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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Paul Gigot: Welcome to "The Jorunal Editorial Report." I'm Paul Gigot.

We're live this final weekend before Election Day, as both presidential candidates make their closing arguments to voters in battleground states. We begin with Donald Trump , who is making the campaign stops in Florida, North Carolina, Nevada and Colorado today, hoping to close the deal with undecided voters with his message of change.Here he is in Tampa, earlier:

Trump: In three days, we are going to win the great state of Florida. And we are going to win back the White House. Real change begins with immediately repealing and replacing ObamaCare.

Real change also means restoring honesty to our government. Hillary created an illegal server to shield her criminal activity. That's why. There's no other reason. And then she—and she figured she was above it, because she figured that the Department of Justice will never do anything to get in her way. OK? It's a rigged system. When we win on Nov. 8, we are going to drain the swamp.

Gigot: Joining the panel this week, Wall Street Journal columnist and deputy editor Dan Henninger, columnist and Manhattan Institute senior fellow Jason Riley, assistant editorial page editor James Freeman and Washington columnist Kim Strassel.

So, James, what do you make of Donald Trump 's closing argument? Is that the right one for him?

Freeman: I think he's right by leading with ObamaCare. It's a disaster. That call to repeal and replace, I think, resonates with a lot of voters. So basically, we've seen it all year, voters think the country's on the wrong track. The Obama economic program has failed. So I think if Trump wins, it's because he emphasized a change in direction, a change away from taxes and regulation, and reinvigorating the U.S. economy.

Gigot: If you look at his final ad, it doesn't have those issues. It focuses on Hillary's corruption and trade, Jason.

Riley: Right. It's the play for his core supporters. He's still playing for the base, even in the closing days, when he should be expanding his appeal. And that's part of the problem. He is—you know, he's only got about 88% of the Republican vote wrapped up. 88% of—

Gigot: Eighty-five in the FOX poll. I mean—

Riley: At this point, though, Mitt Romney four years ago at 93%. That's a big gap there, even in enthusiasm for Donald Trump among Republicans.

Gigot: Versus 90% for Democrats, for Hillary Clinton , right now, in the FOX poll, where he is trailing the by two in the four-man race.

Henninger: Yeah. And the polls have tightened up. He's practically got a toss-up going into New Hampshire and Colorado. North Carolina's gotten very tight. It's fascinating.

This final ad, though, that Jason is talking about is intriguing. He's not just talking about a corrupt Hillary Clinton . he's talking about a corrupt establishment. He's talking about corrupt corporations. In many ways—and antitrade—that ad could have been run by Bernie Sanders.

Gigot: Let's give a—let's show a bit of that.

Trump: Our movement is about replacing a failed and corrupt political establishment with a new government controlled by you, the American people.

The establishment has trillions of dollars at stake in this election. For those who control the levers of power in Washington and for the global special interests, they partner with these people that don't have your good in mind.

The political establishment that is trying to stop us is the same group responsible for our disastrous trade deals, massive illegal **immigration**, and economic and foreign policies that have bled our country dry.

Gigot: Well, James, what do you think of that? My argument would be that he's got every vote that he's going to get from people who are against the globalist system and trade. That doesn't help him get any more of the people for whom that is not a priority.

Freeman: OK, I'm not sure he doesn't have a little room to grow his vote in the final days. You look at that number where he doesn't quite have the number of Republicans that he wants and you look at the Gary Johnson —I think there may be a few of those votes that he could pick up. Now, I would have preferred a little more sunny Reagan optimism in the closing days here? Yes.

But, look, is anyone going to say that the establishment has not failed? That Hillary Clinton is not corrupt? I think that he is giving a message here that's going to resonate with a lot of people.

Gigot: Kim, is this message reinforcing his play to try to go to the Upper Midwest states of Pennsylvania, Michigan and maybe Wisconsin—manufacturing states where trade is a priority? And then Bernie Sanders snuck up on Hillary Clinton and won Michigan. It's closing in Michigan for Donald Trump . Is that what he's doing here?

Strassel: Yeah, and you know, by the way, he's now making a stop in Michigan, which was unexpected. He's trying to make a real play for the state.

Gigot: Right.

Strassel: Look, I think what Donald Trump is trying to do here—and I vary with Jason a little bit. I'm not quite sure this message is only meant for his base. He's trying to reach out with these swing messages of trade, but also the establishment and corruption to a lot of independents, for instance, and also blue-collar Democrats. And you know, this "drain the swamp" message that he has had up there, it does resonate, because this is for the wide swath of America, for whom they have come to believe that dysfunction is endemic in Washington, but also that they're the ones left out.

And one thing that's interesting, Donald Trump changed this around a little bit. The left likes to say that all the problems are because of wealthy Americans. He's making the message "No, it's because of Washington."

Gigot: All right, Dan, if Donald Trump wins, why will he win?

Henninger: He will win because the desire for change in this country after eight years of Obama's presidency was simply overwhelming. We have known that from the beginning of this campaign. People want a change of direction.

And the second reason he will win is because people cannot bring themselves to vote another Clinton presidency into office. Enthusiasm for him is so low.

Gigot: And if he loses, Jason?

Riley: If he loses, well, he has challenged the norms in terms of how to run a campaign. The organization, the money—he has not spent the money that he said he would spend—

Gigot: That's going to be one of the fascinating questions to see.

Riley: Yes.

Gigot: If he loses, how much money has he really spent? He promised he would spend a bundle. And if Mike Bloomberg had been running, he would have spent $1 billion.

Riley: He's really challenged this notion that organization matters, knocking on doors matters. He's come in, held big rallies, endowed the enthusiasm, and then swooped away. We'll find out if that kind of campaign can work nationally.

Gigot: Kim, what do you think Donald—Why will Donald Trump have won if he does?

Riley: He'll have won in part because he's also focused on this issue about the problems of Washington. I think that's going to be a really key thing. And also, not just change, but immediate change. People are tired of waiting around for Washington to get its act together. And so, it's the argument, I think, that has been very helpful to him in the last week, which also corresponds with his time in the poll, is this contract that he's made and the promise that what he's going to do is going to be made immediately in terms of executive orders, and ObamaCare repeal, and also some of these anticorruption measures he's proposed.

Gigot: All right. James, just quickly, if he loses?

Freeman: If he loses, it's because he got distracted too often during the race and got into kind of petty disputes. When he's been on message, as he seems to be lately—I think he's closing strong—I think he can win.

Gigot: All right, thank you all.

Hillary Clinton is making her closing argument in Florida and Pennsylvania today. We'll look at her message to voters heading into the campaign's final days when we come back.

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Gigot: Hillary Clinton making her closing argument today in the battleground states of Florida and Pennsylvania, where the polls have tightened heading into the campaign's final days.

Here's Clinton in Pembroke Pines, Fla., earlier today, driving home her message of experience:

Mrs. Clinton: As your first lady, I helped to create the children's health insurance program, which insures eight million kids a year. As senator, I worked to rebuild New York City, make our country safer, and get our first responders the health care they need. As your secretary of state, I traveled to 112 countries. I've stood up for human rights, women's rights, worker rights and LBGT rights. I have spent my career fighting for kids and families. And if you elect me, that's what I'll keep doing!

Here's what I want you to remember. I want to be the president for everybody! Everybody who agrees with me, people who don't agree with me—people who vote for me, people who don't vote for me!

Gigot: Jason, the crowd is enthusiastic. Are you as enthusiastic about that message?

Riley: Well, I think it's a truthful message. She is trying to appeal, expand her appeal in these closing days. And you can see that in her reaching out. But like Trump, she's also got some issues with her base. Black voter turnout is down, for instance, so she's trying to shore that up. Young people are not as enthusiastic about her. So you see her campaigning—

Gigot: But how does that—how does that message get the black vote out? I mean, I understand why Jay Z and Beyoncé—

Riley: That's it—

Gigot: She's bringing in Obama.

Riley: Obama appeared on a black radio talk show, Tom Joyner , huge black audience, saying to blacks: You've got to get out. I know I'm not on the ballot, but you've got to come out. They've realized they have a problem with certain voters.

She's also, though, still focused on Trump's character, Paul. She is hammering this home. She's still campaigning with the Miss Universe that he got into the spat with. She's still hammering away—women, minorities, comments about those groups, and she's staying focused—

Gigot: Just to put a number on that black vote, there was 13% of the overall turnout of African-Americans in 2012. Before Obama ran in 2004, it was 9%. That's a huge chunk of the electorate.

Riley: She's also up, though, among Hispanics. But there's—

Gigot: That's right. You agree with Jason, this is—

Henninger: By and large. I mean, leaving aside whether the American people want to listen to what we just listened to for another four years, which I think is a big question, that would be tough to take.

Her final ad, her closing ad, is a kind of generic sentimental ad about faces and little kids and so forth. Here's one of the things about Hillary Clinton . She is not the candidate of change. Why? Because she's running to secede Barack Obama , and she can't run out there criticizing the incumbent president of the United States, who's out there on the stump, actually telling people to elect her because "you'll be extending my presidency." He is literally telling black voters, "Do this for me."

Gigot: Yeah, that was a biographical spot for her. It wasn't really defending the last eight years, James.

Freeman: No. And she doesn't—by the way, she doesn't want to talk about the Obama record. She also doesn't want to talk about her record. She glosses very quickly over this résumé. And as you heard, there's not a lot of achievement in there. Just to translate for people, when she talks about standing up for children and families, she worked for a group that worked very hard to prevent school systems from suspending disruptive students and also to help make public education much more expensive. So there's really not a great record to run on there.

Gigot: If she wins, Kim, why do you think she will win? What are her strengths?

Strassel: If she wins, it will be because she made this entirely about Donald Trump . And she somehow managed to get across the message that he's not fit to hold the office. Because one thing that's notable here in the closing days is how substance-free she is on her own agenda. She is talking about a happy message of unity, and she's talking about the problems with Donald Trump , but she's not talking about her own policies and what she plans to do. I think that's because she knows that they wouldn't necessarily be very popular with a lot of the people that she needs to turn out.

Gigot: Let's get a chunk of that Katy Perry ad for Hillary Clinton here, this last ad.

Perry: You hear my voice, you hear that sound / Like thunder, gonna shake the ground / You held me down, but I got up / Get ready 'cause I've had enough / I got the eye of the tiger, a fighter dancing through the fire / Because I am a champion and you're going to hear me roar

Gigot: Kim, that kind of proves your point about substance-free. That's a lot of generic respect, courage, all good things, we like them. But doesn't tell you what she's going to do in office.

Strassel: No. Beyond reminding us that Katy Perry has endorsed her, there isn't much that you get out of that ad. So, again, if she wins, it's because she will have pounded relentlessly in these last months about Donald Trump and his issue with women, Donald Trump and whether you can trust him with the nuclear controls. She's preying off a lot of fears out there, in particular among more-educated white voters and some traditional Republican voters.

Gigot: And if she loses—

Henninger: If she loses—I want to focus on something Jason raised here, which is the black vote. We know the percentage will be high. The question is: What will the numbers be? What will the turnout be? They're very worried. If black turnout is low in Florida, North Carolina, Michigan and Wisconsin, Trump could carry those states and change the electoral map. Keep an eye on the black vote Tuesday night.

Gigot: But, ultimately, isn't this—if she loses, it will be about her? Because she has not—because of the ethics and the scandals and the idea that, do we really want to go another four years with the same policies?

Riley: She represents the establishment. And the question is whether, you know, people want predictability over more risk and what they're getting with Donald Trump . That's—

Gigot: And she has tried relentlessly to make Trump too risky. You seem like—OK, you may not love me, but I'm a safe pair of hands, basically. I've been on a lot of the jobs. And Donald Trump is just a bridge too far, James.

Freeman: Yeah, it's an issue in this campaign other than attacking the opponent. But this safe pair of hands, people have to wonder, do you want another Clinton year of scandal, of questions about the leadership of the country? And we're reminded again—this weekend, news of $1 million from the dictatorship in Qatar, when she was secretary of state, to her foundation that was never reported, she should have, to the government.

Gigot: All right, when we come back, the race for the White House continuing to tighten in the campaign's final days. So which states are must-wins for each candidate on Tuesday? And how are they shaping up? We'll ask pollster Ed Goeas , next.

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Gigot: With just three days to go, the race for the White House continues to tighten within a brand-new FOX News poll showing Hillary Clinton leading Donald Trump by just two points in a four-way match-up. But Tuesday's results all come down to the Electoral College math and a handful of battleground states that still remain too close to call.

Republican pollster Ed Goeas is here with a closer look at the number.

So, Ed, good to have you here with us. Thanks for coming in.

Goeas: Glad to be here, Paul.

Gigot: OK, so, the conventional wisdom is it's a tight race, but Hillary Clinton has a narrow one- to three-point lead. Is that how you see it?

Goeas: I think that's basically where it is. I would put it more three to four points in looking at the polls. In the FOX News poll you just mentioned, came down from a three-point lead to a two-point lead, but the sample weeks ago was seven points net Democrat; the sample this week was even between the two parties. And that's not accounted for the numbers. So I don't know that the numbers would be moving away from Trump, as opposed to towards him, looking at that sample.

But I think the key thing in looking at the data—and this is what I've seen this entire campaign—is that both these candidates have extremely high negatives, and the only thing that has really moved is the strongly unfavorable on both of these candidates, moving up almost to the 50% mark. So I think everyone keeps looking for big movement in the ballot, when in fact it's almost like a governor on a car, it's holding one down, someone starts to break loose and it pulls them back to reason.

Gigot: Doesn't that mean there could be some volatility at the end? If people are unsatisfied with both candidates, couldn't they throw up their hands and say we're willing to go with one or the other and move?

Goeas: I think that's what you saw on the last couple of weeks. As you saw after the "Access Hollywood" tape, you saw Hillary Clinton jump in the numbers. That was not coming from people coming from Trump and moving to her. That was from Johnson to her. And you saw Johnson come down from nine to six points. In this most recent FBI , you didn't see Hillary come down, you saw Trump go up, again, from taking more votes from Johnson. I think that was always the question mark, what were those voters that dislike both of these candidates that were parked with a third party candidate going to do? And I think they've now come home. And that's why you have a much closer race.

Gigot: Where do you think Trump stands vis-à-vis Clinton at the stage of the race, the weekend before the election, compared to where Romney stood with Obama four years ago?

Goeas: Well, we had going into that last election, the race, basically even, between both candidates.

Gigot: That was long. I mean, they were—that was way off.

Goeas: Well, and that's a key point, though, in terms of the real question now, as you see all these individual battleground states get very close, is polling only predicts where the race is if everything else is even. But as you move into this weekend, you're moving from moving the ballot to moving to the polls, to actually vote. And that's where you start looking the at who has more money, who has more ground game, who has more good surrogates out there driving that vote to the polling place. And as we saw on Election Day in 2012, that if one campaign does not have the quality ground game that the other campaign does, it can make a two- or three-point difference at the end of the campaign.

Gigot: The promise of the Trump campaign—and the Cruz campaign also promised this—is that they would drive a higher percentage of white votes than Mitt Romney got. Mitt Romney got 59% of the white vote in the end, but they think they could drive that higher and a higher share of the electorate that was 72% percent last time, and make it even higher, 73%, 74% or 75%. Are we seeing any evidence that that's taking place?

Goeas: You don't. And what you see, quite frankly, inside the white vote, is that Trump is not doing as well with college-educated white females, and even college-educated white men. He's far behind the margin where he needs to be on that. And that's kind of coming into play in this election. They may turn out, but they're not necessarily voting for him.

Gigot: But, Ed, look, you're seeing—let's take states like Iowa and Ohio, right? Romney lost both of them. Trump is up in both of them. And they have a relatively smaller share of the minority vote than some of the other states. And Trump's lead in those states is often attributed to those voters.

Goeas: Well, they are attributed to those voters, and particularly in Iowa. I think Trump is going to win Iowa. I think if you look at the numbers today, assuming that the ground game is even between both those campaigns, I think Trump wins Ohio, come Tuesday night. But that's kind of where the story ends.

Gigot: You don't think Ohio is within reach for Trump?

Goeas: No, I think—I think Trump does win Ohio, assuming everything is the same. But you look at Pennsylvania, you look at North Carolina, you look at Florida, you look at Nevada, all states that Trump probably has to win to get over that 270 mark, those states are a real question mark. They have closed, but the real question is going to become ground game, who does a better job of turning out your vote, on whether he squeaks through on some of those states or, in fact, loses those states.

Gigot: It's been fascinating to see. Could this be the year where you have a different kind of map, where Trump breaks through in one of these Midwestern industrial states, for example, like Wisconsin or Michigan? Michigan's close to even, and Hillary Clinton campaigned there on Friday. It was a surprise to me for her to go there. He sneaks through with one of those states, surprisingly, and then could lose a state where Romney won, like North Carolina or, you know, perhaps Florida. Romney lost that, but it was close.

Goeas: Well, I think both of those—both Florida and North Carolina are on the cusp. I think the—it's kind of a false lead in terms of Michigan, and in Wisconsin, quite frankly.

Gigot: So you don't think he's going to make a breakthrough in any of those. You think he's got to go basically to all the Romney states and then sneak in with Iowa, Ohio, maybe sneak in with a New Hampshire, Colorado, Nevada, something else?

Goeas: I think he needs Nevada. I think he needs Iowa. I think he could do New Hampshire. He has to win North Carolina. He has to win Florida. He has to win Ohio. And I think the real question mark right now is Pennsylvania. The polling is showing it closing there, but because Pennsylvania doesn't have early voting, there's no real feel for, is there a ground game there, quite frankly, on either campaign's side. So Pennsylvania is going to be the race to watch. It's probably one he needs to win. Because just having Iowa, and even Nevada, doesn't get him over the top. So watch Pennsylvania on election night.

Gigot: All right. Thanks very much, Ed. Appreciate your coming in.

Goeas: Thank you.

Gigot: Still ahead, Democrats ratchet up their criticism of FBI director James Comey amid new reports of tensions inside the bureau and the Justice Department over how to investigate the Democratic nominee.

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Gigot: Top Democrats have ratcheted up their criticism of FBI Director James Comey for going public with a decision to revisit the Hillary Clinton email probe just days before the election. House Minority Leader Nancy Pelosi suggested this week that Comey may not be right for the job or not be in the right job, while New York Sen. Chuck Schumer called his actions appalling, adding that he had lost confidence in the director.

President Obama weighed in on the controversy once again, in an interview yesterday on MSNBC:

Obama: Historically, both under Democratic and Republican administrations, our goal has been and should be that our investigators and our prosecutors are independent of politics, that they're not politicized, that they're not used as a weapon to advantage either side in partisan arguments. And I want to make sure that we continue with that tradition and with that norm.

Gigot: We're back with Dan Henninger, Jason Riley, James Freeman and Kim Strassel.

So, Kim, you wrote about it this week. The president is—the Justice Department works for him. These people have to make decisions based on facts. To have your boss weigh in and suggest that James Comey was in the wrong here—that's putting your hand on the scales.

Strassel: Of course it is! And of course, the entire joke of this, as well, too, is he is criticizing James Comey at the very moment that we know that, in fact, if there's anybody that's been involved in politics, it's been the Department of Justice and his appointees, who we now have pretty good information to suggest they have in fact been helping out Hillary Clinton from behind the scenes for a long time, putting pressure on the FBI not to pursue a true foundation organization—investigation, and probably standing in the way of Comey's work in terms of her emails.

Gigot: Give us a specific example. There's a Justice Department aide called Peter Kadzik, who is an assistant attorney general for legislative affairs, very close to Clinton campaign chairman John Podesta . What have we learned that he did?

Strassel: Very close. By the way, they are old Georgetown law school buddies. They dine out together. Kadzik's son went to work for the Clinton campaign. He sent an email earlier this year or last year, in which he gave a heads-up about a hearing that was coming and also made some comments about a filing that had been made by the Department of Justice. And you know how the—you know, the Department of Justice say, well, no big deal, he did this on his personal email and his personal time. Baloney! He is a top person at the Department of Justice who should be having no interaction whatsoever with a presidential campaign.

Gigot: James, what about the pressure and the extraordinary leaks here between—about the Justice Department and the FBI ? There seems to be dissension inside the FBI about how they should have handled this. And there's real tension, we've now learned, between the Justice Department and the FBI over how the handling of this, including whether or not they gave an order to stand down—that is, the Justice Department gave an order to the FBI to stand down on any investigation of the Clinton Foundation .

Freeman: Right. And I think this is significant—that FBI agents wanted to proceed. They thought they had a case, not just on the emails but on the Clinton Foundation , of corruption—

Gigot: They wanted to pursue it.

Freeman: They wanted to pursue it.

Gigot: They had the case and the evidence assembled. They wanted to—

Freeman: They wanted to pursue it.

Gigot: OK.

Freeman: What's significant about this—FBI agents, there are no political appointees. They are career public servants. The Justice Department leadership is politically appointed.

Gigot: Right, and we want it to be. Because if the president wins, he wants to appoint—

Freeman: But much of the media is portraying this as some kind of political action by the FBI . The political actors are all at Justice, trying to impede this investigation.

Gigot: You don't think the FBI could ever be politically motivated?

Freeman: I think the political interference has come from the president, right from the very start, getting back to the email thing, when he said, publicly, he kept insisting Hillary Clinton had no intent to harm the United States. And that is the logic that James Comey adopted when he gave her a pass this past summer.

As we know, you do not need to intend to harm the United States to be prosecuted for mishandling classified information. And the government has prosecuted others.

Gigot: There's real pressure here now, from Democrats, for James Comey to have another statement, telling before the election, maybe Sunday or Monday, saying what was in those emails they are now looking at from Anthony Weiner 's laptop.

Henninger: Yeah, and I just can't imagine that he's going to give a statement like that, because this is an investigation that's in progress.

Let's admit that Comey has screwed it up from the beginning. Still, he's the director of the FBI. We are in a fantastic situation. The Federal Bureau of Investigationis the most important law-enforcement agency in the United States. Here you have the president of the United States, now politician in chief, putting his thumb on the scale, and Hillary Clinton as well. It looks to me like the Democrats, including possibly Hillary Clinton , if she wins the presidency, will be completely **alienated**from the FBI . And you cannot have a government in which you have law enforcement agents, like the FBI , not trusting their commander in chief.

Gigot: Is this having a big political effect in the last week?

Riley: I don't think it's going to have that big of an effect, Paul. I think a lot of this is baked in. We're not learning new information in particular. We're just learning more information about old scandals that we already knew existed. So I think that's going to have a limited political impact. It does suggest, though, however, that Hillary Clinton drags a lot of baggage into a new administration.

Gigot: Kim, what price will Hillary Clinton pay if she wins for all of this? Are we likely to have a big problem with her administration later?

Strassel: Well, not just with her administration later, but, look, we're looking where we could have some sort of a crisis here, in that if she is elected and she is waiting to take office and then we get emails that come out that show beyond a shadow of a doubt a pay-to-play situation or something else, the FBI continues with this, and then recommends charges, or Congress feels as though it needs to move on impeachment, I mean, this would be unprecedented. And so, I mean, not to mention all the things that Dan said, that going forward, I think, is going to be very difficult for her to govern with any legitimacy, given the number of people that believe she acted inappropriately in both of these situations.

Gigot: OK. And there's no doubt there's going some kind of congressional investigation of the investigation.

Still ahead, the battle for the control of the Senate goes down to the wire as Republicans fight to keep their majority. We'll look at the races to watch in the campaign's closing days.

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Gigot: Republicans are in a fierce battle to maintain control of the Senate, where they are defending a whopping 24 seats on Tuesday, compared to just 10 for Democrats. And new polls out this week show the race tightening in some key states. In Wisconsin, incumbent Republican senator Ron Johnson appears to be closing the gap with Democrat Russ Feingold, whose lead is now less than three points in the latest RealClearPolitics average, down from almost 7 last week. But in Pennsylvania it's the Democrat who is gaining, with Katie McGinty overtaking incumbent Republican senator Pat Toomey . She now leads in the RealClearPolitics average by almost three points. That race was tied just one week ago.

So a couple of weeks ago, Dan, the Republican Senate looked like it was lost. Now there's people that I know, pollsters, people saying, they could sneak through with a majority with 51. What's happened?

Henninger: Yeah. Well, the Senate is going to be Tuesday night's undercard. And it is going to be exciting. It's going to be so much fun to watch it. Because, look, the almighty polls have been flipped from one end to the other in a lot of these races. And some weeks Kelly Ayotte is down by four. A week later, she's up over—

Gigot: But what accounts for Ayotte's rally?

Henninger: Well, I think because Ayotte has been running a pretty strong campaign. Most of these Republicans have found their feet, Pat Toomey in Pennsylvania. And maybe not so much Richard Burr in—

Gigot: North Carolina.

Henninger: —North Carolina. He's been having problems. But most of these races, I think, have tightened because people are beginning to figure out or decide, do they want—if Hillary Clinton looks like she's winning, do they want divided government? Do they want to give control of the Senate to Republicans?

Gigot: Here's what's happening in Wisconsin. Ron Johnson threw out his Beltway advisers and consultants got some lower—he said he started running excellent ads that reminded people who he is: a manufacturer, an outsider, not somebody who's part of the problem. And Russ Feingold, others have been reminding them that he was a three-term senator. And he's got nothing—he's bringing nothing new to the table. So that has reshaped that race.

What about Toomey, though? Because Toomey has been doing well, Jason, in the Philadelphia suburbs, where you've got to do well, if you're a Republican, not so well in the Western part of the state.

Riley: Well, Toomey, that race is always going to be a squeaker. It was a squeaker for Toomey to get in. It's just a very closely divided state.

But Toomey's a quality candidate. I have not ruled him out yet. And I think he's typical of the candidates that are up the cycle in the Senate, where they're talking about Marco Rubio , Ron Johnson, Pat Toomey —these are strong candidates. And I think the left and the Democrats overplayed their hand a little bit with the Trump card, just going out there and saying we're going to link every Republican candidate to Donald Trump and drag them down. It hasn't worked, as planned.

Gigot: Todd Young in Indiana, also sneaking ahead of Evan Bayh , the former senator and former governor.

Freeman: Right.

Gigot: The Democrats bet that he could come in—big pile of money, famous name. But he also has a record that Republicans have exploited.

Freeman: Yeah, I think they were hoping voters had forgotten about the ObamaCare votes. You look at premium increases everywhere, people have not forgotten. And it seems like a bad time to run this sort of Mr. Washington Insider, which is really who Evan Bayh is. But, again, versus a couple of months ago, a tough map. You talk about the real clear average, if every Senator ahead wins in that average, Republicans end up with 52 seats. So this is definitely much better than where they thought they were going to be a while ago. We're going to see, as it closes here—I like Ron Johnson closing hard in Wisconsin. Richard Burr , he's made some mistakes in North Carolina. But his opponent, an ACLU lobbyist, probably too far left for the state. She ended up saying that she lobbied against a sex offender registry, but actually she was for it.

Gigot: Here's the problem with Burr, though. He took that race for granted. He got after her. He thought he had an easy opponent. And he really hasn't rehabilitated his own image. He's attacking her on the same points you're making, but he hasn't showed people, OK, vote for me. That's one way Roy Blunt in Missouri has rehabilitated himself some ways with some positive ads. You haven't seen that in North Carolina.

Riley: He's in trouble. He's been painted as an insider, he and his family as lobbyists. And it's working for his opponent.

Gigot: Kim, how do you see it? What are your sources telling you about this Senate campaign? Any surprises, you expect?

Strassel: Well, there is a lot of worry about Missouri, in particular, and Roy Blunt . And that would be one of the surprises of the night. The Republicans are doing much better than they were a week ago. People are feeling much more confident. But you could end up having one of these topsy-turvy moments where a guy like Roy Blunt loses. In this case, he's also up against a very dynamic, younger generation millennial, former veteran, who defies a lot of the stereotypes of Democratic candidates. And that is going to be a tough race.

Gigot: And what about Florida, Kim? Do you think Marco Rubio is going to pull it out? He was leading for quite a while, pretty comfortably, and then it got close, and then they came in with a bunch of ads against Patrick Murphy, the congressman.

Strassel: Yeah, Patrick Murphy, not a great candidate. Marco Rubio was leading. Look, I think Rubio has sort of been hurt a little bit by Hillary Clinton 's massive investment in Florida and her organizational ground game, which has bled off and helped Murphy some. Now that the Republicans are putting their eye back on the ball, he seems to be getting his footing again. Came out of a couple of really good debates, too, where he ran circles around his competitor.

Gigot: Upset pick, Dan?

Henninger: Ron Johnson in Wisconsin.

Riley: Richard Burr in North Carolina.

Riley: Toomey wins Pennsylvania.

Gigot: Kim, who's your upset pick?

Strassel: Joe Heck in Nevada.

Gigot: I'm going with Ron Johnson in Wisconsin.

When we come back, voters in states across the country facing more than merely a choice for president and Congress on Tuesday. From legalizing pot to creating a single-payer health care system, we'll take a look at what else is on the ballot, next.

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Gigot: Voters in states across the country are facing more than merely a choice between Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton on Tuesday, with measures on the ballot to legalize marijuana, increase the minimum wage, even create a single-payer health care system.

So, Kim, we also have some big tax increases on the ballot in a lot of states. Taxes and more taxes—what are the worst?

Strassel: This is the year for big tax hike proposals. You see them in Maine, in Colorado; a first-ever carbon tax proposal in Washington State. But the biggies are Oregon, where there is a proposed 2.5% tax on gross receipts for companies. This tax is so big it would increase the general fund in Oregon by a third if it were to pass.

Gigot: Wow.

Strassel: And down in California, a proposal to extend, which was really more like making permanent, what was supposed to be some temporary tax increases on income taxes for higher earners in California.

Gigot: Also, a big tax increase in Maine, following California. As if Maine doesn't have a problem with people leaving the state—

Strassel: Yeah.

Gigot: —young people, in particular. That's not what you really need. They don't have a Facebook or a Google to draw people to Maine. What's that all about?

Strassel: Yeah. That is a surcharge on higher-income earners there. And that will also be—look, all of these ballot initiatives are about states with kind of middling economies and feel that they need more money. We'll see if the voters are in the mood.

Gigot: You know what's driving it, Kim, it's also the public unions. Because if they raise taxes, this is going to help—they'll use it to raise pay for public workers and pensions, in particular.

Strassel: Yeah.

Gigot: And now this tax increase in California was supposed to be temporary! Now it's going to be semipermanent! Don't ever believe a politician who tells you something is temporary!

Strassel: Never. Nope! This is a public sector's strike-back for some of the reforms you've been seeing going on out there, like in Wisconsin.

Gigot: And speaking of high, Dan, marijuana on the ballot in five states.

Henninger: Yeah. Who could doubt it? It's on the ballot. Legalization is on the ballot in Massachusetts, Arizona, California, Maine and Nevada. National polls show that people favor legalization about 57% to 37%, which is the opposite of what it was 10 years ago. This is mainly because of millennial support for legalization. In Massachusetts, it's up by 55%. The Diocese of Boston has thrown in $750,000 to oppose this, because they think it will damage the people they're trying to help, such as kids. In Colorado, young people are getting access to legalized pot. Criminals are underselling the price of the legalized pot out there. And even employers are saying it's becoming difficult to find workers who can pass drug tests.

Gigot: But other than the diocese, there's not a lot of money against these initiatives, and they're backed by George Soros , the billionaire, backed by the Sean Parker , the Napster co-founder. They've got a lot of big money behind these things.

Henninger: I wish we had more time to see how it worked out in Colorado. I think some of these referendums are getting out ahead of the science. We really don't know what this chemical does to people's brains. It would be nice if we have more information before we legalized it.

Gigot: Particularly developing brains, into their mid to late 20s, where their brain is still developing. Mine has stopped, but theirs are still developing.

All right, minimum wage, Jason?

Riley: Minimum wage hikes are on the ballot in Arizona, Colorado, Maine and Washington state. They'll probably pass in all four of those places. In South Dakota, there's a measure on the ballot to lower the minimum wage for people under the age of 18. We know that it hits younger, less-experienced workers very hard. But it hits everybody. Paul, the same people complaining about the lack of jobs out there, support minimum wage hikes, which we know result in fewer people getting hired. You make it more expensive to hire people, fewer people get hired than would otherwise get hired.

Gigot: And, James, tell us some good news here, man. What about Colorado?

Freeman: Colorado legalized pot and now they're considering all kinds of bad ideas on their ballots. This is the universal insurance idea. This is endorsed by Bernie Sanders. It would basically replace all of private insurance in the state. Universal coverage—10% payroll tax to pay for it, which won't be enough—but this is going to be a program bigger than the entire current government of Colorado.

Gigot: But it looks like it's going to fail, right?

Freeman: I would hope so and I expect so.

Gigot: Kim, let's clean up here with the Massachusetts—some good news, potentially. Massachusetts has an initiative on the ballot to expand charter schools in the state. The legislature, the liberal legislature blocked it. Republican Gov. Charlie Baker put it on the ballot. And yet progressives, Elizabeth Warren, Bernie Sanders, are against more charter schools. How is this breaking out?

Strassel: Watch this space, because, again, Charlie Baker has put a lot of political capital into this, to lift the cap, you'd have up to 12 new charter schools a year around this. They have made the bill in a way to—it's designed to go in certain areas that could really use charter schools. That helps with the support you're seeing.

But you are seeing this fascinating breakdown in the party, in the Democratic Party in the state, where, as you said, you've got progressive politicians, like Warren and Sanders, fighting back against this. But a lot of poor black parents who really want this and are going to switch to the yes side.

Gigot: Thank you, Kim.

We have to take one more break. When we come back, "Hits and Misses" of the week.

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Gigot: Time now for our "Hits and Misses" of the week. Kim, first to you.

Strassel: Well, Paul, obviously, a big hit to the Chicago Cubs for winning their first World Series in 108 years.

Gigot: Yes!

Strassel: But a particular big hit for third baseman Kris Bryant, for the fabulous smile he had on his face as he was fielding the final out. It was a look of pure joy. And every kid out there watching that game—hey, every adult—was reminded why we love baseball.

Gigot: All right. Thanks, Kim. James?

Freeman: I would like to give a hit to the opponents, the Cleveland Indians . Unfortunately, the drought continues. And now it looks like Major League Baseball is pressuring them to get rid of their—

Gigot: Are you trying to rub it in?

Freeman: No.

Gigot: You know, he's from Cleveland.

Freeman: Now they want to get rid of the mascot. Apparently it's supposed to be offensive to Native Americans. Is the Michigan State Spartan mascot offensive to Greeks? Do we think Tommy Trojan at USC is some kind of a slur against Turks? This has got to end somewhere? The swinging friar of the San Diego Padres is a knock on Catholics? I don't think so.

Gigot: All right, Jason?

Riley: This is a hit for the Country Music Awards Ceremony this week, which took place less than a week before Election Day, but managed to keep politics out of the ceremonies, pretty much. You know, we've become so accustomed to celebrities using these acceptance speeches to ram their politics down our throat. It was just nice to see an awards ceremony stick to what they are there to do. And I'm sure there are a lot of people who can't wait for this campaign to be over. We're happy for the reprieve.

Gigot: Including you?

Riley: Yes.

Gigot: Dan?

Henninger: Well, I'm running out of time on this program, Paul, to give misses to Barack Obama , so let's get to it. He was in Ohio this week and he was telling a crowd there's a reason why we haven't had a woman president. And he said, some of you guys out there kind of look inside of yourselves and see if you have problems with this stuff, the idea being sexism is keeping Hillary Clinton from being president. I don't know whether Obama believes this, but it is total malarkey. Sexism didn't stop Theresa May from becoming head of the United Kingdom. There are women—

Gigot: Angela Merkel !

Henninger: Angela Merkel , the head of Taiwan, the head of North—South Korea. Hillary Clinton 's problems are about something else.

Gigot: All right.

And remember, if you have your own "Hit or Miss," be sure to tweet it to us, @JERonFNC [https://twitter.com/jeronfnc/]. That's it for this week's show. Thanks to my panel. Thanks to all of you for watching. Thanks to the Chicago Cubs . I'm Paul Gigot. We hope to see you right here next week.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**The bloody efforts of the Democratic Republic of Congo's longtime president to retain power have plunged the country further into violent crisis and risk undoing the fragile stability of one of the world's most mineral-rich economies.

Joseph Kabila, once hailed as the deft negotiator who ended Africa's deadliest war, in recent months has canceled elections slated for November and insisted the government needs more preparation time. More than 50 people were killed in a two-day government crackdown in September, the United Nations said.

On Oct. 17, Mr. Kabila's ruling coalition formally announced it would postpone elections until at least 2018. The widely expected decision marked the latest dispiriting twist for opposition supporters who braved the streets for months and could signal an ominous new chapter in political confrontation.

The delay has **alienated** Mr. Kabila's allies at home and abroad—including the U.S.—who once vaunted the 45-year-old former rebel commander as the hope for Congo's stability.

A poll published on Tuesday by Congo Research Group indicates that some 81% of Congolese are opposed to amending the constitution to allow Mr. Kabila extend his term.

The future of this country of 77 million people rests on which version of Mr. Kabila emerges from the standoff—the peacemaker or the tyrant, who may sink his country back into conflict.

His supporters say Congo lacks the resources to organize a credible election. But diplomats warn that street battles and floundering commodity prices risk steering Congo to economic and political ruin.

"Congo is drifting toward a violent path, but the danger can be avoided," said Thomas Perriello, the U.S. special envoy to the Great Lakes Region, which also includes Burundi, Kenya, Rwanda, Tanzania and Uganda.

Born and raised in a rebel camp in Congo's forested eastern gold and tin heartlands, where his father Laurent Kabila was leading a guerrilla war against strongman Mobuto Sese Seko, Mr. Kabila rose through rebel ranks. He became president at the age of 29, after his father was assassinated in 2001.

Soon, the Chinese-trained two-star general sealed peace deals with dozens of rebel groups, concluding a five-year regional conflict that cost more than six million lives across sub-Saharan Africa's largest nation.

Investors returned to the country, which holds huge reserves of copper, gold, cobalt and coltan, a metal used in smartphones and personal computers. Abandoned mines started reopening, aiding the turnaround of the once-shattered economy, to post one of the fastest growth rates in the world in recent years, according to the World Bank.

Mr. Kabila prefers to take the lead in negotiations with foreign investors, people close to him say, but the bargaining skills that saw Mr. Kabila make peace in the early 2000s aren't helping much this time.

His ruling coalition has splintered, costing him several hitherto allied parties and influential figures, including Moise Katumbi, the wealthy former governor of copper-producing Katanga province, and Vital Kamerhe, head of the Union for the Congolese Nation party. The majority of the political parties have stayed away from talks to put in place a transitional government.

"President Kabila is letting down the Congolese people and the international community," said Sasha Lezhnev, a policy analyst with U.S.-based rights group Enough Project.

Critics accuse Mr. Kabila of plotting to prolong his time in power and eventually change Congo's constitution to allow him to stand for a third term. His supporters deny the allegation.

Lambert Mende, Congo's information minister, said Mr. Kabila wants to leave behind a sound democracy. "For him, it's an unfinished journey" Mr. Mende said, adding that claims that the president planned to change the constitution were "Western propaganda."

By using force to silence opponents, Mr. Kabila, who routinely tours the countryside with columns of machine-gun-toting guards, has become the latest symbol of a typical African strongman. In recent months, heads of state in neighboring Republic of Congo, Rwanda and Burundi have changed laws to extend their mandates.

"The trend must not be encouraged to continue," Mr. Perriello said.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**No matter who wins Tuesday's presidential election, now ought to be the time that policy makers in Washington come together to tackle America's greatest economic problem: sclerotic growth. The recession ended more than seven years ago. Unemployment has returned to normal levels. Yet gross domestic product is rising at half its postwar average rate. Achieving better growth is possible, but it will require deep structural reforms.

The policy worthies have said for eight years: stimulus today, structural reform tomorrow. Now it's tomorrow, but novel excuses for stimulus keep coming. "Secular stagnation" or "hysteresis" account for slow growth. Prosperity demands more borrowing and spending—even on bridges to nowhere—or deliberate inflation or negative interest rates. Others advocate surrender. More growth is impossible. Accept and manage mediocrity.

But for those willing to recognize the simple lessons of history, slow growth is not hard to diagnose or to cure. The U.S. economy suffers from complex, arbitrary and politicized regulation. The ridiculous tax system and badly structured social programs discourage work and investment. Even internet giants are now running to Washington for regulatory favors.

If you think robust growth is impossible, consider a serious growth-oriented policy program—one that could even satisfy many of the left's desires.

• Taxes. The ideal tax system raises revenue for the government while distorting economic decisions as little as possible. A pure tax on consumption, with no corporate, income, estate, or other taxes is pretty close to that ideal.

The U.S. tax system is the opposite: By exempting lots of income, the government raises relatively little money. Yet an extra dollar is heavily taxed, greatly lowering incentives and encouraging people to find or create exemptions. This massive complexity and obscurity undermine faith in the system.

Progressives, ponder this: With a sales tax of only 25%, the government would likely have gotten a lot more money from Donald Trump—who has employed complex but legal tax-avoidance schemes—than it did by purporting to tax income at high rates.

• Regulation. U.S. regulation is arbitrary, slow, discretionary and politicized. Speak out on the wrong side of the party in power and some federal agency will be after you.

Imagine a deep rule-of-law regulatory reform, along the lines proposed by House Speaker Paul Ryan's "Better Way" plan. Congress must review and approve major regulations. People and businesses have a right to see evidence and appeal. Regulators face a shot clock—no more years and years of delays on decisions. Agencies must conduct serious, transparent and retrospective cost-benefit analysis.

Imagine a similar deep reform of state and local restrictions including zoning laws and occupational-licensing regulations.

• Social programs. When many people earn an extra dollar, they lose more than a dollar of benefits. If we fixed these disincentives, more Americans would work—and fewer would need benefits.

• Health. Replace ObamaCare with a simple health-insurance voucher. Deregulate insurance and entry into health care dramatically.

• Finance. Replace strangling regulation of financial companies with a simple rule: If you issue enough equity that stockholders bear the risks, you can do what you want. Rep. Jeb Hensarling has proposed such legislation. Hearty competition is the best consumer protection.

• Labor. The best worker protection is a worker's ability to swiftly change jobs. This is more likely if employers do not face a mountain of red tape, complex rules and legal liability.

• **Immigration** and trade. The politically incorrect truth: Allowing Americans to buy from the best supplier and permitting people who want to work and start businesses to **immigrate** is good for the economy. Trying to impoverish China will not revive America.

• Education. Let lower-income Americans get a decent education from charter schools and vouchers.

• Energy. Trade all the crony subsidies and credits and regulations for a simple uniform revenue-neutral carbon tax. The country will have more growth and less carbon.

It would take an entrenched obtuseness to claim such a program cannot substantially improve economic output and incomes. If you claim such good policy cannot help, then it follows that bad policies do not hurt. Nativism, trade barriers, overregulation, legal capture, high taxes, controlled markets and people excluded from work won't hurt our slow but positive growth. Don't give populists cover to try it again.

If you object that such good policy is politically infeasible, then you at least grant that robust growth is economically possible. And small steps help. Current bipartisan proposals to reform taxes, Social Security, **immigration**, the regulatory state and trade agreements would go a long way to reviving growth. Have a bit more faith in democracy.

On the other hand, the major party presidential candidates' signature plans—child-care tax credits, college subsidies, higher taxes on people who don't hire good enough lawyers; threatening a trade war and deporting millions of unauthorized **immigrants**—cannot revive substantial growth.

So why is there so little talk of serious growth-oriented policy? Regulated and protected industries and unions, and the politicians who extract support from them in return for favors, will lose enormously. The global policy elite, steeped in Keynesian demand management for the economy as a whole, and microregulation of individual businesses, are intellectually unprepared for the hard project of "structural reform"—fixing the entire economy by cleaning up the thousands of little messes. Even economists fight to protect outdated skills.

Mr. Cochrane is a senior fellow of the Hoover Institution and an adjunct scholar of the Cato Institute.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**NEW DELHI—U.K. Prime Minister Theresa May said she would make it easier for Indian businesspeople to travel to Britain, as she arrived in India for her first trip focused on expanding trade [http://blogs.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/indiarealtime/2016/11/06/theresa-may-set-for-tricky-trade-talks-in-india/]once the U.K. leaves the European Union.

As Britain maps out plans to withdraw from the bloc[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/u-k-projected-to-leave-european-union-1466740486], backers of its exit argue the country has plenty of other trade options and will have the flexibility to hammer out deals quickly. With its historic ties to Britain and rapidly growing economy, India is seen as a key opportunity, and the expedited entry for businesspeople is part of plans to ensure the U.K. remains one of the most attractive countries for business post-Brexit.

But as Mrs. May seeks to strengthen economic ties over the two-day trip, she will likely have to grapple with demands from the Indian government for much bigger concessions on **immigration**—an issue at the heart of Britons' decision to leave the European Union.

Mrs. May defended Britain's approach to issuing visas for Indians, saying the system worked well.

"We have a visa system for countries outside the European Union which ensures the brightest and the best are able to come to the United Kingdom," Mrs. May said. "Nine out of 10 visa applications from India are already accepted."

Vikas Swarup, a spokesman for the Indian government, said New Delhi had raised concerns about the difficulties faced by Indians wanting to study in the U.K. and that he expects the issues will be raised during Mrs. May's visit.

Relaxing restrictions on visas for Indians who want to work and study in the U.K. would be a huge concession for Mrs. May, who on Sunday reiterated that a key reason underpinning the U.K.'s vote to leave the bloc was frustration over Britain's lack of control over **immigration**. "I believe it's important for the U.K. government to deliver on that," she said.

Vince Cable, a former government minister from the EU-friendly Liberal Democrat party who was involved in long-running, stalled trade talks between the EU and India, said the U.K. was one of the major stumbling blocks. Mrs. May, who was home secretary at the time, was instrumental in pushing the U.K. line that it wouldn't make it easier for Indians to work in Britain. Another obstacle was reluctance from both the EU and India to reduce barriers to their agricultural markets.

"Given her position on **immigration** is even harder now than it was before, it's impossible to see how we can get an agreement with India which is remotely attractive," Mr. Cable said.

India's caution toward international trade mirrors a similar trend around the world, including in the U.S., where both presidential candidates have expressed skepticism. India has lagged behind its neighbors in lowering barriers to international trade, and in 2014, it threatened to derail a World Trade Organization deal that would simplify global customs procedures. Mrs. May said there is a need to promote the benefits of free trade in the wake of criticism about international trade.

Any free-trade deal with India would take years to implement, and the U.K. can't finalize any deals until it leaves the EU, which is on course to happen in 2019[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/u-k-s-may-plans-to-trigger-article-50-by-end-of-march-1475401597]. Mrs. May said the government has strong legal arguments that it would take to the Supreme Court in its appeal of a ruling by a U.K. court last week. The ruling, which said Mrs. May must get parliamentary approval[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/brexit-legal-challenge-set-for-court-ruling-1478159686] before formally beginning Brexit, could potentially delay her plans to start talks by March.

Anand Menon, European politics professor at King's College London, said India will want to wait and see how the U.K.'s trade talks with the EU play out before getting into detailed negotiations. Indian companies—the third-largest source of foreign direct investment into the U.K.—have used investments in the U.K. as a jumping off point to the European market.

"It would be naive to think anyone would finalize a deal with us until they know what it means for their ability to use us as a base to reach the European market," Mr. Menon said.

Niharika Mandhana contributed to this article.

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

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**LONDON—U.K. Prime Minister Theresa May is traveling to India on Sunday to make the case for strengthening economic ties with the world's fastest-growing major economy, her first trip focused on expanding trade post-Brexit.

But as she seeks to lay the foundations for a trade deal during the two-day trip, she will likely have to grapple with the government of Prime Minister Narendra Modi's demands regarding **immigration**—an issue at the heart of Britons' decision to leave the European Union[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/u-k-projected-to-leave-european-union-1466740486].

As Britain maps out its plans to extricate itself from the bloc[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/u-k-prime-minister-theresa-may-tries-to-assure-european-leaders-over-brexit-plans-1478263417], backers of its exit argue the country has plenty of other trade options and will have the flexibility to hammer out deals quickly. Because of its historic ties to Britain and rapidly growing economy, India is seen as a key opportunity.

A U.K. official said Mrs. May wants to establish a dialogue with her Indian counterpart to explore a more ambitious trading relationship once the U.K. leaves the EU. At a technology summit in New Delhi on Monday, she will speak to entrepreneurs and business leaders from both countries about the potential for increased cooperation.

"This is a partnership about our shared security and shared prosperity. It is a partnership of potential," Mrs. May said ahead of the trip. "And on this visit I intend to harness that potential, rebooting an age-old relationship in this age of opportunity and with that helping to build a better Britain."

In any trade deal, the Indian government is expected to demand relaxed restrictions on visas for Indians who want to work and study in the U.K. That would be a huge concession for Mrs. May, who has approached upcoming exit talks with the EU with a pledge to cut **immigration** drastically.

Vikas Swarup, a spokesman for the Indian government, said New Delhi had raised concerns about the difficulties faced by Indians wanting to study in the U.K., and that he expects the issues will be raised during Mrs. May's visit.

The U.K. official said the issue may come up in a bilateral meeting with Mr. Modi and that the country has been clear about its approach to **immigration**.

"We want to attract the brightest and the best, while doing more to control migration and bringing it down to sustainable levels," the official said.

"Whenever there's any discussion between the U.K. and India, the first thing the India wants is more visa access. And we say ‘no,'" said Gareth Price, a senior research fellow at Chatham House, an independent policy institute based in London.

Vince Cable, a former government minister from the EU-friendly Liberal Democrat party who was involved in long-running, stalled trade talks between the EU and India, said the U.K. was one of the major stumbling blocks. Mrs. May, who was home secretary at the time, was instrumental in pushing the U.K. line that it wouldn't make it easier for Indians to work in Britain. Another obstacle was reluctance from both the EU and India to reduce barriers to their agricultural markets.

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Niharika Mandhana in New Delhi contributed to this article.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**STOCKTON, Calif.—Forget about the Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump show; Californians are being bombarded with competing TV and newspaper ads about a ballot initiative known as "Prop 53," some featuring a frowning Gov. Jerry Brown complaining about the "one millionaire" who is behind it.

That man is Dean "Dino" Cortopassi, a wealthy farmer who, with his wife Joan, has bankrolled the campaign to approve Proposition 53, which would make it tougher for the state government to fund high-price high-impact public-works projects.

The Cortopassis have donated $5.5 million to promote the measure, while the "no" side, led by state officials as well as labor and business groups, has raised more than $20 million to defeat it.

Two of the public works projects that could be subject to Prop 53—high speed rail and huge tunnels to transport water to Southern California—are hallmarks of the Democratic Gov. Brown's administration.

The battle over Prop 53 has pitted the state's 78-year-old top politician against a 79-year-old farmer, who is a former Republican who switched to the Democratic Party two years ago.

California's propositions are proposals citizens can get on the ballot and which become law if approved at the ballot box.

If passed, Prop 53 would require a public vote before any revenue bonds can be issued on state projects costing more than $2 billion. Mr. Cortopassi said bonds for such projects, which currently can be issued by the legislature without a public vote, amount to a blank check.

"The biggest damn problem we have is debt that is going to crush millions of people," said Mr. Cortopassi, banging his fist on a wooden table at his office, which is surrounded by orchards outside this Central Valley city.

He cited bonds issued over the past decade to help finance the rebuilding of the San Francisco-Oakland Bay Bridge. The cost of that project soared from an initial estimate of about $1 billion to more than $6 billion when it was completed in 2013. That spending added to the state's total public indebtedness of more than $340 billion, putting in jeopardy future spending on everything from schools to libraries, he said.

Gov. Brown and many business and labor groups say adoption of Prop 53 would hamstring critical projects, including emergency efforts to replace damaged roads and buildings after an earthquake. "Cortopassi wants to run the risk of utter economic catastrophe for California," Gov. Brown said in an interview on Friday. "It would lead to more lawsuits and delays that California doesn't need."

Still, the state's Legislative Analyst's Office has concluded the initiative, if it becomes law, likely would cover relatively few projects because those requiring more than $2 billion in funding are a rarity.

Mr. Cortopassi also said the measure wouldn't undermine emergency work, since disaster-relief funding usually doesn't come from revenue bonds.

Prop 53 illustrates a quirk of California politics that favors groups and individuals with the resources to gather the hundreds of thousands of signatures typically needed to put a proposal up for a referendum vote.

"The danger is we have measures before voters that don't necessarily reflect the public's will," said James Mayer, president and chief executive officer of California Forward, a nonprofit government reform group in Sacramento. California Forward hasn't taken a position on Prop 53.

His detractors say Mr. Cortopassi is more narrowly motivated to starve funding for a project he has vigorously opposed—$17 billion twin tunnels that would divert water to Southern California from the state's northern mountains, bypassing the ecologically sensitive Sacramento-San Joaquin Delta where Mr. Cortopassi has built a farming conglomerate.

He and many other farmers in the delta oppose the tunnel project, in part because they fear it would seriously damage their ecosystem.

Mr. Cortopassi insists his position on the tunnels has nothing to do with Proposition 53, saying that assertion is being made as part of a smear campaign by opponents who have an interest in maintaining the status quo.

Other supporters of the proposition include taxpayer rights groups. "Every porker has their snout in the public trough lined up on the other side," he said, referring to special-interest projects aimed at benefiting a politician's constituency, known as pork-barrel politics.

Rather, he said he came to view of debt as a public threat after watching his hometown of Stockton go through a financial crisis after the 2008-2009 recession that saw the city go it into and then out of bankruptcy proceedings, eventually making deep spending cuts, including the closure of a public library near the working-class neighborhood in which he grew up.

The son of Italian **immigrants**, Mr. Cortopassi went on to amass large farming and agribusiness holdings. "In the **immigrant** community I grew up in, the American dream was getting ahead," he said.

Mr. Cortopassi said he and his wife started taking out full-page newspaper ads in 2014 titled "Liar, Liar, Pants on Fire" that attacked Mr. Brown and other lawmakers' use of debt to achieve balanced budgets.

In early 2015, he filed the application for Proposition 53. "My wife and I said: ‘Somebody has to do something about this'," he said.

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More on California

\* California Developers and School Districts Fight Governor Over School Bond [http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/california-developers-and-school-districts-fight-governor-over-school-bond-1478358000] Nov. 5)

\* California, Take Your Senate Pick: Democrat or Democrat [http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/california-take-your-senate-pick-democrat-or-democrat-1478216125] (Nov. 3)

\* San Francisco to Turn Much Public Housing Over to Private Owners [http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/san-francisco-to-turn-much-public-housing-over-to-private-owners-1478187049] (Nov. 3)

\* Big Quakes in California Possibly Triggered by Oil Production, Study Says [http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/big-quakes-in-california-possibly-triggered-by-oil-production-study-says-1477966625] (Oct. 31)

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Put me down as an early-and-often believer in Russian meddling in the U.S. election. In the first weeks after Donald Trump's splashy entry into the race, certain emails arrived in my inbox defending him that had a distinct Russian-troll flavor.

This was troublemaking for the sake of troublemaking, I assumed at the time. The FBI apparently agrees, according to the New York Times, concluding[http://www.nytimes.com/2016/11/01/us/politics/fbi-russia-election-donald-trump.html?\_r=0] that Russian actions are aimed at "disrupting the presidential election rather than electing Mr. Trump."

In truth, Mr. Trump and Mr. Putin are two ships passing in the night.

In a 1980 MIT computer tournament based on the game theory classic "prisoner's dilemma," the winner was a simple program "tit for tat." It's a lesson Mr. Trump appears to have absorbed. "If he says nice things about me, I'm going to say nice things about him," he said of the Russian leader. Howard Lorber, the New York real-estate mogul and Trump supporter, a few weeks ago spelled out[https://www.msn.com/en-us/money/companies/inside-trumps-inner-circle-howard-lorber/vp-BBx1D4s] the larger principle to CNBC: "He is prejudiced against one type of person—the person that attacks him first."

Mr. Putin isn't playing tit-for-tat, but a more recondite game, ably suggested in a new paper[http://www.tse-fr.eu/sites/default/files/TSE/documents/sem2015/environment/sarr.pdf] by Cambridge's Shaun Larcom, Oxford's Tim Willems and Mare Sarr of University of Capetown.

Applying a rational choice model, they explain why some dictators' behavior improves over time and others' worsens. A dictator's "use of repression is complementary to his stock of wrongdoing," they write. This consideration is complicated by the dictator's "uncertainty over his degree of impunity in relation to wrongdoing."

What this mouthful means is simply that dictators can be—but aren't necessarily—trapped into ever-increasing repression by fear of retribution over the means they used to gain power.

Though the authors don't deal specifically with Mr. Putin, he would seem to fit the model as an authoritarian for whom peaceful retirement will never be possible thanks to the killings and bombings that greased his rise. Now the Putin power structure has begun to rot, hence his reliance on patriotic adventures abroad to excuse declining living standards and freedom at home. This has very little to do with what goes on in America's election.

Mr. Trump is 70 years old. What you see on the stage and in debates is largely an act. Indeed, his public act has been so successful, in a sense, that the media hasn't bothered to examine Mr. Trump's management practice and discipline, though reason tells us there must be another Trump.

Bottom line: If we think we know what kind of president Trump would be, we probably don't. This is a problem—though perhaps not the problem the Clinton campaigns flogs, Mr. Trump as reckless blowhard who will get us into nuclear war and (somewhat incompatibly) is Mr. Putin's cat's-paw.

One more stop on our review of incentives is the Wells Fargo scandal, in which low-level employees illegally opened faux accounts in the name of real or fake customers in order to meet sales goals.

A useful text here is a recent study[http://www.strategicstudiesinstitute.army.mil/pdffiles/PUB1250.pdf] from two professors at the Army War College, Leonard Wong and Stephen J. Gerras, titled "Lying To Ourselves: Dishonesty in the Army Profession."

The U.S. Army loads more checklist requirements on junior officers and their units than they can possibly comply with, leaving junior officers little choice but to become practiced at deciding which requirements to meet and which to lie about.

As a result, say Profs. Wong and Gerras, "an officer's signature and word have become tools to maneuver through the Army bureaucracy rather than being symbols of integrity and honesty."

That's the Wells Fargo scandal exactly. It's also a way to think about a lot of American problems, in the institutional structures and incentives that produce sluggish growth, failing public schools, health-care and tuition costs that rise without commensurate benefit. Take **immigration**, a Donald Trump focus: Our laws work only in the sense that large numbers of American citizens and illegal **immigrants** conspire to ignore them. Take the Clinton Foundation: Mr. Putin obviously has a stake in email leaks that suggest that America is as kleptocratic as Russia.

If next Tuesday's election could be boiled down to "change" and "not change," without the complication of the personalities involved, many of us would find it easier to know how to vote.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**FOR ONE OF THE WORLD'S highest-profile artists, Ai Weiwei himself could hardly be more difficult to find. His imagery regularly causes internet controversies, and his visage, framed by cropped hair and the scraggly beard of an ancient philosopher, is widely known thanks to innumerable selfies with personalities as diverse as Paris Hilton and Julian Assange. Yet his studio in Berlin, the city where he has lived since 2015, is hidden beneath a former brewery complex called Pfefferberg that escaped bombing in World War II. The only clue to the entrance, obscured by a black metal panel, is tiny white script over a letter slot reading Human Flow UG, the working title of the documentary film Ai is making on the international **refugee** crisis. When the door is buzzed open, two staircases lie in view, one going up, the other down, as in an M.C. Escher print.

Eventually, one of the artist's production assistants leads bewildered visitors through sepulchral underground chambers with raw brick walls and arched ceilings once used to shelter kegs of beer.

At one end is a yard where the roof has been removed to allow in natural light and fresh air. Here the blue floor tiles are painted with tiny seeds that echo one of Ai's best-known works, Sunflower Seeds, which filled the Turbine Hall of London's Tate Modern from fall 2010 to spring 2011 with 100 million hand-carved porcelain grains. In another chamber stands Map of China, a 3-D map of the country created from wood salvaged from destroyed Qing Dynasty temples. Despite the studio's vast space—around 32,000 square feet—there is strikingly little art on display, or at least what one might traditionally call art. Instead, a team of assistants is cleaning, photographing and archiving clothing once worn by Syrian **refugees**.

On the other side of the courtyard, the 59-year-old Ai is hunched over his laptop. Over the past seven years, Ai has become as renowned for his deft use of social media as for his artworks. "I never thought of myself seriously as a studio artist," he says, shrugging. "I am very used to working in hotel rooms and airports." This indifference to the studio is part of what makes Ai a quintessential 21st-century artist, says Melissa Chiu, director of the Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden in Washington, D.C. "For contemporary artists, the idea is foremost. Once you had to be a sculptor or a painter. That concept has been turned on its head—now artists have the idea first and then find the right medium to express it."

Ai's work might easily involve rubber lifeboats, stacks of bicycles or music videos. "He has no signature style," says Greg Hilty, curatorial director of Lisson Gallery in London and New York, which represents Ai. He often employs ancient Chinese artistry in contemporary ways, such as in Coca Cola Vase, a Han Dynasty vase emblazoned with a version of the soft-drink logo, or Grapes, in which wooden Qing Dynasty stools are joined into a simple—and useless—starlike shape. But there have also been cheeky photographs of his middle finger raised to the giant portrait of Mao Zedong in Tiananmen Square (inspiring one critic to describe him as a "scholar-clown") and the moving Snake Ceiling, featuring hundreds of backpacks bound together to create a giant serpent, evoking the over 5,000 children killed in the 2008 Sichuan earthquake in China. In 2014, Ai exhibited Trace, a series of portraits of prisoners of conscience and political exiles made from Lego bricks in San Francisco's Alcatraz prison. And apart from his art, he has from his youngest days made his mark in documentary photography, experimental film and architecture. "There is an openness to his way of thinking in everything he does," Hilty says. "He pulls disparate things together and allows people to make their own decisions."

Ai has also expanded the definition of the artist's role by delving into politics. His creative use of social media has meant that his opinions on everything from the Sichuan earthquake to the Syrian **refugee** crisis have reached large audiences. At last count, he has 338,000 followers on Twitter and 254,000 on Instagram and maintains a thriving Facebook account, turning him into an Information Age celebrity and the bane of the Chinese government, which he criticizes often. Official hostility toward him increased rapidly after the Sichuan earthquake, when Ai began a grass-roots investigation into the collapse of shoddily built schools. His postings on the earthquake so antagonized the government that in 2009, when he traveled to Chengdu, where he planned to testify on an activist's behalf, he was beaten by police and subsequently suffered a brain hemorrhage. Taking up social media, Ai became only more openly defiant of the system, until he was arrested in 2011 at Beijing Capital International Airport when he tried to travel to Hong Kong, part of a larger sweep of detainments by the Chinese government. He was imprisoned for 81 days without trial—ostensibly for tax evasion, disseminating pornography and bigamy, although he was never officially charged. His passport was then confiscated, only to be returned without explanation last year.

Ai had recently been released from prison when ArtReview named him the most influential person in the contemporary art world in 2011, and he has gone on to become one of the most prolific and recognized, with two studios and dozens of assistants. (When asked how many work for him, he shrugs and says, "I don't know. There seem to be a lot." His inner circle of assistants in Beijing and Berlin helps with research, while the actual artwork is made by specialist carpenters, woodcarvers, bicycle makers, chandelier manufacturers and porcelain fabricators in China.) His work is widely collected; one group of the bronze Circle of Animals/Zodiac Heads set a record at auction for his work last year of $5.4 million, at Phillips in London, while his 1995 photo triptych Dropping a Han Dynasty Urn sold for over $1 million at Sotheby's this past February. His 2015 exhibition at London's Royal Academy of Arts was one of the best attended of any living artist, and his 2010 work Tree was installed as the centerpiece of the Tate Modern's display in its new wing.

Ai's influence now goes further afield: When the British government denied him a six-month business visa in 2015, he posted the refusal letter on Instagram and within days the decision was reversed. Likewise, when Lego would not sell him its product in bulk earlier this year, his posts provoked massive donations of bricks from around the world, forcing the company to change its policy on sales.

"A lot of people think art exists in a vacuum, but not Ai Weiwei," says his longtime New York dealer Mary Boone. "He doesn't want his work to be just another luxury item. There are other artists whose practice has to do with raising social consciousness, which puts artists in a bigger discussion." She cites Barbara Kruger and Theaster Gates, who mixes art with renovation projects to revitalize poor neighborhoods in Chicago. "Ai Weiwei lives by that. There is no separation between his art and his philosophy about how you should behave in the world."

This month, he has two related solo shows in Manhattan, at the Lisson Gallery and at Mary Boone Gallery, on the theme of roots and branches. Both shows reveal Ai's creative use of tradition: Lisson will be filled with pieces of cast-iron tree trunks, branches and roots, using modern industrial artifice to evoke the ancient Chinese passion for exotic natural shapes. Among several pieces at Boone's two Manhattan galleries will be a circular field made from 40,000 porcelain spouts broken from antique Chinese teapots. Meanwhile, at his current retrospective at the Palazzo Strozzi in Florence, Ai has taken over the museum's elegant 15th-century palace. "We asked Ai Weiwei to respond to the Renaissance structure," says the director, Arturo Galansino. The ornate facade is now adorned with 22 orange **refugee** lifeboats, and Trace has been expanded to include such rebels as the exiled poet Dante Alighieri and the scientist who fell foul of the Papacy, Galileo Galilei. "We liked to challenge Ai Weiwei," says Galansino, "and he always responded with a better idea."

AI IS THE SON OF ONE of modern China's revered literary figures, Ai Qing, a renowned Communist revolutionary who was close to Mao. Shortly after Ai was born, his father fell from favor with the Party as a suspected "rightist," and the family was banished from Beijing to the remote countryside. By 1967, when Ai was 10, the family had been moved again to an even more dismal village near the Gobi Desert, where his father was brutally "reeducated." Ai Qing—who had hobnobbed with luminaries such as Pablo Neruda in Paris in the late 1920s and early '30s—was given the humiliating job of cleaning the public toilets. Ai watched his father endure insults for a decade: Villagers forced him to publicly confess his "crimes," covered his face with ink and hung mocking placards around his neck. "As a young child, you remember everything," says Ai. "I saw how society can be so unjust and blind." Later in life, as an adult facing official persecution, he drew inspiration from his father's stoic endurance of this tragic fall from grace. "He was dropped from being a prince of poetry in China to the lowest possible condition."

This traumatic experience shaped many of Ai's life decisions. After Mao's death in 1976, his family was permitted to return to Beijing, where Ai enrolled in the Beijing Film Academy. But he found himself more drawn to sketching, painting—his father had trained as a painter—and political activism. He fell in with a group of avant-garde artists dubbed the Stars and became involved in a reform movement called the Democracy Wall. Neither was tolerated by the government. In 1979, the Democracy Wall leader was sentenced to 15 years in prison, and many artists decided to leave the country. The United States was a random choice: Ai's girlfriend at the time was leaving to study in Philadelphia, so he joined her in 1981.

Ai spent 12 years in the U.S., including a decade in New York City from 1983 to 1993 as an impecunious art student in the East Village. He immersed himself in the raucous bohemian scene of the time, meeting Allen Ginsberg and Robert Frank, going to the same downtown gallery openings as Andy Warhol, attending classes at Parsons School of Design and the Art Students League. He took over 10,000 mostly black-and-white photographs and created conceptual artworks from simple materials that presage his later work, including Profile of Duchamp With Sunflower Seeds (1983), a "readymade" profile portrait of Marcel Duchamp made from a twisted wire coat hanger, mounted on a wooden board and partly filled with sunflower seeds.

But he never felt at home in the city. "I was so young," he recalls. "I was completely broke." To come from the remote countryside of Communist China to New York was "more than a culture shock. It took years to adjust." He had dubious visa status—a human rights group helped him get his green card in 1989 after the Tiananmen Square massacre in Beijing—and was barely able to pay his paltry rent on the tenement apartments he often shared with other Chinese artists, musicians and filmmakers. He survived by doing odd jobs, even drawing portraits of tourists in Times Square. "I learned a lot about contemporary art, but most of the time I was just hanging around," he says. "I never registered in school. I never graduated. I never established myself. I left New York empty-handed."

This ambivalence remained when he revisited in 2005 and stood by the cube in Astor Place, staring in wonder at the rushing crowds. "I couldn't believe this was a city I'd lived in for 10 years. I had nobody to call. I didn't know one person there!" Yet he now sees his East Village decade as an essential part of his artistic gestation. His experience of the 1988 Tompkins Square Park riots, when squatters clashed with police, also helped shape his politics. "It was in New York that Weiwei learned about protest," Chiu says. "He saw it happen right in front of him. It left its mark."

News that his father's health was failing convinced Ai to return to Beijing in 1993, but he remained an outsider within China. Although he produced some enduring work—including the triptych of himself dropping a Han Dynasty urn—he was more interested in enjoying a "Duchampian lifestyle," as he calls it, cultivating an "artistic attitude." He and other creative types gathered in a Beijing district they called the East Village, and he organized a protest art show during the 2000 Shanghai Biennale called, in Chinese, Non-Cooperative Approach, and in English, F— Off. "I was just an artist in my mind," he says with a laugh. According to Ai, he built a studio in Shanghai in 2000 only because his mother felt he had squandered his years in America and was too embarrassed to introduce him to her friends. "I had a space but I didn't know what to do with it," he recalls. "So I started to do architecture." He founded a firm called FAKE Design and soon gained a reputation within China not just as an architect but as a cultural commentator.

The turning point came in 2003, when he collaborated with the Swiss firm Herzog & de Meuron to win the competition for the Olympic stadium—dubbed the Bird's Nest for its twiglike metal form—for the 2008 Beijing Games. Around the same time, he returned to making art and was soon invited to show in a museum in Bern, Switzerland. Even so, Ai remained little known in the West until 2007, when he denounced the upcoming Beijing Olympics as Party propaganda and dropped out of the Games' opening ceremonies, gaining huge attention. Overnight, Ai went from being a local activist to an international figure.

Given his genius for social media, it comes as a surprise to learn that Ai Weiwei says he'd never touched a computer until 2005, when a Chinese website, Sina, offered to set up a blog for him. "I didn't even know how to type," he says with a laugh. Yet a few mornings later, he woke up to see that 200,000 people were reading his blog, he says. "I was completely shocked. In China, you never have a chance to express your opinion. Now I had a platform." By 2009, according to Ai, he had over 70 million readers. By then he was publicizing his investigation into the Sichuan earthquake, of which the Chinese government was blocking reporting. So Ai made an online appeal to recruit dozens of volunteers, including human rights activists, students and ordinary citizens, to go village by village, knocking on doors to get the names of the dead students, their birthdates and their home addresses, despite police harassment. He then posted the details online as an irrefutable memento mori.

"Of course, I was very naive," he says now. "They shut off my blog. But by then it was too late." He immediately switched to Twitter, despite initial reservations. ("I said, ‘Oh, no, what can you say in 140 characters?' Then I realized that in Chinese, with 140 characters you can write a novel! It's very different from English.")

His father's legacy was high in his mind when, after two more years of criticizing the government, he was detained by Chinese police at the Beijing airport in 2011 en route to Hong Kong and Taiwan and taken to a detention center with a black hood over his head. When the hood was removed, Ai told his interrogator that his father had experienced the same situation 80 years earlier when he was arrested by the Nationalists in 1932. "It was the same kind of accusation, the subversion of state power and disrupting public order," Ai recalls telling his captor. "The interrogator just laughed and said, ‘Times are different.' "

By then, he had a 2-year-old son, Ai Lao, with his current partner, the filmmaker Wang Fen. The effect his imprisonment might have on his son preyed on Ai. "The interrogator told me: ‘You will not see [your son] for the next 30 years. When you get out you will see a boy who won't even recognize you.' " The idea tortured him. "You are fighting for something you believe in, but at the cost to somebody very vulnerable, which is hard to accept." Upon his release in June 2011, he posted a photo on Instagram of himself standing on a set of scales, showing that he was regaining some of the 25 pounds he had lost in prison. Even so, Ai decided that he could not risk passing his father's legacy on to his own son. After learning that his passport had been confiscated—perhaps forever—he eventually asked Wang to leave with their son for the safety of Berlin.

The German capital had long appealed to him thanks to its vibrant art scene and rootless, restless spirit. "Berlin is like a ruin," he says. "Nobody feels a sense of history; nobody cares where you come from. It's all a new start." He had been renovating the cavernous studio in the converted brewery since leasing it in 2009. "It reminded me of my childhood, living underground," he says of the grottolike space, recalling that in exile in China his family had been forced to live in an "abandoned hole" covered with brushwood, "to show that we were the lowest creatures of the village." Today the old brewery complex is an evocative **refuge**. Other renowned artists, including Olafur Eliasson, with whom Ai has collaborated, have studios there—albeit in cheerier, aboveground spaces.

SINCE THE UNEXPECTED RETURN of his passport by the Chinese government in July 2015, Ai has been making up for lost time, mixing visits to exhibitions of his work with journeys to investigate the **refugee** crisis. It's a new, peripatetic phase in his life, which he feels blurs his art with politics to advocate against injustice.

His fascination with the **refugee** crisis began in 2015, when the Ruya Foundation for Contemporary Culture in Iraq commissioned him to curate an exhibition of some 500 artworks from an Iraqi **refugee** camp for the Venice Biennale, Traces of Survival. (It has since been released as a book.) But his interest in the crisis has shifted into high gear since the return of his passport. He visited **refugee** centers in Berlin and on Lesbos, the entry point into Europe for tens of thousands of asylum seekers. He was profoundly affected by seeing boatloads full of **refugees** landing on the beaches there. "I really didn't expect to see it in front of me," he says. "It was shocking." Seeing the human face of the crisis and its overwhelming scale inspired him to make a documentary, which has sent him on almost constant international travel—to the Idomeni **refugee** camp, where some 14,000 people were trapped on the closed border between Greece and Macedonia; to the Lebanese camp Ain al-Hilweh, which was established in 1948 and currently shelters around 100,000 **refugees**; to Jordan, Turkey, Kenya and Bangladesh. "I have to first observe and learn," he says. "The visits help adjust my own views on the global political situation. I hope what has touched me can also impact others."

The project seems on the surface a change of direction for Ai, but he regards it as part of a continuum with his life and art. "It has to do with me, every bit of it," he says. His childhood exile in China was a similar experience of dislocation, he explains, as was his decade trying to adjust to life in New York. "The reason can be economic or political or religious or even environmental, such as famine," he says, but the result is the same—"to go to an unknown area you never dreamed about and be forced to survive. Every step involves so much pain and anxiety."

Naturally, controversy has followed his new project. In February, he asked celebrities at a fundraising dinner in Berlin to take selfies while wrapped in **refugees**' emergency blankets, which came off to some as a fatuous publicity stunt. He then re-created the famous photo of a drowned Syrian child found on the coast of Turkey, posing as the toddler himself. Some found the image haunting. Others found it crass. But there is no question he is touching a nerve. As Chiu points out, his oeuvre is often difficult to digest: "Ai Weiwei has pushed the limits of what is acceptable in art."

His return to New York this month will mark another new phase, as he becomes more comfortable with his former home. He was unable to return to see his well-reviewed 2014 retrospective at the Brooklyn Museum, yet after years of feeling remote from the city, he made a short visit this past June, which began to dissolve his unease. Now a wildly successful artist, he is in talks for a major show at the Park Avenue Armory as well as a project with the Public Art Fund. "Maybe it's because my situation has changed," he says. "I'm much more relaxed now. I have started to see the best part of the city. It's so passionate about creativity and new ideas, more than anyplace else in the world."

WSJ. MAGAZINE 2016 INNOVATORS

\* Abel "The Weeknd" Tesfaye[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/the-weeknd-a-rising-starboy-1478102781]

\* Melinda Gates[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/SB11407126320815834115004582410291928995470]

\* Tom Ford[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/SB11407126320815834115004582408802933923274]

\* Snøhetta[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/SB11407126320815834115004582410334046850616]

\* Es Devlin[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/SB10399436756795713355104582410682648737556]

\* Ai Weiwei[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/SB10399436756795713355104582410680557292876]

\* Daniel Humm & Will Guidara[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/SB11407126320815834115004582410410327031188]

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**The original Oxford English Dictionary, edited by the great lexicographer James Murray, was never meant to be a mere dictionary. Murray wanted to account for every sense of every word in standard English—an astonishingly ambitious aim, given the size and fluidity of the language. The OED's originators, Murray observed in 1900, were seeking "not merely to record every word that has been used in the language for the last 800 years . . . but to furnish a biography of each word, giving as nearly as possible the date of its birth or first known appearance . . . and the successive changes of form and developments of sense which [each] has since undergone." The OED was finally completed in 10 bound volumes in 1928, 13 years after Murray's death and 44 years after the first volume had appeared in 1884.

It was an expression, Murray wrote, of "the scientific and historical spirit of the nineteenth century"—or, in other words, of the Victorians' belief in their capacity to master and catalog every field of human endeavor.

The Word Detective

By John Simpson

Basic, 364 pages, $27.99

What to Read This Week

Why the wheel is round, when men were men, our savage civil war and living La Dolce Vita, and more.[http://graphics.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/image-grid/Books-November-5/]

The present state of the OED is in many respects a fulfillment of Murray's vision. The third edition, begun in the 1990s and available online (revisions are uploaded at regular intervals), is scheduled for completion by 2034, by which time its enormous size will likely make physical publication impossible. The OED3, as it's called, will attempt to account for every word used anywhere in the Anglophone world for nearly a millennium.

There is a subtle but important difference between the original OED and its present manifestation, however. Whereas it once had a distinctive purpose, it no longer has one. That, at least, is the perhaps idiosyncratic conclusion I drew after reading John Simpson's memoir "The Word Detective."

Mr. Simpson took over as chief editor of the OED in 1993. His book traces his career from reluctant job applicant in 1976 to his retirement in 2013. Together with his co-editor Edmund Weiner, he was responsible for producing the OED's Second Edition in 1989, which appeared in both a massive 20-volume set and later on compact disc. And it was Mr. Simpson as chief editor who launched the third, currently online-only edition.

The memoir of a lexicographer doesn't sound like an enticing prospect (Johnson's famous definition of lexicographer: "a harmless drudge that busies himself in tracing the original, and detailing the signification of words"), but Mr. Simpson pulls it off. He tells us only what we need to know about his career moves and relationships with colleagues at the OED—which is to say, not very much—and uses the events of his career as points of departure for discussions of language and lexicography. He breaks up the narrative with periodic histories of words that he's just used in the text.

Most of these short excursions are lighthearted. Mr. Simpson explains, for instance, the history behind the Australian word "pom," an affectionate term of abuse used by Australians for Britons (at least Britons think it's affectionate—even when used as a modifier in the phrase "pommie bastard"). "Pom" began life in the 1840s as the word "**immigrant**." Australians have a long tradition of jokey word creations, and for a time the word "**immigrant**" became "Jimmy Grant"; then it became "jimmygrant," then the almost rhyming "pomegranate," and by 1912 just "pom." Occasionally, though, these etymologies take on an unexpected poignancy, as when Mr. Simpson, recalling the discovery of his 6-month-old daughter's severe mental disability—now in her 20s, she has never spoken a word—suddenly explains the origin of the word "handicap."

But although Mr. Simpson has written an engaging memoir, and although he seems to have left the OED in good institutional shape, I can't help regretting what happened to this greatest of all English dictionaries—and probably what had to happen to it if it was to survive in the 21st century—during Mr. Simpson's tenure.

In a word, he democratized it. Or rather he abetted the democratizing process that had already begun before he got there. Upon first arriving at the OED office, he felt, rightly I suspect, that the dictionary "was dominated by the past. It had a crusty, antiquated air." The source quotations for which the OED was famous—submitted by thousands of the dictionary's voluntary "readers" all over the Anglophone world since the days of James Murray—tended to favor well known, "classic" authors: Shakespeare, Milton, Swift, Sir Walter Scott, et al. But Mr. Simpson wondered: "Where were the real language creators—the mass of English speakers, the everyday poets and writers and conversationalists in whose mouths the language had changed from day to day over the centuries? Could we somehow give them a voice in the OED of the future?"

He quickly came to believe (and this is a common view among lexicographers today) that it's "preferable to document the language from everyday sources—the sort of sources that people encounter in their day-to-day lives—rather than from the classic authors." Accordingly as an assistant to the editor in the 1970s he began thumbing through magazines on punk rock and Rastafarianism looking for new words and senses. Later, as head of the OED's New Words group in the 1980s, he corresponded with a "dirt bike" magazine in the U.S. in order to get a more accurate definition of that term.

There is nothing exactly wrong with any of this—the OED was and remains a historical dictionary, designed to show readers how words have been and are used, not how they should be used. It was meant to describe, not to prescribe. But the OED of the 19th and early 20th centuries hadn't yet taken this doctrine to its logical conclusion. Its editors and financial backers and readers viewed the dictionary as a cultural institution of Great Britain, not as a postnational academic project. They were historians concerned with documentation and not schoolteachers concerned with rules, but the idea that "correctness" is a social construct would not have occurred to them.

Mr. Simpson halfheartedly defends the old OED's editors from the accusation that they ignored the way people really used the language in favor of "canonical" authors. "I don't think the editors intended to privilege ‘highbrow' literature," he writes; "it was just that these were the texts to which readers had easiest access, and which the publishing world of the day made most readily available." That's not quite right—the late Victorians had plenty of trashy and ephemeral writing from which they might have drawn quotations. They really did "privilege" (dreadful verb) literary authors. And they did so because they felt that literary authors were likely to have been more careful in their choice of words than, say, the anonymous authors of penny dreadfuls. The governing assumption, in any case, was that some uses of a word or phrase were more accurate than others.

Modern lexicography studiously avoids any talk of right or wrong uses. That's a defensible view, but its relentless logic has turned the OED into something less like an historical dictionary that people might actually use and more like some government research enterprise that ordinary people know nothing about. You see it in the way Mr. Simpson describes his work. The OED on CD-ROM would make possible an "important new area of progressive language research." "We planned a revolution in lexicography." "We thought of it in the same breath as the Human Genome Project" (a rather poorly worded sentence, that last one).

Well, okay. But what is the point of this lexicographical revolution? On that question Mr. Simpson is unconvincing. The project of placing the OED's second edition on a CD, he writes, "opened up the dictionary to questions that people [had] not been able to ask before—simply because there had been no hope of receiving an answer: not just ‘What does this word mean?' but larger ones, like ‘How did the set of words first used in English in the early fifteenth century differ from those first encountered in the late eighteenth century, and what does this show about how language and society differed in these two periods?" But who, outside a few academics, would ever ask such questions?

What once gave the OED a presence in Anglophone culture—what made it relevant, as we would say today—was its authority. And authority is a prescriptive concept, however you slice it. The Oxford English Dictionary was for many years an imposing set of volumes one consulted for peremptory definitions and word histories. It was a thing English speakers used, or just beheld, with pride in their language. Now it's a very expensive website, seemingly meant to assist academic researchers. And websites, despite all the advantages they offer, have no authority: You can never quite trust that what's there today will be there tomorrow, or 10 years from now.

Maybe that's as it should be. Or as it must be—authority, as a cultural force, is dead. But I can't help regretting that the OED, like the modern university, now exists almost exclusively for its own sake.

Mr. Swaim is the author of "The Speechwriter: A Brief Education in Politics."

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**HAZLETON, Pa.—Here in this former center of steelmaking and textiles, Donald Trump's campaign promises of stricter **immigration** laws and tighter borders resonate with voters.

But over the past few years, hundreds of jobs in Hazleton and the surrounding region of northeastern Pennsylvania have been preserved or expanded due to investment from an unlikely source: Mexico.

The result is that Hazleton has become a showcase of the contradictions of globalization in an election where both Mr. Trump and Democratic rival Hillary Clinton have questioned the benefits of free trade.

Mr. Trump had an 11% lead in Luzerne County, which includes Hazleton, in a late-October poll conducted for Axiom Strategies, a firm that has done work for Republican candidates.

In early 2009, Mexican baking conglomerate Grupo Bimbo SAB bought Weston Foods Inc., a U.S. unit of George Weston Ltd. of Canada, for $2.38 billion. With it came two Weston plants in Hazleton and a stable of American brands, including Arnold's bread, Boboli pizza crust and Thomas' English Muffins.

Despite buying Weston at the height of the financial crisis, Bimbo has reduced head count only slightly and built new plants in the region. Bimbo says that since 2012 it has invested $1 billion in the U.S.

Weston had about 2,500 workers in Pennsylvania, while today, Bimbo employs roughly 2,300, including those at its U.S. headquarters in Horsham and workers at nine industrial-scale bakeries.

In a region that lost thousands of factory jobs over the past few decades, the deep-pocketed new owners were welcomed. "Bimbo could have taken the company and moved it out of the area, but we're very fortunate that they decided to keep them here," said Kevin O'Donnell, president of CAN DO Inc., Hazleton's nonprofit economic development group.

Other Mexico-based food manufacturers have invested in the area as well. In 2005, Mission Foods, a tortilla maker and U.S. arm of Mexico's Gruma SA, opened a plant in nearby Mountain Top that employs roughly 400 people.

And in 2012, Arca Continental SAB acquired Wise Foods Inc., a century-old, family-owned maker of Cheez Doodles and other snack foods based in Berwick, a small town across the Susquehanna River from Hazleton.

The Hazleton area isn't alone in seeing Mexican investment. Annual direct Mexican investment in the U.S. more than tripled from 2006 to 2015, from $5.3 billion to $16.6 billion, according to Bureau of Economic Analysis data analyzed by the Wilson Center, a nonpartisan think tank in Washington. The Mexican government estimates that 123,000 U.S. jobs are supported by Mexican investment.

"There's been this shift from Mexicans coming across the border looking for jobs, to having this huge boom in capital coming across the border and creating jobs in the U.S.," said Andrew Selee, the Wilson Center's executive vice president and senior adviser to its Mexico Institute. "The infusion of Mexican capital has saved some classic American brands and preserved the jobs that go with them."

Another big Mexican investor north of the border is Mexichem SAB, a global petrochemical giant with $5.7 billion in annual sales that has invested more than $2 billion in the last five years in 13 U.S. states.

Mexichem exports fluorspar and other raw materials from Mexico to its U.S. plant in Louisiana, which produces products such as refrigerants used by the car industry. The company, in turn, ships ethylene gas from the U.S. to feed its Mexico plants.

Mexichem's chairman, Juan Pablo del Valle, has been one of the few major Mexican businessmen to publicly criticize Mr. Trump's protectionist and anti-**immigration** plans and his speech against Mexicans and other groups.

At a recent rally in Florida, Mr. Trump referred to "rural towns in Pennsylvania, Ohio, North Carolina and all across our country," saying that establishment politicians had "stripped away these towns bare" and sent jobs and factories to Mexico, China and other countries.

His message is popular in Hazleton, reflecting uncertainty about the economy but also tensions over illegal **immigration**.

In April, 77% of voters in Luzerne County's Republican primary voted for Mr. Trump, who won six times as many votes as his nearest competitor, Sen. Ted Cruz.

Until World War II, Hazleton had thousands of anthracite coal miners, but the industry declined as cleaner, more efficient fuels gained popularity. Some workers migrated to jobs related to the steel industry, which had a center in the nearby Bethlehem Steel works, while others worked in textiles.

But all three industries largely left the area by the end of the 20th century. As of September, the metro area that includes Hazleton, Scranton and Wilkes-Barre had an unemployment rate of 5.9%, 1.1 points higher than the U.S. average.

At the same time, Hazleton, a city of about 25,000 people, saw a large influx of Hispanic **immigrants**, drawn by the relatively inexpensive cost of living and ample jobs in the distribution and food industries.

In 2006, in response to a rising crime rate that some politicians attributed to undocumented **immigrant** drug dealers, Hazleton's then-mayor, Lou Barletta, enacted harsh ordinances targeting landlords who housed illegal **immigrants** and employers who hired them. The policies were later ruled unconstitutional by a federal judge.

Mr. Barletta, now a Republican congressman seeking his fourth term representing the Hazleton area, said people here see Mr. Trump as a candidate who understands the region's economic struggles. "Free trade with open borders is a direct assault on towns like Hazleton," Mr. Barletta said.

Mike Schlossberg, a Democratic state representative from the nearby Lehigh Valley, said Trump's message is resonating in Hazleton because of the "monstrous tensions" surrounding **immigration** there. "There's an incredible irony because **immigrants** create tremendous opportunity, because they create far, far more jobs than they take away," he said.

Jolie Weber, chief executive of Wise Foods Inc., said Arca's purchase of the company helped it avert stagnation.

"If Arca had not bought Wise, Wise would have fallen into another private-equity firm's hands and that would have jeopardized the brand and the company's manufacturing facilities," Ms. Weber said. "There certainly was a risk that those jobs over time would not be replaced."

Over the last year, Arca has built a new wing on the Berwick factory to help handle logistics and bought two new 600-gallon boilers to expand its production of kettle-fried potato chips. Head count at the factory has remained steady at about 600 workers.

Two years ago, in Breinigsville, Pa., about 45 miles southeast of Hazleton, Grupo Bimbo opened what company officials describe as its most technologically-advanced plant in the country, a 230,000-square-foot bakery that flies the flags of the state of Pennsylvania, the U.S. and Mexico.

Inside, 275 workers—new hires as well as employees from other Bimbo plants—bake 2.8 million hot dog buns, loaves of bread and buns used for Burger Kingchicken sandwiches every week.

The average starting salary at the Breinigsville plant is $42,000 a year, said Jonathan Berger, a vice president at Bimbo Bakeries U.S.A. Inc.

"I don't think it's exactly the steelworkers of yesterday who are working in this plant," he said. "But the next generation of workers who want to be involved in manufacturing, they have a place here, in a good work environment that has great technology in it."

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Federal Reserve Bank of Dallas President Robert Kaplan praised the impact of trade between the U.S. and Mexico in a Friday speech at the headquarters of the Mexican Banks Association in Mexico City.

Mr. Kaplan said his Federal Reserve district, which includes Texas, parts of New Mexico and Louisiana, has benefited from bilateral trade agreements and production sharing between the two countries. He cited research that suggests several Texas border towns, like El Paso and McAllen, have seen substantial job growth due to an uptick in manufacturing activity in northern Mexico. He said trading collaboration between Texas and Mexico has "materially improved Texas' competitiveness."

Mr. Kaplan also touted the benefits of Mexican **immigration**, saying it has "contributed substantially to labor force growth in the U.S. and Texas." He also noted that the pace of **immigration** from Mexico has slowed since the Great Recession.

In a question-and-answer session following his speech, Mr. Kaplan said U.S. gross domestic product growth could face headwinds due to the declining labor participation rate, which he predicted will continue.

"Actions that can grow workforce in the U.S. will help grow GDP," Mr. Kaplan said, citing increased **immigration** and workforce development programs as possible fixes. "We clearly have an issue, demographically."

His comments come amid election rhetoric about the threats posed by undocumented workers, with Mexican **immigrants** often the target. Mr. Kaplan declined to answer questions about the potential effects of next week's U.S. presidential vote, or whether uncertainty about the election had influenced the Fed's decision not to raise rates earlier this week.

Mr. Kaplan also steered clear of monetary policy, except to say that he believes monetary policy alone can't solve the challenges facing the U.S. economy. He said fiscal policy and structural reforms need to find ways to stimulate growth.

"Monetary policy is not designed, by itself, to address the key structural issues we face today," he said, citing challenges like demographic changes, the end of the super cycle of debt, globalization and technological disruption. "While monetary policy certainly has a key role to play, it is not a substitute for actions that address deeper fundamental challenges."

Mr. Kaplan noted the U.S. economy is making progress toward conditions that justify the Fed removing policy accommodation.

Friday's U.S. employment report -- showing that 161,000 jobs were added in October, bringing the unemployment rate down to 4.9% -- indicates a steady trend that reinforces the view that progress is being made toward the Fed's mandate of securing maximum employment and stable prices.

"I think we're making good progress toward our dual mandate. I think the case for removing some of our accommodation is strengthening," he said, but declined to "speculate" on what the Fed will do at its December meeting.

Mr. Kaplan will become a voting member of the Fed's rate-setting committee in January.

Mr. Kaplan also described the effect of weak oil prices and a strong dollar on the Texas economy. He said those economic headwinds have influenced not only his district, but Mexico too.

He said the Dallas Fed estimates that oil production and consumption will get into balance by the first half of 2017 and sounded an optimistic note by saying, "we are heading towards balance." Still, he admitted, "This balancing process has been more painful and slower than some had anticipated."

Anthony Harrup contributed to this article.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**ATHENS—Greek riot police cleared out protesters blocking the construction of the capital's first mosque Friday, as the far-right Golden Dawn party backing the protests pressed its opposition to the mosque as part of a broader push to revive its profile.

Athens, home to an estimated 200,000 Muslims, is one of the few capital cities in the European Union without a purpose-built mosque for Islamic worship.

The anti-mosque protest, which also involved other extreme right groups, was the latest venue for Golden Dawn's efforts to stoke anti-**immigrant** sentiment and regain the momentum the party had at the height of Greece's debt crisis.

Golden Dawn, the third-biggest party in Greece's parliament, is known for its stiff-arm salutes, black-clad paramilitary-style squads and history of violent attacks on **immigrants**. It gained support from a tiny base amid the country's deep economic crisis[http://topics.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/subject/G/greece-debt-crisis/5941], but over the past two years grew quieter as its leaders came under pressure from a criminal investigation.

Now, it is seeking to boost its profile once again, despite the continuing criminal trial of its leaders, who deny all charges against them.[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/trial-of-golden-dawn-leaders-begins-in-greece-1429546195]Apart from tapping potential anti-**immigrant**sentiment, Golden Dawn is also looking to draw voters amid broader disappointment at how the political system has managed the country's seven-year economic slump.

On Friday morning, police cleared the anti-mosque protesters from the government-owned land in Elaionas, a suburb of Athens, where the mosque is due to be built.

The government, led by the left-wing Syriza party, supports the building of the mosque and plans to fund its construction[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/greece-moves-toward-approving-first-official-mosque-1469586256], arguing that it has become more pressing as a result of the influx of Muslim **refugees**.

Golden Dawn lawmakers Ilias Kasidiaris and Ilias Panagiotaros visited the site afterwards, and vowed to maintain their opposition to its construction.

Greece's government is aiming at "the Islamization of Greece," Mr. Kasidiaris said. "Racism against Greeks will not pass. Golden Dawn will make sure of this," he said.

Protesters had cordoned off the area with barbed wire and turned one of the buildings on the site into what they called a shelter for homeless Greeks only. Police said 15 people were detained, some of whom were dressed in military gear.

"Golden Dawn has been more voluble in recent months," said David Lea, a London-based analyst at risk consultancy Control Risks. The fatigue of ordinary Greeks with the continuing inflow of asylum seekers could be an opportunity for the party, Mr. Lea said.

The party holds 18 out of 300 seats in Greece's parliament. Around 8% of voters support it, according to opinion polls.

Overall so far, the migration crisis hasn't led to an upsurge in anti-**immigrant** protests or violence in Greece, a country with its own recent history of mass flight from conflict. Many Greeks have shown understanding and sympathy for **refugees** from Syria, Iraq and Afghanistan, an environment in contrast to the upsurge of xenophobic violence that accompanied Greece's economic descent and Golden Dawn's rise between 2011 and 2013.

Some 61,000 **refugees** are currently on Greek shores, according to government figures, but inflows have fallen sharply from last year's levels due to a deal between the European Union and Turkey preventing migrants from entering the bloc.

Still, tolerance in Greece could be tested as the inflow continues and the economic burdens on Greek islands and other parts of the country grow. Golden Dawn leaders are betting on a rise in popular frustration with the migrants to aid a comeback in their party's popularity.

Since 2013, the party has been under pressure from a wide-ranging investigation into its leaders, who are on trial for alleged crimes including running a criminal organization implicated in murder, assault, extortion. Its leaders, who deny the charges, have kept a relatively low profile until recently.

In September, however, Golden Dawn members were involved in several violent protests targeting Muslim **refugees** and other migrants, including on the islands of Lesbos and Chios, two of the main entry points for asylum seekers from Syria and elsewhere who cross the Aegean Sea from Turkey to Greece.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**PARIS—French authorities on Friday dismantled a migrant camp in northeast Paris as the country struggles to cope with a growing number of migrants flocking to its capital[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/paris-dismantles-migrant-camp-as-influx-grows-1474018610].

More than 3,800 migrants, many of them **refugees** from Sudan, Libya, Afghanistan and Eritrea, had set up tents under a subway bridge, police said.

The area was cordoned off by police before migrants were taken by bus to about 80 shelters across the Paris region, police said.

France is straining to deal with[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/france-razes-jungle-but-whereabouts-of-many-migrants-unknown-1477578822] the migrants in its capital, where makeshift camps regularly appear in streets and other public areas before being

cleared by police[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/france-dismantles-two-paris-migrant-camps-1442496120].

Many of the migrants living in the camp in Paris said they arrived in recent weeks from Italy after a perilous journey across the Mediterranean Sea and hoped to get asylum in France.

Some had given up on their plans to get to Calais after police cleared the sprawling migrant camp[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/french-authorities-begin-clearing-jungle-migrant-camp-in-calais-1477299232] in the French coastal town, where close to 10,000 migrants hoping to reach the U.K. had become stranded.

Over the past year and a half, police have dismantled 30 camps in Paris—including squats in buildings and a vacant school—and relocated several thousands of people in temporary shelters, according to local authorities.

To prevent improvised camps from springing up again, local authorities plan to open the first official shelter for **refugees** in north Paris within a few days.

The new shelter will house about 400 people, who will then be transferred within a week to shelters across the country, said Ian Brossat, a deputy mayor in the Paris administration.

Authorities will help migrants apply for asylum in France and those turned down will be expelled from the country.

With the constant flow of migrants arriving in Paris every week, aid workers say the measure may be inadequate.

"This shelter should prove enough if it remains a transit hub and the government can provide a more permanent shelter for these people," Mr. Brossat said.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**LONDON—A U.K. court put a hurdle in the country's route out of the European Union, ruling that Prime Minister Theresa May can't start the process without approval from Parliament.

The High Court decision offers a potential opening to lawmakers to disrupt her plans and steer the country toward a "soft" exit that maintains stronger ties to the bloc and a more-open **immigration** policy.

The government said it would appeal the verdict to the Supreme Court, which would hear the case in early December, under a predetermined timetable. If the ruling is upheld, lawmakers would have a chance to pressure Mrs. May to soften her terms in breakup negotiations with the EU. They could delay the process or even halt it.

The ruling introduces new uncertainty in the process on a day when the Bank of England, explaining why a further cut [http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/boe-drops-signal-of-further-stimulus-says-rates-could-move-in-either-direction-1478175174]in interest rates looked less likely, said it expected Brexit to weigh less heavily on the economy next year than thought.

Brexit proponents called Thursday's ruling an attempt to overturn the will of Britons who chose to break away from the bloc in a June referendum. "I think there is now going to be an attempt by our political class to overturn a significant part of the referendum result," said Nigel Farage, the interim leader of the euroskeptic UK Independence Party. "We voted to leave but our political class will not accept the result."

Mr. Farage said Britain is heading toward a "half Brexit."

If the Supreme Court rejects the government's appeal, Mrs. May could trigger a snap election to seek a bigger parliamentary mandate to carry out Britain's exit from the EU. She currently has a thin majority of 15 lawmakers.

Mrs. May took office in July with a Conservative Party leadership election after her predecessor, David Cameron, resigned when his "Stay" camp lost the Brexit vote. She has said she wouldn't call a snap election and her position hasn't changed, a spokeswoman said Thursday.

Bank of England Gov. Mark Carney—who warned of the impact of a Brexit before the vote—called the court's judgment an example of the high degree of uncertainty that will surround the U.K.'s exit path. Central-bank policy makers see scenarios under which their key interest rate could either rise or fall, he said.

Since the June vote, markets have remained jittery and some companies have put plans on hold, though prevote forecasts of economic catastrophe have so far proved wide of the mark.

The ruling on Thursday lifted the pound; the currency later extended its gains after the BOE announcement. The U.K's benchmark FTSE 100 fell 0.23% on Thursday. The U.K.'s major listed companies earn most of their revenue outside the country, so a rise in the pound can be negative for the index.

Mrs. May has said she plans to invoke Article 50[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/brexit-what-is-article-50-1475410524], opening the two-year window for exit talks, by the end of March. She has given away little about her negotiating positions, but has suggested that she would put more emphasis on the right to curb **immigration** at the expense of access to the EU's tariff-free single market.

Though Mrs. May has said she would offer lawmakers some kind of say in Brexit, she insisted on the right to unilaterally invoke Article 50—a position that was the subject of the court case. The High Court ruled that she can't trigger Article 50 without the approval of Parliament.

The court didn't specify what kind of parliamentary approval is needed, and the appeal won't necessarily draw such guidance from the Supreme Court.

The path through Parliament could be set in part by Mrs. May. The most direct option would be to seek passage of a law that simply gives her the right to trigger Article 50.

But the introduction of any law inevitably opens the door to debate. "The government will want it to be procedural and quick, but you can see ways in which parliamentarians will try to get more substantive answers on what happens," said Kenneth Armstrong, a professor of European Law at the University of Cambridge.

If Mrs. May has to more comprehensively consult Parliament, lawmakers—a majority of whom voted to stay in the EU—would be in a position to extract concessions and pressure Mrs. May to soften her stance.

"It could mean the government struggles to get this legislation through by the end of March and the invocation of Article 50 is delayed," said John Curtice, politics professor at the University of Strathclyde. "This is a major spanner in the works for Theresa May's strategy."

The Supreme Court's timetable allows the government to stick to Mrs. May's plan to trigger Article 50 in March, a government spokeswoman said.

Jeremy Corbyn, leader of the opposition Labour Party, said his party respects the referendum results and wouldn't stop Brexit, but called for more openness from the government. "This ruling underlines the need for the government to bring its negotiating terms to Parliament without delay," he said.

A vote on invoking Article 50 would likely be tight, said Tim Bale, politics professor at Queen Mary University of London. Though a majority of members of Parliament voted against Britain's exit, many would be hesitant to overturn the referendum result.

"A lot of MPs would regard it as a risky thing for Parliament to set itself up against the people," he said.

Crispin Blunt, a Conservative member of Parliament, said the decision was "profoundly unhelpful" and could allow Britain's unelected upper House of Lords, which is overwhelmingly in favor of staying in the EU, to block or delay any legislation triggering Article 50. Legislation must pass through the lower House of Commons and the House of Lords before becoming law.

"The judges have behaved with constitutional recklessness that is on a magnificent scale," Mr. Blunt said. He said that resistance from the upper chamber could delay Britain's exit by up to a year.

In the case heard by the High Court, the government said it has the right to trigger Brexit because of the so-called royal prerogative, in which executive authority is given to ministers so they can govern on the monarch's behalf.

The court rejected that position. "The most fundamental rule of the U.K.'s constitution is that Parliament is sovereign and can make and unmake any law it chooses," said the chief judge, Roger Thomas.

The case was brought by a group of British citizens opposed to Brexit with the help of some of the U.K.'s top constitutional lawyers. Spearheading the legal challenge are British businesswoman Gina Miller and hairdresser Deir Dos Santos. Grahame Pigney, a France-based expatriate who used crowdfunding from more than 4,000 people to pay for lawyers, joined the suit as a co-party.

The ruling, by three High Court judges, was unanimous.

Nicholas Winning contributed to this article.

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\* Bank of England Puts Brake on Rate Cuts[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/boe-drops-signal-of-further-stimulus-says-rates-could-move-in-either-direction-1478175174]

\* Brussels Beat: Brexit Gets Even More Complicated[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/brexit-just-became-even-more-complicated-thanks-to-high-court-1478203792?tesla=y]

\* Case Puts Spotlight on British Businesswoman[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/brexit-case-puts-spotlight-on-u-k-businesswoman-gina-miller-1478214652]

\* Ruling Further Clouds Horizon for Firms[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/brexit-court-ruling-further-clouds-the-horizon-for-companies-1478179850]

\* Heard: Politics Still Stars in Brexit Drama[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/politics-still-stars-in-brexit-drama-1478186753?tesla=y]

\* At a Glance: What the U.K. Court Decision Means for Brexit[http://blogs.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/briefly/2016/11/03/what-the-u-k-court-decision-means-for-brexit-at-a-glance/]

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Melania Trump called for more-civil public discourse and condemned the "bad side" of social media, in a rare public speech on behalf of husband Donald Trump, the Republican presidential nominee whose brash use of put-downs at rallies and on Twitter has been a staple of the campaign.

Mrs. Trump's debut on the campaign stump at a rally in the Philadelphia suburb of Berwyn, Pa., was aimed at wooing female voters in a pivotal battleground state. Pennsylvania currently leans toward Democratic rival Hillary Clinton, polls show, but an upset for Mr. Trump here would greatly widen his path to victory on Election Day.

She called her husband a man with "deep love and respect for this country and all of its people" who is distraught every time a factory closes.

Mrs. Trump, a former model from Slovenia who later became an American citizen, also lamented an increasingly coarse culture in which users of social media, especially children, belittle each other.

"Our culture has gotten too mean and too tough, especially to children and teenagers," Mrs. Trump said. "We have to find a better way to talk to each other, to disagree with each other, to respect each other."

In a series of questions about the nation's future, she asked, "Do we want a country that respects women and provides them with equal opportunity?" The crowd of Trump supporters responded affirmatively.

Her description of her husband sharply contrasts with the mean sexist depicted by Mrs. Clinton and her allies, who have been hammering Mr. Trump for months over his history of making rough remarks about women. The Clinton campaign released a new television commercial Thursday that includes Mr. Trump's 2006 barb at comedian Rosie O'Donnell, "I'd look her right in that fat ugly face of hers." The ad features images of children, while Mr. Trump is overheard threatening to "punch" a protester and making disparaging comments about Mexicans, the disabled and former Republican nominee John McCain.

During the campaign, Mr. Trump has insulted a former Miss Universe[http://blogs.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/washwire/2016/09/27/trump-stands-by-criticism-of-pageant-winner-in-post-debate-interview/], the parents of a dead Muslim soldier[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/donald-trump-pushes-back-against-father-of-fallen-muslim-soldier-1469986267] and a Mexican-American judge[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/donald-trump-keeps-up-attacks-on-judge-gonzalo-curiel-1464911442] hearing a case against him.

Mr. Trump faced one of the biggest firestorms of the campaign last month when an 11-year-old videotape surfaced[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/donald-trumps-lewd-comments-about-women-spark-uproar-1475886118] in which he boasted about groping women. During the Republican primary, he tweeted an unflattering picture of the wife of then-rival, Ted Cruz, whom he coined "Lyin Ted." He calls Mrs. Clinton "Crooked Hillary." The long list of Mr. Trump's targets goes on.

Mrs. Trump only alluded to her husband's aggressive tactics, saying, "He certainly knows how to shake things up, doesn't he?"

The gender gap is one of Mr. Trump's biggest challenges in locking down Pennsylvania's 20 electoral votes. Mrs. Trump, who would be the first foreign-born first lady since Louisa Adams, also sought to smooth over the hard edges of her husband's **immigration** policy, which calls for deporting illegal **immigrants** and building a wall along the Mexican border.

"Do we want a country that is safe, with secure borders?" she asked.

Mrs. Trump's rally took place in Chester County, one of a collection of big-city suburbs[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/in-wealthy-suburbs-a-new-test-for-the-gop-1478093900] across the country with increasingly diverse, educated and affluent populations that lean Democrat. Of the four large counties outside Philadelphia, Chester was the only one in the state to favor GOP nominee Mitt Romney in 2012 and only slightly.

Mrs. Clinton has been topping statewide polls[http://graphics.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/elections/2016/polls/] for months and currently holds a 4-point advantage, according to the Real Clear Politics polling average. In a sign that her campaign sees the state as up for grabs, her campaign announced Thursday she will rally in Philadelphia with President Barack Obama, first lady Michelle Obama and former President Bill Clinton on the eve of the election. Mr. Trump is slated to campaign in Hershey on Friday.

Mrs. Trump has made only a handful of high-profile appearances in the 18 months since she accompanied Mr. Trump down the escalator in New York City's Trump Tower to announce his presidential bid. Positive reviews of her speech at the Republican convention were overshadowed by revelations that it included some passages lifted from the speech[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/was-melania-trump-speech-common-words-or-plagiarism-professors-parse-1468982640] given by Mrs. Obama at her husband's 2008 convention. As a procession of women accused her husband of sexual misconduct last month, Mrs. Trump sat for an interview with CNN's Anderson Cooper. She said she disapproved of Mr. Trump's crude remarks caught on videotape but called the allegations "lies" perpetuated by a biased media.

Mrs. Trump's appearance serves as a reminder of how much the GOP nominee has depended on family members instead of Republican heavyweights to promote his campaign. Mr. Trump's four adult children have been his most loyal surrogates, with Mr. Trump's daughter, Ivanka, serving as his most frequent ambassador to female audiences.

After Mrs. Trump's speech, her husband tweeted a picture of himself[https://twitter.com/realDonaldTrump/status/794259252613414915] aboard his plane and said, "Watching my beautiful wife, Melania, speak about our love of country and family. We will make you all very proud."

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More on Election 2016

\* New Poll Finds Close Race in Georgia[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/new-poll-finds-close-race-in-georgia-1478206826]

\* Candidates Work to Capture New Territory in Final Stretch[http://blogs.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/washwire/2016/11/03/clinton-trump-work-to-capture-new-territory-in-campaigns-final-stretch/]

\* Are Some Voters Too Shy to Tell Pollsters They Back Trump?[http://blogs.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/washwire/2016/11/03/are-some-voters-too-shy-to-tell-pollsters-they-back-trump/]

\* Five Battleground Counties in a Changing U.S.[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/the-voters-in-a-changing-nation-1478098673]

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**The hate-speech trial of Geert Wilders got under way this week in Amsterdam, but the populist politician didn't bother to show up to court. Instead he reiterated the message that had gotten him into legal trouble in the first place, tweeting that the Netherlands has a "huge problem" with Moroccan **immigrants**.

We disagree with Mr. Wilders on any number of issues, including his call to ban all mosques as well as the Quran itself as part of a "de-Islamification" process, and it's a shame defenders of free speech don't get to choose our champions. But we can't blame Mr. Wilders for the contempt he showed for the judiciary and political elite in the Netherlands, who would rather restrict free debate than address the concerns millions of Dutch voters have about Muslim **immigration** and assimilation.

Aside from the insult the trial represents to the principles of a free society, prosecuting Mr. Wilders for making an argument over which reasonable citizens can disagree won't produce greater social cohesion. Mr. Wilders was merely restating in crude fashion what respectable Dutch leaders and institutions have already concluded: The multiculturalist model for integrating Muslim **immigrant** communities is a failure.

The center-left Labor Party sounded the alarm over ill-assimilated Muslim **immigrants** in a 2008 position paper, noting that white voters felt a sense of "loss and estrangement" over parallel communities that don't embrace mainstream values. For good measure, it warned that the "mistake we can never repeat is stifling criticism of cultures and religions for reasons of tolerance."

A 2013 study by the Amsterdam municipal government found that of the top 600 young criminals in the city—those convicted of various burglary, robbery and assault charges and who have repeatedly come into contact with the public prosecutor—47% were of Moroccan origin while only 9% were native-born.

A study the following year by the Netherlands Institute for Social Research found that economic integration among Muslim **immigrants** didn't lead to greater attachment to mainstream values. Successful **immigrants** tended to "question Dutch lifestyle and tradition" and revert to their own identities, which in turn correlated with "increasing religious activism and violence, including jihadism."

Voters know all this much better than the politicians and academics do, which is why Mr. Wilders and his Freedom Party remain popular in the polls. Prosecuting free speech won't solve the underlying problem or erase the resentments it breeds among native Dutch. If mainstream Dutch politicians want to prevent Mr. Wilders from coming to power, they should devote their time to addressing his voters' real concerns, not trying to criminalize their messenger.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Orange, Calif.

Two Democrats are squaring off for a U.S. Senate seat in a general election. It's the first time that's happened, and it's the result of California's jungle-primary system in which the top two vote-getters, Democrat or Republican, run against each other.

The contest had the potential to be a real slugfest, pitting the progressive Attorney General Kamala Harris against the less partisan Orange County Congresswoman Loretta Sanchez.

But Democratic Party leaders had other ideas: They want to position the telegenic AG for a presidential run in another four or eight years, which is why they've had their thumbs on the scale for Ms. Harris since Barbara Boxer announced her retirement in January 2015.

Lt. Gov. Gavin Newsom declined a bid as soon as Ms. Harris signaled her intention to run in January 2015. Soon after launching her campaign, the AG rolled out endorsements from Sens. Elizabeth Warren, Kirsten Gillibrand and Cory Booker. Former San Francisco Mayor Willie Brown—Ms. Harris's ex-beau, political mentor and Democratic Party machinist—dissuaded former Los Angeles Mayor Antonio Villaraigosa from entering the race.

Ms. Sanchez, a daughter of Mexican **immigrants** who attended college on a union scholarship, was the only high-profile Democrat with the audacity to challenge the AG. The congresswoman would appear to be a dream Democratic candidate. During her 10 terms in the U.S. House of Representatives, Ms. Sanchez has rarely dissented from her party's leadership except to vote against the Iraq war and bank bailout.

Ms. Harris is also the daughter of **immigrants**. Her father was a Jamaican-born economics professor at Stanford, and her Indian-American mother was a world-renowned breast cancer researcher. Thus, the AG has received the dual benefit of an upper-middle class pedigree and minority classification. Unlike Ms. Sanchez, she has adeptly worked the levers of power in her party.

As the Journal's editorial pages have reported, the AG has used her prosecutorial powers to bully banks, oil companies, for-profit colleges, donors to conservative nonprofits, an online charter school and even a hospital chain that rejected the demands of SEIU, the service workers' union. In 2014, she scuttled a public pension reform referendum by giving it a misleading ballot description.

Ms. Sanchez, on the other hand, has demonstrated a more independent streak. For instance, she has bucked environmentalists by supporting water storage projects and worked with Republicans such as Rep. Cathy McMorris Rodgers and now Sen. Tim Scott on modest regulatory reforms. In an interview this summer, Ms. Sanchez told me she would be open to negotiating a tax reform with Republicans to encourage corporations to move their overseas cash back to the U.S. If "you want to find solutions to difficult problems," she says, "you can't be beating people up all day."

But beating up Republicans is precisely what progressives want Democratic leaders to do. In February, California Democratic Party delegates endorsed Ms. Harris, who has reliably done their bidding.

California's jungle primary in June featured a crowded field with no well-established Republican candidates. Not surprisingly, Ms. Harris and Ms. Sanchez finished first (40%) and second (19%). Soon thereafter, President Obama and Vice President Joe Biden endorsed Ms. Harris. The president recently cut a TV ad praising the AG as a "fearless fighter."

As the state's top cop, Ms. Harris has had an easy time raising money. According to Federal Election Commission disclosures, Ms. Harris has received $13.1 million in contributions from Google, the California Pawnbrokers Association and Time Warner. Ms. Sanchez has raised a mere $3.1 million, which isn't nearly enough to compete in a large state with expensive media markets. Republican Carly Fiorina spent $22 million in 2010 to defeat Ms. Boxer, but still lost by 10 points.

A Public Policy Institute of California poll last month showed Ms. Harris up 42% to 20%, which suggests that her lead hasn't changed since the primary. This reflects the fact that many voters outside of Orange County still aren't familiar with Ms. Sanchez and that two in five Republicans don't plan to vote for either Democrat.

Ms. Sanchez would benefit from a high Latino turnout in Southern California, but to win she'd have to persuade Republicans to vote for her. Her best argument is one she hasn't yet made: Democratic Party leaders have pulled out all the stops to elect a fearless progressive to the Senate whom they hope to make president in the not too distant feature. Republicans could be open to nipping that political career in the bud—if only Ms. Sanchez were willing to ask.

Ms. Finley is an editorial writer for the Journal.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**An Iraqi special forces soldier puts up a helmet as a decoy while a sniper gets ready to fire at Islamic State positions on the eastern edges of Mosul on Thursday.

Volunteers carry an injured passenger from the wreckage of a train that collided with another train in Karachi, Pakistan. Officials say more than a dozen people died in the crash.

Foxhounds gather after the traditional Hubertus Chase in Insernhagen, Germany.

Migrants and **refugees** are helped into a boat during a rescue operation off the Libyan coast carried out by the Topaz Responder rescue ship, which is run by the Malta-based foundation MOAS and the Italian Red Cross.

A riot policeman points his weapon at journalists covering anticorruption protests in Kenya's capital of Nairobi.

Chicago Cubs fans embrace outside of Progressive Field on Wednesday after Game 7 of the World Series between the Cleveland Indians and the Cubs. The Cubs defeated the Indians, 8-7, in 10 innings for their first World Series championship in 108 years.

A woman waits with her children outside the airport in Athens to take a special charter flight bound for France, part of an EU relocation program for **refugees**, on Thursday.

A trader unties the legs of a camel in the desert state of Rajasthan, India.

Palestinian youths carry their surfboards at a beach in Gaza City on Wednesday.

Gina Miller, co-founder of investment fund SCM Private, reads a statement outside the High Court in central London on Thursday, after winning a legal challenge claiming parliament must approve the start of the U.K.'s withdrawal from the European Union.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Corrections & Amplifications:

Nearly 900,000 asylum seekers entered Germany in 2015. An earlier version of this article incorrectly stated the amount as "900,00." (Nov. 3, 2016)

BERLIN—German police detained an asylum seeker suspected of plotting an attack for Islamic State, the federal prosecutor's office said Thursday, the latest evidence of a mounting terror threat posed by the arrival last year of hundreds of thousands of migrants into the country.

The 27-year-old man, identified by federal prosecutors as Ashraf Al-T., allegedly received approval from an ISIS operative in Syria to carry out an attack on Germans in the near future, the prosecutor's office said.

The man was taken into custody in Berlin late Wednesday, and his apartment in the city's Schöneberg district was searched, according to the prosecutor. By the end of the day Thursday, the suspect will go before an investigating judge with the federal supreme court, who will decide if there is sufficient evidence to keep holding the man.

The nationality of the suspect who arrived in Germany in 2015 remained unclear. Police initially identified the man as Syrian but an official familiar with the case said he might in fact be a Tunisian who used Syrian identification.

The arrest adds to escalating tension in Germany over the security risks arising from Chancellor Angela Merkel's decision to open the country's doors to nearly 900,000 asylum seekers[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/germany-eases-rules-for-syrian-refugees-1440530030] in 2015 alone.

As the wave of migrants entering the county peaked late last year, authorities brushed aside suggestions that the surge could include attackers linked with ISIS. A year later, a lengthening list of arrests and a series of attacks by **refugees**[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/wave-of-violence-shakes-germanys-calm-1469448431] have led officials to reassess the threat and raise alarms about security.

"It is very good [that] this man was taken off the streets," German Interior Minister Thomas de Maizière said. "Security services had been watching him for some time."

Officials said it was still unclear how far along plans were for an attack but authorities still felt compelled to act, said Bernd Palenda, head of the state intelligence agency in Berlin.

"As we had no overview over the risks—what might be done and when it might start—we acted fast," said Mr. Palenda,

The evidence authorities possessed pointed to a potential lone attacker, he said. Security officials have been warning that more lone attackers appeared to be steered from ISIS operatives based in the terror militia's territory.

The number of terror suspect cases has grown in recent months.

Last week, the federal prosecutor charged a 19-year-old Syrian **immigrant** with supporting ISIS[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/germany-charges-syrian-immigrant-with-supporting-isis-1477566821] and scouting for potential targets in Germany.

In September, police detained three Syrians who had traveled to Germany late last year[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/three-suspected-isis-fighters-detained-in-germany-1473761295] in what officials said might be the first arrest of a cell sent to Germany specifically to commit terror attacks.

German authorities were alerted to the latest threat by a foreign intelligence service, according to another official. The man who was detained applied for asylum in Berlin a year ago and used several identities since he arrived, the official added.

Last month, a Syrian **refugee** suspected of plotting attacks on Berlin airports escaped during a police raid[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/police-comb-eastern-germany-in-hunt-for-terror-plot-suspect-1476009132] and later hung himself in his jail cell[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/syrian-refugee-suspected-of-plotting-attack-in-germany-committedsuicide-lawyer-says-1476306793] after being detained.

Mr. Palenda, the Berlin state intelligence chief, said there appeared to be no connection between this man and the one detained Thursday.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Populist opposition will shape how trade and **immigration** expand[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/can-globalization-be-salvaged-1478102789], Greg Ip writes in The Wall Street Journal. Salvaging globalization requires understanding what is behind the backlash, as "many populists think it's a zero-sum game that the U.S. is losing." Broad majorities of the public still think free trade and **immigration** are good things, but "the bad news for globalizers is that the populists on the right and left who disagree are increasingly able to stop the process." Stronger wage growth likely won't defuse the populist backlash against **immigration**, he says. What can help are **immigration** policies better tuned to the host country's absorption capacity and labor force needs.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**BERLIN—When Syrian terror suspect Jaber Albakr escaped a police raid [http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/german-police-arrest-suspect-in-alleged-terror-bomb-plot-1476077420]in the Eastern German town of Chemnitz in October, authorities posted an Arabic version of their wanted notice online 30 hours later.

By then, hundreds of Syrians had already shared their own translation on social media. Two days later, it was three Syrian **refugees** who captured and turned in the suspect.

"I came from a place where many people were killed; I don't want anyone to die here," said Abdalaziz al-Hamza, one of the first Syrians to post his translation of the notice on Facebook.

**Refugees** from the war-torn Middle East have been banding together to hound suspected terrorists and war criminals hiding among the nearly two million who have settled in Europe over the last two years, most of them in Germany.

The help, which ranges from tipoffs in **immigration** interviews to networks of amateur investigators, has been both a blessing and a burden for officials.

In Frankfurt, a Syrian human rights activist is collecting files on suspected war criminals and Islamists. In Bavaria, a **refugee** is sharing information on his former Islamic State captors. Online, **refugees** are posting pictures of suspected war criminals at a pace authorities can barely keep up with.

Some of the information from **refugees** is invaluable, security officials said, given authorities are often investigating crimes rooted in distant and inaccessible countries. But many of the tips are vague or unsubstantiated, evidence that is too thin to justify an investigation let alone a trial.

And some have been found to be false alarms based on personal agendas, leading at times to a fruitless strain on already tight resources, the officials said. The patchy effectiveness of the efforts has frustrated both the **refugees** offering the help, and officials still figuring out how to best use it.

"We have to be careful, we can't simply go after someone just because one person thinks he did something," said Jochen Hollmann, head of the state intelligence agency in Saxony-Anhalt.

In Germany, authorities have received 445 tips on potential terror and Islamist supporters over the past 18 months, and another 1,250 on suspected war criminals alone this year, according to the federal criminal agency BKA. Of the 445, 80 have led to in-depth investigations, the BKA said.

Islamic State has boasted of directing three attacks in Germany this year—two by **refugees** this summer and a murder by an unidentified knife-wielding suspect in Hamburg in October. The militant group claimed the Hamburg attack last weekend, and authorities said they are looking into the claim.

German authorities have also dismantled several terror cells involving **refugees**.[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/signs-of-bigger-islamic-state-cell-in-germany-emerge-1465421355] The attacks and arrests have boosted support for populist, anti-**immigration** parties and fanned fears about the security implications of Chancellor Angela Merkel's decision to let in so many **refugees**.[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/ax-attacker-on-german-train-likely-acted-alone-government-says-1469016896]

"So many people come from places where Islamic State was in control, in most of the cases, they know something," said Masoud Aqil, a 23-year old Kurdish journalist, who was once a prisoner of the extremist group. In Germany, he shared information with police about people he came across while in captivity.

Syrian human rights activist Abdelkarim Rihawi has set up a team tracking potential war criminals and terrorists suspected to be in Europe from his new home of Frankfurt. They have passed on names of some 150 suspected war criminals and one Islamic State fighter to authorities so far, he said.

Lawyer Rami Hamido, now in Sweden, founded the private Facebook group "Criminals not **Refugees**," where members publish information about suspected Syrian war criminals and terror supporters believed to be in Europe. They claim to have tracked some 250 suspects across the continent, including seven alleged Islamic State fighters in Germany, Greece and Italy.

The BKA said it couldn't comment on individual tipsters. One German official said authorities were aware of Mr. Aqil's tips but couldn't say if they had helped in inquiries.

Despite doubts about the veracity of some of the tips, German authorities have been actively reaching out to **refugees** for their cooperation. In the state of Hesse, intelligence officials and social workers are training **refugees** to spot signs of radicalism. In Bavaria, the interior ministry is translating into Arabic brochures about the dangers of fundamentalist strains of Islam.

In Saxony-Anhalt, Mr. Hollmann, the state intelligence chief, is in close contact with the heads of two large Muslim associations who agreed to relay any suspicions on newcomers, he said.

"Sometimes we get stuck in an investigation, that doesn't necessarily mean that there's nothing there," said Mr. Hollmann. "[The **refugees**] might very well have some proof that could help us."

The arrest of a Syrian asylum-seeker suspected of ties to Islamic State in the city of Dortmund last year showed the difficulties German authorities face in pursuing information shared by migrants.

After a website run by Syrian opposition activists published accusations about the **refugee**, police detained the man. A day later, he was released again for lack of evidence. Federal prosecutors later took over the probe but only found evidence that the man had once joined the Free Syrian Army, a U.S.-backed rebel group fighting the Syrian government, according to people familiar with the case.

**Refugees** say they are frustrated at the glacial pace of investigations.

"I understand there is the rule of law, but it's distressing for us that there seems to be no way to put some criminals in jail," said Mr. Rihawi, the activist tracking potential suspects.

A case in Italy showed help from migrants can be decisive. In March, a 22-year Somali asylum seeker was arrested on suspicions he was advocating acts of terror after a tip from another migrant living in the same shelter.

The informant provided a dozen recordings of the suspect praising Islamic State and exhorting others to commit acts of terror in Italy. Six asylum seekers later testified against the suspect. In August, the Somali was sentenced to two years and six months in jail.

Giovanni Legorano in Milan contributed to this article.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**ABEL TESFAYE can finally get a good night's sleep. The biggest R&B star to emerge in recent years, Tesfaye (who is better known as the Weeknd) recently changed his signature hairstyle—multidirectional, thick, spiky dreadlocks, a look inspired by Jean-Michel Basquiat. "It was actually very uncomfortable," he says. "I could only sleep on one side of my face. Now the sleep is amazing, the shower is amazing because I don't have to spend two hours cleaning it. I didn't know how much I wanted it until I did it."

The haircut is about more than just convenience. The reveal of the look (cropped short, nothing fancy) aligned with the release of "Starboy," the first single and title track from the Weeknd's new album, a follow-up to last year's triple-platinum, Grammy-winning Beauty Behind the Madness. While Tesfaye maintains that the timing of the chop was coincidental, it provided an opportunity for a creative reset; the music video for the lead single opens with a shorn Weeknd symbolically murdering his long-haired predecessor, then wielding a neon crucifix to smash up his awards cases and platinum plaques.

"It was a long time coming," he says. "It didn't feel right anymore, because it ended up becoming a trademark. I told everybody I was getting rid of it, and everybody—literally, unanimously—they were like, ‘No, don't do it! That's your whole thing, that's you.' And the way they said that, I was like, ‘Oh, I'm definitely cutting it now.' "

Tesfaye is seated at one of the consoles in Hollywood's Conway Recording Studios. He has taken over the small compound for several weeks to complete the 18 tracks on Starboy (the album arrives in late November; at the moment, he says it's "85 to 90 percent" finished). It's the day after the release of the slow-burning single, produced by dance-music demigods Daft Punk. In the weekend that follows, the song will stream more than 17 million times around the world, setting a new record. On North American radio, it became the most-added new song of all time.

Since his earliest work as an anonymous voice behind a series of underground mixtapes, the Weeknd has nurtured a seedy, brooding image—part hedonistic, part nihilistic, his songs are a parade of casual sex and drugs, more a response to boredom than a search for pleasure. His sound, which has transformed modern R&B and influenced other chart-topping artists such as Usher and Miguel, mirrors the mood of the lyrics with a murky, narcotized feel.

In conversation, Tesfaye is shy and polite, slightly awkward and fidgety while conducting one of his rare interviews. With the new haircut, he looks younger—in a blue plaid shirt over black T-shirt, jeans and sneakers, he seems much more like a regular 26-year-old from the Toronto suburbs than the Dark Knight of R&B.

The walls of the Conway's Studio B are covered with posters—the Clash, N.W.A, the classic Farrah Fawcett bathing suit shot, Breaking Bad, Sly Stone, A Clockwork Orange. Tesfaye drew from a range of inspirations for these songs, and he wanted to surround himself with this crazy quilt of influences. "The album is like a giant collage," he says. "Usually I have a linear story line, but this one feels very schizophrenic—that's probably the best way to describe it. Multiple personalities. Every song is almost its own character.

"It's just a villain you play, like Scarface," he adds. "Sometimes in the studio, we play Carlito's Way and Scarface, put the sound on mute and try to make the music feel like that. You get criticized for it, but in the end it's entertainment to me.

"That stuff just comes naturally," he says with a shrug. "My fans love it, I love making it. It's like an R-rated film, it's like Tarantino—I don't know why, I just love the violence!"

In the beginning, the Weeknd wanted to be invisible. The son of Ethiopian **immigrants** who had fled the country's famine in the 1980s, he spoke Amharic as a child. He dropped out of high school in Scarborough, Ontario—an ethnically mixed neighborhood on the outskirts of Toronto—at 17.

Soon after, he moved out of the house he shared with his mother and his grandmother and into a one-bedroom apartment with four friends. In 2010, he recorded three songs and posted them on the internet. They started to get some notice—and then Toronto's own Drake linked to them from his website, and that notice got serious. "Drake will always be like a big brother to me," says Tesfaye. "He always showed love and kind of showed the world what I could do."

Still, the singer didn't want to reveal himself. His co-workers at the American Apparel where he folded and restocked T-shirts had no idea whom they were listening to when a Weeknd song came on at the store. "I didn't even want to tour back then—I just wanted to make music and put as many songs out as possible," he says.

Which turned out to be a lot of songs. In 2011, he released a trilogy of online albums—House of Balloons, Thursday and Echoes of Silence—27 songs in all. Following a brief tour and a bidding war, Tesfaye signed with Republic Records, home to Ariana Grande and Nicki Minaj.

His first proper album release, however, 2013's Kiss Land, was a commercial disappointment. He realized that he was now playing on a different field. The Weeknd could hold onto mysterious menace as an identity, but crafting a pop hit required a different discipline, a feeling that was more universal.

"In the beginning, he liked vibes a lot more than he liked songs, which is typical for indie artists," says Doc McKinney, an executive producer of the new album, who started working with Tesfaye during his mixtape days and has also worked with Sting, Maroon 5 and Drake. "So going after a pop sound, and making that as cool and timeless as possible, was something he really wanted to do."

Republic teamed Tesfaye with Ariana Grande for "Love Me Harder," which was a Top Ten hit. The producers of Fifty Shades of Grey realized that the Weeknd's lyrics, with their cold and sometimes cruel sexuality, were a natural fit for the movie, and tapped "Earned It" for the soundtrack—which set off a historic chart run. In July 2015, the Weeknd became the first artist ever to simultaneously hold the top three slots on Billboard's Hot R&B Songs chart, with "Can't Feel My Face," "Earned It" and "The Hills." When Beauty Behind the Madness came out the following month, it debuted at No. 1 and went on to win two Grammys and eight Billboard awards, and even picked up an Oscar nomination for "Earned It."

The album was still riding high when Tesfaye decided to start work on a new project. "The last record is still going, still selling," he says. "You turn on the radio, and I still have songs that are playing." But he canceled plans for a summer tour and went back in the studio (not that he ever truly stops recording—since the last album, he has appeared on songs with Kanye West, Beyoncé and Future).

"It was a risk I took and money I lost," he says. "Everybody thought I was crazy, just like they said it was crazy to put out three records in one year, but this is what feels right." Four months later, he'd finished recording the album. "I think I'm just having my A game—that I'm the best I've ever been in the studio. I don't know where to go after this record, to be honest."

Tesfaye says that the direction of Starboy was influenced "a thousand percent" by the deaths this year of David Bowie and Prince. "I just love Bowie, I think he's the ultimate inventor," he says, noting that the album's title is partly a nod to Bowie's 1972 anthem "Starman." And Tesfaye was scheduled to go into Paisley Park studio with Prince when his longtime hero died in April. (The last time Prince appeared on television was to present Tesfaye with one of his two American Music Awards last November.)

At first listen, the songs on Starboy reveal new sides of the Weeknd. "Secrets," which was initially conceived as a country song and partly inspired by Dolly Parton and Conway Twitty, has an old-school soul/new wave vibe. Tesfaye sings in a vocal register lower than his signature falsetto and at one point slips into something like a British accent.

"False Alarm" is a different beast entirely, more up-tempo but retaining spooky synthesizer washes. The chorus—crudely recorded in Tesfaye's Toronto bedroom studio—erupts into an explosive chant.

"I've never made a record like that. I'm doing things with my voice that I've never done before, and it kind of embodies all the inspirations of the album—the punked-out aspects of Bad Brains, the Smiths," he says, pointing to the posters around the studio. "It's like everything in this room all in one song."

"There was no real concept," says McKinney. "We would just go with whatever vibe we were on, try songs lots of different ways. This is the most experimental we've ever been."

The most notable collaborators on Starboy are Daft Punk, whose last album, Random Access Memories, won five Grammys in 2014. Guy-Manuel de Homem-Christo, one half of the French electronic duo, and Tesfaye have friends in common and had bumped into each other at parties. But the mysterious musicians (who are almost never seen in public without their robot helmets and outfits) seldom work on music that's not their own.

Tesfaye describes working with Daft Punk as an otherworldly experience. "Their studio is like a spaceship, there's a lot of gear," he says, "but the way they make music, the way they explain it, is very cinematic. It's like they're reading a page out of a novel—‘We want to make sure that at the end, it feels like the sun's coming up, and maybe there's a car chase.' They can get technical, but it was interesting how they visualize making music."

The remarkably spontaneous sessions yielded two songs on the album. While they were working on one track, Tesfaye overheard de Homem-Christo playing with a drum loop on his phone. Twenty minutes later, he had written "Starboy" to that unfinished beat. The song isn't the sort of splashy disco number that a Daft Punk/Weeknd summit might suggest; it feels more like the robots meeting Tesfaye on his terms rather than the other way around.

The new album also brings the singer back together with Max Martin, the Swedish pop mastermind who has produced an endless stream of hits for Taylor Swift, Katy Perry, Britney Spears and Kelly Clarkson. Though Martin is known for being a Svengali in the studio, Tesfaye says their process was highly cooperative. "It's very simple with Max, very easy," he says. "I run my own ship—I write the song, we talk about what we want it to be, and Max makes sure it sounds the best it can. He's very smart and he knows when it's right.

"He's very zen in the studio; his whole demeanor is very chill," Tesfaye adds. "I tend to be a little more jumpy, but when I work with him, I bring that control back here. We've become very close. I'll be working with him hopefully for a very long time."

The greatest outcome of his work with Martin so far was the five-times-platinum No. 1 single "Can't Feel My Face," released in June 2015. A propulsive, irresistible track recalling the feel of Off the Wall–era Michael Jackson, with a lyric about the lures of cocaine that was coded deeply enough that most listeners missed it, "Face" is one of those rare pop dynamos that become a cultural phenomenon. Tom Cruise lip-synced the song on The Tonight Show, and it has been covered onstage by Taylor Swift, Stevie Wonder and the Dixie Chicks.

Tesfaye wasn't freaked out by having a song that suddenly took over the zeitgeist. "Honestly, I enjoyed it," he says. "When Tom Cruise did that, I went on Twitterand ranted a little bit about how excited I was. I want to continue to make exciting music for the rest of my life. So these are the steps and that's good. It's what we work for, right?"

"Aaa-bel!" "We love you!" The girls in the audience shriek when Tesfaye enters NBC's Studio 8H for his spot on the season premiere of Saturday Night Live. It's not exactly a low-pressure setting for the debut performances of "Starboy" and "False Alarm," but he nails both songs, with a huge neon cross (picking up on the imagery from the "Starboy" video) behind him on a dry ice–engulfed set. Perhaps inevitably, the "Weekend Update" segment features a brief "Weeknd Update," which cuts to a tape of a deadpan Tesfaye saying, "I got a haircut."

At the end of the show, when everyone gathers onstage to say good night, Tesfaye grins and hugs host Margot Robbie and the rest of the cast. But at a certain point, he retreats to one side by himself, and when the all-clear sign is given, he's the first to jump off the stage and dash from the studio, with a quick wave to his screaming fans.

Tesfaye may still struggle with the spotlight, but he says that he isn't overwhelmed by the surge of his success. "Maybe age has something to do with it," he says. "Maybe 25 is a good age to get hit with that, as opposed to some artists who get it when they're 13 or 14 and they can't handle it. I had been in the game for a bit—I was doing arenas already, without a hit single. So it was comfortable, I was good. I kind of keep to myself anyway. I'm either in the studio or touring. Everybody that works with me is very close to me, so I don't think fame or any of that stuff really scares me."

In fact, he says with a laugh, only recently did he start to splurge with his money; having never bought a car (or had a license), he picked up three expensive ones in the past year and a half, "and now I'm addicted to it." Adding to his rock star image, since early 2015 he has been dating supermodel Bella Hadid.

"What I've been so impressed with is how he's handling his success," says radio and TV host Ryan Seacrest. "He seems grateful for all the breaks he has received, but also seems to be working harder than ever to prove himself."

"He's still the same kid," adds McKinney. "He's comfortable in his decision making and honest in his songwriting, still committed to making great records, still a workaholic who spends every waking hour in the studio—we call him the Machine."

Tesfaye finds it hard to relate to some of the teenage decadence of his earliest music but points to the lyrics of one of his first songs, "The Morning"—"Order plane tickets, Cali is the mission/Visit every month like I'm split-life living"—to highlight the continuum of his career. "That's like me from my past talking about who I am right now, what I was striving to be, so that's kind of cool."

Having been raised in a family of **immigrants**, Tesfaye expresses alarm at the plight of **refugees** around the world. "What is happening is very real," he says, "and we're at a time when you can't hide it. It's being shown on cellphones, shown to people's faces, and they still try to ignore it. I don't think we should be waiting for a presidential election to change things—we need to change now. Mayors, governors, however we can figure it out, but it's something that has to change really fast or it's going to get much worse before it gets better."

He doesn't feel ready, though, to address social issues directly in his music. "Of course you get angry about what's happening, and maybe you hear that in a record like ‘False Alarm,' where I'm screaming and it could be what I just heard on the news," he says. "But I don't know how to make political music—not yet, anyway. People like Kendrick Lamar and J. Cole, that's a talent, it's an art that I wish I could do." Starboy does include some Ethiopian influences; "False Alarm" concludes with a brief sample of singer Aster Aweke, whom he calls "the Whitney Houston of Ethiopia."

Tesfaye ambles across the courtyard in the Hollywood sunshine, over to Studio A, where some of the album's final parts were recorded. A different set of posters covers these walls—Freddie Mercury, the Ramones, Night of the Living Dead. The artists who leave a legacy, he notes, are the ones who make brave choices and aren't afraid to change direction. That's why he feels no pressure from all the anticipation around Starboy. "I think if you make music trying to satisfy every listener, that's where the problem comes, and that's where you can go a little crazy," he says. "I've done that before, and I've noticed that the more free I am and the more creative control I have in the studio, the better reaction I get.

"The greatest thing I ever did was not have too many expectations."

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Sometimes, it's easiest to see the big picture by looking at the small pieces.

Dig beneath the familiar map of red states and blue states, and the contest between Republican Donald Trump and Democrat Hillary Clinton turns up as a set of fault lines running through America's suburbs, its small cities and outer exurbs, with strongholds for Democrats in the nation's metropolitan areas and for Republicans in rural communities.

The battle lines are in constant flux. One way to understand how the map may change as a result of this year's presidential election is to look at America by geography.

Voting this year will show whether Republicans continue to strengthen their appeal in rural America and in communities struggling to replace lost manufacturing jobs. It will tell whether Democrats can continue to push out from the nation's big cities, long their political base, and into populous suburbs that have become more racially diverse and economically dynamic.

Here we visit five counties, each in a different presidential battleground state, where the contest between Mr. Trump and Mrs. Clinton will offer a new picture of the two parties' strength. These are places that matter not only because they will help determine the outcome of the election, but because they will show the types of voters that make up each party's political coalition today.

Click through from each county's description for an in-depth look:

Stark County, Ohio

The Blue-Collar Bellwether

The county that contains Canton, a former steel-industry hub, split its vote evenly between the two parties in 2012. Now, Democratic leaders say they believe blue-collar voters will switch their allegiance to Mr. Trump, drawn by his promises to toughen **immigration** laws and renegotiate trade deals.

"You walk into a union hall, and it will say ‘Clinton-Kaine' on the door. But you hear the people in there, and some of them have a different point of view," said Phil Giavasis, the county's Democratic Party chairman. With the county still trying to make up for the loss of nearly 40% of its manufacturing jobs, many people here say they want to see big changes in Washington.

If Republicans can make gains here, they likely will also strengthen their hand in the small cities and townships of Pennsylvania, Michigan and in other parts of the industrial Midwest.

Closer look at Stark County, Ohio » [http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/in-ohios-blue-collar-bellwether-the-focus-is-on-jobs-1478093508?=landing]

Chester County, Pa.

The Wealthy Suburban Battleground

The suburbs just outside the nation's big cities, where high incomes and college degrees are plentiful, have grown increasingly Democratic. As members of the nation's professional and managerial class, many voters have jobs that are connected to the global economy, and Mr. Trump's message of economic anxiety has less appeal.

Chester County, outside Philadelphia, is a good place to test whether Democrats can extend their suburban gains. Of the four big counties that surround Philadelphia, it was the only one to favor the GOP nominee in 2012.

Closer look at Chester County, Pa. » [http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/in-wealthy-suburbs-a-new-test-for-the-gop-1478093900?=landing]

Sac County, Iowa

Republican-Leaning Rural America

President Barack Obama carried Iowa in 2008 and 2012; it was one of the few rural states that he won. This year, Democrats could see a further erosion of their hold on Rural America.

Areas like Sac County, two hours northwest of Des Moines, aren't animated by economic anxiety: Farming, not manufacturing, is dominant here, and unemployment is low. But residents say they are disenchanted with Washington and with Mrs. Clinton.

"Every four years, these politicians run around Iowa talking to people. They don't know us or our problems, but they want our tax dollars," said Mike Lenz, a farmer and Trump supporter. "There's only one thing the government is good at doing. That's spending money."

Closer look at Sac County, Iowa » [http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/rural-voters-line-up-for-republicans-1478094206?=landing]

Wake County, N.C.

The Racially Diverse ‘Mixing Bowl'

Republican George W. Bush won this county twice. Since then, Raleigh and its surrounding communities have become more diverse and educated, two features that increasingly are hallmarks of the Democratic coalition.

The county also has grown rapidly. That gave a boost to Mr. Obama, who carried it twice.

The battle between the two parties in diversifying "mixing bowl" counties, like this one, has consequences for elections in a number of historically conservative states, among them Virginia and Georgia, as well as North Carolina.

Closer look at Wake County, N.C. » [http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/a-diverse-mixing-bowl-county-turns-democratic-as-it-grows-1478094454?=landing]

Miami-Dade County, Fla.

Latino USA

In the 2000 election, Democrats outpolled Republicans in Miami's county by 39,000 votes. By 2012, that margin grew to 208,000 votes.

Those numbers show the power, and the changing nature, of the Hispanic vote. Cuban-Americans were once dominant here, and their staunch anticommunist stance aligned them with the GOP. But in recent years, Democratic-leaning Hispanics from other nations have arrived, and younger generations of Cuban-Americans have tilted away from the GOP.

Many voters here say that Mr. Trump's denigrating comments about **immigrants** make it unlikely that he can match his party's showing in 2012, when GOP nominee Mitt Romney won 27% of the Hispanic vote nationally and 39% in Florida. But Miami-Dade could also show Republicans a path toward winning these voters in the future should voters re-elect GOP Sen. Marco Rubio, who at times has pushed his party toward a more accommodating stand on illegal **immigration**.

Closer look at Miami-Dade County, Fla. » [http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/miami-dade-county-shows-gop-struggles-with-the-hispanic-vote-1478094621?=landing]

--Scott Calvert, Arian Campo-Flores and Valerie Bauerlein contributed to this article.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Khizr Khan isn't finished talking about his son, the U.S. Constitution and the dangers of bigotry.

The Muslim father of a soldier slain in Iraq, whose Democratic convention speech served as a rebuke of Republican Donald Trump's anti-Muslim rhetoric, is busy campaigning for Hillary Clinton and other Democrats.

In a recorded call on Sunday, he will urge half a million Muslims to go to the polls, part of a broader effort to get out the vote in that community, which appears to be succeeding.

And after Tuesday's vote—no matter the outcome—he will continue making appeals at college campuses and civic groups for religious tolerance. He says he is booked through spring.

"There is a whole lot of healing that needs to be done after the election," he said in an interview with The Wall Street Journal on Tuesday, shortly before he spoke at the University of Virginia, his son's alma mater. "All this division that has been created needs to be dealt with so we can all recover as a nation, come together and move forward."

Mr. Khan has emerged as the leading spokesperson in an unprecedented voter turnout operation in the Muslim community. There are at least 1 million Muslim voters in the U.S after a yearlong registration drive that signed up hundreds of thousands, the U.S. Council of Muslim Organizations said on Wednesday[http://www.uscmo.org/].

Mosques and other Muslim institutions are organizing early-voting outings, distributing voter guides and incorporating get-out-the-vote appeals into traditional Friday services.

"Trump's bigotry was a blessing in disguise," said Zahid Bukhari, a leader of the Islamic Circle of North America, who joined about 100 people on Sunday for doughnuts and coffee at a Maryland mosque before voting early. "Those types of activities are going on everywhere."

A Trump campaign spokeswoman, Hope Hicks, didn't respond to a request for comment on Wednesday morning.

Muslims make up only about 1% of the U.S. population, according to the Pew Research Center. But the community is concentrated in several pivotal battlegrounds, including Virginia, Michigan, Ohio, Wisconsin and Florida. Nearly three out of four Muslim voters back Mrs. Clinton, while only 4% support Mr. Trump, according to a poll by the nonpartisan Council on American Islamic Relations released earlier this month.

The registration drive began in December, just days after Mr. Trump called for "a total and complete shutdown of Muslims entering the U.S. until our country's representatives can figure out what the hell is going on." His statement in response to the terrorist attack in San Bernardino, Calif., remains on his campaign website, though Mr. Trump now frames his national security policy as blocking **immigrants** from countries that export terrorism.

Muslim leaders credit Mr. Trump for activating a fast-growing community that has yet to build political clout as have the Jewish and Christian communities in the U.S.

Mr. Bukhari pointed to the second presidential debate, when a Muslim voter asked the candidates about Islamophobia, injecting the issue into the national conversation.

Mr. Trump called Islamophobia "a shame" but added, "We can be politically correct, but whether we like it or not, there is a problem." Asked about his proposed ban on Muslim **immigrants** he said, "It is called extreme vetting…hundreds of thousands of people come in from Syria where we know nothing about them. We know nothing about their values and we know nothing about their love for our country."

Mrs. Clinton, in response to the same question, said the U.S. is "not at war with Islam, and it is a mistake and it plays into the hands of the terrorists to act as though we are."

A pro-Muslim political-action committee, Emerge PAC, is circulating a digital ad [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3lXPEv0et2E&feature=youtu.be]that opens with a television clips of Mr. Trump saying, "Islam hates us."

A CAIR voter guide [https://www.cair.com/images/pdf/CAIR\_VOTER\_GUIDE\_2016.pdf]distributed around the country includes several of Mr. Trump's disparaging comments about the Muslim community, including his claim that Muslims in New Jersey cheered the Sept. 11 attacks.

Mrs. Clinton receives praise in the voter guide for criticizing attacks on the Muslim community, but she is criticized for backing government surveillance programs and no-fly watch lists opposed by civil liberty groups.

CAIR conducted a robocall earlier this month urging 150,000 registered voters to go to the polls, and it plans to distribute Mr. Khan's recorded call to 500,000 voters on Sunday.

