria, our fight against terrorist groups like al-Qaeda and ISIS, as well as other foreign policy challenges we face."

"I felt it important to take the opportunity to meet with the President-elect now before the drumbeats of war that neocons have been beating drag us into an escalation of the war to overthrow the Syrian government," she added.

Gabbard spokeswoman Emily Latimer said the congresswoman "did not meet with President-elect Trump seeking a job, nor did he offer her one."

Another woman who met with Trump on Monday was Oklahoma Gov. Mary Fallon, who said she had discussed "a wide range of issues" with him, but was not offered a position. "It was just an initial meeting to discuss a wide range of topics," Fallon said.

Also on the list of those meeting with Trump on Monday were former Texas Gov. Rick Perry, who was a harsh critic when he opposed Trump in the GOP primary; former speaker Newt Gingrich; former Massachusetts senator Scott Brown, who indicated he is interested in being tapped as secretary of veterans affairs; and Elaine Chao, a former labor secretary who is married to Senate Majority Leader Mitch McConnell (R-Ky.).

On Monday evening, Trump released a video in which he said: "Our transition team is working very smoothly, efficiently and effectively. Truly great and talented men and women, patriots indeed are being brought in and many will soon be a part of our government."

He also outlined a series of executive actions in the video that he said he intends to take on his first day in office: issuing notification of intent to withdraw from the Trans-Pacific Partnership trade agreement; cancelling restrictions on energy production; putting in place a rule that two regulations must be eliminated for every new one put in place; ordering a plan to protect U.S. infrastructure from cyberattacks and other forms of attack; directing the Labor Department to investigate "abuses of visa programs that undercut the American worker;" and imposing a five-year ban in executive officials becoming lobbyists.

No personnel announcements are imminent, officials said Monday, adding that Trump is planning to spend Thanksgiving with his family at Mar-a-Lago, his private club in Palm Beach, Fla.

Two new names have emerged as possible candidates for secretary of the Department of Homeland Security, including a retired Marine general who clashed with the Obama administration over women in combat and over plans

to close the prison at Guantanamo Bay, people familiar with the selection process said Monday.

Marine Gen. John F. Kelly, who retired this year as chief of U.S. Southern Command, is under consideration for the critical homeland security post, the sources said. Another candidate is Frances Townsend, a top homeland security and counterterrorism official in the George W. Bush administration, they said.

Additionally, Kansas Secretary of State Kris Kobach appeared to be carrying a written plan for DHS into a meeting with Trump on Sunday. According to one page of the plan photographed by the Associated Press, it focused in part on questioning "high-risk" immigrants over their alleged support for Islamic sharia law.

Kobach entered the national spotlight several years ago when he advised Mitt Romney on the idea of "self-deportation" for illegal immigrants during the 2012 presidential campaign. A former chairman of the Kansas Republican Party, Kobach also wrote Arizona's strict immigration law and has helped lead the fight against President Obama's executive actions on immigration.

It is unclear how seriously Kobach is under consideration for DHS, but he is a strong Trump supporter who helped influence the president-elect's hard-line views on immigration. Trump has pledged a crackdown on illegal immigration that would require an exorbitantly expensive — and logistically difficult — operation to remove millions from the country.

Overseeing it all would be DHS, which was created after the Sept. 11, 2001, attacks primarily to coordinate the battle against terrorism but is now perhaps known as well for its immigration role. A beefed-up U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE), a DHS component, would be instrumental if Trump follows through on rounding up far more undocumented immigrants. U.S. Customs and Border Protection, also part of DHS, would come under increased pressure to add more layers of security to the Southwest border.

Meanwhile, Miller, the Trump spokesman, pointedly declined to back embattled FBI Director James B. Comey on Monday, saying Trump would meet with the nation's top law enforcement officer "at some point."

"There hasn't been any official statement with regard to Director Comey," Miller said during the transition team's daily briefing. Asked if Trump would seek the resignation of Comey, who played a controversial role in the presidential campaign's final days, Miller said only: "I would imagine that at some point, the two will meet."

Comey drew biting criticism at various points from Republicans and Democrats over the FBI's handling of Democratic nominee Hillary Clinton's use of a private email server while she was secretary of state. Clinton has told donors she blamed her surprising loss on the FBI chief, who

told Congress 11 days before the election that the bureau was reviewing further Clinton emails, then said two days before Election Day that the review had not changed his decision not to recommend charges against Clinton.

The transition operation continued to confront questions Monday over how Trump will handle potential conflicts of interest between his sprawling business empire and his new role as the chief executive of the federal government.

Last week, Trump held a meeting at Trump Tower with three business partners building a Trump property south of Mumbai. His daughter Ivanka Trump — a vice president at the Trump Organization and one of the family members who will be in charge of Donald Trump's businesses after he takes office — attended his meeting last week with the Japanese prime minister.

A new Washington Post analysis of financial filings shows that at least 111 Trump companies have done business in 18 countries and territories, including eight launched during the campaign that appear tied to a potential hotel project in Saudi Arabia.

"I'm very confident he is not breaking any laws," Conway told reporters. "He has various lawyers, accountants and advisers who tell him what he must do and what he can. He's a businessman, he's also working on transition. He's the president elect. We're in unprecedented times."

Sari Horwitz and Elise Viebeck in Washington and Robert Costa and Philip Rucker in New York contributed to this report.

Trump Prepares To Fill Out Security, Economy Teams

By David Jackson And Eliza Collins USA Today, November 21, 2016

After a busy weekend interviewing job candidates, President-elect Donald Trump spent Monday in meetings to fill out his economic and national security teams.

While his initial picks are a nod to immigration and national security hardliners, Trump held court with a wide array of potential picks that could moderate those appointments.

What's unknown is whether the meetings will lead to a diverse Cabinet or whether Trump will ultimately settle on additional loyalists like Sen. Jeff Sessions of Alabama, whom he appointed as attorney general, and retired Army lieutenant general Michael Flynn, who will serve as national security adviser.

"We've made a couple of deals," Trump told reporters after a weekend of meetings with with no less than 21 job candidates at his golf resort in Bedminster, N.J.

Transition aides said they would release a video Monday in which the president-elect discusses plans and

"legislative priorities" for the Trump administration that begins Jan. 20.

Topics include trade, notably Trump's opposition to the now-probably-defunct Trans-Pacific Partnership with Asian nations; energy development and "job-killing" regulations governing shale and clean coal; national security, with an emphasis on cybersecurity; and immigration, including alleged abuse of visa programs to undercut American workers, said transition aide Jason Miller.

The meetings incoming presidents hold to consider Cabinet and senior administration posts are often done in complete secrecy so as to avoid potential embarrassment for those who are passed over. Yet Trump is a candidate who's rejected the norms of campaign tradition, so it's not surprising he may govern the same. His team is also trying to counteract a narrative that's developed in the past few days that he is rewarding loyalists versus selecting the most qualified candidates to fill his Cabinet. Allowing the media to document a diverse array of contestants could be beneficial to that end.

What's unclear is whether he'll actually embrace a "team of rivals" approach by elevating his former foes. Trump had more meetings on Monday, including one with Rick Perry. The former governor of Texas and ex-rival in the Republican primaries has been mentioned for a number of slots in Trump's Cabinet, including the departments of Defense, Veterans Affairs, Energy, and Agriculture. That's after a weekend meeting with the 2012 Republican nominee, Mitt Romney, who was harshly critical of Trump during the entire election process but who is now reportedly under consideration for secretary of State.

The president also met with a fairly prominent Democrat: U.S. Rep. Tulsi Gabbard of Hawaii, who backed Bernie Sanders over Hillary Clinton during the Democratic primaries. A military veteran, Gabbard has been a vocal critic of VA medical services.

In a statement released Monday Gabbard said "while the rules of political expediency would say I should have refused to meet with President-elect Trump, I never have and never will play politics with American and Syrian lives."

"President-elect Trump and I had a frank and positive conversation in which we discussed a variety of foreign policy issues in depth," Gabbard said. "I shared with him my grave concerns that escalating the war in Syria by implementing a so-called no fly/safe zone would be disastrous for the Syrian people, our country, and the world," Gabbard continued.

The uncertainty around Trump's goals for rounding out his circle of top advisers is punctuated by a lack of media access. Trump has been too busy to have a press conference since his election, said Kellyanne Conway, his campaign manager and senior adviser.

"He just has action-packed days filled with meetings. These days are overscheduled with meetings," Conway said, adding that Trump "works 18 hours a day interviewing people, taking calls from all around the world. He will take have a press conference in due course. And he will make his announcements for his Cabinet."

Also Monday Trump met with former Massachusetts senator Scott Brown. After the meeting Brown told reporters that he spoke with Trump about being head of the VA.

"He's obviously going to take my application, or interest, under consideration. I'm glad that he called. He's going to obviously meet other folks, and we should know, I would think, probably after Thanksgiving," Brown said. "I think I'm the best person, but there are some tremendous people out there and I don't look at it as a competition."

Trump also met with Oklahoma Gov. Mary Fallin who said she was not offered a position but that the meeting was just a start.

Other Monday meetings include former House Speaker Newt Gingrich, a prominent pro-Trump spokesman during the campaign; and former Labor Secretary Elaine Chao (who is married to Senate Republican leader Mitch McConnell). The president is also scheduled to meet with officials of a border patrol union that endorsed him during the campaign. Trump also had an off-the-record meeting with television executives and anchors from the major networks.

The campaign is also pushing back on a series of stories about Trump continuing to hold business meetings during the transition, such as those with three Indian associates who flew in over the weekend to congratulate him. Conway said he was doing nothing wrong.

"Do you ask people how long they will play golf and do the transition?" she said. "Are you suggesting he is doing something illegal? I already said he is not. But the presumption is that he is," Conway said when asked how long the president-elect would continue to conduct business.

The Trump team still has some campaign clean-up to do.

The Federal Election Commission on Monday sent a letter to the Trump campaign organization listing pages of "excessive, prohibited, and impermissible" contributions. They came from individuals who made multiple contributions that added up to an excess of legal limits, unregistered organizations, or committees that were unqualified to contribute to presidential candidates.

The president-elect and his aides are also dealing with questions about how the New York businessman (and his family) should handle their business affairs during his presidency.

Vice President-elect Mike Pence, who is heading up Trump's transition, has sat in on Trump's job interviews.

Trump, who began announcing his team last week, had special praise for one of his candidates for secretary of Defense.

"General James 'Mad Dog' Mattis, who is being considered for Secretary of Defense, was very impressive yesterday," Trump tweeted Sunday. "A true General's General!"

Trump aides also promoted a new poll showing the his popularity has picked up since the election.

According to a new POLITICO/Morning Consult poll of registered voters. 46% of voters now have a very favorable or somewhat favorable opinion of the president-elect. That's up nine points from a similar poll taken right before Election Day on Nov. 8.

Trump's interviews over the weekend included at least two secretary of State candidates: Romney and Rudy Giuliani, the former New York City major who became a top Trump surrogate during this year's campaign. Conway also noted that Trump has spoken with Sen. Bob Corker, R-Tenn., another possibility for the State Department.

Congressional Democrats, meanwhile, are developing a strategy to cope with the president, vowing to contest disputed nominees or policies.

"On issues where our values are at stake, where the president goes in a divisive direction, where his campaign did before, we'll go against him and with everything we've got," said incoming Senate Democratic leader Chuck Schumer, D-N.Y.. on NBC's Meet The Press.

The transition team also announced that Trump plans to spend Thanksgiving at his South Florida estate, Mar-a-Lago.

Contributing: Heidi M. Przybyla

Trump Pivots To Economic And Domestic Policy Posts

By Michael D. Shear, Carl Hulse And Michael S. Schmidt

New York Times, November 21, 2016

With Thanksgiving approaching, the Trump transition team is putting the last touches on President-elect Donald J. Trump's national security leadership even as Mr. Trump pivots to his domestic and economic policy cabinet posts. In the meantime, he's distracting attention from news of his business entanglements with a Twitter war on "Hamilton" and "Saturday Night Live."

Mr. Trump returned to New York City on Sunday night as his transition team looked toward filling in the blanks on the incoming administration's economic and domestic policy leaders.

Mr. Trump, who spent the weekend at Trump National Golf Club in Bedminster, N.J., has not yet finished announcing all of the key members of his national security team. But after a weekend of interviewing potential secretaries of defense and state, the president-elect looked close to making those decisions.

"We made a couple of deals," Mr. Trump, ever the real estate businessman, told reporters Sunday evening.

Aides to Mr. Trump have indicated that the presidentelect will soon turn his attention to other parts of his cabinet. Transition officials have said their economic and domestic policy teams will be in place by early next week to begin working with the Obama administration on the formal transfer of authority.

One thing that could slow the process of vetting candidates and making announcements: Thanksgiving. Mr. Trump will spend the holiday in Florida — most likely at his Mar-a-Lago resort, The Tampa Bay Times reported.

For an incoming president, the news this weekend wasn't pretty: a \$25 million fraud settlement over Trump University; word of meetings with Indian business partners and the president-elect; Hillary Clinton's expanding popular vote lead; and questions about the propriety of potentially appointing his son-in-law, Jared Kushner, to a White House post.

So what's a president-elect to do?

Complain about pop culture.

Using his favorite social media tool — Twitter — Mr. Trump whined about his critics on "Saturday Night Live" and in the cast of "Hamilton," providing a distraction for the easily distracted news media.

With Mr. Trump still lining up meetings with foreign business partners, President Obama weighed in subtly from a summit meeting in Lima, Peru: liquidate your assets and start clean.

After he won the election in 2008, Mr. Obama said he sold nearly all of his assets and bought Treasury bills.

"Just because it simplified my life," he said. "I did not have to worry about the complexities of whether or not a decision I made might even inadvertently benefit me."

Of course, Mr. Obama had considerably less to sell than our billionaire president-elect.

Mr. Obama returns to a churning Washington in the pre-dawn hours on Monday from a two-continent, three-country tour that was his last major trip as president. Mr. Obama has no public events planned for Monday, ceding the field to Mr. Trump.

During his stops in Greece, Germany and Peru, Mr. Obama held farewell meetings with leaders familiar and new, from Chancellor Angela Merkel of Germany and President Xi Jinping of China to Prime Minister Malcolm Turnbull of Australia and Prime Minister Justin Trudeau of Canada.

On Tuesday, Mr. Obama is scheduled to give the 2016 Presidential Medal of Freedom to 21 honorees, including Kareem Abdul-Jabbar, Ellen DeGeneres, Tom Hanks, Michael Jordan, Robert Redford, Robert De Niro, Frank Gehry and Bill and Melinda Gates.

The next day, on Thanksgiving Eve, he will pardon a turkey for the last time as president.

Vice President-elect Mike Pence clearly thinks something out of the ordinary is happening as the Trump administration takes shape.

In his appearance on Sunday on CBS, Mr. Pence praised the men and women of "extraordinary backgrounds and capabilities" putting the administration together. Then there was the "extraordinary capability" of Mr. Trump's children, to be followed by the "extraordinary men and women" visiting the Trump team in New Jersey as job candidates.

One of those jobs would no doubt be lifting what Mr. Pence called the "extraordinary burden" of the new health care law. When it comes to national security candidates, Mr. Pence noted again their "extraordinary" talents." As for "Hamilton," the hit musical where Mr. Pence was booed on Friday, it was brought to the public by an "extraordinary team."

All in all, his TV comments were, well, remarkable.

While the names of people being considered for top posts in any presidential administration often leak out, the principals in charge typically don't confirm the talks. The idea is to maintain a degree of plausible deniability if someone doesn't get an offer or turns down a post.

But the Trump team seems to be doing things a bit differently.

Turning to Twitter early on Sunday morning, Mr. Trump praised James N. Mattis, a retired Marine Corps general, and noted that he "is being considered for secretary of defense." And on CBS's "Face the Nation," Mr. Pence said that Mitt Romney is "under active and serious consideration to serve as secretary of state of the United States."

Obviously, the usual rules do not apply these days.

McCain Endorses Mattis For Defense Secretary

By Kristina Wong

The Hill, November 21, 2016

Senate Armed Services Committee Chairman John McCain (R-Ariz.) on Monday issued a ringing endorsement of retired Marine Gen. James Mattis, whom President-elect Donald Trump is considering for Defense secretary.

"General Mattis has a clear understanding of the many challenges facing the Department of Defense, the U.S. military, and our national security. I hope he has an opportunity to serve America again," McCain said in a statement.

McCain's support would signal that he would not only vote to confirm Mattis as Defense secretary, but would also support a congressional waiver to allow the retired four-star general to serve again less than seven years after retiring.

Mattis met with Trump on Saturday morning, amid a weekend of activity as the president-elect considers picks for his national security team and other administration roles.

After the meeting, Trump called Mattis "the real deal" and tweeted, "General James 'Mad Dog' Mattis, who is being considered for Secretary of Defense, was very impressive yesterday. A true General's General!"

General James "Mad Dog" Mattis, who is being considered for Secretary of Defense, was very impressive yesterday. A true General's General!— Donald J. Trump (@realDonaldTrump) November 20, 2016

"I am pleased that the President-elect found General Jim Mattis as impressive as I have in the many years I have had the privilege of knowing him," McCain said in his statement.

"General Mattis is one of the finest military officers of his generation and an extraordinary leader who inspires a rare and special admiration of his troops. He is a forthright strategic thinker. His integrity is unshakable and unquestionable. And he has earned his knowledge and experience the old-fashioned way: in the crucible of our nation's defense and the service of heroes," he added.

How Trump Naming Mattis As Pentagon Chief Would Break With 65 Years Of U.S. History

By Dan Lamothe

Washington Post, November 21, 2016

President-elect Donald Trump choosing retired Marine Gen. James N. Mattis as his secretary of defense would break with decades of U.S. military history, putting a retired senior military officer in the job 65 years after Congress passed legislation that said it was "the sense" of lawmakers that "no additional appointments of military men to that office shall be approved."

The legislation allowed Army Gen. George C. Marshall to serve as secretary of defense under President Truman. Marshall, then a five-star general, served as secretary of defense for a year from 1950 to 1951 after previously serving as Truman's secretary of state from 1947 to 1949, overseeing the Marshall Plan that helped rebuild Europe after World War II.

Mattis, 66, met with Trump on Saturday at his golf club in Bedminster Township, N.J., and Trump tweeted the following day that the general was "very impressive" and under consideration to be Pentagon chief. Mattis retired from active duty in May 2013 as the top officer in U.S. Central Command, which oversees military operations across the Middle East, and is perhaps the most popular senior officer of his generation.

Mattis's candidacy to be secretary of defense has thus far received positive responses from current and former U.S. officials ranging from Sen. John McCain (R.-Ariz.) to Michèle

Flournoy, a former Pentagon undersecretary who was considered a front-runner to run the Defense Department in a Democratic administration. It also has been greeted with support from many rank-and-file troops and veterans. But Congress must pass a waiver in order for Mattis to serve in the role.

Federal law holds that all retired service members must wait seven years after serving on active duty before they can hold the office of secretary of defense or other senior civilian defense positions. The time limit was set by Congress in 2008, knocking it down from a 10-year limit first set by Congress in the 1947 national security act.

Truman selected Marshall to be his secretary of defense at the outset of the Korean War. His biography on the Defense Department website notes that although the Senate approved his nomination quickly, there were questions about him holding a position "clearly intended for a civilian" and how he felt about the relationship between the State Department and the military during World War II. Marshall responded that he had "suffered from the lack of unification throughout the war," according to the biography.

The special legislation passed to make Marshall secretary of defense amended the 1947 national security act, which shaped U.S. military and intelligence agencies after World War II. The amended legislation said that while Marshall was permitted to serve as defense secretary, "the authority granted by this Act is not to be constructed as approval by the Congress of continuing appointments of military men in the office of Secretary of Defense in the future."

Retired Army Gen. Carter Ham, who led U.S. Africa Command at the same time that Mattis oversaw Central Command, said Monday that while he thinks Mattis would be "a very effective secretary of defense," he acknowledges that a conversation needs to be had by the Trump administration and Congress about whether it makes sense to put a recently retired general in the job.

"I think that's just a debate that has to go on," Ham said. "My personal view is that Mattis certainly has the ability to do that, and I think we'll be able to distinguish him in his role as civilian secretary from his role as military commander."

Ham said that Mattis was an "extraordinary partner," especially when Africa Command needed military power it did not have to carry out operations that arose.

"Not that he ever was anxious to give up capability, but if he saw there was a valid and he saw that he could contribute to that effort without significantly degrading his own operations, he was usually in support," Ham said. "I'll forever be grateful for that. It was: 'What do you need, Carter, to be successful?"

Mattis has not yet said how, if chosen, he would see his role as defense secretary. This fall, he released a book he coedited with Kori Schake, a former defense and diplomatic

official for President George W. Bush, that argued that political leaders too often take for granted "an abiding respect by the public for our military, as though it were immune to any effect from their policy choices." Schake was among a group of Bush officials who signed a letter saying they would not support Trump.

The book, titled "Warriors and Citizens," examines how the U.S. military and civilians look at each other, and that we shouldn't expect political leaders to solve the problems that exist in civil-military relations in America.

"In short, because the American public holds its military in such high regard, we are putting it at greater risk," they wrote. "We have allowed our strategic thinking to atrophy, allowed our policymaking to become flabby because our military's high level of performance has lulled our sensibilities. This is both a policy failure and a moral one."

Trump's Focus On Generals For Top Jobs Raises Foreign Policy Worries

By Mark Landler And Helene Cooper New York Times, November 21, 2016

WASHINGTON — Donald J. Trump ran for president boasting that he knew more about fighting terrorists than America's generals.

But now that Mr. Trump is the president-elect, he is spending a great deal of his time with retired generals, and those of a particular breed: commanders who, when they served, were often at odds with President Obama.

One has been named as Mr. Trump's national security adviser, and several others are candidates for coveted positions in his cabinet or are advising him on how to confront the world's greatest threats. They would give his foreign policy a far more aggressive cast than Mr. Obama's.

Turning to the retired officers reflects Mr. Trump's preference for having strong, even swaggering, men around him. But it worries national security experts and even other retired generals, who say that if Mr. Trump stacks critical jobs purely with warriors, it could lead to an undue emphasis on military force in American foreign policy.

"If you have too many generals in the kitchen, the dish is likely to be baked with even more military instruments inside," said John A. Nagl, a retired Army lieutenant colonel and an expert in counterinsurgency strategy. "I'm not sure that's the recipe the United States needs for every foreign policy meal."

Mr. Trump's inclination toward generals in top jobs also runs counter to the credo of civilian control of the military — a constitutionally enshrined principle that some say safeguards the United States from becoming another Pakistan or Turkey, where the military is a political player.

In the last week, Mr. Trump has met with James N. Mattis, a retired Marine Corps general, who has emerged as

a leading candidate for secretary of defense; John Kelly, another retired Marine general, who is in the running for secretary of state; Jack Keane, a former Army vice chief of staff, who said he had turned down an offer from Vice President-elect Mike Pence to run the Pentagon; and Admiral Michael S. Rogers, the director of the National Security Agency, who, of those under consideration, is the only job candidate still on active duty and is a prospect for director of national intelligence.

Mr. Trump's closest foreign policy adviser is Lt. Gen. Michael T. Flynn, a former head of the Defense Intelligence Agency, who was named as national security adviser on Friday. Mr. Trump's aides also sounded out Gen. Stanley A. McChrystal, a former commander in Afghanistan, for defense secretary, according to people briefed on the transition process, and they briefly mulled David H. Petraeus, a former director of the C.I.A. who also served as commander in Afghanistan, for secretary of state.

What several of these generals share is a rocky history in the Obama administration. The White House forced General Flynn out of his last job, citing poor management of an agency with 20,000 employees. General Mattis, who oversaw military operations in the Middle East and Southwest Asia from 2010 to 2013, had his tour cut short by the Obama administration, which believed he was too hawkish on Iran. General Kelly opposed the administration's plan to shut down the military prison at Guantánamo Bay, Cuba.

Mr. Obama fired General McChrystal after he disparaged other officials in an interview with Rolling Stone, while Mr. Petraeus, as C.I.A. director, failed in his effort to persuade Mr. Obama to supply arms to moderate rebels in Syria. Mr. Obama eventually did provide the weapons, and Mr. Petraeus's resignation in 2012 was prompted by an unrelated scandal involving his disclosure of classified material.

For Mr. Trump, the strained history of these generals with his predecessor is less a liability than a credential.

"He is sticking his tongue out at the prior administration," said Richard H. Kohn, a professor emeritus of history at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill who has written about civilian control of the military. "He is inherently distrustful of the military people that the system throws up at him. He thinks they're not strong people. They are Obama's generals."

Mr. Trump might also view generals in his administration as a political asset. At a time when trust in institutions like Congress and the news media is eroding, the military remains enduringly popular. General Mattis, in particular, commands wide respect from uniformed men and women — especially Marines, who revere him as one of their own. On Sunday, Mr. Trump wrote on Twitter that General Mattis was a "true General's General."

Stephen K. Bannon, the president-elect's chief strategist, said the incoming administration was looking at potential cabinet officials with combat experience so that people who had fought in wars would be making decisions about whether to commit the country to more of them.

"The generation that has fought in these wars is now coming into leadership," said Mr. Bannon, a Navy officer earlier in his career. "These people, all patriots, come with a shared experience that is incredibly important."

But General Mattis's appointment — because he would oversee the department where he used to serve — would raise legal and political questions. He would need a congressional waiver because the law requires a seven-year waiting period between active duty and serving as defense secretary, and he retired from the Marines only in 2013.

The last time a waiver was used was in 1950, when Gen. George C. Marshall, then five years out of service, received one to be defense secretary for President Harry S. Truman.

There is little doubt that General Mattis, who is well liked by Senator John McCain, Republican of Arizona and the chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, will be able to obtain that waiver. Mr. McCain himself appeared to try to hasten the process, issuing a statement on Monday in which he said he was "pleased that the president-elect found General Jim Mattis as impressive as I have."

Some experts said that installing a general at the top of the Pentagon could muddy the principle of civilian control of the military.

"The president and the secretary of defense are the two leading figures in the chain of command," said Peter D. Feaver, a political science professor at Duke University who served in the George W. Bush administration. "When they are civilians, that embodies that principle."

Gen. Carter F. Ham, the retired head of the United States military's Africa command, said the question of whether General Mattis was qualified to lead the Pentagon was a "slam dunk — he absolutely is." But the reason the waiver "was put into law is that we are not a militaristic society, nor do we want to be," he said. "The idea of senior military officers assuming senior positions in the civilian government — that is worthy of debate."

Beyond the constitutional issues, there are bureaucratic hurdles that could stymie a military officer. The defense secretary must navigate the politics of the White House and Congress while balancing — and in some cases, resisting — the views of his former colleagues.

In a famous example, Defense Secretary Robert M. Gates overruled his many senior generals, forcing through the development and purchase of more maneuverable and heavily armored mine-resistant, ambush-protected vehicles, known as MRAPs, to stem a rising tide of casualties from roadside bombs in Afghanistan and Iraq.

People close to Mr. Trump said they were sensitive to the dangers of having too many military officers. They noted that there were other candidates for defense secretary, including Jim Talent, a former Republican senator from Missouri. The goal, they said, was to end up with a mix of people.

Mattis, Marines Balked On Lifesaving MRAP Vehicles

By Tom Vanden Brook

USA Today, November 21, 2016

WASHINGTON — Retired Marine Corps general James Mattis, currently under consideration for Defense secretary by President-elect Donald Trump, oversaw a key command in 2005 that failed to field urgently needed combat vehicles to Iraq to protect Marines from roadside bombs.

A 2008 Pentagon inspector general report singled out the Marine Corps Combat Development Command, which Mattis commanded during 2005, for its role in failing to act on an urgent plea for Mine Resistant Ambush Protected (MRAP) vehicles to replace vulnerable Humvees.

The result, USA TODAY found in 2007, was a monthslong delay in fielding MRAPs. Those trucks, with their V-shaped hulls that deflect bomb blasts, eventually replaced nearly every Humvee in Iraq and Afghanistan after Defense Secretary Robert Gates made them the Pentagon's No. 1 priority. Gates did so after reading about their superior protection against roadside bombs to Humvees in USA TODAY.

Instead of acting on the plea from Marines in 2005, the command under Mattis accepted the Marine Corps commandant's decision to replace its poorly protected Humvees with better armored ones, the inspector general determined. The request for MRAPs subsequently languished.

"In reaction, the Marine Corps Combat Development Command stopped processing (the urgent request) for MRAP-type vehicle capability in August 2005," the inspector general found.

The inspector general's report did not mention Mattis by name, just that he was head of the Combat Development Command at the time of the requests. Mattis, the report said, was asked in a March 29, 2005, Marine safety board meeting to review the feasibility of acquiring MRAPs, but that review was never conducted.

Command officials failed to develop a course of action for the urgent request for MRAPs, seek funding for them or appeal to another Marine Corps body to field them, the inspector general wrote. Finally, the command "did not, as it could and should have in July 2005," request that Marine commanders take the request to the Joint Chiefs of Staff "to

address an immediate and apparent joint warfighter need for an MRAP-type vehicle capability."

Mattis said in an interview with the inspector general's team that he directed that work continue to fulfill the urgent request, but that he did not know why the work was not performed.

Pentagon officials had known long before 2005 about the Humvee's vulnerabilities. Their flat bottoms transmitted the force of blasts from improvised explosive devices (IEDs) buried in roads directly to the troops they carried. Military officials declared them a "death trap" in such attacks as early as 1994. By 2003, Pentagon analysts were writing to the Joint Chiefs of Staff about the superiority of MRAPs to Humvees.

One Pentagon analyst complained in an April 29, 2004, email to colleagues that it was "frustrating to see the pictures of burning Humvees while knowing that there are other vehicles out there that would provide more protection."

Shortly after the invasion of Iraq in 2003, IEDs became the insurgents' weapon of choice and No. 1 killer of American troops.

Yet officials in the Marines and Army resisted MRAPs, hulking, expensive vehicles. Gates changed that in 2007 and launched a \$50 billion program to outfit troops in combat with the superior protection offered by MRAPs.

Mattis is declining all requests for interviews, according Marlon Bateman, a spokesman for the Hoover Institution where Mattis is a fellow.

The Marines' urgent need request for MRAPs was submitted in February 2005. "MRAP vehicles will protect Marines, reduce casualties, increase mobility and enhance mission success," the request read. "Without MRAP, personnel loss rates are likely to continue at their current rate."

At a critical meeting on safety in late March 2005, Mattis heard directly from Maj. Roy McGriff III, the Marine who had drafted the request for MRAPs.

McGriff briefed the plan: Continue to armor Humvees but buy MRAPs as fast as possible and phase out Humvees. Mattis agreed and told the room of generals and lower-ranking officers, "That's exactly what we're going to do," McGriff recalled in 2007.

But the plan, and the urgent need request, died there. By June 10, 2005, a status report on the request said the Marines were holding out for a "future vehicle," the Joint Light Tactical Vehicle that was more nimble than the MRAP and better protected than the Humvee.

The Army doesn't anticipate fielding its first units with the Joint Light Tactical Vehicle until 2019, the Marines a year later

As U.S. involvement in the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan wound down, the value of MRAPs became clear. In 2012, the Pentagon estimated that replacing Humvees with MRAPs saved the lives of as many as 2,000 troops.

"There is absolutely no question in my mind that thousands of troops are still alive today because they were riding in MRAPs when attacked by IEDs," Gates said in a statement in 2012. "I have heard that firsthand from countless troops on the battlefields of Iraq and Afghanistan. Quite simply, MRAPs have saved thousands of lives and limbs."

Oklahoma Governor Fallin Speaks To Trump About Possible Interior Department Job: Spokesman

By Valerie Volcovici

Reuters, November 21, 2016

Full-text stories from Reuters currently cannot be included in this document. You may, however, click the link above to access the story.

President-Elect Donald Trump Considering Ray Washburne For Secretary Of Interior

CNBC, November 21, 2016

Dallas investor Ray Washburne arrives at the Trump Tower for meetings with US President-elect Donald Trump, in New York on November 17, 2016.

Dallas investor Ray Washburne is being considered for the position of secretary of interior, multiple sources on Donald Trump's transition team told CNBC.

Washburne's company, Charter Holdings, is involved in energy, private equity, finance, restaurants and real estate investments.

Washburne is a familiar face to the incoming Trump administration. He was vice chairman of the 2016 Trump Victory Committee and is a former chairman of the Republican National Committee. He is currently chairing the transition commerce team.

Washburne is also related by marriage to the Hunt family. His wife, Heather, is the great-granddaughter of H.L. Hunt.

Trump's Interior Department Shortlist Vexes Employees, Green Groups

By Valerie Volcovici

Reuters, November 21, 2016

Full-text stories from Reuters currently cannot be included in this document. You may, however, click the link above to access the story.

Scott Brown: 'I'm The Best Person' For VA Secretary

By Elise Viebeck

Washington Post, November 21, 2016

Former senator Scott Brown (R-Mass.) is not shy about his desire to join the Trump administration. You might say he is taking the Rudy Giuliani approach.

His preferred position? Secretary of the Department of Veterans Affairs.

"I'm not competing with anybody. I think I'm the best person, but there are some tremendous people out there. I don't look at it as a competition," Brown told reporters Monday in the lobby of Trump Tower after he met with the president-elect.

"We obviously spoke about my passion and his passion, which are veterans and veterans' issues. Obviously, I think the toughest job in the Cabinet is to lead the VA because while it has so many angels working there, it has so many great problems as well. He is obviously going to take my application or interest under consideration. I'm glad that he called."

No matter what he says, Brown faces competition. Rep. Jeff Miller (R-Fla.), who is retiring, leads the House Committee on Veterans Affairs and is considered a prime contender to head VA. Former Texas governor Rick Perry (R), who is set to meet with Trump later Monday, reportedly also wants the job. And then there's "turnaround specialist" Mitt Romney, whom some conservative media outlets are touting as a great choice.

Brown predicted that Trump will announce his choice after Thanksgiving. And if he wins the spot, Brown said, he would focus on reducing veteran suicides and strengthening ties between VA and the Pentagon so that the government can better anticipate the needs of veterans.

Like Trump, Brown is also concerned about government waste. "We have to see what the waste is because there is a tremendous amount of waste," he said.

Watch Brown's comments here.

Trump Meets With Hawaii Democrat Tulsi Gabbard

By Elise Viebeck

Washington Post, November 21, 2016

President-elect Donald Trump is meeting Monday with Rep. Tulsi Gabbard (D-Hawaii), stoking speculation that the prominent Bernie Sanders ally could join Trump's administration.