Mr. Khan stepped into the national spotlight at the Democratic convention in July, when he told the story of his 27-year-old son, Humayun Khan, who died in Iraq in 2004 saving his troops from a suicide bomber. Mr. Khan challenged Mr. Trump's knowledge of the Constitution, while brandishing his own copy, and declared that Mr. Trump didn't know the meaning of sacrifice.

Mr. Trump was widely criticized by both Democrats and Republicans for his response to Mr. Khan, in which he suggested Mr. Khan's wife, who was standing silently next to him on stage, wasn't allowed to speak. She later said her grief prevented her from speaking.

The episode marked a turning point in the 2016 campaign, and Mr. Khan's phone hasn't stopped ringing since.

In an ad for Mrs. Clinton that began airing a couple of weeks ago[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WCqFCCgU1xk], Mr. Khan is shown looking at pictures of his son and other keepsakes

He is slated to campaign on Friday with Democratic congressional candidate LuAnn Bennett, who is trying to unseat Republican incumbent Barbara Comstock in a northern Virginia district. Ms. Comstock didn't rule out voting for her party's nominee until earlier this month, after 11-year-old television footage surfaced of Mr. Trump boasting about groping women.

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More on the Election

\* The Voters in a Changing Nation[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/the-voters-in-a-changing-nation-1478098673]

\* Candidates Hit Battlegrounds as Presidential Race Tightens[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/candidates-hit-battlegrounds-as-presidential-race-tightens-1478104506]

\* Miami-Dade County Shows GOP Struggles With the Hispanic Vote[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/miami-dade-county-shows-gop-struggles-with-the-hispanic-vote-1478094621]

\* Rural Voters Line Up for Republicans[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/rural-voters-line-up-for-republicans-1478094206]

\* A Diverse, ‘Mixing Bowl' County Turns Democratic as It Grows[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/a-diverse-mixing-bowl-county-turns-democratic-as-it-grows-1478094454]

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**No matter what happens in this election," venture capitalist Peter Thiel said in Washington this week, "what Trump represents isn't crazy and it's not going away."

When it comes to globalization, Mr. Thiel, a prominent donor to Republican nominee Donald Trump, is almost certainly right. Mr. Trump is unique, but his antipathy to free trade and increased **immigration** isn't.

Those sentiments are shared in differing degrees by the Democratic voters who propelled Vermont Sen. Bernie Sanders to second place in the party's primary, by the Britons who voted to leave the European Union in June, and in the populist parties gaining strength across Europe. Hillary Clinton may have turned against the negotiated, unratified 12-nation Trans Pacific Partnership to fend off Mr. Sanders, but is unlikely to flip back. Why spend scarce political capital on a treaty much of her party despises?

For advocates, salvaging globalization requires understanding what's behind the backlash. Many populists think it's a zero-sum game that the U.S. is losing. "The sheer size of the U.S. trade deficit shows that something has gone badly wrong," claims Mr. Thiel. Actually, it doesn't: The U.S. has had one of the developed world's fastest growth rates since 1990 despite that deficit, while Japan has had one of the slowest despite a surplus.

Advocates of free-trade deals think the real problem is that the country as a whole benefits from more trade and **immigration** while only a minority of workers get hit, blame outsiders and turn to politicians like Mr. Trump. Their prescription is to help that minority transition to new and better jobs, something on which the U.S. spends far too little.

Yet this may not be an antidote to populism. The economic impact of free trade is easily overstated. Trade barriers have steadily declined. This means the gains to incremental liberalization are quite small—one reason the number of new pacts has also been slipping. Two studies conclude the Trans-Pacific Partnership would eventually raise U.S. output by 0.2% to 0.5%, a positive but hardly life-changing sum. The gains to Canada and Europe from the just-completed Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement are similarly slim.

Nor is opposition to globalization primarily economic. "It's about fairness, loss of control, and elites' loss of credibility. It hurts the cause of trade to pretend otherwise," Dani Rodrik, a Harvard University economist and longtime skeptic of globalization, wrote recently.

Treaties such as TPP seek to level the playing field for companies operating across borders, for example in product regulation, settling disputes with governments, and intellectual property protection. Left-wing populists consider this a surrender of national sovereignty to corporate interests.

Lori Wallach, of the left-leaning advocacy group Public Interest, and Jared Bernstein, a former adviser to Vice President Joe Biden, recently proposed[http://prospect.org.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/article/new-rules-road-progressive-approach-globalization] that U.S. agreements should henceforth ditch investor-state dispute settlement, constraints on domestic regulation and other features that favor corporations.

This might satisfy some critics on the left. Indeed, similar concessions by Canada and the EU overcame opposition from the Belgian region of Wallonia to the Canada-EU deal. But it also leaves little to liberalize beyond tariffs, which are already quite low. Narrowing talks down to just that in the U.S. would make it hard to get the support of businesses and Republicans.

For populists on the right, **immigration** is a bigger worry than free trade. But they too are concerned about more than just their pocketbooks. Many are bothered about cultural change, the pressure on public services, and the inability to control the number of foreign entrants. As my colleagues report this week[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/places-most-unsettled-by-rapid-demographic-change-go-for-donald-trump-1478010940], support for Trump is strong in counties where the **immigrant** population has grown the most, even as unemployment falls in these same counties.

Similarly, in Britain, support for Brexit was stronger in regions that experienced larger increases in the migrant share of the population, according to an analysis[http://blogs.lse.ac.uk/politicsandpolicy/explaining-the-vote-for-brexit/] by Monica Langella and Alan Manning of the London School of Economics. Unemployment had no effect.

So stronger wage growth likely won't defuse the populist backlash against **immigration**. What can help are **immigration** policies better tuned to the host country's absorption capacity and labor force needs. Canada supports legal **immigration** by picking candidates for language and work skills, and keeping illegal arrivals to a minimum. For Britain, losing some of the economic benefits of the EU's common market will be the price of regaining control over **immigration**. In the U.S., a deal to legalize the illegal population will require satisfying skeptics that strong controls over illegal **immigration** are in place.

Broad majorities of the public still think free trade and **immigration** are good things. The bad news for globalizers is that the populists on the right and left who disagree are increasingly able to stop the process. Contemplating the obstacles to completion of the EU-Canada deal two weeks ago, Donald Tusk, president of the European Council, the EU's oversight body, and former Polish prime minister, worried that it "could be our last free-trade agreement."

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**DORAL, Fla.—Miami-Dade County has been a vote-production machine for the Democratic Party in Florida.

The biggest county in the nation's biggest swing state, it supplied President Barack Obama with a lead of more than 200,000 votes in 2012, an important boost in a state he carried by fewer than 75,000.

To blunt the Democrats' edge, Republicans need to attract more of the county's many Hispanic voters, such as 36-year-old Diego Vásquez. But GOP nominee Donald Trump's anti-**immigrant** rhetoric[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/donald-trumps-immigration-speech-triggers-hispanic-backlash-1472773111] and shifts within the Latino electorate are making that task more difficult. The results from the Nov. 8 election will indicate how much more difficult.

Mr. Vásquez is a registered Republican, but he twice voted for Mr. Obama. Mr. Trump's incendiary remarks about **immigrants** threaten to cement his unhappiness with the GOP.

"**Immigrants** don't come here to destroy," Mr. Vásquez said. "We come here to struggle, to get ahead."

Mr. Vásquez, a naturalized citizen from Colombia, is a testament to the changing face of the electorate in Miami-Dade, where 67% of residents are Hispanic. Once dominated by conservative Cuban-Americans, the Hispanic community has turned more Democratic as young voters of Cuban heritage come of age and new waves of **immigrants** arrive.

An October survey by polling firm Bendixen & Amandi International showed Democratic nominee Hillary Clinton ahead of Mr. Trump by 30 percentage points in the county. Statewide, Mrs. Clinton is in a dead heat[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/hillary-clinton-makes-gains-in-north-carolina-in-dead-heat-with-donald-trump-in-florida-1477832401] with Mr. Trump. In 2000, Democratic nominee Al Gore won Miami-Dade County by 6 percentage points; Mr. Obama won it by 24 points in 2012.

If Republican Sen. Marco Rubio is re-elected[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/florida-senate-race-is-shaping-up-as-patrick-murphy-vs-marco-rubio-1472509955], the native Miamian could help the GOP gain a stronger foothold among Hispanic voters[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/hispanics-register-to-vote-in-record-numbers-in-key-states-1468269306]. Mr. Rubio, whose story as the son of Cuban **immigrants** is central to his campaign narrative, ended his bid for the GOP presidential nomination[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/marco-rubio-suspends-his-campaign-1458087888] after losing the Florida primary to Mr. Trump.

Lorenzo Cobiella rejected Mr. Trump's candidacy, writing in the name of former Florida Gov. Jeb Bush, instead, during the state's early voting. But he backed Mr. Rubio for re-election. Mr. Rubio could help boost the GOP's appeal to Latinos, said Mr. Cobiella, a 37-year-old Cuban-American attorney.

"The party has to figure out how to attract Hispanics and listen to their issues," he said.

Mr. Vásquez also voted for Mr. Rubio while choosing Mrs. Clinton over Mr. Trump for president. He said Mr. Rubio can help make the GOP more welcoming to **immigrants**, even though the senator retreated from a broad **immigration**-overhaul proposal he helped craft in 2013.

"If he manages to change that," Mr. Vásquez said of the GOP stance on **immigration**, "the Republican Party could again rise and reclaim the strength it once had."

Many Republican leaders say that Mr. Trump's candidacy has signaled that the party must connect more firmly with his core supporters, most of them white and many of them working-class, but that the party must also find a way to reach out[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/republican-party-wrestles-with-immigration-stance-as-it-courts-hispanics-1429289017] to the growing blocs of Hispanic and minority voters. "There were some voices in the Republican Party this year who were very loud in proclaiming that Republicans didn't need Hispanic voters in order to win," said Whit Ayres, a GOP pollster who worked on Mr. Rubio's unsuccessful presidential campaign. A loss for Mr. Trump, he said, "will put the lie to that argument."

While Mrs. Clinton is well ahead of Mr. Trump among non-Cuban Hispanics—67% to 15%—in the Bendixen & Amandi survey, Mr. Trump edges Mrs. Clinton out among those of Cuban descent—47% to 41%. Some polling suggests that Mr. Trump is on track to win a third or more of Florida Hispanics, compared with the 39% that 2012 GOP nominee Mitt Romney carried.

At a recent gathering of young Hispanic Republicans at Biscayne Bay Brewing Company in Doral, Isis Pacheco, a Cuban-American attorney in her early 30s, said she planned to vote for Mr. Trump. "I believe in his message" of lowering corporate taxes and nominating conservative Supreme Court justices, she said.

Miami-Dade County was transformed by decades of Cuban migration after Fidel Castro seized power on the island in 1959. With staunch anticommunist views, many of these **immigrants** revered former President Ronald Reagan and became steadfast Republicans.

But the Cuban-American population has undergone profound changes. The second and third generations tend to be more liberal, according to surveys.

And Cubans' share of the county's overall Hispanic population has decreased, to 53% in 2015 from 59% in 1990, as Latinos of Caribbean, Mexican and Central and South American descent streamed in.

The arrivals have remade the county's tapestry. Little Havana, once the heart of the Cuban exile community, now teems with eateries serving dishes such as Honduran baleadas, similar to tacos, and Salvadoran pupusas, tortillas with fillings. Doral, a fast-growing city near the Miami airport that is home to one of Mr. Trump's golf resorts, has become such a magnet for Venezuelans that some locals jokingly call it "Doralzuela[http://wlrn.org/post/meet-new-mayor-doralzuela-first-venezuelan-born-mayor-florida]."

One of them is Ricardo Sánchez, a 52-year-old real-estate agent registered without party affiliation. He backed Mr. Obama in 2012 but has voted for Republicans for some offices. This year, his dislike of Mr. Trump prompted him to vote across the board for Democrats.

"I am imposing a sanction on Republicans," he said. "It's sad, because it's a great party."

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Thinking seriously about getting a job in Canada if your candidate loses the presidential election next week? You may face plenty of competition from your fellow Americans.

Job searches by Americans looking for open roles in Canada are already up 58% this year over the total 2015 number, according to job site Monster. Between January and October, 30,296 queries from U.S. users included the keyword Canada, compared with 19,693 for all of 2015. That is still a small fraction of total searches; more than 69 million job queries are performed every month on Monster.com.

The top occupations those users searched for up north were engineering and information technology, a sign that workers with critical expertise may be toying with the idea of relocating. Other popular searches were for accounting, banking, sales and human-resources positions.

Monster doesn't have evidence that there is a direct connection between the data and a rancorous race that has sharply divided American voters. But the overlap is striking, says a Monster spokesman.

Working in Canada isn't as simple as buying a ticket to Toronto, eh. Most foreign workers, temporary or permanent, must have a permit and a job offer from a Canadian firm, and the application process can be lengthy. Some professionals may be eligible for the Express Entry **immigration** process if they qualify as skilled workers[http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/immigrate/skilled/apply-who.asp], a designation based in part on work experience, education and language ability.

The good news: for 2017, the Canadian government has approved a 7.4% increase[http://news.gc.ca/web/article-en.do?nid=1145319], to 172,500, in the number of **immigrants** it will take through its economic programs, which include skilled workers.

A separate survey from ZipRecruiter, also an online job platform, surveyed job seekers in late October and found that 47.8% planned to vote for Hillary Clinton and 39.8% for Donald Trump. The site reran its poll on Monday, following the news that the FBI was reviewing newly discovered emails of Mrs. Clinton. Support for Mrs. Clinton rose incrementally, to 48.5%, while Mr. Trump's moved to 39.9%. The remainder of expected votes mostly went to the third-party candidates Gary Johnson and Jill Stein.

Write to Lauren Weber at lauren.weber@wsj.com[mailto:lauren.weber@wsj.com]

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Our columnist Holman W. Jenkins, Jr. writes that [http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/hillary-clinton-becomes-the-unsafe-hand-1478042102] Donald Trump "may not be a solution in himself, but an outsider at least can be an instrument to dislodge an elite and replace it, for a while, with an elite less habituated to using public power to favor and enrich itself[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/hillary-clinton-becomes-the-unsafe-hand-1478042102]." Mr. Jenkins adds, "A few weeks ago Mrs. Clinton was the ‘safe hands' candidate[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/hillary-clinton-becomes-the-unsafe-hand-1478042102]. If she wins, it now appears hers will be an embattled and investigated presidency from day one[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/hillary-clinton-becomes-the-unsafe-hand-1478042102]."

Morning Editorial Report[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/public/page/email-setup.html?sub=morning\_editorial\_report]

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Democratic vice presidential candidate Tim Kaine predicts that given the opportunity, Democrats will destroy the filibuster [http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/kaines-filibuster-threat-1478043210]to seat their favored Supreme Court picks. A Journal editorial says [http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/kaines-filibuster-threat-1478043210]that "if Republicans want to have any chance of blocking Mrs. Clinton's nominees they'll need to retain at least 51 Senate seats[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/kaines-filibuster-threat-1478043210], which should get voters' attention."

Something else bound to get their attention: "As a parting gift to young voters, the Obama Administration last week issued a rule allowing borrowers to discharge billions of dollars in student debt," notes a separate editorial[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/obamas-student-loan-pardon-1478043110]. The Education Department has unilaterally rewritten the law and now pegs the taxpayer cost at between $9.5 billion and $21.2 billion [http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/obamas-student-loan-pardon-1478043110]over the next decade, but "it has repeatedly lowballed the costs of its loan-forgiveness programs," notes the editorial board. [http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/obamas-student-loan-pardon-1478043110]

Speaking of young voters, marijuana is now legal in four states for recreational use. Voters in another five have a chance to legalize[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/a-brave-new-weed-1478043007] on Nov. 8, "but the evidence rolling in from these real-time experiments should give voters pause," writes the editorial board[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/a-brave-new-weed-1478043007]. "The share of pot-related traffic deaths has roughly doubled in Washington and increased by a third in Colorado since legalization, and in the Centennial State pot is now involved in more than one of five traffic fatalities. Calls to poison control for overdoses have jumped 108% in Colorado and 68% in Washington[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/a-brave-new-weed-1478043007] since 2012."

Our columnist William Galston shares the results[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/a-sliver-of-agreement-on-immigration-1478042163] from a new survey on **immigration**: "More than six in 10 (62%) white working-class Americans see **immigration** as a threat, compared with only 34% of whites with a college education. Black Americans are evenly divided, 46% to 46%, and a surprisingly large share of Latinos (37%) view high levels of **immigration** as a threat[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/a-sliver-of-agreement-on-immigration-1478042163]." Mr. Galston writes that "our laws should put more emphasis on rapidly acquiring not only English-language proficiency but also basic civic competence."

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Good morning,

Change in the Heartland

Small towns in the Midwest have diversified more quickly than almost any part of the U.S. since the start of an **immigration** wave at the beginning of this century. The resulting cultural changes appear to be moving the political needle.[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/places-most-unsettled-by-rapid-demographic-change-go-for-donald-trump-1478010940] U.S. census data shows that counties in a distinct cluster of Midwestern states—Iowa, Indiana, Wisconsin, Illinois and Minnesota—saw among the fastest influxes of nonwhite residents of anywhere in the U.S. between 2000 and 2015. That shift helps explain the emergence of Donald Trump as a political force and signals that tensions over **immigration** will likely outlive his candidacy. We report that among GOP voters in this year's presidential primaries, those in counties that diversified rapidly were more likely to vote for the New York businessman. Meanwhile, with polls showing the presidential race tightening, Hillary Clinton and Mr. Trump are moving advertising dollars[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/tighter-presidential-race-brings-a-shift-in-tactics-1478043773] and fine-tuning their closing arguments during the final week of one of the most unpredictable elections in modern history.

Not Neutrality

AT&T's practice of exempting its streaming video services from data-usage caps is rankling competitors[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/at-t-time-warner-deal-stokes-debate-over-zero-rating-1478037565] and shaping up as a major issue for regulators set to weigh the telecom giant's proposed $85.4 billion acquisition of Time Warner. When AT&T rolls out its $35-a-month DirecTV Now online TV service this month, its wireless subscribers will be able to stream as much as they want without it counting toward their monthly data caps. But if the same customers binge on outside services like Netflix or Hulu, those bits will add up—potentially leading to surcharges. Streaming services, as well as media companies like 21st Century Fox, are likely to press regulators to scrutinize the practice—known as "zero rating"[http://blogs.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/briefly/2016/11/01/about-zero-rating/]—in their review of the AT&T-Time Warner deal. TV networks that have streaming apps, like CBS and ESPN, also may have a stake in the matter.

Pipeline Bottleneck

An explosion and fire at a pipeline that delivers about one-third of the gasoline used on the East Coast[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/gas-diesel-prices-spike-following-alabama-pipeline-fire-1478010889] is expected to raise prices at the pump and shows the fragility of a delivery system that is relied upon by tens of millions of people. Gasoline futures shot up as much as 15% on Tuesday in intraday trading on the New York Mercantile Exchange after the accident on Monday. Colonial Pipeline shut down its main gasoline and diesel pipelines[http://blogs.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/briefly/2016/11/01/colonial-pipeline-blast-explosion-alabama-shelby-county-5-things-to-know/] after the incident in Shelby County, Ala., about 35 miles south of Birmingham. It was the second major disruption on the 52-year-old pipeline in two months. Contract workers performing maintenance on the system using an excavating machine struck one of the lines, causing an explosion and fire that killed one person and injured several others.

Laundry Literacy

The trickiest reading comprehension test may be inside our clothing.[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/does-anyone-understand-those-laundry-tag-symbols-1478016374] Basic items of clothing contain labels that are anything but basic. It is crucial to read the labels now because fabric is more complicated—and often more delicate—than ever. The newer wick-away, sweat-free synthetic fabrics in athleisure and workout clothing have distinct care needs, and synthetic blends are making their way into more fashions. Meanwhile, washers and dryers offer increasingly specialized settings, and detergents and fabric enhancers are getting more specific, adding to the necessity of reading and understanding the labels. But the cryptic symbols on clothing care tags, though designed to be a handy shortcut, don't necessarily show how to get clothes their cleanest.

Today's Video

The Road to Mosul

An Iraqi elite unit has reclaimed more than 25 miles of territory south of Mosul in the fight against Islamic State militants.[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/video/on-the-road-to-mosul-with-iraqi-elite-forces/739ECE60-5A8A-41A5-83DB-BC9F3117F2CF.html] In the two weeks since the offensive to retake Mosul began, dozens of villages have been cleared and the forces have entered the city limits.[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/iraqi-forces-enter-mosul-1478005618] WSJ reporter Tamer El-Ghobashy followed the team last week.

TOP STORIES

U.S.

Obama Makes a Long-Shot Bid for TPP Trade Deal[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/obama-makes-a-long-shot-bid-for-tpp-trade-deal-1478014457]

Transit Strike Leaves Philadelphia Commuters Without Transportation[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/transit-strike-leaves-philadelphia-commuters-without-transportation-1478013065]

WORLD

After U.S. Election, Expect Hardening on China[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/after-u-s-vote-expect-hardening-on-china-1477987146]

Bank of Japan Stands Pat, Trims Inflation Forecasts[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/bank-of-japan-trims-inflation-forecasts-1477969631]

BUSINESS

GM, Fiat Chrysler Sales Slip in October Amid Fewer Selling Days[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/gm-october-sales-slip-amid-fewer-selling-days-1478007979]

Black Friday's Inside Secret: Same Deals Every Year[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/black-fridays-inside-secret-same-deals-every-year-1478008801]

MARKETS

A Visit From the SEC? Doesn't Happen for Thousands of Money Managers[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/a-visit-from-the-sec-doesnt-happen-for-thousands-of-money-managers-1478013308]

Inflation Jitters Spark Retreat From Bond ETFs[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/inflation-jitters-spark-retreat-from-bond-etfs-1477998001]

Number of the Day

$10 billion

The amount for which Valeant Pharmaceuticals International is in advanced talks to sell Salix Pharmaceuticals,[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/valeant-is-in-talks-to-sell-its-salix-stomach-drug-business-for-about-10-billion-1478028972] a big stomach-drug business, to Japan's Takeda Pharmaceutical, a move seen easing pressure on Valeant caused by its hefty debt load.

Today's Question

What are your plans for election night? Send your comments, which we may edit before publication, to 10point@wsj.com[mailto:10point@wsj.com]. Please include your name and location.

—Compiled by Margaret Rawson

Reader Response

Responding to yesterday's question on the Affordable Care Act's challenges in Arizona,[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/inside-the-affordable-care-acts-arizona-meltdown-1477925051] Paul Kahle of California wrote: "As pointed out in the article itself, these problems are bubbling up in all states. The reason is that the insurance companies thought, in supporting this nonsense, that ultimately the tax payer would bail them out if they lost money. They actually had business strategies that required that bailout to succeed. Republicans in Congress put a stop to that. The simple fact is that if you don't have a business model that can make money on its own then you don't have a business." Dan Goncharoff of New York said: "Maybe the better question is why the health-care law is succeeding in urban areas, but failing in rural ones. Maybe there are barriers to entry in rural areas? Maybe insurers should be required to cover both? Maybe rural areas need a government option? In any event, there needs to be more understanding of why the law is doing well for large numbers of people, to spread that success to a wider geographic area." And Augusta Era Golian of Texas commented: "If we scrap ACA, what are we going to do for the 50% of the population that does not have employer coverage? We know where the Democrats want to go. But the GOP just keeps ducking the question."

This daily briefing is named "The 10-Point" after the nickname conferred by the editors of The Wall Street Journal on the lead column of the legendary "What's News" digest of top stories. Technically, "10-point" referred to the size of the typeface. The type is smaller now but the name lives on.

Sign up here to receive "Brexit & Beyond: Europe in Flux,"[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/newsletters?sub=339] a daily email update on the unfolding Brexit process and its global implications for business and finance.

The 10-Point In Your Inbox

CLICK HERE[http://online.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/public/page/email-setup.html?sub=the\_10\_point] to sign up for this briefing by email.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Since Ted Chiang published his first story 26 years ago, he has earned a reputation for writing thoughtful and empathetic science fiction. This year, the 49-year-old has accomplished something rare: One of his stories is in two heralded annual anthologies, and Hollywood has come calling, too.

The new film "Arrival[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/arrival-deep-think-science-fiction-from-the-director-of-sicario-1473344568]," starring Amy Adams and opening Nov. 11, is based on "Story of Your Life,"[http://knopfdoubleday.com/book/538163/stories-of-your-life-and-others/] Mr. Chiang's 1998 story that won a Nebula Award for best novella. The film has received early critical acclaim for its blend of cerebral science fiction and emotional resonance, attributes it shares with the writer's fiction.

"He's got a really good mix of humanity and science, unlike some writers," said Ellen Datlow, the editor who acquired "Tower of Babylon," the first story of Mr. Chiang's to be published, for Omni magazine in 1990.

This year could put Mr. Chiang on track to become a star like fellow speculative-fiction writers Isaac Asimov, Ursula K. Le Guin[http://blogs.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/speakeasy/2016/07/12/ursula-k-le-guin-works-compiled-for-new-collections/] and Arthur C. Clarke[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/SB120597453581750513]. His story, "The Great Silence,"[https://electricliterature.com/the-great-silence-by-ted-chiang-e72e05eb8a0e#.excx6ohzz] about a parrot's desire to communicate with humans, is included in "The Best American Science Fiction and Fantasy" and "The Best American Short Stories." His short-story collection "Stories of Your Life" was also published for the third time since 2002, this time by Vintage Books.

"Story of Your Life," which inspired the "Arrival[http://blogs.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/speakeasy/2016/08/16/arrival-trailer-amy-adams-must-save-the-world-from-an-alien-invasion/]" film, is told in the second person from the perspective of Louise Banks, a linguist enlisted by the government to establish dialogue with **aliens** who show up in spaceships hovering just above the Earth's surface. As she absorbs more of the creatures' languages, she gains a poignant new understanding of time. The story also works as a meditation on communication and language, subjects Mr. Chiang explores in his fiction.

"Language doesn't only allow us to communicate ideas, it helps us to come up with ideas, to think thoughts that we couldn't have otherwise," Mr. Chiang, also a freelance technical writer who lives in Bellevue, Wash., said in an email interview. "I suppose I am fascinated by the way that words allow us to talk about words."

"Story of Your Life" wasn't an easy sell in Hollywood, according to "Arrival" screenwriter Eric Heisserer, a longtime fan of Mr. Chiang's stories who had pitched the adaptation over the years. Studios and producers were hungry for another potential blockbuster franchise or **alien**-invasion movie, but "Story of Your Life," with its ruminations on free will, grief and language, didn't fit the bill. Mr. Heisserer had given up on pitching the movie version after a few years, but he gave it another shot in a meeting with Dan Levine and Dan Cohen, executives with 21 Laps Entertainment, the production company behind Netflix hit "Stranger Things." [http://blogs.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/speakeasy/2016/07/13/how-netflixs-stranger-things-channels-steven-spielberg-john-carpenter-and-stephen-king/]They called him the following week and said they loved it, the screenwriter said.

Mr. Heisserer, 46, is developing a screenplay based on Mr. Chiang's story "Understand," which is also collected in "Stories of Your Life."

Mr. Chiang saw "Arrival," which adds a layer of geopolitical conflict to his story, at the Toronto Film Festival in September. He approves.

"For a while people have been asking me how I felt about having my work adapted into a movie, especially since Hollywood seems to think science fiction means special effects and action scenes," Mr. Chiang said. "What I told them was that, while the screenplay departed from the story in significant ways, it retained the emotional core of the story, and if that aspect made it onto the screen intact, I'd be happy. It has, so I am."

Mr. Chiang's fascination with communication and storytelling also extends to a pastime he picked up about 10 years ago: videogames. Drawn to independently developed games which experiment with narrative, he recently played a mystery thriller called "Virginia," which eschews dialogue. "It feels like you're playing a silent film," he said.

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Related Reading

\* ‘Arrival': Deep-Think Science Fiction From the Director of ‘Sicario'[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/arrival-deep-think-science-fiction-from-the-director-of-sicario-1473344568] Sept. 8, 2016

\* No Time Like the Present[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/SB121996345267081345] Aug. 29, 2008

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**The heated debate over **immigration** in the 2016 presidential campaign is part of a broader rift. On the one side is a narrow majority of Americans, 51%, according to a Public Religion Research Institute survey[http://www.prri.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/10/PRRI-2016-American-Values-Survey.pdf] released last week, who believe that America's culture and way of life have changed for the worse since the 1950s. On the other side are the 48% who believe the opposite.

According to the PRRI survey, which I and my colleagues at the Brookings Institution helped design, every Democratic-leaning subgroup of the electorate believes that our way of life has gotten better; every Republican-leaning group disagrees. This election is nothing less than a referendum on two generations of American cultural change.

**Immigration** exemplifies this sharp divide. Forty-six percent of Americans believe that the growing number of newcomers from other countries threatens traditional customs and values, while 44% say that this surge strengthens American society. Seventy-three percent of Republicans see this trend as a threat; only 29% of Democrats agree. More than six in 10 (62%) white working-class Americans see **immigration** as a threat, compared with only 34% of whites with a college education. Black Americans are evenly divided, 46% to 46%, and a surprisingly large share of Latinos (37%) view high levels of **immigration** as a threat.

It is all too easy for those who see today's **immigration** as a source of national vitality to dismiss contrary views out of hand. They should resist this temptation. Instead, they should work harder to understand why people who disagree with them think as they do—and the extent to which the facts warrant their concerns.

In September, for the first time in nearly two decades, an expert committee of the National Academies of Sciences, Engineering and Medicine delivered a comprehensive report[http://www8.nationalacademies.org/onpinews/newsitem.aspx?RecordID=23550] on the economic and social consequences of **immigration**. The report pointed out that after peaking at 15% during the first two decades of the 20th century, first-generation **immigrants** as a share of the U.S. population declined by two-thirds—to less than 5%—by the mid-1960s. The 40 years of a highly restrictive law adopted in 1924 witnessed the assimilation of myriad streams of **immigration** from central and southern Europe into the broad group of "white ethnics" and with it the strengthening of a common culture.

The passage of the **immigration** reform bill in 1965 reversed these trends. Over the next five decades, first-generation **immigrants** as a share of our population tripled to 14%, roughly the level that triggered the anti-**immigrant** reaction a century ago.

As the National Academies of Sciences report points out, this renewed flow of **immigrants** has benefited the country in numerous ways. Without **immigration**, for example, the growth of the U.S. labor force would grind to a halt, and fewer people of working age would be available to support Social Security, Medicare and other programs for older and retired Americans.

At the same time, **immigration** has created some unanticipated problems. Although **immigration** strengthens the fiscal condition of the federal government, the reverse is true for states and localities, which must spend more to educate **immigrants**' children and to provide the social services on which low-income families disproportionately rely.

In the past two decades, the children of **immigrants** have surged to 21.5% from 13.6% as a share of K-12 students. Although today's **immigrants** steadily improve their command of English, they do so more slowly than in previous generations. And the flow of less-educated workers, especially from Mexico, has depressed wages for lower-skill workers, including African-Americans and older **immigrants**.

By contrast, skilled **immigrants** benefit all jurisdictions—and the economy as a whole. Not only do they contribute more in taxes than they consume in services; they are more likely than native-born citizens to earn patents and start new businesses.

There is little that policy makers can do to assuage those who yearn to restore a mostly white population. If we slammed shut the doors of **immigration** tomorrow, Asian and Hispanic Americans would continue to increase their share of the U.S. population for decades to come.

But there are some things we can do to take the edge off the reservations many people reasonably harbor about the consequences of current policy. For example, the federal government could do more to assist states and localities bearing disproportionate financial burdens for **immigrants**' education and social services.

Our **immigration** laws should be reoriented to favor **immigrants** with higher skills. Forcing the talented young visitors we educate at our best schools to go home after they receive their degrees makes no sense whatever. And our laws should put more emphasis on rapidly acquiring not only English-language proficiency but also basic civic competence.

There is no way of quickly defusing this explosive issue. But if those who favor **immigration** reform acknowledged the skeptics' legitimate concerns and reflected them in legislative proposals, the odds of a productive conversation would increase.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**MALMÖ, Sweden—Pope Francis proposed a new set of contemporary Beatitudes here, adding environmentalism and ecumenism to the core set of Christian ideals such as meekness and mercy enunciated by Jesus in the Bible.

"We ought to be able to recognize and respond to new situations [http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/vatican-china-mull-deal-on-selection-of-bishops-after-decades-of-division-1477844997]with fresh spiritual energy," the pope said on Tuesday while celebrating Mass for Sweden's small Catholic community at the end of a two-day visit to the country, before offering a list of ideals responding to Christianity's modern challenges[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/popes-refugee-message-proves-divisive-in-sweden-1477647003].

Pope Francis suggested six new Beatitudes to supplement the Biblical eight, including: "Blessed are those who protect and care for our common home," a reference to the pope's signature theme of environmentalism, the subject of his 2015 encyclical "Laudato Si.'"

"Blessed are those who pray and work for full communion between Christians," he said, evoking the main reason for his visit to Protestant-majority Sweden.

The previous day, Pope Francis appeared at two events with Lutheran leaders, commemorating the Reformation that split Protestants from Catholics in the 16th century and promoting efforts at their reconciliation, especially through collaborative efforts at social service, including help for **refugees** and other migrants.

"Blessed are those who look into the eyes of the abandoned and marginalized, and show them their closeness," ran another of the pope's new Beatitudes.

The list recalled another innovation by Pope Francis this year, when he added environmentalism, or "care for our common home," to the Catholic Church's traditional seven works of mercy. But since the original Beatitudes are a central part of the common creed of all Christians, his latest coinages had an even broader potential audience, including Protestants.

The pope didn't suggest amending the Bible to include the new Beatitudes, but his suggestion that Jesus' words don't merely need reinterpretation but updating was a rhetorical move only slightly less ambitious than proposing an Eleventh Commandment.

Sweden has only 113,000 Catholics out of a population of 10 million. The country prohibited the practice of Catholicism in the 16th century, and until the year 2000 only the Lutheran Church enjoyed full legal status as a church.

Almost all Catholics in Sweden are **immigrants** or of foreign descent, representing more than 80 nationalities, according to Msgr. Furio Cesare of the Diocese of Stockholm, the Catholic Church's only jurisdiction in the country. An exception is the diocese's Bishop Anders Arborelius, a Swedish native. According to Msgr. Cesare, about 100 Swedes convert to Catholicism every year.

The congregation on Tuesday, which local church authorities estimated at 15,000 at a soccer stadium, cheered when the pope entered in his open-topped popemobile and then stepped out to embrace some children and disabled people.

The pope's original plan for the visit to Sweden didn't include a Catholic Mass.

In an interview published last week, the pope said he hadn't wanted a papal Mass to distract from the ecumenical significance of his visit, but finally agreed to the "fervent request" of the country's small Catholic community.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**ARCADIA, Wis.—Small towns in the Midwest have diversified more quickly than almost any part of the U.S. since the start of an **immigration** wave at the beginning of this century. The resulting cultural changes appear to be moving the political needle.

A Wall Street Journal analysis of census data shows that counties in a distinct cluster of Midwestern states—Iowa, Indiana, Wisconsin, Illinois and Minnesota—saw among the fastest influxes of nonwhite residents of anywhere in the U.S. between 2000 and 2015. Hundreds of cities long dominated by white residents got a burst of Latino newcomers who migrated from Central America or uprooted from California and Texas.

That shift helps explain the emergence of Republican presidential nominee Donald Trump[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/republicans-rode-waves-of-populism-until-it-crashed-the-party-1477492356] as a political force, and signals that tensions over **immigration** will likely outlive his candidacy. Among GOP voters in this year's presidential primaries, counties that diversified rapidly were more likely to vote for the New York businessman, the Journal's analysis shows.

Mr. Trump is emphasizing the Midwest this week, with a stop in Wisconsin scheduled for Tuesday.

In Arcadia, Wis., Don Leibl saw the dairy-farming hamlet transform from nearly all white to more than one-third Latino as Mexican **immigrants** streamed in for jobs. It is a main reason, he said, he is voting for Mr. Trump for president.

"If you'd seen the way things have changed in this town[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/in-places-with-fraying-social-fabric-a-political-backlash-rises-1473952729], you'd say, ‘Something needs to be done about it,' " the 51-year-old computer systems analyst said, referring to **immigrants** there illegally.

In this western Wisconsin enclave and other pockets of the rural Midwest, Mr. Trump's pledge to build a wall along the Mexican border and prioritize jobs for American workers has struck a chord with some whites uneasy over rapidly changing demographics. They said they are worried illegal **immigrants** are crowding schools and unfairly tapping public assistance, problems they believe Mr. Trump would fix.

The Journal identified the epicenter of this shift using the diversity index, a tool often used by social scientists and economists. It measures the chance that any two people in a county will have a different race or ethnicity. In 244 counties, that diversity index at least doubled between 2000 and 2015, and more than half those counties were in the cluster of five Midwestern states. The analysis excludes tiny counties that produce numeric aberrations.

Traditional **immigrant** gateways like Los Angeles, Miami and Queens, N.Y., draw a far greater number of Latino and other minority residents, but because they have long been melting pots, their diversity has barely changed over the past 15 years.

In 88% of the rapidly diversifying counties, Latino population growth was the main driver. In about two-thirds of counties, newcomers helped expand the overall population. In the remaining third, the population fell despite an influx of new arrivals, which magnified the shift for locals as their peers died or moved away.

Mr. Trump won about 71% of sizable counties nationwide during the Republican presidential primaries. He took 73% of those where diversity at least doubled since 2000, and 80% of those where the diversity index rose at least 150%, the Journal's analysis found.

"You're talking about counties that are predominantly white, but they're seeing a glimmer of change," said William Frey, a demographer at the Brookings Institution. "It connects with the message of Trump."

Diversity has risen in Carroll County, Iowa, where meatpacking jobs have drawn Latino **immigrants**, and Hendricks County, Ind., where minorities are moving for cheaper housing and logistics work at the Indianapolis airport. Mr. Trump won these counties in this year's primaries, as he did in Arcadia's Trempealeau County, in Wisconsin.

An influx of minority residents in a town over time favors Democrats because Latinos and blacks especially are more likely to vote Democratic. In many of these rapidly diversifying counties, the fact that many of the new Latino residents presumably aren't eligible to vote significantly mutes their impact on the electorate.

In Carroll County, the ranks of active registered Democrats have shrunk 0.2% in the past year, while the ranks of active Republicans have grown 8%, according to data from the state elections division. The same pattern shows across 39 sizable Iowa counties where the diversity index at least doubled: Democratic registration has risen 3%, Republican registration, 7%.

Unemployment is actually lower in rapidly diversifying counties than in the country on the whole, a sign that concerns over lost jobs are weighing less on voters in these areas. In counties where diversity at least doubled, unemployment averages 4.5%, compared with 4.9% nationally.

Craig Williams, chairman of the Carroll County Republican Party, said it is the lawlessness of illegal **immigration** that bothers residents. "People talk about **immigration** as if we're a bunch of racists," he said. "Do we have laws, or do we not have laws? If we're just going to ignore them, then what's the point?"

Few U.S. locales have changed as rapidly in recent years as Arcadia, a onetime railroad town nestled in the hills and built by German, Polish and Norwegian **immigrants**. As recently as the late 1990s, its population of about 2,400 was almost entirely white and aging as young residents left and fewer people had children.

That all changed at the turn of this century. Dairy farmers who wanted their cows milked around the clock began calling contacts in Texas to connect them with Mexican workers. Ashley Furniture Industries Inc., now the country's largest furniture maker, hired hundreds of Hispanic workers to build chairs, beds and entertainment consoles at its sprawling headquarters here. Chicken producer GNP Co. tapped the labor pool, too.

The area's unusually strong job market made it a magnet for Mexican, Guatemalan, Honduran and Salvadoran workers. Between 2000 and 2014, Hispanics went from being 3% of the population to 35% in Arcadia, census figures show. Its population rose to around 3,000.

Holy Family Parish brought in Rev. Sebastian Kolodziejczyk, a bilingual priest, and added a Spanish Mass because "everybody wants to pray in their own language," he said. Landlords watched as some Hispanic tenants took in cousins and uncles arriving for their first jobs. A Latino bakery and other shops popped up along Main Street.

"We were hit like a tsunami," said Arcadia Elementary School Principal Paul Halverson, whose school went from almost all white at the turn of the century to 73% Hispanic as of this year.

The share of students in the school district qualifying for free and reduced-price lunch rose to 65% this year from 20% in the late 1990s. Administrators expanded the summer-school program to bolster students' English and math, and pared homework assignments because Latino parents working long hours struggled to help their children complete it, Superintendent Louie Ferguson said. This year the district opened a new middle school to handle the enrollment surge.

There is no official measure of how many **immigrants** in the town are there illegally, and interviews with more than two dozen local officials, employers, longtime residents and **immigrants** suggest the numbers today are off their peak. Social services workers and others in the town said they saw many people come there without legal status and use false identification to get jobs when the migration wave began. But employers have become stricter in recent years about verifying workers, and some of those initially here without documentation have since gained legal status.

Ashley Furniture Senior Executive Bill Koslo said, "We exert a tremendous effort" to make sure people are working legally. Bill Petz, director of live operations at GNP, said the company doesn't want to put its business at risk by hiring workers illegally.

The food pantry had to scrap a queue it created for Spanish speakers after some locals complained **immigrants** were getting their food before them. Some newcomers opened their garages and played music, and gathered for big picnics at parks. "Families from Arcadia would call and say, ‘I can't stand it. They're so noisy,' " said Cynthia Jacoby, a former family-living educator who runs a church-sponsored thrift shop.

In 2006, then-mayor John Kimmel proposed making English the official language for directional signage, requiring an American flag to accompany any foreign flag and capping housing occupancy for rental properties. The idea caused such an uproar among some locals and newcomers that he eventually shelved all but the last proposal.

"As you live by each other and your kids become friends, a lot of that goes by the wayside," he said recently, while eating fish sticks at the bowling alley. He said he plans to vote for Mr. Trump but that his decision "has nothing to do with his **immigration** stance."

Longtime residents said most people were happy to have a growing population and embraced the newcomers, who were necessary to absorb the abundance of jobs[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/the-thorny-economics-of-illegal-immigration-1454984443]. Ashley Furniture built soccer fields and basketball courts. Rev. Kolodziejczyk invited a mariachi band to a fall heritage festival that traditionally showcased Polish and German food. Local officials translated signs and pamphlets into Spanish.

"This is a place where if tomorrow every worker of Latino descent up and left, we'd be in a heap load of trouble," said Patricia Malone, a community development educator.

Yesenia Gama Cortez, a 32-year-old Mexican native, said she feels at home selling empanadas, cold Modelo beer and other groceries in the shop she opened along Main Street. "The Arcadia people are very welcoming," she said from behind the counter.

Trempealeau County has voted Democratic in presidential elections since 1988, and Democratic presidential nominee Hillary Clinton is favored to win the state of Wisconsin[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/donald-trump-campaigns-in-wisconsin-where-he-faces-daunting-deficit-in-polls-1471436481]. Among GOP voters in the county, Mr. Trump took half the votes to win this year's crowded primary, even though Texas Sen. Ted Cruz won the state.

Republican voters said they are deeply distrustful of Mrs. Clinton in part because they believe she sold government access through her family foundation and has profited too much off her political career. In addition to his **immigration** plans, they like Mr. Trump's outsider status and support for gun owners.

Mark VanAcker, a 66-year-old farm animal veterinarian, said he is worried that illegal **immigrants** are straining school finances and increasing crime here. He no longer leaves his truck unlocked with the keys in it.

"There is a high suspicion that people coming into our country without citizenship status are entitled to things that we have to work for," he said. "When a politician says that needs to be addressed, we listen."

Carmen Lisowski, a 47-year-old Mexican-born resident, is turned off by how Mr. Trump's harsh talk about **immigrants** "cuts everybody with the same scissors." She came to this town from Northern California so she could earn money making chairs at Ashley Furniture to support her two daughters. Now she works at the preschool, volunteers at the church, cleans houses and helps friends with translation. "I come here for work, not to steal stuff," Ms. Lisowski said. She married a local man almost nine years ago.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**A Latino grocery on the west coast of Central Florida, El Mariachi Loco, has been celebrated for two decades in the local media as a symbol of the region's growth and diversifying population. Its homemade tacos and sopes left one reviewer feeling "wonderful to be alive."

Then last week, the store's Facebook page [https://www.facebook.com/El-Mariachi-Loco-186245998078091/]was hammered with criticism about stale bread, poor customer service and an invasion of roaches. But the complaints weren't due to an actual infestation or rancid food at the Sarasota, Fla., business. It was because a Donald Trump yard sign was on display at the home of the store's owner, who is a Colombian **immigrant**.

"I pray God knocks some sense onto that fragile head of yours," one person wrote on the Facebook page. "Hope Trump comes to your store and buys a bag of chips. Ha-ha. You're gonna need every dollar after today. Have a nice night."

Emotions run high in the final days of any presidential election. But the antagonism and animosity Americans have aimed at one another over the contest between Mr. Trump, a Republican, and Democratic nominee Hillary Clinton—two of the most disliked candidates ever to be nominated—have been boiling over for weeks.

Among Hispanic voters, their passion is occasionally manifested in vitriol aimed at those supporting the Republican nominee. They have an unusually high level of interest in the election compared with other demographic groups and are largely united behind Mrs. Clinton, polls show.

Mr. Trump, who supports aggressive deportation measures and a wall along the southern U.S. border, is favored by fewer than one in five Hispanic voters[http://www.nbcnews.com/politics/2016-election/poll-clinton-maintains-50-point-lead-among-latinos-n667326], according to a Wall Street Journal/NBC News poll in October.

While Americans in general view Mr. Trump as better or just as good as Mrs. Clinton when it comes to dealing with the economy and handling trade issues, Hispanic voters overwhelming give the edge to the Democratic nominee.

Asked which candidate is more honest and straightforward, Mr. Trump has an advantage of 4 percentage points over Mrs. Clinton among all registered voters. Among Hispanic voters, Mr. Trump has a 34 percentage point disadvantage.

Perhaps most troubling for Mr. Trump: 69% of Hispanic voters said they are interested in this year's election, up 1 percentage point from four years ago. Almost every other voting bloc is less interested, according to the poll.

The Trump campaign didn't respond to a request for comment.

The avalanche of anger from fellow Latinos targeted at the grocery owned by Rosalia Holmlund, a 65-year-old American citizen, came despite the fact that she doesn't even support Mr. Trump. The yard sign was installed by her husband, 79-year-old Kenneth Holmlund, who is a longtime Republican and isn't Hispanic.

That her husband's benign display of political preference triggered an upbraiding of the family business on social media is, for her, an example of how the country's political leaders have failed to inspire the country.

"Now, I'm paying for the consequences," she said.

Interviews with more than a dozen of Mr. Trump's supporters at recent rallies show that his backers largely agree that a southern border wall will stop illegal **immigration**.

Many of them are just a generation or two removed from naturalization of their own parents or grandparents, but say they worry that a new wave of **immigrants** is bringing crime and drugs into their communities.

"There are all kinds of people against us," said Elma Sanchez, a 60-year-old Trump supporter who wore a "Hillary for Prison" pin to a rally in Pueblo, Colo.

"But we haven't changed—they've changed and the politicians have changed," she said. "They don't keep their promises, so I'm going to go with Trump and see what he can do."

Many of them said their support for Mr. Trump has put a strain on their relations with family and friends.

"Oh yeah, a lot of relatives and friends laugh at me," John Elizondo, a 65-year-old chauffeur in Summerlin, Nev., said about the reaction from friends and family to his support for Trump. Mr. Elizondo said his mother was born in Mexico.

At a recent Trump rally near Las Vegas, he carried a package of toilet paper with a homemade label on the front: "Time to wipe the crap out of Washington."

"Trump is right—some of the **immigrants** coming in are rapists, and some are criminals," Mr. Elizondo said. "But it's not just the Mexicans. It's the South Americans, it's the Muslims, it's whatever.

"And when he builds that wall," he added, "I'll be the one laughing."

Carol E. Lee contributed to this article.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**After Brexit, it's almost certain that a European Union without Britain will be dominated by Germany. The invasion of Crimea and the debt crisis in Greece have already seen Berlin leading the EU's policy responses. A weakened France means the parity which was supposed to animate the European project is no longer sustainable.

The British presence, though often an unpredictable mixture of stubbornness and timidity, had the effect of dispersing power in the EU. That reassured countries such as Denmark, the Netherlands and Sweden, though they were often disappointed by the U.K.'s lack of clear resolve about the future shape of Europe. Now they're dismayed by the consequences of Brexit. For they fear German domination.

It's not that Germany actively seeks the leading role in the EU. But circumstances have thrust the country into that position. Berlin is perceived as domineering regardless of whether it is trying to be tough or generous. Greek public opinion views Germany's stern eurozone prescriptions as little short of a new occupation. Meanwhile, Germany's neighbors Austria and Slovenia have reacted against Chancellor Angela Merkel's open-door policy toward **immigrants** and the proposal to share the burden of its consequences. Hungary and Poland are also obdurate in their opposition to any such proposal.

A kind of schizophrenia has set in. Germany's approach to the construction of Europe initially applied its own constitution to the goal of integration. Just as France's approach reflected its own statist tradition, Germany resorted to a federalist model.

But at other moments, the EU, for reasons not entirely in Germany's control, has veered in a more centralized direction that undermines the federalism through which Germany originally hoped to disperse authority and power. Germany then gets blamed for its role in managing a more centralized system it never wanted to create.

The object of a federal system—such as that created by the U.S. Constitution, an inspiration for the postwar German Constitution—is to limit centralization. A fundamental law governs the relationship between central and regional governments, creating a system of checks and balances to limit the powers of each. This in turn throws an awesome responsibility on a supreme or constitutional court. The culture this court creates becomes indispensable to the dispersal of power.

In Germany, the constitutional court has filled this role since the creation of the Federal Republic. In its original approach to the European project, Germany's court emphasized constitutional norms, the principle of subsidiarity and a dispersal of power. At times the court's decisions even imposed limits to the centralization of power in the broader EU. The Brussels Commission learned to be wary of the court's decisions.

Yet, following German reunification, the temptation to create a more centralized EU grew in some member states, especially in France. The euro was created precisely as a force for more integration, an attempt to embed Germany in a political union that would give its neighbors considerable influence. Little wonder then that from its outset the euro project has been seen by many as a project to force more rapid integration upon member states, and has taken a terrible toll on Germany's constitutional approach to the EU.

If the goal was to push Germany to abandon its federalist leanings, it has worked. A different and opposing set of pressures have emerged from the euro project, leading Germany to identify its success with the survival of European integration. By making itself the champion of the euro, however, Berlin has had to blunt its constitutional instincts and its preference for European federalism. Germany has, for example, had to accept a far more powerful European Central Bank than originally envisaged, at times to the dismay of the Bundesbank.

The first sign that Germany's constitutional approach was under threat came when both Germany and France decided to ignore the rules of the Stability and Growth Pact, rules that were meant to limit the size of national budget deficits. Then, as a fiscal and banking crisis hit the southern EU member states, Germany soon found itself leading efforts to cope with this crisis. These measures created and reinforced new German habits of decision making, in which Mrs. Merkel increasingly seems to be acting unilaterally, sometimes eschewing consultations even with members of her own government.

In consequence, fears are growing about the centralization of power in Europe, reinforced by recent ill-judged calls from the Brussels Commission for "more Europe," including the creation of an EU army. These fears are not confined to fringe groups, nor should they be dismissed as mere "populism." The rapid growth of nationalist reactions in many EU states suggests that Germany, almost unwittingly, has become identified with a dangerously centralized model for integration. It isn't only problems within the eurozone and the advent of unprecedented **immigration** pressures that are threatening European unity today. It is the accretion of German power.

Mr. Siedentop is an emeritus fellow of Keble College, Oxford, and the author of "Democracy in Europe" (Allen Lane).

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Within 15 minutes one afternoon, Gladys Coloma found 17 **immigrants** in the Corona neighborhood of Queens who wanted free legal help. She didn't ask whether they were in the country illegally. New York City, she told them, would pay for whatever legal services they needed.

Ms. Coloma spoke in Spanish and sometimes even ran after residents who seemed skittish about talking with her. She was spreading the word about a new city program, part of a broader push by New York Mayor Bill de Blasio's administration to help **immigrants**.

The city is spending about $30 million a year on **immigrant** services, up from $14 million in 2014, according to a city budget analysis. In the past several months, officials have scheduled town halls to find illegal **immigrants** to help them get government services. They have given almost a million identification cards to New Yorkers, no matter their **immigration** status, so they can receive city benefits and perks, such as museum admissions.

Mr. de Blasio has all but encouraged New York business owners to hire illegal **immigrants**. On a radio program, he thanked a Brooklyn grocery store owner who called in to say that he had done so.

"The question for us is, how do we speak against this national rhetoric as a city?" said Nisha Agarwal, who heads the city's Office of **Immigrant** Affairs. "In New York, we don't hear a huge amount of disagreement on the things the city should be doing."

New York, with about 500,000 illegal **immigrants**, has become a flashpoint on the campaign trail this year along with other big cities that encourage **immigration**. Republican presidential nominee Donald J. Trump has threatened to strip funding from cities that don't comply with federal **immigration** laws.

Mr. de Blasio's comments were fiercely criticized by national conservatives but barely made waves in Manhattan. The city's position has united liberals and business officials who see the benefits of **immigration** and say the city services find jobs and secure citizenship for **immigrants**, including some who fled impoverished or war-torn countries. "In New York, you mainly get people coming up to say thank you," said Council Speaker Melissa-Mark Viverito, who has been criticized by conservatives and others outside New York for her **immigration** stance while on the road for Democratic presidential nominee Hillary Clinton.

Since 2014, the city has increased the number of workers focused on **immigrant** issues to about 50, according to City Hall, and has spent more than $1 million in ad campaigns to reach **immigrants**.

The City Council has committed $1.5 million to reach **immigrants** who are uninsured and has increased its citizenship and English programs.

City officials are funding an array of new legal services programs, at a cost of about $10 million. No matter a person's **immigration** status, he or she now has lawyers. The city's correction department declined to honor more than 700 detention requests, 2014 records show. New York Police Department officers don't ask a person's **immigration** status when they make a stop; federal **immigration** officials were moved from their trailer at Rikers Island, the city's main jail, in 2015.

The New York programs have been criticized. Jessica Vaughan, the director of policy studies at the right-leaning Center for **Immigration** Studies in Washington, D.C., said it doesn't make sense for taxpayers to fund lawyers for illegal **immigrants**. The various benefits offered "serve collectively to incentivize people settling illegally in the area," she said. "All of these benefits are clearly part of the calculation of these people here staying or going home."

City officials note crime and unemployment have fallen, even with liberal **immigration** policies, and the city doesn't block detention requests for illegal **immigrants** with serious felony charges. Yet the city has opposed detention requests for hundreds of illegal **immigrants** who have been charged with crimes. "The City cooperates with federal **immigration** authorities where there's probable cause and a risk to public safety," said Rosemary Boeglin, a spokeswoman for the mayor.

There are certainly still hurdles in New York for **immigrants** and the city programs that try to serve them. The ID cards aren't accepted by several banks and other businesses, and many federal benefits aren't available because the cards aren't recognized by the U.S. government. Many illegal **immigrants** live in shabby or crowded conditions, Ms. Agarwal said. Advocates say it is difficult for illegal **immigrants** to find affordable housing.

Ms. Coloma, the organizer with a group called Make the Road New York, which is partially funded by City Hall, said so many **immigrants** want the legal services that it sometimes takes a month or longer to get an appointment. Sometimes as she visits churches and barber shops, it is difficult to convince people to participate because they are scared to interact with government.

Yet programs have begun to show dividends, according to advocates, lawyers and business officials.

The Legal Aid Society has beefed up its **immigration** law unit to 28 attorneys, with additional funding from the city, said Maria Navarro, who leads the unit. Javier Valdés, co-executive director of Make the Road New York, said **immigrants** are increasingly comfortable seeking services because of the city's policies.

Kathryn Wylde, who leads the Partnership for New York City, the city's largest big-business group, said some banks are now accepting the ID card. "City Hall has taken aggressive but positive steps," she said.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**BEIRUT—Lebanon's parliament ended more than two years of political deadlock in the country, electing as president a former army general who is the main Christian ally of the Shiite militant group Hezbollah.

Michel Aoun, 81 years old, won 83 out of the 127 votes cast on Monday, restoring the most powerful political office held by a Christian in the Middle East as the sect faces persecution across the region but enjoys rare security and power-sharing in Lebanon. Under longstanding political agreements, a Maronite Christian is always president while the prime minister is a Sunni Muslim and the parliament speaker is a Shiite Muslim.

"Lebanon, which is walking among land mines, still hasn't been touched by the flames surrounding it in the region, and we will prevent any spark from reaching it," the new president told lawmakers after he was sworn in.

Saudi Arabia and Hezbollah ally Iran have jockeyed for influence over Lebanon since 2005, when Syria's 29-year occupation ended.

For years, the Saudi monarchy and its Sunni Lebanese allies opposed the idea of Mr. Aoun as president. But as Riyadh became mired in protracted wars in Yemen and Syria, Saudi officials quietly acknowledged that Lebanon was no longer a priority, leading the way for Mr. Aoun's ascent.

Anti-Iran pundits in the U.S. framed the political agreement that assured Mr. Aoun's election as a win for Tehran and Hezbollah. But his Christian supporters said his ascent to the presidency was simply the will of most members of his minority sect, who see good relations with Hezbollah as necessary for stability but seek the group's eventual disarmament.

Hezbollah's militia is considered the most powerful military force in Lebanon, stronger than even the national army.

Mr. Aoun struck a political alliance with Hezbollah in 2006. He agreed to maintain good relations with Syria while Hezbollah agreed to disarm, with certain conditions attached to each demand. Detractors criticized the deal, claiming Mr. Aoun was changing his anti-Syrian stance to consolidate power.

In comments at a State Department briefing, spokesman John Kirby welcomed Mr. Aoun's new role, but said the U.S. hopes his election doesn't lead to Hezbollah playing a larger role in Lebanon's government.

"We're going to judge the new president on the decisions he makes going forward and the actions he takes in leading this government, forming this government and then leading it," he said.

He said the U.S. is "not blind" to Mr. Aoun's endorsement by the terror group and that the U.S. remains deeply concerned about Hezbollah's activities in the region.

The former general rose to prominence when he led the national military against a Christian militia during the 1975-1990 Lebanese civil war and fought the Syrian army's occupation of Lebanon. During the final years of the war, he violated the constitution by leading a parallel government until he was forced out of the presidential palace by the Syrian army, seeking exile in France in 1990.

He returned to the country in 2005, when the Syrian military was forced out of the country following the assassination of then-Prime Minister Rafiq Hariri. The killing sparked mass protests in Beirut by people who blamed Hezbollah and the Syrian regime and demanded Damascus end its occupation. The Special Tribunal for Lebanon later indicted several Hezbollah members for the assassination, but the group denied the charges.

Mr. Aoun founded the Free Patriotic Movement, Lebanon's largest Christian party, and since Syria's withdrawal, he has sought the presidency.

The former general's election is due to the mutual interest of Saudi Arabia and Iran to keep Lebanon stable as wars rage on in Iraq, Syria and Yemen, said Nabil Boumonsef, deputy editor in chief of the Lebanese daily An-Nahar. "They don't want [new conflicts] in the Middle East."

In his address to Parliament on Monday, Mr. Aoun addressed security, the economy and the repatriation of more than one million **refugees** from neighboring Syria as some of the main challenges facing Lebanon.

"There is no solution in Syria without the return of the **refugees**," he said, pushing a proposal that has led to international outcry among humanitarians.

The president also urged the strengthening of Lebanon's armed forces to deter threats from countries on its border, including Israel.

The 2½-year political deadlock over who would be president was broken in October when Saad Hariri, a former prime minister and leader of Lebanon's main Sunni political bloc, broke with his Saudi patrons and threw his support behind Mr. Aoun. It appeared Riyadh had come around to supporting the former general when it sent a senior envoy for talks with various political figures last week.

Monday's vote was the first time a majority of Lebanon's political factions have come together to choose a president without external forces choosing a candidate since Lebanon's 15-year civil war ended in 1990. Lebanon's presidents from 1990 until 2008 were chosen under Syrian occupation while Mr. Aoun's predecessor, Michel Suleiman, was chosen as a compromise candidate in 2008 during political talks in Doha.

Following Monday's Parliament session, Mr. Aoun's exuberant supporters took to the streets of the capital Beirut to celebrate his election. They waved Lebanese flags as well as the orange and yellow flags of the Free Patriotic Movement and Hezbollah. Cars honked while onlookers cheered from apartment windows.

While the election of Mr. Aoun to a six-year term represents progress, politicians say it will likely take another six months to form a cabinet. That government will face a plethora of problems: one of the world's highest ratios of debt to gross domestic product, massive corruption and the rise of violent extremists, including such as those of Islamic State, who have infiltrated the country.

Although the presidency in Lebanon is largely ceremonial, Mr. Aoun will have the ability to influence policy, choose cabinet members and serve as an important broker between Lebanon's Sunnis and Shiites, both of which are engaged in conflicts across the region.

Felicia Schwartz in Washington contributed to this article.

Write to Maria Abi-Habib at maria.habib@wsj.com[mailto:maria.habib@wsj.com]

The Life and Career of Michel Aoun

\* 1988: Mr. Aoun is named interim Prime Minister of one of two rival Lebanese governments that are competing for power, but holds the position for less than a year.

\* 1989: He launches the "War of Liberation," aiming in part to force the ouster of Syrian troops who are stationed in Lebanon. The act leads Syrian forces to invade his strongholds, including the presidential palace. After hundreds of Lebanese soldiers and civilians are killed, Mr. Aoun seeks **refuge** at Beirut's French Embassy. He lives in exile in France until 2005.

\* 2005: Former Lebanese prime minister Rafiq Hariri is assassinated in a car bombing in Beirut. Though the group has never been found guilty, many Lebanese suspect Hezbollah, an ally of Syria's ruling Assad regime. Large anti-regime protests erupt in the city, demanding Damascus pull its troops from Lebanon. Syrian forces withdraw in April, clearing a path for Mr. Aoun to return to the country.

\* 2006: Elected to Parliament, he leads its second-biggest bloc, Change and Reform. In this capacity he signs a memorandum of understanding with Lebanese militant group Hezbollah. It includes the disarmament of Hezbollah, in exchange for conditions including the return of Lebanese prisoners held in Israeli jails. The new alliance persists, with Hezbollah publicly backing his election to the presidency years later.

\* 2014: Lebanese President Michel Suleiman steps down, leaving the country leaderless until the highly divisive Mr. Aoun is named in October 2016.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Corrections & Amplifications:

Brendan O'Connor is an Australian Labor Party lawmaker. An earlier version of this article misspelled his surname as O'Conner. (Oct. 30, 2016)

CANBERRA, Australia—The Australian government, which already bars asylum seekers who arrive illegally by boat from resettling here, said it would move to keep them out for life even as tourists, in a bid to step up deterrence.

"You need the clearest of clear messages," Prime Minister Malcolm Turnbull said Sunday. "This is a battle of wills between the Australian people, represented by its government, and criminal gangs of people smugglers."

Australia has faced international criticism of its hard-line efforts to deter illegal migration, including using its navy to turn back vessels arriving from ports in Indonesia, Vietnam and Sri Lanka.

It has sent passengers into mandatory detention on the Pacific island nations of Nauru and Papua New Guinea, often for lengthy periods, while **refugee** claims are assessed.

In 2013, the previous Labor government under Kevin Rudd imposed a settlement ban. The new law would go further.

Under legislation to be introduced to Parliament this week, any asylum-seeker who arrived outside official channels without a valid visa would be permanently blocked from entering the country, even if they applied later as tourists, Mr. Turnbull said.

Earlier this month, the United Nations Committee on the Rights of the Child strongly criticized conditions in the camps on Nauru after widespread detainee allegations of brutality and sexual assault of children [http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/australian-inquiry-hears-asylum-seeker-abuse-allegations-1432028965]. In April, Papua New Guinea's highest court ruled that a detention center on Manus Island—dubbed "Australia's Guantanamo Bay" by critics—was illegal because it breached basic human rights.

The U.N . and rights groups like Amnesty International and Save the Children have castigated Australia for its failure to follow up on widespread detainee complaints.

But Mr. Turnbull's conservative government has refused to back down in the face of those criticisms, instead offering some of its policies as a possible solution [http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/australia-says-allegation-of-rape-at-detention-center-is-false-1454913959] to the migrant crisis sweeping Europe.

The main opposition bloc wouldn't say on Sunday whether it would back the legislation. Migration has been a political flashpoint for more than a decade, helping swing several elections.

"With any legislation you want to look at it, see whether in fact it is fair and reasonable, and is consistent with our own commitments internationally," senior Labor lawmaker Brendan O'Connor said.

Australia's **Immigration** Minister Peter Dutton said the new laws were also aimed at preventing marriages of convenience between migrants and asylum advocates seeking to bring partners to Australia.

But lawyer and **refugee** advocate David Manne was critical. "They do nothing to resolve what has been widely recognized as an appalling and unsustainable situation for those people left in limbo of Nauru and Manus Island," he said.

Australia receives a relatively small number of asylum seekers each year compared with European countries like Italy, Greece and Spain. Historically, most arrived by air, not boat, though the percentage arriving by boat has risen in recent years. Successive Australian governments have moved aggressively to stop the tide, given wide public opposition to boat landings and outcries over sinkings and drownings en route.

In the six years before the settlement ban, more than 51,000 asylum seekers arrived in the country, including 20,000 in 2013. Under the conservative government headed by Mr. Turnbull, no boat has succeeded in getting past a naval blockade dubbed "Operation Sovereign Borders" since July 2014. Historically, most people seeking asylum arrived in Australia by air, not boat.

Almost 3,000 asylum seekers meantime have been detained on Nauru and Papua New Guinea, mostly from Iran and Afghanistan. Most have rejected Australian offers to send them home, claiming fears of persecution there.

The number of people fleeing conflict, meanwhile, has soared. The U.N .'s latest Global Trends Report said a record 65.3 million people had been forced to leave their homes last year, while globally the number of **refugees** had reached 21.3 million, with most coming from Syria, Afghanistan and Somalia.

Write to Rob Taylor at rob.taylor@wsj.com [mailto:rob.taylor@wsj.com]

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Corrections & Amplifications:

The Greek island is called Lesbos. An earlier version of this article misspelled the Greek island as Lesbo. (Oct. 31, 2016)

MALMÖ, Sweden—Pope Francis highlighted two major priorities of his papacy at the start of a two-day visit to Sweden: efforts to heal the 500-year-old rift between Catholics and Protestants and concern for the plight of migrants[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/pope-assumes-responsibility-for-migrants-in-vatican-reform-1472651078].

The head of the global Catholic Church joined Lutheran leaders on Monday to celebrate their churches' efforts to help the poor and marginalized—including migrants—before an audience of thousands. The gathering featured the testimony of **refugees** and culminated in the pope reiterating his previous calls on governments for open-door policies on migration.

Speaking in his native Spanish, Pope Francis thanked countries that have assisted **refugees** and other migrants, adding that concern for "outcasts and the marginalized" was a priority for all Christians.

The pope's words had particular resonance in Sweden[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/popes-refugee-message-proves-divisive-in-sweden-1477647003], once one of the most accommodating European countries for displaced persons, offering all Syrians fleeing the war extended residency permits if they reached the country. But after a surge in migrant arrivals and rising support for the anti-**immigration** Sweden Democrats party, the country has implemented some of the tightest rules in Europe on who may enter.

Pontus Andersson, a local representative of the party in Malmö, said that the pope's message would change nothing. "Swedes are becoming more critical of high levels of **immigration** and we are not a very religious country, so I don't think people will really care if the pope has a different view," he said.

Pope Francis spoke after the audience heard from two African **refugees** and Bishop Munib Younan, president of the Lutheran World Federation, himself a former Palestinian **refugee**. The Catholic bishop of Aleppo, Syria, spoke about his country's war, which lies at the heart of Europe's migrant crisis.

Other speakers addressed efforts to combat climate change in India and bring peace to Colombia after decades of civil strife.

The Malmö event exemplified Pope Francis' avowed strategy of collaborating on social-service projects with non-Catholic churches as a way of building Christian unity.

Meanwhile, the primary reason for his two-day visit to Sweden is to commemorate the Lutheran Reformation that split Protestants from Catholics in the 16th century and to promote efforts at their reconciliation.

Earlier Monday afternoon, at an ecumenical worship service in the nearby city of Lund, Pope Francis praised the "spiritual experience" of Martin Luther, the German reformer whose teachings led to the split between Catholic and Protestants. The pope called for "moving beyond the controversies and disagreements" separating Protestants and Catholics.

Martin Luther's denunciations of corruption in the Catholic hierarchy brought him condemnation from Rome, but recent popes have instead reached out to Protestants, and Pope Francis has pursued that path with evident enthusiasm. He recently praised Luther for his efforts to combat abuses in the church.

The pope's push for closer ties with other Christian churches has stirred concern among some Catholics. For instance, last year, he gave an ambiguous answer to a question from a Lutheran woman married to a Catholic as to whether she could take Communion, suggesting that the woman should follow her conscience.

However, at the cathedral service, Pope Francis and Bishop Younan signed a statement indicating that intercommunion between the churches remained a goal for the future.

The pope's original plan for the visit to Sweden, where most of the population is Protestant, didn't include a Catholic Mass.

In an interview with a Swedish Jesuit priest published last week, the pope said he hadn't wanted a papal Mass to distract from the ecumenical significance of his visit, but finally agreed to the "fervent request" of the country's small Catholic community. He was scheduled to celebrate Mass at a stadium in Malmö on Tuesday morning before flying back to Rome.

Charles Duxbury contributed to this article.

Write to Francis X. Rocca at francis.rocca@wsj.com[mailto:francis.rocca@wsj.com]

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**They came by the thousands in February 1940, student activists of the American Youth Congress braving a cold rain to protest Franklin Roosevelt's newfound emphasis on military preparedness over domestic reform. Invited to the White House by the first lady, they assembled on a muddy South Lawn carrying banners demanding "Jobs Not Guns" and "Schools Not Battleships." FDR's greeting did nothing to dispel the chill. In a mood characterized by his son as "I am Jesus—handle me with care," the president offered well-worn arguments to defend his zigzag pursuit of economic and social justice. He warned about "handouts" and the need to accommodate political demands to the popular mood. Harsh words for the Soviet Union drew hisses from the crowd. A final, flippant send-off admonished his listeners to "keep your ideals high, keep both feet on the ground, and keep everlastingly at it."

Seventy-six years later the shock of his performance remains fresh. This is not the buoyant shapeshifter of whom Churchill observed that meeting him for the first time was like opening a bottle of champagne. Nor is it the shrewd political operative who exploited the complex dynamic of his marriage, variously employing his wife as emissary, political surrogate, lightning rod and canary in the coal mines she famously visited out of concern for those shortchanged by democratic capitalism. In patronizing the children's army on the South Lawn, FDR delivered an implicit rebuke to the woman who rarely hesitated to use her daily newspaper column, weekly radio program, and frequent speeches and press conferences to goad Congress or the White House into accepting a moral obligation toward the outsiders with whom she instinctively identified.

Eleanor Roosevelt

By Blanche Wiesen Cook

Viking, 670 pages, $40

Eleanor and Hick

By Susan Quinn

Penguin Press, 404 pages, $30

What to Read This Week[http://graphics.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/image-grid/Books-October-29/]

The Genius of the Electric Guitar, the Unconventional Eleanor Roosevelt, H.P. Lovecraft's Afterlife, and the Poetry of Bonefishing[http://graphics.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/image-grid/Books-October-29/]

Her empathy versus his calculation—the South Lawn confrontation not only captures the Roosevelt partnership with unblinking honesty. It also encapsulates this third and concluding volume of Blanche Wiesen Cook's definitive biography of Eleanor Roosevelt, this one covering "the war years and after." Early on, the author recounts a friendly debate she had with Arthur Schlesinger Jr. over the contrasting efforts of the president and first lady regarding Jewish **refugees** from Nazi Germany. Schlesinger pleaded the pressure of domestic politics and the approaching war in defense of FDR's cautious approach.

Ms. Cook is unpersuaded. Case in point: The president's weakened political position after 1938 gave the whip hand to Southern lawmakers adamantly opposed to anti-lynching legislation. Not for the first time, Eleanor Roosevelt filled the void left by her husband's silence, arguing the bill's merits within the White House and in the 90 newspapers that carried her "My Day" column. The latter, skillfully mined by Ms. Cook, was a kind of public diary, combining family chat and cultural criticism—ER praised Katharine Hepburn in "The Philadelphia Story" and the floor show of a Florida resort at which she was staying—with outspoken advocacy of liberal causes ranging from support of Negro colleges to community service in place of the military draft favored by FDR.

On the day in June 1940 that her husband signed the Smith Act, limiting free speech and requiring "all **aliens**" to be fingerprinted by the government or risk deportation, Mrs. Roosevelt penned a brisk denunciation that could have been written with the current presidential campaign in mind. "Something curious is happening to us in this country and I think it is time we stopped and took stock of ourselves. Are we going to be swept away from our traditional attitude toward civil liberties by hysteria about ‘Fifth Columnists'?"

Eleanor Roosevelt is widely regarded as the prototypical "modern" first lady, for whom public advocacy is as much a part of the job description as receiving lines and East Room ceremonials. Considering the abuse heaped on Michelle Obama over so anodyne a cause as school nutrition, one wonders. No, in the sheer scope of her activism ER remains sui generis, a grandmotherly nonconformist who flew with Amelia Earhart and championed the cause of the Tuskegee Airmen; argued the merits of the Spanish Republic with Winston Churchill and saw her byline in the movie magazine Photoplay; promoted the cause of handicapped children while minimizing her husband's declining health.

"She saw herself as a watchdog," writes Ms. Cook, "a keen observer, and especially a helpmate. To have political influence directly attributed to her was unacceptable." Her complexities, on par with her achievements and the controversies she stirred, richly warrant Ms. Cook's three thick volumes. More than a presidential spouse, however, or feminist icon, the Eleanor Roosevelt who inhabits these meticulously crafted pages transcends both first-lady history and the marriage around which Roosevelt scholarship has traditionally pivoted. She was never more disarming than when promoting her then-radical agenda of racial equality and freedom of expression. The author slyly describes an African-American soldier eating an ice-cream cone in a segregated canteen. Suddenly he finds himself confronted by Mrs. Roosevelt, in the midst of a grueling 25,000-mile tour of wartime outposts in the Pacific. "May I have some of that ice cream?" she asks. After helping herself to a big bite, she returns the cone to its rightful owner. "You see," she tells him with a grin, "that didn't hurt at all, did it?"

But it is her Sisyphean labors on behalf of **refugees**, many of them Jews threatened by the Nazi killing machine, that make ER at once heartachingly relevant and as timeless as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights that she nurtured to fruition in 1948. As first lady she pressured FDR into establishing an Emergency Visitors Visa Program to save "persons of exceptional merit"; hosted fundraising picnics and concerts; showcased **refugee** singers and musicians at the White House; and broadcast disarming appeals in which she portrayed thousands of **refugee** children as "temporary visitors, not **immigrants**."

Through it all, she battled State Department obstructionists like Assistant Secretary Breckinridge Long ("Franklin, you know he's a fascist"), whose striped-pants bigotry condemned countless European Jews to extermination. Not until January 1944 did FDR establish by executive order the War **Refugee** Board. Another presidential directive mandated the roundup and incarceration of Japanese-Americans. Eleanor's proposal that they adopt a Nisei couple got short shrift from her husband, who said that the Secret Service would never allow it. The author may protest too much the bonds of love that united Eleanor and Franklin in their historic partnership. Having cited the latest instance in which his wartime responsibilities left the first lady feeling excluded if not betrayed, she quotes FDR's holiday toast to "the person who makes it possible for the President to carry on."

The person so recognized did not reciprocate. After nearly 40 years of marriage, Eleanor confessed to a friend, "there is no fundamental love to draw on, just respect and affection." In its place she put her faith in "a sense of obligation and a healthy interest in people." Her children offered little emotional compensation, though she worried like any military mother when her four sons joined the war effort. A classic self-accuser, Mrs. Roosevelt blamed herself for their failed marriages and flawed characters. Happily, no such regrets prevented her from being a hugely successful grandmother.

"I never lost a feeling of kinship for anyone who is suffering," she acknowledged. Her very public pursuit of human rights fully justified the title of "Lady Big Heart" bestowed on her by Thurgood Marshall. Her private emotions were more complex. In earlier volumes, Ms. Cook dealt sensitively with her subject's intricate web of personal relationships, not absolving ER of a thoughtless disregard for those seeking an exclusive connection. Forty years have passed since Doris Faber uncovered, to her frank dismay, incontrovertible evidence at the Roosevelt Library that ER had once been in love with another woman, a crackerjack Associated Press reporter named Lorena Hickok. The two women had exchanged more than 3,300 letters that survive—we'll never know how many more Hickok destroyed due to their explicit nature.

Like much of the early scholarship surrounding the Roosevelt-Hickok relationship, "The Life of Lorena Hickok" (1980), the book that resulted from Ms. Faber's discovery, suffered from a did-they-or-didn't-they prurience in keeping with Reagan-era squeamishness about AIDS and gay issues generally. It fell to Blanche Wiesen Cook to dispel Victorian prudery and sensationalism alike. Ms. Cook's game-changing work is rightfully acknowledged by Susan Quinn in "Eleanor and Hick," her poignant account of a love affair doomed by circumstance and conflicting needs. Combining exhaustive research with emotional nuance, Ms. Quinn dives deep to convey the differing characters of president and first lady. Confronted with the pending divorce of their daughter, Anna, Eleanor encourages the younger woman to escape an unhappy marriage. FDR, by contrast, urges caution, reminding her that many couples "got on very well in the end without love."

By her own admission, Eleanor Roosevelt fought a lifelong battle against fear, the fear of being unloved most of all. It was a vulnerability she was quick to recognize in others. Enter Lorena Hickok, Hick to her friends and colleagues. Raised in rural South Dakota, she survived a nightmarish childhood with an abusive father who, not content to beat his animal-loving daughter, dashed a favorite kitten's brains against the barn. Taught "never to expect love or affection from anyone," Hick was 13 when her mother died. Within a year she was sent packing by the dead woman's replacement. Taking **refuge** in books and music, she found work, at age 19, as a cub reporter on a Battle Creek, Mich., newspaper. There she impressed editors with her versatility, humor and sensitivity toward outcasts of every stripe. In Minneapolis and Milwaukee she covered sports as authoritatively as a society ball. By 1932 the sole woman reporter on Franklin Roosevelt's presidential campaign train, Hick concluded of the candidate's wife: "That woman is unhappy about something."

Her journalist's intuition served her better than her journalist's detachment. Before Election Day, Hickok had been given a privileged glimpse into the unorthodox Roosevelt marriage—into Eleanor's "special friendship" with a handsome New York state trooper named Earl Miller; and Franklin's intimate attachment to his longtime personal secretary Missy LeHand. All this Hick kept secret, along with FDR's long-ago betrayal of his marital vows—and her own growing attachment to the tall, vulnerable woman who trusted her discretion.

"Remember," Eleanor told Hick shortly after becoming first lady, "no one is just what you are to me." By then Hick had quit the AP, trading her career for a fantasy life to be shared exclusively with her new love. For her part, ER plotted ways to escape the White House, traveling—more or less—incognito with Hick through Canada and on the West Coast. When, inevitably, their identities were uncovered, Hick's former colleagues were not kind in their descriptions of her girth, appetite or bruising manner. Sufficient hints were dropped to feed suspicions about the first lady's unconventional attachments.

Eventually, Eleanor's ardor cooled. Needing to be needed, she couldn't bear the thought of being possessed. "You have a feeling for me which I may not return in kind," she told Hick in 1935. Deeply wounded, Hickok took to the road as a semiofficial diarist of the Great Depression. FDR's deputy Harry Hopkins ranked her brilliantly observed field reports among the best histories of Depression-era America. FDR cited them to expedite action from foot-dragging subordinates. Hick's description of soul-crushing poverty in West Virginia prompted ER to undertake Arthurdale, a government-sponsored new town that opened in 1934. A Puerto Rico trip led to new schools and a minimum-wage scale for women garment workers on the island. Finally, Hick's dispatches inspired the first lady to launch her own daily column.

Unlike Ms. Cook, who uncharacteristically limits her account of ER's post-White House activities to a brief epilogue, Ms. Quinn offers a comprehensive, if sometimes painful, narrative of both women in their later years. While FDR's widow became ever more iconic, and influential, her one-time love and enduring friend struggled with declining health and financial hardship. For several years Hick lived in a motel cabin not far from Val-Kill, Eleanor's Hyde Park **refuge** from the public existence she both craved and disdained. "To know me is a terrible thing," ER once lamented. The evidence presented by Ms. Cook and Ms. Quinn, much of it bravely supplied by Lorena Hickok, suggests just the opposite.

Mr. Smith is the author, most recently, of "On His Own Terms: A Life of Nelson Rockefeller."

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Interior Chief Knocks Occupiers' Acquittals

Interior Secretary Sally Jewell said the acquittals of seven people [http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/armed-occupiers-of-oregon-wildlife-refuge-acquitted-1477615318]who took over an Oregon wildlife **refuge** last winter reinforce her concern over the safety of her employees and reminded them to remain vigilant.

"I am profoundly disappointed in this outcome and am concerned about its potential implications for our employees and for the effective management of public lands," Ms. Jewell said in a message to Interior Department employees that was publicly released Friday.

A federal jury on Thursday in Portland acquitted Ammon Bundy and six others, including his brother Ryan, on charges including conspiracy[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/oregon-standoff-leader-ammon-bundy-testifies-in-trial-1475725752] in connection with the armed occupation of the Malheur National Wildlife **Refuge**[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/oregon-protesters-show-little-sign-of-leaving-1452121039].

The comments reflect a sense of uneasiness among federal officials and some local communities in the West that the acquittals may encourage other groups to stage land takeovers of their own.

Mr. Bundy, 41 years old, and dozens of other activists upset with federal land policies in the West had converged on the Malheur **refuge** in remote Harney County with weapons Jan. 2 in an occupation that lasted 41 days.

Jim Carlton

Facebook-Threats Conviction Reinstated

A federal appeals court on Friday reinstated the conviction of a Pennsylvania man for making threats on Facebook, in a closely watched case that made a 2015 trip to the Supreme Court.

The high court last year threw out the 2011 conviction of Anthony Elonis[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/supreme-court-overturns-conviction-for-threats-on-facebook-1433171134] for making threats—in the form of rap-music lyrics—on the social-media site against his estranged wife, local schools and law-enforcement officials.

The case has been a closely watched test of how to balance free-speech protections in the internet age with the need of law enforcement to pursue people making true threats in online communications.

The earlier Supreme Court decision said jurors should have been told to consider whether Mr. Elonis intended to threaten others or knew that his Facebook posts would be perceived as a threat. The justices then sent the case back for further proceedings.

Mr. Elonis served more than three years in federal prison, a term he completed before the high-court ruling. His attorneys argued the Facebook posts were creative, even therapeutic, expressions. On Friday, the Philadelphia-based Third U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals reinstated his conviction.

Brent Kendall

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Interior Secretary Sally Jewell said the acquittal of seven people [http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/armed-occupiers-of-oregon-wildlife-refuge-acquitted-1477615318]who took over an Oregon wildlife **refuge** last winter reinforces her concern over the safety of her employees and reminded them to remain vigilant for any more such trouble.

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armed occupation of the Malheur National Wildlife **Refuge**[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/oregon-protesters-show-little-sign-of-leaving-1452121039].

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Mr. Bundy, 41 years old, and dozens of other activists upset with federal land policies in the West had converged on the Malheur **refuge** in remote Harney County with weapons last Jan. 2 in an occupation that lasted 41 days.

"My greatest worry is that this verdict puts a target on the backs of the public stewards who manage our public lands," said Char Miller, professor of environmental analysis at Pomona College in Claremont, Calif. "It is now open season on them."

One of the acquitted defendants, Ken Medenbach, said in an interview Friday the verdict will encourage him to continue seeking a return to states' control much of the land the federal government now controls in the West.

"I'm going to approach the state and say, ‘Hey, you guys have to do something,' " said Mr. Medenbach, 63, a wood carver from Crescent, Ore. "If they don't, the people will have to step up."

But some other occupiers said they weren't likely to stage a takeover like this again. The occupation ended soon after Ammon Bundy and seven others were arrested in a highway showdown with state and federal officers during which one occupier, Robert LaVoy Finicum, was shot and killed by a law-enforcement officer[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/fbi-releases-video-showing-deadly-shooting-of-oregon-protester-1454042619].

"I don't think people are going to do armed protests like this again," said Jeff Banta, 47, a carpenter from Elko, Nev. who also was among the acquitted defendants. "It scared the bejesus out of all of us, really."

J. Morgan Philpot, an attorney for Ammon Bundy, said the acquittals "don't give anyone a license to do anything unlawful." Rather, he said they should serve as a message to the federal government to treat rural Westerners better, and would give a boost to legal efforts in Utah and some other states to return more land to local control.

Other federal officials said they were still hopeful for convictions in other trials set to start in February of seven others involved in the occupation.

The Bundy brothers and five others from the Oregon occupation, along with their father, Cliven Bundy, have also been separately charged in a 2014 armed confrontation with federal officials near the family's ranch in southern Nevada. That federal trial is set for next year.

"We must send a strong message of deterrence to those who would seek to replicate the occupation or perpetuate the toxic myths that sustained it," Dan Ashe, director of the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, said in a message to his employees.

Mr. Ashe said some of the 16 employees of the Malheur **refuge** were relocated during the occupation for their safety and had their lives disrupted. Although many employees have returned, some have chosen not to, he said.

"Many of their friendships, and their sense of belonging in the community, have been damaged or destroyed," he said.

Residents in Harney County, meanwhile, say they are ready to move on. "I'm just really glad it's come to an end," said Harney County Judge Steve Grasty.

Write to Jim Carlton at jim.carlton@wsj.com[mailto:jim.carlton@wsj.com]

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**STOCKHOLM—When Pope Francis brings his message of open-door **refugee** policies to Sweden on Monday, his reception will shine a light on how sharply the attitude to **refugees** has changed here since the start of Europe's migrant crisis.

Once of the most accommodating states in Europe for displaced people, this Nordic country now has among the tightest rules governing who can enter[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/sweden-seeks-to-relocate-migrants-1446657536].

The pontiff's two-day trip to this predominantly Protestant country is strictly religious: to commemorate the Lutheran Reformation that divided Catholics and Protestants five centuries ago and to promote ongoing efforts at their reconciliation.

But the pope is also expected to urge support for migrants and **refugees**, a keynote of his pontificate[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/pope-makes-lesbos-visit-in-show-of-solidarity-with-migrants-1460802375] and a message that is striking a nerve here.

In the first town the pope will visit, Lund, the far-right Sweden Democrats party has been building support by campaigning against **immigration**.

"If the pope comes with his fluffy, ‘Let's open the doors' statements, people will say it is not serious," said Ted Ekeroth, the local party leader in Lund. "It is not grounded in the reality that Sweden has seen."

Left-leaning lawmakers, charities and church leaders, though, say the government has swung too far away from the welcoming response it adopted at the start of Europe's **refugee** crisis last year.

"In the Swedish debate, many people have forgotten our moral obligation to help people in need," said Swedish Bishop Fredrik Modeus, who will worship with the pope in Lund.

Rev. Dr. Martin Junge, general secretary of the World Lutheran Federation, who will play host to Pope Francis, said at the Vatican on Wednesday that the pope's "very prophetic" statements on **refugees** have drawn great interest from people across Scandinavia. The pope's visit to Malmö, Sweden's main entry point for migrants, will include an ecumenical event with Bishop Antoine Audo of Aleppo, Syria, and at least one African **refugee**.

In the early days of the migrant crisis, Sweden appeared as a role model for open-door advocates. It offered all Syrian nationals fleeing the war extended residency permits if they reached the country.

"My Europe doesn't build walls," Prime Minister Stefan Löfven told a rally in the Swedish capital[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/swedish-pm-urges-eu-nations-to-do-more-for-refugees-1441566502] in September 2015.

The plight of the Syrian asylum seekers—brought home by images of the drowned body of 3-year-old Aylan Kurdi[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/image-of-syrian-boy-washed-up-on-beach-hits-hard-1441282847] on a Turkish shore last year—triggered a massive humanitarian response here. Volunteers gathered at train stations and ports to offer clothing and food to weary new arrivals, and the government diverted resources into emergency housing.

Over 160,000 asylum seekers last year entered Sweden, a country of just under 10 million, the most per capita in Europe.

But as the influx of migrants strained the supply of temporary housing—some asylum seekers slept in tents and the foyers of public buildings—Swedes became increasingly concerned their country was being overwhelmed, a situation echoed in Germany and Austria. Support for the anti-**immigration** Sweden Democrats rose to around 20% in polls in September 2015, where it has stayed since.

In January, Sweden effectively closed its borders[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/sweden-steps-up-border-controls-in-attempt-to-slow-flow-of-asylum-seekers-1451910982]—imposing identification checks on its frontier with Denmark for the first time in decades—making it one of several European Union countries that weakened their commitment to the bloc's open borders. The Social Democrat-led government said the measures were necessary because Sweden's **immigration** agency was overwhelmed and law and order in the country was threatened.

"I am proud of the responsibility Sweden has taken but we can't carry the whole burden," Interior Minister Anders Ygeman said in an interview last week. "Others must do their part."

Under Sweden's new **refugee** policy, asylum seekers must have an ID card to board public transport entering the country. That alone led to a sharp fall in numbers because an estimated 60% of asylum seekers don't have such papers, according to the government. The government this week said it expects 29,000 new arrivals this year.

The majority of those who are granted asylum are also only allowed to stay for three years, rather than permanently.

The pope, however, has continued to push his message of welcome.

In April, he returned from a visit to the Greek island of Lesbos [http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/pope-makes-lesbos-visit-in-show-of-solidarity-with-migrants-1460802375]with three Syrian Muslim families that the Vatican planned to support. He had earlier called on Catholic parishes, monasteries and convents[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/pope-francis-calls-on-europes-catholics-to-shelter-refugees-1441552408] across Europe to each sponsor one **refugee** family.

Earlier this month, during an ecumenical meeting with Lutherans visiting the Vatican, the pope again highlighted the plight of migrants.

"It is a hypocritical attitude to say you are Christian and chase away a **refugee**, someone who seeks help," he said.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**PHILADELPHIA—Lily Eskelsen García, the president of the National Education Association, is using her union's vast campaign machine to wage a personal fight against Republican presidential nominee Donald Trump.

As a Hispanic married to a Mexican citizen, she was insulted by his derogatory comments about Mexican **immigrants**. As the daughter of a U.S. Army veteran, she was upset by Mr. Trump's criticism of the parents of a Muslim veteran killed in Afghanistan. And, as a woman, she was offended by Mr. Trump's comments about how his status as a celebrity allowed him to grope women.

"This has hit me in every place I live," Ms. García, 61 years old, said in an interview.

Under Ms. García's watch, the teachers union is waging its most extensive election effort ever. She pushed the union to endorse Democrat Hillary Clinton last fall, months before the primaries had started, and to start campaigning for her much earlier than the union has in prior elections.

The NEA has doubled the amount of money it is spending on a campaign to help Mrs. Clinton and other Democrats, making it the top-spending labor union in the 2016 elections, according to election-spending reports.

The NEA has donated more than $14 million to groups that support the Democratic ticket.

Ms. García helps direct a union-led super PAC, For Our Future, that has raised roughly $60 million for the presidential race and key Senate races. The NEA has pledged $5 million to the For Our Future PAC and an affiliate, and another $1 million to the super PAC backing Mrs. Clinton's presidential campaign, Priorities USA Action.

Her union can also deliver key voters. Among NEA's three million members, roughly three-quarters are women, many of them with college degrees, who live in the swing suburban areas in presidential battleground states.

Based on the union's internal analysis, its members support Mrs. Clinton over Mr. Trump by 36 percentage points.

Some unions have had to work harder this year to hold their members as Mr. Trump's antiestablishment message and criticism of trade deals has resonated with many of their white voters who lack a college degree. The GOP nominee has been endorsed by the Fraternal Order of Police and the National ICE Council, which represents border-control workers.

The AFL-CIO has been working to remind members and their families about Mr. Trump's antilabor stances, such as his support for so-called right-to-work laws that can drain unions of dues and members.

Ms. Garcia and her union's political operatives are working to run up the vote among their predominantly pro-Clinton membership in order to counteract any defections from the industrial unions.

"If you are a decent human being, you should be insulted" by Mr. Trump, Ms. García told hundreds of union members at a rally in West Philadelphia this month. "If he doesn't like us, we're fat, we're ugly. He is incapable of respecting women."

Ms. García then traveled to a Clinton campaign office in suburban Philadelphia to give a pep talk to campaign volunteers before joining a team that knocked on doors to urge people to vote for the former secretary of state.

Wearing a jean jacket in a room full of volunteers in blue T-shirts that read "Educators for Hillary," Ms. García stood on a chair in a cramped campaign office in West Chester, Pa. "There is nothing more important that you can do today," Ms. García said. "It's what the cool kids are doing."

Not all teachers are on board.

Nancy Bryant, a middle-school teacher in Brunswick County, N.C., says she won't vote for Mr. Trump because of his treatment of women and business failings.

But she isn't sold on Mrs. Clinton. She's mulling whether to pick the "lesser of two evils" or write someone in. "I still think she represents that political establishment that people are afraid of and is not working for them," Ms. Bryant said.

And some teachers are backing Mr. Trump.

Wendy Nixon, another teacher who lives in Brunswick County, left her state-level union because she felt it wasn't helping her, and she's voting for Mr. Trump.

"I don't trust her because of the Clinton Foundation, Benghazi and her emails," said Ms. Nixon, who disagrees with Mr. Trump's lewd comments but won't be swayed by them.

She likes that Mr. Trump has said he would get rid of Common Core education standards and make other nationwide changes that typical politicians wouldn't. Also, "I think his financial record as far as him being a businessman and negotiator would help us balance the budget," Ms. Nixon said.

Still, the bulk of the NEA membership is rallying to the Clinton ticket.

"I try to teach my students to be kind," said Joy Bock, a union member and eighth-grade social studies teacher who lives in Licking County, Ohio. "It's hard to teach that when you have someone running for a top office doing the opposite."

The daughter of a U.S. Army veteran and a Panamanian mother, Ms. García went to high school in Salt Lake City. Her first job in education was doling out salad in a cafeteria for students at lunchtime.

In 1989, she won Teacher of the Year in Utah. A year later, she was elected president of the state's primary teachers union. She ran for Congress in 1998 and said during President Bill Clinton's impeachment proceeding that the president should consider resigning if he "truly wants to put this situation behind the country and move on." However, she said it would be "irresponsible" of her to propose the specific sanctions he should face without carefully weighing the evidence.

In 2013, she married Alberto García, an artist she met in Mexico when she contacted him about doing the artwork for a children's book they later wrote together. The wedding ceremony they held the following year was officiated by the partner of American Federation of Teachers President Randi Weingarten, who is a rabbi. Mr. García lives in Mexico.

She was elected as NEA's president at its annual conference in July 2014. Since then, she has aimed to make the union into a bigger force in both electoral politics and public policy in Washington.

Emails among Clinton staff released by WikiLeaks show that Ms. García pushed aggressively for the union's leadership to vote to endorse Mrs. Clinton last fall while maneuvering to defeat factions within labor ranks that supported her Democratic rival, Vermont Sen. Bernie Sanders.

One email to Mrs. Clinton from her chief of staff, John Podesta, in September 2015 said that Ms. García and one of her aides, John Stocks, had engaged in "intense work" on Mrs. Clinton's behalf. In prior elections, the union waited until the end of the primaries to issue an endorsement.

The Clinton campaign won't deny or confirm the authenticity of the emails.

Ms. García said she underestimated Mr. Trump's political appeal at the start of the 2016 campaign, and she was soon offended by many of his remarks, particularly those regarding Mexican **immigrants**, whom he has called "rapists" and "drug dealers."

"Having a husband who is from Mexico, it's very personal," she said. "It has personally offended me," she added, "but I think this is personal to a whole lot of people."

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**The private prison firm CCA is renaming itself CoreCivic as it seeks to diversify into prisoner re-entry programs, building jails, and maintaining them, rather than just guarding and operating the facilities.

The rebranding move was announced Friday morning by CEO Damon Hininger, who called it an "emotional decision," but one that fits with "how the business has changed and how we have diversified.''

The move comes amid a public debate about whether federal, state and local governments should use private prisons[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/homeland-security-to-review-use-of-private-prisons-companies-1472499312] and facilities to hold convicted criminals, suspects awaiting trial, and **immigrants** awaiting deportation. Privatization surged in the 1990s as an efficiency and cost measure to deal with rising inmate populations, but more recently questions have arisen about the effectiveness of privately run prisons.

In August[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/justice-department-says-it-will-stop-using-private-prisons-1471538386], the Justice Department's Bureau of Prisons said it would seek to end its use of private prisons because their prisoner population was falling and because, they said, private prisons didn't provide the same level of services as federal facilities. The announcement caused CCA stock to plunge by 35%, even though Bureau of Prisons contracts represent only about 7% of the firm's business.

The stock has yet to recover from that slide, but Mr. Hininger said the renaming decision was made before the Justice Department's announcement. The CoreCivic rebranding comes as the company is trying to make new gains in prison contracts by building and maintaining facilities that would then be staffed and guarded by government employees.

Executives at the company said they think that will give them access to new markets in states like California that have previously resisted using private-prison firms. In that sense, the company plans to operate more of its business as a real estate management company than a corrections services firm.

The goal, Mr. Hininger said, "is to get the brand in sync with the business strategy.''

CCA, which initially stood for Corrections Corporation of America, benefited 20 years ago from a trend toward privately run prisons when governments were grappling with soaring prison populations due to tough-on-crime laws. More recently, officials have questioned whether profit-driven corporations are best suited for the job of handling inmates and operating these facilities.

Mr. Hininger said the company is negotiating new contracts with other government agencies, including **Immigration** and Customs Enforcement, and the business is still performing well.

"That will be manifest through contract renewals going into 2017,'' he said. "When those things happen, then I think investors that have been sitting on the sideline will come back into the stock.''

There are plenty of indications that in the near term, the federal government will be buying more bed space from private prison firms.

The Department of Homeland Security is scrambling to find 5,000 more detention beds to deal with a record number of **immigrants** being detained as they await deportation. Officials familiar with the process say the agency expects to have about 45,000 people in custody in the coming months, up from about 30,000 in previous years.

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Read More

\* Justice Department Says It Will Stop Using Private Prisons[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/justice-department-says-it-will-stop-using-private-prisons-1471538386]

\* Prisoners Stage Coordinated Strikes in Several States[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/prisoners-stage-coordinated-strikes-in-several-states-1473895389]

\* Homeland Security to Review Use of Private Prisons Companies[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/homeland-security-to-review-use-of-private-prisons-companies-1472499312]

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Federal authorities said Thursday they had dismantled a massive call-center scheme perpetrated by individuals in the U.S. and India who bilked thousands of Americans out of hundreds of millions of dollars by posing as Internal Revenue Service and Department of Homeland Security officials.

An 81-page indictment names 56 people in the U.S. and India and five call centers in Ahmedabad, India, allegedly involved in the fraud. They were charged in a Texas federal district court in Houston with crimes including impersonation of a U.S. officer, identity theft, money laundering and wire fraud.

In the U.S., federal agents arrested 20 people in connection with the scam. Individuals were arrested in Alabama, Arizona, California, Florida, Illinois, Indiana, New Jersey and Texas.

It was unclear Thursday night if the defendants had legal representatives.

Callers in India phoned individuals in the U.S. and demanded that they make payments to clear purported unpaid taxes or debt to avoid arrest. Their co-conspirators in the U.S. collected the victims' funds, laundered them and transferred them to India, according to the indictment.

The scheme often targeted individuals who were elderly or **immigrants** with solid credit scores, according to investigators. The swindlers obtained lists with names and dates of birth from aggregators and marketing companies and researched the victims before preying on them. **Immigrants** were told that they would be deported if they didn't pay up, investigators said. Often a federal agency's name showed up on the recipients' phone identification, lending legitimacy to the call.

"For nearly four years, this criminal network used a variety of schemes to trick frightened individuals over the telephone by tapping into their worst fears—arrest, deportation and other problems with the U.S. government authorities," said assistant attorney general Leslie R. Caldwell.

More than 15,000 people paid more than $250 million to the swindlers. One victim turned over $136,000, according to the indictment.

The fraud didn't always end with a phone call. In Colorado Springs early this year, scammers called 911 after a man failed to withdraw money to pay four years of supposed back taxes. They told a dispatcher that the individual was armed and ready to kill cops. Within minutes, more than a dozen armed police officers surrounded his residence. No one was hurt, authorities said.

"The scammers were ruthless in their pursuit of their victims," said Peter T. Edge, a senior Homeland Security Investigations official. "They conveyed authority and a sense of urgency that left their victims terrified."

The takedown is the culmination of a three-year investigation by U.S. **Immigration** and Customs Enforcement's Homeland Security Investigations, the Department of Homeland Security's Office of the Inspector General and the U.S. Treasury's Inspector General for Tax Administration. It represents the largest law-enforcement action ever conducted against a telephone scam, authorities said.

The U.S. has been struggling to combat an epidemic of scams[http://blogs.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/indiarealtime/2016/10/07/ten-scam-commandments-lessons-from-a-criminal-call-centers-irs-extortion-script/] targeting Americans online and by telephone. Authorities said that the fake call-center enterprise they cracked by tracing thousands of transactions is likely to be just the tip of the iceberg.

"We are still actively conducting other investigations, and we hope to bring more cases in the future," said J. Russell George, inspector general for the Treasury Inspector General for Tax Administration.

Victims described a fast-moving sequence of events in which callers ensnared them by sounding professional and conveying a sense of urgency. Many of them said they are still struggling to process what happened and to put it behind them.

"There's a profile of a vulnerable person; I don't fit that mold," said Christine, a medical-device saleswoman in California in her mid-50s.

In 2014, Christine received a call from a 202 area code, which she recognized as being from Washington, D.C. A woman with an American accent identified herself as an IRS official, even citing a badge number. She quickly passed Christine to a second individual who had a strong command of the English language while speaking with an Indian accent. He told her that she was in violation of a statute, which he read. To prevent law-enforcement from arresting her the next day, he said, she must immediately pay $6,850.

"They knew where I was," recalls Christine, who asked that her last name not be divulged. Federal officials confirmed her account.

Coincidentally, Christine was being audited by the IRS for medical deductions she had claimed in connection with cancer treatment. She chalked up the slight disparity between the sum demanded by the caller and what she actually owed the IRS to accumulated interest.

Still, she asked to speak to a supervisor. Yet the individuals "reeled her in," she said, talking over her and threatening her. "I tried to appeal to their humanity, kept telling them I was a cancer victim," she recalled.

Soon Christine was driving to a bank to collect money, which she was directed to load onto stored-value money cards available at a local grocery store. She then followed instructions to transfer the funds to the criminal network.

"When the veil lifted, I couldn't freakin' believe it; I tried calling back and the line was dead. I just got a fast beep," she said. She contacted the U.S. Treasury.

Joseph, another victim, is a retired military serviceman whose ordeal began with a call on Election Day in 2014. His account of the scam is virtually identical to Christine's, down to the cash cards. By the time it was over, Joseph had parted with $25,000.

"You just don't think it is going to happen to you," said Joseph, who is in his 60s, and didn't want to be identified by his full name. "You feel so ashamed."

The Treasury Inspector General for Tax Administration has received more than 1.8 million complaints from individuals reporting calls from swindlers impersonating IRS officials since it began tracking such scams in 2013. More than 9,600 victims have paid more than $50 million.

U.S. authorities said that so far they haven't cooperated with Indian authorities.

Early this month, Indian authorities arrested 70 people who allegedly helped to manage nine call centers[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/fake-irs-collection-job-lands-india-scam-center-workers-in-jail-1475822606] where hundreds of individuals impersonated U.S. officials to extort money from Americans.

In the latest scam, co-conspirators in the U.S. often laundered the proceeds by purchasing gift cards for big-box retailers and then selling them online at a discount. They directed some victims to wire them money through remittance companies like Western Union, the indictment said.

The perpetrators used hawalas, or informal money handlers, to receive the funds. At least one suspect used the proceeds to pay for a child's university tuition in the U.S., authorities said.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**A federal jury in Portland, Ore., on Thursday acquitted Ammon Bundy and six followers in the armed occupation of the Malheur National Wildlife **Refuge**[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/oregon-standoff-leader-ammon-bundy-testifies-in-trial-1475725752]last winter, handing antigovernment activists a major legal victory in a case that put a national spotlight on the issue of federal land control in the West.

The nine-woman, three-man jury found Mr. Bundy, 41 years old, his brother Ryan, 43, and the others not guilty of conspiracy to impede federal officers through intimidation, threats or force in the 41-day occupation of the **refuge** in the high desert of southeastern Oregon.

They also found the Bundy brothers and two others not guilty of a firearms charge related to the occupation.

The acquittals come nearly 10 months after Ammon Bundy led the takeover of the **refuge** in Oregon's Harney County, in an episode that captured international attention and was livestreamed throughout much of its duration.

Mr. Bundy and dozens of other activists upset with federal land policies in the West had converged on the **refuge** with weapons to express their support for a local rancher and his son, who were being sent to prison in an arson case involving Bureau of Land Management land.

Federal prosecutors argued the group conspired to take over the **refuge**; defense lawyers said they were protesting peacefully.

"It's a miracle that the jury saw the truth," said Ryan Bundy's wife, Angie, after the verdict was read. "The message I'm hoping people take from this is we are fighting against the big government."

Eleven other defendants in the case have pleaded guilty, while seven are set to stand trial in February.

The verdict was reached at the end of the first day of new deliberations, after Judge Anna J. Brown removed a juror accused of bias by a fellow panelist. The original jury began deliberating Oct. 20 but stopped Tuesday to ask the judge about the juror and another matter. The jurors were then instructed to begin deliberations again.

The not-guilty verdicts caught others by surprise, including some defendants. "I was expecting a hung jury," said one of the men charged, Ken Medenbach, 63, a Crescent, Ore., wood carver. "The Holy Spirit stepped in and said we've had enough of this corrupt government."

Mr. Medenbach said the decision should embolden others who challenge federal land control. "What 12 jurors just determined is this land doesn't belong to the federal government, but the state," he said.

Oregon U.S. Attorney Billy Williams expressed disappointment in the verdict but said he respected the jury's decision. "We strongly believe that this case needed to be brought before a court, publicly tried and decided by a jury," Mr. Williams said in a statement.

"While I respect the jury's decision, I am disappointed," said Oregon Gov. Kate Brown in a statement released over Twitter on Thursday night. "The occupation of the Malheur **Refuge** by outsiders did not reflect the Oregon way of respectfully working together to resolve differences. I appreciate the due diligence of our federal partners and stand with the communities of Harney County and residents of Burns."

Greg Bretzing, special agent in charge of the Federal Bureau of Investigation in Oregon, said, "Although we are extremely disappointed in the verdict, we respect the court and the role of the jury in the American judicial system."

The Bundy brothers and five others from the Oregon occupation—along with their father Cliven Bundy—have also been charged in a 2014 armed confrontation with federal officials near the family's ranch in southern Nevada. That trial is set for next year.

Another of Mr. Bundy's attorneys, Marcus Mumford, was arrested and detained by federal marshals in the court house Thursday during a scuffle and after arguing that his client was free to go. The Bundy brothers remain in custody on the Nevada charges, although their family members expressed hope these acquittals would be followed by not-guilty verdicts there.

Defense lawyers said they tried to show the jury that the FBI and other law-enforcement agencies incited violence, not the occupiers.

They pointed to the arrests of the Bundy brothers and several others in what they called a highway ambush, which ended with the fatal shooting by an officer of the group's spokesman, Robert LaVoy Finicum.

J. Morgan Philpot, one of Ammon Bundy's attorneys, said after the verdict he had been hopeful of an acquittal from the start. "We believe we were right from the beginning, and I'm grateful that the jury could see that too," he said.

He said federal marshals used excessive force to arrest Mr. Mumford, who Mr. Philpot said held his hands up and told them he wasn't resisting when they move to cut off his arguments to free Mr. Bundy. Officials at that office didn't immediately return a call for comment.

Mr. Mumford was released later in the evening.

Backers of the federal government have said convictions in this case were important to send a message to other would-be occupiers of federal land. But supporters of the defendants said the occupation was mainly intended as a symbolic protest.

"The far left and government want this to be a bigger deal than it is," said Mike Arnold, an attorney in Eugene, Ore., who represented Ammon Bundy previously in this case. "This is a real minority movement that has little to no chance of success."

Prosecutors with the U.S. attorney's office in Portland alleged that Ammon Bundy had conspired to take over the **refuge**, and during the trial showed a video of Mr. Bundy exhorting supporters to follow him to the 187,000-acre bird sanctuary near Burns, Ore.

"We're going to make a hard stand," Mr. Bundy said in the video while wearing a cowboy hat in a snow-covered parking lot in Burns on the day of the Jan. 2 takeover.

But defendants in the case said they never conspired to keep federal workers out of the **refuge**. "We never stopped anyone from coming in," Mr. Medenbach said.

Rather, Mr. Medenbach and the others say they were trying to make a political statement. They assert that the BLM and other federal agencies don't have legal right to public land such as at the **refuge**, which they say the Constitution puts under states' control. They contend they were merely appropriating land back to the state.

"It's not federal land and they never had any business to be there to begin with," Mr. Medenbach said.

But legal scholars say the Supreme Court has repeatedly upheld the right of federal agencies to manage public lands. In the trial, the manager of the **refuge**testified for the prosecution that he kept his employees away from the facility during the occupation because he didn't feel it was safe.

Prosecutors also showed the jury video of several occupiers firing their guns in target practice at the compound, which they said added to an atmosphere of intimidation.

However, the defendants said they brought guns only as a deterrent against possible government violence against them. "It had to do if they tried to pull a Ruby Ridge on us," said Mr. Medenbach, referring to a 1992 deadly confrontation in Idaho between federal agents and the family of a white supremacist.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**The connections are as revelatory as they are mysterious in "Fire at Sea," Gianfranco Rosi's profoundly moving documentary on the migrant tides transforming our world.

During the leisurely opening sequence, a schoolboy on the Sicilian island of Lampedusa climbs a tree, finds just the right twig and then whittles it into the handle of a slingshot. How does that boy, Samuele, connect with the boatloads and raftloads of migrants, many of them dying and some of them dead, who reach Lampedusa after desperate attempts to cross the 70 miles of the Sicilian Strait that separate the island from North Africa? In one sense not at all, which is the film's most obvious point—the migrants might just as well be living on a different planet from the islanders, and, by extension, from many insular Western societies. In other ways, though, Samuele reflects the global upheaval, both symbolically and emotionally, even though the boy's feelings are a mystery to him and those around him.

"Fire at Sea" is a shining example of journalism fueled by outrage and shaped by free-ranging curiosity. Mr. Rosi's choice of Lampedusa for a microcosm was an easy call. In the past 20 years, his film tells us, 400,000 migrants from Africa and the Middle East have landed there, and some 15,000 have died during or after their perilous journeys. His working method, however, was chancy, though ultimately fruitful—hang around, get to know the locals, spend weeks at sea aboard Italian navy vessels on rescue duty, and document the plight of terrified, bewildered **refugees**, some of whom describe land-and-sea odysseys of unimaginable horror.

One of the locals, and the moral hero of the film, is Lampedusa's only physician, Pietro Bartolo. "It's the duty of every human being to help these people," he says. He does what he can with unquenchable dedication, though it's never enough. "All this leaves you so angry," Dr. Bartolo says. "It leaves you with emptiness in your gut, a hole."

Young Samuele, for his part, is being treated by two medical professionals. One of them, an optometrist, gives him glasses and an eye patch to remedy a lazy eye. (The filmmaker must have found the symbolism irresistible; when it comes to the migrant crisis, we all have lazy eyes.) The other is Dr. Bartolo, who listens patiently, albeit with some puzzlement, while the boy complains of anxiety attacks. It's reasonable to infer that Samuele, the son of a fisherman and heir to seafarers' tales of danger and death, has been affected by all the TV stories he sees about migrants drowning in treacherous seas. How could they not make him anxious? For those of us who are older and presumably wiser, though, the film seems to be saying that anxiety without action is not enough. Confronted by a defining human tragedy of our time, we have lazy feelings.

DVD // Streaming // Download

‘Dheepan' (2016) [http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/dheepan-review-new-world-disorder-1463081360]

Jacques Audiard's superb drama explores the migrant diaspora through **refugees** from Sri Lanka who manage to reach France as part of a pretend family—a mother, father and daughter who, in fact, barely know one another, and don't have any idea how to make new lives for themselves in an **alien** culture. The film has other things on its mind as well, among them the mystery of identity, and the nature of family.

More Reviews

\* ‘Inferno' [http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/SB11771317420586403750804582398623673606282]

\* ‘Into the Inferno' [http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/SB11771317420586403750804582398693716329030]

\* ‘Tampopo' [http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/SB11771317420586403750804582398712946239228]

Rewind

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**With less than two weeks to go before the U.S. election, comparisons to Britain's Brexit revolt are proliferating. Be not afraid if the polls look bad, Brexiteers console despondent supporters of Donald Trump. Both elections are activating populist uprisings, the theory goes, and that swell of disdain for the ruling class may boggle the pollsters in America the way it caught British pundits off guard.

Maybe. The more interesting Brexit lesson for the Trumpians, though, concerns what comes after the election, whether Mr. Trump wins or loses. You say you want a revolution—and some conservative leaders in America seem to imagine the Trump revolution will pave the way for dramatic policy changes they've wanted for years. Think tax and regulatory reform, or energy liberalization, or the Supreme Court. How's that working out in Britain? It's not.

Those free-market Tories who thought they could ride the popular Brexit wave to radical economic liberalization are discovering the voters have other ideas. One could list all the ways Britain already is failing to live up to the promise some saw in Brexit. The fact that says it all is that Brexit triggered the ouster of David Cameron, who for all his flaws had pursued tax cuts, budget discipline and some entitlement reforms. The Tories then eschewed classical liberals such as Michael Gove and instead have installed a German-style Christian democrat as Prime Minister in the form of Theresa May. And she seems to be pretty popular.

Now these "reform Brexiteers" fret that their popular revolution is being stolen from them by, well, take your pick. So-called hard Brexit could see Britain lose any preferential access at all to the European single market in exchange for imposing economically ruinous **immigration** controls—not exactly the free-market dream. Or Mrs. May could blow it by not going bold enough on the liberalizations to trade, tax, energy, product markets and the like that Britain needs to succeed outside the EU. Or shifty elites could steal Brexit from the voters entirely if the process is subjected to a parliamentary vote, where a majority of pro-EU Members of Parliament would scuttle it.

This disappointment is the elite Brexiteers' own fault. The error was to think that Brexit was about building a better Britain. Instead it was about tearing something apart. Brexit was a No, just as it said on the ballot papers. It was a No to a political elite that seemed out of touch, or to an economy that has grown imbalanced in favor of London and financial services at the expense of the rest of the country and manufacturing.

Who knows what Britain will be prepared to say Yes to instead. That's normally what politics is supposed to be about—an iterative process through which voters who know what they don't want wrangle about what they'll grudgingly consent to. For the moment we appear to be putting normal politics on hold in favor of grand rejections that elide the inevitable "and then?".

Maybe you can argue a resounding electoral No clears out the underbrush to facilitate better choices later on. But experience is showing this doesn't happen quickly, and while politicians squabble about the meaning of these revolt votes, reformers lose opportunities to persuade voters to say Yes to their program.

That's something many American conservatives appear to have missed in their rush to support Mr. Trump as a vector, no matter how flawed, for reform and revitalization. He's the ultimate No candidate: No to Crooked Hillary, no to free trade, no to **immigrants**, no to an economy that works for coastal tech start-ups but not for Midwest manufacturers, no to political correctness or even common decency, no to the media, no to Republican elites, no to Washington, no to national decline. Some of those things are worth saying no to, others aren't.

But don't mistake any of this for a Yes to anything like tax cuts or entitlement reform, whatever Mr. Trump says on the rare occasions when he manages to spit out a policy point. Mr. Trump's rise, like Brexit, is a popular revolution that is philosophically coherent in its way but operationally implausible once you notice that a long list of Nos doesn't amount to a governing to-do list.

That should inform Republicans inclined to vote for Mr. Trump in the hope that once in office he'll support a supply-side agenda, or inclined to worry that Mrs. Clinton would be appreciably worse. They can take comfort from the realization that the Democrats will confront the same problem after a Clinton victory. Her campaign has become merely a big No to Mr. Trump rather than a case for her own agenda.

The lesson from Brexit is that it really doesn't matter so long as voters aren't yet in a Yes mood.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Amid this dreary campaign's daily back-and-forth about his alleged groping and her embarrassing emails, the strategic premise of Donald Trump's presidential bid is being tested.

Mr. Trump and his managers assume that victory depends on turning out whites who did not vote for Mitt Romney in 2012. This theory holds that President Obama won re-election by 4.9 million votes only because five million whites stayed home, unenthused by Mr. Romney, who didn't connect with them or wasn't harsh enough on Mr. Obama.

On the surface, the "missing five million" sounds plausible. Although 129 million Americans—55% of the voting-age population—cast ballots in the 2012 presidential election, 106 million people didn't. Among them, according to[http://fivethirtyeight.com/features/missing-white-voters-could-elect-trump-but-first-they-need-to-register/] the website FiveThirtyEight, were 47 million whites without a college degree, including 24 million men.

Exit polls from 2012 show that Mr. Romney won 59% of white voters, and that whites constituted 72% of the turnout. The Trumpers say their man can win by boosting those figures only slightly. Increase the GOP's share of the white vote a few points, say to 62%. Raise the white turnout to 74% or 75%. Voilà, President Trump.

In the GOP primaries, two Republicans based their campaigns on the "missing five million," but they differed on who the absent voters were. Texas Sen. Ted Cruz contended that they were white evangelicals. Mr. Trump argued that they were white blue-collar workers. But the two agreed that the path forward was to adopt a populist antiestablishmentarianism.

Sen. Cruz and Mr. Trump hurled almost as much abuse at what they said were pusillanimous Republican leaders as they threw at Mr. Obama. Mr. Trump won the nomination by arguing that the "missing five million" would turn out for hard-line **immigration** policies, anti-trade rhetoric and a neo-isolationist foreign policy that put "America First."

How's that working out so far? The Trump camp's first strategic premise—that he can do better among whites than Mr. Romney did—isn't being borne out. The Oct. 17 poll [http://www.foxnews.com/politics/interactive/2016/10/18/fox-news-poll-october-18-2016/]from Fox News is representative: Among registered voters, Mr. Trump drew 49% of whites and Mrs. Clinton 38%. Other polls also show Mr. Trump lagging Mr. Romney's performance among whites. Perhaps he could match or exceed it on Election Day if he converts virtually every undecided white voter, but that isn't likely.

We can't evaluate the second strategic premise—that Mr. Trump can increase the white turnout—until after the election. But recent history doesn't suggest a dramatic increase in the offing. Exit polls show that whites were 81% of turnout in 2000; 77% in 2004; 74% in 2008; and 72% in 2012. The country is becoming more racially diverse. It will be nearly impossible for Mr. Trump to keep the white share flat, let alone increase it.

This election is also testing the messages being used to energize the "missing five million." Is Mr. Trump's support built on nativism, protectionism and neo-isolationism? Or is it based more on vociferous opposition to Mr. Obama's unpopular policies (like ObamaCare), as well as the country's overwhelming demand for change?

Do most voters really believe that Mr. Trump will somehow make Mexico pay for a wall on the southern border? Or that he will deport millions of illegal **immigrants**? Perhaps that over-the-top rhetoric is hiding his real appeal: that voters believe he would secure the border and get violent illegal **aliens** off the streets. After all, in every general-election poll and virtually every exit poll from the GOP primaries, a majority of voters want to provide a path to legal status for illegal **immigrants**.

Do most Americans want to rip up trade agreements and start trade wars? Or has Mr. Trump simply tapped into a sentiment that America plays by the rules while other countries don't? There is a big difference between wanting to slap tariffs on imported goods, so Americans pay more for life's necessities, and wanting other nations to remove obstacles to U.S. goods and services.

Do most voters really believe in a neo-isolationist foreign policy? Or is it that many think the world has become much more dangerous—and the U.S. much less secure—under Mr. Obama's feckless leadership? If the latter, the electorate is unlikely to support a full-scale retreat from the world.

In 12 days, voters will render their verdict, not only on Mr. Trump's conduct and character, but also on his strategic framework, message and policy agenda. If the "missing five million" fail to reappear, Republicans will have to find another road to political dominance and 1600 Pennsylvania Ave.

Mr. Rove helped organize the political-action committee American Crossroads and is the author of "The Triumph of William McKinley" (Simon & Schuster, 2015).

More By Karl Rove

\* Can Republicans Save the Senate?[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/can-republicans-save-the-senate-1476916754?tesla=y]

\* Neither Side Will Win the GOP Civil War[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/neither-side-will-win-the-gop-civil-war-1476313601?tesla=y]

\* Trump Sorely Needs a Debate Win[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/trump-sorely-needs-a-debate-win-1475709081?tesla=y]

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**BERLIN—A 19-year-old Syrian **immigrant** was charged with supporting Islamic State, Germany's top prosecutor said Thursday, a sign that the country's authorities are uncovering a growing body of evidence [http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/german-police-raid-islamic-state-suspects-detain-refugee-1470847022]that the terrorist group used last year's migrant influx to send fighters [http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/islamic-state-says-suicide-bomber-was-fighter-before-migrating-to-germany-1469651657]to Europe.

The federal prosecutor-general accused the Syrian national identified as Shaas Al-M. of joining the terror militia in his Syrian hometown by mid-2013 and having participated in fighting for the group there. After leaving in summer 2015, the prosecutor's office said, the suspect scouted possible targets in Berlin, recruited at least one person to fight for Islamic State in Syria, and signaled he was prepared to carry out an attack himself.

The move is the first indictment by Germany's prosecutor-general alleging that a person who was among the migrants to arrive last year was considering an attack here, according to summaries available on the prosecutor's website. It is the latest sign that German authorities are scrambling to prevent Islamist violence by migrants, amid fears of terrorism among Germans and an anti-Islam political party on the rise. And it underscores the political risks that German Chancellor Angela Merkel faces from the terror threat here, less than one year before next fall's general elections.

Two Islamist attacks by migrants in July, in which the attackers died and 19 others were injured, fanned those fears. Earlier this month, German police arrested another Syrian migrant who arrived last year and they found several hundred grams of explosives in an apartment in which he was staying. The man, suspected of planning a suicide bombing, later killed himself in prison.

In June, police arrested three suspected Islamic State members form Syria on suspicion of preparing an attack on the city of Düsseldorf. In September, police detained another three Syrians who had traveled to Germany last November in what officials said might be the first arrest of a so-called sleeper cell sent to Germany to commit attacks. None of the suspects have been indicted yet.

Mr. Al-M came to Germany with experience in handling weapons, according to the prosecutor. In 2013 and 2014 he served as a guard armed with a Kalashnikov rifle during Islamic State assaults in and around the city of Deir ezZor, according to the indictment.

"He continued his IS activities after his arrival in Germany," a statement from the prosecutor said. "He scouted out potential attack targets during stays in Berlin and he helped send at least one person as a fighter to Syria. In addition, he made himself available as a contact person for potential attackers in Germany and signaled his fundamental readiness to commit an attack in Germany."

A spokeswoman for the prosecutor's office declined to comment on whether the man had applied for asylum in Germany.

Write to Ruth Bender at Ruth.Bender@wsj.com[mailto:Ruth.Bender@wsj.com]

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**PAKISTAN

Famed ‘Afghan Girl' Arrested for Fraud

An Afghan **refugee** whose portrait as a young girl became one of the most famous National Geographic magazine covers in history was arrested Wednesday for allegedly possessing a fraudulent Pakistani identity card.

Photographer Steve McCurry shot the portrait of Sharbat Gula in a **refugee** camp in Pakistan in December 1984, when she was around 12 years old. Ms. Gula was among millions of Afghans who fled to Pakistan after the Soviet invasion in 1979.

Pakistan has hosted millions of Afghan **refugees** for decades. Ms. Gula is one of thousands of Afghan **refugees** Pakistani officials say have illegally acquired citizenship documents. Many **refugees** don't want to return to Afghanistan because of its security and economic situation, officials say.

Pakistan has clamped down on fake identity documents, and officials say people with fake ID cards pose a security threat. If found guilty, Ms. Gula faces up to seven years in prison and deportation to Afghanistan.

Mr. McCurry wrote on Facebook that "her arrest is an egregious violation of her human rights."

Qasim Nauman

GREECE

Syriza Suffers Defeat On Media Overhaul

The ruling Syriza party was dealt a major embarrassment after judges struck down its plan to revamp the media sector.

Greece's supreme administrative court ruled that the government, led by the left-wing Syriza party, acted unconstitutionally by licensing TV broadcasters, a power the constitution reserves for an independent media regulator.

In September, the government auctioned broadcast permits for four private TV channels, leaving several existing TV stations facing closure; the ruling annuls the auction. The TV shake-up was the centerpiece of Syriza's effort to challenge the political and business interests Syriza leaders say have long controlled Greek public life.

Marcus Walker

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Since becoming an evangelical Christian in college, Laura Robinson has also called herself a Republican. But after watching the video of GOP presidential candidate Donald Trump making lewd comments about groping women, she took to Facebook to announce that she couldn't vote Republican this year.

"How can we support someone who's so derogatory towards women?" Ms. Robinson, a 32-year-old mother of three from Raleigh, N.C., said in an interview.

Mr. Trump's candidacy has divided conservative Christians [http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/conservative-christian-support-for-donald-trump-tested-by-candidates-lewd-comments-1475975425] across the country from the start, with spiritual leaders, evangelical college campuses [http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/donald-trump-denounced-by-liberty-university-students-1476396686], church communities and families who had voted Republican for decades split over whether to back him. Those divisions have grown deeper following the video and other allegations of sexual misconduct, which Mr. Trump denies.

But Mr. Trump is now facing a vocal backlash from one of the most faithful blocs in the Republican fold: evangelical Christian women.

Mr. Trump's support among white evangelical women stood at 58% in mid-October, down from the nearly 77% who voted for Mitt Romney four years ago, according to a poll from the Public Religion Research Institute, a nonprofit organization, conducted after the video. More than 70% of white evangelical men still support Mr. Trump.

Conservative Christian women aren't turning away from Mr. Trump quietly, either. A growing number—from well-known authors to stay-at-home moms—are openly speaking out in opposition to the Republican nominee, denouncing him on social media and sharing their own stories of sexual assault.

The outpouring has tested the unity of conservative church communities—challenging decades of allegiance to Republicans, and in some cases, a patriarchal order in which men hold most positions of authority. And it has led to conflicts, not only with men in the church, but with other evangelical women who believe anything that might lead to a Hillary Clinton presidency is a mistake.

"If Christians are going to turn away from Donald Trump because of some locker-room words that he said a few years ago, when Hillary Clinton is in favor of unfettered access to abortion and marriage equality," said Stephanie Noriega, a 57-year-old member of Skyline Church outside San Diego, "then those Christians need to take a strong look in the mirror."

Katelyn Beaty, an editor at large at Christianity Today, said the election was forcing evangelicals to "really rethink what it means to have a Christian social ethic."

"What's unique is that women are critiquing Donald Trump who never enter the political fray," Ms. Beaty said.

The Trump campaign didn't respond to requests for comment.

Mr. Trump's candidacy has presented a particular conundrum for conservative women, many of whom consider opposition to abortion paramount but also feel personally affronted by his comments.

Despite frustrations with Mr. Trump, white evangelical women have been largely unwilling to back Mrs. Clinton. Only 26% planned to vote for the Democratic nominee, according to the PRRI poll; in 2012, 23% backed Mr. Obama.

Those who have spoken against Mr. Trump said they have sometimes paid a personal price—even if they didn't plan to vote for Mrs. Clinton.

In interviews, conservative Christian women said that after publicly declaring they wouldn't vote for Mr. Trump, they had been harassed online, had their faith questioned and lost friends, a testament to how closely entwined white evangelical communities are with the Republican Party. Many said they were warned that a vote for a third party was tantamount to voting for Mrs. Clinton.

"I have friends who called my faith into question because I'm not voting for Trump," said Chelsea Patterson, a 25-year-old Baptist working on Capitol Hill in Washington. After voting a "straight Republican ticket" four years ago, she said she wouldn't support either major party candidate this year.

"People are pretty harsh about it," she said. "I think they elevate who you vote for up to a gospel issue."

Women who are sticking with Mr. Trump have emphasized the policy differences that separate him from Mrs. Clinton, rather than defend his character. More than 70% of white evangelicals said politicians can behave ethically in office despite "immoral" acts in their personal lives—up from 30% in 2011, according to the PRRI survey.

"We knew who Donald Trump was—we weren't expecting this more upstanding person," said Amanda Sanders, a 26-year-old alumna of Liberty University, an evangelical college founded in Lynchburg, Va., by Jerry Falwell Sr. "But we need to be focusing on policy. I believe in his ideas about America."

She added that the selection of Indiana Gov. Mike Pence, with his evangelical bona fides, as the vice-presidential nominee indicated that Mr. Trump would "surround himself with strong Christian, strong pro-life individuals."

For Shannon Dingle, a Christian blogger and antiabortion advocate, that dismissal of personal morality is a betrayal of the Christian principles that long defined the religious right.

The night the video of Mr. Trump was released, Ms. Dingle posted on Facebook about her experience as a rape survivor.

"If you want to say you stand as a Christian for sexual morality but are willing to excuse this sort of things," she wrote, "then you're worshiping your politics and not your God."

After voting Republican for her entire life, Ms. Dingle, 34, declared her intention to vote for Mrs. Clinton. Being pro-life, she said, was about more than abortion—it also meant sticking up for **immigrants**, **refugees** and other groups.

Her post was shared more than 5,000 times, but more than 100 people posted offensive responses, she said. Pro-life conferences where she had spoken in the past haven't invited her to return. Eventually, she and her husband left their Baptist church in Raleigh, where she had once been featured on the website, but now felt uncomfortable.

"I don't see Trump as pro-life," said Ms. Dingle, whose six children include three adopted children who are black.

Evangelicals of color have long espoused a wider view of what being "pro-life" entails, Ms. Beaty said, and they have also been more willing than white evangelicals to vote for Democrats.

Ms. Noriega, from Skyline Church, called the Trump video "offensive," but added, "people are very conveniently forgetting what Bill Clinton actually did in the Oval Office."

"Is he perfect? No," Ms. Noriega, who helps organize a ministry for women who have had abortions, said of Mr. Trump. "But we have to vote for a platform that is closest to our values, and that's the Republican platform."

Other evangelical Christian women—especially young women—are no longer convinced the Republican ticket reflects their values. Raised in an evangelical church, April Schweitzer dressed as Ronald Reagan for Halloween at age 8. At 12, her mother signed a release so she could make phone calls for George H.W. Bush's presidential campaign. She gave one of her daughters the middle name "Reagan."

This year, however, Ms. Schweitzer, 39, has lobbied against Mr. Trump on social media. Her mom, among others, has written animated responses defending him. But she has also, increasingly, gotten messages of support from other women.

"There are people who just can't fathom what I'm doing—who think if you're a conservative Christian, you have to vote Republican," Ms. Schweitzer said. "But I think more people are willing to show themselves as being against him now."

Related

\* Donald Trump Denounced by Liberty University Students [http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/donald-trump-denounced-by-liberty-university-students-1476396686] (Oct. 13)

\* Conservative Christian Support for Trump Tested by His Lewd Comments [http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/conservative-christian-support-for-donald-trump-tested-by-candidates-lewd-comments-1475975425] (Oct. 9)

\* Evangelical Leader Wayne Grudem Pulls Endorsement of Donald Trump [http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/evangelical-leader-wayne-grudem-pulls-endorsement-of-donald-trump-1476066325] (Oct. 9)

\* Trump Pushes to Repeal Little-Used Ban on Church Endorsements [http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/trump-pushes-to-repeal-little-used-ban-on-church-endorsements-1473413403] (Sept. 9)

\* Trump Pitches Himself to Evangelicals, Offering ‘School Choice', Tax Benefits [http://blogs.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/washwire/2016/09/09/trump-pitches-himself-to-evangelical-gathering-offering-school-choice-tax-benefits/] (Sept. 9)

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**When Donald Trump rode down an escalator[https://www.c-span.org/video/?326473-1/donald-trump-presidential-campaign-announcement] at Trump Tower to launch his presidential campaign[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/donald-trump-to-unveil-plans-for-2016-presidential-race-1434448982] in June 2015, he began galvanizing a populist version of the Republican Party.

But he didn't create it.

The GOP that carried Mr. Trump to the presidential nomination[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/republican-national-convention-nominates-donald-trump-ending-dramatic-primary-season-1468970034] was formed by waves of new voters who washed onto Republican shores in the last four decades: George Wallace Southerners[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/why-donald-trump-survives-the-waves-he-makes-1448298057],

Ronald Reagan Democrats[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/SB120880402308332069], Pat Buchanan pitchfork populists[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/SB94460859960205737] and tea-party foot soldiers[http://blogs.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/capitaljournal/2010/03/02/risks-as-well-rewards-in-the-gops-tea-party-embrace/].

The Republican establishment was happy to have the votes of these newcomers, many from America's working class, and accommodated their cultural preferences on social issues from guns to abortion to gay marriage. What the establishment didn't do was adjust the GOP's economic approach to match the populist impulses—or even seem to consider such a shift necessary.

Mr. Trump did.[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/separating-donald-trump-from-trumpism-1470678372] After entering the presidential race with just 3% to 5% support[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/jeb-bush-marco-rubio-solidify-front-runner-status-1434945661] in national polls, he amplified the belief among millions of Republican newcomers that free-trade deals did more harm than good. He defended Social Security and Medicare benefits. He relentlessly voiced the fear that **immigration** shreds the economic and cultural well-being of the middle class.

Those grievances coalesced into an explosion[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/capital-journal-gop-debate-sorts-the-fighters-from-the-statesmen-1438984742] that shocked Republican leaders, crippled the party establishment and will likely alter the GOP's direction for years regardless of the Nov. 8 election's outcome.

Mr. Trump's campaign, like the waves of change that preceded it, has attracted new voters to the Republican party but driven others away. He has opened a deep divide[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/grass-roots-anger-transforms-republican-party-in-congress-and-presidential-campaign-1444430748] that will be hard to heal and could even split the party into two sides, one made up of newly energized populists and the other of more-traditional moderates and conservatives.

If Mr. Trump wins, he figures to steer the GOP[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/time-of-testing-arrives-for-ryan-and-trump-1468253529] down the more-populist path his campaign has traveled, potentially driving away establishment figures, conservative thinkers and business leaders. He has increasingly belittled those who disagree with him on trade, **immigration** and foreign policy. They would have to decide whether the party can remain a home for them.

If he loses, a nasty internal debate about what Republicans stand for[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/donald-trump-nomination-would-change-gop-philosophy-not-just-leadership-1458575754] is likely to erupt, including "a lot of finger-pointing" from Trump supporters who will blame the establishment for failing to get behind their man, predicts former House Republican leader Eric Cantor.

Either way, he says, Republicans should "take the lesson learned from Donald Trump, which is that he has tapped into that anger[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/how-donald-trumps-army-is-transforming-the-gop-1456162285] that says our policies just aren't always yielding positive results" for many average Americans.

A few Republicans saw the explosion coming long ago. As early as 2001, Tim Pawlenty, later Minnesota's governor and a presidential candidate[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/SB10001424052702303654804576341131524623852], warned that the GOP needed "to be the party of Sam's Club, not just the country club."

Mr. Buchanan tapped into anti-**immigration** anger in his first presidential campaign in 1992[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/establishment-presidential-candidates-battle-to-end-flirtation-with-outsiders-1451955959]. "We were saying: ‘This is what's going to happen,'" Mr. Buchanan recalls. "And it happened."

Why did so many other supposedly smart politicians not see Mr. Trump's soldiers gathering?

"It really is the elitism," says Tom Davis, a former Republican congressman[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/SB10001424052748703404004575198651596999886] from Virginia. The attitude of many in the party was "we're smart, and they're stupid, and we'll just feed them abortion and guns," he says. "It didn't have to be this way."

In 1970, Mr. Davis was a young political aide in President Richard Nixon's White House and worked for an adviser named Harry Dent. Mr. Dent grew up in South Carolina and was plotting to woo conservative Southerners from their traditional mooring in the Democratic Party.

Many of those Democrats voted for Mr. Wallace[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/SB121944770970665183], the pro-segregation former Alabama governor, as a third-party presidential candidate in 1968. He won five states in the Deep South, and many supporters felt **alienated** from a Democratic Party that was moving to the left.

Mr. Dent and his team made sure the GOP provided a home to disaffected Democrats. While they didn't share the business-friendly economic views of the Republican Party, it offered them allegiance on cultural issues such as hatred of draft dodgers, mistrust of busing to achieve racial desegregation and anger at the sex-and-drugs counterculture.

John Sears, a political operative who worked for Messrs. Nixon and Reagan, says Mr. Nixon appealed to crossover Democrats in some of the same ways that Mr. Trump appeals to populists now. Messrs. Nixon and Trump were widely scorned by the media and political establishments of their time.

Mr. Nixon "was running against Ivy League schools and the New York Times and the Episcopal Church," says Mr. Sears. The Southern strategy helped Mr. Nixon win re-election in 1972, and a party long dominated by small-town Midwesterners, Northeastern liberals and a smattering of Western conservatives sprouted a new populist wing. Mr. Dent died in 2007.

Growth of the party's Southern-based populism[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/SB9646510621074836] was interrupted by Southern Baptist farmer Jimmy Carter's election in 1976. The Democrat's presidency was widely regarded as a failure, though, opening the door to the next wave of GOP newcomers.

In 1980, Reagan Democrats were drawn to Mr. Reagan's plain-spoken declaration that liberal policies dragged down them and their communities. Their conversion to the Republican Party completed its consolidation in the South and drew in disgruntled workers from the upper Midwest.

The Reagan Democrats[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/campaign-2016-shatters-the-reagan-and-clinton-coalitions-1457968715] bought into the conservative philosophy of tax cuts, and Mr. Reagan sang the party's odes to the economic virtues of **immigration**. He broke with classic conservatism by imposing tariffs and quotas on Japanese goods, which won him the applause of union members.

Mr. Buchanan's first presidential campaign pointed to trade and **immigration** as culprits in the faltering economy. He toured the Mexican border outside San Diego to raise concerns about undocumented **immigrants** flooding into the U.S. The government later erected a wall along that same stretch of border.

In his speech[https://www.c-span.org/video/?31255-1/pat-buchanan-1992-republican-convention-address] to the Republican Convention in 1992, Mr. Buchanan challenged the party to stand up for middle-class workers still struggling to emerge from that era's recession. He cited loggers in northern California put out of work to protect the spotted owl and Korean-American business owners who stood up to looters during the Los Angeles riots.

"They are our people, and we need to reconnect[http://buchanan.org/blog/1992-republican-national-convention-speech-148] with them," said Mr. Buchanan, a former White House aide to Messrs. Nixon and Reagan. "We need to let them know we know they're hurting."

The GOP leadership fought Mr. Buchanan, and there weren't enough pitchfork populists for him to prevail. He lost the nomination to a thoroughly mainstream Republican, George H.W. Bush, who then lost to Bill Clinton. While the increasing cultural conservatism of the GOP had attracted some new voters, it also drove away some moderate voters.

Republican leaders thought Mr. Buchanan's failure showed the limited appeal of his message. A better explanation is that much of it was siphoned away by billionaire populist Ross Perot, who ran in 1992 as an independent and in 1996 as a third-party candidate. He got 19% of the vote[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/SB10001424052970203710704577054501776975774] in 1992.

In 2000, the Republicans' conservative and Wall Street wings coalesced behind George W. Bush, propelling him into the White House with a message that was friendly to traditionalists and business.

But the party's new working-class voters were growing more uneasy with traditional GOP economic formulas. Those pressures appeared first in the House, the chamber of Congress closest to the grass roots.

The House abandoned Mr. Bush's call to overhaul Social Security and then rebelled on **immigration**. Instead of supporting a business-friendly guest-worker program and some path to legal status for more than 10 million undocumented **immigrants** already in the U.S., House Speaker Dennis Hastert, a Republican from Illinois, started a campaign against illegal **immigration** and ordered committee chairmen to hold field hearings along the Mexican border.

In 2006, Congress passed legislation that was signed into law to fence hundreds of miles[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/SB116191332316005539] along the border, an early embrace of a signature proposal made by Mr. Trump from the start of his presidential campaign.

The GOP also benefited from growing Democratic concern about climate change and hostility to fossil fuels. The positions pushed working-class voters in energy-producing states toward the Republican Party.

West Virginia is perhaps the starkest illustration. When Barack Obama won the White House in 2008[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/SB122581133077197035], Democrats controlled the West Virginia state legislature, and held both of the state's seats in the U.S. Senate and two of three in the House.

Republicans accused Democrats of waging war against coal. In 2014, the GOP took control[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/west-virginias-rightward-tilt-puts-democrats-on-the-defensive-1412699588] of both chambers in the West Virginia legislature, won all three House seats and captured the Senate seat held by Democrat Jay Rockefeller for three decades.

The financial crisis[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/economic-scars-help-explain-bizarre-2016-race-1464622309] energized today's populist army more than anything else, supercharging mistrust of Wall Street and economic elites. The federal bailout of financial institutions in the fall of 2008 drove a wedge between Republican leaders who pushed for the rescue and conservative lawmakers who no longer were content with toeing the party line.

Twice as many Republicans voted against the initial bailout bill[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/SB122270285663785991] as supported it. A revised version of the Troubled Asset Relief Program became law.

The U.S. recession that began in December 2007 and ended in June 2009 [http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/SB10001424052748703989304575503691644231892]cut the median net worth of American families almost in half, according to the Pew Research Center. Middle- and lower-income households were hit especially hard, and Americans who lacked college degrees lost more ground than any other group.

The illusory recovery for many Americans created a fertile environment for anti-Washington candidates, none more than Mr. Trump.

He also inherited the wave of political activism that came from the tea-party uprising[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/SB10001424052748703283004575362950960543866]. It was sparked in 2009 by anger over a federal rescue of the mortgage industry and fueled a Republican takeover of the House[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/SB10001424052748704462704575591171988213264] in 2010.

The Republican establishment actually encouraged the rise of these new forces, thinking it could benefit from tea-party votes and channel the energy toward the GOP's broader purposes.

In 2010, Senate campaign-committee funds fueled the Senate campaigns of numerous tea-party members. Republican House leaders recruited and helped raise money for some tea-party candidates who won that year.

Soon, though, tea-party populists defied the House leadership by trying to shut down the government during spending fights. The rebel forces rose up and destroyed their own patron when a tea-party candidate defeated Mr. Cantor[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/virginia-win-gives-tea-party-new-lease-on-life-1402454951] in his 2014 primary race in Virginia.

Economic anxiety also was shaking the core Republican belief in free trade. In 2010, 52% of people who called themselves Republicans said free trade hurt the American economy, while just 21% said it helped, according to an NBC/CNBC poll. Republicans split on the same question in 2007.

Last year, Rep. Jeff Duncan, a tea-party favorite from South Carolina, was one of 50 Republicans to vote against rules to expedite the approval process for trade deals. In 2011, he sided with the Republican-led House on trade pacts with Colombia, Panama and South Korea negotiated by the Obama administration. "Tariffs are taxes," he told an aide.

A spokesman says Mr. Duncan still supports free trade but was concerned about increased negotiating powers that would have been granted to the president. Mr. Duncan also had doubts about a trans-Pacific trade deal that was to be approved under the same rules.

The changes in the past four decades add up to a Republican Party that morphed slowly but inexorably into something fundamentally different.

Among the 100 poorest counties in America, 74 voted for Republican presidential nominee Mitt Romney in 2012.

Mr. Davis, the former congressman, often brandishes a map[http://graphics.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/clintonobama/] published by The Wall Street Journal last year showing all the counties that voted Democratic in the 1996 presidential election but had turned Republican by 2012. They form a wide, almost unbroken swath from Louisiana north through Arkansas and Missouri along the Mississippi River valley, branching east from there through Kentucky, Tennessee and West Virginia.

Those counties represent the new heart of the GOP[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/the-place-that-loves-donald-trump-most-1460917663]. It includes farmers and coal miners. Country music is the norm. Collars are as likely to be blue as white. An America changed by **immigration** stirs as much anxiety as hope.

Long stereotyped as home to the country-club crowd, bankers and big business, the party is increasingly driven by anxious working-class voters, small-town business people and middle-aged Americans.

At the same time, the cultural conservatism that attracted new voters to the Republican Party has repelled some upscale suburban voters who had long been reliable Republicans. The upshot is a changed electoral-college landscape that in many ways favors Democrats.

Thus was the table set for Mr. Trump. He brought incomparable celebrity swagger to this year's presidential race, and benefited from Republican distrust[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/how-political-dysfunction-fueled-the-rise-of-republican-presidential-candidate-donald-trump-1462807741] of longtime party leaders and positions. Speaking directly to that exasperation enabled Mr. Trump to upend a generation of conservative orthodoxy.

"I'm an outsider[http://www.nbcnews.com/meet-the-press/meet-press-june-19-2016-n595186] and I won the primaries," he said on NBC's "Meet the Press" in June. "I competed along with a lot of establishment people. I beat them all."

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**CALAIS, France—The French government's carefully laid plan to end the migrant crisis in Calais was thrown into disarray Wednesday when swaths of the tent city known as the Jungle were set ablaze.

Authorities vowed to clear the camp by the end of Wednesday. For that victory to hold, however, French authorities needed to persuade migrants to settle in other parts of France and ultimately give up on their goal of reaching the U.K.

Instead, the fires scattered scores of migrants while others hunkered down in the squalid makeshift camp, located on the French side of the English Channel. As plumes of smoke rose over the Jungle, many migrants struck a defiant tone.

"I'm going to England. No France, no Germany, no Belgium," said Omar Muhammad, a 27-year-old from Sudan who has been living in the camp for six months. "If the police force me out, I'll come back."

The operation to dismantle the camp[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/french-authorities-begin-to-dismantle-calais-jungle-1477404411] is the most sweeping attempt yet to resolve a humanitarian crisis that has haunted successive French governments, exposing Europe's failure to manage the flow of migrants and **refugees** from the Middle East and Africa.

Condemned by the United Nations for its sordid living conditions, the Jungle has become a symbolic way station for **refugees**, replete with churches, mosques and cafes made of plywood and tarpaulins. Migrants trek across Europe and live in the camp for months, waiting for a chance to sneak aboard trucks and ferries crossing the channel.

France aimed to sway migrants to leave by offering to relocate them to temporary shelters across the country so they can apply for asylum in France. As of Wednesday, however, only 4,600 migrants had taken the buses that arrived Monday to transport them. Aid workers estimate that 10,000 migrants were living in the Jungle before the operation began.

Police and aid workers said the migrants who refused to take the buses were playing cat-and-mouse with authorities, fleeing to other makeshift camps in near in Calais.

"A certain number of migrants are not going anywhere," Françoise Sivignon, president of Médecins du Monde France. "They will eventually move from the Jungle, but to other camps in the area."

Police barred the entrance of a migrant camp near Dunkirk, 25 miles east of Calais, fearing that migrants from the Jungle would try to sneak in. Despite the cordon, about 180 migrants have managed to move there in recent days, according to a local official.

When the relocations began Monday, long lines of migrants snaked around the camp, packing into buses that were supposed to continue running all week.

Those lines began to thin out late Tuesday, however, setting the stage for an overnight confrontation between migrants and a force of 1,250 police deployed to the area.

As police moved through the camp in antiriot gear, migrants began to set fire to tents and other makeshift structures. Firetrucks swept in, dousing the area with water cannons. Once the smoke cleared, a wasteland of charred debris was all that remained.

The chaos sowed confusion among French authorities, who were forced to backtrack on claims that the camp had been cleared.

"Mission accomplished," Calais Prefect Fabienne Buccio told a news conference early Wednesday. Later in the day, her office issued a statement saying the operation to clear migrants from the camp was still under way. Four of them had been detained in connection with the fires, her office said.

Some migrants, authorities said, were trying to pass themselves off as minors in the hope of qualifying for asylum in the U.K. A line that French authorities in Calais had set up to process migrants claiming to be minors was shut down Wednesday after it was swarmed by applicants.

"They said I am not minor," said Tedros Girim, an Eritrean who said he was 17 years old. "I'll stick around and keep on trying to go to England."

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Related Stories

\* Unrest Comes to French Towns Slated to Take ‘Jungle' Residents [http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/unrest-arrives-in-french-towns-ahead-of-migrants-amid-plan-to-raze-calais-jungle-1476783025]

\* France Requests Britain's Help in Managing Calais Migrant Crisis [http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/france-calls-on-u-k-to-help-manage-calais-migrant-crisis-1474884212]

\* http://French Truckers Block Calais to Protest Migrant Camp [http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/french-protest-over-calais-migrant-camp-blocks-transport-hub-1473084348]

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**NAIROBI, Kenya—Islamic State's push to co-opt one of Africa's deadliest jihadist movements has come with an attempt to present a softer face to potential recruits.

Over the past year, the jihadist group also known as ISIS and Daesh has launched a broad recruitment campaign across Somalia to pry foot soldiers and senior operatives from al-Shabaab, a two-decade-old insurgency allied with al Qaeda that has made it very clear they have no desire to switch franchises. Stung by battlefield losses to larger al-Shabaab forces, Islamic State has offered promises of an easier life: lower taxes, more tolerance for substance abuse and fewer political diatribes.

The inroads have been small, but there is evidence the approach is winning ideological converts, luring a few hundred al-Shabaab defectors including influential imams and allowing Islamic State to establish bands of followers in the northeastern tip of the country. In March, Islamic State launched its first attack on Somali soil—a bombing of an African Union vehicle in Mogadishu—and released a video purportedly showing its first Somali training camp. Residents from al-Shabaabstrongholds in the south say Islamic State is building support by promising reduced taxes on land and livestock sales and pledging to fight a purer holy war, rather than one that is focused on political power in Somalia.

Kenyan counterterror officials say they are closely monitoring clashes between the jihadist factions. On Tuesday, al-Shabaab gunmen from Somalia killed 12 people in an attack on non-Muslims at a guest house in Kenya's northern Mandera County, a local official said.

To be sure, Islamic State fighters in Somalia are still pledging deadly attacks and a violent overthrow of those who oppose them. But positioning itself as a more pragmatic and uncorrupt alternative to al-Shabaab represents a germinating threat that could be more dangerous to the homegrown insurgency than African Uniontroops or U.S. drone strikes.

"They have clearly got the attention of al-Shabaab's rank and file. Their propaganda is more successful than al Qaeda's," said Matt Bryden, the head of Sahan Research, a Kenya-based think tank.

The tactical shift born in Somalia appears to be spreading across the Sahara and into Nigeria, where the group has tried to divide jihadist insurgency Boko Haramby sponsoring a faction opposed to longtime leader Abubakr Shekau that claims to be more pragmatic. It is a push that could mean Islamic State has gained more support on the continent than is obvious from its military victories, compounding the complexity of the jihadist challenge for African governments and their Western allies.

Though information about intra-jihadist fighting in Somalia is patchy at best, residents said al-Shabaab has gotten the best of the early clashes and has reacted brutally to quell the swelling Islamic State threat. Dozens of militants accused of pro-Islamic State sympathies have been executed or imprisoned, and al-Shabaabpropaganda has promised death to anyone who defects. Those who have successfully defected have struggled to persuade fighters to join them en masse.

But testimony from Somali **refugees** who fled across Kenya's border to the sprawling Dadaab **refugee** camp also suggests Islamic State's tactical shift is bearing fruit.

Maalin Hassan, a herder who fled to the camp in March, said Islamic State officials dramatically lowered taxes and softened some of al-Shabaab's punishments for minor offenses that included chopping off limbs. They also promised to allow the chewing of khat, a mild narcotic popular in Somalia that al-Shabaab bans its fighters from using.

"When Daesh comes they don't tax other people, they don't harass that much," Mr. Hassan said. He said an al-Shabaab tax collector took half his money the last time he sold a cow. "If you make small mistakes, you won't be killed or have your hand chopped off."

Perhaps more important, imams in al-Shabaab-controlled areas are starting to listen to Islamic State's message.

"Morally, many of the religious leaders now support ISIS," said Abdi Yussuf Dire, a Somali from the Jubaland region living in Kenya who says he is in regular contact with people in al-Shabaab-administered areas.

The group's pursuit of a global Islamic agenda was more attractive than the nationalist aims of al-Shabaab to overthrow the Somali government, Mr. Dire said.

In the January edition of Islamic State's monthly magazine Dabiq, Somali jihadist Abu Maharib As-Sumali boasted of the swelling number of al-Shabaab divisions in northern and southern Somalia swearing allegiance to Islamic State leader Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi.

"There is a phase of coordination and cooperation currently being undertaken in order to achieve a synchronized media effort, tactical maneuvering of forces, and securing of logistics to achieve strategic aims," Mr. As-Sumali said, in comments that were angrily rejected by al-Shabaab.

Islamic State's effort to penetrate Somalia started with the outsiders—foreign fighters or Somalis from clans who feel disenfranchised within al-Shabaab's complex tribal-influenced power structures.

The group's first major success was luring Abdiqadir Mumin, a senior al-Shabaab cleric who lived in the U.K. and preached at London mosques and is now based in the semiautonomous northern region of Puntland close to the Gulf of Aden. Mr. Mumin declared his allegiance to Islamic State late last year and then reportedly fled to areas controlled by his clan with a few dozen fighters.

Mohamed Kuno—a Kenyan fighter considered the mastermind of al-Shabaab's 2015 massacre of 148 university students in the border town of Garissa—was also alleged to have joined Islamic State before he was killed by U.S.-backed Somali forces in June.

The key to whether the movement grows, Mr. Bryden said, is whether it gains appeal to Somalis at the center of the insurgency.

"There can be an appeal to foreign fighters, but foreign fighters can't operate alone in Somalia. They must be embedded with a Somali," he said.

Bolstering Islamic State's attractiveness: Life in al-Shabaab-dominated parts of the country has become increasingly bloody as its leadership hunts defectors and launches increasingly spectacular assaults.

In January, the insurgents overran a Kenyan base in Somalia, killing at least 180 troops, the Somali government said. In February, an al-Shabaab suicide bomber tried and failed to down a plane departing Mogadishu's airport—the first such attack by the group. In war-torn Mogadishu, the group has maintained a steady stream of attacks on government and civilian facilities.

To counter Islamic State's propaganda, al-Shabaab has also sought to upscale its information warfare, releasing a recruitment video about racial injustice in the U.S. featuring Republican presidential candidate Donald Trump.

Hassan Mayoo Hussein, a former al-Shabaab fighter interviewed at Dadaab camp, said Islamic State's arrival made al-Shabaab's leadership increasingly ruthless. Fighters were incentivized to entrap comrades who had talked to Islamic State.

"I stayed a long time with al-Shabaab and al-Shabaab is not good.…Daesh could be better," he said.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**ISLAMABAD, Pakistan—An Afghan **refugee** whose portrait as a young girl became one of the most famous magazine covers in history was arrested Wednesday for allegedly possessing a fraudulent Pakistani identity card.

Photographer Steve McCurry shot the portrait of Sharbat Gula in a **refugee** camp in Pakistan in December 1984, when she was around 12 years old. Ms. Gula was among millions of Afghans who fled to Pakistan to avoid fighting that broke out after the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979.

Her photo was published on the cover of National Geographic's June 1985 issue. Mr. McCurry, the photographer, knew little about her when he took the photo, but was reunited with Ms. Gula in 2002. A more detailed profile was published in April that year.[http://www.nationalgeographic.com/magazine/2002/04/afghan-girl-revealed/]

Pakistan has hosted millions of Afghan **refugees** for decades. Currently, over 1.4 million registered Afghan **refugees** are in Pakistan, according to Pakistani officials. An estimated 400,000 live in Pakistan unregistered.

Ms. Gula was arrested Wednesday in the northwestern Pakistanicity of Peshawar, where there are many Afghan **refugees**.

She is one of thousands of Afghan **refugees** Pakistani officials say have acquired Pakistani citizenship documents illegally. Pakistani identity documents give **refugees** more rights in the country, such as property and business ownership and ease of movement. Afghan **refugees** over the years have complained about harassment from police and extortionists because of their **refugee** status. Many don't want to return to Afghanistan because of the security and economic situation there, officials say.

The government has clamped down on fake identity documents in recent years, and officials say people with fake ID cards pose a serious security threat. The crackdown gathered pace after the revelation this year that Afghan Taliban leader Mullah Akhtar Mansour had a Pakistani identity card under another name, and traveled using a Pakistani passport. Mullah Mansour was killed in a U.S. drone strike in Pakistan in May.[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/afghan-taliban-deny-leader-mansour-has-been-killed-1463912879]

"Women police officers arrested her today after our investigation, which took a year and a half, was completed," said Shahid Ilyas, an officer at Pakistan's Federal Investigation Agency. "Action will be taken according to the law."

Pakistani officials say Ms. Gula applied for a Pakistani identity card under the name Sharbat Bibi in April 2014, and was issued one. According to police records, an investigation started in February 2015.

Authorities have also filed a case against two officials from Pakistan's National Database and Registration Authority, which issues identity cards, in connection with Ms. Gula's case.

Ms. Gula and the two Pakistani officials couldn't be reached to comment.

If found guilty of willfully seeking and acquiring a fraudulent identity card, Ms. Gula could face up to seven years in prison and deportation to Afghanistan. The officials accused of assisting her face up to 14 years in jail.

Mr. McCurry, the photographer, wrote on Facebook[https://www.facebook.com/stevemccurrystudios/photos/a.10151048757008511.428754.97838403510/10154061154243511/?type=3&theater] that he would do "anything and everything possible" to help Ms. Gula. "I object to this action by the authorities in the strongest possible terms," he wrote. "She has suffered throughout her entire life, and her arrest is an egregious violation of her human rights."

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**After little more than a year as president of the Philadelphia Fed, Patrick Harker is emerging as a central banker willing to stir things up, challenging his colleagues on interest-rate policy and tackling politically contentious issues such as **immigration** and free trade.

He told reporters on Oct. 13 that he advocated raising short-term interest rates[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/philadelphia-feds-harker-supports-raising-interest-rates-before-end-of-year-1476366048] at the Federal Reserve's policy meeting in September, when it decided instead to hold them steady.

In a speech the same day, he said allowing more **immigration** to the U.S. could help the economy—touching a hot-button issue[http://graphics.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/elections/2016/donald-trump-hillary-clinton-on-foreign-policy/] in a year when Republican presidential candidate Donald Trump has called for limiting **immigration** and deporting undocumented **immigrants**. "The U.S. labor market is strong, but participation is waning. Our economy needs a boost, and **immigration** could be the stimulant," Mr. Harker said.

He also spoke last month about the benefits of free trade[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/feds-harker-touts-value-of-free-trade-cites-limits-to-central-banks-policy-tools-1475139601] to the economy—taking on the topic when both Mr. Trump and Democratic presidential candidate Hillary Clinton have come out against the Obama administration's proposed trade deal with Pacific Rim countries.

"A connected world is a better place, and trade helps far more people than it hurts—we just need to find a way for everyone to benefit from that free exchange," Mr. Harker said in a speech.

Such comments might seem mild by current campaign standards, but among central bankers—a group known for cautious, consensus-seeking academics—they were relatively bold.

Mr. Harker is indeed a bit different from his Fed colleagues. While most of them hold Ph.D.'s in economics, his is in civil and urban engineering. He does hold a master's degree in economics. And uniquely among Fed officials, he served as a mustachioed FBI special assistant in the early 1990s.

Like many Fed policy makers, however, he has spent a good part of his career in academia. Before taking the reins at the Philadelphia Fed in July 2015, Mr. Harker was president of the University of Delaware from 2007. Before that, he served as a dean and a professor at the Wharton School of the University of Pennsylvania. And like three other Fed officials, he has previously been closely connected to investment bank Goldman Sachs Group Inc., in his case as a trustee and board member representing shareholders for a selection of investment funds operated by the bank.

"It's not as though I came to the job with no understanding of the economics that underlie what we do," he said in an interview with The Wall Street Journal on Oct. 13.

Mr. Harker said his time as an engineer is central to how he thinks about monetary policy.

"I tend to be more of a pragmatist," Mr. Harker said. "You come into this understanding that while we have a deep bench of theorists and empiricists that need to inform policy, at the end of the day you need to base your judgment not on an ideology, but on the facts on the ground, right, as best we know them."

Mr. Harker said the best path for rate rises will be driven by economic theory and what the data tell policy makers about the economy's reaction to higher borrowing costs. "You should have a lot of humility to say we really don't know exactly what'll happen. That's why we move cautiously, but move, to see what happens," he said.

He hasn't yet served as a voting member of the central bank's rate-setting committee, but will next year under its rotation system. The group voted 7-3 in September to hold its benchmark short-term rate steady in a range between 0.25% and 0.5%, and signaled it expects to raise it by year's end. Officials are likely to leave it unchanged[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/feds-task-next-week-signal-december-rate-rise-1477351253] at their November meeting, which comes just a week before the U.S. presidential election.

Their final scheduled meeting this year is Dec. 13-14.

Mr. Harker said he agreed with the dissenters at the September meeting who wanted to raise the benchmark rate then by a quarter-percentage point. "There are risks of hanging around zero too long. And if the economy can withstand it, I think it's appropriate to move," he said.

His comments suggest he is more a "hawk" than a "dove" on the Fed policy spectrum, putting him in the minority camp of officials who think the central bank should have started raising borrowing costs by now to prevent the economy from overheating. They worry if they hold off too long, inflation and asset bubbles could build, forcing them to raise rates more aggressively in the future, which could curb growth and hiring. The doves, in contrast, want to wait a while longer to let the labor market and inflation gather more steam.

He rejects the labels, saying jokingly that he is more an "eagle," a reference to Philadelphia's football team.

Time will tell how much impact Mr. Harker has on Fed policy. Tim Duy, an economics professor at the University of Oregon, said "the policy power rests" at the board of governors in Washington. "That means it takes a certain level of intellectual stature for regional presidents to actually influence policy decisions."

Mr. Harker was no central bank neophyte when he was tapped to helm the Philadelphia Fed. He had served on its board of directors before becoming president, including during its search for a new chief.

He said in the interview that the central bank benefits from having leaders with varied backgrounds. He said, for example, his service on corporate boards has given him insights into how Fed policies affect decision-making at firms.

He said the Fed has the tools it needs to confront the next economic downturn, and he doesn't support lifting its 2% inflation target.

Mr. Harker also would like to see the Philadelphia Fed help address economic problems in its district and propose solutions. Toward that end, the bank is launching a research project called the Agenda on Poverty and Prosperity.

"We can do the research that lays out the parameters of what most likely will and won't work, right, and the costs and benefits of those," he said in the interview.

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More

\* Transcript: WSJ Interview With Philadelphia Fed's Patrick Harker[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/transcript-wsj-interview-with-philadelphia-feds-patrick-harker-1477476004]

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Arizona sheriff Joe Arpaio, who is seeking a seventh term, was formally charged with contempt of court Tuesday for defying a judge's order to halt **immigration**patrols.

Federal prosecutors had declared their intent to charge Mr. Arpaio earlier this month. If convicted of the misdemeanor charge, the 84-year-old sheriff of Maricopa County, which includes Phoenix, could face up to six months in jail.

Mel McDonald, Mr. Arpaio's lawyer, said that his client wasn't surprised by the court order.

"The sheriff is going to plead not guilty," Mr. McDonald said in an interview. "He is going to fight every one of the allegations. We believe he will ultimately be vindicated."

The criminal contempt charges stem from a 2007 lawsuit accusing the sheriff's department of racial profiling. That suit is expected to cost Maricopa County taxpayers more than $40 million, according to a county estimate.

Mr. Arpaio's aggressive stance against illegal **immigration** shot him to fame. However, it has created controversy and drawn scrutiny.

His popularity may be waning, experts say. A poll released by the Arizona Republic newspaper last week showed the sheriff trailing his challenger, Democrat Paul Penzone, 31.1% to 45.9% among registered voters.

Write to Miriam Jordan at miriam.jordan@wsj.com[mailto:miriam.jordan@wsj.com]

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Correction: Mikhail Gorbachev, Ronald Reagan and George H.W. Bush were photographed in front of the Statue of Liberty in 1988. An earlier version of this story misstated the date due to an error by Getty Images.

I grew up with parents who liked the old line that they didn't leave the Democratic Party—the Democratic Party left them. My father's political heroes were Franklin Roosevelt and Harry Truman. My mother had been a campaign volunteer for Sen. Eugene McCarthy in 1968. But the party of George McGovern was not for them. As the left turned on "Amerika," they kept faith in America.

Now it's my turn to watch the Republican Party drift away. Whether the trend continues after the election remains to be seen, but already the GOP is largely unrecognizable to me. To see how far it's fallen, let's remind ourselves of where it once was.

**Immigration**: At a 1980 Republican primary debate in Houston, candidates George H.W. Bush and Ronald Reagan were asked whether the children of illegal **immigrants** should be allowed to attend public schools for free. Mr. Bush said they should. "We're creating a whole society of really honorable, decent, family-loving people that are in violation of the law," he lamented.

Reagan agreed. Instead of "putting up a fence," he asked, "why don't we . . . make it possible for them to come here legally with a work permit, and then, while they're working and earning here, they pay taxes here." For good measure, Reagan suggested we should "open the border both ways."

Where, in the populist fervor to build a wall with Mexico and deport millions of human beings, is that Republican Party today?

Trade: "It is the maxim of every prudent master of a family, never to attempt to make at home what it will cost him more to make than to buy," wrote Adam Smith in 1776. "If a foreign country can supply us with a commodity cheaper than we ourselves can make it, better to buy it of them." Two centuries later, Milton Friedman noted that trade protectionism "really means exploiting the consumer" by artificially limiting choice and raising prices for the benefit of domestic producers.

Adam Smith and Milton Friedman were once canonical conservative figures. Free trade was once a Republican conviction. In one of his final radio addresses as president, Reagan warned "we should beware of the demagogues who are ready to declare a trade war against our friends—weakening our economy, our national security, and the entire free world—all while cynically waving the American flag."

Where, in the tide of Tea Party opposition to the Trans-Pacific Partnership and all those other "disastrous trade deals" that Donald Trump never fails to mention, is that Republican Party today?

Foreign policy: In 1947 Harry Truman asked Arthur Vandenberg, the Republican chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, to support his efforts to shore up the governments in Greece and Turkey against Soviet aggression. Vandenberg agreed, marking his—and the GOP's—turn from isolationism to internationalism.

Since then, six Republican presidents have never wavered in their view that a robust system of treaty alliances such as NATO are critical for defending the international liberal order, or that the U.S. should dissuade faraway allies such as South Korea and Saudi Arabia from seeking nuclear weapons, or that states such as Russia should be kept out of regions such as the Middle East.

Where, amid Mr. Trump's routine denunciations of our allegedly freeloading allies, or Newt Gingrich's public doubts about defending NATO member Estonia against Russian aggression, or the alt-right's attacks on "globalism," or Sean Hannity's newfound championship of WikiLeaks and its founder, Julian Assange, is that Republican Party today?

Culture, civility and character: For decades, conservative publishers have issued a long succession of titles on the importance of personal character to the preservation of democratic institutions. Notable on the list is William J. Bennett's "The Book of Virtues," whose first chapter deals with the importance of self-discipline. The former secretary of education followed that one up with "The Death of Outrage: Bill Clinton and the Assault on American Ideals," timed to the Lewinsky scandal.

These books were not wrong. Character counts. The example set by a leader colors the culture of the company, institution or country he leads. We long for presidents who might follow Washington's "Rules of Civility and Decent Behavior." Rule No. 1: "Every Action done in Company, ought to be with Some Sign of Respect, to those that are Present."

Where, in the apparently limitless forgiveness GOP voters are willing to extend to Mr. Trump for his public affronts to "that face" Carly or that "nasty woman" Hillary Clinton, is that Republican Party today?

I've become accustomed to the invariable gusher of letters that will follow this column, pointing out Mrs. Clinton's well-known character flaws, along with apocalyptic visions of what her presidency might bring. Such deflections are the usual way in which people seek to justify their own side's moral lapses. I don't see the point of belonging to a party on the increasingly dubious assumption that it's slightly less bad than the opposition. If I can't get my Grand Old Party back, I'd rather help build a new one.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Tuesday marked the first day of early voting in Provo, Utah. It runs through Nov. 4.

**Refugees** wait outside a processing center in Qayyarah, south of Mosul, in Iraq.

Migrants say goodbye before leaving a makeshift camp known "The Jungle" near Calais in northern France. France on Monday began a mass evacuation of the camp.

A member of a Pakistani bomb-disposal squad crawls on the ground after a device explodes during an disarmament operation in Peshawar.

A farmer carries vegetables to sell at a market outside of Dhaka, Bangladesh.

A drone flies above John John Florence, of Hawaii, during the Portuguese stage of the World Surf League championship. With a victory there, Mr. Florence claimed the 2016 World Surf League title.

At least 12 civilians were killed during an attack by Somalia's al-Shabaab, a group of Islamist militants, in Kenya's northern Mandera county.

Pakistani mourners gather around the coffins of some of those killed in an attack on a police academy in the southwestern city of Quetta. A Pakistani militant group said it cooperated with Islamic State to carry out the attack.

Emergency-service personnel inspect the scene of an incident at Dreamworld, an amusement park in Australia.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**The world's highly skilled **immigrants** are increasingly living in just four nations[http://blogs.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/economics/2016/10/18/four-nations-are-winning-the-global-war-for-talent/]: the U.S., U.K., Canada and Australia, according to new World Bank research highlighting the challenges of brain drain for non-English-speaking and developing countries. Falling transport costs combined with growing competition for talented workers have seen the ranks of highly skilled **immigrant** workers living in a group of mostly advanced nations (members of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development) swell 130% to 28 million over the two decades to 2010, with the number from non-OECD (typically poorer) countries surging 185% to 17.6 million.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**A woman separates rice grains from the glumes, or husks using a traditional winnowing method at Chhampi, Patan in Nepal.

Indian policemen detain a member of the Awami Itihad Party during a protest in Srinagar, in India controlled Kashmir. The State's lawmaker Sheikh Abdul Rashid and scores of his supporters were detained after they held a protest against the termination list prepared by the government for State employees for taking part in pro freedom protests during the current unrest across Kashmir valley.

Hindu goddess Kali,who liberates souls seen at Kumartuli. Kumartuli, a traditional potters' quarter in northern Kolkata, in the east Indian state of West Bengal is a one stop shop for all idols and accessories.

A woman walks past semifinished clay idols of the Hindu mythological characters 'Dakinis' and 'Yoginis', who are worshiped along with the Hindu goddess Kali, at a roadside workshop ahead of the Kali Puja in Kolkata, India.

Portraits of Chinese leaders on display in a shop at Tiananmen Square in Beijing. A key conclave of China's Communist Party kicked off on October 24 in Beijing.

A guard walks through an archway at Gyeongbokgung palace in Seoul.

Lotte Group chairman Shin Dong-bin bows during a news conference in Seoul, South Korea.

An Afghan **refugee** girl stands on the debris of a demolished house in a **refugee** camp on the outskirts of Peshawar, Pakistan.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**As Donald Trump's path to the presidency appears to narrow, the GOP nominee on Sunday hunkered down in Florida, one of a handful of swing states that polls suggest remain competitive.

Mr. Trump is slated to headline five rallies over three days in the nation's largest battleground, where more than a million voters have already mailed in ballots. In-person early voting begins Monday.

In one potentially ominous sign for Mr. Trump, Democrats are holding their own against Republicans in mail-in ballots in Florida, a mode of voting that the GOP traditionally dominates, according to University of Florida political-science professor Daniel A. Smith. The state reports the party affiliation of people sending back ballots.

The more traction Democrats gain in early voting, the harder it will be for Mr. Trump to catch up, even if polls narrow near Election Day.

At a rally Sunday in the heavily Republican retirement community of Naples, Mr. Trump said his campaign in Florida looks "phenomenal." He also said polls around the country are underestimating his support among women.

"We are going to win the great state of Florida and we are going to win back the White House," Mr. Trump said in a county where Republicans outnumber Democrats by a 2-to-1 ratio. "There is the same enthusiasm all over the country. They've never seen anything like it."

Polls show a number of pivotal states slipping away from Mr. Trump, with the exception of Iowa, where he still leads Democrat Hillary Clinton. The race remains tight in the hot spots of Ohio, North Carolina and Nevada, where a Las Vegas newspaper owned by casino billionaire and Trump donor Sheldon Adelson, endorsed the GOP nominee—a rare nod from the press at a time when even many conservative editorial boards have rejected him.

Surveys also show closer-than-expected races in traditionally reliably Republican states, including Arizona, Georgia and Utah.

In Texas, last carried by a Democrat in 1976, Mrs. Clinton is trailing by only 3 points, according to a new CBS News Battleground Tracker poll—though other polls show Mr. Trump ahead there by 5 to 8 percentage points.

"We are behind," Mr. Trump's campaign manager, Kellyanne Conway, said Sunday on NBC, citing Mrs. Clinton's $66 million in ads in September and a team of high-powered surrogates. "She's seen as the incumbent. So our advantage going in when we're behind…is that Donald Trump is just going to continue to take the case directly to the people."

Mr. Trump will appear in northern and central parts of Florida on Monday and Tuesday, while the Clinton campaign seeks to drive up turnout in the more liberal southern region.

Mrs. Clinton is planning a rally Tuesday in Broward County—which hosts more Democrats than any other Florida county—two days after an appearance there by her husband, former President Bill Clinton. Vice presidential nominee Tim Kaine is scheduled to campaign Monday in neighboring Miami-Dade County.

Mr. Trump's challenges are compounded by new signs of GOP disunity.

At Sunday's Florida rally, Mr. Trump thanked the crowd for "helping me re-elect Republicans all over the place"—but he didn't mention Sen. Marco Rubio, a former rival for the GOP nomination seeking re-election. Mr. Rubio has declined to campaign with Mr. Trump.

The feud between Mr. Trump and Rep. Paul Ryan of Wisconsin intensified Saturday when an article attacking the House Speaker appeared on the conservative website Breitbart.com, which was run by Trump adviser Steve Bannon before he joined the campaign. The article accused Mr. Ryan of trying to sabotage the Trump campaign and of being in league with the former secretary of state on "globalist" policies.

"This is utter crazy talk," said Ryan spokesman Zack Roday. "Speaker Ryan's focus is on beating Democrats, including Secretary Clinton."

Mr. Ryan said recently he would no longer defend or campaign with Mr. Trump, while a number of other prominent Republicans outright pulled endorsements of the party's nominee. The mutiny followed the disclosure of an 11-year-old videotape of Mr. Trump boasting that his star power allowed him to make unwanted sexual advances and number of women coming forward to say he did just that.

A gay Republican PAC on Saturday withheld its endorsement of the party's nominee for the first time since 2004, when President George W. Bush backed a constitutional amendment outlawing same-sex marriage in his re-election campaign. The president of the Log Cabin Republicans, Gregory T. Angelo, cited Mr. Trump's proposed ban on Muslim **refugees** and the multiple allegations of sexual misconduct against him.

"The mission of the Log Cabin Republicans is to support equality for all Americans, and that means all Americans, writ large," Mr. Angelo said.

Since the third presidential debate, Mr. Trump has also taken heat for refusing to commit to accepting the results of the election if he loses. He has said he was just reserving the right to challenge the result if it is close or tainted by voter fraud. Critics said his unfounded accusations are damaging confidence in the electoral system.

"It's rigged. It's broken. It's corrupt," Mr. Trump said Sunday in Florida. "They want me to take that back."

Republican Party Chairman Reince Priebus earlier on Sunday played down charges that the election is rigged, saying the party will be "reasonable" in assessing the results of the Nov. 8 vote.

"Losing by a hundred votes is one thing," Mr. Priebus said on CBS's Face the Nation. "Losing by 100,000 is a different thing. I think we can be reasonable on this issue."

Mr. Trump's son Eric sounded a similar note on ABC's This Week, saying: "Listen, if it's a fair outcome, he will absolutely accept it…There's no question about it."

Mr. Trump made a symbolic trip Saturday to the storied battlefield of Gettysburg in Pennsylvania. The campaign billed the speech as his closing argument and agenda for his first 100 days in office, but that message was overshadowed by Mr. Trump's threats to sue the women who have accused him of sexual misconduct. "All of these liars will be sued after the election is over," he said.

He also stepped up his attacks on the media by assailing the proposed merger of AT&T Inc. and Time Warner Inc., as well as the 2011 merger of Comcast Corp. and General Electric Co.'s NBCUniversal.

On his first day in office, the New York businessman said he would propose term limits on members of Congress, a hiring freeze at some federal agencies, new restrictions on lobbying by former government officials and new limits on regulations by requiring that for every new federal rule issued, two existing regulations be eliminated.

He said he would immediately implement his trade agenda by announcing plans to renegotiate the North American Free Trade Agreement, withdraw from the Trans-Pacific Partnership Asia trade pact, and ask the Treasury secretary to label China a currency manipulator. He also would suspend **immigration** from nations he considers "terror prone" and deport criminal illegal **immigrants**.

His first-100-days legislative agenda would include repealing the Obamacare health law, tax cuts and his **immigration** plan. Among the new details mentioned by Mr. Trump were mandatory minimum prison sentences for those illegally re-entering the U.S. after deportation.

In a Twitter post Sunday, Mr. Trump, using his rallying cry to clean up Washington, D.C., wrote: "It is time to #DrainTheSwamp—this is our last chance!"

Kate Davidson contributed to this article.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**FRANCE

Migrants Set Fires Before Camp Cleared

Groups of migrants late Sunday set fire to portable toilets to create huge bonfires on the edge of a makeshift **refugee** camp, a day before France was to start moving them out by the thousands. Riot police kept watch, and some occasionally charged the groups.

The evacuation of at least 6,486 migrants has been in the works for two months and is expected to take a week. On Monday, 60 buses are to take 3,000 of the migrants to reception centers around France. By week's end, the camp, known as "the jungle," is to be destroyed.

Some migrants said they feared they would end up in unwelcoming villages with few economic opportunities.

Calais lies on the French side of the English Channel, and migrants have repeatedly tried to board ferries and trucks making the crossing to the U.K.

Associated Press

HUNGARY

Orban Compares EU Policies to Soviets'

Prime Minister Viktor Orban criticized the European Union as an oppressing force on the 60th anniversary of the 1956 revolution against Soviet rule on Sunday.

Mr. Orban said Hungary must keep fighting EU plans to welcome and assist **refugees** by fortifying its borders and regaining control over migration policies. "The task today of Europe's liberty-loving nations is to save Brussels from becoming like the Soviets—that they want to decide instead of us who and how we want to co-exist with," he said.

Margit Feher

UNITED KINGDOM

Device Found in Probe Deemed Harmless

British police investigating a suspected terrorist plot to target London's subway system said a suspicious device discovered at a house in southwest England wasn't a viable threat.

Police who were in Newton Abbot as part of an investigation into the suspected London plot, came across the device during their search. The area was evacuated while police assessed it before giving the all-clear.

On Friday, armed officers arrested a 19-year-old man on suspicion of preparing an act of terrorism, after a suspected explosive device discovered on a London subway train was destroyed in a controlled explosion.

Officers used a stun gun to subdue the suspect on Holloway Road, north London, on Friday, police said. The man wasn't named and hasn't been charged.

Security was tightened after the discovery of the device, which was left on a Jubilee line train at North Greenwich station.

Alexis Flynn

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**A boy pauses on his bike on Friday as he passes an oil field in Qayara, Iraq, that was set on fire by retreating Islamic State militants two months ago. The militants have also set fire to sulfur stocks at a factory in the area, creating a plume of noxious smoke that has drifted over a base with U.S. troops involved in the Iraqi offensive to retake Mosul. Qayara is about 45 miles south of Mosul.

Displaced Iraqi families arrive near a checkpoint east of Mosul as they flee areas of unrest on Saturday. In the past week, Iraqi forces have fought to take back Mosul from the militants, which captured the northern city in June 2014.

**Refugees** find shelter in Debaga, Iraq, on Saturday. The United Nations High Commissioner for **Refugees** says some 3,900 people have fled the Mosul and al-Hamdaniya districts since the Iraqi government operation began this week.

Displaced Iraqis arrive at a **refugee** camp in Qayara in the back of a pickup truck on Saturday.

An Iraqi soldier gestures while wearing protective gear near the Mishraq sulfur factory, which Islamic State militants have set on fire. The air in the area has been polluted with noxious smoke from the fire, making it difficult to breathe.

Fire trucks are seen in Qayara on Saturday as oil wells burn in the background.

A man returns to his village not far from Qayara after it was liberated from Islamic State militants.

Iraqi and Kurdish forces hold an Islamic State flag they found in Bartella, Iraq, , about 25 miles east of Mosul, on Saturday.

Iraqi soldiers wear gas masks for protection as smoke from the Mishraq sulfur factory billows in the background on Saturday. Sulfur dioxide from burning stocks is highly toxic and can be lethal.

Smoke from the oil fields darken the skies over Qayara on Friday. Setting oil fields on fire is a common tactic for the Islamic Group terrorists.

Qayara's oil fields burn. It is unknown how much damage the fires are doing to the environment nor how many barrels of oil production have been lost.

An Iraqi special-forces soldier keeps watch on top of a church damaged by Islamic State terrorists in Bartella on Friday.

Iraqi special-forces soldiers look at the damage inside the Bartella church, with one holding up a Christian religious book, on Friday.

Iraqi special-forces soldiers pose in front of a Islamic States drawing inside a building located in the church compound in Bartella on Friday.

The Iraqi army gathers after liberating a village south of Mosul from Islamic State on Friday.

Iraqi forces fire mortar shells toward Islamic State positions on the outskirts of Qayara on Friday.

Shiite fighters from the Popular Mobilization Force drive their vehicles near the village of Tall al-Tibah, some 19 miles south of Mosul. The Popular Mobilization Force said Friday that it aims to cut off Islamic State supply lines from and escape routes to Syria.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Corrections & Amplifications:

During a campaign event, Mr. Mica traveled through an affluent neighborhood, greeting Republican voters. He was joined that morning by more than 45 volunteers. An earlier version of this article incorrectly stated that he was joined by about 10 volunteers. (Oct. 25)

ORLANDO, Fla.—The Republican Party's battle to retain its majority in the House of Representatives runs through districts like this one in suburban, central Florida, where a young woman with an **immigrant** story and a national-security background is trying to end the 23-year tenure of an incumbent Republican.

Rep. John Mica, 73 years old, was first elected in 1992. He is widely recognized in the district as a former House Transportation Committee chairman, who drew funds to the area to rebuild a major highway and construct a commuter rail line.

But court-ordered redistricting in 2015 rejiggered the shape of the district, which includes downtown Orlando and its northern suburbs. The redrawn lines added denser, urban areas and made the district's population younger and more racially diverse. The race is rated a tossup by two independent analysts, the Cook Political Report and the Rothenberg & Gonzales Political Report.

If Democrats regain a House majority in this or future elections, it likely will be the result of winning suburban districts such as this one, more so than by retaking the working-class districts that have tilted to the GOP in recent years, said Dave Wasserman, who analyzes House races for the Cook Political Report.

"It's a suburban, increasingly diverse seat, and Mica has simply been slow to adapt to the changing attitudes and demographics," Mr. Wasserman said.

Even so, Democrats struggled to recruit a strong challenger until June, when Stephanie Murphy, a 38-year-old college professor and former national security specialist at the Defense Department, filed papers to run just one day ahead of the deadline. As an infant, Ms. Murphy escaped Vietnam on a boat with her family. She offers a **refugee** story that contrasts with messages skeptical of **immigration** that have come from some Republicans recently.

"She has become a true representative of what **immigrants** can do for this country," said Gladys Garcia, a retiree and Puerto Rican transplant living in Orlando, at a food and wine festival here. "She would have been discarded in her country, and instead she came to us, and look how valuable she's been."

Santos Rivera, a Republican and accountant living in Windermere, attended a recent meet-and-greet with Mr. Mica, where the congressman spoke of a record of creating jobs by supporting infrastructure projects and small business. "I'm looking for people who help people to develop businesses, because that's where our economy is," Mr. Rivera said.

Mr. Mica is one of a small handful of Republicans facing tough challenges in suburban districts. Others include New Jersey Rep. Scott Garrett, whose district lies outside New York City, and Rep. Darrell Issa of Southern California. Independent analysts rate both races as competitive.

In Orlando, Ms. Murphy has cited June's mass shooting at a gay nightclub in Orlando[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/orlando-nightclub-hit-by-shooting-causing-multiple-injuries-1465720691], which killed 49 and injured many others, as a reason she decided to join the race. She has highlighted Mr. Mica's stance on gun rights, such as a vote he cast against broadened background checks, and his vote against a bill that would have expanded protections against discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation.

Mr. Mica frames the nightclub shooting as an example of national security vulnerability.

Mr. Mica supports Donald Trump as the GOP presidential nominee, a position that Democrats have worked to highlight. In one interview earlier this year, he praised Mr. Trump's stances on **immigration** and the economy and quipped, "I love Trump"—a phrase that the Murphy campaign later broadcast in an ad.

In a Journal interview, Mr. Mica said: "I'm running my own campaign and telling people I'm supporting the Republican nominee, which I have always done. But I try to stay away from the national politics scene as much as possible."

He said he had worked with Mr. Trump on a recent hotel project in Washington, D.C., and that "my experience with him was 100% positive.'"

Like most incumbents, Mr. Mica has raised more money than his challenger. He brought in $1.1 million since the beginning of 2015 through Sept. 30, compared with the $600,000 that Ms. Murphy raised since the end of June.

But Democrats and their allies have sensed opportunity in the district, and they have poured in $4.5 million through the party's congressional campaign arm and affiliated super PAC. The GOP's congressional campaign arm hasn't entered the race.

"If money could buy a race, that's what they're aiming for," Mr. Mica said of the efforts by the national Democratic groups. "She's sort of a tool in this—it's not like they have a real candidate. They have her name on the ballot."

On one recent weekend here, Mr. Mica moved at a jogger's pace through an affluent neighborhood here, literature in hand, greeting Republican voters and leaving handwritten notes at the homes of those he missed. He was joined that morning by more than 45 volunteers.

At the other end of the district, over 30 of Ms. Murphy's campaign staff and volunteers fanned across a historically black neighborhood to register voters.

"I'm no stranger to situations where somebody looks at the packaging I come in and underestimates me," Ms. Murphy said in an interview. "My response has always been to kill them with competency."

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Playa del Carmen, Mexico

A Pew Research Center poll[http://www.people-press.org/2016/07/07/4-top-voting-issues-in-2016-election/] released in July reported that 84% of U.S. voters said that the economy is "very important" to their vote in the Nov. 8 election. It was the top issue for respondents.

Yet it is becoming clearer that Federal Reserve policies are causing great damage to the U.S. economy, and neither candidate has made it a campaign issue. Instead, Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump blame too much economic freedom for the malaise. This is troubling no matter who wins the election.

In three days visiting this resort town last week, I did not meet one person in the local hospitality industry who was born here. Whether it was hotel staff, restaurant employees or transportation detail, all had come from other states—Tabasco, Guerrero, Oaxaca, Morelos, to name a few—in search of work.

This job creation is driven by productivity gains that would have been unimaginable without corresponding increases in free trade and mobility and investments in technology and human capital. It's how economies grow.

Yet our political class and intellectuals increasingly point to these developments—technology, trade and migration—as reasons for pessimism. It is worrisome logic because it suggests that a better future depends on going backward, against the grain of economic liberalism. It also ignores the Fed's culpability for slow growth.

Innovation and competition generate what Austrian economist Joseph Schumpeter called "creative destruction." In a free market with sound money, the wealth created by disruption is redeployed, providing opportunities for those who were displaced. This boosts productivity further.

Fed policies of zero interest rates and bond buying—quantitative easing—have not only failed to stimulate business investment. They have discouraged it through the misallocation of capital. This is contractionary because it starves entrepreneurship and thus productivity growth.

The North American Free Trade Agreement (Nafta) opened the Mexican economy to Canadian and U.S. imports in 1994. Many Mexicans lost jobs. Yet the country gained access to what it needed to modernize. Running water, salmon entrees, California wines and air conditioning were not standard fare here on the Mayan Riviera in 1985. They are now, and tourism has boomed.

Both Mr. Trump and Mrs. Clinton talk about the need for faster U.S. growth. Yet both propose to get there by cracking down on free markets. Both prescribe new restrictions on international trade and a new entitlement program for preschool children.

Mrs. Clinton wants government to take a bigger tax bite from the most productive members of society, a policy that would discourage risk-taking by those same individuals. Mr. Trump demagogues **immigration** and wants to punish U.S. companies that allocate capital to its highest use if that happens to be abroad.

Left out of their analyses is the gargantuan role of the Federal Reserve's antigrowth monetary and regulatory policies. Mr. Trump argued in September that the Fed's eight-year policy of cheap credit is generating asset bubbles. But if he understood the problem he wouldn't rail against Nafta.

Mrs. Clinton feigns alarm at Mr. Trump's criticism of the Fed on grounds that the central bank is supposed to be independent. Yet it is well known that Democrats are working behind the scenes to weaken the independence of the regional Fed banks to centralize power in Washington.

Conventional wisdom holds that the Fed has flooded the market with credit by aggressively buying bonds and creating bank reserves on the Fed balance sheet. Yet when the Fed buys assets—such as government debt or mortgage-backed securities—it only records a short-term liability on the balance sheet. The reserves are on the books but don't create any more credit in the real economy than if the Fed never made the purchase. Meanwhile it creates shortages of medium- and long-term assets in the market.

If there were a glut of credit in the real economy it would likely show up in bank lending as expanding businesses clamored for low-cost loans. Yet credit growth "has been dismally slow," wrote David Malpass, president of the consulting firm Encima Global in a recent note to clients. The term structure of bank assets is partly to blame, but so is regulation—by the Fed and Congress, via 2010 Dodd-Frank legislation—which has made it difficult to lend to businesses, especially small ones.

The most creditworthy companies are using cheap money not in productivity-increasing ventures but to pay dividends, buy back stock or engage in other financial transactions. Fed policies, as Mr. Malpass wrote, are "reducing the credit available to smaller businesses and hurting GDP growth rather than stimulating it."

The Fed is technically an "independent agency" but it is not unanswerable to the public it serves. Blaming the free market for its mistakes will only make things worse.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**MADRID—Mariano Rajoy, a prominent target of the antiestablishment fervor rising across Europe, was assured of re-election as prime minister when his Socialist rivals conceded defeat Sunday, ending Spain's 10-month leadership impasse[http://graphics.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/spanish-election/].

Socialist leaders, in a reversal, instructed their party's lawmakers to abstain when Parliament considers his candidacy next weekend, depriving other opposition parties of the votes needed to keep blocking the conservative incumbent. The Socialists, distant runners-up to Mr. Rajoy in two elections of deadlocked parliaments[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/spains-lawmakers-set-to-deny-premier-mariano-rajoy-second-term-1472657320] since December, said they feared a deeper loss if a third election was required.

The Socialist leadership committee took Sunday's decision by a vote of 139 to 96.

Mr. Rajoy oversaw Spain's recovery from its worst postwar recession but met a populist backlash over austerity policies and corruption scandals. The impasse has kept the 61-year-old leader suspended between victory and defeat, his powers reduced to those of a caretaker.

On Sunday, he emerged as a consummate survivor, demonstrating the uneven impact of the Continent's insurgent protest parties.

Far from a sweeping mandate, Mr. Rajoy will get a vulnerable minority government. He said in a recent speech that he would have to "work day to day, with humility and patience," to coax legislative backing for his second-term initiatives.

Mr. Rajoy will become the second head of a eurozone government, after Enda Kenny of Ireland[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/irelands-lawmakers-appoint-enda-kenny-as-prime-minister-for-a-second-term-1462542351], to win re-election after making painful budget cuts demanded by creditors to ease Europe's financial crisis.

Two prime ministers who took that orthodox course while managing international bailouts lost elections last year to leftist parties in Greece and Portugal.

Antiestablishment forces elsewhere are exploiting distress over the financial crisis, **refugee** influxes and terrorist attacks, with varying degrees of success.

Austria's close runoff election in December could produce a right-wing populist president. The Alternative for Germany, Italy's 5 Star Movement and France's National Front poll well short of national majorities but have upended traditional politics with strong gains in local and regional elections[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/social-democrats-win-vote-in-germanys-mecklenburg-west-pomerania-1473006387].

Spain's old guard has weathered the turbulence for several reasons.

Mr. Rajoy's Popular Party, with its base of reliable elderly voters, dominates the right of Spain's political spectrum. It has no competition from the kind of anti-**immigrant**, euroskeptic movements that have divided conservatives in France and Germany. Spaniards overwhelmingly support EU membership and generally tolerate **immigrants**. The country hasn't suffered a fatal terrorist attack in this decade.

Recovery from the 2008 recession, though far from complete, has been robust by European standards: Spain's economy is expected to grow 3.2% this year.

Instead, Mr. Rajoy was challenged over corruption, high unemployment and income inequality. Two protest parties—Podemos on the far left, and Ciudadanos in the center—finished strongly in a December parliamentary election.

The Popular Party, with three million fewer votes than it got for Mr. Rajoy's landslide win in 2011, lost its legislative majority and lacked enough allies to build one.

But in the ensuing months of parliamentary deadlock, the party stood as a pillar of strength that allowed Mr. Rajoy to exploit the fragmented political landscape to his advantage and widen his lead in a June rerun of the election[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/spain-remains-in-political-deadlock-after-prime-ministers-party-falls-short-of-majority-1467017724].

His rivals repeatedly blocked his re-election by Parliament but failed to muster their own governing majority. The Socialists and Podemos, vying to dominate the left, took opposing stands on Catalonia's separatist drive. Internal feuds plague both parties.

"We were aware of the erosion of support for our party and the government," said Pablo Casado, a Popular Party official. But as the deadlock dragged on, he added, "the erosion became worse for the other parties."

Mr. Rajoy's firm control of the party helped him fend off calls for a leadership change when it was shaken by allegations of illegal financing.

The party's founders in 1989 gave vast authority to a single leader. Mr. Rajoy, handpicked by his predecessor, has held the top party job since 2003, despite losing two national elections. Just four chief executives of EU member states have served longer as a party leader.

"The fact that he's a strong leader who could placate dissent and keep the party united, despite the scandals, allowed him to present a cohesive alternative" to bickering rivals on the left, said Antonio Barroso, an analyst at the Teneo Intelligence political consultancy.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**BUDAPEST—Hungarian Prime Minister Viktor Orban criticized what he sees as a new oppressing force, the European Union, as he commemorated the 60th anniversary of the 1956 revolution against Soviet rule on Sunday.

Mr. Orban said Hungary must keep combating EU plans to welcome and assist **refugees** by fortifying its borders and regaining national control over migration policies[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/hungarian-prime-minister-seeks-to-tighten-constitutional-rules-on-immigration-1476122734].

"The task today of Europe's liberty-loving nations is to save Brussels from becoming like the Soviets—that they want to decide instead of us who and how we want to co-exist with," Mr. Orban said in a speech in front of parliament as he celebrated the spirit of the 1956 uprising, which was eventually crushed by Russian tanks. "We don't want an alliance of free European nations to be replaced by a United States of Europe."

Hungary is spearheading an informal coalition of former Soviet satellites, which joined the EU a little over a decade ago but has become increasingly vocal in calling for a looser union. The group, which includes Poland, the Czech Republic and Slovakia, says it has grown tired of Brussels' "diktats."

"These two countries [Hungary and Poland], which are built on Christian foundations and independent within the EU, won't by any means let our traditions and freedom be taken away from us," Poland's President Andrzej Duda said in a speech during the commemorations in Budapest.

Mr. Orban says the hundreds of thousands of migrants coming mainly from Muslim countries and who have crossed into the EU in recent months threaten Hungary's Christian religious and cultural uniformity[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/low-turnout-in-migrant-referendum-is-a-setback-for-hungarian-premier-1475443014].

Mr. Orban's anti-**immigration** campaign has paid off at home, with his ruling Fidesz party credited with this year's peak approval ratings in October, according to Zavecz Research.

Still, the Hungarian prime minister faced a combative opposition from left-leaning parties on Sunday.

Rallying on another Budapest square, protesters lashed out at Mr. Orban, saying Hungary should play a more-constructive role inside the EU.

"Enough of the anti-EU politics and of the Orban government," Gabor Fodor, head of small Hungarian opposition party the Liberals, said earlier in the day.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Minor clashes broke out between police and migrants at the **refugee** camp in Calais, which is slated to close Monday. Inhabitants will be transferred elsewhere in France.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**GETTYSBURG, Pa.—Donald Trump, trying to jump-start his struggling campaign heading in the election's home stretch, Saturday traveled to a storied Civil War battlefield to frame his closing argument to voters to upend the nation's political status quo.

He set a newly serious tone, but returned to his complaints about the "rigged" political system. His agenda for his first 100 days echoed proposals he has been touting on the campaign trail for months—tax cuts, a crackdown on illegal **immigration** and renegotiation of trade deals.

Mr. Trump for the first time threatened to sue the women who have accused him of making unwanted sexual advances toward them. He also said he would not approve a proposed deal[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/trump-says-he-would-block-at-t-time-warner-deal-1477162214] for AT&T to buy Time Warner Inc for more than $80 billion, and said he'd like to break up the Comcast and NBCUniversal merger.

That was a new element in his broader attack on the news media and others he believes are undermining the middle class.

"Change has to come from outside our very broken system," he said, speaking to a small, invitation-only audience in a hotel conference center. "The fact that Washington and the Washington establishment has tried so hard to stop our campaign is only more proof that our campaign represents the kind of change that only arrives once in a lifetime."

The speech comes at a particularly tumultuous time for the Trump campaign. For weeks he has been buffeted by accusations from women who say he had made unwanted sexual advances, revelations that emerged after a 2005 video surfaced showing him bragging [http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/donald-trumps-lewd-comments-about-women-spark-uproar-1475886118]about using his celebrity to force himself on women.

He hasn't mentioned the controversy in the last several rallies, as the campaign tries to put the issue behind him. But he returned to it in the middle of the policy speech, saying all of the women who accused him of making inappropriate advances "lied when they came forward to hurt my campaign.

"All of these liars will be sued after the election is over," he said.

He also threatened to file suit over political operatives he said planted protesters in his rallies to stir trouble, and accused the Democratic National Committee and the campaign of Democratic presidential nominee Hillary Clinton of being behind the effort. "But we'll find out about their involvement at a later date through litigation. And I look forward to doing that."

Despite those jabs, Mr. Trump's speech was in a very different setting and struck a different, more sober tone than his raucous rallies.

His campaign billed it as a major address that would include new policies. It had only a few minor new details, such as a promise to cancel payments to the United Nations on programs related to climate change and more specificity on punishment for illegal **immigrants** who, once deported, return to the U.S.

While Mr. Lincoln led the nation in a war to end slavery and keep the nation unified, Mr. Trump has been under fire throughout the campaign for divisive rhetoric. He has been trying to counter those criticisms by saying he wants to improve life in U.S. inner cities for African-Americans and Latinos, but polls show he still trails Mrs. Clinton badly in those voting blocks.

While he spoke of uniting the party, the speech came amid signs a rift is widening between his campaign and House Speaker Paul Ryan, who has said he would no longer defend or campaign with Mr. Trump and who is promoting a more conventionally conservative policy agenda.

Mr. Trump last week escalated the conflict by suggesting Mr. Ryan wanted him to lose because he wanted to run for president in 2020. "Maybe he wants to run in four years," he said in an interview broadcast Tuesday in Mr. Ryan's home state of Wisconsin.

The Trump-Ryan feud widened Saturday when an article attacking Mr. Ryan appeared on the conservative website Breitbart.com, which was run by top Trump aide Steve Bannon before he joined the campaign. The article accused him of trying to sabotage the Trump campaign and of being in league with Mrs. Clinton on key "globalist" policies.

Ryan spokesman Zack Roday responded, "This is utter crazy talk. Speaker Ryan's focus is on beating Democrats, including Secretary Clinton. His efforts will help all Republicans."

Gettysburg is the site of the watershed Civil War battle and President Abraham Lincoln's address dedicating a cemetery for fallen soldiers.

Over the last week, Mr. Trump has been dropping some new proposals into his rally speeches—such as term limits and cutting some regulations–but the Gettysburg speech was the most ambitious effort yet to turn attention away from character questions to policy.

On his first day in office he said he would propose term limits on members of Congress, a hiring freeze at some federal agencies, new limits on lobbying by former government officials, and new limits on regulations by requiring that for every new federal rule issued, two existing regulations be eliminated.

He said he would immediately begin implementing his trade agenda by announcing plans to renegotiate Nafta, withdraw from the Trans-Pacific Partnership, and ask the Treasury secretary to label China a currency manipulator. He would suspend **immigration** from nations he considers "terror prone" and begin deporting criminal illegal **immigrants**.

His first-100-days legislative agenda would include repealing the Obamacare health law, tax cuts and his **immigration** plan. Some new details provided for that illegal **immigration** crackdown were mandatory minimum prison sentences for those illegally re-entering the U.S. after deportation.

The bottom line he tried to convey was an antiestablishment message that he said was in sync with Lincoln's message in his 1863 Gettysburg Address.

"Hillary Clinton is not running against me. She is running against change," he said, to an audience and in a setting far different from his signature rallies. It was a crowd of hundreds, not thousands, seated on chairs in an auditorium rather than standing packed in vast hangars or fairgrounds.

"We will drain the swamp in Washington, D.C., and replace it with a new government of, by and for the people," he said. "That is why I have chosen Gettysburg to unveil this contract."

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More Election 2016 Coverage

\* Facebook Employees Pushed to Remove Trump's Posts as Hate Speech[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/facebook-employees-pushed-to-remove-trump-posts-as-hate-speech-1477075392]

\* HillaryClinton Returns to Campaign Trail for Battleground Blitz[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/hillary-clinton-returns-to-campaign-trail-for-battleground-blitz-1477086560]

\* Donald Trump Reserves Right to Contest Election Outcome[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/donald-trump-says-he-will-respect-election-outcome-if-i-win-1476984019]

\* Presidential Debate: After a Sedate Start, Donald Trump Takes the Bait From Hillary Clinton[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/presidential-debate-after-a-sedate-start-donald-trump-takes-the-bait-1476932103]

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**When Annie Moore stepped ashore at Ellis Island on New Year's Day 1892, she became the first **immigrant** to enter the U.S. through the government's new reception center. She would be followed by 15 million others over the next 62 years. But Annie, who had emigrated from Cork, Ireland, with her two younger brothers, was already an anomaly in the mutable world of **immigration**. Most of her fellow passengers were no longer the Irish who had dominated New York **immigration** for the better part of the 19th century but impoverished East European Jews. By the end of World War I, they would account for 600,000 of New York's two million foreign-born residents. Within a century, their share would dwindle, as had the great waves of Italians, Irish, Germans and other Europeans who took root in the city, to be replaced by a migration of global dimensions.

It is the protean nature of these waves, from 17th-century Dutch to 21st-century Dominicans, that is the subject of Tyler Anbinder's ambitious "City of Dreams: The 400-Year Epic History of **Immigrant** New York."

From the outset, New York harbored a diverse population of newcomers. As Mr. Anbinder observes, within roughly 30 years of Dutch settlement in 1624, New Amsterdam boasted Irishmen, Italians, Portuguese, Swedes, Danes, Frenchmen, Germans, Jews, Walloons and free blacks.

While all was not harmonious—there were brawls, racial and religious strife, slavery, and battles between colonists and Indians—the inhabitants, for the most part, managed to get along, motivated more by commerce than creed, a far cry from the theocracy of Puritan New England. Although the city changed hands and its name with the arrival of a British fleet in 1664, New York remained a relatively diverse locale. Much of this story has been told in such works as Russell Shorto's "Island at the Center of the World" (2004) and Edwin Burrows and Mike Wallace's "Gotham" (1998). But since New York's history is so intricately entwined with that of its **immigration** it is virtually impossible to write a narrative of one without telling the story of the other. **Immigration** is so consequential a factor in New York's history that it merits a study of its own.

And it is quite a story, or array of stories, that Mr. Anbinder selects to illustrate his tale. He introduces us to some of the more notable **immigrants** who have lived on as street names, such as James Rivington, a printer reviled for his Tory sympathies during the American Revolution who was actually a spy for George Washington. For his pains, he was beaten by a Patriot mob, forced to close his newspaper and confined for his final years in debtor's prison, a fate that foreshadowed the impoverished **immigrants** who would languish a century later on the Lower East Side street that bears his name.

There were, of course, more successful **immigrants**, schemers as much as dreamers. Pride of place goes to New York's most celebrated transplant, the orphan lad from the Caribbean island of Nevis, Alexander Hamilton. Following on his heels in the early 19th century are such Horatio Algers as German-born John Jacob Astor, who would become one of America's richest men.

It is in this period, beginning in the 1820s, that New York's population took off, much of the surge driven by emigration from one place: Ireland. By 1845, the city's foreign-born populace jumped to 36%, with Irish **immigrants** accounting for more than all other nations of Europe combined. And this was before the great waves that arrived during the potato famine of the late 1840s.

What to Read This Week[http://graphics.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/image-grid/Books-October-15/]

400 Years of Huddled Masses, the True Story of Egypt's Revolution, the Father of the Atomic Age and Evelyn Waugh Revisited..[http://graphics.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/image-grid/Books-October-15/]

The overwhelming majority of the Irish were Catholic, and their considerable presence in Manhattan sparked hostility from Yankee natives who feared being overrun by "rum, Romanism and rebellion." Nativist hostility could be withstood and could even serve to unite Irish **immigrants** against a common foe. What was harder to endure was the poverty, squalor, disease and hopelessness that stalked their precincts. Mr. Anbinder has previously written on the Irish enclave of the Five Points, a "notorious slum" between Canal Street and City Hall. He vividly describes the dank, dismal, malodorous, overcrowded tenements; the filthy streets; the residents vulnerable to crime and violence.

Perhaps even worse was the voyage to America—a sea journey of up to seven weeks, with the **immigrants** packed into a darkened steerage that reeked from the retching of seasick passengers, fed on vile rations, buffeted by storms and menaced by the constant threat of disease in the unsanitary conditions below decks. Once ashore, worn out and confused newcomers were met by "runners" who steered them to boardinghouses where they were often fleeced.

The other significant **immigrant** group to arrive in New York during these years were the Germans, who settled in what is today's Lower East Side in such great numbers that the area came to be known as "Kleindeutschland."

Both **immigrant** groups would make major contributions to the Union Army during the Civil War. New York's Irish Brigade fought with courage and took heavy losses, particularly in the early years of the conflict. It was such a toll that prompted Lincoln's call for conscription in 1863, which led to the notorious draft riots that July, which turned New York into a nightmare landscape of arson and mayhem.

Shortly after the Civil War, a colossal statue, conceived by a Frenchman as a memorial to Emancipation, was commissioned. After languishing for a decade, it was transformed on this side of the Atlantic into a monument commemorating American independence. Dedicated in 1886, the Statue of Liberty was never intended as a beacon of hope to the millions of **immigrants** who would be inspired by its image, but that is what it became.

The migration of a second great wave from 1880 to 1920, consisting mainly of Jews and Italians, was eased somewhat by the introduction of steamships that were able to cut the ocean voyage from seven weeks to one, with accommodations that made steerage somewhat less onerous. Nevertheless, as Mr. Anbinder writes, "the essence of steerage—the crowding, the indignities, and above all, the pandemonium—had not changed at all."

The American **Immigration** Act of 1891, which established the **immigration** center at Ellis Island, imposed greater health requirements on steamship companies, stricter regulations at ports of embarkation and rigorous medical examinations for the arrivals. Mr. Anbinder, citing his own forebears, offers us a striking picture of what these **immigrants** underwent. Once here, they crowded into many of the same tenements vacated by the Irish before them or into newer ones that were little better, sweltering in the summer, noisy, unhealthy and unventilated except for air shafts that added to the din. The Italians arrived in the greatest number—some three million came through the gateway of Ellis Island. Many worked in construction, helping to build the infrastructure that would transport a later generation of New Yorkers. The Jews toiled in the garment trade, at first in stifling tenements, then in factory sweatshops.

The plight of **immigrants** fostered Progressive Era reforms that eventually led to better wages and working conditions and allowed some to start the gradual exodus to the more tolerable climes of Brooklyn and the Bronx. By then, **immigration** had started to slow, impeded first by World War I and then by the ethnic quotas of the 1920s. The flood of **immigration** had prompted a nativist reaction invoking many of the boogeymen of the past—the newcomers couldn't assimilate, it was said; they brought disease, disorder, subversion, foreign ideas—and some new calumnies inspired by the eugenics movement and its notions of racial hierarchy.

The result was "a series of successively harsher **immigration** restrictions culminating in the National Origins Act of 1924 which reduced by nearly 95 percent the number of **immigrants** who could enter the United States from southern and eastern Europe"—in effect, Italians and Jews. New York, like the rest of the country, became more homogeneous over the next 40 years. Although the classic work on the subject of nativist backlash is John Higham's "Strangers in the Land" (1955), Mr. Anbinder provides a sound overview of the subject.

It was not until the Great Society of Lyndon Johnson that America was ready to raise its national quotas and resume a more welcoming **immigration** policy with the passage of the Hart-Celler Act in 1965. This "momentous" legislation allowed 290,000 newcomers annually—plus an unlimited number of additional **immigrants** who were reuniting with family members. The three most distinguishing aspects of the new influx were transportation (the airplane had replaced steerage); diversity (no single group dominated); and dispersal (the new **immigrants** were spread throughout the city).

Within a dozen years of Hart-Celler, Dominicans, Chinese and non-Hispanic West Indians were among the most numerous arrivals. But there were others as well—from Korea and the Philippines, Colombia and Albania, Mexico and Russia, India and Ecuador, Pakistan and Ghana, and many other realms. **Immigrant** groups vaulted over one another in their rapid growth.

Mr. Anbinder focuses on three groups: the Chinese in Flushing, Queens, and Brooklyn's Sunset Park; the Dominicans in Washington Heights; and the West Indians in the further reaches of Brooklyn and Queens. But this leaves just a few pages to deal with the considerable impact made by such divergent streams as Colombians, Ecuadoreans and Mexicans, whose "meteoric rise" the author acknowledges but does not fully engage. Such groups are mentioned but more as demographic phenomena than as living people.

It is a pity that, given his omnibus approach, Mr. Anbinder devotes little more than 60 of his 570 pages of text to this third great wave of **immigration**, one of the most exciting chapters in the city's **immigrant** life. Rather than revisit oft-told tales like that of John Jacob Astor, we might have profited more by reading about the abundance of cultures blossoming in the fur magnate's one-time demesne of Astoria. Alas, for this we must turn to such authors as William Helmreich or Joseph Berger, whose "The World in a City" (2007) takes us to Astoria's Steinway Street, where the once-dominant Greeks have given way to Arabs and Brazilians. Or to the Bronx's Grand Concourse, whose Ghanaian residents save to build houses back home. To be sure Mr. Anbinder speaks of such newcomers as Bengali taxi drivers, but we must look elsewhere for the telling anecdote, the sensitive interview, the odd detail—soap operas beamed from South Korea into Jackson Heights or the small neighborhood travel agencies arranging cheap flights home—that evoke the distinct experience of today's **immigrants**.

This is important because, 50 years after the Hart-Celler Act, **immigrants** once again account for more than a third of the city's population. There are an additional 500,000 illegal **immigrants**, and this number is only a guess. Many of them are Mexicans and Chinese. Former Mayor Michael Bloomberg said in 2006 that the city's economy "would collapse" without them. Most Americans want them to get in line. But as Mr. Anbinder reminds us, there hardly ever was a line. Until 1921 **immigrants** could arrive without waiting. Now, "the vast majority of visas given to **immigrants** today are reserved for family members of those already legally in the U.S." What's left goes to those with in-demand skills. If you don't meet either of those criteria, there "is no way to **immigrate** legally—no line to get in at all." Which doesn't mean that people won't keep trying to find a way in.

While there have been other works on U.S. **immigration** policy—e.g., Aristide Zolberg's invaluable "A Nation by Design"—or books that have addressed the various ethnic groups who came to our shores, Mr. Anbinder has provided a valuable service by crafting a single volume that focuses solely on New York as a gateway, a haven and a crucible that forged the fates of millions of **immigrants** who in turn shaped the destiny of our nation.

Mr. Schwartz is a former book editor of Newsday.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Some of Republican presidential candidate Donald Trump's posts on Facebook have set off an intense debate inside the social media company over the past year, with some employees arguing certain posts about banning Muslims from entering the U.S. should be removed for violating the site's rules on hate speech, according to people familiar with the matter.

The decision to allow Mr. Trump's posts went all the way to Facebook Inc. Chief Executive Mark Zuckerberg, who ruled in December that it would be inappropriate to censor the candidate, according to the people familiar with the matter. That decision has prompted employees across the company to complain on Facebook's internal messaging service and in person to Mr. Zuckerberg and other managers that it was bending the site's rules for Mr. Trump, and some employees who work in a group charged with reviewing content on Facebook threatened to quit, the people said.

"Facebook has never contacted us about employee complaints and has never removed a post," a spokeswoman for Mr. Trump's campaign said. "We are not concerned about the liberal Clinton elites who are so intolerant of conservative ideas that they would seek to censor the Trump campaign's enormously successful Facebook engagement."

In a statement provided Wednesday evening, a Facebook spokeswoman said its reviewers consider the context of a post when assessing whether to take it down. "That context can include the value of political discourse," she said. "Many people are voicing opinions about this particular content and it has become an important part of the conversation around who the next U.S. president will be."

On Friday, senior members of Facebook's policy team posted more details on its policy. "In the weeks ahead, we're going to begin allowing more items that people find newsworthy, significant, or important to the public interest—even if they might otherwise violate our standards," they wrote.

The internal debates shed light on how Facebook has grappled with its position as one of the biggest sources of political information during a particularly contentious election cycle.

This week, a controversy bubbled up around Facebook director Peter Thiel, who recently pledged $1.25 million to support Mr. Trump. In an internal post to employees confirmed by the company, Mr. Zuckerberg urged tolerance of Mr. Thiel's political activity, saying it was key to cultivating diversity. Facebook declined to comment further on the matter, and Mr. Thiel didn't respond to a request for comment.

Facebook—which stands to collect an estimated $300 million from online political advertising this year, according to Nomura analysts—has strived to appear nonpartisan and neutral, amid complaints that the company and key executives favor Democrats. A May report from tech blog Gizmodo[http://gizmodo.com/former-facebook-workers-we-routinely-suppressed-conser-1775461006] alleged Facebook contract workers manipulated its trending topics feature for political purposes. Facebook denied bias, but in August, fired the contractors so that it could run the feature largely by software.

"They are confronting in a very real way for the first time the political dimensions of their platform," said Anna Lauren Hoffmann, who teaches information ethics at the University of California, Berkeley.

About 44% of Americans get at least some of their news from Facebook, according to Pew Research.

The company insists it is a neutral platform for open debate. Yet it has strict rules around what users can post. The rules, which Facebook has tightened in recent years, ban discrimination toward people based on their race and religion. Facebook typically removes content that violates the rules.

Legal experts say Facebook isn't bound by the Federal Communications Commission's equal-time rules, which require radio stations and broadcast networks, with exceptions, to devote the same airtime to political candidates.

Issues around Mr. Trump's posts emerged when he posted on Facebook a link to a Dec. 7 campaign statement[https://www.facebook.com/DonaldTrump/posts/10156386906600725] "on preventing Muslim **immigration**." The statement called for "a total and complete shutdown of Muslims entering the United States until our country's representatives can figure out what is going on." Mr. Trump has since backed away from an outright ban[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/donald-trump-back-pedals-on-banning-muslims-from-u-s-1467058774] based on religion, saying his policies would target **immigrants** from countries with a record of terrorism.

Users flagged the December content as hate speech, a move that triggered a review by Facebook's community-operations team, with hundreds of employees in several offices world-wide. Some Facebook employees said in internal chat rooms that the post broke Facebook's rules on hate speech as detailed in its internal guidelines, according to people familiar with the matter.

Content reviewers were asked by their managers not to remove the post, according to some of the people familiar. Facebook's head of global policy management, Monika Bickert, later explained in an internal post that the company wouldn't take down any of Mr. Trump's posts because it strives to be impartial in the election season, according to people who saw the post.

During one of Mr. Zuckerberg's weekly town hall meetings in late January at the company's Menlo Park, Calif., headquarters, a Muslim employee asked how the executive could condone Mr. Trump's comments. Mr. Zuckerberg acknowledged that Mr. Trump's call for a ban did qualify as hate speech, but said the implications of removing them were too drastic, according to two people who attended the meeting. Mr. Zuckerberg said he backed Ms. Bickert's call, they said.

Many employees supported the decision. "Banning a U.S. presidential candidate is not something you do lightly," said one person familiar with the decision.

But others, including some Muslim employees at Facebook, were upset that the platform would make an exception. In Dublin, where many of Facebook's content reviewers work, more than a dozen Muslim employees met with their managers to discuss the policy, according to another person familiar with the matter. Some created internal Facebook groups protesting the decision, while others threatened to leave.

Employees continued to submit questions for Mr. Zuckerberg's weekly town hall about Mr. Trump's posts for months after, the person familiar said. But the internal-communications team responded that the question had been answered and the matter was decided, the person said.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**BRUSSELS—British Prime Minister Theresa May took a warmer tone with the European Union on Friday, calling for constructive talks and promising the U.K. would enthusiastically cooperate with its allies in the bloc even after it leaves.

But her main message remained the same: She wants the broadest possible access to the EU's tariff-free single market while keeping control over **immigration**, a stance at odds with the bloc's key rules and one she acknowledged would lead to rocky negotiations.

The U.K. leader's focus on controlling migration from the EU has been received with some alarm within the bloc. In Brussels for her first summit with her 27 counterparts, she sought to signal good will, while steering clear of giving strong indications of how she would negotiate.

"We still want to trade freely in goods and services with Europe," she said, while noting that the future negotiations would require "some give and take."

In speeches in early October, Mrs. May signaled to her Conservative party that she would prioritize having control of Britain's border over access to Europe's trading market and would end the jurisdiction of the European Court of Justice in Britain as soon as it left.

U.K. and European officials say the remarks surprised some capitals and were widely interpreted as indicating that Mrs. May would go for a hard break from the bloc. Some European officials read Mrs. May's remarks as indicating Britain wouldn't even seek a transitional arrangement with the EU after Brexit, which could for a certain period preserve closer economic ties.

Mrs. May's warmer tone in Brussels echoes comments by U.K. officials in recent days who have emphasized that preserving Britain's economic and financial interests are a priority ahead of negotiations.

There were snippets of the tensions that could emerge in the coming months. In her first significant intervention in discussions on Thursday night Mrs. May told EUleaders the U.K would stand by its full rights and obligations in the bloc and wouldn't be pushed into supporting initiatives forged by the 27.

Meanwhile, EU officials on Friday weighed in to refute a report that they wanted future Brexit talks to be conducted in French. Michel Barnier, the chief Brexit negotiator for the European Commission, the EU's executive body, said on Twitter that he had "never expressed myself on negotiation language. Work as often in EN as FR."

Mrs. May didn't respond when asked about the issue.

EU leaders involved in the talks said Mrs. May made a good impression at the summit. Dalia Grybauskaite, president of Lithuania, said Friday that the new British prime ministers was "very clear, responsible and tough."

But others warned of contentious talks ahead.

"If Mrs. Theresa May wants a hard Brexit, the negotiations will be equally tough," French President François Hollande said ahead of the summit Thursday.

In the early hours of Friday, after lengthy discussions on Russia, Syria and the bloc's migration crisis, Mrs. May spoke briefly and in broad terms about the U.K.'s government's preparations for negotiations. She didn't enter into detail about her future demands for the post-Brexit relationship and wasn't pressed over dinner to spell out her position, officials said.

Mrs. May has said she would trigger the start of talks by the end of March 2017.

Friday afternoon, she met with European Commission President Jean-Claude Juncker, who will play a key role in the exit talks. She told Mr. Juncker the U.K. would "need to see controls on the numbers of people who come to Britain from Europe as well as a positive outcome for those who wish to trade in goods and services," according to an official in Mrs. May's office.

EU leaders have incentives to take a hard line with Britain in negotiations to dissuade other countries from heading toward the exit. They have also repeatedly insisted that Britain can't have broad access to the bloc's single market of goods and services if it restricts migration.

However, Mrs. May has argued it is in both the U.K.'s and the EU's economic interests to allow free trade between Britain and the bloc.

Chancellor of the Exchequer Philip Hammond said this week that the U.K. hadn't yet decided on whether it would seek to stay in the EU's customs union, where it would continue to apply the EU's common external tariffs in return for tariff-free access to the EU market.

Once Mrs. May officially notifies the EU of the U.K.'s intention to leave, she opens a two-year window to work out a web of complicated issues, from what access the U.K. will have to Britain's single market for trading to what EU **immigration** rules the U.K. will abide by.

Valentina Pop in Brussels also contributed to this article.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Homeland Security officials are quietly scrambling to find 5,000 more prison and jail beds to handle a record number of undocumented **immigrants** being detained in the U.S., according to officials familiar with the discussions.

Homeland Security Secretary Jeh Johnson met Tuesday with senior leaders at the **Immigration** and Customs Enforcement agency and the Customs and Border Protection agency—both of which are in his department—so officials could review their plans to handle thousands more people expected to cross the southwest border with Mexico in coming weeks, the officials said.

ICE is currently holding more than 40,000 people in detention centers—more than it has ever had in custody before—and has warned budget officials that it needs a quick infusion of $136 million more just to keep running detention centers until early December, according to internal Department of Homeland Securitydocuments and officials.

A spokeswoman for the Department of Homeland Security declined to comment on internal agency discussions. The agency is "committed to continuing to ensure that individuals are detained in a safe, secure and humane manner in line with our detention standards and our values as a nation," she said.

The department had previously insisted that ICE is managing its operations at current levels, despite what she called "an uptick" in detentions.

But the problem is going to get worse before it gets better, officials told Mr. Johnson Tuesday. Part of the surge is due to thousands of Haitians who left their country after it was stricken by a severe earthquake in 2010[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/SB10001424052748703798904575069614263432520], fleeing to South America and taking several years to make it to the U.S. southern border, officials say. The influx in detained **immigrants** is not limited to Haitians, but they are a big part of it.

More than 5,000 Haitians have now reached the Mexican towns of Tijuana and Mexicali and are preparing to present themselves at U.S. ports of entry, officials said. U.S. and Mexican officials have sought to avoid a crush at the San Ysidro border crossing in California by having the would-be entrants approach the border in a steady stream rather than all at once, officials said.

Last year, U.S. **immigration** facilities housed between 300 and 400 Haitians at any one time. Now, CBP is sending double that number every week to ICE for detention, officials said.

Put another way, about 100 new Haitians are being detained each day, and that figure is expected to double in coming weeks, officials told Mr. Johnson at the meeting. Overall, ICE is currently holding more than 2,500 Haitians expected to be deported, officials said.

When Haitian **immigrants** present themselves to the CBP at a U.S. port of entry seeking asylum, they are typically turned over to ICE for detention pending deportation.

Homeland Security officials expect the overall number of individuals who are in jail awaiting deportation to balloon to 45,000 in the coming weeks and months. One internal projection calculates the figure could reach 47,000 by next June, according to people familiar with the discussions.

It is difficult to predict when the number of detainees will start declining, because the U.S. has temporarily suspended deportation flights to Haiti as a result of the damage caused by Hurricane Matthew[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/food-water-shortages-threaten-haiti-hurricane-victims-1476023087].

ICE officials are scrambling to sign contracts with jail or detention facilities, whether it is private contractors or state and local jails. They need so many new beds so quickly, according to officials familiar with the work, that they may have to temporarily ignore requirements adopted five years ago to ensure minimum quality standards for **immigrants** likely to be deported.

There are also concerns that some of the new jail spaces may not conform to regulations adopted as a result of the Prison Rape Elimination Act of 2003, officials said. "They're scraping the bottom looking for beds,'' one official said.

ICE is specifically working to buy jail space in Youngstown, Ohio; Cibola County, N.M.; Aurora, Colo.; and Robstown, Texas, officials said.

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More U.S. News

\* **Immigrant** Investor Program for Poor Neighborhoods Benefits Rich Ones More, Study Shows[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/immigrant-investor-program-for-poor-neighborhoods-benefits-rich-ones-more-study-shows-1476917304]

\* Border Patrol Shooting of Mexican Teen Civil Lawsuit Goes to Court[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/border-patrol-shooting-of-mexican-teen-civil-lawsuit-goes-to-court-1476989995]

\* Ex-NSA Contractor Stole at Least 500 Million Pages of Records and Secrets, U.S. Says[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/ex-nsa-contractor-stole-at-least-500-million-pages-of-records-and-secrets-1476991747]

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**For a while Wednesday night, at this year's final presidential debate [http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/livecoverage/hillary-clinton-donald-trump-third-debate-2016-las-vegas], Donald Trump was a more sedate and persuasive candidate, the one who calmly explains his positions while avoiding verbal fisticuffs.

Then his favorite topic—building a wall to stop illegal **immigration** across the southern border—came up, and Democrat Hillary Clinton said Mr. Trump met Mexico's president and failed to repeat face-to-face his demand that Mexico pay for building that wall. "He choked," she said.

At that point, the tenor of the evening changed. If Mrs. Clinton was baiting Mr. Trump, he took the bait. He considers himself a master counterpuncher, and he began punching back.

She kept punching, on all sorts of topics. A familiar, nasty cloud descended over the conversation, and a kind of downward spiral began, until Mr. Trump said Mrs. Clinton shouldn't even have been allowed to run. Then, stunningly, he refused to say he would honor the results of the election. "What I'm saying, I will tell you at the time," he said. "I will keep you in suspense." That is unprecedented and will be the answer for which this debate will be remembered.

It's also an answer that will leave other Republicans scrambling. They already had been distancing themselves from his earlier comments that voting would be "rigged." Casting doubt on the validity of voting is an invitation to the party's own supporters not to bother voting, other Republicans fear, and GOP candidates up and down the ballot hope to win in November in elections that are seen as fair and valid.

In sum, for a debate that had a refreshingly substantive start, the tense and nasty exchanges that led to that moment, and the ones that followed it, took the front seat. To that extent, it felt a bit like a repeat, and one that seemed unlikely to change the shape of the race—which, if so, is to the advantage of Mrs. Clinton, the clear leader heading into the night.

Mr. Trump accused Mrs. Clinton of wanting to open the nation's borders and having criminally destroyed 33,000 emails from her private server. She, in turn, said he would be a Russian "puppet" who has encouraged the Kremlin to hack into the email systems of her supporters to influence the outcome of the election.

He accused her of running a "very sleazy campaign" that hired thugs to disrupt [http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/democratic-national-committee-operatives-step-aside-after-release-of-videos-1476919228] his campaign rallies. She said he has been discovered to be a predator [http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/donald-trump-denies-new-sexual-misconduct-claims-calling-allegations-a-conspiracy-1476478799] to women and denied it by insulting women.

She said he is unqualified to have the codes to the country's nuclear weapons. He said she was responsible for the birth of Islamic State. She stayed on the attack, on his tax returns, on his use of **immigrant** labor and onward, and smiled as he responded. He grew angry and resumed interrupting her answers.

To anyone who has been listening, there was little new of substance. To the extent there was substance, both nominees appeared to be framing their arguments designed more to lock down their supporters than to expand their universe.

Mr. Trump answered initial questions, about the Supreme Court, by underscoring his support for gun rights [http://blogs.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/washwire/2016/10/19/clinton-trump-offer-contrasting-supreme-court-visions-on-gun-rights-abortion/] and his desire for judges who would stand for those rights. She said she would seek justices who uphold liberal priorities including gay rights, restrictions on gun ownership and limits on campaign finance.

Similarly, on abortion, they spoke to the base of their parties, she delivering a passionate argument for abortion rights and he asserting he would be happy with a Supreme Court decision that overturns the Roe v. Wade decision establishing abortion rights, returning the issue to the states.

The two candidates entered the debate facing different but parallel strategic choices, reflecting both their relative standing in the polls and their potential paths through the remainder of the campaign.

For Mr. Trump, the question was whether to carry what amounts to his scorched-earth strategy—bash Mrs. Clinton as corrupt and dishonest and proclaim that the election and the political process is rigged—or pivot back to his populist economic message about lost jobs and bad trade deals. The latter approach might broaden out his appeal. But the former approach has ginned his base, and that along with dragging down Mrs. Clinton seem to be the primary goals of the Trump enterprise at this point.

Mrs. Clinton, by contrast, had to choose whether to duke it out with Mr. Trump on his terms, going on the attack on his personal flaws and answering his attacks in kind, or ignore that terrain and try to strike a more positive note in what was essentially her closing argument to voters.

The positive note had some appeal to Clinton advisers who would like to give wavering and uninspired voters reason to vote for her in the end. But the fear was that there also would be great danger in leaving Trump attacks unanswered. A whole series of Republican candidates tried that approach in the primary season and suffered as a result.

In the end, each tried a bit of both approaches available to them. It seems unlikely that the debate did little more than confirm the views of voters who already seem mostly locked in on their choices. Mr. Trump needed to shake up a race in which he is trailing, and Mrs. Clinton made clear she wasn't going to sit back and allow him to find an opening to do that.

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\* Trump Brings ‘Rigging' Charges Front and Center [http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/donald-trump-brings-election-rigging-charges-front-and-center-1476914927]

\* Clinton: Trump's Reluctance to Accept Election Results Fits Pattern [http://blogs.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/washwire/2016/10/20/clinton-trumps-reluctance-to-accept-election-results-fits-pattern/]

\* Clinton, Trump Offer Contrasting Supreme Court Visions on Gun, Abortion Rights [http://blogs.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/washwire/2016/10/19/clinton-trump-offer-contrasting-supreme-court-visions-on-gun-rights-abortion/]

\* 5 Takeaways from the Final Debate [http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/5-takeaways-from-final-donald-trump-hillary-clinton-debate-1476938559]

\* Debate Database: Look Up What the Candidates Said in the Debates [http://wsj.exclone.com/]

\* Debate Live Blog [http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/livecoverage/hillary-clinton-donald-trump-third-debate-2016-las-vegas]

\* Candidates Set for Final 19-Day Stretch [http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/final-debate-hillary-clinton-donald-trump-enter-last-face-off-before-election-day-1476918864]

\* Voter Support for Clinton and Trump Reverts to January Levels [http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/voter-support-for-hillary-clinton-and-donald-trump-reverts-to-january-levels-1476871203]

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**No matter who wins the White House on Nov. 8, a majority of the country will dislike the next president. Polling this week [http://www.gallup.com/poll/196562/candidates-images-early-july.aspx?g\_source=clinton favorable&g\_medium=search&g\_campaign=tiles]from Gallup shows that 56% of Americans view Hillary Clinton unfavorably, and 68% view Donald Trump unfavorably. These are record numbers for presidential candidates.

But from the ashes of this ugly, bitter campaign comes a terrific opportunity for bipartisan cooperation. Because President Clinton or President Trump will be so unpopular from day one, he or she will have a strong incentive to compromise. Pursuing a partisan agenda that creates gridlock in Washington, and bitter debates that threaten to shut down the government, will only make the new president more disliked—and re-election in 2020 a long shot.

Incoming White House advisers will know this. Every newly elected president appoints staff and develops a policy agenda of what the administration will try to accomplish over its first term. This substantive plan is synchronized with the political plan to get re-elected in four years. Even if the president does not have the next campaign in mind, the senior staff and outside political advisers do.

There's only one way that either of these politically crippled leaders will get anything done as president: lead an unprecedented era of bipartisan compromise between Congress and the White House. Mrs. Clinton and Mr. Trump are experienced negotiators. Neither is an ideologue, willing to fall on his or her sword for a philosophical cause.

History tells us that bipartisan compromise is how big issues get solved in Washington. President Reagan and Speaker Tip O'Neill saved Social Security. President George H.W. Bush reached a budget deal with Democratic leaders. President Clinton worked with Senate Majority Leader Trent Lott and Speaker Newt Gingrich to balance the budget, reform welfare and fight crime.

Today's challenges include reducing the budget deficit, reforming the tax code, repairing America's infrastructure, rebuilding the military, fixing the **immigration**system, and maybe even shoring up entitlement programs like Social Security and Medicare.

A single party working alone cannot address these issues. The election might result in divided government, with President Clinton facing a Republican House, or President Trump a Democratic Senate. But even assuming a one-party sweep, the Senate's filibuster rules mean that significant legislation must pass with 60 votes—and support on both sides of the aisle.

The good news is that Speaker Paul Ryan is eager to negotiate to solve big problems. So are Mitch McConnell and Chuck Schumer, one of whom will be the next Senate Majority Leader. None of these leaders enjoys Congress's terrible reputation for inaction. This view is shared by the broad mainstream of both parties.

Although the House Freedom Caucus counts a few dozen hard-line conservatives among its members, congressional leaders do not need the extremists in either party to pass legislation. Hard work and serious negotiation will produce bills that a majority of Republicans and Democrats can support.

By pursuing bipartisanship, the new president might **alienate** some of the purists among his or her supporters. But the president will have nothing to fear from the voters at large. Most of the country craves a leader who will seek and achieve political unity to solve problems. In a September poll[https://www.qu.edu/news-and-events/quinnipiac-university-poll/national/release-detail?ReleaseID=2378] from Quinnipiac University, 76% of likely voters said it was "very important" that the next president unite the nation. That includes strong majorities of every group polled: 79% of Republicans, 77% of Democrats and 74% of independents; 68% of men and 82% of women; 76% of whites and 77% of nonwhites; 82% of seniors and 69% of millennials.

Bipartisan compromise on big issues promotes a feeling of unity and gives Americans the sense that government is working. Achieving this might provide the new president's only realistic shot at a second term. And the kicker is that it is the right thing to do for the country. Mrs. Clinton and Mr. Trump aren't popular, and there's only one way to win over Americans: By reaching across the aisle to fix the country's problems.

Mr. Black is chairman of the Prime Policy Group and a vice chairman of No Labels.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Look, he's a nut and you know he's a nut. I go to battleground states and talk to anyone, everyone. They all know Donald Trump's a nut. Some will vote for him anyway. Many are in madman-versus-criminal mode, living with (or making) their final decision. They got the blues. Everyone does. They're worried about the whole edifice: If this is where we are, where are we going?

I get the Reagan fantasy—big guy with a nonstandard résumé comes in from the outside, cleans out the stables, saves the day. But it's a fantasy and does not apply to this moment. I get the Jacksonian fantasy—crude, rude populist comes in from the hinterlands and upends a decadent establishment to the huzzahs of normal people with mud on their boots. But it's a fantasy, and doesn't apply.

Because he's not a grizzled general who bears on his face the scars of a British sword, and not a shining citizen-patriot. He's a screwball. Do you need examples? You do not, because you're already thinking of them. For a year you've been observing the TV funhouse that is his brain.

I offer an observation from Newt Gingrich, Trump friend and supporter, on David Drucker's Washington Examiner podcast. Mr. Gingrich lauded Mr. Trump because he "thinks big" and is a transformational character. But he spoke too of Trump's essential nature. The GOP nominee "reacts very intensely, almost uncontrollably" to "anything which attacks his own sense of integrity or his own sense of respectability." "There's . . . a part of his personality that sometimes gets involved in petty things that make no sense." He found it "frankly pathetic" that Mr. Trump got mad because Paul Ryan didn't call to congratulate him after the second debate.

Mr. Gingrich said he hopes this will change. But people don't change the fundamentals of their nature at age 70.

Mr. Trump's great historical role was to reveal to the Republican Party what half of its own base really thinks about the big issues. The party's leaders didn't know! They were shocked, so much that they indulged in sheer denial and made believe it wasn't happening.

The party's leaders accept more or less open borders and like big trade deals. Half the base does not! It is longtime GOP doctrine to cut entitlement spending. Half the base doesn't want to, not right now! Republican leaders have what might be called assertive foreign-policy impulses. When Mr. Trump insulted George W. Bush and nation-building and said he'd opposed the Iraq invasion, the crowds, taking him at his word, cheered. He was, as they say, declaring that he didn't want to invade the world and invite the world. Not only did half the base cheer him, at least half the remaining half joined in when the primaries ended.

The Republican Party will now begin the long process of redefining itself or continue its long national collapse. This is an epochal event. It happened because Donald Trump intuited where things were and are going.

Since I am more in accord with Mr. Trump's stands than not, I am particularly sorry that as an individual human being he's a nut.

Which gives rise to a question, for me a poignant one.

What if there had been a Sane Donald Trump?

Oh my God, Sane Trump would have won in a landslide.

Sane Donald Trump, just to start, would look normal and happy, not grim and glowering. He would be able to hear and act on good advice. He would explain his positions with clarity and depth, not with the impatient half-grasping of a notion that marks real Donald Trump's public persona.

Sane Donald Trump would have looked at a dubious, anxious and therefore standoffish Republican establishment and not insulted them, diminished them, done tweetstorms against them. Instead he would have said, "Come into my tent. It's a new one, I admit, but it's yuge and has gold faucets and there's a place just for you. What do you need? That I be less excitable and dramatic? Done. That I not act, toward women, like a pig? Done, and I accept your critique. That I explain the moral and practical underpinnings of my stand on **refugees** from terror nations? I'd be happy to. My well-hidden secret is that I love everyone and hear the common rhythm of their beating hearts."

Sane Donald Trump would have given an anxious country more ease, not more anxiety. He would have demonstrated that he can govern himself. He would have suggested through his actions, while still being entertaining, funny and outsize, that yes, he understands the stakes and yes, since America is always claiming to be the leader of the world—We are No. 1!—a certain attendant gravity is required of one who'd be its leader.

Sane Donald Trump would have explained his **immigration** proposals with a kind of loving logic—we must secure our borders for a host of serious reasons, and here they are. But we are grateful for our legal **immigrants**, and by the way, if you want to hear real love for America then go talk to them, for they experience more freshly than we what a wonderful place this is. In time, after we've fully secured our borders and the air of emergency is gone, we will turn to regularizing the situation of everyone here, because Americans are not only kindly, they're practical, and want everyone paying taxes.

Sane Donald Trump would have spoken at great and compelling length of how the huge, complicated trade agreements created the past quarter-century can be improved upon with an eye to helping the American worker. Ideology, he might say, is the pleasant diversion of the unworried, but a nation that no longer knows how to make steel cannot be a great nation. And we are a great nation.

Sane Donald Trump would have argued that controlling entitlement spending is a necessary thing but not, in fact, this moment's priority. People have been battered since the crash, in many ways, and nothing feels stable now. Beyond that no one right now trusts Washington to be fair and wise in these matters. Confidence-building measures are necessary. Let's take on the smaller task of turning around Veterans Affairs and see if we can't make that work.

Sane Donald Trump would have known of America's hidden fractures, and would have insisted that a healthy moderate-populist movement cannot begin as or devolve into a nationalist, identity-politics movement. Those who look down on other groups, races or religions can start their own party. He, the famous brander, would even offer them a name: the Idiot Party.

Sane Donald Trump would not treat the political process of the world's greatest democracy as if it were, as somebody said, the next-to-last episode of a reality-TV series. That's the episode that leaves you wondering how the season will end—who will scream, who will leave the drunken party in a huff, who will accuse whom of being a whore. I guess that's what "I'll keep you in suspense" as to whether he'll accept the election result was about. We're being teed up. The explosive season finale is Nov. 8. Maybe he'll leave in a huff. Maybe he'll call everyone whores.

Does he know he's playing with fire? No. Because he's a nut.

Sane Donald Trump for president. Too bad he doesn't exist.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**OTTAWA—Canada's Liberal government should ramp up the number of **immigrants** it admits annually by 50% over five years to offset the drag expected on economic output caused by an aging workforce, a panel of executives and academics told the country's finance minister Thursday.

The panel said that, without such action, annual economic growth over the next half-century is expected to average just 1.5%, and the number of working-age Canadians would drop to a level that would cause "significant fiscal strain" on governments.

The recommendation to expand **immigration** in Canada, which has earned global recognition for its acceptance of Syrian **refugees**, comes as the country's economy is mired in a slump[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/bank-of-canada-leaves-key-rate-unchanged-at-0-50-1476886474] triggered by low commodity prices and a disappointing performance by nonenergy exports.

Meanwhile, increased **immigration** has become a divisive issue in the U.S. presidential election and helped spur the Brexit side to victory in the U.K. earlier this year.

The panel also indicated that Canada needs to focus on infrastructure spending to boost long-term productivity and make a bigger effort to attract foreign investment.

The recommendations aren't binding. The panel is led McKinsey & Co. global managing partner Dominic Barton as chairman. Other panelists include Mark Wiseman, a senior managing director at asset-manager BlackRock Inc., and Michael Sabia, head of Quebec pension fund Caisse de dépôt et placement du Québec.

Canada's economy is in slow-growth mode. On Wednesday, the Bank of Canada left its policy rate unchanged at 0.5%, although Governor Stephen Poloz said bank officials "actively discussed" a rate cut heading into the decision. Alongside the rate decision, central bank downgraded its economic-growth outlook due to export weakness and an expected slowdown in housing activity.

Canadian Finance Minister Bill Morneau is scheduled to unveil a fall economic update on Nov. 1, the government announced Thursday.

After Wednesday's rate decision, Mr. Poloz said **immigration** is among the ingredients that can help "tilt up" the country's sluggish economic growth trajectory.

The panel suggests Canada increase its annual permanent economic **immigration** to 450,000 over a five-year period from its current target of 300,000, which would equal 75,000 each year. It also recommends taking steps to attract top talent and make it easier for international students to gain permanent residence.

"A larger population will drive demand for goods and services, contributing to economic growth through increased consumption over the near term and increases in employment over the longer term," the panel said.

Canada granted citizenship to 260,000 **immigrants** in 2014, ranking it first among Group of 20 countries on a per capita basis, and is aiming to increase that to up to 305,000 this year. Most newcomers enter under programs aimed at boosting the economy by attracting workers with specific job skills, but some enter as part of family reunification and **refugee** programs.

World Bank research published this month indicated Canada was one of four countries[http://blogs.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/economics/2016/10/18/four-nations-are-winning-the-global-war-for-talent/]—along with the U.S., U.K., and Australia—that were most successful in attracting the world's highly-skilled **immigrants**.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**In October 2012, Jose Antonio Elena Rodriguez, a 16-year-old Mexican boy, was walking on a road meters from the Arizona border when a U.S. Border Patrol agent on the U.S. side shot and killed him.

The incident sparked a lawsuit[http://online.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/public/resources/documents/2016\_1020\_swartz\_complaint.pdf] brought by Jose's mother, at the heart of which lies a tricky legal question: When, if ever, can a foreign national bring claims under the U.S. Constitution for an incident that happened on foreign soil?

The Supreme Court could offer an answer in another case out of Texas also involving claims for damages over a fatal cross-border shooting of a Mexican citizen. ​

The cases are part of a growing effort by **immigration** advocates to literally expand the boundaries of constitutional protections. While it is far from clear if a major precedent will emerge from a divided, eight-member court, the litigation has the potential to establish new legal standards for when the Constitution applies to **aliens** outside the U.S.

Such an outcome could subject border agents to more judicial scrutiny, and could have implications for extraterritorial military and national security activities such as the use of armed drones.

The Rodriguez lawsuit, which is being argued before a federal appeals court Friday, offers ​a preview of the types of issues the Supreme Court will be grappling with​in its own case​.

Both the U.S. government and Jose's mother agree the shooting wasn't justified. Jose was walking by himself at night after playing basketball when the agent, perched on a cliff on the other side of the street, allegedly shot the teenager 10 times, mostly in the back. The Justice Department has charged the agent with second-degree murder. He has pleaded not guilty.

In order for a court to hear the civil case, plaintiff Araceli Rodriguez must pierce the shield of immunity protecting public officials from civil liability, including accused Border Patrol agent Lonnie Swartz.

To do so requires establishing there was a violation of a constitutional right—specifically here, the protection against excessive force from the Fourth Amendment.

Justice Department lawyers argue[http://online.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/public/resources/documents/2016\_1020\_swartz\_DOJ.pdf] extending the Fourth Amendment into sovereign Mexican territory "would cast a cloud of legal uncertainty over every action taken by the U.S. government abroad." At minimum, the government argues, a foreign plaintiff must have a "significant voluntary connection" to the U.S.

Jose lived near the border, and his grandparents are both lawful permanent U.S. residents. His grandmother, according to court papers, often visited him in Mexico while his mother worked. But the boy, Mr. Swartz's lawyers noted[http://online.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/public/resources/documents/2016\_1020\_swartz.pdf], never applied for U.S. residency or "even stepped foot into the United States."

It isn't enough of a U.S. connection, they argue.

"That's a tough argument for Jose Antonio's mother to swallow," said American Civil Liberties Union **immigration** attorney Lee Gelernt, who is arguing the case for the mother.

A federal district judge in Tucson last year allowed Ms. Rodriguez's suit to go forward[http://online.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/public/resources/documents/2016\_1020\_swartz\_opinion.pdf], a decision the agent's lawyers appealed to the Ninth Circuit in San Francisco.

Mr. Gelernt said the court can rule for his client without creating a sweeping new standard. The ACLU said Jose's death is among dozens of deadly shootings at the Mexican border in recent years and prosecutions are rare. That makes it more important for plaintiffs such as Ms. Rodriguez to pursue justice in civil court, he said.

The Mexican government agrees[http://online.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/public/resources/documents/2016\_1020\_swartz\_mexico.pdf], stating in a friend-of-the court brief that "giving Mexican nationals an effective remedy for harm caused by arbitrary and unlawful conduct directed across the border by U.S. Border Patrol Agents would not conflict with Mexico's laws and customs and could not possibly damage relations between our two countries."

The facts in the case going before the Supreme Court are a bit murkier.

In June 2010, Border Patrol agent Jesus Mena Jr., fatally shot 15-year-old Sergio Hernandez, who was on the Mexican side of the concrete culvert between El Paso, Texas, and Ciudad Juárez, Mexico.

The Federal Bureau of Investigation said Mr. Hernandez had been among a group of youths throwing rocks to distract U.S. agents from an **immigrant**-smuggling operation. But cellphone videos of the incident aired by Univision and CNN suggest that Mr. Hernandez was running away when he was shot.

Mr. Hernandez's parents sued Mr. Mesa in federal court. A district judge in Texas dismissed the case, a decision upheld by the Fifth Circuit in New Orleans.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**MANSION

When to Subtract a Home Addition[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/when-to-subtract-a-home-addition-1476971925]

Every square foot counts in a hot housing market, but there can be perks to paring back[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/when-to-subtract-a-home-addition-1476971925]. Unwise or uncharacteristic additions can hurt a home's resale prospects, agents say. In many remodels, strategic subtractions can broaden the buyer pool and make a space feel new. And in some markets, restoring a home to its original size can mean major tax breaks.

Can Indoor Pools Sink Home Values?[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/can-indoor-pools-sink-home-values-1476972691]

When it's chilly outside, some swimmers head indoors to personal pools that are sheltered from the elements and heated for comfort. Owners say the pools keep the kids entertained and offer a place for year-round exercise. But real-estate experts warn that indoor pools add little to property values[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/can-indoor-pools-sink-home-values-1476972691] and may be difficult to sell down the road.

A Utah Home With a Sweeping Mountain View[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/a-utah-home-with-a-sweeping-mountain-view-1476975340]

Before work even started on the blueprints of her Park City, Utah, home, Julie Chahine called a meeting with an architect, a contractor and an energy engineer. She wanted a home with a modern design, which meant lots of glass. But she wanted the house to be energy efficient[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/a-utah-home-with-a-sweeping-mountain-view-1476975340] at the same time.

\* Home on Pebble Beach's 18th Hole Seeks $25.75 Million[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/home-on-pebble-beachs-18th-hole-seeks-25-75-million-1476973500]

\* The Great Lakes Escape: Three Homes for Sale on the Shore[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/the-great-lakes-escape-1476977444]

COMMERCIAL REAL ESTATE

**Immigrant** Investor Program for Poor Neighborhoods Benefits Rich Ones More, Study Shows[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/immigrant-investor-program-for-poor-neighborhoods-benefits-rich-ones-more-study-shows-1476917304]

The vast majority of investment in a federal **immigration** program meant to bring funds to rural and struggling urban areas is going to real estate developments that are typically located in economically robust neighborhoods[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/immigrant-investor-program-for-poor-neighborhoods-benefits-rich-ones-more-study-shows-1476917304], a study released Wednesday by the U.S. Government Accountability Office found.

\* U.S. Existing-Home Sales Rebounded in September[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/u-s-existing-home-sales-rebounded-in-september-1476972399] [WSJ Pro]

\* Here's Just How Much Building It Would Take to Boost Big-City Affordability[http://blogs.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/economics/2016/10/20/heres-just-how-much-building-it-would-take-to-boost-big-city-affordability/]

HOUSE OF THE DAY

A Whimsical Compound in L.A.'s Sherwood Forest[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/a-whimsical-compound-in-l-a-s-sherwood-forest-1476975936]

This property includes[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/a-whimsical-compound-in-l-a-s-sherwood-forest-1476975936] a treehouse, a playhouse, a dance studio and a collection of Mexican animal sculptures.

GREATER NEW YORK REAL ESTATE

Major League Baseball Expected to Move Headquarters to Midtown[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/major-league-baseball-expected-to-move-headquarters-to-midtown-1476923225]

Major League Baseball is expected to sign a large lease[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/major-league-baseball-expected-to-move-headquarters-to-midtown-1476923225] as early as Thursday to consolidate its Manhattan operations at the former Time & Life Building, according to people familiar with the deal.

\* Malloy Calls on FEMA to Help With At-Risk Homes[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/malloy-writes-fema-on-homes-1476922455]

\* Airbnb Revises New York Rules Amid Possible Legislation[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/airbnb-revises-new-york-rules-amid-possible-legislation-1476891334] [WSJ Pro]

\* Columbia's New Center Says ‘C'mon In'[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/columbias-new-center-says-cmon-in-1476925814]

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**LAS VEGAS—Donald Trump refused Wednesday to commit to respecting the results of the presidential election if his Democratic rival Hillary Clinton wins, hinting at a challenge to one of the longtime traditions of American democracy.

"I will tell you at the time. I will keep you in suspense," the Republican nominee said here at the third and final presidential debate. "That's horrifying," Mrs. Clinton replied. "That is not the way our democracy works."

The debate at the University of Nevada, Las Vegas was a chance for Mr. Trump to regain momentum in the presidential race, which national and battleground state polls show Mrs. Clinton leading. But the evening's most striking moment came when moderator Chris Wallace asked if the GOP nominee would follow the guidance of his running mate Mike Pence and his daughter, Ivanka, and support the winner even if it wasn't him.

Mr. Trump demurred, and said Mrs. Clinton's very candidacy was proof of conspiracy against him, citing her improper use of private email as secretary of state. "She should not be allowed to run. Just in that respect, I say it's rigged," he said.

Reaction was swift, and negative, from some quarters. "If he loses it will not be because the system is ‘rigged,' but because he failed as a candidate," said Sen. Lindsey Graham (R., S.C.), who competed with Mr. Trump in the GOP primaries.

The debate started with a more measured tone compared with their first two showdowns, as Mr. Trump sought to present a more presidential posture that could reassure wavering Republicans and independents about his candidacy. He and Mrs. Clinton offered differing visions over social, economic and foreign policy, and attacked one another harshly over their personal conduct.

Mrs. Clinton pointed to his complaints about his defeat in the Iowa primary, the lawsuit against Trump University and losing an Emmy for his reality TV show. "Every time Donald thinks things are not going in his direction, he claims whatever it is, is rigged against him," she said.

Mr. Trump's response to the query differed from the one he gave in the first debate. "If she wins, I will absolutely support her," he said then, though he added that he doubted she would win. The differing answers reflect the contours of the race over the course of the three presidential debates. At that time, polls were tighter and Mr. Trump was seen as having momentum. Since the first face-off in New York, the advantage has shifted to Mrs. Clinton, giving her a double-digit lead in several national polls.

The bitterness that has developed in recent weeks between the two camps spilled over toward the end of the debate, when Mr. Trump interrupted Mrs. Clinton and called her "such a nasty woman."

The election has featured scant discussion over social issues, but Mr. Wallace put these matters on the table at the start with a discussion over the Supreme Court, a timely matter given that a vacancy currently on the court.

Mr. Trump promised he would appoint justices who would overturn the Roe v. Wade abortion decision and protect gun rights. "They will have a conservative bent," he said. "I will be appointing pro-life judges."

Mrs. Clinton said she would choose justices who would protect abortion rights, same-sex marriage and overturn Citizens United, which removed limits on corporate and union spending in elections. "The Supreme Court needs to stand on the side of the American people, not on the side of the powerful corporations and the wealthy," she said.

But the debate soon tilted toward the personal attacks that have dominated this presidential contest. Mrs. Clinton accused Mr. Trump of being a "puppet" of Russian President Vladimir Putin, whom she tied to the hack of her campaign chairman's personal email account. "No puppet," Mr. Trump shot back at Mrs. Clinton. "You're the puppet."

"It's pretty clear that you won't admit that the Russians engaged in cyberattacks, that you encouraged spying against our people, that you are willing to spout the Putin line," Mrs. Clinton said.

"She has no idea," Mr. Trump said. "Putin has outsmarted her at every step of the way."

On **immigration**, Mr. Trump emphasized border security, and the wall he wants to build on the southern border. "We have no country if we have no border," he said. He accused Mrs. Clinton of supporting "amnesty" for those in the country illegally.

Mrs. Clinton said she voted when she was in the Senate for border security as part of a larger **immigration** package, but wants to give safe harbor to illegal **immigrant** already living in the U.S. "I don't want to rip families apart. I don't want to be sending parents away from children," she said. "I don't want to see the deportation force that Donald has talked about in action in our country."

On the economy, Mrs. Clinton offered a positive vision, something her advisers saw as an imperative for her going into the debate. She promised the "biggest jobs program since World War II" by investing in infrastructure and advanced manufacturing. She said she would increase the minimum wage and make college "debt free" for some families.

"His whole plan is to cut taxes, give the biggest tax breaks ever to the wealthy and add $20 trillion to our debt," she said. "It will truly be trickle-down economics."

Mr. Trump said he wanted to "get government out of the taxes and regulations" and promised to end the North American Free Trade Agreement, the free-trade agreement with Mexico and Canada.

"We are going to cut taxes massively," Mr. Trump said. "We are going to start the engine rolling again."

He blamed Mrs. Clinton and her husband, former President Bill Clinton, for Nafta, which Mr. Clinton signed, and for backing the pending Trans Pacific Partnership. Mrs. Clinton again vowed to oppose the Asian trade deal but moved fast to turn the trade issue against Mr. Trump, saying he had bought Chinese steel and aluminum for his buildings. Mr. Trump replied that Mrs. Clinton had been in office for 30 years and asked why she didn't "make it impossible for me to do that."

"He goes around with crocodile tears about how terrible it is, but he has given jobs to Chinese steelworkers, not American steelworkers," Mrs. Clinton said.

The former secretary of state pivoted off that critique to contrast their respective careers. "When I was in the Situation Room monitoring the raid that brought Osama bin Laden to justice, he was hosting the ‘Celebrity Apprentice,' " she said.

"I'm happy to compare my 30 years of experience, what I have done for this country, trying to help in every way I could…with your 30 years, and I will let the American people make that decision."

Mr. Trump replied that he built a "phenomenal company."

The question of Mr. Trump's conduct with women again surfaced. He accused the women who have charged since the last debate that he groped or kissed them without permission of lying. "I think they want either fame or her campaign did it. I think it's her campaign," he said.

Mrs. Clinton replied by quoting Mr. Trump's defense, offered at rallies, that these women weren't attractive enough to warrant such advances.

"Donald thinks belittling women makes him bigger. He goes after their dignity, their self-worth, and I don't think there is a woman anywhere who doesn't know what that feels like," she said.

Leaving here after their final debate, the Democratic nominee has the upper hand heading into the home stretch, leading in many polls and enjoying a big cash advantage as the candidates concentrate on Ohio, North Carolina and Pennsylvania, where both will be campaigning in the coming days, as well as Florida.

The two candidates are supposed to begin the postdebate phase of the campaign with a few jokes.

The White House contenders will reunite in New York on Thursday for the Al Smith charity dinner, where candidates traditionally poke fun at themselves and offer gracious comments to one another.

Maureen Sherry, a board member for the foundation that puts on the dinner, said candidates in past years have mixed easily even in the closing weeks of fiercely fought campaigns, including at a small private reception that precedes the televised dinner. Organizers are wondering what will happen this time.

"My hope is that they can set aside this vitriol and this terrible feeling that's been created for each other," she said. "Maybe something to add some levity or elegance to what has been the most horrible campaign we have witnessed in our lifetime."

In the coming days, both candidates will campaign in Pennsylvania, a traditionally Democratic state that is must-win for Mr. Trump, and in North Carolina, a traditionally Republican state where demographic changes are shifting the electorate toward the Democrats.

Mrs. Clinton is trying to expand the presidential battleground map with a $2 million push in Arizona[http://blogs.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/washwire/2016/10/17/seeing-opening-clinton-team-to-spend-2-million-on-ads-in-arizona-dispatch-first-lady/], where polls show a virtual tie. On Thursday, first lady Michelle Obama, one of the Democrat's most powerful surrogates, will campaign in Phoenix.

Mr. Trump's effort to expand his map into Wisconsin and Michigan appears to be faltering; polls show Mrs. Clinton firmly ahead in both places.

But her chances have dimmed in Iowa, where she hasn't campaigned since September and where polls show Mr. Trump ahead. The race appears tied in Ohio, where Mr. Trump plans to campaign Thursday and Mrs. Clinton visits Friday.

Rebecca Ballhaus and Janet Hook contributed to this article.

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More on Election 2016

\* Recap: Final Debate[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/livecoverage/hillary-clinton-donald-trump-third-debate-2016-las-vegas]

\* After a Sedate Start, Trump Takes the Bait[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/presidential-debate-after-a-sedate-start-donald-trump-takes-the-bait-1476932103]

\* Clinton: Trump's Reluctance to Accept Election Results Fits Pattern[http://blogs.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/washwire/2016/10/20/clinton-trumps-reluctance-to-accept-election-results-fits-pattern/]

\* Trump Brings Election ‘Rigging' Charges Front and Center[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/donald-trump-brings-election-rigging-charges-front-and-center-1476914927]

\* Debate Database: Look Up What the Candidates Said in the Debates[http://wsj.exclone.com/]

\* Clinton, Trump Offer Contrasting Supreme Court Visions on Gun, Abortion Rights[http://blogs.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/washwire/2016/10/19/clinton-trump-offer-contrasting-supreme-court-visions-on-gun-rights-abortion/]

\* Russian Puppets and ‘Bad Hombres': Top Moments From the Third Clinton-Trump Debate[http://blogs.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/washwire/2016/10/20/russian-puppets-and-bad-hombres-top-moments-from-the-third-clinton-trump-debate/]

\* 5 Takeaways from the Final Debate[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/5-takeaways-from-final-donald-trump-hillary-clinton-debate-1476938559]

\* U.S. Reiterates Russian Responsibility for Hacks[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/intelligence-officials-reiterate-russian-responsibility-for-recent-hacks-1476981467?tesla=y]

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**After all of this year's election turmoil—the noisy clashes over Donald Trump's comments on **immigrants** and women[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/donald-trumps-lewd-comments-about-women-spark-uproar-1475886118], Hillary Clinton's controversies over email[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/fbi-documents-show-state-department-fought-classification-of-clinton-emails-1476724447] and the Clinton Foundation—public views of the two candidates have wound up right where they were in January.

Mr. Trump and Mrs. Clinton are no more liked or disliked than when the year started, nor have more people come to view the prospect of their election with optimism, Wall Street Journal/NBC News polling finds. And in a head-to-head matchup, Mrs. Clinton's 10-point lead of today is exactly where it stood in January, after some tightening in the race in the late spring and early summer.

Those numbers suggest that Wednesday night's debate, which produced [http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/debate-will-be-final-showdown-before-millions-1476833528]some dramatic moments—including clashes over **immigration** and national security, and Mr. Trump's refusal to commit to accepting results of the vote—might not change the trajectory of the race. The 2016 election may seem turbulent, with its battle of personalities, hacked emails and late-night tweets. But underneath, there has been more stability than volatility.

Mr. Trump started the year with 29% of voters saying they viewed him in a positive light, Journal/NBC News polls found. Today, that share is again at 29%.

Mrs. Clinton began the year with 40% of voters viewing her in a positive light. Today, the share remains at 40%.

In February, 33% of voters said they would feel optimistic or satisfied if Mr. Trump were elected president, and 43% said so of Mrs. Clinton. Now, those shares are nearly identical.

And asked in January which candidate they would pick for president, 51% of voters chose Mrs. Clinton and 41% Mr. Trump—the same levels of support as today.

Each candidate has lived through ups and downs during the year: The public image of each took a hit in April, and Mrs. Clinton's lead over Mr. Trump shriveled to 3 points in May.

Some voters remain in flux. Undecided and third-party voters seem to be gravitating toward the two major-party candidates, and recent polling suggests that women are moving more forcefully toward Mrs. Clinton.[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/hillary-clinton-extends-lead-over-donald-trump-to-11-points-1476622801]

Yet overall, the voters have circled back to where they started. Daily news events, including the presidential debates, may appear to have a big impact on the election. "But in truth, everything that has happened up to now has left the voters in the same place," said Peter Hart, a Democratic pollster who works on the Journal/NBC News poll.

Micah Roberts, a Republican pollster who helps guide the poll, said the results show that Mr. Trump's campaign hasn't accomplished one of its core goals.

"They had to make some chunk of voters more comfortable with a Donald Trump presidency. And these numbers show that hasn't happened," he said.

The share of voters with positive views of Mr. Trump has never topped 30% in Journal/NBC surveys this year, and voters by a nearly 2-to-1 margin say they would be uncertain and pessimistic about a Trump presidency, rather than optimistic and satisfied.

For her part, Mrs. Clinton has made some progress in improving her image. This summer, she trailed Mr. Trump by 16 percentage points on the question of which candidate was more honest and straightforward; now, she trails by only 4 points. That suggests that one of her biggest liabilities is receding.

But on the broadest measure of her image, Mrs. Clinton's standing is the same as in January. Half of voters view her unfavorably, and more than half say her election would leave them pessimistic and uncertain. Both measures are the same as at the start of the year.

To Mr. Hart, it comes as little surprise that neither candidate has succeeded in making more people enthusiastic about a Trump or Clinton presidency. "If you think the basic tenet of a campaign is to destroy your opponent, then in that case they have fulfilled their duties," he said.

That seemed to be a core mission of both candidates in Wednesday's debate. Mrs. Clinton, in particular, prosecuted a case against Mr. Trump's fitness for office, calling her opponent a "puppet" of the Russian government and saying that "he thinks belittling women makes him bigger." Mr. Trump, for his part, called his rival "a nasty woman" and said she had acted "criminally" in destroying emails.

Jeff Horwitt, a Democratic pollster who also works on the Journal/NBC poll, pointed out that Mr. Trump and Mrs. Clinton were household names well before they started their campaigns, a contrast with many prior nominees.

In January, he noted, nearly nine in 10 voters felt they knew enough about Mr. Trump and Mrs. Clinton to offer an opinion, positive or negative, in Journal/NBC News surveys.

By contrast, in January 2008 only two-thirds of voters offered an opinion of Sen. John McCain and three-quarters gave an opinion of then-Sen. Barack Obama, the major-party nominees that year. In 2000, fewer than eight in 10 voters offered an opinion of then-Gov. George W. Bush or Al Gore, who was a sitting vice president.

Impressions of Mrs. Clinton and Mr. Trump "had already been formed over years, if not decades," Mr. Horwitt said. Such longstanding views can be hard to change.

Both Messrs. Roberts and Hart said the numbers paint an unhappy picture of the months to come.

"We're going to elect, no matter who it is, the most unpopular president in the history of polling going back to the '30s," Mr. Roberts said. "Whichever person takes office is going to have a heckuva time governing with these kinds of numbers."

The next challenge, Mr. Hart said, is for the winner "to unite the nation."

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More on Election 2016[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/news/politics]

\* Recap: The Third Clinton-Trump Debate[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/livecoverage/hillary-clinton-donald-trump-third-debate-2016-las-vegas]

\* Final Debate: Donald Trump Declines to Commit to Respecting Results if He Loses[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/final-debate-hillary-clinton-donald-trump-enter-last-face-off-before-election-day-1476918864]

\* Presidential Debate: After a Sedate Start, Donald Trump Takes the Bait[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/presidential-debate-after-a-sedate-start-donald-trump-takes-the-bait-1476932103]

\* Some Undecided Voters Turn On Donald Trump Over ‘Rigged' Claims[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/some-undecided-voters-turn-on-donald-trump-over-rigged-claims-1476935176?tesla=y]

\* Social Security's Challenges Get a Moment in Final Trump, Clinton Debate[http://blogs.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/washwire/2016/10/19/social-securitys-challenges-get-a-moment-in-final-trump-clinton-debate/]

\* Clinton, Trump Offer Contrasting Supreme Court Visions on Gun, Abortion Rights[http://blogs.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/washwire/2016/10/19/clinton-trump-offer-contrasting-supreme-court-visions-on-gun-rights-abortion/]

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**LONDON—Prime Minister Theresa May heads to her first Brussels summit of European Union leaders on Thursday as she wrestles to balance demands at home on how to extract the U.K. from the bloc.

With only a thin majority in Parliament, the premier faces a vociferous group of euroskeptic lawmakers in her party that seeks certainty that she is pursuing a hard break with the EU and that Britain will regain control over its borders. But she also is trying not to **alienate** the vast number of businesses calling for minimal disturbance to Britain's trade relations with EU partners.

Several senior diplomats said Wednesday that other leaders at the EU summit will be looking to Mrs. May to clarify her recent remarks at the Conservative Party conference, which have been widely interpreted in Europe as setting Britain on course for hard break from the bloc and a loosening of economic ties.

Mrs. May plans to lay out her broad approach for taking Britain out of the EU over dinner with the other leaders on Thursday, according to a Downing Street official, emphasizing her view that a good deal for the U.K. is also in the interest of the EU.

But at home the British prime minister has resisted giving a running commentary on her approach to the negotiations, which she said she intends to open[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/u-k-s-may-plans-to-trigger-article-50-by-end-of-march-1475401597] before the end of March. Her approach of centralizing decision making and relying on a close-knit circle of advisers has **alienated** officials in some departments and exacerbated differences between members of her cabinet, officials say.

In a committee hearing on Wednesday[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/u-k-hammond-no-plans-to-change-boe-independence-1476887601], Chancellor of the Exchequer Philip Hammond said the U.K. must ensure that it protects its economy while seeking to sharply reduce cut **immigration**.

"It's no secret there are different views about how we should approach the negotiation," he said. "The central trade-off would be around the European Union's negotiating position—and it is their clearly stated negotiating position—that access for goods and services to the market is linked inextricably...to freedom of movement."

The Treasury, which wielded considerable influence under previous administrations, has lost some sway under Mrs. May, said Jacob Rees-Mogg, a Conservative member of Parliament on the Treasury committee. "The prime minister is clearly in charge of her own agenda," he said.

Mrs. May has insisted she needs no parliamentary approval to open the two-year negotiating window with the EU in the spring. But in response to pressure from lawmakers opposed to a hard Brexit, her government this week said it might give Parliament a ratification vote once negotiations are complete.

At her keynote speech at the Conservative Party conference in Birmingham this month, Mrs. May sought to reach out to voters like John Newman, a 55-year-old construction worker who voted to leave the EU. Mr. Newman said he would now vote for Mrs. May's Conservatives instead of the opposition Labour Party because of her commitment to exit from the bloc. "You've got to put a cap on this **immigration**," he said.

But at the British Consulate in Midtown Manhattan late last month Mrs. May sought to reassure a roomful of U.S. bank executives that she would try to maximize the U.K.'s trade access to the European Union in the Brexit negotiations, according to people familiar with the meeting.

Since coming to office three months ago,Mrs. May has reaped high approval ratings by pledging to crack down on **immigration** and reproaching the "international elite." Sterling's steep drop against the dollar has helped cushion the U.K. economy from negative trade fallout after Britain's vote to leave the EU.

The 60-year-old vicar's daughter took the helm at a time of deep fissures in the U.K. over its future relationship with the EU and the wider global economy. In June, 52% of Britons voted to leave the EU, and 48% to remain. Many of those who supported leaving cited frustration with rising levels of **immigration**. Yet a key EUprinciple allows its citizens to live and work in any member state, and countries must abide by this rule to have access to the bloc's single market.

"She is helped by being new and enjoying a bit of a honeymoon," said Philip Cowley, politics professor at Queen Mary University of London. "Yet she has to deal with this trade-off between engaging with Europe in trade and managing to restrict **immigration** into Britain. It's an incredibly difficult balancing act."

The Treasury's declining influence has caused concern among some senior bankers that it won't be able to stand up for the financial sector's interests. Some banks are increasing their lobbying efforts amid fears their right to sell services across the EU could be cut, bank executives say.

At a recent International Monetary Fund conference, Mr. Hammond held one-on-one meetings with international bank executives and asked them for information so he could better argue the banks' case, people familiar with the meetings said. A Treasury spokeswoman said Mr. Hammond "regularly meets with a range of stakeholders to listen to their views." A No. 10 spokeswoman said Mrs. May is open to listening to "differing views."

A poll by Ipsos Mori, published last week, showed **immigration** is the No. 1 concern of U.K. voters, who have the highest reported level of worry about **immigration** of any of the 25 countries it surveyed, including Germany, the U.S. and France.

Despite Mrs. May's surge in popularity, some analysts say she is overplaying to the gallery. Sterling plunged to a fresh 31-year-low after her speech at the party conference. The pound's steep decline is buoying[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/pounds-pounding-helped-u-k-absorb-brexit-shock-1476055421] British exporters and tourism and acting as a giant shock absorber against Brexit. But there are signs of pricing pressure[http://on.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/2e6z1DB] for importers.

"I think there is the risk of overcompensating in terms of talking to the people that voted leave," said Stephen Booth, acting director of think tank Open Europe. "But it's all rhetoric and we haven't had the policy yet."

Laurence Norman in Brussels contributed to this article.

Related Stories

\* May Plans to Trigger Article 50 by End of March [http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/u-k-s-may-plans-to-trigger-article-50-by-end-of-march-1475401597]

\* Analysis: Britain's Weak Hand Points to Acrimonious Divorce [http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/britains-weak-brexit-hand-points-to-acrimonious-divorce-1476903697]

\* Chilly Autumn for Britain's Post-Brexit Property Businesses[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/chilly-autumn-for-britains-post-brexit-property-businesses-1476881079]

\* Brussels Beat: May's ‘Hard Brexit' Signs Come With a Damper [http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/theresa-mays-hard-brexit-signs-come-with-a-damper-1476389623]

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**NEVADA

Taco Truck Protest Outside Trump Hotel

Republican nominee Donald Trump spent the night before the third presidential debate in one of his many homes away from home—his Las Vegas hotel—but not everyone was rolling out the welcome mat.

Anti-Trump protesters gathered outside the Trump Hotel Las Vegas on Wednesday morning alongside a line of seven taco trucks—a "wall" to symbolize opposition to Mr. Trump's **immigration** policies, his presidential campaign and, of more local interest, his opposition to efforts by the Culinary Workers Union to organize the hotel staff.

The taco theme was a reference to Mr. Trump's effort to show support for the Cinco de Mayo holiday when he tweeted a picture of himself eating a taco bowl. Critics said that didn't make up for him once calling Mexican **immigrants** rapists and criminals.

Trump Hotel workers voted to join the Culinary Workers Union in December, but haven't been able to negotiate a contract with hotel management.

A coalition of Democratic, union and liberal groups—including American Bridge, a Washington, D.C., opposition research group—also sent 40 taco trucks around the city to register voters Tuesday, the last day to register in Nevada.

Janet Hook

VOTING

RNC Sends Reminder On ‘Ballot Security'

The Republican National Committee asked members to avoid election-related "ballot security" activities such as poll watching in their capacity as Republican Party officers, citing a decades-old court settlement restricting such activities by GOP officials.

As part of a 1982 settlement in a lawsuit brought by Democrats, the RNC agreed to curb its efforts to monitor and challenge voter eligibility at the polls, especially in districts where the racial or ethnic composition of the electorate could be a factor in the outcome.

RNC general counsel John Ryder wrote to members on Wednesday to "remind you of the restrictions placed on the RNC by the consent decree."

The RNC membership is made up of 168 state party representatives, three from each state and territory.

The reminder from the RNC could complicate GOP candidate Donald Trump's efforts to recruit election observers to monitor polling places for intimidation. Though an RNC official said the decree doesn't apply to campaigns or state parties, no committee resources can be used on those efforts.

Mr. Trump's campaign didn't respond to a request for comment.

Byron Tau

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**The Trump Organization is partnering with a developer on a Texas hotel project that seeks to tap a controversial program granting green cards to foreigners who invest in the U.S.

The federal EB-5 program gives up to 10,000 green cards a year to foreigners who invest at least $500,000 in U.S. businesses deemed to create at least 10 American jobs per investor.

The Republican presidential nominee's company is lending the Trump name to the 33-story luxury hotel and condominium development in downtown Austin, while its partner, Global Management Resources, would take charge of the construction, according to marketing materials reviewed by The Wall Street Journal.

The developer is marketing the project in China, according to the materials.

Donald Trump has made tighter **immigration** control a pillar of his presidential campaign. He has also criticized China's trade and financial policies, blaming them for economic woes at home.

"Our growth strategy is to expand the Trump Hotels portfolio by strategically opening properties in key U.S. and international locations," said a representative for Trump Hotels, part of the Trump Organization.

The representative said the company hasn't invested its own capital in the Austin project, but remains interested in the market from a brand and management standpoint.

Global Management executives didn't respond to a request for comment.

The EB-5 program was created in 1990, and for much of its history was used by only a few hundred investors a year. But since 2008, real-estate developers have flocked to it as a form of low-cost loans for projects. Because many foreign investors are motivated primarily by the prospect of a green card—not the financial investment—they tend to accept below-market interest rates, meaning big savings for developers. A large majority of those investors in recent years have hailed from China, typically accounting for more than 80% of EB-5 visas.

At least $8.7 billion has been invested in the U.S. economy through the program since Oct. 1, 2012, and an estimated 35,140 jobs have been created for U.S. workers through foreign investment via EB-5, according to the **Immigrant** Investor Program Office at U.S. Citizenship and **Immigration** Services.

While some in Congress have criticized the program's premise—giving green cards to wealthy investors—other issues also have cast a cloud over the program in recent years. Some developers and middlemen who have raised money through the program have been alleged to be involved in fraudulent schemes.

The program also has become dominated by developers of projects in wealthy neighborhoods who are using a provision meant to aid economically ailing ones.

A study released Wednesday by the U.S. Government Accountability Office found that just 12% of investment went to projects located in a census tract with an unemployment rate of at least 8%, even though those projects benefited from a provision earmarked for high-unemployment areas. A large chunk—36%—was for projects in a tract with an unemployment rate of 4% or lower.

The program is due to expire in December, and lawmakers are clashing over proposed changes.

The entity pooling the EB-5 money for the $170 million Trump-branded hotel, Renewable Texas Energy Regional Center LLC, is seeking $40 million from 80 EB-5 investors. The center estimated the project will create 1,427 direct and indirect jobs.

The hotel will have 255 rooms and 22 condominium units and an outdoor rooftop terrace. It is a five-minute walk to Austin's 6th Street entertainment district. Trump Hotels will manage the property, according to documents on the center's website.

While Mr. Trump has run for president, his company has continued to find new business opportunities around the world. In recent years, most of Mr. Trump's real-estate deals have been branding agreements in which he has licensed his name to others but hasn't taken any of the financial risk.

Exceptions include the Trump International Hotel, which opened recently in a converted Post Office building in Washington, D.C.

Another Trump-branded project has applied for EB-5 funding: an apartment tower in Jersey City, N.J., being developed by Kushner Cos. and KABR Group. The chief executive of Kushner is Jared Kushner, who is married to Mr. Trump's daughter, Ivanka.

Josh Chin and Eliot Brown contributed to this article.

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Related

\* EB-5 Program Benefits Rich Neighborhoods More, Study Shows[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/immigrant-investor-program-for-poor-neighborhoods-benefits-rich-ones-more-study-shows-1476917304?tesla=y]

\* Senators Say EB-5 Visas Should Be Fixed—or Deep-Sixed[http://blogs.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/washwire/2016/09/22/senators-say-eb-5-visas-should-be-fixed-or-deep-sixed/]

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**LONDON—The U.K. government has no plans to change the independence of the Bank of England, Treasury Chief Philip Hammond said Wednesday.

The statement comes after Prime Minister Theresa May fueled discussion about a possible shift in attitude to monetary policy during a speech at her Conservative Party's annual fall conference where she signaled the government would seek to address the "bad side effects" of the easy-money policies pursued by the BOE and other central banks. The BOE's ultralow interest rates[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/brexit-trigger-news-sends-british-pound-lower-1475463756] and asset purchases provided "emergency medicine" for the economy but have worsened inequality, she said.

William Hague—a former leader of the Conservatives—also warned in an article in The Telegraph newspaper on Tuesday that if central banks like the BOE continued to provide emergency stimulus policies they could find their independence increasingly under attack. Central banks had "lost the plot," he said, and urged the Federal Reserve to lead the way to higher rates and for other central banks to follow.

"We have no plans to change the way monetary policy is delivered or managed in this country," Mr. Hammond told Parliament's Treasury Committee when asked about the prime minister's comments.

"Monetary policy is independently determined—that will continue to be the case. The Monetary Policy Committee will continue to make decisions on interest rates and recommendations on unconventional monetary policy," he said.

The Bank of England revived its quantitative easing monetary policy stimulus in August as part of a package of measures designed to support the economy during a period of uncertainty following the June vote to leave the European Union. BOE Gov. Mark Carney has defended the new stimulus package, saying "we are not going to take instruction on our policies from the political side."

Mr. Hammond said the BOE's intervention and the later-than-expected plan to trigger Article 50, the formal process for leaving the EU, had challenged the validity of the Treasury's previous dire predictions the economic impact of the vote to leave the bloc published in April. The Treasury's predictions of the impact of Brexit had also been based on three potential models the government wasn't aiming for, he said.

"We will be seeking to pursue a bespoke outcome in this set of negotiations," the chancellor of the exchequer said.

Mr. Hammond said the government hadn't made a decision on whether to leave the EU's customs union, whereby goods move tariff-free across the borders of member states and there is a uniform system of customs duties on imports from outside the bloc. Mrs. May has said the government will take control of **immigration** from Europe when it leaves the EU and seek the best possible deal for trade in goods and services with the bloc but hasn't fleshed out her aims so as not to jeopardize her negotiating position.

Mr. Hammond has stressed the government should be careful not to harm the economy as it leaves the EU, a note of caution that has set him apart from the rhetoric of some pro-Brexit ministers. Treasury sources have denied recent newspaper reports that Mr. Hammond is trying to delay Brexit.

Mr. Hammond told the committee that the government needed space to discuss and explore options behind closed doors, adding, "it's no secret there are different views about how we should approach the negotiation."

He also said the government's future controls on **immigration** should be aimed at those who come to the U.K. to compete for lower-level jobs as maintaining a flow of highly skilled people was key to the economy.

While the EU referendum showed there were public concerns about levels of migration, "it's very clear to me they are not talking about computer programmers, brain surgeons, bankers, senior managers—possibly students," he said. "They're talking about people competing for entry-level jobs with people in the U.K. who perhaps have a level of skills that means they only have access to those kinds of jobs."

Mr. Hammond stressed the importance of the financial services sector in the government's Brexit considerations, saying addressing its challenges was a "high priority." But he added that he recognized financial services companies, "are also realistic and are looking at other options beyond passporting to protect their interests," and the government was working closely with them to look at other options.

"As we move to introduce controls on migration between the European Union and the U.K….I cannot conceive of any circumstances in which we would be using those controls to prevent banks, companies, moving highly qualified, highly skilled people between different parts of their businesses. That's essential for the smooth operation of our economy," he said.

Paul Hannon contributed to this article.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**The vast majority of investment in a federal **immigration** program meant to bring funds to rural and struggling urban areas is going to real estate developments that are typically located in economically robust neighborhoods, a study released Wednesday by the U.S. Government Accountability Office found.

The report, which looked at the EB-5 **immigrant** investor program over a three-month period last year, found that just 12% of investment went toward projects located in a census tract with an unemployment rate of at least 8%, even though those projects benefited from a provision earmarked for high-unemployment areas. A large chunk—36%—were for projects located in a census tract with an unemployment rate of 4% or lower.

The report is the first effort by the federal government to quantify the extent of what critics call a flagrant abuse of the program. The report hits at the heart of a fight under way in Congress over the future of EB-5[http://blogs.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/washwire/2016/09/22/senators-say-eb-5-visas-should-be-fixed-or-deep-sixed/], which gives green cards to foreigners who invest at least $500,000 in certain U.S. businesses that are measured to create jobs.

While it was little used for most of its history since it was created in 1990, EB-5 during the past decade has become dominated by luxury real estate projects in prosperous urban neighborhoods, including the $20 billion Hudson Yards project in Manhattan.

Developers have rushed to the program because it offers low-cost financing from the aspiring **immigrants**, often saving these developers tens of millions of dollars.

But nearly all of those projects have used a provision of the program meant for high-unemployment areas, which requires the project be located in an area with at least 150% of the U.S. unemployment rate, which would have meant at least 7.6% unemployment in the time period of the study.

The program allows developers and state governments to craft special districts that stitch prosperous neighborhoods with poor ones[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/how-immigrants-cash-funds-luxury-towers-in-the-u-s-1441848965], a technique critics and administrators have called "gerrymandering."

The report, which looked at 200 investor applications received between July and September 2015, found that 90% of the money that it looked at went toward projects that stitched together at least two census tracts—some with more than 100 tracts.

Of the applications, just 3% were for projects in rural areas, the report found. That figure is sure to further bolster claims by critics that the real estate projects are out-competing projects in poor and rural areas[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/how-immigrants-cash-funds-luxury-towers-in-the-u-s-1441848965] that are trying to get the money.

Of course, the report offers only a small snapshot. The program took in more than 14,000 investor applications in the 2015 fiscal year, so the findings have a high margin of error.

But it does offer some data in an area that had little of it at a critical time.

The EB-5 program is due to expire in December, and lawmakers have been debating this very topic. The top Democrats and Republicans on the judiciary committees in the House and the Senate have agreed on proposed overhauls to the targeted employment area issue.

But they have run into resistance from two of the Senate's most influential members, Sens. John Cornyn (R., Texas) and Charles Schumer (D. N.Y.), who have echoed large developers' concerns and tried to preserve the ability of luxury projects to get benefits for struggling areas.

Write to Eliot Brown at eliot.brown@wsj.com[mailto:eliot.brown@wsj.com]

Related

\* Trump-Branded Project Developer in Austin Seeks to Tap **Immigrant** Visa Program[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/trump-branded-project-developer-in-austin-seeks-to-tap-immigrant-visa-program-1476911830] (Oct. 19)

\* Senators Say EB-5 Visas Should Be Fixed — or Deep-Sixed[http://blogs.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/washwire/2016/09/22/senators-say-eb-5-visas-should-be-fixed-or-deep-sixed/] (Sept. 22)

\* Expiration of Visa Program Nears[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/expiration-of-visa-program-nears-1474399593] (Sept. 20)

\* U.S. **Immigration** Program for Foreign Investors Sees Demand Surge[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/u-s-immigration-program-for-foreign-investors-sees-demand-surge-1458984601] (March 26)

\* Future of **Immigrant** Visa Program Has High-End Builders at Odds[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/future-of-immigrant-visa-program-has-high-end-builders-at-odds-1447151400] (November 2015)

\* How a U.S. Visa-for-Cash Plan Funds Luxury Apartment Buildings [http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/how-immigrants-cash-funds-luxury-towers-in-the-u-s-1441848965](September 2015)

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Aside from a couple of brief allusions, Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton have skimmed over **immigration** reform in the presidential debates so far. Mr. Trump hasn't mentioned his Great Wall of the Rio Grande. Hillary hasn't repeated her earlier promises to defy Congress if need be and grant unilateral amnesty to large numbers of illegals. We'll see what surprises tonight's debate brings.

The omissions, though, have not been unwelcome. The position of neither candidate reflects a thought-out approach to this rankling issue. Anyone looking for more substance could do worse than to pick up "We Wanted Workers," a readable and detailed historical tour of America's **immigration** debates and policies by Harvard economist George J. Borjas. Agree or disagree with his conclusions, the reader will encounter a level of seriousness that has been lacking in this campaign year.

Mr. Borjas is himself an **immigrant**, having at age 12 fled from Cuba to Miami with his widowed mother in 1962, just before the Cuban Missile Crisis shut down legal exits. As a labor economist, he has spent much of his academic career studying the effects of **immigration** on the American jobs market, often arguing that **immigration** depresses wages, or job opportunities, at the lower end of the scale. Here he notes that, on balance, the added production supplied by **immigrants**makes a modest contribution to U.S. economic growth. He generously provides readers with arguments on all sides, including Milton Friedman's wry observation that illegal **immigrants** are of more net benefit to the American economy than legals because they make less use of welfare-state services.

We Wanted Workers

By George J. Borjas Norton, 238 pages, $26.95

Mr. Borjas takes a gentle dig at this newspaper's editorials urging more liberal **immigration** laws, saying that such arguments don't take sufficient account of social costs. He offers a fanciful economic model of the borderless world envisioned in the John Lennon song "Imagine." With all barriers down, he estimates, global GDP would soar 60%, or $40 trillion. But the net gain would be only $28.1 billion because to take full advantage of a borderless world would include the considerable expense of moving 5.6 trillion people from the unproductive "south" to the productive "north."

This tongue-in-cheek fantasy is meant as a put-down of the theoretical view of **immigrants** as merely productive robots, not actual human beings who make decisions, use public services and sometimes create social conflicts. The economic benefits from their production, in short, come with costs. The author observes that the wave of **immigrants** to the U.S. that began in 1980 consisted of more low-skill workers than previous waves. Economic and social assimilation has been slower, particularly when newcomers settle in **immigrant** enclaves, where they feel little pressure to adapt to a new culture.

Citing another, real-life economic model, Mr. Borjas asserts that low-skill **immigrants** put downward pressure on the wages of low-skill natives: "A 10% increase in the number of workers in a particular skill group probably lowers the wage of that group by at least 3 percent." That claim is plausible, but the predicated 10% rise implies a concentration of **immigrants** that may exist in only a few localities. It seems a rather simplistic model from which to draw the generalization, as Mr. Borjas does, that the wage effects of **immigration** bring about a half-trillion-dollar wealth transfer from low-skill workers to their employers, who profit from the lower labor costs. A study released in September by the National Academies of Sciences, Engineering and Medicine could find little impact of **immigration** on the wages and employment opportunities of non-**immigrant** Americans.

After totting up the pluses and minuses, Mr. Borjas concludes that **immigration** has very little effect on the lives of most Americans. He does worry, however, that some future wave might bring along with it the "institutional, cultural and political baggage that may have hampered development in the poor countries" from which **immigrants** often come, and he sees a need for reforms.

Indeed, but what kind? The last major reform, the 1986 Simpson-Mazzoli Act, attempted to transfer enforcement of **immigration** laws to private employers by imposing fines on businesses that failed to confirm that their new hires were legal residents. As the author notes, the law gave rise to a black market in counterfeit birth certificates, green cards and passports. Employers had little inclination to try to find out if the credentials of would-be dishwashers or field workers were valid. Mr. Borjas's proposal to crack down harder on employers sounds like trying still more of a policy that didn't work.

"We Wanted Workers" acknowledges in its title that the post-1980 wave came about because of the rising demand for labor in a flourishing economy. But Mr. Borjas could have given greater attention to why Simpson-Mazzoli's rigidities limited the supply, opening the door, so to speak, to illegals. Farmers since 1986 have often been short on workers to harvest seasonal crops. Mr. Borjas argues that native labor is available to employers willing to pay more, but he doesn't make a convincing case. The reader may well conclude that there should be a greater provision for guest-worker programs and other measures that allow workers to come and go legally as the market demands.

Mr. Borjas ends his tour with a refreshing remark seldom heard from an economist. "Amazingly enough, sometimes inaction is the best action. And benign neglect of this sensitive issue is probably best as long as we take concurrent steps to ensure that we need not revisit this problem in the future with an even larger undocumented population." Many studies show that the illegal population has been steady at about 11 million for the past seven years and that Mexicans, on balance, are going home. So, really, what's all the fuss about?

Mr. Melloan, a former columnist and deputy editor of the Journal editorial page, has written a book on the Great Depression to be published next month by Threshold Editions, an imprint of Simon & Schuster.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**The U.K. government has unveiled two proposals on **immigration** that could thwart portfolio companies' profits by increasing labor and compliance costs.

It has drafted plans for a new visa regime that private-equity executives are concerned could restrict access to migrant workers in sectors such as hospitality, leisure and health care. A subcommittee on **immigration** led by Prime Minister Theresa May has been tasked with delivering a "targeted visa system," according to a document dated Oct. 18. Under the regime, the U.K. is expected to only allow skilled workers from mainland Europe to get through border controls if they have already secured a job, excluding unskilled workers who are frequently employed by these industries.

The government also intends to consult on a proposal that would force companies to list the proportion of foreign workers they employ, a spokesman for the Home Office confirmed, though he said the data wouldn't be made public. This is one of several proposals that the government will consult on as part of its plan to ensure "companies take reasonable steps to recruit at home before looking to bring in workers from abroad," the Home Office spokesman said.

Charles Ind, managing partner at U.K. private-equity firm Bowmark Capital, expressed concerns about the proposed policies.

"If the ultimate outcome is a less flexible and less fluid market for unskilled labor, that would obviously have an adverse impact on companies in many sectors of private-equity investment—and in particular health care, especially social care, and the hospitality industry, such as casual dining."

Mr. Ind said his portfolio companies are already "formulating strategies" to address the proposals, but added that there is a great deal of uncertainty and a large range of possible outcomes.

Social care, hospitality and health-care companies frequently employ unskilled workers and remain core targets for private-equity investment.

European food and beverage companies attracted $3.24 billion of private-equity capital during the first three quarters of 2016, more than double the $1.38 billion secured a year earlier, according to Dealogic. Health care attracted nearly $3.69 billion, down from $4.14 billion, and leisure businesses secured $2.11 billion, compared with $2.64 billion one year earlier.

Markus Golser, a senior partner at U.K.-based private-equity investor Graphite Capital, said there "already signs of a slowdown" in the number of new non-U.K. nationals coming to the U.K. since the EU Referendum on June 23, particularly in the restaurant sector.

"If it is not intended to be economically counterproductive, any visa regime will need to take into account the realities of employability and the available skills from U.K. nationals in these sectors," he said.

But not everyone believes tough **immigration** laws would harm U.K.-based portfolio companies.

Jon Moulton, founder of turnaround private-equity firm Better Capital, said he doubts whether the proposals would make much difference to his portfolio companies.

"In any case my expectation is of fairly loose controls," he said.

Mr. Golser said his firm isn't yet taking the proposal on listing foreign workers seriously "as it is likely to meet enormous resistance from the corporate world, including from [his firm's] portfolio companies".

If reporting is purely confidential and used, for example, to inform policy then, according to Invest Europe Chief Executive Michael Collins "the main issue for PE firms, and probably for business in general, would just be the cost of compliance."

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**An Afghani migrant waves from a van as he and six others leave an emergency shelter for minors in Saint-Omer, France, for Britain.

Iraqis from Bajwaniyah village, about 19 miles south of Mosul, who have been displaced by fighting approach security forces after their village was liberated from Islamic State.

Supporters of Donald Trump wait in line for a rally in Grand Junction, Colo., where the Republican presidential candidate was scheduled to speak on the eve of the third and final debate against his rival, Democrat Hillary Clinton.

A woman puts a newspaper bearing a picture of late Thai King Bhumibol Adulyadej on her head while standing in line to buy commemorative 100-baht bank notes outside the Government Savings Bank in Bangkok.

A U.S. Border Patrol agent removes a ladder used by illegal **immigrants** to climb a border fence near McAllen, Texas. **Immigration** and border security have become major issues in the presidential campaign.

Italian Prime Minister Matteo Renzi stands with U.S. President Barack Obama at a state arrival ceremony on the South Lawn of the White House in Washington.

Traffic police chat next to a residential building while off duty in Pyongyang, North Korea.

Members of Iraqi forces look on at Qayara Airbase, about 37 miles south of Mosul, on Sunday. The base was retaken from Islamic State earlier this year and is now a key logistics hub for the major multipronged operation to recapture Mosul, Iraq's second-largest city.

Broken branches block streets in Qionghai in south China's Hainan Province, in the wake of Typhoon Sarika. The typhoon, packing maximum winds of 100 miles per hour, made landfall in Hele Town, Wanning City, at 9:50 a.m. local time.

Family members of the kidnapped Chibok girls released by Boko Haram share a happy moment while departing for a meeting with the minister of women affairs in Abuja, Nigeria.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Barring an unprecedented comeback during the final three weeks of the campaign, Donald Trump's insurgent bid for the presidency will fall short. It is not too early to wonder what the Republican Party will do in the wake of his defeat, its third consecutive quadrennial loss.

No Republican will ever try harder than Mr. Trump has to make working-class white voters the centerpiece of a majority coalition. His no-holds barred effort to mobilize them has offended minority voters as well as the more educated white voters who have long supported more mainstream conservative candidates. If current trends continue, he will register single-digit support among African-Americans, he will underperform Mitt Romney's woeful showing among Latinos, and he will lose to Hillary Clinton among college-educated women.

Underlying these results are deep structural tensions. On economics, today's Republicans are—like Caesar's Gaul—divided into three parts. Establishment conservatives reflect the interests of corporate America. They favor free trade, **immigration** reform, and well-targeted public investment. They are broadly internationalist and mostly support the treaties and institutions through which the United States exercises global influence.

They believe in climate change and can live with reasonable measures to abate it. They want corporate tax reform, but not at the expense of provisions in the current code that benefit their economic sectors. They would like individual tax reform but already can use the current code to minimize their effective tax rate. They believe in "entitlement reform" but would accept revenue increases along with it—the ever-elusive "grand bargain" at the heart of blue-ribbon commissions.

Second come the small-town, small-government conservatives who channel the anxieties and antipathies of the National Federation of Independent Business and whose sentiments pervade the Paul Ryan-House Republican manifesto, "A Better Way." They believe—passionately—that government is the principal obstacle to growth. They insist on major tax cuts, especially in the individual code through which their unincorporated businesses are taxed, and fervently reject any new taxes.

They favor reductions in domestic spending (especially welfare), structural changes in Medicare and Medicaid, and an all-out assault on the regulatory state. Compared to their corporate brethren, their outlook is more nationalist. They mostly depend on the domestic market rather than exports and frown on institutions such as the Export-Import Bank, which they regard as corporate welfare. They are not invited to meetings at Davos.

And lastly, we reach the populist conservatives, many of them working class, about whom so much has been written in this election cycle. They mistrust all large institutions, especially the federal government, but they do not have an ideological preference for smaller government. They depend on costly programs such as Social Security, Medicare, and Disability Insurance and stand to benefit from the expanded infrastructure investments that Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton have proposed.

They see large corporations as indifferent, even hostile, to their interests and concerns. They view the world outside the United States more as a threat than an opportunity. So they oppose trade agreements as well as large **immigration** flows and are suspicious of the obligations that alliances such as NATO impose on the U.S. Like Mr. Trump, they regard such arrangements, on balance, as burdens rather than benefits. For them, "America First" is more than a slogan; it is a demand.