The meeting with Gabbard, Trump's first of the work week, was supposed to get underway around 10 a.m., according to a transition pool report. Trump aides did not provide further detail, and reporters assembled in the lobby of Trump Tower said they did not spot Gabbard entering the building.

Trump's transition team has said he is meeting with candidates for administration positions as well as people who can provide ideas and counsel. Gabbard, who voted for Clinton on Nov. 8 after serving as a key surrogate for Sanders, shares some positions with Trump, including opposition to the Trans-Pacific Partnership.

A spokesman for Trump declined to say whether Gabbard is under consideration for a position. "She obviously has a very distinguished track record. But it would be a little premature to start putting out specific potential administration positions," said Jason Miller on a call Monday morning with reporters.

Our colleague Amber Phillips has some thoughts on why Gabbard got a meeting:

This meeting isn't as weird as one might think. Gabbard is arguably one of the most likely Democrats to cross party lines to meet with Trump. She's a Democrat who Republicans love to love, for a variety of reasons.

On foreign policy, Gabbard often sounds more like a hawkish Republican than a potential future Democratic leader. She has blasted President Obama for failing to talk about Islamic extremism and has criticized his approach to Svria ...

Gabbard, one of two female combat veterans to join Congress in 2013, also got national attention last fall for duking it out with Rep. Debbie Wasserman-Schultz (D-Fla.), then the Democratic National Committee chair, on Democrats' debate schedule, an implicit criticism that the party wasn't doing enough to help candidates not named Hillary Clinton compete. (It was a refrain Trump himself echoed in the final days of the primaries.)

In short, Gabbard is a wildcard who has given her party as many headaches in her short-ish time on the national stage as she has blessings. (Sound like a certain president-elect we know?) And Republicans love her for that.

Trump will also meet Monday with former senator Scott Brown (R-Mass.), Oklahoma Gov. Mary Fallin (R), former Texas governor Rick Perry (R) and others.

Following her meeting, Gabbard said she spoke with Trump about her opposition to escalating U.S. involvement in the war in Syria.

"I felt it important to take the opportunity to meet with the President-elect now before the drumbeats of war that neocons have been beating drag us into an escalation of the war to overthrow the Syrian government," Gabbard said in a statement.

"While the rules of political expediency would say I should have refused to meet with President-elect Trump, I never have and never will play politics with American and Syrian lives."

Trump Eyeing Democrat Rebel Tulsi Gabbard For Administration

By S.a. Miller

Washington Times, November 21, 2016

President-elect Donald Trump's first meeting Monday was with Rep. Tulsi Gabbard, a Hawaii Democrat known for

bucking her party and challenging President Obama on confronting radical Islamic terrorism.

Ms. Gabbard, an Army veteran who serves on the House Armed Services and Foreign Affairs committees, is believed to be under consideration for a post at the Defense Department, State Department or the United Nations.

She wasn't the first Democrat to sit across the interview desk from Mr. Trump as he puts together his administration.

The president-elect met Sunday with former D.C. public schools chief Michelle Rhee, a Democrat who is in the running for education secretary.

Ms. Gabbard, the first Hindu member of Congress, ruffled feathers in her party when during the presidential campaign she quit the Democratic National Committee to support Sen. Bernard Sanders and oppose Hillary Clinton, the eventual nominee.

She also has called out Mr. Obama for refusing to say "radical Islamic terrorism," which was also a frequent criticism from Mr. Trump on the campaign trail.

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Gabbard Said She Urged Trump To Ignore The Neocons During Meeting

By Brent Griffiths

Politico, November 21, 2016

Rep. Tulsi Gabbard (D-Hawaii) said she and Presidentelect Donald Trump had a frank conversation at Trump Tower on Monday about American policy abroad and the need to avoid any escalations that could lead the nation into war.

"I felt it is important to take the opportunity to meet the President-elect now before the drumbeats of war that neocons have been beating drag us into an escalation of the war to overthrow the Syrian government," Gabbard said in a statement.

A former top official at the Democratic National Committee who resigned to campaign for Bernie Sanders, Gabbard, an Iraq war veteran, said she would not let her differences with Trump undermine America's national security.

During his presidential campaign, Trump expressed skepticism about the neoconservative and interventionist line of thinking. However, then-candidate Trump's claims that he opposed the Iraq war are simply not true.

After the meeting, Trump's former campaign manager Kellyanne Conway offered praise for the Hawaii congresswoman, and those like her, who are pushing the Democratic Party to expand their base.

"Rep. Gabbard went against her party, quite boldly, early on, and I think you are hearing people like Rep. Tim Ryan also raising concerns," Conway said. "Bernie Sanders today was also quoted as saying that they should stop

identity politics in the Democratic Party. Whoa. He can call and we'll tell him how to do that and win. So I think there's a recognition that there's a big country, a massive amount of voters that feel disaffected from their party, the Democrats."

After Meeting, Gabbard Vows To Work With Trump

By Jessie Hellmann

The Hill, November 21, 2016

Rep. Tulsi Gabbard (D-Hawaii) vowed to work with Donald Trump on the issues that matter to the American people, following a meeting between the two Monday at Trump Tower.

She did not, however, comment on whether she would join his administration.

Gabbard and Trump met in New York City to discuss U.S. policy in Syria, she said in a statement, though some have speculated she is under consideration to be the U.S. ambassador to the United Nations.

"President-elect Trump asked me to meet with him about our current policies regarding Syria, our fight against terrorist groups like al-Qaeda and [the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria], as well as other foreign policy challenges we face," Gabbard said.

"I felt it important to take the opportunity to meet with the President-elect now before the drumbeats of war that neocons have been beating drag us into an escalation of the war to overthrow the Syrian government—a war which has already cost hundreds of thousands of lives and forced millions of refugees to flee their homes in search of safety for themselves and their families."

Gabbard said that while the "rules of political expediency" would suggest she not take a meeting with the president-elect, she refuses to "play politics" with American and Syrian lives.

"I will continue to seek common ground to deliver results that best serve all Americans, as I have tried to do during my time in Congress," she said.

She added that while she will not hesitate to express any disagreement with Trump, she believes they can come together on some issues.

"We cannot allow continued divisiveness to destroy our country." she said.

Gabbard told Trump she opposes a no-fly or safe zone in Syria, calling it "disastrous" for the Syrian people and the U.S.

Trump and Gabbard have "a lot of common ground" and both understand "the country very well," Kellyanne Conway told reporters on Monday afternoon.

The top Trump aide pointed out that Gabbard "went against her party quite boldly early on," by endorsing Sen. Bernie Sanders, leaving her post at the Democratic National

Committee to endorse the Vermont independent's presidential bid earlier this year.

"There's a recognition that there's a big country out there with lots of voters that feel disaffected from their party, the Democrats," Conway added.

Gabbard was a staunch Sanders supporter, but said she would support Hillary Clinton after she clinched the Democratic nomination.

Florida Governor Won't Serve In Trump Administration

By Lisa Hagen

The Hill, November 21, 2016

Florida Gov. Rick Scott (R) on Monday said that he will not serve in President-elect Donald Trump's administration.

"I am not going to go to the White House," Scott said during an interview on CNN's "The Lead."

"I have a great job. I have a little more than two years to go in this job. I've got a lot of good things to get done. ... I've got a lot of things to do here."

Scott, an early supporter of Trump, met with the real estate mogul last week and described it as a "good" meeting.

The governor was included on a preliminary list of potential Cabinet members prepared by Trump's transition team and was being considered for secretary of Health and Human Services.

"I will do everything I can to help President-elect Trump," Scott told CNN.

The Republican governor, who is term-limited, hasn't ruled out a bid against Sen. Bill Nelson (D-Fla.) in 2018.

Scott called it "an option" at a recent Orlando meeting for the annual Republican Governor's Association conference.

Grievances And Grumblings, Long Before Chris Christie's Fall In Donald Trump's Circle

By Kate Zernike

New York Times, November 21, 2016

The critical weekend before Election Day was set to be a busy one for Gov. Chris Christie of New Jersey; he was to campaign for Donald J. Trump in the battleground states of New Hampshire and Pennsylvania.

Then that Friday, a federal jury convicted two of the governor's former aides in the George Washington Bridge lane-closing trial. Mr. Christie, a Republican, canceled the campaign events and accepted a new invitation: The night before Election Day, he appeared on "Charlie Rose," not to talk about Mr. Trump, his party's presidential nominee, but to defend himself against weeks of damaging testimony in the trial.

In the orbit around Mr. Trump — which, like the one around Mr. Christie, prizes loyalty — the governor's moves so

close to the election were seen as proof that for all his early support of Mr. Trump, Mr. Christie was out more for himself than for the man at the top of the ticket. He may as well have been broadcasting that Mr. Trump was going to lose.

Three days after he won the election, President-elect Trump deposed Mr. Christie as leader of his transition team. Many fingers pointed at Mr. Trump's son-in-law, Jared Kushner, whose father had been sent to prison by Mr. Christie, then the top federal prosecutor in New Jersey, on charges of tax evasion and illegal campaign contributions.

But Mr. Christie's unceremonious dismissal was more a pileup of grievances in the weeks before the election, according to interviews with people close to the governor and the campaign.

No one has publicly ruled out a role for Mr. Christie in the Trump administration; on Sunday, the governor was among those the president-elect met with at his golf club in Bedminster, N.J. But the meeting was much shorter than others that day, only about 20 minutes.

The two men emerged before cameras just before Mr. Christie departed, for a 10-second handshake that looked almost like a tug of war. The governor smiled forcibly, and Mr. Trump gave no indication that he was under consideration for any jobs — unlike with other potential job candidates he met.

The jobs Mr. Christie wanted — friends say he would have like to have been White House chief of staff or attorney general — have been assigned to others.

Mr. Christie's fall in the Trump circle was weeks in the making. There was already grumbling, particularly from former Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani of New York, and from Mr. Trump's children. Mr. Christie, they believed, had gone offmessage after an "Access Hollywood" tape was released in which Mr. Trump made vulgar comments about women; the governor first canceled Sunday show appearances, then emerged on the radio the next week to call Mr. Trump's comments "indefensible."

Spending on the Trump transition effort, which Mr. Christie was leading, was already higher than what the transition team of Hillary Clinton, the Democratic nominee, had spent, even though polls showed her winning. And some around Mr. Trump complained that Mr. Christie was using his post to promote his own people, including his former chief of staff and his former law partner, who were running the team day to day, and one of his longtime supporters, Bob Grady, who had been recommended for several positions.

The friendship between Mr. Christie and Mr. Trump, while never deep, has always been pragmatic. And several people interviewed said they had begun to patch up any break with a conversation on the Saturday after the president-elect removed the governor as leader of his transition team. That continued with the meeting on Sunday at the golf club, not far from Mr. Christie's home.

Jon Bramnick, the leader of the Republican minority in the New Jersey Assembly and one of the governor's most steadfast supporters, said, "Both Trump and Christie are the type that they're loyal to their friends, and I suspect that long term it will work out, whether it's a position now or later."

But the Trump roller coaster has been particularly jolting for Mr. Christie.

The two men met, according to Mr. Christie, through Mr. Trump's sister, a federal judge, shortly after Mr. Christie became United States attorney for New Jersey in 2002. Mr. Christie liked to be around celebrity; Mr. Trump, who owned several casinos in Atlantic City, liked to know people in charge.

As the testimony in the lane-closing trial showed, Mr. Christie began planning a run for president in 2016 shortly after taking office in 2010. Mr. Trump's run started out looking like more of a flirtation with the office. But in a crowded field of Republicans, he soon occupied the position Mr. Christie expected to take, as the tell-it-like-it-is candidate not afraid to challenge the way things had always been done.

Mr. Christie had struggled to bounce back from the scandal since January 2014, when a legislative subpoena revealed that his deputy chief of staff had sent an email calling for "some traffic problems" in the town that was gridlocked by the closings, to punish a mayor who had declined to endorse the governor.

After the governor failed in his attempt to make a good showing in the New Hampshire primary contest in February, he endorsed Mr. Trump. He became the first major establishment Republican to do so. He also alienated many friends and financial backers and saw his poll numbers drop to a new low.

Mr. Christie was, again, pragmatic, saying it was clear to him that Mr. Trump would be the nominee. "If he had not been in the race, it would have been me," the governor said at a news conference at the time.

On the campaign trail, he endured public ridicule, when he stood obedient and silent next to Mr. Trump on Super Tuesday on March 1. Mr. Trump himself mocked the governor for eating too many Oreos and for abandoning his state to run for president.

Mr. Christie publicly said he hoped to be Mr. Trump's vice-presidential nominee. And he was said to be bitterly disappointed when Mr. Trump's children and campaign manager prevailed on the candidate to instead choose Gov. Mike Pence of Indiana.

Mr. Trump made Mr. Christie chief of the transition. But the governor was still struggling with the scandal, after revelations on the stand that he had known about the lane closings even as they were happening and did nothing to reverse them.

On Election Day, Mr. Christie voted in the dark of early morning, a contrast to earlier years when he invited cameras and reporters along by indicating on his public schedule what time he would go to the polls.

Mr. Trump's surprise upset seemed to offer another chance at resurrection. Mr. Christie appeared on the "Today" show, demurring on the question of whether he wanted to be chief of staff or attorney general, saying his most important job was the transition. "If there's some role for me that I want to do, and that the president-elect wants me to do," he said, "we've known each other for 14 years — we'll talk."

The next day, Mr. Trump announced that Mr. Christie would no longer lead the transition.

The governor has now given signals that he is planning to serve out his term in New Jersey. On Monday, he held his first cabinet meeting in a long time. Late on Wednesday afternoon, he had bumped his lieutenant governor, Kim Guadagno, as the keynote speaker at an annual statewide convention of mayors in Atlantic City, which he has skipped since 2011.

Appearing the next day — Lieutenant Governor Guadagno's name was still on the programs — Mr. Christie said, "I have no reason to believe that I will do anything other than serve out my full term as governor and turn the keys of the office over to whoever you select in November of 2017 to replace me."

"I've had a pretty good run," he added.

How Rudy Giuliani's Brand As A Crime-Fighting Mayor Made Him Millions In Latin America

By Matt Zapotosky And Karen Deyoung Washington Post, November 21, 2016

Rudolph W. Giuliani branded himself the man who cleaned up New York City, and not long after he left the mayor's office, he insisted on seeing some of the most dangerous neighborhoods of Mexico City — albeit in an armored convoy with a huge security force — to assess how he could do the same there.

A consortium of Mexican businesses had paid Giuliani's consulting firm \$4.3 million for a comprehensive review of the city's justice system — everything from police training, to internal affairs, to the prison system, said Bernard Kerik, a former New York City police commissioner who helped manage the project.

The work — which Giuliani would go on to shop around Latin America — made the politician dubbed "America's mayor" a wealthy man. He wrote in a 2007 financial disclosure form that the holding company for his business interests was worth \$5 million to \$25 million.

But the effect Giuliani's advice had on reducing crime is debatable. And now — as President-elect Donald Trump considers whether to appoint him to a Cabinet post — government ethics analysts and even a prominent

Republican senator are questioning how Giuliani might be able to set aside financial entanglements with foreign interests should he return to public office.

"If he were anywhere in the U.S. government," said Richard Painter, who was chief ethics lawyer for then-President George W. Bush, "these things would have to stop immediately."

Kerik said concerns about conflicts are "political garbage."

"If he wound up taking over State, he's going to represent the interests of the [United States]," Kerik said. "He's not going to give a damn who he had dealings with in the past."

Giuliani is perhaps best known for his time as the mayor of New York. He was in office during the terrorist attacks of Sept. 11, 2001, and drew widespread praise for his response. Crime also decreased in the city on his watch, and he has claimed — somewhat dubiously — that his policies drove the decline. Crime in the city was falling before he became mayor, part of a national trend.

When he left office at the end of 2001, Giuliani entered the lucrative world of consulting — forming a company, Giuliani Partners, and a subsidiary, Giuliani Kerik, and using his reputation as a crime fighter to drum up business.

Giuliani's 2003 Mexico City proposals, which were endorsed by that city's mayor, were largely the ones that he had implemented in New York — an aggressive approach to petty crime, with increased arrests and stiff fines, police training, and zero tolerance of the graffiti and broken windows that made residents feel unsettled in their communities. The contract led to many more around the world.

"We're here to give advice" to a Belgrade mayoral candidate "about economic development and how to organize a program to redevelop Belgrade, make it into a great world city," Giuliani said in a 2012 interview on Serbian television, reported by CNN. He said his company had worked in Mexico City, Puerto Rico, Colombia and the Middle East.

"My company gets paid for it, I don't get paid for it," he said. "That's what my company does; gets paid for giving advice."

In some places, Giuliani has been tapped largely to show up and look tough. In Peru in 2011, law-and-order presidential candidate Keiko Fujimori employed him to accompany her on the campaign trail to project a crime-fighting image.

There is no complete public accounting of all of Giuliani's clients, and it is difficult to assess just how much money he has made — and from whom — throughout the years. A person with knowledge of Giuliani's firm's finances told The Washington Post in 2007 that its staff had quadrupled in its first five years of existence and that it had grossed more than \$100 million. Giuliani Safety & Security, a subsidiary of Giuliani Partners, says on its website that it has

"affiliations and engagements" in 63 countries across six continents.

Even in places where crime decreased, it is difficult to attribute the drops to Giuliani's prescriptions. In a 2011 address to Juárez Competitiva, a two-week event designed to showcase the city to the world and transform its image as Mexico's murder capital, Giuliani "spoke of similarities between New York and Juárez and praised the potential for broken windows theory in the crime-ridden metropolis," said Kate Swanson, a professor at San Diego State University.

Studies of the Juárez turnaround, however, attribute it more to government restructuring, business contributions and revitalization of the judicial system.

Assessment is similarly difficult in Mexico City, where Giuliani has said his policies substantially reduced crime. Subsequent studies by academics have assessed that reductions were primarily in heavily policed upper-class neighborhoods and tourist areas, and that Giuliani's recommendations were ill-suited for societies where as many as half of all workers participate in an informal economy and the greatest fear of many is of the police.

"Given vast inequalities [economically, socially and racially], high levels of police corruption and limited infrastructural resources, zero tolerance in Latin America is often implemented in a way that explicitly targets the poor," Swanson wrote in a 2013 study.

In Colombia, where Giuliani has been paid for government consultations, and where his recommendations have been followed to some degree in the cities of Medellin, Cali and Bogota, officials attribute a decrease in homicides, if not other forms of crime, at least in part to his methods.

"He came twice and gave me advice on how to be more effective, and how to focus our capabilities," including law enforcement and the military, "on specific areas or hot spots," said Juan Carlos Pinzón, Colombia's defense minister at the time and now its ambassador to the United States.

"I see it as a positive," Pinzón said.

Giuliani has said on Fox News Channel that his group reduced crime in Cali by 42 percent. Others say that the beginning of the drop predates Giuliani and that it began with innovative social and law enforcement policies adopted by then-Mayor Rodrigo Guerrero, a Harvard-trained epidemiologist.

Asked if he thought Giuliani's security work was effective in Mexico City, Kerik said he could not force the implementation of his advice.

"We weren't paid to manage the city," he said. "We were paid to tell them what the problems were."

Kerik left Giuliani's company in 2004; he was later convicted of tax fraud and lying to the government as he was being vetted for administration posts.

Neither Giuliani nor representatives of the company returned messages seeking comment for this article. Mike

DuHaime, who managed Giuliani's unsuccessful presidential campaign in 2008, said that he did not discount people questioning Giuliani's work abroad, but that he did not think it would be problematic.

"I also think he's going to be judged on his totality of public service," DuHaime said.

Giuliani has entertained speculation that he would take the State Department job. When he was asked at a Wall Street Journal CEO Council meeting Nov. 14 if his title would soon be "secretary," he said, "One never knows."

Lawyers specializing in government ethics said Giuliani's receipt of payments from governments or organizations abroad would not preclude him from serving as secretary of state — although they could present problems at his confirmation hearing or force him to recuse himself from certain issues, depending on how recently he was paid by a foreign entity.

Painter said that federal law would force Giuliani to recuse himself from dealings with any entity that had paid him in the past year, and that he probably would have to rid himself of interests in his company. He also could be forced to disclose his dealings to win Senate confirmation, and — given Republicans' intense criticism of the foreign entanglements of the Clinton Foundation while Hillary Clinton, Trump's Democratic challenger, was secretary of state — that might "raise some eyebrows."

Giuliani, like Clinton, has been rewarded handsomely for paid speeches. He wrote in his 2007 financial disclosure form that he had grossed nearly \$12 million from such engagements, earning six-figure sums from businesses including JPMorgan Chase, Merrill Lynch and German shredding company HSM.

Sen. Rand Paul (R-Ky.) has said Giuliani would face a "stiff, uphill climb" to win his support for secretary of state, because of his foreign dealings and his support for the Iraq War.

"I think it is worrisome, some of the ties to foreign governments," Paul said on CNN. He added later: "Whether or not you have divided loyalty obviously is very important."

Giuliani's foreign work has not been limited to Latin America. He gave speeches on behalf of an Iranian dissident group that was once listed as a foreign terrorist organization. The New York Times reported that his company had contracts with the government of Qatar and the Canadian company building the Keystone XL oil pipeline. He also has ties to a company called TriGlobal Strategic Ventures, a venture capital firm focused on Eastern Europe that includes on its advisory board Ara Abramyan, a business executive who it says is a "very close Advisor to the Russian Government's inner circle including the President and the Prime Minister."

Trump Appoints Mauricio Claver-Carone To Transition Team

By Nora Gámez Torres

Miami Herald, November 21, 2016

President-elect Donald Trump Monday named Mauricio Claver-Carone, executive director of the most active pro-Cuba embargo group in Washington, to his transition team.

Claver-Carone has been one of the harshest critics of President Barack Obama's efforts since December of 2014 to improve relations with Cuba, and his appointment to the Trump team could signal a reversal of some of those changes.

He is executive director of the U.S.-Cuba Democracy Political Action Committee (USCD PAC) as well as Cuba Democracy Advocates, a non-profit that describes itself as "a non-partisan organization dedicated to the promotion of a transition in Cuba towards human rights, democracy and the rule of law."

The Washington Examiner reported that Claver-Carone was named to the transition team for the U.S. Department of the Treasury, where he was an attorney-adviser until November of 2003.

Trump said during the campaign that he would have negotiated a better deal with Cuba than Obama. Critics of Obama's changes have complained that Cuba was not required to improve its human rights record or further open its economy.

Claver-Carone's appointment to the transition team "is a clear signal ... that the president-elect will carry out the promise he made to the Cuban American community," former U.S. ambassador to Venezuela Otto Reich told the Nuevo Herald.

Reich added that the appointment does not automatically mean Claver-Carone will get a top job in the new administration, although Reich predicted that he would accept it if offered. "In my opinion, not many other people know as much about Obama's mistakes on Cuba policy, and how to change them, as Mauricio," he said.

In an opinion column published last week in The Miami Herald, Claver-Carone argued that Obama's new policies on Cuba "made a bad situation worse." U.S. policy on the island "has gone from what it initially portrayed as a noble purpose to pure sycophancy in pursuit of 'historic firsts,' he wrote.

Claver-Carone comments regularly on Cuba issues on his blog, Capitol Hill Cubans, and has hosted a radio program on U.S. foreign policy. A lawyer, he has taught law at the George Washington and Catholic Universities. He testified before a Congressional committee in March about Obama's Cuba policies.

Claver-Carone has been especially critical of the Obama administration's approval of several U.S. companies to do business with companies owned by the Cuban

government and its military — as in the case of Starwood hotels. He also has attacked the lack of compensation for properties confiscated from U.S. citizens in the 1960s.

His appointment was criticized by Ric Herrero, director of CubaNow, an organization that pushes for warmer U.S. relations with Havana.

Herrero said he lamented the selection of a man "who has dedicated his long career as a lobbyist in our capital to dividing Cuban families and defending the interests of those politicians who have benefited from the failed embargo policy."

The USCD PAC spent more \$600,000 in the most recent elections, according to Federal Electoral Commission records. It made significant donations to the campaigns of Republican Sen. Marco Rubio and Rep. Carlos Curbelo, as well as Democratic Rep. Debbie Wasserman Schultz – all critics of the Obama shifts on Cuba.

Claver-Carone did not immediately reply to requests for comments for this story.

Trump Picks Regulation Opponents To Lead FCC Transition

By Malathi Nayak

Reuters, November 21, 2016

Full-text stories from Reuters currently cannot be included in this document. You may, however, click the link above to access the story.

Reince Priebus, Normalizer In Chief

By Mark Leibovich

New York Times, November 21, 2016

Ten days removed from the still-fresh shock of Donald Trump's election, around lunchtime on a Friday, I navigated the jagged lines of steel barriers, police officers and Secret Service battalions with big dogs and big guns surrounding Trump Tower. The glass-and-marble shopping mall, tourist trap and TV set had been transformed into the unlikely plotting ground for the nation's immediate future. It was anybody's guess what was taking shape inside the gilded bunkers. Clots of media people, passers-by and protesters crowded the lobby and nearby streets for the occasional clue, or at least glimpses of Marla Maples and Prime Minister Shinzo Abe of Japan. Kellyanne Conway posed for a selfie with a few lucky cops.

The locus of the scene was a bank of elevators ferrying staff, cabinet candidates and the competing maestros of the Trump transition to and from various nerve centers over several floors. Every time a bell sounded, announcing the opening of an elevator door, lobby heads would bob expectantly. "Is that what Jeff Sessions looks like?" I heard a photographer ask (no, it is not, and it was not). No doubt a host of key Trump orchestrators and luminary actors were

making ample use of auxiliary entrances and exits, sneaking in and out.

New rumors, predictions and potential firestorms seemed to materialize every hour. The Kremlinology of the incoming White House is shaping up as knotty, to say the least. Not one of Trump's initial high-level hires has any experience working in a White House. How will they work with the volatile real-estate and reality-show maven in the Oval Office? With his proclivity to make decisions based on the last person he speaks to? With his children playing an uncertain role, his son-in-law a possibly ever-present whisperer? How will it all work with Trump's senior adviser Steve Bannon, former head of Breitbart News, who has a long rap sheet of racial, ethnic and sexist affronts and a long-running war on Washington Republicans?

I had gone to Trump Tower to see Reince Priebus, the Republican National Committee chairman, whom Trump named as his chief of staff five days after his election, in the same release in which Bannon was named chief strategist and senior counselor. Bannon was mentioned first, for Kremlinologists scoring at home, and his appointment has consumed the bulk of the attention, given hyperprovocative ways. But Priebus, in a sense, filled a more exotic role. He would be the chief establishment ambassador for a president whose brief and meteoric political career has been predicated on blowing that establishment up. A generous reading is that Trump is trying to foster a yin-yang tension between his top deputies, who will represent his own diametrically opposed impulses (Bannon the bomb-throwing devil on one shoulder, Priebus the peacemaking angel on the other). The simpler reading is that Trump hasn't thought that much about this and is simply trying to reward and surround himself with people he feels served him well in the campaign.

"It's almost like a puzzle mystery," Priebus told me last summer. I don't recall what we were talking about, but Priebus had a knack for homespun Wisconsin logic and, particularly, throwaway lines that would stick with me. I kept thinking of the puzzle mysteries that were playing out up and down Trump Tower, even though I showed up Friday without an appointment with Priebus and was confined to the lobby watching tourists ride up and down its now-famous escalators.

Priebus and I started talking last spring, as I was undertaking an article for this magazine about the seemingly fracturing state of the Republican Party. We kept in touch during the campaign, drank the occasional Miller High Life in his office and exchanged the sporadic email. Priebus was constantly going on TV saying he was certain Trump would win, even though he could read polls and precedents like everyone else. Still, he carried on as the chief carrier of Trump's choppy water because that's what a party chairman does: He smiles and spins and swallows his best-laid plans and audibles in the name of getting his nominee to the finish

line. In a sense, Priebus, who squired his future wife to a local G.O.P. banquet on their first date, was the purest form of "political hack" that Trump would rail against as he bulldozed the G.O.P.

For his efforts during the campaign, Priebus gained the respect and gratitude of Trump loyalists — especially the fiercest loyalist, Donald J. Trump himself. He also won derision and ridicule. He was the subject of multiple stories in The Onion ("Reince Priebus Smiles, Shakes Head While Flipping Through Old Briefing on G.O.P.'s Plans for 2016"). His spirited TV defenses of Trump's indefensible behavior drew him comparisons to "Baghdad Bob" (Muhammad Said al-Sahhaf), Saddam Hussein's chief propagandist during the early months of the Iraq war, whose dubious predictions of imminent victory despite growing devastation all around made him an international laughingstock.

Long before Trump's victory, back when it seemed like a long shot, I asked Priebus whether he would consider taking a job in a Trump administration — maybe a plum ambassadorship to somewhere. "Yes," he said. "Wisconsin." It was a throwaway answer to a throwaway question, which was laughably hypothetical anyway. But I never had a sense he had thought that much about a Trump administration job, besides possibly staying on as R.N.C. chairman whether or not the Donald prevailed.

For all his well-honed sheepishness, Priebus's "just a kid from Kenosha, Wisc." shtick belies a penchant for main stages, big-ticket rooms and high-level company. No shortage of Reince Priebus photos hang on the walls of the R.N.C.'s headquarters on Capitol Hill. He can be a little starstruck. He travels far and often to appear with candidates and party dignitaries at events where his presence is not necessarily required. Priebus was giddy when I spoke to him last spring as he prepared to attend a party for Time's "100 most influential people" at Lincoln Center. We were on the phone, him walking through the lobby of the J.W. Marriott after a packed day of fund-raising. He sounded almost out of breath, less from exhaustion than what seemed like pure excitement. He told me how stoked he was to meet the golfer Jordan Spieth and the pro-wrestler-turned-actor the Rock. "Those are my top two," Priebus said, especially the Rock. "I was a big pro-wrestling fan back in the day," he added, noting his childhood admiration for Hulk Hogan and Mad Dog Vachon.

"Growing up in Kenosha, Wisc., being named to the Top 100 list is a pretty cool thing," Priebus told me. At this point, I reminded him that no national party chairman would ever be named to the Top 100 except in extraordinary circumstances like these — and these were not particularly enviable ones.

The White House chief of staff's post is arguably the most grueling job in Washington. It would be a burnout caldron under even the most predictable and disciplined of

presidents. The average tenure of a White House chief of staff is about two years. Chief-of-staff jobs are so synonymous with thanklessness that a whole White House mythology surrounds them. "A good chief of staff is seldom popular," Richard Nixon wrote in his 1990 memoir. "He must see that his chief gets the credit for the administration's successes and must take the heat for its failures, even when they are not his fault. ... He sometimes finds he doesn't have many friends or supporters. Some may well call him just a prat boy."

Some may call Priebus worse than that, and maybe already have. "Eat rocks" is an expression I've heard Priebus use a few times. It refers to being game to do what is needed: swallowing pride and taking one (or one thousand) for the team. If serving as R.N.C. chairman in 2016 has been the definition of eating rocks, Priebus's next gig could go down even harder. "It's 24-7 and never stops," says Andy Card of the job he held in George W. Bush's White House for more than five years, making him the second-longest-serving chief of staff in history. "My only area of angst on Priebus is that he has young children," Card added, referring to Priebus's son and daughter. Card has a few other concerns, one of which he says presented itself as soon as Trump "jumped all over" Megyn Kelly in the first Republican primary debate last year. "I'm thinking he would be a very hard president to work for if he doesn't accept people speaking candidly to him."

Card, who remains close to the Bush family and supported Jeb Bush for president, said the most important part of being a chief of staff is remembering that the "staff" part is far more important than the "chief" part. The president is by far his most important client. "I know of one chief of staff who failed because he was used to being a principal," says Beth Myers, who served as Mitt Romney's chief of staff during his four years as governor of Massachusetts. Priebus may not have that problem; he has been described with that most anodyne term for a Washington manager, the "consensus-builder." But the White House chief of staff job is not so much about building consensus, Card told me. It's all about serving the only principal who matters. "Chief of staff is the only job in Washington that really is defined by what the president's idiosyncrasies are," Card says. "Are they a morning person or an evening person? Disciplined or not? Do they suffer fools kindly or not?"

Priebus and the future president-elect had their dicey stretches, but their relationship grew as the campaign wore on. "Trump told me over and over again, 'I trust Reince, I trust him,' "Priebus felt a need to tell me one day in his office last spring. They have both proved a lot of people wrong and were both aggressively underestimated along the way, if not outright dismissed. "I don't buy this theory that unpredictable is necessarily bad," Priebus said back when Trump was just his ruffian nominee and not yet his future boss.

You can't appreciate the magnitude of Priebus's changing loyalties until you consider just how much time, energy and dignity he expended before Nov. 8 trying to protect "the party" from being defiled by Trump. "Donald Trump is Donald Trump, and the party is the party," Priebus used to tell me during the campaign. His ultimate allegiance was never in question. It was only six years ago that Priebus was happily ensconced in Kenosha as chairman of the Republican Party of Wisconsin. Now he is being described as the consummate "Washington insider" in the Trump White House. He certainly has a line to Republican officials, namely his close friend and fellow Wisconsinite Paul Ryan.

But in the end, for Priebus, it's now all about serving Trump, whose partisan impulses have proved flexible through the years — let alone his allegiance to the G.O.P. He ran, foremost, as a candidate of disruption. He fashioned himself a dealmaker. No doubt this could immediately run afoul of the conservative orthodoxy that has driven the Republican agenda on Capitol Hill. Trump also vowed to "drain the swamp" of the "bloodsucker" lobbyists and "blood money" fund-raisers, "political hacks" and various other parasites and hangers-on that have fattened themselves so spectacularly in Suck-Up City. In many ways, these are Priebus's people. He has cavorted, fund-raised and campaigned with them for years, attended their crack-of-dawn donors' breakfasts and mediated their disputes for the good of the party. He will most likely be looked upon as a chief emissary to the Capitol Hill, K Street and donor constituencies that Trump explicitly campaigned against — the chief of swamp.

For his part, Bannon has undertaken an incendiary mission over the years to upend the G.O.P. "establishment," no one more so than Ryan ("a total and complete sellout of the American people," Breitbart once declared, referring to Ryan's stewardship of House appropriations). Bannon could occupy something of a mysterious Svengali role in the tradition of presumed all-powerful presidential whisperers like Karl Rove (for George W. Bush) and Valerie Jarrett (for Barack Obama). Both Rove and Jarrett represented wild cards in their respective White Houses and regular thorns in the sides of the various chiefs of staffs with whom they served.