Despite the hostility between Paul Ryan and Mr. Trump, it is just possible to see how small-government conservatives and populist conservatives might make common cause. The small-government advocates could make their peace with Social Security and phase in changes to Medicare slowly enough to convince the populists, many of whom are near retirement age, that they have nothing to fear. Over time, they might be able to smooth the rough edges off the ethno-nationalism that has disfigured the Trump campaign and repelled so many Americans. Issues such as trade and **immigration** would remain points of contention, but focusing on border security and tougher enforcement of existing trade agreements could make the tensions manageable.

It is harder to see how establishment conservatives can find a place within this coalition. Their policy agenda contradicts the demands of the populists, and their outlooks are antithetical. They know that their long-term success depends on the kinds of public investments that small government conservatives shun—and the economic internationalism that populists abhor. Having abandoned the bipartisanship they espoused after World War II and casting their lot with the Republican Party, they find their influence shrinking among the kinds of conservatives who have come to dominate the GOP.

As working-class white voters left the Democrats after the 1960s, Republicans won them over with appeals to cultural traditionalism and American exceptionalism. It was a low-cost acquisition. Now, with the hollowing-out of the manufacturing sector on which working class communities depended, the bill—a balloon payment—has come due.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**ALLEX, France—President François Hollande's plan to resolve the Calais migrant crisis is sowing social unrest across the country as dozens of towns brace for the arrival of **refugees** by the busloads.

By the end of the year—and as early as this month—Mr. Hollande plans to transfer thousands of migrants from the blighted port to shelters in far-flung corners of France.

The goal is to dismantle the Jungle[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/france-vows-to-close-squalid-calais-migrant-camp-known-as-the-jungle-1474746771], a sprawling migrant camp skirting the port that has become a symbol of Europe's failure to manage the flow of migrants across its borders from conflict zones in Syria, Afghanistan and beyond. Waves of migrants seeking passage to the U.K. have become bottled up in the port on the French side of the English Channel, living in sordid conditions [http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/video/conditions-deteriorate-at-migrant-jungle-in-calais/F67D8DD8-41A7-402C-82F1-E3F9E767A5C9.html]and hurting the local economy.

For people living in towns and villages such as Allex, a close-knit hilltop community of 2,500 people in Provence, the relocation plan threatens to spread the crisis in Calais to corners of France untouched by the migrant flow.

"We won't let our town become another Calais," said a 45-year-old mason and father of three. The man joined a hundred other townspeople who recently marched through Allex to protest the arrival of 50 migrants at a local château the government has converted into a shelter.

The anti-**immigrant** National Front party and other right-wing politicians are seizing on the public anger to build support ahead of presidential elections in May, organizing referendums and petitioning mayors to stop the spread of "mini-Calais."

At times, the opposition has turned violent. In September, a shelter located in a bedroom community outside Paris was flooded and set on fire. Earlier this month, police found bullet holes in buildings slated to host migrants in two different towns.

So far, the government isn't backing down, insisting the political firestorm won't affect its plans. "We keep local officials informed of our plans, but we're not asking for their opinion," Housing Minister Emmanuelle Cosse said. The government hasn't disclosed the complete list of towns and cities set to receive migrants for fear of new acts of violence, officials say.

Previous attempts to solve the Calais crisis[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/camped-in-calais-migrants-defy-french-resettlement-plan-1449443928] have failed as migrants continued flocking to the port, which serves as continental Europe's main gateway to the U.K. Since March 2016, the British government has accepted 96 minors who have family in the U.K. But it has refused to take in large numbers of migrants camped in Calais and has financed the construction of security fences in French territory to keep **refugees** from crossing the channel.

"Instead of solving the problem with the British, the government is spreading it across the country," said Nicolas Sarkozy, the former French president who is seeking his conservative party's nomination to return to France's highest office next year.

France has offered asylum to many of the **refugees** in the camp over the past year, but many have refused, clinging to their dreams of reaching the U.K., where family and a more flexible economy awaits. When France began dismantling the southern rim of the Jungle in February, newcomers simply crammed into the northern part of the camp. Since then, Calais has become the scene of smuggling, routine clashes among migrants, and fatal highway accidents [http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/afghan-teenager-killed-on-highway-near-calais-france-1474304371]caused by migrants sneaking onto U.K.-bound trucks.

Such scenes have startled residents in Allex.

"The migrants won't integrate themselves," said Guy Raspolini, a 74-year- old resident of Algerian descent.

Last month, a crowd of 150 people took to the town's streets, brandishing National Front banners and anti-**immigration** slogans. A competing rally of pro-migrant marchers squared off with them, forcing police to intervene.

"I had never seen anything like that," Mayor Gérard Crozier said.

Weeks later, a first group of 11 migrants from Iraq, Afghanistan and Sudan, including two women and three young children arrived at the Château Pergaud, a small castle that once served as a detox center.

Three police officers were posted outside, and the migrants were instructed to avoid the village center for their own safety.

"When they need to go grocery shopping, we drive them to another nearby town," says Jean-Jacques Bosc of the Diaconat Protestant, the association that runs the center.

Mr. Crozier called for a referendum on whether the town should accept the migrants, but the government obtained a court order to block the vote.

"The inhabitants of Allex have been gagged," Mr. Crozier said. Since then the National Front has organized another protest.

See related articles

\* France Calls on U.K. to Help Manage Calais Migrant Crisis[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/france-calls-on-u-k-to-help-manage-calais-migrant-crisis-1474884212]

\* France Vows to Close Squalid Calais Migrant Camp Known as ‘the Jungle'[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/france-vows-to-close-squalid-calais-migrant-camp-known-as-the-jungle-1474746771]

\* French Protest Over Calais Migrant Camp Blocks Transport Hub[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/french-protest-over-calais-migrant-camp-blocks-transport-hub-1473084348]

\* France Says U.K. Keeps Right to Stop Migrants in Calais[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/france-says-u-k-keeps-right-to-stop-migrants-in-calais-1472572568]

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**One big event remains on the general-election calendar—marking perhaps the last occasion when something dramatic could alter the contours of the race—and that is the final presidential debate on Wednesday night in Las Vegas.

It's not unusual for a debate to take on such meaning. What is unusual is the stark contrast in the strategic choices and motivations facing the two candidates heading into the same event.

For Republican Donald Trump, the question is whether the kind of scorched-earth tactics he has employed in the last week—full-bore attacks on his opponent and on the legitimacy of the very system by which presidents are chosen—really translate to his benefit in a debate format.

For Democrat Hillary Clinton, the question is whether to engage in the fight with Mr. Trump as she did in the last debate[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/5-debate-takeaways-from-the-donald-trump-and-hillary-clinton-showdown-1476091802], or instead pivot beyond attacks and counterattacks to try to occupy some higher ground in the closing chapter of the campaign.

Each, in short, faces a big decision in how to close out an exceptionally ugly campaign. Logic would suggest they might move in different directions.

Mr. Trump appears to have laid a bet that the only tactic remaining for him is to activate and energize his core supporters [http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/donald-trump-says-he-will-win-on-surge-of-silent-supporters-1476664463?tesla=y]by emphatically telling them what they already are inclined to believe: Mrs. Clinton is corrupt, the national media are enabling her and he alone is prepared to fight the establishment on every front.

It's a strategy designed explicitly to generate maximum excitement among his supporters and drive wavering voters away from Mrs. Clinton—and a strategy that doesn't particularly depend on pleasing people who don't like his style or message as it is.

Because he's invested heavily in that approach and not prospered in the polls as a result, Mr. Trump may decide to return to his core economic arguments about a trade and economic system tilted against average Americans. On the other hand, nasty debates sometimes suppress turnout by turning off uncommitted voters, and it appears Mr. Trump would be fine with such an outcome on the calculation that casual voters driven away now likely would otherwise be Clinton voters. He has a choice to make.

For Mrs. Clinton, the equation appears more complicated. Far from shying away from engaging Mr. Trump directly on his terms in the first two debates—whether the subject was his treatment of women, his comments about Hispanics or his business and tax records—she has proven equally willing to go on the attack. It's hard to argue that hasn't worked. She began moving out to a bigger lead after the first debate, and a new Wall Street Journal/NBC News poll[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/hillary-clinton-extends-lead-over-donald-trump-to-11-points-1476622801] shows more voters say the first two debates made them likely to back her than said the debates made them likely to back Mr. Trump.

Yet her brand was supposed to be different. She is supposed to be the policy egghead, not a trash-talker. It's not clear that she continues to benefit from being in that game blow-for-blow with Mr. Trump.

If his goal is to make marginal and undecided voters feel bad about voting for her, and perhaps to simply stay home as a result, then it's entirely possible that her slugging it out further with him will have that effect. The one great danger still facing her campaign is low intensity and weak turnout[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/voter-interest-in-election-falls-1476702003], so her incentive may be to give more voters more positive incentive to show up.

In short, she will need to decide whether to make good on the "when they go low, we go high[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/michelle-obama-fervently-endorses-hillary-clinton-during-convention-speech-1469502086]" mantra she has borrowed from first lady Michelle Obama.

There's a feeling among some in her campaign that her lead now allows her to go more upbeat, which might have the added benefit of starting to create a broader mandate to govern should she win. Odds are that there are plenty of voters who would love to find something even moderately uplifting to take away from this dumpster-fire of a campaign.

Beyond such calculations, one of the dangers facing both candidates, and perhaps Mr. Trump in particular, is that the swirl of insults, charges of assaulting women and accusations of a "rigged[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/donald-trump-steps-up-claims-of-a-rigged-election-1476663365]" system will obscure the actual, legitimate reasons many voters were drawn to the Trump message in the first place.

Many Americans—more than the hated "establishment" realized—do think that the economic and political systems don't work for them right now, that international trade has hurt their chances in the new economy, and that illegal **immigration** is changing the culture and the economy in ways they don't like.

Both candidates and both parties would do well to remember that. The tragedy of the Trump campaign is that the messenger has proven so flawed. But the message still deserves some substantive attention at Wednesday night's debate.

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More on Election 2016[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/news/politics]

\* FBI Documents Show State Department Fought Classification of Clinton Emails[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/fbi-documents-show-state-department-fought-classification-of-clinton-emails-1476724447]

\* Trump Camp Explored Possible Trump TV Venture[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/trump-camp-explored-possible-trump-tv-venture-1476729595?tesla=y]

\* Trump Steps Up Claims of a ‘Rigged' Election[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/donald-trump-steps-up-claims-of-a-rigged-election-1476663365]

\* Social Security's Absence in Campaign Signals Policy Shift[http://blogs.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/economics/2016/10/17/social-securitys-absence-in-the-2016-campaign-signals-a-policy-shift/]

\* Trump Attacks on Twitter, and Detractors Tweet Back[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/donald-trump-attacks-on-twitter-and-detractors-tweet-back-1476660589]

\* Trump Sees Financial Costs of **Alienating** Lobbyists[http://blogs.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/washwire/2016/10/17/trump-sees-financial-costs-of-alienating-lobbyists/]

\* Missing From Hacked Emails: Clinton Herself[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/missing-from-hacked-emails-clinton-herself-1476662725]

\* Clinton Picks Up Support From Women, Swing Voters to Build Lead[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/hillary-clinton-extends-lead-over-donald-trump-to-11-points-1476622801]

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**RONKONKOMA, N.Y.—The debate venue was unusual—a glass-enclosed radio booth on a blue-carpeted concourse at Long Island MacArthur Airport. More than a few travelers strolled by, suitcases in tow, and peered at the scene inside.

Democrat Anna Throne-Holst charged that the incumbent, Republican U.S. Rep. Lee Zeldin, who represents the First Congressional District on Long Island, should have held a hearing on the troubled Veterans Affairs hospital in Northport as soon as he took office in 2015.

"I'm keeping a list of all my opponent's lies," Mr. Zeldin said. "It's getting larger a little bit earlier than I was expecting."

The congressman said he couldn't have convened a hearing in 2015 because the issues that forced the hospital to close some operating rooms hadn't yet been brought to the attention of lawmakers.

"That VA hospital has had issues for many years," Ms. Throne-Holst said. "That hearing should have been held a long, long time ago."

Over the course of 90 minutes last week, the candidates' sharp exchanges mirrored the often tart tone of a race that Democrats had hoped would be competitive. Instead, the first public polling heavily favors Mr. Zeldin. A Newsday/Siena College poll released earlier this month showed him ahead, 53% to 38%.

"Right now Lee Zeldin is in a strong position to win re-election," said Siena College pollster Steven Greenberg. But with not much time left before the Nov. 8 vote, "I don't think anybody can take anything for granted."

One factor as the campaigns wind down could be the fortunes of GOP presidential nominee Donald Trump, who has been embraced by Mr. Zeldin. "Whether Trump's continuing problems and shrinking in the polls will have an impact down ballot is probably the remaining wild card," said Lawrence Levy, executive dean at the National Center for Suburban Studies at Hofstra University.

Democrats had reasons for hope. They held the seat for 12 years before Mr. Zeldin ousted incumbent Tim Bishop in 2014.

The district covers the gamut of life on Long Island. It takes in the wealth of the Hamptons, many of the island's remaining farms and fishing communities, working-class communities like Mastic Beach and suburban communities such as Lake Grove in the town of Brookhaven. The district has about 135,800 active registered Democrats and 153,100 active registered Republicans.

Mr. Zeldin, 36 years old and an Army veteran who served in the Iraq war, said he had won support by virtue of his advocacy for veterans and his positions on issues such as the **refugee** crisis in Syria. He also cited funding for a federal, storm-protection plan for Suffolk County's south shore and legislation he introduced to prevent a sale of Plum Island.

"We are getting stuff done." he said.

Name recognition is a problem for Ms. Throne-Holst, 56. She has built her political profile in her town of Southampton, but the district includes six other Suffolk County towns where she isn't as well known. About 40% of the voters polled by Siena College said they didn't know her well.

"She has to both raise her name identification districtwide and make the case of why voters should fire their incumbent," said Nathan Gonzales, editor of the Rothenberg & Gonzales Political Report. "That takes money and resources."

Ms. Throne-Holst raised $1.2 million during the third quarter, a great haul for a congressional campaign, Mr. Gonzales said. Her campaign has $723,129 in cash, while the Zeldin campaign raised $871,661 for third quarter and has $1.97 million in cash.

Ms. Throne-Holst served as Southampton supervisor from 2010 to 2015. She has spent the campaign advocating for stronger gun laws, changes in **immigration**policy and addressing climate change. She previously co-founded a private elementary school in Bridgehampton and later ran a child-care center.

Republicans in Suffolk County say voters are happy with Mr. Zeldin.

"He's achieved more in his first term than the prior congressman achieved in a dozen years in Washington," said John Jay LaValle, chairman of the Suffolk County Republican Committee.

Art Tillman, chairman of the Southold Town Democratic Party, said Ms. Throne-Holst would do a better job on transportation issues. She "has worked with the [Long Island Rail Road] in the past to gain better rail and bus transportation for her town and is supportive of doing the same for those in the First Congressional District," Mr. Tillman said.

Mr. Gonzales said Democrats had seized on Mr. Zeldin's support for Mr. Trump and remarks he made on CNN in which he said, "You can easily argue that the president of the United States is a racist with his policies and his rhetoric."

In an interview, Mr. Zeldin said many policies could be perceived as being racist. "When you look at how different people define what racism is, I believe that there is a lot of additional tensions caused by policies and statements that have pushed races apart as opposed to bringing them closer together," he said.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**FRANKFURT—After 18 months of study, $2,200 in tuition and three exams, Ewa Feix is now permitted by German law to bake two variations of cupcakes.

"Not pretzels, not Black Forest gâteau, not bread," said Ms. Feix, a Canadian who moved to Germany in 2009. Becoming a professional bread baker entails a three-year apprenticeship and more exams.

Germany's thicket of rules and standards shields roughly 150 professions from competition, from ski instructors to well-diggers. Stiff fines await uncertified practitioners. German authorities conduct thousands of enforcement raids each year.

Now, the system—rooted in medieval guilds—is under attack.

Many praise Germany's rigorous apprenticeship model for funneling high-school dropouts into solid middle-income jobs. But economists warn the rigid rules are holding back growth and investment in the services sector, and contributing to the nation's vast current-account surpluses, long a bone of contention with trading partners.

Crucially, German resistance has also helped stymie efforts to deregulate the vast European Union services market, which accounts for more than 70% of the region's output but only around one-fifth of internal trade, according to Open Europe, a think tank. Since more productive companies are restricted from moving between countries to take market share, productivity suffers.

In business services, German worker productivity has barely risen since 2001, lagging behind the export-heavy manufacturing sector by about 30 percentage points, according to the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development. Outside the crafts, Germany also slaps an extra layer of regulation on normally regulated fields including law, accountancy, architecture and telecommunications, the OECD says.

And while protected professions make up only about 10% of Germany's $3.5 trillion economy, their indirect impact is much broader because services like engineering and telecoms are crucial for other industries, says Andres Fuentes, an economist at the OECD in Paris.

Fully liberalizing the EU services market could deliver a permanent economic boost worth around €300 billion, or 2.3% of gross domestic product, estimates Open Europe.

"The most powerful ‘quick win' [for the region's economy] would be to complete the single market, especially in services," European Central Bank President Mario Draghi said in June.

But strong middle-class support, particularly among Chancellor Angela Merkel's supporters, means the German system has defied repeated attempts at reform.

Defenders of the German system argue it ensures service quality and helps protect middle-class incomes against globalization, unlike in the U.S. and U.K. The middle classes accounted for about 60% of Germany's income in 2013, compared with 43% for the U.S., according to a study by Berlin-based think tank DIW.

While anxiety over foreign workers fed the Brexit vote in Britain, German workers worry less about low-wage competition.

"The Brits need the Poles because they can't do skilled jobs themselves," said Bernd Ehinger, president of the crafts industry association for the Frankfurt region. His family firm, Elektro Ehinger GmbH, employs more than a dozen Master craftsmen, who each earn more than €60,000 a year.

To set up shop in Germany, plumbers, bricklayers and workers in 39 other crafts must typically pass a three-year apprenticeship course and then take a vocational degree to become a master of their trade. The process takes five or six years.

But the German system also means less competition and higher prices for consumers, said Daniel Dalton, a European lawmaker who compiled a recent report on Europe's services sector. "Elements of the rules for craftsmen could be described as discriminatory," Mr. Dalton said. "I worry that some are protectionist."

While many European countries regulate professional services, the practice is most pronounced in Germany, where a third of workers require a professional certificate to perform their job, compared with 14% of Danes and 19% of Brits, according to a survey by the European Commission, the EU's executive arm.

The Commission this year stepped up legal proceedings against Germany for limiting competition in certain professional services, including architects and engineers. It plans to make fresh legislative proposals later this year aimed at making it easier for EU professionals to set up shop in other countries and offer their services across national borders.

Meanwhile, the arrival of more than a million migrants is putting fresh pressure on Berlin to ease their route into well-paid jobs. A failure to properly integrate the newcomers, who are typically keen to set up businesses, could seal Chancellor Merkel's political fate.

Germany places 107th in the World Bank's ranking of countries where it's easiest to start a business, below Guatemala and Sierra Leone.

Germany's traditional approach to job qualifications "may not work well for **refugees** (or other **immigrants**), who are often older than typical trainees, may have skills learned informally, and may not be able to afford lengthy schooling periods with low earnings," the International Monetary Fund said in June.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Son of Italy

By Pascal D'Angelo (1924)

1. ‘Son of Italy' is one of the hidden gems of American **immigrant** autobiography. When D'Angelo arrived in New York in 1910, he discovered that life in America as a day laborer was harder than he had imagined. "Everywhere was toil—endless, continuous toil, in the flooding blaze of the sun, or in the slashing rain—toil." Yet while his compatriots aspired to save money and return to Italy, D'Angelo felt an insatiable urge "to cry out my hopes and dreams" through poetry. In 1919 he quit his job at a New Jersey rail yard (where he lived in an abandoned boxcar) and moved to Brooklyn to write. In 1922, Columbia Prof. Carl Van Doren discovered D'Angelo while reading entries to a poetry contest. Van Doren did not award D'Angelo a prize but helped him get his poems published and urged him to write an autobiography. "Son of Italy" briefly made D'Angelo a celebrity, but the public soon lost interest in "the pick and shovel poet," and his memoir is all but forgotten today. He died a half-crazed pauper at age 38.

From Plotzk to Boston

By Mary Antin (1899)

2. Mary Antin was a literary prodigy. She originally wrote these recollections of her childhood in what is now Belarus and her journey to America in Yiddish at age 13. A few years later, she translated them into English, and "From Plotzk to Boston" was published when she was just 18. It conveys the hardships of the Old World and the "America fever" that swept Europe around 1900 with a concise candor that perhaps only a 13-year-old can muster. " ‘America' was in everybody's mouth," Antin writes. "Business men talked of it over their accounts; the market women made up their quarrels that they might discuss it from stall to stall; people who had relatives in the famous land went around reading their letters for the enlightenment of less fortunate folks." Her terror at being deloused at a German border checkpoint, and her ecstatic joy upon sighting land as her ship approached Boston, are as moving today as they were a century ago.

The Making of an American

By Jacob Riis (1901)

3. The story of Riis's rise from impoverished **immigrant** to renowned journalist and photographer was so extraordinary that even Horatio Alger might have found it far-fetched. Trained as a carpenter, Riis left Denmark not because of poverty or persecution but because of a broken heart. He tried his hand at dozens of different jobs until, through sheer force of will, he managed to break into journalism. As a police reporter for the New York Tribune, Riis found that the rundown tenements he had briefly inhabited in the early 1870s had become squalid deathtraps by the late 1880s as the city filled with Italian and Eastern European Jewish **immigrants**. "The sights I saw . . . gripped my heart until I felt that I must tell of them, or burst, or turn anarchist, or something." When Riis's reporting garnered little attention, he took up photography to document the condition of the tenements so that the plight of their inhabitants could not be ignored. Publication of these images in "How the Other Half Lives" (1890) ushered in generations of tenement reform and urban renewal. "The Making of an American" recounts the story of an **immigrant** whose career changed the lives of millions of other newcomers. When he died in 1914, Theodore Roosevelt called him "the ideal American citizen."

What to Read This Week[http://graphics.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/image-grid/Books-October-15]

Reframing the American Revolution, a new history of Vietnam, the Marx Brothers' mom, and 10 other new books.[http://graphics.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/image-grid/Books-October-15]

Angela's Ashes

By Frank McCourt (1996)

4. Strictly speaking, Frank McCourt was not an **immigrant**. He was born in New York to Irish parents who had arrived in America on the eve of the Great Depression. With Frank's ne'er-do-well alcoholic father unable to support the family, they moved back to Ireland when he was 4. "My father and mother should have stayed in New York," McCourt writes, for his childhood was far harder in Limerick than it would have been in America. "Worse than the ordinary miserable childhood is the miserable Irish childhood, and worse yet is the miserable Irish Catholic childhood." Somehow he survived the hunger, the epidemics, and the sadism of "pompous priests" and "bullying schoolmasters." When he finally moved back to New York at age 19, his sense of exhilaration was as boundless as that of any true **immigrant**. After "Angela's Ashes" appeared, some of McCourt's surviving neighbors from Limerick insisted that the book overstated his poverty. Even so, it is no exaggeration to call it one of the most moving American memoirs ever written.

The Woman Warrior

By Maxine Hong Kingston (1976)

5. Maxine Hong Kingston, the daughter of Chinese **immigrants**, provides an intimate, hauntingly beautiful glimpse into the lives of Chinese-born Americans in the 1960s and '70s—especially the inner worlds of Chinese **immigrant** women of that era. In China, her mother and aunts told her, "spirits shimmered among the live creatures, balanced and held in equilibrium by time and land. But one human being flaring up into violence could open up a black hole, a maelstrom that pulled in the sky." Even after moving thousands of miles to the United States, **immigrants** went to great lengths to confuse these gods by "diverting their curses, misleading them with crooked streets and false names. . . . The Chinese I know hide their names; sojourners take new names when their lives change and guard their real names with silence."

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Some conservatives have watched their evaluations of Donald Trump's character drop so low in recent days that on this vital question they no longer see a choice between Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton. Accordingly, they are forced back onto politics and policy; and naturally Mr. Trump wins in a walk. If conservatives who argue that Mr. Trump is worse than Mrs. Clinton had a case, it would be a relief to vote for Mrs. Clinton or for no one. But they don't, and one is therefore forced for the good of the nation to vote for Mr. Trump.

In his Mr. Nauseating video of last weekend, Mr. Trump showed us that he had all the class and cool of a misbegotten 12-year-old boy. Yet the video taught us nothing; no one had ever mistaken him for anything but an infantile vulgarian. This week's allegations of actual abuse are different. If these stories are true (and I don't know why they shouldn't be), there is nothing to be said for Mr. Trump. Unfortunately, there is nothing to be said for Mrs. Clinton either. If we don't take both facts into account, we are not morally serious.

Mrs. Clinton has nothing on Mr. Trump when it comes to character. She lies ("Wipe? Like with a cloth?"—cute and charming Mrs. C.) the way basketball stars shoot baskets—constantly, nonstop, because it's the one thing she is best at and (naturally) it gives her pleasure to hear herself lie—swish!—right onto the evening news. And her specialist talent of all is the verbal kick in the groin of a Secret Service man or state trooper who has the nerve to talk to her as if she were merely human. She is no mere rock star; she is Hillary the Queen. She is so big, and you are so small, she can barely even see you from up there. What are you? A macromolecule?

I'll vote for Mr. Trump—grimly. But there is no alternative, no shadow of a responsible alternative.

Mr. Trump's candidacy is a message from the voters. He is the empty gin bottle they have chosen to toss through the window. The message begins with the fact that voters hear what the leaders and pundits don't: the profound contempt for America and Americans that Mrs. Clinton and President Obama share and their frightening lack of emotional connection to this nation and its people.

Mr. Obama is arch, patronizing, so magnificently weary of having to explain it all, again and again, to the dummies surrounding him. Mrs. Clinton has told us proudly how thoroughly she prepared for the first debate and has prepared to be president. For her, it is all a matter of learning your lines. Her whole life has been memorized in advance. Mr. Obama is at least sincere. Mrs. Clinton is as phony as a three-dollar bill, as a Clinton Global Initiative.

Mr. Obama has governed like a third-rate tyrant. He's been a stern baby sitter to an American public that is increasingly getting on his nerves. ObamaCare and the Iran treaty are his big achievements. That the public has always disliked them, and hates them worse as it knows them better, strikes him as so unspeakably irrelevant; he doesn't know whether to laugh or cry. Do you ask 6-year-olds if they like going to school? Luckily, a few grown-ups have been set over the public to keep it in line.

Mrs. Clinton couldn't agree more. Policy is for smart people, who are people of the left by definition—leftists having scored all those big successes over the years in foreign policy, race relations, policing, restarting wounded economies, making unsecured loans, running school systems and so on. On topics from Keystone to Guantanamo, Mr. Obama has made it clear that he doesn't give a damn what people think—he no longer even tries to explain to the citizenry. Do your homework! Understand?

Yes, leadership sometimes requires that you take an unpopular position and make it popular. We are told that Mr. Obama is working on his "legacy" instead, as if that makes him farsighted instead of irresponsible and insanely vain. Presidents are supposed to run the country, not worry about their reputation in coming centuries.

Trump voters have noticed that, not just over Mr. Obama's term but in recent decades, their own opinions have grown increasingly irrelevant. It's something you feel, like encroaching numbness. Since when has the American public endorsed affirmative action? Yet it's a major factor in the lives of every student and many workers. Since when did we decide that men and women are interchangeable in hand-to-hand combat on the front lines? Why do we insist on women in combat but not in the NFL? Because we take football seriously. That's no joke; it's the sad truth.

Did we invite the federal bureaucracy to take charge of school bathrooms? I guess I missed that meeting. The schools are corrupt and the universities rotten to the core, and everyone has known it since the 1980s. But the Democrats are owned by the teachers unions, and Republicans have made only small-scale corrections to a system that needs to be ripped out and carefully disposed of, like poison ivy.

The Emasculated Voter to whom no one pays any attention is the story of modern democracy. Instead of putting voters in charge, we tell them they're in charge, and it's just as good. That's the Establishment's great discovery in the Lois Lerner Age.

Enter Mr. Trump. People say he became a star because he just happened to mention an issue that just happened to catch on. But **immigration** is the central issue of our time. Trump voters zeroed in because they saw what most intellectuals didn't. What is our nation and what will it be? Will America go on being America or turn into something else? That depends on who lives here—especially given our schools, which no longer condescend to teach Americanism.

The liberal theory is that, other things being equal, all human beings have an equal right to settle in America. For liberals this is too obvious to spell out. But it is also too ludicrous to defend. Does all mankind have a right to camp in your backyard, eat in your kitchen, work at your office and borrow your best jogging outfit? We fail in our duty if we don't think carefully whom we want in this country, who would be best for America.

Furthermore, we know that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." But that's got nothing to do with **immigration**; freedom of religion means freedom for American citizens—what else could it possibly mean? We must not tamper with Americans' religious life. We must not admit, as possible future citizens, anyone we don't choose to; anyone we don't think will be good for America. Not to admit Muslims is bad policy but it does not violate freedom of religion and the American people have a perfect right to discuss and debate it.

Hold on, some of my fellow conservatives say. Never mind Hillary. Trump would be dangerous. He would further endanger our national security and world position. He might start unnecessary wars. He might even push the nuclear button. These are important objections, but after thinking them through I'm unable to take them seriously, either in political terms or psychological ones.

Mrs. Clinton is right at home in the Oval Office and thinks she owns it. She holds herself entitled to supreme power, as her friends are entitled to fancy positions with enormous salaries and her followers to secure government jobs or ample government funds, as the case may be.

But forget psychology. Ordinary politics says that Mr. Trump will not do crazy things or go off half-cocked, because Republicans in Congress will be eager to impeach him and put Mike Pence in charge. That was the subtext of the vice-presidential debate, though Mr. Pence himself (probably) didn't intend it. When it's my turn, you can all relax. Democrats, obviously, will be eager to help when the task is removing a Republican.

Impeachment is Trump-voters' ace in the hole. It's an abnormal measure, but this is an abnormal year. Impeachment has temporarily dropped out of sight because of special circumstances. Republicans impeached Bill Clinton but got burned in the process; Mr. Obama, as the first black president, was impeachment-proof. Any other president would have encountered serious impeachment talk on several occasions, especially when he ignored Congress and the Constitution and made his own personal treaty-in-all-but-name with Iran.

But Mr. Trump will not have Mr. Obama's advantages—to say the least. Mr. Trump will be impeachment bait. So will Mrs. Clinton. Even some Democrats have had enough.

Nothing can stop Mr. Trump from shooting off his mouth, but that's all right. I want America's enemies off-balance and guessing. For eight years it's been Humiliate America season—buzz our ships, capture and embarrass our men, murder an American ambassador—a resoundingly successful attempt to spit in our faces and tell each one of us to drop dead. Thanks, Mr. President. Enough is enough. You know that Hillary is Obama Part III. We can't let that happen. Parts I and II have brought us close enough to catastrophe.

That is the problem for those whose integrity or nobility won't allow them to vote for Mr. Trump despite their dislike of Mrs. Clinton. There is only one way to take part in protecting this nation from Hillary Clinton, and that is to vote for Donald Trump. A vote for anyone else or for no one might be an honest, admirable gesture in principle, but we don't need conscientious objectors in this war for the country's international standing and hence for the safety of the world and the American way of life. It's too bad one has to vote for Mr. Trump. It will be an unhappy moment at best. Some people will feel dirty, or pained, or outright disgraced.

But when all is said and done, it's no big deal of a sacrifice for your country. I can think of bigger ones.

Mr. Gelernter is a professor of computer science at Yale.

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\* Eric Metaxas: Should Christians Vote for Trump? [http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/should-christians-vote-for-trump-1476294992]

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**In June, Duane Sigelko traded his workplace at a posh law office in Chicago for a dusty, overcrowded camp on the Greek island of Lesbos.

The attorney is among the dozens of international lawyers who have completed stints in Greece providing legal assistance to Syrian and other **refugees** seeking asylum. These attorneys, most of them from the U.S., have been volunteering on islands where some 10,000 desperate people await processing.

Mr. Sigelko assisted **refugees** who had been marooned for months in a squalid, razor-wire-enclosed camp. "They are bedraggled, weary. We can help them," said Mr. Sigelko, a partner at the law firm Reed Smith LLP, which launched the project in May with a Greek nonprofit called METAdrasi.

Hundreds of thousands of **refugees** and migrants from Syria and elsewhere have crossed the Aegean Sea from Turkey to Greece since last year, hoping to settle in Europe. In an attempt to stanch the flow, an accord[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/turkey-european-union-look-to-strike-deal-on-migration-crisis-1458292486] between Turkey and the European Union bars migrants who arrived after March 20 from traveling onward. The deal calls for them to be returned to Turkey, but many have applied for asylum in hopes of staying.

The **refugees**' ability to file strong asylum cases has been hampered by the dearth of legal counsel. International lawyers can make a crucial difference by appearing with **refugees** in their initial screening, an admissibility hearing conducted in English by EU officers.

U.S. law firms have often done pro-bono work on **immigration** and human-rights issues. Wall Street lawyers, for example, are helping minors who fled gangs in Central America to apply for asylum in the U.S.

"Just watching in the media what was happening—those terrible pictures of people drowning—I really wanted to get involved," said Marty Rosenbluth, a North Carolina **immigration** attorney who spent six weeks in Lesbos this summer.

One of his most memorable cases involved a young couple who had fled Syria. The wife had pushed her wheelchair-bound husband—a victim of torture at the hands of the Assad regime—all the way to Turkey. "He couldn't walk because of electric shock and beatings on his feet," recalled Mr. Rosenbluth, who speaks Arabic.

When he met them, they were "distraught," Mr. Rosenbluth said, having been told by EU officials that their case would have to be split in two because she is Moroccan and they could not prove that they were married. The couple had lost their marriage certificate when their overloaded raft began to list, prompting everyone to throw their possessions overboard.

Mr. Rosenbluth helped the man win admission to Greece, on the understanding that his wife could join him later as a dependent. "They would have been completely lost at the hearing without our help," the lawyer said.

Via Skype, Mr. Rosenbluth has begun training other attorneys through Advocates Abroad, a U.S.-based nonprofit that is recruiting lawyers to assist **refugees**.

Reed Smith has enlisted lawyers from its U.S., U.K. and Greek offices, and has also reached out to other American attorneys versed in international law. Over the summer, teams of lawyers with interpreters completed rotations on the Greek islands of Lesbos, Samos and Chios.

Frustrations in the camps have often erupted into brawls. Early this month, a blaze—widely thought to have been started by **refugees** to protest the slow processing of their cases—ravaged the camp on Lesbos. The attorneys were back on the job within hours.

"All of our lawyers understand the risks in the field and are willing to assume those risks," said Jayne Fleming, a Reed Smith attorney who runs the firm's pro-bono program.

While explaining legal processes in August to **refugees** in the camp on Chios, Ms. Fleming spotted a young man with his arm in a sling and the "haunted look of a torture survivor," she recalled. Through an interpreter, she learned that a jihadist militia had chopped off his hand and beheaded one of his brothers. Ultimately, Ms. Fleming helped the man and his two surviving brothers gain admission to Greece—a first step toward Canada or Germany, where they have relatives.

Even before the Lesbos fire, working conditions in the camps were rudimentary. "We never knew if we would have a place to sit," said Mr. Sigelko. He often worked under a blistering sun, waiting for hours with his clients outside hearing rooms when they were summoned for their interviews.

Holly Cooper of Davis, Calif., an attorney who volunteered on the island of Samos, said that she held meetings with **refugees** inside the shipping containers that house them. It was "really eye-opening to see migration that is very different from ours," she said.

Back in the U.S., Ms. Cooper posted on Facebook about her experience in Greece—and said that she has been "bombarded with interest" from other American lawyers.

Write to Miriam Jordan at miriam.jordan@wsj.com[mailto:miriam.jordan@wsj.com]

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\* At a Glance: The EU-Turkey Migrants Deal[http://blogs.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/briefly/2016/03/19/the-eu-turkey-migrants-deal-at-a-glance/] March 19, 2016

\* Syrian **Refugees** Worry Assad Won't Be Forced to Go[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/syrian-refugees-worry-assad-wont-be-forced-to-go-1474059699] Sept. 16, 2016

\* Greece Struggles to Return Migrants Under EU-Turkey Deal[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/greece-struggles-to-return-migrants-under-eu-turkey-deal-1463653671] May 19, 2016

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**PHOENIX—Seated at his desk overlooking this city's downtown, Sheriff Joe Arpaio brandished his silver flip-phone as it rang with a Frank Sinatra tune. "I have regrets, but too few to mention," Mr. Arpaio said, misquoting the song "My Way," but stating a central theme of his campaign: he won't do much differently if re-elected.

But after 24 years as Maricopa County sheriff—during which he won nationwide fame for his tough treatment of inmates and aggressive pursuit of illegal **immigrants**—Mr. Arpaio's pledge to keep doing things his way has become a tenuous strategy in his bid for a seventh term. At age 84, he is in a political fight to hold on to his job.

A lawsuit accusing the sheriff's department of racial profiling against Latinos has cost taxpayers here more than $40 million, and counting, in legal fees and other expenses. Federal prosecutors said on Tuesday they would charge Mr. Arpaio with criminal-contempt of court for defying a judge's order to stop conducting his signature **immigration** patrols[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/arizona-sheriff-joe-arpaio-to-face-criminal-contempt-charge-1476224741].

The state's growing Latino population has lined up against him, eager to show that his uncompromising style can no longer win in a changing Arizona.

Polls have shown him trailing his Democratic opponent, Paul Penzone, a former sergeant with the Phoenix Police Department, by around four points. And Democrats believe they might never have a better opportunity to unseat Mr. Arpaio, a Republican, than this November.

"There has just been a constant deterioration at the sheriff's department," Mr. Penzone said. "The community is tired of him, and they're tired of this nonsense."

Mr. Arpaio—who defeated Mr. Penzone by 6 points four years ago—scoffed at the idea that this is his toughest race yet.

"Really?" he said. "People must like something I'm doing, because I keep getting re-elected over and over again."

Mr. Arpaio enters the final weeks of the campaign with all of the advantages of being America's most famous sheriff. While Mr. Penzone has held events at local Democratic offices and popped up at candidate forums, Mr. Arpaio has campaigned through mass media.

He has attacked Mr. Penzone in television commercials, and staged press events at "tent city," the makeshift jail he erected in 1993 to ease overcrowding, where he houses inmates outside under the punishing Arizona sun and dresses them in pink underwear. He has stumped for Donald Trump around the country and appeared with the GOP presidential nominee in Arizona, receiving thunderous applause for his tough talk on **immigration**.

But Mr. Trump's embattled campaign—Democrats believe they can turn the state blue—may also cause trouble for Mr. Arpaio, particularly with the growing Latino population here.

A coalition of Latino organizations say they have registered more than 100,000 new voters this year. The tough **immigration** rhetoric from Messrs Trump and Arpaio is motivating many first-time voters, organizers said.

"We're showing up at the polls, and it's starting to transform the state," said Alejandra Gomez, executive director of Living United for Change in Arizona. Defeating Mr. Arpaio, she said, "would send a message, in the middle of this Trump moment, that this type of hate politics is not going to be tolerated."

Still, Republicans continue to hold a voter registration edge, in the county and statewide. The state's Independent voters make up the largest bloc.

The same policies that have angered **immigrant** communities have made Mr. Arpaio a revered figure for many conservatives, who see him as one of only a few politicians willing to stand up to the federal government, which they have long accused of failing to enforce **immigration** laws. Supporters across the country have donated to Mr. Arpaio's campaign, helping him raise more than $10 million. Mr. Penzone had raised less than $500,000 by late September.

Tom Morrissey, a former chairman of the Arizona Republican Party, likened Mr. Arpaio to John Wayne.

"He's a traditional lawman in the style of the Old West—he's got true grit," Mr. Morrissey said. "We're ground zero for illegal **immigration**. If people like Sheriff Arpaio were allowed to do their jobs, we could curtail it."

In an interview in his office, at the top of the sheriff's headquarters here, Mr. Arpaio played to his image as an old-fashioned lawman, repeatedly touting his 55 years in law enforcement. He referred to a typewriter at his desk as "my computer," said he doesn't email (though he does tweet), [https://twitter.com/RealSheriffJoe?ref\_src=twsrc^google|twcamp^serp|twgr^author]and pointed out a stack of printed-out news articles from the previous day that mentioned him.

He suggested the criminal-contempt charges, which stemmed from the racial profiling case, were part of a politically motivated attack on him.

"This case started 100 days after Obama and Eric Holder came," he said, referring to the president and the former attorney general. (The racial profiling case was actually filed by the American Civil Liberties Union in 2007, two years before Mr. Obama took office.)

Mr. Arpaio said his department was making "big time" efforts to reach out to Latinos. Still, one of his primary goals for a seventh term, he said, would be restarting the 287(g) program, which trained local officers to enforce **immigration** laws. In 2011, the Obama administration ended the program here, after finding "discriminatory policing practices" in the sheriff's department.

"They had the authority to arrest anyone here illegally," he said of the 287(g) officers. "Then they took away my authority on the streets and in the jails, because we were doing too good a job."

Nathan Sproul, a GOP strategist who conducted one of the polls that show Mr. Arpaio trailing, said that despite the changing demographics, the race would be decided largely by whether Republicans have had enough of Mr. Arpaio.

"There has been a steady stream of bad stories for the better part of a decade, culminating with the criminal contempt," Mr. Sproul said. "It's a long list, and its taken a toll."

Mr. Penzone has tried to court Latinos while also appealing to disgruntled Republicans, often focusing on Mr. Arpaio's legal troubles rather than policy differences. In an interview, he called tent city unsafe and, with the jails far below capacity right now, unnecessary. He stopped short, however, of saying that he would close the facility.

"If there's no need for it because we can house all inmates in structured facilities, then I'll do that," Mr. Penzone said. "It's difficult to say."

Mr. Arpaio—who referred to Mr. Penzone only as "the sergeant," never by name—shot back, "If it's no good, why didn't he say he'd close it? Because people love it, that's why."

Mr. Arpaio said he would never close tent city, nor could he think of anything else he would change.

"When you see me cracking down, doing some things that may be controversial, that's what I do," Mr. Arpaio said. "I'd probably do the same thing over in my life."

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Federal agents have arrested three suspected militia members in Kansas on charges they were planning a bomb attack on Somali Muslim **immigrants**, and authorities said the trio had already begun building explosives for the attack.

Court papers allege that the suspects were members of an extremist militia group called the Crusaders and that they were motivated by anti-Muslim, anti-**immigrant** and antigovernment views.

The group had been under scrutiny by the Federal Bureau of Investigation for eight months, and much of the evidence collected against them was from an informant and an undercover FBI agent, according to a Bureau affidavit.

The three men—Patrick Eugene Stein, 47; Curtis Allen, 49; and Gavin Wright, 49—"are conspiring to carry out a domestic terrorist attack by using an improvised explosive device to destroy an apartment complex in Garden City, Kan., which contains a mosque and is home to many Muslims,"' the affidavit said.

As the suspects discussed plans to carry out the attacks, according to the court papers, they repeatedly referred to Muslims as cockroaches, and they "have routinely expressed a hatred for Muslims, individuals of Somali descent, and **immigrants**."

In one conversation, the men discussed killing children if they found them during the attack, according to the affidavit.

Tom Beall, the U.S. attorney for Kansas, said the FBI had to go "deep into a hidden culture of hatred and violence." He added, "Many Kansans may find it as startling as I do that such things could happen here."

The three men were in federal custody and couldn't immediately be reached for comment. Court records didn't identify their lawyers.

They are charged with conspiring to use a weapon of mass destruction, in part because investigators say they found evidence the men had already begun building chemical explosives.

On Wednesday, FBI agents searched Mr. Allen's residence and job site, finding a possible detonator believed to be made of a homemade explosive called HMTD. They also found chemicals, including fertilizer and hydrogen peroxide, that can be used to make bombs, as well as a document titled "The Anarchist Cookbook,'' according to the FBI affidavit.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Two questions emerge as the market scowl over Brexit deepens: Why aren't supporters of Britain's departure from the European Union more worried about the plunging value of the pound? And since when did the Thatcherites who campaigned for "Leave" suddenly morph into neo-Keynesians championing economic policies long favored by the Continent they're divorcing?

Perhaps it's unfair to speculate about whether Brexiters really believe in the allegedly tonic effects of currency depreciation. If nothing else, the economic theory they cite—that cheaper money boosts exports—provides a sheen of economic justification to the human reluctance to admit that Brexit isn't working out as planned, and that the markets know it.

But whatever the thinking, it's becoming clearer that a weak pound is a necessary component of the Brexit strategy—because Britain increasingly looks like it's trying to turn itself into Japan.

The policy agenda to emerge from Theresa May's government in recent weeks could just as well have originated in Tokyo circa 1990. Instead of rethinking its expensive green-energy enthusiasms, slashing taxes to stimulate investment, deregulating the economy and opening trade, the prime minister last week offered new industrial policy and promised more public-works spending and a crackdown on skilled **immigration**. She's even proposing to put a worker on every corporate board, a move reminiscent of Japan Inc.'s successful efforts to thwart foreign investors by introducing cultural barriers to takeovers.

The underlying premise of this policy mix is to spurn trade and **immigration** as engines of productivity growth. A feature of the debate before June's referendum was that while liberal reformers campaigned vigorously against Brussels's statist impulses, the EU policies that most inflamed popular opinion were the open bits. Free-market Brexiters complained about lost parliamentary sovereignty. Voters responded more enthusiastically to barbs about EU-mandated open **immigration**and the fact that Brussels prevented Britain from imposing retaliatory tariffs on Chinese steel to protect Welsh steel jobs.

Sure enough, the liberal vision for post-Brexit Britain isn't so liberal. The EU, for all its flaws, is still the freest free-trade zone in the world. It encompasses not just zero tariffs on goods but a path toward trade in almost all services—the Holy Grail of modern trade negotiations—free movement of capital and people, and easier border crossings for goods than the World Trade Organization has managed after years of negotiations.

Britain's free-traders propose to replace this with a patchwork of new trade deals that will likely cover a narrower range of goods and services. As trade deals go, the highest-quality pact London could plausibly negotiate will struggle to open bilateral trade as much as the EU opened Britain's trade with the rest of Europe. As for **immigration**, Boris Johnson's vague points-based system to bring in new workers is out, while the Tories' stringent quotas for migrants are in.

Which brings us to the pound. If Mrs. May's government can't or won't rely on inward investment of financial and human capital from abroad, it has to find new ways to extract capital from its own economy by diverting money from domestic consumption to investment, a strategy otherwise known as financial repression. Just ask Japan.

The cut-rate pound is an integral part of this strategy. It deters domestic consumption by making imported goods relatively more expensive. This also shields some of the profits of domestic producers.

A weak pound also subsidizes manufacturers by giving them the opportunity to book higher profits in the weaker currency on their sales abroad and their income from overseas operations in the hope that they'll invest this money at home. Maintaining exchange stability at the new level offers a ready-made excuse to suppress domestic interest rates—another subsidy to corporate borrowers at the expense of household savers.

This strategy works economically in the sense that it can boost growth for a time, although not as efficiently as trade-, capital- and **immigration** opening. But Mrs. May and her Brexiter colleagues are politicians, and their problem is more than economic. The Japan model works in Japan, or used to, because Japanese voters were prepared to make the quality-of-life sacrifices demanded of them by a strategy built around financial repression. It's also the only model most Japanese alive today have ever known.

The political problem of the pound is whether an electorate accustomed to certain levels of consumption will willingly backtrack for the sake of an intangible sense of national economic independence. If they won't, Mrs. May's economic agenda and perhaps Brexit itself will require an early and rapid rethink.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Even people who run the Oscars will concede that the process of picking Best Foreign Film nominees is a hot mess. Countries not only get to make their own submissions, they determine who makes the choices and how—politics, invariably, becoming part of the process. Just this year in Brazil, for instance, the selection has been split by the presidential recall, revealing ugly divisions and an eagerness by the Brazilian film industry to shoot itself in the foot.

In "Desierto," the 2017 Mexican Oscar selection, the shooting—and the politics—are all on-screen. Directed by Jonás Cuarón, son and collaborator of one of his country's most successful filmmakers, Alfonso Cuarón, it's a nail-biter, a solid thriller, an **immigration**-themed takeoff on that old chestnut "The Most Dangerous Game," in which humans are both predator and prey. It's not particularly nuanced. In fact, its lack of nuance is its most distinguishing characteristic.

In what has become at least a trope and perhaps a cliché, a truckload of Mexicans is being smuggled across the border into what one assumes is Arizona (shooting was done on the arid moonscape of Baja California Sur). The truck breaks down, and the passengers are forced to slog an unplanned-for number of miles on foot, putting them in the crosshairs—literally—of one angry American. His name, though it never comes up, is Sam.

What do we know about Sam (Jeffrey Dean Morgan)? Nothing as far as personal history. But everything about his position in the American political profile. His well-used, unwashed pickup has country music on the radio (old country, not that new stuff), a high-powered, scoped rifle on the gun rack, a police dog named Tracker in the passenger seat and a ragged Confederate flag on the antenna. A "Don't Tread on Me" sticker decorates a back window. His few utterances include "Welcome to the land of the free" as he guns down—with an alarming, long-range accuracy that suggests his skills are ex-military, if not pure fantasy—almost all the Mexicans he forces to run for their lives across a parched, treeless expanse of America.

There's more one could say about Sam—he wears a scarf that resembles very much a kaffiyeh, for instance, and what that's supposed to signify is anyone's guess. (The dog, more explicitly, suggests concentration camps and Bull Connor.) He's trained his dog to kill, which is one of the more implausible aspects of the film but implies a premeditated bloodlust both distilled and refined. For some reason, he just can't manage, despite his unerring skill with miles-long, free-handed rifle shots, to gun down the very decent Moises, who is unfortunate enough to have been on that broken-down truck. But this is probably because Moises is played by Gael García Bernal.

There are many good things to be said about "Desierto," but we've already said them—the film is fast-paced, nerve-racking and makes effective, even emotional use of the landscape. Mr. Bernal is, as always, a charmer; Mr. Morgan brings scary life to a scary guy. But where many countries try to tailor their Oscar submissions to what's won before—the sentimental, the romantic, or both—Mexico, with "Desierto," is making a rude gesture to U.S. anti-**immigration** forces and is gambling that liberal Hollywood will take the bait. The rest of us may wish the bait weren't quite so obvious or based on what seems to be a recurring Mexican nightmare. (Last year's release "La Jaula de Oro" told a similar story.) There have been reports of vigilante murder along the border but, for the record, a spokesman for U.S. Customs and Border Protection said that the agency "is unaware of any such events as you describe and the sport-shooting of humans anywhere is against the law."

DVD // Streaming // Download

‘Gravity' (2013)[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/SB10001424052702304176904579111881467162864]

An intergalactic spectacular that should be seen only on the widest screen available (OK, it should be seen anyway), this lost-in-space vehicle starring Sandra Bullock—directed by Alfonso Cuarón and written with his son, Jonás—won seven Oscars and broke new technological ground in moviemaking. It also features an extremely amusing performance by George Clooney.

More Reviews

\* ‘Certain Women'[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/SB12277614663337003993904582372140316924810]

\* ‘The Accountant'[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/SB12277614663337003993904582372140842044950]

Rewind

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**PHILADELPHIA—Federal Reserve Bank of Philadelphia President Patrick Harker said Thursday he was in favor of raising short-term interest rates at the central bank's last gathering, showing the push to boost borrowing costs was broader than already understood.

"I did support one then," he said of a rate rise, adding "a continued gradual path of normalization is the appropriate policy" and the economy and job market are "strong enough to withstand" a move higher right now, Mr. Harker told reporters after a speech.

The official isn't currently a voting member of the interest-rate setting Federal Open Market Committee.

The Fed refrained from boosting borrowing costs last month, keeping them stable at the 0.25% to 0.50% range that has prevailed since last December. The meeting saw a significant amount of dissent with three officials voting to raise rates, believing the economy was ready for that action.

Meeting minutes for the September gathering, released on Wednesday, showed officials growing closer to supporting a boost in what is now a 0.25% to 0.50% overnight target rate range. Most in markets expect the move to come at the December meeting.

Raising rates "sooner rather than later is appropriate," Mr. Harker told reporters. But he added that while all Fed meetings are "live" and open for action, the fact that the November meeting comes just ahead of the presidential election may argue in favor of standing steady then. "It may be prudent to wait until we've resolved some of that uncertainty that would come with the different policy choices the vote will create," Mr. Harker said.

The central banker said in his formal remarks at a meeting of the World Affairs Council of Philadelphia that higher **immigration** could help the economy and make monetary policy more effective.

While he wasn't officially advocating for higher levels of **immigration**, Mr. Harker nevertheless said that demographically driven declines in labor-force participation, which have ripple effects throughout the economy, could be addressed by bringing in workers from outside the U.S. Mr. Harker noted that a large part of **immigration** into the U.S. has been from high-skilled workers, and studies show little evidence these workers displace American citizens from jobs they would have otherwise been able to get.

"The U.S. labor market is strong, but participation is waning. Our economy needs a boost and **immigration** could be the stimulant," Mr. Harker said.

Mr. Harker told the audience he still favors a "slow, gradual path" of interest- rate increases, adding one rise this year is likely and two are probable for 2017 depending on how the economy performs.

Mr. Harker also acknowledged that ultralow interest rates put in place by Fed officials have "created some distortions" in terms of wealth disparities and business investment, and that worries him.

Mr. Harker said that as a central banker, he wasn't formally advocating for any particular **immigration** policy. But he did observe that the choices made by elected leaders affect how the central bank does its job.

In his remarks, Mr. Harker said American labor-force participation declines are largely due to the retirement of baby boomer workers, and there are no pools of new workers in the economy to help offset those pressures. Falling participation rates lower the trend of growth, pressure productivity and in turn lower the rate of interest that represents the break-even point between rising and falling inflation.

If this so-called natural rate of inflation is lower, Mr. Harker said, it means the Fed has less scope to raise rates. And that means it also has less scope to lower rates in the face of economic problems, he said.

A lower natural rate "gives us less room to maneuver. Monetary policy is a relatively blunt tool; a smaller window for operation is more appropriate for a scalpel," he said. Compounding that challenge is evidence that monetary policy has become "duller" and less able to influence the economy, he said.

"We need to close the gap in the workforce. And given the long-term demographic trends, we need to turn to outside sources," Mr. Harker said.

In other comments, Mr. Harker acknowledged a rise in subprime lending but added that so far, "I don't see any real systemic risk right now" in the financial system as a whole. That said, commercial real estate issues are a worry and worth watching, he added.

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Transcript

\* Reporters' Q&A With Philadelphia Fed Leader[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/transcript-reporters-q-a-with-philadelphia-feds-patrick-harker-1476458364?tesla=y]

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**BERLIN—The Syrian terror suspect arrested in Germany and found dead in his cell [http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/syrian-refugee-suspected-of-plotting-attack-in-germany-committedsuicide-lawyer-says-1476306793]had shown increasing signs of radicalization over the past year but failed to get on authorities' radar, fueling doubts about the country's preparedness as Europe faces its most acute terror threat in decades.

Jaber Albakr—who security officials only learned of in recent weeks and say was plotting to bomb airports in Berlin—had returned to Syria at least once since obtaining asylum in Germany last year, his brother, Alaa Albakr, told The Wall Street Journal. Mr. Albakr also posted radical content on a largely public Facebookpage he kept under a pseudonym and, according to his brother, praised Islamic State in conversations.

The revelations—as well as the circumstances of the terror suspect's prison-cell suicide on Wednesday—raise urgent questions about German authorities' ability to detect and investigate potential terrorists, particularly after nearly a million migrants, mainly from the Middle East, streamed into the country last year.

They also put additional pressure on Germany's assortment of federal and regional security services after a mishap-ridden police raid [http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/police-comb-eastern-germany-in-hunt-for-terror-plot-suspect-1476009132]to seize Mr. Albakr over the weekend. Although surrounded, Mr. Albakr fled the scene, eluding elite police forces for two days before being captured by fellow Syrian **refugees**[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/german-police-arrest-suspect-in-alleged-terror-bomb-plot-1476077420].

His suicide in custody capped a string of failures and left investigators with little hope of reconstructing the bombing plot. Mr. Albakr strangled himself with his shirt tied to the bars of his cell in the evening, using the interval between cell checks to commit suicide, said Rolf Jacob, head of the prison where the suspected bomb plotter had been detained.

Prison staff had consulted with a psychologist after a judge warned the suspect might try to kill himself: Mr. Albakr initiated a hunger strike and interfered with the light and power socket in his cell. The staff, though, concluded that he didn't show an acute risk, and the psychologist later recommended decreasing the frequency of checks on his cell from once every 15 minutes to once every 30 minutes.

Still, a guard did decide to look in on Mr. Albakr at 7:45 p.m., just 15 minutes after the last check. By that time, he had already hanged himself. Prison doctors tried to revive him for half an hour, but it was too late, officials said.

"In retrospect, I would maybe ask ourselves if we weren't a little too gullible," Mr. Jacob said.

Politicians and security experts lashed out at authorities for letting the key suspect die in their custody, dashing hopes of gaining insight into what authorities say could have been a devastating terror attack.

"This is a fiasco—this should never, ever happen," said Wolfgang Bosbach, a member of the internal affairs committee in parliament for Chancellor Angela Merkel's Christian Democratic Union. "To fail one time is a slip-up—multiple failures is a disaster," said Katrin Göring-Eckhardt from the Green party.

Mr. Albakr had been in detention pending terror charges after a large quantity of TATP—a potent homemade explosive used in several recent terror attacks around Europe—was found in an apartment he shared with another **refugee** in the city of Chemnitz on Saturday.

If true, the revelations of Mr. Albakr's travels to Islamic State territory while receiving asylum benefits in Germany are the strongest indictment yet of the security gaps in Germany's system of scanning and checking the 890,000 migrants who arrived in the country at the height of the migrant crisis last year.

Ms. Merkel has seen her ratings drop since her decision to let in hundreds of thousands of Syrian **refugees** last year, a decision critics said had left Germany vulnerable to attacks by militants hiding among legitimate **refugees**.

"It's devastating for a political debate that's already heated," said Rainer Wendt, who heads up one of Germany's two police unions.

Mr. Albakr's brother claimed his sibling's behavior began to shift soon after he arrived in Germany in February 2015.

"During his first visit to Syria, coming from Germany, he joined ISIS," Alaa Albakr, the brother, said in a telephone interview from his home near Damascus. The Journal tracked the suspect's 31-year-old brother through his Facebook page, which had a link to the suspect's own profile, kept under the alias Jaber Abu Hayyan.

A German official said investigators hadn't yet been able to establish the authenticity of the suspect's profile. Photographs of Mr. Albakr featured on the profile haven't been published elsewhere and his older brother said the profile was indeed his brother's.

A person familiar with the case said that Mr. Albakr had traveled to Turkey from Germany at least once but that it was unclear whether he had continued on to Syria. Two German media reports, quoting unidentified sources and relatives of the suspect, said he had traveled to Turkey and possibly to Syria after applying for asylum in Germany.

The Facebook profile shows increasingly radical postings. In January, he posted the lyrics of a jihadi song. "Mom don't get sad because I went to Iraqi land. Wipe your tears. I only went to slaughter the Jews," the text reads. In February, he posted another song popular with jihadists. His last entry—an Arabic text that appears to be a reference to martyrdom—dates from March 2016.

At that time, authorities were in the dark about Mr. Albakr and his radical views.

Authorities learned of Mr. Albakr last month after the domestic intelligence agency received a tip from an undisclosed source. The ensuing investigation pointed to Islamic State ties and that the man was planning a suicide bombing, officials said.

Last Friday, intelligence agents determined that he had visited a store to buy hot glue—possibly the last ingredient needed to build a bomb—prompting the Saturday raid, according to Hans-Georg Maassen, head of the federal domestic intelligence agency.

"We argued a lot because of his new ideas and he cut off contact," said the brother, who lives in Damascus and sounded shaken by the news of his brother's death. The brother said he believed Mr. Albakr, the suspected plotter, had visited Raqqa, Islamic State's de facto capital, at one point.

Two months ago, he again talked to his younger brother who told him he was in Idlib, a city in northwestern Syria. "He asked me if there was a way to go back to Germany but he had burned his documents," the brother said. "I don't know how he got back."

Security officials have been warning for months that the scale of the influx had made it impossible to conduct in-depth background checks on the newcomers. The bomb plot has revived calls from conservative politicians for better screenings. Last year, most of the Syrians who arrived didn't even undergo personal interviews. Some 70% to 80% of them reached Germany without documentation, officials say.

The government says new migrants are now being routinely interviewed but that detecting radicals is difficult in the absence of information from Syrian authorities about a person's past. German Interior Minister Thomas de Maizière said Wednesday that Mr. Albakr had undergone a background check after he applied for asylum but that it hadn't raised any flag.

Facing a barrage of criticism, officials in the state of Saxony said Thursday that there was nothing more they could have done under current rules to prevent the suspect from killing himself.

Mr. Jacob, the prison head, acknowledged that the prison had next to no experience in dealing with terror suspects and that the psychologist had difficulty communicating with the suspect, who spoke little German. But he insisted all staff had acted to their best ability.

"This shouldn't have happened, but unfortunately it did," said Sebastian Gemkow, the justice minister of Saxony. "We currently estimate that everything possible was done to prevent this from happening."

Write to Ruth Bender at Ruth.Bender@wsj.com[mailto:Ruth.Bender@wsj.com]

Related Coverage

\* Syrian Arrested After German Manhunt Plotted Berlin Airport Attack, Officials Say[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/german-police-arrest-suspect-in-alleged-terror-bomb-plot-1476077420]

\* Police Comb Eastern Germany in Hunt for Terror-Plot Suspect[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/police-comb-eastern-germany-in-hunt-for-terror-plot-suspect-1476009132]

\* Germany Outlines New Security Measures After Recent Attacks[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/terrorism-in-germany-leads-to-proposals-for-tighter-security-1470913188]

\* Islamic State Threat in Europe Shifts[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/islamic-state-threat-in-europe-shifts-1469725705]

\* Signs of Bigger Islamic State Cell in Germany Emerge[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/signs-of-bigger-islamic-state-cell-in-germany-emerge-1465421355]

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**UNITED NATIONS—The U.N. General Assembly on Thursday officially appointed António Guterres of Portugal as its next secretary-general as he pledged to combat terrorism and extremism while also fighting "xenophobia" and populism.

The 193-member General Assembly voted by acclamation after the Security Council last week nominated Mr. Guterres [http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/security-council-votes-for-portugals-guterres-as-un-chief-1475791754]for the post following straw polls [http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/straw-poll-puts-portuguese-ex-premier-at-front-of-u-n-leadership-race-1469145706]that showed him leading a dozen other candidates.

Mr. Guterres, 67, said he felt "a profound sense of responsibility" and that he would serve all member states without an agenda.

In his first address to the U.N. as the Secretary-General designate, Mr. Guterres acknowledged the challenges he would face, resolving such conflicts as Syria and addressing gender equality, as well as the limitations that come with the position.

"We must make sure that we are able to break these alliances between all those terrorist groups or violent extremists on one side, and the expression of populism and xenophobia on the other side," he said. "We must be able to fight both of them with determination."

He added that he would not have all the answers and would not seek to impose his own views.

His approach would be "one in which the secretary-general makes his good offices available, working as a convener, a mediator, a bridge-builder and an honest broker to help find solutions that benefit everyone involved."

Mr. Guterres is a seasoned politician and a veteran of the U.N. He served as Portugal's prime minster from 1995 to 2002, gaining a reputation as an ethical leader willing to reach consensus with his critics. At the U.N., Mr. Guterres served as the world body's high commissioner for **refugees** from 2005 to 2015, often traveling to conflict zones and border areas to advocate for the plight of **refugees**.

The General Assembly broke into long applause Thursday as diplomats gave Mr. Guterres a standing ovation. Representatives from different regions of the world delivered statements of congratulations and well wishes, and outgoing Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon described him as someone best known "on the front lines of armed conflict and humanitarian suffering."

Diplomats also praised the new, more transparent process under which Mr. Guterres was selected and said they hoped that this signaled an era of change in the wider U.N. system. Until this year, the Security Council picked the secretary-general in secret consultations and without any input from member states.

"Mr. Guterres has the character, vision, and skills needed to lead the United Nations at this critical moment and to reform its organizations and operations to better meet these unprecedented challenges," President Barack Obama said in a statement.

Mr. Guterres is due to hold a session with the General Assembly next week and the process of transition has been set in motion. Mr. Guterres will appoint a deputy and new team for senior U.N. positions to head various agencies from peacekeeping to humanitarian relief and political affairs.

He takes over on Jan. 1.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**LONDON—The main legal challenge over Brexit kicked off in a packed courtroom on Thursday, as pressure mounted on the government to give lawmakers a vote on how the U.K.'s withdrawal from the European Union will be carried out.

The case marks the most significant effort by opponents since the Brexit referendum, as they argue that though voters chose to leave the bloc, Parliament should have a say in the negotiations on what the future EU-U.K. relationship will look like.

In a sign of how the issue has divided the country, noisy protesters on both sides gathered outside the U.K. High Court as proceedings began.

At the heart of case[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/first-legal-challenge-to-the-u-k-s-brexit-gets-underway-1468947382] is the question of whether the Conservative-led government has the authority to unilaterally trigger the formal mechanism for leaving the EU, known as Article 50[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/brexit-what-is-article-50-1475410524], without prior approval from Parliament.

The complex case—brought by British citizens with the help of some of the U.K.'s top constitutional lawyers—is complicating things for U.K. Prime Minister[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/brexit-process-wont-get-parliamentary-vote-government-says-1476269263] Theresa May, who has said she plans to invoke Article 50 by the end of March.

Mrs. May has taken a hard line on terms of the U.K.'s deal with the EU, pledging to prioritize the right to curb **immigration** over access to the bloc's tariff-free single market. At a debate called by the opposition Labour Party on Wednesday, lawmakers criticized the government over what they said was its lack of transparency.

If the challenge succeeds, the government could be forced to introduce legislation on formally leaving the EU, giving lawmakers who opposed Brexit an opportunity to try to steer the country toward a "softer" exit, with more ties to the bloc and a more open **immigration** policy.

The court could rule in weeks, but legal experts say it is likely to refer the case to the Supreme Court, which would be expected to hear the case before the end of the year.

The case, which combines at least seven private actions brought by individuals who supported Britain's continued EU membership, underscores the complexities involved in the U.K.'s decision to leave the bloc, as it becomes the first member of the modern EU to do so.

The government says it has the right to leave because of the so-called royal prerogative, whereby executive authority is given to ministers so they can govern on the monarch's behalf.

Lawyers representing the government also say Mrs. May has a responsibility to carry out the wishes of the people as expressed in the June vote.

But the claimants argue that triggering Article 50 without prior parliamentary consent would effectively override a 1972 statute that enshrines European law in the U.K. and which the claimants say ensures rights that can only be removed by Parliament.

"The heart of this case…is that Parliament has undoubtedly created a series of absolutely fundamental rights, and they cannot be taken away by executive action," David Pannick, a leading human rights lawyer who represents one of the plaintiffs, told the court.

Spearheading the legal challenge to Brexit is British businesswoman Gina Miller and hairdresser Deir Dos Santos. Grahame Pigney, a France-based expatriate who used crowdfunding from more than 4,000 people to pay for lawyers, has also joined the suit as a co-party. Lawyers representing the Scottish and Welsh government are also participating in the case as observers.

The hearing has been adjourned until Monday, when lawyers for the plaintiffs will conclude their cases before the government's legal team opens their defense.

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Related

\* Maldives to Leave the Commonwealth[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/maldives-to-leave-the-commonwealth-1476383557]

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**An internal Department of Homeland Security memo appears to contradict claims by the agency that there is no budget shortfall as a result of a surge in **immigrants** detained at the U.S.-Mexican border.

Earlier this week, The Wall Street Journal reported[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/federal-government-is-running-out-of-funds-to-detain-illegal-immigrants-1476228595] that in about a month, the **Immigration** and Customs Enforcement agency, a division of the DHS, which jails tens of thousands of **immigrants** awaiting deportation proceedings, will run out of money to detain illegal **immigrants** and needs $136 million more to maintain operations through Dec. 9. The reason, officials said, was that the number of people in detention had swelled to more than 42,000 people, from about 31,000 earlier this year.

After the story was published, DHS spokeswoman Marsha Catron said it wasn't true. "We are not running out of money for **immigration** detention,'' she said on Wednesday and reiterated Thursday.

Ms. Catron acknowledged "an uptick" in detentions, but said, "We can manage funding to operate at current levels for the duration of the continuing resolution set to expire Dec. 9."

But an internal Department of Homeland Security memo reviewed by the Journal says, "ICE requests an additional $136 million for this account through Dec. 9, 2016," and if the agency doesn't get it, "our funds will run out on November 12."

The consequences, the memo warns, would be serious, as the agency would have to start releasing more people arrested trying to enter the U.S. illegally.

"Without the requested funding ICE will not fulfill its detention requirements... Insufficient funding would force ICE to reject any new book-ins, including these recent border crossers that fall within Priority 1 of the Secretary's enforcement priorities," the memo says.

Daniel Ragsdale, the deputy director of ICE, on Thursday described the document as a "draft which was never reviewed by ICE leadership," adding, "this type of adjustment is common, and has been done in years past."

He called the suggestion ICE is running out of funds for detention "misleading."

On Thursday, DHS officially asked the White House for permission to spend more on detention, DHS officials said. One DHS official insisted the agency is "taking a higher allocation," not getting more money

The budget problem stems in large part from Congress' increasing reliance on temporary funding bills, the most recent of which was passed in late September[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/congress-nears-deal-on-spending-bill-1475070408] and expires Dec. 9. Such bills, or continuing resolutions, generally continue government spending at the previous year's level.

Homeland Security Secretary Jeh Johnson has long complained that these measures create significant problems for his personnel.

"It is like trying to drive across country with no more than five gallons of gas in your tank and you do not know when the next gas station will appear,'' he said in 2015.

The memo on the costs of detaining **immigrants** offers specific figures for the current budget shortfalls: $124,148,126 for detention beds, and $11,503,705 for alternatives to detention.

According to ICE officials, the budget problems stem from a surge in **immigrants** trying to enter the U.S. along the southwest border from Mexico, including thousands of Haitians. And detained Haitians may be spending more time, not less, in federal detention, following the devastation in Haiti caused by Hurricane Matthew[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/haitis-death-toll-from-hurricane-matthew-climbs-more-people-in-shelters-1476115790].

On Wednesday, Mr. Johnson announced the agency was temporarily suspending deportation flights of Haitians.

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Related

\* Federal Government Is Running Out of Funds to Detain Illegal **Immigrants**[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/federal-government-is-running-out-of-funds-to-detain-illegal-immigrants-1476228595] (Oct. 11)

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**PHILADELPHIA—-Federal Reserve Bank of Philadelphia President Patrick Harker said Thursday higher **immigration** could help the economy and make monetary policy more effective, adding he hopes the U.S. central bank will raise interest rates relatively soon.

While he wasn't officially advocating for higher levels of **immigration**, Mr. Harker nevertheless said that demographically-driven declines in labor-force participation, which have ripple effects throughout the economy, could be addressed by bringing in workers from outside the U.S. Mr. Harker noted that a large part of **immigration** into the U.S. has been from high-skilled workers, and studies show little evidence these workers displace American citizens from jobs they would have otherwise been able to get.

"The U.S. labor market is strong, but participation is waning. Our economy needs a boost and **immigration** could be the stimulant," Mr. Harker said.

The official's comments came from an appearance at a meeting of the World Affairs Council of Philadelphia. Mr. Harker currently isn't a voting member of the interest-rate setting Federal Open Market Committee.

Mr. Harker told the audience he still favors a "slow, gradual path" of interest- rate increases. "I would like to see normalization sooner rather than later" and "it's important for us to move further and further away from zero," he said. He said one rise this year is likely and two are probable for 2017 depending on how the economy performs.

Meeting minutes for the September gathering, released on Wednesday, showed officials growing closer to supporting a boost in what is now a 0.25% to 0.50% overnight target rate range. Most in markets expect the move to come at the December meeting.

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"We need to close the gap in the workforce. And given the long-term demographic trends, we need to turn to outside sources," Mr. Harker said.

In other comments, Mr. Harker acknowledged a rise in subprime lending but added that so far, "I don't see any real systemic risk right now" in the financial system as a whole, he said. That said, he added, commercial real estate issues are a worry and worth watching.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**BERLIN—German officials Thursday rejected criticism that they could have prevented the suicide of Syrian terror suspect[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/syrian-refugee-suspected-of-plotting-attack-in-germany-committedsuicide-lawyer-says-1476306793] Jaber Albakr after a week of mishaps that have raised questions about Germany's preparedness in the face of an unprecedented terror threat.

Mr. Albakr strangled himself with his shirt tied to the bars of his cell on Wednesday evening, using a 30-minute gap in between surveillance to commit suicide, said Rolf Jacob, head of the prison where the suspected bomb plotter had been detained.

The 22-year-old Syrian **refugee** had been in detention[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/german-police-arrest-suspect-in-alleged-terror-bomb-plot-1476077420] pending terror charges after a large quantity of explosives were found in a flat he shared with another **refugee** in the German city of Chemnitz on Saturday.

Security officials suspect Mr. Albakr was planning bomb attacks on airports in Berlin as soon as this week.

"This shouldn't have happened, but unfortunately it did," said Sebastian Gemkow, the justice minister of Saxony. "We currently estimate that everything possible was done to prevent this from happening."

A judge had warned earlier about a suicide risk as Mr. Albakr had refused to eat and drink. Prison and justice officials said they had interpreted the fact that he had earlier interfered with the light and power socket in his cell as a provocation.

Wardens initially checked on Mr. Albakr every 15 minutes, and he had appeared "calm and unemotional," according to Mr. Jacob. A psychologist later suggested widening the gap in between surveillance to 30 minutes, he said.

Politicians and security experts lashed out at authorities for letting the key suspect die in their custody, dashing hopes of gaining insight into what authorities say could have been a devastating terror attack.

The death of Mr. Albakr capped a week of mishaps for which the Saxony police and law enforcement have been blamed.

Mr. Albakr had managed to escape an elite police force raid on his apartment block on Saturday, sparking a two-day international manhunt. Although he was sighted leaving the block, police lost him during the assault.

He was arrested two days later, on Monday, after two fellow Syrians he had persuaded to offer him shelter identified him as the fugitive and turned him in.

"This is a fiasco—this should never, ever happen," said Wolfgang Bosbach, a member of the internal affairs committee in parliament for Chancellor Angela Merkel's Christian Democratic Union.

"To fail one time is a slip-up, multiple failures is a disaster," said Katrin Göring-Eckhardt from the Green party, demanding local authorities draw consequences from the incident.

"This is a setback for the fight against terrorism because Albakr could perhaps have provided a lot of information about structures, transit routes, plans and accomplices," said Rainer Wendt, head of one of Germany's two large police unions.

Law-enforcement officials in Saxony have come under fire before for letting violence break out between migrants and right-wing activists and after a crowd of protesters disturbed celebrations for unity day in Dresden earlier this month.

The botched handling of the Albakr case is putting renewed pressure on Ms. Merkel, who has fought accusations that her decision to let in hundreds of thousands of Syrian **refugees**[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/germanys-merkel-sticks-to-open-arms-migrant-policy-1447437314] last year had left Germany vulnerable to attacks it was ill-equipped to prevent. Ms. Merkel's ratings[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/merkels-popularity-plunges-after-july-attacks-1470399396], while still high, have fallen since the influx started.

Mr. Albakr's death leaves another Syrian, a 33-year-old identified as Khalil A., as the sole suspect currently in custody in relation to the alleged plot. He was arrested during the weekend raid on suspicion of allowing Mr. Albakr to use his apartment and of ordering bomb-making material online on his behalf.

Saxony officials said a warden has now been placed permanently outside his cell.

Andrea Thomas and Zeke Turner contributed to this article.

Write to Ruth Bender at Ruth.Bender@wsj.com[mailto:Ruth.Bender@wsj.com]

Related News

\* Syrian Arrested After German Manhunt Plotted Berlin Airport Attack, Officials Say[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/german-police-arrest-suspect-in-alleged-terror-bomb-plot-1476077420]

\* Germany Discusses Enlisting Military Help at Home to Fight Terrorism[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/germany-discusses-enlisting-military-help-at-home-to-fight-terrorism-1470243199]

\* German Chancellor Angela Merkel Stands Firm on Migrant Policy After Terrorist Attacks[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/bavarian-leaders-plan-more-security-tougher-measures-on-asylum-seekers-1469699655]

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**VENEZUELA

Court Cuts Congress From Budget Process

Venezuela's Supreme Court stripped the congress of budgetary oversight, removing the last practical powers of the only public institution opposed to President Nicolás Maduro amid a deepening economic crisis.

The Supreme Court said in a ruling published late Tuesday that it will take over all budgetary functions from the National Assembly, because its leaders, who oppose Mr. Maduro, stand in contempt of court for not obeying earlier unrelated rulings.

The ruling is the latest move by Mr. Maduro and his judicial allies to chip away at congressional powers since the opposition won control of the National Assembly in December.

The opposition alliance has said it would now focus on staging a constitutionally permitted recall referendum on Mr. Maduro. The opposition held small rallies across the country Wednesday to prepare supporters for a signature drive required to trigger the vote.

Anatoly Kurmanaev

UNITED KINGDOM

Parliament Presses May Over Brexit

Prime Minister Theresa May's government defended itself from accusations that it isn't giving lawmakers enough say in its plans to leave the European Union, saying it needed to protect its negotiating position.

Since announcing that the government would trigger the two-year window for exit talks by the end of March, the Conservative leader has come under pressure over her decision to negotiate Brexit without parliamentary approval. At a debate Wednesday called by the opposition Labour Party, lawmakers criticized the government for what they said was its lack of transparency.

The government is facing a legal challenge on the decision not to hold a vote; the case is set to start Thursday.

Nicholas Winning

YEMEN

U.S. Ship Fired Upon a Second Time

A U.S. warship operating off Yemen's coast Wednesday was targeted a second time in four days by what appeared to be Iranian-backed Houthi rebels, raising the likelihood of a U.S. military response, defense officials said.

Officials said the USS Mason, a destroyer, wasn't hit or damaged when two missiles were fired from a Houthi-controlled area known as al-Hudaydah. Iran backs the Houthi rebels in Yemen, who have been engaged in a bloody civil war that pits them against a Saudi Arabia-led coalition that is backed by the U.S.

Defense officials warned they are contemplating a military strike in response. "We will respond to this threat at the appropriate time and in the appropriate manner," Pentagon press secretary Peter Cook said.

Gordon Lubold

GERMANY

Terror-Plot Suspect Commits Suicide

A Syrian **refugee** arrested this week for plotting a terror attack in Germany was found dead in his cell late Wednesday, in the latest setback for a security operation marred by police mishaps.

The justice ministry in the state of Saxony said Jaber Albakr, 22, had committed suicide. Mr. Albakr was in detention pending terror charges after explosives were found in a flat he shared with another **refugee** in the city of Chemnitz on Saturday.

Alexander Hübner, the lawyer representing Mr. Albakr, said he was outraged that a terror suspect who had been on a hunger strike since Monday could manage to kill himself.

Mr. Albakr on Saturday escaped a police raid on his apartment block, prompting conservatives to call for an overhaul of the strict rules separating police from intelligence work/.

Ruth Bender

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Republican Donald Trump and Democrat Hillary Clinton will debate the national debt, **immigration** and their fitness to be president in the third and final presidential debate.

The Commission on Presidential Debates announced that moderator Chris Wallace of Fox News has selected six topics for the event, which will be held next Wednesday, less than three weeks before Election Day.

The economy, the Supreme Court and foreign policy are the other topics on the list, according to the commission.

The debate will be held at the University of Nevada, Las Vegas next week. The format calls for a 15-minute segment for each of the six topics, for 90 minutes total and no commercial breaks.

The first presidential debate between the nominees, on Sept. 26 in New York, also called for six 15-minute segments. The second debate, held this past Sunday, was a town-hall format.

The debate next Wednesday figures to be Mr. Trump's final opportunity to make a dent in Mrs. Clinton's lead in front of a big television audience. The Democrat's lead in national polls has been growing.

Write to Byron Tau at byron.tau@wsj.com[mailto:byron.tau@wsj.com]

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**BERLIN—A Syrian **refugee** arrested this week for plotting a terror attack in Germany[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/german-police-arrest-suspect-in-alleged-terror-bomb-plot-1476077420] was found dead in prison late Wednesday in the latest setback for a security operation marred by police mishaps since it began at the weekend.

The justice ministry in the Eastern German state of Saxony said in a statement that Jaber Albakr, 22, had committed suicide. Mr. Albakr was in detention pending terror charges after a large quantity of explosives were found in a flat he shared with another **refugee** in the German city of Chemnitz on Saturday.

"I know there was a suicide risk and I was told earlier today that he had been under permanent surveillance," Alexander Hübner, the lawyer representing Mr. Albakr said. Mr. Hübner said he was outraged that a terror suspect who had been on a hunger strike since Monday could manage to kill himself.

The suicide of the main suspect in what authorities have said could have been a devastating terror attack comes after a series of setbacks that have raised questions about the country's state of preparedness amid Europe's most severe terror threat in decades.

It could also spell fresh difficulties for Chancellor Angela Merkel, who has fought accusations that her decision to let in hundreds of thousands of Syrian **refugees**last year had left Germany vulnerable to attacks it was ill-equipped to prevent. Ms. Merkel's ratings, while still high, have fallen since the influx started.

"How could this happen?," Volker Beck, a lawmaker with the opposition Greens wrote on Twitter.

The 22-year-old Syrian **refugee** managed to escape a massive police raid on his apartment block on Saturday, sparking a two-day international manhunt. Although he was sighted leaving the block, police lost his track during the assault.

Mr. Albakr was arrested two days later, on Monday, after two fellow Syrians he had persuaded to offer him shelter identified him as the fugitive and turned him in.

The botched police raid prompted conservative politicians to call for an overhaul of the strict rules separating police from intelligence work, a heritage of two successive dictatorships in the last century.

During the raid on Mr. Albakr's flat, police found about 3 pounds of TATP, the highly potent explosive favored by Islamist terrorists and used in recent attacks in Paris and Brussels, along with materials for making a suicide vest.

Hans-Georg Maassen, head of Germany's domestic intelligence agency, said on German television that the man was believed to be targeting airports in Berlin and that he had ties to Islamic State. Mr. Maassen told German daily Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung late Wednesday that the suspect might have planned to carry out his first attacks this week.

In what could create further embarrassment for authorities, German media on Wednesday reported that Mr. Albakr had spent time in Turkey over the summer, after being granted asylum here.

German daily Die Welt wrote that the suspect had spent several weeks, possibly even months, this summer in Turkey while public broadcaster MDR cited unidentified relatives as saying he had traveled to Syria during that time.

Germany's federal prosecutor's office in charge of the case declined to comment on the reports as did Interior Minister Thomas de Maizière earlier Wednesday.

Officials have rejected suggestions that intelligence and police had failed in Mr. Albakr's case. Mr. Maassen stressed that authorities had moved quickly and foiled a major attack.

But authorities have said little about who the suspect was or how he was able to manufacture military-grade explosives in an apartment in eastern Germany.

Mr. Albakr came to Germany in February last year and was granted asylum in July. His security screening had raised no questions, Mr. de Maizière said Monday.

But he appeared on authorities' radar last month after the domestic intelligence agency received a tip, sparking an investigation that soon revealed Mr. Albakr might have ties to Islamic State.

Mr. Albakr's death leaves another Syrian, a 33-year-old identified as Khalil A., as the sole suspect currently in custody in relation to the alleged plot. He was arrested during the botched weekend raid on suspicion of allowing Mr. Albakr to use his apartment and of ordering bomb-making material online on his behalf.

Andrea Thomas contributed to this article.

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\* Syrian Arrested After German Manhunt Plotted Berlin Airport Attack, Officials Say[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/german-police-arrest-suspect-in-alleged-terror-bomb-plot-1476077420] (Oct. 10)

\* Police Comb Eastern Germany in Hunt for Terror-Plot Suspect[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/police-comb-eastern-germany-in-hunt-for-terror-plot-suspect-1476009132] (Oct. 9)

\* German Police Find ‘Highly Explosive' Materials in Terror-Plot Manhunt[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/german-police-search-for-terror-plot-suspect-in-town-of-chemnitz-1475934652] (Oct. 8)

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**BERLIN—Germany on Wednesday moved to curb social benefits for citizens from other European Union countries in a bid to prevent migrants abusing its generous welfare system.

EU migrants who have never worked in the country won't be able to enjoy most social and unemployment benefits for the first five years here, according to a draft law approved by the cabinet Wednesday.

The law seeks to clarify confusion over recent court rulings. A German federal court ruled recently that nonworking EU migrants were entitled to social benefits after six months in the country, but the EU's top court had ruled in a previous case that Germany was allowed to deny social benefits to EU nationals.

Germany's tougher line on welfare for EU migrants comes as German towns are struggling with the financial burden[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/overburdened-german-cities-tell-refugees-to-move-out-1476272375] of caring for last year's influx of **refugees** and migrants, and the government is trying to quell growing discomfort in the country with Chancellor Angela Merkel's open-door migrant policies that have boosted the popularity of the populist, anti-**immigrant** Alternative for Germany party.

The AfD scored unprecedented electoral wins in recent state elections [http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/merkel-stands-by-refugee-policy-after-election-loss-1473078641]amid voter concern since Germany received nearly one million migrants and **refugees** last year.

The ban on benefit payments for nonworking EU migrants also comes against the backdrop of European leaders preparing for tough negotiations with the U.K. regarding its exit from the EU.

Welfare benefits for EU migrants were a central theme in the debate in the run-up to the Brexit referendum in June. In his campaign for Britain to remain in the EU, former British Prime Minister David Cameron had sought to limit welfare benefits for EU citizens. His successor, Prime Minister Theresa May, has said she will make curbing migration her priority[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/u-k-prime-minister-theresa-may-appeals-to-working-class-voters-at-conservative-party-conference-1475672599] when negotiating the U.K. exit from the bloc.

In Germany, the new law seeks to discourage EU citizens who under EU rules are allowed to work anywhere in the bloc from moving to Germany to live off social benefits, without working.

"With this clarification we are strengthening the trust in the European idea and one of its biggest achievements: free movement of labor," said Social Affairs Minister Andrea Nahles, the Social Democrat who proposed the new legislation. "And we protect our municipalities, who have to shoulder the social benefits, from financial overburdening."

The draft law still requires parliamentary approval.

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Overburdened German Cities Tell **Refugees** to Move Out[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/overburdened-german-cities-tell-refugees-to-move-out-1476272375]

Germany's parliament passed a law this summer allowing overburdened cities to send jobless **refugees** back to the states they were first assigned. But the move seen as a boon to struggling cities is also raising a host of questions in practice. Read more.[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/overburdened-german-cities-tell-refugees-to-move-out-1476272375]

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**ESSEN, Germany—Thomas Kufen, the mayor of this rust-belt town in western Germany, thinks his city has a bad case of **refugee** overload.

Since the beginning of the year, some 7,150 **refugees** have flocked to Essen from other towns, twice as many as the city was allocated for the whole year under Germany's complex burden-sharing mechanism. This, Mr. Kufen says, is more than it can handle.

So when parliament passed a law this summer allowing overburdened cities to send jobless **refugees** back to the states where they were first assigned, Mr. Kufen thought he had found the solution to his problem.

"As a big city we already are doing integration work for the entire country. But there is a limit to our capacity that we don't want to put to the test," Mr. Kufen said.

The case of Essen and the new residency restrictions underlines how Berlin is scrambling to regain control[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/german-welcome-for-migrants-cools-eroding-angela-merkels-standing-1457714259] of last year's historic **refugee** inflows and to fend off a mounting popular backlash. It also shows that while Berlin has gradually tightened its liberal policies, the goal of integrating the newcomers[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/germany-plans-new-laws-for-migrant-integration-1460620519] remains fraught with pitfalls.

When the flow of **refugees** reached its peak a year ago, Germany initially dispatched the newcomers across the country, spreading the cost of looking after them. But once the migrants had obtained asylum, they were free to settle anywhere.

As a result, some regions, like the old industrial Ruhr area, with housing left empty after a coal-mining decline and already existing migrant communities, have become magnets for Syrians, Iraqis and Afghans.

With many unable to support themselves because they can't speak German or don't have the right job qualifications, the influx is turning into a heavy financial burden.

Since Aug. 6, **refugees** who don't work or study have to live in the state they were originally sent to for three years. In Essen, that means some 2,500 **refugees**who moved here, but failed to register before then, are being told to leave and those who received benefits[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/germanys-welfare-bill-rises-169-as-refugee-numbers-grow-1473077920] will be cut off.

Mazen Sheikh Alhadedeen is one of those asked to go. After struggling to find an apartment in the Bavarian village of Miltenberg, the 26-year-old moved to Essen with his wife. But he said he couldn't get an appointment to register with the overstretched **immigration** office in time.

"I have an apartment now, a place in German class, I don't want to go back," Mr. Alhadedeen said. He is challenging the rule in court. City officials said they are aware of a growing number of court filings.

That's just one hurdle in enforcing the law. The legislation leaves open many questions—such as which administration is in charge, who can be exempted, and whether cities can force **refugees** to leave, officials say.

Maisoun Mahmoud Khalaf, a 45-year-old Syrian, feels caught amid the uncertainty. After Essen warned her in a letter that she would stop receiving benefits, she agreed to move back to Schwerin in eastern Germany with her 7-year-old son.

Days before the looming deadline last month, local authorities hadn't told her who would pay for her transportation, so she took the offer of a driver for €350. She had only just bought the bed and fridge for the newly renovated apartment she left behind.

"I regret I moved now. If only I had known about all this trouble," she said. A social worker in Schwerin found her a place to stay for the first month. "But then what?," she asked

Mr. Kufen acknowledged some people are hit hard but insists the law is vital. In 2015, Essen spent €130 million ($145 million) on **refugees**, only half of which is reimbursed by the federal government, he said. Kindergartens, schools and housing will cost millions more.

The neighboring city of Gelsenkirchen, also popular with migrants, is equally concerned. Some 800 **refugees** who were told to return to other states will be cut off from social benefits at the end of October.

"I don't know if we would do the **refugees** a favor by allowing them to stay," said Hans-Joachim Olbering, in charge of social affairs for Gelsenkirchen. "We have an unemployment rate of 15%. What sort of an integration prospect can we offer to someone except social benefits and an apartment?"

Essen's and Gelsenkirchen's popularity with migrants has taken a first toll: Apartments are becoming rarer. And some of the changes brought by the newcomers aren't to everyone's liking.

Earlier this year, citizens protested plans to build **refugee** shelters in Essen's north.

"Some people feel things have been going only downhill for years here so that's where we said ‘stop,'" said Theodor Jansen, a member of the council of Altenessen, where over 30% of people live on social benefits.

That Mr. Jansen is a member of the center-left Social Democratic Party, a ruling party in Chancellor Angela Merkel's coalition in Berlin and a strong backer of the country's open-door policy, illustrates the rift.

The government is fighting a strong force. Migrants tend to group among those who share the same language and customs, and efforts to prevent them from doing so have often been ineffective, reasearchers say.

Fearing migrant ghettos, the West Berlin state government banned foreigners from settling in some neighborhoods between 1975 and 1990, including Kreuzberg, popular with Turkish **immigrants**. Despite this, the number of Turks there continued to grow until well into the 1980s, statistics show.

"It can be positive for integration to be surrounded by like-minded people" because it offers more support, said Ulrike Hamann, researcher at the Humboldt University in Berlin.

Back in Essen, Ahmad Hmedi from the Syrian-German Association is convinced the Syrian community will continue to grow. He is advising his fellow countrymen to challenge evictions and points out that **refugees** who obtained asylum in 2015 still remain free to move.

"Others will come," he said. "The city is still popular."

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Related Coverage

\* Syrian **Refugee** Suspected of Plotting Attack in Germany Committed Suicide, Lawyer Says[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/syrian-refugee-suspected-of-plotting-attack-in-germany-committedsuicide-lawyer-says-1476306793]

\* Cabinet Approves Draft Law to Curb Welfare Payments for EU Migrants [http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/german-cabinet-approves-draft-law-to-curb-welfare-payments-for-eu-migrants-1476274236?tesla=y]

\* Probe Into Deaths of Migrants in Hungary Uncovers ‘Vast Network' [http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/probe-into-deaths-of-migrants-in-hungary-uncovers-vast-network-1476291857?tesla=y]

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HEREIMMIGRATION**

Funds Running Out For Detaining Illegals

The Department of Homeland Security is a month away from running out of money to detain illegal **immigrants**—a fresh sign of federal budget dysfunction emerging less than two weeks after Congress funded the government through early December[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/congress-nears-deal-on-spending-bill-1475070408].

Homeland Security officials planned to ask the White House for a quick transfer of funds to enable them to continue to detain undocumented **immigrants**, according to officials familiar with the discussions. If they don't get more money by early November, officials will be forced to stop holding newly captured illegal **immigrants**, including high-priority arrests at the border, the officials said.

The shortfall has caught the Obama administration by surprise, coming so soon after Congress passed a continuing resolution to keep the government operating through Dec. 9. The measure passed in September aims only to maintain funding at previous levels, which has turned out to be far short of the money needed to handle a new influx of undocumented people entering the U.S.

Devlin Barrett

NORTH CAROLINA

More Deaths Possible After Floods Kill 19

Floodwaters continued to rise in eastern North Carolina, and at least 19 people in the state have died as a result of Hurricane Matthew, Gov. Pat McCrory said Wednesday.

Most of the deaths were from drowning, Mr. McCrory said, and more deaths were possible, as some rivers in the rural eastern part of the state weren't expected to crest until the weekend. The number of people killed in the U.S. by the storm is now at least 30.

Hundreds of people were killed by the storm in Haiti[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/haitis-death-toll-from-hurricane-matthew-climbs-more-people-in-shelters-1476115790] last week, before it swept through the Bahamas, up the Florida and Georgia coasts, and into the Carolinas, where it lingered.

Flooding caused by the storm's heavy rains has driven thousands of people from their homes. More than 2,000 people have been rescued since the storm began, 80 of those by helicopter, the governor said.

Sections of Interstate 95 and Interstate 40 remained closed Wednesday, four days after rains started in earnest. There were 143,000 customers without power, and schools, courts and many businesses remained closed, Mr. McCrory said.

Valerie Bauerlein

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Donald Trump, faced with opposition inside and outside his party, plans to renew the nationalist themes that built his base and amplify his no-holds-barred attacks against Hillary Clinton to try to depress Democratic voter turnout, his advisers said.

Following the release of a tape-recording of his lewd comments about women[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/donald-trumps-lewd-comments-about-women-spark-uproar-1475886118] and several high-profile Republican defections [http://blogs.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/washwire/2016/10/08/how-senior-gop-figures-are-reacting-to-trump-tape-in-their-own-words/]over the weekend, Mr. Trump has effectively given up the conventional wisdom of trying to reach voters far outside his core of support, one high-level Republican supporter said.

The new strategy emerged Tuesday on Mr. Trump's Twitter account when he sent out messages attacking Republican House Speaker Paul Ryan [http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/house-republicans-seek-proper-response-to-donald-trump-video-1476112495] as a weak leader after Mr. Ryan announced he wouldn't appear with the nominee.

"It's so nice that the shackles have been taken off[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/donald-trump-declares-himself-freed-from-republican-party-shackles-1476200547] me and I can now fight for America the way I want to," Mr. Trump wrote.

Later, in an interview with Bill O'Reilly of Fox News, Mr. Trump seemed to suggest that if he wins the election Mr. Ryan should be removed, saying Mr. Ryan "maybe wouldn't be there, maybe he'll be in a different position."

Mr. Trump, in fact, is trying to use his break with many party leaders as a lever to ramp up support among his base, which includes many voters who feel equally estranged from the party establishment.

The decision means that a campaign already marked by intensely personal attacks is primed to grow even uglier in the remaining four weeks. Mr. Trump plans to keep up a relentless assault on Mrs. Clinton, including her use of a private email server and allegations about her husband, former President Bill Clinton, with the intention of keeping some of her supporters home on Election Day, his advisers said.

"As more and more Republicans defect, it's no surprise that Donald Trump is getting more and more desperate," said Clinton press secretary Brian Fallon. "In the closing weeks, he can run his campaign however he chooses, but Hillary Clinton is going to continue talking about her positive vision for improving the lives for everyday Americans."

It remains questionable whether Mr. Trump's strategy can turn around the electoral math. His core supporters don't make up a majority of the electorate, and most analysts see no path to victory unless he adds to them, even if Mrs. Clinton's vote total is driven down. And a new Wall Street Journal/NBC News poll shows him trailing the Democratic nominee by nine percentage points among likely voters, though his standing improved after his performance in Sunday's debate, particularly with Republicans.

Mr. Trump's advisers said they and their candidate are convinced he can win, noting that in the three weeks before the first debate, Mr. Trump climbed in the polls to even or ahead of Mrs. Clinton.

Most Republican lawmakers wouldn't comment on their candidate's announced change of tone. A written statement provided by Mr. Ryan said the Wisconsin congressman was "focusing the next month on defeating Democrats, and all Republicans running for office should probably do the same."

Kevin Madden, a Republican strategist who worked on the presidential campaigns of Mitt Romney and George W. Bush, said Mr. Trump's approach would drive turnout among his base, "but **alienating** his own party and swing voters won't grow his vote. His remarks and tactics can have the adverse effect of energizing the Democratic base."

Mr. Trump began losing ground after his panned performance in the first presidential debate last month, which was followed by news of a nearly billion-dollar business loss in the mid-1990s that may have shielded him for years from federal income taxes.

After the debate, Mr. Trump persisted in tweets and in comments on the campaign trail about the weight gains of a former Miss Universe [http://blogs.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/washwire/2016/09/28/trumps-personal-feuds-threaten-his-own-campaign/], the woman mentioned by Mrs. Clinton during the first debate as the target of humiliating remarks by Mr. Trump.

Then on Friday, all attention turned to the video of Mr. Trump's talking about groping women's genitals and forcibly kissing women.

Mr. Trump huddled with advisers at the Trump Tower building in New York City that night. That is when they resolved to implement the "scorched-earth" strategy that had been held in reserve, one adviser said.

The campaign recruited appearances by three women who had accused Bill Clinton of sexual misconduct, and a fourth angry at Mrs. Clinton for her work as a legal-aid lawyer defending a man accused of raping the woman when she was a girl. Mr. Clinton has denied the allegations.

On Saturday, as leading Republicans withdrew their endorsements for the GOP nominee, Mr. Trump prepared for the debate in his glass-encased conference room of the Trump Tower on Fifth Avenue in New York City.

Republican National Committee chairman Reince Priebus received many calls and emails from Republicans[http://blogs.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/washwire/2016/10/10/rnc-chairman-priebus-says-he-remains-in-full-coordination-with-trump-campaign/] urging him to pull his funding from the Trump campaign. Most donors and elected officials weren't aware that Mr. Priebus participated in Mr. Trump's debate prep.

In rapid-fire fashion, according to two people there, the RNC chairman asked Mr. Trump questions such as: "I'm a dreamer with illegal-**immigrant** parents and a little brother, what will you do with me?" and, "I'm a laid-off factory worker, how specifically can you bring back my job?"

Supporters had gathered on the street below, and Mr. Trump put on a suit jacket and went downstairs to greet them. He returned upbeat, several advisers said, and resolved to fight harder against his opponents, including those in his own party. Around 6 p.m., he retired to his penthouse for the night.

The advisers looked at each other. They wanted their boss to prepare more, but they also noticed that Mr. Trump seemed re-energized.

Only five people in the campaign knew the four women would appear with Mr. Trump before the debate. On Sunday, they were brought before news cameras. The Trump campaign had tried to seat them in a box reserved for the family of the two opponents but was refused permission.

When the debate began, Mrs. Clinton and Mr. Trump didn't shake hands. The Republican nominee took the stage ready to deliver on his goal of going on the attack. Mrs. Clinton raised public revulsion over Mr. Trump's taped comments about women, as well as his earlier remarks disparaging Hispanics and Muslims.

A new Wall Street Journal/NBC News poll suggests Mr. Trump's performance might have stopped his political bleeding. He had trailed Mrs. Clinton by 11 points in Journal/NBC News polling on Saturday and Sunday, conducted shortly after disclosure of the videotape.

Mrs. Clinton's lead in the polls fell in polling Monday. Mr. Trump narrowed the gap with more support from Republicans, the poll found. Some 83% of Republicans said in postdebate polling that they would vote for Mr. Trump in a head-to-head matchup against Mrs. Clinton, up from a weak 60% in weekend surveys.

Over the three days of polling, before and after the debate, Mrs. Clinton's lead stood at 9 percentage points[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/hillary-clinton-leads-donald-trump-by-9-points-poll-finds-1476209159], 46% to 37%, among likely voters on a ballot including third-party candidates

After attacking the Clintons during Sunday's debate, Mr. Trump moved against GOP leaders who had never fully embraced him as candidate or nominee. Mr. Trump has said they risk **alienating** his supporters who make up the biggest share of the Republican base.

"I may be limping across that finish line," Mr. Trump said at a a rally Monday. "But I'm getting across that finish line."

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Capital Journal[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/news/politics] is WSJ.com's home for politics, policy and national security news.

\* Trump Warns of ‘Stolen' Election[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/trump-renews-warning-about-stolen-election-1476229634]

\* Speaker Paul Ryan Wrestles With a Risk to Republican Control of House[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/speaker-paul-ryan-wrestles-with-a-risk-to-republican-control-of-house-1476230780?tesla=y]

\* Generational Divide Over Trump's ‘Locker Room' Comments Runs Deep[http://blogs.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/washwire/2016/10/12/generational-divide-over-trumps-locker-room-comments-runs-deep/]

\* NBC to Sever Ties With Billy Bush After Lewd Donald Trump Tape[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/nbc-to-sever-ties-with-billy-bush-after-lewd-donald-trump-tape-1476226607]

\* Hillary Clinton Campaign Manager Blames Russia for Email Hack[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/hillary-clinton-campaign-manager-blames-russia-for-email-hack-1476241848]

\* Clinton Leads Trump by 9 Points, Poll Finds[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/hillary-clinton-leads-donald-trump-by-9-points-poll-finds-1476209159?tesla=y]

\* Candidates' Plans Would Carry Tax Code in Different Directions[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/presidential-candidates-plans-would-carry-tax-code-in-different-directions-1476205202?tesla=y]

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HEREIMMIGRATION**

Funds Running Out For Detaining Illegals

The Department of Homeland Security is a month away from running out of money to detain illegal **immigrants**—a fresh sign of federal budget dysfunction emerging less than two weeks after Congress funded the government through early December[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/congress-nears-deal-on-spending-bill-1475070408].

Homeland Security officials planned to ask the White House for a quick transfer of funds to enable them to continue to detain undocumented **immigrants**, according to officials familiar with the discussions. If they don't get more money by early November, officials will be forced to stop holding newly captured illegal **immigrants**, including high-priority arrests at the border, the officials said.

The shortfall has caught the Obama administration by surprise, coming so soon after Congress passed a continuing resolution to keep the government operating through Dec. 9. The measure passed in September aims only to maintain funding at previous levels, which has turned out to be far short of the money needed to handle a new influx of undocumented people entering the U.S.

Devlin Barrett

NORTH CAROLINA

More Deaths Possible After Floods Kill 19

Floodwaters continued to rise in eastern North Carolina, and at least 19 people in the state have died as a result of Hurricane Matthew, Gov. Pat McCrory said Wednesday.

Most of the deaths were from drowning, Mr. McCrory said, and more deaths were possible, as some rivers weren't expected to crest until the weekend. The number of people killed in the U.S. by the storm is now at least 30.

Flooding has driven thousands in North Carolina from their homes. There were 143,000 customers without power, and schools, courts and many businesses remained closed, Mr. McCrory said.

Valerie Bauerlein

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Trump plans to renew his nationalist themes and amplify his attacks on Clinton, as he seeks to ramp up support from his base following the defections of leading Republicans. [http://online.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/article/SB10417622329304943949604582368171975583192.html]

The GOP candidate is stepping up warnings of a "rigged" vote, raising concern of election officials. [http://online.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/article/SB10417622329304943949604582368611178103738.html]

Clinton's staff sought to contain fallout from her use of a private email server, hacked emails show. [http://online.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/article/SB10417622329304943949604582368442111763850.html]

Clinton and Trump would take the tax code in sharply different directions, according to a new analysis. [http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/presidential-candidates-plans-would-carry-tax-code-in-different-directions-1476205202]

DHS will run out of money to detain illegal **immigrants** by early November and plans to ask the White House for funds. [http://online.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/article/SB10417622329304943949604582368534247774356.html]

The Supreme Court agreed to rule on whether **immigrants** detained after 9/11 can sue U.S. officials. [http://online.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/article/SB10417622329304943949604582368400488939114.html]

Flooding endangered thousands in North Carolina. The U.S. death toll from Hurricane Matthew rose. [http://online.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/article/SB10417622329304943949604582367951517280144.html]

Colombia's FARC rebels said they wouldn't resume fighting despite voters' rejection of a peace deal. [http://online.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/article/SB10417622329304943949604582366590434671250.html]

An attack on worshipers at a Shiite shrine in Kabul killed at least 14 people, Afghan police said. [http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/militant-attack-on-shiite-shrine-in-afghan-capital-kills-14-1476210004]

Putin canceled a trip to Paris amid heightened tensions between Russia and the West over Syria. [http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/putin-cancels-paris-trip-amid-differences-over-syria-1476189302]

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Arizona

Sheriff to Face a Contempt Charge

Joe Arpaio, the Arizona sheriff famous for his aggressive pursuit of undocumented **immigrants**, will face a criminal contempt-of-court charge for defying a judge's order to stop conducting **immigration** patrols in the state.

Federal prosecutors said they planned to go forward with the criminal contempt case at a court hearing in Phoenix on Tuesday, less than a month before Election Day. Mr. Arpaio is running for a seventh term as Maricopa County sheriff.

Mr. Arpaio's lawyer, Mel McDonald, said "there was never any criminal contempt and we're going to vehemently fight that." He added that Mr. Arpaio is "very disappointed" by the government's decision.

If convicted, the 84-year-old could face up to six months in jail.

Ian Lovett and Devlin Barrett

New Mexico

Mistrial in Shooting of Homeless Man

A New Mexico judge declared a mistrial Tuesday after a jury couldn't reach a unanimous decision in the case of two former Albuquerque police officers accused of fatally shooting a mentally ill homeless man without cause in 2014.

State district Judge Alisa Hadfield issued the ruling after the jury told her they were deadlocked on the charges of second-degree murder, with nine jurors in favor of acquitting the officers, and three wanting to convict them.

Prosecutors must now decide whether to file new charges and seek a new trial against the former officers, Keith Sandy and Dominique Perez.

Both men had pleaded not guilty to the charges and faced up to 15 years in prison.

Sam Bregman, attorney for Mr. Sandy, called on the district attorney's office not to retry the case.

"This was I think a misguided prosecution and a jury basically just came back at a vote of 9-3 and agreed with us," said Mr. Bregman.

Dan Frosch and Zusha Elinson

Massachusetts

Churches Sue Over Transgender Law

A new Massachusetts law that prohibits discrimination against transgender people in public restrooms is "punishing" the protected religious speech of churches and pastors, a conservative Christian organization claims in a federal lawsuit filed Tuesday.

Alliance Defending Freedom, based in Scottsdale, Ariz., said it sued on behalf of four Massachusetts churches to protect their right to operate their facilities "in a manner that doesn't violate their core religious beliefs." The lawsuit names Democratic state Attorney General Maura Healey and members of the Massachusetts Commission Against Discrimination as defendants.

A spokeswoman for the attorney general said the office is reviewing the lawsuit. "This law is about civil rights and is critical for people who were without full protection and equality under the law for too long," said spokeswoman Jillian Fennimore. An assistant to the commission didn't immediately return a call seeking comment.

Associated Press

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If convicted, the 84-year-old could face up to six months in jail.

A federal judge recommended criminal contempt charges against Mr. Arpaio earlier this year, but it was left to U.S. Department of Justice prosecutors whether to proceed with the case.

Prosecutors on Tuesday said they would charge Mr. Arpaio but not any of his subordinates. They are expected to file paperwork to formalize the charge Wednesday.

Mr. McDonald, the lawyer representing Mr. Arpaio, said the sheriff would push for a trial by jury.

"We were not surprised that the case was brought—the Department of Justice has been pursuing Sheriff Arpaio for six or seven years, Mr. McDonald said. "We're going to fight this with every ounce of energy in court."

Mr. Arpaio's aggressive **immigration** patrols have helped make him a household name. This year, he has stumped for Donald Trump [http://blogs.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/washwire/2016/08/31/what-results-in-sheriff-joe-arpaios-primary-portend-for-trump/] in several states, and he spoke at the Republican National Convention.

Mr. Arpaio's efforts to stem illegal **immigration** have caused him political and legal problems[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/sheriff-joe-arpaio-of-arizona-found-in-contempt-of-court-1463244767] in recent years.

The criminal contempt charges stem from a 2007 lawsuit accusing his department of racial profiling. That suit is expected to cost Maricopa County taxpayers more than $40 million, according to a county estimate.

Federal criminal contempt-of-court charges against sitting law-enforcement officials are exceedingly rare, said Erik Luna, a professor at the Sandra Day O'Connor College of Law at Arizona State University. He knew of only a handful of cases in the past few decades.

"It indicates the uniqueness of Sheriff Joe Arpaio," Mr. Luna said. "It's hard to find someone who has been so overtly dismissive of the U.S. court system."

The sheriff has admitted that a judge's court order to stop carrying out **immigration** patrols wasn't carried out, but he has denied directing his sheriff's deputies to defy the court.

Judge Susan R. Bolton, the U.S. District Judge presiding in the case, set a preliminary trial date of Dec. 6, but Mr. McDonald said Mr. Arpaio would push for a later date.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**WASHINGTON—The Supreme Court said Tuesday it would decide whether Muslims, Arabs and other **immigrants** rounded up immediately after the Sept. 11, 2001, attacks can sue former Attorney General John Ashcroft and other officials for violating their civil rights.

The court said it also would rule in a separate case on whether the parents of a Mexican teenager killed by a U.S. agent who fired across the international border into Mexico can sue over his death.

Both cases test the broad immunity federal officials generally enjoy from lawsuits for their official actions.

The Ashcroft case stems from the George W. Bush administration's frenzied response to the 2001 terrorist attacks, when officials speculated that additional terror cells could be hidden within Muslim communities across the U.S.

Mr. Ashcroft at the time directed the Justice Department to use any legal pretext to jail a potential suspect. He likened his approach to that of former Attorney General Robert Kennedy, who he said went after a suspected mobster for "spitting on the sidewalk" if there wasn't adequate evidence of more serious crimes.

The U.S. held 762 foreigners for **immigration** violations under the directive. According to a Justice Department inspector general report, they were held under the most restrictive conditions possible, akin to those of the most dangerous inmates of a "supermax" prison.

The cases will be argued later in the Supreme Court's 2016-17 term, with decisions before July 2017.

The Ashcroft suit initially was filed in 2002 and has been up and down the federal courts as the Justice Department, which represents the former officials, has fought to get it dismissed. Last year, the Second U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals in New York found that some claims by **immigrants** jailed at the federal Metropolitan Detention Center in Brooklyn, N.Y., could proceed.

"To suggest that the most powerful people in our nation should escape liability when they violate clearly established law defies the most fundamental principle of our legal system," said Rachel Meeropol, an attorney with the Center for Constitutional Rights in New York who represents the plaintiffs.

The Justice Department had no immediate comment. In its appeal, the department said that even if the detainees were mistreated, it was improper to presume that senior officials such as the attorney general would have knowledge of that conduct, much less condoned it.

"High-level policy decisions are materially different from the unauthorized actions of rogue officers" that can sometimes be exposed to liability, the government said.

The case likely will be heard by a six-member court. In addition to the vacancy left by the late Justice Antonin Scalia, Justices Sonia Sotomayor and Elena Kagan have recused themselves. Although the court gave no reasons, as is typical, Justice Sotomayor may have heard portions of the case when sitting as a lower court judge in New York, and Justice Kagan may have worked on the government's defense in her previous post of U.S. solicitor general.

The cross-border shooting case involves an incident that has inflamed tensions across the U.S.-Mexico border.

In June 2010, Border Patrol agent Jesus Mena Jr., fatally shot Sergio Hernandez, who was on the Mexican side of the Rio Grande culvert near the crossing between El Paso, Texas, and Ciudad Juárez, Mexico. The exact circumstances of the shooting have been widely disputed.

The Federal Bureau of Investigation said Mr. Hernandez, then 15 years old, had been among a group of youths throwing rocks to distract U.S. agents from an **immigrant**-smuggling operation. Cellphone videos of the incident aired by Univision and CNN suggest that Mr. Hernandez was running away when he was shot.

U.S. federal prosecutors closed an investigation into the incident, concluding they had no jurisdiction over the death of a Mexican citizen on Mexican soil. The Mexican state of Chihuahua issued a warrant for Mr. Mesa's arrest, but the U.S. declined an extradition request.

Mr. Hernandez's parents sued Mr. Mesa in federal court. A district judge in Texas dismissed the case, and that decision was upheld by the Fifth Circuit in New Orleans.

In their Supreme Court petition, Sergio's parents argue that their lawsuit should proceed under a 2008 precedent holding that Guantanamo Bay, although formally part of Cuba, qualifies as a U.S. territory for some purposes. The border culvert where Sergio was shot likewise shouldn't be treated as if it were thousands of miles from the U.S., they argue.

Write to Jess Bravin at jess.bravin@wsj.com[mailto:jess.bravin@wsj.com]

More on Supreme Court

\* Supreme Court Weighs Juror Racial Bias Against Candid Deliberations[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/supreme-court-weighs-juror-racial-bias-against-candid-deliberations-1476228224]

\* Apple, Samsung to Argue Patent Case Before Supreme Court[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/apple-samsung-to-argue-patent-case-before-supreme-court-1476178202]

\* Supreme Court Weighs Bias Claims in Murder Trial[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/supreme-court-weighs-bias-claims-in-murder-trial-1475707652] (Oct. 5)

\* Supreme Court Appears Skeptical of Radically Altering Insider-Trading Rules[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/supreme-court-appears-skeptical-of-radically-altering-insider-trading-rules-1475686244] (Oct. 5)

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Homeland Security officials plan to ask the White House for a quick transfer of funds to enable them to continue to detain undocumented **immigrants**, according to officials familiar with the discussions. If they don't get more money by early November, officials will be forced to stop holding newly captured illegal **immigrants**, including high-priority arrests at the border, the officials said.

The shortfall has caught the Obama administration by surprise, coming so soon after Congress passed a continuing resolution to keep the government operating through Dec. 9, though congressional Republicans have long warned that the White House wasn't budgeting enough money to detain illegal **immigrants**. The short-term measure passed in September aims only to maintain funding at previous levels, which has turned out to be far short of the money needed to handle a new influx of undocumented people entering the U.S.

"Across the southwest border, we've seen a recent uptick in the number of apprehensions," said a senior official with **Immigration** and Customs Enforcement, the agency within DHS that detains **immigrants** awaiting possible deportation. "We are growing our [detention] capacity but there is going to be a cost associated with that."

DHS officials now see an immediate $136 million shortfall to pay for detention beds and nondetention monitoring of illegal **immigration**, according to officials briefed on the problem. And that is just the short-term budget hit. In 2017, **immigration** officials expect they will need significantly more money to detain people awaiting deportation.

ICE officials attribute the budget crunch in part to an influx of Haitian **immigrants** entering along the U.S. border with Mexico. Thousands of Haitians left that country following a massive earthquake in 2010, with many of them heading to Brazil. Now, they are moving through South and Central America to try to get into the U.S., officials said.

The U.S. government said last month that it would end a policy, in place since the 2010 earthquake, of not seeking speedy deportations for undocumented Haitians. Typically, detainees from countries other than Mexico spend longer in detention as their cases are adjudicated, according to officials.

It's unclear how much the recent destruction wrought by Hurricane Matthew in Haiti will again slow U.S. deportations to that country, or lead to more attempts by people there to enter the U.S.

In March, an ICE official told a congressional budget panel that he expected his agency would, on average, detain about 31,000 people, if not fewer, over the rest of the year.

That didn't happen. Instead, the number of people detained rose sharply, and the agency projects they will have roughly 42,000 people in detention by the end of this month, according to officials briefed on the matter. The senior ICE official said the turning point came in September, and the March estimate was the best possible one based on the information available at the time.

This person said the agency doesn't "have control or visibility on what's happening at the ports," where Customs and Border Protection is charged with apprehending undocumented **immigrants**.

Complicating the situation are long-running backlogs of cases before **immigration** courts, which are operated by the Justice Department. Cases of people in custody get priority before those courts, but there are still significant delays, officials said.

The political calendar also is working against the government when it comes to the detention-bed problem. Lawmakers will spend the next weeks campaigning furiously for their own re-election or the election of others. That means Congress is ill-equipped to give DHS a quick cash infusion. Instead, DHS officials hope to get White House approval to divert money from elsewhere in the federal budget to cover the funding gap.

A Senate Appropriations Committee spokesman said, "Funding **immigration** enforcement has been and will continue to be a priority for the committee."

It isn't just detention beds that are busting the budget. Nondetention monitoring of illegal **immigrants**, billed as a cost-saving alternative to locking people up, is facing cost overruns, officials said. In the 2016 budget year, the number of people subject to such monitoring more than doubled, and is now more than 60,000. Officials briefed on the problem say monitoring costs will run $12 million over budget in the next two months.

In the meantime, ICE officials are scrambling to identify new facilities where they can detain the new influx of **immigrants**.

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More on **Immigration**

\* Arizona Sheriff Joe Arpaio to Face Criminal Contempt Charge[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/arizona-sheriff-joe-arpaio-to-face-criminal-contempt-charge-1476224741]

\* Supreme Court to Rule If **Immigrants** Imprisoned After 9/11 Can Sue[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/supreme-court-to-rule-if-immigrants-imprisoned-after-9-11-can-sue-former-attorney-general-ashcroft-1476214767]

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**NORTH CAROLINA

Hurricane Death Toll Continues to Rise

Three more people were found dead in North Carolina as a result of Hurricane Matthew and its aftermath, bringing the total killed in the state to at least 14 as severe flooding and falling trees continued to endanger thousands, Gov. Pat McCrory said Tuesday.

The additional deaths bring the number of people killed in the U.S. by the storm to at least 25. Hundreds of people were killed by the storm in Haiti last week, before it swept through the Bahamas, up the Florida and Georgia coasts and into the Carolinas.

Though skies in North Carolina were clear, flooding caused by the storm's heavy rains continued to overflow rivers, creeks and dams, driving thousands from their homes and blocking major roads across the state. Tens of thousands of homes and businesses remained without power.

Communities in eastern North Carolina like Rocky Mount, Greenville and Princeville face major flooding in coming days, Mr. McCrory said.

In the three new deaths discovered in North Carolina overnight, one person was killed when a tree fell on a car. Two people died as they tried to drive through floodwaters, according to the governor. Three people in the state are missing after the storm.

A state trooper shot and killed a man during an altercation in Lumberton, N.C., an area hit by flooding. The governor said the shooting was under investigation.

Cameron McWhirter

SUPREME COURT

Justices to Decide on **Immigrant** 9/11 Suits

The Supreme Court on Tuesday said it would decide whether Muslims, Arabs and other **immigrants** rounded up immediately after the Sept. 11, 2001, terrorist attacks can sue former Attorney General John Ashcroft and other officials for violating their civil rights.

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The cases will be argued later in the Supreme Court's 2016-17 term, with decisions before July 2017.

Jess Bravin

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Congratulations to Oliver Hart and Bengt Holmstrom, who on Monday were announced as this year's winners of the Nobel Prize in economics. Our contributor David Henderson describes their contributions to the study of finance and financial crises nearby, but in America's current political climate the economists are also notable for being **immigrants**.

Mr. Hart is from the United Kingdom and Mr. Holmstrom from Finland. Both men followed the well-worn path of the last century in getting degrees abroad but then moving to the United States to study and earn their Ph.D.s. Mr. Hart graduated from Princeton in 1974 and Mr. Holmstrom from Stanford in 1978. They also did what **immigrants** rich and poor often do: get married and stay in the U.S. They both now live in Massachusetts.

As it happens, the U.S. had six Nobel prize winners this year, and all six are **immigrants**. Chemistry winner Sir J. Fraser Stoddart is from the United Kingdom but now teaches at Northwestern. This year's three physics winners—David Thouless, Michael Kosterlitz and Duncan Haldane—are also from Britain but now live and work in the U.S. Give Britain credit for an education system that produces these minds, but the U.S. is fortunate to have a great network of research universities to attract and keep talent from around the world.

These details were tipped to us by Stuart Anderson of the National Foundation for American Policy who has tracked Nobel winners for many years. He reports that **immigrants** have won 40%, or 31 of the 78 Nobels won by Americans in chemistry, medicine and physics since 2000. The winners come from many countries including Japan, Canada, Turkey, Austria, China, Israel, South Africa and Germany.

If you want to get political, you might even say these Nobel winners are pouring across the border. We're glad they came.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Paul Ryan told House Republicans Monday that he won't defend Donald Trump's campaign or his other behavior, and the Speaker advised Members to do what is best for their districts. This is not a new position so much as the latest restatement of a familiar strategy: to limit the 2016 electoral damage and preserve the GOP majority as a check on whoever wins the Presidency.

Defending down-ballot races isn't the most inspiring goal, and it won't satisfy those who want the moral validation of condemning Mr. Trump and all his works. But Republican leaders have real institutional obligations, and these include serving the country when their political choices are less than ideal.

At the current moment that means preventing Hillary Clinton from returning to Washington with a Democratic Senate and perhaps even House. One irony of this election is that as Mrs. Clinton has focused on disqualifying Mr. Trump's character and temperament, she has also released about 112,000-odd words of little-noticed policy proposals that a Majority Leader Chuck Schumer and Speaker Nancy Pelosi would be happy to rubber-stamp.

A new burst of liberal legislation could include a "public option" for ObamaCare that would be one more giant leap toward government-run health care. Energy from fossil fuels would become stranded assets. Government by and for the regulatory state would accelerate, and the Supreme Court would be lost to judicial conservatives for a generation. A final irony is that a Pelosi-Schumer Congress would readily pass the "amnesty" **immigration** bill that has animated Mr. Trump's candidacy.

This prospect ought to concentrate Republican minds because House and Senate races are becoming more competitive as Mr. Trump slips. In the Wall Street Journal-NBC News poll published Monday, voters favored the generic Democratic ballot in Congress by seven points, 49% to 42%. Last month the spread was plus-three.

The same survey also shows the Trump predicament for GOP leaders. Some 67% of Republican voters said Congress should continue to support Mr. Trump, while 14% say they should call on him to drop out and 9% say they can't support him personally. Mrs. Clinton is nonetheless widening her leads in swing states like Florida, Pennsylvania, North Carolina and Ohio.

The question for Congressional Republicans is how to distance themselves from Mr. Trump when he says the indefensible without **alienating** his loyal core. Like it or not, a 45% plurality of GOP primary voters nominated Mr. Trump, and they knowingly put him on the ballot because they concluded that his unconventional political profile was a risk worth taking.

That choice may not have been wise, but the GOP can't renounce democracy and win elections. A successful party must acknowledge the voters that Mr. Trump has inspired and the legitimate problems he has identified. These voters aren't "irredeemable" in Mrs. Clinton's phrase; most are ordinary Americans frustrated by their diminished economic prospects.

Despite high-profile divisions with Mr. Trump, on trade and foreign affairs in particular, the House GOP has developed a rough consensus about how to relieve this economic anxiety, and much of its agenda overlaps with Mr. Trump's. None of these ambitious "better way" policies stand a chance of passage without an ally in the White House. House Republicans haven't "sold out" to Mr. Trump or anyone else. They've done what they're done because they don't want the country to live with the consequences of another Clinton Presidency.

If individual Republicans now conclude that Mr. Trump is doomed, then they should have the freedom to do what they think is necessary to survive a loss at the top of the ticket. Some Trump supporters want to call this betrayal, but House and Senate incumbents have tried to accommodate Mr. Trump's unconventional politics. As Mr. Trump might put it in a different context, this is strictly business.

The more puzzling criticism comes from NeverTrumpians who appear willing to have Republicans lose the House and Senate as punishment for even associating with Mr. Trump. In that they are allied with the Pelosi and Elizabeth Warren Democrats, albeit themselves safely insulated from the political consequences.

It makes no sense to purge Republicans who share your principles who will be needed to rebuild the GOP if Mr. Trump loses. And it's a form of insanity to cheer on a Pelosi House and Schumer Senate out of political spite. If the critics think Mr. Trump was an historic mistake, they should start pondering who voters will support in 2020 after four more years of slow growth and the dispiriting status quo.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**The death toll in Haiti from Hurricane Matthew continued to rise Monday, as an increasing number of people whose homes were damaged or destroyed [http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/food-water-shortages-threaten-haiti-hurricane-victims-1476023087]took **refuge** in shelters, the government said.

Haiti's Civil Protection Department said it had confirmed the deaths of 372 people, up from 336 it reported Saturday[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/death-toll-in-haiti-rises-to-328-from-hurricane-matthew-1475948293]. More than half of the deaths were in Grand'Anse department on the southwestern peninsula, which faced the full force of the hurricane when it hit as a Category 4 storm last Tuesday.

Other reports, including comments from local officials in Haiti, have put the death toll much higher. The Civil Protection Department has said it is being prudent about confirming deaths when it doesn't have details.

The department said via its Twitter account [https://twitter.com/Pwoteksyonsivil]that as of Monday there were four people missing, 246 injured and more than 175,000 people taking **refuge** in shelters, mostly in Grand'Anse and Sud departments. On Saturday, it reported just over 61,000 people in shelters.

As government and other relief teams rush to get water, food and shelter to victims of the storm, concerns are rising about possible spread of cholera and hunger.

The United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs on Monday made an appeal for around $120 million to provide support for 750,000 people in need of assistance over the next three months.

Around 70% of the population in the worst affected areas live in poverty, the U.N. said, and called it the worst humanitarian crisis in the country since the 2010 earthquake "at a time when the country is already facing an increase in the number of cholera cases, and severe food insecurity and malnutrition."

Write to Anthony Harrup at anthony.harrup@wsj.com[mailto:anthony.harrup@wsj.com]

Related

\* Hurricane Matthew Leaves at Least 20 Dead in Southeast U.S.[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/hurricane-matthew-leaves-at-least-20-dead-in-southeast-u-s-1476115422]

\* Hurricane Matthew: Food, Water Shortages Threaten Haiti Victims[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/food-water-shortages-threaten-haiti-hurricane-victims-1476023087]

\* Florida Democrats Sue State to Extend Voter Registration Due to Hurricane Matthew[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/florida-democrats-sue-state-to-extend-voter-registration-due-to-hurricane-matthew-1476059620]

\* Coastal Floridians Begin Returning Home[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/coastal-floridians-begin-returning-home-cleanup-as-hurricane-matthew-continues-north-1475958299]

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**ISTANBUL—The Turkish and Russian leaders strengthened their rapprochement on Monday by emphasizing new trade deals that boost their ailing economies while minimizing their deep tensions on security matters.

On the sidelines of a global energy summit in Istanbul, Presidents Recep Tayyip Erdogan and Vladimir Putin signed a deal for the long-delayed TurkStream natural gas project that would allow Russia a new pipeline to reach European markets during a time when Moscow is struggling with sanctions against parts of its economy following its incursion into Ukraine.

In return, Mr. Putin lifted import barriers on some Turkish agricultural products that he established last year, when bilateral relations froze after Turkey[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/turkey-and-iran-draw-closer-despite-syrian-war-1475750313] shot down a Russian jet fighter near the Syrian border[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/putin-tightens-his-grip-on-syria-1475611567].

The two leaders didn't make any breakthroughs on the vexing problems in Syria, where both nations are playing key roles as military powers and as supporters of opposing sides of the war there. The two leaders said they were willing to work together to stop the bloodshed there, but provided no details.

Still Mr. Erdogan put a rosy spin on the meeting, his third with Mr. Putin since June, as a positive step for his nation's economy.

"The president and I have had a very full day, discussing Turkey-Russia relations," Mr. Erdogan said, listing renewed pledges to cooperate and improve links on issues including trade, energy, defense industries and the Syrian conflict. "I am a firm believer that the normalization process between Turkey and Russia will go ahead full steam."

Turkey remains allied with the U.S. and key Arab nations in supporting so-called moderate rebels to establish a political transition in Syria without President Bashar al-Assad playing a role there. Moscow, however, backs the Syrian leader and has fought alongside regime forces in battles against many Turkish-backed rebel forces in places including Aleppo.

Turkey is trying to persuade Russia and America to support its goal of establishing a no-fly zone inside the 56-mile Syrian border area that it says could help manage the **refugee** situation and prevent the creation of an ethnic Kurdish autonomous region along Turkey's border.

Over the weekend, Turkey's National Security Council outlined a two-year military strategy in Syria, including the establishment of this so-called safe zone. Turkish armed forces, supported by Syrian rebel troops, currently occupy much of this belt between Jarablus and Azaz. Ultimately, Turkey would like to rehouse many of the 3 million Syrian Arab and Turkmen **refugees** currently living inside Turkey within this zone and make the area self-governing.

To realize this goal, Turkey needs support from Washington and Moscow because their planes control Syrian airspace and thus stability on the ground, Turkish officials say.

Mr. Erdogan separately lobbied President Barack Obama and Mr. Putin to support the proposal during this summer's G-20 meetings, but the plan has been met with skepticism in Washington. U.S. military officials say it would necessitate long-term military commitments by international militaries or an international peacekeeping force. It is also controversial among Syrian rebel groups, which are wary their country may be carved up between world powers.

Mr. Putin hasn't publicly sided with the Turkish buffer-zone plan, and behind the scenes Russia hasn't given a firm rejection to the idea, a person familiar with the situation said.

The Istanbul meeting marks the third time the Turkish and Russian leaders have met since June.

The strengthening of ties comes after the Turkish leader has found himself in growing financial and diplomatic isolation after **alienating** longstanding allies such as Europe and Washington amid their concern about his growing authoritarianism.

European and American officials have expressed reservations about widespread purges ordered by Mr. Erdogan in response to the July 15 failed coup. By comparison, Russian officials have displayed strong signs of support for the Turkish government.

While Turkish officials appreciate these public shows of solidarity, many within Mr. Erdogan's ruling party remain wary of Russia on diplomatic issues, especially considering Moscow's brutal military tactics against Syrian fighters and civilians.

Write to Margaret Coker at margaret.coker@wsj.com[mailto:margaret.coker@wsj.com]

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**BUDAPEST—Hungarian Prime Minister Viktor Orban formally asked parliament on Monday to tighten constitutional rules on **immigration** even as opposition leaders, whose support could be necessary to pass amendments, accused him of restricting freedom of speech.

Although low turnout made an Oct. 2 referendum on restricting **immigration** legally void[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/low-turnout-in-migrant-referendum-is-a-setback-for-hungarian-premier-1475443014], Mr. Orban wants to ensure the European Union won't have authority to relocate asylum seekers, especially Muslims, in the central European country.

To that end, the prime minister has proposed enshrining in the constitution that no external legislation could override Hungary's sovereign decisions to prevent non-European foreigners to settle in the country.

The amendment would be largely symbolic because EU authorities have backed off trying to ease the migrant crisis by imposing **refugee** quotas. But it has become a central issue in Hungary, where the government is lobbying for a less centralized EU, in which member states would have full control over their migration policies.

"Europe is not a passageway, Hungary is not a passageway," Mr. Orban said last week.

Hungary became a major migrant thoroughfare last year, when hundreds of thousands of people from the Middle East and Afghanistan walked through the Balkans and central Europe in a bid to reach affluent countries such as Germany and Sweden. The human flow has dropped significantly in recent months, notably after Hungary built a razor-wired fence on its southern flank.

The Socialist party has said it doesn't support the proposal. The far-right Jobbik said it would propose some changes to the wording, but it looks "endorsable."

The governing Fidesz party expects the bill would pass around Nov. 7.

Passing the amendment would require a two-third majority of lawmakers, meaning that Mr. Orban's Fidesz party would need allies to clear the proposed constitutional changes through parliament.

The prime minister may have a harder time securing such support after a dispute erupted over the weekend over why Hungary's leading opposition daily newspaper, Nepszabadsag, was abruptly shut down.

The publication's Austrian owner, Vienna Capital Partners, said on Saturday it was closing the daily in the face of mounting losses.

The Socialist party and the Jobbik party both accused the government of being behind the closure, noting that Nepszabadsag had published several investigative reports critical of Mr. Orban's administration.

Zoltan Kovacs, a spokesman for the Orban government, said the prime minister had played no role in the newspaper shutdown. The ruling Fidesz party issued a statement saying accusations authorities had tried to muzzle the press were groundless.

An official at Vienna Capital Partners said she couldn't immediately comment on the matter.

Write to Margit Feher at margit.feher@wsj.com[mailto:margit.feher@wsj.com]

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**CHEMNITZ, Germany—Authorities said a 22-year-old Syrian **refugee** arrested after a two-day manhunt had been plotting to attack airports in Berlin and was captured only after fellow Syrians tied him up and turned him in.

The man—who had received asylum in Germany last year and sparked the international search after eluding police [http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/police-comb-eastern-germany-in-hunt-for-terror-plot-suspect-1476009132]on Saturday—is suspected of planning a suicide bombing, officials say.

German Interior Minister Thomas de Maizière, said that the preparations for the bombing appeared similar to those in the attacks in Paris and Brussels. About 3 pounds of an "extremely dangerous explosive," along with materials for making a suicide vest, had been found in the man's apartment, Germany's prosecutor-general said.

Authorities say the suspect, Jaber Albakr, slipped away Saturday as police were staking out the apartment where he had been staying in the eastern city of Chemnitz. "I'm happy that the fugitive terror suspect was able to be captured and that the security agencies—at least according to what is currently known—prevented an attack," Mr. de Maizière said Monday.

Another security official said that while the explosive—believed to be the substance TATP—was similar to that used in the Paris and Brussels terror strikes, there were no immediate signs that Mr. Albakr had been planning an attack on the scale of those incidents, which involved multiple targets and assailants. Mr. Albakr was believed to have been planning to target airports in Berlin, according to Hans-Georg Maassen, chief of Germany's domestic intelligence agency, speaking to ARD public television.

Investigators continued to work Monday to determine whether Mr. Albakr was part of a broader network and whether he was radicalized before or after he arrived in Germany in February 2015.

Authorities said Mr. Albakr was granted asylum in Germany that July. While the suspect arrived before last year's influx of migrants in the summer and fall, the alleged terror plot has shined the spotlight on the security implications of large-scale migration and led some politicians to call for more intensive screening of new arrivals.

Mr. Albakr appeared on the authorities' radar last month after the domestic intelligence agency received a tip. The ensuing investigation pointed to Islamic State ties and that the man was planning a suicide bombing, officials said. Last Friday, intelligence agents determined he had visited a store to buy hot glue—possibly the last ingredient needed to build a bomb, according to Mr. Maassen.

"The behavior of the suspect currently suggests an IS context," Jörg Michaelis, the head of the criminal investigations bureau in the state of Saxony, said at a news conference on Monday.

Alerted by the intelligence agency, state police deployed Friday evening to a building where Mr. Albakr was believed to be staying, but had to use caution because they didn't know which apartment the man was staying in. Saturday morning, officers chased one man leaving the apartment who appeared to be the suspect but couldn't catch up with him, in part because their tactical gear weighed some 80 pounds, Mr. Michaelis said.

The manhunt, which spread beyond Germany's borders, ended early Monday morning after another Syrian walked into a police station in the city of Leipzig, about 50 miles away from Chemnitz. The tipster said he and two friends had subdued the suspect, and police officers found Mr. Albakr tied up in a Leipzig apartment.

The suspect had met two of the Syrians in the Leipzig train station on Saturday, Germany's Bild newspaper reported, after he had posted on an online **refugee**network that he needed a place to stay. The men then brought him to a friend's apartment and only realized the next day—after he had asked for a haircut—that he was being sought by the police. The police couldn't be reached for comment on the report.

Syrians in Germany had been sharing information about the wanted suspect over the weekend over various Facebook groups for **refugees**.

"We the Syrians here are, of course, against the dumb generalization about us being terrorists," said a post in German and Arabic in one popular such group, German LifeStyle, which included photos of the suspect and a police phone number. "But, we as Syrians here must fight against those among us who want to do something bad to the people here who support us and all those who live here."

German Chancellor Angela Merkel thanked authorities for their work, her spokeswoman said Monday. She added: "Our thanks and recognition also go to the man from Syria who informed police about the whereabouts of suspect and made a decisive contribution to arresting him."

Authorities said that another Syrian, a 33-year-old identified as Khalil A., was arrested over the weekend on suspicion of allowing Mr. Albakr to use his apartment and of ordering bomb materials online on his behalf.

Germany has been on edge for months amid concern that the roughly one million **refugees** and migrants who arrived in the country this year and last could include people seeking to conduct terrorist attacks. Two migrants pledging allegiance to Islamic State carried out suicide attacks[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/afghan-train-attacker-had-islamic-state-flag-say-german-police-1468914702] in Germany in July, injuring dozens of people.

In recent months, an upstart anti-**immigrant** party has fanned fears of terrorism and Islam in its campaigns in state elections, scoring an unprecedented string of electoral successes[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/social-democrats-win-vote-in-germanys-mecklenburg-west-pomerania-1473006387] for a populist party in postwar Germany. The party, Alternative for Germany, is on track to win seats for the first time in Germany's national parliament next year.

Lawmakers from the Bavarian arm of Ms. Merkel's conservative bloc, which has supported a cap on new arrivals, called on Monday for increased scrutiny of people entering the country.

"The Federal Intelligence Agency and the Office for the Protection of the Constitution," Germany's foreign and domestic and intelligence agencies, "must be involved more intensively in checking **immigrants**," said Stephan Mayer, a lawmaker with the Christian Social Union party, in an interview with German broadcaster N-TV on Monday morning.

Mohammad Nour Alakraa contributed to this article.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**GREECE

Reforms Clear Path For More Loans

Greece has completed a set of key economic overhauls, eurozone finance ministers agreed Monday, marking the end of the first review of its fiscal bailout and clearing the way for disbursement of new loans to Athens.

The ministers, who were here for their monthly meeting, gave their blessing to €2.8 billion ($3.12 billion) in the next stage of financial aid, but the money won't be available immediately. Instead, they said the country would receive the funds at the end of the month, when data on repayments Greece has made to domestic contractors should also be available.

While the next slice won't be made available immediately, the fact that Greece's creditors agreed that all the economic overhauls have been implemented essentially completes the lengthy first review of the country's third bailout, which could amount to €86 billion.

"These are good news," said Jeroen Dijsselbloem, the Dutch finance minister who presided over the meeting. "We will now focus on the second review, which we expect to be completed swiftly."

The tranche of aid will comprise €1.1 billion to be used for debt servicing, and €1.7 billion to repay arrears owed to domestic contractors.

The overhauls approved include changes to the energy sector, the pension system and the creation of a privatization fund that would be partly used to repay the country's debt. The approval clears the way for negotiations to start on another review, which is expected to focus on such politically sensitive topics as labor market overhauls.

Viktoria Dendrinou

HUNGARY

Orban Continues Push on **Immigration**

Hungarian Prime Minister Viktor Orban formally asked parliament on Monday to tighten constitutional rules on **immigration** even as opposition leaders, whose support could be necessary to pass amendments, accused him of restricting freedom of speech.

Although low turnout made an Oct. 2 referendum on restricting **immigration** legally void, Mr. Orban wants to ensure the European Union won't have authority to relocate asylum seekers, especially Muslims, in the central European country.

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"Europe is not a passageway, Hungary is not a passageway," Mr. Orban said last week.

Hungary became a major migrant thoroughfare last year, when hundreds of thousands of people from the Middle East and Afghanistan walked through the Balkans and central Europe in a bid to reach affluent countries such as Germany and Sweden.

The human flow has dropped significantly in recent months, notably after Hungary built a razor-wired fence on its southern flank.

The Socialist party has said it doesn't support the proposal. The far-right Jobbik said it would propose some changes to the wording, but it looks "endorsable."

The governing Fidesz party expects the bill would pass around Nov. 7.

Margit Feher

HAITI

Hurricane Death Toll Estimates Rise

The death toll in Haiti from Hurricane Matthew continued to rise Monday, as an increasing number of people whose homes were damaged or destroyed took **refuge** in shelters, the government said.

Haiti's Civil Protection Department said it had confirmed the deaths of 372 people, up from 336 it reported Saturday. More than half of the deaths were in Grand'Anse department on the southwestern peninsula, which faced the full force of the hurricane when it hit as a Category 4 storm.

Other reports, including comments from local officials in Haiti, have put the death toll much higher. The Civil Protection Department has said it is being prudent about confirming deaths when it doesn't have details.

The department said via its Twitter account that as of Monday there were four people missing, 246 injured and more than 175,000 people taking **refuge** in shelters, mostly in Grand'Anse and Sud departments. On Saturday, it reported just over 61,000 people in shelters.

As government and other relief teams rush to get water, food and shelter to victims of the storm, concerns are rising about possible spread of cholera and hunger.

The United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs on Monday made an appeal for around $120 million to provide support for 750,000 people in need of assistance over the next three months.

Around 70% of the population in the worst affected areas live in poverty, the U.N. said, and called it the worst humanitarian crisis in the country since the 2010 earthquake "at a time when the country is already facing an increase in the number of cholera cases, and severe food insecurity and malnutrition."

Anthony Harrup

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**UNITED KINGDOM

May Meets With EU Counterparts

U.K. Prime Minister Theresa May on Monday was trying to drum up support in Copenhagen and The Hague as she signals a hard line on Brexit talks, amid skepticism from the traditional allies as they grapple with anti-European Union movements at home.

The trip marks her first meetings with EU counterparts since she said the U.K. would formally start the process of leaving the bloc by the end of March and signaled that curbing migration would be the priority.

That stance has been met by tough words from European leaders who say freedom of movement is a requirement for access to the bloc's tariff-free single market.

While Northern European countries like Denmark and the Netherlands have traditionally aligned themselves with the U.K. on trade and foreign-policy issues, these countries could be adversaries in negotiations to cut ties after 43 years because they don't want to send a signal to euroskeptic voters that Britain's departure will be a success.

Jenny Gross

HAITI

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Anthony Harrup

INDIA

Industrial Output Takes Surprise Dip

India's industrial output was down 0.7% from a year earlier in August, following a 2.5% decline in July, defying a forecast for a 0.8% rise from economists polled by The Wall Street Journal.

The figures could fuel doubt about the recovery in Asia's third-largest economy and bolster the case for further interest-rate cuts.

Mining output was off 5.6%, compared with a 0.9% increase in July. And manufacturing output, which represents three quarters of industrial production, was off 0.3%—dragged down by a 22.2% fall in output of capital goods—and electricity output was up a disappointing 0.1%, slowing from July's 1.6% pace.

Falling exports and sluggish consumer demand, particularly in rural areas where two years of scant rainfall have hurt incomes, have forced manufacturers to cut production. But normal rainfall this year and a large pay increase for nearly 10 million government workers are expected to improve consumer demand.

Anant Vijay Kala

CHINA

Central Bank Pledges To Control Credit

China will keep credit growth under control as the global economic recovery "normalizes," People's Bank of China Gov. Zhou Xiaochuan said in a statement posted on the PBOC's website Sunday.

Recent fast credit growth reflected government efforts to tackle risks and drive growth as the global economy faltered, the central bank said. According to the PBOC, Mr. Zhou told semiannual meetings of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank last week that while bad loans have been on the rise, overall risks are controllable.

Total social financing—a broad measure of new credit, both bank and nonbank—totaled 11.755 trillion yuan ($1.7533 trillion) over the first eight months of this year, up nearly 11% from a year earlier, central bank data showed.

Liyan Qi

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton met onstage Sunday for the second presidential debate.[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/goals-for-donald-trump-hillary-clinton-as-debate-kicks-off-campaigns-stretch-run-1476054635] Here are some top takeaways from the event.

1. Civility has crumbled.

The presidential primaries this year featured plenty of insults. But never in a presidential debate has one candidate promised to have a special prosecutor investigate his opponent over "lies and deception" if elected, as Mr. Trump did on Sunday. Mrs. Clinton, for her part, leveled an extended attack on her opponent as unfit for office.

"You'd be in jail," Mr. Trump told Mrs. Clinton about the course he would take in office.

"Anything to avoid talking about your campaign," Mrs. Clinton said at one point, "and the way it's exploding and

the way Republicans are leaving you[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/gop-leaders-turn-their-backs-on-trump-after-lewd-comments-1476035359]."

The bitter exchanges made past debate controversies seem like quaint artifacts of a distant era. When Democrat Al Gore sighed during his opponent's comments in 2000, or when Republican George H.W. Bush checked his watch in 1992, it was considered a violation of courtesy. The continual interruptions, insults and accusations leveled on Sunday marked an entirely new type of political conversation.

The voters and future candidates will have to decide whether this is now how campaigns are conducted, or whether the unusual profiles of Mr. Trump and Mrs. Clinton mark 2016 as uniquely ugly.

2. Character was the top issue.

Remarkably, plans for the economy and job-creation took a back seat in the debate. Foreign policy was far more prominent. But character was the issue at the center of the discussion.

Mrs. Clinton sought to disqualify Mr. Trump, saying he had denigrated U.S. soldiers, **immigrants**, Muslims and women. "This is who Donald Trump is … The question our country must answer is that this is not who we are," she said.

Mr. Trump worked with equal force to disqualify Mrs. Clinton, saying she showed "bad judgment'' by backing the Affordable Health Act and the administrations **immigration** and foreign policies. "The thing that you should be apologizing for are the 33,000 emails that you deleted, and that you acid-washed," he said, referring to messages on the private email server Mrs. Clinton used as secretary of state that she deemed to be personal, rather than official business that must be preserved.

3. Mrs. Clinton appealed to women, Mr. Trump to voters who want change.

Mrs. Clinton talked continually of women and children, drawing on the recording that surfaced on Friday of Mr. Trump making lewd comments.

"We have seen him insult women. We've seen him rate women on their appearance, ranking them from one to ten," she said. Her remarks seemed geared to push suburban women and other important swing groups away from Mr. Trump.

One of Mr. Trump's most consistent themes was that Mrs. Clinton had done little during her many years in public office. "She's been there for 30 years," he said, asserting that Mrs. Clinton hadn't delivered on pledges to create jobs in upstate New York or to help African-Americans as a senator. "It's just words, folks. It's just words," he said of her promises.

4. Mrs. Clinton talked about unity, Mr. Trump about security.

It wasn't a subtle dig at Mr. Trump when Mrs. Clinton started the debate by promising the nation that "we are going to respect each other, lift each other up … I want us to heal our country and bring it together." Mrs. Clinton was trying to cast herself as the candidate of unity and Mr. Trump as the agent of divisiveness.

Mr. Trump, asked to respond to his recently surfaced comments from 2005 about women[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/donald-trump-tries-to-turn-focus-to-bill-clinton-1476059749], turned the subject quickly to national security. "I will knock the hell out of ISIS. We are going to defeat ISIS," he said, casting himself as the candidate of strength.

5. The debate broke news.

We now know how Mr. Trump plans to handle the two recent controversies surrounding his campaign.

Mr. Trump acknowledged directly for the first time that the $916 million loss he declared on his 1995 tax return, revealed earlier this month, allowed him to avoid paying personal federal income taxes in some years. He said he wasn't the only one to use the tax code this way.

"Of course I do," he said of using losses to avoid taxes. "So do all of her donors, or most of her donors," Mr. Trump said of Mrs. Clinton.