But one notable difference is that neither Rove nor Jarrett made it his or her goal to obliterate the establishments that their presidents were trying to fold themselves into; nor did either have close ties to fringe elements of their parties, as Bannon has to the so-called alt-right and its main platform. Breitbart has been described as a "white ethno-nationalist propaganda mill" by the Southern Poverty Law Center. The site has posted articles linking undocumented immigrants to disease, declared in a headline that "Birth Control Makes Women Unattractive and Crazy," promoted the Confederate flag ("Hoist It High and Proud: The Confederate Flag

Proclaims a Glorious Heritage") and referred to Gabby Giffords as "the Gun-Control Movement's Human Shield."

Bannon, who has tried to play down the most extreme elements of the alt-right in recent days, nonetheless viewed Trump as a kindred provocateur — a feeling that appears mutual. In one form or another, Priebus will try to integrate his establishment orientations with these disruptive forces operating all around him. Back during the campaign, Priebus used to refer admiringly to Trump as "an earthquake in a box." In a separate conversation (and metaphor), he described his challenge to me as keeping Trump inside "the funnel." Presumably this meant keeping him directed and contained, easier said than done, but still fascinating — and somewhat entertaining — to watch unfold in the campaign.

But with the presence of Bannon and the weight of Trump leading a nervous and divided nation, the challenge in the White House is considerably less entertaining to contemplate. Washington — like the presidency, certainly — creates its own distinct funnel that will shape Trump and everyone around him in inexplicable and perhaps dark ways.

As it turned out, Priebus never showed his face in the lobby of Trump's building, at least when I was there. Like many key players inside Trump's ragtag circle of collaborators, Priebus has gone largely dark since Election Day, holing up in Transition Tower with occasional hops down to Washington. He was not responding to my emails and was described by gatekeepers as "drinking from multiple fire hoses."

So for now, my most recent and enduring image of Priebus is watching him beaming and red-faced and a bit stunned on TV in the early hours of Nov. 9. A triumphant Trump had just called him to the podium, declared him a "superstar" and compared him to Secretariat. "But I'll tell you, Reince is really a star," Trump exulted. "Reince, come up here. Where is Reince? Get over here, Reince."

Trump offered him the mike and insisted he say something. There could be no more of a pinnacle moment for an avowed Republican Party animal who used to listen to Newt Gingrich speeches in the car as a teenager. He would soon go from being one of the most dumped-on figures in American politics to one of the most sucked-up-to insiders in a White House of insurgents.

"Ladies and gentleman, the next president of the United States, Donald Trump," was all Priebus could muster. There were worse images to dwell on before the drama intensified and puzzle mysteries inevitably presented themselves. Who knew what the night's result would lead to or what "normal" would become for any of the Trumpians soon, or any of us?

Mike Pompeo's Iran File

If he honors the nuclear deal, Trump needs to enforce it vigorously.

Wall Street Journal, November 21, 2016

Full-text stories from the Wall Street Journal are available to Journal subscribers by clicking the link.

How Much Power Will Trump's Foreign Policy Advisers Have? Here's What The Research Says.

By Elizabeth N. Saunders

Washington Post, November 21, 2016

Speculation is rampant over who will get top appointments in the Trump administration. The potential choices for high-level national-security and foreign-affairs posts have provoked intense interest, in part because of the wide foreign policy divide between candidate Trump and the Republican establishment.

Of these positions, the secretary of state, as the public face of U.S. foreign policy, is arguably the most critical. The next secretary of state may influence the direction of U.S. policy — which itself appears subject to renegotiation in the Trump era.

But research also suggests that even if the presidentelect's choices for secretary of state or other top positions are not significant players in the policy process, the appointments will have implications beyond policy. These appointees will send signals to outside audiences that affect how Congress and the public view Trump's foreign policy, how it is implemented at the bureaucratic level, and how it is communicated to foreign officials.

We don't know how much influence Trump's foreign policy advisers will have

For many positions, including secretary of state, Trump appears to be weighing a choice between a campaign loyalist (such as former New York mayor Rudy Giuliani) and an establishment figure (such as 2012 Republican presidential nominee Mitt Romney, South Carolina Gov. Nikki Haley or Sen. Bob Corker of Tennessee). Apart from Corker, none of the candidates for secretary of state has much substantive foreign-policy experience — and that's important, because experience can improve strategic bargaining, among other benefits. But an establishment appointee would be seen as far more credible than someone such as Giuliani by the Republican foreign-policy world, as well as by other world leaders. Many in these groups may be hoping that an establishment pick would shift Trump's policies in the direction of the mainstream GOP.

At the same time, there is no guarantee that an establishment candidate would have a significant influence on policy. The appointee might be marginalized in decision-making, as Colin Powell reportedly was during George W. Bush's first term. Inexperienced presidents also are less likely to seek a diversity of viewpoints, making such a dynamic more likely.

It's also possible that Trump will centralize foreign policy in the White House, continuing a trend in recent administrations of both parties. That would make Trump's reported choice for national security adviser — retired Lt. Gen. Michael T. Flynn, a staunch campaign surrogate whose views and behavior have been heavily criticized as being far outside the Republican mainstream — very influential. To the extent that Flynn's views clash with an establishment figure's policy vision, that could lead to further marginalization.

Advisers affect how policies are perceived and sold

Regardless of their effect on policy, though, high-level advisers and Cabinet officials play an important role in signaling the wisdom of an administration's policies to outside audiences, including members of Congress and the public.

My research shows that when presidents act against their advisers' public positions, support for policies such as using military force declines markedly. The public views the use of force much more favorably, though, when the president acts as an adviser recommends.

If an establishment appointee such as Romney tacitly or explicitly endorses a Trump administration policy, it would probably be viewed more favorably by the public and in Congress. For Republican administrations that may be perceived as hawkish or aggressive (as Trump and Flynn's views on the Islamic State, in particular, are), it can be helpful to get the endorsement of an adviser who is known for being more restrained. It was no accident that the Bush administration sent Powell, a known skeptic of the Iraq War, to be a public spokesman for its case. Also, if a Romney-like figure brings more of the formerly "Never Trumpers" onto his team, GOP establishment criticism could grow more muted.

On the other hand, if an establishment figure disagrees with a Trump administration policy enough to speak out against it or even resign in protest, that would signal that something is wrong. Criticism of the president from the opposition party is not nearly as newsworthy as criticism from his own party. Likewise, criticism from an administration figure such as Romney could work as a "fire alarm," drawing the attention of Congress, the media and the generally inattentive public to the foreign-policy episode at hand. Much would depend, then, on the extent to which an establishment figure is willing to speak out.

Advisers send signals to the rest of the bureaucracy

The presidential appointees also send signals to the rest of the bureaucracy — where much of the day-to-day business of foreign policy is conducted — about the importance of policy and competence vs. personal loyalty to the president in the new administration.

Consider what the appointment of an establishment figure vs. a Trump loyalist would mean to State Department desk officers. As Josh McCrain recently summarized on the Monkey Cage, bureaucrats will work with and respond to

presidential appointees who are qualified but not those who are perceived as unqualified lovalists.

Many in the State Department may be looking to see whether an establishment figure — one who might provide a layer of insulation and serve as a potential "fire alarm" — is their new boss. An appointee perceived as an unqualified loyalist, however, may dilute the pool of lower-level talent or lead those who remain to drag their feet in carrying out presidential policy. Of course, some agencies will be more insulated from presidential influence because of the way they are designed.

Advisers, particularly the secretary of state, affect diplomacy

Cabinet officials also attract significant media attention. We know from research by Christopher Deering and the late Lee Sigelman that the "inner Cabinet"— the State, Defense, Justice and Treasury departments — gets the most media attention of the Cabinet, with the secretary of state at the head of the pack.

That is one reason that the secretary of state is the public face of U.S. diplomacy. Research shows that face-to-face diplomacy matters for signaling, communication and interpretation. Most presidents and secretaries of state use foreign travel to maintain America's diplomatic network — meeting with allies, trading partners and other states of strategic importance. Effective communication is especially important in times of high uncertainty, such as presidential transitions (and leadership turnover more generally). These messages also will matter well beyond the transition for signaling the credibility of U.S. commitments to allies or threats to potential adversaries.

The buck still stops here

But any foreign-policy adviser's most important audience is the president himself. Presidential power, already robust in the realm of foreign policy, has increased since 9/11. Given Trump's lack of foreign-policy experience, he probably will be unusually reliant on advisers — at least those he trusts. That will give those advisers significant power without much oversight from the Oval Office. Many presidents have lacked foreign-policy experience. But Trump's inexperience in combination with the inexperience among his campaign advisers, as well as the chasm between Trump and the Republican foreign-policy establishment, makes the current situation very unusual.

If Flynn becomes Trump's national security adviser, he is likely to be very powerful. Trump's remaining appointments will still be critical, even if the secretary of state does not have major input on policy. Bringing establishment figures into the administration would involve trade-offs: the benefits of experience and competence weighed against the potential co-opting of an important group of watchdogs. The daily scrutiny of White House policy, the public and congressional perception of Trump administration decisions, the day-to-day

functioning of foreign policy in the bureaucracy, and the communication of foreign policy to world leaders will all be affected by the team Trump that assembles.

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Trump Spokesman Declines To Back FBI Director James Comey

By Jerry Markon, Sari Horwitz And Elise Viebeck Washington Post, November 21, 2016

A spokesman for President-elect Donald Trump pointedly declined to back embattled FBI Director James Comey on Monday, saying Trump would meet with the nation's top law enforcement officer "at some point."

"There hasn't been any official statement with regard to Director Comey," Trump spokesman Jason Miller said during the transition team's daily briefing. Asked if Trump would seek the resignation of Comey, who played a controversial role in the presidential campaign's final days, Miller said only: "I would imagine that at some point, the two will meet.

Comey drew biting criticism at various points from Republicans and Democrats over the FBI's handling of Hillary Clinton's use of a private email server while she was secretary of state. Clinton has told donors she blamed her surprising loss on the FBI chief, who told Congress 11 days before the election the bureau was reviewing further Clinton emails, then said two days before the vote that the review had not changed his decision not to recommend charges against Clinton.

Trump, who at times assailed the FBI and called Comey corrupt during the campaign, told "60 Minutes" after his election victory that he hadn't decided whether to ask Comey to step down. "I haven't made up my mind. I respect him a lot. I respect the FBI a lot," said Trump, who said he wanted to meet with Comey before deciding.

Comey is in the third year of a 10-year term that began in September 2013, and the FBI director typically does not change with a new president in order to preserve the job's independence. But presidents can remove a director, as Bill Clinton did in 1993, when he fired FBI director William S. Sessions halfway through his first year in office over allegations of ethical issues.

Officials close to Comey have told The Post that he has no plans to leave, despite the barrage of criticism he faced over his decisions on the Clinton probe. An FBI spokesman could not immediately be reached for comment on Monday.

The comments came as Trump and Vice Presidentelect Mike Pence resumed meetings with potential Cabinet choices and advisers at Trump Tower in Manhattan. Among those scheduled to meet with the two are former Texas governor Rick Perry (R), Oklahoma Gov. Mary Fallin (R) and former House Speaker Newt Gingrich.

No announcements are imminent, officials said on Monday, adding that Trump is planning to spend Thanksgiving with his family at Mar-a-Lago, his private club in Palm Beach, Fla. Asked to address criticism that Trump's Cabinet picks so far have lacked diversity, Miller vowed that Trump's administration will look like America.

"Obviously we still have a long ways to go ... But I think when you get to the end you'll see a very broad and diverse administration," said Miller, who also said lawyers are reviewing all of Trump's pre-election meetings to spot any potential ethical issues.

"All meetings that are taking place, counsel is comfortable with ... We have counsel involved and we're comfortable with where everything is," Miller said. Trump has drawn criticism for allowing his daughter, Ivanka, and his son-in-law, Jared Kushner, to join a meeting Thursday with Japanese Prime Minister Shinzo Abe. Ivanka Trump is expected to play a major role in running Trump's businesses during his presidency.

The new developments came after a weekend in which job seekers, advisers and would-be allies paraded through Trump National Golf Club in Bedminster, N.J. as Trump worked on filling his Cabinet. By Sunday, retired Marine Gen. James Mattis had emerged as a leading contender for defense secretary.

Members of the Trump team took to the Sunday morning talk shows. Vice President-elect Mike Pence, who heads Trump's transition, and the incoming chief of staff, Reince Priebus, defended Trump's Cabinet picks so far and elaborated on Trump's more controversial campaign promises, including the reinstatement of waterboarding and a ban on Muslims entering the country.

Trump, who met Saturday with Mattis, called him "the real deal" and a "brilliant, wonderful man." In a tweet early Sunday, Trump said: "General James 'Mad Dog' Mattis, who is being considered for Secretary of Defense, was very impressive yesterday. A true General's General!"

A person familiar with transition discussions, speaking on the condition of anonymity, said that no decision has been reached about whether Mattis will join the Trump administration. Now a fellow at Stanford University's Hoover Institution, Mattis has publicly criticized President Obama's defense and national security policies.

Former Massachusetts governor Mitt Romney, whom Trump met with on Saturday for more than an hour, is under "active and serious consideration" to serve as secretary of state. Pence said.

"I know the president-elect was very grateful that Governor Mitt Romney came here to New Jersey yesterday," Pence said Sunday on CBS's "Face the Nation." "We spent the better part of an hour together with him. And then I know that the two of them actually had some private time together. I would tell you that it was not only a cordial meeting but also it was a very substantive meeting." It is still an open question whether Romney, once a fierce critic of the -president-elect, would be willing to serve in his administration.

After Trump and Pence attended services at nearby Lamington Presbyterian Church in Bedminster, they began back-to-back meetings with a dozen people, including New Jersey Gov. Chris Christie, who was ousted as chairman of Trump's transition team; former New York mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani; and Kansas Secretary of State Kris Kobach, an immigration hard-liner. Trump spokesman Jason Miller said "there definitely is a possibility" that more Cabinet announcements could be made Monday.

In his interview on CBS, Pence did not rule out the possibility that Trump could reinstate waterboarding as an interrogation technique against accused terrorists during his administration, a practice that Congress made illegal after its use during the George W. Bush administration.

Sen. John McCain (R-Ariz.), speaking Saturday at the Halifax International Security Forum, insisted that any attempt to bring back waterboarding, which simulates drowning, would be guickly challenged in court.

"I don't give a damn what the president of the United States wants to do or anybody else wants to do," McCain said. "We will not torture. My God, what does it say about America if we're going to inflict torture on people?"

Pence said he has "great respect for Senator McCain" but added that "we're going to have a president again who will never say what we'll never do."

"What I can tell you is that going forward, as he outlined in that famous speech in Ohio, is that a President Donald Trump is going to focus on confronting and defeating radical Islamic terrorism as a threat to this country." Pence said.

In December, as a candidate, Trump called for a "total and complete shutdown of Muslims" entering the country.

Asked about the idea of such a ban, Priebus, who appeared on NBC's "Meet the Press" on Sunday, said, "I'm not going to rule out anything, but we're not going to have a registry based on a religion."

Priebus was asked on another Sunday television show about a tweet in February by retired Lt. Gen. Michael Flynn, whom Trump has chosen as his national security adviser. Flynn tweeted, "Fear of Muslims is RATIONAL."

"Is that the official policy of the Trump administration that fear of Muslims is rational?" asked Jake Tapper, host of the CNN show.

"Well, of course not," Priebus said. "Look, I think, in some cases, there are radical members of that religion that need to be dealt with, but certainly we make it clear that that's not a blanket statement for everyone. And that's how we're going to lead."

Priebus also vowed that Trump's White House counsel will ensure that Trump avoids all conflicts of interest with his business ventures during his administration.

Last week, Trump held a meeting at Trump Tower with three business partners building a Trump property south of Mumbai. His daughter Ivanka Trump, a vice president at the Trump Organization and one of the family members who will be in charge of Donald Trump's businesses after he takes office, attended his meeting last week with the Japanese prime minister.

Michelle Ye Hee Lee, Amy B Wang, Kristine Guerra, Greg Jaffe and Missy Ryan contributed to this report.

Trump Isn't Draining The Swamp. He's Deepening It.

By Eugene Robinson

Washington Post, November 21, 2016

It is our duty to demand ethical integrity from our presidents, and Donald Trump cannot be allowed to make himself an exception.

He is already trying hard to do so.

Amid the hustle and bustle of his transition, according to the New York Times, President-elect Trump found time last week for a visit from the Indian partners with whom he is developing a pair of residential towers in Pune, a sprawling city not far from Mumbai. And Trump received a congratulatory phone call from Argentine President Mauricio Macri, with whose father Trump had business dealings. Trump and Macri denied published reports that Trump lobbied for an office building project he and a group of partners want to build in Buenos Aires.

Also, when Trump met last week with Japanese Prime Minister Shinzo Abe, Trump's daughter Ivanka was present. That raised eyebrows because Ivanka Trump, along with her brothers Donald Jr. and Eric, apparently will manage Trump's business empire while he is in office. Trump's lawyer called this arrangement a "blind" trust, but it is no such thing. Rather, it's a way to use the presidency for the Trump family's further enrichment.

The real and potential conflicts of interest are legion. The Post reported that "at least 111 Trump companies have done business in 18 countries and territories across South America, Asia and the Middle East" and also places such as Canada. Scotland and Ireland.

We know that much — but very little more — from the financial disclosure documents Trump filed in May. We would know more had he not broken his promise to release his tax returns.

Some of Trump's overseas developments are brickand-mortar projects financed by big loans, often from foreign banks. One of Trump's biggest lenders, Germany's Deutsche Bank, is negotiating a multibillion-dollar settlement with the Justice Department over abuses that contributed to the 2008 financial crash. Trump will soon headthe Justice Department.

Some other foreign business dealings are basically licensing agreements for the use of the Trump brand. According to The Post, Trump's company has been paid "up to \$10 million" since 2014 for the right to put the Trump name atop a luxury apartment complex in Istanbul. The owner is an oil and media conglomerate closely allied with the government of President Recep Tayyip Erdogan, who is conducting a brutal campaign of repression against his critics, including the independent Turkish media.

So when dealing with countries where he does business, will Trump put his own financial interests aside and do what is best for the United States? "We shall see" is a far too generous answer. Based on what we have seen in the two weeks since the election, the answer is a simple no.

I might feel differently if Trump put his many businesses into a genuine blind trust — which would mean liquidating as many assets as possible and having the cash managed by an independent trustee. This is probably not practical; his many partners in real estate deals would surely object, since the buildings would lose value once the Trump name was removed. But at the very least, Trump should have his empire managed by some eminent outsider who does not happen to be one of his children.

What does the law require? Almost nothing.

As president, Trump is exempt from conflict-of-interest statutes. He must file an annual disclosure document listing assets and income but is not compelled to release his tax returns, though recent presidents have done so. There is no law that would keep Trump from continuing to run the Trump Organization while in office. (Arguably, it might be better for him to spend time doing that than trying to deport 11 million undocumented migrants, take away health insurance from 20 million people, ban Muslims from entering the country and reinstitute torture for terrorism suspects.)

He does have to reckon with the emoluments clause of the Constitution, which bars public officials from receiving gifts from foreign governments without the consent of Congress. If stalled overseas projects suddenly get moving again after Trump is sworn in, that could be a problem.

Primarily, though, it is going to take public pressure to hold Trump accountable. Trump's supporters should recall how he claimed the system was rigged and promised to "drain the swamp." So far, he seems to intend to deepen the muck and make his fabulously wealthy family even wealthier.

How Trump handles his business interests must be seen as a simple test of his sincerity. So far he is failing miserably.

Read more from Eugene Robinson's archive, follow him on Twitter or subscribe to his updates on Facebook. You can also join him Tuesdays at 1 p.m. for a live Q&A.

Read more here:

Garrison Keillor: Trump voters — it's not me, it's you Ronald A. Klain: Trump's big infrastructure trap

The Post's View: President Trump

Our Next President, The Godfather

By Richard Cohen

Washington Post, November 21, 2016

Following the Oct. 4 vice- presidential debate, Donald Trump's son Eric was asked how Mike Pence had done. He answered as a Corleone — maybe not the storied Michael because he was the youngest, and not Fredo since he was weak and destined to be fired in the manner of those times, but possibly Sonny since Eric looked CNN's Wolf Blitzer hard in the eye and said of Pence, "I really think he represented the family , and I think he represented the party incredibly, incredibly well tonight." So spoke the Godfather's son.

I don't want to overdo this family analogy but I don't want to ignore it, either. After all, the kids are now all over the place, taking the occasional seat in the occasional meeting with a head of state and almost always accompanying their father as, in the wonderful movie containing all of life's truths (and its best quotes), various Republican pooh-bahs venture out to Jersey to ask a favor (What about Commerce?) and honor the newest Godfather, the one with the nuclear codes, who would permit torture and yet wants the theater to be a safe place.

Just as in the movie, we are not sure what business the Godfather is in. He is about to be president of the United States, yet we have never seen his taxes — all his taxes — and now, during the traditional expressions of loyalties from Republicans who actually went to the mattresses to fight Trump but who now vow loyalty and just plain awe — the meetings were interrupted for some deal relating to apartments in Pune, India. They will be called Trump Towers Pune.

Are there other business interests elsewhere in the world? Are any in Russia? Are any Russians Trump investors? Are any of them linked to Vladimir Putin? Never mind, how could they not be?

When at the close of the second presidential debate, the candidates were asked if there was something they could praise about the other, Hillary Clinton said she respected the way Trump had raised his children. Indeed, in a Manhattan world in which Trump is generally loathed, his kids are considered swans produced by an ugly duckling. Yet, they participated in Trump's business, getting the steady promotions and praise duly accorded the progeny of the boss. How could they not have picked up Trump's business ethics, which in his case is an oxymoron?

Jared Kushner, our Tom Hagen, who married Trump's daughter Ivanka, has lately lost some of this Boy Scout aura. It turns out Kushner's admission to Harvard was preceded by his father's \$2.5 million pledge.

After Kushner bought the New York Observer in 2006 (for \$10 million), he demanded that its longtime editor, Peter Kaplan, do pieces critical of certain political or real estate figures, notably Chris Christie. As New Jersey's U.S. attorney, Christie had sent Kushner's father to jail for campaign law violations, among other things. (Those "other things" included setting up his brother-in-law with a prostitute so as to blackmail him.) Kushner apparently wanted revenge.

Kaplan, a storied figure in New York journalism, refused. Eventually his relationship with Kushner got so contentious that Kaplan abruptly quit. Even so, when Kaplan's mother died and Kushner and his father went to the Kaplan family home in South Orange, N.J., to pay a condolence call, Kaplan intercepted them outside of the house and would not let them in.

Frankly, I think the nepotism law that may bar Kushner from working with Trump in the White House is ridiculous. If Trump wants him, he should get him. (Robert Kennedy was invaluable to John Kennedy.) Maybe Kushner can occasionally muster the gumption to stand up to his bullying father-in-law — and he could not possibly be a worse appointment than the volcanic anti-Muslim zealot Michael Flynn as national security adviser. But it would be unrealistic to expect Kushner to be anything other than a malleable Trump son-in-law.

If Donald Trump were a candid man, if the lie were not his usual first response, if he had shown us his taxes and if he had not compiled a record and reputation as a deadbeat, then his admixture of businesses and family and their convergence in the White House would be troubling enough. But in his head, Trump did not win the White House as the leader of the Republican Party. He won as the head of a family.

Read more from Richard Cohen's archive.

To read more on this topic:

Garrison Keillor: Trump voters — it's not me, it's you Josh Rogin: Congress and Trump's Russian reset The Post's View: Trump still owes us tax returns

Trump's Neo-Nationalists

'America first' is not a policy or a motto. It's an implicit accusation of disloyalty.

By Bret Stephens

Wall Street Journal, November 21, 2016

Full-text stories from the Wall Street Journal are available to Journal subscribers by clicking the link.

Is Donald Trump's Flexible World View A Minus Or A Plus?

The eclectic group of people Trump is considering for his foreign-policy team tells you the president-elect has no fixed world view

By Gerald F. Seib

Wall Street Journal, November 21, 2016

Full-text stories from the Wall Street Journal are available to Journal subscribers by clicking the link.

How To Pay For Donald Trump's Trillion-Dollar Agenda? Congressional Republicans Aren't Saying.

By Mike Debonis And Kelsey Snell Washington Post, November 21, 2016

President-elect Donald Trump intends to launch a broad legislative agenda that includes cutting taxes, rolling back the Affordable Care Act, growing the military and rebuilding the nation's infrastructure.

The question is how congressional Republicans, after eight years of apocalyptic warnings about the growing national debt, will respond to the dire fiscal implications of proposals that would likely send the deficit soaring.

Taken together, the Trump agenda stands to drain hundreds of billions of dollars a year from the federal balance sheet. His proposed tax cut alone, according to independent analysts, could cost the Treasury as much as \$7.2 trillion over a decade.

Some Republicans in Congress, including House Speaker Paul D. Ryan, have indicated that some sacred cows might be up for slaughter. Those include federal entitlement programs such as Medicare, long considered a "third rail" of American politics, that Trump himself has shied away from touching.

"You fix the health care problem, you are dramatically fixing the fiscal health of this country," Ryan (R-Wis.) said Thursday. "Those are among the things that we have to do if we're going to truly nurse ourselves back to fiscal health."

In interviews with more than a dozen congressional Republicans this week — including staunch supporters of Trump and his agenda — most dismissed concerns about potential deficits in a big-spending Trump administration.

Rep. Tom Price (R-Ga.), who favored austere spending blueprints as House Budget Committee chairman and is now a candidate for a Cabinet post in the Trump administration, said it would be a matter of "priorities."

"If you prioritize on the things that he and we believe are important ... it can actually save money," Price said.

Most Republicans on Capitol Hill, including former presidential candidate Sen. Marco Rubio (R-Fla.), simply dodged questions about Trump's plans: "We have a debt problem in America that needs to be addressed, but we're going to wait and see what the proposals are."

Several Republican lawmakers who call themselves deficit hawks simply expressed faith that implementing GOP policies would unleash levels of economic growth the nation hasn't seen in more than 15 years, boosting government revenue to compensate for any new spending.

"If we were at four percent GDP growth consistently, we could afford all that," said Rep. Andy Harris (R-Md.), echoing the views of other House conservatives.

Economists argue that those growth targets for the U.S. economy are ambitious at best. Experts on both the left and the right are projecting growth rates closer to two percent, and even under the most generous circumstances, most believe Trump's proposals would cost far more than the economy could recoup through economic growth alone.

"The suite of policy proposals that Trump put forth would explode the debt," said Maya MacGuineas, president of the Committee for a Responsible Federal Budget, which estimates Trump's plans would add \$5.3 trillion to the existing \$19.5 trillion national debt.

"A lot of times in campaigns candidates talk about what they would do and later turn to talking about how they would pay for it," she added. "But because he walled off the major entitlement programs, there is nowhere to go to get the money to pay for things."

Should Republicans support deficit spending under a Trump administration, it would mark a 180-degree reversal in rhetoric. The current Republican majorities in the House and Senate were built on the midterm waves of 2010 and 2014, where GOP candidates preaching fiscal austerity ousted Democrats who favored deficit spending to jump-start a sluggish economy.

Ryan himself warned in 2010 that federal spending would "mortgage our children's future" in a series of editorials he and current House Republican Conference Chairman Jeb Hensarling (R-Texas) co-wrote for the Washington Examiner.

"By acting now, a debt crisis can be averted by reforming government on our own terms," Ryan said.

Trump, on the other hand, made nary a mention of budget deficits on the campaign trail. He briefly suggested renegotiating the country's debt obligations, a move that would likely decimate America's global creditworthiness.

In an interview published Friday, Trump's designated chief White House strategist suggested the incoming president would pay little heed to Republican orthodoxy on fiscal matters.

"Like [Andrew] Jackson's populism, we're going to build an entirely new political movement," Stephen K. Bannon told The Hollywood Reporter. "The conservatives are going to go crazy. I'm the guy pushing a trillion-dollar infrastructure plan."

Left-leaning fiscal experts, meanwhile, see new evidence in the Trump agenda that Republican attacks on President Obama's fiscal policy were driven less by conviction and more by a political desire to undermine a Democratic administration.

"There's no plausible pathway that gets you from a huge trickle-down tax cut to a doubling of the growth rate," said Jared Bernstein, a senior fellow at the liberal Center on Budget and Policy Priorities and former chief economic adviser to Vice President Joe Biden. "What will happen is what always happens in these moments: You exacerbate after-tax inequality, and you generate large deficits."

Trump's spending plans come amid warnings from the Federal Reserve that the economy is operating at close to full employment and productivity growth is at a near-term low. Federal Reserve Board Chair Janet Yellen testified Thursday at a hearing of the Congressional Joint Economic Committee that racking up more debt under those conditions could put the economy at serious risk in the future.

"There's not a lot of fiscal space, should a shock to the economy occur, an adverse shock, that did require fiscal stimulus," Yellen said.

Some Republican deficit hawks have said they remain worried about the debt and deficit but refused to address Trump's proposals directly. "I think we'll stand up to that problem," said Sen. Pat Roberts (R-Kan.). "It is going to be difficult, but I think we need to operate within our budget rules."

What remains to be seen is whether Republican leaders undertake a serious effort to pursue cuts to Medicare or other major federal programs in the early months of the Trump administration. Ryan has pointed to Medicare, Medicaid and the Children's Health Insurance Program — and, to a lesser extent, Social Security — as the main drivers of the nation's long-term fiscal pressures.

He said in a Nov. 10 Fox News Channel interview that Medicare has "serious problems" that would need to be addressed when Congress moves to repeal and replace the Affordable Care Act. He did not say, however, how farreaching those changes might be.

A policy agenda advanced by Ryan and House Republicans favors reworking Medicare from a public insurance program into a "premium support" model where beneficiaries would be given vouchers to purchase private insurance plans. Medicaid, which now covers more than 70 million low-income Americans, would be converted into a "block grant" where states would be handed a fixed sum and given wide latitude to administer benefits.

Ryan on Thursday declined to say whether those initiatives would be considered as part of an Obamacare replacement: "We'll get into all this stuff down the road."

One key Republican, Senate Finance Committee Chair Orrin G. Hatch (Utah) — whose committee oversees taxes and entitlement programs — seemed concerned about unfettered spending and how the numbers would all add up. Asked if entitlement reform was necessary to making the Trump agenda fiscally sustainable, Hatch said, "I think that's probably the understatement."

Hatch said Wednesday that "we're going to have to" consider Medicare reforms in the coming year and did not rule out a privatization push. "For some people, you'd have to have premium support," he said.

Even if Republicans don't immediately pursue entitlement cuts, Bernstein said, the deficits that Trump's policies stand to create would create a future predicate for them.

"When their phony growth agenda doesn't work," he said, "they're going to throw their hands up and say, 'Sorry, folks, we're going to have to cut entitlements."

Democratic lawmakers, meanwhile, appear to be horrified policy-wise and salivating politically at the prospect that Republicans might pursue Medicare cuts.

"It's not going to happen," Sen. Charles E. Schumer (D-N.Y.), the incoming Senate Minority Leader, said Friday. "I'd like to see how many Republicans in the Senate will vote for privatization of Medicare, or in the House."

He challenged them, in fact, to do so: "Make our day."

Poor Oversight Of A Student Loan Benefit May Be Hurting Military Borrowers, GAO Says

By Danielle Douglas-Gabriel

Washington Post, November 21, 2016

Inaccurate information and poor coordination between federal agencies is putting members of the military at risk of paying more on their student loans than necessary, the Government Accountability Office said in a new report.

By law, military personnel are not supposed to be charged more than 6 percent interest on any loan while they are on active duty. Yet researchers at the GAO found that documents and a website the Department of Defense uses to keep servicemembers informed of their rights fail to explain the full extent of the interest rate cap on all student loans.

A part of the problem is the inconsistent way the benefit is applied, the report said. The Education Department requires all of its student loan servicers, the middlemen who collect payments, to match their portfolios of federal student loans against the Defense Department's database of active-duty troops to automatically grant the benefit. But banks, credit unions and other private education lenders are under no obligation to follow suit, even though some have voluntarily adopted the practice, according to the GAO.

As a result, active-duty borrowers with private student loans have the burden of supplying proof of their military status to receive the interest-rate cap. And some may be unaware of their eligibility because of inaccurate information provided by the Defense Department, a charge the agency officials disputed in their response to the GAO report.

Researchers at the GAO say federal agencies can clear up these problems by directing all education lenders to automatically apply the benefit, which would require changes to the Servicemembers Civil Relief Act (SCRA).

The Department of Justice, which along with four banking regulators and the Consumer Financial Protection Bureau oversees private lenders' compliance with the relief

act, has asked Congress to simplify the process. A year ago, the department proposed eliminating the requirement that military personnel provide private loan servicers a copy of their orders, but the GAO recommends officials take it a step further. Justice officials, in a response to the GAO report, said they would consider the recommendation.

Until recently, men and women in uniform had to provide proof of active-duty status to receive the interest rate cap on all student loans. That all changed after the government fined Sallie Mae and its former subsidiary Navient Solutions \$97 million in 2014 for unlawfully charging active-duty service members high interest rates on student loans. To prevent future violations, education officials insisted all contractors servicing federal student loans adopt the automatic match.

Because those contractors applied the benefit retroactively the number of servicemembers who received the interest-rate cap on their federal student loans skyrocketed. Reviewing the records of 10 federal servicers, the GAO found an increase from 107 in October 2008 to 108,710 in December 2015. Researchers also found the number of military personnel who benefited from the cap on at least one of their private student loans more than doubled from 14,970 to 33,309 between September 2014 and March 2016 because of lenders voluntarily matching their files.

Want to read more about the student loan servicing? Check out these stories:

Education Department misled public about investigation of loan servicers, says watchdog

Senate Democrats press Education Department to rescind reviews of loan servicers

SAPD: Suspect Entered Police HQ Hours Before Ambush Killing Of Officer, 'Uniform Was The Target'

By Kolten Parker

San Antonio Express-News, November 21, 2016

SAN ANTONIO — The man police believe fatally ambushed an officer Sunday morning entered SAPD's downtown headquarters hours before shooting Det. Benjamin Marconi in his patrol car nearby, officials said at a press conference Monday morning.

SAPD Chief William McManus said the suspect, now the target of a massive manhunt, entered the downtown headquarters at 315 S. Santa Rosa around 7:45 a.m.

About four hours later, police say, the suspect approached the 20-year SAPD veteran's car on the south side of the building as he carried out a traffic stop on another driver and shot him twice through the passenger window of Marconi's patrol cruiser.

"I think the uniform was the target," McManus said. "...We consider this suspect to be extremely dangerous to the police and the public."

Surveillance footage released by police Monday morning shows a dark-skinned man, who police have described as approximately 5 feet 7 inches to 6 feet tall, pacing out front of police headquarters before entering the building.

McManus said the suspect spoke to a clerk for around 20 seconds before leaving. McManus said no officers were in the building at the time, but refused to elaborate on the interaction, citing an ongoing investigation.

Officials released few other details on the suspect, saying they're not sure whether he is from the area and warning people to report any sightings to police.

The suspect was driving a black Mitsubishi Galant with chrome wheels when he pulled up behind Marconi before opening fire, police said.

Local police, in coordination with federal agencies, have questioned a number of individuals, including the driver who was being pulled over by Marconi, since the incident, but all of have been released, McManus said.

McManus said the department is encouraging officers to pair up when they patrol neighborhoods and respond to 911 calls, although it's not required.

The San Antonio Police Department headquarters is a multi-story building located on the corner of Santa Rosa Avenue and Nueva Street. The building has two sets of glass doors that lead to a spacious lobby with couches, an information center and a security check, which leads to the rest of the building. The information center, where the suspect is seen in video surveillance talking to a clerk, is enclosed in glass.

Crime Stoppers is offering up to \$10,000 for information leading to the arrest of a suspect in the capital murder, while Texas Gov. Greg Abbott announced Monday morning his office is offering an additional \$15,000 for that information.

McManus described the situation as everyone's "worst nightmare."

"It's always difficult, especially in this day and age, where police are being targeted across the country," McManus said.

Marconi on Sunday was transported to San Antonio Military Medical Center, where he was later pronounced dead.

Marconi's family released a statement Monday asking for privacy.

"At this time, the Marconi family would like to give thanks from the bottom of our hearts for the outpouring of support, prayers and love we have received. At this time, we would appreciate privacy to mourn the loss of a wonderful father, brother, grandfather, friend and last, but not least, a peace officer," the family said, thanking the San Antonio community and the support they received from the country.

The last San Antonio police officer killed was Robert Deckard Jr., who died in December 2013.

Deckard, 32, was a seven-year veteran at SAPD who was shot Dec. 8, 2013 as he pursued two robbery suspects. The chase reached speeds of 115 mph, police said. Deckard died after 13 days in intensive care.

Staff writers Chris Quinn, Silvia Foster-Frau and news researcher Mike Knoop contributed to this report.

San Antonio Police Arrest Suspect In Officer Shooting

Four incidents on Sunday involved police being targeted or injured in shootouts

By Yogita Patel And Joe Barrett

Wall Street Journal, November 21, 2016

Full-text stories from the Wall Street Journal are available to Journal subscribers by clicking the link.

San Antonio Police Say Attacker Who Killed Officer Was Targeting 'the Uniform'

By Mark Berman

Washington Post, November 21, 2016

Police in San Antonio said Monday that they did not believe the fatal shooting of an officer there was tied to another attack in St. Louis that occurred hours later.

"I will say that it is certainly a coincidence, but we're not going to venture to say that it's connected," San Antonio Police Chief William McManus said.

Authorities continued Monday to hunt for a man wanted in the killing of Detective Benjamin Marconi, who was slain while writing a traffic ticket in front of police headquarters a day earlier. They also said Monday that the attacker had gone inside the police building before the shooting.

Marconi was one of three officers shot Sunday in attacks that police described as ambushes, a spate of targeted shootings that also wounded police officials in Missouri and Florida. The other two officers — who, like Marconi, were sitting inside their patrol cars when they were shot — are expected to survive.

These shootings occurred four months after eight police officers in Dallas and Baton Rouge were gunned down in separate ambushes just days apart, attacks that added to fears among law enforcement and have helped fuel an increase in the number of officers killed by gunfire this year.

Officers in San Antonio "absolutely felt targeted," McManus said during a briefing Monday morning. "I feel they were targeted."

McManus said that he believed the attacker in San Antonio was going after a member of law enforcement rather than specifically targeting Marconi.

"I think the uniform was the target, and anyone, the first person who happened along, was the person that he targeted," McManus said.

Police also said Monday that the suspected attacker had briefly visited the department's headquarters not long before the shooting, although McManus said investigators were not sure what prompted this visit.

"I don't know why he was at headquarters," McManus said. "We have some ideas why we believe he may have been in headquarters, but we're not quite sure."

Officials released video footage they said showed the unidentified man entering the department's headquarters in downtown San Antonio.

In one video, the man is seen leaning over and speaking to an intercom outside the building moments before the automatic doors swing open and he walks inside. The same man apparently walks back out of the building just 26 seconds later. Another video clip shows the man walking inside the lobby.

McManus said there were no uniformed police personnel in the lobby at the time. He declined to say what this man said at the intercom that prompted the doors to be opened for him to enter the building.

Marconi, 50, had been with the San Antonio police for two decades. On Sunday morning, he was making a traffic stop in front of police headquarters when an attacker parked behind his police car and walked up to the window.

The attacker fired a shot into the car, hitting Marconi in the head, before reaching "in through the open window and fired a second shot," hitting him again, McManus said during a briefing Sunday. Marconi was brought to an area hospital and was pronounced dead not long after.

In a statement released by police, Marconi's family asked for privacy so they could "mourn the loss of a wonderful father, brother, grandfather, friend, and last but not least, a peace officer."

Hours after Marconi was killed, an officer was sitting in a patrol car in St. Louis when someone pulled up and opened fire. That attacker was later fatally shot by police when he fired at officers searching for him, authorities said. Another officer was shot near Kansas City, Mo., after a struggle following a traffic stop, police said.

Also Sunday evening, an officer in Sanibel, a small city in southwest Florida, was in his car after a traffic stop when someone drove by and opened fire. The officer was treated and released from a hospital, while the suspect was arrested after a shootout with police.

These shootings come on the heels of a deadly attack earlier this month in lowa, where police said that a man ambushed two police officers, killing both of them, as they sat in their police cars.

There have also been a series of other shootings this month. An Alaska officer was ambushed and shot multiple

times, while in California a deputy sheriff responding to a call about a suspicious van was fatally shot. A New York Police Department officer was killed and another wounded while responding to a reported home invasion. On Friday, just two days before the shootings in Texas, Missouri and Florida, Patrick Carothers, a deputy commander with the U.S. Marshals Service, was fatally shot in Georgia trying to arrest a wanted man.

"Over the last several days, the nation has witnessed a disturbing spate of violence against law enforcement officer across the country," Attorney General Loretta E. Lynch said in a statement Monday. Pointing to the deaths in Georgia and Texas, as well as the other shootings, Lynch added: "These reprehensible acts cannot be tolerated and they again remind us of the significant hazards that public safety officers confront each and every day on our behalf."

The San Antonio attack occurred just 270 miles away from where five Dallas police officers were killed during a protest in July against police shootings in other cities. Ten days after the bloodshed in Dallas — the deadliest day for U.S. law enforcement since the Sept. 11, 2001, attacks — another lone attacker gunned down three officers in Baton Rouge.

"In the wake of the tragic ambush that occurred in San Antonio along with the other three police shootings that happened across the nation yesterday, I have reminded our officers to take extreme caution as they perform their duties and to always be aware of their surroundings and cover each other," David Pughes, the interim Dallas police chief, said in a statement Monday. He also encouraged officers "to work with a partner if they choose."

Through Monday, there have been 60 officers fatally shot this year, up from 36 at the same point last year, according to the National Law Enforcement Officers Memorial Fund, a nonprofit that tracks line-of-duty deaths. There have been 126 officers killed this year, up from 109 last year, according to the fund's data.

The number of officers fatally shot by suspects has declined in recent decades, falling from an average of 127 officers shot and killed during the 1970s to about 53 officers each year during the last decade.

But during an era of protests nationwide against how police use force, current and former members of law enforcement have described feeling under siege, and the high-profile ambush attacks this year have ratcheted up fears among those who serve. Some officers have said they keep their guns with them at times they otherwise would not, while others described being more wary when in public. FBI Director James Comey, speaking to a gathering of police chiefs last month, said officers were serving during "a uniquely difficult time in American law enforcement."

Lynch, in her statement Monday, noted that 2016 "has been an especially dangerous year for police officers, with a

significant increase in the number of officers killed in the line of duty since Jan. 1." She said that the Justice Department would continue to aid local and state law enforcement officials "in any way that we can to reduce the frequency and deadliness of these tragic incidents."

The Brady Campaign to Prevent Gun Violence said that the shootings illustrated a need for stronger background checks to "to keep guns out of the hands of people who shouldn't have them" as a way to keep officers safe.

In San Antonio, McManus ordered officers to double up while on patrol until they catch the suspect in Marconi's death. He said that as the sprawling manhunt for Marconi's killer approached the 24-hour mark, police had questioned a number of people and at one point took into custody, and then released, a person of interest.

Authorities have not publicly named the suspect in San Antonio, and it was not immediately clear whether police had identified him. McManus described him as a black man in his 20s and said investigators "don't know if he's from the area," adding that police had cast a very wide net to try and locate him. He also said that police had gotten "a lot of information" from the dashboard camera in Marconi's car.

"We have pulled out all the stops," McManus said, adding that the manhunt "will not stop until this person is in custody."

Katie Mettler contributed to this report, which has been updated with new information throughout the day.

Further reading:

A weary fear has been building among those who protect and serve

lowa police take suspect in 'ambush-style' killings of two officers into custody

Two New York police officers shot, one fatally, in the Bronx

Calif. deputy sheriff fatally shot in point blank 'execution.' Suspect in custody after manhunt.

Alaska officer 'ambushed' and shot multiple times, police say

Texas, Missouri, Florida Officers Shot In Attacks; 1 Killed

By Jim Salter And David Warren Associated Press, November 21, 2016

A manhunt for a suspect in the fatal shooting of a veteran Texas police detective ended Monday with an arrest in the killing that was one of several weekend attacks against law enforcement in multiple states, authorities said.

The San Antonio detective and officers shot in Missouri and Florida were conducting routine tasks Sunday when they became the targets of violence. The detective was writing a traffic ticket when he was shot to death in his squad car Sunday morning outside police headquarters.

"I think the uniform was the target and the first person that happened along was the first person that (the suspect) targeted," San Antonio Police Chief William McManus said Monday.

In Missouri, a St. Louis police sergeant was shot twice in the face Sunday evening while he sat in traffic in a marked police vehicle. He was released from a hospital Monday.

The shootings were the latest in what law enforcement officials say is an alarming spike in ambush-style attacks. Sixty officers, including the San Antonio detective, were shot to death on the job this year, compared to 41 in all of 2015, according to the National Law Enforcement Officers Memorial Fund. Of the 60 killed, 20 were purposely targeted by their assailant compared to eight last year, the group said.

Police officers also were shot and injured during traffic stops in Sanibel, Florida, and Gladstone, Missouri, on Sunday night, but authorities have not suggested these were targeted attacks. All the shootings come less than five months after a black military veteran killed five white officers at a protest in Dallas – the deadliest day for American law enforcement since Sept. 11, 2001.

Race was a factor in the Dallas attack, but police have not said if race played a part in any of the attacks on Sunday. In San Antonio, police say the suspect is black and the officer was white. In St. Louis, the suspect was black, but police have not released the officer's race. Most killings of police officers are carried out by white men, and most people shot and killed by police are white, said Craig W. Floyd, president of the National Law Enforcement Officers Memorial Fund.

San Antonio Detective Benjamin Marconi, who was killed Sunday while writing the ticket, was a 20-year veteran of the force. Chief McManus said Monday evening that a 31-year-old man, Otis Tyrone McKane, was arrested on a capital murder warrant without incident after the car he was riding in was stopped Monday afternoon on an interstate.

McManus said earlier that he doesn't believe the suspect has any relationship to the motorist who was pulled over initially.

Surveillance video shows the suspect at San Antonio police headquarters about four hours before the 50-year-old Marconi was shot. The suspect asked a desk clerk a question but left before receiving an answer, said McManus, who declined to say what the man asked.

"I don't know why he was in headquarters. We have some ideas," he said.

St. Louis Police Chief Sam Dotson declined to name the 46-year-old officer who was shot and wounded there. He said the officer is a married father of three and has been with the department for about 20 years.

"This officer was driving down the road and was ambushed by an individual who pointed a gun at him from inside of his car and shot out the police officer's window," Dotson said.

The suspect, 19-year-old George P. Bush III, was wanted for questioning in recent violent crimes that included several robberies, a carjacking and perhaps a killing, Dotson said without elaborating.

"We believe he knew he was good for those crimes and that we were looking for him," Dotson said. "That's why he aggressively attacked a police officer."

Police said Bush was later killed in a shootout with officers.

At least two other police officers were wounded in shootings in other cities Sunday, but it wasn't clear whether they were targeted attacks.

An officer with the Gladstone, Missouri, police department near Kansas City was shot, and the suspect was shot and killed. The officer, whose name has not been released, is expected to recover.

Sanibel, Florida, officer Jarred Ciccone was shot in the shoulder during a traffic stop and released after being treated for his injuries. Authorities said they arrested Jon Webster Hay, 49, about 90 minutes after the shooting. They said he was booked into jail on an attempted murder charge Monday once he was released from a hospital, where he was treated after being wounded during a standoff and shootout with officers.

On July 7, Micah Johnson shot and killed five law enforcement officers who had been working to keep the peace at a protest in downtown Dallas over the fatal police shootings of black men in Minnesota and Louisiana. Ten days after that attack, a man wearing a ski mask and armed with two rifles and a pistol killed three officers near a gas station and convenience store in Baton Rouge, Louisiana. And earlier this month, two Des Moines, Iowa-area police officers were fatally shot in separate ambush-style attacks while sitting in their patrol cars.

"It's always difficult, especially in this day and age, where police are being targeted across the country," McManus said.

This story has been corrected to show that the suspect was arrested in a car that he was riding in, not a car that he was driving, and to show that the suspect's last name is 'McKane' and not 'McCain.'

Salter reported from St. Louis and Warren from Dallas. Jamie Stengle and Terry Wallace in Dallas and Tammy Webber in Chicago also contributed.

Video online:

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Nd2Ussa81nU

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Slain San Antonio Detective Was Targeted, **Police Chief Says**

By Richard Pérez-Peña

New York Times, November 21, 2016

A San Antonio police detective who was shot to death while sitting in a squad car was apparently killed just for being on the force, the city's police chief said on Monday, a day after the detective and three officers were shot in separate episodes around the country.

There was no apparent link among the killing of Detective Benjamin Marconi and the three other shootings in which officers were wounded, and officials cautioned that many questions about the shootings remain unanswered. But they added to the sense of a profession under siege, coming after a series of killings in which officers were singled out.

"I feel we were targeted," said the San Antonio police chief, William McManus. "I think the uniform was the target, and the first person who happened along was the target."

Late Monday, Chief McManus said that Otis Tyrone McCain, 31, had been arrested without incident after the car he was in was stopped on Interstate 10.

In July, a gunman killed five police officers and wounded nine other people in Dallas, and days later, another gunman killed three officers and wounded three others in Baton Rouge, La. Both gunmen were killed by the police, but they first made clear that they were angry about police killings of black men. This month, in the Des Moines area, two officers were gunned down in their patrol cars, and the police arrested a man who had been described as having a hatred of law enforcement.

Sunday's shootings prompted strong reactions on social media, including some posts calling the episodes part of a war on law enforcement, or blaming people who have criticized the police over a string of highly publicized deaths at the hands of officers.

Violence against the police dropped to 31 officers fatally shot (aside from accidents) in the line of duty in 2013, from a high of 144 in 1973, according to records kept by Officer Down Memorial Page, a nonprofit group that tracks such episodes. Last year, there were 39.

But so far in 2016, there have been 58 killings — a pace that would make this the worst year since 2011.

"People are reacting to this phenomenon of police being specifically targeted, which we saw some of in the '70s, but we haven't seen it recently," said Geoffrey P. Alpert, a professor of criminology and criminal justice at the University of South Carolina. "It's hard to do community policing when you don't know if somebody's going to take you out."

Detective Marconi, who was 50, had stopped a driver near Police Headquarters and was sitting in his car writing a ticket when a person unconnected to the traffic stop walked up and shot him at close range. The Police Department later showed reporters surveillance video of an unidentified person, taken a few hours earlier, at the front entrance of the police building.

The video shows a young man pacing and speaking into an intercom. The doors open and he enters, then he leaves seconds later.

"He talked to the clerk at the desk," Chief McManus said at a news conference. "He asked a question, and the clerk said that they would help him with that, and he said, 'Never mind.' and walked out."

"I don't know why he was in headquarters," he added. "There's several motives we're looking at."

The chief would not say what the man had asked, or why he was considered a suspect, but he said the dashboard camera in Detective Marconi's car had provided important evidence.

Local, state and federal agencies were taking part in a sprawling search for the man.

On Sunday evening in St. Louis, a car pulled up alongside a police S.U.V. and shot the sergeant at the wheel. The sergeant, 46, whose name was not released, was hit twice in the face but was expected to survive, officials said.

The gunman was a suspect in a recent crime spree — robberies, a carjacking and possibly a homicide — said the city's police chief, D. Samuel Dotson III, "and when he saw the officer, he became concerned that he would be recognized, and we believe he fired at the officer for that reason."

"He was targeted because he was a police officer," Mayor Francis Slay said. "This tells you how dangerous of a job it is."

A few hours after the shooting, officers caught up with the man, who was a passenger in a friend's car. Chief Dotson said he jumped out of the car and ran, and shot at pursuing officers, who returned fire, killing him. The gunman was identified as George P. Bush III, 19.

A similar shooting took place in Gladstone, Mo., near Kansas City, when an officer stopped a car and a passenger ran away. Shots were fired, the passenger died and the officer was wounded. Neither person's name was released.

In Sanibel, Fla., Officer Jarred Ciccone was wounded in a drive-by shooting while sitting in his patrol car. The officer, who was hit in the shoulder, was treated at a hospital and released. A short time later, the police exchanged gunfire with a suspect — Jon W. Hay, 49 — and arrested him.

Officials declined to discuss a possible motive, but Mr. Hay had a history of making complaints to the police that he was a victim of various crimes — stalking, fraud, attempted burglary, computer hacking and sexual abuse, among others.

AP Analysis: Obama Exudes Calm About Trump As Democrats Fret

By Josh Lederman

Associated Press, November 21, 2016

LIMA, Peru (AP) – On the surface, President Barack Obama was cool-headed, cerebral and confident, doling out parting reassurances to world leaders on his final global jaunt. Behind the scenes, his aides and Democrats back at home were a deflated and weary bunch, grimly ending Obama's tenure in a way they never imagined.

The jarring gap between Obama's public face and the prevailing Democratic sentiment about Donald Trump's election was an unexpected element to Obama's final presidential trip, which included visits to Greece, Germany and Peru. Time after time, Obama opted for optimism over any sense of foreboding, and diplomatic dodges over criticism. The man whose legacy risks being devastated by Trump's election appeared to be the one Democrat who wouldn't publicly fret about its impact.

As Obama hopped from capital to capital, news of the emerging Trump administration followed him, dominating news conferences and private meetings with leaders. The president answered nearly every question about Trump, his new hires and his plan to dismantle Obama's legacy, with a version of the same answer.

"Reality will force him to adjust how he approaches many of these issues," Obama said Sunday as he closed out his trip in Lima. "That's just how this office works."

It was far from clear that other Democrats shared that optimism.

Each time Air Force One landed in another foreign capital, cellphones buzzed and White House officials' faces fell as the latest news came in about Trump's team-in-waiting: First, Steve Bannon, former head of the far-right outlet Breitbart News, as chief White House strategist, then retired Lt. Gen. Michael Flynn, who has said Islam is a "cancer," to be national security adviser.

And as Obama was somewhere over the Atlantic Ocean, flying to Lima, Trump picked immigration hard-liner Sen. Jeff Sessions for attorney general and national security hawk Rep. Mike Pompeo for CIA chief.

Taken together, the selections deflated the hopes in the White House that Trump, faced with the awesome duty of running the nation, might tone it down after the campaign.

Of all the Trump's choices, White House officials said it was the selection of Flynn that felt like the most devastating blow, given the immense authority the national security adviser has over matters of war and peace.

By the time Obama arrived in Peru, the creeping sense of despair among his aides was palpable.

Even still, Obama told a young student from Peru the next day that she shouldn't assume the worst. When she

asked whether anxiety about Trump was media-driven "global paranoia," Obama's advice was to "wait until the administration is in place."

Though he acknowledged that Trump's vehement opposition to free trade deals would create tensions, he stood firm that Trump, despite his campaign rhetoric, was committed to NATO, echoing his message to leaders in Berlin and Athens. He didn't dwell on Trump's tough talk about immigration, a key concern in Latin America.

"With respect to Latin America, I don't anticipate major changes in policy from the new administration," Obama said.

If Obama seems more assured than fellow Democrats about how Trump will govern, that's because he is, said individuals familiar with his thinking.

In their Oval Office meeting after Trump's victory, Obama discussed his upcoming trip and said he'd be quizzed on what to expect from Trump. Informed by their conversation, Obama felt confident enough to tell foreign leaders that Trump, for example, would stand behind NATO and wouldn't cut ties to Latin America, said the individuals, who weren't authorized to comment publicly and requested anonymity.

Whether world leaders are taking Obama – and therefore, Trump – at his word remains to be seen. After all, there may be a credibility gap for Obama, who spent the last year reassuring anxious allies that Trump would never win.

Since Election Day, Obama has refused to entertain any wallowing in despair, nor has he engaged in the kind of warts-and-all diagnosis of what went wrong that many Democrats crave, in hopes of ensuring their devastating loss isn't repeated. Instead, his message has been to buck up and keep calm.

It started within hours of Trump's victory, when Obama called shell-shocked aides in for a morning meeting and told them, essentially, to get it together, keep their heads up, and go about their work, aides said. This is politics, stuff happens, and this is how the game is played, the president told his team.

For Obama's aides, many of whom sobbed openly in the Rose Garden hours later when he addressed the nation, it was the slap in the face needed to be able to focus on a task they never imagined having to perform: preparing to hand over the White House to Donald Trump.

That process started immediately – before the nation had a chance to truly grasp what happened – and by the next day Trump was there, in the Oval Office, sitting down with Obama while his aides toured the West Wing.

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EDITOR'S NOTE – Josh Lederman has covered the White House and national politics for The Associated Press since 2012.

Associated Press writer Kathleen Hennessey in Washington contributed to this report.

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Poll: 65 Percent Of Democrats Want Party To 'stand Up' To Trump

By David Weigel

Washington Post, November 21, 2016

The Pew Research Center's post-election voter survey has found that nearly two-thirds of Democrats, and 39 percent of all voters, want the opposition party to "stand up" to President-elect Donald Trump, "even if less gets done in Washington." As the minority party studies the aftermath of the 2004 and 2008 elections for clues on how to stage a comeback, Pew's numbers suggest that there is more enthusiasm for opposition to Trump than to any recently elected president.

According to Pew's 2008 polling, just 36 percent of Republican voters, and 22 percent of all voters, said that their party should oppose the incoming President Obama if it meant slowing down the work of the country. In 2008, just 11 percent of Democrats said they wanted Republicans to be a check on the president; last week, 14 percent of Republicans said that they wanted Democrats to be a check on Trump.

In 2009, the Republicans obliged the minority — though, tellingly, they were slow to make clear what they were doing. In November 2008, at a similar point in Obama's transition, then-Senate Minority Leader Mitch McConnell strategically praised Obama's more bipartisan Cabinet hires and suggested that he could pass a crisis agenda through Congress quickly if he did not run to the left.

"This is an opportunity to tackle big issues and to do them in the middle," said McConnell at a lame-duck news conference. "It would not be a good idea for the new administration, in my view, to go down a laundry list of leftwing proposals and try to jam them through the Congress."

In January, as the Obama White House prioritized the passage of a massive stimulus spending plan, McConnell continued to suggest that Republicans want to help him pass it — especially a component that consisted of a large tax cut. "Depending upon how this tax component is crafted," McConnell said, "it could well have broad Republican appeal and make it much more likely that the measure passes with broad bipartisan support, which is what the new president would like and what we would like."

In the end, McConnell offered nearly no bipartisan cover at all. Just three Senate Republicans backed the stimulus package, which had been shaped to attract bipartisan support; no House Republicans supported it. In 2010, McConnell told Joshua Green that the Republicans avoided any buy-in with Obama's bills to deny any appearance of bipartisanship.

"We worked very hard to keep our fingerprints off of these proposals," McConnell says. "Because we thought — correctly, I think — that the only way the American people would know that a great debate was going on was if the measures were not bipartisan. When you hang the 'bipartisan' tag on something, the perception is that differences have been worked out, and there's a broad agreement that that's the way forward."

This year's Democrats seem to be heading for a similar showdown. In their first comments after the election, Democratic leaders like Bernie Sanders (I-Vt.) and Senate Minority Leader-elect Chuck Schumer (D-N.Y.) said they were open to dealing with Trump on big projects. But in an interview published this weekend in the New York Times, Schumer clarified that Democrats would only deal with Trump if he met them on their goals.

"We are saying, 'Mr. President you have two choices: Work with us and you will have to alienate your Republican colleagues, or break your promises to blue-collar America,' "he said. "I believe that blue-collar America voted for Trump mainly because of Democratic issues like trade, not for Republican issues like tax cuts for the wealthy."

Like McConnell in 2008, Schumer seemed to be laying the groundwork for near-total opposition of Trump bills, on the assumption that Republicans will not embrace deficit spending.

White House Releases Obama's Final Regulatory Agenda

By Lydia Wheeler

The Hill, November 21, 2016

The White House has released its semi-annual regulatory agenda detailing what the administration plans to finish before President Obama leaves office.

The Office of Management and Budget quietly released the Unified Agenda last week. Regulatory advocates say the policy blueprint reads as if Obama were planning to stay in office, when it is likely to be overhauled dramatically by the Trump administration next year.

"We are taking the whole thing with a grain of salt," said Lisa Gilbert, director of Public Citizen's Congress Watch division.

Under President-elect Donald Trump, there's no guarantee any of the rules now expected after Jan. 20 will be issued. Trump is planning to issue a moratorium on new

agency regulations that are not compelled by Congress or public safety.

Still, the 2016 fall agenda shows that the Obama administration is trying to tie up some loose ends before leaving office by finalizing some consumer health and safety protections, including final standards for worker exposure to beryllium.

The Occupational Health and Safety Administration expects to release a final rule for the cancer-causing metal in January.

The Department of Energy is planning to finalize new energy standards for 14 different products, but the seven most important include standards for walk-in coolers, residential non-weatherized gas furnaces, commercial water heaters and packaged boilers, fluorescent lamps, pool pumps and manufactured housing.

The Occupational Health and Safety Administration is planning to create new rules to better safeguard healthcare professionals who are exposed to infectious diseases like tuberculosis, chickenpox, shingles and the measles. A proposed rule is expected next October.

The Department of Transportation, meanwhile, plans to finalize new rules with the Federal Railroad Administration in July to improve oil spill response readiness and mitigate the effects of rail incidents that involve petroleum oil.

In March, the Department of Housing and Urban Development plans to finalize changes to its lead-based paint poisoning regulations to better protect young children that live in federally owned homes.

Obama Administration Moves To Block Mining Near Yellowstone

By Brady Dennis

Washington Post, November 21, 2016

Federal officials on Monday moved to block new mining claims at the doorstep of Yellowstone National Park, the latest push by the Obama administration to protect environmentally sensitive areas during its final months in office.

Mining claims would be prohibited on about 30,000 acres of U.S. Forest Service land near the park's northern entrance in Montana. The prohibition will remain in effect for two years while officials gather public comment and evaluate whether to designate the area off limits to new mining claims for an additional 20 years.

"There are good places to mine for gold, but the doorstep of Yellowstone National Park is not one of them," Interior Secretary Sally Jewell said in a statement. "Today's action helps ensure that Yellowstone's watershed, wildlife and the tourism-based economy of local communities will not be threatened by the impact of mineral development."

The move comes as two proposals for gold-mining exploration north of Yellowstone draw opposition from local environmentalists and business owners, who argue that the projects would industrialize areas crucial to migrating wildlife and could harm tourism. The two-year prohibition issued Monday wouldn't explicitly block the proposals, but it could hamper them.

A representative of one of those companies told the Associated Press that halting new mining claims north of Yellowstone could sink the project by prompting potential investors to take their money elsewhere. Shaun Dykes of Lucky Minerals told the AP that the reserves targeted by his company near Emigrant, Mont., hold up to 10 million ounces of gold and that mining could provide a boost to the region's economy.

Yellowstone is among the country's most popular national parks — with a record 4.1 million visitors last year — and one of the most majestic. Many of those visitors also are drawn to the nearby national forest, where elk, moose, bison, bighorn sheep and other wildlife migrate from winter ranges in Montana, Wyoming and Idaho to summer ranges near the heart of Yellowstone.

Government officials said Monday that the area where mineral mining could have taken place is home to some of those migration corridors.

"Taking a time-out to balance the benefits of our natural resources and recreation-based local economies against mineral extraction is a commitment we owe the American taxpayer," Agriculture Secretary Tom Vilsack said in a statement. "This need is much more pressing where the potential risks to our extraordinary natural resources and the health of our rural towns are significant."

The move marks the latest in a flurry of efforts by the Obama administration to safeguard lands and waters from the mining and oil industries.

Last week, the Interior Department announced a settlement with Devon Energy for the cancellation of leases for oil and gas drilling on lands considered sacred by the Blackfeet tribe. The exploration leases covered parts of the Badger-Two Medicine area of the Lewis and Clark National Forest in northwest Montana.

Two days later, the Obama administration banned offshore drilling in the Arctic. That move is on a potential collision course with President-elect Donald Trump, who has vowed to "unleash" new energy production in the United States by rolling back restrictions on oil and gas companies.

These 11th-hour actions have angered industry representatives, who argue that allowing broad exploration on public lands is key to creating jobs and bolstering the economy. But environmentalists have praised the White House's efforts, even if the incoming Trump administration could reverse some decisions.

"These proposed mines would harm Yellowstone resources, wildlife, visitor experience and adjacent communities," Theresa Pierno, president of the National Parks Conservation Association, said in a statement Monday. "The threat of mining on the doorstep of Yellowstone is a stark reminder that we must remain vigilant in our efforts to protect Yellowstone and so many other national parks across the country."

Chris Mooney contributed to this report.

Nasdaq Hits Record High As Wall Street Rises With Oil Prices

By Yashaswini Swamynathan

Reuters, November 21, 2016

Full-text stories from Reuters currently cannot be included in this document. You may, however, click the link above to access the story.

In Stock-Market Rally, Small Beats Large

Russell 2000 has climbed 11% since Election Day, outpacing the S&P 500's 2.7% rise

By Aaron Kuriloff

Wall Street Journal, November 21, 2016

Full-text stories from the Wall Street Journal are available to Journal subscribers by clicking the link.

U.S. Stocks Close At Record Highs

Monday's broad rally is led by energy shares; some investors voice caution

By Akane Otani And Riva Gold

Wall Street Journal, November 21, 2016

Full-text stories from the Wall Street Journal are available to Journal subscribers by clicking the link.

The U.S. Labor Force's Guy Problem: Lots Of Men Don't Have A Job And Aren't Looking For One

By Jim Puzzanghera

Los Angeles Times, November 21, 2016

As the recovery from the Great Recession continues, job growth is solid and the labor force is growing at close to its fastest pace since 2000 because more unemployed workers are coming off the sidelines.

Still, the percentage of working-age Americans in the labor force remains stuck near its lowest level since the late 1970s. Although retiring baby boomers are the main reason, there's another troubling factor that experts predict won't be solved by stronger economic growth.

Too many men in their prime don't have a job and aren't even looking for one. Experts trying to figure out the reasons are probing the roles of criminal background checks, painkillers and even video games.

In all, about 7 million men ages 25 to 54 are neither employed nor "available for work," putting them outside the labor force. Their growing numbers worry and puzzle economists.

A little more than half of the men reported they were ill or disabled, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics. About 14% are going to school. And about 20% said they were either retired or handling home responsibilities.

Economists said increased globalization and the decline in factory jobs has played a major role in pushing prime-aged men, particularly those with less education, out of the workforce. But that doesn't explain why the problem is worse in the U.S. than in most other economically advanced nations.

Researchers have pointed to some other potential explanations. Prime-age American men outside the labor force are spending more time playing video games, making leisure time more enjoyable. About half are in so much pain from physical maladies that they take daily medication for it, making holding a job difficult.

And in a problem drawing more attention from economists, the nation's high incarceration rate has left many men with felony convictions that raise red flags during employer background checks.

While the reasons may be up for debate, having so many men failing to contribute has troubling implications for the economy.

"It's terrible. There's absolutely nothing good that comes out of it," said Nicholas Eberstadt, a scholar at the American Enterprise Institute think tank. "It is certainly near the center of so much that is sad and wrong about the way our society and our economy are performing today."

The problem has been building for a long time.

The percentage of prime-aged men in the U.S. workforce — those either with a job or actively looking for one — peaked at 97.9% in 1954. But since the mid-1960s, the labor force participation rate for those men has steadily declined. The rate has varied during economic booms and busts, but generally has been on a downward trend.

The rate bottomed out at 88% in 2014 and has been hovering near there ever since. The figure was 88.6% in October.

The labor force participation rate for women rose sharply from the mid-1960s through the 1980s as it became more socially acceptable for them to work. But the rate for women has fallen off in recent years, too, to 56.8% in October. The overall participation rate for men and women over 16 years old was 62.8% last month.

The Obama administration was concerned enough about the trend and its implications that the White House Council of Economic Advisors issued a 47-page report this summer examining the reasons for the decline and policies that could help address it. Eberstadt wrote a book on the

subject, "Men Without Work, America's Invisible Crisis," that was published in September. And economists have been studying the phenomenon.

Alan Krueger, a Princeton economist, published a paper last month titled "Where Have All the Workers Gone?" that said "addressing the decades-long slide in labor force participation by prime age men should be a national priority."

"We're not fully utilizing the human resources we have and that means the economy is not performing as well as it could be," Krueger said in an interview. "That means our overall standard of living is lower because output is lower than it can be."