Asked about his newly disclosed vulgar comments about women, Mr. Trump again drew Mrs. Clinton into his response. Declaring his own comments "locker room talk," Mr. Trump cited women who had accused Bill Clinton of sexual misconduct.

"If you look at Bill Clinton, far worse," he said. "Mine are words, and his was action. …Bill Clinton was abusive to women. Hillary Clinton attacked those same women and attacked them viciously."

Mrs. Clinton, for her part, was forced again to defend herself from accusations that she had mishandled classified information in the course of using a private email server as secretary of state. "That was a mistake, and I take responsibility,'' she said. But she said there was no evidence "that any classified material ended up in the wrong hands."

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\* A Reeling Trump Regains His Footing[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/in-debate-a-reeling-donald-trump-regains-his-footing-1476074549]

\* Trump, Clinton Swap Barbs in Second Debate[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/goals-for-donald-trump-hillary-clinton-as-debate-kicks-off-campaigns-stretch-run-1476054635]

\* Hillary Clinton Surprised by ‘Avalanche of Falsehoods'[http://blogs.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/washwire/2016/10/10/hillary-clinton-surprised-by-avalanche-of-falsehoods/]

\* Clinton Leads Trump in Two Battleground States[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/hillary-clinton-leads-donald-trump-in-two-battleground-states-1476018000]

\* WSJ Think Tank: The Opening for Down-Ballot Democrats[http://blogs.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/washwire/2016/10/09/donald-trumps-debate-stunt-and-the-opening-for-down-ballot-democrats/]

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**The Anthology of Great Jewish Books is a genre with a long history—and it always reveals more about the needs of its readers than about the books it includes. The first instance is right in the Bible itself: The Book of Chronicles, eager to emphasize the centrality of the Jewish kingdom and the Temple in Jerusalem, cheerfully summarizes all the preceding biblical books while leaving out details of little interest to its readers—like the Exodus from Egypt. Every generation gets the anthology it deserves.

Our generation, in which many Jews can't even name the Five Books of Moses, might not deserve Adam Kirsch, but we are lucky to have him. Mr. Kirsch is one of America's finest literary critics—I would gladly read him on anything from Genesis to a Geico commercial—and his latest book, "The People and the Books," is an astute and accessible introduction to 18 Jewish literary classics.

Mr. Kirsch's choices are just as carefully selected as those in Chronicles: He includes Deuteronomy but not Exodus, Talmudic aphorisms but not Talmudic arguments, philosophy but not poetry, Yiddish literary master Sholem Aleichem but not Hebrew Nobel laureate S.Y. Agnon, and, strikingly, no works published in the past 100 years.

Mr. Kirsch's project here is not just to educate readers about these classics but to demonstrate how ancient many modern-seeming concerns actually are. His laser focus on these works' most topical themes makes them feel so urgent that curious readers of any religious persuasion will want to read them all. "How to reconcile reason and faith, how to give Jewish law meaning, how to read the Bible—these are not modern questions, but ones that recur whenever Jews confront the philosophical tradition," Mr. Kirsch writes in a chapter on Spinoza, tracing the 17th-century philosopher's theological questions to medieval and ancient Jewish sages.

The People and the Books

By Adam Kirsch

Norton, 407 pages, $28.95

This palimpsest of ancient and modern is evident on every page. In a chapter on the 18th-century rationalist Solomon Maimon's autobiography, Maimon stands over a canal in The Hague contemplating suicide because "the world had no place for someone like him." He does so on Purim, the holiday celebrating the Jews' rescue in the biblical Book of Esther—a story of diaspora Jews confronting peril, which Mr. Kirsch had introduced several chapters earlier. Describing Theodor Herzl's founding of modern political Zionism with his 1896 pamphlet "The Jewish State," the author writes that "not since Moses stood on the slopes of Mount Nebo and prophesied the fate of the Israelites in the Promised Land . . . had a single person done more to direct the course of Jewish history." As Mr. Kirsch points out: "Perhaps the most striking thing that emerges from reading these books together is the remarkable continuity of Jewish thought."

One central continuity is the Jews' stormy relationship with God. With characteristic insight, Mr. Kirsch writes of Deuteronomy's concern for the Israelites' defiance of God, even among those who personally witnessed divine miracles: "There seems to be something about the presence of God that is hard to bear and about his memory that is almost impossible to sustain." In the 12th century, Maimonides, in an attempt to reconcile religious belief with science and to appeal to educated Jews, developed the idea of a rigorously impersonal God. Then the Zohar, the key book of Jewish mysticism, addressed Jews who felt abandoned by God in difficult times by developing "a technology for bringing God into harmony with himself," as Mr. Kirsch writes.

What to Read This Week[http://graphics.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/image-grid/Books-October-8/]

What Greenspan Knew About the Housing Crisis, Why America Always Fails in the Middle East, The Greatest Hollywood Sex Scandal, and Why We Talk to Ourselves. Plus new fiction from Maria Semple and Madeleine Thien.[http://graphics.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/image-grid/Books-October-8/]

This focus on the challenges of faith is true to the Jewish tradition. Yet it also reveals the author's desire to invite nonreligious readers into the conversation about these texts. Mr. Kirsch's shrewd knowledge of his audience emerges even more in the works he selects regarding Jewish interactions with non-Jewish societies.

A prime example is the Book of Esther, the only biblical text he includes other than Deuteronomy. Esther tells the story of highly integrated diaspora Jews facing an uncertain future: When a royal vizier plans a genocide of the Persian Empire's Jews, the plot is defeated by the kingdom's savvy Jewish queen. Mr. Kirsch insists that the story illustrates a Jewish social integration more familiar to today's readers than shtetl-era isolation: "Jewish life in 21st century America may resemble the Persia of twenty-five hundred years ago more closely than the Poland of three hundred years ago."

Philo of Alexandria, a first-century Jewish commentator who wrote in Greek (and, like Mr. Kirsch, read the Bible in translation), would be long forgotten without Christian theologians' interest. Mr. Kirsch writes of his "Exposition of the Laws" that his philosophical interpretations were "seemingly designed to be read by Jews with little knowledge of Judaism—or perhaps even by non-Jews," much like Mr. Kirsch's own work.

Jewish culture is one with a famously high bar for entry, and to Mr. Kirsch's great credit he makes all readers feel at home. Yet this often means avoiding the deep strangeness of these texts: not their literary oddities, like the Zohar's elaborate sexual metaphors, but the unimaginably high stakes that their authors faced as Jews with no political power.

Just as Philo turned Moses into a Stoic philosopher to appeal to his Greek-language readers, Mr. Kirsch highlights what modern readers will appreciate at the expense of a reality that today's readers can barely fathom. Take Josephus, the Jewish rebel turned Roman apologist who documented Judea's catastrophic revolt against Rome in "The Jewish War," written in A.D. 75. Mr. Kirsch focuses on Josephus' pragmatism in rejecting his fellow rebels' suicidal devotion to their cause, an angle that will surely appeal to secular readers in the age of ISIS. But the experience of actually reading Josephus (who switched sides after being captured and wrote his history while living in Emperor Vespasian's house), particularly after the success of modern Zionism, is far more **alienating** than the author lets on. It is like listening to recordings of Patty Hearst.

This hostage-video quality presents in acute form a theme of Jewish history: One brilliant thinker after another either explains away Judaism's particularities to suit the dominant culture's beliefs or proudly professes contempt for them—all in a degrading effort to earn an acceptance that, in the most disturbing continuity, rarely came. Discussing the 18th-century philosopher Moses Mendelssohn's "Jerusalem," an attempt to reconcile Judaism and modern German culture, Mr. Kirsch explains that if Mendelssohn failed, "either the Jews would go on being excluded from the benefits of modernity, or they would have to give up their Jewishness in exchange for acceptance. (The third possibility, that they would assimilate and still end up being hated and eventually annihilated, was not yet thinkable.)"

Yet that "third possibility" already appears in Mr. Kirsch's chapters on Esther's Persia and Philo's Egypt, both situations where assimilated Jews were threatened with mass murder. It had been thinkable for millennia, just not understandable. Mr. Kirsch's decision to end his book before modern Israel's statehood feels a bit like a contemporary version of this problem. As the author puts it in his preface, one of the key reasons that the Jews became "the People of the Book" is that they were without political sovereignty from the time the Temple was destroyed by the Romans in A.D. 70. Since then, "the history of Judaism would not be told primarily in political terms. It would be, instead, a history of books." Mr. Kirsch's decision to ignore Israel's resurrection suggests a reluctance to **alienate** readers that feels all too similar to many of the works he discusses—and unwittingly illustrates his point about the uncanny continuities of Jewish books.

The overarching continuity, of course, is the endurance not only of many of these texts but of readers' dynamic relationships with them. In describing a 16th-century Bible commentary aimed at Jewish women (written, like his own book, to introduce the Jewish textual tradition to lay readers), Mr. Kirsch nails the point. "Judaism's holiest texts were taught not just as a collection of tales, but a way of reading," he explains, and such compilations gave readers "some sense of what it means to read as a Jew." To be a Jew, Mr. Kirsch suggests, is to keep reading.

Ms. Horn's most recent novel is "A Guide for the Perplexed."

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Donald Trump entered Sunday night's debate both lacerated and liberated.

He had been lacerated by the release of a now infamous videotape in which he talked about how he seduces women,[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/donald-trumps-lewd-comments-about-women-spark-uproar-1475886118] including married women.

And he was liberated by essentially declaring his independence from the Republican party and its leading figures, many of whom abandoned him over the release of that tape.

So the question approaching an epic presidential debate Sunday night was whether, in this new phase, a liberated Donald Trump could stop the bleeding and get back on his feet. In the first half hour, that seemed unlikely. But then, over the next hour, he appeared to succeed.

In those raucous opening minutes, Hillary Clinton declared that Mr. Trump isn't fit to be president of the United States. In return, he promised that, if he is elected, he will order his attorney general to appoint a special prosecutor to investigate her.

And those were only the highlights of an opening phase that was simply shocking in the intense nature of the personal attacks between the two people vying to become the next president of the United States. And that seemed unlikely to allow him to recover.

Then a different kind of debate evolved—one that was still pointed and nasty, but substantive.

Mr. Trump, who had seemed on his heels at the outset, recovered to deliver an effective critique of President Barack Obama's health-care overhaul. He defended his seemingly friendly attitude toward Russian President Vladimir Putin by saying simply that it's worth getting along with Russia if the Kremlin will help attack Islamic State.

At one remarkable point in discussing the vicious civil war in Syria, he acknowledged he disagrees with his own running mate, Gov. Mike Pence, on whether to confront aggressive Russian tactics there.

The candidates engaged in a spirited but enlightening debate on tax policy during which, in an odd twist, two wealthy Americans each accused the other of being in favor of helping other wealthy Americans.

He may have interrupted Mrs. Clinton a bit too often, and engaged in what some will consider bullying tactics. Yet once the atmosphere calmed down, those moments seemed less frequent than in their first debate.

Mrs. Clinton still was the greater master of policy detail, and she delivered her own critique of the so-called Obamacare health law and what she would do to fix the crown jewel of her party's domestic policy achievements in recent years. She continued to hammer Mr. Trump on disparaging comments he's made over time about **immigrants**, Muslims and, especially, women.

She delivered a sharp critique, for example, of Mr. Trump's proposal, made earlier this year, to ban all Muslims from entering the country.

"How do you do that?" she asked. "We are a country founded on religious freedom and liberty. How do we do what he has advocated without causing great distress within our own county?"

But this time Mr. Trump quietly backed away from his original proposal to ban Muslims from entering the country, without exactly admitting that's what he was doing. He called for "extreme vetting" of **immigrants** rather than a ban.

And he turned his repeated calls for American allies to do more to carry their weight into a specific call for them to provide more help in Syria by creating and maintaining safe zones for Syrian **refugees**.

"I believe in having other people pay for them, as an example, the Gulf states, who are not carrying their weight, but they have nothing but money, and take care of people," he said.

By the end, it had become almost a conventional presidential debate, and Mr. Trump was quicker on his feet and more nimble and more substantive than he was in the first debate. In some ways, in fact, his performance was the reverse of the first debate, when he started strongly and ended poorly.

It is hard to know how much a decent debate performance will matter to the many Republicans who seem to have lost faith in Mr. Trump or confidence that any step forward in his campaign won't be followed by a step backward.

It's also hard to know what will happen to Mr. Trump's support among women, and among Republicans with misgivings about him, whose support he had been consolidating in the weeks before the explosive tape with his lewd comments about women.

It also isn't clear whether his reminding voters of Bill Clinton's sexual history will matter, or how effective he was at skewering Mrs. Clinton again for her use of a private email server as secretary of state.

But if the imperative of this debate was for Mr. Trump to survive the onslaught and get back on his feet, he appeared to do that.

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Related

\* Recap: Second Presidential Debate[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/livecoverage/hillary-clinton-and-donald-trump-second-debate-2016]

\* GRAPHIC: What Topics Were Addressed at the Debate[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/graphics/elections/2016/whats-still-left-unsaid/]

\* Evaluating Donald Trump's, Hillary Clinton's Assertions[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/fact-check-of-donald-trump-and-hillary-clintons-second-presidential-debate-1476073050]

\* Abandoned by GOP Leaders After His Lewd Comments, Trump Pushes Back[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/gop-leaders-turn-their-backs-on-trump-after-lewd-comments-1476035359]

\* Poll: Clinton Leads Trump in Two Battleground States[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/hillary-clinton-leads-donald-trump-in-two-battleground-states-1476018000]

\* Kaine Labels Donald Trump's Behavior Sexual Assaul[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/tim-kaine-labels-donald-trumps-behavior-sexual-assault-1476022517]

\* Trump Signals Attack on Bill Clinton[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/trump-signals-attack-on-bill-clinton-in-coming-days-1476028692]

\* What Trump and Clinton Need to Do in Debate[http://blogs.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/washwire/2016/10/09/some-friendly-advice-for-clinton-and-trump-heading-into-tonights-contest/]

\* Trump: ‘Zero Chance I'll Quit'[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/trump-tells-wsj-i-never-give-up-and-getting-unbelievable-support-1475940443]

\* Spotlight on History of Lewd Comments[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/video-puts-spotlight-on-donald-trumps-history-of-lewd-comments-1475985718?tesla=y]

\* Senate Republicans Break Away From Trump After Video[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/senate-republicans-break-away-from-donald-trump-after-release-of-video-1475968824]

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**From an office in San Francisco, Iyinoluwa Aboyeji is crafting software code that has helped process payments in more than 30 African countries.

Mr. Aboyeji is the co-founder of Flutterwave, one of the 30 companies with international founders taking part in the Y Combinator accelerator program this past summer. As venture capitalists look for big wins in emerging markets, top U.S. accelerators and incubators increasingly are seeking out international applicants or launching versions of their programs in markets like Beijing and Latin America.

Y Combinator—which is in the midst of touring 11 countries and holding "office hours" with entrepreneurs—has company making an international push. 500 Startups has long raised seed funds to invest in specific countries, and at recent demo days, it has said more than 40% of its founders were from outside the U.S.

Other accelerators have opted to bring versions of their accelerators abroad rather than bringing **immigrants** to the United States. Techstars has launched accelerator programs in Cape Town, London and Tel Aviv with Barclays. Rocketspace recently raised $336 million as part of a plan to open campuses in China and Britain next year. At a recent demo day, YC chief Sam Altman said the incubator is considering opening versions of its Silicon Valley accelerator in international markets.

Accelerators want to diversify their networks because research shows it pays off for founders, said Amisha Miller, an officer at the **immigration**-focused Kauffman Institute. Bringing entrepreneurs together in a boot camp with diverse ideas resulted in better business outcomes, according to a 2015 Stanford Graduate Business School study.

Silicon Valley has long attracted top entrepreneurs from outside the United States. A 2012 study from the Kauffman Institute found that 44% of engineering and technology companies in the region had at least one foreign-born founder.

However international entrepreneurs face significant challenges when coming to the U.S. and trying to stay beyond their accelerator program. A pending proposal by the Obama administration[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/u-s-acts-to-help-immigrants-build-startups-by-easing-visa-rules-1472253208] would allow foreign-born founders to stay in the country up to two years to form their startups.

Other programs like Techstars have chosen to open programs abroad, rather than bring entrepreneurs to them. Techstars President David Cohen said it was essential for accelerators "to get out there where the entrepreneurs are."

Mr. Cohen noted that most of the most successful technology companies didn't launch in Silicon Valley, but rather moved to the San Francisco Bay Area to seek capital after they were founded.

Mr. Cohen said when opening a program abroad, accelerators have their work cut out for them navigating an unfamiliar regulatory environment. They also may not have the same network of alumni or access to investors they have in major U.S. cities.

Techstars has tried to overcome those obstacles by working with large international firms, like Barclays Bank, in foreign markets. Mr. Cohen said though the accelerator aims to build local networks of mentors and investors wherever it operates, and it is essential for those local networks to be connected with one another.

This has been 500 Startups founder Dave McClure's approach from the beginning. "They're finally waking up to how smart we are," he said about other accelerators in an interview.

Mr. McClure said his accelerator's early international focus was out of necessity. He said that to differentiate itself, the program sought out women, cultural diversity and representation of multiple regions of the world.

"We have to be in those places," Mr. McClure said. "It's not good enough to not just recruit from those places."

But Y Combinator is still trying to build such networks abroad. Y Combinator Partner Kat Malanac said the hope is that successful companies from the incubator will return to their home countries and "reinvest in those ecosystems."

But for now, Ms. Malanac said relocating to Silicon Valley for the three month program offers many benefits to entrepreneurs.

"There's talent everywhere," she said. "But there isn't access to capital everywhere."

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Last week's sterling flash crash[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/pound-plunges-in-tumultuous-session-putting-spotlight-on-computerized-trading-1475848480] was over in minutes. But the perception of instability that hangs over the U.K. after a week of political drama may be harder to dispel.

Prime Minister Theresa May was successful in her first two months in office in restoring calm following the chaotic aftermath of the June Brexit referendum[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/u-k-vote-sets-off-shockwaves-across-europe-1466811442]. By refusing to be rushed into quick decisions on Britain's future relationship with the European Union, she raised hopes of a relatively smooth Brexit, which was reflected in the swift recovery in the economy and the markets from the initial referendum shock.

But her speeches[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/u-k-s-may-plans-to-trigger-article-50-by-end-of-march-1475401597], and those of some of her colleagues, at last week's Conservative Party conference have fueled anxieties among investors[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/brexit-turns-ugly-for-pound-gilts-1475840667] and companies[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/japan-finance-minister-says-brexit-may-prompt-japanese-firms-to-leave-u-k-1475891799] over the direction in which the U.K. is now heading.

Those anxieties only partly relate to Brexit itself. Mrs. May has signaled what was already widely assumed: that the U.K. is heading for a hard form of Brexit [http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/hard-brexit-backers-heartened-by-u-k-prime-minister-theresa-mays-comments-1475518954]in which it likely quits the EU customs union and single market. That is the implication of her pledge to reclaim full control of **immigration** to Britain and to remove the U.K. from the jurisdiction of the European Court of Justice.

Officially, the U.K. hasn't made any decisions on what future relationship it wants to pursue with the EU, and there are still some in the government pushing for a softer form of Brexit, if only to avoid any fiscal damage should the U.K.'s financial-services industry lose unfettered access to the EU market. But a "soft Brexit" has never looked like a politically viable option, not least because the U.K. is unlikely to consent to abide by rules over which it has no control.

Mrs. May's other Brexit-related announcement also points to a hard deal for the U.K. By committing to invoke Article 50 of the Lisbon Treaty—thereby setting the clock ticking on a two-year exit negotiation with the EU—by the end of March 2017, the U.K. has given up one of its few points of leverage over the Brexit process. That may have been politically unavoidable, given demands from factions of her party and from business not to prolong the uncertainty. But it does mean the U.K. will now go into the negotiations without any commitment from the EU to transitional arrangements or to extend the negotiating period beyond two years that some in the U.K. had wanted.

It also means the EU will now enter the negotiation holding the better cards. The U.K. has the most to lose if the two sides fail to reach a full agreement by the end of the two-year negotiating period and are obliged to trade on World Trade Organization terms. French finance minister Michel Sapin made clear the EU will press this advantage, telling The Wall Street Journal that France will insist on all aspects of the divorce and future trading relationship being agreed in two years.

What appeared to also rattle the markets last week was the vision that Mrs. May and other ministers set out for a post-Brexit Britain. Part of this vision seemed to hinge on reducing the number of foreigners[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/u-k-government-considering-new-restrictions-on-non-eu-students-workers-1475595393]: in schools, in the health system, and in British-based companies. Mrs. May also appeared to take aim at the international business and financial elite who have made their home in the U.K., telling them that "if you are a citizen of the world, you are a citizen of nowhere."

Mrs. May also set out an economic vision designed to address working-class concerns[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/u-k-prime-minister-theresa-may-appeals-to-working-class-voters-at-conservative-party-conference-1475672599] over perceived failures of globalization that appeared to have been lifted from the opposition Labour Party. This includes a new industrial strategy that would identify and support "strategic industries," a policy to add workers to corporate boards and controls on energy prices. She also appeared to take aim at the independence of the Bank of England with criticism of its quantitative-easing program.

At last week's annual meetings of the International Monetary Fund in Washington DC, there was widespread shock [http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/bank-of-england-asks-bis-markets-group-to-look-into-pounds-plunge-1475852099]at the direction in which Mrs. May appears to be taking the U.K. To many observers, this apparent policy pivot has raised fears that post-Brexit Britain will turn inward, rather than taking the opportunity to embrace a future as an open, business-friendly economy.

The danger for Mrs. May if this perception takes hold is that she risks **alienating** three groups vital to her own success.

The first is international businesses, whose investment is crucial to the long-term economic fortunes of a country that currently runs a near 6% current-account deficit. Many of these companies use the U.K. as a hub to serve European markets and rely on the EU's current freedom-of-movement rules to ensure they can recruit the necessary foreign talent.

The second is European governments, whose goodwill is vital to securing a good Brexit deal. Many EU governments, including France and Germany, have already reacted to signs of anti-foreigner sentiment in the U.K. by hardening their own rhetoric toward the British government.

The third group is Mrs. May's own parliamentary colleagues, who won a general election only 18 months ago. Many on both sides of the Brexit divide may wonder why they are now being asked to back policies that appear to have been borrowed from their defeated Labour and UK Independence Party opponents.

With a parliamentary majority of only 17, Mrs. May's reputation as a stabilizing force may fall victim to her ambitions.

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Brexit Newsletter

\* Sign up to get the latest news and analysis of Britain's transition out of the EU.[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/newsletters?sub=339]

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**CHEMNITZ, Germany—Police broadened a manhunt for a 22-year-old Syrian **refugee** suspected of planning a terror attack, raiding a second apartment and detaining a fourth person linked to him.

Sunday's raid came more than 24 hours after police said they found "several hundred grams" of highly explosive material in the man's apartment in this eastern German city. Since then, police have combed the region for the man—identified by police as Jaber Albakr—and taken people described as his contacts into custody.

The person detained Sunday, after a raid that left a balcony window smashed and couches turned upside down, had been in contact with Mr. Albakr, according to a police spokesman. Police vans were seen driving away from an apartment block carrying masked special forces.

The spokesman added that German police were now trying to find out whether this person had knowledge of Mr. Albakr's alleged attack plans.

"Based on the amount of explosives found in the apartment, it is relatively clear that this is a culprit with Islamist motivations who wanted to carry out an attack," said a spokesman for Germany's federal prosecutor-general, which took over the investigation from state authorities on Sunday night.

Police acknowledged that they had lost track of Mr. Albakr when they fired a warning shot before raiding his Chemnitz apartment Saturday morning.

That day, they released photographs showing him wearing a dark, hooded sweatshirt with a colorful print. On Sunday, investigators added photos of Mr. Albakr carrying a large cardboard box and posted bulletins in Arabic [http://www.polizei.sachsen.de/de/45350.htm]to gather leads.

Police extended the scope of the manhunt, coordinating with authorities outside Germany while maintaining a strong presence in Chemnitz, a city of more than 200,000 near the Czech border. "We're working across borders. We're in exchange [with authorities] in every neighboring country and other German federal states," state police spokesman Tom Bernhardt said in a radio interview.

Police said that two people detained earlier in connection with the search for Mr. Albakr had been released. The third, who police said was a fellow Syrian who rented the raided apartment, is suspected to have planned an attack along with Mr. Albakr. Police were seeking approval from a judge to keep the person in custody.

In Berlin, more than two hours by car from Chemnitz, the police called in additional officers to duty, urged residents to use caution, and increased patrols at Schönefeld Airport.

"We do not currently know where he is and what he is carrying," the state police in Saxony, where Chemnitz is located, said on Twitter as the manhunt wore on. "Be careful."

The German domestic intelligence agency tipped off Saxony authorities Friday evening, prompting the raid the next day. The man was suspected of planning "a terrorist attack with explosives," a Saxony police spokesman said. Authorities were also investigating whether Mr. Albakr had any ties to extremist groups in Syria.

Police found the explosive material in the apartment raided Saturday, Mr. Bernhardt said, and evacuated 80 residents. Authorities dug holes in the grass outside the apartment complex in which the explosives were detonated.

"This appears to be a very dangerous mixture," he said of the explosive.

A person familiar with the investigation said Mr. Albakr arrived in Germany as a **refugee** and had been granted asylum. ARD public television said he had arrived a year ago.

"I think I saw him around—there aren't that many foreigners so you notice," 66-year-old neighbor Günther Heering told The Wall Street Journal.

Investigators assume the highly explosive substance found in the Chemnitz apartment was TATP, a material also used in the Brussels and Paris terror attacks, the person said.

Germany has been on edge for months amid concern that the roughly one million **refugees** and migrants who arrived in the country this year and last could include people seeking to conduct terrorist attacks. Two migrants pledging allegiance to Islamic State carried out attacks in Germany[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/afghan-train-attacker-had-islamic-state-flag-say-german-police-1468914702] in July, incidents in which dozens were injured but only the attackers were killed.

In recent months, an upstart anti-**immigrant** party has fanned fears of terrorism and Islam in its campaigns in state elections, scoring an unprecedented string of electoral successes[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/social-democrats-win-vote-in-germanys-mecklenburg-west-pomerania-1473006387] for a right-wing populist party in postwar Germany. The party, Alternative for Germany, is on track to win seats in Germany's national parliament in general elections next year.

Anneliese Plisch, who lives nearby the apartment of the 22-year-old Syrian in Chemnitz, told the Journal there are "some migrants there in the blocs, you see them but you don't meet them."

Anton Troianovski contributed to this article.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Markets spent much of Friday playing a game of "who shot the pound?" after a surprise plunge in the value of Britain's currency against the dollar. Investors are guessing about whether an opportunistic hedge fund or a misfiring algorithm set off the selling, but the bigger point is that if the pound hadn't fallen abruptly it might have dropped slowly over the coming weeks after the post-Brexit events of recent days.

The pound had a harrowing Friday, falling as much as 5% before bouncing around and settling down by about 1.4%. That left sterling down 4% for the week, and the decline started as early as Monday after Prime Minister Theresa May's announcement Sunday that she'll start Brexit negotiations with Brussels by the end of March.

This put an end to widespread speculation that Mrs. May would find some way to backtrack, or that parliament or divine intervention would stop Britain's departure from the EU. It says something about modern politics that investors could so cavalierly assume that a democratic outcome in June's referendum would mean nothing, but there it is.

On Monday investors also learned from Chancellor Philip Hammond's speech to the Conservative Party conference that he's ready to treat Brexit as an excuse for a spending binge Britain can't afford. The government is abandoning the goal of a balanced budget by 2020, and it's doing that to allow greater spending on public works and handouts to tech industries, for example, instead of tax cuts and other reforms that would increase growth and attract foreign investors.

On Tuesday Home Secretary Amber Rudd suggested that her vision of post-Brexit Britain is a small country with the **immigrant** drawbridges pulled up, not a bold global power. Business groups widely derided Ms. Rudd's **immigration** plans, which would crack down on student and employment visas to keep foreigners from "taking" jobs from British workers. Investors see the danger for an economy that relies heavily on foreign talent to meet the skills gap in the local work force.

On Wednesday Mrs. May delivered her policy address that was heavy on social democracy and light on the market reforms Britain needs to boost competitiveness. Rather than embracing tax cuts and deregulation, she promised such useless bows to populism as putting workers on corporate boards.

Then on Thursday French President François Hollande piped up to warn that other EU members might insist on a "hard Brexit" that forces Britain out of the common market in addition to the EU. This is the small-minded politics of European vindictiveness. Western leaders should be rising above Brexit by working to keep close economic and defense ties with the U.K. while heeding its warning that European voters want a more accountable politics.

It's possible to read too much into a few days of currency fluctuations, but it's also a mistake to ignore the warning. Some Keynesians will welcome the pound's decline in the name of lifting exports. But Britain is now largely a service economy, and if devaluation is the post-Brexit Tory strategy then Britain is in even bigger trouble than the pound bears think. Mrs. May needs a growth agenda to make Britain a mecca for capital, both human and financial, or this week's currency jitters will get worse.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Europe's leaders sharpened their response to the U.K.'s plans to leave the European Union after British Prime Minister Theresa May adopted a hard line for negotiating the country's exit from the bloc.

The wait-and-see approach that EU leaders have maintained for months melted away this week after Mrs. May on Sunday laid out a timetable for the U.K.'s exit, or Brexit[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/u-k-s-may-plans-to-trigger-article-50-by-end-of-march-1475401597], pledging a crackdown on **immigration** that would effectively end British compliance with a key EU rule: freedom of movement.

Her salvo has emboldened European leaders, including German Chancellor Angela Merkel, who this week warned that London stands to lose access [http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/german-chancellor-angela-merkel-pushes-tough-line-on-brexit-1475763309]to the bloc's single market for goods and services if it reneges on freedom of movement.

"You can't have one foot inside, one outside," Jean-Claude Juncker, head of the EU's executive arm, said Friday. "On this point, we must be intransigent."

Mr. Junker was speaking at a Paris conference on the future of Europe, where French President François Hollande on Thursday evening escalated tensions by saying Britain must be punished for its decision to leave the bloc.

"The U.K. wants to leave but pay nothing. That's not possible," Mr. Hollande said at a conference Thursday evening. "There needs to be a threat, there needs to be a risk, there needs to be a price."

A Downing Street spokesman declined to comment.

The strong rhetoric indicates European governments are bracing for yet another round of brinkmanship after their struggles with Greece.

Officials in Paris and Berlin—the Continent's most powerful capitals—say time is on their side because the bloc's treaties provide a two-year clock for exit negotiations. That means more unity among the remaining 27 member states than in previous crises.

Economies across the Continent would take a hit if Britain crashes out of the bloc, but European officials believe the U.K. economy has much more to lose from a disorderly exit.

"It must be clear that this is not about friendship," one German official said of the looming Brexit talks. "If there is uncertainty, then the British will have much bigger problems than we do."

French and German officials also say the political cost of breaking European rules outweighs the economic cost of disrupted trade with the U.K. European officials want to make it clear rules can't be bent for Britain because it would push other countries to seek special deals, threatening the integrity of the bloc.

"Mrs. May is trying to move people from denial to reality. We are doing the same thing," a French official said.

German officials have avoided Mr. Hollande's talk of punishing the U.K., arguing that the bloc's attractiveness shouldn't be based on the dire consequences of leaving it. Nevertheless, they have made it clear that they see a tough negotiating stance to be in Germany's best interest, in part because the country's exporters depend on uniform rules governing access to the entire European single market.

For Germans, a key rule is the free movement of labor, part of the EU's "four freedoms." Ms. Merkel and other senior officials in Berlin signaled a willingness to strike a deal with the U.K. in the wake of the Brexit vote if London agreed to a liberal migration regime. However, Mrs. May's speech on Sunday, promising a hard line on **immigration**, suggested London wasn't willing to make the compromises necessary to remain part of the single market, according to a German official.

"If we don't say that full access to the internal market is connected to complete acceptance of the four basic principles, then a process will unfold in Europe where everyone does and is allowed to do what they want," Ms. Merkel said Thursday.

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\* German Chancellor Angela Merkel Pushes Tougher Line on Brexit[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/german-chancellor-angela-merkel-pushes-tough-line-on-brexit-1475763309]

\* Sterling's Message: Britain Has Picked Politics Over Economics[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/sterlings-message-britain-has-picked-politics-over-economics-1475860316]

\* U.K. Considering New Restrictions on Non-EU Students, Workers[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/u-k-government-considering-new-restrictions-on-non-eu-students-workers-1475595393]

\* Theresa May Gives Up a Bargaining Chip on Brexit Talks[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/theresa-may-gives-up-a-bargaining-chip-on-brexit-talks-1475789342]

\* London Won't Easily Surrender Role as Euro Clearinghouse, Hammond Says[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/london-wont-easily-surrender-role-as-euro-clearinghouse-hammond-says-1475775427]

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**BERLIN—Germany's economy will expand this year and next as the country overcomes dragging economies in Europe and abroad in Latin America and China, the government said on Friday.

The government raised its forecast for economic growth this year to 1.8%. Last year, the country saw real economic growth of 1.7%, a level that was predicted to hold this year.

"We have an exceptional business environment in Germany," said Vice-Chancellor and Economics Minister Sigmar Gabriel, citing sluggish growth in Germany's trading partners around the world. "Against the background of the **refugee** inflow, that isn't something to take for granted," he added.

For 2017, citing a calendar with fewer business days and mounting uncertainty around the U.K.'s decision to leave the European Union, Germany predicted a more modest expansion with 1.4% growth. In 2018, a growth rate of 1.6% is expected.

"The international economy still isn't running that smoothly," Mr. Gabriel said. "On top of everything is the fallout from the Brexit decision, which can't be predicted in many areas."

Berlin's latest forecast points to strong demand connected with integrating about a million **refugees** that arrived in the country last year, along with low oil prices and a cheap euro exchange rate.

The German government forecasts that export growth will slow to 2.3% this year from 5.2% in 2015, before dropping further to 2.1% in 2017. In 2018, the government said, exports should bounce back with 3.9% growth.

Demand from the domestic economy means imports are expected to rise more slowly than previously thought, at 2.5% in 2016 compared with 5.5% last year. In the coming years imports will improve, the government predicted, in 2017 with 3.0% growth and then at a faster clip in 2018 with a 4.9% growth rate.

The government sees slowing German private consumption with 1.7% this year after 2.0% in 2015, and then 1.4% growth in 2017.

The ministry forecasts the labor market will grow to record levels in the coming years, adding 515,000 jobs this year, and then 420,000 further jobs in 2017. In 2018, Germany will create 340,000 jobs, the government predicted, bringing total employment that year to the record high of 44.3 million.

Unemployment is expected to fall by 100,000 this year. In the next two years, because of the arrival of hundreds of thousands of **refugees**, unemployment will shrink at a slower rate of 30,000 annually.

The government's new forecast remains roughly in line with predictions from other economic institutes.

In a report published last month, a leading German economic think tank IfW raised its growth projections for 2017 last month to an optimistic 2.1%. Germany's industrial lobby BDI raised its growth forecast for this year yesterday for this year to 1.9% from 1.7%.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Six months ago, Secretary of State John Kerry officially designated Islamic State as "responsible for genocide" against Christians, Yazidis and other vulnerable groups in areas under ISIS control in Syria and Iraq. So why has the Obama administration entrusted the survival of these people—and so much valuable American aid—to a troubled office at the United Nations, which, like its parent organization, has never even acknowledged that the genocide exists?

The State Department says it is helping religious minorities who have fled, along with millions of other displaced Syrians and Iraqis, primarily through the U.N. America has sent over half of $5.6[http://m.state.gov/md259622.htm] billion in humanitarian aid earmarked for Syrians since 2012 to the U.N.

Yet the U.N.'s lead agency for aiding **refugees**, the Office of the High Commissioner for **Refugees** (UNHCR), marginalizes Christians and others targeted by ISIS for eradication in two critical programs: **refugee** housing in the region and Syrian **refugee**-resettlement abroad.

For instance, the Obama administration's expanded **refugee** program for Syria depends on **refugee** referrals from the UNHCR. Yet Syria's genocide survivors have been consistently underrepresented. State's database[http://www.wrapsnet.org/Reports/InteractiveReporting/tabid/393/EnumType/Report/Default.aspx?ItemPath=/rpt\_WebArrivalsReports/MX - Arrivals by Nationality and Religion] shows[http://www.wrapsnet.org/Reports/InteractiveReporting/tabid/393/Default.aspx] that of 12,587 Syrian **refugees** admitted to the U.S. in the fiscal year that ended Sept. 30, only 68 were Christians and 24 were members of the Yazidi sect. That means 0.5% were Christians, though they have long accounted for 10% of Syria's population. In 2015, among 1,682 Syrians admitted, there were 30 Christians and no Yazidis.

Asked about these numbers at a Sept. 28 Senate hearing, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State Simon Henshaw asserted that only 1% of Syria's registered **refugees** are Christians. How to square that with the estimate that half a million Syrian Christians—a quarter of that community—have fled, as Syriac Catholic Patriarch Younan warned[http://www.thepublicdiscourse.com/2016/09/17877/] in August.

State Department officials variously speculate that Christians don't want to register for resettlement abroad, or that they are waiting in line behind hundreds of thousands of Sunni Muslims who left Syria earlier.

Yet there is evidence to suggest that the problem lies within UNHCR. Citing reports from many displaced Christians, a January report on Christian **refugees** in Lebanon by the Catholic News Service stated: "Exit options seem hopeless as **refugees** complain that the staff members of the United Nations High Commissioner for **Refugees** are not following up on their cases after an initial interview." This failure could be another example of why the U.N. Internal Audit Division's April 2016/034 report [https://oios.un.org/page?slug=report]reprimanded the UNHCR for "unsatisfactory" management.

At a December press conference in Washington, D.C., I asked the U.N.'s then-high commissioner for **refugees**, António Guterres, to explain the disproportionately low number of Syrian Christians resettled abroad. The replies—from a man poised to be the U.N's next secretary-general—were shocking and illuminating.

Mr. Guterres said that generally Syria's Christians should not be resettled, because they are part of the "DNA of the Middle East." He added that Lebanon's Christian president had asked him not to remove Christian **refugees**. Mr. Guterres thus appeared to be articulating what amounts to a religious-discrimination policy, for political ends.

As for why so few Christians and Yazidis are finding shelter in the UNHCR's regional **refugee** camps, members of these groups typically say they aren't safe. Stephen Rasche, the resettlement official for the Chaldean Catholic Archdiocese in Erbil, Iraq, told Congress last month that in Erbil "there are no Christians who will enter the U.N. camps for fear of violence against them."

The pontifical Aid to the Church in Need and the American Christian Aid Mission wrote in recent emails to me that no Christians dare shelter in the U.N. Zaatari camp in Jordan, which houses 80,000 Syrian **refugees**. As one Syrian Christian who was resettled in the U.S. explained in the Sept. 26 Washington Examiner, after fleeing ISIS in Aleppo, his family was too afraid of "becoming targets of Muslim extremists" to go into Lebanon's camps.

Erbil's archdiocese, which oversees care for 70,000 people displaced by ISIS, including half of Nineveh's Christians, has reported that U.N. aid bypasses them. As Mr. Rasche told Congress in September, "[S]ince August 2014, other than initial supplies of tents and tarps, the Christian community in Iraq has received nothing in aid from any U.S. aid agencies or the U.N." He warned that the community faces extinction without more assistance.

Persecuted groups also found no help from the U.N.-established Independent Commission of Inquiry on Syria in its only report on ISIS genocide. Issued in June, the report[http://www.ohchr.org/Documents/HRBodies/HRCouncil/CoISyria/A\_HRC\_32\_CRP.2\_en.pdf] focused solely on persecuted members of the Yazidi faith. The commission—an influential adviser to the UNHCR—dismissed in a short paragraph the notion that Christians also have been targeted for genocide.

Echoing ISIS propaganda and without citing evidence, the commission report declared that ISIS recognizes their "right to exist as Christians . . . as long as they pay the [Islamic] jizya tax." Not true, according to the Patriarch Younan and the Syriac Orthodox Patriarch Aphrem, who told me in August in Rome that no intact Christian communities or functioning churches remain in the parts of Syria or Iraq under ISIS.

Genocide is the most heinous human-rights violation. For America to entrust the survival of communities on the brink of extinction to a U.N. operation that routinely fails them is the height of cynicism.

The administration should ensure that American aid reaches these displaced minorities, including **refugee** visas for the neediest. Congress can make sure that happens by quickly bringing to a vote the bipartisan Iraq and Syria Genocide Relief and Accountability Act, introduced Sept. 8 by Reps. Chris Smith (R., N.J.) and Anna Eshoo (D., Calif.).

Ms. Shea is the director of Hudson Institute's Center for Religious Freedom.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Seven years ago this week the Norwegian Nobel Committee awarded the Peace Prize to Barack Obama. The decision was greeted with ridicule in the U.S., and it unsettled even supporters of the president, who hadn't finished his first year in office. Still Mr. Obama flew to Oslo and delivered one of his trademark speeches. The philosopher-president was the toast of Europe.

Mr. Obama today almost never mentions the prize, and the Nobel Committee's former secretary has expressed regret [http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-34277960]over the choice. Barack Obama the Nobelist is a bad memory among Europeans, who face more pressing concerns, chief among them a Syrian civil war that has flooded the Continent with more than a million **refugees**.

Yet this Nobel indigestion is unfair to Mr. Obama. On its own terms his prize has been a resounding success. Seven years later the president has achieved the future-tense victories first celebrated in Oslo.

The committee that awarded the prize hoped for an America that would no longer play the hegemon. The Norwegians wanted a U.S. president who would "strengthen international diplomacy and cooperation between peoples," as the Nobel citation put it. A leader who would emphasize "the role that the United Nations and other international institutions can play," whose decisions would track the "attitudes that are shared by the majority of the world's population."

This was the heyday of transnationalism, the philosophy that says all states—strong or weak, free or unfree—must submit to "norms" drawn up by law professors and global organizations such as the U.N. and European Union. The transnationalist view can't tolerate an exceptional nation that imposes its will on others, even with the best intentions.

Mr. Obama was (and remains) a committed transnationalist, and he staffed his foreign-policy team with like-minded thinkers such as the journalist Samantha Power, the Yale Law School dean Harold Koh and the Princeton scholar Anne-Marie Slaughter. At his Nobel lecture in Oslo, Mr. Obama declared[https://www.nobelprize.org/nobel\_prizes/peace/laureates/2009/obama-lecture\_en.html]: "I am convinced that adhering to standards, international standards, strengthens those who do, and isolates and weakens those who don't."

The real-world results are a different matter. They are on display in Aleppo, where the Bashar Assad regime and its Russian and Iranian patrons are close to bringing to heel Syria's last non-Islamic State opposition stronghold. Syrian forces shell houses and drop shrapnel-packed barrels on what remains of the city's civilian buildings. Vladimir Putin's pilots stalk the skies, setting women and children alight with incendiary ordnance.

In Oslo in 2009, Mr. Obama said of situations like the one unfolding in Syria: "Inaction tears at our conscience and can lead to more costly intervention later." How costly?

During Tuesday's vice-presidential debate, Republican Gov. Mike Pence spoke of creating no-fly zones to protect civilians while Democratic Sen. Tim Kaine floated a "humanitarian zone" in Aleppo. The trouble is that the Kremlin this week deployed the SA-23 Gladiator anti-air system to Syria for the first time. The SA-23 can take down aircraft as well as missiles. It is an insurance policy for the Assad regime that will raise the stakes in any future U.S. military action.

With his endless patience for rogues, in other words, Mr. Obama has tied the hands of his successor. Set aside the human misery in Syria. Set aside, too, the destabilizing effects of millions of **refugees** on Syria's neighboring states and Europe. The expansion of Russian and Iranian influence in the Middle East represents a long-term strategic setback for the West.

Mr. Putin's pilots are also increasingly menacing European homelands, with the French Defense Ministry revealing Wednesday that Russian military aircraft last month skirted the airspaces of France, Norway, Spain and the U.K., forcing all four countries to scramble jets. This, too, is the fruit of the humbler Washington the Europeans wished for in 2009.

One question that lingers seven years later: What did the Nobel Committee imagine would follow when America assumed an unexceptional role on the world stage? In the U.S., some thought American retrenchment might spur Europeans to finally take responsibility for securing the Continent's peripheries. This wasn't an unreasonable assumption, but it proved wrong. Europeans remain as parochial as ever.

The Nobel Committee, and the intellectual class whose preferences it reflected, had loftier ideas. In 2009 they thought that, without U.S. "unilateralism," the world could settle enmity and evil the same way the EU resolves disputes over agricultural subsidies. This was when EU boosters like the historian Tony Judt still wrote of the 21st century as a European century—when the rest of the world would embrace the European way of dialogue.

Seven years later the Europeans can barely solve their subsidy disputes, and the Continent has had quite enough of the philosopher-president.

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

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**BERLIN—German Chancellor Angela Merkel signaled a toughening stance on future Brexit talks, warning that the U.K. wouldn't get special treatment after its prime minister said she would prioritize curbing **immigration** [http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/hard-brexit-backers-heartened-by-u-k-prime-minister-theresa-mays-comments-1475518954] in negotiating an exit deal.

Ms. Merkel, speaking Thursday to German business leaders, stressed for a second day in a row that the U.K. wouldn't get full access to the European Union's single market without fully accepting the four basic principles of the bloc—freedom of goods, services, capital and people.

"If we don't say that full access to the internal market is connected to complete acceptance of the four basic principles, then a process will unfold in Europe where everyone does and is allowed to do what they want," she said. "That would be extraordinarily complicated."

Fearing that other countries would step forward with their own demands, European leaders have stressed[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/uks-theresa-may-talks-brexit-with-eus-donald-tusk-1473325926] that the U.K. must respect the principles if it wants to keep full access to trading without restrictions or tariffs.

Ms. Merkel's warning signals that Germany is unwilling to make big concessions although it is one of the most sympathetic EU members toward the U.K. "We have to make sure our interests are coherent here so that we won't be put under pressure constantly via European industry associations to, in the end, allow full access to the internal market even if all freedoms aren't respected," she said, to loud applause.

She also repeated her warning that there wouldn't be any talks with the U.K. over its exit before the formal process had begun. U.K. Prime Minister Theresa May this past weekend had said she would trigger the official mechanism [http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/brexit-what-is-article-50-1475410524]for transitioning out of the bloc by the end of March[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/u-k-s-may-plans-to-trigger-article-50-by-end-of-march-1475401597].

Germany has a lot at stake. The U.K. is Germany's third-largest export market after the U.S. and France, official statistics show. It exports roughly twice as much to Britain as it imports from the U.K.

Senior German officials had hinted that the U.K. might be granted generous access to the single market if it made concessions on free movement. But that was before Mrs. May made clear that limiting **immigration** would be her priority, a move that likely closes off that possibility.

German Economics Minister Sigmar Gabriel joined Ms. Merkel in saying the EU shouldn't give in to the U.K.'s demands. Such a move, he warned, would effectively result in "selling-out Europe."

"There are people who say ‘Let's organize Europe in a way to allow remaining a member of free trade," he said, speaking after Ms. Merkel. "If we started this with the British people, then Poland or others would follow suit tomorrow. Then the European Union is over."

The minister, however, also struck a conciliatory tone, arguing that the EU shouldn't be overly harsh in negotiations and urging a deal that allowed Britain to keep close ties to the EU.

"We must accept that the British people have decided [to leave]. But our anger about this or perhaps the unwillingness to deal with the country, with the political leadership, mustn't go so far that we no longer do everything in our power to keep the British people as close to Europe as possible," he warned.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**BERLIN—German Chancellor Angela Merkel is stepping up her efforts to stem migration to Europe at the source, flying to Africa this weekend and working to convince Germans that better conditions in developing countries are in their own interests.

In a three-day swing through Mali, Niger, and Ethiopia starting Sunday, Ms. Merkel will discuss German development aid and ways to prevent young Africans from attempting the perilous land-and-sea journey to Europe[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/african-migrants-hit-a-wall-in-morocco-on-way-to-europe-1446508748]. After she returns, she will meet the presidents of Chad and Nigeria in Berlin next week.

The flurry of diplomacy underscores how deeply the **refugee** crisis is affecting the foreign policy of the European Union's most populous country. While German exporters have long done business all over the world, Berlin's influence in Africa has been minuscule compared with former colonial powers such as France and Britain.

Now Ms. Merkel is trying to convince Germans that the **refugee** crisis should change that. In Africa, she argues, Germany needs to spend more on development aid as stubborn poverty and the spread of the Internet combine to push more people to make their way to Europe. Berlin and Brussels are also pushing countries to take back migrants who made it to Europe and had their asylum applications rejected.

"I am convinced that our security, our life in peace and our sustainable development is connected with the living situation of people who live far away from us," Ms. Merkel said in an interview in the newspaper Die Zeit published Thursday. "The more people in the world know about us, the more we must deal with them."

Ms. Merkel's Africa push is also part of a broader European effort[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/european-african-leaders-seek-compromise-on-migrants-1447268698] to strike deals with developing countries aimed at stemming, or reversing, migration. While European leaders say such agreements are necessary to stop migrants from making the sea crossing in the first place, critics say deals with often authoritarian regimes undermine the EU's commitment to human rights.

International leaders gathered in Brussels on Wednesday committed around $3 billion in development aid a year for Afghanistan[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/afghanistan-set-for-3-billion-in-development-aid-amid-taliban-offensive-1475660819], a pledge European officials say is critical to encouraging Afghans to stay home. On Sunday, the EU and Afghanistan reached a deal on migration aimed at making it easier for Europe to deport rejected asylum seekers. The agreement even floats the possibility of building a specific terminal at Kabul airport to deal with returnees.

"People in Afghanistan are not safe," lawmaker Uwe Kekeritz of the opposition Greens in German parliament said of the deal. "To return **refugees** there is simply irresponsible."

The EU already has legal agreements governing deportations with 17 countries. It is negotiating such deals with Morocco and Belarus, and is preparing for talks with several other countries, including Algeria and Tunisia.

Ms. Merkel has earned criticism at home and abroad for the deal she brokered with Turkey[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/turkey-european-union-look-to-strike-deal-on-migration-crisis-1458292486] earlier this year to stem the tide of **refugees** from Syria and elsewhere crossing the Aegean Sea to Greece. But she has continued to defend it, saying that only such an agreement—rather than a unilateral closing of European country borders—could sustainably prevent mass migration into Europe.

On her Africa tour, her first multiday trip to Africa since 2011, Ms. Merkel will visit Niger, which German officials say is the most important hub for Africans seeking to make it to the Libyan coast and on to Europe. German government officials are drawing up plans for development projects there including vocational training and infrastructure. Ms. Merkel noted in a speech last week that Niger's population has an average age of 15.2 years, compared with 44.9 years in Germany.

"We must give these countries hope for the future," Ms. Merkel said. "We must also push them to adopt better governance."

In a speech to German businesspeople Wednesday, Ms. Merkel urged them, too, to invest in Africa.

"Let me encourage all of you to show more openness in the direction of this continent," she said of Africa. "Especially since the population in Europe's neighboring continent is expected to double in the next 35 years."

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**BRUSSELS—The European Union launched a new border and coast guard agency on Thursday, aimed at protecting the bloc's external borders from uncontrolled migration and security risks.

The European Border and Coast Guard Agency should, over the next few months, have at its disposal a pool of 1,500 border guard officers who can be sent within few days to any external border of the EU struggling to cope with incoming migrants.

But the agency faces immediate challenges given its dependence on national governments to provide guards and equipment and the patchy border infrastructure. EU governments proved very slow in delivering on their pledges to the agency's predecessor, Frontex.

"Everyone must join in and implement is as soon as possible. We have no time to lose," said EU migration commissioner Dimitris Avramopoulos during a news conference in Bulgaria marking the launch of the new agency.

The agency, which also includes a naval component currently active off the coast of Italy and Greece, will continue to engage in search and rescue missions at sea. "Right now we have more than 550 officers and 18 vessels deployed in Italy. The new mandate will help us beef up existing support," said Fabrice Leggeri, the new agency's chief.

The agency will be allowed to carry out border patrolling operations in countries neighboring the EU, such as the Balkan countries which were on the main route for migrants last year.

The agency's staff will be able to carry out identity checks and have access to the so-called Schengen Information System—a database covering wanted criminals, suspected terrorists, stolen passports and license plates.

Until now, that database was only available to authorities in Greece, Hungary, Slovenia and Austria.

All the other countries in the region—either because they are non-EU members (Turkey, Macedonia, Serbia, Kosovo, Bosnia, Albania) or because they have joined the EU but not the border-free Schengen area (Croatia, Bulgaria, Romania and Cyprus)—aren't able to carry out on-the-spot checks of incoming migrants against the Schengen database. Suspects' personal data can be forwarded to Europol, the bloc's police agency, and to national authorities, but the response will take time, increasing the risk of a suspect disappearing.

The new agency will be able to organize return flights for migrants denied asylum in Europe, for instance to Afghanistan where the government has recently agreed to speed up efforts to take back Afghans[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/eu-publishes-agreement-to-speed-return-of-afghan-migrants-refused-asylum-1475615791] who weren't granted **refugee** status. Afghans are the second-largest national group of asylum seekers[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/eu-publishes-agreement-to-speed-return-of-afghan-migrants-refused-asylum-1475615791] in Europe, according to Eurostat, the bloc's statistics office.

The EU can't send back migrants denied asylum unless the home country agrees to take them back and issues travel documents for each individual.

Mr. Avramopoulos said that "not just Afghanistan, Pakistan too promised a lot and delivered less," but expressed hope that, this time, commitments will be honored. He added that the bloc is in similar talks with African countries. "We are the main donors for these countries, but we are asking them to do more to keep their nationals in their countries," he said.

The agency's budget is set to increase over the coming years, from €238 million this year to €281 million in 2017 and €322 million in 2020. Its staff will increase from 417 this year to 1,000 by 2020. Non-EU countries Switzerland, Norway and Iceland, which are part of the border-free Schengen area, also contribute with funds and staff.

The Frontex expansion was proposed last December as thousands of migrants were still arriving daily in Greece from neighboring Turkey. Unlike the EU plan to redistribute asylum seekers more evenly across the bloc, which faced steep resistance in central and Eastern European states, the border agency was quickly approved by governments and EU institutions, as countries agreed on the need to secure the external borders.

"There's no better place to live than in the EU, that's why all the migration flows are headed to Europe," said Bulgarian Prime Minister Boyko Borisov, who hosted the launch of the agency at the Bulgarian-Turkish border.

The EU stands no chance to protect its "millions of kilometers of border" unless the war in Syria comes to an end, he said.

Meanwhile, he said it was crucial to keep good relations with Turkey[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/eu-far-from-satisfied-with-turkish-migrant-cooperation-1452181354], a country that hosts nearly 3 million Syrian **refugees**.

"I know how trendy it is to speak against Muslims, to speak about nationalism, but we need to be strategic partners with Turkey, with Jordan," Mr. Borisov said.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**LONDON—When Japan's Daiwa Securities Group Inc. heard the British prime minister pledge on Sunday to prioritize controlling **immigration**[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/u-k-prime-minister-theresa-may-appeals-to-working-class-voters-at-conservative-party-conference-1475672599] in the coming Brexit negotiations, it didn't wait to act.

The next day, staff accelerated contingency planning for the bank's London investment banking unit and began to contact other European cities, according to a person familiar with the matter. While Daiwa doesn't have a definite plan yet, it could involve relocating some operations to the Continent, and recent events are adding to the pressure.

For the U.K.'s financial sector, Brexit is getting real[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/u-k-financial-firms-seek-reassurance-after-brexit-vote-1473266315]. By the end of March negotiations are due to start, and British-based banks are scrambling to finesse plans for life after the European Union.

So far pleading from banks to retain access to the EU has proved a tough sell, bank executives and their advisers say. Access to Prime Minister Theresa May "has been pretty much zero," says one person advising several lenders on their Brexit plans. Some executives expressed dismay that Ms. May recently visited New York to talk to Wall Street executives but hadn't yet met some British lenders. On Thursday, Chancellor of the Exchequer Philip Hammond also traveled to New York with the intention of reassuring banks he will try to negotiate good access to the EU.

Nevertheless, the prospect of a "hard" Brexit[http://www.marketwatch.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/story/uk-banks-will-lose-key-passporting-rights-in-event-of-hard-brexit-weidmann-warns-2016-09-19], in which the U.K. cuts trade links with the bloc in return for control over its borders, looms over the sector. "It looks increasingly not ‘if' but ‘when' banks are going to have to trigger contingency plans," says Stephen Adams a partner at consultancy Global Counsel.

Many banks are already working on the basis that the financial services industry is going to get a rough ride[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/no-quick-fix-to-city-of-londons-brexit-conundrum-1475104871]. Morgan Stanley, for instance, is crafting plans on the basis of a worst-case scenario of a breakaway from the EU, according to a person familiar with the plan.

Even British-focused banks are getting sucked in. Executives at U.K. retail bank Lloyds Banking Group PLC are considering ways to create a subsidiary in Europe, mainly to access payment systems there and be able to write business in the continent, according to a person familiar with the matter.

Banks fear two things from Brexit: not being able to seamlessly sell their services across the EU and the impact of potential U.K. **immigration** restrictions on their international workforces. Details on the government's position on both topics remain vague.

The Brexit negotiations are expected to last two years. Ideally banks then want a treaty to be struck between the EU and the U.K. that allows them to continue to sell products across the continent in return for adhering to similar regulations. Also on the wish list: a long transition period to allow companies several years to adjust their business models to any changes.

A vast financial lobbying machine has creaked into action, with trade groups churning out research papers on the impact of Brexit on the finance industry and the British economy. On Wednesday The CityUK, a business group, warned that up to 75,000 jobs could go if the U.K. fails to negotiate access to the EU. If the status quo is broadly maintained this could be as low as 3,000, the research says.

But politicians are wary to be seen pandering to the scandal-scarred finance industry, analysts say.

Tactics for pulling on political heartstrings vary. Some lobby groups want to stress London's role facilitating funding for small and medium-size businesses across the EU. Others want to emphasize the impact of a "hard" Brexit on financial stability.

Dealing with the government's desire to curb **immigration** is also forcing some lobbyists to unusual lengths. The City of London Corporation is pushing a plan to soften the impact of any **immigration** quotas on the British capital. A "London Visa" would help EU citizens find jobs in city, but not outside it, officials say. It is unclear where London would technically extend to or how this would be policed.

Meanwhile, for lenders the clock is ticking. The day the Brexit negotiations begin then banks have to decide on whether to press the button on their contingency plans, says Simon Gleeson a partner at law firm Clifford Chance. Shifting operations abroad could take years. "And the last man out of the door looks like a loser," he says.

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Brexit Newsletter

\* Sign up to get the latest news and analysis of Britain's transition out of the EU.[http:///wsj.com/Brexit]

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**When the United Kingdom leaves the European Union, the country will regain control over its borders. But it's how Britain manages that control, including the inflow of **immigrants**, that will set the scene for its business and entrepreneurial success.

The U.K. is a scientific superpower, and this is a benefit for jobs and growth. Brexit success must mean protecting this superpower status, by carefully designing border controls to attract "the brightest and best," as Home Secretary Amber Rudd put it at this week's Conservative Party conference. For Britain to be a truly global leader, it must be the preferred destination for the scientists, technologists and entrepreneurs who drive economic vitality.

As a recent arrival to the U.K. from the U.S., I am often asked how Britain can be as entrepreneurial as America, with its larger pools of venture capital, incubators and start-ups. To which I reply that if the U.K. wants entrepreneurs and start-ups to thrive, it needs to welcome more entrepreneurial **immigrants** and give them the freedom to innovate.

At the Massachusetts Institute of Technology a decade ago, our international students were overrepresented in the university patents we held because, I believe, they are natural risk takers, self-selected by their courage and determination to travel far away from home for their studies. This is borne out by the great tech leaders, such as Francis deSouza, Andy Grove and Elon Musk, who were once foreign students themselves.

Studies have shown that[http://wdp.wharton.upenn.edu/book/the-immigrant-exodus/] from 1995 to 2005 more than half of Silicon Valley's tech companies had one or more **immigrant** founders, and that **immigrants** started nearly half of America's top 50 venture-capital-funded companies.

Foreigners improve the creativity and productivity of home-grown talent, too. The head of an investment house recently told me that he attributes his firm's enhanced growth rate in Australia over its U.K. branch to the former's greater international diversity among its staff.

At Imperial College London, we value our thousands of international students, not least for their entrepreneurial spirit and vibrancy. International students in science and technology who stay beyond their studies create more jobs than they take and contribute more to the economy than they consume. We have a real opportunity to ensure that this economic engine flourishes in the U.K.

Of course, the difficulties faced by students, visitors and employees in the U.S. are well known. I am often embarrassed at how some of the world's most eminent scientists are treated at America's borders.

But there's one component of U.S. visa policy that Britain could emulate and surpass to attract talented entrepreneurial students. In the U.S., students graduating from university can apply to stay an additional year to work, study, join or start a new company. By contrast, the U.K. gains in the short term from the high fees that foreign students pay, but loses out in the long run by sending them home right after they graduate.

The U.K. does offer a graduate entrepreneur visa for students involved with new enterprises, typically as founders. But, to receive these visas, which last up to two years, they must first demonstrate that their ventures are beneficial to the British economy. Under better circumstances, this program could be an effective lure for entrepreneurial students, but approval is difficult to obtain and the application process is overly bureaucratic. Imperial has sponsored around 20 such entrepreneurs since 2012, when this visa was introduced. We are now collaborating with the Home Office on a pilot scheme that would allow students who win places on our one-year Master's programs to access a streamlined visa process and stay on in the U.K. for six months after they complete their degree.

Initiatives such as these make a tremendous difference in the global competition for talent, and they work. Imperial's recipients of the graduate entrepreneur visa include Chris Amarasinghe, who started Mesh Power with his fellow students to provide solar microgrid electricity in rural Africa. Alireza Tahmasebzadeh's company, Blocks Wearables, is now successfully selling a modular smartwatch. If the U.K. wants to create more such start-ups, expanding and streamlining the graduate-entrepreneur visa would be a good place to begin.

Britain must not let Brexit be misinterpreted as a closing of the country's doors. We must overcome this impression among bright entrepreneurial people, seize the opportunities and make the U.K. a destination for foreign talent.

Ms. Gast is the president of Imperial College London.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Matthew Strengthens as It Heads Toward Florida[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/hurricane-matthew-strengthens-as-it-heads-toward-florida-1475753588]

People walk on a street next to destroyed houses after Hurricane Matthew hit Jeremie, Haiti.

A woman walks on a highway blocked by rocks on the coast of Guantanamo Province, Cuba.

James Bahr, 64, loads plywood intended to protect his house onto a pickup truck at a Home Depot in Daytona Beach, Fla.

Rescue workers run through a washed-out road after on the island of Exuma, Bahama.

Hurricane Matthew gathered strength after moving through the Bahamas.

People walk along the beach before the arrival of Hurricane Matthew in Miami Beach, Fla.

A woman cried amid the rubble of her home, which was destroyed by Hurricane Matthew, in Baracoa, Cuba, on Wednesday. The hurricane rolled across the sparsely populated tip of Cuba overnight, destroying dozens of homes in Cuba's easternmost city.

A Jacksonville, Fla., resident collects sand in a bag to use for flood protection at his house ahead of Hurricane Matthew's arrival.

Rain falls as Hurricane Matthew passes over the Les Cayes region in Haiti.

Shoppers crowded the entrance to a Costco store in Altamonte Springs, Fla., as central Floridians stocked up on supplies ahead of the arrival of Hurricane Matthew on Wednesday.

Royal Bahamas Defence Force vessels take **refuge** from Hurricane Matthew on Wednesday at the U.S. Navy's Truman Harbor pier in Key West, Fla.

A boy hauls clean water in Leogane, south of Port-au-Prince, Haiti.

The flooded neighborhood of La Puya, in Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic.

Civil protection workers evacuate residents from the Grise river area of Tabarre, Haiti.

Motorists crowd a gas station in Mount Pleasant, S.C. Hurricane Matthew is expected to affect the state's coast by the weekend.

The shore in Baracoa, Cuba, as Hurricane Matthew approached. The hurricane made landfall in western Haiti, causing mudslides and flooding.

**Refugees** take shelter at Peru School after their homes were damaged by rain from Hurricane Matthew in Port-au-Prince. The hurricane made landfall in southwestern Haiti Tuesday morning as a powerful category 4 storm, U.S. weather forecasters said.

People cross a bridge as Hurricane Matthew passes over Port-au-Prince, Haiti.

Residents examine damage after strong waves hit the coast at Siboney, Cuba, before the arrival of Hurricane Matthew.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**SAN FRANCISCO—Democrats here are assured victory in the November election to replace outgoing U.S. Sen. Barbara Boxer because the contest features two Democrats—a first under the state's new election system which sends the top two primary vote-getters to the general election, regardless of party affiliation.

But as the state's Democratic establishment has lined up to support one candidate, Kamala D. Harris, the state's attorney general, against her challenger, U.S. Rep. Loretta Sanchez, the campaign has divided the party in ways experts say could grow more pronounced in future contests.

"Right around the corner is the governor's race, in which as many as half a dozen prominent state party leaders are looking at the same seat," said Dan Schnur, director of the University of Southern California's Unruh Institute of Politics, and an independent candidate for California secretary of state in 2014. "It is hard to imagine a situation in where that primary doesn't lead to more lasting divisions."

On Thursday when the state's two Democratic U.S. Senators, Barbara Boxer and Dianne Feinstein, stepped off the sidelines and endorsed Ms. Harris over Ms. Sanchez.

"I said at the start of the race between Attorney General Kamala Harris and Congresswoman Loretta Sanchez that they were both my friends and supporters. Therefore, I have stayed neutral," said Ms. Boxer. "However, I also said that if differences developed that indicate that one candidate emerges as the progressive choice that I would endorse the individual. That day has come."

Ms. Boxer, who is vacating her seat after 24 years, said she chose Ms. Harris because "California deserves a continuation of clear progressive leadership in the U.S. Senate" with an emphasis on rights for women, **immigrants**, and environmental causes. Ms. Harris "shares those values with me," Ms. Boxer said.

Ms. Feinstein said that the attorney general had been a "consistent voice of unity and optimism at a time when too many political leaders have tried to divide our communities along racial and religious lines."

The endorsements help solidify Ms. Harris' status as the Democratic establishment's favorite.

She has also received the endorsements of President Barack Obama and Vice President Joe Biden in July.

In a debate Wednesday night, the two Democrats repeatedly attacking each other's records and sparring over criminal-justice reform, for-profit colleges, water policy and foreign affairs.

Ms. Sanchez has raised the issue of contributions Republican Donald Trump made to Ms. Harris' attorney general campaign[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/donald-trump-often-made-donations-to-state-attorneys-general-reviewing-his-business-1475689963?mod=trending\_now\_4] in 2014, saying they were questionable, given that Ms. Harris was state attorney, and California consumers had filed a federal lawsuit against Trump University in 2010.

A spokesman for Ms. Harris said she donated the contributions to a charity that helps **immigrants** in July 2015, shortly after Mr. Trump's controversial announcement for president. The campaign has said Ms. Harris has been a leader cracking down on for-profit colleges in the state, and has attacked Ms. Sanchez' efforts in Congress to support the industry.

The California Democratic Party, which has endorsed Ms. Harris, has spent more than $500,000 on Ms. Harris' campaign efforts. Michael Soller, a spokesman for the California Democrats, said the party wouldn't rule out negative campaigning against Ms. Sanchez.

That prompted outrage from those supporting Ms. Sanchez. California Democrat Rep. Janice Hahn said the party should be focused on combating Republicans.

"It is outrageous that the California Democratic Party has spent over half a million dollars to defeat Democrat Loretta Sanchez and is planning to spend more in the next few weeks when there are contested races against Republicans across the state," she said. "There is absolutely no justification to attack Loretta Sanchez when the Party itself has endorsed her in past elections and the U.S. Senate seat is guaranteed to remain Democratic."

Rep. Lucille Roybal-Allard, another California Democrat, said: "Many who contributed to the state Party would not agree that their contribution would go to attack a fellow Democrat."

Ms. Sanchez has won the endorsements of more than a dozen U.S. representatives from California and a dozen state legislators, according to her website.

Democratic consultant Bill Carrick, a longtime campaign aid for Ms. Feinstein currently serving as a senior strategist for Ms. Sanchez, said that while primaries often pit Democrats against each other in the state, the general election with two Democrats seeking a statewide office was new ground.

"Everyone is trying to figure out what role they should play in terms of who they are supporting, and who they are not supporting, and even reaching out beyond the party base to Independents or Republicans," he said. "This is all a brand new process and everybody is trying to move through it."

Ms. Sanchez is a 10-term congresswoman who has prevailed as a Democrat in the traditionally conservative Orange County. She has sought to appeal to the state's independents and Republicans this election. Notably, she has gained support from Rep. Darrell Issa, a powerful Republican congressman.

All of the general election endorsements are unusual given the nature of the California's open primary system sends the top two vote-getters to the general election, regardless of party. No major Republican candidate emerged during this year's primary, meaning two minority women of the same party are seeking to fill the seat in November.

Ms. Harris is the daughter of Indian and Jamaican **immigrants**. Ms. Sanchez could be one of the first Latinas elected to the U.S. Senate. Catherine Cortez Masto, the Democrat running for U.S. Senate in Nevada to fill Sen. Harry Reid's seat, is also Latina.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**UNITED NATIONS—The Security Council voted formally to name Portugal's Antonio Guterres the world body's next secretary general Thursday, and the presumptive incoming leader said that "swift decisions" were needed for a troubled world.

Security Council diplomats broke into applause after adopting a resolution naming the new secretary general, their cheering as much for a rare feat of unity as it was to welcome Mr. Guterres.

Mr. Guterres, 67, spoke at Portugal's Foreign Ministry on Thursday, in his first comments since his selection appeared assured a day earlier [http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/u-n-security-council-chooses-antonio-guterres-as-secretary-general-1475692334]in a straw poll by the Security Council. Once approved by the full UN General Assembly, as is expected, he would take over for Secretary General Ban Ki-moon Jan. 1.

He said he felt gratitude for the Council's unanimous confidence in him and humility at the prospect of serving the world's most vulnerable populations.

"I sincerely hope that that was symbolic and displays an increased ability on the part of the Security Council to—through unity and consensus—be able to take the swift decisions which the troubled world we live in demands," Mr. Guterres said in Lisbon.

Mr. Guterres's brief statement was broadcast live on television and on his personal website. He avoided stating his agenda, deferring to Mr. Ban, and made his remarks in Portuguese, English, French and Spanish, demonstrating his linguistic skills as the world's next top diplomat.

Mr. Guterres is a well-known and popular figure around the UN and in global diplomacy. He served as Portugal's prime minister and the head of UN's **refugee**agency, where he gained a reputation for strong leadership as well as a willingness to compromise.

Russia's ambassador to the UN, Vitaly Churkin, praised Mr. Guterres Thursday as someone who "talks to everybody and listens to everybody," and "speaks his mind." He added that Mr. Guterres also had very open and outgoing personality and was well traveled.

When he takes over the UN, his first work order will be naming a deputy and appointing heads to various UN agencies. Some diplomats said that the post of deputy Secretary General could go to a woman to appease criticism that women didn't fare well in the race for the top UN job even though seven out of 12 candidates were female. Russia has openly said that it wants better representation at the top tier of UN hierarchy. FOR ITSELF or WOMEN?

During his campaign for the job, Mr. Gutteres said improving gender balance in top posts at the UN and focusing on **refugees**, human rights and peacekeeping around the world would be among his top priorities.

In addition to tackling global challenges from the war in Syria to North Korea's nuclear program, Mr. Guterres will have to address calls for reform at the UN. The organization has lost some of its credibility because of its inability to act quickly and effectively to resolve conflicts and crisis.

France's Ambassador François Delattre said at stake was "the ability of the UN to help frame a multi-polar world that must be based on partnership and not rivalry."

Carla Canivete in Lisbon contributed to this article.

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Related

\* U.N. Security Council Chooses António Guterres as Secretary-General [http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/u-n-security-council-chooses-antonio-guterres-as-secretary-general-1475692334](Oct. 5, 2016)

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Britain needs to go big if its divorce from the European Union is to be a success, and that means bigger than the agenda Prime Minister Theresa May laid out at her party's annual conference Wednesday. Mrs. May's policy speech was a political balancing act, but she and the Tories will need to do more to deliver greater economic growth that's the only long-term strategy for a newly independent Britain.

Large parts of Mrs. May's speech are reminiscent of her predecessor David Cameron's "Tory modernization" program, though more credible coming from a leader with middle-class roots. Rather than position the Conservatives as a free-market party in the Margaret Thatcher mold, Mrs. May promises voters to deliver on "the good that government can do," and by rejecting the "ideological templates provided by the socialist left and the libertarian right." Instead, she offers a government that "steps up—and not back—to act on behalf of us all."

Mrs. May is trying to occupy the political center abandoned by unreconstructed socialist Jeremy Corbyn's opposition Labour Party. The idea is to recognize that Mr. Cameron's economic recovery, for all its successes, had serious shortcomings, especially with policies such as increasing the consumption tax and boosting green energy that shifted the costs of economic adjustment onto the middle class.

Yet to make good on her promises Mrs. May will have to deliver rising real incomes. That requires a growing GDP and not merely a supposedly better distribution of the wealth Britain already has.

On that score Mrs. May's speech was a succession of missed opportunities to speak up for free enterprise. The government, she promised, will take the lead in building more houses to relieve pressure on property prices. The government will deliver rural broadband. The government will require that workers sit on corporate boards. The government will spot promising new industries and "do everything we can to encourage, develop and support them."

No wonder she felt compelled to reassure listeners that "the Conservative Party will always believe in free markets."

The other worrying trend is the Tories' political overreaction on **immigration**. Home Secretary Amber Rudd spent the bulk of her speech Tuesday promising new crackdowns on **immigrants**. She would require landlords to verify the **immigration** status of tenants. Banks would have to double check the visas of their customers. Fewer schools would be allowed to sponsor student visas. Companies would even have to state publicly how many foreigners they employ, the better to shame firms that hire too many.

The government says it's responding to the will of voters, and Mrs. May is right that **immigration** skeptics have been unfairly branded as "parochial" by metropolitan elites. The British have reasonable worries about cultural assimilation in an era of homegrown terrorism, about scarce housing and about public services such as education and Britain's government-run health-care system.

But Britain needs as much talent as it can get, and it's hard to argue the country is overrun when record numbers of Brits are working and the unemployment rate, at 4.9%, is unusually low for the developed world. Suffocating British companies with a skills shortage isn't going to deliver the growth Mrs. May needs. She's also missing another opportunity to offer solutions—such as public-service reform and a greater emphasis on assimilating **immigrants**—that would boost growth and be consistent with Tory principles.

Mrs. May has shown she understands the power of freedom and markets to improve Britain. Her education reforms hinge on offering parents more choices, including more, and more varied, school options. Her trade secretary, Liam Fox, last week delivered an eloquent defense of free trade as a path to prosperity, quoting Adam Smith and Britain's many positive experiences with liberalization.

The reluctance to apply those lessons to the rest of the economy is a mystery and a potential political liability. Mrs. May and the Tories need to deliver on the promise that Brexit would create a more vibrant Britain, and voters will hold them accountable if they don't. Embracing Thatcher's respect for entrepreneurship still is the best Tory strategy.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**UNITED NATIONS—The Security Council said it has unanimously picked Portugal's António Guterres as the next secretary-general of the United Nations.

Wednesday's announcement came after months of deliberations in which Mr. Guterres, the 67-year-old former head of U.N.'s **refugee** organization, emerged as a leading candidate[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/straw-poll-puts-portuguese-ex-premier-at-front-of-u-n-leadership-race-1469145706] in all of the Security Council's straw polls.

Despite Mr. Guterres being the favored candidate of U.S. and European Security Council members, the members' rapid coalescence around his candidacy came as something of a surprise.

Russia, one of the council's five members with veto power, was considered the wild card in the selection process after earlier indicating it preferred the U.N.'s top job go to an Eastern European for the first time. There was also considerable pressure for naming the first woman to the post.

"Today after six straw polls we have a clear favorite, and his name is António Guterres," said Russia's ambassador to the U.N., Vitaly Churkin, who spoke as the president of the Security Council this month. He said the council wished Mr. Guterres well in the next five years as the secretary-general.

Mr. Guterres, who was prime minister of Portugal for seven years before his 10-year stint as U.N. High Commissioner for **Refugees**, appears to fulfill the criteria diplomats have set forth for leading the U.N. during taxing times: strong character, charisma, and an ability to mobilize and inspire world leaders.

Diplomats also said they hoped Mr. Guterres's experience in top posts both in government and the U.N. would help him restore some of the agency's lost credibility.

"In the end, there was just a candidate whose experience, vision and versatility across a range of areas proved compelling," said Samantha Power, the U.S. ambassador to the U.N. "And it was remarkably uncontentious, uncontroversial."

The U.K. Ambassador to the U.N., Matthew Rycroft, said Mr. Guterres "will make a very strong, effective secretary-general of the United Nations at a crucial time for the world and for this organization."

Mr. Guterres's term will begin Jan. 1, upon the expiration of current Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon's term. During Mr. Ban's 10-year tenure, the U.N. has been criticized for its inability to resolve major conflicts such as Syria and Yemen and to resolve the **refugee** crisis.

Mr. Guterres had informal hearings with member states in July in which he answered questions and delivered his vision of running the U.N.

The straw poll Wednesday was the first in which the 15 members of the Security Council cast colored ballots that differentiated the five permanent veto-holding members from the 10 rotating ones. Mr. Guterres drew no veto votes and therefore emerged as the winner.

David Damiao, a spokesman for Mr. Guterres, said he wouldn't make any public statements until after a formal vote on his selection, which the Security Council will hold on Thursday. It will then recommend Mr. Guterres's candidacy to the 193-member General Assembly for approval.

In Lisbon, Prime Minister António Costa voiced "great satisfaction" over the U.N.'s choice of his friend and fellow Socialist elder statesman, who led Portugal's government from 1995 to 2002.

"I am proud as a Portuguese, and I think it brings prestige to the U.N.," Mr. Costa told journalists in the Portuguese capital. "It all indicates that they'll have the right person in the right place."

The U.N. director at international nongovernmental organization Human Rights Watch also praised the selection of Mr. Guterres as secretary-general.

"With António Guterres, the Security Council has chosen an outspoken and effective advocate for **refugees** with the potential to strike a radically new tone on human rights at a time of great challenges," Louis Charbonneau said. "Ultimately, the next U.N. secretary-general will be judged on his ability to stand up to the very powers that just selected him, whether on Syria, Yemen, South Sudan, the **refugee** crisis, climate change or any other problem that comes his way."

In a neighborhood cafe on the outskirts of Lisbon, the television newscast about Mr. Guterres took center stage as the owner surfed channels to make sure her clients got as much of the news as possible.

Customers took it all in with pride, relieved that this bit of international news about Portugal wasn't about the country's precarious financial condition. The country is struggling with high debt and slowing growth two years after leaving a €78 billion ($87.49 billion) bailout program overseen by the International Monetary Fund and the European Union.

"It's hard to lift your head when you only get bad news one after the other," said Manuel Fonseca, 62. "We need something to cheer us up as a country and this might help."

Carla Canivete in Lisbon contributed to this article.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**BIRMINGHAM, England—U.K. Prime Minister Theresa May positioned her Conservative Party as a champion for the working class and criticized establishment politicians as brushing aside Britons' concerns about increasing levels of **immigration**.

In a Wednesday speech that capped the party's annual fall conference, she said she would bring change to the U.K. by steering it out of the European Union[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/brexit-vote-stunned-britons-awake-to-a-new-era-for-u-k-1466768937], by focusing on those who felt left behind by globalization and by holding business executives who exploited the system to account.

"Just listen to the way a lot of politicians and commentators talk about the public," Mrs. May said. "They find their patriotism distasteful, their concerns about **immigration** parochial, their views about crime illiberal, their attachment to their job security inconvenient. They find the fact that more than 17 million people voted to leave the European Union simply bewildering."

She reiterated that she would prioritize curbing **immigration** as she negotiated Britain's exit from the EU[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/u-k-s-may-plans-to-trigger-article-50-by-end-of-march-1475401597], an approach that will likely mean a more turbulent move out of the bloc.

Mrs. May, who succeeded David Cameron in July, faces a country deeply divided by the referendum, in which Britons voted 52% to 48% to leave the EU. She must also navigate the complex task of unraveling the U.K.'s 43-year relationship with the bloc.

The U.K. economy appears to have proved more resilient in the immediate aftermath of the vote than economists predicted, but many economists expect growth to slow next year as uncertainty around the impact of Brexit weighs on spending and investment.

The British pound continued to slump[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/pound-drops-to-31-year-low-against-dollar-on-brexit-concerns-1475566159], touching fresh 31-year lows against the dollar and a new five-year low against the euro. Trading at just over $1.27 on Wednesday, the pound was down from above $1.30 last week. The decline was sparked by Mrs. May's Sunday address at the conference in which she signaled **immigration** policy would be a higher priority than staying a member of the bloc's free trade zone.

Mrs. May's approach to Brexit has pleased her party's more euroskeptic lawmakers[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/hard-brexit-backers-heartened-by-u-k-prime-minister-theresa-mays-comments-1475518954]. But other politicians say the approach could hurt Britain's economy because EU leaders have said the U.K. can only continue to have unfettered access to Europe's single market, a major destination for U.K. exports, if it agrees to the bloc's freedom-of-movement principle.

Mrs. May opened her speech on Wednesday on a light note, joking about Foreign Secretary Boris Johnson, who is known for his tendency to make colorful jokes and improvise during speeches.

"Do we have a plan for Brexit? We do…Can Boris Johnson stay on message for a full four days? Just about," she said, drawing laughter from party members and lawmakers gathered in Birmingham for the conference.

In an unusual move, Mrs. May also signaled that her government would seek to address the side effects of the easy-money policies pursued by the Bank of England and other central banks since the financial crisis. The Bank of England's ultralow interest rates and asset purchases provided "emergency medicine" for the economy but have worsened inequality, she said.

"People with assets have got richer. People without them have suffered. People with mortgages have found their debts cheaper. People with savings have found themselves poorer," she told the party conference.

The prime minister's spokeswoman later said that monetary policy remained a matter for the Bank of England but that the government planned "to put itself at the service of those who have found themselves poorer as a result of monetary policy."

Seeking to appeal to traditional supporters of the main opposition, the center-left Labour Party, the prime minister vowed to reshape policy to spread wealth more evenly, protect jobs and "repair" free markets when they didn't work properly, though she didn't detail how. The Labour Party said Mrs. May's vision signaled a shift to the right, rather than the center, and Labour leader Mr. Corbyn said the Conservatives were fanning the "flames of xenophobia."

Earlier, Home Secretary Amber Rudd said the government wants to crack down on businesses that are hiring foreign workers rather than training and recruiting local staff. The proposals would require companies to disclose the percentage of their workforce that is non-British, in an effort to encourage companies to employ more British workers first.

Ms. Rudd's comments drew criticism from some business groups, who said the measure would limit companies' ability to recruit people with the right skills for the job.

"At a time when we need strong links globally to seize new opportunities after the referendum, being seen as open to the best and brightest is vital," said Josh Hardie, deputy director general at the Confederation of British Industry, which represents 190,000 businesses. "We understand public concern and why it's important to control **immigration**, but the government should be working in close partnership with business to create a system that works, rather than layering on more bureaucracy at a time when the country needs to be open for business."

Ms. Rudd defended the plans under consideration. "We must not ignore the fact that people want to talk about **immigration**," she said in an interview with the British Broadcasting Corp. "And if we do talk about **immigration**, don't call me a racist."

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Brexit Newsletter

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**An activist who helped lead Hong Kong's pro-democracy movement [http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/student-leaders-arrest-galvanizes-hong-kong-protesters-1412117396]two years ago was detained in Thailand, a military-run country[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/SB10001424052702303749904579576941085019938] that has been inhospitable to Beijing's detractors.

Joshua Wong said he was held for 12 hours Wednesday at Bangkok's main airport after a university invited him to Thailand on the anniversary of a student massacre to address students. He was released and flown back to Hong Kong on Wednesday afternoon.

Back in Hong Kong, Mr. Wong said about 20 Thai **immigration** officials had met him in Bangkok to block his entry into the country, telling him he was on a blacklist. "This is really out of my expectation to have this kind of suppression from the Thailand government," said the 19-year-old.

A Thai activist who was to meet Mr. Wong at the airport, Netiwit Chotiphatphaisal, said Thai officials were acting on a written order from Beijing to detain the Hong Kong leader. He said he learned that from talking with a Thai police officer. "We tried to ask more but they wouldn't tell us anything," he said in an interview. "There was just this short answer."

Thai officials denied there was any request from China regarding Mr. Wong. The government said it was aware of Mr. Wong's activity in "resistance movements against other foreign governments" and cited concern his activities in Thailand "could eventually affect Thailand's relations with other nations." The Thai Foreign Ministry said the government doesn't prohibit freedom of expression and allows "youth to express their views in support of democracy."

China's Foreign Ministry said it was aware of reports of Mr. Wong's detention, but it didn't address whether Beijing had asked Thailand to detain him. "The Chinese government respects Thailand's implementation of the entry and exit administration according to the law," it said.

Mr. Wong helped lead massive protests in 2014 [http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/a-year-after-hong-kong-protests-fatigue-endures-1443075499] that called for democratic elections for Hong Kong's leader, marking the former British colony's most turbulent period since China took control in 1997.

The so-called Occupy protests ended 75 days later without concessions from Beijing or from Hong Kong's nominally autonomous government. Some participants and protest leaders have subsequently taken positions of political prominence in the Chinese territory. Mr. Wong co-founded the political party Demosisto this year.

Demosisto Chairman Nathan Law, another Occupy leader, won a seat on Hong Kong's Legislative Council in elections last month, making him the city's youngest legislator ever at age 23. Mr. Wong couldn't run for office as the minimum age is 21.

Before he was detained, Mr. Wong was due to address students at an event to mark the 40th anniversary of a massacre of pro-democracy students by security forces on Oct. 6, 1976. The Thammasat massacre is a deeply sensitive issue in Thailand's turbulent recent history. The Thai Foreign Ministry said it would permit the event to be held.

Some rights groups rallied around Mr. Wong on Wednesday.

Sophie Richardson, China Director of Human Rights Watch, said the incident "sadly suggests that Bangkok is willing to do Beijing's bidding" and that Mr. Wong should be "allowed to travel and exercise his right to free expression."

The U.S. Embassy in Bangkok said, "We support individuals exercising their universally recognized fundamental freedoms of opinion expression peaceful assembly and association throughout the world."

Hong Kong activists have faced troubles while traveling to China and other Asian countries before. Last year, Malaysia turned Mr. Wong away from Penang airport[http://blogs.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/chinarealtime/2015/05/26/hong-kong-student-activist-joshua-wong-barred-from-malaysia/], preventing him from attending events at which he had been set to speak about youth activism. Days later, Malaysia turned back veteran Hong Kong activist Leung Kwok-hung, known by his nickname Long Hair[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/malaysia-refuses-entry-to-pro-democracy-activist-leung-kwok-hung-1432895404]. During Occupy, authorities stopped four members of a student protest group from boarding a flight from Hong Kong to Beijing.

Thailand, whose military government seized power in a 2014 coup, has been unwelcoming to Chinese citizens who have run afoul of Beijing.

Last year, Hong Kong bookseller Gui Minhai vanished from his Thai vacation home only to reappear months later on Chinese state television[http://blogs.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/chinarealtime/2016/01/18/missing-hong-kong-bookseller-employee-resurfaces/] in police custody. His store sold books critical of China's leadership.

In January, Li Xin, a Chinese journalist, disappeared from Thailand. He later called his wife to say he had willingly returned to China and was under investigation for an unspecified alleged crime. His wife said the statement was likely coerced.

Chinese citizens in Bangkok who have sought **refugee** status with the U.N. have said that they have been followed and harassed by people they believe to be Chinese agents.

A Thai government spokesman previously said that the country's deportation of illegal migrants is supported by law.

Chinese Foreign Ministry representatives have either said they had no specific knowledge of the repatriations or said they were handled in accordance with the law. Calls to China's embassy in Thailand rang unanswered on Wednesday, a Chinese state holiday. An embassy official previously declined to comment on the allegations that the **refugee** applicants were followed.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**The German government is considering a push for European sanctions against Russia in response to its behavior in Syria, a person familiar with the German deliberations said on Wednesday, signaling that Europe is seeking new ways to pressure Moscow to quell the violence there.

Chancellor Angela Merkel's government, the person said, is examining ways to push Moscow to change course in Syria, where Russian warplanes have supported Syrian government forces in a siege of rebel-held areas in the city of Aleppo that Western leaders are calling an increasingly grave humanitarian crisis. German and U.S. officials have said Russia is behind some of the bombardment of hospitals and other civilian installations in Aleppo. Russia has denied targeting civilians or populated areas.

One of the instruments the German government is considering to curb the Russian actions, the person said, is implementing new European Union economic sanctions against Russia. Two years ago, Ms. Merkel—the EU's most influential leader—corralled the bloc's 28 countries to impose joint sanctions against Russia over its military intervention in Ukraine.

The deliberations among German officials on possible sanctions are in their early stages, and it isn't clear how broadly Ms. Merkel's junior coalition partners—the center-left Social Democrats—would support them.

But they are among the first signs that Europe, frustrated by Russia's actions in Syria and fearful of a worsening of the **refugee** crisis, could swing to a tougher line on Russia in the coming weeks. Senior diplomats from the EU, Germany, Italy, the U.S., and the U.K. huddled in Berlin on Wednesday evening to discuss the Syria crisis. German Foreign Minister Frank-Walter Steinmeier, U.S. Secretary of State John Kerry, and other top diplomats held talks on Syria in Brussels earlier in the day.

The U.S. broke off discussions with Russia[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/u-s-suspends-talks-with-russia-over-syria-cease-fire-1475517771] on Monday as Mr. Kerry called on Russian and Syrian air forces to be removed from the skies over Aleppo, the Syrian city where hundreds of civilians have died in recent days in an intense aerial bombardment.

Officials in the U.S. are deeply divided over the efficacy of stepped-up military action in Syria. But some U.S. officials said European sanctions are likely the best means to get Russia to shift its position on the Syrian war and take a more constructive position.

In the wake of the failure of the U.S-Russia cease-fire plan, diplomats are testing ideas trying to see how much support they might have in European capitals and Washington, a European official said. The growing humanitarian disaster in Aleppo, and the prospect of tens of thousands of additional displaced people has given an urgency to efforts to build a consensus around a new approach.

When asked at a news conference on Wednesday about the possibility of Russian sanctions over Syria, a spokesman for the German Foreign Ministry—headed by Mr. Steinmeier, a Social Democrat—said: "At the moment, I know no one, neither in Berlin nor anywhere else, who has such proposals."

A spokesman for Ms. Merkel declined to comment on the sanctions deliberations, referring to the comment from the Foreign Ministry.

The prospect of new EU sanctions on Russia would also likely run up against opposition elsewhere in the bloc, where leaders are under pressure from populist politicians to improve relations with Moscow. In recent days, European diplomats have said there is little support in the bloc for fresh sanctions on Russia.

At the same time, European leaders are growing increasingly frustrated with Moscow's behavior in Syria. The escalating violence has raised fears of a new wave of **refugees** entering Turkey and possibly trying to make their way to Europe.

Some officials in Washington think new European sanctions against Russia tied to its support of the Syrian regime are the best hope for changing Moscow's tactics in Syria, according to U.S. officials.

With the crisis over Aleppo deepening, Mr. Steinmeier on Wednesday said "we must look for ways to finally end this craziness, this killing, this dying."

He said it was disappointing that the U.S.-Russian talks hadn't worked.

"But this cannot put us in the position of doing nothing," he told reporters in Brussels

Hushed conversations on Aleppo occurred on the side lines of the Afghanistan donor conference in Brussels. At the end of the day of diplomacy, Federica Mogherini, the European Union foreign-policy chief, said it was critical to try and preserve and response the political process in Syria. "Only a political solution to Syria can end this war, and not a military solution," she said.

In a statement for the biggest political bloc in the European Parliament, the center-right European People's Party, its leader, Manfred Weber, said the EU must not allow Russian President Vladimir Putin to continue the Aleppo attacks with impunity.

Mr. Weber said he didn't believe the EU should approve the Nord Stream 2 project, a Russian natural-gas pipeline that is supported by Germany but strongly opposed by the U.S., "as long as Putin is shelling civilians."

The U.S.-Russia talks became the main hope for political progress to end the Syrian war, which has lasted more than 5½ years and killed hundreds of thousands. Under the failed cease-fire effort, the U.S. promised to provide targeting information to Russia and would increase military cooperation if there was a period of calm on the ground and delivery of humanitarian aid.

But the collapse of the talks has left both U.S. and Russian diplomats embittered, feeling the other side began undermining the agreement soon after it was signed.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Thai authorities blocked Hong Kong democracy leader Joshua Wong Wednesday from entering the country, where he was scheduled to speak at local universities. The 19-year-old was back in Hong Kong by day's end, but the incident confirms Thailand's willingness to act as China's overseas enforcer—a role Beijing is increasingly pushing other governments to play.

Mr. Wong, who was recently convicted of unlawful assembly and sentenced to community service for his role in mass pro-democracy protests of 2014, was similarly barred from entering Malaysia last year. A local police inspector said Mr. Wong was turned away so as not to "jeopardize our ties with China." The young activist has since made appearances without incident in the U.S., Britain, Japan and Taiwan.

As Mr. Wong noted back in Hong Kong, other Chinese dissidents in Thailand face worse fates than a half-day's detention. Author Gui Minhai, a dual Swedish-Chinese national who ran a Hong Kong-based publishing house, vanished last year from his apartment in the Thai resort town of Pattaya. Three months later he gave a forced confession on state television from a Chinese prison. He remains incommunicado.

Thai authorities last year sent more than 100 Uighur **refugees** back to China's restive Xinjiang province. They also repatriated human-rights activists Dong Guangping and Jiang Yefei, even though the United Nations had arranged to resettle them in Canada. Chinese journalist Li Xin disappeared this year into Chinese custody after failing to get asylum in Thailand.

This fits a global pattern. Authorities in Burma last year repatriated 16-year-old Bao Zhuoxuan when he tried to escape China after the arrest of his parents, both human-rights lawyers. Police in Nepal frequently arrest and harass **refugees** from Tibet.

Beijing no doubt thinks it can continue to use pressure tactics to get its way against its critics. It isn't a sure bet. "The Chinese government doesn't want Hong Kong's pro-democracy voices to be heard outside," said Agnes Chow, an official in the Demosisto Party founded by Mr. Wong. "But the harder it tries to suppress us, the louder we'll be heard." Let's hope she's right.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**FARMVILLE, Va.—In a lively and combative debate between the two vice-presidential nominees on Tuesday night here, Republican Mike Pence and Democrat Tim Kaine each cast the other party's presidential nominee as an unacceptable choice for a country facing a perilous world.

Although neither presidential candidate was on the stage, Republican Donald Trump and Democrat Hillary Clinton loomed large over the only scheduled debate between the vice-presidential nominees—with the political vulnerabilities and perceived character liabilities of Mr. Trump and Mrs. Clinton dominating the bulk of the debate between Messrs. Kaine and Pence.

The aggressive tone of the debate was set early, with Mr. Kaine embracing the traditional vice-presidential role as the chief attack dog and Mr. Pence sketching out a surprisingly far more confrontational stance against Russia than has been voiced by Mr. Trump.

Mr. Pence did earn high marks from analysts for his cool-under-pressure debating style in the face of frequent interruptions by Mr. Kaine—especially compared with Mr. Trump's uneven debate performance last week.

A CNN/ORC instant poll conducted among debate viewers gave Mr. Pence, Indiana's governor, a narrow win.

At the same time, Mr. Pence often found himself on the defensive, largely avoiding opportunities to explain some of Mr. Trump's most controversial statements about banning Muslims from **immigrating** to the U.S., his litany of disparaging comments about women and his statements that many Mexican **immigrants** were "rapists."

Moderator Elaine Quijano of CBS News struggled at times to keep the candidates from talking over each other—with both seeming well-prepared for the debate, knowledgeable on policy and eager to engage with one another.

Still, it's rare for a vice-presidential debate to influence the course of the race, especially given the oversized presence of the two candidates at the top of the tickets.

"People don't vote for vice president. They vote for president," said Lynda Tran, a Democratic consultant and a partner at the firm 270 Strategies, which has consulted for Mrs. Clinton's campaign. "But what a vice-presidential debate allows people to do is get to know someone who is going to be a heartbeat away."

Mr. Kaine, a U.S. senator from Virginia and a former governor and mayor of Richmond, set the aggressive tone early by quickly calling into question Mr. Trump's fitness to serve as president. Mr. Kaine said that Mrs. Clinton should be trusted because of her lifelong history "focused on serving others."

Mr. Pence portrayed Mr. Trump as an agent of change, while criticizing Mrs. Clinton for advocating tax increases and increased regulation, as well as her support for the Affordable Care Act, her use of a private email server for government business and her family foundation's acceptance of foreign government dollars.

Mr. Pence's harsher stance against Russia was striking, given that Mr. Trump has praised President Vladimir Putin as a strong leader and called for better relations between the two countries.

Mr. Pence said the U.S. must be willing to meet with "force" any resistance from the Syrian government and Russia in the conflict against terrorist groups in Syria. He also said the U.S. should do more to prevent Russian provocation in Eastern Europe, and blamed the Obama administration and Mrs. Clinton's "weak and feckless" leadership for allowing Russia to gain influence around the world.

It was unclear whether Mr. Pence was distancing himself from Mr. Trump's position or offering a new set of talking points for the GOP ticket.

On terrorism and foreign policy, both vice-presidential nominees cast the other's running mate as ill-equipped to protect the country.

Mr. Kaine talked up the Obama administration's foreign-policy successes under Mrs. Clinton's tenure as secretary of state, including the killing of terrorist leader Osama bin Laden. By contrast, he said, "Donald Trump can't start a Twitter war with Miss Universe without shooting himself in the foot."

Mr. Pence charged the U.S. is "less safe today than it was the day that Barack Obama became president."

Some of the sharpest exchanges between the two candidates came over the recent revelation that Mr. Trump had taken a $916 million loss on his 1995 tax return, a sum that could have allowed him to avoid paying personal income taxes for 18 years. Mr. Trump bragged on the debate stage last week that he was "smart" to reduce his tax liability as much as possible.

"So it's smart not to pay for our military? It's smart not to pay for veterans?" Mr. Kaine asked on the debate stage. "So I guess all of us who do pay for those things, I guess we're stupid."

Mr. Pence retorted: "Do you take all the deductions that you're entitled to? I do."

The two clashed over **refugee** policy, as Mr. Pence defended the Trump proposal to use "extreme vetting" to screen out Syrians and other **refugees** from countries that harbor terrorists, and he criticized Mrs. Clinton for proposing an expansion of the number of Syrians allowed into the U.S.

Mr. Kaine accused Mr. Trump of proposing unconstitutional limits based on national origin or religion. "Hillary and I will do **immigration** enforcement and we'll vet **refugees** based on whether they are dangerous or not," he said.

Some Republicans saw Mr. Pence's performance as evidence that their party would have been better off with a different presidential nominee.

"This debate highlights the tragedy of Trump's nomination for the GOP. Whenever the topic is anything but Trump himself, Pence is clearly winning," said Michael Steel, who worked for former Florida Gov. Jeb Bush during the primaries and for the party's 2012 vice-presidential nominee, Rep. Paul Ryan.

Mr. Pence succeeded in launching several attacks against Mrs. Clinton that Mr. Trump failed to raise in last week's debate. He criticized the Clinton Foundation for accepting funds from foreign governments and foreign donors, and charged Mrs. Clinton with running a "pay to play" operation.

Mr. Kaine defended the foundation, calling it one of the "highest-rated charities," and attacked Mr. Trump's own foundation, which the New York attorney general this week ordered to stop fundraising in the state because it lacks the proper certification.

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More on Election 2016

\* 5 Takeaways From the Pence-Kaine Matchup[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/5-debate-highlights-from-the-mike-pence-tim-kaine-matchup-1475641758?tesla=y]

\* Pence, Kaine Fail to Sway Undecided Voters in Debate[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/home-states-of-mike-pence-tim-kaine-expect-a-debate-on-issues-differences-1475600312]

\* Conservatives Praise Pence's Message[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/conservatives-praise-mike-pences-debate-message-1475642450?tesla=y]

\* Recap: The Kaine-Pence Debate[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/livecoverage/mike-pence-and-tim-kaine-vice-presidential-debate-2016]

\* Photos: Vice-Presidential Debate[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/vice-presidential-candidates-gear-up-for-debate-1475626220]

\* Clinton Reclaims Lead in Polls[http://blogs.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/washwire/2016/10/05/clinton-reclaims-lead-polls-show-can-she-keep-it/]

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**PRESCOTT VALLEY, Ariz.—Republican presidential nominee Donald Trump blamed his Democratic opponent, Hillary Clinton, for a U.S. tax code that allowed him to declare a big loss and likely reduced or even eliminated his federal liability for years.

"Why didn't she ever try to change those laws so I couldn't use them?" Mr. Trump said Tuesday at a campaign rally here, referring to her time as a U.S. senator from New York from 2001 to 2009. "The reason that she did not do that is her donors and contributors have used those same tax laws as I did. The same way."

Mr. Trump's tax records that were disclosed over the weekend were from 1995, several years before Mrs. Clinton took office. Mr. Trump himself has been a Clinton donor. Since 2002, he has donated $4,700 to Mrs. Clinton's Senate and presidential campaigns, according to Federal Election Commission filings, though he was ultimately refunded $4,000.

Five weeks from election day, Mr. Trump returned to Arizona for the first time since a noted **immigration** speech [http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/donald-trumps-mexico-trip-was-weeks-in-the-making-1472779067]in the state on Aug. 31. Although the state has been a conservative stronghold for Republican presidential candidates, a Wall Street Journal/NBC News/Marist poll[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/hillary-clinton-donald-trump-contest-expands-to-new-battlegrounds-1473591782] in Arizona last month showed Mr. Trump with a lead of just 1 percentage point in the state.

Mr. Trump reminded the crowd of several thousand that he wanted to build a wall along the U.S.-Mexico border, which drew applause and chants of "build the wall."

Mr. Trump has spent several days trying to counter the unauthorized release of some of his tax records[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/donald-trumps-tax-numbers-tighten-focus-on-treatment-of-losses-1475415294] by acknowledging the unfairness of the U.S. tax code. He has cast himself as the only candidate in the race who understands the nuances of the complex laws.

During two rallies in Colorado on Monday, Mr. Trump said he had a fiduciary responsibility to pay as little tax as possible. He acknowledged that it was unfair and vowed to make the tax code more balanced.

But in Arizona on Tuesday, Mr. Trump mostly returned to his stump speech, promising to be a law-and-order president who would halt illegal **immigration** and reduce crime and poverty in America's major cities.

"I'm going to keep the terrorists the hell out of the country," Mr. Trump said on Tuesday.

Earlier in the day, Mr. Trump held a private meeting with about a dozen energy executives in Denver, where he repeated complaints from the campaign trail that the industry is saddled with too many regulations.

"The energy business is being decimated," he said.

Trump repeatedly criticized Mrs. Clinton during the meeting for what he said was her support of overregulation of the energy industry.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**In their first debate, the presidential nominees veered far away from substantive differences and into personal bickering.

That likely won't be the case with their running mates, who will meet Tuesday for the only vice-presidential debate of 2016 [http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/livecoverage/mike-pence-and-tim-kaine-vice-presidential-debate-2016].

Indiana Gov. Mike Pence, the Republican, and Virginia Sen. Tim Kaine, the Democrat, have decadeslong political records that are diametrically opposed, reflect the mainstream of their respective parties and could bring out sharp contrasts. The 90-minute debate will be moderated by Elaine Quijano of CBS News.

Mr. Kaine, a former governor, is for the minimum-wage increase that presidential nominee Hillary Clinton has advocated, while Mr. Pence is opposed. Mr. Pence would rescind the Affordable Care Act, while Mr. Kaine wouldn't. Mr. Pence, since joining the GOP ticket, has defended presidential nominee Donald Trump's proposals to build a wall on the Mexican border and deport illegal **immigrants**. Mr. Kaine opposes both measures.

While vice-presidential debates can at times produce a memorable moment, they typically don't substantially shift the dynamics of a race.

"The challenge for both of them is to make absolutely no news," said Michael B. Murphy, a former Indiana Republican state legislator who has known Mr. Pence since his first run for Congress, in 1988. "As the VP candidate, the last thing you want to do is draw attention away from your running mate and his or her agenda."

The Clinton campaign has largely trained its policy attacks on Mr. Trump and ignored his running mate, while the GOP nominee features in his stump speech an attack on Mr. Kaine for proposing what Mr. Trump has called a "$4 billion tax increase."

During his term as Virginia's governor, Mr. Kaine sought to plug the state's budget holes with tax increases. To pay for transportation infrastructure, Mr. Kaine proposed shortly after taking office in 2006 raising state taxes on new vehicle purchases, auto insurance and registration fees to raise $1 billion a year.

The Richmond Times-Dispatch in July noted [http://www.politifact.com/virginia/statements/2016/jul/28/donald-trump/donald-trump-says-tim-kaine-proposed-4-billion-tax/]that a portion of the revenue would have come from boosting traffic ticket fines.

Mr. Kaine, as he was leaving office in December 2009, proposed raising all of Virginia's income-tax brackets by 1 percentage point. The Republican-controlled Virginia legislature killed that idea after he left office. But Mr. Kaine also eliminated Virginia's estate tax and signed an income-tax cut during his four-year term.

"Tim Kaine's record is more mixed than most people probably would imagine," said Richard Auxier, a researcher at the nonpartisan Tax Policy Center who has written about the vice presidential nominees' tax records. "The fact that he got rid of estate tax is probably more a reflection of his state and the time he was there rather than his views."

Mrs. Clinton opposes eliminating the federal estate tax, while Mr. Trump has said he would repeal it.

Mr. Kaine is expected to attack Mr. Pence for his stewardship of Indiana's economy, which has lagged behind the national economy since he became governor in 2013.

Mr. Pence, upon taking office, proposed cutting the state income tax by 10%; he eventually signed a measure reducing it by 5%. Mr. Pence also eliminated the state's tax [http://www.taxpolicycenter.org/taxvox/trumps-choice-vp-mike-pence-experienced-tax-cutter] on inheritances greater than $250,000 and ended the state estate tax—a key issue for fiscal conservatives.

On social issues, the vice-presidential hopefuls have adopted starkly different positions. Mr. Pence, a former House member who for years has described himself in speeches as "a Christian, a conservative and a Republican, in that order," emerged in early 2015 as the champion of Indiana's "religious freedom" law [http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/indiana-governor-defends-religious-freedom-law-1427646320] that was widely criticized for allowing business owners to deny services to people because of their religious opposition to a customer's sexual orientation.

Mr. Pence initially defended the law, arguing it didn't offer a "license to discriminate." But after a week of intense pressure from corporate leaders in Indiana, Mr. Pence and Republicans who control the state legislature enacted a new version of the law that specified that business owners couldn't deny services. Mr. Pence has since been criticized by some leading social conservatives.

Mr. Kaine, who is Catholic, endorsed same-sex marriage in 2013, two months after his Senate swearing-in and well after President Barack Obama, Mrs. Clinton and other leading Democrats. He says he is personally against abortion but has long voted against new restrictions on the practice.

Abortion is one of the few areas where Mr. Kaine differs from Mrs. Clinton. While she has proposed lifting the Hyde Amendment, the 1976 legislation that limits federal funding for abortions, Mr. Kaine has supported it. Mr. Kaine told CNN in July [http://www.cnn.com/2016/07/31/politics/tim-kaine-hillary-clinton-hyde-amendment-abortion/] that he supports Mrs. Clinton's policy to end the federal prohibition on abortion funding but maintains his own support for the policy.

Both men have altered their position on trade policy upon being named running mate. Messrs. Pence and Kaine each backed the Trans-Pacific Partnership, though each has rescinded their support in recent months to align with Mr. Trump and Mrs. Clinton, who both oppose the Pacific Rim trade pact.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**"They make a desert and call it peace," wrote the Roman historian Tacitus, quoting an enemy of Rome about its brutal conquests. The same could be said today of Bashar Assad and his ally Russian President Vladimir Putin in Syria.

At this moment, Syrian and Russian forces, together with Iranian and Hezbollah militia fighters, are preparing to finish their siege of Aleppo. The 275,000 people who reportedly remain in the city are being told to flee. Thousands will do so, choosing to become **refugees**. The poor souls who remain in Aleppo will suffer a surge in relentless, indiscriminate bombing. And when Mr. Assad, Mr. Putin and their allies have slaughtered all that stand in their way, they will proclaim peace in the bloody sands of the Syrian desert.

The collapse of the most recent cessation of hostilities is not surprising. It failed, as did the Obama administration's previous efforts to work with Russia in Syria, because as former Secretary of State George Shultz once said, "diplomacy not backed by strength will always be ineffectual at best, dangerous at worst."

America's intrepid secretary of state has now taken the meaningless step of suspending talks with Russia over Syria. Meanwhile, Mr. Assad and Mr. Putin are creating military facts on the ground in Syria that will enable them to dictate the terms of a peace secured by carnage. They have decimated coalition-backed Syrian groups, slaughtered countless civilians, consolidated the Syrian regime's hold on power, and even struck a United Nations humanitarian-aid convoy. And they have done all of this with no consequences. Thus the war grinds on.

While the U.S.-led coalition is making progress in the fight against Islamic State, we cannot forget this terrorist organization is a symptom of the Syrian civil war. The future of that conflict will have significant strategic impact on U.S. national security.

The war in Syria has claimed more than 400,000 lives, displaced half the country's population, and inflamed sectarian tensions across the Middle East. But as bad as this conflict is now, it can get much worse—and likely will. It will produce millions more **refugees**, undermining regional stability and straining the social fabric of Western nations. It will strengthen an anti-American alliance of Russia and Iran. U.S. credibility with our closest security partners in the Middle East will further erode. And it will provide ISIS, or its successor groups, fertile ground to radicalize Muslims, recruit and inspire them to fight, and provide them with dangerous battlefield experience.

This is where the conflict in Syria is headed, and the administration still has no strategy to do anything about it. Its diplomacy is toothless. And there appears to be no Plan B.

An alternative plan would not come without costs and uncertainties. The administration likes to pretend that Congress is not prepared to support a more forceful approach because of its lack of support for military action to enforce President Obama's red line in 2013. This is a myth. What many in Congress opposed was granting a reluctant president authority to conduct what Secretary of State John Kerry promised would be "unbelievably small" airstrikes in the absence of a broader strategy to achieve U.S. national interests in Syria. The U.S. needs that broader strategy now.

Any alternative approach must begin with grounding Mr. Assad's air power. It is a strategic advantage that enables the Assad regime to perpetuate the conflict through the wanton slaughter of innocent Syrians. The U.S. and its coalition partners must issue an ultimatum to Mr. Assad—stop flying or lose your aircraft—and be prepared to follow through. If Russia continues its indiscriminate bombing, we should make clear that we will take steps to hold its aircraft at greater risk. And we must create safe zones for Syrian civilians and do what is necessary to protect them against violations by Mr. Assad, Mr. Putin and extremist forces.

At the same time, we must provide more robust military assistance to the vetted Syrian opposition groups that are fighting the regime. The only way to isolate and target extremists on the battlefield is to make moderate groups more capable of fighting successfully on their own.

The Obama administration's approach to Syria has failed miserably. Now is the time for a new strategy—including the necessary military component—that can achieve this more realistic objective. This will undoubtedly entail greater costs. But the alternative is far from cost-free: It is the continuation, for years and years, of terror, tragedy, slaughter, **refugees**, and a war in the heart of the Middle East that will continue to threaten the U.S. and destabilize the world.

Mr. McCain, a Republican from Arizona, is chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**BIRMINGHAM, England—The U.K. government said it is considering new measures to restrict the number of people coming to study and work in Britain from non-European Union countries, prompting business groups to warn against tighter restrictions on skilled workers.

U.K. Home Secretary Amber Rudd, in a speech at the governing Conservative Party's annual fall conference on Tuesday, said the government would launch a consultation this year looking at how to restrict the number of non-EU students coming to Britain by tailoring the **immigration** rules to the quality of the course and university. It would also look at various measures to encourage companies to foster local workers and not overlook them in favor of hiring staff from non-EU countries, she said.

Ms. Rudd said the government wanted to look at whether the U.K.'s **immigration** system provided "the right incentives for businesses to invest in British workers." She added that the visa test "should ensure people coming here are filling gaps in the labor market, not taking jobs British people could do."

The home secretary said the government remained committed to reducing net **immigration**—the number of people coming to the U.K. minus those leaving—to the tens of thousands from the current hundreds of thousands, but warned that "this will not happen overnight."

Concern about the perceived impact of high levels of net **immigration** on public services and the labor market was a key factor behind many Britons' decision to vote to leave the EU. Proponents of Brexit argued that the only way the U.K. could control its borders was through leaving the bloc, which mandates that members must allow EU citizens to live and work in any country in the union. Advocates of **immigration** say it has helped power growth, swell tax receipts and plug gaps in much-needed skills.

Prime Minister Theresa May on Wednesday will make a bid to widen conservatives' appeal among working-class voters, casting it as a party that will take the middle ground in British politics.

"I want to set our party and our country on the path towards the new center ground of British politics–built on the values of fairness and opportunity–where everyone plays by the same rules and where every single person, regardless of their background or that of their parents, is given the chance to be all they want to be," Mrs. May will say on Wednesday, according to excerpts from a speech.

Ms. Rudd, who took over the role of home secretary in July, lobbied for the U.K. to stay in the EU during the referendum campaign.

The latest official data shows net long-term **immigration** was estimated at 327,000 for the 12-month period ended in March, down 9,000 from a year earlier but still close to record levels. Of those arriving from elsewhere in the EU, there was a slight decline of 4,000 to 180,000 for the period, while 190,000 came from non-EU countries, the Office for National Statistics said in August.

Business groups said companies wouldn't welcome further restrictions on skilled migration from key trading partners around the world and warned the government must tread carefully on any changes to student **immigration** to make sure it doesn't undermine the sector.

"At a time when we need strong links globally to seize new opportunities after the [EU] referendum, being seen as open to the best and brightest is vital," said Josh Hardie, deputy director-general for the Confederation of British Industry. "And we should be clear that business does not see **immigration** and training as an either/or choice. We need both,"

The Institute of Directors, a business group, said it was clear that **immigration** would remain a bone of contention between companies and the government.

"The U.K. has a record level of employment, so **immigration** is not hurting jobs," said Seamus Nevin, head of employment and skills policy at the group. "It was frustrating to hear the home secretary sticking to the arbitrary ‘tens of thousands' target, which has no connection to the skills the U.K. needs or the actual impacts of migration."

Tim Thomas, director of employment and skills at the EEF manufacturers' organization, said the current **immigration** system was already a costly and burdensome "game of snakes and ladders for employers."

"Further endless changes to regulation will frustrate employers who are simply looking to recruit the best person for the job in the absence of a functional approach from government to the up-skilling of U.K. workers," he said in a statement.

Mrs. May, who saw an increase in net **immigration** during her six years as home secretary before entering Downing Street in July, has said the government is determined to reduce migration from Europe once it leaves the EU, a move that has been seen as incompatible with continued tariff-free trade with the European market. Several European leaders have said the free movement of people is a condition of the free movement of goods and services.

The Conservative Party has introduced several measures to try to reduce **immigration** since entering office in 2010, including shutting down more than 800 bogus colleges that were bringing in overseas students and clamping down on abuse of student visas. Nevertheless, net **immigration** has remained high, principally because of the allure of the U.K.'s relatively strong economy for workers. The numbers of migrants arriving from outside the EU has fallen since 2010 even as the numbers from within the EU have risen.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**I am descended, at least partially, from liars.

I recently learned this fact by delving into the expanding world of internet genealogical research. Advances in the size and scope of vast digital databases, as well as the low cost of DNA testing, have made it easier than ever to learn about one's family tree, and whether everything you've heard at family gatherings all your life is true.

In my case, large parts weren't. What I've learned so far underscores a thread running through the U.S. **immigration** story—how many **immigrants** reinvented themselves when they arrived here.

I'm not talking about war criminals making up cover stories, but average working stiffs changing how they describe their own ethnic or religious backgrounds—either to make the transition into U.S. society easier, or to make themselves more interesting.

Now, with accurate and inexpensive DNA tests, and genealogy databases only a keyboard away, many average Americans are conducting genealogical investigations and often finding surprises.

Bennett Greenspan, president of Houston-based Family Tree DNA, one of several companies mass-marketing consumer DNA-test kits, said people often are surprised when results don't jibe with family lore. Many **immigrants** arriving in the U.S. in the 19th or early-20th centuries abandoned Jewish, Irish, Italian and other roots they thought might cause problems for them, Mr. Greenspan said.

A 2014 study of the genetic makeup of more than 150,000 customers of 23andMe, a Mountain View, Calif., genetic-testing company, found that "admixture," meaning the level of ethnic and genetic mixing among Americans, was high. Proportions varied by region, depending on local history and when waves of **immigrants** settled there.

My father, a corporate lawyer, exalted his Scottish heritage. Books about clans and castles were prominent on the shelves in our den in a Chicago suburb. The only alcohol he ever drank was Glenfiddich single-malt whisky. We went with family members to visit the "homeland," seeing Edinburgh, Loch Lomond, Loch Ness. We heard bagpipers perform at the old Chicago Stadium.

He gave me, his first son, the name Cameron, stamping me a Scot as clearly as if he had tattooed plaid on my forehead. I wore a kilt at the rehearsal dinner for my wedding.

My mother had her family's story about her great-great-grandmother, a native woman from New Brunswick, Canada. She said it explained her shiny black hair and how quickly she tanned. I retold the story of supposed Indian ancestors to friends, my wife and later my children.

My parents both died last year. And now that they are gone, I have discovered their fiercely-held family narratives, the subject of decades of verbal sparring and bickering, were largely false.

To settle their estate, I had to gather up birth dates, death dates and other sundry information. I turned reflexively to the internet, found several family ancestry sites and was quickly pulled into the obsessive world of modern genealogical research.

I'd had hints over the years that the family stories didn't quite add up. Once, in an African desert, I met a German aid worker and told him I was descended from Germans on my father's side, and the family name was Kruckstein.

"Oh, Jews," he said. When I asked my father about it later, he said all he knew was that his grandmother spoke only German.

With my mother's Indian story, I found letters my maternal grandfather had written to Canadian church officials inquiring about the native ancestor, but they turned up nothing.

I combed sites like ancestry.com, geni.com[https://www.geni.com/] and others with databases of birth certificates, draft records, census reports, school files and digitized newspaper archives. I discovered a military record listing my father's uncle, killed in World War II, as a "Jewish War Veteran."

I gathered up the letters, photos and documents, from my grandfather's handwritten birth certificate to a maternal ancestor's 18th century will, and kept searching. I traced much of my father's family line using church records, but found little about the Krucksteins despite thorough German record-keeping. Birth records show my paternal great-grandfather was born in Armagh, Northern Ireland, and the family **immigrated** to Scotland. He told census takers there he was born in Ireland, but later, after he moved first to Australia and then to the U.S., he told U.S. census takers he was born in Scotland.

On my mother's side, I could find no marriage or birth records involving a Native American. All evidence showed English and Scottish ancestry, with some European nobility in the distant past.

So this summer, I sent off my saliva and $100 to AncestryDNA,[http://dna.ancestry.com/] part of Ancestry, the Lehi, Utah-based online genealogy service with some two million paying customers, for an analysis of my genetic makeup. Family Tree DNA[https://www.familytreedna.com/] and 23andMe[https://www.23andme.com/] offer similar comprehensive tests, also at minimal cost.

After six weeks or so, my test results arrived: My genetic makeup is about 33% from England and Scotland and 15% from Scandinavia, likely Vikings who raided the British Isles. No surprises there.

But it also found 21% of my code was Irish, 14% was European Jewish and 11% was Eastern European. Most of that genetic makeup likely came from the McWhirters, Protestants who came from Northern Ireland, and the Krucksteins, my paternal grandmother's family from Germany.

My father hated Notre Dame, but judging by my results he could have been one-quarter to one-half Irish. He spoke dismissively of people from Eastern Europe, but part of his genetic code likely came from that region.

My mother at times spoke disparagingly of Jews, yet she was married for more than a half-century to a man who probably was about a quarter Jewish. The DNA test found no evidence of any Native American genetic makeup, meaning my mother's family story was bunk.

Jennifer Utley, family historian for Ancestry, said a common reason many Americans take the DNA test is to verify a family story that they have Native American genes. "That is also one of the biggest disappointments," she said, because most people find the lore isn't true.

Thanks to technology, I have joined the great genealogical debunking that is now under way. Americans are uncovering how much more complicated their family stories are.

I expect my parents would be disappointed to learn our family tree spans lochs, lox and the luck of the Irish. In my house, though, the news has been a big hit. My daughter is excited to be part Jewish; my son is thrilled to learn about the McWhirter-Irish connection. My wife is planning to send her DNA off to be tested soon.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**A Bronx man who prosecutors say pretended to be a lawyer and scammed **immigrants** seeking legal assistance was arrested Monday for disobeying a court's order, officials said.

Edwin Rivera operated a Bronx accounting office called Inmigracion Hoy News Today, where he portrayed himself as an attorney experienced in helping undocumented **immigrants** become permanent residents, prosecutors said.

He was taken into custody Monday due to an August ruling from Bronx Supreme Court Justice Betty Owen Stinson, who ordered Mr. Rivera to spend at least 30 days in jail. She found Mr. Rivera in civil and criminal contempt of court, writing that despite prior orders to stop, he "continues to willfully and fraudulently represent that he is a lawyer and continues to provide legal and **immigration** services."

The justice's order stems from information gathered by an undercover investigator and a client who paid $10,000 for Mr. Rivera's services from 2008 through 2015, New York Attorney General Eric Schneiderman's office said.

According to the office, which investigated Mr. Rivera, he wasn't a licensed attorney, he misrepresented the law and didn't provide the services he promised. Prosecutors said he cheated **immigrants** out of at least $60,000 in fees for legal services.

A lawyer for Mr. Rivera couldn't be reached for comment. A message left at Inmigracion Hoy News Today wasn't returned. The establishment's voice message called it "an accounting office," and said it was open from 7 a.m. to 11 a.m.

Justice Stinson said in August that Mr. Rivera could spend up to six months in jail, depending on whether or when he pays $34,331 in fines and restitution and provides documentation about his business, according to Mr. Schniederman's office.

Mr. Rivera has a lengthy legal history, which prosecutors say includes ignoring other court orders. The attorney general's office says it sued him in 2004 after he allegedly placed an advertisement in a Spanish-language newspaper saying the Dream Act had passed, and faked an application process. Prosecutors said he charged $1,500 per application.

The Dream Act was aimed at helping young people brought into the country illegally. The legislation hasn't become law.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Corrections & Amplifications:

An earlier version of this article incorrectly referred to Russell Reynolds Associates Inc. as Russell Reynolds. (Oct. 4, 2016)

As a former finance chief of four public companies, including mortgage giant Fannie Mae, David Johnson knows about investments.

"When I think about investment, I immediately think about hurdle rates, return on investment and return on equity," he said.

At the International Rescue Committee, the **refugee**-aid charity that Mr. Johnson joined last March, the term investments refers to the aid it dispenses to support **refugees**. "It's almost like we're speaking different languages," he said.

Like Mr. Johnson, many chief financial officers are making the transition to the nonprofit arena, grappling with unfamiliar nomenclature, accounting rules and cultures.

Driving the trend, recruiters say, are the increasing demands CFOs face in profit-driven businesses and the growing number of charities seeking the financial discipline that a for-profit CFO can bring.

While statistics are hard to come by, Sue Waterbury, a vice president at DRG Inc. who specializes in finding financial executives for nonprofit groups, estimates the number of for-profit candidates applying for or considering nonprofit jobs has risen 25% over the past year.

Among the 30 largest charities covered by the research firm Charity Navigator, eight have finance chiefs with significant for-profit experience in the past 10 years, according to their websites. Three of the 30 have CFO openings.

Many for-profit executives enter the nonprofit world for altruistic reasons. "You feel like you're making a difference in someone's life," said Dan McCarthy, a former media finance executive who eight years ago became CFO of Covenant House, which aids homeless youngsters. "You don't get that in the for-profit world."

Such jobs also offer the satisfying prospect of designing systems and processes that stretch donated dollars further, recruiters say.

The challenges of readjusting can be surprisingly complex, however. They include differences in accounting, reporting standards and organizational culture, as well as smaller administrative budgets.

Compensation can be the first, and sometimes insurmountable, hurdle.

"You have to expect a 50% cut, and if you were a top CFO in a big company going to a large nonprofit, you're probably making one-third what you used to," says Ms. Waterbury.

A study this year from research firm Guidestar USA Inc. found that salaries for nonprofit finance leaders range from an average $44,200 at the smallest to about $314,700 at the largest, with more than $50 million in revenues.

That compares with an average salary of $2 million last year for finance chiefs at the largest public companies, according to an analysis of S&P Global Market Intelligence data by The Wall Street Journal. In most cases, for-profit CFOs get equity awards and other bonuses in addition to salary.

Beyond compensation, there's a noticeable lack of administrative resources at most nonprofits, which translates into extra work for the CFO.

Mr. Johnson, whose most recent for-profit CFO post was at FTI Consulting Inc., said that he is relearning PowerPoint and Excel and delegating less writing than he has in the past. "Many days it feels like being back at the [investment banking] associate level, because you have to do a lot yourself," he said.

Learning new requirements also can take time, recruiters say. Nonprofits, which have to file annually with the Internal Revenue Service to keep their tax-exempt status, also follow their own Generally Accepted Accounting Principles. For example, they have to prepare a statement of financial position, rather than a balance sheet. They also designate assets as restricted by donor directives or unrestricted.

More onerous is the need to create custom reports for large donors, as opposed to the standard 10-Qs or 10-Ks that public companies use to disclose their results.

"Everyone wants the data sliced a different way—and what the donor wants, the donor gets," said Karen Jordan, a former finance executive at eyeglasses retailer Oakley Inc., who became senior vice president for finance and operations for WomanCare Global International, a reproductive health charity, in 2014.

Ms. Jordan says she budgets two weeks every quarter for the process.

There are also the hard-to-quantify cultural differences. Charities aren't always as rigorous about cost management and efficiencies as their for-profit counterparts. And they tend to move slowly and collaboratively, frequently involving board members in management decisions.

"Sharp-shouldered individuals" who prefer autonomy don't fit in well, said Jenna Fisher, head of the global corporate sector at executive-search firm Russell Reynolds Associates Inc.

Still, for-profit CFOs "can add enormous value to a nonprofit pretty quickly," said Lorraine Hack, a former CFO who is a partner with search firm Heidrick & Struggles Inc.

"You're looking for someone who is very attuned to the mission of the organization, and who is not a bull in a china shop," she said.

Assistance is available to those who want to make the move. Seventy-five people applied for 15 spots last year in the first session of LeaderLink, a New York program to help for profit financial executives move to the nonprofit world. Co-sponsored by The Robin Hood Foundation, a nonprofit that funds charities, and recruiting firm Commongood Careers, the program expects to recruit a second group in New York this year and expand to Boston and other cities beginning in 2017.

Related

\* Nonprofit Boards Offer Career Boosts for Executives[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/nonprofit-boards-offer-career-boosts-for-executives-1475592282]

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**LAS VEGAS—Sgt. Jessie Wiggins maneuvered his police cruiser away from the glow of the Strip and into the darkness of a nearby neighborhood that recently had been the scene of a half-dozen robberies, multiple assaults and the killing of a 21-year-old with a shotgun blast to his head.

On this night in early August, Sgt. Wiggins and his eight officers cruised a square-mile area of low-rise apartment complexes, stopping residents for minor offenses in the hopes of nabbing violent criminals and illegal guns. A trespasser turned out to be a suspect in a May murder in the same area.

Later, a newspaper deliveryman, who was stopped for failing to turn on his blinker and had no criminal record, became upset, and he said believed the officers were simply targeting black people.

Sgt. Wiggins, who is white, drove to the scene to try to smooth over the dispute. "We're actually here to help you guys out," Sgt. Wiggins said to the man. "We know you're not a violent guy, you're not the guy we're looking for."

The tactic is part of new effort to stop crime before it happens by using data to send teams of officers to swarm violent-crime hot spots each night.

Las Vegas, like 28 other large cities in the first half of the year, saw a jump in homicides. The murder rate in the Las Vegas area is still far below more violent cities, such as Baltimore or Chicago.

But the leap in homicides here, from 56 in the first half of 2015 to 90 in the first half of 2016, was one of the largest of the 51 major city police departments surveyed by the Major Cities Chiefs Association at midyear. Robberies and assaults are also up from last year.

Most U.S. cities are much safer than they were in the 1990s, and it is unclear if the recent jumps indicate the beginning of a long-term shift or a blip on the radar. But it has police chiefs and politicians worried and seeking answers.

Targeting high-crime zones isn't new, but deploying the tactic presents a fresh challenge for police departments grappling with a rise in crime in an era of escalating tension between law enforcement and minority communities.

"It's always a struggle to keep departments in check when there's a significant increase in crime," said Samuel Walker, professor emeritus of criminal justice at the University of Nebraska Omaha. "You've got public pressure to do something, and in the past, it was often do anything."

In the past, police here and across the nation used a zero-tolerance style of policing to fight violent crime, stopping and arresting people for minor offenses. The approach heightened tensions between African-American residents and police in places such as Baltimore and New York, where a judge ruled that the department's deployment of its stop-and-frisk program was unconstitutional and racially discriminatory.

In Las Vegas, the Metropolitan Police Department is trying to tamp down violent crime without **alienating** the black and Latino residents the department has worked to win over.

Metro came under scrutiny five years ago for a high number of questionable shootings of black men. After a voluntary Justice Department review, Metro introduced new use-of-force training and revamped policies. Body cameras were deployed—and Metro is currently one of the only major departments to quickly release footage after shootings.

Fatal shootings by police have dropped—and there is less tension between black residents and police than there is in other places, said Roxann McCoy, president of the NAACP's Las Vegas chapter. "Our police department has changed tremendously," she said.

Even so, Ms. McCoy said she has received some complaints about the hot-spot policing from residents.

"They just feel like they're being harassed," she said. "They have no clue that it's a hot spot and this is taking place."She added: "We want the bad guys caught, but we don't want the innocent people caught up, too."

The rise in violent crime here is driven by several factors, police said.

More young men with stolen guns are shooting at each other over the slightest provocation, said Lt. Dan McGrath, who heads the homicide division.

In April, Angelo Barboza, 15, was killed and four others injured in a gunfight between two groups of teens at a party; 80 bullets were fired, he said.

Antoine Williams, 21, was killed allegedly by two accomplices shortly after the trio was involved in a home-invasion robbery on July 24 in the hot spot to the east of the Strip, Lt. McGrath said.

California gang members also have been muscling into Las Vegas, viewing it as an open market for selling drugs, said Lt. Sean Toman, who heads the drug-fighting task force. The violence that results isn't about traditional gang rivalries or longstanding turf battles.

After murders, the department deploys religious leaders and officers to the neighborhood and sometimes hosts barbecues in an effort to ease fear, gather leads and prevent retaliation.

Metro police officials say that violent crime has ebbed since the hot-spot policing effort was introduced in late April, but that it is too early to say whether their new approach is having an impact.

Sgt. Wiggins, 44, a former SWAT team sniper with a comedic streak (he wore Mickey Mouse-style mitts to his police academy graduation instead of the required white gloves), said the department is trying to avoid past mistakes.

Officers once took a "hook ya and book ya" approach, he said, arresting and ticketing people for every offense or outstanding warrant, no matter how minor.

Sgt. Wiggins said he instructs his officers to pursue violent criminals, and let "Ma and Pa Kettle" go for minor violations. "We're not just dealing with a spike in violent crime; we have a philosophy that deals with community outreach," he said. "How do we balance these two things?"

Brian Sette and Justin Spurling, the officers who nabbed the trespasser who turned out to be a murder suspect, were grinning when Sgt. Wiggins rolled up on the scene, a notorious alley in an apartment complex. Sgt. Wiggins called it a "good snag," but when he found out the suspect didn't have a gun, he needled the pair. "I need a gun in my pretty little hands," he said.

A half a block away and a few minutes later, another pair of officers stopped a man for riding a bike without a light. They found hypodermic needles in his bag but no guns.

"That's a fish we throw back," Sgt. Wiggins said.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Gov. Mike Pence's plan to restrict the settlement of Syrian **refugees** in Indiana remains on hold following the decision of a federal appeals court, which called it discriminatory and based on "nightmare speculation."

The ruling by the Seventh U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals Monday delayed implementation of Mr. Pence's directive pending the outcome of a lawsuit filed by an Indiana agency that helps resettle **refugees** in the state.

Mr. Pence, the Republican vice presidential nominee, is among a group of conservative governors [http://blogs.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/washwire/2015/11/17/the-27-gop-governors-and-one-democrat-opposing-syrian-resettlement-in-u-s/]who have tried to block or delay [http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/nonprofits-and-governors-clash-over-syrian-refugees-1450434601]the arrival of **refugees**fleeing the war-torn Arab country, arguing that Islamic State terrorists could be hiding among them.

"No evidence of this belief has been presented, however," wrote Judge Richard Posner for a unanimous three-judge panel. "It is nightmare speculation."

Mr. Pence has sought to limit the number of Syrian **refugees** in Indiana through state contracts with private resettlement agencies. Indiana reimburses such agencies, using federal grants, for providing social services to resettled **refugees**. Last year, Donald Trump's running mate forbade reimbursements for costs associated with Syrian **refugees**.

Exodus **Refugee Immigration** Inc., which expected to resettle 100 or more Syrian **refugees** in Indiana this year, sued Mr. Pence to block his plan[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/lawsuit-challenges-indiana-governors-policy-on-syrian-refugees-1448382446]. A federal district judge agreed in February to pause the plan[http://blogs.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/law/2016/03/01/judge-declares-indianas-syrian-refugee-order-unconstitutional/] for the duration of the lawsuit, ruling that Exodus was likely to win its case alleging discrimination.

Indiana officials appealed the ruling to the Chicago-based Seventh Circuit, which on Monday also predicted that Exodus would prevail.

Anyone seeking **refugee** status in the U.S. must undergo multiple layers of screening by the federal government, following screening by a United Nations office, a process that can take up to two years. Judge Posner acknowledged that Syrian **refugees** pose specific concerns, because many were born elsewhere and moved to the country before its civil war, making them difficult to screen.

As a condition of using federal money for resettlement, federal law requires states to service **refugees** regardless of race, religion, nationality or sex.

Lawyers for Mr. Pence said the policy of excluding Syrian **refugees** stemmed from his concern for the public safety for Indiana residents rather than any discriminatory intent.

Saying something isn't discrimination doesn't make it so, Judge Posner wrote, concluding that Mr. Pence's "targeting Syrian **refugees** is discrimination on the basis of nationality."

Kara Brooks, a spokeswoman for Mr. Pence, said Indiana "took decisive action" to suspend resettlement of Syrian **refugees** after the terrorist attack in Paris and "because the FBI and the Department of Homeland Security acknowledged security gaps with regard to screening **refugees** from Syria."

Ken Falk, legal director of the American Civil Liberties Union of Indiana, which is representing Exodus, said the appeals court underscored that Gov. Pence "may not constitutionally or legally discriminate against a particular nationality of **refugees** that are extensively vetted by the federal government."

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**WASHINGTON—The Supreme Court Monday dashed President Barack Obama's hopes of having his **immigration**plan[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/supreme-court-focuses-on-states-legal-right-to-question-immigration-policy-1460994167] reconsidered before he leaves office—turning down a White House request to try again to resolve the program's legality after deadlocking 4-4 in June[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/u-s-supreme-court-deadlock-blocks-obama-immigration-plan-1466693502].

The Supreme Court's tie-vote left in place a lower-court decision temporarily blocking implementation[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/judge-faults-how-quickly-obama-moved-on-immigration-changes-1424207237] of the Deferred Action for Parents of Americans program. The plan would provide work authorization to more than four million illegal **immigrants** whose children are U.S. citizens or lawful residents. A 26-state coalition led by Texas has sued opposing the plan.

Losing parties are entitled to ask the Supreme Court to rehear a case, but such requests almost never are granted.

In its July petition for rehearing, the Justice Department sought to put the case back on the docket in the hopes the high court would get a ninth justice who would be able to break the tie.

Justice Antonin Scalia died in February, leaving the court short-handed—and equally balanced between conservatives and liberals.

Senate Republicans have kept a promise to deny consideration[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/obama-to-pick-merrick-garland-to-fill-supreme-court-seat-sources-say-1458136919] of Mr. Obama's nominee for the high-court vacancy, U.S. Circuit Judge Merrick Garland, leaving little prospect of a ninth justice taking the bench before the president's term expires.

Assuming proceedings continue through the lower courts, the **immigration** case could return to the Supreme Court, perhaps as early as next year. Political events, however, could overtake the litigation. Republican presidential nominee Donald Trump has pledged to crack down on illegal **immigrants** and cancel Mr. Obama's plans for lenient treatment of those with significant ties to the U.S. Meanwhile, Democratic nominee Hillary Clinton has said she would go further than Mr. Obama's **immigration** plan.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Corrections & Amplifications:

Deutsche Bank believes sterling will end 2016 at $1.25. An earlier version of this article incorrectly stated the year as 2015. (10/03/2016)

The British pound slumped Monday after U.K. Prime Minister Theresa May set a March date to begin exiting[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/u-k-s-may-plans-to-trigger-article-50-by-end-of-march-1475401597] from the European Union and said that controlling **immigration** was a higher priority than maintaining full access to the country's largest trading partner.

Mrs. May said in a speech at her Conservative Party's annual conference that regaining control of **immigration** policy was a nonnegotiable priority. That puts her at odds with EU counterparts, who have frequently said that Britain must allow freedom of movement to EU citizens if it wishes to keep access to the common market.

In European trading, sterling reached a post-Brexit low against the euro, falling 0.9% to €1.1434. It fell more than 1% against the U.S. dollar, reaching $1.2818, just a fraction above its post-Brexit low of $1.2798, set in early July.

Late afternoon in New York, the pound was buying $1.2841, down from $1.2976 late Friday and the lowest since June 1985, according to FactSet.

"It seems as if we are heading for a hard Brexit," said Mikael Olai Milhøj, senior analyst at Danske Bank. "This implies the U.K. leaving the single market."

In her speech, Mrs. May said that while she wanted to offer "British companies the maximum freedom to trade with and operate in the single market," the U.K. was "not leaving the European Union only to give up control of **immigration** again."

A meeting of the other 27 heads of EU governments shortly after the June referendum[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/brexit-vote-stunned-britons-awake-to-a-new-era-for-u-k-1466768937] made it clear that access to the common market required acceptance of unlimited freedom of movement. U.K. lawmakers who argued for Brexit, though, say that the sheer size of Britain's economy means that Mrs. May will be able to get a better deal than EU leaders currently say.

A slowdown in trade and economic activity due to the U.K.'s separation from the EU could spur the Bank of England to further cut interest rates. The central bank cut its benchmark interest rate[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/bank-of-england-cuts-key-interest-rate-to-new-low-1470309155] in August to a record low and reduced its 2017 growth outlook. Expectations for lower interest rates tend to drag on values of currencies amid concern that foreign money will search for yield elsewhere.

Still, economic surveys have mainly shown resilience in the aftermath of the Brexit vote. On Monday, sterling came off its lows against the dollar and euro after positive news from the manufacturing sector. IHS Markit's September purchasing managers index rose to its highest level since the middle of 2014, reaching 55.4. A figure above 50 denotes growth. The pound's weakness has been a boon to U.K. exporters.

A weaker currency also has helped London's FTSE 100, which climbed 1.2% Monday, even as the broader Stoxx Europe 600 index rose just 0.1%.

Nearly 72% of revenues from FTSE 100 companies come from outside the U.K, according to FactSet. So the weaker pound would boost corporate earnings that are reported in sterling.

The FTSE 100 is up by 12% in sterling terms this year, though is still down by 2.6% in U.S. dollar terms, owing to the pound's swift fall.

Analysts increased their pessimistic forecasts[http://blogs.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/moneybeat/2016/09/14/sterling-continues-to-confuse-post-brexit-as-banks-row-back-bearish-forecasts/] for the pound after a run of stronger-than-expected economic data, and many are now close to sterling's current level. Deutsche Bank, with one of the most-bearish forecasts for sterling, now believes the currency will end 2016 at $1.25, which would be a 31-year low.

But strategists predict volatility ahead for the pound.

Once Mrs. May has formally notified the EU of Britain's plan to leave, under so-called Article 50, that will trigger a two-year period of negotiations over terms of the split.[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/brexit-what-is-article-50-1475410524]

"If U.K. exporters will lose access to [the free-trade zone], the question is how quickly can they negotiate bilateral agreements," said Khoon Goh, head of Asia research at Australia & New Zealand Banking Group in Singapore. "That could be quite difficult."

For the pound, much will depend on the type of deal that the U.K. can negotiate with its neighbors. Similarly, if companies move operations out of the U.K. or curtail investment, that could hurt the economy and exacerbate a decline in the currency.

A decision by the U.S. Federal Reserve to raise short-term interest rates this year could also weigh on the pound against the dollar. The pound fell 1.2% against the dollar in September, its largest monthly drop since June.

Sentiment appears to be souring among speculative investors. Leveraged funds, a group that includes some hedge funds, added to their bets that the pound would decline in the week ended Sept. 27, according to the latest data from the U.S. Commodity Futures Trading Commission. Those bets, based on futures and options, nearly doubled to $5 billion from $2.7 billion in the week before, Mr. Goh said.

Jenny Gross and Nicholas Winning contributed to this article.

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\* May Pledges to Set EU Divorce in Motion by End of March[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/u-k-s-may-plans-to-trigger-article-50-by-end-of-march-1475401597]

\* What Is Article 50?[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/brexit-what-is-article-50-1475410524]

\* U.K. Chancellor Plans Investment as Brexit Creates Business Uncertainty[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/u-k-chancellor-plans-investment-as-brexit-creates-business-uncertainty-1475493573]

\* Pound Will Feel Pain as Brexit Clock Ticks Faster[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/pound-will-feel-pain-as-brexit-clock-ticks-faster-1475495254]

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**British backers of a clean break from the European Union hailed Prime Minister Theresa May's remarks that she would prioritize British control over **immigration**in exit negotiations as a sign she favored a "hard Brexit."

Her comments were widely seen as meaning she would push for a separate trade agreement rather than maintain membership in the EU's single market, which would include the obligation to allow free movement of workers from other EU countries.

A "soft Brexit" that would involved Britain giving up some control over **immigration** "is not Brexit," Crispin Blunt, a Conservative lawmaker who had voted to leave the EU, said of Mrs. May's comments on Sunday, the first day of the first Conservative Party conference since British voters decided to quit the bloc.

"There's been a lot of smoke being put into the debate and what is needed is some sensible clarity, and we got a bit of that yesterday," he said.

Mrs. May's comments sent the sterling tumbling on Monday. The pound fell below $1.29, dropping more than a cent against the dollar.

Proponents of a softer approach, including former treasury chief George Osborne, say continued membership in the single market is too vital to the economy not to cede some control over **immigration**. The U.K.'s economy is closely tied to the economies in the EU, its largest trading partner.

While Mrs. May stopped short of saying that she would lead the U.K. out of the single market, she said that, post-Brexit, Britons would "decide for ourselves how we control **immigration**" and be "free to pass our own laws."

This vision for the U.K.'s future is incompatible with single market membership, which EU leaders have said would require the U.K. to abide by the bloc's free-movement rules. She also said the U.K. would no longer be under the jurisdiction of the European Court of Justice.

In a dissenting voice, Conservative lawmaker Nick Herbert said the British government shouldn't put the economy at risk for the sake of having full control over **immigration**.

"It is not sensible to set, as an ambition, the hardest possible Brexit, the most brutal severance from the EU," he said. "The key goal must to be to protect our economic interest."

Concerns about **immigration**, however, were a major factor behind the 52% to 48% vote to leave the European bloc in the June referendum. A poll by Bostock Marketing Group Ltd. conducted in late September found that 43% of voters thought the U.K. should sacrifice some trade with the EU if it meant an overall drop in **immigration**.

Among Conservative voters, 59% said they thought a reduction in trade was a price worth paying for curbs on **immigration**.

Mrs. May underscored that the job of deciding when to invoke the U.K.'s formal exit from the bloc, and begin negotiating a new relationship with the EU would be the job of her administration rather than members of Parliament.

Her decision to distance lawmakers and the regional governments, including pro-EU Scotland, from the negotiations was another signal that she would pursue a clear break.

The British leader said she would invoke the start of negotiations by the end of March, an announcement welcomed by EU politicians who have been pressing for the talks to start as soon as possible to cut down on uncertainty—but who warned the U.K. shouldn't expect talks to start before then.

"There will be no negotiations until the notification arrives," said Margaritis Schinas, the European Commission's main spokesman.

A key issue of any negotiations will be access by financial services to the EU's single market, which hasn't been a part of any other trade deals.

Julian E. Barnes in Brussels contributed to this article.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Corrections & Amplifications:

BIRMINGHAM, England—British Prime Minister Theresa May said the U.K. would trigger the process of disentangling itself from the European Union by the end of March, signaling she would pursue a clear break from the bloc.

Setting the stage for Britain to leave the EU by 2019, Mrs. May gave the clearest indication of her priorities for an exit deal to date, saying she wanted to win British companies "the maximum freedom" to operate in Europe's single market, but not if it meant relinquishing the right to curb **immigration** to the U.K.

"Let me be clear: We are not leaving the European Union only to give up control of **immigration** again," she said Sunday. "We are going to be a fully independent, sovereign country—a country that is no longer part of a political union with supranational institutions that can override national parliaments and courts."

Mrs. May's announcement, made at her Conservative Party's annual conference, provides some clarity for businesses and European politicians who have pressed her government for more details on its exit plan. It also ratchets pressure on the British leader to set the U.K.'s negotiating position in the coming months.

Once Britain invokes Article 50 of the EU's Lisbon Treaty—the mechanism that officially kicks off the divorce proceedings—[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/brexit-what-is-article-50-1475410524]the U.K. has a two-year window to negotiate its new relationship with the EU. That process is likely to be further complicated by elections in France and Germany next year.

Since the June referendum vote, the British government has sought to persuade business executives to continue investing in the U.K. To what extent Britain preserves its access to Europe's single market—which EU leaders say would require it to abide by the bloc's free-movement principle—is likely to be a critical factor in companies' plans.

Mrs. May has pointed to SoftBank Group Corp.'s $32 billion acquisition of U.K.-based ARM Holdings PLC, announced in July, as a sign of confidence in the country post-Brexit.

Last week, though, the chief executive of Nissan Motor Co., the owner of the U.K.'s largest car factory, said it might scrap a major investment in the U.K. without more clarity on Britain's future trade relations. Nissan "will not make an important investment decision in the dark," CEO Carlos Ghosn said.

Economic data since the June vote show the U.K. economy—the world's fifth-largest in 2015—appears to be regaining its footing. Official data released on Friday showed Britain's powerhouse services sector posted strong growth in the month immediately after the vote.

Many economists, however, say it is too early to say whether the economy will avoid a slowdown and uncertainty around the U.K.'s future with its biggest trading partners could weigh on its growth.

Since Mrs. May was appointed prime minister in July[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/low-profile-theresa-may-takes-spotlight-1468248393], divisions have emerged among U.K. politicians and within her own party over whether Britain should break off entirely from the bloc or maintain close ties at the cost of agreeing to abide by some EU laws.

Mrs. May said on Sunday that the U.K. wouldn't be open to negotiating away its sovereignty and that she would seek to end the jurisdiction of Europe's highest court, the European Court of Justice in Luxembourg, over the U.K.

"I think, as a whole, the speech seemed to suggest the U.K. would leave the single market," said Raoul Ruparel, co-director of think tank Open Europe.