Krueger, who chaired the White House Council of Economic Advisors from 2011 to 2013, added to the debate over the issue by conducting a survey that found that 47% of prime-aged men who are out of the workforce said they took pain medication the previous day. Nearly two-thirds of those reported that they took prescription painkillers.

When asked if pain prevented them from working at a full-time job, 40% of prime-aged men out of the workforce said yes, Krueger found.

He said he hasn't been able to determine if the pain problems are a cause or an effect for the men being out of the workforce.

"I suspect the arrows go in both directions," Krueger said. "Some had severe disabilities that caused them to withdraw [from the workforce] and others became despondent and perhaps obese from their lifestyles which caused disability problems."

Research this year by Krueger's Princeton colleague, economist Mark Aguiar, pointed to another potential reason — the lure of video games.

Video games have become more elaborate and sophisticated, while online gaming has expanded the universe of people to play against.

Men ages 21-30 who were not in the workforce reported spending an average of 6.7 hours a week playing video games from 2012 to 2015, compared with just 3.6 hours from 2000 to 2007.

The figures are higher for men in that age group with less than a college education. Erik Hurst, an economist at the University of Chicago's Booth School of Business, found that those men spent an average of two hours a day on video games in 2014, with 10% of them reporting playing for six hours a day.

About seven in 10 lower-skilled men in their 20s without a job lived with a parent or close relative, according to his research. But despite that, they reported being happier on average than they were in the early 2000s.

"The life of these nonworking, lower-skilled young men looks like what my son wishes his life was like now: not in school, not at work, and lots of video games," Hurst wrote recently.

Eberstadt said the "most scandalously ignored" reason why so many prime-aged men are not in the workforce is the nation's high incarceration rate. As many as 20 million Americans, most of them men, have a felony record. That could help explain why the labor force problem is worse here than in other advanced economies, he said.

The U.S. has the world's second-highest prison population rate — 698 prisoners for every 100,000 people, according to the Institute for Criminal Policy Research. People in prison are not counted in any way in U.S. labor statistics, which look only at the civilian non-institutionalized population.

"Is there discrimination against felons and ex-cons? Do they lose their skills in jail?" Eberstadt said. "This is a huge missing piece of the puzzle."

Joel Valdez, 32, of Los Angeles, was paroled in June from California's Chuckawalla Valley State Prison after more than 15 years behind bars for his conviction on two counts of assault with a firearm. He's been working at a voter-engagement phone bank that employs mostly former inmates and is operated by LA Voice, a faith-based community organization. But it's been difficult to find work with a felony record and, even though he earned a high-school equivalency degree in prison, he didn't get much training.

"I know that, more often than not, if I'm not working in a warehouse or getting my foot in the door through labor jobs or having family friends, that it would be super hard to get a job because of my background," Valdez said. "Some people are sketchy about hiring people with that background. It's tough."

A Los Angeles City Council committee approved an ordinance in September that would prevent most employers from asking about a job applicant's criminal history until after a conditional offer has been made.

Reforming the criminal justice system, including "improving reentry into the workforce for the formerly incarcerated," is among the ways to get more prime-aged men back into the workforce, according to the White House report.

Its other recommendations included changing the tax code to expand work incentives and creating more demand for workers through funding for infrastructure upgrades.

Eberstadt said that overhauling disability programs also could help push more prime-aged men back into the workforce by removing a key source of income. Expanding health insurance coverage also could address the problem of out-of-work men taking painkillers.

"If men have preventative care and treat problems earlier on it could prevent them from causing the kinds of chronic pain that seems to be a barrier to work for so many people," Krueger said.

This article was updated to note that Erik Hurst is an economist at the Booth School of Business at the University of Chicago.

This article originally was published at 5 a.m.

Cash And Kashkari

The consensus grows that Dodd-Frank won't stop the next financial crisis.

Wall Street Journal, November 21, 2016

Full-text stories from the Wall Street Journal are available to Journal subscribers by clicking the link.

Get Used To Heat Records; Study Predicts Far More In Future

By Seth Borenstein

Associated Press, November 21, 2016

WASHINGTON (AP) – The United States is already setting twice as many daily heat records as cold records, but a new study predicts that will get a lot more lopsided as manmade climate change worsens.

Under normal conditions, without extra heat-trapping gases from human activity, the nation should set about the same number of hot and cold records over the course of several years. But that's not happening and it's steadily getting worse, scientists said.

If and when the nation warms another 4.5 degrees (2.5 degrees Celsius), expect there to be around 15 heat records for every cold one, the new study in Monday's Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences predicts. That warming can be as early as 50 years from now if greenhouse gas emissions – from the burning of coal, oil and gas – continue at their recent pace or a century away if carbon pollution slows down, said study lead author Gerald Meehl, senior scientist at the National Center for Atmospheric Research.

"This climate is on a trajectory that goes somewhere we've never been. And records are a very easy measure of that," said study co-author Claudia Tebaldi, who's also at the atmospheric center in Boulder, Colorado.

They used records from the nation's weather stations for their statistical calculations.

After an earlier study in 2009, Meehl and Tebaldi looked further in the past and into the future. In the Dust Bowl hot 1930s, there were 1.1 hot records for every cold. After a couple decades of more cold records and an even one-to-one ratio in the 1980s, the number of high heat marks left cold in the dust.

So far in the 2010s there have been 2.2 hot records for every cold, including six hot records for every cold this year, Meehl said.

Looking at records is important because people don't feel shifts in average temperature, but they do notice shifts in extremes like this, Meehl said.

"These results are not surprising," University of Georgia meteorology professor Marshall Shepherd said in an email. "And it further points to the notion that 'extremes' not averages get our attention. In life we get alarmed when we

have a fever, not when our temperature is near the 98.6 average. We are setting Earth on course for high fever events to be quite common."

Online:

Journal: http://www.pnas.org

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EPA Chief: Trump Can't Halt U.S. Shift To Clean Energy

By Brady Dennis

Washington Post, November 21, 2016

The head of the Environmental Protection Agency on Monday gave an impassioned defense of the Obama administration's energy and environmental policies and insisted the nation's shift from fossil fuels will continue no matter who occupies the White House.

"The inevitability of our clean energy future is bigger than any one person or one nation," Administrator Gina McCarthy said in a speech at the National Press Club that was twice interrupted by protesters. "It must be guided by a simple but profound truth: We don't have to choose between economy or environment. We can and we must choose both."

McCarthy mostly deflected specific questions about worries over President-elect Donald Trump, who has been a blistering critic of the EPA. Trump has vowed to scrap what he sees as onerous regulations the agency has put in place in recent years, from tighter methane controls on domestic drillers to the administration's signature effort to regulate greenhouse-gas emissions from power plants. He also has vowed to end the "war on coal," expand oil and gas leasing across federal lands and waters, and "cancel" U.S. participation in an international climate agreement aimed at reducing carbon emissions.

But McCarthy, a Boston native who became the EPA head in 2013 after a lengthy confirmation fight, repeatedly suggested that trying to slow the country's move away from coal and other fossil fuels and toward cleaner energy sources ultimately would be foolish and futile.

"Science tells us that there is no bigger threat to American progress and prosperity than the threat of global climate change," she said. "And if you take nothing else from my speech today, take this: The train to a global, cleanenergy future has already left the station. We have a choice. We can choose to get on board, to lead. Or we can choose to be left behind."

McCarthy ticked off statistics detailing what she called the rapid progress of recent years: Vehicles are becoming more fuel efficient. Power plants have reduced mercury pollution. Many companies are on their way to meeting the requirements of the Clean Power Plan — even as its fate remains in federal court — and dozens of states are hitting lower emissions targets years ahead of schedule. U.S. leadership on climate action has compelled other nations around the world to follow suit.

"We're in a spectacularly different place today than we were when President Obama took office," she said. "Before, developing countries would point a finger at us. Now they're wondering if the U.S. will turn its back on science and be left behind. That is the choice that we face."

Since the election, there has been a palpable sense of unease among many EPA employees because Trump promised during his campaign to essentially gut the agency. Scientists and environmental activists are alarmed that the Trump EPA transition is being led by Myron Ebell, a climate-science skeptic who has argued for abandoning the international Paris climate accord and opening up more federal land to coal mining and oil exploration.

Activists have started petitions and held a public protest against Ebell's role, and on Monday afternoon, the Sierra Club and several other groups were planning to project giant messages across the front of EPA headquarters.

Asked about the angst within the agency, McCarthy demurred.

"My folks, they're doing fine. Most of them have been through transitions before," she said. "They are working with one another, just continuing to hunker down and do their jobs. They are pretty confident that the mission of the EPA is a good one and that it will be enduring."

She also said she expects that cities and states will forge ahead on climate action and pick up the slack should the federal government under a Trump administration begins to reverse course.

"There are thousands of mayors who have signed climate pledges. They are working hard" because of their fears, she said. "They are afraid of wildfires. They are afraid of floods. They're afraid of running out of drinking water, which is particularly frightening. These things are happening all across the country. So, mayors will continue to speak up. Cities will continue to be some of our best and loyal allies."

She was asked what guidance she would give her successor, even if that's someone who views the agency's role in starkly different terms. "My advice would be to listen to the great staff at EPA," McCarthy said. "They are experts in

these issues. They will give you an opportunity to lead. I would suggest you take it."

Trump Can't Revive Fossil Fuel Industry, EPA Chief Taunts: 'Train Has Left The Station'

By Ben Wolfgang

Washington Times, November 21, 2016

Even if he tries to resuscitate a sagging coal industry and ramp up oil and gas drilling across the country, President-elect Donald Trump will be unable to reverse the nation's move toward clean energy, EPA Administrator Gina McCarthy said Monday.

In one of her final speeches before leaving office in January, the EPA chief — a controversial figure who has presided over an unprecedented crackdown on coal-fired power plants — said she's confident much of the agency's work will stand the test of time. While Mr. Trump has vowed to reverse the some EPA regulations and put coal miners back to work, Ms. McCarthy said those efforts largely will be unsuccessful due to broader market forces.

She said the agency's Clean Power Plan (CPP), which greatly limits emissions from coal plants, has been just one reason why the U.S. is getting more of its power from renewable sources.

"Folks, clearly there is more going on in our world and our energy sector that the Clean Power Plan can account for. ... This is all about the energy transition that's already happening," she told an audience in Washington. "The cleanenergy economy, folks, that train has left the station."

The CPP remains caught up in court following a Supreme Court decision earlier this year, though many states already are taking steps to meet the rule's strict new limits on carbon emissions. The regulations set emissions thresholds and require states to develop plans to meet them.

The standards are such that it would be virtually impossible to build any new coal-fired power plants.

Throughout his campaign, Mr. Trump said he'd put the nation's coal miners back to work and will make it easier for the nation to tap into its fossil fuel reserves. More broadly, the incoming president intends to withdraw the U.S. from a global climate-change deal requiring a 26 percent cut in emissions by 2030. The CPP and other EPA regulations are key to meeting those targets.

Pressed on whether she's concerned about the Trump administration undoing her years of work, Ms. McCarthy largely ducked the question.

"We're going to have to wait and see," she said. "My job right now is to do a smooth transition."

Ms. McCarthy said the EPA has yet to have any contact whatsoever with the Trump transition team.

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Trump Wants To Dump The Paris Climate Deal, But 71 Percent Of Americans Support It, Survey Finds

By Chris Mooney

Washington Post, November 21, 2016

Since the election of Donald Trump as president, climate change has rushed to the front of the news because of Trump's pledges to wipe away major U.S. attempts to address it. Of particular concern to scientists and environmentalists around the world is Trump's vow to "cancel" U.S. participation in the Paris climate agreement, negotiated by nearly 200 countries late last year and the foundation for a global push to reduce greenhouse gas emissions, country by country.

However, a new survey released by the Chicago Council on Global Affairs on Monday suggests that if Trump were to withdraw from the agreement, that may not be popular in the United States. The survey of 2,061 Americans, conducted in June, finds that 71 percent support the Paris deal, including 57 percent of Republicans — – a notable finding on a topic that, at least so far, does not seem to have received much polling attention.

Here was the question asked, and the response:

Note that the Paris agreement is so new that not all Americans may have even heard of it, but the one sentence description here is an accurate (if very brief) one.

The finding, notes the Chicago Council, comports with Americans' long-standing general support for international climate treaties, but it also somewhat masks deep disagreement about the reality and severity of climate change that persists between Democrats and Republicans.

Those differences reappeared when respondents were asked whether they agreed that climate change is "a serious and pressing problem" that should be addressed even if there are "significant costs":

Dina Smeltz, an opinion researcher and senior fellow with the Chicago Council who is the lead author of the report on the survey results, said that the way to reconcile the two findings involves the different importance that Democrats and Republicans place on the climate issue.

"In terms of priorities, Democrats see it as a much higher priority for foreign policy, but that doesn't mean that Republicans ... don't think some action should be taken," Smeltz said. "An increasing percentage of Republicans now say that some gradual action should be taken" to address climate change concerns.

Smeltz also said that although some Americans may not have heard of the Paris agreement, the survey question defines it, and other surveys have often shown support for taking action to address climate change and to advance clean energy. Some recent surveys have also shown mounting concern about the climate issue recently.

One issue not explicitly addressed by the survey is whether the world is already under such a threat from climate change that we can't afford to take "gradual" steps toward reducing the risks, an option that garners considerable Republican support above. Scientists generally consider the problem to be very urgent, and say that steep global emissions cuts are required to address it.

Smeltz said the study showed that Americans overall tend to favor treaties and international agreements, which might partly explain the finding. "When we ask about agreements in general, especially in our wording, Americans do seem to support a lot of international agreements which are collective agreements," she said, "which means that Americans alone do not have to sign on to these agreements."

Considering the study results, could trying to exit the Paris deal damage the president-elect politically? It would undoubtedly cause a national and an international uproar, but would Trump's base think worse of him?

"Some of the support could be soft, so it's hard to make a broad conclusion with that," Smeltz said. "But basically the American public does support making gains on this, and has been growing in their support for mitigating climate change."

But Smeltz does not think views on this subject have changed much since the election; rather, she detects a broadly growing U.S. acceptance of climate action. "Among all partisans, there has been an increase in those who want to take some kind of a step to mitigate climate change," she said.

That may be good news for the activists, scientists and environmentalists who fear a much bigger battle ahead in opposing the new president on this issue.

Trump's Climate Plan Might Not Be So Bad After All

By Bjorn Lomborg

Washington Post, November 21, 2016

Bjorn Lomborg is president and founder of the Copenhagen Consensus Center and a visiting professor at Copenhagen Business School.

The election of Donald Trump and Republican majorities in both houses have terrified environmentalists and climate campaigners, who have declared that the next four years will be a "disaster."

Fear is understandable. We have much to learn about the new administration's plans. But perhaps surprisingly, what little we know offers some cause for hope.

It should not need to be restated in 2016 that climate change is real and mostly man-made. It is hard to know whether Trump will acknowledge this. He has called global warming a "hoax" perpetrated by the Chinese, but stated that this was a joke; he denied the existence of climate change

during the campaign, but supported global warming action as recently as 2009.

What really matters is not rhetoric but policy. So far, we know that President Trump will drop the Paris climate change treaty. This is far from the world-ending event that some suggest and offers an opportunity for a smarter approach.

Even ardent supporters acknowledge that the Paris treaty by itself will do little to rein in global warming. The United Nations estimates that if every country were to make every single promised carbon cut between 2016 and 2030 to the fullest extent and there was no cheating, carbon dioxide emissions would still only be cut by one-hundredth of what is needed to keep temperature rises below 3.6 degrees Fahrenheit (2 degrees Celsius). The Paris treaty's 2016-2030 pledges would reduce temperature rises around 0.09 degrees Fahrenheit by the end of the century. If maintained throughout the rest of the century, temperature rises would be cut by 0.31 degrees Fahrenheit.

At the same time, these promises will be costly. Trying to cut carbon dioxide, even with an efficient tax, makes cheap energy more expensive — and this slows economic growth.

My calculations using the best peer-reviewed economic models show the cost of the Paris promises – through slower gross domestic product growth from higher energy costs — would reach \$1 trillion to \$2 trillion every year from 2030. U.S. vows alone — to cut greenhouse-gas emissions 26 percent to 28 percent below 2005 levels by 2025 — would reduce GDP by more than \$150 billion annually.

So Trump's promise to dump Paris will matter very little to temperature rises, and it will stop the pursuit of an expensive dead end.

However, Paris was a well-meaning — if flawed — attempt to address a genuine global issue. With no international climate policies at all, it is probable that we would see a temperature rise of perhaps 7 degrees Fahrenheit by the end of the century. The United States needs to find a smarter solution. Climate economists have found that green energy R&D investment would be a much more efficient approach.

This is very much in line with Trump's campaign promise of "investment in research and development across the broad landscape of academia" and with its suggestion that we could develop "energy sources and power production that alleviates the need for dependence on fossil fuels."

This investment in U.S. ingenuity could help innovate the price of green energy down below fossil fuels. Only then will we truly be able to stop climate change.

Statements by Trump's campaign also indicate that the next administration will create a global development and aid policy that recognizes that climate is one problem among many.

Asked about global warming, the campaign responded, "Perhaps the best use of our limited financial resources

should be in dealing with making sure that every person in the world has clean water. Perhaps we should focus on eliminating lingering diseases around the world like malaria. Perhaps we should focus on efforts to increase food production to keep pace with an ever-growing world population."

This would be a big change. The Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development analyzed almost all aid from the United States and other rich nations and found that about one-third is climate-related aid.

This is immoral when 2 billion people suffer from malnutrition, 700 million live in extreme poverty and 2.4 billion are without clean drinking water and sanitation. These problems can be tackled effectively today, helping many more people more dramatically than "climate aid" could.

Despite its length, and for all of its heat and bluster, the election campaign left many unanswered questions and understandable concerns about the president-elect's positions on climate change, aid and development.

But, surprisingly, there is now an opportunity. To seize it, the Trump administration needs to go beyond just dumping the ineffective Paris agreement, to an innovation-based green energy approach that will harness U.S. ingenuity. Far from being a disaster, such a policy could mean a real solution to climate change and help the world's worst-off more effectively.

TV Hosts, Executives Gather In New York For 'Reset' Meeting With Trump

By Elise Viebeck

Washington Post, November 21, 2016

Powerful figures from the world of television news met privately with President-elect Donald Trump Monday amid rising concerns about Trump's failure to accept the norms of presidential media coverage, such as a traveling press pool.

Trump hosted more than a dozen TV executives and hosts at Trump Tower midday for what senior adviser Kellyanne Conway called a "reset" meeting following the election. Conway did not say what was discussed, describing the meeting as "off-the-record."

"It was very cordial, very productive, very congenial," Conway told reporters in the lobby, according to a pool report. "It was also very candid and very honest. From my own perspective, it's great to hit the reset button. It was a long, hard-fought campaign."

Attendees from the five major networks, who started trickling into the lobby around 12:30 p.m., included CNN President Jeff Zucker, NBC News President Deborah Turness, Fox News presidents Jack Abernethy and Bill Shine, and Fox News executive vice presidents Jay Wallace and Suzanne Scott, according to a pool report. Wolf Blitzer and Erin Burnett of CNN; Lester Holt and Chuck Todd of

NBC; George Stephanopoulos, David Muir and Martha Raddatz of ABC; and John Dickerson, Gayle King, Norah O'Donnell and Charlie Rose of CBS were among the anchors and hosts spotted entering the building.

The meeting was the first of at least two scheduled between the incoming president and the media this week. Conway said representatives from the New York Times will meet with Trump on Tuesday. According to a report from the Huffington Post, Trump will meet with New York Times publisher Arthur Sulzberger and speak on-the-record with Times journalists and columnists.

Unlike his predecessors, Trump has not held a news conference since winning the election on Nov. 8.

"The man works 18 hours a day interviewing people, taking calls from all around the world. He will take have a press conference in due course," Conway said.

Donald Trump Criticizes Television News Executives

President-elect faults political coverage, seeks clean slate

By Joe Flint

Wall Street Journal, November 21, 2016

Full-text stories from the Wall Street Journal are available to Journal subscribers by clicking the link.

Donald Trump's Media Summit Was A 'f—ing Firing Squad'

By Emily Smith And Daniel Halper New York Post, November 21, 2016

Donald Trump scolded media big shots during an off-the-record Trump Tower sitdown on Monday, sources told The Post.

"It was like a f-ing firing squad," one source said of the encounter.

"Trump started with [CNN chief] Jeff Zucker and said 'I hate your network, everyone at CNN is a liar and you should be ashamed,' "the source said.

"The meeting was a total disaster. The TV execs and anchors went in there thinking they would be discussing the access they would get to the Trump administration, but instead they got a Trump-style dressing down," the source added.

A second source confirmed the fireworks.

"The meeting took place in a big board room and there were about 30 or 40 people, including the big news anchors from all the networks." the other source said.

"Trump kept saying, 'We're in a room of liars, the deceitful dishonest media who got it all wrong.' He addressed everyone in the room calling the media dishonest, deceitful liars. He called out Jeff Zucker by name and said everyone at

CNN was a liar, and CNN was [a] network of liars," the source said.

"Trump didn't say [NBC reporter] Katy Tur by name, but talked about an NBC female correspondent who got it wrong, then he referred to a horrible network correspondent who cried when Hillary lost who hosted a debate – which was Martha Raddatz who was also in the room."

The stunned reporters tried to get a word in edgewise to discuss access to a Trump Administration.

"[CBS Good Morning co-host Gayle] King did not stand up, but asked some question, 'How do you propose we the media work with you?' Chuck Todd asked some pretty pointed questions. David Muir asked 'How are you going to cope living in DC while your family is in NYC? It was a horrible meeting."

Trump spokeswoman Kellyanne Conway told reporters the gathering went well.

"Excellent meetings with the top executives of the major networks," she said during a gaggle in the lobby of Trump Tower. "Pretty unprecedented meeting we put together in two days."

The meeting was off the record, meaning the participants agreed not to talk about the substance of the conversations.

The hour-long session included top execs from network and cable news channels. Among the attendees were NBC's Deborah Turness, Lester Holt and Chuck Todd, ABC's James Goldston, George Stephanopoulos, David Muir and Martha Raddatz.

Also, CBS' Norah O'Donnell John Dickerson, Charlie Rose, Christopher Isham and King, Fox News' Bill Shine, Jack Abernethy, Jay Wallace, Suzanne Scott, MSNBC's Phil Griffin and CNN's Jeff Zucker and Erin Burnett.

Arthur Sulzberger, publisher of The New York Times, plans to meet with Trump Tuesday.

There was no immediate comment from the Trump Team.

Aide: Trump Didn't 'Explode In Anger' During Media Meeting

By Lisa Hagen

The Hill, November 21, 2016

A top aide to Donald Trump is pushing back on a report that the president-elect ripped media executives and reporters during an off-the-record meeting on Monday.

Following his meeting with executives and anchors from America's five largest television networks, The New York Post quoted two sources who described it as "a f---ing firing squad."

"No that's not true at all. I sat right to his left. He did not explode in anger," Trump aide Kellyanne Conway said

Monday, disputing the account during an interview on Bloomberg Politics's "With All Due Respect."

"By the way it's an off the record meeting so whoever said that and mischaracterized it should think twice," she continued. "But no he did not explode in anger."

The hour-long meeting arranged by Conway reportedly included 30 to 40 people and representatives from ABC, NBC, CBS, Fox News, CNN and MSNBC.

One of the sources told the Post that Trump took aim specifically at CNN President Jeff Zucker. The source claimed Trump said "everyone at CNN is a liar and you should be ashamed."

When speaking to reporters earlier Monday in the lobby of Trump Tower, Conway described the meeting as "cordial" and "productive."

"It was also very candid and very honest," Conway told reporters in New York City. "From my own perspective, it's great to hit the reset button. It was a long hard-fought campaign."

"Donald Trump proved that he animated America. He understood America and now he will be the president of all Americans."

Trump Summons TV Figures For Private Meeting, And Lets Them Have It

By Michael M. Grynbaum And Sydney Ember New York Times, November 21, 2016

It had all the trappings of a high-level rapprochement: President-elect Donald J. Trump, now the nation's press critic in chief, inviting the leading anchors and executives of television news to join him on Monday for a private meeting of minds.

On-air stars like Lester Holt, Charlie Rose, George Stephanopoulos and Wolf Blitzer headed to Trump Tower for the off-the-record gathering, typically the kind of event where journalists and politicians clear the air after a hard-fought campaign.

Instead, the president-elect delivered a defiant message: You got it all wrong.

Mr. Trump, whose antagonism toward the news media was unusual even for a modern presidential candidate, described the television networks as dishonest in their reporting and shortsighted in missing the signs of his upset victory. He criticized some in the room by name, including CNN's president, Jeffrey A. Zucker, according to multiple people briefed on the meeting who were granted anonymity to describe confidential discussions.

It is not unusual for journalists to agree to off-the-record sessions with prominent politicians, including President Obama, as a way to gain insights and develop relationships.

But after details of Mr. Trump's hectoring leaked on Monday in The New York Post, it seemed the meeting was

being used as a political prop, especially after Trump-friendly news outlets trumpeted the session as a take-no-prisoners move by a brave president-elect.

"Trump Slams Media Elite, Face to Face," blared the Drudge Report. "Trump Eats Press," wrote Breitbart News.

Those curious to hear more of what the president-elect had to say at the closed-door session were out of luck: Although more than two dozen prominent journalists attended, many declined to comment because they had agreed to keep the proceedings off the record.

Kellyanne Conway, a top adviser to Mr. Trump, described the meeting in more tempered terms. "It was very cordial, very productive, very congenial," Ms. Conway told reporters at Trump Tower. "It was also very candid and very honest."

"From my own perspective," she added, "it's great to hit the reset button."

Still, the encounter crystallized concerns that Mr. Trump, emboldened by his victory, may refuse to abide the traditional dynamic of a president and the journalists who cover him, a naturally adversarial relationship that is nevertheless based on some level of mutual trust.

Some media critics questioned why the television networks, which granted Mr. Trump hundreds of hours of free exposure during the campaign, would agree to Monday's terms. "They learned *nothing* over past 18 months of covering Trump," tweeted Erik Wemple of The Washington Post.

Television is of particular interest to Mr. Trump, who is a keen watcher of morning shows and this past weekend tweeted his displeasure at being mocked on an episode of "Saturday Night Live."

Coverage of Mr. Trust increased ratings and revenue at news networks, even as some executives conceded that, early in the race, the president-elect was granted too much free exposure. By the end of the campaign, Mr. Trump seemed to turn on certain networks and television journalists, in particular CNN, prompting supporters to chant anti-media slogans.

Two people briefed on Monday's meeting said that Mr. Trump seemed well versed in the networks' ratings increase during the election and did not hesitate to bring the subject up. .

Mr. Trump is meeting with representatives of several news organizations this week, including The New York Times, where he is scheduled to speak on Tuesday with editors, reporters, columnists and the newspaper's publisher.

Reince Priebus, Mr. Trump's chief of staff; Ivanka Trump, Mr. Trump's daughter; and Ms. Conway are expected to accompany the president-elect to The Times, according to a person with direct knowledge of the meeting.

The meeting was organized at the request of Mr. Trump's team, Eileen Murphy, a spokeswoman for The

Times, said on Monday. Mr. Trump is expected to speak on the record with Times reporters and columnists; there is also a short off-the-record session planned, which Hope Hicks, a spokeswoman for Mr. Trump, described as "an opportunity to discuss past and future coverage."

As a candidate, and now as president-elect, Mr. Trump has frequently attacked The Times, establishing the paper as a top target in his continuing feud with the media. Mr. Trump often refers to the "failing" New York Times and has threatened to sue the company for libel over an article about two women who accused him of touching them inappropriately years earlier.

The Times angered Mr. Trump with some of its unflattering coverage during the campaign, including reports on his taxes, his treatment of women and his legal troubles with Trump University.

Since being elected president, he has blasted out more criticisms, using Twitter to disparage the newspaper's coverage and to claim it had lost "thousands of subscribers because of their very poor and highly inaccurate coverage of the 'Trump phenomena." (The Times disputed that assertion, saying that it had added 41,000 net paid subscriptions for its news products in the week after the election.)

Trump Transition Beats The Press

By Hadas Gold

Politico, November 21, 2016

Three days after winning the White House, Presidentelect Barack Obama held an 18-minute press conference, fielding questions about Iran, President George W. Bush, the speed of his cabinet appointments, his Senate successor, his intelligence briefings, and even what type of dog he would buy for his daughters.

Thirteen days after his surprise win, President-elect Donald Trump has held zero press conferences. He's sat for several interviews and plans to go direct to Americans with a pre-taped video about his legislative priorities, and, on Monday, hosted an off-the-record meeting with major television executives and anchors at Trump Tower. Another meeting with the media is planned for Tuesday, including with The New York Times, his campaign manager Kellyanne Conway told reporters on Monday.

Conway also told reporters assembled in the lobby of Trump Tower on Monday that there would be a press conference "in due course," and while the video will provide some sought-after updates on the progress of the transition, at 13 days Trump has already gone the longest of any incoming president since at least 1976 without having one.

A press conference would allow reporters to ask follow up questions to his announcements about his upcoming administration. A video bypasses all of this. Meanwhile, the off-the-record nature of the meeting between Trump and the media executives is raising questions about the kind of relationship Trump means to have with the press as President.

Trump has had a tempestuous relationship with the press for most of his adult life, but his 2016 presidential campaign put that relationship under a magnifying glass.

On the one hand, he's been more accessible than most candidates – hopping on the phone with many reporters, calling into television shows, and in the beginning, holding many press conferences and criticizing his opponent for shying away from them.

But he's also blacklisted entire media outlets, singled out individual reporters during his raucous rallies to the point where they needed security protection of their own. Further down the line, he has said, he hopes he can change libel laws to make it easier for public figures to sue media companies.

His transition team still has not instituted a formal protective press pool — the rotating group of reporters who travel with the president and are aware of nearly every move — though day-to-day relations on that front have improved in recent days; the campaign has intermittently allowed the press pool to join the motorcade and to stand outside of his Bedminster, N.J. golf club instead of having to work out of a nearby hotel; as a result, pool reporters were able to document an extraordinary parade of cabinet contenders and well-wishers entering and leaving the club.

"Went great," Trump said on Sunday after meeting with 2012 Republican presidential nominee Mitt Romney. "Very talented man," he offered of New Jersey Gov. Chris Christie.

When asked why the President-elect has not yet held a press conference, but was releasing a video, Republican National Committee chief strategist and communications director Sean Spicer said: "I would note the President-elect had the entire press corps join him in Bedminster, and we were surprised Politico chose not to attend."

(POLITICO is part of the Trump print press pool, a group of reporters who rotate through covering the President-elect and distribute reports to the rest of the media. The outlets scheduled for the pool this past weekend included the BBC, The Guardian, and The Huffington Post. POLITICO's rotation starts later this week.)

If Trump's relationship with the media is unusual, his release of a video in an attempt to reach around the press to his public is not at all unprecedented, and follows a trend that has been developing over the last eight years. President Barack Obama was the first president of the social media and online video age, and often used those mediums to speak directly to his supporters or a certain segment of the population.

"In the shift from old to new media, the White House has essentially become its own media production company, one that can sometimes look like a state-run news distribution service," the Washington Post's Juliet Eilperin wrote in May of 2015 about Obama's new media outreach.

Trump is also not breaking any ground by holding off-the-record meetings with media figures. Network anchors traditionally have an off-the-record meeting with the president ahead of the State of the Union, and Obama has held several off-the-record meetings with reporters and columnists throughout his tenure.

But these meetings take place at an especially curious time given Trump's acrimonious relationship with the networks. He regularly derided CNN, basking in chants of "CNN Sucks!" at his rallies. (CNN, which had several representatives at the meeting on Monday, reported the meeting presented "great progress" for media access.) He's personally insulted several of the anchors attending the meeting on Monday, including NBC's Chuck Todd, whom he called "sleepy eyes".

"There was no need to mend fences," Conway said. "It was very cordial, very genial. But it was very candid and very honest. From my own perspective, it's great to hit the reset button."

The television networks are a powerful group that when banding together can deny Trump something he himself has said he enjoys: television coverage. More recently the networks agreed not to air video or images of the Prime Minister of Japan meeting with Trump over protests that the campaign did not allow any reporters into the meeting for even a photo. Instead, the Japanese government provided a video of the meeting.

Earlier this year, the network executives pulled their camera from the pool after Trump refused to allow a reporter or producer accompany him for a planned tour of his new Washington, D.C. hotel.

Hadas Gold is a reporter at Politico.

Donald Trump's Business Dealings Test A Constitutional Limit

By Adam Liptak

New York Times, November 21, 2016

WASHINGTON — Not long after he took office, President Obama sought advice from the Justice Department about a potential conflict of interest involving a foreign government. He wanted to know whether he could accept the Nobel Peace Prize.

The answer turned on the Emoluments Clause, an obscure provision of the Constitution that now poses risks for President-elect Donald J. Trump should he continue to reap benefits from transactions with companies controlled by foreign governments.

"Emolument" means compensation for labor or services. And the clause says that "no person holding any office of profit or trust" shall "accept of any present, emolument, office or title, of any kind whatever, from any king, prince or foreign state" unless Congress consents.

It took David J. Barron, a Justice Department official who is now a federal appeals court judge in Boston, 13 single-spaced pages to answer Mr. Obama's question.

Two things were clear, he wrote. The Emoluments Clause "surely" applied to the president, and the prize, which included a check for about \$1.4 million, was the sort of thing that would be barred if it came from a foreign state. In the end, however, Mr. Barron concluded that Mr. Obama could accept the prize because the committee that chose him was independent of the Norwegian government and the prize itself was privately financed.

But he said that the answer would be different if a foreign government sought to make a payment to a sitting president. In a footnote, Mr. Barron added, "Corporations owned or controlled by a foreign government are presumptively foreign states under the Emoluments Clause."

Mr. Trump's companies do business with entities controlled by foreign governments and people with ties to them. The ventures include multimillion-dollar real estate arrangements — with Mr. Trump's companies either as a full owner or a "branding" partner — in Ireland and Uruguay. The Bank of China is a tenant in Trump Tower and a lender for another building in Midtown Manhattan where Mr. Trump has a significant partnership interest.

Experts in legal ethics say those kinds of arrangements could easily run afoul of the Emoluments Clause if they continue after Mr. Trump takes office. "The founders very clearly intended that officers of the United States, including the president, not accept presents from foreign sovereigns," said Norman Eisen, who was the chief White House ethics lawyer for Mr. Obama from 2009 to 2011.

"Whenever Mr. Trump receives anything from a foreign sovereign, to the extent that it's not an arm's-length transaction," Mr. Eisen said, "every dollar in excess that they pay over the fair market price will be a dollar paid in violation of the Emoluments Clause and will be a present to Mr. Trump."

The Supreme Court has never squarely considered the scope of the clause, and there are no historical analogies to help understand how it should apply to a president who owns a sprawling international business empire. Earlier presidents worked hard to avoid even the appearance of a conflict of interest involving a foreign power, said Zephyr Teachout, a law professor at Fordham who ran for Congress in New York this year as a Democrat and lost.

"The reason we don't really have a lot of precedent here is that presidents in the past have gone out of their way to avoid getting even close to the Emoluments Clause," she said.

But if Mr. Trump takes a different approach, it is not clear that anyone would have standing to challenge him in court.

"There are a lot of very smart lawyers turning that question over in their minds today," Mr. Eisen said, adding that a business competitor injured by foreign favoritism toward a Trump company might have standing.

But Richard W. Painter, who was the chief White House ethics lawyer for President George W. Bush from 2005 to 2007, said such a business most likely would not have standing to sue.

"It's not there to protect a competitor," he said of the clause. "It's there to protect the United States government."

The way to address violations of the clause, Mr. Painter said, is not a lawsuit but impeachment.

Lawmakers could take steps short of impeachment, particularly because the clause itself describes a role for Congress, which can give its consent to payments that would otherwise be barred. Mr. Painter said Congress should embrace that role by passing a resolution directed at Mr. Trump.

"It should send a clear message to him that he should divest his assets, and that they will regard dealings with his companies that he owns abroad and any entities owned by foreign governments as a potential violation of the Emoluments Clause unless he can prove it was an arm's-length transaction," he said.

Professor Teachout agreed that Congress had "an institutional, constitutional obligation to make sure that Trump isn't violating this clause."

"You would think the responsible action — Republican, Democrat, whatever," she said, "would be for Congress to say, 'We want to make sure that there isn't a violation of this clause, and in order to do so, we need to look at the transactions to make sure they're fair market transactions instead of gifts.'

Not everyone agrees that the clause covers the president. Seth Barrett Tillman, a lecturer at the Maynooth University Department of Law in Ireland, noted that a different clause of the Constitution, which makes bribery an impeachable offense, specifically mentions the "president, vice president and all civil officers of the United States." The different language in the Emoluments Clause, along with historical evidence, he said, indicates that it does not apply to the president.

"That isn't to say that we shouldn't be concerned as a policy matter with Trump," Mr. Tillman said. "I just want to see the conversation moved away from constitutionalizing what should be an argument about good governance."

Laurence H. Tribe, a law professor at Harvard, said that he found Mr. Tillman's argument "singularly unpersuasive" and that it "would pose grave danger to the republic, especially in the case of a president with extensive global holdings that he seems bent on having his own children manage even after he assumes office."

In 2011, Jay D. Wexler, a law professor at Boston University, published "The Odd Clauses," a book about the Constitution's more obscure provisions. He said such obscurity could be impermanent, as the recent attention to to Emoluments Clause demonstrates.

"I've seen over and over how parts of the Constitution that were considered vestigial or irrelevant for decades or more can suddenly resurface and take on enormous importance with a quick change of events," Professor Wexler said.

"The framers were prescient men who created a government that could withstand the worst of human foibles — corruption, vindictiveness, the thirst for tyranny — and wrote a Constitution to combat those foibles in many of their forms, not all of which will always be present, but which emerge in different guises in different eras," he said.

Why Trump Presents An Unprecedented Conflict Of Interest

Christian Science Monitor, November 21, 2016

When Donald Trump enters the Oval Office on Jan. 21 he may bring with him the greatest potential for business and financial conflicts of interest of any US president, ever.

That's not just because he's wealthy. Yes, Mr. Trump boasts that he's a billionaire, but many other White House occupants have been very rich.

It's not just because he employs his kids. Other presidents have had family connection issues.

It's the combination of those things, added to a third: Trump's a dealmaker who's still dealing. Other presidents have had extensive land holdings or been the beneficiary of established family fortunes. The nation's 45th chief executive is still out there in the marketplace at the moment.

"What's really new about this is with Trump you've got a figure who had been an active businessman for his entire career really, up to his victory, in a way no president previously has," says Guian McKee, an historian and associate professor at the University of Virginia's Miller Center of Public Affairs.

A quick look at numbers shows the scale of the problem. Donald Trump has at least 500 businesses – hotels, casinos, golf courses and brand deals stretching from Azerbaijan to Ireland. He's borrowed a lot to amass this empire, and currently owes banks and other lenders an estimated \$650 million. Like many tycoons he's involved in litigation: he just settled a big fraud case against Trump University, but he still has at least 74 lawsuits wending their way through the courts.

It's the international aspect of his empire that might pose the biggest conundrums. For instance, Trump's formed

eight companies in Saudi Arabia since the beginning of his campaign, according to a new report in the Washington Post. All are apparently linked to a hotel project.

Business and politics in Saudi Arabia are famously intertwined, as a small group of elite figures control both. Does this mean Riyadh now has a new lever with which to nudge Washington in its desired direction?

In Turkey, Trump gets millions in licensing cash from an Istanbul luxury building that bears his name. Its owner has been increasingly outspoken in supporting the country's president, Recep Tayyip Erdogan, as he cracks down on domestic dissent in the wake of a failed coup.

Trump himself acknowledged that he has "a little conflict of interest" in Turkey in an interview on Stephen Bannon's Breitbart News radio show taped prior to his presidential run.

Back in the United States, foreign diplomats are already flocking to book rooms and hold events at Trump's new hotel on Pennsylvania Avenue. To do otherwise, they say, might be seen as a sign of disrespect.

Trump's family offers further complications. His daughter Ivanka wore a \$10,800 bangle from her own jewelry line during an interview with her father on "60 Minutes." A publicist announced this to the world via social media; later, the president of the Ivanka Trump fashion brand apologized for what seemed an attempt to profit from her father's new position.

Ivanka's husband, Jared Kushner, has a brother who owns a \$3 billion health insurance firm that is deeply involved in the Obamacare market. How might Trump's repeal-and-replace promise for the Affordable Care Act affect it?

Trump's answer to all these conflict questions is simple: he'll put his businesses in a "blind trust" run by his kids. That way he'll be able to focus on the public's business.

But that's not enough, say many experts on legal and governmental transparency.

According to a Congressional Research Service report, "the public officer will be shielded from knowledge of the identity of the specific assets in the trust" through sales and new acquisitions. "Without such knowledge, conflict of interest issues would be avoided because no particular asset in the trust could act as an influence upon the official duties that the officer performs for the Government."

The sort of trust Trump is proposing couldn't be truly blind, since he well knows what his assets are and family members are unlikely to be truly independent.

They say the best solution is for Trump to liquidate his holdings and put the money in a true blind trust run by nonfamily executives. That's what the Wall Street Journal called for in an editorial last Friday. An open letter from Common Cause, Public Citizen, the Sunlight Foundation, and other DC good government groups makes the same point.

"We understand that this arrangement would require you to sever your relationship with the businesses that bear your name and with which you have invested a life's work. But whatever the personal discomfort caused, there is no acceptable alternative," says the letter.

Past presidents just haven't faced the same level of complications that Trump's holdings produce.

Early US chief executives were rich, fabulously so if inflation is taken into account. George Washington was worth over \$500 million by today's measures. Thomas Jefferson was worth over \$200 million. But that wealth was in land, and slaves. The scope of the presidency was more limited and the opportunity for personal benefit smaller.

In general the corruption problems of the late 19th and early 20th century presidencies were centered on aides and sycophants. The Teapot Dome oil lands scandal of the 1920s, for instance, sullied President Warren G. Harding's reputation. But the dollars ended up in the pockets of hangers-on, not him.

Many wealthy presidents have been heirs. Theodore and Franklin Roosevelt both lived in comfort thanks to the work of their ancestors. John F. Kennedy's father Joseph Kennedy earned his family's fortune as a stock picker, businessman, and movie producer, among other things. But JFK himself lived off the proceeds of a \$10 million trust fund well into his presidency, according to author Richard Reeves. As a birthday present in 1962, Kennedy received \$3 million of the fund principal.

Lyndon Baines Johnson pioneered the presidential use of a blind trust. When he rose to the Oval Office following Kennedy's assassination, LBJ placed his holdings, primarily radio and TV stations in the Austin area, in the hands of nominally independent trustees.

Throughout his presidency, Johnson and his aides insisted that he had divorced himself completely from his business interests. This was untrue, according to biographer Robert Caro. LBJ spoke frequently with Texas Appeals Court Judge Anton Moursund, a member of his inner circle and the primary trustee. He also spoke frequently with his station general manager. Johnson installed in the White House residence special phone lines routed around government operators to conduct these calls.

"All during his presidency, the phones stayed in place, and the calls went on," Mr. Caro writes in the fourth volume of his LBJ opus, "The Passage of Power."

What will Trump do? As president, he is exempt from legislation that covers possible conflicts of interest for lower-ranking officials. There is some question as to whether he will be covered by the emoluments clause of the Constitution, which prohibits US officeholders from receiving any presents of value from foreign powers. But the clause does not specifically name the president, so some constitutional scholars think it may not apply.

In terms of maintaining public confidence, this issue might be trickier for Trump to handle than he thinks.

"It has the potential to do real damage to Trump's presidency," says Dr. McKee of the Miller Center. "It could be a constant drumbeat."

The norm would be for Trump to liquidate his holdings and then live off financial instruments, as others have done. But Trump got elected despite breaking many political norms that members of the press and political scientists thought were immutable. This might be another one. He's said what he's going to do, and he could well stick with it, ignoring all the "conflict of interest" cries.

"The other possibility is that his supporters are so keyed in that they just see this as, 'Of course he's doing this.' It's part of what they liked about him to begin with," says McKee.

With A Meeting, Trump Renewed A British Wind Farm Fight

By Danny Hakim And Eric Lipton New York Times, November 21, 2016

LONDON — When President-elect Donald J. Trump met with the British politician Nigel Farage in recent days, he encouraged Mr. Farage and his entourage to oppose the kind of offshore wind farms that Mr. Trump believes will mar the pristine view from one of his two Scottish golf courses, according to one person present.

The meeting, held shortly after the presidential election, raises new questions about Mr. Trump's willingness to use the power of the presidency to advance his business interests. Mr. Trump has long opposed a wind farm planned near his course in Aberdeenshire, and he previously fought unsuccessfully all the way to Britain's highest court to block it.

The group that met with Mr. Trump in New York was led by Mr. Farage, the head of the U.K. Independence Party and a member of the European Parliament. Mr. Farage, who was a leading voice advocating Britain's exit from the European Union, or Brexit, campaigned with Mr. Trump during the election. Arron Banks, an insurance executive who was a major financier of the Brexit campaign, was also in attendance.

"He did not say he hated wind farms as a concept; he just did not like them spoiling the views," said Andy Wigmore, the media consultant who was present at the meeting and was photographed with Mr. Trump.

Mr. Wigmore headed communications for Leave.EU, one of the two groups that led the Brexit effort. He said in an email that he and Mr. Banks would be "campaigning against wind farms in England, Scotland and Wales."

Mr. Wigmore said that Mr. Banks had previously opposed wind farms and that they had been studying the issue on their own. However, he said, Mr. Trump "did suggest

that we should campaign on it" and "spurred us in and we will be going for it."

His account of the meeting was previously reported in The Express, a British paper.

Hope Hicks, a spokeswoman for Mr. Trump's transition office, at first disputed that Mr. Trump had raised the subject of wind farms with Mr. Farage, suggesting that participants in the conversation "denied this took place." However, when pressed with the fact that one of the meeting's attendees, Mr. Wigmore, had described the conversation in detail, she declined repeated requests to comment.

Amanda Miller, vice president for marketing at the Trump Organization, also declined through a spokeswoman to comment.

Mr. Farage's office did not respond to requests for comment. Mr. Farage did sent out a Twitter post after the meeting, saying: "It was a great honour to spend time with @realDonaldTrump. He was relaxed and full of good ideas. I'm confident he will be a good president."

Mr. Trump and his family's blending of business and political interests and appearances have received increasing scrutiny during the transition. Since the election, he has met with Indian business partners and his new Washington hotel has become a destination for diplomats. His daughter Ivanka, an executive in the Trump Organization, sat in on a meeting with Prime Minister Shinzo Abe of Japan, and her jewelry company promoted a \$10,800 bracelet she wore during a postelection appearance with her father on "60 Minutes."

Separately, one of Argentina's most influential television programs reported on Sunday that during a congratulations call from President Mauricio Macri of Argentina after the election, Mr. Trump asked for Mr. Macri's support for a project to build an office tower in Buenos Aires.

A spokesman for Mr. Macri denied the report on Monday, saying the two spoke only about official matters.

"That issue was not part of the conversation between President Mauricio Macri and President-elect Donald Trump," said the spokesman, Ivan Pavlovsky. "The subject both leaders talked about was the institutional relationship, and they briefly mentioned the personal relationship they have had for years."

The Japanese newspaper Asahi Shimbun, in an interview with Mr. Macri published on Monday, quoted him as saying that he had also spoken with Mr. Trump's daughter lvanka during the call. In the interview, Mr. Macri also described his longstanding relationship with the Trump family.

Trump representatives and a press representative from the Argentine Embassy both declined to comment on whether Ivanka Trump participated in the call with Mr. Macri.

Ethics experts in Washington said they were disturbed at the report of Mr. Trump's apparent willingness to mix official duties as president-elect with his business concerns,

saying actions like these threaten to compromise the integrity of the office of the president.

"I thought he was going to separate his business matters from the process of governing," said Kenneth A. Gross, a partner at Skadden, Arps, Slate, Meagher & Flom, the international law firm, who advises corporations and elected officials on ethics laws.

"You don't want to confuse the public good with the personal gain that can be accrued from leveraging the office of the president to pursue his business interest," Mr. Gross said

Norman Eisen — who served as the "ethics czar" in the Obama White House, appointed by the president to oversee rules related to conflicts of interest and lobbying — said that these kinds of allegations, even if they are just rumors, demonstrate why Mr. Trump must completely separate himself from involvement in his business enterprises.

Mr. Eisen said that it was "an extraordinary transgression of the core idea of public service" for Mr. Trump to speak with prominent Britons and a member of the European Parliament about his frustration with wind farms that harm views — at the same time as he has been involved in a fight over this exact issue.

Mr. Trump's actions are undermining public confidence in the office of the president, he said, adding, "I am profoundly troubled by it."

In Scotland, Mr. Trump has a golf course on the west coast, Trump Turnberry, which he bought in 2014 and which has hosted four British Opens, and one on the east coast, Trump International Golf Links, that he built near Balmedie, a village in Aberdeenshire. Both resorts have struggled financially.

The Aberdeenshire course has been controversial since the Scottish government approved its development in 2008, turning aside environmental concerns about the destruction of coastal sand dunes. A local pressure group called Tripping Up Trump is among the opponents of the resort.

Mr. Trump's fight against an offshore wind farm, consisting of 11 turbines, off the Aberdeenshire coast ended last December when Britain's highest court unanimously rejected his attempt to block it. Mr. Trump had vowed to halt development on the golf course project if the wind farm went forward.

The skirmishing between Scottish officials and the Trump Organization became bitter. After the ruling, Alex Salmond, Scotland's former first minister, called Trump a "three-time loser" — referring to his losses in various levels of the court system — while Mr. Trump called Mr. Salmond "a has-been and totally irrelevant," according to the BBC.

Scotland, one of four regions of the United Kingdom, is led by Nicola Sturgeon, the current first minister. "Scotland has vast potential to generate the power we need from renewable sources, in a way that helps the global fight

against climate change," her office said in a statement, adding: "We have clear planning policies in place to ensure wind farms are developed in appropriate locations."

Trump Camp Denies He Sought Favor In Argentine Call

By Heidi M. Przybyla

USA Today, November 21, 2016

President-elect Donald Trump's spokesman denied Monday an Argentine news report that Trump sought a business favor when that nation's president called to congratulate him on his Nov. 8 election victory.

"Not true," Trump transition spokesman Jason Miller told USA TODAY in an email.

Trump's Buenos Aires office building project has been delayed by a series of issues, including financing and permitting requirements. When Argentine President Mauricio Macri called Trump to congratulate him on his election victory, Trump asked Macri to address the permitting issues, according to Jorge Lanata, one of the country's most prominent journalists.

"This still hasn't emerged but Trump asked for them to authorize a building he's constructing in Buenos Aires, it wasn't just a geopolitical chat," said Lanata, who is quoted in La Nacion, one of Argentina's leading dailies. A translation was provided by Talking Points Memo.

Reporter Will Carless in Buenos Aires tweeted that Macri's spokesman told him that the La Nacion was not true and that Trump did not ask about his project during the call with Macri.

Conservative columnist Peggy Noonan tweeted that "presidents, can't, do. this."

During the campaign, Trump said Democratic presidential nominee Hillary Clinton was guilty of "pay to play" by accepting donations to her family charity, the Clinton Foundation, from foreign countries like Qatar. There was never any indication she granted favors on behalf of those donors as secretary of State.

Trump has been receiving a flurry of calls from foreign leaders after his Nov. 8 election victory. The report comes as he is facing scrutiny over his business empire, which he says he will hand off to his adult children. The Trump team has called the arrangement a "blind trust." Government ethics experts say it is not blind since his kids will be running it and that it raises significant concerns about foreign and domestic policy decisions he'll face that would impact his global business networks.

Trump is also including his children in his transition team and his daughter, Ivanka, was seen attending a closed-door meeting last week with Japanese Prime Minister Shinzo Abe. The Washington Post reported over the weekend that about 100 foreign diplomats gathered for a reception in a

ballroom at Trump Hotel in Washington in which many of them openly questioned whether staying at a Trump hotel will help them curry favor with the new president.

The New York Times reported that in the last week Trump met with three Indian business partners who flew from India to congratulate him. The trio is building a Trumpbranded luxury apartment complex south of Mumbai. In a picture posted on Twitter, all four are smiling and giving a thumbs-up.

Donald Trump Asks Argentina President Mauricio Macri For Help Building A Trump Tower

By Franco Ordoñez

McClatchy, November 21, 2016

President-elect Donald Trump called in a favor from Argentina's president – a long-time business associate – and asked for help building a Trump tower in Buenos Aires, according to Argentine news reports.

Spokesmen for Trump and the Argentine president, Mauricio Macri, called the accusations untrue and baseless. But the report, nevertheless, was a reminder that Trump's international business relationships make conflicts of interest a possibility in much of the world.

Macri was one of the first Latin American leaders to reach out to Trump following the election. The two have a relationship that dates back decades, before the two got involved in politics.

According to a statement from the Argentina president's office, Macri told Trump he hoped to see him for the G-20 meeting in 2018. Trump then supposedly asked Macri for his help with a stalled building project he's been working on, according to a report from the Buenos Aires-based La Nacion.

"This still hasn't emerged but Trump asked for them to authorize a building he's constructing in Buenos Aires. It wasn't just a geopolitical chat," said Jorge Lanata on his "Journalism for All" television program in Argentina.

A spokesman for Macri told a reporter for Public Radio International that the reports were "absolutely untrue."

"Any reports alleging a discussion about personal business interests between President-elect Trump and President Macri are completely untrue. The Argentine president and his office have also refuted these baseless claims," Jason Miller, the communications director for Trump's transition.

This still hasn't emerged but Trump asked for them to authorize a building he's constructing in Buenos Aires, it wasn't just a geopolitical chat.

Jorge Lanata, of Argentina's 'Journalism for All'

Macri, 57, and Trump met through Macri's father, Francisco Macri. According to a book by Francisco Macri,

Trump broke his clubs after a golf game with the younger Macri during a tense real estate deal in New York in the 1980s, Reuters reports.

Trump has vowed to hand off his business to his three adult children to avoid any conflicts of interests, but he continues to meet with business associates. Last week, he reportedly met with three Indian business partners who plan to build a Trump luxury condominiums in Mumbai.

As Trump Prepares For White House, Never Trumpers Say Maybe

By Lisa Lerer

Associated Press, November 21, 2016

WASHINGTON (AP) – During the course of the 2016 campaign, Republican Christine Todd Whitman compared Donald Trump to Adolf Hitler. She warned that a Trump administration would bring the country into "chaos." And a month before Election Day, the former Bush Cabinet official proclaimed her support for Hillary Clinton.

Now, when young Republicans ask her whether they should join the Trump administration, Whitman struggles to find a simple answer.

"I'd sound a note of caution," says the former Environmental Protection Agency head. "They're going to have to carry out what the president wants done."

Dozens of Republican foreign policy experts, business leaders and elected officials broke party ranks to come out against Trump during the contentious presidential race. Now, they're facing a difficult choice: Get on the Trump train or watch it leave from the station.

"Look, he's the president," said Tennessee Sen. Bob Corker, a Trump backer. "People are going to want to do everything they can to work closely with him."

The 2012 Republican presidential nominee, Mitt Romney, who once called Trump "a phony" and "a fraud," is a leading contender for secretary of state. Nebraska Sen. Ben Sasse, long Trump's loudest critic in the Senate, has urged his Republican followers to root for Trump And South Carolina Gov. Nikki Haley, also under consideration for secretary of state, met with Trump on Thursday. While she eventually voted for him, Haley had criticized his Muslim travel ban and complained that she was "not a fan." Trump, in turn, tweeted that she "embarrassed" her state.

Sasse and other Trump antagonists in Congress are looking to Vice President-elect Mike Pence, a former Indiana congressman and the state's governor, as a possible conduit to the administration.

The bridge-building is far more challenging for generations of Republicans who have spent eight years biding their time at think tanks, universities and corporations. But unlike in a typical campaign, when the party rallies behind

their nominee, a number of these experts had spent months publicly blasting Trump.

Whether Trump will welcome these former opponents into his administration remains unclear. Trump and his team must fill more than 4,000 jobs, a daunting task for a president-elect with no experience in federal government. And the real-estate mogul is known for his ability to hold a grudge – a trait that worries some job-seekers.

Those concerns are particularly acute for national security experts, dozens of whom signed letters warning that Trump would "put at risk our country's national security and well-being."

Peter Feaver, a Bush era White House aide who signed both letters, did not expect that Trump would hire anyone involved with the effort, saying they were "effectively on a blacklist." But he said that the new administration could still pick from a sizable group of former Republican foreign policy officials who were not signatories.

He's urging them to consider taking a post, both to shape the policies of the new administration and advance their own careers.

"He is our president and if he asks you to serve the country, you shouldn't reflectively say 'no,' " said Feaver, a professor at Duke University. "I have actively encouraged people I know who are good to throw their name in the hat because I want to help this team assemble the best team they can."

Since the election, there's been some informal contact between those who spoke out against Trump and the people trying to staff his administration. The conversations haven't always gone well.

"I'm a little leery from what I have heard of the reaction of the people around him who seem to be a little more of the, 'We won. You lost. Don't try to horn in on our act,'" Whitman said. "That's just counterproductive."

Those reports have sparked a debate within some Republican circles about whether patriotic duty should outweigh concerns about Trump's management style.

Eliot Cohen, the former State Department official who coordinated the first letter, said he was asked by a friend close to Trump's team to suggest potential appointees who might be willing to work in the administration.

He was so turned off by the response to his advice that it prompted him to pen an op-ed declaring that he'd changed his mind: Conservatives, he wrote in The Washington Post, should opt out of serving.

"For a garden-variety Republican policy specialist, service in the early phase of the administration would carry a high risk of compromising one's integrity and reputation," he wrote.

Not everyone agrees. Eric Edelman, a national security adviser to former Vice President Dick Cheney, said he didn't

expect to get a call from the new administration given that he was a vocal critic of Trump during the campaign.

He's advising others to at least hear out the offer, saying that "patriotism requires you to do it." But he isn't offering any recommendations.

"I don't want to pick out any names," he said. "I don't want to run the risk of damaging them with my association."

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Senate Won't Be Trump's Rubber Stamp, McCain Says

By Dan Nowicki

USA Today, November 21, 2016

PHOENIX — Sen. John McCain is predicting that the Republican-controlled Senate will generally help incoming President Donald Trump when possible on Cabinet nominees and other priorities but won't sacrifice its independence or back down over disagreements such as the U.S. relations with Russia.

Re-elected to a sixth Senate term, the Arizona Republican who also was the 2008 GOP presidential nominee is returning to Capitol Hill as chairman of the influential Senate Armed Services Committee, which has oversight over the Pentagon and will hold hearings on Trump's eventual pick for defense secretary and other nominations.

No love has been lost between McCain and Trump, who engaged in a long-running public feud that culminated last month in McCain withdrawing his support of Trump as the GOP presidential nominee. Trump went on to stun the world by defeating Hillary Clinton, the Democratic nominee, on Election Day.

"In my view, I think we will show deference, but at the same time, we are not a rubber stamp," McCain said Friday. "I am not a rubber stamp. There are maybe 100 Department of Defense positions that require Senate confirmation. I believe that the Constitution requires advice and consent (of the Senate)."

In his first interview with The Arizona Republic since his Nov. 8 ballot-box victory over his Democratic challenger, Rep. Ann Kirkpatrick of Flagstaff, McCain also forecast a major disagreement with Trump over the new president's friendly attitude toward Russian President Vladimir Putin.

McCain gave a preview Tuesday with a hard-hitting statement sounding the alarm about any prospective "reset" of U.S.-Russia relations, warning that no faith should be put in Putin, "a former KGB agent who has plunged his country into tyranny, murdered his political opponents, invaded his neighbors, threatened America's allies, and attempted to undermine America's elections."

Putin, who called Trump on Monday, has been "acting very aggressively," withdrawing Russia from the International Criminal Court and keeping pressure on Ukraine and the Baltic states, McCain said. But he added that senators can push back against Trump's overtures to Putin via Defense and State Department confirmation hearing.

"I know Senator (Bob) Corker, the chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, shares my views on issues such as relations with Russia and other foreign-policy issues," McCain said. "We'll be working closely together, and also with Senator (Richard) Burr, who is the chairman of the Intelligence Committee. So, we are co-equal branches of government. That means showing respect for the prerogatives of the commander-in-chief, but it also means that you're not a rubber stamp."

Asked generally about his focus in his new term, McCain reiterated that he will not be neglecting Arizona issues but said he intends to be heavily engaged in national-security issues, such as the war against Islamic State militants, and that the Armed Services Committee will be a center of his activities. Among other things, McCain promised to build on his Defense Department reform efforts of the past two years.

"We have made very big reforms, whether it be health care, retirement, acquisition," McCain said. "I will continue with a strong reform agenda ... because there is still too much waste and mismanagement in defense. But, also, obviously, we are in the most dangerous time since the end of World War II, so we will make sure the Senate Armed Services Committee plays a major role in our national security."

In his Election Night remarks, McCain, 80, suggested that his sixth term would be his final one.

I think this might be the last" campaign, he said at one point. "I'll say good night and thank you, one last time, for making me the luckiest guy I know."

However on Friday, McCain would not rule out running again at age 86, saying it's not a decision he would make for about three years. It would depend on his health or other factors, he said.

"It's just not something you'd contemplate right after election to a six-year term," McCain said. "I feel great; my mother will be 105 in February."

McCain also declined to disclose who got his nod in the presidential race. After un-endorsing Trump, he had said he might write in his friend, Sen. Lindsey Graham, R-S.C.

"I have the right to privacy, my friend," McCain said.

Follow Dan Nowicki on Twitter: @dannowicki

'Hamilton' Actor: 'There's Nothing To Apologize For'

By Mark Kennedy, AP Entertainment Writer Associated Press, November 21, 2016

NEW YORK (AP) – If Donald Trump is waiting for an apology from the cast of "Hamilton," he will have to continue to wait.

Actor Brandon Victor Dixon, who plays Aaron Burr in the celebrated musical, told "CBS This Morning" on Monday that "there's nothing to apologize for." Dixon gave Vice President-elect Mike Pence an onstage earful about equality at the end of Friday's performance.

Trump has taken to Twitter several times to demand an apology. Pence on Sunday said he wasn't offended by the message.

Dixon said "Hamilton" creator Lin-Manuel Miranda had a hand in crafting Dixon's remarks, although Dixon said he "made some adjustments."

Dixon said that both Trump and Pence are welcome to come backstage and meet with the cast at any time, adding, "Art is meant to bring people together."

From the stage on Friday night, he sparked controversy by saying he and the cast were "alarmed and anxious" that the Trump administration "will not protect us, our planet, our children, our parents, or defend us and uphold our inalienable rights."

The musical is by Lin-Manuel Miranda, who wrote the story, music and lyrics. It stresses the orphan, immigrant roots of first U.S. Treasury Secretary Alexander Hamilton and has been cheered for reclaiming the nation's founding story with a multicultural cast.

Dixon's unprecedented address of the vice presidentelect has divided many, with critics saying theater should be a safe place and the "Hamilton" cast comments seemed aggressive. But supporters contend Dixon was respectful and note that artists speaking out is a timeless ritual.

The debate has even divided members of Bruce Springsteen's The E Street Band, with Steven Van Zandt calling the Pence address "the most respectful, benign form of bullying ever."

Van Zandt said on Twitter on Saturday that the statement was "beautiful," but "completely inappropriate at that time." He added that singling out an audience member to "embarrass him from the stage" is "a terrible precedent to set." But Nils Lofgren, his bandmate, supported the protest, arguing: "Everywhere and anytime you can raise your voice is appropriate, especially right now."

Springsteen himself attended the Broadway show with his wife, Patti Scialfa, on Sunday and went backstage to have their picture taken with Mandy Gonzalez, an actress in the show. Springsteen and Scialfa posed for a photo in front of a poster of the show. She later called it "joyous and necessary."

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'Hamilton' Actor On The Cast's Speech For Pence: 'There's Nothing To Apologize For'

By Amy B Wang

Washington Post, November 21, 2016

The "Hamilton" actor who delivered the Broadway show's viral message to Vice President-elect Mike Pence after a performance Friday said there is "nothing to apologize for" in response to President-elect Donald Trump's many tweets demanding one from what he deemed a "very rude" cast of an "overrated" show.

Speaking on "CBS This Morning" on Monday, Brandon Victor Dixon — who plays Aaron Burr in the musical — said he felt that the popular show was a platform through which the cast could deliver a plea for understanding and inclusion after a divisive presidential election.

"Art is meant to bring people together. It's meant to raise consciousness," Dixon said. "And when you have a platform like that — I called [show producer] Jeffrey Seller after the show and said I applaud you all for not throwing away your shot, for taking a moment to spread a message of love, to spread a message of unity. We're not here to boo. We're here to cheer each other on."

Dixon told "CBS This Morning" hosts he received a call from the producers of "Hamilton" about an hour before Friday's performance started, asking if he would be willing to speak on behalf of the show.

"I'm not sure why they decided to ask me, but I was happy to," Dixon said. "I was honored to represent our cast in our show in that way."

After the show, several dozen of the musical's cast members zeroed in on Pence during their curtain call. Still dressed as Burr, Dixon stepped forth and cut through the applause.

"You know, we have a guest in the audience this evening," he said to audience laughter. "And Vice President-elect Pence, I see you walking out, but I hope you will hear us just a few more moments. There's nothing to boo here, ladies and gentlemen. There's nothing to boo here. We're all here sharing a story of love. We have a message for you, sir. We hope that you will hear us out."

As he pulled a small piece of paper from his pocket, Dixon encouraged people to record and share what he was about to say "because this message needs to be spread far and wide."

"Vice President-elect Pence, we welcome you, and we truly thank you for joining us here at 'Hamilton: An American Musical.' We really do," Dixon said to further applause. "We, sir, we are the diverse America who are alarmed and anxious that your new administration will not protect us, our planet, our children, our parents, or defend us and uphold our inalienable rights, sir. But we truly hope this show has inspired you to uphold our American values and work on behalf of all of us. All of us. Again, we truly thank you truly for seeing this show, this wonderful American story told by a diverse group of men and women of different colors, creeds and orientations."

Twitter exploded late Friday night over the "Hamilton" cast's message, with responses that cleaved into two camps: Those who cheered the cast for voicing its concerns so directly and those who found the exchange inappropriate.

In the latter camp was President-elect Donald Trump, who said the cast members had "harassed" Pence with "cameras blazing" and demanded they apologize.

"The Theater must always be a safe and special place," Trump tweeted as a follow-up. "The cast of Hamilton was very rude last night to a very good man, Mike Pence. Apologize!"

Trump would continue to tweet about the "Hamilton" incident into the next day, insisting at 6:22 a.m. Sunday that the cast and producers of the show, "which I hear is highly overrated," should apologize to Pence.

On Twitter, some Trump supporters called for a boycott of the musical. During the Saturday evening performance of "Hamilton" in Chicago, one audience member reportedly became so upset at an oft-applauded line in the musical — "Immigrants, we get the job done!" — that he began berating those near him with profanities, before fully erupting two songs later.

"We won. You Lost. Get over it. F— you," the man, identified as 56-year-old John Palmer, yelled during "Dear Theodosia," a tender number about a father's unconditional love for his newborn child. Palmer was arrested on a misdemeanor charge of criminal trespass to land after refusing to leave, according to the Chicago Sun-Times.

On Monday, "CBS This Morning" host Gayle King recounted the Chicago incident and asked Dixon whether he feared he had set a precedent for similar interruptions during "Hamilton" or other productions.

"No, and I'll tell you that is certainly not the first time, nor will it be the last, that somebody went into a theater and began to act inappropriately or stand up and interrupt the show," Dixon said.

Over the weekend, Dixon had initially responded to Trump on Twitter, saying that conversation did not amount to

harassment and that he appreciated that Pence stopped to listen.

Dixon reiterated that on "CBS This Morning" and extended an invitation for Trump to see the show.

"We welcome Donald Trump here at 'Hamilton,' "Dixon said. "Because I think the power of our show and the way we tell it is undeniable. I think it's important for everybody to see a show like ours."

Trump's tweets — in their tone and substance — were sharply different from those of Pence on the incident.

Speaking to "Fox News Sunday" host Chris Wallace, Pence acknowledged that he was greeted by a mix of boos and cheers when he arrived at the Richard Rodgers Theatre in New York City with his daughter and her cousins.

"I nudged my kids and reminded them that's what freedom sounds like," Pence said.