Mrs. May faces growing pressure from her party to spell out how she sees Britain's future outside the EU. Her first two months in office have been dominated by the aftermath of Britain's historic Brexit referendum, but she hasn't detailed her plans or publicly outlined her vision for the U.K.'s new relationship with the EU. On Sunday, she said she wouldn't give a running commentary on negotiations as that would put the U.K. at a disadvantage in talks.

The toughest element of the coming negotiation will likely be to what extent the U.K. can access Europe's free-trade zone. Under EU law, countries can be members of the single market only if they agree to Europe's free-movement principle, which allows EU citizens to live and work anywhere in the bloc.

Britain's economy is closely tied to its European neighbors and trade barriers between them could be costly. The U.K. sent some £230 billion ($297 billion) in exports to the EU in 2014, compared with £88 billion to the U.S. and £18.7 billion to China.

Maltese Prime Minister Joseph Muscat—whose country is holding the rotating presidency of the Council of the EU in the first half of 2017—said in a Twitter post on Sunday that freedom of movement and access to free trade "cannot be decoupled."

Mrs. May told the British Broadcasting Corp. earlier on Sunday she hoped informal, preparatory talks could start now, given that EU leaders have a better idea of when the government would trigger Article 50.

But Germany, Europe's leading power, believes there is no reason to start talks until the article is invoked, according to people familiar with Berlin's stance. Once the two-year window for talks formally begins, Germany and other EU countries will have strengthened negotiating positions since the U.K. has more to lose if there is no deal after two years.

German Chancellor Angela Merkel sees no reason to relinquish her bargaining power by allowing substantive talks before Article 50 is invoked, said people familiar with her thinking. ​

That echoes previous statements from other EU leaders that there will be no informal discussions on the broad outlines of Britain's future relationship with the bloc until it triggers Article 50. Donald Tusk, president of the European Council, tweeted[https://twitter.com/eucopresident/status/782577278882553856] that while he welcomed clarity from Mrs. May, the other European members states wouldn't engage with the U.K. until the formal treaty provision was triggered.

By committing to invoking Article 50 by spring, Mrs. May now faces the possibility of being forced into the two-year negotiating window with no clarity on what kind of relationship the other 27 EU governments are willing to accept.

If the other 27 member states deem her government's proposals on Britain's future trade, financial, security and defense ties with the EU as unacceptable, Mrs. May will have only a limited time to pivot. At that point, the clock will be ticking on the two-year timeline—a deadline that can be extended only if all EU countries agree.

Laurence Norman, Gabriele Steinhauser, Marcus Walker and Jason Douglas contributed to this article.

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\* Measuring the U.K.'s Economic Health[http://graphics.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/uk-watch/]

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**BUDAPEST—Prime Minister Viktor Orban, a leading backer of tighter **immigration** rules in the European Union, suffered a setback as a majority of Hungarian voters skipped a national referendum he had called to gauge support.

Turnout was below 40%, preliminary results showed, far short of the 50% threshold needed to make a referendum binding. Authorities said a large number of votes were invalid and counted as no shows.

More than 98% of those who took part in the ballot backed Mr. Orban and rejected an EU plan to relocate **refugees** under a mandatory quota system, officials said. Mr. Orban said it sent a clear signal to Brussels that EU members should be given full control over migration.

"We should be proud to be the first EU country to have expressed our views," he said.

Sunday's referendum was closely watched because Mr. Orban has taken the lead in campaigning against the open-door policy of several EU countries since hundreds of thousands of people from the Middle East, Central Asia and Africa crossed into the Continent last year.

He has clashed repeatedly with other EU leaders, notably German Chancellor Angela Merkel, who has made the acceptance of **refugees** a cornerstone of her policy.

European Parliament Speaker Martin Schulz said the vote was "a dangerous game," according to an interview published Sunday by German daily Berliner Morgenpost, because it challenged the legality of European lawmaking.

But Ms. Merkel's approach has suffered setbacks at home, where an upstart anti-**immigration** movement outpolled her ruling conservative party in a recent state election and now has seats in 10 state parliaments.

In France, opinion polls show that National Front's leader Marine Le Pen will easily qualify for the final-round runoff in next year's presidential election, in a large part thanks to widespread adhesion to her anti-**immigration** platform.

Binding or not, the Hungarian referendum will have little immediate consequence on EU migration policy because Brussels has largely backed off trying to force through measures for greater burden-sharing among member countries.

Resistance to the relocation program in Hungary, and most Central and Eastern European countries, has led EU authorities to consider ways to better tighten the bloc's border while continuing to support asylum seekers, especially war **refugees** from Syria.

Mr. Orban says migrants represent a security threat because some Islamist radicals have made their way into the EU by posing as **refugees**.

Although Hungary's working population is expected to shrink by more than 10% over the next four years, the central bank estimates, Mr. Orban objects to allowing large numbers of **refugees**, especially Muslims, to settle in the country, saying they would threaten its ethnic cohesion.

At issue, he said in his Sunday address, is "who we want to coexist with, what will happen to our culture, our way of life, our hard-earned economic recovery, and what will happen to our Christian roots."

Left-leaning opposition party Egyutt said the outcome of the ballot was tantamount to a no-confidence vote. The far-right Jobbik Party, the second-most-popular party after Mr. Orban's ruling Fidesz Party, called for the premier's resignation.

In office since 2010, the prime minister has a solid majority in Parliament and enjoys high approval ratings.

Friedrich Geiger contributed to this article.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**TBILISI, Georgia—Pope Francis concluded a three-day visit to the former Soviet republics of Georgia and Azerbaijan on Sunday, a journey that proved to be a diplomatic balancing act.

The south Caucasus presents an important test of the pope's vision of ecumenism: the idea of a universal Christian church. The region is home to centuries-old Christian communities, but Catholic worshipers are a minority. It is also a complex mix of religious and ethnic animosities[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/pope-met-with-disregard-by-georgian-orthodox-church-1475323035].

The pontiff's journey began on Friday in Georgia, where he was met at the airport by Patriarch Ilia II, the head of the Georgian Orthodox Church. While in Georgia, Pope Francis reached out to the Georgian church, despite an apparent snub by Orthodox leaders who declined to attend a Mass he held Saturday in a largely empty stadium in the Georgian capital, Tbilisi, after they also discouraged followers from attending.

"We should work together. We should respect each other and pray together," he said, following the Mass in comments to the Catholic faithful. "This is ecumenism."

The apparent courtship extended to comments on marriage in which he embraced ideas held dear by the Georgian Orthodox Church. Without addressing homosexuality directly, he criticized "ideological colonization"—shorthand for the influence of foreign ideas on traditional values—for contributing to an assault on the institution of marriage.

Asked to elaborate during a news conference on his flight back to Rome Sunday night, the pope said the church should welcome and minister to gays and transsexuals but said it was wrong to "indoctrinate" children in nontraditional values on the subject.

"It is one thing for a person to have this tendency, this option, and even change sex," the pope said, according to the Reuters news agency. "But it is another thing to teach it, gender theory, in schools along these lines in order to change mentality. I call this ideological colonization."

The Georgian Orthodox Church has been active in criticizing same-sex marriage and countering the country's nascent gay-rights movement. It largely blames the West for sowing liberal ideas that run counter to conservative Georgian traditions.

Despite the pope's outreach, some members of the Georgian Orthodox Church saw his visit as a threat and publicly protested his visit, accusing him of wanting to introduce Western spiritual values.

"The Georgian Orthodox Church has indoctrinated the country with a traditional coordinate of values, which is xenophobic and suspicious of the West," said Malkhaz Saldadze, of the Heinrich Böll Foundation, a Berlin-based think tank.

The Georgian Orthodox Church takes many of its cultural policy stances from the Russian Orthodox Church, with which Pope Francis has attempted to repair ties. However, Pope Francis indirectly raised an issue that is an irritant to Moscow. In comments on Georgia's domestic **refugee** problem, caused by conflicts with Russia-backed separatist regions, the pontiff used carefully calibrated language to show commitment to their plight without directly implicating Russia or Georgia.

Russian troops are stationed in the breakaway regions of Abkhazia and South Ossetia, where Georgia fought Russia-backed separatists after the collapse of the Soviet Union. That violence and a five-day war with Russia in 2008 have displaced more than 200,000 people, and Russia has stymied efforts to allow them to return.

In an address to the Georgian president before a group of dignitaries, Pope Francis said people had the right "to coexist peacefully in their homeland or freely return to that land, if for some reason they have been forced to leave it."

Georgia had hoped to use the trip to draw attention to its **refugee** problem and what it calls the occupation of its territory by Russian troops. Georgian authorities are also eager to highlight the country's ties to the West at a time when it is working to introduce a visa-free regime with the European Union.

In a visit to Georgia's predominantly Muslim neighbor Azerbaijan, the pope focused on interreligious dialogue and tolerance, steering clear of direct criticism against the increasingly authoritarian presidency of Ilham Aliyev.

Under Mr. Aliyev, Azeri authorities have arrested scores of human-rights workers and members of political opposition groups, and have worked to cut local rights groups off from foreign funding while boosting the president's power.

In an address to the president, the pope emphasized the importance of not "abusing the rights of others who have different ideas and perspectives," but otherwise praised the leader for efforts to promote civic growth.

Pope Francis also emphasized messages of peace and dialogue months after a flare-up of violence between Azerbaijan and Armenian-backed rebels[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/crisis-escalates-in-nagorno-karabakh-1459797198] in the separatist Nagorno-Karabakh region. Despite cease-fires, a formal peace treaty has never been signed between the warring sides.

In a trip to Armenia earlier this year[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/pope-francis-starts-three-day-tour-of-armenia-1466777347], Pope Francis called for reconciliation between the two regional rivals.

In Azerbaijan, Pope Francis led mass and held a meeting with a regional Muslim leader. Without directly referring to Islamic terrorism, he criticized fundamentalist violence.

"We see the growing emergence of rigid and fundamentalist reactions on the part of those who, through violent words and deeds, seek to impose extreme and radical attitudes which are furthest from the living God," he said.

According to the Associated Press, the pope told reporters Sunday night that he will travel to Fatima, Portugal, next year and almost certainly to India and Bangladesh.

Francis X. Rocca in Rome contributed to this article.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**TBILISI—Pope Francis led prayers in front of more than a thousand Catholic faithful Saturday in the former Soviet state of Georgia, but an official delegation from the Georgian Orthodox Church stayed away in an apparent snub.

A statement posted on the website of the Georgian Orthodox Church said Orthodox believers couldn't take part in the Catholic service. Vatican spokesman Greg Burke said the Vatican accepted the Orthodox decision, which he said had been conveyed to the papal delegation Friday night.

Orthodox rules didn't allow for the participation of the delegation, Mr. Burke said.

The pope has been diplomatic in his outreach to the Georgian Orthodox Church, a bastion of national identity in the country. In a meeting Friday with [http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/pope-treads-fine-line-with-russia-over-georgia-visit-1475234150]Patriarch Ilia II, the head of the Georgian church, Pope Francis emphasized unity between the two churches.

However, some Georgian Orthodox believers have seen the pope's arrival as a threat and have protested the visit.

Georgian Catholics make up less than 1% of the population here, and many hope the pope's visit will raise awareness about discrimination in a country where 85% of the population worships under the Orthodox Church.

In his homily during the Saturday morning Mass, Pope Francis avoided specific political issues, but offered praise for women in Georgia, a country that has a highly patriarchal society.

"Here in Georgia, there are a great number of grandmothers and mothers who unceasingly defend and pass on the faith," he said from the stage in a stadium on the outskirts of the capital city, Tbilisi.

Pope Francis also defended his vision of ecumenism—the idea of a universal Christian church—with remarks that appeared to address Georgian Orthodox Church's refusal to send a delegation to worship alongside Catholic believers at the Mass.

"We should work together. We should respect each other and pray together," he said. "This is ecumenism."

During his visit to the former Soviet republic, the pontiff has trod a fine line. Georgia has often-fraught relations with its powerful neighbor, Russia, and the pope has been careful to avoid words that might appear politically charged in Moscow or that might impede his efforts to develop friendlier relations[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/pope-faces-pressure-over-russia-in-georgia-visit-1475141482] with the Russian Orthodox Church.

In a statement to the Georgian president at the start of his trip on Friday, Pope Francis voiced broad support for **refugees** and Georgia's sovereignty. But he didn't delve into specifics.

Georgia fought a five-day war with Russia in 2008, and Russian troops are stationed in the breakaway regions of Abkhazia and South Ossetia, where Georgia fought Russian-backed separatists after the collapse of the Soviet Union. That violence has displaced more than 200,000 people, and Russia has stymied efforts to allow them to return.

In comments that ring in tune with the Georgian Orthodox Church's criticism of liberal values advocated in Western countries, Pope Francis criticized what he called "ideological colonization"—shorthand for the influence of foreign ideas on traditional values.

In what appeared to be an outreach to the Georgian Orthodox Church's embrace of a conservative definition of marriage, Pope Francis criticized a "global war on marriage."

The Georgian Orthodox Church has been active in criticizing same-sex marriage and countering the country's nascent gay-rights movement. The church has largely blamed the West for sowing liberal ideas that run counter to conservative Georgian traditions.

Georgian Secretary of Foreign Affairs Tengiz Pkhaladze said the pope's visit had boosted the country's profile, addressed what Tbilisi calls occupation by Russian troops in two separatist regions within Georgia, and underscored the country's deep religious and cultural ties with the West and Europe.

Pope Francis is due to depart to neighboring Azerbaijan on Sunday morning. He visited Armenia[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/pope-francis-starts-three-day-tour-of-armenia-1466777347] earlier this year.

The Vatican had originally planned the tour as a single visit to the region. However, the trip was split into separate visits amid renewed conflict between Armenia and Azerbaijan[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/crisis-escalates-in-nagorno-karabakh-1459797198] over the region of Nagorno-Karabakh, an ethnic Armenian enclave within Azerbaijan's borders.

Francis X. Rocca in Rome contributed to this article.

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Related

\* Pope Francis Offers Cautious Support for **Refugees** in Georgia[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/pope-treads-fine-line-with-russia-over-georgia-visit-1475234150]

\* Pope Faces Pressure Over Russia in Georgia Visit[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/pope-faces-pressure-over-russia-in-georgia-visit-1475141482]

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**BERLIN—About half a million **refugees** in Germany received social security benefits in June, almost twice as many as a year earlier, potentially fueling tension among voters over the recent influx of **refugees** and heaping pressure on Chancellor Angela Merkel.

The Federal Employment Agency said 469,403 **immigrants** from asylum seekers' eight most common countries of origin received benefits in June, a 93% increase from a year earlier. The number of Syrians tripled to 292,326 while the number of Iraqis rose by almost a quarter to 68,813.

The influx of some 890,000 asylum seekers[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/germany-migrant-influx-less-than-estimated-1475240581] into Germany last year has turned into a challenge for Ms. Merkel, who had initially welcomed them with open arms.

Unease among voters about public expenses for asylum seekers and criminal offenses committed by some **immigrants** has eroded support for her Christian Democratic Party in recent regional elections.

**Refugees** become eligible for social security benefits or permitted to work in many cases months after their arrival because they have to go through a bureaucratic process first, during which authorities decide whether they are allowed to stay in the country.

In total, 5.9 million people received social security benefits in June, of which 1.6 million were foreigners, according to the Federal Employment Agency. The number of **refugees** with regular employment rose by a third to 104,736 in July.

Most **refugees** struggle to find jobs because of insufficient German language skills, poor education and bureaucratic hurdles. The majority of job-seeking **refugees** qualify only for entry-level positions, but an advanced economy like Germany's needs mainly skilled staff.

Numerous companies have rushed to help integrate the **immigrants**[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/germanys-efforts-to-integrate-migrants-into-its-workforce-falter-1473948135] by offering internships and jobs, but some employers found it difficult to fill these openings. As the length of their stay in Germany is often uncertain, employers are sometimes hesitant to hire and train them.

The data on benefits recipients and employment was posted on the agency's website but came to notice only when newspaper Bild reported on it Saturday. The agency didn't specify whether its statistics on benefit recipients referred to asylum seekers.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**According to a survey of U.S. restaurant menus from 1840 to 1865, the most popular entrée, ahead of "currie of lobster" and "oyster patties," was "Macaroni au gratin." Some 150 years later, when Graydon Carter opened the Waverly Inn in the West Village, New Yorkers were abuzz over the price of the restaurant's signature macaroni and cheese with freshly shaved white truffles: $55.

Have our taste buds not evolved since the 19th century? On the one hand, Americans still love the comforting combination of noodles and hot cheese. But on the other, our culinary evolution has been radical: In the 1800s, most Americans never would have heard of a truffle, let alone tasted one. And to boast that the cheese came directly from a farm would have been laughable—back then, everything did.

How we got from there to here is the fascinating story Paul Freedman tells in "Ten Restaurants That Changed America." Through his selection of iconic establishments—Delmonico's, Antoine's, Schrafft's, Howard Johnson's, Mamma Leone's, the Mandarin, Sylvia's, Le Pavillon, the Four Seasons and Chez Panisse—he charts the history of American eating.

There's a lot to digest. Foodies will appreciate the inclusion of vintage menus and marvel at the prices: In 1941, for example, Chateaubriand for two at Le Pavillon was $6 (though that's $98 today). More impressive was the set menu at Chez Panisse from 1971: $3.95 per person, a mere $23 in today's dollars.

As Mr. Freedman makes clear, the chosen 10 aren't necessarily the best restaurants. They made the cut because of "influence and exemplification"—each has been crucial in "setting or reflecting trends in what Americans think about food and particularly dining out."

Ten Restaurants That Changed America

By Paul Freedman

Liveright, 527 pages, $35

Take, for instance, Schrafft's, the Northeast chain that flourished in the mid-20th century and "pioneered the middle-class restaurant experience," as Mr. Freedman writes. The food was geared, in the words of founder Frank Shattuck, toward "secretaries and stenographers who must watch their pocket books." It was also a "safe" environment for these diners: They didn't have to go with a male escort because the place didn't serve any alcohol. But the menu was a patronizing attempt to understand what women want: salads, cottage cheese and 11 flavors of ice cream.

Howard Johnson's—founded in 1925—went even further, with its 28 flavors of ice cream, including some now-forgotten ones like grape nut and fruit salad (all perfected by founder Howard Deering Johnson). But HoJo's main contribution to our food culture was standardization. As Mr. Freedman explains, "the variation and imperfection that today signify handmade and ‘artisanal' in the past denoted food that was poor quality and unreliable. The individuality of the proverbial greasy spoon was unattractive compared to the formulaic, immaculate, white-tiled, orange-roofed ‘Host of the Highways.' "

What to Read This Fall[http://graphics.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/image-grid/fall-books-2016/]

Becoming the Beach Boys, behind the cocktail revolution and how football became pass-happy. Plus books on trees, Capability Brown, William F. Buckley and the demise of handwriting.[http://graphics.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/image-grid/fall-books-2016/]

The original menu touted such classics as fried clams, "frankfort" hot dogs grilled in butter, triple-decker sandwiches and "sizzling steaks." Sadly, when the founder's son, Bud Johnson, took full control of the business following his father's death in 1972, the emphasis was on cutting food costs. "Prime graded steak was replaced by Choice, then Select, and finally by frozen pre-cut portions." Customers noticed. It also didn't help that McDonald's—Ray Kroc opened the first restaurant in 1955—was stealing those customers away. In 1979 there were more than 1,000 HoJo's across the country. Today, there is one, in Lake George, N.Y.

The contributions of African-Americans and **immigrants** are integral to Mr. Freedman's story. The Mandarin, opened in San Francisco in 1961 by Cecilia Chiang, a Chinese **immigrant**, helped popularize stir-fry cooking, kung pao chicken, twice-cooked pork and tofu. For the uninitiated, the menu provided tips on how to order: "For two persons, for instance, a soup and 2 or 3 dishes and rice are enough. For larger groups, order as many dishes as there are persons in the party, plus ‘one for the table,' and a soup." A separate menu existed for Chinese customers, on the assumption that Caucasians couldn't handle pork kidneys and fish heads.

"What is distinctive about the United States is that foreign restaurants also intrigued customers from the majority culture," Mr. Freedman writes. In European countries there are regional cuisines. Not so in our melting pot, where "diners tend to experiment with cuisines and usually patronize a mix of restaurants."

But the reigning influence over American cuisine (at least for the country's first 180 years) was French—and there was no more quintessentially French institution than Le Pavillon. It began as an exhibit at the 1939 World's Fair, where 136,000 meals were served in six months. After Hitler invaded France the following year, "the restaurant personnel had to decide whether to return to Nazi-occupied France, or, as stranded **refugees**, try to make a go of it in America." Henri Soulé, the pavilion's manager, hired those who decided to stay and opened Le Pavillon in Midtown Manhattan. It was a sensation. The front section was reserved for VIPs; the rear was referred to as Siberia. John F. Kennedy was known to order a bottle of milk. As Joseph Wechsberg writes in "Dining at the Pavillon" (1962), "the bottle was served in a silver bucket, like vintage champagne."

Naturally, there was a downside: "Snobbery, discrimination, and intimidation were majestically deployed by the imperious if often entertaining Soulé, and these imputed characteristics have damaged the reputation of French cuisine in America ever since." The result, Mr. Freedman writes, is that today "it is easier to find Indian vegetarian or Ethiopian food in the United States than an actual French restaurant."

That said, "Soulé trained an entire generation of French chefs and New York restaurant owners, some of whom departed as **refugees** from the tyranny of this irritable genius." Both La Caravelle and La Grenouille (the latter is still around) were founded by Pavillon alumni. Pierre Franey and Jacques Pépin also cooked under Soulé. When I interviewed Mr. Pépin in 2012, he was still critical of his former patron: "He never came to the kitchen. He'd yell from the top. I mean, the cook to him was still someone in the black hole."

The Four Seasons, which opened in 1959, was decidedly not French. This was a deliberate decision by its overseer, the legendary Joe Baum. The space was designed by Philip Johnson and cost more to build than the Guggenheim Museum. The walls were adorned with the works of Miró and Picasso. The term "power lunch" was invented for this restaurant. Also of significance was its menu, composed by the powerhouse team of Albert Stockli, Mimi Sheraton and James Beard, which rotated with the seasons, a concept taken to the next level by Alice Waters.

Ms. Waters's restaurant, Chez Panisse, which opened its doors in 1971, spawned a farm-to-table movement that is dominant to this day—even McDonald'srecently ran a "farm-to-fork" ad campaign featuring their potato farmers. So every time a waiter takes several minutes to tell you about the wild-caught salmon or grassfed steak, thank Alice Waters.

It's unlikely we will see a resurgence in French cuisine, and it's hard to imagine Maryland terrapins or Beef Robespierre appearing on a menu anytime soon. But Mr. Freedman's book suggests that it's not ultimately restaurants that change America—it's the people in the kitchen.

Mr. Matus, a senior editor at the Weekly Standard, is the author of "Vodka: How a Colorless, Odorless, Flavorless Spirit Conquered America."

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**TIHANY, Hungary—At a tavern in this lakeside resort town, the waiter scurrying from table to table could use some help.

Most of his colleagues have gone abroad to seek better pay, leaving Ferenc Punk's family-run business heavily understaffed.

Mr. Punk could have tapped a vast pool of potential workers: Scores of migrants, mainly from Syria, Iraq and Afghanistan, have traveled through the Central European country over the past two years, and thousands more are waiting at its southern border [http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/hungary-s-fence-turns-trek-into-waiting-game-1471305693] in the hope of entering the European Union.

Instead, the 67-year-old restaurant owner plans to make his dining room smaller. He won't recruit migrants, especially if they are Muslims.

"I wouldn't know what to do with them," Mr. Punk said. "I'm not against them but they are coming from a totally different culture."

Mr. Punk's tavern is a microcosm of the wider forces shaping Hungary's society and economy ahead of Sunday's referendum on **immigration**[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/hungary-sets-date-for-vote-on-settling-migrants-1467707714]. Prime Minister Viktor Orban, who opposes Muslim **immigration** [http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/criticized-abroad-hungarys-orban-gains-support-at-home-with-migrant-crackdown-1442517065], wants voters to say no to an EU policy to impose [http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/eus-junker-proposes-new-refugee-quota-plan-1441792202] "the obligatory resettlement of non-Hungarian citizens."

Although Hungary's working population is expected to shrink by more than 10% over the next four years, according to a central-bank estimate, Mr. Orban objects to allowing large numbers of **refugees** to settle in the country, saying they would threaten its ethnic cohesion.

The prime minister argues migrants also represent a security threat because some Islamist radicals have made their way into the EU by posing as **refugees**.

In tandem with Poland's Jaroslaw Kaczynski, leader of the country's ruling Law and Justice party, Mr. Orban is campaigning in Brussels against the EU plan to impose **refugee** quotas on bloc members.

That has put him on a collision course with other EU​ leaders, notably German Chancellor Angela Merkel, who has made the acceptance of **refugees** a cornerstone of her policy.

But Ms. Merkel's approach has suffered setbacks at home, where an upstart anti-**immigration** movement outpolled her ruling conservative party in a recent state election and now has seats in 10 state parliaments.

"Courageous politicians in Germany and Austria do say that what the Hungarians are doing is good for Germany and for Austria as well," Mr. Orban said on state television Tuesday.

Since joining the EU in 2004, the country of nearly 10 million has seen an estimated 350,000 of its skilled and educated workers leave. At least 90,000 alone have relocated to the U.K. The "brain drain"—along with a low birthrate and aging population—has resulted in chronic labor shortages in service industries and at factories and farms.

Students, who were mandated to provide cheap labor at apple-picking camps during the communist era, are no longer coming to the fields. Romanians and ethnic Hungarians in neighboring countries traditionally filled many jobs in the agricultural and manufacturing sectors here, but now leapfrog Hungary to move farther west.

That has left members of DelKerTESZ, a cooperative of some 500 vegetable producers in Szentes, in southern Hungary, mustering friends and relatives to avoid losing harvests.

"We get family members to work on the fields or transport the produce on Saturdays and Sundays," said Ferenc Ledo, the cooperative chief. "It's impossible to find crop pickers."

Hungary's main association of entrepreneurs and employers, Mgyosz, has warned that the dearth of applicants in many sectors was endangering economic growth, which is expected to reach 2% this year. The association sides with government policy, though, saying thatonly migrant workers who "are skilled and could culturally fit in" are needed.

More than 150,000 non-European **refugee** seekers applied for asylum in Hungary last year. But nearly all of them continued their journeys to Germany or Scandinavia.

Those countries would like Budapest to repatriate any migrants who were first registered in Hungary upon their entry into the EU—as the bloc's rules require—but Mr. Orban has refused their entreaties.

The government now lets about 30 migrants a day cross into Hungary through its heavily guarded border with Serbia. Almost none of them stay in the country, even if granted asylum protection,according to the Helsinki Committee, a human-rights group.

The government's anti-**immigration** policy has been pilloried by the Two-Tailed Dog Party, a group founded by prankster artists that launched a mock billboard campaign.

"Did you know? Hungarians see more UFOs in their lifetime than migrants," one of the recent billboards reads.

Yet a survey conducted in mid-September by polling agency Publicus suggests 61% of Hungarians will support Mr. Orban's **immigration** stance on Sunday. The referendum, which is valid only if turnout surpasses a threshold of 50%, is largely symbolic, as it carries no legal bearing and Brussels has largely backed off trying to impose **refugee** quotas on bloc members.

At the Tihany tavern, Mr. Punk casts his support with the government, saying it has made Hungary a safer and more attractive place. "Some Germans have already moved here," he said. "They can have a cozy life here."

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**As Europe's troubles deepen and pose more of a threat to the vital interests of the U.S., Americans are recycling their tried and tested critiques of the European Union: It is too statist and bureaucratic. Its instincts are too protectionist. Its decision-making bodies are too slow and secretive. EU foreign policy is too naive, too feckless about defense and security. The problem with Europe, in a word, is that it is too European.

But the EU isn't in trouble today because its leaders are "too European." The EU is in trouble because its leadership isn't European enough. It is time for the continent to return to the tradition of realist politics that gave rise to its modern union in the first place.

It is easy today to forget just how hardheaded the original architects of Europe's postwar drive for integration actually were. Charles de Gaulle of France, Konrad Adenauer of West Germany and Alcide De Gasperi of Italy were conservative nationalists whose vision for Europe reflected the bitter experiences of two world wars and a failed peace.

In its origins, European unity was an unsentimental exercise in geopolitics. Germany and Italy saw it as a way to reintegrate into the world after the disaster of fascism. France saw a coalition with a defeated and partitioned Germany as a way to cement its power in Europe and to strengthen its global reach. All these governments saw European unity as a way to keep the Old World as independent as possible from both Moscow and Washington. "Europe will be your revenge," Adenauer told de Gaulle after the humiliation of the Suez crisis in 1956, when the U.S. forced France and Britain to back down from a joint campaign with Israel against Egypt.

These leaders did not think that submerging their national histories and identities in a cosmopolitan, post-national Europe was either possible or desirable. They supported Europe because it seemed to be the best way forward for the peoples they led. For its part, the U.S. backed the project because a united Western Europe offered the best hope to stop communism in the short term and to prevent the recurrence of major European wars farther down the road.

It was a farseeing generation of European leaders, and their insights proved to be right. A stronger, more united Europe kept the Soviets at bay (and limited American power) while serving the national interests of the nations who founded it.

But none of these leaders thought that they were building—or wanted to build—a cosmopolitan superstate, the aspiration of many Europeans today. And each of them was deeply concerned about building up his own military forces (including, in de Gaulle's case, nuclear weapons). The Soviet threat kept European minds concentrated on the hard facts of power.

Even after the passing of postwar Europe's founding generation, hard power and hard thinking still played a role in the continent's politics. West German Chancellor Willy Brandt's embrace of Ostpolitik—that is, an "eastern policy"—in the 1970s was a classic example of subtle and visionary statesmanship. It entailed, among things, the opening of the Warsaw Pact and the U.S.S.R. to trade and exchanges with West Germany, thus helping to weaken Soviet power, undermine the East German Communist Party and shift Eastern European economies and societies toward the West. During the 1980s, two German chancellors—Helmut Schmidt and Helmut Kohl—resisted immense public pressure in order to back President Ronald Reagan on the deployment of short-range nuclear missiles to counter the Soviet buildup.

Europe's distinctive history—of powerful, competitive states developing a common civilization—gave the continent a complex and subtle tradition of statecraft. That tradition provided de Gaulle, Adenauer and their peers with the political ideas and diplomatic skills to achieve their goals.

European statesmen of this era scoffed at American optimists like Eleanor Roosevelt, with her postwar confidence in the swift approach of a terrestrial utopia regulated by international law. They chided such naifs for their superficial approach to world politics—for neglecting the realities of hard power, on the one hand, and for dismissing the fateful and decisive influence of national culture, on the other.

Since the end of the Cold War, these traditions of statesmanship have faded, and the continent that gave Machiavelli to the world has embraced instead the spirit of Woodrow Wilson. When Wilson proposed his Fourteen Points after World War I, the French Premier Georges Clémenceau mocked them, noting that "God himself had only 10." Today, however, Wilson's vision of a liberal world order regulated by global institutions has become the basis of European policy.

It isn't working, and the EU is in the midst of its most serious crisis in a half-century. Beset by enemies abroad and rivalries within, buffeted by economic and cultural forces that its feeble institutions cannot master, riven by clashes of interest and values that pit north against south, east against west, the EU is being tested as never before.

To overcome these problems, Europe needs to return to its roots and recover the realistic statecraft for which it was once celebrated and esteemed.

The recovery must begin with geopolitics. With the demise of the Soviet Union, Europe's leaders no longer saw themselves as building fragile structures of order in a dangerous world of rival powers. To their minds, the age of universal peace had come. For reasons of democratic idealism and European solidarity, they promoted the expansion of the EU into former areas of the Warsaw Pact and the U.S.S.R. But in the excitement of building a larger EU, few of them considered how these policies would affect the continent's relationship to Russia.

De Gaulle or Adenauer would have known better. Since the time of Peter the Great, Russia has insisted on its right to influence key European decisions that affect its own economic and security interests. Any European leader of the last three centuries would have understood, without being told, that to attempt to exclude Russia from the most important economic and political questions in Europe was to invite war.

For the clueless technocrats who made European policy in the 1990s, however, Russia was inconsequential—economically moribund, still stunned by the Soviet collapse and ruled by the increasingly pitiable (and often drunk) Boris Yeltsin. Russia, they assumed, could do little more than protest against EU and NATOexpansion in the 1990s. But stunned isn't dead, and the inevitable Russian recovery began.

Russia is not (yet) the kind of power that the Soviet Union was, but today's EU lacks the political, economic and military wherewithal (to say nothing of the determination and will) to impose its European vision on Russia. This isn't just about Vladimir Putin. No Russian leader could quietly accept the existing European architecture, which is a standing challenge to a range of Russia's historic interests.

During the Cold War, European leaders prided themselves on possessing a more sophisticated and nuanced reading of Soviet intentions than the Americans, but over the past decade, they have been as slow as President Barack Obama and Secretary of State John Kerry to grasp Russia's intentions. On both sides of the Atlantic, leaders have been unable to understand that Mr. Putin sees the world through geopolitical, rather than liberal internationalist, spectacles. Mr. Putin has consistently outmaneuvered and outfoxed both the EU and the U.S. Even with its much weaker hand, Russia has forced NATO and the EU to conform to its movements and play the game on its terms.

A more credible European response to Russia would proceed on two fronts. In the first place, Europe must offer stiff resistance (from sanctions to security assistance) to Russian attempts to expand its influence and also reduce its own dependence on Russian energy. At the same time, however, Europe should open talks with Russia, inviting deeper participation in European institutions if (and only if) Russia moves closer to European values.

Another critical piece of the European legacy that the EU has discarded is the idea of the nation-state, one of the continent's greatest and most powerful political inventions. The nation-state emerged as a way to bind millions of people together into a moral and political community, based on bonds of culture; it was meant to create solidarities and loyalties that could transcend regional and class divides.

The post-nationalist leaders of post-Cold War Europe thought that they would strengthen the continent by marginalizing nationalism and embracing the goal of a pan-European superstate. They were wrong, and the result of their error is visible today in the resurgence of nationalist tensions in reaction to the EU's overreaching.

The original architects of European integration did not think that the nation-state was outmoded. For de Gaulle, Adenauer and De Gasperi, the nation-state (whatever its faults and limits) remained the indispensable foundation for European and world order. No other political entity possessed the necessary democratic legitimacy or effectiveness in action.

As de Gaulle would have predicted, a pan-European government conducted at a great remove from the peoples of Europe lacks the political support to be strong. Worse, it has lost sight of the importance of culture to policy-making, a failure that is visible, above all, in the single most disastrous European initiative since World War II: the euro.

Centuries of European history counseled against this experiment, but the proponents of the euro were technocrats who could only see the abstract logic of a single currency. They scoffed at the idea that money might play different roles across the continent's varied cultures—roles that, as we have seen, could not be easily eradicated.

Germans tend to think of money as an objective measure of worth; they recoil at the notion that government would interfere with the value of money to achieve political or economic goals. For the Italians and the French, by contrast, monetary adjustment is the obvious way to handle economic problems and to redress social inequities. The euro ignored these (and many other) profound national differences. As a result, it has inflicted monumental economic pain on much of the continent. Administered by an unelected, transnational committee, it also has undermined public confidence in all of the EU's institutions.

On migration, Europe has fumbled as badly as it has in managing its money. This is a colossal failure, brought about by a synthesis of cultural blindness and geopolitical fantasy.

Just as Europe's leaders have discounted the geopolitical dimension of their relationship with Russia, so too they have ignored the gathering storms to their south and east. The combination of demographic explosion, authoritarianism and state failure in much of the Middle East, North Africa and sub-Saharan Africa ensures that wave after wave of desperate people will knock on Europe's door for the foreseeable future. Syria is the tragedy of the moment, but developments in Turkey, Egypt, Pakistan and elsewhere could just as easily send new masses of **refugees** and migrants across the Mediterranean.

With anti-**immigrant** feeling growing across the continent, even as the wave of migrants threatens to grow, the EU is unable either to manage the flow or address its causes. Europeans are deeply and bitterly divided today about how to handle this unprecedented flow of **refugees** and migrants, but the problem isn't going away.

Europe must regain control of its frontiers; its citizens must believe that their union can prevent an unending flow of migrants across the sea and over land. This means more naval power in the Mediterranean and expanded surveillance of Europe's frontiers. It also means building up European hard-power capacities (including intelligence and military options) to better manage events in North Africa and the Middle East that affect vital European interests.

Taken together, these many challenges are formidable indeed, but the postwar architects of the continent's union faced worse. The European tradition of statecraft and diplomacy developed in a world of ideological strife and bloody warfare. An intelligent return to that tradition offers Europeans a way forward. But it won't be easy. Much of the European project as developed since the revolutions of 1989 needs to be rethought, and some of it needs to be dismantled.

In the first place, Europe must recover its traditional appreciation of hard power. No major European country spends anything like enough on defense. The bureaucratic-legalistic mind-set that now reigns in Brussels will have to be modified. In matters of diplomacy and security policy, today's permanent European councils and parliaments will have to yield to more flexible arrangements based on the prerogatives of national governments.

To recover its élan and continental identity, Europe needs to stop pretending that history is over—that the stark old realities of international politics have given way to irresistible liberal progress. Europe must instead embrace the national states and cultures at its historic heart and exploit their creative power; it must rebuild its military capacities; and it must proceed with a clear-eyed focus on European interests in a dangerous world.

Such an EU—decentralized and outward-looking—might persuade British voters to reconsider Brexit. At a minimum, it would command Britain's respect and draw it into deeper cooperation on military and political responses to the continuing crises to Europe's east and south.

None of this will tear Europe apart or make it less European. Europe will become stronger even as it becomes truer to its own roots. De Gaulle called it a "Europe of fatherlands" (Europe des patries), and it will be more capable, respected and durable than the papier-mache facade of power that the bureaucrats and jurists have labored so industriously, but so vainly, to build in Brussels.

Mr. Mead is a distinguished fellow at the Hudson Institute in Washington, D.C., a professor of foreign affairs at Bard College and editor at large of the American Interest.

Related Reading

\* The Isolationist Temptation[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/the-isolationist-temptation-1470411481] (Aug. 5, 2016)

\* Brexit: A Very British Revolution[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/brexit-a-very-british-revolution-1466800383] (June 24, 2016)

\* The European Union Works Best a la Carte[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/the-european-union-works-best-a-la-carte-1462546576] (May 6, 2016)

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Corrections & Amplifications:

An earlier version of this article incorrectly spelled the surname of Eka Chitanava. (Sept. 30, 2016)

Pope Francis' visit to the former Soviet state of Georgia this week poses a dilemma for the Catholic leader, as his pursuit of warmer relations with Russia exposes him to accusations he is soft-pedaling his central human-rights agenda.

The pontiff, who has been accused of ignoring Russia's role in the Ukraine conflict, has avidly sought better ties with the Russian Orthodox Church and is generally reluctant to antagonize the Kremlin.

In Georgia on Friday and Saturday, he faces the possibility either of a setback to his efforts for Christian unity or more claims that he is appeasing an expansionist Russia.

Leaders in Georgia, which borders Russia to the south, hope to use the papal visit to call attention to the continued presence of Russian troops in the separatist territories[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/russia-tightens-control-over-breakaway-georgian-region-of-south-ossetia-1426688743] of Abkhazia and South Ossetia, which Moscow recognized as independent after a brief 2008 war between the two countries.

Georgia also would like the pope to speak out about the plight of **refugees** from the breakaway regions. The Tbilisi government says more than 200,000 people are now displaced in Georgia.

Pope Francis is a strong advocate for **refugees**[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/pope-francis-calls-on-europes-catholics-to-shelter-refugees-1441552408] and other migrants and has urged rich countries to open their borders to those fleeing war and poverty. But he would irritate Moscow by raising the **refugee** issue in Georgia, which won independence from the Soviet Union in 1991 but still lives in Russia's shadow.

Russia has repeatedly opposed United Nations resolutions calling for the return of the displaced people to the separatist regions.

In a sign of the pope's careful approach, on Wednesday he condemned the bombings of Aleppo, Syria, that have killed hundreds[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/syria-russia-press-bombing-of-aleppo-1474906448] since last week, and said those responsible "will have to account for themselves before God." But he didn't explicitly name the Syrian government or Russia, who together launched the bombardment after a cease-fire with rebel forces broke down.

The Russian state and church have grown especially close under President Vladimir Putin, who has enjoyed enthusiastic ecclesiastical support as he backed the revival of an institution restricted under Communism. Previous popes' relations with Moscow were often a matter of sometimes tense geopolitics rather than of religious outreach.

"Francis avoids attacking Russian policies because he has a great interest in closer relations with the Patriarch of Moscow, and the Russian Orthodox Church is closely tied to the Kremlin," said Sandro Magister, a Vatican expert who writes for the Italian magazine L'Espresso.

On other occasions the pope has remained silent on human rights to advance other strategic priorities. He didn't meet with or speak up publicly for dissidents during his September 2015 visit to Cuba[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/many-cubans-hope-popes-visit-will-nurture-reform-1442679088]. Though his welcoming tone to gays is well known, hHe didn't mention say a word about Uganda's harsh antihomosexuality laws when he visited in November.

The Russian Orthodox Church represents approximately two-thirds of the world's 200 million or more Orthodox Christians, so its participation is essential to the success of the Catholic Church's efforts by the Catholic Church since the 1960s to reunify after a nearly 1,000-year split.

In February, Pope Francis met with Patriarch Kirill of Moscow—the first meeting in history[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/pope-francis-arrives-in-cuba-for-historic-meeting-1455304186] between the leaders of the Catholic and Russian Orthodox Churches. Concern in both churches over the plight of Christians in the Middle East was a major priority of the meeting.

In a joint declaration, the pair also called for peace in eastern Ukraine, where the government has been fighting separatists backed by Russia. Archbishop Sviatoslav Shevchuk, leader of most of Ukraine's Catholics, said many of his followers felt betrayed by the Vatican for what they believed was the document's indirect support for Russian aggression.

Pope Francis had already angered Ukrainian Catholics by describing the conflict there as "fratricidal," seeming to imply it was a civil war rather than the consequence of an attack by Russia.

Georgia's Orthodox Church, under Patriarch Ilia II, has become a bastion of national identity since independence. Yet it has strong ties to the Patriarchate of Moscow, and according to some critics, serves the Kremlin as tool to help keep Tbilisi within Russia's orbit.

"The Russian Orthodox Church uses its soft power and one of its sources is … the Georgian Orthodox Church," said Eka Chitanava, of the Tbilisi-based Tolerance and Diversity Institute.

After two days in Georgia, Pope Francis will make a brief visit Sunday to Muslim-majority Azerbaijan. There the pope will visit a mosque and meet with the spiritual leader of the country's Muslims.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**TBILISI, Georgia—Pope Francis spoke out in support of **refugees** on a visit to the former Soviet republic of Georgia Friday, in a carefully calibrated statement that could still irritate the country's powerful neighbor, Russia.

In an address to the Georgian president, Pope Francis said people had the right "to coexist peacefully in their homeland or freely return to that land, if for some reason they have been forced to leave it."

While the pontiff avoided specifics, the statement was an oblique reference to long-unresolved conflicts in the region. Russia has troops stationed in two separatist regions within Georgia[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/russia-tightens-control-over-breakaway-georgian-region-of-south-ossetia-1426688743] and has stymied efforts to allow those who fled conflict there to return.

Georgia fought Russian-backed separatists in the Georgian regions of Abkhazia and South Ossetia following the breakup of the Soviet Union. That violence, together with another five-day war between Russia and Georgia in 2008, forced more than 200,000 people from the separatist regions to other parts of the country.

Russia has repeatedly opposed United Nations resolutions calling for the return of the displaced to the separatist regions.

The pontiff's words bolster his stance as a champion of **refugees** and other migrants, but threaten to hurt his efforts to develop friendlier relations with the Russian Orthodox Church[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/pope-faces-pressure-over-russia-in-georgia-visit-1475141482].

Georgians hope that a visit by Pope Francis will draw attention to the continued presence of Russian troops on their soil. The government hopes his visit will also help bolster Georgia's efforts to develop stronger ties with Europe while it is seeking a visa-free regime with the European Union.

In an address to the pope, Georgian President Giorgi Margvelashvili said Georgia had been a victim of occupation and "Russian aggression," but focused on Tbilisi's historic ties to the West.

"Georgia started building a free state of a European style after regaining national independence two and a half decades ago," he said. "Today, we continue to pursue our historic mission."

Georgian Catholics, who make up less than 1 percent of the population, also want the pope to address accusations of discrimination in the country, where 85 percent of the population worships under the powerful Georgian Orthodox Church.

Several properties taken over by the state during the Soviet period have been given to the Georgian Orthodox Church since independence, and Catholics say they see an atmosphere of intolerance towards the Catholic faith.

"We hope the arrival of the pope will help affect the attitudes of people in society about us, even if nothing changes fundamentally," said Levan Mnateus Sutidze, a Catholic advocate and journalist in Georgia.

However, some have seen the pope's arrival as a threat and have protested the pontiff's visit.

Under Patriarch Ilia II, Georgia's Orthodox Church has become a bastion of national identity since independence. Yet it has strong ties to the Patriarchate of Moscow, and according to some critics, serves the Kremlin as a tool to help keep Tbilisi within Russia's orbit.

The Russian state and church have grown especially close under President Vladimir Putin, who has backed the revival of an institution restricted under communism and enjoyed enthusiastic ecclesiastical support for his policies. Previous popes' relations with Moscow were a matter of sometimes tense geopolitics rather than of religious outreach.

In a meeting Friday with the Georgian patriarch, Pope Francis emphasized unity between the two churches.

However, the Georgian Orthodox Church has been wary of the pope's ecumenism and observers say the patriarch is walking a fine line between welcoming the pontiff and not raising eyebrows in Russia.

The Georgian Orthodox Church has been careful not to anger the Russian Orthodox patriarch. The Russian church doesn't recognize the churches in South Ossetia and Abkhazia as independent from the Georgian Orthodox Church, and Patriarch Ilia II is keen not to upset that relationship.

The Georgian Orthodox Church is one of the most respected institutions in the country and says it supports Georgia's efforts to join the European Union. However, critics say that in practice it often works against that message as some fear Georgia's trajectory westward could threaten the Georgian Orthodox Church's privileged position in the country.

"The Georgian Orthodox Church says it supports the country's western stance but rhetoric coming from the church is often very anti-Western in nature and the church to an extent wants to distance itself from the pope's visit," said Malkhaz Saldadze of the Heinrich Boell Foundation.

Following his meeting with the Georgian patriarch, the pope said a special prayer for peace with the Chaldean Catholic Church in Tbilisi.

Pope Francis is due to spend Saturday in Georgia before departing to Azerbaijan Sunday morning. He had visited Armenia earlier this year. The Vatican had originally planned the tour as a single trip but split it in two amid a continuing conflict between Armenia and Azerbaijan over the region of Nagorno-Karabakh, a largely ethnic Armenian enclave within Azerbaijan's borders.

Francis. X. Rocca in Rome contributed to this article.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**WASHINGTON—The Supreme Court is steering clear of polarizing ideological disputes in the new session that opens Monday—and instead will focus on nuts-and-bolts cases such as criminal prosecution and intellectual property while it remains short one justice.

The court has little choice but to leave bigger-picture cases for another day. Since the February death of Justice Antonin Scalia[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/supreme-court-justice-antonin-scalia-dead-at-79-1455404229], the court has been evenly split between factions on the right and left, leaving it deadlocked on cases [http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/supreme-court-struggles-to-deal-with-4-4-split-1459296247]whose outcomes depend on broad judicial philosophies.

This year's term is one for the "law geeks," says University of Virginia law professor Daniel Ortiz.

Not only are the justices sidestepping tough issues, they also are taking significantly fewer cases, Mr. Ortiz said. By this time of year, the court generally has taken about 50 cases for review. After accepting eight more cases Thursday, the total so far reached only 38.

"Unless they change course," the court will fall short of filling the 72 argument slots it typically schedules, Mr. Ortiz said.

The court has bulked up on such nonideological topics as intellectual property, which the justices have found requires renewed attention in light of the 21st century's technological and social changes.

During the term's second week, for instance, the court will hear a high-stakes patent dispute[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/supreme-court-to-hear-samsung-appeal-in-apple-patent-case-1458568664] between Apple Inc. and Samsung Electronics Co., which a jury found infringed the iPhone's design with its own smartphones.

Samsung, which had been ordered to pay $930 million in damages, argued that a federal appeals court incorrectly found it liable for all its profits for the infringing phones, rather than only profits attributable to the design features it copied. A victory would revive the South Korean manufacturer's chances of nullifying $399 million in damages.

There is evidence that the justices are also dialing down the court's temperature since Justice Scalia's death by putting off action on cases it accepted before Justice Scalia's death.

In January, the court accepted three cases likely to produce 5-4 conservative victories in causes the late conservative justice had championed: limiting government power over land use, authorizing public subsidies for religious organizations and paring back class-action lawsuits. None of those cases yet has been set for argument, even as the court has scheduled appeals granted later in the year.

The justices may consider it pointless to hear cases almost certain to produce deadlock, court observers say, and may be waiting for the appointment of a ninth justice who can provide a deciding vote.

Since Justice Scalia's death, the court also has turned down cases that might otherwise have had a strong shot of being granted, lawyers say.

Supreme Court litigator Neal Katyal filed an appeal in March on behalf of Google Inc., which was fighting a class-action suit by internet advertisers[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/supreme-court-wont-hear-out-google-in-advertising-lawsuit-1465224757] alleging misrepresentations about its placement of ads on error pages and "low quality" websites through the search engine's AdWords program. The case involved a major corporation—which denies the allegations—and was a pet issue of Justice Scalia's. And the legal question had divided federal appeals courts, a factor that typically prompts the Supreme Court to step in and establish a nationwide legal rule.

"This was the most obvious grant…that I had really ever seen and yet it was denied," Mr. Katyal said at a Supreme Court preview at the William & Mary Law School in Williamsburg, Va. "It was denied I think because the court is really not sure which direction to go."

Still, the docket does include a handful of more charged cases, including several that involve racial discrimination in the justice system.

Next week on Wednesday, the court will consider an appeal from Duane Buck[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/u-s-supreme-court-to-review-two-texas-death-sentences-1465236870], an African American convicted of murder who a Texas court sentenced to death after a psychologist hired by his own lawyers testified the defendant was statistically more likely to be violent because of his race. ​Mr. Buck maintains his attorneys were so incompetent in calling the psychologist, Walter Quijano, as to violate his constitutional right to a fair trial.

Later on the same day, the court will consider whether Elijah Manuel—a black man in Joliet, Ill., who spent 48 days in jail before charges were dropped—can file a federal suit against the city alleging its police officers fabricated evidence to falsely accuse him of drug possession.

Another race-related case is scheduled for the following week, when the court considers whether to create an exception to rules making jury deliberations inadmissible in court if a juror makes biased statements to justify a guilty verdict. According to other jurors, one member of the jury, a former law enforcement officer, argued for convicting Miguel Pena-Rodriguez of sexual assault because "because he's Mexican and Mexican men take whatever they want."

Mr. Pena-Rodriguez wants to use that evidence to argue he received an unfair trial, but the Colorado Supreme Court held that rules protecting jury secrecy forbid him from introducing it.

The court has several **immigration** cases on the docket, but nothing involving Obama administration initiatives to use executive authority to aid illegal **immigrants** with ties to the U.S. Instead, the cases concern challenges to government efforts to deport or detain them.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**There were cheers when Donald Trump assured his Virginia audience last weekend that the wall will be built and, yes, that Mexico would pay for it. But the cheers lacked the roaring ecstasy his promise used to evoke at rallies. No one has the heart, by now, to pretend that such a wall will actually be built, but that's all right with Mr. Trump's dauntless fans, who can find plenty of other reasons for their faith in him. The NeverTrump forces, appalled at the prospect of a Trump presidency, are no less passionate.

The NeverHillary forces are another matter entirely—citizens well aware of the darker aspects of Donald Trump's character but who have nonetheless concluded that they should give him their vote. They are aware of his casual disregard for truth, his self-obsession, his ignorance, his ingrained vindictiveness. Not even the first presidential debate, which saw him erupt into a snarling aside about Rosie O'Donnell, could loosen his hold on that visceral drive to inflict payback, in this case over a feud 10 years old.

The NeverHillary forces are aware, too, of his grandiosity—his announcement that he knows more about Islamic State than any of America's generals will long be remembered—his impulse-driven character, his insatiable need for applause, the head-turning effect on him of an approving word from Vladimir Putin. The Russian leader's compliment late last year was of the mildest kind—he referred to Mr. Trump as "talented" and "colorful"—but it was enough to make the candidate's heart go pitter-patter with gratitude and engender instant expressions of his faith in Mr. Putin's integrity and leadership. As Mr. Trump himself has explained, "if he says nice things about me, I'm going to say nice things about him."

Such are the values that drive the Republican candidate's judgment—a fact interesting to contemplate as one imagines a President Trump dealing with international conflict and rogue heads of state. Still Mr. Trump is now the choice of voters who have concluded that of the two flawed contenders running, he would be far preferable.

Yes, he may be rough around the edges, but he's a fresh force, the argument goes, unlike the establishment war horse, Mrs. Clinton, with her history of scandal and rumors thereof, and her decades in politics. Mr. Trump is the dynamo who will blow up the old order. He's authentic, a man with the courage of his convictions.

Mr. Trump has not, of course, shown himself notably reliable as regards the courage of his convictions. It's by now impossible to count the number of times and ways in which he's sidled away from his grand plans on **immigration**, that promise to deport everyone here illegally, not to mention his proposal to institute a total block on Muslim **immigration** "till we figure things out." He's proffered no less than three different views on abortion, one of which called for "at least some punishment" for the woman involved—quickly changed to wait, no, it should be the doctor.

Still, it was the view of Donald Trump as a fearless foe of liberal piety, that image of him as an outsider, untainted by experience in government—itself one of the more remarkable boasts of any presidential campaign in memory—that persuaded so many Americans he is the leader the country needs. As opposed, that is, to Mrs. Clinton—the educated former secretary of state, with lengthy experience in government.

Equally remarkable, even for a change election, that experience, those years of education in national security somehow rank high on the list of defects the anti-Hillary brigades find so objectionable. Here is a flaw apparently even more rankling than her email server history, the questions about Benghazi, or the Clinton Foundation: She offers nothing of Mr. Trump's aura of free-swinging dynamism, not to mention a mind blissfully uncluttered by facts, knowledge of geopolitical realities, and the like.

Mrs. Clinton hasn't failed to provide, on her own, cause for concern about her own proclivities and never more intolerably than in that debate Monday when she chose to ramble on, familiarly, about institutional racism, which invariably emerges in her responses on conflagration involving police action. Americans have a right to cringe at this reflexive, factually distorted, and inflammatory sermonizing. The accompanying, deep felt tribute to the police and their heroism, invariably added, can never offset the insidiousness of these messages.

Even so, such proclivities pale next to the occasion for cringing that would come with a Trump presidency. No one witnessing Mr. Trump's primary race—his accumulation of Alt-Right cheerleaders, white supremacists and swastika devotees—could fail to notice the menacing tone and the bitterness that came with it.

Not for nothing did the Democrats bring off a triumph of a convention, alive with cheer, not to mention its two visitors whose story would lift countless American hearts. They were, of course, the Muslim couple Khizr and Ghazala Khan, whose son, Capt. Humayun Khan—brought here as a child—died in Iraq in 2004, saving his men from an explosive-rigged car.

His countrymen now go streaming to his grave at Arlington National Cemetery to leave notes and flowers. He reminded us of who we are—the nation that takes its newcomers and transforms them into Americans. After 9/11, Capt. Khan, American, could scarcely wait to serve his country. The national response to the Khans injected a sense of unity and affirmation, however brief, into an atmosphere of embittering divisiveness.

The end of the election is now in sight. Some among the anti-Hillary brigades have decided, in deference to their exquisite sensibilities, to stay at home on Election Day, rather than vote for Mrs. Clinton. But most Americans will soon make their choice. It will be either Mr. Trump or Mrs. Clinton—experienced, forward-looking, indomitably determined and eminently sane. Her election alone is what stands between the American nation and the reign of the most unstable, proudly uninformed, psychologically unfit president ever to enter the White House.

Ms. Rabinowitz is a member of the Journal's editorial board.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**The story of a man who bought an $80 horse bound for the slaughterhouse and turned him into a champion show jumper sounds more Disney movie than documentary film, but it is the heart of "Harry & Snowman."

The film opens Friday at select theaters in New York and New Jersey.

In 1956, Harry deLeyer, a Dutch **immigrant** working as a riding instructor at the Knox School for girls in Nissequogue, Long Island, bought an Amish plow horse at an auction in Pennsylvania. Mr. deLeyer was hoping to use him as a school horse for his students, but he soon learned that the horse, whom his children named Snowman, had extraordinary jumping talent. Within two years. Mr. deLeyer had turned the erstwhile plow horse into a show-jumping champion at Madison Square Garden in New York.

"I came to this country with nothing in my pocket. Snowman and me, we made it to the top of the world," says Mr. deLeyer, who serves as the narrator for much of the film. Mr. deLeyer, now 89 years old, lives on a farm near Charlottesville, Va. He finally stopped teaching riders earlier this year.

Mr. deLeyer is an avuncular presence in the film, which was made in 2013 and 2014, and his voice lends warmth to the story. According to the film's director, Ron Davis, Mr. deLeyer's Dutch accent was challenging at times. Mr. Davis had to rerecord some of Mr. deLeyer's words in a studio to ensure he could be understood.

"Once you get the rhythm of Harry's speech, by the end of the movie you don't even notice," Mr. Davis said.

Mr. Davis, of the Wellington, Fla.-based Docutainment Films, grew up riding horses in northern New Jersey in the 1980s but had never heard of Snowman and Harry deLeyer until the book "The Eighty-Dollar Champion: Snowman, the Horse that Inspired a Nation," by Elizabeth Letts, was published in 2011. Mr. Davis, however, didn't read the book. "I didn't want to have any preconceived notions," he said.

The fairy-tale aspect of the story had its challenges, Mr. Davis said. The premise was "so clichéd and so potentially soppy," he said, that his greatest concern was to make it seem real. And at the same time, the story was so compelling that Mr. Davis had to make sure he didn't "get in the way" of telling it, he said, adding: "There were so many ways you could go wrong."

The balance of sentiment and reality turned out to be so difficult it took three editors and three composers to get just the right tone for the film and the music that accompanies it.

The movie also benefits from the presence of 63-year-old Harriet deLeyer, one of Harry deLeyer's 10 children, who lives in Bridgehampton, N.Y., and teaches riding at Wölffer Estate Stables and Topping Riding Club.

Ms. deLeyer was surprised to find herself narrating a good part of the film. "I was supposed to have a cameo appearance," she said, when reached by phone a few days ago. She knew Snowman not only as a star but as a family pet; the film depicts the deLeyer children all sitting on his back and at one point even riding him into Long Island Sound.

But it was Snowman and her father who shared an unbreakable bond.

"Snowman would do anything my dad asked of him and I believe that's because Snowman understood my dad saved him," said Ms. deLeyer. The line may sound sappy, but her delivery is natural and understated, like the film itself.

The New York equestrian world has long been a place for the elite and the moneyed. That an **immigrant** with "nothing" managed not only to compete but to triumph is the story of every man and woman who arrives with little money but big dreams. Except in the case of Harry deLeyer, that dream came in the form of an plow horse named Snowman.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Los Angeles

Steven Istock has a hot script. He just needs a star.

"John Travolta?" the veteran producer asks the room. The A-lister once commanded $20 million a movie and the total production budget for Mr. Istock's project is about $600,000. But he's a producer: He has a fix.

Mr. Travolta spends part of his time in Florida, where the movie was supposed to film later this year, so Mr. Istock practices his pitch out loud.

"Hey, John, I hear you like shooting movies in Florida. We got one," he says to a room of colleagues.

Read more: At Age 90, Roger Corman Reigns as B-Movie King[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/at-age-90-roger-corman-reigns-as-b-movie-king-1475185776?tesla=y]

Mr. Travolta's name is part of the conversation in this cramped production office off Melrose Ave. because Mr. Istock thinks this script, "Terminal Kill," might be strong enough to attract a bigger star than usual. The plot: A government agent (Travolta?) recruits a terminally ill single mother to assassinate the leader of a shadow organization bent on starting a new Cold War.

"Terminal Kill" was written 10 years ago, but it just recently became a priority in the pile of projects Mr. Istock has in pre-development at California Pictures LLC, the small production company he founded to produce low-budget movies that rarely play in theaters.

Mr. Istock, 49, is part of the huge, largely invisible universe of B-list producers operating outside the major studio system in Hollywood. Like all sectors of the entertainment industry, B-movies are being buffeted by shifts in how entertainment is made and consumed. The advent of Netflix, Hulu, Amazon and a raft of other online and video-on-demand services[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/amazon-ups-the-ante-on-streaming-video-1460944802] have created almost limitless demand for entertainment. But instead of enjoying a sellers' market, small players like Mr. Istock find themselves squeezed harder than ever.

Getting a name-brand actor on board has always been a high priority for any movie. But it's even more important now as movies like "Terminal Kill" compete for eyeballs in foreign markets developing their own homegrown entertainment. Mr. Istock and his team want someone famous and commanding—but most importantly, still affordable.

Mr. Travolta is at the top of the list. He's a long shot, and the team starts coming down to Earth.

Billy Crudup? "Too highbrow," rules the movie's would-be director, Rudolf Buitendach.

"Stephen Dorff can do accents, can't he?" asks Mr. Istock.

No one knows. Mr. Istock moves down the list.

"What about one of the Baldwins?"

‘Wall Street' meets ‘The Graduate' meets ‘Chinatown'

Thousands of movies get made each year. But only a fraction of those get the big-screen Hollywood treatment: $100-million budgets,[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/rising-box-office-masks-glut-of-big-budget-film-flops-1471192593] showtimes in theaters nationwide and promotions on the late-night shows.

The tier below that has long been known as "B-movies." In the 1990s, the category became "straight-to-video" and "straight-to-DVD." Now it goes by names no one can agree on: "independent" (too artsy); "straight-to-VOD" (for video-on-demand—too narrow); or "schlock" (too harsh). For decades, these films have existed on the fringes of Hollywood, playing drive-in theaters, filling Blockbuster shelves, then hitting DVD bins at Wal-Mart. Now, they are populating the deep catalogs of on-demand menus and Netflix.

Mr. Istock has operated in this industry for about a decade, starting in the flush days when DVD sales could cover a B-movie budget. Back then, overseas audiences were happy to watch anything with a remote whiff of Hollywood. But now, thanks to global services that stream the best movies anywhere—Netflix operates in nearly 200 countries[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/media-stocks-digital-disruption-isnt-a-death-knell-1460303138]—they can smell a dud a mile away. Consumers have traded $20 store-bought discs for streaming subscriptions that offer unlimited viewing for $10 a month. That's forced a bifurcation of budgets for producers like Mr. Istock: Either spend less than $2 million for a chance at a modest profit on a small feature, or raise tens of millions of dollars and shoot for a wide theatrical release.

With the market shrinking, Mr. Istock has turned his attention from distributing to producing —putting his own money into more movies so he can get a bigger share of the windfall (if it comes).

"It's knuckle-down time," says Mr. Istock. He spends his 16-hour workday like a producer out of central casting: cajoling phone calls with investors, meetings that stretch for hours with directors about pending overseas deals and rumors of copper barons who want in. He is currently handling sales on a library of about 45 titles. He has also produced a handful of movies and keeps anywhere from one to what he estimates facetiously as 10,000 projects in various stages of development. In recent months he's had meetings on "No Tomorrow," a post-apocalyptic adventure about missing nuclear codes and a "modern-day ‘Magnificent Seven' " called "Choose Your Weapon."

He also has his own scripts he's developing. "It's ‘Wall Street' meets ‘The Graduate' meets ‘Chinatown,' " he says about "The Golden State Prologue." He's polishing a script to "Feast of England," a "Game of Thrones"-type epic [http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/women-wield-the-power-on-game-of-thrones-1466701095]about Elizabethan England. No movie in his orbit is not being developed: It's either active or, as he says, "something we could light back up."

A banker goes to Hollywood

Mr. Istock grew up in Detroit, graduated from the University of Michigan and worked for 15 years as a banker. But "unless you're running the banks, you were a cog," he said. In Hollywood, "we have the ability to do anything we want."

When in 1996 he was offered 13 months' salary to leave Wells Fargo as part of a merger-related downsizing, he pursued acting. He worked as a background extra. He recently spotted himself on a rerun of "J.A.G." from the early 2000s. Mr. Istock was elevated to a speaking role and had one line: "In there."

Toggling between banking and Hollywood, he used money saved up from a stint at Merrill Lynch to form California Pictures in 2008. (He revived the name from the company founded by Howard Hughes and Preston Sturges in 1944.)

He represents dozens of movies a year from filmmakers who want him to sell their projects in markets around the world, hoping that a VOD deal here or a streaming contract there will add up to profitability. Mr. Istock takes a cut on each sale, some of which can be less than $10,000 for multiyear agreements. Mr. Istock, who self-financed his venture, concedes he's not making as much money as he did in banking but says the firm is profitable.

For years, Mr. Istock has been able to rely on money that came in from countries committed to distributing the movie before it had even wrapped—deals known in the industry as "presales."

But that money isn't guaranteed anymore: Distributors can be pickier in a world of prestige television and booming international markets. They want to see a finished project so they know if an A-list actor's "starring role" is actually a cameo, or if the special effects came in half-baked. Budgets have shrunk as a result.

Mr. Istock grimaces when he sees an independent budget above $2 million—it's going to be tough for the financiers who backed it to make any money back. Those financiers are known as the "friends, family, fools" of the industry.

Think ‘The Sting' with hip-hop stars

Mr. Istock works out of the California Pictures office on the Paramount Pictures lot, part of a two-story building featured in the 1950 classic "Sunset Boulevard." The California Pictures headquarters is on the same hall as the office where Joe Gillis (William Holden) cranks out a career-rehab vehicle for Norma Desmond, the forgotten silent-era star. The set decorators for "NCIS: Los Angeles" have a space next door.

California Pictures has no affiliation with Paramount. Mr. Istock just thought it would be cool to rent a space surrounded by so much Hollywood history.

Two colleagues are with him for most of the day. Monique Nayard joined the company after a long career in foreign sales. She knows the alchemy of every country and every actor—who moves sales where, or who is, as she says, "kaput" these days. She used to sell sequels to "Air Bud," the canine adventure movie.

"Same dog, different spot," she'd tell distributors. "The dog would eventually die, but you know what I mean," she clarifies.

Dylan Whitehead, a 2014 film-school graduate and former child actor, is the office millennial, on hand to help Mr. Istock navigate the technology rattling his business. "Hey Dylan, ever hear of a web series called ‘Black'?" Mr. Istock asked one day. "Hey Dylan, can you download a movie on an Apple Watch yet?" (The answer: not yet.)

Behind Mr. Istock's desk is a collage of mini-posters for the movies in his sales library. There's "Growing Pains" actor Kirk Cameron in "Mercy Rule," a family-friendly drama. Mr. Cameron is holding a baseball bat, but Mr. Istock's team edited that symbol of Americana out of some posters to appeal to overseas audiences.

Mr. Istock ticks through other posters to show the breadth of material he can currently offer domestic or overseas buyers. There's now an outlet for just about every kind of movie, he says. "They'll want a mermaid movie. They'll want a lesbian movie. They'll want a horror movie. We've got it," he says, tapping three posters in succession. On an adjacent wall is an old production still from "An Officer and a Gentleman" that he recovered from the Paramount trash heap.

There are two ways Mr. Istock thinks he can expand his company: scale and prestige. One current project hitting both those goals is "The Jones Boys," a true story set in 1940s Chicago about a pair of brothers who leave Alabama to run numbers in the big city. Think "The Sting" with hip-hop stars.

Mr. Istock knows a period piece, with recognizable stars, will be expensive. He has scouted Chicago but still needs to find three more financial partners to help cover the expected $20 million budget—a massive amount of money and risk for a company his size. But as soon as he outlines how quixotic it seems, he quickly adds: "I had a big phone call this week on it that sounds very promising."

**Aliens** cross borders

The razor-thin margins that Mr. Istock must manage as a producer were demonstrated by the financial returns of his 2013 sci-fi adventure, "Scavengers." (Tagline: "Survive the Void.")

Mr. Istock came up with the idea over dinner at Ca del Sole, an Italian restaurant in Los Angeles's San Fernando Valley. The script, about a pair of competing spacecraft crews, was 93 pages long and took 10 days to film.

It was released only three years ago, but the entertainment landscape looked remarkably different then. Streaming services hadn't come to many parts of the world, and foreign markets were hungry for movies. And, Mr. Istock points out, you can't go wrong with science-fiction: **Aliens** cross borders.

In a rare move, Mr. Istock covered the movie's $300,000 budget himself. Before production even wrapped, he made three surprisingly lucrative distribution deals in Germany, Japan and North America, which enabled him to recoup his investment. The buyers can release the movie on any platform—in theaters, on DVD, in the wee hours of nighttime cable. Mr. Istock sold the movie off of a small trailer of early footage. Germany led the way with a $125,000 agreement.

Eventually it sold in about 10 other markets, mostly smaller-scale territories like Korea, where a distributor bought rights for $7,500. Most of these distribution deals last for seven to 10 years, meaning Mr. Istock can eventually renegotiate and try to stretch the long tail further. Mr. Istock said he's already covered his costs and made several hundred thousand dollars in profit on the movie.

"Scavengers" was called "possibly one of the worst movies ever made," in one user review on IMDb. "I call it my crappy little sci-fi film," says Mr. Istock. But buyers looking to fill their catalogs were on board when they learned it starred Sean Patrick Flanery, said Mr. Istock.

Mr. Flanery, a longtime actor who starred in 1990s movies like "Powder," is best known for "The Boondock Saints," a 1999 vigilante thriller that floundered at the box office but became a DVD sensation thanks to enthusiastic college-dorm viewings across the country.

Despite being cast in such a seemingly small role, an actor who stars in a movie as popular as "Boondock" can work for life, depending on what he's willing to do. Mr. Flanery made $15,000 for a week's work on "Scavengers," driving the budget up higher than Mr. Istock might have liked. But it was worth it, he said.

"Casting him was the smartest thing I did on that movie," Mr. Istock said.

The B-movie A-list

Mr. Flannery's comparatively tiny payday on "Scavengers" reflects a chicken-egg dilemma for producers. Do they shell out $1 million for the ubiquitous Nicolas Cage, knowing his fame still registers enough to lend some credibility and get foreign buyers on board? Or do they cast affordable actors who keep budgetary risk down and hope it means they'll turn a profit sooner?

These conversations come up often because the staff at California Pictures have a year-round calendar of film markets in Berlin, Cannes, Toronto and Los Angeles. Mr. Istock and his competitors set up behind the red carpet and show new movies to foreign buyers for days at a time.

Walking the halls at a major film market is a good way to find out what television stars do during a hiatus, or answer the question, "Whatever happened to…?" There's even something of a B-movie A-list, with Mr. Cage at the top and Casper Van Dien, Danny Trejo and Dolph Lundgren as regulars. Being on a globally syndicated television show at any point keeps you working, too.

"Beverly Hills, 90210'—and poof!" says Ms. Nayard.

Months of work go into preparing screenings or demo reels for potential buyers. Especially important is the "sell sheet," an 8x10 glossy piece of paper that serves as a postcard for the film for potential distributors, complete with plot summary, cast and Mr. Istock's cellphone number. Many sell sheets have a new piece of information: a "Netflix carve-out" that outlines what rights are available that the streaming giant hasn't already scooped up.

The sell sheets play "six degrees of Hollywood," to connote the big time. One of the titles in California Pictures' sales portfolio is "Before the Fall," a noir about a nightclub singer played by a little-known actor named Ian Virgo. On the sell sheet: "Ian Virgo starred as Specialist John Waddle [sic] in ‘Black Hawk Down,' directed by Ridley Scott and produced by Jerry Bruckheimer."

California Pictures never got around to designing a sell sheet bearing John Travolta's face or that of any of the other actors tossed around during that "Terminal Kill" casting session. A few weeks after the meeting, a predictable plot twist occurred: The movie's main backer fell through, and the production faded to the back of the line.

Mr. Istock is hoping to set up meetings to light the project back up soon.

Write to Erich Schwartzel at erich.schwartzel@wsj.com[mailto:erich.schwartzel@wsj.com]

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**The federal government twice tried to deport a Ugandan **refugee** whose death at the hands of police[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/fatal-police-shooting-near-san-diego-brings-outrage-1475050337] sparked a second night of protests in Southern California Wednesday.

Alfred Olango, 38 years old, was holding a "vape smoking device" when police fatally shot him in El Cajon, Calif., on Tuesday, police said.

Police said they fired after he failed to obey commands and appeared to take a "shooting stance" while pointing the object at them. He was later found to be unarmed.

The death of Mr. Olango, who police say had been acting erratically when they arrived, is the latest police shooting of an unarmed black man that has drawn protests this summer, from Minnesota to Oklahoma to North Carolina.

On Wednesday night, hundreds took to the streets of El Cajon, a city of around 100,000 near San Diego, to remember Mr. Olango, and demand accountability from police[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/el-cajon-calif-police-face-pressure-to-release-video-of-fatal-shooting-1475101221].

The event was mostly peaceful, though one man wearing a Trump baseball cap was chased and pushed. Some protesters blocked traffic.

San Diego County Sheriff deputies stood in lines in the street, holding batons and wearing helmets with shields. Protesters stood inches away from them, with their hands up, a familiar gesture at police shooting protests around the country.

Mr. Olango arrived in the U.S. as a **refugee** in 1991. He was ordered to be deported to Uganda by an **immigration** judge in 2002, following a conviction for selling drugs, according to a statement from U.S. **Immigration** and Customs Enforcement, the federal agency charged with identifying individuals for deportation.

ICE tried several times to get a travel document from the Ugandan government to remove him from the country, but those attempts were unsuccessful and he was released from ICE custody, the agency said.

In 2009, Mr. Olango was back in ICE custody after serving a prison term for a firearms charge in Colorado, according to ICE. **Immigration** officials said they again tried to obtain travel document from the Ugandan government and were once again unsuccessful.

Under a 2003 U.S. Supreme Court ruling, ICE cannot hold those under deportation orders for more than six months if their "removal cannot occur within the reasonable foreseeable future," the agency said. "This is often due to a foreign government's refusal to accept the repatriation of its nationals."

Dan Gilleon, an attorney for Mr. Olango's family, said Mr. Olango had been working at a furniture store and had been upset at the death of a friend before Tuesday's episode. He said a relative called police because Mr. Olango had been acting erratically.

Mr. Gilleon said police officers should be able to tell the difference between a vape pen and a gun.

Mr. Gilleon also said that officers are trained in how in how to de-escalate situations with people suffering from mental breakdowns, but didn't do so in this situation.

"This cowboy decided to end it in 60 seconds," Mr. Gilleon said. "There's no crime taking place, there's no one being threatened."

An El Cajon police spokesman said the department does have a special response team for mental-health crises, but it was on a different call at the time of the shooting.

Protesters have demanded the release of video footage from bystanders showing the shooting. The police department recently ordered body cameras, but they haven't been delivered yet, a police spokesman said.

City officials said under San Diego County policy, video of the shooting would be released only once the district attorney's office had completed its investigation. Police earlier released a single still photograph of the encounter.

El Cajon Mayor Bill Wells said Wednesday afternoon that the Federal Bureau of Investigation had joined the investigation into the shooting, and urged patience and calm from residents.

"This is a community that does not see these types of problems happen very often," Mr. Wells said.

Mr. Wells said he understands that protesters don't feel heard.

"I understand they feel frustrated by a system that they don't feel is working in their favor," he said. "I am going to do everything in my power to heal the situation as quickly and thoroughly as I can."

Ian Lovett contributed to this article.

Related

\* El Cajon Police Face Pressure to Release Video of Shooting[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/el-cajon-calif-police-face-pressure-to-release-video-of-fatal-shooting-1475101221]

\* Police Push Back at Scrutiny of Fatal Shootings[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/police-push-back-at-scrutiny-of-fatal-shootings-1475166218]

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**The president of Los Angeles's famed Roscoe's House of Chicken and Waffles has been ousted by a federal judge who said she doesn't trust him to run its four bankrupt restaurants "in accordance with the law."

U.S. Bankruptcy Court Judge Sheri Bluebond said Wednesday that under the management of President Herbert Hudson, who also founded the chain, Roscoe's lost a $3.2 million employee discrimination lawsuit, faced **immigration** law sanctions, underpaid state taxes and kept informal accounting system with missing records.

Judge Bluebond said that Mr. Hudson also inappropriately transferred money from Roscoe's operations to his other businesses, returning it only after a court-filed report revealed the transfers to the court.

Roscoe's bankruptcy lawyer Vahe Khojayan didn't respond to requests for comment on Judge Bluebond's decision to put new management in charge. At Wednesday's hearing, he argued that the bankrupt restaurants are profitable—making more than $200,000 a month—diffusing the need for outside leaders.

Judge Bluebond rejected that argument.

"No one's saying this business isn't making money, but he's not worried about his creditors' interests. He's worried about his own interests." Judge Bluebond said of Mr. Hudson, a Harlem native who founded the business in 1975. "Once the creditors are paid off, he can have his baby back."

Four Roscoe's locations filed for chapter 11 protection in U.S. Bankruptcy Court in Los Angeles in March after losing a lawsuit with a former employee who said he was a target of racial discrimination and sexual harassment.

A judge ordered the restaurant chain's owner to pay about $3.2 million to former Roscoe's worker Daniel Beasley, a black employee who filed a discrimination and wrongful-termination lawsuit against the chain in 2013. Mr. Beasley said that black employees at Roscoe's, a black-owned business, were treated worse than Hispanic employees, working later shifts and getting fewer schedule requests, according to Mr. Beasley's lawyer.

Mr. Hudson hasn't changed the menu much since opening Roscoe's House of Chicken and Waffles, whose restaurants have long been popular with celebrities like Larry King and Snoop Dogg. President Barack Obama visited too.

The Roscoe's chain has grown to seven locations; three locations are owned by Mr. Hudson through a separate company that isn't in bankruptcy. Before the bankruptcy filing, company officials had discussed expanding nationally.

After the hearing, Justice Dept. officials who have the power to select outside managers proposed to put California financial advisor Bradley Sharp in charge. Judge Bluebond has not approved that request yet.

Mr. Hudson's removal came after a financial expert submitted a 20-page report that said the chain's operations "do not conform to reasonable accounting norms or any semblance of responsible management."

California accountant Christopher R. Barclay, a court-appointed examiner hired to review its financial accounting practices[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/report-says-roscoes-house-of-chicken-and-waffles-is-poorly-run-1475011339], said Mr. Hudson has run its operations with a "management by intuition" style. He called Mr. Hudson "a master of disguise obsessed with preventing outside scrutiny of his financial affairs."

Roscoe's officials recently said the chain has figured out a way to pay off all of its debts. On Sept. 15, they proposed a repayment plan that would allow the chain to pay off roughly $6 million by making $64,025.46 monthly payments over the next eight years.

In response to that proposal, Judge Bluebond said the chain's poor accounting records wouldn't produce reliable financial projections to convince her that the repayment plan would work. Federal law requires the leaders of a bankrupt company to prove that their repayment plan is "feasible" to a judge.

"We need to know that the business will be able to operate and make the plan payments," she said.

Write to Katy Stech at katherine.stech@wsj.com[mailto:katherine.stech@wsj.com]

Related

\* Parent Company of Roscoe's House of Chicken and Waffles Files for Bankruptcy[http://blogs.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/bankruptcy/2016/03/29/parent-company-of-roscoes-house-of-chicken-and-waffles-files-for-bankruptcy/]

\* Report Says Roscoe's House of Chicken and Waffles Is Poorly Run[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/report-says-roscoes-house-of-chicken-and-waffles-is-poorly-run-1475011339]

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**AFGHANISTAN

Residents Say U.S. Strike Killed Civilians

A U.S. airstrike killed at least 15 civilians at a private residence in eastern Afghanistan, local residents said, but Afghan security officials claimed it was militants who were targeted.

The U.S. military confirmed it had struck the Achin district of Nangarhar province, which is partly under the control of Islamic State, as part of a counterterrorism mission. Military spokesman Brig. Gen. Charles Cleveland said the U.S. is investigating claims that civilians had been killed.

Residents said the strike wounded dozens of people welcoming a villager returning from the annual Hajj pilgrimage to the Saudi holy city of Mecca.

A provincial police spokesman said the strike had killed Islamic State fighters and denied any civilians were among the dead.

Habib Khan Totakhil

CHINA

Landslides Leave Over 30 Missing

Rescuers rushed to find at least 32 people missing after a typhoon triggered landslides in villages in eastern China, according to local government and state media reports.

The landslides hit mountainous counties in Zhejiang province Wednesday evening after the area was battered by heavy rains from Typhoon Megi, the reports said.

Tumbling rock and soil destroyed several houses in the village of Sucun. State media said rescuers managed to pull some free, but 26 remained missing. Six people were missing in a nearby county, according to Xinhua.

Typhoon Megi, which has cut a destructive swath through the region, hit the coastal city of Quanzhou Wednesday morning, leaving one dead despite weakening to a tropical storm.

Josh Chin

UNITED KINGDOM

Labour Pledges No Limits on **Immigration**

The leader of the U.K.'s main opposition, Jeremy Corbyn, has signaled his Labour Party wouldn't seek to limit **immigration** into Britain and said the party should prepare in case an early election is called next year.

Frustration at high levels of net migration from Europe was seen as a key issue for many Britons who voted to leave the European Union in a June referendum.

Mr. Corbyn, who was re-elected Labour leader Saturday after a bruising contest, said a Labour government would try to mitigate the impacts of **immigration**.

Prime Minister Theresa May has said she would seek to control **immigration** as part of Brexit negotiations. She has said the next election should be in 2020, as scheduled, to give the government time to work on withdrawing from the EU.

Nicholas Winning

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Hungarian voters head to the polls Sunday for a referendum on the European Union's response to the migrant crisis, and polls show voters will reject the EU's **refugee**-relocation plan by a wide margin.

At issue is whether the EU can impose **refugee** quotas on states that are reluctant to accept them. Under a system devised in Brussels last year, some 160,000 migrants were to be relocated among EU countries.

Hungary was expected to accept about 1,000, though the scheme would also see an estimated 54,000 now residing in Hungary relocated elsewhere. That system has failed, with only a few thousand actually relocated. More recent proposals would relocate migrants to EU countries directly from the Middle East. Hungarian Prime Minister Viktor Orbán objects in principle to the EU imposing quotas without the consent of elected national governments.

Mr. Orbán speaks for many in Central and Eastern Europe who argue that their relatively homogeneous societies have little experience integrating new arrivals. He also points to recent terrorist attacks by migrants in France and Germany, and to the West's failure to integrate its Muslim minorities.

Mr. Orbán has an authoritarian streak, and he has mused about building an "illiberal state" on the Vladimir Putin model. EU leaders fret about "Orbánization" in neighboring countries such as Poland, Slovakia and the Czech Republic.

But that doesn't acquit Europe's leaders of dumping a humanitarian and political crisis on a small country such as Hungary because they have been unwilling to tamp the flow of **refugees** or cap the number they're prepared to accept. If Brussels wants to end the political drift toward populist and nationalist movements, it will have to show less disdain for legitimate public concerns about unchecked mass migration.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**BRUSSELS—The European Union's deal with Turkey to prevent large flows of migrants entering the bloc continues to work, but Greece still has to do more to improve reception facilities for asylum seekers, the EU's executive arm said Wednesday.

In a set of reports on the bloc's migration policy, the European Commission said that the "sharp and continued decrease of people crossing irregularly or losing their lives in the Aegean" proves that the deal[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/turkey-european-union-look-to-strike-deal-on-migration-crisis-1458292486], struck in March between the EU and Turkey, is working.

On average, some 85 people arrived every day since June, in comparison to over 1,700 a day in the month before the deal and 7,000 a day in October 2015.

"Over the past 12 months, we have come a long way," said migration commissioner Dimitris Avramopoulos. But he added: "The **refugee** crisis is not over[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/new-migrant-crisis-flares-in-greece-1456956214]; that's why the progress made so far has to be sustainable."

However, part of the deal—under which one Syrian **refugee** would be resettled from Turkey into Europe in return for every Syrian who crossed illegally from Turkey to Greece and was sent back—seems to have made little progress. Only 576 migrants had been sent back from Greece to Turkey, mostly non-Syrians, while 1,614 Syrian **refugees** had been resettled from Turkey to EU countries since March.

Mr. Avramopoulos said that while Greece has "significantly increased its reception capacity" for **refugees** and adjusted laws to allow for legal aid and education of asylum seekers, "much more needs to be done[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/after-initial-drop-fresh-surge-in-migrant-arrivals-puts-extra-strain-on-greece-1472597240]" for the country to have a functional asylum system and to allow other EU countries to send asylum seekers back to Greece. Under EU rules, migrants must file for asylum and stay in the first country of arrival or be returned there from other EU countries.

But given the poor conditions for asylum seekers in Greece who sued in EU courts, EU countries in recent years have refrained from sending asylum seekers back to Greece. Mr. Avramopoulos said that the goal remains to improve conditions for a "gradual resumption" of migrant transfers to Greece but that "we need to avoid that an unsustainable burden be put on Greece."

He called on countries to step up a parallel program of redistributing a total of 160,000 asylum seekers from Italy and Greece more evenly across the bloc. So far, only 5,651 migrants have been taken by other countries under that program.

In response to claims by Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan, who regularly says the EU hasn't paid a cent of the €3 billion ($3.4 billion) it promised as part of the migration deal, the commission said a total of €2.2 billion has been allocated for **refugees** in Turkey, out of which €1.2 billion has been contracted and €467 million already paid.

The commission said it was continuing to work with the Turkish government to make the legislative changes needed for the EU to grant Turkish citizens visa-free travel to the bloc. The Council of Europe, the continent's intergovernmental human rights body, is involved in negotiations with Ankara on adjusting the country's antiterror laws so as to limit the prosecution of dissidents on terrorism charges.

The European Parliament and several EU governments have indicated that they won't approve visa-free travel unless the use of the antiterror law is limited in scope, a change Mr. Erdogan has repeatedly refused to approve, citing security concerns related to the Kurdish insurgency and the recent failed coup attempt[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/turkish-prime-minister-reports-coup-attempt-1468613584].

Countries that introduced border checks within the border-free Schengen area in response to last year's migration crisis can keep those checks in place, the commission said. "The controls have been proportionate and justified," Mr. Avramopoulos said, adding that in November, a decision will be made on whether border checks put in place by Germany, Austria, Denmark, Sweden and Norway should be extended by another six months.

Write to Valentina Pop at valentina.pop@wsj.com[mailto:valentina.pop@wsj.com]

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**TEL AVIV—Tributes to Shimon Peres poured in from global leaders on Wednesday, as Israel mourned the death of one of its towering figures [http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/shimon-peres-former-israeli-leader-and-nobel-winner-dies-at-93-1475029866]and began preparations for a state funeral.

President Barack Obama described Mr. Peres as a man who, having fought for the establishment of Israel as a young Polish **immigrant**, never relented in his drive to achieve peace in a region rife with longstanding divisions and hatred.

"Perhaps because he had seen Israel surmount overwhelming odds, Shimon never gave up on the possibility of peace between Israelis, Palestinians and Israel's neighbors," the president said.

Mr. Obama and former President Bill Clinton are expected to attend the funeral for Mr. Peres on Friday at Mount Herzl, Israel's national cemetery on the edge of Jerusalem.

Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu and his wife, Sara, expressed "deep personal sorrow" over the death of the Nobel Peace Prize winner. He convened a special cabinet meeting in honor of Mr. Peres, who died early Wednesday at the age of 93 after suffering a stroke earlier this month.

"Shimon Peres didn't stop attempting to achieve peace and to believe in peace," Mr. Netanyahu said.

Mr. Peres, who served stints as prime minister, president and foreign minister, was known for his tireless efforts later in his life to advance a two-state solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

For his efforts in negotiating the Oslo Accords, Mr. Peres, along with then-Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin and Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat, were awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1994.

Mr. Clinton, whose administration championed the accords, called the former Israeli leader a "genius" with a "big heart."

"His critics called him a dreamer," Mr. Clinton said. "That he was—a lucid, eloquent dreamer until the very end."

Former U.K. Prime Minister Tony Blair, another longtime associate of Mr. Peres, described the late prime minister as "someone I loved deeply," saying he ranked as one of the foremost statesman "of this or any era."

Palestinian Authority President Mahmoud Abbas offered his condolences to the family of Mr. Peres, hailing him as a brave partner for peace.

Mr. Peres made "unremitting efforts to reach a lasting peace" until the final moments of his life, the news agency Wafa quoted the Palestinian Authority president as saying.

In a telegram to Israeli President Reuven Rivlin, Pope Francis said he "fondly" recalled Mr. Peres's visit to the Vatican in 2014 and noted his "great appreciation" for the former prime minister's peace efforts.

European leaders, who have sought a larger role in trying to negotiate an end to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict as Washington's involvement has diminished, also paid tribute to Mr. Peres.

"With the death of Shimon Peres, Israel loses one of its most illustrious statesmen, one of the most ardent defenders of peace and a faithful friend of France," French Prime Minister François Hollande said.

"He never ceased to defend the logic of [the Oslo accords], seeing the establishment of a Palestinian state as the sole guarantee of a secure future for Israel," the French leader said.

European Union foreign policy chief Federica Mogherini praised Mr. Peres as a peacemaker, saying the only way for Israeli and Palestinian leaders to honor his memory was to press forward on a two-state solution and the establishment of an independent Palestinian state.

German President Joachim Gauck, in a condolence letter to his Israeli counterpart Reuven Rivlin, recalled the depth of Mr. Peres's commitment to rapprochement.

"We Germans will particularly remember his willingness for reconciliation. Despite all the atrocities Germans did to his family and his people during the Holocaust, he reached us his hand," Mr. Gauck wrote.

In Israel, officials mourned Mr. Peres, with Mr. Rivlin saying he would cut short a state visit to Ukraine and return home.

"There is not a chapter in the history of the State of Israel in which Shimon didn't write or play a part," he said. "We all bow our heads at hearing of his passing."

Mr. Peres's body is to lie in state at the Knesset, Israel's parliament, starting Thursday morning, an Israeli Foreign Ministry spokesman said.

Naftali Bennett, Israel's education minister and Jewish Home party leader, said schools across Israel would begin Wednesday with a lesson on the life of Mr. Peres.

Among Israeli voters, the politician Mr. Peres didn't enjoy unqualified support. He became prime minister with the assassination of Mr. Rabin by a right-wing Jewish extremist in 1995, but he never won the premiership in parliamentary or popular votes.

He was also a divisive figure among Palestinians and other Arabs. After the 1967 Arab-Israeli war, he supported the construction of Jewish settlements in the newly-captured West Bank. But he later advocated the establishment of a Palestinian state in the West Bank.

Mr. Peres also was instrumental in building Israel's secret nuclear program, which some domestic critics claim fueled regional instability.

For many Arabs, Mr. Peres, like other current and past Israeli leaders, is a symbol of their country's hard-nosed policies in the region. While Arab governments had no comment Wednesday about Mr. Peres's death, some Arabs said his record was being whitewashed.

Tarek Khoury, a former member of Jordan's parliament, called Mr. Peres a "criminal Jewish Zionist terrorist." The Jordanian government signed a peace treaty with Israel in 1994.

In Lebanon, local media remembered Mr. Peres as the man allegedly responsible for a 1996 Israeli artillery strike in southern town of Qana killed scores of civilians seeking **refuge** at a United Nations base. Pro-Hezbollah newspapers called him "the butcher of Qana."

Israeli officials expressed regret in 1996 for the deaths in Qana and have said that Israeli forces mistakenly fired on the compound. ​

Matthew Dalton in Paris and Ruth Bender in Berlin contributed to this article.

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Related

\* Shimon Peres, Former Israeli Leader and Nobel Winner, Dies at 93[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/shimon-peres-former-israeli-leader-and-nobel-winner-dies-at-93-1475029866]

\* Decades After Oslo Accords, Peace Remains Elusive[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/decades-after-oslo-accords-peace-remains-elusive-1475037501]

\* The Life of Shimon Peres in Photos[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/the-life-of-shimon-peres-in-photos-1475029947]

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**This column has long argued that the journalistic genre known as "fact checking" is a corruption of journalism. "The ‘fact check' is opinion journalism or criticism, masquerading as straight news," we wrote in 2008[http://bit.ly/1AvIrt8]. "The object is not merely to report facts but to pass a judgment."

Eight years later, we'd amend that slightly. "Fact checking" doesn't pretend to be straight news exactly, but something more authoritative. The conceit of the "fact checker" is that he has some sort of heightened level of objectivity qualifying him to render verdicts in matters of public controversy.

Lately the "fact checkers" have been waging a campaign to portray Donald Trump as a contemporaneous supporter of the Iraq war, contrary to his assertions that he was an opponent. In Monday's debate[http://www.politico.com/story/2016/09/full-transcript-first-2016-presidential-debate-228761], Hillary Clinton pleaded for their help: "I hope the fact checkers are turning up the volume and really working hard. Donald supported the invasion of Iraq." Moderator Lester Holt obliged, basing a question to Trump on the premise that the matter was settled: "You supported the war in Iraq before the invasion."

Trump somewhat inarticulately rebutted the claim: "The record shows that I'm right. When I did an interview with Howard Stern, very lightly, the first time anybody's asked me that, I said, very lightly, I don't know, maybe, who knows."

What Trump actually said on Sept. 11, 2002, when Stern asked him if he favored an invasion, was: "Yeah, I guess so." That was an affirmative statement, but a highly equivocal one. Is it fair or accurate to characterize it as sufficient to establish that Trump was a "supporter"? In our opinion, no. He might well have had second thoughts immediately after getting off the air with Stern.

He certainly had second thoughts in the ensuing months, and he came to oppose the invasion long before Mrs. Clinton did. Even FactCheck.org[http://www.factcheck.org/2016/02/donald-trump-and-the-iraq-war/] was unable to come up with any other Trump statement supportive of the decision to go to war. By December 2003, according to the site's timeline, Trump was observing (in an interview with Fox News Channel's Neil Cavuto) that "a lot of people" were "questioning the whole concept of going in, in the first place." Five years later, according to PolitiFact.com, Trump was calling for President Bush's impeachment because, as he told CNN's Wolf Blitzer, "he got us into the war with lies."

Trump repeated that last claim in a February debate[https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/the-fix/wp/2016/02/13/the-cbs-republican-debate-transcript-annotated/] in South Carolina (in the transcript at the link, the second Trump quote is erroneously attributed to moderator John Dickerson):

Trump: George [W.] Bush made a mistake. We can make mistakes. But that one was a beauty. We should have never been in Iraq. We have destabilized the Middle East.

Dickerson: But so I'm going to—so you still think he should be impeached?

Jeb Bush: I think it's my turn, isn't it?

Trump: You do whatever you want. You call it whatever you want. I want to tell you. They lied. They said there were weapons of mass destruction, there were none. And they knew there were none. There were no weapons of mass destruction.

When Trump said that, it shocked many conservative commentators and intellectuals, including the Weekly Standard's Jonathan Last[http://www.weeklystandard.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/trumpism-corrupts/article/2001153]:

Nine months ago, if you had asked Sarah Palin, Scott Brown, Jerry Falwell Jr., or Ann Coulter whether they would endorse a figure who takes the Code Pink, Michael Moore, MoveOn.org view of Iraq ("Bush lied, people died"), one suspects they all would have recoiled at the prospect. Yet in the hours after Trump insisted that George W. Bush intentionally lied the country into war, not one of the major figures who have endorsed him was willing to contradict his claim. . . .

One needn't be an admirer of George W. Bush, or a believer in his freedom agenda, or even a supporter of the Iraq war to understand how pernicious this is. Whatever your views on the wisdom of Iraq, no serious person believes that Bush masterminded a massive fraud, with the help of his cabinet and the entire national security apparatus; that his "lies" then managed to fool the governments and intelligence agencies of a dozen allies; and that, somehow, none of the evidence of this scheme ever managed to leak into the open.

Which leads to an obvious question: Where were the "fact checkers" in February, when Trump made that patently false claim? The only related "fact check" we could find was one from FactCheck.org[http://www.factcheck.org/2016/03/yes-trump-said-bush-lied/], rebutting Trump's denial, a month later, that he had said what he said: "I didn't say lie. I said he may have lied. I don't know." It was a rare example of a "fact check" that simply checked a fact.

A funny thing happened after the South Carolina debate: Trump won the state's primary and went on to win the nomination. The Republican electorate did not see Trump's opposition to the Iraq war, or even his endorsement of the "Code Pink, Michael Moore, MoveOn.org view of Iraq," as disqualifying.

"[Trump] secured the Republican nomination against a field of 16 candidates described last summer by George F. Will[https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/a-counterfeit-republican/2015/08/12/c28c2968-4052-11e5-bfe3-ff1d8549bfd2\_story.html] as ‘the most impressive since 1980, and perhaps the most talent-rich since the party first had a presidential nominee, in 1856,' " notes William Voegeli[http://www.claremont.org/crb/article/trump-and-his-enemies/] in the Claremont Review of Books:

How did Trump achieve this? One crucial difference from all those competitors is that he could deplore the Middle East policies of both Presidents Bush and Obama as "a tremendous disservice" and a "disaster." No other GOP candidate possessed so much leeway to denounce the war in Iraq, the most recent Republican president's "signature idea," as the New York Times's Ross Douthat termed it. At the other end of the spectrum of 17 candidates, Jeb Bush's campaign never recovered from making a terrible first impression: the 12 years since the launch of Operation Iraqi Freedom had, apparently, been too little time for him to form an opinion as to whether, knowing what we do now, his brother's decision to invade that country had been a good idea.

It's not hard to see why Republican voters might have been more attracted by Trump's repudiation of the Iraq war than repelled by the bumptious and scurrilous way in which he expressed it. That conflict turned out to be a strategic disaster for the U.S., in part (as Trump has noted) because of Obama's decision to withdraw all troops in 2011.

It also turned out to be a political disaster for the GOP. After re-electing George W. Bush, voters turned against the war. They also turned against the Republican Party, handing control of Congress to the Democrats in 2006 and the White House to an antiwar Democrat two years later, after he defeated the still pro-war Mrs. Clinton for the party's nomination.

The Iraq war helped make ObamaCare, and much else that is anathema to GOP voters, possible. Trump offered Republicans an opportunity to move beyond the Iraq mistake. Under the pretense of "fact checking," journalists now are furiously attempting to scuttle that opportunity.

Worst Appeals to Authority [http://www.usatoday.com/story/news/politics/onpolitics/2016/09/27/dan-rather-hillary-clinton-calm-and-substantive-first-debate/91166272/] "Dan Rather: Hillary Clinton ‘Calm and Substantive' in First Debate"—headline, USA Today, Sept. 27

Fox Butterfield, Is That You? [http://www.washingtonexaminer.com/bill-clinton-places-that-fear-immigrants-have-few-immigrants/article/2603041] "Bill Clinton: Places That Fear **Immigrants** Have Few **Immigrants**"—headline, Washington Examiner, Sept. 27

Hypothesis and Disproof

\* "Tim Kaine: If You Can't Tell the Truth, You Can't Be President"—headline, Breitbart.com[http://www.breitbart.com/2016-presidential-race/2016/09/26/tim-kaine-cant-tell-truth-cant-president/], Sept. 26

\* "Obama: ‘If You Like Your Health Care Plan, You'll Be Able to Keep Your Health Care Plan' "—headline, PolitiFact.com[http://www.politifact.com/obama-like-health-care-keep/], undated

Problem and Solution

\* "Clinton Won Last Night's Debate, But We're Not Out of the Woods"—headline, Gothamist[http://gothamist.com/2016/09/27/debate\_takeaways.php], Sept. 27

\* " ‘Lurking Clown' Arrested in Kentucky Woods"—headline, FoxNews.com[http://www.foxnews.com/us/2016/09/25/lurking-clown-arrested-in-kentucky-woods.html], Sept. 25

Answers to Questions Nobody Is Asking [http://thehill.com/blogs/blog-briefing-room/news/298142-cuban-wont-accept-a-position-in-clinton-administration] "Mark Cuban Won't Accept a Position in Clinton Administration"—headline, TheHill.com, Sept. 27

Question and Answer—I

\* "Why Some People Think Trump Snorted Cocaine or Adderall Before Monday's Presidential Debate"—headline, RawStory.com[https://www.rawstory.com/2016/09/why-some-people-think-trump-snorted-cocaine-or-adderall-before-mondays-presidential-debate/], Sept. 27

\* "How They Do It: Secrets of People Who Are Always Full of Energy"—headline, ApartmentTherapy.com[http://www.apartmenttherapy.com/secrets-of-people-who-are-always-full-of-energy-236250], Sept. 26

Question and Answer—II

\* "Forget Making America Great, What the Hell Would Donald Trump Mean for Australia?"—headline, Sydney Morning Herald[http://www.smh.com.au/federal-politics/political-opinion/forget-making-america-great-what-the-hell-would-donald-trump-mean-for-australia-20160927-grpo0c.html], Sept. 28

\* "Trump Backs Down Under Republican Fire in Race Row"—headline, DailyMail.com[http://www.dailymail.co.uk/wires/afp/article-3630237/Trump-backs-Republican-fire-race-row.html], June 7

Question and Answer—III

\* "I'm Black. Does America Have a Plan for My Life?"—headline, New York Times[http://www.nytimes.com/2016/09/26/opinion/im-black-does-america-have-a-plan-for-my-life.html] website, Sept. 26

\* "Get the Life and Career You Deserve: A Five-Step Plan"—headline, Forbes.com[http://www.forbes.com/sites/lizryan/2016/08/28/get-the-life-and-career-you-deserve-a-five-step-plan/], Aug. 28

Question and Answer—IV

\* "Adam Sandler Gives Three Men and a Baby Remake a Polyamory Spin?"—headline, MovieWeb.com[http://movieweb.com/adam-sandler-gives-three-men-and-a-baby-remake-a-polyamory-spin/], Feb. 26

\* "First ‘Three Person Baby' Born Using New Method"—headline, BBC[http://www.bbc.com/news/health-37485263] website, Sept. 27

Cop Blames Elves—Now That Would Be News [http://www.smh.com.au/world/elves-cop-blame-for-mudslides-and-flooding-in-iceland-20160927-grq01j.html] "Elves Cop Blame for Mudslides and Flooding in Iceland"—headline, Sydney Morning Herald, Sept. 28

Look Out Below! [http://hotair.com/archives/2016/09/27/blue-cross-blue-shield-tennessee-dropping-majority-obamacare-customers/] "Blue Cross Blue Shield of Tennessee Is Dropping Most of Its Obamacare Customers"—headline, HotAir.com, Sept. 27

News You Can Use [http://ca.complex.com/life/2016/09/kansas-cops-911-hate-candidate] "Kansas Cops Remind Everyone Not to Call 911 Just Because They Hate a Candidate"—headline, Complex.com, Sept. 27

Many People Say [http://hosted.ap.org.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/dynamic/stories/U/US\_CAMPAIGN\_2016\_DEBATE\_BELITTLING\_WOMEN?SITE=AP&SECTION=HOME&TEMPLATE=DEFAULT] "For many women, the presidential debate between Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump was a case study in deja vu," the Associated Press "reports":

For more than 90 minutes on a national stage, they said Tuesday, Trump subjected the first female presidential candidate from a major party to indignities they experience from men daily, in the workplace and beyond.

The headline: "Many Women Say Trump Showed Too Much Testosterone at Debate." The story never mentions testosterone, but whatever. Last month CNN[http://www.cnn.com/2016/08/09/politics/donald-trump-conspiracy-many-people-are-saying/] mocked Trump for offering "roundabout endorsements to conspiracy theories and outright lies" by prefacing them with "many people are saying." Many news organizations do the same thing.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**LONDON—The leader of the U.K.'s main opposition, Jeremy Corbyn, has signaled his Labour Party wouldn't seek to limit **immigration** into Britain and said the party should prepare in case an early national election is called next year.

Frustration at the perceived pressure on public services and jobs from high levels of net migration into Britain from Europe was seen as one of the key issues for many Britons who voted to leave[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/u-k-projected-to-leave-european-union-1466740486] the European Union in a national referendum on continued membership of the bloc in June.

Mr. Corbyn, speaking at his party's annual fall conference Wednesday, said a Labour government would seek to mitigate the harmful impacts of high levels of **immigration** by stopping the exploitation of migrant labor to undercut workers' pay and conditions. Labour also would reintroduce a fund to support areas where an influx of migrants has put extra pressure on public services, he said.

Prime Minister Theresa May has said she would seek to control **immigration** as part of her negotiations around Britain's exit from the EU, or Brexit. Many members of the governing Conservative Party blame the high levels of migration in the U.K. on Labour, which was in power for 13 years until 2010.

Mr. Corbyn, a veteran leftist who was re-elected as Labour leader Saturday[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/jeremy-corbyn-re-elected-leader-of-u-k-s-labour-party-1474715212] after a bruising contest, also sought to rally the party by saying it was time to "end the trench warfare" and unite against the Conservatives because there was "every chance" Mrs. May could call an election next year.

"So today we put ourselves on notice, Labour is preparing for a general election in 2017. And we hope and expect all our members to support our campaign," Mr. Corbyn said.

Mr. Corbyn's leadership had been challenged[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/fight-over-u-k-labour-party-leadership-heats-up-1469636697] after several members of his top team resigned in June following criticism that he hadn't campaigned hard enough for the party's pro-EU stance in the referendum and concerns that Labour wouldn't be able to win a national election with him in charge.

Mrs. May has said the next election should be in 2020 as scheduled to give the government time and stability to work on withdrawing from the EU.

Nevertheless, the centrist Liberal Democrats and euroskeptic UK Independence Party have also said they are gearing up for a possible early election.

Political experts are mixed on whether there will be an election before 2020, but agreed Mr. Corbyn's warning may be an effort to unite his party.

Some experts said there was no obvious appetite for an early election among Conservative lawmakers who are little more than one year into a five-year term. But others said Mrs. May could be tempted by the polls to try to enlarge the Conservatives' small parliamentary majority before she gets into Brexit negotiations and while the economy is relatively healthy.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**A day after angry crowds took to the streets of a Southern California city[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/fatal-police-shooting-near-san-diego-brings-outrage-1475050337] over the death of a black man shot by police, activists and community members on Wednesday gathered in El Cajon, Calif., to demand authorities release video of the shooting and call for a federal investigation.

"These senseless killings have to stop, not just here in El Cajon but in the entire country," Estela de los Rios, a civil rights activist in El Cajon, said outside the police station. "We demand, as a community, a federal prosecution."

The protests in this city near San Diego are the latest in what has become a nearly constant string of demonstrations—from Minnesota[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/minnesota-investigators-turn-philando-castile-case-over-to-prosecutor-1475078633] to

Oklahoma[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/tulsa-police-officer-booked-released-in-terence-crutcher-shooting-case-1474633452] to North Carolina[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/charlotte-authorities-seek-to-restore-order-after-night-of-protests-1474556088]—which have become an increasingly frequent community response to police shootings across the country.

El Cajon police officials said officers shot the man, who was in his 30s, Tuesday afternoon after he failed to respond to police orders and appeared to have an object in his hands. Police didn't disclose the object the man was holding, but no firearm was found.

El Cajon police haven't released the name of the victim of the shooting, but protesters and friends identified him as Alfred Olango, a **refugee** in his 30s with mental health problems.

Agnes Hassan, a **refugee** from Sudan, said she met Mr. Olango, who is from Uganda, in the **refugee** camps before coming to the U.S.

"What happened yesterday, it wasn't right," Ms. Hassan said. "We suffered too much in Africa. We come here also to suffer again?"

"My heart is just broken," she said.

Hours after the shooting, hundreds gathered outside the police station in El Cajon, east of San Diego. Dozens returned on Wednesday morning, and a vigil is planned for Wednesday night.

The police, aware of the unrest that has erupted elsewhere, quickly called a news conference late Tuesday and urged calm while the shooting was being investigated.

"Now is the time for calm," Jeff Davis, the El Cajon police chief, said at the news conference Tuesday night. "Now is the time to allow the investigation to shed light on this event. We plan to be open and transparent."

Police officials said the man was behaving erratically and that a woman identifying herself as the man's sister had called police for help.

Chief Davis said the man was walking in traffic and ignoring officers' instructions to remove his hands from his pockets.

As he paced back and forth, the man "rapidly drew an object from his front pants pocket, placed both hands together and extended them rapidly toward the officer, taking up what appeared to be a shooting stance," Chief Davis said.

One officer fired a Taser, an electric shock weapon; the other officer fired a handgun multiple times, killing the man.

A police spokesman said that, under a San Diego County policy, video of the shooting would be released only once the district attorney's office had completed its investigation. but police did release a single still photograph of the encounter, which appears to show a man pointing something at the officers.

Protesters returned to police headquarters on Wednesday morning, where they demanded that the video of the shooting—which police said was turned over to them voluntarily by a bystander—be released.

They also asked for an investigation by the U.S. Justice Department, rather than local authorities.

As the crowd outside the police department chanted that Mr. Olango had been murdered, a counter-protester began shouting "Cops lives matter." He was quickly led away.

"We live this life every day afraid of interactions with the people who are supposed to protect us, and when we speak out, we're told to shut up," said Christopher Rice-Wilson of Alliance San Diego, a community organization. "If a black life doesn't matter, then no life matters."

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**A woman in Ahmedabad, India, decorates pitchers used during a folk dance before the festival of Navratri, during which devotees worship the Hindu goddess Durga.

An Afghan **refugee** girl has her eye scanned in Nowshera, Pakistan, prior to the United Nations' voluntary return program. Pakistan has repatriated more than 100,000 **refugees** under the program in the last eight months.

Rescuers evacuate residents of Ningde in eastern China's Fujian province through floodwaters brought by Typhoon Megi. The typhoon smashed into the Chinese mainland Wednesday morning after leaving a trail of destruction in Taiwan.

A police officer walks past the wreckage of a Swiss army helicopter that crashed near Gotthard Pass in the Alps in the Tessin region of Switzerland. There was no immediate word on casualties.

Members of a joint investigation team in Nieuwegein, the Netherlands, present the preliminary results of a criminal investigation into the downing of Malaysia Airlines Flight MH17. A separate inquiry last year led by the Dutch Safety Board found the Boeing 777 was hit by a Buk missile fired from an area most likely in rebel-held eastern Ukraine, where pro-Russian separatists have been battling Ukrainian forces since early 2014.

CSKA's fans support their team during the Champions League soccer match between CSKA Moscow and Tottenham Hotspur in Moscow on Tuesday. Tottenham won 1-0.

The Northern Lights, or Aurora Borealis, appear in the sky over Bamburgh Lighthouse in Northumberland, England.

An Afghan **refugee** climbs between trucks during a United Nations voluntary return program in Nowshera, Pakistan.

Women make dried beancurd sticks for a food company in east China. The local government encourages more than 3,000 people to plant beans and produce dried beancurd sticks, which improve the annual income of the locals.

Customers look at an item in the fresh produce section of a Wal-Mart Stores Inc.-owned Sam's Club store during opening day in Tianjin, China. The nation's retail sales are expected to grow more than 10% this year, while the domestic economy keeps a steady, upward trend through year-end, according to the China General Chamber of Commerce.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Crews aboard Hanjin Shipping Co. vessels docked at American ports are being barred by U.S. **immigration** officials from coming ashore, a decision labor groups say goes against international seafarers' conventions.

Sailors on several Hanjin ships were denied shore leave out of concern they might not return to their ships, U.S. Customs and Border Protection said in a statement. The concerns arise after the shipowner filed for bankruptcy protection late last month. The company's fleet sat idle at sea for weeks after filings in South Korea and the U.S. because the company was unable to pay docking and container-handling fees, and its owners feared ships might be seized by creditors.

A U.S. bankruptcy judge has now barred creditors from seizing Hanjin's assets, and with new financing to pay terminal operators, some U.S.-bound ships have berthed and released their cargo. Sailors with visas are often able to go ashore while their ships unload, though CBP has denied shore leave in other cases.

For the crews of those ships, "the uncertainty of the situation was weighing on them," said Jeff Engels, U.S. West Coast coordinator for the International Transport Workers' Federation, which represents about 700 trade unions world-wide. "After a long period at sea, the crew and officers really want to go ashore."

On Monday, dockworkers at the Port of Seattle staged a brief work stoppage in solidarity with the crew of the Hanjin Marine, after crew members dropped a banner off the side of that ship that read, "We deserve shore leave." Members of the International Longshore and Warehouse Union Local 19 cheered and sounded horns on their vehicles, according to a video posted on the chapter's Facebook page Monday night.

Representatives for the ITF have been in contact with crews of the carrier's fleet around the world, in many cases boarding ships to check payroll records, the freshness and availability of food and supplies and general welfare. Another ITF official described the U.S. decision to bar crews from shore as "the only serious exception" to otherwise good treatment of Hanjin sailors world-wide.

U.S. Customs officials have also been in regular communication with the ships' crews, the agency said in its statement. In case of a medical emergency, CBP said it may grant special permission to disembark.

On shore, "you take for granted that you can smell flowers, hear birds or check what movie's playing," Mr. Engels said. "When that's denied, it's like a gut punch."

On Wednesday, a South Korean bankruptcy judge handling Hanjin's insolvency proceedings said a sale of the troubled company is possible. The company has a total of 97 container ships, 37 of which it owns and 60 of which are chartered.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Former U.S. Treasury Secretary Lawrence H. Summers discussed the economy and monetary policy during a question-and-answer session Tuesday, Sept. 27, 2016 at the Houston branch of the Federal Reserve Bank of Dallas. He said the Fed was wrong to raise short-term interest rates in December[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/former-treasury-secretary-says-fed-was-wrong-to-raise-rates-in-december-1475032290] and shouldn't lift them again any time soon. He also discussed secular stagnation, the minimum wage and the falling share of working-age men in the labor force. The moderator was Dallas Fed President Robert Kaplan. Mark Wynne, director of the Dallas Fed's Globalization and Monetary Policy Institute, introduced them.

Here is a transcript of the exchange, lightly edited for clarity and length.

MARK WYNNE: As Darren said, this evening President Kaplan's going to have a conversation with Professor Lawrence Summers of Harvard University. Professor Summers is one of the most distinguished economists of is generation and the recipient of numerous academic awards, including the John Bates Clark Medal, which is given to the most outstanding economist under 40 in the United States. Uniquely among winners of this award, he also has two uncles who won the same award, making this a very, very distinguished family indeed.

He is currently the Charles W. Eliot university professor and president emeritus of Harvard University. Professor Summers has also had a very distinguished career in public service, serving as the chief economist of the World Bank, the 71st secretary of the treasury under President Bill Clinton and most recently as the director of the National Economic Council under President Barack Obama.

So the format for this evening's events will be that President Kaplan and Professor Summers will exchange some thoughts on a range of topics for about 30 minutes, and then we're going to open it up for questions from the floor. We have three standing mics around the room, so we'd like you to ask your questions from those mics, so start thinking about your questions.

And with that, I will give it over to Rob.

ROBERT S. KAPLAN: Thank you. Thank you, Mark. And thank you, Darren. And thank you for everyone who worked on this program tonight at the Dallas Fed. We appreciate all of you being here.

How many of you are coming to the Fed for the first time? OK, welcome. And the number of hands is getting lower and lower every time we do one of these things, and that's been our goal is to try to open up the Fed to the community, bring in leaders, like Larry Summers. And so we can't do what we do without your active participation and your leadership. It's really by talking with many of you here in this audience that we understand economic conditions, that we do our analysis, and that we present our views at the Federal Open Market Committee. So thank you for being here.

And thank you, Larry Summers, for agreeing to do this. We really appreciate it. And I guess I'll start with ‒ and Mark alluded to this – both your parents were economists, your uncle was Paul Samuelson, who was also an award-winning economist. Was there ever any doubt that you were going to become an economist? (Laughter.)

LAWRENCE H. SUMMERS: Well, I have two brothers and they're not economists. So my father used to joke, given what they are, that it's worked out perfectly for he and my mother: a doctor, a lawyer, and someone who went into the family business. (Laughter.) And I'm the person who went into the family business.

I originally thought, Rob, that I was going to ‒[inaudible] I went to MIT and I thought that perhaps I was going to be a mathematician or a physicist. And I saw what real mathematicians or physicists were like and decided I wasn't going to do that. (Laughter.) So I became an economist basically because I had two passions, thinking analytically and scientifically about things, and working on real problems that affected real people, that had the prospect of making the world a better place. I thought that a career in economic research and economic policy would enable me to pursue both those passions. I haven't looked back with a moment of regret since I made that decision a little more than 40 years ago.

MR. KAPLAN: And you've obviously had illustrious careers in academia as well as in the government. What are the differences between being a leader in academia and working as a leader in the government? What sort of transition?‒

MR. SUMMERS: Well, as a professor – as a professor, or a student for that matter, at Harvard, any other – University of Houston, any other university, the single worst thing you can do is to sign your name to something you didn't write yourself. On the other hand, as a government official ‒ (laughter) ‒ it's a marvel of effectiveness. (Inaudible.)

Here's another difference. As a researcher, if a problem is really, really hard and there isn't an elegant solution to the problem, what you do is you change your research to a different problem. (Laughter.) In government, as President Obama is finding out with respect to Syria, you don't have that luxury. You have to deal with the problems that events turn on. And that's another difference.

Another difference, another thing that I thought was a difference, then I learned that perhaps it wasn't so, was when I was in Washington working with President Clinton, I imagined that Washington was, and I was right, that Washington was really very political, you know, with constant rivalries and struggles, people with a sense of prerogative and they're trying to do each other in.

And I supposed when I went back to be the president of Harvard that Harvard was going to be very different ‒ (laughter) ‒ that there wasn't any conflict at Harvard. That was not how it turned out to be. And I experienced it. Henry Kissinger once said of university life, the fights are so vicious because the stakes are so small. (Laughter.) And, you know, when you see grown women and men going to war over the details of freshman language requirements, you can relate to that sentiment.

On the other hand, I think a lot of what takes place in universities, what kinds of speech are we going to permit and what kinds of speech are we not going to permit, what kinds of values are we going to transmit, a lot of what gets determined is actually very fundamental for the structure of our society.

I've always had an approach and maybe this is the last contrast I'll draw, Rob. I've always had an approach thinking about what to do when I'm in the university and what to do when I'm in government. When I'm in government, I think my job is to figure out things where we know the answer and to try to get it done, sort of know what the right tax reform is, sort of know some things about raising capital levels to make the financial system more healthy, to know some things about how to respond to recessions and downturns. And basically, the job is to take what we know and figure out in this enormously complex system of many different factions how to get it done.

When I'm in the university, my view is that if you're not there, it's very hard to know all the challenges and issues that decision-makers are facing. So what we really need to do is think about the problems where we don't know the answer, what we can do about middle-class incomes that haven't grown as rapidly as we would have liked, how we can get the unprecedentedly high level of international cooperation that's necessary to address climate change, what we do about the challenge of social inclusion suggested by the fact that today one in seven men between the ages of 25 and 54 isn't working and if current trends continue, at midcentury it might be one in three men who is 25 to 54 who aren't working.

So my approach when I'm in the university is not to peer in the window of the people who hold jobs that I once held and try to tell them to do differently, what to do differently; rather, it's to try to build intellectual capital and broad understandings that will contribute over time to our finding better solutions to major national and global issues.

MR. KAPLAN: So you in your answer, you touched on this issue you talked a lot about, prime-age men, prime-age males who are employed at a historically low rate right now in our economy. What's going on there? Why do you believe that is happening in the United States?

MR. SUMMERS: So first the facts, and that I'm pretty confident about, and then the causes, and there I'm less confident.

In 1965, one in 20 men between the age of 25 and 54 was not working; today it's about one in seven men. And the trend has been pretty smooth, Democratic presidents, Republican presidents, recessions, booms. It's been a pretty smooth upwards trend. And I take that group because it's the group where there's the strongest social expectation that kind of everybody should be working. People who are younger might be in school, people who are older might be retired. The situation of women, in most parts of the country, in most families, more ambiguous because they may be home raising children. And so this is something that's been going on for a long time, and it's being driven by some combination of factors on the demand side and factors on the supply side.

Basically, if you work with your mind ‒ if you work with your hands and you do something routine, technology is increasingly replacing what you do. And that's making it harder to find a job. If you have a job, it's making the wage that you get from doing the job lower. And we think of that as some futurology thing that's going to happen when there are driverless cars, but the truth is it's been happening. Just look at the fact that we've got a tenth as many coal miners as we did 40 years ago, a third as many skilled workers, the examples go on, so there's certain things on the demand side.

And then there are certain things on the supply side. People who are out of work for a long time tend to like to stay out of work. We have done more, and it's been well-intentioned and I think it's mostly been right, to provide social protection for people who aren't earning incomes. But that social protection can be an incentive not to go back to work, and that's gotten more generous over time. It's more fun to watch television when there are a thousand channels and when there's video games you can use on the screen than it was when there were only three channels and all they had during the day was soap operas. And there's some evidence that that's a portion of what's going on as well. But how we're going to address this as a society is, I think, a very important question.

MR. KAPLAN: All right. We'll come back and talk about that a little bit. That's a part of a broader term that you've used frequently called secular stagnation. You might explain to the group, what's secular stagnation and what are the implications of it?

MR. SUMMERS: So, start with this, Rob. We had a stock market crash in 1929 and then the economy was awful basically until the Second World War, called the Great Depression. So GDP grew a certain amount between 1929 and 1940. We had a financial crisis that began in 2007. And we don't quite know yet what all happened over 11 years, but we've seen the first nine, so we can do the same thing, we can project out for the next two. And the answer is that it will be just about the same.

The economy went down much further during the Great Depression. But if you look over 11 years, it's no better, and it's no better whether you just look at the GDP or whether you look at the GDP divided by the total number of adults or whatever other measures you're going to have. So we had a very disappointing recovery.

We thought at the beginning that this was all the breakdown of the financial system caused by deregulation and overleveraging and all that kind of stuff. But by 2011 that stuff had mostly been repaired, banks had paid back all their (Troubled Asset Relief Program) money, the interest-rate spreads had gone back to being narrow, there was a sense of financial normalization. But the economy didn't accelerate.

And that's what led me and others to think we had to have some theory of very slow growth that wasn't just a theory of the financial crisis. And so I have been involved for some years now in resurrecting a set of ideas that were discussed in the 1930s, that with World War II and the post-war boom sort of lost their relevance, maybe coming back to relevance, that go under this phrase "secular stagnation" which means stagnation that's going to last a long time.

And the essential idea is that, for a whole set of reasons, many, many people want to save more than they did before, to pay down debt because they're going to live longer, because there's more uncertainty, because more of the money is going to rich people who have a higher propensity to save relative to poor people who spend more. We've got a big increase in the propensity to save.

And at the same time, we've got a big reduction in the propensity to invest. Some of it, as you have decided, Rob, is because of demographics, we don't have a growing labor force at a pace that we once did. Much of it is technological. Who's going to build hotels in the era of Airbnb? Who's going to build shopping malls in the era of e-commerce? Who's going to spend vastly on information technology when my cell phone has more computing power by a factor of a hundred than the whole of the Apollo project did?

And so a reduced propensity to invest, a higher propensity to save, something's got to give, and that's the reason why interest rates are as low as they have been because they can't really balance that supply and demand for capital. And in fact, in order to really balance the supply and demand for capital in a way that pushed the economy forward, interest rates might even have to be below zero. But they can't really get very far below zero, because if they did we would all just hold cash rather than hold bonds that had a negative rate. And so that's been the major policy challenge, I believe, for the last number of years. And I think it helps to explain why nowhere in the industrial world is inflation expected to get to 2%, even looking over the next 10 years, why, if you look at so-called real interest rates, interest rates that are adjusted for inflation, they are negative in most of the industrialized world and zero in the United States. And they're the reason why our growth has been so sluggish and disappointing. And with sluggish and disappointing growth, we experience low inflation.

And of course, that relatively weak level of demand contributes to the problem that we talked about a moment ago having to do with more and more men who are looking for work. It contributes to middle-class incomes not rising as fast as people hoped they will and as fast as they once did. And it contributes to the great frustration that seems to be an underlying feature of politics in this country and in others. And so I think it's a very large challenge for us.

MR. KAPLAN: So you think this phenomenon may be part of why we have such political polarization, the underlying maybe axis?

MR. SUMMERS: I think part of the reason we have such anger and disappointment, I think when people are feeling good and when all the surprises are pleasant they're much more easy to get along with ‒ (laughter) ‒ than when the surprises are mostly disappointing. So I don't think that people, frankly, who are turning to candidate (Donald) Trump would be doing so in as large numbers if they had the feeling that the economy was providing steadily improving opportunity for them and that it was going to provide their kids better opportunities than they had had.

MR. KAPLAN: So let me turn to what can be done about this. And we'll do fiscal policy, and other governmental actions second. Let's start with the Fed. Of course, you and I have talked a lot about this. What should the Fed be doing?

MR. SUMMERS: Rob, I'm disappointed in the Fed. (Laughter.) I think the Fed made a mistake last December when it raised rates, and there are several hundred thousand more people who are out of work than there would be if rates had not been raised. And they were enlisted in a war against inflation, those unemployed people, but the market is telling you that, if you look at the 10-year bond and the 10-year indexed bonds, it's telling you that we are only expecting 1.5% or less than that inflation, even though the Fed has a target of 2% inflation. So I think it was a mistake to raise rates in December.

I think it would have been a terrible mistake to raise rates in September. And I'm glad that the Fed decided not to do that, though I'm disappointed that there were three voting members of the Federal Open Market Committee who dissented from that judgment. And I'm worried by the Fed's signal that it intends to, quite likely, raise rates in December. I'm a bit relieved that the market doesn't believe the Fed and that the market thinks that there's a less than 50% chance that rates will be raised in December.

But the first rule of holes is when you're in one stop digging. And we've got inflation that's below target, and we've got growth that's inadequate. And so what the impulse could be that would lead to hitting the brakes is not something that I am able to understand easily.

I think I'll just say one more thing. I think what needs to be appreciated is that because of all those factors that I described a moment ago having to do with higher savings, having to do with reduced investment, what constitutes a normal interest rate has changed very profoundly and has come down. And that means that an interest rate that would have been wildly expansionary 10 years ago or 20 years ago is today an interest rate that's necessary to prevent an economy that's grown at well-under 1 ½ percent for the last nine months, an economy where the level of total hours of work has not increased at all over the last six months. That's an economy where the danger is stalling out. And that's not an economy where I think you want to be thinking about raising rates. I think that to raise rates in the near future would be an unforced error.

And, you know, it could change. I mean, the data could change. Inflation expectations could start to accelerate. The economy could start to overheat. And one certainly needs to be vigilant, and there's no reason to make the mistakes of the 1970s and it's really essential not to do that. But I think to use old concepts of normal when the world has profoundly changed is the pattern of most of history's great mistakes, whether it's in economics or in diplomacy or in any other sphere.

So I think the Fed needs to just let this economy expand to the extent it can, and at the same time it needs to recognize that, to use a very old phrase, you can't push on a string and there are limits to how much expansion the Fed can generate. So I'm not saying that the Fed should be doing some wild new quantitative easing program. I think there are a lot of reasons why that's quite problematic. But there's no reason to be hitting the brakes.

What I think the Fed can support and encourage is, as we ‒ (inaudible) ‒ is towards fiscal policy. Look, just because Donald Trump says something doesn't make it wrong. (Laughter.) And he was absolutely right when he said in the debate last night something that I've been saying for a couple of years. LaGuardia Airport is a disgrace. (Laughter.) It is a disgrace. Now, I ask you, at a moment when materials prices are really low, a moment when we can borrow money for 30 years at 2 percent in a currency we print ourselves, at a moment when we have this huge problem with the non-employment of strong men, if this is not the moment to fix LaGuardia Airport, when will that moment ever be? (Laughter.)

And I'll tell you another thing. We've got an air traffic control system in the United States. Let me give you three initials that play no role in the air traffic control system of the United States of America: GPS. Vacuum tubes? Yes. GPS? No. That is not as it should be.

I visited a school years ago when I was Treasury secretary, and I said to a high school economics class, they had an assembly, I was the Treasury secretary, and I gave what was hopefully a pretty good speech about the importance of education and spending time on the things you'd expect somebody to say about the importance of education. And I'll never forget a young teacher, probably been teaching four of five years in her high 20s, came up to me and said, "Secretary Summers, that was a wonderful speech. Just one thing, you said that education was the most important thing for the future of our country. Why should the kids believe that when the paint is chipping off the walls of their classrooms? It's not chipping off the wall at McDonald's. It's not chipping off the wall of the movie theater. It's not chipping off the wall at Walmart. Why should they believe that education is really the most important thing to this society?" I have no answer. And there are tens of thousands of schools where paint is chipping off the walls ‒ (inaudible). So people say we can't afford it. There's the old cliché, well, we probably can't afford not to do it.

But there's a different point as well, which is it's much cheaper to do it. It's not like we're never going to repair the LaGuardia Airport. It's not like the potholes in the roads are never going to get fixed. And I ask you, does the cost of repair go up faster or slower than the 2 percent interest rate? I think it goes up a lot faster than the 2 percent interest rate. And so even if the only thing you cared about was the long-term health of the government's finance, you'd be investing much more heavily in infrastructure. And that's not even thinking about the fact that it puts people back to work. That's not even thinking about the fact that it gives our economy more capacity, and that more capacity isn't just some extraction that is good for some businesses that are going to use that. It's good for all of us.

It's probably more true in the North where there's snow than it is down here, but the American Society for Civil Engineers estimates that we are each paying the equivalent of a 70-cent-a-gallon gasoline tax because of the extra repairs to our cars that are made necessary by the extra potholes in our roads because we don't maintain our infrastructure. And so I think a very important piece of this is what we do on the investment side as well.

MR. KAPLAN: Let me ask you about a couple of other topics related to this and some of the other things that have been mentioned. You mentioned infrastructure, a couple of others, you talked about a dramatic increase in vocational training as well as, you know, regular school training, regulatory review at the federal, state and local level, which is a touchy, obviously sensitive subject depending on which corner you talk about. What are your views on those other steps? And then I'm going to get to trade after you hit on those.

MR. SUMMERS: Look, I think one of the things we don't quite say enough in our country is roughly 60 percent of our young people start college, roughly 30 percent of our young people finish college, and roughly 40 percent of our young people don't get to go to college. And the 40 percent of our young people who don't go to college tend to come from poorer families by a substantial amount, and they tend to be poor through their lives. So whenever I hear anybody talk about how important it is to give debt relief for college students, and it is important to give debt relief for college students, I think to myself, what about the other 40 percent who weren't lucky enough for some reason to be college students? Maybe they weren't lucky enough because their family couldn't afford it. Maybe they weren't lucky enough because that just wasn't what they were cut out to do. But we need to be spending more on the people who need more help, and that's why I completely agree with you on the importance of a whole set of issues having to do with vocational education.

Look, I think that these regulatory reform issues are very difficult, to take something that goes to what you all do in the Fed. I had two experiences in the last week. They both feel valid to me and I don't quite know how to kind of reconcile them. I look at what happened at Wells Fargo. (Inaudible.) Thousands of people were involved in creating millions of accounts that people were charged for every month that they didn't even know had been created.

And the person who did that retired, was feted and celebrated as an exemplar of the wonderful culture of Wells Fargo, and paid tens of millions of dollars. And it's just hard to hear a story like that and then go: what we really need to do is get the government out of the business of finance – (laughter) – so that bankers can run it with their principles. It really is hard to believe that. And this was not, like, some institution that was seen as a fly-by-night institution. This was seen as the respected face of quality banking. And, you know, this is not an isolated story.

The base interest rate, so-called LIBOR interest rate, which is the basis of your mortgage, it's the basis of the prime rate, it's the basis of a hundred other things, they sat around and they manipulated the number. I mean, there's, like, zillions of emails implicating every major financial institution in the world in the setting of that rate. It's just hard to see things like that and not think that we need to regulate more.

On the other hand, talk to somebody who works in a bank and it is process 101. And after process 101, it is process – it is process 102. I mean, I have had the experience of refinancing a mortgage, and it was unbelievable. I mean, you know, let me see, sir. This mortgage is joint with your wife, Elisa New. Is that correct? Yes. Are you married? (Laughter.) And it went on like that for – it went on like that for half an hour. I mean, it's not so lucky for the people who did this to me, because it really wasn't so lucky for them, because I lost my temper after 15 minutes. I said why do I have to do this?

MR. KAPLAN: That doesn't sound like you.

MR. SUMMERS: Why can't we – why can't we just – why do I have to do this, and why can't I just fill out the form? Why do you have to be reading me all this stuff? And they said it's required by Dodd-Frank. And I said, well, bad luck for you. I helped to write it. (Laughter.) I'm going to hang up the phone. Have your general counsel call me, and you have your general counsel or somebody in your lawyer's office show me the part of Dodd-Frank that says that I have to do this, or you have someone very senior in your organization call and apologize to me. It's your choice. And I got my apology.

But the point is that I was right. I was right. It wasn't literally required by Dodd-Frank. But in a deeper sense, I was wrong, because we had created an environment where they were petrified that if you didn't read your Miranda warnings to somebody every time they went to an ATM, you were going to get sued for hundreds of millions of dollars.

And so I think the challenge for you, Rob, the challenge for the Federal Reserve, the challenge for everyone who cares about this, is to find ways of balancing these two things. I think a really important principle is more individual accountability.

MR. KAPLAN: I'll make one comment, and then I'm going to ask you about trade.

One of the things we've been advocating here is so-called tailoring. It's one thing for a big systemically important institution to have very tough regulation. We've been advocating that small and midsize banks should probably have more tailored rules, that they don't present systemic risk. I'll just say that because we have some of our important relationships in the audience. We'd like to see that happen. There'll be more time. We'll talk about that maybe at dinner tonight.

Let me ask you, trade, as we've all noticed, has been a very popular topic in this country on both sides. You and I have talked before and previously about (the North American Free Trade Agreement). Let's start there. What's your assessment? Was NAFTA good or bad for the United States?

MR. SUMMERS: Good. Nobody believes it, but it was good. Just remember, you have to separate the issue of trade from the issue of trade agreements. We do trade with Mexico. We share a 2,000-mile border with Mexico. Mexico has done a set of things to develop its economy. It's a good thing for us that they have done those things to develop their economy, because if they hadn't developed their economy, we would have 15 million more Mexicans fighting their way across the border, with all kinds of complexities for the United States.

Now, here is the truth about what the world was like before NAFTA. For reasons that you can argue whether they're right or whether they're wrong, but it was the way it was, we didn't have any major tariffs on goods from Mexico. We didn't have any major quotas on goods from Mexico. Before there was NAFTA, if you lived in Mexico, you could produce a product and you could sell it here.

On the other hand, Mexico had huge tariffs on American companies and huge tariffs on American exporters to Mexico and huge barriers that meant that in Japan they partnered with Taiwan, they partnered with the Philippines, to produce effectively and to sell. In Germany, they partnered with Poland, they partnered with Yugoslavia, to produce efficiently and sell – high-wage and low-wage labor together.

If we couldn't partner, America was going to be at a huge competitive disadvantage. And so the question isn't what about if we had no trade with Mexico. That was not our choice. The choice was, were we going to negotiate an agreement that was going to change American trade rules a little bit, because they were already free, and Mexican trade rules an enormous amount and open up the Mexican market? That was a judgment that two presidents – one Republican, one Democrat, George Bush and Bill Clinton – made. And I think it was the right judgment.

And we are seeing right now what would have happened if that judgment had not been made. If you watch the markets, every day that Donald Trump goes up in the polls, the Mexican peso goes down. And every day that he goes down in the polls, the Mexican peso goes up. Right now, because of the things he has said and done, the Mexican peso is roughly 10 to 12 percent weaker than it would otherwise be.

What does that mean? That means that every product produced in Mexico is 10 percent cheaper when it's sold in the United States in dollars. It means that every product that's produced in the United States is 10 percent more expensive when it's sold in pesos.

So if you ask what is the strategy for causing more businesses to locate in Mexico, causing more Americans to face real competition from lower-wage Mexican labor, the strategy would be to do more of what's being advocated. That has driven the value of the peso down and has driven Mexico into exporting more.

Look, we have actually achieved – I mean, you would not know it listening to any of our political debate, but we have achieved a kind of remarkable thing in this country, which is, if you look at the net flow of migrants now, it is roughly zero. There are months, half-years, when more people move from the United States to Mexico than move from Mexico to the United States.

If you wanted to invent a strategy for maximizing illegal **immigration** into the United States, it would be to try, as the United States, to isolate and screw up the Mexican economy. And that's what repeal of NAFTA at this late date would be, because if we repealed NAFTA we still would have an open market with respect to Mexico.

So I understand why people are frustrated, but I think it's the task of leadership to try to think hard about what the real consequences of the actions that you take are. And if we had not passed NAFTA, we would have a whole set of problems that we do not now envision.

Every time you hear about a trade agreement, don't ask yourself whether you're worried about the country in question. Ask yourself how much their market is opening up and how much our market is changing. And I think you'll find that in many of the cases their markets are opening up a lot and our market already was – (inaudible).

MR. KAPLAN: Let's take questions from the audience. Please just go up to the mic, and don't be bashful.

Q: Dr. Summers, my name is Joseph Callier.

Your last comment about real consequences of decisions made, I want to know about the impact of Richard Nixon. What would America have been like if he had not passed the (National Environmental Policy Act) and if he had not signed the legislation dealing with baseline budgeting?

MR. KAPLAN: Didn't expect that question, did you? (Laughter.) We said we'd surprise you.

MR. SUMMERS: It's not often that I'm at a loss for words. (Laughter.)

Look, I think the EPA was a historic achievement. Has everything – have I agreed with every single thing the EPA has done? I just read a story in today's Financial Times about a new World Health Organization report that says 3 million extra people die a year because of air pollution, almost none of them in the United States. That's because we got on this problem quicker – (inaudible) – because we developed an environmental consciousness.

Does the EPA do things to excess sometimes? Absolutely, it does. But am I glad to be in a country that has strong environmental regulation? Yeah, I am. I'm glad to be in such a country.

You know, I don't know what exactly the alternative to so-called baseline budgets would be, but I'll tell you this. We've got a lot to complain about in our budgetary situation. If you ask is our budget as I'd like it to be, no, it's not. But one thing that's kind of special about the United States is every six months we all look at, from the president and from the Congress, a 10-year forecast of where revenues are going, where expenditures are going, where deficit's going, where debt's going. That doesn't happen in most other countries. And we don't make perfect policies even with it, but we make better policies than we would without that.

MR. KAPLAN: Can I get somebody else? Let me give somebody else a chance, just to get in some more questions here.

Q: (Inaudible.) I'm Japanese.

Well, my question is, what do you think about to (Bank of Japan's) negative interest rate? In the future, will the Fed adopt, too, a possible negative interest rate?

MR. SUMMERS: Negative interest rates are like certain medicines. There are certain medicines that are really very unpleasant in their effects, and they have quite terrible side effects. On the other hand – and when you take them, you really don't tend to be very happy. On the other hand, you really sort of have to ask yourself why are you taking those medicines? And you're taking those medicines because you have a pretty serious problem.

And why are interest rates negative in Japan? They're negative in Japan basically because of this secular-stagnation problem that I described earlier – high savings, low investment – is more – (inaudible) – in Japan. And I think the instinct to reduce interest rates as much as possible in Japan and to try to create an inflationary psychology has been a broadly correct one.

I think there are limits to what the effects will be. And I think the kind of comments I made about fiscal policy and other comments I could have made about spurring private investment, I think, have substantial applicability in thinking about Japan.

MR. KAPLAN: Please.

Q: Dr. Summers, I would like to ask a question. Why do you think there is such an unwillingness, political unwillingness, to deal with (the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership)? We have just killed it. Since trade is obviously good for a country with a stagnant economy, with falling demographics, why is it that we cannot get something like the TTIP toward the goal line?

MR. SUMMERS: Well, a lot of the problem, besides – that's not America's fault. I mean, America has got some problems with respect to the TTIP, but there's been a lot of problems in both Germany and France with respect to support for the TTIP.

Look, I think the problem is that the way in which we have managed these trade agreements has given people the feeling that there's nothing in it for them. Look, I saw it when I was at the Treasury. You know, what was the – we would be – we would negotiate a trade rating in financial services. And what was it about? You know, could insurance company X sell insurance in Malaysia? Could – pardon me, Rob – Goldman Sachs do underwriting in country such and such? Could – how many ATMs could bank X open in country Y?

And so I think people, like, saw this and they thought to themselves, like, who cares? Why is this a major thing that the United States is negotiating over? And why doesn't it negotiate over some things that I care about, like other people not subsidizing their products and taking my job away and other people not having no minimum wage so there's enormous pressure for us to have no minimum wage and other people setting up their tax systems with big tax havens so that people move all their profits out and companies pay much less taxes so that working people have to pay much more taxes?

And so I think the problem is that the trade agendas have come to seem like something that's about unique preoccupation rather than middle-class concern. And the middle class has gotten mad. And that's the broad political problem that trade is running into in most of the industrial world.

MR. KAPLAN: Yes, sir.

Q: There's been a lot of political rhetoric about raising the minimum wage to $15 an hour. Could you talk about what that might do in regards to inflation and the economy in general if that were to happen?

MR. SUMMERS: I think the – I don't think the issues involved in inflation and the minimum wage are very large. Just look at what an increase in the wage bill would be if you take it as a share of the economy. You're not looking at something that's going to have a very significant inflationary impact.

I think the question of pricing certain workers out of the market and creating unemployment is a much more serious one. And I think you have to find a balance. And I don't actually think the right balance is the same everywhere in the country. Some parts of the country – in some parts of the country I think a $15 minimum wage will help people – help establish a principle that I think is actually a pretty important principle, that people who work full-time should be able to live above the poverty line and support a small family above the poverty line. I think that's a pretty important principle.

I think there are other parts of the country where a $15 minimum wage has to be thought of as an aspiration and something that you're going to transition to over time rather than something that you're going to get to in a year.

MR. KAPLAN: Do you say that because of the challenging economic circumstances in those places?

MR. SUMMERS: Because I think the overall price levels are lower. The overall productivity of business is lower. You think about what a – what is the kind of natural wage for somebody performing custodial services in Manhattan and in rural Mississippi? Those are very different. And so I think a $15 minimum wage is going to be a much bigger problem in rural Mississippi.

MR. KAPLAN: Please.

Q: You mentioned our net migration is essentially zero. If I'm not mistaken, our birthrate in America is below two. We have an **immigration** policy that we allow people to come over and get educated and we send them back. Can you talk about just kind of a stagnant population growth and how it is impacting our economy and our **immigration** policy? If you were to try to change it, would you change it? And would that have an impact?

MR. SUMMERS: I think there are two parts to what we need to do there. I think we need more pro-family policies. We are terrible, by global standards, on what help we give parents of newborn children, mothers or fathers, in terms of leave, in terms of paid leave, in terms of job security when they return. Every other major country is much more generous than we are, much more generous than we are with respect to taking care of an aging parent, much more generous than we are in terms of the ability to take two hours off to take a child to a doctor's appointment, to see a child in a school play.

And we just need to adjust as a country. And I think that's going to take some government action, because here's the problem. I think all employers can afford to do some of this if their competitors are doing it as well. But if you leave it to the miracles of the market – suppose that all the employers in an industry now don't have any parental-leave policy, and I decide I'm going to be the one employer who has parental-leave policy. Well, one, there's some cost that's going to make it hard for me to compete. And two, I'm going to attract all the people who are expecting to become parents, and that's going to make it very expensive.

So I think we need public policies that are more pro-family than the ones we have now. I also think we need more generous – more open **immigration**. I – my view on this is that we need **immigration** with strong expectation of assimilation. Kids are expected to learn English. They're expected to be in school, being taught in English, as soon as they've gone through a transition period. You have to be coming here to work, not to benefit from our social – from our social safety net. And we certainly need to do much more to hold on to some of the most talented people who now come to our great universities, who we actually encourage to go home and be part of businesses that are competing very vigorously with the United States.

So, yeah, I would be for more-open but more-oriented-to-assimilation **immigration** policies and to more family leave. And I think if we did that, we could have a labor force that was growing at 1 to 1 ½ percent a year over the next generation rather than ½ a percent a year over the next generation.

MR. KAPLAN: Just for folks, that would translate into what in terms of (gross domestic product), the impact that –

MR. SUMMERS: About an extra – that would translate into about an extra 1 percent a year in GDP, which is about $160 billion a year at current (taxes ?).

MR. KAPLAN: Let's try to squeeze in one or two more questions, then we're going to wind up. Please.

MR. SUMMERS: Why don't we take – if I could suggest, why don't we take, like, two or three, and then I'll answer them all?

MR. KAPLAN: Done. Let's do it.

Q: Dr. Summers, having grown up in Texas, it's important to me for more local representation rather than national or even federal beyond the local – (inaudible) – that we have. It's fascinated me for years that our government has – (inaudible) – requirement, but yet we spend billions of dollars supporting other governments, where we could spend that money in the 4th Ward or we could spend it in Philadelphia and enhance that education platform.

MR. KAPLAN: Good. Question?

Q: Mohammed (sp) from the University of St. Thomas.

I want to ask you, do you think that it would be effective to re-implement the Glass-Steagall Act? Thank you.

MR. KAPLAN: Sir.

Q: I'm wondering if you have any finance-related book recommendations? (Laughter.)

MR. KAPLAN: Let's get the last one right here.

Q: If you – sir, if you could design a tax code from scratch, what would it look like? (Laughter.)

MR. SUMMERS: Taxes – broader base, fewer deductions and exemptions, and lower rates would be the basic principles of the tax code that I would describe.

Books on finance – old classic, Charlie Kindleberger, "Manias, Panics and Crashes"; a recent book by William Goetzmann, title I don't remember, but it's a history of finance over 6,000 years, making the point that finance isn't just a bunch of people trying to speculate around and gain an edge, but is actually a very fundamental thing in a society which is connecting those who want to defer their consumption to the future with those who have the opportunity to productively invest. And the ability to do that well is central to having a – central to having a well-functioning economy.

With respect to foreign assistance versus spending money at home, I guess I'd invite you to consider that I think a lot of what we do in foreign assistance and diplomacy is best thought of as forward defense of our security interests and that when we don't do that, we end up paying much larger costs at a later point.

If we had done something like the Marshall Plan after World War I, we might not have had to fight World War II. If we had provided the right kind of support for the Kerensky government in Russia, we might have avoided 70 years of communism with Lenin.

It is much cheaper to make subsistence in a reasonable way possible in the Middle East and the Sahel than it is to deal with what the consequences of millions of **refugees** is going to be for Europe.

Any time somebody tells you that we've got too much foreign aid and too much mushy-gushy diplomacy stuff, just think about this. The United States right now has 10 percent more people who are members of military bands, playing a musical instrument, than it does diplomats in foreign-aid posts. That does not suggest to me that we've got a big excess in the other area. Maybe we've got too much military music. (Laughter.) But it does – it is worth keeping in mind when you think about our priorities.

I missed one question. What was the one in the middle about?

MR. KAPLAN: Glass-Steagall.

MR. SUMMERS: Glass-Steagall. Look, I was – truth in advertising; fair warning – I was Treasury secretary when Glass-Steagall was repealed. So you might decide that I wasn't entirely objective on the question. But, no, I don't think it was a mistake. I think it was the correct thing to have done, actually. And I guess I would make these points.

First, whatever it was you didn't like had already happened before we repealed Glass-Steagall. JPMorgan was engaged in commercial banking and it was engaged in investment banking. So it had already happened to a substantial extent.

Second, none of the – there was no transaction that took place between the repeal of Glass-Steagall and the financial crisis that wouldn't have been possible without the repeal of Glass-Steagall.

Third, if you think about the institutions that were caught up in the crisis, none of them, almost none, were really implicated by Glass-Steagall. Bear Stearns, pure investment bank, not touched by Glass-Steagall. Lehman Brothers, pure investment bank, not touched by Glass-Steagall. AIG, insurance company, not touched by Glass-Steagall. Washington Mutual, Wachovia, banks that failed, not touched by Glass-Steagall. Citigroup was touched by Glass-Steagall, but the activities that got them in trouble were not activities that would have – were activities that would have been legal for the previous 30 years.