The vice president-elect said he was not offended by the cast's message and that he "really enjoyed the show."

"I did hear what was said from the stage, and I can tell you, I wasn't offended by what was said," Pence told Wallace on Sunday. "I'll leave to others whether that was the appropriate venue to say it."

He added that he wanted to address the cast's message, which a "Hamilton" publicist said was composed collectively by show creator Lin-Manuel Miranda, director Thomas Kail, producer Jeffrey Seller and Dixon, "with input from members of the company."

"I know this is a very disappointing time for people that did not see their candidate win in this national election. I know this is a very anxious time for some people," Pence said. "And I just want to reassure people that what President-elect Donald Trump said on election night, he absolutely meant from the bottom of his heart. He is preparing to be the president of all of the people of the United States of America."

"Hamilton" is a musical about the rise of Alexander Hamilton from his humble beginnings as an orphan and an immigrant to become one of the Founding Fathers of the United States. Inspired by historian Ron Chernow's biography, the show uses Hamilton's life to relay the complicated, fraught story of the American Revolution. The musical is, among many things, about the difficulty of independent governance and about the Founding Fathers' struggle to establish a democracy, despite their human flaws and differences. It is all told through a mix of hip-hop, R&B, rap and pop songs.

Since its Broadway debut, "Hamilton" has attracted numerous celebrities and politicians from both sides of the aisle, including Hillary Clinton, Ivanka Trump and Richard B. Cheney. (Lynne Cheney, who is a historian, told the New York Times that she and her husband loved the show: "The music was terrific. ... It's a play about human beings who achieved greatly.")

In the past year, however, the musical has become increasingly politicized. The Obamas have been vocal and unabashed fans of the musical, as well as Miranda's body of work. In October, Miranda and actress Renée Elise Goldsberry rewrote the lyrics to "Ten Duel Commandments" and performed the rap in support of Clinton at a fundraiser for the Democratic presidential nominee.

The vice president-elect told Wallace on "Fox News Sunday" that he could be counted among the musical's new fans.

"Hamilton' is just an incredible production, incredibly talented people. And it was a real joy to be there," Pence said.

"Chris, if you haven't seen the show, go to see it," he told the host. "It is a great, great show."

Read more:

'Do not say mean things': Kids are writing to Donald Trump, asking him to be a kind president

Diplomats wonder if spending money at a Trump hotel can buy presidential favor

Trump agrees to \$25 million settlement in Trump University fraud cases

U.S. Actor Says No Apology Needed For 'Hamilton'; Remarks To Pence

Reuters, November 21, 2016

Full-text stories from Reuters currently cannot be included in this document. You may, however, click the link above to access the story.

Were Trump's 'Hamilton' Tweets 'weapons Of Mass Distraction'?

By Paul Farhi

Washington Post, November 21, 2016

He's out there, lurking, his fingers poised on the buttons. At any moment, he may strike. News, inevitably, will follow.

As he illustrated with tweets about the musical "Hamilton" over the weekend, President-elect Donald Trump knows how to change the subject — and the entire news cycle. Just as questions were mounting about Trump's appointments, his business conflicts, his \$25 million fraudcase settlement — bam! — Trump had everyone talking about something else.

In this case, a Broadway show.

Whether inadvertent or part of a calculated media strategy (there's evidence going both ways), Trump has proved he's very, very good at hijacking the national conversation. All politicians want to talk about their issues, but Trump is a cruise missile when it comes to butting in. He's the Distractor in Chief.

The "Hamilton" flap — "Apologize!," Trump demanded after the cast of the show read a message about inclusiveness to the departing figure of Vice-President-elect Mike Pence — was vintage Trump. Time and again during the campaign, Trump dropped a verbal bomblet that shifted the day's media focus away from whatever else was threatening to displace him.

Trump made everyone forget his rather weak first primary debate performance, and the embarrassing opening question about his treatment of women posed by moderator Megyn Kelly, by unleashing an epic Twitter jihad against Kelly immediately afterward. His vilification culminated with his infamous incantation that "there was blood coming out of her eyes, blood coming out of her wherever," as he told CNN, making Kelly's fairness the issue rather than his own behavior.

Just when Trump's headline-hogging ways began to flag last December because of terrorist attacks in Paris and San Bernardino, he reignited media interest by proposing a ban on Muslim immigration to the United States. He tapped the pedal again in late January by boycotting a Foxsponsored primary debate held just before the lowa caucuses.

In February, he all but short-circuited headlines about Marco Rubio's strong debate performance by rolling out an endorsement from Chris Christie. "Trump has been able to disrupt the news pretty much any time he wants, whether by being newsworthy, offensive, salacious or entertaining," wrote data guru Nate Silver not long thereafter. "The media has almost always played along."

And so on: Trump drew coverage to himself during the Democratic convention — Clinton's ostensible moment in the sun — by calling on the Russian government to find and release the emails Clinton had deleted from her private server. (Just kidding, he later said, but then he said maybe he wasn't.)

Trump hasn't held a news conference since July, but that says little about his ability to make, and shape, the news. He's given a series of interviews (most recently his post-election sitdown with "60 Minutes"), but interviews aren't really necessary, either. Trump has 15.2 million Facebook likes and 15.7 million Twitter followers, giving him a massive megaphone requiring no meddlesome media middleman.

"Presidents do like to change the subject from time to time, but never daily," laughs Stephen Hess, a senior fellow emeritus at the Brookings Institution in Washington, whose direct experience with presidents stretches to the Eisenhower administration.

Hess doesn't buy the idea that Trump is being strategic in shifting the conversation his way. "I thought it was a campaign strategy," he says. "But now we think of it just as Trump being Trump."

Fair point. Some of Trump's stunts might just be impulsive, even counterproductive.

In a rare act of contrition, Trump conceded that his mean-spirited retweet about Heidi Cruz in March was "a mistake." Similarly, his dead-of-night tweetstorm attacking former Miss Universe contestant Alicia Machado probably did Trump no favors, especially among women, which is exactly why Clinton brought up Machado in the first presidential debate.

It might also have been the reason Trump's campaign aides wrested his Twitter account away from him during the final weeks of the race.

Yet here he is again, back on Broadway.

Trump's "Hamilton" tweets became the soundtrack of the weekend, widely discussed on television and in social media, and occupying prime real estate on Sunday newspaper fronts.

Some saw that as the entire point of those tweets: an effective way to change the conversation from topics Trump might not have been as eager to talk about.

"In the villainous golden lair he maintains in Trump Tower, [Trump] laughed his best Dr. Evil laugh," wrote media critic Jack Shafer at Politico. "'Got 'em again,' he thought."

CNN's Jake Tapper called the tweets "weapons of mass distraction" in a promotion for a segment about them on his Sunday program, "State of the Union."

Vox.com's headline put it even more sharply: "Don't let Donald Trump's antics distract you from what's really important." (Among the "important" things Vox suggested Trump was directing attention from: the conflicts inherent in marketing his new luxury hotel in Washington to foreign diplomats.)

"It's off-base to ascribe an intent to deflect in these 'Hamilton' tweets," argues Gabriel Kahn, a journalism professor at USC's Annenberg School for Communication. "They are entirely consistent with the thin-skinned, petulant character of the president-elect. He clearly can't help himself, and to think that this is part of a thought-out strategy gives him too much credit."

Those in the news media note that it's possible to cover more than one story about Trump at once. And the "Hamilton" story registered on several levels.

New York Times Editor Dean Baquet points out that his newspaper had four other Trump-related stories on its front page on Sunday in addition to the one about "Hamilton," including a profile of his son-in-law, Jared Kushner, and an update on the transition.

The controversy over what happened in the theater "was a very powerful illustration of the different ways Americans view the world. Some saw the 'Hamilton' cast as courageous and others saw it as insulting. That's a good story."

And, he added, "when the [president-elect] tweets at the cast of the biggest play in a generation, that's news."

Baquet's counterpart at The Washington Post, Martin Baron, made a similar point, saying the story didn't push anything of importance off the paper's front page, which included a profile of Trump's chief strategist, Stephen K. Bannon, and a report on the president-elect's meeting with Mitt Romney.

"The 'Hamilton' story was one of intense reader interest, probably because it brought into especially sharp relief the tensions in American society after this presidential election," Baron said. "It also happened to spark a vigorous conversation about free expression."

The Real Winner Of The 'Hamilton' Scrap

By Catherine Rampell

Washington Post, November 21, 2016

Who won #Hamiltongate?

Not the cast, who offered a dignified and respectful speech after their performance on Friday.

Not the audience, who that same night booed and jeered fellow attendee VicePresident-elect Mike Pence.

And not the show's far-flung liberal fans, who cheered reports of Pence's apparent comeuppance and mocked Donald Trump's thin-skinned tweets demanding an apology.

No. Trump, and only Trump, won this round in the culture wars. And with many more rounds to come, liberals need to find some way not to take his bait.

Maybe Pence decided to see the hottest show on Broadway because it's the hottest show on Broadway. Or because it's a Pulitzer-Prize-winning work by a bona-fide genius. Or because, with its story of a destitute autodidact pulling himself up by his own bootstraps, it has had documented appeal to Democrats and Republicans alike.

But I also wouldn't be surprised if Pence attended Friday's performance specifically hoping, or at least expecting, to stoke boos and a brouhaha that would ultimately rouse the Republican base — and distract from much more embarrassing Trump-related news.

Think about it. Trump could not have chosen a more perfect cultural foil than "Hamilton" if he'd designed the show himself. The show has — somewhat paradoxically — become an unwitting symbol of out-of-touch, cosmopolitan liberal elites.

Tickets to the smash hit can fetch thousands of dollars, making them inaccessible to all but the reasonably wealthy. The show is fawned upon by effete elites such as myself. Some joked that there was a quota for "Hamilton" coverage at the New York Times (my former employer, where, among other things, I wrote theater reviews).

Most important, at least to Trump's base, "Hamilton" has Hispanics literally taking the jobs of old white men.

That is, the show chooses to cast people of color to play nearly every Founding Father (and Mother). It also employs the musical idiom of some these marginalized groups — hip-hop — in its storytelling.

The production was intended to represent "America then, as told by America now," as the show's creator, Lin-Manuel Miranda, has repeatedly explained.

These choices — emblematic of the show's obsession with "who tells your story" — were revelatory and revolutionary, from both an employment perspective and a storytelling one. Actors of color find precious few opportunities to play such textured, multidimensional roles; and reimagining these historical figures as nonwhite visually transfers their achievements, rights and legacies to demographics often denied them.

To liberals, these creative choices enhanced the show's virtuosity. To many conservatives, though, those same choices — and the liberal echo-chamber that celebrated them — were evidence of their deepest, darkest fears.

This critical darling was a form of "cultural appropriation," a revisionist attempt to brown-wash American history, in the same way that unpatriotic Advanced Placement textbooks are now supposedly doing.

And to the extent that Trump's voters had previously heard anything at all about this Broadway phenomenon, they'd likely heard about the "reverse racism" pseudoscandal of last spring. As Fox News and others sanctimoniously reported, the show had posted casting notices seeking "NON-WHITE men and women, ages 20s to 30s, for Broadway and upcoming Tours!" (Casting notices were later rephrased.)

No wonder, then, that #Hamiltongate presented such a potent political crucible.

My own Twitter feed has been full of triumphant liberals celebrating the theater's revived ability to effect political change and unmask Trump as a tetchy crybully; and triumphant conservatives celebrating how smug, moralizing and clueless this whole incident revealed liberals to be.

Both sides had so much fun patting themselves on the back that they sometimes failed to notice how much attention they drew away from the Trump University fraud settlement, the legalized bribery happening as foreign diplomats book stays at Trump-owned hotels, and rabidly bad administration picks.

Art should be political (as this brilliant show already is, in spades). Artists should be political, too. I applaud the cast's instinct not to "throw away their shot," to paraphrase one of the show's anthems. Particularly since many of them may justifiably feel personally threatened by the policies espoused by the incoming administration.

But no matter how unfailingly polite and pointed the production crafted its statement to be, when those words came on the heels of audience jeers, they still unwittingly played directly into Trump's hands.

This, I fear, will be the central challenge of mounting an effective opposition to Trump in the years ahead. Like Silvio Berlusconi, Trump has an uncanny instinct for setting off a "Pavlovian reaction among his leftist opponents," as economist Luigi Zingales recently put it, which only strengthens him.

Calling out injustice always feels like the righteous thing to do. The uncomfortable question for Trump's opponents in the years ahead now must be: How do we call out injustice, without unintentionally reinforcing it?

Read more here:

Marc A. Thiessen: Implosion of the American left Bradley Smith: 'Hamilton' and anonymous speech

Can Trump Tolerate Dissent?

Washington Post, November 21, 2016

IN THE glow of his election victory Nov. 8, after months of a foul and bitter campaign, Donald Trump invoked a familiar and reassuring message. "Now it is time for America to bind the wounds of division," he said. "I pledge to every citizen of our land that I will be president for all of Americans, and this is so important to me." It was important for the nation, too.

Over the weekend, Mr. Trump grew infuriated when the cast of the Broadway hit "Hamilton" delivered a message aloud to Vice President-elect Mike Pence after curtain call, appealing to the new administration to be inclusive. Actor Brandon Victor Dixon implored Mr. Pence to "uphold our American values and to work on behalf of all of us." This was similar to the message of Mr. Trump's own victory speech, but the president-elect took umbrage. On Twitter, he erupted, saying that the vice president-elect had been "harassed," the cast had been "very rude," that they should "Apologize!" and "immediately apologize" for "their terrible behavior." Then, on Sunday morning, Mr. Trump tweeted angrily about a satire of him on NBC's "Saturday Night Live." "It is a totally one-sided, biased show — nothing funny at all. Equal time for us?" He also has used Twitter to attack the New York Times.

These kind of outbursts helped fuel Mr. Trump's political rise; he has always been thin-skinned and prone to rapid-fire insults. But there is something new and deeply worrisome about the weekend's tweet storm: Mr. Trump is soon to be president of the United States. His words matter.

What is so disturbing here is not just Mr. Trump's hotheaded Twitter habits, but rather his casual disregard for freedom of expression and visceral intolerance of criticism. In his campaign, he regularly insulted journalists and sometimes leveled threats of retaliation. Now that he is president-elect, his complaints can no longer be dismissed as cranky latenight ramblings. And it is doubly disturbing that Mr. Trump can find more time to rebuke legitimate satire — but not the hateful speech being wielded, often in his name, at whitenationalist forums and other venues across the country.

Mr. Trump's weekend tweets carried a tone of intimidation unfit for the presidency. The actor's message and the television satire were examples of free expression. Whether Mr. Trump thinks they were rude or not funny is not relevant. He must embrace what it means to be president of all Americans: showing tolerance toward those who criticize him, now and for years to come.

Mr. Pence, who was greeted by a smattering of boos as he entered the theater, got it right when he said later, "I nudged my kids and reminded them that's what freedom sounds like."

Anti-Trumpers Channel Their Inner Donald

Many who decried Trump now exhibit the worst traits he was accused of.

By William McGurn

Wall Street Journal, November 21, 2016

Full-text stories from the Wall Street Journal are available to Journal subscribers by clicking the link.

White Nationalists Salute The President-Elect: "Hail Trump!"

By Daniel Lombroso And Yoni Appelbaum

The Atlantic, November 21, 2016

"Hail Trump, hail our people, hail victory!"

That's how Richard B. Spencer saluted more than 200 attendees on Saturday, gathered at the Ronald Reagan Building in Washington, D.C., for the annual conference of the National Policy Institute, which describes itself as "an independent organization dedicated to the heritage, identity, and future of people of European descent in the United States, and around the world."

Spencer has popularized the term "alt-right" to describe the movement he leads. Spencer has said his dream is "a new society, an ethno-state that would be a gathering point for all Europeans," and has called for "peaceful ethnic cleansing."

For most of the day, a parade of speakers discussed their ideology in relatively anodyne terms, putting a presentable face on their agenda. But after dinner, when most journalists had already departed, Spencer rose and delivered a speech to his followers dripping with anti-Semitism, and leaving no doubt as to what he actually seeks. He referred to the mainstream media as "Lügenpresse," a term he said he was borrowing from "the original German"; the Nazis used the word to attack their critics in the press.

"America was until this past generation a white country designed for ourselves and our posterity," Spencer said. "It is our creation, it is our inheritance, and it belongs to us."

The audience offered cheers, applause, and enthusiastic Nazi salutes.

Here is the video, excerpted from an Atlantic documentary profile of Spencer that will premiere in December 2016.

Leah Varjacques contributed reporting to this story.

Civil Rights Groups Call On Trump To Denounce Racism Of Alt-Right

By Alan Rappeport

New York Times, November 21, 2016

WASHINGTON — Civil rights groups called on President-elect Donald J. Trump on Monday to publicly condemn extremist movements that are espousing racism in his name after hundreds of white nationalist sympathizers spent the weekend in Washington debating ways to preserve white culture.

Mr. Trump has been accused of fanning the flames of hate groups with his hard-line positions on immigration, his hesitance to denounce the former Klansman David Duke and his occasional promotion of white nationalist accounts on Twitter. While Mr. Trump has called for an end to hate crimes and said he wants to bring the country together, he has not been full throated on expressing disapproval of the alt-right, a rebranded white nationalist movement.

"We would like him to stand up and denounce these folks," Heidi Beirich, who tracks hate groups for the Southern Poverty Law Center, said of Mr. Trump. "It's inexplicable. The longer it goes on, the more you have to wonder if it's not intentional."

The conference, held at a federal building named after Ronald Reagan, drew about 275 attendees from around the country and attracted droves of "anti-fascist" protesters. Speakers preached the virtues of a white "ethno-state," railed against Jews and lauded Mr. Trump's election as a victory with Nazi salutes.

Jonathan Greenblatt, the national director of the Anti-Defamation League, said that Mr. Trump should not be blamed for every hate group that invoked his name, but that he should be doing more to discredit people using his election to make prejudice mainstream.

"To have a group like this convening steps away from the White House proclaiming that what happened two weeks ago was a great victory for them and their ideas, there is value for the president-elect stating clearly that these are not American values, that their ideology is in conflict with American ideals." Mr. Greenblatt said.

After Hillary Clinton gave a major address attacking the alt-right over the summer, Mr. Trump said that he had never heard of the movement and that "nobody even knows what it is."

On Monday, Hope Hicks, a spokeswoman for Mr. Trump, said the president-elect disapproved of all hate groups.

"Mr. Trump has always denounced these groups and individuals associated with a message of hate," Ms. Hicks said. "Mr. Trump will be a president for all Americans. However, he totally disavows the support of this group, which he does not want or need."

But white nationalists showed no sign of being ready to abandon Mr. Trump.

Richard B. Spencer, the head of the National Policy Institute, which sponsored the weekend conference, said that Mr. Trump's win had lifted the spirits of what he described as a "radical" movement and that he hoped to ride the enthusiasm by pitching policy papers on subjects such as foreign policy and immigration to the administration.

"My goal for the next five years is professionalization," said Mr. Spencer, who has become the face of the alt-right. "That is the next step for the alt-right."

But the conference demonstrated how far the group remained from the political mainstream and the challenges it faced explaining to the public that a desire for a white state was different from blatant racism.

As the conference concluded, Mr. Spencer shouted "Hail our people!" and "Hail victory!" — the English translation of the Nazi exhortation "Sieg heil!" Some members of the crowd shouted back and raised their arms in Nazi salutes.

Asked on Monday about the comments, Mr. Spencer said he had gotten caught up in his passion for the alt-right cause.

"My talk certainly was strident, and it definitely was about getting a rise out of people and expressing excitement," he said. "There's a lot of cheekiness going on and exuberance."

Of the salute that is synonymous with anti-Semitism, he said. "That was a rhetorical flourish."

Trump Needs To Disown His White Nationalist Hangers-on

By Dana Milbank

Washington Post, November 21, 2016

I'm afraid I missed the conference of white supremacists in Washington this weekend.

I was hosting my daughter's bat mitzvah.

But I have a pretty good picture of what happened, because luckily — for me, if not for them — several other journalists attended Saturday's gathering of alt-right leader Richard Spencer's National Policy Institute at the Ronald Reagan federal building.

Attendees shouting "heil" and "Lügenpresse," a Nazi term that means "lying press." Some of the few hundred attendees applauded mention of the Daily Stormer, a neo-Nazi website. Reality TV personality Tila Tequila tweeted an image of herself and others giving a Nazi salute and the misspelled words "Seig heil!"

White nationalists and counter-demonstrators clashed violently in the street outside the gathering in downtown Washington, and, as The Post's John Woodrow Cox reported, inside and outside a family restaurant, Maggiano's, in northwest Washington.

The scenes seemed as if from another time and another place, but in Donald Trump's America, they are here and now. And if Trump doesn't do something more forceful to disown his neo-Nazi hangers on, they will continue their brazen march into the mainstream.

The New York Times quoted Spencer at the conference saying that "we have a psychic connection, or you can say a deeper connection, with Donald Trump in a way that we simply do not have with most Republicans."

"We've crossed the Rubicon in terms of recognition," Spencer said, arguing that "America was, until this last generation, a white country designed for ourselves and our posterity. It is our creation, it is our inheritance, and it belongs to us."

Politico quoted Spencer saying the alt-right was "a head without a body" and "the Trump movement was a body without a head." Now, "I think, moving forward, the alt-right can, as an intellectual vanguard, complete Trump."

The Los Angeles Times quoted Spencer saying Trump's election was an "awakening" and that "we're not quite the establishment now, but I think we should start acting like it."

The white nationalists are emboldened by Trump's selection of Sen. Jeff Sessions (R-Ala.) and Stephen K. Bannon to top jobs in his administration.

Bannon, who boasted that the Breitbart News outlet he ran was "the platform for the alt-right," was praised lavishly by Spencer, who said "it's very interesting and very hopeful for me that Bannon is at least open to these things." And The Post's David Weigel quoted Spencer saying Sessions — tapped to be attorney general — is "eye-to-eye with us" on immigration. (Sessions has tried to restrict legal immigration.) "The fact that he is going to be at such a high level is a wonderful thing," Spencer said.

Shortly after the election, Trump said his supporters who were harassing Muslims and Latinos should "stop it."

But they aren't stopping. In the past few days, a city park in Brooklyn was defaced with swastikas and the message "Go Trump!" while an Arab American Uber driver in Queens filmed another driver shouting at him: "Trump is president so you can kiss your [expletive] visa goodbye, scumbag....They'll deport you soon."

While the white nationalists were meeting in Washington and clashing with protesters, Trump was engaged in a Twitter fight with the cast of the Broadway musical "Hamilton." Trump demanded the actors apologize for urging Vice President-elect Mike Pence, who attended the

show, "to uphold our American values and to work on behalf of all of us."

Rather than quarrel with that unobjectionable message, perhaps Trump could listen to the George Washington character in "Hamilton" sing "One Last Time":

"Like the scripture says:

Everyone shall sit under their own vine and fig tree And no one shall make them afraid."

This passage, from Micah 4:4, is in Washington's letter to the Jews of Newport, R.I., in 1790. The rabbi recalled these words during my daughter's bat mitzvah this weekend.

"Happily," Washington wrote, "the government of the United States, which gives to bigotry no sanction, to persecution no assistance, requires only that they who live under its protection should demean themselves as good citizens, in giving it on all occasions their effectual support."

Continued the first president: "May the children of the stock of Abraham who dwell in this land continue to merit and enjoy the good will of the other inhabitants — while every one shall sit in safety under his own vine and fig tree and there shall be none to make him afraid."

Please read Washington's words, Mr. President-elect, and repeat them to Richard Spencer and his ilk as you brush off the white nationalists riding on your coattails.

There is room for cooperation on much of Trump's agenda. But cooperation is difficult, if not impossible, when a president gives sanction to bigotry.

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'White Nationalism,' Explained

By Amanda Taub

New York Times, November 21, 2016

A question has been posed in a puzzled whisper in many of the nation's living rooms and newsrooms ever since Donald J. Trump's triumph in this month's presidential election: What, exactly, is white nationalism?

Self-proclaimed white nationalists have happily embraced Mr. Trump's victory and, particularly, his choice of Stephen K. Bannon as chief strategist, as a win for their agenda. A barrage of groups that fight discrimination and hate speech have, in turn, criticized Mr. Bannon's appointment, warning that his embrace of the "alt-right"

movement was little more than an attempt to rebrand racism and white nationalism into something palatable enough for mass consumption.

And much of the rest of the country has been left to wonder what this unfamiliar term actually means.

While white nationalism certainly overlaps with white supremacy and racism, many political scientists say it is a distinct phenomenon — one that was a powerful but oftenunseen force during the presidential election and will most likely remain a potent factor in American and European politics in coming years.

Eric Kaufmann, a professor of politics at Birkbeck University in London, has spent years studying the ways that ethnicity intersects with politics. While most researchers in that field focus on ethnic minorities, Professor Kaufmann does the opposite: He studies the behavior of ethnic majorities, particularly whites in the United States and Britain.

White nationalism, he said, is the belief that national identity should be built around white ethnicity, and that white people should therefore maintain both a demographic majority and dominance of the nation's culture and public life.

So, like white supremacy, white nationalism places the interests of white people over those of other racial groups. White supremacists and white nationalists both believe that racial discrimination should be incorporated into law and policy.

Some will see the distinction between white nationalism and white supremacy as a semantic sleight of hand. But although many white supremacists are also white nationalists, and vice versa, Professor Kaufmann says the terms are not synonyms: White supremacy is based on a racist belief that white people are innately superior to people of other races; white nationalism is about maintaining political and economic dominance, not just a numerical majority or cultural hegemony.

For a long time, he said, white nationalism was less an ideology than the default presumption of American life. Until quite recently, white Americans could easily see the nation as essentially an extension of their own ethnic group.

But the country's changing demographics, the civil rights movement and a push for multiculturalism in many quarters mean that white Americans are now confronting the prospect of a nation that is no longer built solely around their own identity.

For many white people, of course, the growing diversity is something to celebrate. But for others it is a source of stress. The white nationalist movement has drawn support from that latter group. Its supporters argue that the United States should protect its white majority by sharply limiting immigration, and perhaps even by compelling nonwhite citizens to leave.

Mr. Trump's appointment of Mr. Bannon as his senior counselor and chief West Wing strategist has, more than

anything, brought white nationalism to the forefront of conversation. He is the former editor of Breitbart News, a site he described in August to Mother Jones as "the platform of the alt-right." Although the alt-right is ideologically broader than white nationalism — it also includes neoreactionaries, monarchists, and meme-loving internet trolls — white nationalism makes up a significant part of its appeal.

For instance, Richard Spencer, who runs the website AlternativeRight.com, is also the director of the National Policy Institute, an organization that says it is devoted to protecting the "heritage, identity, and future of people of European descent in the United States, and around the world."

Mr. Spencer argues that immigration and multiculturalism are threats to America's white population, and has said his ideal is a white "ethno-state." He has avoided discussing the details of how this might be achieved, saying it is still just a "dream," but has called for "peaceful ethnic cleansing" to remove nonwhite people from American soil.

Mr. Bannon, the Trump adviser, told The Times upon his appointment that he does not share those ethnonationalist views. But under his leadership, Breitbart News has gone to considerable lengths to cater to an audience that does. And in a 2015 radio interview that was resurfaced this week by The Washington Post, Mr. Bannon opposed even highly skilled immigration, implying he believed it was a threat to American culture.

"When two-thirds or three-quarters of the C.E.O.s in Silicon Valley are from South Asia or from Asia, I think..." he said, trailing off midsentence before continuing a moment later, "a country is more than an economy. We're a civic society."

White nationalists, including Mr. Spencer, have rejoiced at Mr. Bannon's appointment to such a senior position in the Trump White House. But focusing on high-profile figures like Mr. Bannon may obscure the more significant way that white nationalist ideas are affecting politics — and fueling the rise of politicians like Mr. Trump in the United States as well as anti-immigrant populist movements in Britain and continental Europe.

Several studies of other countries have found that a desire to protect traditional values and culture is the strongest predictor of support for the sort of populism that propelled Mr. Trump to power in the United States.

Many of those voters would not think of themselves as white nationalists, and the cultural values and traditions they seek to protect are not necessarily explicitly racial. However, those traditions formed when national identity and culture were essentially synonymous with whiteness. So the impulse to protect them from social and demographic change is essentially an attempt to turn back the clock to a less-diverse time.

A recent working paper by Pippa Norris, a political scientist at Harvard's Kennedy School of Government, and Ronald Inglehart, a political scientist at the University of Michigan, concluded, based on an analysis of wide-ranging survey data, that populists have succeeded by appealing to the cultural anxiety of groups like older white men, who once formed the cultural majority in Western societies, "but have recently seen their predominance and privilege eroded."

Elisabeth Ivarsflaten, a professor of politics at the University of Bergen in Norway, came to a similar conclusion after studying anti-immigrant policies in Europe. Their supporters, she found, were motivated by a desire to protect their national culture — suggesting they believed that immigrants posed a threat to it.

Mr. Trump's criticism of immigrants and promise to "make America great again" may have tapped into those same cultural anxieties, fueling his success with older and less-educated white voters. (Over all, he won white voters by 21 percentage points.

Professor Kaufmann argues that anxiety over white identity and anti-immigrant populist politicians can have a symbiotic relationship, each strengthening the other. When populist politicians gain mainstream success, that can make white nationalist ideas more socially acceptable.

"It's not just a question of ethnic change and people being alarmed over it," he said. "It's also a question of what people see as the boundaries of acceptable opposition. It's about what counts as racism, and whether it's racist to vote for a far-right party."

"This is all about the anti-racist norm," Professor Kaufmann continued. "If it's weakening or eroding because people think the boundaries have shifted."

Trump Foundation Won't Pay Any Of \$25 Million University Settlement

By Matthew Goldstein

New York Times, November 21, 2016

Donald J. Trump's charitable foundation will not be paying any of the \$25 million settlement to resolve a series of lawsuits concerning Trump University, the president-elect's defunct for-profit education venture that drew customer complaints about price gouging.

Representatives for Mr. Trump sent a one-paragraph letter on Friday to Eric T. Schneiderman, the New York State attorney general, stating that no funding for the settlement would come from "any charitable foundation or other charitable entity."

A copy of the letter, from Alan Garten, executive vice president and general counsel for the Trump Organization, was reviewed by The New York Times. Mr. Garten did not respond to a request for comment.

In the past, Mr. Trump has used money from his charitable foundation, the Donald J. Trump Foundation, to settle lawsuits arising from his business and personal activities. Last month, in the heat of the presidential campaign, The Washington Post reported that more than a quarter of a million dollars from Mr. Trump's charity had been used to settle legal disputes.

"Given Mr. Trump's reported history of using his charity's money to fund his and his businesses' legal settlements, we demanded written assurance that the Trump University settlement would not be paid for by any charitable entity," said Amy Spitalnick, a spokeswoman for the state attorney general.

Mr. Schneiderman sued Trump University in 2013, and his office helped negotiate the settlement, which also resolved two class-action lawsuits filed in federal court in San Diego. One of those suits was scheduled to go to trial in a few days. The settlement foreclosed the possibility of a potentially embarrassing situation for Mr. Trump as he moves forward in putting together his administration.

During the presidential campaign, Mr. Trump said he did not like settling lawsuits and insisted that students found Trump University to be "wonderful" and "beautiful." He took to Twitter early Saturday to say: "The only bad thing about winning the presidency is that I did not have the time to go through a long but winning trial on Trump U. Too bad!"

The lawsuits said that Trump University, which was in business from 2004 to 2010, cheated students out of thousands of dollars in tuition through high-pressure sales tactics and deceptive claims about the program. About 7,000 students will be eligible to recoup some of the money they spent on tuition. The settlement still requires the court's approval.

Some Trump University students paid as much as \$35,000 in tuition. One of them, Jeffrey Tufenkian told The New York Times in 2011 that his experience at Trump University "was almost completely worthless." He said the program had wiped out much of his and his wife's savings.

It was not known whether an insurance policy taken out by Trump University would cover any part of the settlement.

Customarily, settlements can be taken as a tax deduction by a business, and that appears to be the case in this situation. However, a \$1 million penalty for violating state education laws in New York, which is part of the settlement package, may not qualify for a deduction.

Trump Lawyer Promises No Charitable Funds Will Be Used To Pay Trump University Settlement

By Rosalind S. Helderman Washington Post, November 21, 2016

Donald Trump will use no charitable funds to pay off a \$25 million settlement of a series of fraud lawsuits against his defunct real estate seminar program, Trump University, a lawyer for his business said Monday.

Trump agreed on Friday to pay the money to former customers of the program, settling two California lawsuits, as well as a lawsuit filed by New York Attorney General Eric Schneiderman.

On Monday, Trump Organization general counsel Alan Garten offered the assurance in writing in a letter to the New York Attorney General's office, promising that "no part of the funding of my clients' settlement of the New York Attorney General Action or the California Actions will come from any charitable foundation or other charitable entity."

In a statement, Schneiderman spokeswoman Amy Spitalnick said her office had demanded the written assurance, "given Mr. Trump's reported history of using his charity's money to fund his and his businesses' legal settlements."

The Washington Post reported in September that Trump used \$258,000 from the Trump Foundation, his personal charity, to help settle two lawsuits involving his businesses. In one instance, Trump Foundation money paid \$100,000 to a veteran's charity to settle a lawsuit with the town of Palm Beach over a flag at his Mar-a-Lago estate that was so large it violated town ordinances. In another instance, court papers indicated that one of Trump's golf courses in New York agreed to settle a lawsuit by making a donation to the plaintiff's chosen charity. A \$158,000 donation was then made by the Trump Foundation, tax records show.

[Trump used \$258,000 from his charity to settle legal problems]

It is against the law to use charitable funds to personally benefit officers of a charity or their businesses and the New York Attorney General's Office has confirmed it is investigating the Trump Foundation's practices. Tax records show Trump has made no donations to his foundation since 2009, instead filling its coffers with money from other people.

Former Trump University participants had claimed they were defrauded by advertisements for the real estate seminars in which Trump promised they would learn his personal tricks for succeeding in real estate, from instructors he had hand-picked. He acknowledged in depositions that he did not, in fact, choose course instructors.

Trump admitted no fault in the settlement, which allowed the president-elect to avoid a trial over the matter scheduled to open in San Diego later this month. He insisted on Twitter over the weekend that he would have won the case had it proceeded but he had chose to settle "for a small fraction of the potential award because as President I have to focus on our country."

As a result of the settlement, former customers, some of whom paid more than \$30,000 to participate in the

program, will be eligible to apply for rewards that could potentially include full refunds.