So it's hard to draw any link from Glass-Steagall to the crisis. What about the solution? The government would have had to spend billions of dollars more if JPMorgan had not taken over Bear Stearns. And that was made possible by – that was made possible by the repeal of Glass-Steagall. If Bank of America had not been able to take over Merrill Lynch, that period would have played out in a much more catastrophic fashion.

As Rob well knows, if it had not been possible to open the discount window to Goldman Sachs and to Morgan Stanley, the situation would have been a much, much more difficult situation to have dealt with.

Here's the thing. We want our institutions to be stable. In order for them to be stable, there's a big advantage in their being diversified. If you don't let them do anything except make standard commercial bank loans to commercial real estate, then you're making them enormously vulnerable when bad times come. If you permit them to be engaged in a variety of different business activities, they've got much more diversification and capacity to respond.

I'll give you an example. Suppose JPMorgan had been broken up into seven pieces. One of them would have been the London whale. And when the London whale happened, there would have been systemic risk of bailouts and panics and all of that rather than just a big hit for JPMorgan's shareholders. That's an example of the success of diversification.

This isn't just theory. If you look at who came through the financial crisis very well, not Europe, not us, not Japan. Canada came through very well. Australia came through very well. And they've got something called universal banks that actually are able to do an even wider set of things than we're permitted to do.

So I'm for much stricter financial regulation in a whole set of areas, principal of which greater levels of capital liquidity are probably most important. But I at least can't see the case that I think Glass-Steagall would – if Glass-Steagall were still there, there's no chance that it would have prevented a crisis. If it had still been there, it would have substantially complicated a response to the crisis.

And I think financial authorities should sleep better at night knowing that it's been large institutions are more diversified, which Glass-Steagall makes possible.

MR. KAPLAN: Larry, thank you for being here. Thank you for your insight, your leadership. And every time I talk to you, I've always learned something new. I think it's extremely valuable, in my view, to the country, to the world, that you're out there. You're doing this work. You're speaking your mind. You're prodding us. You're pushing us as to how we think about things. So I really appreciate your thoughts. I appreciate you being here in Houston.

I want to thank everyone here for being here tonight and for a great evening. But thank you again.

MR. SUMMERS: Thank you. (Applause.)

Story

\* Former Treasury Secretary Says Fed Was Wrong to Raise Rates in December[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/former-treasury-secretary-says-fed-was-wrong-to-raise-rates-in-december-1475032290?tesla=y]

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump left key foreign-policy issues unresolved in their debate Monday[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/candidates-see-debate-as-chance-to-build-momentum-gain-undecided-voters-1474932989], setting the stage for a future battle over how to address the rise of Russia and China and the more than five-year-long civil war in Syria.

The Democratic and Republican nominees clashed over the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, the Iran nuclear agreement and the war against Islamic State. In a rare point of agreement, both candidates said the risk that U.S. adversaries would use nuclear weapons is a top concern.

Mrs. Clinton faulted Mr. Trump for saying he didn't care if other countries including Japan, South Korea and Saudi Arabia obtained nuclear weapons, in contrast to a longstanding U.S. policy of denuclearization.

"We defend Japan, we defend Germany, we defend South Korea, we defend Saudi Arabia, we defend countries. They do not pay us," Mr. Trump said in response, adding, "They may have to defend themselves or they have to help us out."

Mr. Trump appeared to struggle with a question on whether he favored changing U.S. nuclear policy by declaring a "no first use" protocol, as President Barack Obama considered doing earlier this year. He said, "Once the nuclear alternative happens, it's over. At the same time, we have to be prepared. I can't take anything off the table."

The candidates sketched out different visions for how the U.S. should work with and maintain historic alliances.

Mrs. Clinton praised NATO, an alliance formed after World War II in large part to counter the Soviet Union and is seen as a bulwark against potential Russian aggression, and said the U.S. is working with the alliance to focus on terrorism and in the Middle East. Mr. Trump said that approach hadn't produced results and that the alliance must do more to focus on terror—something he said it began to do following his criticism. He also again faulted Europe for not spending enough on defense.

On Tuesday, NATO Secretary General Jens Stoltenberg defended the alliance against Mr. Trump's criticism and said a strong NATO is important for both Europe and the U.S. He said Mr. Trump didn't deserve credit for NATO's creation of a major terror unit[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/nato-considers-new-intelligence-chief-post-1464968453].

"To share intelligence among allies is one of the tools we use in the fight against terror," Mr. Stoltenberg said. "But this is something planned and discussed for a long time and it is not a result of the U.S. election campaign."

While both Mr. Trump and Mrs. Clinton agreed that how world powers use nuclear weapons is a key threat, they were vague about how to confront the rise of global powers such as Russia and China, said Elbridge Colby, a senior fellow at the Center for New American Security and a Republican who hasn't backed either candidate.

"We're not in the Cold War, but it's a lot hairier out there than it used to be in the last 25 years, and I think if we played our cards wrong something could go badly in the Baltics for instance and also in the South China Sea," he said. "Then you're dealing with countries with serious militaries that have nuclear arsenals."

Stephen Walt, a professor of international affairs at the Harvard Kennedy School, said though Mrs. Clinton and Mr. Trump discussed NATO, they didn't amplify what role the U.S. should be playing in Europe's problems, including Brexit, the debt crisis and a mass influx of **refugees**.

"Is this something that we are spectators to?" Mr. Walt said.

Mr. Walt said neither Mrs. Clinton nor Mr. Trump addressed **immigration** or how they would handle relations with countries in the Western hemisphere.

While Mr. Trump and Mrs. Clinton talked about fighting Islamic State, they made no mention of the civil war in Syria. A ceasefire deal between the U.S. and Russia has fallen apart in recent days, and the former Cold War foes seem far apart on reviving it. Mr. Obama has signaled he doesn't have much of an appetite for escalating U.S. involvement in that conflict, leaving a clear challenge for the next president.

Julian E. Barnes contributed to this article.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**BERLIN—Two explosions in the city of Dresden late Monday appear to have been motivated by xenophobia, local police said, in the latest sign of mounting anti-foreigner sentiment[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/merkel-stands-by-refugee-policy-after-election-loss-1473078641] in Germany since the arrival of more than one million migrants last year.

No one was injured in the blasts, which took place outside a mosque and near the city's International Congress Center.

"We have to assume a xenophobic motive, even if no one claimed responsibility," said Dresden police president Horst Kretzschmar.

Local police said the first bomb exploded outside the mosque shortly before 10 p.m. local time Monday. The Imam, his wife and their two sons were inside the building. They were unhurt but the door of the building was damaged, police said, adding the bomb appears to have been homemade.

Shortly afterward, police were alerted to a second blast at the International Congress Center, where the city was to hold celebrations for the anniversary of German reunification this coming weekend. Mr. Kretzschmar said the blast appears to have been connected with the planned festivities.

The state of Saxony and its capital, Dresden, have been the scene[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/high-culture-confronts-anti-islam-movement-in-battle-for-dresdens-reputation-1461144601] of growing anti-foreigner and anti-Muslim sentiment over the past two years.

Populist movement Patriotic Europeans Against the Islamization of the West, known by its German acronym of Pegida, was founded in Dresden. It combines hostility toward Muslim **immigrants**, the press and mainstream politicians with admiration for Russian President Vladimir Putin.

Earlier this month, violent clashes erupted[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/migrants-far-right-group-clash-in-eastern-german-town-1473963128] between young migrants and far-right sympathizers in the town of Bautzen, also in Saxony, in the most recent in a string of brawls between young asylum seekers and local far-right extremists, highlighting the tensions that have grown in Germany, particularly in the east, in the wake of Chancellor Angela Merkel's **refugee** policies[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/merkel-says-germany-wont-stop-accepting-refugees-muslims-1474288469].

German Interior Minister Thomas de Maizière said he was "disgusted" by Monday's attacks in Dresden.

"We don't want things like that to happen in Germany, no matter against whom it is aimed," Mr. de Maizière said at the 10-year anniversary of the German Islam conference in Berlin, a forum that brings together government officials and Muslim leaders.

Dresden police, which informed the public about the blasts only on Tuesday morning, said it had ordered officers to protect mosques in the city overnight.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**A recent Homeland Security Department decision to consider ending the widespread outsourcing of **immigrant** detention could mean overhauling a $2 billion-a-year system built around private prison contractors that house the majority of **immigrant** detainees.

But **Immigration** and Customs Enforcement, the agency within Homeland Security that oversees **immigrant** detention, says the current system is efficient and cost-effective, given the congressional mandate to have 34,000 prison beds available each day.

Transferring control of all **immigrant** prisons to ICE "would require an 800% expansion of ICE capacity" to replace facilities that are privately run, said a senior ICE official who declined to be identified, adding that it likely would cost "billions of dollars."

Homeland Security Secretary Jeh Johnson recently directed his advisory council to "evaluate whether **immigration** detention should move in the same direction as the Justice Department," which on Aug. 18 announced that it would stop housing inmates in private prisons. Mr. Johnson expects a recommendation by Nov. 30.

The review comes after a federal report concluded privately run prisons were less safe than those operated by the government, and after advocates complained about conditions for **immigrants** in privately run detention centers.

The deportation and detention of **immigrants** has become central to the presidential election. Republican candidate Donald Trump has vowed that he would detain **immigrants** until they are deported from the U.S., instead of releasing them, as happens in some instances, until a judge decides their case.

On Wednesday, human-rights and **immigrant**-advocacy groups are set to deliver a petition with 200,000 signatures demanding that Homeland Security follow the Justice Department's lead.

Dozens of for-profit prisons are contracted to hold undocumented **immigrants**, at a cost of $127 a day a person, as they fight deportation in court, await removal from the country or seek asylum in the U.S.

Roughly 10% of detainees are held in ICE-controlled facilities, more than two-thirds are in private detention centers, and the rest are in state or municipal facilities. As of Aug. 8, there were 33,676 **immigrants** in detention, with 24,657 of them in private facilities, ICE said. More than half of those in ICE custody don't have a criminal conviction.

Contracts between ICE and for-profit prison companies hang in the balance, depending on the result of the review. For instance, ICE signed a new contract last year with GEO Group to operate the Northwest Detention Center in Washington for another decade, renewable each year. The Tacoma facility has grown to 1,575 beds, from about 500 beds a decade ago.

The contract, which is typical, guarantees that the government will cover the cost of half the beds, regardless of whether they are occupied, in order to secure them at a reduced rate.

Eduardo Trujillo Lopez, an undocumented Mexican living in Walla Walla for nearly a decade, spent six months at the Tacoma facility after being arrested in March last year for driving with a suspended license. He had failed to pay traffic tickets, according to attorneys at the Northwest **Immigrant** Rights Project.

The 33-year-old construction worker, who is married to a U.S. citizen and has a U.S.-born daughter, was detained until the advocacy group helped him obtain and post an $8,000 bond. When he was released in September 2015, his deportation case was transferred to a Seattle **immigration** court.

Mr. Trujillo exemplifies low-risk **immigrants** in detention, said Tim Warden, directing attorney of the project's Tacoma office. "Fighting their cases means being detained for a minimum of six months, and sometimes years," he said.

Critics of ICE question why there are so many people in custody when illegal **immigration** has slowed significantly. "The growth in the private-prison industry has been driven by more enforcement that fills beds, even at a time of relatively low **immigration** levels," said Bob Libal, executive director of Grassroots Leadership, an organization that studies for-profit incarceration and favors ending it.

The **immigrant**-bed quota, which Congress first mandated in 2009, benefits the private-prison industry and promotes detention, Mr. Libal and others say.

ICE said that all of those in detention meet **immigration**-enforcement priorities.

GEO Group and Corrections Corp., the two largest private-prison companies, said they were confident that the independent review would show they provide quality, cost-effective services for **immigrants**.

The two companies have seen their revenue rocket in recent years. Corrections Corp. has booked $689 million in revenue from ICE contracts since 2008, according to SmartProcure, which tracks federal contracts. GEO has had $1.18 billion since that year, the site said.

In Congress, Rep. Adam Smith (D., Wash.) has sought an end to for-profit facilities for **immigrants**. "Large, for-profit prison corporations are left in charge of operating these facilities at a high cost to taxpayers, detainees and families of those affected," he said.

House Judiciary Committee Chairman Bob Goodlatte (R., Va.) disagreed in a statement: "I would urge Secretary Johnson to continue using these facilities. … Without them, thousands of unlawfully present and criminal **aliens** could be released into American communities and never be returned to their home countries."

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Top of Form

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**The Mexican peso is emerging as the investment world's favorite proxy for betting on the U.S. presidential race.

The currency began to surge during Monday night's debate and was up 2.5% by late Tuesday trading, its second-biggest daily gain this year.

Pundits may still be jousting over the election's outcome, but a number of investors said the gains were driven by perceptions of a strong debate performance by the Democratic nominee Hillary Clinton.

Her GOP rival, Donald Trump, has lambasted a key U.S. trade pact with Mexico and has pledged to crack down on **immigration**. As Mr. Trump climbed in the polls this month, the peso plunged to a record low near 20 to the dollar. Bets it would keep dropping reached a record $2.2 billion last week, according to data from Scotiabank and the Commodity Futures Trading Commission that measures investments by hedge funds and other money managers.

"Donald Trump's odds of winning the election have a direct effect on the Mexican peso," said Alvise Marino, a strategist at Credit Suisse in New York.

Mr. Marino has been betting against the peso since late July and thinks the currency will continue to drift lower, in large part because he believes Mr. Trump's policies would "bring massive amounts of uncertainty to Mexico."

Whether currency traders are on to something or have just found a set of developments to speculate around is an open question.

The GOP candidate's rise isn't the only reason for the peso's troubles this year: The Mexican economy contracted in the second quarter as industrial production fell. And inflation is rising, which can be a headwind for a currency. Meanwhile, the Federal Reserve has signaled that it is inclined to raise interest rates in December.

Yet during a year when low interest rates world-wide have sent investors chasing yield, many other emerging-market currencies have rallied despite challenges of their own. Investors, for instance, have sent the Brazilian real up 23% against the dollar this year even as that country struggles with its worst recession in recent history.

By contrast, the peso is down 11.2% since January, making it one of the worst-performing emerging-market currencies.

Many currency traders believe Mr. Trump's stated intention to renegotiate the North American Free Trade Agreement could damage the Mexican economy. Naftaeliminated most tariffs and other trade barriers between the U.S., Canada and Mexico, helping to boost sales of Mexican goods to the giant U.S. market.

More than one-quarter of Mexico's gross domestic product comes from trade with the U.S., according to data from Société Générale, while 81% of all its exports go the U.S., World Bank figures show.

Mr. Trump's plans to reduce **immigration** also could weigh on the Mexican economy. Remittances from Mexicans in the U.S. was the second-largest source of dollar inflows toward Mexico's balance of payments, accounting for 2.3% of its GDP last year, according to BMO Capital Markets and the World Bank.

Wall Street analysts have recommended other investments they say could perform well under the next president. Those nervous about a Trump presidency have suggested haven plays such as the Swiss franc and gold. Mr. Trump's opposition to financial regulation and his support for a strong military in theory could boost sectors such as finance and defense.

Some analysts say a win by Mrs. Clinton would likely benefit health care, since she has indicated plans to expand the number of people covered by the Affordable Care Act.

Jack Ablin, chief investment officer at BMO Private Bank, wrote in a client note on Tuesday that gauging the election's impact on equity markets is challenging given the range of variables affecting stocks. The impact on the peso, however, has been clear, he said.

"We have found that Trump's prospects have been moving in lock step with the Mexican peso's exchange rate versus the dollar," he wrote. "Of all of the metrics we've tested, it's the one that has proven the closest barometer of election fortunes."

Traders appear to be braced for more big swings. The implied volatility of the peso against the dollar, which is a gauge of how much money investors are paying to insure themselves against or bet on large swings in the currency, has spiked to its highest level since 2011, according to Thomson Reuters data. Prices also show traders are betting volatility will come down after the election, according to RBC Capital Markets.

"The Mexican unit has become something of an oversimplified risk proxy for worries about Trump," Karl Schamotta, chief market strategist at Cambridge Global Payments, said in an email. "In effect, the pros are trading ahead of punters who are expected to come into the market."

Axel Merk, president of Merk Investments LLC, has been betting against the currency since the beginning of September in some of his funds as a way to bet against risk. But he also sees Mr. Trump's policies, including promises to erect a wall along the Mexican border, as another reason to stay short.

"If you build a wall, maybe the peso will suffer," he said.

Ben Eisen and Chelsey Dulaney contributed to this article.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Corrections & Amplifications:

Rick Gesing knew there would be resistance to the meeting he had planned, so he kept the details secret.

As the vice president of manufacturing at Applied Materials Inc., he wrote an email invitation to 10 of his direct reports that described the off-site gathering as a four-day "leadership" meeting.

Not until the invitees—all white and male—arrived did they learn they were about to take part in a gender and diversity workshop called "The White Men's Caucus," run by consulting firm White Men as Full Diversity Partners.

The initial reaction was less than encouraging. The men feared they were in for a typical diversity-training course—a mini re-education camp with do's and don'ts on the treatment of women and minorities.

"It was: ‘Oh my goodness, Rick. Are you really going to put us through this?' It was terrifying for many people," says Mr. Gesing, now vice president of operations at the Santa Clara, Calif., company.

The pushback Mr. Gesing witnessed isn't uncommon. Gender-inclusion and racial-diversity initiatives can be a minefield. No matter how carefully companies roll them out, the programs tend to **alienate** white men and leave them feeling attacked. Now a wave of companies is trying to soften the process by removing the emphasis on rules and penalties and having other white men lead the sessions.

Mr. Gesing was facing a set of thorny racial and gender-equity problems at the semiconductor-equipment maker's manufacturing facilities. Employee surveys suggested there were simmering racial tensions, and some women said they believed they couldn't get ahead at the company.

Mr. Gesing, who is based in Austin, Texas, thought the strains were preventing his division from reaching its potential, but he wanted an approach that differed from traditional diversity and inclusion training, which he says focuses too much on "compliance and numbers" and makes white men feel guarded.

A study, published last October in the Journal of Experimental Social Psychology[https://labs.psych.ucsb.edu/major/brenda/docs/Dover, Major, Kaiser 2016.pdf], found that white men are more likely to feel threatened when their employers trumpet gender-equity and racial-diversity policies. There's also evidence those feelings can lead to poor job performance by white males, says the paper's lead author, Tessa Dover, psychology professor at the University of California, Santa Barbara.

Bill Proudman, CEO and co-founder of White Men as Full Diversity Partners, is one of many consultants trying to get beyond the angst by having men confront assumptions in a setting where they don't feel "beaten and humiliated."

Part of what puts his participants at ease, he says, is that white men like themselves are leading the discussion. As a result, he gets men to engage with "fewer folded arms and gasps."

That's beneficial, because Mr. Proudman's workshop encourages men to address something that might cause even the most well-intentioned manager to roll his eyes: privilege. He often gives a few examples to start them off, including: "I can make mistakes, fail miserably on a project or be fired from a job without anyone attributing it to my gender," or "I am generally part of the gender majority in most higher-level workplace meetings I attend."

The central aim of his work is to get men to "notice their privilege and learn to use it honorably," he says.

Applied Materials has witnessed changes in its culture. More men at the company are there to "help me lead the change" to make the division feel like more of a hospitable place for women and minorities, Mr. Gesing says.

Stephen Caulfield attended a White Men as Full Diversity Partners seminar in 2014 with some 16 colleagues from Dell. Mr. Caulfield, now a vice president of Dell Services, says the program made him aware, for instance, that some of his division's more-ambitious women weren't progressing at the same rate as equally qualified men in part because the women weren't applying for roles with greater responsibility.

That phenomenon is revealed in LeanIn.Org and McKinsey & Co.'s Women in the Workplace 2016 study[http://womenintheworkplace.com/]. Women at every corporate level are less likely than men to want the next promotion and aspire to be a top executive. Some 42% of women say they are uninterested in moving up because they fear they won't be able to balance family and work commitments, according to the survey.

After attending the workshop, Mr. Caulfield says, he has been more successful in recent years in getting women to pursue higher positions. "You can't just post the role and hope that women will apply," he says. "You have to proactively go to [promising women candidates] and say, ‘You should apply for this.'"

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Survey Sampler

\* Answer selected questions from the Lean In/McKinsey survey at the end of this article, and compare your responses with the survey results.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Corrections & Amplifications:

The **alien** in "The Hitchhiker's Guide to the Galaxy" who visits Earth and assumes that cars are the dominant form of life of the planet named himself Ford Prefect. An earlier version of the article misstated his assumed name as Ford Perfect. (09/27/2016)

IN THE CLASSIC SCI-FI NOVEL "the Hitchhiker's Guide to the Galaxy," an **alien** visiting Earth names himself Ford Prefect based on the assumption that cars are the dominant form of life on this planet. It's an understandable mistake when you look at our cities today. These hunks of metal consume vast amounts of our money, space and natural resources—and sit idle 95% of the time. At the beginning of the book, the Earth is destroyed to make way for an intergalactic highway. We're a long, long way from that reality. But unless we rapidly reimagine urban transportation, cities risk imploding under the weight of more than a billion cars.

The good news is that there is an alternative to living on a planet that looks like a parking lot and moves like a traffic jam. It doesn't involve space travel or require new forms of transportation. We simply need to use the ones we have much more efficiently.

Skyscrapers allow city dwellers to make the most of limited real estate by sharing space vertically. But we still haven't learned how to share space on our roads. Seventy-six percent of Americans commute to work alone, and in some cities, up to a third of all the land is now dedicated to parking. Over the next few decades, 2.5 billion people worldwide are expected to move into urban areas already bursting at the seams. The luxury of wasting space will soon be a thing of the past.

Mass transit is an important part of the solution, but not the silver bullet. New York has one of the best public transportation systems in the world, but more than 2 million cars drive through New York City every day, because the subway will never reach everyone's front door.

It's time to bring space sharing to street level by creating the mobile, horizontal equivalent of skyscrapers. We can accomplish this by embracing a lesson our parents taught us: to share our toys. We need to use the most popular form of transportation in the world today—cars—more efficiently. By filling all those empty seats, we can free up our highways and cut costs for passengers[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/how-the-daily-commute-is-going-to-change-1461550158].

Of course, carpooling is not a new idea. But we finally have technology—the smartphone in your pocket—that can instantaneously match people headed in the same direction at the same time. And when getting a ride is cheaper and easier than looking for your keys, your directions, your car and a parking space— well, why bother to own a car at all?

If ride-sharing sounds like a far-fetched vision of the future, remember the early skeptics of Airbnb who claimed that no reasonable person would allow strangers to stay in their home. Today, that company has 60 million users in 34,000 cities. And while not everyone will want or need to share their homes, all of us will benefit from a reduction in the gridlock that clogs our roads.

Technology can also help integrate existing transportation options into one seamless experience. Imagine simply speaking your destination and watching your iPhone map the fastest route using the most efficient combination of ride-sharing and public transit based on current traffic patterns. You could tailor it to your preferences and needs, whether you're traveling with a baby or walking with crutches. There's huge potential for technology to take the guesswork out of travel and reduce wait times.

Studies have already found that shared modes of transport complement each other: People who use ride-sharing apps [http://blogs.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/economics/2016/05/19/most-americans-dont-know-about-ride-sharing-and-the-gig-economy/]are more likely to bike-share and use public transit, and less likely to own a car. By literally picking up where mass transit drops off, ride-sharing extends the reach of our public transportation systems without costing taxpayers a dime.

We don't have to wait for cars that fly or drive themselves. We can create cities that are more livable and less congested by overlaying technology onto our existing infrastructure. A city that embraces shared modes of transportation will be a city where people spend less time stuck in traffic or looking for a parking space, a city where people will spend less of their income on cars and commutes, a city that lives and breathes more easily.

More Future of Everything[http://graphics.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/image-grid/future-of-everything/]

\* The Future of Everything: June 2016[http://graphics.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/image-grid/future-of-everything/]

\* Is the Jetpack Movement Finally Taking Off?[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/is-the-jetpack-movement-finally-taking-off-1465221130]

\* Is ‘American Ninja Warrior' the Future of Sports?[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/is-american-ninja-warrior-the-future-of-sports-1464707294]

\* Could Self-Driving Cars Spell the End of Ownership?[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/could-self-driving-cars-spell-the-end-of-ownership-1448986572]

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**We recently visited Norway and Sweden to understand more about the European migrant crisis. What we saw provides important lessons for the American **immigration** debate.

More than 1.5 million people have relocated to Europe over the last two years. Many are **refugees** from Syria, Iraq and other war-torn lands. Many are simply economic migrants leaving poorer nations. This mass migration has strained European societies and upended European politics with populist insurgencies.

Though economically and demographically similar, Norway and Sweden have adopted sharply different approaches to the policy and politics of **immigration**, and have reaped sharply differing outcomes.

Starting in 2015, Norway adopted an **immigration** policy it has termed "strict but fair." The Norwegians agreed to accept 8,000 migrants from other European nations, though they weren't obligated to do so.

Norway also established measures to stop uncontrolled migration. It imposed new border controls featuring a border fence, increased waiting periods for residency and deportation of ineligible migrants. It also reduced migrant benefits to match those offered by its neighbors. Norway even advertised in foreign nations, warning that migrants who do not face war or persecution will be deported.

The result? Asylum applications in Norway fell 95% between the last quarter of 2015 and the first quarter of 2016.

Norway is far from hardhearted. It has welcomed **refugees** for decades and its foreign policy prioritizes conflict resolution and humanitarian relief. But Norwegians understand that an open-border policy would strain their resources, disrupt the integration of other recently arrived **immigrants**, and undercut the legitimate desire of Norwegians to preserve their nation's culture and character.

Also significant: Norway's political system has effectively accommodated a broad spectrum of views on **immigration**. The Progress Party, the traditional home for **immigration** skeptics, has won the second- or third-largest share of seats in the Norwegian Parliament since the 1990s. Rather than shun Progress, as has happened to similar parties in many European countries, mainstream leaders welcomed it into the political debate and, eventually, into the governing coalition. As one government leader explained to us, "In Norway, we discuss every issue and concern. Nothing is out of bounds."

Contrast this with Sweden's approach. Sweden threw open its doors in 2013, offering Syrian **refugees** permanent residency. Asylum applications from across the world—not just Syria—spiked. Sweden has since received more than 280,000 migrants, and counting. That is by far the most migrants per capita of any EU nation and akin to the U.S. adding the population of Michigan. These migrants are disproportionately poor, young, male, undereducated, conservatively Muslim and possess virtually no Swedish-language skills.

This radical policy occurred with little debate because political correctness pervades Sweden. They even have a term for the phenomenon: åsiktskorridor, or "the opinion corridor." Any questions about the economic, fiscal and cultural impact of an immediate influx of migrants clearly lay outside the corridor; asking them could result in accusations of xenophobia or racism.

But these questions are real and they reflect legitimate concerns for the Swedish people. Because conventional political parties didn't respond to public concern, a controversial **immigration**-restrictionist party, the Sweden Democrats, more than doubled its vote share in the 2014 elections and became the third-largest party in parliament. The left and the right refused to work with the Sweden Democrats, creating a hamstrung minority government.

Faced with growing public dissatisfaction, the Swedish government finally relented and imposed border controls and other restrictions this summer. But not before committing more than 7% of its 2016 budget to migrant services, with costs set to steadily increase. No one knows where the new money will come from, where many of the recent migrants will live or work, or what the ultimate social impact will be.

Sweden's failures have been repeated in Germany, France, Austria and elsewhere. **Immigration** was the key issue driving British votes to leave the European Union

The parallels to the U.S. **immigration** debate are clear. For years, a bipartisan elite consensus has favored the mass **immigration** of unskilled and low-skilled workers into America coupled with the legalization of millions of illegal **immigrants** already here. Only one thing has stopped these elites from their desired **immigration** policy: Two-thirds to three-quarters of Americans consistently oppose any increase in **immigration**.

**Immigration** is the central issue of Donald Trump's presidential campaign. He saw legitimate concerns about stagnant wages, low workforce-participation rates and lower levels of **immigrant** assimilation. He also understood that our own "opinion corridor" of political correctness largely ruled these topics out of bounds. When conventional leaders would not address their concerns, it's not surprising that Americans turned to a new voice.

One need not support Mr. Trump to acknowledge these reasonable concerns of the 14 million Republicans who voted for him in the primaries and the tens of millions who will vote for him in November. These voters are not xenophobic or racist. They simply want the priority of America's **immigration** policy to be the economic and social interests of American citizens.

Norwegian leaders responded to similar concerns and their country is safe and stable. Swedish leaders didn't and their country faces economic, social, and political upheaval. There is a lesson here for American elites.

Mr. Cotton is a Republican senator from Arkansas. Mr. Pompeo is a Republican congressman from Kansas.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**FALLS CHURCH, Va.—Alongside vendors selling dumplings and pastries at a recent Vietnamese Mid-Autumn Moon celebration, the Democratic Asian Americans of Virginia offered something they hoped was equally enticing for the several hundred visitors: a chance to register to vote.

"We want Asian-Americans to be recognized because then the parties pay attention to us and our issues," said Dewita Soeharjono, the group's president. If these voters turn out in big numbers at the polls in November, she said, "we can make a big difference."

While much attention is paid on Hispanic and black voters, Asian-Americans are the single fastest-growing demographic group, highlighting their importance in some hotly contested states. They are among voters the candidates will try to woo Monday night in the first presidential debate.

In Nevada and Virginia, two states where polls show the presidential race is down to single digits, the Asian-American population sits at 8.5% and 6.5% respectively—higher than the national average of 5.6%—and is climbing. That works out to hundreds of thousands of voters in states where the contest will be decided by thin margins and may help determine the next president.

On the national level, Hillary Clinton's campaign employs a director of Asian-American and Pacific Islander outreach, who oversees field programs concentrated in Virginia and Pennsylvania, to which they are bussing Asian volunteers from nearby New York and New Jersey. The campaign has a separate staffer specifically directing such efforts in Nevada.

The Republican National Committee is also seeking to register new voters and knock on many more Asian-Americans' doors, with particular emphasis on Virginia and Nevada. "We found that in 2012, Republicans weren't doing what they needed to be doing in Asian-American communities," said Ninio Fetalvo, the Asian Pacific American press secretary for the RNC. On Sunday, GOP presidential nominee Donald Trump's campaign announced an Asian Pacific American Advisory Committee to "support and strengthen ties to each community."

For political operatives, the question is how to reach this broad group. Research data is relatively poor, but census figures show about a third of Asian-Americans don't speak fluent English.

This year, the Democratic Asian Americans of Virginia group is on the forefront of an effort to better reach these voters, through targeted canvassing, ads in Asian languages and aid in registering to vote.

"Due to language barriers and general lack of knowledge, we really need to be proactive and reach out to people," said Wesley Joe, a Georgetown University adjunct government professor and a volunteer with the Democratic Asian Americans of Virginia at the moon festival event. "We can't rely on people to go and follow the process that English-proficient people can follow."

Another challenge: The Asian-American voter pool is remarkably diverse, ranging from Pakistanis and Indians to Chinese and Koreans. Fairfax County in Virginia is home to more than 47,000 residents who identify themselves as Indians, 41,000 as Koreans, 26,000 as Chinese and 15,000 as Pakistanis. Cricket fields have risen in neighborhood parks in Fairfax and adjacent Loudoun counties, and here in Falls Church, the Vietnamese population operates dozens of shops at the Eden Center shopping plaza.

But though Asian-Americans speak over 50 languages and practice a wide range of religions, they tend to vote as a bloc, and, increasingly, lean Democratic. That sort of coalescing isn't a surprise, said Bill Frey, a senior fellow at the Brookings Institution in Washington. "Even among Hispanic communities they don't necessarily think of themselves as a block, but in general elections they tend to band together," he said.

In 2000, Democratic nominee Al Gore won the Asian-American vote by a solid 14 points, besting George W. Bush 55% to 41%, though Mr. Bush won the presidency. In 2012, Asian-Americans gave President Barack Obama 73% of their vote, while Republican Mitt Romney garnered 26%.

In polls of Asians this summer by Morning Consult, a media and survey company, Democrat Hillary Clinton topped Republican Donald Trump by over 30 points, 55% to 21%.

As recently as two decades ago, Asian-Americans, then a significantly smaller population, voted solidly Republican. A series of factors has moved them to the Democrats, according to Karthick Ramakrishnan, a political science professor at the University of California, Riverside, and a director of the National Asian American survey.

President Bill Clinton's 1996 re-election campaign implemented an Asian-specific outreach, with targeted fundraisers. Mr. Clinton later appointed the first Asian-American cabinet secretary, former Commerce Secretary Norman Mineta.

Republican endorsements of anti-**immigrant** rhetoric and racial profiling repelled many more Asians from the GOP. "Republican rhetoric around **immigration** is not really focused on Asian-Americans, but you can think about Asians as collateral damage," Mr. Ramakrishnan said.

Binh Ly, a graduate student at Virginia Tech who volunteered at the Moon festival, said, "We struggle with the same societal problems as a lot of other minority communities do."

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton have laid out policy plans—some specific, some more directional—to show what they would do with the powers of the presidency. But policy details sometimes don't give the full picture. It often helps to know what a proposal leaves unaddressed, how much it would change current government operations or whether the candidate has adjusted the plan over time.

Below are questions that viewers might keep in mind as the candidates lay out their policy plans and take up other matters in Monday's presidential debate[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/livecoverage/hillary-clinton-and-donald-trump-first-debate-2016].

How will the candidates describe the economy?

Imagine for a minute that Republican Mitt Romney had won the 2012 election and was running for re-election under current economic conditions: unemployment at about 5%, gas prices below $2.50 a gallon, home prices rising and incomes finally ticking up. There's little question his re-election campaign would be aggressively plugging those numbers.

Mrs. Clinton isn't making that argument. Many voters say the path to a middle-class lifestyle is slipping away, and an overly rosy picture would play into arguments that she's out of touch. Instead, she has nodded to President Barack Obama's economic record, which she says prevented a far steeper downturn after the financial crisis, while saying that more needs to be done to heal the scars that linger.

It's a tricky, two-step argument that tries to give credit to Mr. Obama, who remains overwhelmingly popular in the Democratic Party, while acknowledging the economic anxiety in much of the nation.

Mr. Trump, by contrast, has tapped into unease by painting a bleak picture of a nation in severe decline. He has played up disappointing indicators, including a recent stretch of weak GDP growth, while citing measures of underemployment that count students and senior citizens who have no desire to work as unemployed persons.

One question in the campaign is which candidate's view of the economy—the picture of disrepair or of progress—will resonate most with voters.

Will Mrs. Clinton explain how her plan to fight ISIS differs from President Obama's?

One of Mrs. Clinton's biggest challenges in defining her plan to combat Islamic State is explaining how it would differ from what the Obama administration already is doing.

She wants to do many of the things the White House has already tried, such as working more closely with Arab allies, developing closer relationships between law enforcement and Muslim leaders in the U.S., and disrupting Islamic State's access to funding.

She has also talked about combating Islamic State's use of technology in recruitment and in plotting attacks. The White House has had a hard time executing this part of its counterterrorism approach. Mrs. Clinton's plan offers an opportunity for her to highlight her foreign-policy expertise and distinguish herself from Mr. Trump, but some of her proposals have been shown to be hard to accomplish.

Will Mr. Trump flesh out his plans to fight ISIS and to bar terrorists from the U.S.?

Mr. Trump has said he wants to keep most of his plan to combat Islamic State secret, so that he can catch the terror group by surprise when he becomes president. He has said he would give military generals 30 days to submit to him their own plans to defeat Islamic State, and it's possible he could merge their proposals with his ideas.

One question is whether he will use Monday's debate to disclose more of his anti-terror plans.

On the domestic front, Mr. Trump has said law enforcement should work harder to disrupt plots before they occur. This includes treating U.S. citizens arrested in terrorism cases as foreign enemy combatants, which would make it easier for prosecutors and intelligence officials to question them.

In December, Trump solidified his lead in the GOP primary when he proposed a temporary ban on the entry of Muslims into the U.S. It was the kind of tough talk that many of his supporters thought was necessary to protect the U.S. from another terror attack.

He's softened his message in recent months, and his new proposal would ban the entry of people from countries with a history of terrorism. But Mr. Trump hasn't really explained how that would work. Many of his supporters likely aren't looking details; they like the broad idea. But in order to sway independent voters, Mr. Trump could be pushed to explain what a Muslim ban would look like and whether it's possible to erect one that is constitutionally sound.

Will Mr. Trump explain how he would deal with people in the U.S. illegally?

Mr. Trump built his presidential campaign around opposition to illegal **immigration**. In the primaries, he promised a "deportation force" to remove the estimated 11 million people in the U.S. illegally.

But at times, he's backed off that idea, and at one point he suggested that undocumented residents could stay if they paid back taxes, which differs little from requirements that Democrats have long supported. Mr. Trump has said that illegal **immigrants** with criminal records must be deported—an element of the current Obama administration policy—but has left unclear the fate of the rest of the population in his plans.

Mr. Trump also wants to increase border security, notably by building the southern-border wall, which he says Mexico will pay for. The president of Mexico has said his nation won't do so, and so one question for Mr. Trump is whether he'd spend U.S. taxpayer money to build the wall.

What changes to **immigration** policy does Mrs. Clinton think are achievable?

Mrs. Clinton backs the sort of comprehensive **immigration** bill—including a path to citizenship for illegal **immigrants**—favored by Mr. Obama. But how would she succeed in Congress where he failed?

Absent legislation, Mr. Obama has used executive authority to try to give millions of undocumented **immigrants** a reprieve from deportation. Mrs. Clinton has said she would keep those programs and even expand them. But the courts have already halted the biggest Obama program. One question she might answer in the debate is why she believes that she can take additional steps on **immigration** where Mr. Obama could not.

Who will win the clash of tax policies?

The two candidates are trillions of dollars apart on tax policy, and each of them thinks their plans are political winners.

Mr. Trump is showcasing deep cuts in individual and business tax rates, along with repeal of the estate tax and new breaks for child care costs. He'll sell this as a boost to economic growth.

Mrs. Clinton can be expected to push Mr. Trump to explain and justify his plans. She'll also defend herself by noting that her tax hikes are targeted on high-income, high-wealth households—and she's likely to use Mr. Trump himself as the example of someone who should pay more.

What will Mr. Trump say about his tax returns? What will Mrs. Clinton say about her private email server?

Mr. Trump and his campaign have continually criticized Mrs. Clinton for using a private email server while serving as secretary of state, saying she mishandled classified information and is unfit for office. Mrs. Clinton and her campaign have pounded Mr. Trump for becoming the first major-party nominee since 1976 to refuse to release any of his tax returns.

Republicans have focused on Mrs. Clinton's emails in an effort to portray her as dishonest and overly secretive. Democrats raise Mr. Trump tax returns in part to question whether he has overstated his wealth and business success.

The FBI has called Mrs. Clinton's handling of emails "extremely careless,'' a description that Mr. Trump will likely highlight on Monday night. He may also press her to further explain why classified material passed through her private account.

Mrs. Clinton will likely press Mr. Trump on his tax records. His most consistent response has been to say he shouldn't reveal them during an audit, even though the release is legally allowed and even though he criticized 2012 candidate Mitt Romney for waiting too long to release his returns.

Mr. Trump has also said the returns wouldn't be all that revealing. His son, Donald Trump, Jr., has said that questions prompted by the information the voluminous returns would distract from the campaign's message.

Will the candidates offer details, or focus on the big picture?

The candidates differ not only on substance but also on style.

Mrs. Clinton has released dozens of wonky policy proposals that provide enough detail to let her administration hit the ground running, should she win the election. But she has struggled to define, in bumper sticker form, what her campaign is all about.

Mr. Trump is the opposite. He has been very clear about what he wants to do—negotiate better trade deals, build a wall to stop illegal **immigration**—but with fewer details of how he'd accomplish his goals.

The debate will give Mrs. Clinton a chance to clarify the main arguments for her election, while giving Mr. Trump the chance to persuade Americans that he has the operational skills to put his ideas into practice.

For Mrs. Clinton, one challenge will be to avoid getting too technical. Mr. Trump likely will want to avoid the kind of off-the-cuff policy pronouncements of recent weeks, most recently when he appeared to support a controversial stop-and-frisk policing policy and then later said he meant it only for Chicago.

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\* What Trump and Clinton Must Do to Win the Night[http://blogs.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/washwire/2016/09/26/heres-what-clinton-and-trump-must-do-on-the-debate-stage-to-win-the-night/]

\* Fiscal Constraints Await the Next President[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/fiscal-constraints-await-the-next-president-1474844585]

\* Poll: Debates Will Be a Major Influence for a Third of Voters[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/presidential-debates-will-be-a-major-influence-for-a-third-of-voters-poll-says-1474808400]

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Washington state

Turkish **Immigrant** Held for Mall Shooting

The man suspected of killing five people at a mall in Washington state Friday night was being held without bail Sunday morning in a county jail as investigators continued to search for a motive in the shootings.

Arcan Cetin, 20, was jailed on an investigative hold after his arrest Saturday evening. Skagit County, Wash. jail records describe his offense as five counts of first-degree murder, but he has yet to be formally charged.

An intense 24-hour hunt for Mr. Cetin came to an uneventful and abrupt end when he was found walking down a street in his home city, about 30 miles the site of the shootings. One of the arresting officers, Lt. Mike Hawley of the Island County Sheriff's Office, said Mr. Cetin "said nothing" as he was taken into custody. "He was just kind of zombielike."

Four women ranging from the teens to senior-citizen age were killed, police said. One man in his 60s later died at a Seattle hospital.

Mr. Cetin **immigrated** from Turkey and is now "a legal permanent resident" in the U.S., Mount Vernon police Lt. Chris Cammock said late Saturday.

—Zusha Elinson

North Carolina

Chief Says Video Exonerates Police

Charlotte-Mecklenburg Police Chief Kerr Putney said he is "absolutely not" recommending charges for the officers involved in Tuesday's shooting of Keith Lamont Scott, who the chief said was holding marijuana and ignoring police commands to drop his gun before the fatal encounter.

"They were reacting to what they saw, and they have a duty to do so," Chief Putney said Saturday, referring to the officers' account.

Police ordered Mr. Scott to drop his weapon multiple times, according to video footage of the encounter. Chief Putney said Mr. Scott didn't comply.

After days of public pressure, the department late Saturday released dash-cam and body-cam video of the shooting. The department also released photographs of a gun, an ankle holster and a marijuana cigarette that police said belonged to Mr. Scott.

Valerie Bauerlein

IOWA

Residents Along River Brace for Flooding

Residents of Cedar Rapids, Iowa, began evacuations as the city prepared for its biggest flood since a deluge in 2008. Floodwaters from storms dumped up to 10 inches of rain in some areas of the Upper Midwest last week. The Cedar River is expected to crest at around 23 feet Tuesday.

Joe Barrett

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Paul Gigot: Welcome to "The Journal Editorial Report." I'm Paul Gigot.

We're live this weekend as we count down to the first presidential debates. The stakes couldn't be higher for both Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump, who are in a very tight race. The latest Real Clear Politics polling average shows Hillary Clinton with a narrow lead nationally, while a FOX News poll shows Donald Trump ahead in the key swing states of Nevada, North Carolina and Ohio. So what do the candidates need to do Monday night to move those numbers?

Let's ask Wall Street Journal Potomac Watch columnist Kim Strassel, ain Street columnist Bill McGurn, editorial board member, Joe Rago and assistant editorial page editor James Freeman.

So, Kim, let's set the stage first. Do you agree that Hillary Clinton is slightly ahead here in the election?

Strassel: I think there is no doubt, and she has been by and large this entire race. But what we're seeing is this interesting change, where she seems to be getting a little bit of bump in the national polls and just in the last week while Donald Trump seems to be tightening things, even moving ahead in some very key swing states.

Gigot: Let's start with Mrs. Clinton. What does she need to do to stay ahead and move those numbers up for her?

Strassel: I think this debate is going to come down to one issue and that is: Can Donald Trump look presidential? She has made this the core of her campaign. She hasn't spent a lot of time talking about her own agenda, and she's instead made it all about—make the argument he's unfit to be president. And she'll try and do that at the debate. She'll try to outrun him on facts and policy, maybe a couple of gotcha moments. Just in general, try to make him look incompetent. And the question is, can he parry those and, in some way, try to change the portrait that she has painted of him.

Gigot: But, Bill, the idea is that she is—she's premised her whole campaign, as Kim said, on the fact that on Trump is unacceptable, unfit. Does that mean she's going to try to needle him, bait him, get him to blow up?

McGurn: I think that would be her hope. Look people are going to be watching—

Gigot: Is that going to be her strategy?

McGurn: It depends. The story is she's preparing for a lot of Donald Trumps. Republicans are hoping the Mexico Donald Trump will show up.

Gigot: When he showed up—that's when he met the Mexican president.

McGurn: Right. This is a huge opportunity and a danger for both of them because it's a big moment, and people are going to be watching this like they watch Mike Tyson's fights, hoping somebody's going to get their ear chewed off.

And Donald Trump, I think, if you look at the "who," the "who" question is, who is he trying to appeal to? I think it's Republicans who don't like Mrs. Clinton but haven't made up their minds about him because they think he can't be trusted.

Gigot: Right.

But I want to talk, James, about Mrs. Clinton. I think she is going to try to have Donald Trump erupt if he can.

Freeman: Sure.

Gigot: If he does, if he takes the bait—but also her strength is experience, knowledge. There's no way in the world that Donald Trump is going to outdo Hillary Clinton when it comes to knowledge about the Syrian battlefront or any of these details, who the prime minister of Ukraine is. Is that smart for her to play that card?

Freeman: Yeah, she should have the advantage. She spent a whole career doing this. Obviously, first off, No. 1, she has to remain standing through the debate.

Gigot: Oh, come on. That's a cheap shot.

Freeman: Beyond that, I think—

Gigot: That's a cheap shot.

Freeman: —that is her hope here is that she shows over the course of an hour and a half, without a whole lot of people on the stage, just the two of them, that she can sustain a fact-filled policy argument and he can't and he's really not in the major leagues.

Gigot: You expect her to try to do that?

Freeman: I would think.

Gigot: What about Donald Trump? What is his—what does he have to do, Joe?

Rago: I think he has to start to normalize himself. If you look at the polls, there are a lot of undecided voters, and a lot of that is a question about whether Donald Trump has the character and temperament to be president. If he gets up there, if he's magnanimous, controlled, I think that perception of him, people might start to look at him and say: Oh, he could be a plausible president.

Gigot: That's the Mexico Trump?

Rago: Yeah.

McGurn: And I think Joe is right. I would go further. He can't beat Mrs. Clinton in knowledge and experience about political parties. He ought to concede that up front because the issue isn't whether Mrs. Clinton knows more about Iraq and Libya, it's her judgment and the policies that she's associated with. I think it would be wise for him to concede her superior knowledge about the world and how it is and just get into: But this is the same woman that gave us Libya and some of the other—

Gigot: What about going after her on Benghazi, for example, on the emails, on the Clinton Foundation? That could make him look he's really—he's not cool and restrained.

Freeman: Right. I think, baseline, he needs to show he's got the head and heart to be president. You want to see that kind of even-tempered person with judgment. But the real home-run ball is not to try to fill his head with a lot of statistics, it's to recognize that he's got a lot of good facts. And if could just say, for example, talk about the economy—declining productivity for three straight quarters, hasn't happened since the 1970s, instead of just saying it's a disaster. If he can work some of that in—my tax plan cuts your taxes by trillions, she raises them by a trillion and a half—I think he's got a lot of good facts. And you don't want to turn him into someone he's not, but that, for him, I think is the upside, because people don't expect that.

Gigot: Kim, what about the moderator and the role of the moderator. Should the moderator be, as a lot of people are saying, a fact checker? Oh, sorry, Mrs. Clinton, you're wrong there.

Strassel: Absolutely not. This is called a debate. These are supposed to be the two candidates conflicting with each other. He should remove himself from the entire question. He should say so up front and he says, if somebody says something and you disagree, come out and say where you're wrong. This is supposed to be the debate between the two of them. If he inserts himself in this, he ends up making this debate about himself rather than about their answers.

Gigot: Joe, just to finish up here, I wanted to ask, Ted Cruz endorsed Trump after—at the Republican convention, pointedly not doing so, to not a great reaction. Why do you think Cruz turned now?

Rago: Look, this is a much closer race than it was in July at the convention, when it was sort of cost-free for Cruz to decline to endorse him in a very big way.

Gigot: So he thought then, Donald Trump was going to get blown out?

Rago: Right. And I think he thought that he's going to get the blame if Trump loses very narrowly, one or two points. Everybody's going to say, what about these holdouts here? Cruz, the most prominent among them.

Gigot: OK, thanks, Joe.

When we come back, a new poll shows Hillary Clinton with a big lead over Donald Trump with Hispanic voters. What can the Republican nominee do to appeal to this key voting group, and can he win without them?

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Trump: Since President Obama came into office, another two million Hispanic Americans have fallen into poverty. It's catastrophic. And it's totally unacceptable. To the Hispanic community, I say we are going to protect your jobs, we're going to build up your schools, and we're going to deliver safety and opportunity for your children.

Gigot: That was Donald Trump, making his pitch to Hispanic voters in Miami, Florida, last week, arguing that they have suffered under eight years of President Obama's economic policies. Despite this, a new NBC/Wall Street Journal/Telemundo poll shows Hillary Clinton leading him among likely Hispanic voters by almost 50 points. Is it too late for Trump to make inroads with this voting group, and can he win in November without them?

Republican pollster Whit Ayres worked for Marco Rubio's presidential campaign. He's author of the book "2016 and Beyond: How Republicans Can Elect a President in the New America."

Whit, thanks for coming in today. Good to see you again.

Ayres: Paul, good to be with you again.

Gigot: So let's step back a little bit first before we talk about the Hispanic voter. I want to get your thoughts on the state of the race, because I think you had expected that Donald Trump would lose pretty big. Are you surprised it's this close at this stage of the game?

Ayres: Oh, no, we have a pretty evenly divided country. But the challenge for Donald Trump, and any Republican candidate, is that any presidential candidate is that every single presidential election since 1996, when Bill Clinton was re-elected, the percentage of white voters has gone down by two or three percentage points. If that trend continues, and there's no reason to think that it won't, we're looking at an electorate this year of about 70% white and about 30% nonwhite. That means it's increasingly harder to win an election by getting a higher and higher percentage of a lower and lower portion of the electorate. Mitt Romney won a landslide among whites and still lost.

Gigot: Are you saying that Donald Trump can't expand that white share of the electorate? A lot of people have talked about that. He's got that appeal to the working-class voter who may not have voted in the last two elections.

Ayres: He may very well. The question is: How much can he expand it and will it be enough to expand the majority? To win a majority of the popular vote, if you do no better than Mitt Romney did among nonwhites, you would need somewhere around 65% of the white vote in order to win a majority of the popular vote. That's something that no president has done since Ronald Reagan in 1984.

Gigot: Let's talk about Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton's standing with Hispanic voters. It doesn't look good in this Telemundo/WSJ/NBC poll. I think that positive view is 57% of the Hispanics polled that have a positive view of Mrs. Clinton, Donald Trump only 15%. To what do you attribute that, those numbers?

Ayres: Well, those are pretty toxic ratings. And Mr. Trump had had a series of statements, going back 15 months, that have meant that he has dug a serious hole among Hispanics.

Gigot: Right.

Ayres: Mitt Romney was at 27%. According to your poll, Donald Trump is down to 17% among Hispanics. That is a major problem for states with large Hispanic populations, like Florida, Colorado and Nevada.

Gigot: You attribute it to the statements. To what extent are policies behind it? I'm thinking in particular about something like **immigration**. I know Hispanics are not single-issue voters any more than the rest of Americans, but **immigration** is something that resonates. Is that a big part of it, too?

Ayres: Sure, it's a big part of it. And the talk about forcible deportation of 11 million Hispanics, a population the size of Ohio, has created a hole for him. It's a big hole. He's trying to modify that a little bit now. We'll see if it's too little, too late.

Gigot: If that's true—and I have agreed with your analysis about the Republican Party needing to broaden its appeal, needing to appeal to nonwhite voters—but if that's true, why, then, when you look at some of the battleground states, like Florida, for example, or even Nevada, which has a big proportion of Hispanic voters, why is Trump—in Florida, he's either ahead or tied. And in Nevada, it quite close. Why is that happening?

Ayres: Because these are swing states. They're swing states for a reason, Paul. They're very even and very close. But that's where it makes a real difference if you're getting a higher proportion of any particular group or a lower proportion of a particular group. In a very close race, that could make the difference.

Gigot: OK, so 27% was Mitt Romney's number of Hispanic votes. What do you think Trump needs to get to win the election this year? What do you expect him to get?

Ayres: I don't know what I expect him to get. Based on that poll, it's not going to be very high.

Gigot: Right.

Ayres: But a Republican, to do well and come close to winning a majority of the popular vote, ought to be somewhere in the neighborhood of 40% of the Hispanic vote, depending upon how well he does among white voters.

Gigot: How would you advise Trump at this stage to win enough of those Hispanic voters back? Push the economy, for example, push health care?

Ayres: To keep doing what he did in those clips that you just played a few moments ago.

Gigot: OK.

Ayres: That's the right message to bring Hispanics back, to bring all Americans back who are worried about this weak economy.

Gigot: So focus on jobs, focus on economic growth, soft sell the **immigration** issue?

Ayres: Well—

Gigot: He can't do that.

Ayres: He's going the have a hard time doing that, a very hard time. The best he can do is change the subject.

Gigot: All right, thanks, Whit. Thanks for coming in. Appreciate it.

Ayres: Surely, Paul. Good to be with you.

Gigot: When we come back, Hillary Clinton facing her own problems with a key voting group. A look at why millennials aren't warming to the Democratic nominee.

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Mrs. Clinton: I need you as partners, not just for winning this election, but for driving real change over the next four years. It's going to take all of us working side by side to build the kind of future we want. That's why, if I'm in the White House, young people will always have a seat at any table where any decision is being made.

Gigot: Hillary Clinton at Temple University in Philadelphia this week, making a direct appeal to younger voters. Millennials made up a critical part of President Obama's winning coalition, giving him 66% of the vote in 2008 and 60% in 2012. But recent polls show Clinton lagging far behind those numbers with the latest FOX News poll showing just 38% of likely voters under the age of 35 saying they'll vote for her, compared to 33% for Donald Trump.

We're back with Kim Strassel, Bill McGurn, James Freeman and Joe Rago.

Joe, I think you'll qualify as a millennial, just barely.

Rago: Just barely.

Gigot: But your peers loved Barack Obama, OK? Big numbers for him. How much trouble is Hillary Clinton is with those voters?

Rago: I think she's in a lot of trouble, as the numbers pointed out. If you look at the polls, younger voters, like most voters, do not find Hillary Clinton honest and trustworthy. And then if you get beyond the ethical issues, she doesn't really have a vision for where she wants to take the country. She's the status quo. And although she has hundreds of thousands of words about policy on her website, can you really identify any of them that are Hillary Clinton's signature issues?

Gigot: OK, but wait a minute. So you're saying the initial skepticism about her among younger voters is personal? That is, it's her personal characteristics. They don't trust her. They don't think she's honest. And yet, if you look at the ideas—your peers, the younger voters are supposed to like things, like caring about climate change, for abortion rights. They want free college, heaven knows. So those issues are the ones she's trying to drive and bring to her side. And she's still not doing it.

Rago: Is it really authentic? I mean, look, the class of 2020 was born in 1998. That was when she—

Gigot: That's really shocking—

Rago: Wrapping up—

Gigot: —and depressing.

Rago: Wrapping up her first stint as first lady. She hasn't been running on free college for her entire career. That's something she conjured up to defeat Bernie Sanders in the primary.

Gigot: Bernie Sanders, a key. Bernie's older than she is, James. And he has my hair color. So why did they like him so much and not her?

Freeman: Well, obviously, they tend to be idealistic. As Joe mentioned, they tend to not trust her, not believe her. But there's just some bad facts here. To the extent millennials tune in, and they're generally not—most of them will not be watching on Monday night—but it is a big demographic, 69 million people, basically tied with the baby boomers now. It's the biggest, if they choose to show up. But this is the generation that took on a trillion dollars of student debt. She's saying free college. What they really want is a job. We look at the 25- to 34-year-old demographic, heart of millennials, above-average unemployment. It's not a good situation for them.

Gigot: OK, let's look at—we're bringing in Hollywood here, Kim, to help her. Let's take a look.

Actor: On Tuesday, Nov. 8, this country will make one of the most important—

Actor: The most important—

Actor: The most important decisions in its history.

Actor: You have a chance.

Actor: You have an obligation.

Actor: To be a part of that decision.

Actor: You might think it's not important, you might think you're not important, but that's not true.

Gigot: All right, Kim, is that going to mobilize you to come out and vote for Hillary Clinton?

Strassel: I'm very far from a millennial. But, look, one of the things Hillary Clinton has been doing with ads like this and things like this is trying to make voters turn away—this generation turn away from Donald Trump. That's been an aspect of her campaign. It was part of the "basket of deplorables" comments, saying these people are racist and homophobes, and this is not in tune with her values. She may have actually been a little success with that in that she is beating him with millennials.

But a lot of the millennials have heard that message. If they are not voting for her—and they're not voting for Trump, they've decided they're also not going to vote for her. They're voting for Gary Johnson. They're voting for Jill Stein. They're going to the third- and fourth-party candidate. And the reason is because of what she's talking about in that ad in the beginning. Notice she's talking about change. They want a real change candidate and they don't think she's the one that's going to do it. They want a candidate with a narrative.

McGurn: That's the big issue. Bernie proved you can be old and get young people. It also helps if you're a little unknown. Bernie's been around a long time, but very few people knew who he was outside the state. Same thing with Barack Obama. Her problem is they want change. There's a conflict between more of the same, the Obama administration, and change. She's been around a long time—

Gigot: OK.

McGurn: —and she's a tired figure. She kind of has the McCain aura.

Gigot: Then, why, as the change candidate—

McGurn: Right.

Gigot: —isn't Donald Trump capitalizing more and getting more of those voters instead of the ones going to Gary Johnson or Jill Stein?

McGurn: I think they don't like him on a whole host of other issues—

Gigot: What are those issues?

McGurn: Social issues, and so forth—

Gigot: Diversity and—

McGurn: Diversity, and maybe **immigration** and abortion, and so forth. I mean Republicans typically have a hard time with young people on a lot of those issues. But if they vote for Gary Johnson, it helps Donald Trump.

Gigot: And that's why she—

McGurn: Or Jill Stein. They don't have to vote for him for him to benefit.

Gigot: That's why they're making such a concerted effort to draw millennials over, because they're afraid they're not going to vote for her or him.

Freeman: A single-digit loss for Trump and generally low turnout among millennials means he probably wins—

Gigot: Wow.

Freeman: —the election, generally.

Gigot: OK. All right, James, thank you.

Still ahead, as the investigations into last weekend's terror attacks in New York and New Jersey continues, new questions about what the federal law enforcement missed, some red flags, so is it time to reopen the interrogation and surveillance debates. We'll ask former attorney general, Michael Mukasey, when we come back.

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Gigot: As new details emerge about the man charged with the bombings last weekend in New York and New Jersey, new questions are being raised about whether the FBI may have missed some red flags. Twenty-eight-year-old Ahmad Khan Rahami, whose family came to the United States from Afghanistan in 1995, was arrested in 2014 for stabbing his brother. His father told the police at the time that his son was involved in terrorism, though he later retracted those comments. Authorities also say Rahami traveled to Pakistan and Afghanistan several times over the last decade, including a year in the Taliban stronghold of Quetta.

Michael Mukasey served as attorney general of the United States from 2007 until 2009.

Judge, welcome.

Mukasey: Good to be here.

Gigot: So, good police work, after the fact here, identifying Rahami, capturing him. What about before that? What do you think?

Mukasey: He falls into a category, of which we've seen several, that a writer named Patrick Poole referred to as "known wolves," in part, to take down the fiction that these are "lone wolves" somehow out there and we can't detect them. The Tsarnaev brothers in Boston—

Gigot: Right. Omar Mateen in Orlando.

Mukasey: Omar Mateen in Orlando, Nidal Hasan at Fort Hood. They are all people who had come across the radar, were all people as to whom there had been suspicions, all people who were passed over.

Gigot: A couple of them were even on the terror database.

Mukasey: Right.

Gigot: But the argument from the FBI is: We investigated them, we did what they call an assessment, which can last 90 days.

Mukasey: That's the lowest level of inquiry.

Gigot: Of inquiry, OK. And if there's no criminal act, or no further evidence of terrorist tendencies, we can't do anything. How do you respond to that?

Mukasey: I think that's true under the guidelines under which they operate. But it may be time to reassess the guidelines.

Gigot: Right.

Mukasey: We put them in place when I was attorney general in 2008. And it may be time to reassess what we can do and what we can't.

But I think there's a deeper problem, which is that when they're referred to as lone wolves, when people talk about self-radicalization, they're concealing the fact that these people are not lone, they interact with others. Nidal Hasan interacted with al Awlaki. The Tsarnaev brothers interacted with people. They don't invent this doctrine themselves. They're applying doctrine of a particular branch, a fundamentalist branch of Islam that's accepted by large numbers of people. It's rejected by many people, too. But it's accepted by a large number of people here. And we have to get our minds around that and approach it as a doctrine that's coherent unto itself, it's coherent to the people who subscribe to it, and they interact with other people. They're not loners.

Gigot: OK. That's a state of mind, a mentality. And you can see it expressed if they're sampling terrorist websites or something. And yet, you still have an issue of when law enforcement intervenes and what it can do and how it can take action to stop someone like a Rahami. Is it when, for example, he buys ball bearings on eBay, which we're told he did, for example. That's not a criminal act. You can do that. I can buy ball bearings on eBay, too.

Mukasey: Correct. But when you put that together with having expressed tendencies to kill, when you buy ball bearings, that's a step in the right direction, No. 1. No. 2, we don't have any interrogation program. Nidal Hasan, the underwear bomber, Rahami, all could have been treated as unlawful combatants, which is to say, they could have been put in the hands of interrogators who would try to get intelligence from them, so that we could find out who they work with—

Gigot: Right.

Mukasey: —and who was responsible for their radicalization. And then don't use any of that evidence in any criminal trial, turn them over to prosecutors later on.

Gigot: But that is after the fact. So that is after the fact. And in this case, they read him his Miranda rights, Rahami, and now he's been charged—

Mukasey: Yes.

Gigot: A couple of times. So he's going to get a lawyer, and he's not going to be talking. You would have said, you would have recommended, with the evidence you know from outside, make him an unlawful combatant and hold him for as long as it takes until he does talk.

Mukasey: There's no—correct. And then prosecuting him then becomes secondary.

Gigot: Right.

Mukasey: His greatest value is as a source of intelligence.

Gigot: Preventing the next attack?

Mukasey: Yes.

Gigot: What about the surveillance of these gentlemen. Have we given up some of the surveillance capability since Snowden than we had had before?

Mukasey: We have. The Congress voted in a coalition of libertarian Republicans and liberal Democrats to end the gathering of metadata, and instead to require that the authorities go to each provider. Metadata is simply the record of the time of a call, the calling number and called number.

Gigot: It's not listening on a phone call.

Mukasey: It's not listening on a call. The purpose is to establish a database so if we get a suspicious number, we can run the suspicious number against the database to find out whether it has called or been called by one of those numbers, and then get a search warrant based on probable cause.

Gigot: Right.

Mukasey: We're not doing that any more.

Gigot: You've got to take that additional step of requesting, making a specific request of the providers, like Verizon or anybody else, and saying we need all of the metadata on X.

Mukasey: Right.

Gigot: Sometimes you don't know who that person is you're looking for.

Mukasey: You never know. You're looking for metadata as that point on a number. When you get a corresponding number within the metadata that they give you, then you can find out who that number is registered to and so on and so forth.

Gigot: So what I think I hear you saying is we need to rethink some of the tools we have given up because this problem is not going away.

Mukasey: Precisely.

Gigot: All right, thank you, Judge. Appreciate it.

Still ahead with this week's terror arrest and protests in Charlotte over a police shooting, issues of law and order and national security are sure to take center stage at Monday night's debate. So which candidate has the better agenda for keeping America safe?

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Gigot: With last weekend's terror attacks in New Jersey, New York and Minnesota, and this week's protests in Charlotte, N.C., following a police shooting of a black man there, and another in Tulsa, Okla., issues of law and order and national security are sure to take center stage at Monday night's debate. So which candidate has the better agenda when it comes to keeping America safe?

We're back with Kim Strassel, Bill McGurn and Joe Rago. And Wall Street Journal columnist Mary Anastasia O'Grady joins us as well.

Hi, Mary.

O'Grady: Hi, Paul.

Gigot: So Trump and Hillary Clinton—the reaction to the terror attacks first. What do you make of their different responses, what do they tell us about the candidate?

O'Grady: I think Trump has the upper hand here, and not because he has a really good plan to deal with this, but he's been more forceful in the idea that he's going to go after the problem aggressively. And Hillary has really two things she wants to do. One, she's talked about an intelligence surge.

Gigot: Right.

O'Grady: It's a little hard to believe coming from a Democrat. I mean, these were people who were so much opposed to the use of the FISA court and the surveillance that was under the Patriot Act. Now she says she's going to do an intel surge. I'm not exactly sure what that means. And she says she doesn't want to fight them overseas. First, she was in favor of troops, and now she's saying she's against troops. And she says, well, no—

Gigot: Against ground troops?

O'Grady: Ground troops, but that can mean people on the ground, so I would divide those between combat and training troops. And she's basically saying, well, she would send some for training, but now she's against combat. So she sends a very mixed message.

Gigot: But I have to say, Mary, with Donald Trump's specifics, he does sound a tougher note, but when you get into the details, he doesn't really give a lot of note.

O'Grady: I agree with you. He's talked about 20,000 to 30,000 troops overseas, but he backs away from that. I mean he ran basically as an isolationist who wasn't going to do anything overseas. I just think that his overall message is tougher and people hear that.

Gigot: On the details that—I was talking about with Judge Mukasey—I don't think Donald Trump understands any of that.

McGurn: Right. Right. But what he does understand is, what people get from Donald Trump is: I have these solutions, radical Islam is a threat to us, and I am not going to let political correctness get in the way.

Gigot: OK.

McGurn: Hillary Clinton is locked in by her party. This is not the party of Harry Truman. This is the party of Elizabeth Warren. And the weakness of Hillary Clinton's position, going back to her vote for intervention in Iraq, everything she does is political. It's never about winning or whatever the substance it is. When it was a pro-war atmosphere, she voted to go to war. When that turned, she voted against the surge. Now she wants to look tough without having troops, so we have to pretend that the Special Forces over there aren't really troops.

Gigot: But I look at Donald Trump's position on what to do about ISIS, for example—the Islamic State in Syria and Iraq, Joe—and what Secretary Clinton says, and I don't see much difference. They both say, well, we'll both do more bombing, we'll both have a safe zone, we don't know quite how we'll do it, but we don't want to do too much over there. And Donald Trump says, we'll take the oil. That's—whatever that means.

Rago: Take the oil, we didn't take the oil. No. In terms of foreign policy, there's a remarkable overlap, I think, between the Obama-Clinton status quo and what Donald Trump is proposing. On the domestic front, Trump is treating this almost exclusively as a problem of **immigration**.

Gigot: **Immigration**. That's where he really puts his emphasis. And that resonates with a lot of Americans.

Rago: But it doesn't really solve the problem. If you look at the New York and the New Jersey bomber, Rahami, he came here as an Afghan asylum seeker as a child. So that's really not a solution to some of these domestic attacks.

Gigot: You could have the most extreme vetting you wanted and it still would not have done anything about Rahami.

Rago: Right.

O'Grady: If you're looking for policy solutions, you're not going to get them in either one of these candidates. I'm just saying that as a figure on the stage, he's going to come off as the guy who has the more forceful, as Bill says, approach to the problem, that he's going to do something about it, he's not going to let political correctness stop him. And she's much weaker in those areas. And you get whiplash listening to her.

Gigot: Kim, let's talk about Charlotte and Tulsa for at least a bit. Again, police shootings. Donald Trump's theme has been law and order, but on the other hand, he's also—Hillary Clinton's fighting back and saying he's preaching a message of hate. So who has the upper hand here?

Strassel: Look, I think that when you're watching those TV reels of everybody rioting down in Charlotte—because these were not peaceful protests, these were very ugly rioters out there—it really does back up the theme that a lot of Americans are worried that there is a law-and-order problem in this country. To the extent that Hillary Clinton is not even addressing that, is instead sort of very much pitching herself on the side of the Black Lives Matter, this is always the police's fault, I don't think most Americans buy that. And Trump is on top of that issue.

Gigot: But Trump has to worry about going to far in term of polarization. Doesn't he have to have a message of opportunity?

Strassel: He does, which he's been doing at the same time, talking about how we need to be changing inner cities so that we don't have some of this conflict.

Gigot: All right, thank you, Kim.

When we come back, as President Obama delivers his final speech to the United Nations, a look at the world he's leaving behind.

Obama: There appears to be a growing contest between authoritarianism and liberalism right now. And I want everybody to understand, I am not neutral in that context.

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Obama: The world that left the age of empire behind, we see Russia attempting to recover lost glory through force. If Russia continues to interfere in the affairs of its neighbors, it may be popular at home, it may fuel nationalist fervor for a time, but over time, it's also going to diminish its stature and maybe its borders less secure.

Gigot: That was President Obama Tuesday in his final address to the United Nations General Assembly, where he chastised Russia for its failure to abide by international norms. The scolding came as the U.S.-baked cease-fire in Syrian collapsed once again, with Russian and Syria regime forces renewing their offensive against the besieged city of Aleppo on Friday, killing 27 civilians in air and ground attacks.

So, Bill, the liberal-versus-authoritarian conflict—the president recognizing this in year eight.

McGurn: Yes. It's—we're getting a very bright line now. It used to be just a red line. But now it's a really bright red line that he seems to be drawing. Look, it depends who you want to compare this to. Compare it to George W. Bush, when he left, we had Iraq, basically, pacified and so forth. We didn't have a deal with Iran.

Gigot: We did have trouble in Afghanistan.

McGurn: We did have trouble in Afghanistan, but we were in a better place to deal with it because Iraq was much more stable. Now we have the Russians with the foothold in the Middle East, Iran flouting us, flouting their own accord on nukes, we have a militant Russia. This is, again, it's not Harry Truman, you know, with NATO and so forth. It's a very bad situation.

Gigot: But I think, Mary, the president would say, that Iran deal is going to be my great legacy, because I have reined in Iran's nuclear program, we'll see how it turns out, but that will be somebody's else's—I at least put in place the strictures that could prevent them from getting a nuclear weapon.

O'Grady: Yes, he would say that.

Gigot: And you would say?

O'Grady: But, unfortunately, well, what's going to happen after he leaves? Because I think we're already seeing them, you know, trying to break the deal. You know, he says liberalism versus authoritarianism, and we all know where he comes down on this. And I would say when you look at the record, we're not really sure. I mean, look at Latin America. He breathed new life back into the Cuban military dictatorship. He let the Venezuelan consolidate power further to the point where there's actually no chance for a democracy there. Colombia is going to lose its democracy in the next week. El Salvador, Nicaragua, he hasn't done a thing on any of these regimes. Every bit of aggression leaves—you know, handle it, walking the walk, as to whether or not there might be something that he could. And if he can't—he doesn't understand that everyone in the U.N. sitting there listening to him knows exactly how indecisive he is.

Gigot: Kim, how do you think the world is going to—and history will consider the president's Syria policy, which is the ongoing civil war continues, cease-fire after cease-fire breaks down. He wants to stop it, and now there's a debate about whether they should arm our Kurdish allies, but that would upset the Turks. It looks like that's going to continue well past his Jan. 20 date when he leaves town.

Strassel: Look, I think they're going to ask, what was his policy, because, of course, that's the problem. He never really had an aggressive one. He's never been willing to move against Bashar al-Assad. He said recently this will haunt him. It probably should, because what we see going on there is, in essence, a genocide happening in the country, and the United States has been absent without leave from that entire situation, because Barack Obama did not want to commit us to any further engagement overseas. His entire focus has been on the early withdrawal in Iraq. And, in general, our retreat from the world is why so much of it is today on fire.

Gigot: All right, Joe, let's try to take the other side, briefly. What do you think—if we can. What is the—what is the best legacy the president will leave behind on foreign policy? Are there any big victories? Well, even small victories you can point to.

Rago: He made the point in this speech that the world is getting better. There's fewer premature deaths, births, things like that. The pace of technology is improving.

Gigot: That's not—but that's just things getting better. That's—how about Burma? The Burma dictatorship has moved in the right direction. We have an elected government there. They helped nurture that. Am I going too far here?

Rago: No. You can point to isolated examples of specific policy choices but—

Gigot: He would say the opening to Cuba is a tremendous victory.

O'Grady: It is not a victory. The human-rights situation there has deteriorated a lot. And Cuba now is very open about its relationship with North Korea. There's officials going back and forth all the time. They don't even try to hide it anymore.

Gigot: So, and things—opening in Argentina, getting better there. That's not anything having to do with the president All right, thank you, Mary.

We have to take one more break. When we come back, "Hits and Misses" of the week.

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Gigot: Time now for our "Hits and Misses" of the week. Kim, start us off.

Strassel: A miss to Twitter for this week suspending the account of conservative law professor Glenn Reynolds. In commenting on what motorists should do when surrounded in Charlotte by angry rioters, Mr. Reynolds tweeted, "Run them down." Now, let's be clear, he was not inciting violence. He was talking about the risks of getting dragged out of your car by a mob. And let's also be clear, Twitter has no issue with those who do incite violence, in particular Black Lives Matter tweeters, who say that we should kill cops. If they're going to have a speech code, they should make it clear, and enforce it equally and stop acting as the police speech against just conservatives.

Gigot: All right, Kim, thank you. William?

McGurn: Paul, a hit and a miss to the students at Ithaca College. Last academic year, they had a lot of student protests demanding the ouster of the president, saying the university was insufficiently attentive to diversity and inclusiveness. This year, the university responded, gave them most of what they wanted and they had inclusive and diversity circles at the school for discussion. The student paper reports not a single student showed up for this. So, I give them a hit for realizing the worthlessness of these politically correct episodes and a miss for demanding them in the first place.

Gigot: All right. Joe?

Rago: Paul, Ted Cruz came out this week and endorsed Donald Trump, as we mentioned. But to my mind, the bigger news was that Kim Kardashian said she was open to voting for Trump. Now, you could read the fact that this matters as a miss, the shallowness of our politics and the importance of reality TV. But I like to think of it as a hit in the historical sense, because in 2020 or 2024, we're going to look back at this moment and say, we realize that Kim Kardashian was going to be first lady and Kanye West was going to be president.

Gigot: All right. James, old man?

Freeman: Can't talk about it. But I will give a miss to FBI director James Comey. He's really tarnishing the reputation of the FBI and, more importantly, denying Americans the vigilant defense of the rule of law they deserve. We learned this week that he gave immunity to Clinton aide Cheryl Mills. This is along with four others. Seems to have gotten nothing in return, not even a promise to share with the public what happened. And the question for Mr. Comey, he told us no criminal case against Mr. Clinton, why do they all need immunity then.

Gigot: All right, thank you, James.

That's it for this week's show. I'm Paul Gigot. And we sure hope to see you right here next week.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**For astronomers, Proxima b is a dream planet. Discovered last month[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/high-neighbor-astronomers-discover-nearby-planet-1472058971] orbiting the star nearest to our own solar system, it is thought to reside squarely in what scientists call the "Goldilocks zone"—where the temperature for life is just right.

The news prompted excited questions among scientists: Is there really water on Proxima b? Could a rocket make it there one day? Could there be life on the planet? But it started a very different discussion among Christians: Would **alien** souls need saving? And if so, do missionaries have a responsibility to rocket into space with a trunk full of Bibles?

"At a minimum, a Christian would have an obligation to at least tell the Gospel story to other life-forms found outside of Earth," said Bill Nettles, the chair of the physics department at Union University, an evangelical college in Jackson, Tenn.

But to other Christians, the idea that an extraterrestrial, no matter how intelligent, could have a spiritual relationship with God is unthinkable.

"It's just planet Earth that has spiritual beings in need of redemption," said Hugh Ross, an astrophysicist who founded Reasons to Believe, a ministry that seeks to show that science supports Christian scripture. "That doesn't rule out dolphins or grass or bacteria on another planet," he said, but he doesn't expect to find life anywhere else in the universe. He added, "It's not Jesus Christ dying on 1,000 planets."

Discussion of **alien** spirituality has long been the stuff of science fiction. But as humans have peered further into space with telescopes and unmanned probes, religious groups have been forced to grapple—sometimes uncomfortably—with what the existence of intelligent extraterrestrial life would mean for their faith.

In 2014, two Jesuit astronomers at the Vatican published a book with the title, "Would You Baptize an Extraterrestrial?" That year, Pope Francis himself—during a hypothetical section of a weekly homily—said that he would baptize a green Martian with a "long nose and big ears," although only if the **alien** ambled into St. Peter's Basilica and asked. "Who are we to close doors?" the pontiff asked.

Evangelical Christians, who believe in spreading the Gospel, are starting to openly debate whether that duty extends beyond Earth's atmosphere.

As for Mormons, they may have an edge: They are already in space—proudly counting several astronauts in their fold—and are used to evangelizing in far-flung places. Utah has stood in for Mars in at least one movie and is home to a research station[http://mdrs.marssociety.org/] for the Mars Society. The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints declined to comment, but a church official pointed to the "Encyclopedia of Mormonism," which accepts[http://eom.byu.edu/index.php/Worlds] "the existence of other worlds created by God for a divine purpose that is the same as the purpose of earth life."

"For most denominations of Christianity," said David Weintraub, an astronomy professor at Vanderbilt University and the author of "Religions and Extraterrestrial Life," the possibility of life elsewhere presents "serious theological problems." "Until now, questions about who created us and are we alone were purely theological," he said. But now, astronomers are saying, " ‘We're taking over some turf that used to belong to you.' "

Christians have long argued about the cosmos—at least since Galileo insisted in 1633 that the Earth revolved around the sun, a heresy that won him house arrest for the rest of his life. Nearly 200 years later, the philosopher Thomas Paine asked whether life on other planets would mean that Jesus was constantly incarnating and dying on various worlds—a concept that few Christians found appealing.

On a recent morning outside St. Mark's Catholic Church in Los Angeles, parishioners were at ease with the possibility of sentient life on other planets—and with spreading the Gospel there. "The Bible should be preached all over," Chutti Vanderwall, 64, said after mass. "The Bible teaches love—not just here. It teaches us to be good people."

Some theologians argue that Ms. Vanderwall's observation—that the Bible "teaches us to be good people"—is precisely why Christians shouldn't plan to baptize **alien** life-forms. The Gospel tells of the fall and salvation of humanity, they say, not of other beings on some far-off world. Other theologians posit that intelligent extraterrestrials would have their own relationships with God.

Beyond the theological questions lie serious practical obstacles. "Communication would take a long time, obviously," said Deborah Haarsma, president of BioLogos, a group that promotes the idea that Christianity and science are in harmony. Even if communication were possible, she added, "Can we communicate about something as profound as God?"

Christians have plenty of time to decide all this. Proxima b is 4.2 light years away—so a space probe using current technology would take thousands of years to get there.

Interactive

\* 11 Years of Cassini Saturn Photos[http://graphics.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/saturn/] (Nov. 20, 2015)

\* A Field Guide to the Solar System[http://graphics.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/from-pluto-to-the-sun/] (July 10, 2015)

Related Reading

\* Earth-like Planet Discovered Near Solar System[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/high-neighbor-astronomers-discover-nearby-planet-1472058971] (Aug. 24, 2016)

\* **Aliens** Rate Earth: Skip the Primates, Come for the Crows[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/aliens-rate-earth-skip-the-primates-come-for-the-crows-1463581611] (May 18, 2016)

\* A Week in the Life of a Scientist Working on the Cassini Mission[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/a-week-in-the-life-of-carolyn-porco-1455122208] (Feb. 10, 2016)

\* Yuri Milner to Fund $100 Million Search for Intelligent **Alien** Life[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/yuri-milner-to-provide-100-million-for-outer-space-data-collection-effort-1437385233] (July 20, 2015)

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**At the age of 5, Gustav Perle receives some formative advice from his mother, Emilie, a widowed cheese factory worker in the central Swiss town of Matzlingen. Lacking a father, she says, Gustav should model himself on his fatherland: "You have to hold yourself together and be courageous, stay separate and strong." The year is 1947, and Emilie is counting on her country's famous neutrality, which carried it unscathed through World War II, to protect her son from the shocks of life.

"The Gustav Sonata" (W.W. Norton, 240 pages, $26.95), the assured new novel from Rose Tremain, maps the contours of that life in three sections, beginning with Gustav's childhood, then flashing back to depict his parents' marriage and finally leaping ahead to the 1990s. Two frayed relationships stand out. Despite Gustav's eagerness to please his cold and standoffish mother, "a peculiar chemistry of **alienation**" exists between the two. In compensation he becomes friends with Anton Zweibel, a skittish piano prodigy, but this relationship is complicated by Anton's musical ambition and the fact that he's wealthy and Jewish.

The chapters set before the war expertly suture the family conflicts to the age's political crises. Gustav's father was a local policeman fired from his position for abetting Jewish **refugees** entering Switzerland. His heart attack shortly after the war convinces Emilie that he was martyred for a cause she never supported—"he put Jewish lives before mine," she thinks, concentrating her grievances toward a single source.

The third section shows an aging Gustav working as a hotelier in Matzlingen, no nearer to intimacy with Emilie or Anton, and a fine mist of melancholy settles over the story. Having shaped his personality on national characteristics, the stoic Gustav has become representative of his country as a whole, his isolation and "self-mastery" guiding him to a life of drab security: "Sadness gathered like a grey twilight around the idea of his own invisibility: the way the boy Gustav had kept on trying to push himself into the light so that his Mutti would see him better." Though the shadows of past regrets dominate the novel, Ms. Tremain holds out Gustav's father's act of humanity as a beacon toward transformation.

This is Ms. Tremain's 15th novel, and her expertise is evident in its gradual layering of personal history and its subtle mingling of lights and darks. The author is a best seller in Great Britain, where historical novelists command more critical and popular respect. "The Gustav Sonata" shows how much she deserves a similar following in the United States.

Andreas Egger, the hero of Robert Seethaler's pastoral drama "A Whole Life" (Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 151 pages, $23), leaves his village in the Austrian Alps only twice in a life of nearly 80 years. The first time is when he's sent to war, which results in his spending eight years in a Soviet POW camp. The second comes only months before he dies, when he impulsively rides the local bus to its terminus, and then takes it back home.

From so insular a life, Mr. Seethaler has produced a compact work of grace and beauty. The chronicle, in Charlotte Collins's supple and unobtrusive translation from the German, sketches Andreas's introverted childhood in his mountain valley; his work as an odd-job man, logger, cable-car repairman and hiking guide; his tragically curtailed marriage; his brief spell on the eastern front—two months boring blast holes in the Caucasus—followed by years as a prisoner; and his solitary second act as a war pensioner.

By fixing its lens on Andreas's small village, "A Whole Life" creates something like a time-lapse video of the 20th century. The population triples. In the fields and footpaths, goatherds are replaced by tourists. The mountainsides, once the domain of loggers, grow thick with cable cars to accommodate the bizarre new pastime of skiing. "People are all going crazy about slithering down mountains on their planks," Andreas's employer tells him. "God alone knows why." For a while Andreas sees himself as a cog in the "gigantic machine called Progress," but as the decades pass he feels more and more like a "remnant from some long-buried time, a thorny weed still stretching up."

Andreas watches television as rarely as he leaves his village, but he does witness the moon landing in 1969. Viewing those ghostly, impossible images on the screen, he feels "mysteriously close and connected to the villagers down here on the darkened earth, in a room in the parish hall that still smelled of fresh mortar." In the drifting passage of Andreas's life, Mr. Seethaler gives a fleeting sense of the stuff of existence, an impalpable, smoke-like substance that in moments of intensity quickens into awareness.

In Hubert Mingarelli's World War II novella "A Meal in Winter" (New Press, 138 pages, $19.95), an unnamed German soldier and his two friends escape the hated duty of executing prisoners in occupied Poland by volunteering for a mission to find Jews hiding in the countryside—hunting rather than shooting, as he puts it. To their surprise, they discover a Jewish man in a spider hole in the forest. Energized by their success, which will entitle them to skip another day of mass slaughter and thus, they feel, help them preserve some of their sanity, they stop in a derelict house to cook a hearty dinner.

Without resorting to dramatics or emotional excess (Sam Taylor's unaffected translation from the French is very good), Mr. Mingarelli allows the terrible ironies of the premise to collapse under their own weight. As the traumatized soldiers warm the house with the smell of food, a sense of happiness steals over them. "Being here felt like returning to a childhood home, and we didn't want to spoil the innocent mood," the narrator thinks. Their sympathies are so thawed that they even invite the Jewish captive to partake—an impulse which, once carried out, forces them to think of him as something other than a bargaining chip.

The book's deceptive directness and simplicity, and its muted undercurrents of horror, will make many think of the stories of Ernest Hemingway. This is painful, unconsoling reading, but also a reminder of the power a short, perfect work of fiction can wield.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Dallas Fed President Robert Kaplan participated in a question-and-answer session Friday, Sept. 23, at an energy conference in Houston hosted by the Texas Oil and Gas Association[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/kaplan-says-fed-can-afford-to-be-patient-as-economy-isnt-overheating-1474653520]. He commented on the Texas economy and oil prices, the U.S. economy and the outlook for interest rates. Here is a transcript of his remarks, lightly edited for length and clarity.

BRUCE NIEMEYER (Vice President, Mid-Continent Business Unit,

Chevron Corp.): President Kaplan, thanks for joining us this morning.

ROBERT KAPLAN: Thanks for having me here.

MR. NIEMEYER: Well, we're pleased to have you. Just to build a little bit on what Johnny described, you know, being, the president and CEO of the 11th District of the Federal Reserve System should be word enough, but you know, it began, I guess, for you, degrees from the University of Kansas and Harvard Business School, 23 years at Goldman Sachs, ultimately culminating in your role as vice chairman in that organization responsible with global responsibility in investment banking and the Investment Management Division. So large private experience. A professorship at Harvard Business School, author of several books, and about a year ago named to his current position. So I think we all stand to be very well-informed by your conversation this morning, if I can raise the stakes for you.

So let's start locally first, with Texas. The federal district that you're responsible for covers all of Texas, as well as parts of New Mexico and Louisiana. So what is your view of the economy here locally in Texas.

MR. KAPLAN: OK. So let me—and thanks for having me here. Let me quickly just mention—I'll start with energy, for obvious reasons. Believe it or not, energy was 13% of Texas (gross domestic product) in 2014. It's down to 6% of Texas—I mean, and as Senator (John) Cornyn (R., Texas) mentioned, if that had happened in other states, that's a devastating decline. Now, some of that is what's happened in the industry, and some of it is the fact that there has been growth and migration of people and firms to the state, and the state has become much more diversified.

But our own view on energy is—and you all have your own estimates, but in talking with you, surveys, I've spent a lot of time in this industry. Our own view is that global supply and demand of oil and oil equivalents should be in balance by the first half of 2017. There are some people who think it happens sooner, some people that are saying it will happen later. Our own estimate, pretty much first half of (2017). And the reason we think that, it's not that global supply is declining—obviously, we've had big cuts in Texas, and unfortunately they have been more than offset by supply increases in Iran, Russia and other countries—it's that we still believe that average demand—daily demand is going to grow in 2016 and again in 2017 by 1.3 million barrels a day. So what's happening is the trajectory of growth is flattening, demand keeps rising, and we think those lines will cross by the first half of the year. And we think maybe by the—certainly by the second half of the year some of this record excess inventory is going to start gradually declining.

Now, even though the timing may differ, we think the trend is clear. And so, within that, this is why we think, even though there's a lot of price volatility depending on what the most recent news announcements are, prices are firming. Obviously, they're not firming enough to make certain fields economic, and we know there's a lot of companies and service providers that are highly leveraged. This will not be enough to prevent them from having to be restructured or merged, or some of them bankrupt. But we think what's been a headwind the last two years is neutralizing, and we think—in '17, '18, '19 I'm actually very optimistic.

So what's that mean for the state? Job growth in the first half of this year, net zero, OK, which is extremely unusual for the state of Texas. We think the second half of this year looks much better. We expect job growth will be in excess of 2% for the state. And our current forecast is job growth for 2017 in the state will be also 2% or greater.

So a lot of it has to do with stabilization in this industry, but a lot of it has to do with this trend continues of migration of people and firms to the state. And I can tell you there's not a week that goes by where I don't get a phone call from either a CEO and/or some party that's thinking about moving here. And the more people that come here, it sort of builds on itself. So I'm very optimistic about the future of this state. If I had to pick—there's many states in the country I'm very nervous about— population declines—(inaudible)—decline, and other trends. But this state is one of—is going to be one of the winners in the years to come, and I'm very optimistic about the future.

MR. NIEMEYER: Very good, very good. For most folks in the room that have been in this industry for a while, this isn't the first time we've experienced a change in prices.

MR. KAPLAN: I know, I know.

MR. NIEMEYER: And many will say it's not our first rodeo. Do you see this from your perspective, this current change in how the market is responding? Is this similar to what we experienced in the '80s or other times?

MR. KAPLAN: It's different for a couple of reasons. Number one, the state is much more diversified than it was in the '80s. So that's one very positive difference.

And then the second thing is—and I've spent a lot of time, you can imagine with the 650 or so bankers in this state. This is a very veteran group. Yes, regulation of banks is tougher, but also the bank CEOs in this state are very—they've been through it before. And so where in the late '80s when there was an oil decline that caused a crisis among the banks which dragged the whole state into recession, that isn't happening this time, one because of diversification. And number two, while the banks, yes, of course, reserves have gone up and they're not happy with their returns, and yes some will lose money, there isn't a systemic risk caused by the banks. And so that makes this very different than what happened in the '80s, and I think we'll have a—we'll have a much healthier recovery because of it.

MR. NIEMEYER: Very good, very good. What about other aspects of the Texas economy that are in the backdrop? Certainly we care very much about the energy industry. Do you see a positive trajectory in that, or are there concerns to watch for?

MR. KAPLAN: I mean, I've learned in Texas—and I've been coming here for years even before I took this job—there's a story behind each of the cities. So Austin, for example, there's been a tech boom that's been happening. Now, they have some challenges in Austin with infrastructure, maybe some would say a high-class problem, and housing prices, because of the growth in population. And if they don't address that, it's going to have some effect. Houston, even with all the problems, the latest Census data that you probably saw showed migration to the city has been extremely high. Dallas has also become much more diversified. And then, out in the Ft. Worth-Plano area, there's been—Amazon has built a distribution center, Toyota is now coming there, Burlington-Santa Fe in the last 10 years or so has come here. So there's a story on a bunch of the cities, and you take for granted when you—Austin, Houston, Dallas, San Anton(io) are four of the biggest cities and fastest-growing cities in this country. And so there's a lot of legs to this stool. It's not just one city.

And then, in El Paso, while they had some of the headwinds particularly through strong dollar due to the trade partnerships which have been, for better or worse, in some cases vilified, but there's no question based on our research are creating jobs in North America. A typical import from Mexico or a plant in Juarez has a lot of U.S. content, and it's allowing the Northern Hemisphere to keep jobs from going to Asia. We're now— Texas is now the number-one exporting state in this country. And so there's a lot of sub stories which are pretty powerful.

And the only other comment I'd say, which is a sub story which is true for the United States is the demographics of the state. Hispanics, we all know, is the fastest-growing demographic group in the state. It's also the fastest-growing demographic group growing in the United States. And so the way Houston, for example, has adapted and built a city with a much more diverse population is a good guide for the rest of the country because it's where the rest of the country is going.

And a couple of the challenges that go with it. Educational attainment levels among blacks and Hispanics are lagging the rest of the population. And so that's one of the challenges for the state, which is also part of the story, which many of the mayors, governor is very aware of. We've got to improve that if we're going to continue to grow GDP. But I think there's a lot of very powerful, positive stories here.

MR. NIEMEYER: Very good, very good. Everybody pays very close attention to oil price, and clearly, that's, you know, a key to growth, rebound, recovery, however you want to describe it. You stay connected to business leaders throughout this region. Do you hear from them other watch points or concerns? I know from time to time in this room we'll talk about will people return to the industry. Do you see—do you see other issues that bear on the ability of the industry to recover and rebound?

MR. KAPLAN: Well, so I'll start with the industry, then I'll talk broadly about a little bit of some of the concerns that business leaders have outside the industry, because we're great barometers. We've got lots of Fortune 500 companies here, and global companies.

But for the industry the normal concern is, first, are we going to be able to attract capital back? And I think people actually are feeling a little better about that.

Second, are we going to be able to attract workers back? And how much—what will be the wages that'll have to be paid? Because some people that were workers, particularly service providers, have—you know this better than I do—have left the industry. And so those are two of the most typical things we've talked about.

I actually hear—although this is a—you know, it's an optimistic industry and it's a very entrepreneurial industry. But I am a believer that, as ironic as it feels right now, I believe when we go out three or four years, because we haven't had long-life projects with the new shale, and the fact that OPEC is operating at a very high level of capacity by any historic standard, it makes sense to me when we get into '18, '19, '20 the spike risk, the tail risk is going to be more likely on the upside than the downside.

And so the last comment I hear from people, particularly in the shale industry and the industry generally, which you all know, is everybody used to think we're the swing producer, and that it's not so easy. We're a short-cycle producer; in other words, we can't just push a button and have supply come back. There's going to be some delay. And the world's going to have to—you may see some impact of that in prices. So those are three or four things I've found.

The big issues for business generally, just—then I'll leave you and probably talk about the United States—is, you know, the story of the U.S. right now is GDP growth is sluggish by any historic standard. I mean, it was very sluggish in the first half of the year, around 1%, plus or minus. We believe it's going to rebound in the second half of the year. We think the consumer in the U.S. is strong.

But every business leader I talk to sees—I've talked—I don't talk to anybody, and I've talked across industries, and a lot of people I've known for 25 years from my former life and some of them I've just met, but the story is the same, which is OK but not great. Then they add—and the second thing: pricing power. You know, there's a lot of what I call disruptions—globalization but disruption, meaning use of the internet, disruptive competitors, impact of regulation are all creating downward pressure on margins, which is causing people to be more careful about capital spending and capacity expansion, which we see show up in overall GDP numbers. And so those are all things that business leaders are focused on.

And I would say for the United States, by the way, our forecast for GDP growth that Dallas did for this year is about 1.7, 1¾% for 2016. While that's disappointing by historic standards, we think it should be enough to continue to take slack out of the labor market.

So we have—we're at a 4.9% unemployment rate in the United States. Many people have said that, yeah, the (labor force) participation rate is lower. Well, that's true. It was 66% in '07; it's 62.8 (%) today. The problem is we think most of that decline is demographic. I wish I could tell you it was cyclical, but we think a lot of it is demographic; meaning the population in this country is aging—it's happening in every advanced economy—to the point where we think if you go out another 10 years the participation rate will be closer to 61% or below. All that creates a headwind for potential GDP. And so—I'll come back to that.

And so, the long and short of it, we've also seen that we have a 2% inflation objective and we've been gliding around core inflation around 1.6%. Headline inflation is lower—a strong dollar, effective lower oil prices, muted health care inflation, globalization, this disruption I talked about. And so this is why the Fed has said we don't think the economy is overheating. You normally would think it would be at this level of unemployment. And all it means to us, we can afford to be patient in removing accommodation.

We're not as accommodative, probably, as people would think, which many people, understandably, find hard to believe when we talking about basic—you know, Fed funds rate at 25 to 50 basis points. So it's a scary thought. But the fact is, even without the Fed, in my own view as a markets person my entire life, interest rates would be lower because global GDP growth is lower, because demographics globally are aging and declining. There's a lot of things in the United States we can do about that. But we need to take some action, and it's beyond just monetary policy.

MR. NIEMEYER: Just picking up on globalization, I understand that you were recently in China.

MR. KAPLAN: Yeah.

MR. NIEMEYER: So how does the Fed president from Dallas, Texas, find himself in China? Why do we care about China?

MR. KAPLAN: Yeah. So that's a good—that's a good question. I lived in Asia for five years. I ran my firm's business over there, and I've been in China a lot. And here's why China matters now.

When I first started my career, China was seen—it was an opportunity and it was interesting, but it wasn't that big, and so the United States could operate pretty much independently. You know, we were much more sensitive 30 years ago, 25 years ago to Europe than we were to China. That's changed. China is now dramatically bigger, and what goes on there absolutely matters to the U.S. And the problem is—and a very significant percentage of global growth comes from China. In a world that's not growing very fast, China has slowed down, but it's still growing—we'll come back to it—it's 6½% a year. That is a big percentage of global growth. So what goes on there matters.

And there's a number of significant problems which are hard to—you got to go visit to understand, so I'm planning to go back there every year. Probably the one country I'd prioritize to make sure to go, as well as Mexico because of our location.

High levels of overcapacity. So they say 6½% GDP growth, but embedded in that, they pick the GDP number first and they back into how to get there. And a lot of how they get there is investment and a lot of, say, excess investment in state-owned enterprises' infrastructure. And that's why government total debt, not government total system debt there, to GDP is going like this, more than doubled.

And so how can they keep this going? Because of this we're going on, the United States will be extremely concerned. The borrowers primarily are domestic. The lenders are domestic; i.e., they are not that reliant on outside capital, because they have such a high savings rate. But in order to make their economy work, they've got a multi-year, multi-decade transition from being an export-driven economy to a consumer-oriented service-sector economy.

And so the reason studying it is when you're going through this kind of transition, with 250% debt to GDP, you worry about creating global instability. And we saw that in January and February, where they had big devaluation. They had a very significant stock market selloff. It immediately transmitted to tightening global financial conditions, including here. And we felt at the Fed that unless we slowed down our own pace of monetary policy, we're going to have a slowdown here as a result of it.

So whether we like it or not, China is going to affect the rest of us. And we're going to have to get used to lower levels of Chinese growth, because they can't keep using leverage to prop up GDP. And financial instability there will increasingly make us vulnerable to global balance of financial instability.

And so we're still the central bank of the United States, but we've got to be aware of it and understand it, because it will spill over to what's going on here in the classic case we saw in the first quarter this year. That's exactly what happened. So we've got to understand it.

MR. NIEMEYER: The recent decision or the recent vote in the United Kingdom to exit the European Union received a lot of attention. Is China orders of magnitude more important to what we care about, or is that also an important uncertainty in our future?

MR. KAPLAN: Brexit, I think, is going to turn out to be manageable in that it's certainly—although it hasn't hurt as much as we might have thought, it's going to hurt growth in the U.K. To what degree, we're not sure. And so far the results have been a little better than people feared. It will hurt European Union maybe a little less. I'll come back to that. If it's stopped there, just between the U.K. and EU, we think the impact on the United States is very modest and very manageable.

The concern is, what will Italy do? They have a vote coming up later this fall. Will there be other country actions that cause them to be further destabilized? I'm hopeful that won't happen. If it doesn't, we think Brexit and the European situation is manageable.

I think China will turn out to be manageable too, but it has—yeah, I think it has more significant and more sizable potential implications here. And so we've got to understand both. But my experience also in my business career, it's easier to relate to and understand Europe. It's easier to get to. There's more expertise on it. I find honestly, in my business career and now, much of what you've heard say about China, a lot of it, I think, is inaccurate. And you have to just realize there's a lot of misinformation. There's a lot of noise. But it's significant enough it could have a very big impact on us. We have to just be aware of it.

MR. NIEMEYER: Very good. We—you touched a little bit on some of—

MR. KAPLAN: Here's one example for energy, just by the way. A lot has been said about India and China having lower energy demand, and that's—many people think that's the reason energy prices are lower in the world. I actually think it's more of a supply situation. My own experience with China is while demand may be off a bit, lower than people expected, I think they're going to have a growing middle class. And I'm actually relatively optimistic about future energy demand in China. So that'd be an example of what you hear versus what—(inaudible).

MR. NIEMEYER: You touched a bit on that drivers are the things that is considered in monetary policy. But are there things beyond monetary policy, structural reforms or other things, that need to be part of the discussion?

MR. KAPLAN: So I mentioned there's two or three big drivers. And as a businessperson, a good analogy would be economic performance is like profitability. It's interesting to look at, but it usually comes as a result of years of other things—more fundamental things, have you. The big fundamentals to me are aging demographics, high levels of debt to GDP in the Western world.

We're at the end of the so-called debt supercycle, where most of our lifetime—most of you are in a similar—in the range of age I am—we were able to use monetary—use fiscal policy to create more growth; much harder to do right now. We've got an entitlement issue in the United States where present value of future entitlements is about $45 trillion. We don't have as much capacity for fiscal action.

The other big things that are going on are globalization, where countries like China outside the United States are much bigger and can spill over more. And then this issue of industry disruption is the fourth big driver.

What does it mean? It means that we've had seven years or so where monetary policy has been the primary economic policy in the United States and in most advanced economies. We're getting used to, like—that's not the way it's supposed to be. There's supposed to be fiscal policy and structural reform combined with monetary policy. And aging demographics is a good example.

Monetary policy is not going to solve that. It's got a role to play. We need probably to do things that increase the size of the workforce—vocational training; as controversial as it is, some agreement or compromise on **immigration**, including particularly skilled **immigration**, maybe incentives that cause people to work longer in their career so we don't have a deterioration in the workforce; infrastructure spending in the United States. We have low productivity.

And so these are examples of big drivers that monetary policy has a role to play, but they're not a substitute for structural reform and other government policy. And so I've been calling for a broader discussion of other economic policies other than just monetary policy. And they're needed to address these drivers.

MR. NIEMEYER: That's pretty wide-ranging.

So we're about at the time. It's surprising that it's passed so quickly. Are there any final thoughts in closing that we didn't get to that you think might be useful for these individuals in the energy industry?

MR. KAPLAN: I mean, the most significant I think I'd say about the industry into the future, you know, I reiterate, it's been a rough—it's been a challenging, I don't need to tell you, last couple to three years. But everything I see suggests that it's not going to—it's not going to be a hockey stick back either.

I think most people I talk to in the industry, and I believe this, prices are going to—I use the word firm. That doesn't mean they're necessarily going to go up rapidly. They're going to be firm. But I think the next three or four years, I'm optimistic about the future.

And related to that, for that reason and a bunch of other reasons, I'm also optimistic about the future of Texas and its district, particularly because this industry will stabilize and see better days. And also the migration trends of the state are powerful. I talked about demographics, population. This is one state where the trends are going in the right direction. And we've got some challenges we've got to deal with out of it, including educational attainment. But I'm very optimistic about the future here.

MR. NIEMEYER: Well, very good. Well, there's a lot of reason to be optimistic, but there's some work to do.

Thank you very much.

MR. KAPLAN: Thank you, Bruce. (Applause.)

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**LONDON—British Foreign Secretary Boris Johnson said Thursday he expects the U.K. to formally begin its exit from the European Union in the early months of next year and doesn't think the government will need the full two-year window to negotiate a new relationship with the bloc.

Mr. Johnson, speaking in an interview with Sky News television in New York, said the U.K. government was liaising with its European partners in the "expectation that by the early part of next year, you will see an Article 50 letter."

"We will invoke that, and in that letter, I'm sure we will be setting out some parameters for how we propose to take this forward," he said.

The U.K. government has come under increasing pressure from politicians and businesses to spell out what sort of relationship it will seek with the EU and when it will invoke Article 50 of the Lisbon Treaty, which begins the U.K.'s exit from the bloc.

Britain voted in June to end its four-decade-long ties with the bloc[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/brexit-vote-stunned-britons-awake-to-a-new-era-for-u-k-1466768937] amid frustration about increasing EU **immigration** to the U.K. and distrust of the political establishment in London and in Brussels.

Prime Minister Theresa May, who took office in July after her predecessor David Cameron resigned, has said thatshe wouldn't trigger Article 50 this year. A spokesman for Mrs. May said Friday that the government's position on timing for triggering Article 50 hadn't changed. "We will not Trigger Article 50 before the end of 2016 and we're using this time to prepare for the negotiations."

Earlier Thursday, European Parliament chief Martin Schulz met with Mrs. May in London. A person familiar with the discussion said Mrs. May and Mr. Schulz discussed the need for triggering Article 50 as soon as possible, but Mr. Schulz also said he understood the complexities. Mr. Schulz was scheduled to give a speech in London on Friday on the U.K. and the EU.

Talks on trade with the 27 remaining EU states and disentangling the U.K. from the bloc's institutions are likely to be lengthy and complex. While Britain wants to maintain the closest possible economic ties with Europe, European leaders have said Britain can't maintain its membershipbe in the bloc's single market if it doesn't agree to its rules allowing EU citizens in to live and work anywhere in the EU.

Mr. Johnson said it was "complete baloney" that there is an automatic trade-off between access to the single market and agreeing to the EU's free movement of people principle. "The two things have nothing to do with each other," he said. "We should go for a jumbo free-trade deal and take back control of our **immigration**policy."

Mr. Johnson also played down concerns about the need for lengthy talks once the U.K. government invokes Article 50, triggering a two-year negotiating window to work out issues from single-market access for U.K. companies to Britain's sharing of EU security databases.

"I don't actually think we will necessarily need to spend a full two years, but let's see how we go," Mr. Johnson said. Some experts have argued that the U.K. government should wait until after German and French elections, which could bring in new leadership with different negotiating demands.

Nicholas Winning and Laurence Norman contributed to this article.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Democrat Hillary Clinton is maintaining her lopsided lead among Hispanics, and Donald Trump remains widely disliked among this fast-growing slice of the electorate, a new Wall Street Journal/NBC News/Telemundo survey finds.

The survey of Hispanic voters shows that Mrs. Clinton has strong backing[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/hillary-clinton-leads-donald-trump-by-6-points-in-latest-wsj-nbc-poll-1474491609] from an important part of the Democratic coalition at a time when she is struggling to retain support from young voters and questions are arising about her ability to duplicate President Barack Obama's overwhelming margins among African-American voters.

In a race that includes two third-party candidates[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/third-parties-enjoy-their-day-in-sun-1474503054], Mrs. Clinton wins 65% support among Hispanic likely voters, compared with Mr. Trump's 17%—a 48-point advantage. The survey included a larger sample of Hispanic voters than in most Journal/NBC News polls—some 300 respondents—to better understand the group's opinions.

That means she has a bigger lead with this group than President Barack Obama enjoyed in 2012, when he beat Republican Mitt Romney by 44 points among Hispanic voters. It was that drubbing that persuaded some Republican leaders that their party needed to do more to reach out to Hispanic voters. Some counseled embracing "comprehensive **immigration** reform," an important issue to many Hispanics.

The party wound up heading in the opposite direction, nominating a candidate who built his campaign on promises to end illegal **immigration** and limit some legal **immigration**.

Nearly eight in 10 Hispanics surveyed said they had negative feelings about Mr. Trump, including nearly seven in 10 who had "very negative'' feelings. Just 15% had very or somewhat positive views of the Republican nominee.

That is considerably worse than Mr. Romney's situation four years ago, when only 35% of Hispanics had "very negative" feelings about him.

Views of Mrs. Clinton weren't as rosy[http://blogs.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/washwire/2016/09/21/general-election-will-be-a-vote-for-or-against-clinton-wsjnbc-news-poll/] as they were for Mr. Obama at this point in 2012. Some 57% of Hispanics in the new survey had a positive image of her, compared with 74% for Mr. Obama four years ago.

Among Hispanic registered voters, Mrs. Clinton had 63% support, down from 72% in a July survey. Mr. Trump's support among Hispanic registered voters rose to 16% from 12% in July. There is no similar comparison among likely voters, as this is the first time the Journal/NBC News/Telemundo survey is zeroing in on the preferences of those most likely to cast ballots.

One outstanding question is how many Hispanics will turn out to vote. The new survey found that 60% rated themselves as having high interest in the election, a smaller share than the 68% in the overall electorate. In 2012, there was a similar gap at this point, though Hispanic interest then spiked in October of that year.

On a range of issues, the Democratic nominee has the advantage over Mr. Trump.

The survey found 68% of Hispanic voters saying Mrs. Clinton would be better than Mr. Trump on dealing with **immigration**; some 18% said Mr. Trump would be better. Mrs. Clinton posted similar advantages when asked who would be the better commander in chief, handle nuclear weapons and change the country for the better.

Mr. Trump had his best results on the question of dealing with the economy. On that question, some 55% picked Mrs. Clinton as the better candidate, and 29% picked Mr. Trump.

About four in 10 Hispanic voters said they preferred a candidate who would bring major changes over one offering a steady approach, which would seem to lay the groundwork for Mr. Trump. But that is not the case, said Jeff Horwitt, a Democratic pollster who helped conduct the poll. "There are people who want change, but he ain't the change that they want."

The Journal/NBC News/Telemundo survey was conducted Sept. 15-20 and included 300 Hispanic registered voters. The margin of error for that group was plus or minus 5.66 percentage points.

Write to Laura Meckler at laura.meckler@wsj.com[mailto:laura.meckler@wsj.com]

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**EL CAJON, Calif.—The backyard gathering was part Catholic Mass, part rebellion.

The priest, an Iraqi **immigrant**, had been kicked out of the local church. Parishioners had been warned by local church leaders not to worship with him. Yet 50 people sat in makeshift pews behind a home east of San Diego in a show of opposition to church officials urging Christians to stay in Iraq, where their numbers are dwindling.

"There is no future for Christians in Iraq," said Bahaa Gandor, a 31-year-old who fled the country in 2010. "We have to bring them here."

The Chaldean Catholic Church, a nearly 2,000-year-old branch of Christianity based in Iraq, is at war with itself over how to ensure its survival. And the dispute is threatening to fracture this ancient faith.

Some Chaldeans in the U.S. have been scrambling to help Christians escape Iraq, where they are being targeted and killed by Islamic State. But that work has put them in conflict with top church officials in Baghdad who say Chaldeans must stay and help preserve Christianity in the Middle East[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/iraqi-christians-dilemma-stay-or-go-1412038110].

Tensions between Baghdad and the Chaldean diaspora have reached a breaking point in El Cajon, where many Chaldeans have settled.

Father Noel Gorgis, a priest who has spent much of the past two years lobbying the U.S. to accept more Iraqi Christian **refugees**, was expelled from his post at the church here in July. A longtime bishop, another advocate for Iraqi **refugees**, has also been forced to retire.

The changes have rocked the large Chaldean community in El Cajon, and some here have entered a quiet revolt against church hierarchy.

They have begun holding what they call "underground Masses" with Father Gorgis at homes in the area. Some are even floating the possibility of starting their own church, based in the U.S., where they say they are better able to preserve their language and their culture than in Iraq.

"What's our relationship with Iraq? We're American," said Father Gorgis, who fled Iraq in the early 1990s during the Gulf War. "We can have our own church here."

He quickly added: "That's not our goal. We want to keep our heritage."

Since the U.S. invaded Iraq in 2003, the Chaldean population has been steadily shifting away from its homeland. There are now around 400,000 Christians in Iraq, down from 1.4 million in before the invasion, according to church officials. Secretary of State John Kerry has called the attacks on Christians in Iraq genocide.

Meanwhile, the Chaldean population in the U.S. has ballooned to more than 250,000, mostly around Detroit and San Diego.

The exodus has been a growing concern for Patriarch Louis Raphaël I Sako, the leader of the Chaldean church, an Eastern Rite Catholic Church that answers to the pope in Rome.

"This is our land," he said in an email to The Wall Street Journal from Iraq. "If we leave, everything will leave with us, and little by little will be dissolved [by] assimilation in new societies."

In a letter to bishops in May, which was obtained by the Journal, Patriarch Sako wrote, "Priests should not be allowed to give any official statements encouraging other priests to **immigrate**."

"We must sacrifice a few priests in order to maintain the rest," he wrote. "We are already running short on priests."

He said via email that Father Gorgis has been removed because he criticized his superiors and the church itself.

Father Gorgis's supporters said the real reason he was dismissed from the church is clear.

"It was about the **refugees**," said Mark Arabo, an activist in the Chaldean community here who worked with Father Gorgis on obtaining visas for Iraqi Christians, through their organization Minority Humanitarian Foundation, a non-profit advocacy group for Christian **refugees**. "It was because of his help for the most vulnerable in Iraq."

In recent months, Masses at the St. Peter Chaldean Catholic Cathedral here are still mostly full, but frustration is widespread, said Father Michael J. Bazzi, who remains at the church.

Father Gorgis has become a symbol of that frustration with Baghdad, which also has imposed changes to the liturgy at the church here.

The recent service in Father Gorgis's backyard largely resembled a traditional Chaldean Mass: He spoke in a dialect of Aramaic, a language that Chaldeans have used for two millennia, and offered communion using wafers that someone had pilfered from the church.

Wasan Jarbo, who left Iraq 40 years ago, said she didn't want to break with the Chaldean church in Iraq—and has continued to also attend Mass at the cathedral—but wouldn't rule out a split.

"Here is where we have to preserve our identity, our liturgy, our language," Ms. Jarbo, 56, said, adding that the Chaldean community had started a language school, seminary and monastery here. "I love my country, but we cannot practice our faith freely there. There's a genocide."

Still, pieces of Americana were apparent at Father Gorgis's Mass. The younger attendees chatted in English before the service—not all of the second-generation **immigrants** could speak Aramaic. Bible verses were read in English, as well. A refrigerator was stocked with cans of Budweiser that had "America" emblazoned across them.

Michael O. Emerson, a sociology professor at Rice University who studies religion and ethnicity, said distinctive religious practice can be maintained in diaspora. But the traditions shift—and language fades—in a new environment.

"Religion and culture are so impacted by the surroundings," he said. "By the third generation, it's just so hard to preserve what it was like it in a different environment."

Bishop Ibrahim N. Ibrahim, a retired Chaldean bishop based in the Detroit area, has sometimes acted as a spokesman for Patriarch Sako in the U.S., including on the importance of maintaining Christendom in Iraq. But Bishop Ibrahim now believes Chaldeans can survive only in the U.S.

"Even the Chaldeans in Iraq feel it," he said. "If we're saying it, it's because we hear it from them."

Read more

\* For Many Christians in Middle East, Intimidation or Worse[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/for-many-christians-in-middle-east-intimidation-or-worse-1469573266] (July 26)

\* Iraq's Christians Take Up Arms to Fight Islamic State[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/iraqs-christians-take-up-arms-to-fight-islamic-state-1423017266] (Feb. 3, 2015)

\* Iraqi Christians' Dilemma: Stay or Go?[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/iraqi-christians-dilemma-stay-or-go-1412038110] (Sept. 29, 2014)

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Waves of **immigrants** coming into the U.S. in recent decades have helped the economy over the long haul and had little lasting impact on the wages or employment levels of native-born Americans, according to one of the most comprehensive studies yet on the topic.

The National Academies of Sciences, Engineering and Medicine report on **immigration** assesses the economic and fiscal impacts of **immigration**, offering a broad look at a phenomenon that has moved to the forefront of the presidential race, with both candidates debating the downsides and merits of **immigration**.

The conclusion runs counter to a popular narrative suggesting that **immigrants** take the jobs of U.S. citizens, though it does acknowledge some costs for segments of the population. It highlights research showing an influx of lower-skilled workers can lead to lower wages for earlier waves of **immigrants** and native-born high-school dropouts. And the study found that **immigration** can burden government finances, especially education budgets at the state and local levels.

The report, citing a lack of data, doesn't distinguish between the impacts of documented and undocumented **immigrants**.

The distillation of research and previously unavailable data offer a big-picture view that highlights the overarching benefits of **immigration** without discounting the dislocation and the fiscal costs associated with illegal and legal arrivals into the U.S.

"**Immigration** enlarges the economy while leaving the native population slightly better off on average, but the greatest beneficiaries of **immigration** are the **immigrants** themselves as they avail themselves of opportunities not available to them in their home countries," the report said.

**Immigration** also can lead to more innovation, entrepreneurship and technological change across the economy, the report found. About 53% of **immigrants** had at least some college, including 16% with a graduate education, as of 2012. While often left out of the debate on **immigration**, such workers can help lift overall living standards.

"The prospects for long run economic growth in the United States would be considerably dimmed without the contributions of high-skilled **immigrants**," the report said.

The study also found that "over a long time horizon (75 years in our estimates)," the fiscal impacts of **immigrants** "are generally positive at the federal level and negative at the state and local levels."

Much of the focus on **immigration** follows a significant jump in the foreign-born population and worries about illegal entry into the U.S.

The number of **immigrants** living in the country has risen to 42.3 million, or about 13% of the population in 2014, from 24.5 million, or 9% of the population in 1995. During the same period, the number of unauthorized **immigrants** roughly doubled, reaching 11.1 million in 2014, according to the study's findings. Since 2009, about 300,000 to 400,000 new unauthorized **immigrants** have arrived each year and about the same number have left.

One complaint of the researchers is the lack of granular government survey data allowing them to separate the effects of legal and illegal **immigrants**. Thus, isn't definitively clear if one segment of the **immigrant** population is having a greater impact on the economy or government budgets.

"With the existing data, it is possible to just get maybe the total number of unauthorized but not their impact in this area or that area," said Cornell University's Francine Blau, who, along with the National Academy of Science's Christopher Mackie, led the study. "We have specifically asked for more information on that."

The study, featuring more than 20 leading academics, is the first such broad look at **immigration** in nearly 20 years. Its timing coincides with a particularly heated discussion of the topic during the presidential race.

Republican candidate Donald Trump has made construction of a wall along the Mexican border[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/donald-trumps-mexico-trip-was-weeks-in-the-making-1472779067] his signature issue. He also has said he would step up deportation of illegal **immigrants** "arrested for any crime whatsoever."

Democrat Hillary Clinton is calling for an **immigration** overhaul[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/hillary-clinton-retains-lead-over-donald-trump-with-hispanic-voters-1474538405] that includes a pathway to citizenship for those already in the country.

In a Wall Street Journal/NBC News poll[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/hillary-clinton-leads-donald-trump-by-6-points-in-latest-wsj-nbc-poll-1474491609] released Wednesday, 54% of respondents said **immigration** helps the U.S. more than it hurts, a number slightly lower than in July but markedly higher than in polling over the past decade. A decade ago, for instance, just a slight plurality of the nation, 45% to 42%, saw **immigration** as a net positive.

The report doesn't delve into societal questions, such as the impact of a shift in the cultural or racial makeup of the U.S. It does encapsulate a range of research and data looking at benefits and costs of a population that has risen rapidly in recent decades.

Not all members of the panel who prepared the report see **immigration** as benign or entirely beneficial. Harvard University's George Borjas, in a series of dissenting blog posts, estimates that the fiscal burdens of **immigration** cancel out other economic benefits for native born Americans.

"The impact of **immigration** on the aggregate wealth of natives is, at best, a wash," Mr. Borjas said.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**CONGRESS

Agreement in Senate On Zika Funding

Republicans and Democrats in the Senate agreed on $1.1 billion in funding to combat the Zika virus as part of a stopgap spending bill needed to keep the government running beyond next Friday, but remain divided over whether to include assistance for Flint, Mich., in the deal.

Senate Majority Leader Mitch McConnell (R., Ky.) on Thursday introduced legislation that would keep the government funded through Dec. 9, but Democrats said they weren't ready to sign on to a bill that didn't address the drinking water crisis in Flint.

The new short-term spending bill marked some progress in the Senate, where lawmakers have been bitterly divided for months over how to allocate funding for Zika, a virus carried by mosquitoes that can infect humans.

While partisan sticking points remained on the bill, most lawmakers and aides expect the fight to end before the government's current funding expires at midnight on Sept. 30.

Kristina Peterson

TERRORISM

Wife of N.Y. Bomb Suspect Back in U.S.

The wife of Ahmad Khan Rahami, the man charged with detonating bombs[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/n-y-bombing-suspects-father-accused-him-of-being-a-terrorist-in-2014-1474396860] in New York and New Jersey, returned to the U.S. days after she voluntarily went to federal agents in the United Arab Emirates and gave them a statement, officials said.

Asia Bibi Rahami, who had traveled to Pakistan in June, isn't considered a suspect for now and isn't in custody, officials said. A government agent was on the commercial flight she took back to New York.

It wasn't clear why Ms. Rahami went to Pakistan. Authorities placed her on a no-fly list after her husband was identified as a suspect in the bombings, including a blast in Manhattan's Chelsea neighborhood [http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/chelsea-bombing-witnesses-sought-by-authorities-1474507662]that injured 31 people Saturday night.

Authorities are working to determine if anyone else knew about Mr. Rahami's plans or was aware he had been making bombs.[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/chelsea-bombing-witnesses-wanted-by-authorities-1474478760] They are also working to find out more about his path to radicalization.

Pervaiz Shallwani and Devlin Barrett

PRESIDENTIAL RACE

Clinton Keeps Wide Lead With Hispanics

Democrat Hillary Clinton is maintaining her lopsided lead among Hispanics, and Donald Trump remains widely disliked among this fast-growing slice of the electorate, a new Wall Street Journal/NBC News/Telemundo survey finds.

The survey of Hispanic voters shows that Mrs. Clinton has strong backing from an important part of the Democratic coalition at a time when she is struggling to retain support from young voters and questions are arising about her ability to duplicate President Barack Obama's overwhelming margins among African-American voters.

In a race that includes two third-party candidates, Mrs. Clinton wins 65% support among Hispanic likely voters, compared with Mr. Trump's 17%—a 48-point advantage. The survey included a larger sample of Hispanic voters than in most Journal/NBC News polls—some 300 respondents—to better understand the group's opinions.

That means she has a bigger lead with this group than President Obama enjoyed in 2012, when he beat Republican Mitt Romney by 44 points among Hispanic voters. That drubbing persuaded some Republican leaders that their party needed to do more to reach out to Hispanic voters.

The party wound up heading in the opposite direction, nominating a candidate who built his campaign on promises to end illegal **immigration** and limit some legal **immigration**.

Laura Meckler

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**SWITZERLAND

Parliament Moves Bill To End Rift With EU

Switzerland's lower house of parliament sought to defuse a conflict with the European Commission over efforts to restrict **immigration**. Parliamentarians backed measures for the country to make better use of the domestic workforce to help limit **immigration** and to seek the approval of Brussels if it wanted to take any additional corrective action.

Switzerland and Brussels have been at odds on the issue since February 2014, when the Swiss approved a referendum to limit **immigration**, effectively rejecting the European Union principle of the free movement of workers. The measure now goes to the Senate. Switzerland has until February to enact legislation to fulfill the referendum vote.

Parliament's actions indicate that the Swiss are seeking a compromise that would ensure its access to the massive EU market. EU officials say major hurdles must still be crossed for a deal to be reached.

Brian Blackstone

ROME

Mayor Pulls Plug on Olympics Bid

Rome's new antiestablishment mayor said she wouldn't back a bid for her city to host the 2024 Olympic Games, dealing what is likely to be a fatal blow to the capital's candidacy to stage the sporting event.

The move makes Rome the latest city to withdraw its support for a bid to host the Games.

Virginia Raggi, a member of Italy's 5 Star Movement who was elected in June, said the Games "would just bring further debts" to a heavily indebted city.

The movement has also argued that spending for the Games could fall victim to the nepotism and corruption that often plagues public works in Italy.

Italy's Olympics committee and Italian Prime Minister Matteo Renzi have said the city's candidacy would likely be withdrawn if the new mayor decided to yank her support.

Manuela Mesco

CANADA

Province's Schools Shut on Bomb Scare

All schools in the Canadian province of Prince Edward Island were evacuated early Wednesday after a faxed bomb threat, the national police force said.

The threat indicated bombs had been placed in a number of schools and would detonate sometime during the school day, the Royal Canadian Mounted Policesaid. The police said no suspect has yet been identified.

RCMP Sgt. Kevin Bailey said no bombs were discovered on school properties. He said the fax didn't identify specific schools.

Prince Edward Island is Canada's smallest province, with a population of about 150,000. Nearly 20,000 students attend 62 English and French public schools, according to provincial statistics.

The director of the public schools branch said he expected school operations would return to normal Thursday morning.

Judy McKinnon

BRAZIL

Reversal Sought on Zika-Spraying Decree

Brazil's attorney general recommended against using insecticide-spraying aircraft to combat mosquitoes amid Brazil's battle to control the spread of the Zika virus.

Attorney General Rodrigo Janot has asked Brazil's Supreme Court to reverse a presidential decree permitting such spraying, "because of the danger of immediate damage to ecosystems and the risk of human poisoning."

President Michel Temer signed the decree in June as part of a campaign to kill mosquitoes that spread the Dengue, Zika and Chikungunya viruses. Aerial spraying hasn't yet started.

The government hasn't said which pesticides would be permitted for aerial spraying, but they reportedly wouldn't include DDT, which is prohibited in Brazil.

There is no deadline for the Supreme Court to issue a ruling.

Rogerio Jelmayer

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**BERLIN—Hackers sought to infiltrate the computer systems of several German political parties this summer, officials said Wednesday, raising fears of foreign interference in the country's politics ahead of national elections next year.

A senior German counterespionage official informed two political parties and the lower house of parliament earlier this month that some of their email inboxes had been targeted by hackers with apparent ties to a foreign intelligence agency, according to a letter to one of the parties that was reviewed by The Wall Street Journal.

There was evidence a Russian hacker group known as APT28 carried out the attack, two officials familiar with the investigation said. Investigators have tied APT28 to cyberattacks last year on a French-language TV broadcaster and the German lower house of parliament, which forced the legislature to shut down its computer system for several days.

Germany's domestic intelligence agency has said[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/germany-points-finger-at-russia-over-parliament-hacking-attack-1463151250] the hacking group appears to be "steered by the Russian state."

A spokesman for the Russian Embassy in Berlin rejected the German officials' accusations, describing them as lacking evidence and as "stupidities born in the inflamed imagination of politicians."

"We have no information that would, even in the slightest measure, prove the involvement of Russian hackers in the described attacks," the spokesman, Sergey Belyaev, said in an email.

Officials said the cyberattack targeted the national headquarters of the opposition Left Party; Chancellor Angela Merkel's Christian Democrats in a state holding a regional election in March; and several dozen members of the lower house of parliament, the Bundestag.

The attack took place on Aug. 15 and 24, officials said, when emails that looked like they came from the North Atlantic Treaty Organization arrived in politicians' inboxes. The emails contained links to malicious websites that, if accessed, could have allowed the hackers to infiltrate the users' computer networks.

A Bundestag spokesman and the Christian Democrats in the state of Saarland said their security mechanisms had blocked the attack and they believed no data was stolen. A spokeswoman for the Left Party said she couldn't say for sure.

Nevertheless, the cyberattack underscored the potential for hackers to meddle with German politics at a particularly sensitive time. A populist, anti-**immigrant**party[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/germans-head-to-polls-in-test-of-merkels-refugee-policies-1457857810] has gained momentum in a string of state elections amid popular discontent with Ms. Merkel's acceptance of **refugees**.

The stakes will rise next year with elections in Saarland and two other states in the spring and the national election in the fall, in which Ms. Merkel might seek a fourth term.

"We're taking this attack very seriously," said Roland Theis, secretary-general of the Christian Democrats in Saarland. "In no way, however, are we going to let something like this intimidate us or influence or limit our actions."

German officials see this summer's disclosure of hacked Democratic National Committee emails[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/dnc-hack-fits-pattern-of-past-russian-meddling-1469469535] in the U.S. as an example of how foreign hackers could seek to interfere with elections. U.S. officials believe the attacks were also carried out by Russian hackers.

The German government's information security specialists have urged political parties to increase their cyberdefenses.

"Given the American events, it was important to me that the parties protect themselves from espionage," Arne Schönbohm, president of the Federal Office for Information Security, told the newspaper Süddeutsche Zeitung and public broadcasters NDR and WDR, which first reported on the attack.

Write to Anton Troianovski at anton.troianovski@wsj.com[mailto:anton.troianovski@wsj.com]

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**A South African policeman during clashes with students from the University of the Witwatersrand during a protest on Wednesday in Johannesburg against increases in university fees.

A man saves a toddler following an airstrike in the Qatarji neighborhood of the Syrian city of Aleppo on Wednesday.

Protesters overnight confront police on interstate I-85 after the death of a man who was shot by an officer on Tuesday in Charlotte, N.C.

Attendees lay hands and pray over Republican presidential nominee Donald Trump during the Midwest Vision and Values Pastors and Leadership Conference at the New Spirit Revival Center in Cleveland Heights, Ohio, on Wednesday.

President Rodrigo Duterte brandishes an obscene gesture as he speaks before local government officials in Davao City, in the southern Philippines, on Tuesday. He lashed out at the EU over a directive to its Manila delegation to closely monitor the ‘rule of lawlessness' declared by Mr. Duterte after a Sept. 2 bombing Davao City.

Migrants are helped from a dinghy by members of the German nongovernmental organization Jugend Rettet during a rescue operation off the Libyan coast in the Mediterranean Sea on Wednesday.

A woman is monitored for cholera at a clinic in Juba, South Sudan, on Aug. 27.

**Refugees** and migrants who want to return home are temporarily housed at the Amygdaleza pre-departure center in Athens on Wednesday. More than 60,000 migrants and **refugees** are stranded in transit in Greece.

Workers dress a 27-foot model of Kumbhakarna, younger brother of demon king Ravana, a Hindu mythological character, at a seven-day Health Wealth and Happiness carnival in Chandigarh, India, on Wednesday.

Defenders of English soccer club Chelsea fail to stop a shot by Shinji Okazaki of Leicester City during an EFL Cup Third Round match won by the Londoners, 4-2, at Leicester's King Power Stadium on Tuesday.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**CAIRO—At least 41 migrants died Wednesday when a rickety boat shared by nearly 600 passengers capsized near Egypt's Mediterranean Sea coast, according to officials cited by state media.

The boat sank some 112 miles north of Cairo, near the city of Kafr el Sheikh, officials said, as rescue efforts continued late into the afternoon. The official Middle East News Agency said 155 people had been rescued so far. The boat was believed to be heading to Italy, Maj. Gen. Mohamed Kharisa, head of the Criminal Investigation Department in neighboring al-Beheira province, told the official news agency.

People from Syria, Egypt, Sudan and other sub-Saharan nations have increasingly sought to migrate to Europe via Egypt. Routes through neighboring Libya, one of the most popular for migrants, are slowly becoming impassable due to security concerns caused by its civil conflict and efforts by international authorities to cut off the heavily trafficked corridors.

More than 300,000 migrants have crossed the Mediterranean Sea so far this year, according to the United Nations' **refugee** agency, the U.N. High Commissioner for **Refugees**.

Nearly 3,211 of those who embarked on the dangerous journey have died or are unaccounted for, it said.

The Mediterranean crossing from North Africa into Europe accounted for 78% of global migration deaths so far this year, according to the International Organization for Migration, or IOM, up 52% since 2014.

"New routes are also increasingly risky, particularly when boats depart from Egypt," the IOM said in a report last month. "The journey is longer, and search and rescue is often carried out further away from land."

In a speech at a U.N. plenary meeting in New York this week, Egyptian President Abdel Fattah Al Sisi said his government is moving closer toward completing legislation to combat illegal **immigration** from Egypt.

Illegal **immigration** attempts are regularly intercepted by the country's coastguard and navy.

Earlier this month, two boats carrying a total of about 440 migrants were foiled on takeoff by the country's navy, which regularly arrests both migrants and smugglers operating illegally.

Some 200 migrants are believed to have died in a shipwreck last month, when a fishing boat carrying as many as 600 people sank off the Libyan coast.

Tamer El-Ghobashy contributed to this article.

Related

\* EU Wants U.S. and Canada to Take In More **Refugees**[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/eu-wants-u-s-and-canada-to-take-in-more-refugees-1474178402]

\* Thousands Saved Off Coast of Libya[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/nearly-7-000-migrants-rescued-off-libyan-coast-1472559070]

\* Italian Navy Salvages Wreck of Sunken Migrant Boat Near Libya[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/italian-navy-salvages-wreck-of-sunken-migrant-boat-near-libya-1467199473]

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**BERLIN—German police said Wednesday they arrested a 16 year-old Syrian **refugee** with connections to Islamic State who had been planning a bomb attack, the latest in a series of arrests of suspected radical Islamists and terrorists among the over one million migrants that came to the country last year.

The teenager, who police didn't identify in keeping with German privacy laws, had radicalized in only a few months after coming to Germany with his family in January last year, Cologne's police chief Jürgen Mathies said in a press conference.

"This shows how fast a radicalization can unfold," Mr. Mathies said. "The teenager changed his behavior drastically in only three months."

Searches of the young man's cellphone found evidence that he had been in contact with a person connected to Islamic State living abroad, prosecutors and police said.

In such chat conversations, the young man had received instructions on how to build a bomb as well as information on where explosives should be placed to have an impact, senior Cologne prosecutor Ulf Willuhn said. He also discussed whether Islam allowed the killing of nonbelievers, Mr. Willuhn said.

The teenager expressed his "unmistakable readiness" to commit such an attack, said Klaus-Stephan Becker from the Cologne police. Police, however, had no indications that he had begun to buy any of the materials needed to make explosives, Mr. Mathies said.

The arrest follows several others[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/germany-arrests-3-syrians-over-terror-attack-plot-on-busy-dusseldorf-street-1464872522] lately of recently arrived **refugees** suspected of planning terrorist acts as well as two terror attacks this summer committed by **refugees**.

Recent opinion polls showed rising fears among voters about further attacks[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/german-police-raid-home-for-bomb-making-materials-1471448734] as well as widespread discontent[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/german-center-left-party-wins-berlin-state-election-1474215339] with Chancellor Angela Merkel's decision to let in hundreds of thousands of often undocumented migrants [http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/merkel-says-germany-wont-stop-accepting-refugees-muslims-1474288469]into the country last year without even the most cursory background check.

Security officials have been warning of the risk that terrorists might have entered Germany posing as **refugees**. Officials have also repeatedly warned that **refugees** could radicalize once in the country. Radical Islamists have been approaching **refugees** in and around asylum-seeker shelters[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/german-officials-warn-of-new-security-risk-local-extremists-recruiting-refugees-1448846681] and in mosques, including minors, intelligence officials have said.

The 16 year-old Syrian arrested in Cologne comes from a family of academics from Damascus, police said. He appears to have radicalized only over the summer months.

In June, **refugees** and helpers in the shelter where he lived in Cologne warned police that the young man had been behaving strangely. Police searched his phone back then and found only some pictures with some Islamic State content.

The family was then moved to another shelter and the father informed about de-radicalization programs. On Sept. 2, police was again warned by residents of the new shelter that the boy was isolating and disappeared all night. Police performed new checks but felt the teenager didn't pose a terror risk.

Then last Sunday, police received a third warning from a mosque in Cologne and other **refugees** in the shelter that the boy had been praying for hours in the mosque for the past two months and had been talking about connections to Islamic State.

Police finally arrested the young man in the shelter in Cologne on Tuesday, this time finding direct evidence of a link to Islamic State on his phone. A 35-strong task force is now continuing the investigation.

The arrest comes after police last week cracked down on a group of suspected Islamic State fighters[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/three-suspected-isis-fighters-detained-in-germany-1473761295] whom authorities believe were sent to Germany by the extremist group with a possible mandate to carry out attacks.

The men—aged 17, 18 and 26—had traveled to Germany with Syrian passports obtained from an illegal workshop in the Middle East that had also been used by militants involved in the November 13 attacks in Paris[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/paris-attacks-plot-was-hatched-in-plain-sight-1448587309], authorities said last week.

Security officials have been warning for months that authorities are still in the dark about many of the newcomers. Some 70% to 80% of the more than one million asylum seekers who came last year arrived without proper identification. In many cases, authorities lost track of migrants shortly after registering them.

Germany's criminal investigative agency BKA has so far received some 400 tips from **refugees** about alleged Islamic State militants among fellow newcomers. Some 60 of these have led to preliminary investigations.

Write to Ruth Bender at Ruth.Bender@wsj.com[mailto:Ruth.Bender@wsj.com]

Related

\* German Police Raid Islamic State Suspects, Detain **Refugee**[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/german-police-raid-islamic-state-suspects-detain-refugee-1470847022] (Aug. 10)

\* Tensions Rise in Germany Over **Immigration** in Wake of Attacks[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/tensions-rise-in-germany-over-immigration-in-wake-of-attacks-1469989963] (July 31)

\* Germany Arrests Three in Suspected Islamic State Plot to Attack Düsseldorf[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/germany-arrests-3-syrians-over-terror-attack-plot-on-busy-dusseldorf-street-1464872522] (June 2)

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Texas, which has absorbed the most **refugees** of any state, has threatened to stop facilitating their resettlement because of what it deems inadequate security checks, ratcheting up the controversy over **refugees**.

The move comes a week after the Obama administration said the U.S. will take more displaced people[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/president-obama-to-increase-refugees-admitted-to-u-s-by-30-1473818352] in the next year and months after the state's failed federal court challenge[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/settlement-of-syrian-refugees-in-the-u-s-accelerates-1468402205] of the administration's resettlement plans.

In a letter Wednesday to the director of the federal Office of **Refugee** Resettlement, Texas said that it would exit the **refugee** program by Sept. 30 unless Washington meets its demand that national security officials "ensure **refugees** do not pose a security threat."

Texas manages about $96 million in federal funds for services provided to **refugees**, who are resettled there with the assistance of nonprofits, such as the International Rescue Committee and a handful of faith-affiliated agencies.

If Texas cedes this administrative role, the U.S. government likely will partner with a resettlement agency that would disburse the money. Such an arrangement is in place in other states, including Tennessee.

Donna Duvin, the IRC's executive director in Dallas, said the agency "will stand ready to ensure these families have the services and support they need to rebuild their lives."

Texas, which received more than 7,000 **refugees** in the past year, has been at the forefront of states seeking to halt resettlement. A federal court ruled in June that Texas couldn't prevent the federal government from sending Syrians there.

The U.S. plans to receive 110,000 **refugees** in the fiscal year starting Oct. 1, up from 85,000 this year.

In a statement Wednesday, Texas Gov. Greg Abbott criticized that decision.

"Even with the inability to properly vet **refugees** from Syria and countries known to be supporters or propagators of terrorism, President Obama is now ineptly proposing a dramatic increase in the number of **refugees** to be resettled in the U.S.," he said.

The Office of **Refugee** Resettlement said services are provided "only after an individual successfully completes stringent security screenings, is granted **refugee**status by the Department of Homeland Security and is brought to the U.S. for resettlement by the State Department. This model for **refugee** resettlement will continue in Texas."

Aaron Rippenkroeger, chief executive of **Refugee** Services of Texas, a resettlement agency, noted that the U.S. accepts less than 1% of the world's **refugees**.

"Texas and the nation have enormous capacity to welcome more **refugees**, and this latest step by Gov. Abbott fails to recognize all that we have achieved and that which we can still do," he said.

Write to Miriam Jordan at miriam.jordan@wsj.com[mailto:miriam.jordan@wsj.com]

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**The Justice Department filed charges late Tuesday against bombing suspect Ahmad Khan Rahami[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/federal-charges-filed-against-n-y-terror-suspect-1474413754?tesla=y], saying that he ordered many of his explosive components online and raged in a journal against what he viewed as U.S. attacks on Muslims.

Mr. Rahami, who is suspected of setting off homemade bombs[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/u-s-attacks-stoke-unease-1474245394] in New York and New Jersey last weekend, including one in Manhattan's Chelsea neighborhood that injured 31 people, was captured[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/manhunt-snares-new-york-city-bomb-suspect-1474332233] on Monday after a gunfight with police in Linden, N.J. The charges filed in Manhattan federal court included use of weapons of mass destruction, bombing a public place, destruction of property using an explosive, and using an explosive in furtherance of a crime.

Nearly identical charges were filed against him by federal prosecutors in New Jersey Tuesday, though officials said they planned to try him first in New York.

The 13-page criminal complaint contains excerpts from a blood-soaked notebook found on the suspect after he was arrested. The writings—parts of which are difficult to read because pages are covered in the suspect's blood, officials said—suggest he was inspired by terrorists at home and abroad and looked to avenge a U.S. war on Muslims.

"You [US government] continue your [unintelligible] slaught[er] against the mujahidean be it Afghanistan, Iraq, Sham [Syria], Palestine," he wrote, according to the complaint. In another section of the notebook, he allegedly wrote that his guidance came from radical jihadist cleric Anwar al-Awlaki who "said it clearly attack the kuffar [nonbelievers] in their backyard."

Law-enforcement officials said the pocket-size journal shows Mr. Rahami was "looking for guidance" from people like Mr. Awlaki, who was killed by a U.S. drone strike[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/SB10001424052970204138204576602301252340820] in Yemen in 2011, but still serves as an inspirational figure to would-be terrorists in the West. In the notebook, he also praised Osama bin Laden, according to the complaint.

Officials said Mr. Rahami's writings also mention Islamic State, Boston marathon bombers[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/dzhokhar-tsarnaev-apologizes-before-being-sentenced-to-death-for-boston-bombing-1435170191] Dzhokhar and Tamerlan Tsarnaev, and Fort Hood gunman Nidal Hasan.

The court papers also show the Federal Bureau of Investigation recovered a video from an unidentified member of the Rahami family taken two days before the first bomb attack. In the video, Mr. Rahami is seen igniting incendiary material in his family's backyard in Elizabeth, N.J.

Meanwhile, the suspect's wife, Asia Bibi Rahami, voluntarily went to the FBI office in the United Arab Emirates and gave agents a statement, a law-enforcement official said on Tuesday. The U.A.E. embassy in the U.S. said she was traveling through the country, a Middle Eastern travel hub.

Beyond the notebook, investigators were trying to piece together other aspects of Mr. Rahami's background and possible motivation. In 2014, he was arrested for allegedly stabbing a brother and punching his sister in a New Jersey domestic dispute, officials said. When police responded to that incident, Mr. Rahami's father claimed his son was a terrorist, the officials added.

The local Joint Terrorism Task Force, which is run by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, opened an assessment in late August of that year. An assessment is akin to a review of an individual to see if there is anything suspicious about him, but it is not a full-throated criminal probe.

"We didn't think he had any connection, and we closed it. At the time, we did our due diligence, and there was nothing there," said one official.

Mr. Rahami's father, Mohammed Rahami, briefly discussed the probe with reporters outside his home Tuesday. "Two years ago, I go to the FBI because my son was doing really bad, OK?" he said. "But they check almost two months, they say, ‘He's OK, he's clean, he's not a terrorist.' I say, ‘OK.' "

The elder Rahami confirmed that the earlier FBI inquiry stemmed from a family fight, and he added that he had "no idea'' his son was allegedly plotting attacks.

During the 2014 inquiry, the father was interviewed twice, officials said. In the first interview, the elder Rahami said he was worried his son was hanging out with a bad crowd. When pressed by agents to explain what he meant, he said criminal types in the Elizabeth neighborhood where the family lived.

After that interview, counterterrorism investigators scoured their databases for anything that would link the son to terrorism, officials said. They found nothing. Agents then interviewed the father again and told him they had not found anything, at which point the father replied that he wasn't surprised. Agents pressed him further but took his answers to mean that he was recanting the terrorism accusation.

The younger Mr. Rahami was in jail on charges related to the family fight, and investigators didn't interview him, officials said. Local authorities eventually dropped the charges because the family declined to proceed with the case. The FBI's terrorism investigators also closed their case.

The fight with his family took place five months after Mr. Rahami returned from Afghanistan and Pakistan, officials said. He traveled to those countries in April 2013 and didn't return until March 2014, they said. On his return, he told U.S. agents that during his time away, he had driven back and forth between Afghanistan and Pakistan, officials said.

James Clapper, the U.S. Director of National Intelligence, speaking at an event hosted by the Washington Post, said there were as yet no known links between the bomber and overseas terrorist networks, but added the investigation was continuing. There is "no definitive evidence of any connection," Mr. Clapper said.

In Washington, a State Department spokeswoman couldn't disclose what type of visa Mr. Rahami was able to obtain for his wife that had allowed her to move to the U.S. from Pakistan in recent years. "Visa records are confidential" under the **Immigration** and Nationality Act, the spokeswoman said.

Obtaining the visa was a source of frustration for Mr. Rahami, who contacted his congressman, Democratic Rep. Albio Sires, in 2014, and pressed to see how to obtain the **immigrant** visa for her, the lawmaker said.

Mr. Rahami and his wife reportedly married in Pakistan, and his wife had trouble securing a visa because her passport had expired, according to Mr. Sires.

"We just send in a form letter. We get these requests all the time," he said.

Investigators also are trying to track down Mr. Rahami's family members outside the U.S. and determine whether the suspect's trips abroad may have played a role in his alleged radicalization or factored into his learning how to build bombs, officials said.

Friends said they noticed changes in Mr. Rahami and his family after they returned from a trip to Afghanistan two years ago. Flee Jones, who said he was a regular at the family's chicken restaurant, said while Mr. Rahami was still friendly and continued to give Mr. Jones free food, "we didn't talk as much as we usually had." Mr. Jones, 27, added, "He was more religious."

Andre Almeida, another self-described regular at the restaurant, said family members began wearing more traditional Muslim attire after the trip. "They would wear regular clothes just like us," said Mr. Almeida, 24. "Then came that transition," he said, adding, "After that, they weren't as friendly as they used to be, so I didn't come here as much."

Rep. Peter King (R., N.Y.), a member of the House Homeland Security panel, said investigators told him Mr. Rahami changed noticeably after returning from one of several trips he made to the Afghanistan and Pakistan region in recent years. "He seemed to be radicalized when he came back, very radical," Mr. King said. He said he heard that Mr. Rahami's "tone became more anti-American, more anti-West."

As the investigation has pressed on, Mr. Rahami has continued to receive treatment in a Newark hospital for gunshot wounds. He has been charged with attempted murder of police officers.

Officials said the suspect spent much of Monday in and out of consciousness while being treated and operated on for his wounds. Investigators would still like to talk to him as they try to determine if anyone provided assistance to him.

Damian Paletta, Asa Fitch, Mark Morales, Scott Calvert and Miriam Jordan contributed to this article.

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\* No Single Profile for ‘Lone Wolf' Attacker[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/experts-see-no-single-explanation-for-lone-wolf-terror-attacks-1474396268]

\* Suspect's Ex-Girlfriend Seeks Custody of Child[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/ex-girlfriend-of-ahmad-khan-rahami-seeks-sole-custody-of-their-child-1474416476]

\* Two Men in Terror Plots Are Sentenced[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/illinois-cousins-face-decades-in-prison-for-plot-to-aid-islamic-state-1474410574]

\* How Police Tracked Down Bombing Suspect Ahmad Khan Rahami[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/manhunt-snares-new-york-city-bomb-suspect-1474332233?tesla=y]

\* What We Know About the Explosions[http://graphics.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/what-we-know-about-the-explosion-in-new-york/]

\* Bomb Suspect's Life Offers Few Clues[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/ahmad-khan-rahami-suspect-in-new-york-bombing-known-as-reserved-1474333950]

\* Police Seek More Help in Terror Fight[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/police-seek-more-help-in-terror-fight-1474328187?tesla=y]

\* No Ties Found Between Mall Attacker and Islamic State[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/minnesota-mall-reopens-after-saturday-attack-1474305130]

\* Bombs, Stabbing Attacks Stoke Unease[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/u-s-attacks-stoke-unease-1474245394]

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**ZURICH—Switzerland's lower house of parliament on Wednesday appeared to defuse a potential conflict with the European Commission over the Alpine country's efforts to limit **immigration**.

In a series of votes, parliamentarians decided that Switzerland would make better use of its domestic workforce to limit **immigration**, and that it would seek the approval of Brussels if it wants to take any additional corrective action.

Switzerland and Brussels have been on a collision course since February 2014, when the Swiss narrowly approved a referendum to limit **immigration**.[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/SB10001424052702303874504579372732032698304]

The referendum was binding. But the government has some leeway in how to implement it. The measure now goes to the Senate, but Wednesday's vote indicates that the Swiss are seeking a compromise with the European Union that would ensure its access to the massive EU market.