Pelosi Predicts Fierce Trump Backlash

After another dismal election, she says in a POLITICO interview that only she can lead Democrats back to the majority.

By By John Bresnahan

Politico, November 21, 2016

House Minority Leader Nancy Pelosi isn't going anywhere.

In an interview with POLITICO on Monday, the California Democrat, facing a long-shot leadership challenge from Ohio Democratic Rep. Tim Ryan, insisted she's the only one who can bring Democrats back to the House majority. Just remember 2006, she said. After President George W. Bush won reelection, Republicans were dreaming of a "permanent majority" until Democrats trounced them the following election, vaulting Pelosi into the speaker's chair.

And Donald Trump will supply the ammo for a repeat performance, Pelosi predicted.

Yet there is one thing the 76-year-old Democrat leader won't discuss: when she's going to leave.

"I don't intend on this phone call, or any conversation with members, to make myself a lame duck," Pelosi said. "What you have to do when you're going into this is to go in with the most strength as possible. That's just the way it is."

"I know how to do this," she added. "I'm not asking anyone to support me for what I have done, one thing or another, whether it's politics or policy or money. I'm asking them to support me on what I will do in the future."

Pelosi, however, also knows that after 14 years of running the House Democratic Caucus, coupled with the party's dismal showing on Election Day, there is significant dissension in her ranks. So she's planning on remaking the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee, giving more members a say in the Democratic messaging operation, and appointing "vice-chairs" on committees to, give lower-ranking lawmakers additional input.

While none of these concessions directly diminish Pelosi's authority, they're designed to defuse the unhappiness among junior Democrats. Many of them complain privately they don't have a say in formulating strategy or message. The question is whether that will be enough or whether Pelosi will have to implement more changes.

"Yes, I have been listening to members. Some of this they have already empowered me to do, and some of this is analogous to 2005-06," Pelosi said.

Pelosi will be presenting some recommendations to the caucus soon.

"I want to move this along as quickly as possible — not hastily, because we want to get input from everybody – but as

quickly as possible because we have some real issues to deal with," Pelosi said, pointing to looming policy clashes with the incoming Trump administration over Medicare and entitlement programs.

Yet Pelosi repeatedly brings up the events of a decade ago. For her, the lesson is clear – past is prologue. What worked before will work again. Trump and the Republicans will overreach, and Democrats have to be ready to jump at the opportunity when they do.

The problem with this approach is that roughly half her caucus was not in office at that time, and they don't remember Pelosi's role in leading a dispirited party into the majority. All they can see now is four consecutive bad election cycles — 2010, 2012, 2014, 2016 — with their party sliding further into the minority.

This year was supposed to be different, with Trump at the top of the ticket. Yet Democrats netted only a half-dozen seats (a few races are still uncalled), far short of the doubledigit gains Pelosi had been predicting for months.

Another challenge is that Democrats did a formal review after they got clobbered in the 2014 election, an effort led by retiring Rep. Steve Israel (D-N.Y.), a close Pelosi ally. So now for the second time in two years, Democrats are again having to revamp their operations to deal with an electoral mishap.

Even Pelosi — who is overwhelmingly favored to be reelected as Democratic leader on Nov. 30 — can only overcome so many of those episodes. She needs to show progress on some front.

But if Pelosi is sweating the challenge from Ryan at all, she clearly isn't showing it. In a half-hour interview, she never mentioned his name once. Pelosi has continued to quietly reach out to members, personally calling the entire Democratic Caucus — including newly-elected members — to ask for support.

She did the same before the election to wish them well. And she regularly sends handwritten notes to her members.

This much is clear, as always: No one will outwork Pelosi.

"I see a very good opportunity for us to win the majority," Pelosi insisted. "Much of this will be pivoted off what the Trump administration will be doing. ... We have to make sure people know what this means for their lives."

Other Democrats have come out strongly for Pelosi. During a stop in Lima, Peru on Sunday, President Barack Obama said Pelosi "combines strong progressive values with just extraordinary political skill, and she does stuff that's tough, not just stuff that's easy."

"There's no harder worker, no smarter person, no person that knows how to plan better than Nancy Pelosi," Rep. Gregory Meeks (D-N.Y.) said on CNN Monday. "She has been fantastic in that regard."

In addition, Pelosi and other top House Democrats have noted that Hillary Clinton, as the party's presidential nominee, was responsible for pushing the Democratic message during the election, and that down-ballot lawmakers were forced to respond to that. In their view, it's unfair to blame House Democratic leaders for falling short on that front.

"A lot of it was beyond our control," Pelosi has said of the election results.

In an interview, Ryan downplayed Pelosi's claim to have locked up "two-thirds" of the caucus. He believes that as much as half of the Democratic Caucus is up for grabs, and he has made the claim in repeated TV and print interviews that Democrats must change their message — and their messenger — if they're going to win back voters in suburban and rural districts, especially white working-class voters.

"We're offering people an alternative to what's going on now, to the status quo," said the 43-year-old lawmaker from the depressed Rust Belt city of Youngstown, Ohio. "We're not twisting any arms, we're not making people feel bad. We're just saying it's 'gut check time' for the Democratic Caucus."

"Republicans are running America's government right now," he added. "We need to figure out do we do what we've been doing, which got us in to this spot, or do we try something new? And so I am offering myself up to serve the caucus."

Ryan said he's personally reached out to most of the caucus, and plans to talk with the rest soon. He declined to disclose details of his whip operation, and it remains unclear how many votes he can realistically win.

Former Rep. Heath Shuler (D-N.C.) got 43 votes when he ran against Pelosi following the 2010 Democratic wipeout. If Ryan failed to win that many, it would be seen as an embarrassment.

More than 30 members – led by Rep. Seth Moulton (D-Mass.) – supported a delay in the leadership election. Ryan has worked this group for support, according to Democratic sources. Whether he can grow it beyond that core is the key question.

While carefully avoiding any personal attacks on Pelosi, Ryan is floating a variety of leadership changes, some of which Pelosi has adopted already. On Monday, he suggested making the DCCC chairmanship an elected position. Technically, it already is, but the reality is that Pelosi has proposed her choice, which is then ratified by the caucus.

So far, Ryan has only received public endorsements from two Democratic lawmakers, Reps. Kathleen Rice (N.Y.) and Ed Perlmutter (Colo.). While Ryan has only called for Pelosi to be removed, Perlmutter would go further, replacing the entire House Democratic leadership: Pelosi, Minority Whip Steny Hoyer (D-Md.) and Assistant Minority Leader Jim Clyburn (D-S.C.).

"It's an uphill climb for Tim, there's no question about it," Perlmutter said. "But I do think there is a real sentiment in the caucus that change needs to happen... We need new leadership. Whether that translates into Tim's election, I don't know."

Young, Restive Dems Want Change In House

By Mike Lillis

The Hill, November 21, 2016

Rep. Tim Ryan's (D-Ohio) long-shot challenge to House Democratic Leader Nancy Pelosi (Calif.) has shone a rare public spotlight on rank-and-file frustrations that have simmered, largely in whispers, for more than half a decade.

Those restive voices agree that the Democrats need a hefty shakeup to get back on a winning track. But there's lingering dissent about the roots of the party's problems, what changes would best address them and whether Pelosi and the current leadership team are best suited for righting the listing ship.

The debate — and Pelosi's reluctant decision to delay leadership elections until Nov. 30 to accommodate longer discussion — have highlighted the inner turmoil among Democrats seeking a new strategy to correct problems many say transcend one disastrous election cycle.

"It's not just about messaging," said Rep. Bill Pascrell (D-N.J.). It's about "who the hell we are [and] where we're going."

In the view of Ryan and some other newer lawmakers, regional diversity is key, and the only way to reverse the party's misfortunes is through a changing of the guard at the very top.

Ryan says Pelosi, a liberal icon from San Francisco who's radioactive in the eyes of conservatives, simply doesn't speak to the white Rust-Belt workers like those in his district, where voters split the ballot in favor of him and Donald Trump, the Republican president-elect.

"I'm uniquely qualified, because I know who these people are," Ryan said Sunday on CNN's "State of the Union" program. "And some of them are friends of mine, neighbors of mine. ... We have to get those people back into the fold.

"I know in my heart that we cannot win the House back under the current leadership."

Backing the 43-year-old Ryan over the weekend, Rep. Earl Perlmutter (D-Colo.) cited a similar argument that party leaders need to be more inclusive.

"Coming from the Great Lakes region and from a manufacturing town," Perlmutter said, Ryan "fits the bill for a new messenger for the Democratic caucus."

Part of the internal division is generational. The 76-year-old Pelosi has led the Democrats for 14 years, and her top two deputies, also in their mid-70s, have been at her side for a decade. Scores of Democrats say that experience — and Pelosi's legendary ability to unite the caucus — is

needed now more than ever to counter the incoming Trump administration and the Republican majorities in both chambers.

"The press keeps confusing aged with ancient," Rep. Jim Clyburn (S.C.), the third-ranking House Democrat, said last week as Congress prepared for its long Thanksgiving recess. "There's a big difference. We have an aged caucus, not ancient."

Yet Speaker Paul Ryan (R-Wis.) and his leadership team are both decades younger and relatively new to leadership, and some Democrats fear the generational contrast not only projects the message that Democrats are incapable of change, but also clips the ambitions of younger up-and-coming lawmakers, who have either left the House already or are eying opportunities to do so — an exodus Pelosi herself has lamented.

Rep. Kathleen Rice (D-N.Y.), a 51-year-old just elected to her second term, endorsed Tim Ryan's leadership bid Sunday with the suggestion that, under Pelosi, the party's direction has been largely dictated from the top.

"He's focused on reforming our caucus, bringing more independent and diverse voices into leadership and into the decision-making process, and making leadership more accountable to our members," she said.

"He has a lot of good ideas," Rice added, "but maybe most importantly, he also isn't suggesting he has all the answers."

Other young Democrats see room to keep the current leaders in place while adopting measures to empower the newer members beneath them.

Rep. Eric Swalwell, a California Democrat who turned 36 last week, said he's doing "everything I can do to make sure Leader Pelosi comes back but has new energy behind her."

"That means enabling newer, younger members to play a role that is more creative; a role that is more constructive; a role that is more public in what we do, to show that we're developing our younger leaders," Swalwell said.

Toward that end, Pelosi tapped Swalwell two years ago to lead a new group, dubbed the Future Forum, designed to communicate with millennial voters. His marching orders, Swalwell said, were to "take on some of these issues that the more senior members may not necessarily understand." Since then, the group's 18 members have visited 31 cities, "engaged thousands of young people" and crafted legislation based on what they heard, including proposals to rein in college debt, he said.

Following this month's elections, the Future Forum's membership has swelled to 25, and Swalwell said Pelosi could take long strides towards making greener members feel more empowered by creating similar groups targeting specific policy issues like healthcare and climate change ± a move

"allowing us to be more like special-ops than a top-down force."

"There are a lot of problems and challenges out there that need hands on deck," he said. "People just want to feel like they can shape what we're doing next, and that it's not so top-down."

With Pelosi the heavy favorite to keep her minority leader spot, Democrats are also promoting the idea of carving out other leadership posts to ease the bottleneck at the top of the party. There's a precedent there, as Pelosi created spots for Reps. Chris Van Hollen (D-Md.) in 2006, Clyburn in 2010 and Steve Israel (D-N.Y.) in 2014.

Ryan on Saturday unveiled four reforms he's vowing to adopt within the caucus if he becomes leader. Among them is the immediate creation of a new elected leadership post with the following prerequisite: the member who holds it must have been on Capitol Hill for three terms or less.

Some young Democrats are also urging a change in the way the head of the party's campaign arm is chosen. Right now, Pelosi appoints the chairman of the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee (DCCC) unilaterally. Some members want the caucus to vote on that post, as the Republicans do.

Rep. Ruben Gallego (D-Ariz.), for one, said he'd "absolutely" support such a change.

"Certainly there are people that are talking about that," he said.

While House Democrats picked up a handful of seats this cycle, the number was far below the double-digit gains they'd expected. Pelosi has acknowledged the frustrating results, but she's also blamed external factors — notably an 11th-hour review of Hillary Clinton's emails by FBI Director James Comey — as being out of leadership's hands.

"We have to do our after-action review thoroughly and see what we could have done differently," she said Thursday, "but a lot of it was beyond our control."

That argument isn't sitting well with some rank-and-file members, who want leaders to be more answerable to the party's entrenched minority status.

"We are the constituents of leadership," said Gallego, who turned 37 Sunday. "We have a right to know what's going to happen in the future, and we need to have some accountability for what occurred."

President Obama entered the fray over the weekend on a swing through Peru, when he hailed Pelosi as "a remarkable leader" of "extraordinary political skill" who's "done stuff that's unpopular in her own base because it's the right thing to do."

"I don't normally meddle with party votes, and certainly on my way out the door, probably I shouldn't meddle here," Obama said. "But I cannot speak highly enough of Nancy Pelosi."

Ellison Dodges On Whether He'd Resign House Seat If Selected DNC Chair

By Madeline Conway

Politico, November 21, 2016

Rep. Keith Ellison declined to answer directly on Monday morning when asked whether he would consider resigning his seat in Congress to be chairman of the Democratic National Committee.

Asked by Mark Halperin on MSNBC's "Morning Joe" about giving up the seat for the chairmanship post, Ellison allowed that "that's a fair conversation" but declined on commit to it.

Ellison is the favorite of some members of the party's left wing to lead the DNC, and incoming Senate Minority Leader Chuck Schumer is also supporting him. But Democrats skeptical of Ellison say the chairmanship should be a full-time job. Ellison represents Minnesota's 5th Congressional District in the House and serves as cochairman of the Congressional Progressive Caucus.

"I think that's a fair conversation. I think it's too early to have that," Ellison told Halperin before pivoting back to his candidacy's platform — the need to focus on increasing voter turnout.

Later Monday morning, Ellison avoided directly answering a similar question from CNN's Chris Cuomo. Ellison said he accepts that the DNC head is a full-time job but argued that "that doesn't mean that I can't do that job."

Cuomo noted that serving in Congress and leading the DNC "would be two jobs," prompting Ellison to describe himself as a "very-hard working person" before turning back to discussing the turnout issue.

Ellison: As DNC Chair I Would Increase Voter Turnout

By Jessie Hellmann

The Hill, November 21, 2016

Rep. Keith Ellison (D-Minn.) says he is the best candidate to lead the Democratic National Committee because he could increase voter turnout in areas that help Democrats win elections.

"We need to turn out the vote, and I'm actually pretty good at it," Ellison said on CNN Monday.

"I believe by getting out the vote in Milwaukee, Detroit, Flint and the suburbs of Philly, we could have changed this whole election."

Ellison, a six-term congressman, is running to chair the DNC and has the support of many Democrats, including 2016 presidential candidate Bernie Sanders, Sen. Elizabeth Warren (D-Mass.) and incoming Senate Minority Leader Charles Schumer (D-N.Y.)

Also running for the position are former Vermont Gov. Howard Dean and South Carolina Democratic Party chairman Jaime Harrison.

But Ellison said he is the best candidate to take the party in a new direction.

"The real problem for Democrats is we've got to help people believe, and then we've got to deliver the message to them," he said.

"Believe what? That we are absolutely, unshakably on their side, and we're going to fight for them every single minute."

He added that middle class workers are "really super nervous" about their futures" and "they need somebody who cares."

"We also in the Democratic Party have to strengthen the glass roots. Power should be concentrated in the field, not in DC.

Dems Consider Co-chairs To Lead DNC

By Jonathan Easley

The Hill, November 21, 2016

Some Democrats are pushing candidates for the Democratic National Committee chairmanship to consider teaming up to split duties atop the national party.

In an email to DNC members on Monday, New Hampshire party chairman Raymond Buckley announced that he is considering a run for DNC chair.

In that letter, Buckley said he had received encouragement from some to "consider partnering with one of the other candidates," an arrangement that was last in place in 1995, when Bill Clinton was president.

Under that setup, one candidate would be the "face" of the party, "deeply involved in messaging and representing the party across the country" as the primary spokesperson, Buckley said in his letter.

The other would be the "nuts and bolts" chair, responsible for "running the day to day operations of the party, provide support for state parties and rebuilding our grassroots nationwide."

"Both Chairs would work as a team, participate in fundraising and oversee the general operation of the party," Buckley wrote. "It would take two individuals with the ability to work in the model of team leadership."

Rep. Keith Ellison (D-Minn.) is the early front-runner to be the next party chairman, already securing scores of endorsements from lawmakers on Capitol Hill. Former chair Howard Dean has also entered the race, along with South Carolina party chair Jaime Harrison.

Many Democrats would like to see a full-time chairperson, believing that the party's massive rebuilding project deserves the full attention of whoever becomes the next leader.

In the mid-'90s under Bill Clinton, former Sen. Chris Dodd (Conn.) acted as party spokesman, while Donald Fowler, the former party chairman from South Carolina, ran the operations.

"The jobs of the Chair as set out are pretty huge," DNC member Glen Maxey told The Hill. "Five people can't possibly do everything expected of a national chair. So, yes, I think having co-chairs might be a great solution. It's well worth the conversation."

More than 400 DNC members will vote on the next chair at the party's winter meeting in Atlanta beginning on Feb. 23.

Embattled Democrats, Labor Allies See Nevada As A Beacon

The state was a rare electoral bright spot for the party, helped by culinary union's organizing efforts

By Alexandra Berzon

Wall Street Journal, November 21, 2016

Full-text stories from the Wall Street Journal are available to Journal subscribers by clicking the link.

Cooper, Democrats Pressuring Gov. McCrory To Concede

Associated Press, November 21, 2016

RALEIGH, N.C. — Democrat Roy Cooper on Monday took steps to demonstrate he's the winner of the still-unresolved race for North Carolina's governor, unveiling key members of his transition team and turning up the pressure on incumbent Republican Pat McCrory to concede.

Cooper, the state's outgoing attorney general, has said repeatedly that he won the race, and Democratic lawmakers held news conferences across the state Monday to bolster Cooper's message: there is no way that McCrory can win.

"By any definition, Roy Cooper has won this election," U.S. Rep. G.K. Butterfield, D-N.C., told reporters in Raleigh, adding that McCrory "is continuing to show his defiance and his stubbornness that he has shown the world over the last four years."

Cooper said in a statement that with the next governor expected to take office in early January, "it would be irresponsible to wait any longer to tackle the issues we campaigned on across the state." He also brought online a website for people interested in working for his administration.

Unofficial results from the State Board of Elections late Monday put Cooper ahead of McCrory by about 6,850 votes from nearly 4.7 million cast. That is up from about 5,000 votes on election night two weeks ago. Cooper claims the margin is wider and will be reflected as counties complete their formal tabulating.

More than 15 of the 100 counties had finished their canvassing by Monday afternoon.

McCrory, however, shows no signs of giving up. His campaign points to formal protests in dozens of counties alleging absentee fraud and ineligible.

McCrory's campaign is supporting formal protests in at least 35 counties that allege potential miscounts, absentee ballot fraud and ineligible votes cast by dead people or convicted felons. A spokesman says Cooper wants to bypass the legal steps for examining votes.

"Instead of insulting North Carolina voters, we intend to let the process work as it should to ensure that every legal vote is counted properly," McCrory campaign spokesman Ricky Diaz said in a statement.

While several county boards have rejected protests, a few early ballots have been put aside because a voter hadn't completed their felony punishment or had died before Election Day. The State Board of Elections revealed Sunday a data search determined more than 300 convicted felons may have voted unlawfully statewide during early voting.

The state board also has been investigating allegations that roughly 150 absentee ballots were filled out in Bladen County unlawfully by a handful of people linked to a local PAC.

Except for a protest over the counting of 94,000 early votes in Durham County — rejected unanimously by the local board — the number of ballots at issue in other disclosed protests is less than the race's current margin.

Once all 100 counties complete their tabulations, probably by early next week, the trailing candidate can seek a statewide recount if the margin is 10.000 votes or less.

Top leaders of the North Carolina Association of Educators and State Employees Association of North Carolina, which both backed Cooper for governor, also chimed in Monday to tell McCrory it's time to give up.

The State Board of Elections scheduled a hearing Tuesday to receive opinions from political parties, the McCrory and Cooper campaigns and others about how it should advise county boards on whether they can throw out ineligible votes that aren't subject to formal protests.

Greensboro attorney Jim Phillips and Kristi Jones, Cooper's chief of staff at the Department of Justice, are the transition team co-chairs. The team's executive director is Ken Eudy, a Raleigh public relations firm executive, former state Democratic Party executive director and newspaper reporter.

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North Carolina Attorney General Roy Cooper Names Transition Team Before Vote Count Over Pat McCrory Is Final

Raleigh (NC) News & Observer, November 21, 2016

Attorney General Roy Cooper on Monday named the leaders of his transition team to begin replacing a governor who is not ready to go — at least not until all the votes have been counted and the legality of a few hundred ballots that Republicans have guestioned is resolved.

The announcement comes as Gov. Pat McCrory's opponents are ratcheting up the pressure to portray him as obstinate. Democratic politicians and groups representing state workers, educators and environmentalists all called on Monday for McCrory to concede.

On Friday, Cooper's lead election-law attorney, Marc Elias of Washington, D.C., said the campaign has calculated that the Democratic attorney general's margin over McCrory has stretched from about 5,000 on election night two weeks ago to nearly 8,000 votes, which he said is insurmountable given the mix of counties not yet fully counted. A candidate can call for a recount if the difference in votes is fewer than 10,000. The State Board of Elections' incomplete data puts the gap at around 6,700 votes.

In a typical election, all the provisional and absentee ballots would have been counted by now. Provisional ballots are votes that are cast by people whose eligibility is in question on Election Day.

But the final counts have been delayed by dozens of protests filed by McCrory and Republican officials around the state, in addition to issues with voters who registered at DMV offices but didn't show up on election rolls, reviews of absentee and provisional ballots and other delays. While some of the state's 100 counties – around a dozen – have finished counting provisional and absentee ballots, other counties are still in process. It is possible the outcome won't be official until December.

Tuesday morning, the State Board of Elections meets to discuss what kinds of guidelines county election boards should use in deciding how to evaluate and count contested ballots.

Cooper declared victory on election night and again in a video released Sunday. In a statement Monday, he said he couldn't wait.

"It's 40 days until I take the oath of office," he said. "It would be irresponsible to wait any longer to tackle the issues we campaigned on across the state."

McCrory's campaign spokesman, Ricky Diaz, said the as-yet uncounted votes and other uncertainties should be resolved before the contest is over.

"Why is Roy Cooper so insistent on circumventing the electoral process and counting the votes of dead people and felons?," Diaz said in an emailed response. "It may be because he needs those fraudulent votes to count in order to win. Instead of insulting North Carolina voters, we intend to let the process work as it should to ensure that every legal vote is counted properly."

The McCrory campaign contends that votes of deceased persons and ineligible felons need to be tossed out. The Cooper campaign has said that scattered reports of such votes aren't enough to make a difference.

Chris LaCivita, McCrory's campaign strategist and an ex-Marine, tweeted on Sunday night: "You never ever give up a fight until your out of ammunition."

Democratic politicians on Monday held five news conferences across the state to push for McCrory to concede. In Raleigh, U.S. Reps. David Price of Chapel Hill and G.K. Butterfield of Wilson delivered the message at state Democratic Party headquarters.

Butterfield said the election protests targeted counties with large African-American communities and organizations that sought to turn out black voters.

"There is no evidence whatsoever, not a scintilla of evidence that there's systemwide fraud in North Carolina," Butterfield said.

Cooper has turned to a trio of transition advisers with Democratic experience reaching back to the administration of four-term Gov. Jim Hunt: Kristi Jones, who has been his chief of staff at the N.C. Department of Justice for a decade; Jim W. Phillips Jr., a longtime friend and attorney in Greensboro; and Ken Eudy, founder of a strategic communications agency.

Before joining Cooper's office, Jones worked for the Hunt administration in several capacities. She has said her proudest endeavor was as executive director of an initiative on race relations.

Jones is an N.C. Central University graduate who obtained her law degree at UNC-Chapel Hill. She grew up in Wilson and now lives in Raleigh. She worked on previous political campaigns for Cooper and Hunt.

Phillips and Cooper attended UNC-Chapel Hill together, and have remained close. Phillips represented him in a long-running defamation lawsuit stemming from a campaign for attorney general.

Phillips worked on one of Hunt's campaigns, became his legislative counsel and was appointed to chair the UNC Board of Governors.

Eudy is a former executive director of the N.C. Democratic Party. He's a former newspaper and TV political reporter, and later started the Capstrat agency. In November, he moved into the role of chairman of the company.

North Carolina Governor Alleges Voter Fraud In Bid To Hang On

Republican Pat McCrory is trailing in a tight race, but his campaign is challenging votes.

By Elena Schneider Politico, November 21, 2016

North Carolina GOP Gov. Pat McCrory, who signed a 2013 voter-ID law which a federal court rolled back this year for illegally suppressed African-American votes, is claiming massive voter fraud in his state swung the 2016 election against him, as McCrory's campaign continues to challenge Democrat Roy Cooper's thin lead two weeks after Election Day.

The contentious, bitter race between McCrory and Cooper, the state attorney general, is the closest governor's race in the country in a dozen years — and it's not officially over. Cooper, the state attorney general, has extended his lead to 7,902 votes during an ongoing canvass of absentee and provisional ballots, his campaign says. (The State Board of Elections, which updates less frequently, shows Cooper leading by 6,703 votes.) And on Monday, Cooper announced a transition team to prepare to take the reins of state government despite McCrory's intense push to dispute the results.

But McCrory still hasn't conceded, alleging voter fraud in 50 of North Carolina's 100 counties and contesting individual votes before dozens of local election boards, claiming that dead people, felons and people who voted in other states cast ballots in the race. On Sunday, the McCrory campaign emailed supporters, saying the "election is still in overtime," and soliciting contributions for its legal fund.

North Carolina, carried by Donald Trump, was a key battleground state in the presidential race, and the incredibly tight gubernatorial election has drawn national attention thanks to McCrory's outsized role in tightening North Carolina voting laws and signing the state's "bathroom bill" earlier this year. With the governor on the wrong end of a very tight race, his supporters are crying foul.

"Why is Roy Cooper so insistent on circumventing the electoral process and counting the votes of dead people and felons? It may be because he needs those fraudulent votes to count in order to win," Ricky Diaz, a McCrory campaign spokesman, said in a statement. "Instead of insulting North Carolina voters, we intend to let the process work as it should to ensure that every legal vote is counted properly."

So far, at least eight county election boards, which are Republican-controlled, have rejected the majority of McCrory's complaints. Several more counties are holding evidentiary hearings this week. On Sunday, the state Board of Elections dismissed McCrory's request to take over all the voter complaints and rule on them, insisting that counties needed to "make fact-finding decisions." (The state elections board did review a McCrory complaint regarding absentee ballots in Bladen County.)

"They've been working a long time, so they want to see it out to the final note of the symphony. They have the right to do that," said Carter Wrenn, a longtime Republican strategist in the state. "I've been involved in two of these recounts before, and both were smaller margins than this one, but at

the end, very little changed. And right now, not much has changed so far. I doubt it'll change the outcome."

Democrats insist McCrory aims to cast doubt on the entire electoral system, echoing Trump's repeated assertions that the process was "rigged."

"In light of the Republican-controlled state and local Board of Elections summarily rejecting McCrory's frivolous requests, it's just time for Gov. McCrory to concede," said Morgan Jackson, Cooper's campaign strategist. "It's time for him to stop wasting taxpayer dollars. It's time for him to stop putting up needless delays and to finally put the people of North Carolina above his own self-interest."

To make up the gap, local operatives said, McCrory's campaign would need to present evidence that could knock out votes from an entire county. Currently, estimates put the number of ballots McCrory is contesting between 150 and 500 votes.

The Durham County Board of Elections rejected McCrory's best hope at recounting a chunk of votes (94,000), dismissing McCrory's complaint "for lack of evidence," said William Brian, the chairman of the Durham County Board of Elections. Brian noted that the burden of proof is on the complainant in these cases.

"This race has simply gotten away from Pat McCrory," Marc Elias, Cooper's lawyer, told reporters on Friday. "More North Carolinians voted for Roy Cooper than Pat McCrory, and did so by a close but significant margin. There is nothing Gov. McCrory or his legal team are going to be able to do to undo what is just basic math."

McCrory's legal team said Durham County used data from potentially corrupted voting machines. On Election Day, several precincts in Durham County had problems with their electronic voting machines — "not atypical," Brian said — which forced a hand count and, in turn, slowed the reporting process and led Republicans to question a late surge of votes.

"The votes came in on time, but we didn't get them entered into the computer until late. It's not like somebody found 95,000 at midnight somewhere," Brian said. "We just had to enter them manually."

Brian added: "The fact that so many Republicans won in the state, and there are others who didn't follow that pattern, I understand why people would want that looked into." The Durham County election board will hear several more complaints Monday evening.

Roy Cooper has extended his lead to 7,902 votes during an ongoing canvass of absentee and provisional ballots, his campaign says. | AP Photo

ROperatives expect the process to drag on for several more weeks. Cooper's margin over McCrory is expected to remain below 10,000 votes, which means McCrory can call for a recount.

"I expect the governor will ask for a recount but I don't think there's any chance it changes result," said Connecticut Gov. Dan Malloy, chairman of the Democratic Governors Association. "For the governor to talk about how inappropriate things happened — hey, Trump won the state! Hey, wake up, smell the coffee. You lost."

The Republican candidate for state auditor, who's losing by about 3,600 votes to the Democratic incumbent as canvassing continues in that race as well, said he's prepared to call for a recount.

"Roy Cooper thinks he's the Governor-elect of what? The voting dead? Roy Cooper should respect the process to ensure all legally cast ballots are counted before measuring the drapes," said Dallas Woodhouse, the state's Republican Party executive director, in a statement Monday. "Despite partisan lines, we want to make sure the man with the most votes wins this election, and it's a shame that Roy Cooper doesn't want the same."

Why 2016's Last Unresolved Governor's Race May Not Be Settled Anytime Soon

By Amber Phillips

Washington Post, November 21, 2016

Almost two weeks after the election, North Carolinians still don't know who their next governor will be. And with each passing day, the situation is growing more — not less — convoluted and heated.

The Democratic challenger to Gov. Pat McCrory (R) claimed victory on election night with a 4,000-vote lead out of 4.2 million votes cast. As provisional and absentee ballots have been counted, the lead of Roy Cooper (D), currently the state's attorney general, has grown to at least 6,600 votes (his campaign says it's more like 7,900 votes).

So confident is Cooper of his lead, he's already preparing to take the reins. He released a video Saturday declaring "we have won this race." And his campaign announced Monday that it is putting in place a transition team.

McCrory, at risk of becoming the first North Carolina governor to lose reelection, isn't going without a fight. On election night, he cast suspicion on a Democratic county's hand-tabulation of 90,000 votes that pushed Cooper ahead in the final hours. (McCrory's campaign has yet to provide any evidence of voter fraud.)

In the days since, the McCrory camp has launched dozens of challenges to vote results across the state. But even with those challenges, McCrory's campaign has not presented any evidence of the kind of wide-scale voter fraud that would swing the election by thousands of votes back to him.

So far, most of the challenges have not gained a foothold. At least eight (mostly Republican-controlled) boards

of elections have rejected all or most of the challenges because of lack of evidence.

In one county, an allegedly dead person who voted was actually alive. In another county, two alleged convicted felons were not felons at all. In another, an elections protest was thrown out after the GOP lawyer who filed it didn't show up until after the hearing ended.

McCrory's contest-every-vote strategy has come under criticism from election officials.

"You can't just say, 'I think you're a convicted felon and you don't have the right to vote,' " Halifax County Election Board Chairwoman Sandra Partin said, according to the Raleigh News & Observer, as her county rejected a voter fraud case. "You've got to have some proof to back that up."

And this from the News & Observer:

Rhonda Amoroso, a Republican State Board of Elections member, said she found the complaints troubling. "It may appear to folks in the public that we have a systemic issue of voter fraud," she said. "It puts a cloud over the integrity of the election process of North Carolina."

If McCrory loses, he'll be the only incumbent governor to lose this year — and one of just a handful of sitting governors to lose in the modern era. His approval rating dropped this spring after he signed a bill that limited which public bathrooms transgender people could use and blocked municipalities' ability to pass anti-LGBT-discrimination laws. Backlash to the law reverberated across the business, sports and entertainment community. PayPal pulled out of a deal with the state, and Bruce Springsteen canceled a concert there. The NBA and the NCAA also canceled their moneymaking basketball tournaments in the state.

McCrory's reelection bid had another setback Sunday. His campaign had asked the State Board of Elections to review all its protests, as opposed to letting each county do it individually. With one exception, the state ruled Sunday that it wouldn't supersede the counties; instead, it will meet Tuesday to issue each county guidelines on when to accept or reject many of these challenges.

Mucking this up even further are 1,500 outstanding provisional ballots from voters who said they registered at the Division of Motor Vehicles but whose names didn't appear in the registration lists. Those are mostly from rural areas and could boost McCrory's total.

McCrory's camp says that given the closeness of the race, it makes sense to wait until every last vote is counted for either side to declare victory.

"Why is Roy Cooper so insistent on circumventing the electoral process and counting the votes of dead people and felons? It may be because he needs those fraudulent votes to count in order to win," Ricky Diaz, McCrory's campaign spokesman, said in a statement. "Instead of insulting North Carolina voters, we intend to let the process work as it should to ensure that every legal vote is counted properly."

But even after that happens, this seemingly neverending campaign might not be over.

If, once all the challenges are considered and the election results are certified by the state, the race is within 10,000 votes, either side could request a recount. (It's unclear whether McCrory's campaign would ask for one.) We probably won't even get to the point of knowing whether there will could be a recount until after Thanksgiving.

There's also a remote possibility that the GOP-dominated legislature could step in to try to settle this. But the chips would have to fall a very certain way for that to happen, and GOP legislators have indicated they'd be reluctant to get involved, even to try to save a governor from their own party.

Increasingly, it looks like McCrory's path to keeping his job lies in somehow finding enough evidence of voter fraud to overturn Cooper's lead. At this point, he has yet to find even enough alleged cases to make a difference.

The subsequent 350 pages, (NPPD 000923 through NPPD 001272) are being withheld in their entirety pursuant to 5 U.S.C. \S 552 (b)(5), (b)(6), (b)(7)(A) and (b)(7)(E).

NPPD 000923 - NPPD 001272