The population of Switzerland has grown by 11% in the past 10 years, largely due to **immigration**. Reflecting unease over the influx, the anti-**immigration** Swiss People's Party strengthened gains in elections last year.

At a spirited debate that lasted several hours, backers of the referendum said the issue went to the heart of the country's democracy. But others countered that taking too hard of a line against Brussels would work against the Swiss economy. **Immigration** has been credited with helping to fuel economic growth and offsetting an aging population which puts strains on the pension system.

The Swiss parliament's vote follows high-level talks earlier this week between the EU and Switzerland aimed at resolving the standoff created by Swiss voters' 2014 rejection of free movement of workers from the EU.

Switzerland's economic ties to the EU are currently governed through dozens of bilateral agreements under which the Swiss enjoy access to Europe's huge single market of goods and some services in exchange for accepting some EU legislation. That includes an obligation to let in workers from EU countries.

Switzerland's 2014 referendum vote, which sought to place caps on EU **immigration**, put those ties at risk. As European Commission President Jean-Claude Juncker said on Monday, Britain's exit vote has further complicated the talks since any relaxation of Switzerland's obligation to accept free movement of workers could set a precedent in the U.K. talks.

Still, the EU is stepping up its efforts to find a compromise. Mr. Juncker stepped personally into the effort on Monday during a visit to see his Swiss counterpart. After the talks, Mr. Juncker said the two sides were moving "closer to each other."

"After this discussion I am more optimistic that I have been in recent weeks. Everything is moving in the right direction," he said. There will be follow up talks between the presidents late next month.

However privately, EU officials say time is tight and there are major hurdles to cross for a deal to be reached by the year-end target. Switzerland has until February 2017 to put in place legislation that would enact the referendum vote.

While Mr. Juncker said he was "okay" with the Swiss parliament's plans, EU officials say he made clear in private talks there are a number of caveats. The EUwon't accept steps to enhance the position of Swiss workers that exclude EU workers from those jobs. Even steps to make job postings more readily available to Swiss workers can't amount to making them inaccessible to their EU counterparts.

The EU is also pushing the Swiss to accept a broader framework agreement that would tie Switzerland's free movement obligations to other aspects of its EUrelationship. That would require Switzerland to accept future changes in some EU laws, a dispute resolution mechanism and EU court decisions in some areas.

Swiss leaders have so far rejected that.

Meanwhile, the EU is already trying to prevent any concessions it gives Switzerland from a future British demand for reciprocal treatment. Mr. Juncker framed Monday's talks as a search for a "Swiss specific" solution. However that is not selling even among the EU's other 27 governments. During recent discussions among senior EU government officials, there was real concern the Swiss negotiations would create precedents, diplomats say.

The freedom of movement issue was central to the U.K. referendum and will be a critical point in future talks. While the government of Theresa May is yet to trigger those talks or set out its exact demands on restricting EU **immigration**, EU officials and European leaders have warned Britain repeatedly it cannot win broad access to the single market without accepting EU workers.

Gabriele Steinhauser contributed to this article.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**UNITED NATIONS—World leaders gathered for the annual United Nations General Assembly on Tuesday, focusing on the war in Syria as an international disgrace, while calling terrorism and the flow of **refugees** the global challenge of their time.

French President François Hollande, whose country has been racked by terror strikes in recent months, called for international action against terrorist groups and cautioned that expressions of solidarity are insufficient.

"The risk here is a conflict that would be terrible and disastrous for the cohesion of our societies," Mr. Hollande said. He delivered a simple message on Syria: "I have one thing to say here: Enough is enough."

A succession of leaders acknowledged that the dominating issues of the assembly are interwoven: Instability in Syria, Iraq and Libya has strengthened terrorist groups, and that in turn has displaced millions of people. Together, diplomats said, these forces are threatening peace and security far beyond Syria and the region. But they offered few new ideas or plans.

"Unfortunately, the [Syria] cease-fire has failed, as you have clearly seen," said Turkey's President Recep Tayyip Erdogan.

U.N. Secretary General Ban Ki-moon, delivering his last speech on the world stage before he leaves the job in December, used unusually blunt terms in calling out Syria's government for its brutal treatment of its population.

He criticized the powerful patrons of warring factions, saying those "that keep feeding the war machine also have blood on their hands."

The plight of **refugees** has taken center stage here with two separate summits, one on Monday hosted by the U.N., and one on Tuesday hosted by President Barack Obama.

On Tuesday, 52 countries and international organizations pledged to increase donations about $4.5 billion over the amount in 2015, and double the number of **refugees** resettled in their nations. They also pledged to help **refugees** find employment and to fund education for one million **refugee** children globally.

The U.N. Security Council came under scrutiny for not resolving conflicts, remaining split on key issues from North Korea to Syria and being dominated by five powers that, in the view of many members states, don't reflect the reality of the world order today.

"Security Council should not be a theater for fools, in other words a place where each evades their responsibility and impedes the work of the Security Council," said France's Mr. Hollande.

Mr. Erdogan urged member states to speak out about reforming the Security Council and expanding the number of veto-wielding permanent members, a move long sought by the world's newer powers. Mr. Ban has also supported such reform, but it would require the majority vote of all member states.

"Please do not even consider remaining silent," said Mr. Erdogan. "We have to speak up and have a spine."

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Facing an impending expiration, a controversial federal program designed to attract wealthy **immigrants** has federal lawmakers at an impasse, leaving its long-term future uncertain.

A key provision of the EB-5 program, which gives permanent U.S. residency to foreigners who invest at least $500,000 in certain businesses, is due to lapse Sept. 30, although Congress on Tuesday appeared to be ready to give it a short-term extension until after the presidential election.

The program has surged in popularity in recent years among real-estate developers who have tapped it to help finance some of the most high-profile projects in the U.S., including the giant Hudson Yards development rising on the west side of Manhattan. The main draw is the low-cost loans provided by the foreign investors—who are mostly from China—which can save the developers tens of millions to hundreds of millions of dollars in borrowing costs.

But the program has drawn criticism. Allegations of fraud have marred numerous projects that have left investors with neither their money nor a visa amid loose regulations, including a high-profile Vermont ski resort. In addition, the program has become dominated by high-end developments in prosperous urban neighborhoods that are using a piece of the program meant for rural and high-unemployment neighborhoods. This practice, known as gerrymandering because the developers draw special districts that link their projects with high-unemployment neighborhoods that are sometimes miles away, has made it harder to raise money in economically struggling areas, EB-5 professionals say.

Congressional lawmakers have reached an accord on measures to limit fraud. But for the past year, the urban developers and their allies in congress, mainly Sen. Charles Schumer (D., N.Y.) and Sen. John Cornyn (R., Texas), have beat back attempts to redefine the benefit so many of the high-end skyscrapers can't qualify.

Mr. Schumer has said the investments create jobs throughout cities, suggesting there was no need to distinguish between poor Bronx neighborhoods and Midtown Manhattan. Other key lawmakers, including the Democratic and Republican leaders of the Judiciary committees in both the Senate and the House, disagree and have been holding out in an attempt to block the urban developers from dominating the program.

A bill introduced in the House of Representatives earlier this month would have reserved 4,000 of the 10,000 EB-5 visas awarded annually for projects in rural and low-income census tracts.

"The facts make it clear that this program is in desperate need of statutory and regulatory reform," Rep. Bob Goodlatte (R., Va.) said in a statement announcing the bill.

Many developers are pushing for fewer restrictions, and any compromise still seems far off.

Multiple other ideas to bridge the gap have been floated, but few have gained traction. Among them, proposals include increasing the number of visas, restricting the benefit for rural and high-unemployment areas to only areas suffering from very high poverty.

Meanwhile, for the first time in years, the popularity of the program appears to be waning. While **immigrant** investor applications reached an all-time high of 14,373 in the federal fiscal year that ended last September, investor applications in the first nine months of this fiscal year were just 8,638, on pace for a big annual drop.

The slowdown has been attributed to a number of factors including the uncertainty over renewal as well as the yearslong waiting list that has formed for the program, which reached its 10,000 visa capacity for the first time in 2014.

On top of that, a slowdown in the Chinese economy and a government crackdown on moving money out of China have hurt demand, said Nicholas Mastroianni II, chief executive of the U.S. **Immigration** Fund, one of the larger companies that works with developers to secure EB-5 investors.

"It's a combination of the unpredictability" and economic factors, he said. ‘We see a softening in the market."

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Property Report

\* Once-Ignored Properties Get a Second Look in Australia[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/once-ignored-properties-gain-favor-in-australia-1474377664]

\* Blackstone Bets Big on Logistics[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/blackstone-bets-big-on-logistics-1474392768]

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**The number of **immigrants** unlawfully in the U.S. has been steady at 11 million since the end of the Great Recession, while the undocumented Mexican population continues to shrink, according to a study released Tuesday.

The multiyear trend marks a reversal of the migratory tide that for decades provided workers for key sectors of the U.S. economy. It's a turning point that is affecting employers in agriculture and construction, which are reporting labor shortages as those businesses added jobs amid the economy's recovery.

The Pew Research Center, which analyzed census data, concluded that the leveling off of the illegal population since 2009 is a direct consequence of the decline in the number of Mexicans who are undocumented. The trend was offset only by a rise in undocumented **immigrants** from Central America, Asia and Africa.

Some **immigrants** from distant countries fly to the U.S., enter legally and overstay their visas.

Illegal **immigration**, a central issue in the presidential campaign, peaked at 12.2 million in 2007. It was 11.1 million in 2014, roughly the same as 11.3 million in 2009, according to the report.

In 2007, there were 6.9 million undocumented Mexicans in the U.S. In 2014, Mexicans still represented the majority of the nation's illegal **immigrants**, but their number had dropped to 5.8 million.

In the states where the overall undocumented population slipped in the past five years, including California, Georgia and Illinois, the decline in undocumented Mexicans was the main factor.

"We see a continued drop in the Mexican unauthorized **immigrant** population," said Jeff Passel, the center's senior demographer. "That's in contrast to the late '90s and early 2000s, when their number was growing very, very fast," at the rate of several hundred thousand each year.

Meanwhile, the number of undocumented **immigrants** from other parts of the world has grown by 325,000 since 2009, to 5.3 million in 2014. For example, illegal **immigration** from India reached 500,000 in 2014, up 130,000 in five years.

The Border Patrol reports an increase in the number of illegal entries by what it calls OTMs—people from places other than Mexico. Central Americans constitute the largest group among them. Poverty and violence in El Salvador, Honduras and Guatemala continue to drive people north.

In Mexico, economic pressures that pushed people to seek a future in the U.S. have subsided. Chief among them is the advent of smaller families, which means fewer mouths to feed. Drug cartels operating on migratory routes, beefed-up border patrols and the steep price, often more than $10,000, charged by human smugglers also discourage migration.

**Immigrant** workers who returned willingly or were deported to their home countries during the recession, or who have retired in recent years, aren't being replaced by new arrivals or young Americans.

Indeed, since 2007, there have been more Mexican **immigrants** leaving the U.S. for Mexico than coming here from there, said Mr. Passel, the researcher. Those departures have been both voluntary and involuntary. The Obama administration has deported hundreds of thousands of people each year, more than any other administration.

The Pew report said the recession reduced employment in construction and other sectors where Mexican **immigrants** overall are especially likely to work. But as the economy has recovered, those sectors have begun to feel the impact of the decline in Mexican workers. Agriculture, construction and service concerns across the country are reporting chronic labor shortages. Agriculture is one of the hardest hit.

The impact is being felt even in border states[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/the-thorny-economics-of-illegal-immigration-1454984443] like California, which for years could count on a steady flow of migrant workers.

"I don't think there is a farming company in Ventura County that is not very short of labor," said Guillermo Magdaleno, a farm-labor contractor who supplies workers to citrus and avocado growers in Southern California.

A Northern California union that represents construction workers said many builders in the San Francisco Bay area are desperate.

"They need carpenters, electricians, plasterers, everything," said Josué Garcia, chief of the Santa Clara & San Benito Counties Building & Construction Trades Council.

Mr. Magdaleno said he began having trouble meeting demand for field workers about three years ago. His business has had to forfeit clients. Last year, one of his largest customers lost 80,000, 50-pound boxes of lemons due to a dearth of labor.

Radio stations and staffing agencies in the area advertise jobs heavily during the harvest but there is nary a taker among Americans, said Mr. Magdaleno. "I have been trying to recruit from everywhere, wherever I can find bodies," he said.

Last season, lemon pickers averaged $20 an hour. "It's a good job but it's physically intensive," said the 63-year-old who started picking fruit when he was 12. "Your kids and my kids don't want to do it."

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Read more

\* After Bombings, Clinton Calls for Vigilance, Trump for Tightening **Immigration**[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/after-bombings-clinton-calls-for-vigilance-trump-for-tightening-immigration-1474301672] (Sept. 19)

\* More Than 800 **Immigrants** Mistakenly Granted Citizenship[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/more-than-800-immigrants-mistakenly-granted-citizenship-1474310412] (Sept. 19)

\* Opponents of Arizona's **Immigration** Law Agree to End Lawsuit[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/opponents-of-arizonas-immigration-law-agree-to-end-lawsuit-1473993904] (Sept. 15)

\* **Immigration** Source Shifts to Asia From Mexico[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/immigration-source-shifts-to-asia-from-mexico-1473205576] (Sept. 7)

\* Phoenix Approves City Identification Card for Undocumented **Immigrants**, Others[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/phoenix-approves-city-identification-card-for-undocumented-immigrants-others-1472691491] (Aug. 31)

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**UNITED NATIONS—President Barack Obama, in his final address to the United Nations General Assembly, called on world leaders to eliminate a paradox that he says has taken shape during his terms in office: a world more prosperous than at any time in recent history, yet rife with political and security crises.

That dynamic, he said Tuesday, has fueled the conflict in Syria[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/syria-cease-fire-in-trouble-as-international-syria-support-group-meets-1474354934] and the spread of Islamic State[http://graphics.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/islamic-state-and-its-affiliates/], two major security challenges that emerged during his tenure and will be handed over to his successor. It has created a Middle East where "basic order has broken down," he said, and is reflected in Russia's "attempting to recover lost glory through force."

To reverse the trend, Mr. Obama said, world leaders need to make a "course correction" in which nations address an approach to globalization that has ignored the inequities it has generated and exposed "deep fault-lines in the existing international order."

"A quarter-century after the end of the Cold War, the world is by many measures less violent and more prosperous than ever before, and yet our societies are filled with uncertainty and unease and strife," he said. "As people lose trust in institutions, governing becomes more difficult and tensions between nations become more quick to surface."

Mr. Obama's speech comes as his foreign-policy approach is being tested by the latest breakdown[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/death-toll-rises-in-syria-aid-convoy-attack-1474370636] of a cease-fire agreement on Syria, negotiated between the U.S. and Russia, and by a series of terrorism incidents[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/u-s-attacks-stoke-unease-1474245394] over the weekend in New York, New Jersey and Minnesota.

The president didn't mention either news development in his remarks. Instead, he presented a broad look at the global landscape and his foreign-policy legacy, touting the Iran nuclear deal and restoration of U.S. relations with Cuba, and offered a four-pronged prescription for world leaders to confront global challenges after he leaves office in January.

The "areas where I believe we must do better together," he said, are creating a fairer global economy, enhancing democratic governance, rejecting fundamentalism and racism, and increasing international cooperation.

Mr. Obama took a veiled political swipe at Republican presidential contender Donald Trump. People in some countries—even in the U.S.—react to globalization by resorting to ethnic politics, "aggressive nationalism" and religious fundamentalism. "We cannot dismiss these visions. They are powerful. They reflect dissatisfaction among too many of our citizens," he said, but added: "Today, a nation ringed by walls would only imprison itself."

He did so again at a **refugee** summit later in the day, warning against allowing pressures of the global **refugee** crisis to provoke tensions or political demagoguery.

Turning away **refugees** who are Muslim would reinforce terrorist propaganda that countries like the U.S. oppose Islam, he said, "which is an ugly lie that must be rejected in all of our countries by upholding the values of pluralism and diversity."

Mr. Trump has proposed a temporary halt to allowing **refugees** from certain conflict zones.

**Refugees** pose a "crisis of epic proportions," Mr. Obama said, noting more than 65 million people have been driven from their homes, more than any time since World War II.

Mr. Obama held up international cooperation as an approach he said led to some of his top foreign-policy achievements, such as addressing the economic crisis.

Yet, some of the major policy initiatives he outlined as top priorities during his first U.N. General Assembly address in 2009 got scant mention.

Mr. Obama then spotlighted a peace agreement between the Israelis and Palestinians as critical. On Tuesday, he said simply that "surely, Israelis and Palestinians will be better off if Palestinians reject incitement and recognize the legitimacy of Israel, but Israel recognizes that it cannot permanently occupy and settle Palestinian land."

While he highlighted his efforts on nuclear nonproliferation, namely the Iran deal, Mr. Obama mentioned the expanded threat of North Korea in passing. "When North Korea tests a bomb, that endangers all of us," he said.

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Read More

\* Theresa May to Reaffirm U.K.'s Global Outlook at U.N. [http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/theresa-may-to-reaffirm-u-k-s-global-outlook-in-u-n-speech-1474384209]

\* At U.N., Hollande, Erdogan Decry Failures[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/at-u-n-frances-francois-hollande-turkeys-recep-tayyip-erdogan-decry-failures-1474423852]

\* For Obama in Final U.N. Address, Some Unfinished Business[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/obama-in-final-un-address-as-president-faces-tests-1474365606]

\* Bombs in New York and New Jersey, Stabbing Attacks in Minnesota Stoke Unease[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/u-s-attacks-stoke-unease-1474245394]

\* Syria Cease-Fire Falters as International Support Group Meets for Crisis Talks[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/syria-cease-fire-in-trouble-as-international-syria-support-group-meets-1474354934]

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**ATHENS—Authorities on the Greek island of Lesbos were rushing to accommodate several thousand asylum seekers Tuesday after a fire burned down much of the housing at the island's main **refugee** camp.

Spokespeople at the Lesbos mayor's office and police station said they hadn't heard of any injuries during the fire, which forced the evacuation of around 4,000 people from the Moria **refugee** camp late Monday and caused extensive damage to the camp's housing.

The mayor's office said some people were moved to other accommodations on the island, with priority given to pregnant women, families and unaccompanied minors. Other asylum seekers had to spend the night outdoors.

One police official said most of Moria's inhabitants were back at the camp Tuesday and tents would be erected to give them temporary shelter.

As a backup plan, Greek authorities will charter one or two ferries to help accommodate **refugees**, a government official said. Greece's shipping ministry is expected to publish in coming days a tender offer to ferry companies.

The fire, put out during the night, is believed to have been started during protests at the camp by asylum seekers frustrated at the time it is taking to process their asylum claims.

The outbreak of violence comes after world leaders gathered[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/world-leaders-discuss-refugee-crisis-1474305830] at a United Nations summit on **refugees** Monday in a bid to share the burden of housing and educating them in coming years.

Local officials said the damage to many of the prefabricated houses would worsen an already severe problem of overcrowding on Lesbos, where some 5,700 **refugees** and other migrants are living in facilities designed for only 3,500 people.

Police on Lesbos said they are have arrested nine asylum seekers and are looking for another 18 suspects in connection with fighting that broke out among migrants Monday.

Overcrowding on Lesbos and other Greek islands near the Turkish coast has grown more severe since March, when a deal between[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/eu-turkey-talks-dial-down-risk-to-migration-deal-1472906150] the European Union and Turkey to stem migration turned the islands into processing centers.

**Refugees** and other migrants who land on the islands must now wait in camps such as Moria while Greek authorities decide on their asylum claims. The EU-Turkey deal envisages that most migrants who have arrived since March 20 would be sent back to Turkey.

But delays in setting up the process[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/new-procedures-on-greek-island-of-lesbos-speed-migrant-passage-1441714563] have left thousands stuck on the Aegean islands for months. On the nine affected islands, some 13,600 people are in facilities whose intended capacity is only 7,450.

The International Rescue Committee's country director in Greece, Panos Navrozidis, said that Moria serves as a stark reminder to world leaders of the need to overhaul what he called "flawed and deeply questionable policies."

"The systems put in place under the EU-Turkey deal to process their asylum claims and determine their future are opaque and inconsistent. Preferential treatment based on nationality has led to tensions within the community," said Mr. Navrozidis in a statement, referring to tensions between Syrians and other groups such as Afghans.

Frustrations about the delays and sometimes squalid living conditions are leading to increasing protests by, and tensions between, migrants.

Many locals on Lesbos and other islands want the Greek government to take some of the migrants to the mainland. "We have asked for mass transportation to other locations," said an official at the Lesbos mayor's office. "We needed decongestion even before the fire."

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**The world has been unsettled by a surge in forced migration. Tens of millions of people are on the move, fleeing their home countries in search of a better life abroad. Some are escaping civil war or an oppressive regime; others are forced out by extreme poverty, lured by the possibility of economic advancement for themselves and their families.

Our collective failure to develop and implement effective policies to handle the increased flow has contributed greatly to human misery and political instability—both in countries people are fleeing and in the countries that host them, willingly or not. Migrants are often forced into lives of idle despair, while host countries fail to reap the proven benefit that greater integration could bring.

Governments must play the leading role in addressing this crisis by creating and sustaining adequate physical and social infrastructure for migrants and **refugees**. But harnessing the power of the private sector is also critical.

Recognizing this, the Obama administration recently launched a "Call to Action" asking U.S. companies to play a bigger role in meeting the challenges posed by forced migration. Today, private-sector leaders are assembling at the United Nations to make concrete commitments to help solve the problem.

In response, I have decided to earmark $500 million for investments that specifically address the needs of migrants, **refugees** and host communities. I will invest in startups, established companies, social-impact initiatives and businesses founded by migrants and **refugees** themselves. Although my main concern is to help migrants and **refugees** arriving in Europe, I will be looking for good investment ideas that will benefit migrants all over the world.

This commitment of investment equity will complement the philanthropic contributions my foundations have made to address forced migration, a problem we have been working on globally for decades and to which we have dedicated significant financial resources.

We will seek investments in a variety of sectors, among them emerging digital technology, which seems especially promising as a way to provide solutions to the particular problems that dislocated people often face. Advances in this sector can help people gain access more efficiently to government, legal, financial and health services. Private businesses are already investing billions of dollars to develop such services for non-migrant communities.

This is why money now moves instantaneously from one mobile wallet to another, drivers find customers by using only a cellphone, and how a doctor in North America can see a patient in Africa in real time. Customizing and extending these innovations to serve migrants will help improve the quality of life for millions around the world.

All of the investments we make will be owned by my nonprofit organization. They are intended to be successful—because I want to show how private capital can play a constructive role helping migrants—and any profits will go to fund programs at the Open Society Foundations, including programs that benefit migrants and **refugees**.

As longtime champions of civil society, we will be focused on ensuring that our investments lead to products and services that truly benefit migrants and host communities.

We will also work closely with organizations such as the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for **Refugees** and the International Rescue Committee to establish principles to guide our investments. Our goal is to harness, for public good, the innovations that only the private sector can provide.

I hope my commitment will inspire other investors to pursue the same mission.

Mr. Soros is chairman of Soros Fund Management LLC and founder of the Open Society Foundations.

Related Articles

\* Review & Outlook: Europe's Migration Coma[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/europes-migration-coma-1457106079]

\* Review & Outlook: All Donald's **Immigrants**[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/all-donalds-immigrants-1469227552]

\* Review & Outlook: Those Assimilating **Immigrants** [http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/those-assimilating-immigrants-1444259573]

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Major U.S. companies have pledged to offer money, technology and training worth about $650 million to address the global **refugee** crisis, saying the enormity of the problem requires more than government action.

During a summit on **refugees** Tuesday, some 50 businesses, including TripAdvisor, HP Inc., Google Inc. and others, announced commitments intended to bolster educational and employment opportunities for **refugees** in more than 20 countries, including the U.S.

The companies have joined with nonprofits, such as the International Rescue Committee, that are working in countries like Syria and **refugee** camps in the Middle East, Africa and Europe. About half of Syria's population has been displaced since war erupted there in 2011.

In an emergency, "our private partners can work faster than governments," said Amanda Seller, a senior vice president at New York-based IRC, one of nine agencies resettling **refugees** in the U.S.

In the U.S., where **refugees** get government assistance for eight months, businesses can be key in promoting economic integration, she said.

The summit occurred as the issue of what to do with the world's 65 million displaced people has become a divisive issue in the U.S. and elsewhere in the West. Security around the annual U.N. General Assembly has been extra tight after a string of bombings in the New York-New Jersey area. A suspect in the attacks, an Afghan-born U.S. citizen, was capturedMonday.

Last week, the U.S. said it would increase to 110,000 the number of **refugees** it will resettle in the fiscal year starting Oct. 1, up from 85,000 last year and 70,000 each of the previous two years.

President Barack Obama, who is hosting Tuesday's **refugee** summit, rallied other countries and Big Business to help tackle the crisis.

Images of Syrians fleeing for their lives spurred TripAdvisor to launch a campaign last year that raised $1.4 million for emergency aid.

As part of a new $5 million commitment over three years, TripAdvisor will fund job training for **refugees** in the U.S. It will fund youth education in Greece, where thousands of families are waiting in camps for their asylum cases to be adjudicated. The company is also paying to expand a project that Google launched last year, **RefugeeInfo**.eu, which provides information to **refugees** on the move.

"We are obligated as leaders in the private sector to do everything we can," said Steve Kaufer, TripAdvisor chief executive.

Since last year, Google's philanthropic arm has committed $16.5 million to humanitarian aid as well as to fund internet connectivity and educational programs. On Tuesday, it announced that it is donating $1 million to actor George Clooney's foundation to educate Syrian **refugee** children.

In an online campaign, Airbnb has committed to match every donation made, up to $1 million, to the U.N.'s **refugee** agency through year-end. It announced it is launching a pilot program in the U.S. to identify hosts in the U.S. willing to temporarily accommodate **refugees**.

HP is committing more than $1 million in technology and training for **refugees** in the coming year. With fellow tech giants Microsoft Corp. and Intel Corp., it is establishing centers in Jordan and Lebanon that will offer business and computer courses.

Separately, the company is working on a pilot program in Turkey that will make online freelance opportunities available to **refugees**, and it is supporting the launch of new tech centers in Jordan to train **refugees** in app design and other technical online work.

J.P. Morgan Chase & Co., Goldman Sachs Group Inc. and Western Union Co. are among firms in the financial sector that have donated millions for medical care, food and other essentials for **refugees**.

The companies also see a business opportunity in helping **refugees**.

Starwood Hotels & Resorts Worldwide Inc. has a partnership with the IRC in 19 cities to hire **refugees**, and its Starwood Foundation will launch a pilot hospitality training program in Dallas and San Diego. The move "increases our talent pipeline," said Kristin Meyer, associate director of community partnerships.

Last year, MasterCard Inc. began supplying prepaid debit cards to Portland, Ore.-based Mercy Corps, which is using them to distribute cash assistance to **refugees** in Greece. **Refugees** use the plastic money to pay for food, medication and other items.

"We believe that a corporate entity can do well and do good at the same time," said Paul Musser, a MasterCard executive. He wouldn't disclose how much the company had invested in the venture but said it had not turned a profit.

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Related

\* Legal **Immigration** Programs Draw More Scrutiny in Congress[http://blogs.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/washwire/2016/09/20/legal-immigration-programs-draw-more-scrutiny-in-congress/]

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**A scanning electron-microscope image of tardigrade Ramazzottius varieornatus. Tardigrades are microscopic creatures that are among the most resilient animals on Earth. In a new paper, Japanese researchers found that a protein unique to tardigrades offered some protection to human DNA that was subjected to radiation.

Damaged aid trucks after Monday's airstrike on the rebel-held Urm al-Kubra town, in the Syrian province of Aleppo.

Models parade on a catwalk in Yellow River Stone Forest for French fashion designer Pierre Cardin in northeastern China.

Migrants stand among the remains of a burned tent on the Greek island of Lesbos. A fire ripped through the island's main **refugee** camp late Monday.

Sen. Elizabeth Warren (D., Mass.) questions Wells Fargo Chief Executive John Stumpf, who appeared before the Senate Banking Committee. The bank was fined $185 million earlier this month for 'widespread illegal' sales practices.

Fishing boats heading out to sea to catch crabs, in China's northeastern Liaoning province.

New Yorkers pass a shattered storefront window on West 23rd Street in Manhattan. The window was hit by shrapnel from the bomb that exploded across the street Saturday evening.

Israeli army soldiers arrest a Palestinian following scuffles during raids on houses in the West Bank city of Hebron.

A Yemeni inspects a damaged house after it was targeted by an airstrike, allegedly led by Saudi Arabia. According to reports, historic areas of the capital San'a were hit, with the airstrikes killing one civilian and injuring others.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Corrections & Amplifications:

The graphic that appeared with an earlier version of this story showed births outside of marriage, as a share of all births to women of a given education level; children living with a single parent, as a share of all children living with parents of a given education level; and adults who reported never spending time with their neighbors as a share of all adults of a given education level. The labels didn't make clear which groups each graph compared. (Sept. 20, 2016)

READING, Pa.—This coal and steel region was thriving when Gary Martin started working construction sites in the mid-1970s. Ironworkers jammed the local union hall, the union sponsored a big picnic each spring, and business groups were flush with volunteers for charity drives.

Mr. Martin's extended family attended church, as it had for generations, in an area called Irish Valley in neighboring Schuylkill County. Two-parent families were the norm, and fatal drug overdoses were so rare that some county coroners didn't bother tallying them.

No longer. Working-class neighborhoods, in particular white ones hit hard by the decline of the U.S. industrial base, are crumbling under the weight of deepening social problems.

Mr. Martin, 63 years old, retired last year as head of Ironworkers Local 420 but financially supports three grandsons—22, 21 and 19—because his daughter became an addict. The oldest grandson turned to heroin, too, and Mr. Martin and his wife got divorced in another casualty of the stress, they say.

"Rather than spending my retirement half-time in Ireland as I planned, I moved back to the house with a dirt-floor basement where I grew up to try to help raise my grandchildren," he says.

The buckling of social institutions fundamental to American civic life is deepening a sense of pessimism and disorientation, while adding fuel to this year's rise of political populists[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/in-adjacent-pennsylvania-counties-republicans-are-split-on-donald-trump-1463445389] like Donald Trump and Bernie Sanders.

Here and across the U.S., key measures of civic engagement ranging from church attendance to civic-group membership to bowling-league participation to union activity are slipping. Unlocked doors have given way to anxiety about strangers. In Reading, tension between longtime white residents and Hispanic newcomers has added to the unease.

For Mr. Martin, social and economic setbacks led him to support Mr. Sanders, who he figured would stick it to the big businesses Mr. Martin feels have sold out working people. Other people here find resonance in Mr. Trump's message[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/team-recasts-trumps-tv-image-1473807844] that the U.S. has skidded so far off course that it needs to lock out **immigrants** and block imports to recover an era of greatness.

"When you lose the family unit and you lose the church community, you are losing a whole lot," says Bonnie Stock, a retired teacher in Reading and Trump supporter, who says the church where she was baptized is dying from lack of young members. "People are looking at Trump because most of us see this [country] isn't working," she says.

Ms. Stock figures Mr. Trump's business experience would help him better attack societal problems like drug addiction.

Across the U.S., the Republican presidential nominee has his firmest support among the white working class[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/hillary-clinton-donald-trump-contest-expands-to-new-battlegrounds-1473591782]. In the Republican primaries, he carried all but nine of the country's 156 counties where at least 85% of the adult population was whites without four-year college degrees. Mr. Trump won 64% of the vote in Berks and Schuylkill counties, where noncollege whites were 66% of the adult population as of 2014.

In Berks County, once famous for the Reading Railroad stop on the Monopoly board game, social ills have been exacerbated by a 30% decline in manufacturing jobs and 6% fall in inflation-adjusted median income since 1995.

In 2014, 55.2% of the white women in Berks County who gave birth hadn't finished college and were unmarried, up from 16.5% in 1980, according to Bowling Green State University's National Center for Family and Marriage Research. Single mothers had a median income of just $22,378 in 2014, less than half that of the typical household in Berks County and the U.S. overall.

Gustave Meyer III, who oversees Lions clubs in Berks County, says members try to help some single parents with food, rent and utilities, but it's tough because the district's membership has declined 43% to 1,284 from 2,251 in the past 20 years, while the community's needs have grown.

To attract new members, the Lions club district has done away with mandatory meeting requirements and waived initiation fees for veterans.

Ruth Gonzalez, 44, is getting help from the Lions Club in trying to renegotiate the two mortgages on her house, which is facing foreclosure. She fell behind on her payments because of mounting medical bills for her wheelchair-bound, 18-year-old son and repair costs for the van she uses to transport him.

She earns $11.75 an hour as a sewing-machine operator and is estranged from her husband.

The number of civic, professional and business organizations in Berks and Schuylkill counties declined to 131 in 2014 from 156 in 2000, according to Pennsylvania State University's Northeast Regional Center for Rural Development. The number of unions and other labor groups fell to 29 from 41.

Some economists say the decline of institutions that fortify communities has a negative impact on household income. Without the strong support system from those networks, known as social capital, some people miss work more often during times of need, and their children have fewer extracurricular activities and other ways to get ahead.

For decades, Pottsville, a Reading suburb of about 14,000 people where the coal economy has evaporated, has relied on a volunteer fire department. Fire Chief Todd March says the number of active firefighters has shrunk to about 120 from 400 in 2000 because training requirements increased and stressed-out volunteers, juggling work and family demands, didn't have time to fight fires.

About 15 years ago, five of the eight fire companies in Pottsville hosted annual block parties with amusement-park rides, beer and hot dogs to raise money and cement neighborhood ties. Now just one fire company is carrying on the tradition, Mr. March says.

"It's hard getting volunteers, and people don't have money to spend," he says.

At Pottsville's Kiwanis and Rotary clubs, membership is down by more than half since 2000. Three other Kiwanis clubs nearby have closed. Takeovers of local banks left fewer executives with the time for organized charitable efforts, say club officials.

Social problems in white working-class communities nationwide started to escalate in the 1970s. The number of single parents in those places rose, and so did divorces and the number of men who dropped out of the workforce, says Charles Murray, a political scientist at the conservative American Enterprise Institute, who has worked to quantify the decline of working-class America[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/donald-trumps-america-1455290458].

Those problems seemed to ease briefly in the late 1990s as the economy expanded and the crime rate dropped. President Bill Clinton and lawmakers revamped the U.S. welfare system in 1996 to focus more on jobs. The nationwide divorce rate stabilized, as did the percentage of children born to unwed mothers. Regular church attendance held steady.

That masked a constant decline in other barometers of the white working class. In southeastern Pennsylvania, longtime residents say they have become wary of their neighbors, especially as the percentage of Hispanics from outside the region has increased. In Reading, non-Hispanic whites are 25% of the city's population of 88,000, down from 82% in 1980. Thousands of white Reading residents have moved to the suburbs.

Some people feel discombobulated by not knowing the newcomers, fear they are soaking up government benefits and think they are deepening the area's drug problem, even though 83% of overdose deaths in Berks and Schuylkill counties last year were of whites, according to the Pennsylvania State Coroners Association.

Some whites and blacks still recall the 2005 raid of a Wal-Mart Stores Inc. distribution center under construction near Pottsville, where 125 workers from Mexico and Central America[http://bismarcktribune.com/news/state-and-regional/workers-arrested-at-wal-mart-site/article\_f1fdc1d0-7580-55ae-b530-aa41329c6edc.html] were arrested for working in the U.S. illegally. The incident left a sense among non-Hispanics that their community was under siege from outsiders.

"There aren't too many opportunities for jobs," says Stanley Blair, 41, a warehouse laborer who used a day off to repair his house near Reading High School. "I walk out and I don't hear English. It's like I'm in a foreign land."

Stephen Weber, 61, says he remembers Reading's heyday when the shopping district on Penn Street was hopping and residents put on dresses and suits to shop. Vagrants now loiter there in the middle of the day. Mr. Weber says his neighbors in the 1960s and 1970s, including German **immigrants**, turned a gravel-filled lot into a neighborhood park and installed basketball equipment, monkey bars and swings.

Mr. Weber, a carpenter, moved to the Berks County suburbs. During visits to his old neighborhood, he sees the park often filled with trash and people sometimes buying and selling drugs, he says.

Many Hispanics have lived in the Reading area for decades, moving here for jobs as agricultural workers, and say they belong in the community as much as anyone else.

Some community groups try to bridge the gap between whites and Hispanics, but the results sometimes fall flat. Reading's Downtown Improvement District co-sponsors free outdoor concerts during the summer, but a concert in August attracted a nearly white-only audience.

Evan Siegel, a former mortgage broker with two white teenage daughters and a Hispanic teenage stepson, says the two communities "don't coexist socioeconomically." He wasn't surprised that Hispanics stayed away from the concert, which he described as "two white bands from the '90s."

Deepening the sense of **alienation** is the inability of Reading and nearby cities to stem their drug problems, especially overdoses of heroin and prescription drugs. Berks County had 69 drug-related deaths last year, triple the total in 2001.

Berks County Prosecutor John Adams says it is a rare day when police officers don't have to respond to a drug emergency. They carry the overdose-reversal medication naloxone in their patrol cars.

Princeton University economists Anne Case and Angus Deaton say the surge in drug deaths and suicides among middle-aged whites nationally began around 2000, when the economy fell into recession, Chinese imports began to surge and manufacturing jobs started to decline sharply.

Laid-off workers turned increasingly to Social Security disability payments and got prescriptions for painkillers to treat back pain from years of factory work. Mr. Deaton, who won the Nobel Prize in economics in 2015, sees a "strong correlation" between declining employment locally and deaths from suicide, drugs and alcohol.

Dozens of prayers are scribbled in ink on poster boards at St. John's German Lutheran Church in downtown Reading, imploring spiritual help for jobs, a chance to finish school or escape from the ravages of drugs.

"Pray for my aunt's addiction," said one prayer. Another: "I pray that my dad overcomes his addiction." And another: "Pray for Harrisburg and Reading."

Like churches across America, those in Reading face declining attendance, particularly among younger and less-educated people. In 2014, about 26% of Americans surveyed by the University of Chicago's General Social Survey said they don't attend religious services, up from 9% in 1972.

Michael Kaucher, executive director of Reading Berks Conference of Churches, estimates that 75% of the area's population don't belong to a church. Millennials are less likely to attend church, and young families shuttle their children to sporting events rather than Sunday school.

Churches often rely on a concentrated cadre of volunteers. Fewer members means fewer people who can help out in the surrounding community.

The First United Church of Christ, founded in Reading in 1753, had 700 members in the 1960s. Last year, 70 was a good crowd, and there have been fewer than 30 on some recent Sundays. The congregation is deciding whether to shut down.

"These downtown churches aren't neighborhood churches anymore" because the neighborhoods have fallen apart, says Ms. Stock, the former teacher. First United Church of Christ hosts Alcoholics Anonymous and Narcotics Anonymous meetings downtown, close to a drug-counseling center.

In Pottsville, former heroin addict Travis Snyder, 34, leads a volunteer drug-recovery group called "The Skook Recovers," using a nickname for Schuylkill County. Along with two dozen other recovering addicts, Mr. Snyder picks weekly community projects, such as cleaning up parks, organizing antidrug marches and speaking at high schools. Participants crave a sense of community, he says, which gives them a way to contribute to a place that might otherwise dismiss them as failures.

"We pick up trash and make things look pretty," Mr. Snyder says. "You don't need a college degree for this; you don't need a lot of skills. But you're getting together with people you don't know to bring about a common purpose."

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Corrections & Amplifications:

James Cameron directed "**Aliens**." An earlier version of this article incorrectly stated that Mr. Cameron directed "**Alien**," which was in fact directed by Ridley Scott. (Sept. 20, 2016)

Twentieth Century Fox is launching a new "Avatar"-inspired attraction it hopes will keep fans interested in one of the studio's most important properties.

"Avatar: Discover Pandora," a touring 12,000-square-foot interactive experience, will open in early December in Taipei, Taiwan, for three months before moving to other major cities, the studio said on Monday.

"Discover Pandora" will allow visitors to explore the mythology of the fictional world portrayed in the 2009 movie. The attraction is a relatively tiny investment for a studio of Fox's size, especially compared to larger efforts like a Fox theme park in Malaysia that is under construction now. But "Avatar: Discover Pandora" points to a priority of the studio's: holding consumers interest in the franchise in the years between installments.

21st Century Fox, which owns the studio, and News Corp., owner of The Wall Street Journal, share common ownership.

"Avatar" grossed $2.79 billion following its release in 2009 and remains the top-grossing movie at the world-wide box office. It was the highest-grossing movie in North American history until "Star Wars: The Force Awakens" unseated it earlier this year.

That makes it a crucial property for Fox, especially since director James Cameron is working now on four "Avatar" sequels. But the technological requirements of the special-effects laden "Avatar" movies stretch out the time between installments, putting the onus on Fox to keep fans interested. The first sequel is set for release in late 2018.

"Discover Pandora" will be like a walking tour of the planet and its people, called the Na'vi. That layout gives Fox the chance to better acquaint visitors with the movie's setting—and, it hopes, make them want to spend considerably more time with it over the next several years.

The attraction will have a focus on science that Fox hopes will attract school field trips, said Greg Lombardo, senior vice president of global live and location-based entertainment at Fox's consumer products division. That would also pull in potential fans who were too young to catch "Avatar" when it came out in theaters, he added.

"It's a terrific opportunity to engage fans and welcome new fans into the fold," he said.

Other Hollywood studios like DreamWorks Animation SKG Inc. have built similarly scaled attractions that can move to various locations. "Discover Pandora" visitors will buy a ticket to enter the attraction, and Fox will sell "Avatar" merchandise at it.

Other efforts to keep "Avatar" in the public consciousness include a themed area at Walt Disney Co.'s Animal Kingdom in Orlando and a Cirque du Soleil show.

Shifting consumer expectations make the attractions all the more important, said Eric Handler, an analyst at MKM Partners. "Avatar" was released when 3-D technology had just recently returned to theaters, and its visual wizardry helped turn it into a cultural phenomenon, Mr. Handler said.

Now, 3-D screenings are commonplace, and the years between the original "Avatar" and its follow-up installments mean the property is "probably not as fresh in peoples' memory as some other films that have seen multiple movies their franchise runs," he said.

But given Mr. Cameron's track record, which also includes the hits "Titanic" and "**Aliens**," Mr. Handler isn't too concerned about the time Fox has to fill between installments. "I think every studio in the world would be willing to wait," he said.

Fox worked with events provider GES, Taiwan-based Beast Kingdom and Mr. Cameron's Lightstorm Entertainment on the attraction.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Our columnist Bret Stephens says one lesson [http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/life-during-wartime-1474328569]of last weekend's terror attacks is that "there is a benefit for a society that allows competent and responsible adults to carry guns[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/life-during-wartime-1474328569], like the off-duty police officer who shot the knife-wielding jihadist in St. Cloud, Minn. Another is that there is an equal benefit in the surveillance methods [http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/life-during-wartime-1474328569]that allowed police in New York and New Jersey to swiftly identify and arrest Mr. Rahimi before his bombing spree took any lives."

Morning Editorial Report[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/public/page/email-setup.html?sub=morning\_editorial\_report]

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On Monday the Food and Drug Administration announced accelerated approval for Sarepta's drug eteplirsen[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/the-boys-who-beat-the-fda-1474328940], the first therapy for Duchenne muscular dystrophy patients. A Journal editorial calls it [http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/the-boys-who-beat-the-fda-1474328940]"a triumph for scientific innovation, and for young men who will live better and more independently—if the bureaucracy doesn't strike back." Even with accelerated approval, the editorial board notes that [http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/the-boys-who-beat-the-fda-1474328940]"Sarepta must now conduct a double-blind, randomized trial to confirm its initial findings, or FDA could pull the drug[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/the-boys-who-beat-the-fda-1474328940]."

With presidential candidates "trying to outdo each other in their opposition to trade," the Journal's William McGurn notes [http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/milton-friedmans-morals-1474329068]a recent study that pokes holes in a popular critique of free trade. The study from London's Resolution Foundation shows that "average real income growth for lower- and middle-class workers in the U.K. was much higher than for their American counterparts[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/milton-friedmans-morals-1474329068], even though the U.K. has an economy that is more, not less, dependent on trade," writes Mr. McGurn[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/milton-friedmans-morals-1474329068].

Are Americans being imprisoned and even executed based on junk science? Judge Alex Kozinski says that [http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/rejecting-voodoo-science-in-the-courtroom-1474328199]a White House report due out today "examines the scientific validity of forensic-evidence techniques—DNA, fingerprint, bitemark, firearm, footwear and hair analysis. It concludes that virtually all of these methods are flawed, some irredeemably so[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/rejecting-voodoo-science-in-the-courtroom-1474328199]."

George Soros announces in our pages today[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/why-im-investing-500-million-in-migrants-1474344001], "I have decided to earmark $500 million for investments that specifically address the needs of migrants[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/why-im-investing-500-million-in-migrants-1474344001], **refugees** and host communities. I will invest in startups, established companies, social-impact initiatives and businesses founded by migrants and **refugees** themselves. Although my main concern is to help migrants and **refugees** arriving in Europe, I will be looking for good investment ideas that will benefit migrants all over the world[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/why-im-investing-500-million-in-migrants-1474344001]."

"Automated vehicles, by virtually eliminating human error, have the potential to prevent an estimated 90% of collisions—annually saving about 30,000 lives in the U.S. alone," writes Audi of America President Scott Keogh [http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/the-dangers-of-self-driving-car-hype-1474327725]. But he warns that "auto makers new and old continue to oversell current technology[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/the-dangers-of-self-driving-car-hype-1474327725], prematurely suggesting that vehicles with automated-driving functions are actually self-driving. The media has often failed to vet these claims[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/the-dangers-of-self-driving-car-hype-1474327725]."

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**President Barack Obama delivers his eighth and final address to the United Nations General Assembly on Tuesday, where he'll reflect on his foreign policy and encourage world leaders to follow through on some unfinished aspects of his agenda.

Mr. Obama's speech comes as his foreign policy [http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/obama-heads-to-united-nations-with-mixed-foreign-policy-record-1474244446]approach is being significantly tested by the latest breakdown of a cease-fire agreement [http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/syria-truce-hangs-in-balance-amid-attacks-lack-of-aid-1474280649]on Syria the U.S. recently reached with Russia and a series of terrorism incidents over the weekend in New York, New Jersey and Minnesota.

The president is expected to address both Syria and the threat of terrorism, but his speech is more of a broad look at his efforts on issues such as nuclear nonproliferation[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/north-korea-nuclear-test-puts-pressure-on-u-s-1473466432] and climate change and role in the world.

Ben Rhodes, a deputy national security adviser, said Mr. Obama will "step back and review some of the progress that's been made over the last eight years, but also review some of the trends that have been shaping our international order for many years and that have led up to a really critical moment as the international community responds to a range of different crises."

"I think the president will discuss how we can apply international cooperation to deal with the many issues that are shaping this period in time," Mr. Rhodes said.

Mr. Obama later participates in a summit on the **refugee** crisis [http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/world-leaders-discuss-refugee-crisis-1474305830]that's stemmed from the conflict in Syria. He is set to announce that 51 companies have committed some $650 million to support **refugees** in the U.S. The commitment is intended to provide educational and employment opportunities for **refugees** in more than 20 countries.

Mr. Obama also is scheduled to meet with President Muhammadu Buhari of Nigeria[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/naira-oil-price-fall-push-nigeria-into-recession-1472647749], U.N. Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon and the leader of Fiji, which holds the presidency of the General Assembly.

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Related

\* Syria Aid Convoy Hit by Airstrike as Truce Falters[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/syria-truce-hangs-in-balance-amid-attacks-lack-of-aid-1474280649]

\* World Leaders to Negotiate **Refugee** Pact—in 2018[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/world-leaders-discuss-refugee-crisis-1474305830] (Sep. 19)

\* Obama Heads to United Nations With Mixed Foreign-Policy Record[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/obama-heads-to-united-nations-with-mixed-foreign-policy-record-1474244446] (Sep. 18)

\* North Korea Nuclear Test Puts Pressure on U.S[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/north-korea-nuclear-test-puts-pressure-on-u-s-1473466432].(Sep. 9)

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**BERLIN—German Chancellor Angela Merkel reacted to her party's latest electoral loss[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/german-center-left-party-wins-berlin-state-election-1474215339] by sticking to her migration policy on Monday but acknowledging, more explicitly than before, that she had made mistakes along the way.

Ms. Merkel described her center-right Christian Democratic Union's second-place performance in Sunday's election in the city-state of Berlin as a "very unsatisfactory, disappointing" result. She acknowledged widespread public discomfort with the influx of more than a million asylum applicants to Germany this year and last and said that she heard voters' concerns.

"If I could, I would turn back time many, many years to be able to better prepare myself and the whole government and all those in positions of responsibility for the situation that met us rather unprepared in late summer 2015," Ms. Merkel said at a news conference at her party's headquarters in the German capital.

Nevertheless, Ms. Merkel—whose steadfast refusal to close the German border to asylum seekers has become a focal point in the global debate over how to treat **refugees**—said she would stick to her current policy. She said she was guided both by a conviction that Germany has a duty to take in people in need but also that the sort of chaotic, mass influx of people as this country experienced last year[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/immigrants-in-germany-reach-record-high-1458556470] had to be prevented.

The processing of asylum requests and deportation of those rejected needed to be sped up, she said, while conditions in Africa, Syria, and elsewhere needed to be improved to reduce the numbers of **refugees**.

"No one wants this to be repeated, and I don't either," Ms. Merkel said of last year's **refugee** influx at Germany's borders. "We have learned from history."

The Alternative for Germany, an upstart, anti-**immigrant** party that took 14.2% in Sunday's Berlin vote[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/merkel-stands-by-refugee-policy-after-election-loss-1473078641], has called for the country to turn away asylum seekers at the border and to limit **immigration** by Muslims. Ms. Merkel's sister party in the state of Bavaria, the Christian Social Union, has sought an annual cap on how many **refugees** Germany accepts and called for precedence to be given to **immigrants** from Christian countries.

Ms. Merkel rejected those calls in her remarks on Monday. Blocking all **refugees** or all Muslims, she said, would contradict not only "the German constitution and our country's duties under international law, but also above all the ethical foundations of the Christian Democratic Union of Germany and my personal convictions."

The center-left Social Democrats won Sunday's election in the city-state of Berlin with just 21.6% of the vote—the worst result for any winner in a state election in German postwar history. Both the Social Democrats and the Christian Democrats, who came in second with 17.6%, saw their worst results in a Berlin state election and lost more than 5 percentage points compared with the previous Berlin election, in 2011.

They were followed closely by the Left Party—the successors to the East German Communists—and the environmentalist Greens. Those two parties are expected to replace the Christian Democrats in a new governing coalition under the leadership of Mayor Michael Müller of the Social Democrats, pushing the politics of Berlin to the left.

But likely the biggest change will come as the Alternative for Germany, or AfD, enters Berlin parliament. The three-year-old party came in fifth on Sunday, securing its 10th set of seats in Germany's 16 state parliaments.

"Whoever tries to carry on the status quo here in Berlin will have a problem with us," Georg Pazderski, the AfD's lead candidate in the election, said Monday. "We will put our finger in the wound and we won't allow anything to be swept under the rug."

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Earlier Coverage

\* MoneyBeat: Brexit & Beyond: The EU's ‘Moment of Truth,' Germany's 17 Million Migrants[http://blogs.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/moneybeat/2016/09/16/the-eus-moment-of-truth-carneys-worst-day-germanys-17-million-migrants/] (Sept. 16)

\* German Government Approves Laws to Help Migrants Integrate [http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/german-government-approves-laws-to-help-migrants-integrate-1464180392](May 25)

\* **Immigrants** in Germany Reach Record High[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/immigrants-in-germany-reach-record-high-1458556470] (March 21)

\* Migrants Offer Hope for Aging German Workforce[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/migrants-offer-hope-for-aging-german-workforce-1441928931] (Sept. 10, 2015)

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Corrections & Amplifications:

Donald Trump in a Sept. 19 interview on Fox News criticized people who were reluctant to profile suspects, and he didn't mention race. An earlier version of this article didn't make clear that his comments about profiling came in the Fox interview, and not at a Florida rally, and it incorrectly said Mr. Trump called for allowing more latitude in profiling suspects by race. (Sept. 26, 2016)

National-security concerns lurched back to the forefront of the 2016 presidential race Monday as Democrat Hillary Clinton and Republican Donald Trump battled over policy and fitness to lead after the series of weekend bombings[http://graphics.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/what-we-know-about-the-explosion-in-new-york/] in the New York City area.

Their responses put a new edge on the deep divisions[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/after-bombings-clinton-calls-for-vigilance-trump-for-tightening-immigration-1474301672] between the two candidates' approaches to how best to weed out terror threats: Mrs. Clinton emphasized intelligence and police work and stressed her experience, while Mr. Trump renewed his call for imposing stricter limits on **immigration**. The suspect in the incidents is a naturalized American citizen whose family came to the U.S. from Afghanistan when he was a child.

"These attacks and many others were made possible because of our extremely open **immigration** system, which fails to properly vet and screen the individuals coming into our country," Mr. Trump said at a rally in Estero, Fla.

Mrs. Clinton, earlier in the day, called on Americans to be "vigilant but not afraid."

"We have faced threats before, she said. "I know we will meet this new danger with the same courage and vigilance."

The attacks come at a time when voters' concern about terrorism is running higher as a priority than in any other presidential election over the last generation, an analysis of Wall Street Journal/NBC News polling shows.

Asked this past June what is the most important issue for the federal government to address, the issue picked by more than any other as first choice was national security and terrorism, ranked at the top by 28% of the respondents. That survey was conducted just after the mass shooting in Orlando, Fla., by a New York-born man whose parents came to the U.S. from Afghanistan.

The candidates' responses and next week's first debate, which will touch on security issues, are among the final opportunities for both candidates to try to woo the roughly 11% of voters who are undecided or leaning toward third-party candidates.

Two political scientists who have studied terrorism and politics—Elizabeth Zechmeister of Vanderbilt University and Jennifer Merolla of the University of California, Riverside—have found that traditionally Republicans enjoy a political advantage at times of high perceived terrorist threats. However, they have concluded that this year Mrs. Clinton's experience neutralizes Mr. Trump's edge.

Ms. Merolla said their research suggests that terrorist attacks may have another effect on the election: making voters more attentive to candidates' character rather than focusing on their policy positions.

"Even if leadership evaluations do not shift at all for either candidate, if terrorism remains in the news, we should expect to see voters placing more weight on leadership qualities in deciding which candidate to cast a ballot for," she said.

The campaigns were shadowed Monday by the developments of the weekend, when a powerful blast rocked New York City on Saturday evening, after a homemade pipe bomb had earlier in the day detonated in New Jersey. No one was killed, although more than two dozen were injured in the New York blast.

Investigators later found a second explosive device in New York City, and five more pipe bombs near a train station in Elizabeth, N.J. They hadn't detonated, although one blew up when police were trying to defuse it using a robot.

On Monday morning, authorities detained Ahmad Khan Rahami, a 28-year-old from New Jersey, as a suspect in the bombing incidents after a shootout with police near his home in Elizabeth.

Separately, a man in St. Cloud, Minn., late Saturday injured nine people in knife attacks at a shopping mall[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/minnesota-mall-reopens-after-saturday-attack-1474305130], a rampage being investigated as a possible terrorist incident.

Mrs. Clinton is emphasizing her experience in the White House as secretary of state and said at a Philadelphia campaign stop that such times are a "sobering reminder that we need steady leadership."

"I am prepared to, ready to actually take on those challenges," Mrs. Clinton said, "not engage in a lot of irresponsible, reckless rhetoric."

She mocked Mr. Trump's assertion that he could be more effective in combating Islamic State and other terrorist groups. "You don't hear a plan from him. He keeps saying he has a secret plan," she said, referring to Mr. Trump. "The secret is he has no plan."

And she quoted former Central Intelligence Agency director Michael Hayden, who said this year that Mr. Trump was being used as a "recruiting sergeant" for Islamic State, also known as ISIS. "A lot of the rhetoric we've heard from Donald Trump has been seized on by terrorists, in particular ISIS, because they are looking to make this into a war against Islam," Mrs. Clinton said.

Mr. Trump delivered an equally sharp personal rebuke of his opponent. On Fox News earlier Monday, he criticized those who were reluctant to profile, saying, "If he looks like he comes from that part of the world, we're not allowed to profile."

He also criticized Mrs. Clinton's support for increased admissions of **refugees** from the Middle East.

Speaking of Mr. Rahami, who was detained and being treated in a New Jersey hospital, Mr. Trump said: "The bad part now, we will give him amazing hospitalization.…He will be represented by an outstanding lawyer."

The GOP nominee also said Congress should pass a measure to ensure that "foreign enemy combatants are treated as such."

Byron Tau and Reid J. Epstein contributed to this article.

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\* No Ties Found Between Mall Attacker and Islamic State[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/minnesota-mall-reopens-after-saturday-attack-1474305130]

\* Word ‘Terrorism' Puts Cuomo and de Blasio on Opposite Ends Again[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/cuomo-and-de-blasio-at-odds-again-over-word-terrorism-to-describe-blast-1474335833]

\* After Bombings, Clinton Calls for Vigilance, Trump for Tightening **Immigration**[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/after-bombings-clinton-calls-for-vigilance-trump-for-tightening-immigration-1474301672]

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Corrections & Amplifications:

The last name of Chris Konya, a high school classmate of Ahmad Khan Rahami, was incorrectly given as Kanya in earlier version of this article. (Sept. 19, 2016)

ELIZABETH, N. J.—Until recently, Ahmad Khan Rahami was best-known in this blue-collar neighborhood as a quiet young man who served fried chicken at his father's fast-food restaurant.

But on Monday morning, the 28-year-old Afghan **immigrant**, who some customers called "Med" or "Mad"—a nickname short for Ahmad—was on the run, suspected of planting two bombs in New York City's Chelsea neighborhood and placing several more explosive devices around New Jersey.

After a gunbattle with police, Mr. Rahami, shot in the leg, was taken into custody in Linden, just several miles from where he grew up in the **immigrant** enclaves of North Jersey.

Late Monday, Union County Prosecutors charged Mr. Rahami with five counts of attempted murder of a law enforcement officer and weapons charges. Bail was set at $5.2 million.

What motivated Mr. Rahami, a naturalized U.S. citizen whose family came to this country from war-ravaged Afghanistan when he was a young child, is still murky, and authorities were trying Monday to puzzle together clues.

U.S. officials said Mr. Rahami traveled more than once to Afghanistan, but he wasn't on a terrorist watch list. Investigators have also found he traveled to Pakistan, where he had family ties and married Asia Bibi Rahami.

In 2014 Mr. Rahami contacted his congressman, Rep. Albio Sires, to find out why his wife was having trouble getting an **immigrant** visa so she could move from Pakistan to the U.S, Mr. Sires said.

Mr. Sires, a Democrat, said Mr. Rahami had been living in Islamabad, Pakistan, for about a year. Asia Rahami had an expired passport, Mr. Sires said, and eventually received a visa after giving birth. The congressman said he didn't know whether she entered the U.S.

Mr. Sires said his office made inquiries to the State Department as it would for any constituent. He recalled one of his staff members complaining that Mr. Rahami was "nasty."

"He was a type of guy that wanted things done his way," Mr. Sires said.

Others who knew him—old classmates, acquaintances and customers at his father's restaurant, First American Fried Chicken—said they saw few signs of anger, describing Mr. Rahami as reserved.

"The guy was always to himself. Whether you just came here or you've been going there for 10 years, he just didn't talk to anybody," said Joshua Sanchez, a construction worker who frequented the restaurant.

On Monday, Federal Bureau of Investigation agents swarmed both the restaurant, which is owned by Mr. Rahami's father, and also the building's top two floors, where the Rahami family lived.

"It's mind blowing… Me and my brothers would always come to this chicken shack," said Flee Jones, a regular at the fast food restaurant where Mr. Rahami was a familiar presence. "It's actually shocking. I couldn't believe it when I had seen his picture" on the news Monday.

It is unclear precisely when the Rahami family **immigrated** from Afghanistan. But records show the Rahamis moved to various locations in New Jersey when Mr. Rahami was young before settling in Elizabeth, a city of 129,000 about 20 miles from Manhattan.

Javid Barakzai, of Carteret, N.J., said he grew up near Mr. Rahami when the two families lived in Newark. He described Mr. Rahami's family as "normal, chill, nice," and neighbors recalled the Rahamis were quiet and kept to themselves.

Still, there were some signs of discord in Mr. Rahami's life. Chris Konya, a classmate at Edison High School, where Mr. Rahami graduated in 2007, said Mr. Rahami had gotten his girlfriend pregnant before the couple graduated. A second classmate confirmed Mr. Konya's account.

Attempts to reach Mr. Rahami's high-school girlfriend were unsuccessful.

Mr. Konya said Mr. Rahami was well liked and friendly in school but seemed to disappear from the circle of Edison graduates who stayed in touch on social media. Fellow classmates believed he had returned to Afghanistan after graduating.

One classmate, Imani Podhradsky, said Mr. Rahami was jovial and funny in high school, "literally a ray of sunshine," who worked at a neighborhood Pathmark and fit in easily.

"There was nothing scary or radical or intimidating about him," she said. "He was always in high spirits."

Ms. Podhradsky said Mr. Rahami and his girlfriend weren't together long before she became pregnant, and soon after he told friends that his parents were making him go back to Afghanistan after graduation. It was unclear why his parents wanted him to return and whether it was related to the pregnancy, she said.

"I know he didn't want to go back. All his friends were here," she said. "When I tried to talk to him about it, he didn't want to. He just wanted to concentrate on having a good time senior year."

Ms. Podhradsky said Mr. Rahami did indeed go back to Afghanistan after high school and traveled back and forth to the U.S. for several years afterward. Mr. Rahami stayed in touch with his old high-school girlfriend, who gave birth to a girl, she said, and was "very proud" of his daughter."

After high school, Mr. Rahami attended community college at Middlesex County College in Edison from 2010 to 2012, majoring in criminal justice, but didn't graduate, said Patrick Madama, vice president for institutional advancement. He said he didn't know why Mr. Rahami left the community college 24 credits short of an associate degree.

"We have not identified anyone on the campus who is currently here who knows him or remembers him," Mr. Madama said, adding that the school had no record of any disciplinary problems involving Mr. Rahami.

Investigators have also determined that Mr. Rahami was involved in a domestic incident some time ago, but that the allegation made against him was recanted, authorities said.

Mr. Rahamai had a young daughter that he was "very proud of," according to Jaime Reyes, who owns a beauty salon next door to First American Fried Chicken.

Mr. Reyes said he has known the Rahami family since they opened the restaurant in 2002 and thought of them as normal **immigrants** striving for the American dream. Ahmad's father, Mohammad, has at least seven children and is religious, Mr. Reyes said, though he added that Ahmad didn't seem to be religious "to the extreme."

Ahmad Rahami seemed to have moved around in recent years and "had a lot of different ideas. One time he told me he wanted to be a poet," Mr. Reyes said. Ahmad returned from a trip to Afghanistan four or five years ago in better shape and with a better attitude, Mr. Reyes said.

"He was well spoken, a very nice kid," Mr. Reyes said. "I don't know what happened to him, what made him turn around. Mohammad, he has all these kids, one of them can just make the wrong connection, get brainwashed, and that's where all this starts."

Mr. Rahami's family was also mired in financial problems, records show, and his father, Mohammad, filed for bankruptcy protection in 2005. In the bankruptcy filing, the elder Rahami lists his marital status as separated, and said that he had eight kids and just $100 in a checking account.

The family's restaurant was also embroiled in legal disputes. Several years ago, the Elizabeth City Council passed an ordinance requiring it to shut its doors at 10 p.m., said Mayor J. Chris Bollwage. The restaurant "had code enforcement violations and noise violations; they were open 24 hours a day," he said. "The neighbors consistently complained about them."

In response, the elder Rahami and two of his other sons sued the city, alleging religious discrimination, Mr. Bollwage said, adding that the suit was dismissed in court in 2012.

Mr. Barakzai, the family friend from Newark, said Mr. Rahami would sometimes pray at the Muslim Community of New Jersey mosque, but was quiet and seldom socialized with others when he attended.

"He wouldn't talk to anybody," Mr. Barakzai said. "He just came in to pray for his own self and that's it." Mr. Rahami, he said, never showed any inclination toward radicalism or violence at the mosque.

Mr. Barakzai recalled seeing his old childhood friend on September 9th at the mosque for Friday prayer. "He was like a normal guy," he said. "A normal human just going to pray."

Ozair Omarzai, president of the Muslim Community of New Jersey mosque, said he never met Mr. Rahami. He said on Fridays, when people said Mr. Rahami came to pray, 300 people from the area come to worship.

"Impossible to meet and know everyone that is coming here," Mr. Omarzai said.

On Monday, Mr. Barakzai awoke to a cellphone alert issued by authorities and was later stunned to see a photograph of Mr. Rahami, a wanted man.

Scott Calvert, Mark Morales, Alejandro Lazo, Pervaiz Shallwani and Lisa Schwartz contributed to this article.

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\* Police Seek More Help in Terror Fight[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/police-seek-more-help-in-terror-fight-1474328187?tesla=y]

\* Alerts, Now Basic, May Expand[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/authorities-unleash-wireless-emergency-alert-to-aid-in-new-york-bombing-manhunt-1474293488]

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\* Chelsea Blast Victims Escape Serious Injuries[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/chelsea-blast-victims-escape-serious-injuries-1474333442]

\* O'Neill Faces Major Test on Day One[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/nypds-james-oneill-faces-major-test-on-first-full-day-as-commissioner-1474312041]

\* Bombs, Stabbing Attacks Stoke Unease[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/u-s-attacks-stoke-unease-1474245394]

\* After Bombings, Clinton Calls for Vigilance, Trump for Tightening **Immigration**[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/after-bombings-clinton-calls-for-vigilance-trump-for-tightening-immigration-1474301672]

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**UNITED NATIONS—World leaders gathering here for a United Nations summit on **refugees** agreed to negotiate a global pact to share the burden of housing and educating **refugees**—but not before 2018.

At the first of two summits being held to help the biggest population of **refugees** since World War II, leaders signed a declaration expressing their political will to improve the lives of **refugees** and migrants and share resources and responsibilities.

U.S. President Barack Obama will host a second summit on Tuesday that will aim to commit countries to donate more money and aid and increase the number of **refugees** admitted across their borders.

But human-rights groups and some of those on the front lines of the crisis on Monday expressed their dismay at the lack of immediate relief for the more than 65 million **refugees** and displaced people.

Amnesty International called the U.N. summit an "abject failure" and a missed opportunity to commit to resettle **refugees**.

"Faced with the worst **refugee** crisis in 70 years, world leaders have shown a shocking disregard for the human rights of people who have been forced to leave their homes due to conflict or persecution," said Salil Shetty, secretary-general of Amnesty International.

The special summit, held on the margins of the U.N. General Assembly, was the first such forum to address the issue of people fleeing war and poverty, and U.N. leaders said it began the process of focusing collective action on the crisis.

U.N. Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon, who is nearing the end of his term, had sought to push for a deal to be negotiated this year, but that plan had to be pushed back until 2018, amid coming elections—including in the U.S., France and Germany. He recently acknowledged that the U.N. has fallen short in resolving the war in Syria and **refugee** crisis.

"The inability to resolve several protracted conflicts has been a source of tremendous pain," Mr. Ban said last week in his last press conference of the year.

Another complicating factor behind the delay was that it remains unclear which countries are willing to take in **refugees**. Many remain reluctant to host migrants amid a surge in anti-**immigrant** sentiment, as well as security fears after a series of terror attacks in Europe in which some of the perpetrators posed as **refugees**when entering the continent.

The Obama administration is planning to raise the number of **refugees** the U.S. takes in by nearly 30% to 110,000 in the 2017 fiscal year starting Oct. 1.

However, the issue has proved divisive in the presidential campaign. While Democratic nominee Hillary Clinton has backed a higher intake of Syrian **refugees**, Republican Donald Trump has called for a temporary ban on Muslims entering the U.S.

In Europe, which has received one million **refugees** in less than a year, officials have warned that they are now focusing on protecting their borders and on giving more financial aid to African countries to stem Europe-bound migration.

"We must attack the root cause of the **refugee** and migration issue," France's Foreign Minister Jean-Marc Ayrault said Monday.

A central focus of the summits is to create jobs and education in countries that first host fleeing **refugees** in order to prevent them from repeated displacement and to curb the flow of migration to Europe.

Lebanese Prime Minister Tammam Salam presented a dire situation facing his country, which hosts 1.5 million Syrian **refugees** compared with its population of 4 million, and called for a massive resettlement program by the end of the year.

"The situation is becoming more dramatic by the day, which does not bode well for the future of our country," he said, adding that more Syrian babies are being born in Lebanon than there are Syrian **refugees** resettled around the world. "It is unthinkable that Lebanon can cope alone. This cannot continue."

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\* Transcript: EU Migration Commissioner Emphasizes Issue's Global Scale[http://blogs.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/brussels/2016/09/18/eu-migration-commissioner-emphasizes-global-scale-of-migration-issue/]

\* Germany's Efforts to Integrate Migrants Into Its Workforce Falter[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/germanys-efforts-to-integrate-migrants-into-its-workforce-falter-1473948135] (Sept. 15)

\* President Obama to Increase **Refugees** Admitted to U.S. by 30%[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/president-obama-to-increase-refugees-admitted-to-u-s-by-30-1473818352] (Sept. 14)

\* Europe Targets Growth, Migrants With New Investment Push[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/europe-targets-growth-migrants-with-new-investment-push-1473852947] (Sept. 14)

\* Syrians Strain Resettlement Agencies[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/syrians-strain-resettlement-agencies-1473727893] (Sept. 12)

\* EU-Turkey Talks Dial Down Risk to Migration Deal[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/eu-turkey-talks-dial-down-risk-to-migration-deal-1472906150] (Sept. 3)

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Republican Presidential nominee Donald Trump blamed **immigration** policies championed by Democratic rival Hillary Clinton and President Barack Obama for the weekend bombings[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/u-s-attacks-stoke-unease-1474245394] in New York and New Jersey and the stabbings in a Minnesota mall.

"These attacks and many others were made possible because of our extremely open **immigration** system, which fails to properly vet and screen the individuals coming into our country," Mr. Trump told a crowd in Estero, Fla. "We have seen how failures to screen those who are entering the U.S. puts all of our citizens, everyone in this room, in danger."

Mr. Trump's remarks came a few hours after Mrs. Clinton, speaking to reporters before boarding her campaign plane in White Plains, N.Y., called for calm vigilance and accused Mr. Trump of sowing division and playing into the hands of terrorists.

"I am prepared to, ready to actually take on those challenges," Mrs. Clinton said, "not engage in a lot of irresponsible, reckless rhetoric."

"You don't hear a plan from him. He keeps saying he has a secret plan," she said, referring to Mr. Trump. "The secret is he has no plan."

Restricting **immigration** has been a hallmark of Mr. Trump's campaign since it launched in June 2015. Mr. Trump seized on terror attacks during the GOP primary campaign to call for a blanket prohibition of Muslims entering the U.S.—a policy since altered to something he now calls "extreme vetting" of would-be **immigrants**[http://blogs.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/washwire/2016/08/31/from-the-speech-donald-trumps-10-part-immigration-plan/].

Mr. Trump on Monday specifically blamed Mrs. Clinton, due to her performance as secretary of state, for inviting terror attacks on the U.S.

"She very much caused the problem when you think about it," Mr. Trump said. "And now she wants to be president—I don't think so."

The remarks from Mr. Trump and Mrs. Clinton follow a powerful blast that rocked the Chelsea neighborhood of New York City on Saturday evening, injuring more than two dozen people. That explosion came after a homemade pipe bomb detonated near the route of a Marine Corps charity race in New Jersey earlier Saturday; no one was injured.

Investigators later found a second explosive device in New York City, and five more pipe bombs near a train station in Elizabeth, N.J. On Monday morning, authorities detained Ahmad Khan Rahami[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/police-seek-man-in-new-york-bombing-probe-1474286549], a 28-year-old naturalized American citizen from Afghanistan, a suspect in the bombing incidents.

"Let us be vigilant but not afraid," Mrs. Clinton said. "We have faced threats before. If you see something or you hear something, report it immediately to local law-enforcement authorities. I know we will meet this new danger with the same courage and vigilance."

Mrs. Clinton said Mr. Trump's previous remarks on terrorism and Muslim **immigration** have sowed division and promoted the narrative that the West was at war with Islam.

"There are millions of millions of naturalized citizens in America from all over the world. There are millions of law-abiding, peaceful Muslim Americans," she said.

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\* Bomb Suspect Ahmad Khan Rahami Captured in New Jersey[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/police-seek-man-in-new-york-bombing-probe-1474286549]

\* What We Know About the Explosions[http://graphics.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/what-we-know-about-the-explosion-in-new-york/]

\* Authorities Unleash Wireless Emergency Alert to Aid in Manhunt[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/authorities-unleash-wireless-emergency-alert-to-aid-in-new-york-bombing-manhunt-1474293488]

\* Explosion Near New Jersey Train Station After Police Discover Five Devices[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/explosion-at-new-jersey-train-station-as-police-discover-five-devices-1474271979]

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**MUNICH—Oktoberfest is famous for its beer-steeped festivities. But this year, security fears are damping them.

The 18-day folk festival, Germany's largest, opened over the weekend without major disruption, but after Bavaria was shaken by a string of attacks[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/munich-shopping-center-shooting-leaves-several-injured-1469207791] this summer, Munich, the state capital, was prepared for the worst, with its tightest security in years.

Surveillance cameras on the Wiesn, the Oktoberfest fairgrounds, increased by more than half to 29, and for the first time a 350-meter security fence was installed to block off a traditionally open flank. Security officials banned any backpack bigger than three liters—like the one that held the bomb detonated by a Syrian **refugee** earlier this summer in the city of Ansbach in Germany's first suicide attack.

The southern German state known for its joie de vivre and free-flowing beer turned into a site of violence this summer after a knife-wielding **refugee** went on a rampage[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/attack-on-german-train-injures-multiple-people-1468876588] in a night train in Würzburg. This was followed by a mass shooting by a German-Iranian teenager and the Ansbach attack days later. The Würzburg and Ansbach attacks were later claimed by Islamic State[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/isis-suicide-bombing-sets-germany-on-edge-1469485277].

Since then, polls have showed a majority of Germans were poised for more atrocities. The deadly attack on the Bastille Day celebration in Nice, France, on July 14 was another reminder that national festivals were in the sights of terrorists.

At Oktoberfest "every visitor should have fun, but not at any price," Werner Feiler, Munich's deputy police chief, said recently.

A troop of 1,500 officers were on patrol Saturday to manage a professional soccer game, a protest against trade deals[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/hundreds-of-thousands-in-germany-march-against-trade-deals-with-u-s-canada-1474188399] and the opening of Oktoberfest, the police said.

At the festival, 150 more police officers were on hand than last year—600 in total—and on Friday night, special police commandos were seen roaming the streets after dark.

Staci Collins, a 33-year-old nutritionist from Sacramento, said her mother begged her not to come following the attacks and offered to reimburse the plane tickets for her and her husband.

"I'm messaging my mom every day because she's so anxious after everything that happened here," Ms. Collins said. Guards at the entrance to the grounds on Saturday made her and a friend, Stephanie Aguilera, who was in Munich on her honeymoon, pay €7 ($7.80) each to store their purses in a locker, she said.

As the first keg of beer was tapped, marking the start of the celebration, revelers were divided over whether the security was too lax or too draconian. Some said that it would be too easy to stage an attack, while others said that adding cameras, fence and bag checks undermined the festival's atmosphere.

At the entrance to the fair, there was a row of private security and some scattered police, but most people entered freely without being stopped or emptying pockets.

"I thought it would be much worse—that wasn't bad at all," said Gisela Ober, 48, a party photographer who said she has been at Oktoberfest every year of her life.

The lack of more thorough checks this year temporarily worried Theophile Floret, 23, who is from France's Alpine region and works as a salesman at a startup in Amsterdam. He said his friends were at the Stade de France during the Paris attack[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/attacker-tried-to-enter-paris-stadium-but-was-turned-away-1447520571] last November and fled after hearing explosions.

"It's just like nightclub security here. Nobody knows if I have a gun," said Mr. Floret, pointing at his Lederhosen. He was standing in the middle of the crowded Ochsenbraterei beer tent, one of 14 Oktoberfest drinking venues that can seat thousands each. "I could just go ba-ba-ba-ba-ba," he said, imitating a machine gun.

Oktoberfest has been a site of violence and the target of threats before. In 1980, a far-right extremist killed 12 people and himself with a bomb that wounded about 200 others. In 2009, al Qaeda promised to attack Germany during the festival, leading to a previous security spike.

Some of the usual 6 million visitors to Oktoberfest weren't reassured by the additional measures, and an early estimate from a Munich hotel and restaurant association said reservations were down from last year as much as 15%.

"There are definitely a lot of people who would normally come and didn't—I know some of them," said Ronen Tziony, 38, a financial analyst from Phoenix and Munich resident who was drinking with expat friends in the Löwenbräu tent.

Others found the increased security reassuring.

Amit Passi, 43, who moved with his family from India to Munich to work at the locally based financial services and insurance company Allianz SE, said he felt very safe bringing his wife and children to Oktoberfest.

Later on, Mr. Floret, the nervous Frenchman, came to grips with the possibility of violence, after tucking into a one-liter stein of high-octane beer.

"I was thinking about it the other night," he said. "You're not here to think about it, you're here to enjoy your life."

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Donald Trump is unfurling new policies that would spread tens of billions of federal dollars across the landscape of American life—borders, schools, highways and bridges, even child-care arrangements.

He wants to raise spending for the Pentagon and triple the number of **immigration** and customs officials; double the amount Democratic presidential rival Hillary Clinton proposes for infrastructure; allocate $20 billion to expand school choice and $2.5 billion for guaranteed paid maternity leave. And more.

He is proposing more than $4 trillion in tax cuts and vowing not to cut fast-growing entitlement programs like Medicare and Social Security.

Mr. Trump said in an economic speech last week [http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/donald-trump-lays-out-more-details-of-economic-plans-1473955537]that he expects his policies wouldn't add to the federal deficit. But while his spending plans are specific, his proposals to pay for them have been less precise: He counts on economic growth to generate more revenue, and on oft-tried measures as eliminating waste and catching more tax cheats.

For her part, Mrs. Clinton is proposing a far bigger expansion of government spending than Mr. Trump, with tax increases to pay for it. She wants to spend more to lower or fully eliminate college costs for many young Americans, for example, and has proposed a big boost in spending for early childhood education.

The result is a presidential campaign where neither of the major party candidates is making a serious push to reduce the size and scope of government.

But the GOP nominee has his own ambitious agenda—"It is time to start thinking big again," he said last week—that raises concerns among fiscal conservatives that he is too quick to propose new spending and not committed enough to reducing the nation's $19 trillion debt.

"He campaigns like a Democrat," said Douglas Holtz-Eakin, a Republican economist who advised the 2008 presidential bid of Sen. John McCain. "This is not your traditional small-government conservative."

Mr. Trump has said he wants to get rid of the nation's debt. He once said it could be done over eight years. But he hasn't said precisely how he would do it.

In his speech last week, there were signs that Mr. Trump is hearing critics who think he is too heedless of deficits. He offered his clearest statement yet of his desire to offset the cost of his tax-and-spending programs. He detailed changes in his tax plan that scaled back the revenue loss from more than $9 trillion over 10 years to $4.4 trillion—or less, he figured, after taking account of returns from better economic growth. He proposed for the first time to help pay for tax cuts by imposing a 1% cut on domestic spending, not including entitlements.

But independent budget experts cast doubt on the claim that Trump policies would be deficit-neutral. Maya MacGuineas, president of the Committee for a Responsible Federal Budget, an antideficit group, said Mr. Trump was leaning on overly optimistic projections and inadequate spending cuts.

"The good news is he has started talking about spending cuts, but only on a small sliver of the budget," she said.

The Trump campaign stands by its projections that the campaign's proposed spending cuts and increased revenue from economic growth would cover the cost of its agenda.

"Mr. Trump has outlined detailed offsets for his plan to create 25 million jobs that will shrink our bureaucracy and make government leaner and more responsive," said Stephen Miller, senior policy adviser. He said more savings in government benefit spending would result from proposed restrictions on **refugees** and **immigration**.

The campaign hasn't explained how or if the 1% cut would apply to programs he has pledged to fund more generously, such as highways, veterans' affairs and education.

The Congressional Budget Office has said it expects the deficit for the fiscal year that ends this month to expand to $549 billion, after adjusting for calendar differences, from $500 billion in an estimate earlier this year. The office also said recently that it expects the economy to grow more slowly over the coming decade than it forecast earlier this year, driven by slower growth in the labor force after 2020, but that extended lower interest rates would trim the spending level projected in an earlier forecast.

The National Taxpayers Union Foundation has been tallying the spending promises and proposals of all the presidential candidates. As of last week, the group calculated the net effect of Mr. Trump's proposals so far, the ones for which costs could be determined, would be to increase spending $18 billion a year. When the group ran a similar tally in 2012, it found that GOP nominee Mitt Romney's plans would cut spending by some $353 billion a year.

Mrs. Clinton has advanced proposals to spend far more—a net effect of $198 billion a year, the taxpayers' union said. Her proposed tax increases would help offset that, to the tune of $1.1 trillion over a decade, according to an estimate by the Tax Policy Center, a project of the Brookings Institution and the Urban Institute.

On entitlement programs, Mrs. Clinton, like Mr. Trump, hasn't proposed long-term changes to rein in costs and shore up Social Security or Medicare. She has, however, talked about possibly expanding Social Security benefits for some retirees.

"From the point of view of spending control, neither candidate is talking about that," said Robert Bixby, executive director of the Concord Coalition, a budget watchdog group. "Neither candidate has a plan to deal with the basic dynamic that is increasing federal spending," he said.

Over the past two months, Mr. Trump has been laying out more policy specifics, countering critics who said his agenda was light on details—especially given that his Democratic rival's campaign put out a 256-page book describing Mrs. Clinton's policy plans.

On **immigration**, he called for improving border security by tripling the number of **Immigration** and Customs Enforcement officers, and offsetting the cost by cutting off federal per-child credits for illegal **immigrants**. His signature project—building a wall on the U.S.-Mexico border—could cost some $2.5 billion a year, the taxpayers' union estimated. Mr. Trump said Mexico would pay for it; he has offered no offsets if that doesn't happen.

In a speech on defense policy, he proposed repealing the scheduled cuts in military spending known as the "sequester," and listed programs on which he would spend more. He said he would pay for the bigger defense budget through government workforce attrition; cutting appropriations for unauthorized programs; reducing improper payments; and improving tax collections.

An analysis by the Committee for a Responsible Federal Budget found it would cost $450 billion over 10 years to repeal the sequester, but that the proposed offsets would cover only two-thirds of the cost, leaving $150 billion added to the debt.

On infrastructure, Mr. Trump hasn't put out a specific proposal, but he has said he wants twice the spending of Mrs. Clinton's $275 billion, five-year proposal. A Trump aide said the plan would propose cost offsets. The last time the Republican-controlled Congress passed a highway bill, in 2015, it provided $305 billion over five years, and lawmakers stretched to find ways to offset the costs.

In a recent speech in Ohio, the nominee said his school-choice proposal would be paid for by cutting other Education Department programs, but he didn't say which ones.

On child care, Mr. Trump waded into terrain Republicans long have resisted—a new federally backed entitlement. He proposed guaranteed paid leave of six weeks for women whose employers don't provide it. The campaign said it would be financed by rooting out abuse in the unemployment insurance system. Many conservatives objected to federal social-policy mandates, and critics say he is overestimating the amount that could be gleaned from fraud in the unemployment system.

Mr. Trump's maternity-leave proposal is "diametrically opposed to what free-market advocates would recommend," said Lanhee Chen, former policy adviser to Mr. Romney in 2012. "His vision on fiscal and entitlement issues is very different from what we've seen from previous Republican nominees. That's why there is still some discomfort, especially among those who espouse fiscal conservatism."

One of Mr. Trump's biggest departures from party orthodoxy of recent years is his insistence that he wouldn't try to rein in the costs, except to eliminate fraud and abuse, in Social Security and other entitlement programs that are the biggest drivers of spending. House Speaker Paul Ryan, in particular, has championed the view that major structural changes are central to the long-term fiscal health of the programs and the nation.

Asked about that reluctance to cut entitlements, economist Lawrence Kudlow, who has been advising Mr. Trump, said the nominee "wants to look at the small entitlements first, food stamps, welfare, unemployment, disability."

But asked how that squares with his willingness to propose a whole new entitlement in his child-care proposal, Mr. Kudlow said, "Those are fair criticisms and a President Trump will have to prove that he's serious about that."

Nick Timiraos contributed to this article.

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\* Trump Tax Plan to Cost Up to $5.9 Trillion, Group Says[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/donald-trumps-tax-plan-would-reduce-taxes-by-4-4-trillion-to-5-9-trillion-group-says-1474297940]

\* White, Working-Class Voters Vex Clinton[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/white-working-class-voters-vex-hillary-clinton-1474235442]

\* October Surprise? Growth May Accelerate Just Before Election Day[http://blogs.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/economics/2016/09/19/october-surprise-u-s-economic-growth-may-accelerate-just-before-election-day/]

\* 5 Quotes From the Sunday Talk Shows[http://blogs.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/briefly/2016/09/18/fivequotes0918/]

\* Clinton Ties Herself to Obama's Legacy[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/hillary-clinton-ties-herself-to-president-obamas-legacy-1474167759]

\* For the First Time, Trump Says Obama Was Born in U.S.[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/donald-trump-says-barack-obama-was-born-in-u-s-after-years-of-sowing-doubt-1474041185]

\* Trump Suggests Clinton's Guards Disarm: ‘See What Happens'[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/at-miami-rally-trump-reaches-out-to-black-and-hispanic-voters-1474072705]

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**BERLIN—The center-left Social Democrats won an election Sunday in the city-state of Berlin, in a vote that propelled an upstart anti-**immigrant** party in Germany into its 10th state legislature.

The Social Democrats, led by Berlin Mayor Michael Müller, finished first with 21.6% of the vote, according to a projection based on exit polling and partial vote counts released by public broadcaster ARD. The center-right Christian Democrats, the party of Chancellor Angela Merkel, came in second with 17.5%, followed closely by the radical Left Party and the environmentalist Greens.

Alternative for Germany, a three-year-old party that has placed opposition to Ms. Merkel's acceptance of **refugees** at the core of its agenda, came in fifth with 14.1% of the vote, according to the projection. The result means the party will be represented in 10 of Germany's 16 powerful state parliaments.

With the political landscape scrambled by the Alternative for Germany, the Social Democrats and the Christian Democrats—Germany's two long-dominant political parties—both appeared set to finish with their worst results in Berlin's postwar history.

The vote showed how the **refugee** crisis continues to shake German politics[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/merkel-urges-politicians-to-watch-their-language-in-fight-against-afd-1473240133], more than a year after Ms. Merkel refused to close the country's borders to asylum seekers arriving at a rate of thousands a day. Many conservative supporters of the Christian Democrats, known as the CDU, have bolted for the AfD to register their disapproval with Ms. Merkel's migration policy.

"Our task as a party is to take the people along on those issues that are of greatest importance to them," AfD national Co-Chairman Jörg Meuthen said on ARD television after the first results came in. "We surely do this more than other parties, and that explains our success."

Nearly half of Sunday's AfD supporters[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/merkel-stands-by-refugee-policy-after-election-loss-1473078641] voted for minor parties or didn't vote at all in the last state election, an exit poll released by public broadcaster ZDF said. Another 22% of AfD voters came from the Christian Democrats' camp. The ARD exit poll found that **refugee** policy was the decisive issue for 72% of AfD voters and that more than two-thirds voted for it because they were disappointed with the other parties.

While Mr. Müller will retain his party's 15-year hold on City Hall in the German capital, the Christian Democrats appear likely to lose their status as the junior partner in Mr. Müller's governing coalition after dropping some 5 percentage points from the last Berlin election, in 2011. Instead, the Left and Green parties are likely to replace the Christian Democrats as coalition partners to the Social Democrats, pushing Berlin's government to the left.

In all, only 32% of Berlin voters said they were afraid because so many **refugees** had arrived, while 55% said they saw **refugees** as enriching life in Germany, according to the ARD exit poll.

Nevertheless, the state election in Berlin came as a preview of the threat Ms. Merkel's Christian Democrats face in next September's national election. The AfD, now running as high as 15% in national polls, is gathering momentum to gain its first seats in national parliament in the general elections next year. In the state election[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/social-democrats-win-vote-in-germanys-mecklenburg-west-pomerania-1473006387?tesla=y] in the northeast region of Mecklenburg-West Pomerania two weeks ago, the AfD took 20.8% of the vote and finished ahead of the Christian Democrats for the first time.

Fear of losing conservative voters to the AfD has put pressure on Ms. Merkel to change course. She showed signs of doing so in a magazine interview released this weekend, in which she for the first time distanced herself from her "We can do it!" mantra voicing confidence that Germany could handle the **refugees**. More than one million people seeking asylum came to Germany this year and last, and Ms. Merkel exhorted Germans to face the challenge of accepting and integrating the new arrivals.

"I would most rather just about never repeat it any more," Ms. Merkel said of her "We can do it!" phrase in the interview with WirtschaftsWoche magazine. "Some people have felt provoked by it. It was of course not meant that way, but rather encouragingly and decidedly in an appreciative manner."

Ms. Merkel has pushed legislation through parliament in recent months to tighten asylum rules and sought to speed deportations of rejected asylum seekers. But her critics want her to do more, such as declaring an upper limit on the number of **refugees** Germany will accept.

"This is the second massive wake-up call in two weeks," Markus Söder, a senior politician for Ms. Merkel's conservative Bavarian sister party, the Christian Social Union, told the Bild tabloid after the Berlin results came in. The Social Democrats and Christian Democrats, he went on, "must make an effort for more support of the citizenry, especially in the **refugee** question, and finally strictly limit **immigration** and bring security problems under control."

Write to Anton Troianovski at anton.troianovski@wsj.com[mailto:anton.troianovski@wsj.com]

Related Reading

\* Germany's Angela Merkel Urges Politicians to Watch Their Language in Fight Against AfD[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/merkel-urges-politicians-to-watch-their-language-in-fight-against-afd-1473240133]

\* Populists' Advance in Germany Jolts Europe[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/merkel-stands-by-refugee-policy-after-election-loss-1473078641]

\* Anti-**Immigrant** AfD Trounces Merkel's Christian Democrats in Her Home State[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/social-democrats-win-vote-in-germanys-mecklenburg-west-pomerania-1473006387?tesla=y]

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**EUROPE

NATO Offers Details On Its Baltic Force

The new allied deterrent force for the Baltic region will be in place by May 2017, with some units arriving earlier, the head of the Western alliance's military committee said.

Military leaders from the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, gathering in Split, Croatia, this weekend, discussed the deployment of the force of as many as 4,000 personnel, its rules of engagement, and its command and control.

Czech Army Gen. Petr Pavel, who leads the NATO military committee, said the battle groups will be arriving at different times in the first half of 2017. The U.S. force of about 1,000 soldiers will come from the 2nd Cavalry Regiment based in Vilseck, Germany, and is due to arrive in Poland by April, U.S. officials said.

In its July summit in Warsaw, NATO approved a new multinational force to be stationed in Poland and the Baltic states, aimed at deterring Russian aggression in the region. Eastern European allies have been worried about the possibility of a rising threat from Russia since Moscow annexed Crimea from Ukraine in 2014.

In Croatia, the NATO chiefs of defense—including the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, U.S. Marine Gen. Joseph Dunford—discussed the rules of engagement the force would operate under. The rules will differ by each country, reflecting differences in the situation and agreements with the host nations.

While Gen. Pavel wouldn't outline the rules, he said they would be altered from those the current international forces in the region are operating under, designed to allow the new NATO forces to move from a peacetime footing to a crisis situation rapidly.

Julian E. Barnes

SOMALIA

Car Bomber Kills General in Capital

A powerful car bomb killed a Somali military general and five of his bodyguards in the capital Sunday, according to a Somali police officer.

Gen. Mohamed Roble Jimale Gobanle and his bodyguards were killed when a suicide bomber detonated an explosives-laden vehicle next to the general's car near Somalia's defense ministry compound in Mogadishu, said Capt. Ali Nur.

Gen. Gobanle was the commander of the Somali army's 3rd Brigade, a combat team fighting the al-Shabaab Islamic extremists in southern Somalia.

Al-Shabaab claimed responsibility for the attack, according the group's Andalus radio station. Al-Shabaab, which is allied to al Qaeda, has been waging a deadly insurgency across large parts of Somalia and often uses suicide car bomb attacks.

Al-Shabaab is fighting to impose a strict version of Islam in this Horn of Africa nation. Despite losing a lot of ground in recent years, the extremist group continues to carry out lethal attacks in many parts of the country, and many recent attacks have targeted military bases.

Last week, heavily armed al-Shabaab fighters briefly seized El Wak, a town near the Kenyan border, killing four soldiers before troops recaptured it one day later early Saturday.

Associated Press

EUROPE

U.S., Canada Pressed

To Take **Refugees**

Europe expects more help from the U.S. and Canada on **refugees** as it struggles with a rise in populism and xenophobia, a senior European Union official said, as the world's leaders gather in New York for the United Nations General Assembly.

More than 60 million people are seeking **refuge** around the world, European migration commissioner Dimitris Avramopoulos said in an interview ahead of a U.N. summit on **refugees** and migrants on Monday.

"They are **refugees** so it is a problem that has to be addressed globally. The European Union has done a lot but we are not there yet," he said.

The commissioner, a former Greek diplomat, said he expects to see pledges to take in more **refugees** "not only from the U.S. government, also from Canada and maybe other big countries on the American continent."

Valentina Pop

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**BRUSSELS—Europe expects more help from the U.S. and Canada on **refugees** as it struggles with a rise in populism and xenophobia, a senior European Unionofficial said, as the world's leaders gather in New York[http://www.un.org.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=54941#.V91Cg\_krJpg] for the United Nations General Assembly.

More than 60 million people are seeking **refuge** around the world, European migration commissioner Dimitris Avramopoulos said in an interview[http://blogs.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/brussels/2016/09/18/eu-migration-commissioner-emphasizes-global-scale-of-migration-issue/] ahead of a U.N. summit on **refugees** and migrants on Monday.

"They are **refugees** so it is a problem that has to be addressed globally. The European Union has done a lot but we are not there yet," he said.

The commissioner, a former Greek diplomat, said he expects to see pledges to take in more **refugees** "not only from the U.S. government, also from Canada and maybe other big countries on the American continent."

"The positive response of the Canadians is showing the way. I understand that migration is a domestic issue these days in the U.S., with the election campaign. I hope after the elections we'll find a way to cooperate with the American government on this issue," Mr. Avramopoulos said.

The Obama administration is planning to raise the number of **refugees**[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/president-obama-to-increase-refugees-admitted-to-u-s-by-30-1473818352] the U.S. takes in by nearly 30% in the 2017 fiscal year starting Oct. 1, though the issue has proved divisive in the presidential campaign. While Hillary Clinton has backed a higher intake of Syrian **refugees**, Donald Trump last year called for a temporary ban on Muslims entering the U.S.

The EU struggled last year to deal with more than a million migrants, many of them Syrians escaping civil war, who entered the bloc after crossing the Mediterranean Sea from Turkey to land on nearby Greek islands. From there they made their way through Greece[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/macedonia-completely-closes-border-with-greece-to-migrants-1457521754] and the Balkans to reach Austria, Germany[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/germanys-migrant-population-hits-record-high-1474018635] and Scandinavian countries.

"In Europe we didn't have this experience before. Some member states, yes, but not Europe as such. Now we have learned. In order to better protect our borders we have decided—and are now finalizing a European Border and Coast Guard, to better protect Europe's borders," the commissioner said.

He said the EU has learned from the U.S. border-screening system on checking the identity of people entering and leaving its territory. The bloc is now discussing putting in a similar system at the EU level.

The EU's focus on border protection marks a shift in policy from last year, when its main response to the unchecked wave of migrants was to set up a quota system[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/eu-plans-to-redistribute-up-to-160-000-refugees-who-arrive-in-italy-greece-and-hungary-1441288367] under which member countries would be obliged to take in a certain number of **refugees** based on the size of their economy and population.

Mr. Avramopoulos said the redistribution of migrants has so far yielded "very poor" results. Of the 160,000 asylum seekers the EU agreed last year to relocate out of Italy and Greece to the rest of the bloc, only 4,700 have been moved. A rise in anti-**immigrant** sentiment and the success of many populist, xenophobic parties in several European countries has put pressure on governments to refuse taking in more **refugees**, he said.

Mr. Avramopoulos said it was important to resist the expansion of these political movements[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/merkel-stands-by-refugee-policy-after-election-loss-1473078641].

"Populism and nationalism are undermining the European project, they are against the basic principles on which Europe is built. In the end, is not the economic crisis that is putting the European project at stake, but the **refugee** crisis management," he said.

On the increased security risks for Europe after several perpetrators of terror attacks entered the continent in the migrant flow, Mr. Avramopoulos said, "We must avoid amalgamating terrorists with **refugees** and migrants."

But he noted, "if the intelligence services of Europe had established [a closer] cooperation, many of the perpetrators would have been arrested and hindered from committing those crimes."

Mr. Avramopoulos said he was against the prospect of a wall on the U.S.'s border with Mexico, as proposed by Republican presidential candidate Donald Trump.

"Given the basic democratic principles on which the postwar European architecture is made, we are against whatever divides people, we are against walls. We must find human and legal ways to treat these desperate people who flee war and poverty."

He said that the history of the U.S., created by **immigrants**, is one of the best examples of how people with different ethnicities and religions can coexist and progress. "I think it's in the minds of the American people how to keep these values alive."

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Related

\* Transcript: EU Migration Commissioner Emphasizes Issue's Global Scale[http://blogs.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/brussels/2016/09/18/eu-migration-commissioner-emphasizes-global-scale-of-migration-issue/]

\* Germany's Efforts to Integrate Migrants Into Its Workforce Falter[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/germanys-efforts-to-integrate-migrants-into-its-workforce-falter-1473948135] (Sept. 15)

\* President Obama to Increase **Refugees** Admitted to U.S. by 30%[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/president-obama-to-increase-refugees-admitted-to-u-s-by-30-1473818352] (Sept. 14)

\* Europe Targets Growth, Migrants With New Investment Push[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/europe-targets-growth-migrants-with-new-investment-push-1473852947] (Sept. 14)

\* Syrians Strain Resettlement Agencies[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/syrians-strain-resettlement-agencies-1473727893] (Sept. 12)

\* EU-Turkey Talks Dial Down Risk to Migration Deal[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/eu-turkey-talks-dial-down-risk-to-migration-deal-1472906150] (Sept. 3)

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Ever since the start of this bizarre presidential campaign, Donald Trump has ensured that most discussions of **immigration** focus on Mexico and Mexicans. But his noxious rhetoric has obscured the fact that illegal border crossings are just part of the problem. The U.S. system for legal **immigration** also badly needs reform—and here the answers lie not south but north, in Canada.

Canada today has one of the highest **immigration** rates in the world. For the past two decades, it has admitted about 250,000 newcomers a year—close to 1% of the population—and Ottawa expects that number to grow to 337,000 a year by 2018. More than 20% of Canada's inhabitants are now foreign-born—almost twice the proportion of residents of Sweden, Germany or the U.S., even if you lump in undocumented migrants.

Yet most Canadians couldn't be happier about it. Polls have shown that two-thirds of them feel that **immigration** is one of Canada's key strengths, and the same proportion favors keeping it at its current level—or even increasing it. Despite the global recession and the specter of terrorism, public support for **immigration** in Canada is near an all-time high.

Canada wasn't always like this. Until after World War II, Ottawa accepted few outsiders. Even after that changed, who got in was determined by a policy unofficially known as "White Canada." Northern Europeans were courted; swarthier types from Southern or Eastern Europe were only let in during severe manpower shortages; everybody else was basically banned.

So how did that Canada—timid, racist and parochial—become the multihued and fiercely open-minded Canada of today? The country didn't change for some idealistic reason. Canada embraced **immigration** because it had to. Canadian virtue, such as it is, was born of necessity.

The story dates back to the mid-1960s. At the time, the economy of this vast yet sparsely populated country was booming. But Europe, Canada's preferred source for the right (read: white) sort of workers, had stopped exporting them as it finally recovered from the war.

After a few false starts, Ottawa accepted the inevitable in 1967 and dropped all ethnic criteria from its **immigration** rules, replacing them with a revolutionary new policy. Under this system—the essence of which remains in effect today—applicants for residency were assigned points based on nine criteria, such as education, age, fluency in English or French, and whether or not their skills fit Canada's economic needs. Those who scored above a certain number got in, period. Nothing else mattered.

The effects of this change were dramatic. Between 1946 and 1953, 96% of **immigrants** to Canada had come from Europe. Between 1968 and 1988, that figure fell to 38%.

The new system may have made good sense on economic grounds, but ordinary Canadians didn't like it—in fact, they hated it. Polls taken in the mid-1960s found that a majority wanted the government to keep excluding nonwhites, while 67% opposed any increase in **immigration**.

This was one of two big problems facing Pierre Trudeau (the father of Canada's current leader) when he became prime minister in 1968. The other hit closer to home: His birthplace, the largely Francophone province of Quebec, was threatening to secede, and separatists were setting off bombs in Montreal.

After his first efforts to deal with these problems flopped, Trudeau decided to try something radical. In October 1971, he strode into Canada's Parliament and, in a bombshell speech, announced that "cultural pluralism is the very essence of Canadian identity." Declaring that no "ethnic group [should] take precedence over any other," he unveiled a new policy of official multiculturalism.

In recent years, critics have come to deride multiculturalism as politically correct nonsense (at best) or a path to ethnic Balkanization (at worst). But there was nothing softheaded about Trudeau's gambit. When he declared that his government would begin supporting all of the country's cultures—"the small and weak groups no less than the strong"—he also set out a condition: Such groups had to demonstrate "a desire and effort to…contribute to Canada." His subtext was clear: Integration remained a key goal. But now integration and the retention of one's native culture wouldn't be mutually exclusive.

Trudeau liked to stress the idealistic side of his new policy, but he also had pragmatic ends in mind: reducing the threat of Quebecois separatism while also easing the acceptance of the new workers that Canada so desperately needed. And his strategy worked. In fact, the two policies—on **immigration** and multiculturalism—reinforced one another.

Picking most **immigrants** based on their ability to make material contributions began paying dividends that benefited everyone. Indeed, the system has produced one of the most successful **immigrant** populations in the world. According to the OECD, Canadian **immigrants** are better educated than any other country's foreign-born population (53% of them enter Canada with college degrees, compared with 39% in the U.S.). Their employment rate is among the highest in the developed world, and without them, Canada's workforce would be shrinking and aging.

Meanwhile, generous government support for integration and multicultural initiatives—Ottawa currently spends an estimated $1 billion a year on celebrations of ethnic heritage, pro-**immigration** TV programs and the like—has driven home the message that broadening the country's cultural makeup makes it more Canadian, not less. All of this helps to explain why, when recently asked what makes them proudest of their country, Canadians told pollsters for the firm Environics that they ranked multiculturalism ahead of hockey. Hockey!

No wonder, then, that support for **immigration** has become a bipartisan cause. Trudeau was a Liberal, but it was a Tory, Brian Mulroney, who enshrined Canada's multiculturalism into law in 1988. And in 2011, the Conservative Party worked so hard to court foreign-born Canadians that it beat the Liberals among **immigrant**voters for the first time in history.

Of course, Canada has never had much of a problem with undocumented migrants, thanks to its geographic isolation. Whereas almost a third of the current foreign-born population in the U.S. is undocumented, the figure is no more than 6% in Canada.

These numbers help to explain Canadians' openness, but they don't tell the whole story. After all, the U.K. is also isolated geographically and has close to the same percentage of undocumented workers. Yet Brits are twice as hostile to **immigration** as are their former colonial subjects. So smart policies matter.

Was Pierre Trudeau's grand scheme just a cynical political move dressed up as high principle? Maybe, but the results are what count, and in Canada, they have been spectacular—a record for politicians everywhere to emulate.

Mr. Tepperman is the managing editor of Foreign Affairs. This essay is adapted from his new book, "The Fix: How Nations Survive and Thrive in a World in Decline," which will be published on Sept. 20 by Tim Duggan Books.

Related Reading

\* Some Countries See Migrants as an Economic Boon, Not a Burden[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/some-countries-see-migrants-as-an-economic-boon-not-a-burden-1450881706] Dec. 23, 2015

\* Justin Trudeau Seeks to Set New Tone in Canada [http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/justin-trudeau-seeks-to-set-new-tone-in-canada-1445357521] Oct. 20, 2015

\* Canada Unveils New Plan to Attract Wealthy **Immigrants**[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/canada-unveils-new-immigrant-investor-plan-1418784959] Dec. 16, 2014

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**BRATISLAVA, Slovakia—European Union leaders sketched out a tentative agenda Friday aimed to set the bloc on a path to recovery[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/eu-chief-juncker-seeks-to-rally-support-for-the-bloc-in-keynote-speech-1473843548] after Britain's June vote to leave, but there were immediate signs the bloc's deep divisions, particularly on migration, hadn't been overcome.

At the end of a meeting in the Slovak capital's hilltop castle, leaders pledged to step up their cooperation on protecting the bloc's borders, fighting terrorism and improving the region's economy. They said this was the only way to counter what they called in a joint statement the "simplistic solutions" of populist, nationalist political movements.

Speaking after the first extended gathering of the 27 heads of government without Britain's participation, German Chancellor Angela Merkel said the bloc must prepare for the post-Britain era. She said it cannot afford to offer more "empty words."

"Our voters are expecting us to deliver results" on reducing migration, boosting living standards and modernizing the bloc's telecommunications infrastructure, she said. "But if we don't do this, then we stand no chance whatsoever. So today was a step in the right direction but only one step."

However, Italian Prime Minister Matteo Renzi, who is under political pressure at home, said he wouldn't join the French and German leaders for their final press conference because he wasn't "satisfied with the conclusions on growth and migration."

Mr. Renzi, who has complained about the lack of burden sharing in the migration crisis, said that describing the conclusions reached as progress required an act of "imagination."

European Council chief Donald Tusk said leaders agreed "never to allow for the return of uncontrolled **refugee** flows of last year and to ensure full control of our external border."

While the summit was originally called to help EU leaders prepare for negotiations over exit terms with Britain, U.K.'s Prime Minister Theresa May hasn't yet triggered those talks and isn't expected to do so this year. Despite some pressure from France, Belgium and other EU countries, Ms. May has signaled she won't start the talks this year.

Mr. Tusk said on Friday he expects the two-year negotiation period to begin in January or February.

"The negotiations must lead to a result where it is clear it is worth being a member of the EU, that there are more advantages than disadvantages," said Slovak Prime Minister Robert Fico. To be "perfectly frank, unlike the U.K., we know what we want."

In their discussions, EU leaders mapped out several key areas to focus on and set themselves a six-month timeline to start delivering. Follow-up meetings will take place in Malta early next year and Italy in March, leaders decided.

The plans included a commitment to speed up the rapid reaction capacity of the bloc's newly formed border and coast guard agency and improve security on Bulgaria's EU border with Turkey.

Leaders pledged to improve the flow of information on who enters and exits the bloc and to take further steps to combat religious radicalization in EU countries. They also pledged to push ahead with efforts to reach new trade deals, deepen defense cooperation and keep pressure up for progress on creating a single EUdigital market.

Still, the echoes of the bloc's divisions were audible in Bratislava. Mr. Renzi's comments about economic policy underscored the continued divergence between those who want to see the bloc's fiscal rules made more flexible and others, like Germany, who are pushing for continued discipline and economic reforms.

One senior diplomat said Mr. Renzi's criticism of Friday's discussions were driven by his political problems at home.

"I think he had totally other things on his mind than what was going on in there," a senior diplomat said.

Mr. Renzi's government is expected to hold a plebiscite on a constitutional reform aimed at creating more stable governments. The prime minister has staked his government on a positive outcome, threatening to resign if it fails.

The bloc is still divided on how to share the burden of past and future inflows of **refugees**. Despite Mr. Fico's confidence, the negotiations with Britain could expose a major divergence between those who want a tight relationship with the U.K. and others who are more focused on highlighting the costs of leaving the bloc.

Friday's gathering steered clear from big controversies, such as debating the balance of power between Brussels and the national governments or changing the EU's founding treaties.

However, French President François Hollande said difficult, sensitive issues were addressed.

"Nothing was set aside," he said, including how Europe handles the migration crisis, its fragile agreement with Turkey to stem the inflow of migrants and the need for Europe to play a "fuller role" in helping end the Syria conflict.

Margit Feher in Budapest contributed to this article.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Antonio Di Benedetto's mesmerizing "Zama"—first published in 1956 and now translated in English for the first time—is a modern novel that refutes a central tenet of modernity and a historical novel that rejects the romance of the past. The protagonist is Diego de Zama, a tortured legal counselor to the governor of Paraguay at the end of the 18th century.

Trapped in the backwater city of Asunción, Don Diego hungers for an assignment in Buenos Aires, closer to his wife, Marta, and his sons. Of Spanish blood but South American birth—an americano—Don Diego is a second-tier white within the Spanish colonial hierarchy. His future depends entirely on the whim of the crown. The novel tracks his descent into idle despair as he waits endlessly for bureaucratic deliverance.

Di Benedetto's prose, at once methodical and otherworldly, captures the grim humor of Don Diego's plight. He goes to wait by the river, where he imagines that an incoming ship will carry Marta, or at least a letter from her. After years of separation, "I needed physical love as badly as I needed to eat," he confesses. Yet he remains faithful to Marta, to help avoid becoming attached to provincial exile. Underneath a ruined wharf, as if capturing a glimpse of himself, he watches a dead monkey "drift[ing] back and forth with a certain precision" among the pilings.

Zama

By Antonio Di Benedetto

NYRB, 198 pages, $15.95

Di Benedetto (1922-86), the translator Esther Allen explains in the preface, was himself self-tethered to his home city of Mendoza, far from the center of Argentinean literary life in Buenos Aires. In 1953, he published "Animal World," his first book; three others, including "Zama," hundreds of short stories, and a couple screenplays followed. The military junta that took power in March 1976 had Di Benedetto arrested and jailed for reasons still unclear. Released after 18 months, he went into exile, living in Europe and the United States.

"Animal World," Ms. Allen notes, "concerns all sorts of transactions and transmutations between human and animal" and seems to draw thematically on Franz Kafka. But Di Benedetto always maintained that he didn't read Kafka until just before he wrote "Zama," in which animals appear mostly as metaphor. (In Asunción, for example, certain fish "that the river spurns" are "attached, perhaps despite themselves, to the very element that repudiates them.")

But Di Benedetto applied real elements of Kafka's fable of modernity to "Zama." As Ms. Allen points out, Zama's name, pronounced with a soft "z" in the local accent, is quite possibly a play on Samsa, the name of Kafka's protagonist in "The Metamorphosis." Just as Kafka distorts time and distance through the eyes of the man turned into an insect, Di Benedetto deploys them as a gauge of Zama's exile: "There was nothing before me but a flat expanse where every need was abolished. I had only to move forward, farther and farther. But I feared the end. For, presumably, there was no end."

Gregor Samsa's horrifying predicament can be read as a critique of the modern idea that human beings can invent themselves anew by separating from and exploiting nature and by harnessing time and distance Samsa, a harried traveling salesman, is now trapped in place, helplessly late for work. The New World–born Zama is also determined to self-invent. But the forces he wishes to seize for his self-invention turn on him. To get ahead, Zama believes that he should associate only with the Spanish-born; once his fidelity begins to fail, he refuses any woman who is black, Indian or mestizo. This position **alienates** him from the emerging cross-ethnic culture of Latin America that will soon overthrow Spanish rule. That Zama chooses this **alienation** only deepens it. "It was as if I, I myself, might generate failure," he reflects.

Zama's self-deprecating honesty, even amidst episodes of lechery, cowardice and violence, allows the reader to empathize and hope, against all odds, that he will escape exile. Human beings indeed have always had dirty minds and foul hearts, sought danger, and betrayed themselves, Di Benedetto suggests. "Zama" is thus an early example of historical fiction that rejects the seductive spell of an innocent past. Our pleasure in the historical setting isn't that of the voyeur, gazing on a purer time and place, but that of looking into a slightly distorting mirror on ourselves.

The Argentinian novelist César Aira may be the most compelling inheritor of Di Benedetto's project, particularly in the affecting novel "An Episode in the Life of a Landscape Painter" (2000), which takes place in the early 19th century, just after "Zama's" end. In Mr. Aira's novel, the German landscape painter Johann Moritz Rugendas sets out from Mendoza at the urging of Alexander von Humboldt to capture the "totality" of the country's landscape—surely a modern impulse. But nature intervenes, sending Rugendas into a dangerous spiral; as Di Benedetto shows and Mr. Aira confirms, how a man faces his own abyss is, indeed, the question for all time.

Mr. Popkin is the author of the novel "Lion and Leopard."

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**PARIS—French authorities on Friday dismantled a makeshift camp in Paris, as France struggles to cope with a growing number of migrants flocking to its capital.

Close to 2,000 migrants, many of them **refugees** from Sudan, Afghanistan and Eritrea, had set up tents in north Paris near the city's main railway station, which links the French capital to the coastal town of Calais, said a housing ministry official.

Among the people at the camp were several families, including eight children and one pregnant woman, said a spokesman for the Paris mayor.

The area was cordoned off by police before migrants were taken by bus to 74 shelters across the Paris region, said the housing ministry official.

France is straining to deal with the increasing number of migrants in its capital where makeshift camps regularly appear in streets and other public areas, before being cleared by police.

The camp in northern Paris was previously dismantled in August when about 700 people were living there.

For many migrants, the French capital is only a transit point, before heading to the port town of Calais from where they hope to reach the U.K.

A record 10,000 migrants are living in camps that sprawl across windswept dunes on the coast, and many try to sneak onto trucks headed to the U.K.

Over the past year, the French government has led a campaign in Calais and Paris to encourage migrants to apply for asylum in France.

Paris Mayor Anne Hidalgo said this month that a camp to house 400 **refugees** would be opened in north Paris in mid-October. A camp for women and children will follow in the southern suburb of Ivry-sur-Seine by the end of the year.

The two camps will cost an estimated 6.5 million euros ($7.3 million).

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**SANLIURFA, Turkey—The fears of many Syrian **refugees** in Turkey center less on whether the current cease-fire will hold than on the prospect that the government of President Bashar al-Assad will remain in place.

Many here say they worry that the U.S. is walking back its demands that Mr. Assad resign as part of a broader political settlement[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/syrias-assad-swears-to-keep-fighting-terrorists-as-cease-fire-set-to-begin-1473693345], leaving them as targets for opposing the dictator's rule if they return. Even as violence ebbed this week and humanitarian aid was poised to resume, many Syrians fear they are destined to remain **refugees** in Turkey unless a future political deal includes Mr. Assad's departure.

"If America backs Assad to stay, America will be my enemy," said a tearful Aziza Jaloud, a **refugee** in the southern Turkish city of Gaziantep near the Syrian border. "It's impossible for us to go back to Syria if Assad is still ruling."

The U.S.-Russia-sponsored cease-fire[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/u-s-russia-say-they-have-reached-syria-cease-fire-deal-1473461383] that began Monday has brought a significant reduction in violence. But talks on a political transition to resolve the conflict haven't yet begun and past truces have all unraveled over time. Both the armed and political opposition say they will reject the broader political settlement the U.S. hopes to achieve unless Mr. Assad's departure is part of the deal.

The U.K.-based opposition monitoring group Syrian Observatory for Human Rights said Friday cease-fire violations by both sides were on the rise and seven civilians had been killed since the truce began.

There was no progress Friday in freeing up 40 truckloads of humanitarian aid[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/u-n-faces-problem-getting-aid-into-syria-1473945996] intended for the rebel-held side of the city of Aleppo, besieged by government forces.

According to the United Nations, the aid has been held up at the Turkey-Syria border pending permission to proceed from Damascus and the conclusion of a complex security arrangement involving all main parties to the conflict. Nearly 300,000 people in besieged eastern Aleppo are in urgent need of the relief, aid groups say.

U.S. Secretary of State John Kerry made clear in a phone call to Russian Foreign Minister Sergei Lavrov on Friday that the U.S. wouldn't begin any military cooperation with Russia in Syria until the U.N. aid convoys reached Aleppo and other areas of Syria in need, officials said.

The aid delivery is an essential element of the current cease-fire that the U.S. hopes can be expanded into a political solution to end the war. But if Mr. Assad stays in power, hundreds of thousands of Syrians who took part in the revolt against him—whether by posting critical comments on Facebook or by actively fighting—may be unable to return home without repercussion, remaining instead condemned to live as **refugees** in Turkey, Germany or elsewhere.

The international community wants a deal to stop the flow of **refugees** out of Syria[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/eu-turkey-talks-dial-down-risk-to-migration-deal-1472906150]—nearly 5 million so far by U.N. estimates. But a sticking point has been what to do with Mr. Assad, with the government and its allies—including Moscow—refusing to consider his departure.

The U.S. and Turkey over the past year have withdrawn their insistence that the Syrian president step aside to achieve a final political solution to end the country's war, now in its sixth year. Opposition activists and rebels say if Mr. Assad is included in a transitional interim government, as outlined in recent proposals, he may find a way to stay on permanently.

One Syrian **refugee** said her husband, bored with life as a **refugee**, is desperate to return home and fight the regime. But she sees the revolution as doomed and a return to Syria as a death sentence.

"If Assad stays, he will kill us. Where will we go? We must forget about Syria," she said on Friday at her home in Sanliurfa, Turkey, near the Syrian border.

The woman said she pleads with her husband to forget about rejoining the Western-backed rebel group Free Syrian Army, convinced the revolution will fail, Mr. Assad will stay in power and they must settle in for the long haul in Turkey. She said her husband fought with the Free Syrian Army in the eastern province of Deir Ezzour until Islamic State took it over in summer 2014, forcing more-moderate rebels to either join them or die.

Mrs. Jaloud, the **refugee** in Gaziantep, said she knows the government's wrath firsthand. In an account confirmed by her neighbors, she said she was detained for 11 years without trial after her husband, Ibrahim al-Youssef, defected from the Syrian military in protest in 1979 and was killed in a later standoff with the government.

When the revolution began in 2011, Mrs. Jaloud and her children, now adults, enthusiastically joined. Two went to the armed opposition. When rebels broke a government siege of eastern Aleppo city last month, the assault on government forces was named after her late husband.

"Everyone who left Syria knows about the injustice of this regime and even if they did the smallest protest in this revolution—talk about Assad—they know they can't go back," she said.

Her son, Yasser Ibrahim al-Youssef, a political representative for the rebel group Nour al-Dine al-Zinki, one of the largest in Aleppo, said he, his mother and his colleagues in the opposition have no choice.

"People went to the streets to fight for their freedom and their dignity," Mr. Youssef said in Gaziantep. "There is no dignity or freedom with Assad."

Noam Raydan and Nathan Hodge contributed to this article.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**LONDON—The new leader of the UK Independence Party, which played a significant role in pushing for the U.K.'s vote to exit from the European Union, called on the government to begin the process of leaving the bloc immediately.

UKIP on Friday announced that Diane James, a member of the European Parliament, had won an internal election to replace Nigel Farage, the longtime leader of the party and one of the most well known politicians in the country. Mr. Farage announced he was stepping down[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/nigel-farage-resigns-as-ukip-leader-after-brexit-vote-1467658909] in the immediate aftermath of the June referendum that saw Britons vote 52% to 48% to leave the EU.

Her election comes as the party faces the challenge of reinventing itself now that it has achieved its prime objective of setting the U.K. on the path to exiting the EU, while also mending internal schisms following a summer of infighting.

In a sign that the party will continue to pressure the U.K. government as it navigates Brexit, Ms. James in her inaugural speech as leader said Prime Minister Theresa May should "stop the fudge and the farce" and trigger Article 50, the formal mechanism for leaving the EU. Threats to the referendum outcome were increasing "by the day," she said.

Speaking at UKIP's annual conference in Bournemouth, England, Ms. James said under her leadership the party would continue to fight for the main issues that led people to vote for Brexit, including the U.K.'s ability to sign trade deals independently, a return of political control to London, and control over **immigration** from Europe.

She said her top priorities were to make UKIP more professional and to get the party battle-ready for the next national elections, scheduled for 2020. She described UKIP as the "opposition party in waiting."

Asked by reporters at a news conference after her speech why voters should support UKIP when the governing Conservatives were promising to deliver many of the things the euroskeptic party advocates, Ms. James said the government "cannot be trusted with Brexit," adding that Mrs. May had been in favor of staying in the EU.

Founded in 1993, UKIP has drawn support in recent years by tapping into anger at the political establishment and the EU. Its tough line against **immigration**elevated it to the country's third-most-popular party, winning 12.6% of votes in last year's general election though only one seat in the U.K. parliament.

And, in an apparent effort to end recent spats within the party, Ms. James said that unless the members rallied behind her the title of leader was meaningless.

Ms. James was the front-runner in the leadership election and the only one of the five contenders who could claim to have a national profile. She rose to prominence after coming second in a special election in 2013 and has since become a regular spokeswoman for UKIP on television talk shows.

Mrs. May is under mounting pressure at home and abroad to clarify her plans for Brexit[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/uks-theresa-may-talks-brexit-with-eus-donald-tusk-1473325926]. Her government has described her aims only in vague terms, saying it doesn't want to weaken her negotiating position. She has said she wouldn't trigger Article 50 before the end of the year but hasn't provided any further guidance on timing. She has said the U.K. wants ties that give it more control over **immigration** from the EU and the "right deal for trade in goods and services."

In his final speech as UKIP leader, Mr. Farage earlier Friday said Mrs. May was being tempted to go for a "soft" rather than a "hard" Brexit. He outlined three key measures that UKIP said were key to Brexit: control of fishing in U.K. coastal waters; withdrawal from the European single market; and the return of a British passport, his symbol for an end to Britain's adherence to the EU principle of free movement of people.

"I have a feeling they are not going to deliver all of that," he said.

Mr. Farage, who has been the face of UKIP since its early years, said building the party up had been his life's work and he would support but not try to influence the new leader. He said he intended to travel to some European capitals over the autumn to help other independence movements and would continue working in the European Parliament.

Well known for his plain speaking and controversial comments, Mr. Farage joked that now he was no longer party leader, "it is going to leave me freer; it is going to leave me less constrained. From now on I am really going to speak my mind."

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**NEW YORK—Donald Trump offered an expanded economic blueprint and outlined an overhaul of his tax plan on Thursday, but skeptics in both parties questioned his promise to offset steep tax cuts with significantly stronger economic growth.

In a speech at the Economic Club of New York, the Republican presidential nominee sought to cast his vision for the economy as the only one focused on boosting growth, framing Democratic nominee Hillary Clinton's policies as based instead on redistributing the gains of a slower-growing economy.

"My economic plan rejects the cynicism that says our labor force will keep declining, that our jobs will keep leaving and that our economy can never grow as it did once before," Mr. Trump said.

Mr. Trump's campaign said his revamped tax-cut plan would cost $4.4 trillion over a decade, before taking into account any returns from better growth. That total was down from independent estimates that pegged the cost of his earlier proposal at more than $9 trillion.

The Clinton campaign dismissed Mr. Trump's latest tax proposal as a giveaway. It would "benefit Trump at the expense of millions of hard-working folks across our country who deserve the opportunity of a better future," said Jacob Leibenluft, a senior policy adviser to Mrs. Clinton.

In his speech, Mr. Trump said the new plan—which includes proposals such as collapsing the seven individual tax brackets into three, and lowering the corporate tax rate to 15% from 35%—would simplify the tax code, though it came days after a separate proposal to help families defray child-care costs that would add new complexity to the tax system.

The New York businessman also said proposals to ramp up energy production and to slash environmental and consumer-protection regulations could boost jobs and growth, defraying the revenue lost from his tax cuts. Specifically, he called for a halt to all new regulations and an agency-wide scrub of existing rules to determine their economic impact. He also listed several regulations he wanted to scrap outright, including rules for power-plant emissions, ground-level ozone and food-safety standards.

Outside experts cast doubt on whether Mr. Trump's tax and economic policies could deliver the growth and employment gains suggested by the Trump campaign without also running large budget deficits.

"It doesn't add up," said Douglas Holtz-Eakin, a conservative economist who used to head the Congressional Budget Office and advised President George W. Bush and Sen. John McCain. For example, he said, the energy sector has slumped in the past two years as oil prices have cratered, and it was unlikely Mr. Trump could add thousands of new jobs without higher oil prices.

Mr. Trump, who has proposed large increases in spending on defense, infrastructure, veterans' health care and border security, also outlined plans for the first time to cut nondefense budgets by 1% annually. Those cuts would exempt entitlement programs such as Social Security and Medicare, the largest drivers of federal spending growth.

Such annual budget cuts would reduce federal spending on nondefense budgets, which include homeland security, transportation and veterans' affairs, by 29% from current levels over the next decade, after accounting for inflation, according to the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities, a liberal Washington think tank.

Mr. Trump said his plans could return growth to levels not seen since the late 1990s—by boosting gross domestic product 3.5% annually, up from recent levels of more than 2%. He promised the higher growth would create around 25 million new jobs over a decade, eclipsing even the 22 million jobs added during the 1990s economic boom.

But the economy today faces stiffer headwinds than it did 20 years ago because of an aging workforce and slowing birthrates. Other industrialized nations face even bigger demographic challenges than the U.S., which has seen larger population growth from **immigration**, but Mr. Trump has promised to curb the flow of **immigrants** to the U.S.

Mr. Trump's embrace of higher spending and tax cuts to boost the economy marks a noticeable shift for the GOP from a few years ago, when the Tea Party movement rebelled against bailouts and demanded greater attention to deficits. For Mr. Trump, "growth is a much higher priority than deficit reduction," said Stephen Moore, an economic adviser to Mr. Trump.

Republican lawmakers cheered Mr. Trump's embrace of a tax plan that is much closer to one offered by the House GOP and his push for cutting regulations. "He caught the attention of all the House Republicans when he called for a regulatory freeze," said Rep. French Hill (R., Ark.).

But Mr. Trump has enjoyed less solid backing from traditional conservative groups. For example, representatives of the Heritage Foundation and its lobbying arm, Heritage Action for America, said this week they weren't available to comment on the latest economic-policy proposals.

Balanced-budget advocates have reacted cautiously to proposals to boost spending or cut taxes without specific measures to avoid higher deficits if growth doesn't materialize. In contrast to Mr. Trump, Mrs. Clinton has promised to raise taxes on higher-income households to pay for some new spending.

The latest proposal from Mr. Trump moved "in the right direction…but the plan appears to rely on rosy assumptions and murky policy changes," said Maya MacGuineas, president of the Committee for a Responsible Federal Budget, which backs debt reduction.

The proposals could shore up support from some Republicans who have harbored doubts over his conservative bona fides, while other proposals, such as on child care, could woo independent voters.

"Trump's ability to maintain the style and resolve of today's speech and performance now bears watching, particularly as the campaign enters the home stretch and the race has tightened," said Terry Haines, a political analyst at ISI Evercore in Washington.

In his speech on Thursday, Mr. Trump deviated only occasionally from his prepared remarks, launching a broadside against Ford Motor Co. for its decision to move small-car production to Mexico.

But in a question-and-answer session after the speech with John Paulson, a hedge-fund executive and Trump adviser, Mr. Trump returned to a more freewheeling presentation. He said the U.S. risked becoming a "large-scale version of Venezuela" should Mrs. Clinton be able to nominate Supreme Court judges, and he repeated his attacks on the Federal Reserve, accusing the central bank of delaying interest-rate increases for political reasons. "It's a terrible thing that's happening," he said.

On taxes, Mr. Trump's proposal would collapse the seven individual tax brackets into three, with a top tax rate of 33%, which would apply to income above $225,000 for a married couple and half that for a single filer. The top capital-gains rate would be 20%, down from 23.8%.

The candidate now wants to cap deductions at $100,000 for a single filer and $200,000 for a married couple. That would severely curb high-income households' ability to deduct their state and local taxes, mortgage interest and charitable contributions.

Mr. Trump also would set the standard deduction at $15,000 for individuals and $30,000 for married couples. That is higher than current law, pushing more families off the tax rolls, but it is lower than the $25,000 and $50,000 tax-free levels that he proposed last year.

Mr. Trump would lower the corporate tax rate from 35% to 15%. He also appeared to abandon a core plank of his earlier tax plans, which called for a 15% top tax rate on business income reported on individual tax returns, instead of taxing such income at the same rates as ordinary income.

Small-business groups had praised the single business tax rate but the Clinton campaign criticized what it called the "Trump loophole," because much of Mr. Trump's business income is taxed on his own return and could have gotten the lower rate.

The Trump campaign revised its website on this throughout Thursday. A late-day version suggested but didn't say clearly that the lower rate is only available for corporations.

Mr. Trump also would restrict the ability of manufacturers to deduct interest costs while also writing off capital expenses in the first year. Economists in both parties had warned that if he didn't do that, the combination of those policies could create tax subsidies for debt-financed investments, including in real-estate businesses such as his own.

Tax cuts "aren't going to help you in every economic circumstance," but lower corporate tax rates right now could boost business investment, which has been weak in recent years, said Andy Puzder, chief executive of CKE Restaurants and an adviser to Mr. Trump.

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\* Trump Believes President Obama Was Born in U.S., Campaign Says[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/donald-trump-believes-president-obama-was-born-in-u-s-campaign-says-1474000227]

\* Trump Tax Plan: What's Changed Since He First Outlined It Last Year?[http://blogs.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/washwire/2016/09/16/trump-tax-plan-whats-changed-since-he-first-outlined-it-last-year/]

\* Clinton Returns to Campaign Trail[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/hillary-clinton-returns-to-campaigning-seeks-to-refine-message-1473973716]

\* Ryan Says Trump Should Release Tax Returns[http://blogs.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/washwire/2016/09/15/paul-ryan-says-donald-trump-should-release-tax-returns/]

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**BERLIN—As the flow of asylum seekers entering Germany started to break historic records[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/germany-records-rise-in-asylum-seekers-to-postwar-high-1452081246] last fall, Continental AG rushed to tap some of the newcomers for its workforce.

But one year after the tire maker began advertising an internship program designed for 50 migrant workers, only 30 of the positions have been filled as it struggles to find suitable candidates or vet their qualifications.

Continental isn't alone. Answering calls from Berlin to help in the country's massive integration effort, German companies big and small have scouted **refugee**shelters and job centers for potential employees. Yet because of administrative bottlenecks and a mismatch in needed skills, the number of migrants in jobs with benefits was only about 25,000 higher in June than a year earlier, despite more than 736,000 arrivals in that time.

"It is a huge effort," said Ariane Reinhart, Continental's executive board member for human relations.

Frustrated with the slow pace of hiring, Chancellor Angela Merkel invited senior executives from the 121 companies behind a jobs-for-**refugees** initiative called "Us Together" to discuss their progress and difficulties on Wednesday.

More than 80 business leaders attended the three-hour meeting. Among those questioned by Ms. Merkel were top executives at Deutsche Bank AG and Lufthansa AG. "It is our common target to integrate more and more **refugees** into the labor market," she said beforehand. "If we succeed, it will be a benefit for all."

Afterward, an "Us Together" spokeswoman said there was "an open exchange" about existing projects.

Failure to integrate the recent arrivals into Germany's economy, the largest in Europe, could seal Ms. Merkel's political fate. The chancellor's popularity has waned[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/merkels-popularity-plunges-after-july-attacks-1470399396], and her party lost badly in recent regional elections as more Germans doubt the wisdom of opening the country's doors, which has brought well over a million migrants into the country in the past 18 months. Ms. Merkel has until the general election next year to change their minds.

Companies blame the difficulty in hiring migrants on shortcomings in speaking German and lack of relevant skills, in part because many are young. They also say administrative and legal red tape forces many migrants to delay the job hunt until after their asylum claims are processed.

Deutsche Post AG offered internships for 1,000 **refugees** last year but has so far filled only 235 positions. A spokeswoman said the postal services company relies on employment agencies for help in finding interns. It employs 102 **refugees**, it said, many of them former interns.

Deutsche Lufthansa AG, the airline, said it had yet to hire any **refugees**, citing security reasons. Background checks on **refugees** aren't "always easily doable against the backdrop of the often adventurous circumstances in the former home countries or during their flight," a spokesman said.

The government isn't faring much better: Federal agencies have hired five **refugees** as employees and 12 as trainees since the beginning of last year, the interior ministry told lawmakers last month.

This is despite the fact that there are few native Germans available to fill the highest number of job vacancies in a decade, and shortages of skilled workers are putting upward pressure on wages.

Mohammed Fdeilati, a 22-year-old Syrian, said he fled to Germany two years ago, after finishing school, and became eligible to work after a year.

"I wanted to do an apprenticeship to become a train driver at Deutsche Bahn, but they demanded a certain language level which I couldn't meet," he said. After searching for a job for two or three months, he found one as a bartender in Berlin.

The Confederation of German Employers' Associations said the country should broaden its German language and professional training for migrants and lower legal hurdles for their employment. Adult **refugees** should be sent back to school, it said.

So far, only **refugees** whose asylum applications have been accepted are required to attend language classes. The confederations is urging that the regulation be extended to migrants whose prospects of receiving asylum are good. Migrants also need more help to find a course, it said.

Lack of education and professional experience, along with deficiencies in speaking German and the young age of many migrants, are big stumbling blocks. Three out of five **refugees** looking for jobs are only qualified to fill entry-level positions, according to the Federal Labor Agency. Only 14% could work as specialists and 3% as experts, it said.

The thicket of German labor laws is an obstacle, too. In some regions, employers with vacancies are required to search for a German applicant before hiring a migrant. Asylum seekers can work for temporary employment agencies only after a 15-month waiting period. Many companies are also unwilling to invest in training workers whose long-term residency prospects are uncertain.

Most migrants lack the skills a sophisticated economy demands. German employers are mainly interested in skilled staff: Only 19% of all vacancies are for workers without adequate professional experience and education. Some 65% require midlevel qualification and 16% a university degree.

There are bright spots, however. Out of about 9,000 **refugees** applying for vocational training this summer, nearly 6,000 were accepted.

Internships typically last several weeks and are unpaid. While the numbers remain small, some companies said they were pleased. At sportswear giant Adidas AG, 15 **refugees** have completed internships as part of a two-year integration program, and another 15 are set to enroll by the end of the year.

"We'd be delighted if our interns decided after their two-year integration courses to do a traineeship at our company," said Adidas spokeswoman Katja Schreiber.

Ilka Kopplin in Hanover, Germany, contributed to this article.

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Related

\* Migrants, Far-Right Group Clash in Eastern German Town[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/migrants-far-right-group-clash-in-eastern-german-town-1473963128]

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Corrections & Amplifications:

The episode of the "Dr. Oz Show" that includes an appearance by Donald Trump aired Thursday. An earlier version of this article online incorrectly stated the program was scheduled to air Wednesday. (Sept. 15, 2016)

Republican presidential nominee Donald Trump is overweight and taking a drug to lower his cholesterol but is otherwise in good health, according to a letter from his doctor[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/public/resources/documents/DJT\_Medical\_Records\_09152016.pdf] that the campaign released Thursday.

Mr. Trump is 6 feet 3 inches tall and weighs 236 pounds, Dr. Harold Bornstein wrote in the letter. That means Mr. Trump, who enjoys fast food and doesn't exercise regularly, is overweight, according to the National Institutes of Health's body-mass index calculator.

"I could lose a little weight," Mr. Trump said on "The Dr. Oz Show," which aired Thursday. "It's tough because of the way I live. But the one thing I would like to do is be able to drop 15, 20 pounds."

The health of Mr. Trump and his Democratic rival, Hillary Clinton, has received increased scrutiny because of the age of the candidates. The New York businessman is 70 years old and if he prevails would be the oldest newly elected president, eclipsing Ronald Reagan, who was 69 when he took the oath of office in 1981. Mrs. Clinton, who turns 69 in October, would be the second-oldest first-term president.

Mrs. Clinton released a two-page note[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/public/resources/documents/HRC\_physician\_letter09142016.pdf] from her doctor on Wednesday, showing the former secretary of state is in good overall health[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/campaign-releases-more-information-about-hillary-clintons-health-1473886020] coming off a pneumonia diagnosis[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/hillary-clintons-pneumonia-jolts-the-presidential-race-1473639623] and a near-collapse[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/hillary-clinton-felt-overheated-and-left-9-11-ceremony-1473607626] over the weekend while she was getting into her vehicle at a 9/11 memorial ceremony in New York. In the letter, her physician pronounced her healthy and "fit to serve as president."

Dr. Bornstein's letter said Mr. Trump is in "excellent physical health." The letter said he is taking a statin drug for cholesterol and low-dose aspirin.

The letter was written in a more straightforward fashion than an earlier letter from December 2015[http://blogs.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/washwire/2015/12/14/donald-trump-reveals-astonishingly-excellent-health/] attesting to Mr. Trump's health. In that letter, Dr. Bornstein said that Mr. Trump, if elected, "will be the healthiest individual ever elected to the presidency."

In his TV appearance Thursday, Mr. Trump told Dr. Oz that when he looks into the mirror, he sees a man half his age and compared himself to Tom Brady, the 39-year-old NFL quarterback for the New England Patriots.

"I feel the same age as him," Mr. Trump said. "It's crazy."

Dr. Oz asked Mr. Trump a question related to one of the candidate's signature issues, illegal **immigration**: Does the U.S. have a moral responsibility to provide life-saving care to undocumented **immigrants**? Mr. Trump responded he would stop illegal **immigration**, so it wouldn't be an issue. "They'd only come in the country legally," he said.

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More Election 2016

\* Trump Lays Out More Details of Economic Plans[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/donald-trump-lays-out-more-details-of-economic-plans-1473955537?tesla=y]

\* Clinton's Doctor Declares Her Healthy, Fit to Serve[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/campaign-releases-more-information-about-hillary-clintons-health-1473886020]

\* Pastor Cuts Off Trump During Anti-Clinton Remarks[http://blogs.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/washwire/2016/09/14/pastor-cuts-off-trump-during-anti-clinton-remarks/]

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**A transgender man from Mexico sued Indiana Gov. Mike Pence and other state officials on Tuesday, claiming that a law barring noncitizens in the state from changing their names leaves transgender **immigrants** open to harassment and discrimination.

The lawsuit opens a new front in the rapidly escalating war over transgender rights. Court battles are already being fought over transgender access to public bathrooms[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/justice-department-sues-north-carolina-saying-bathroom-law-violates-civil-rights-1462823205], school locker rooms and health care[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/u-s-sued-over-new-transgender-health-care-regulation-1471995720]. Now, advocates are targeting the treatment of transgender people in the **immigration** system as well.

The lawsuit was filed in federal district court in Indiana.

In filing the suit, the Mexican American Legal Defense Fund, an **immigration** advocacy group, joined with the Transgender Law Center, bringing together two of the country's hottest political issues just two months before the presidential election.

A spokeswoman Mr. Pence, who is also the Republican candidate for vice president, declined to comment on the lawsuit. The Indiana Attorney General's office said the state's lawyers were reviewing the suit and would file a response in court.

Indiana last year was the center of a national uproar over its religious accommodation law, which gay rights advocates said was a license to discriminate based on sexual orientation and gender identity. Mr. Pence eventually signed a version of that law after changes were made[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/indiana-lawmakers-unveil-changes-to-religious-freedom-law-1427981035] to address some of those concerns.

Although the Indiana law at the center of Tuesday's lawsuit bars all non-U.S. citizens, even those living legally in the U.S., from changing their names, advocates argued that it has an outsize effect on transgender **immigrants**, fueling harassment everywhere from hospitals to hotels.

"Transgender **immigrants** essentially out themselves as trans every time they show their ID," said Matthew Barragan, a lawyer with the Mexican American Legal Defense Fund, one of the organizations backing the lawsuit. "This makes them extremely vulnerable to hostility, discrimination and even violence."

Mr. Barragan said the Indiana law—passed in 2010, at a time when many states were placing new restrictions on **immigrants** living in the country illegally—violated constitutional protections against discrimination based on national origin, as well as privacy protections for transgender people.

Roger Severino, director of the DeVos Center for Religion and Civil Society at the Heritage Foundation, said that the Indiana law was designed to deter identity theft, and the lawsuit was hijacking an unrelated issue to argue for transgender rights.

"The Indiana statute is about citizenship, and has nothing to do directly with gender identity," Mr. Severino said. "This is an attempt to shoehorn the gender identity issue into it."

"Saying that a person's right to fundamental dignity and autonomy is threatened if he cannot change his name—that's quite a stretch, given that the statute itself has nothing to do with gender identity directly," he added.

But transgender **immigrants** said that as long as the law is on the books, they face daily discrimination any time they have to produce an ID, be it during a traffic stop or to buy a drink at a bar.

The plaintiff in the case, who filed the lawsuit anonymously for fear of retaliation if he came out publicly as transgender, was born as a female in Mexico, and came to the U.S. illegally at age 6. He has lived in Indiana ever since, and was granted asylum in country last year.

He said he has lost a job he had been promised, because his government ID forced him to reveal that he was transgender, and has been mocked by hospital employees and waiters at restaurants after showing his ID.

A police officer once threatened to arrest him, he said, because he didn't believe the ID was his, and then referred to him as "her, or she, or whatever it is" after realizing he was transgender.

"Normal things like going to the doctor are really stressful and scary for me," the plaintiff said during a call with reporters on Tuesday. "I also live in constant fear of being arrested, attacked, or losing my job, because my ID doesn't match who I am."

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**BERLIN—Violent clashes erupted between young migrants and far-right sympathizers late Wednesday in the German town of Bautzen, the latest in a string of brawls amid rising anti-**refugee** sentiment.

Police in Bautzen said some 100 officers were forced to intervene after fighting broke out between a group of asylum seekers and about 80 demonstrators described as mainly from the "right-wing political spectrum." The demonstrators were gathered at the town's central square, propagating slogans such as "Bautzen to the Germans," police said.

Between 15 to 20 asylum seekers living in a shelter in town threw stones at the neo-Nazis, who then attacked the migrants, police said. The confrontation escalated into street fights between the groups, Bautzen police chief Uwe Kilz said in a press conference.

When police intervened, the young asylum seekers who had come to Germany without their parents, threw bottles at officers, who used pepper spray and police batons to defend themselves, he added.

"I'm angry and shocked," the Mayor of Bautzen Alexander Ahrens said in a statement. "I strongly condemn this violence and I say that very clearly, regardless of where it came from."

Bautzen and other towns in eastern Germany have been the scene of tension between asylum seekers and local far-right extremists in recent months, highlighting the growing unrest in Germany, particularly in the East, over Chancellor Angela Merkel's **refugee**policies[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/bavarian-leaders-plan-more-security-tougher-measures-on-asylum-seekers-1469699655].

In February, locals cheered when a fire broke out in a building in Bautzen[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/germany-arrests-five-suspected-of-anti-immigrant-attacks-1461072108] that was set to be turned into an asylum-seeker shelter, sending shock waves through the country. When German President Joachim Gauck visited the town a few weeks later, he was heckled as a "traitor of the people" in the street.

Violence against asylum seekers has been surging since the migrants numbers peaked last year[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/immigrants-in-germany-reach-record-high-1458556470], particularly in the former communist states, according to police statistics.

The interior ministry said there have been 726 criminal acts on asylum-seeker shelters since the start of the year compared with 199 in 2014.

Support for the anti-**immigrant** party[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/europes-populist-politicians-win-voters-hearts-1463689360] Alternative for Germany has also grown sharply in Eastern Germany. In last month's state election in the eastern state of Mecklenburg-West Pomerania, the AfD beat Ms. Merkel's center-right Christian Democrats[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/social-democrats-win-vote-in-germanys-mecklenburg-west-pomerania-1473006387] for the first time in a state election with 21% of the votes.

Wednesday's clash in Bautzen followed other battles over the past week that had grown increasingly violent.

Last Friday, participants of a pro-**refugee** demonstration and of a rally of far-right militants also clashed. Mr. Kilz said a **refugee** had kicked off the unrest by provoking one of the speakers of the neo-Nazi rally.

When police tried to separate the asylum seekers and neo-Nazis Wednesday night, small groups broke out from both camps, police said. The far-right militants then chased the asylum seekers to their nearby shelter. Police called for backup and blocked the asylum seekers inside the house to prevent more fighting.

Some neo-Nazis tried to obstruct an ambulance that was called to the shelter to treat an 18 year-old asylum seeker with injuries, police also said. It was unclear how he had sustained the injuries, police said.

Another 20 year-old asylum seeker appeared to have injured himself with a beer bottle, police said.

Peter Altmaier, Ms. Merkel's chief of staff, said the attacks were unacceptable and called on "everyone" to respect the laws.

"We are confident that we can integrate these people," he told German TV.

Write to Ruth Bender at Ruth.Bender@wsj.com[mailto:Ruth.Bender@wsj.com]

More on the **Refugee** Crisis

\* Germany's Efforts to Integrate Migrants Into Its Workforce Falter[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/germanys-efforts-to-integrate-migrants-into-its-workforce-falter-1473948135]

\* Populists' Advance in Germany Jolts Europe[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/merkel-stands-by-refugee-policy-after-election-loss-1473078641] (Sept. 5)

\* Anti-**Immigrant** AfD Trounces Merkel's Christian Democrats in Her Home State[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/social-democrats-win-vote-in-germanys-mecklenburg-west-pomerania-1473006387] (Sept. 4)

\* Europe's Populist Politicians Tap Into Deep-Seated Frustration[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/europes-populist-politicians-win-voters-hearts-1463689360] (May 19)

\* **Immigrants** in Germany Reach Record High[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/immigrants-in-germany-reach-record-high-1458556470] (March 21)

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**In June 1940, as the Nazis moved toward Paris, the Jewish writers H.A. Rey and Margret Rey escaped the city on a pair of bicycles hastily assembled from parts. In suitcases strapped to the back of their bikes, the children's-book authors carried winter coats, food and water, and their manuscripts. One was the tale of an adventurous monkey [http://blogs.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/speakeasy/2010/04/07/curious-george-makes-mini-comeback/]that would become "Curious George[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/SB10001424052748703312504575141603406411466]."

Curious George[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/SB113883544357862588] turns 75 this year. The series now has 133 titles by the Reys and others, with 75 million copies in print world-wide, producing more sales annually for Houghton Mifflin Harcourt than the publisher's other blockbuster franchise, J.R.R. Tolkien.

This fall, the publisher is releasing an updated version of Louise Borden's 2005 book, "The Journey That Saved Curious George," and an anniversary edition of "The Complete Adventures of Curious George"—both with new details and archival material documenting the Reys' wartime escape.

"They got into trouble and got out of trouble just as George does," said Ms. Borden, herself the author of 30 children's books.

Some readers have taken the original Curious George book to task for perceived colonialist undertones. The 2006 animated film adaptation modified the story so that Curious George is a stowaway rather than a captive, and in recent years, the publisher has attempted to make the series more inclusive. The most recent title is "It's Ramadan, Curious George."

H.A. Rey was born Hans Augusto Reyersbach in 1898 in Hamburg, Germany. He moved to Rio de Janeiro in 1925 and was followed 10 years later by a family friend and fellow artist from Hamburg, Margarete Waldstein. They soon married and started an advertising agency. She changed her name to Margret and he shortened his surname to Rey.

In 1936, carrying Brazilian passports, they sailed to Europe on a belated honeymoon. (Their two pet marmoset monkeys died during the journey, according to Ms. Borden.) In Paris, the Reys checked into the Terrass Hotel, expecting to stay a few weeks. Instead, they stayed for four years. They sketched and photographed the local characters—fishermen, balloon sellers and circus animals—and started to collaborate on children's books. He did the illustrations, she served as art director and they wrote the stories together.

In 1939, publishing houses in France and England released their illustrated story, "Raffy and the Nine Monkeys," about a lonely giraffe who meets a group of monkeys with no home. The same year, the Reys began a spinoff book on Fifi, the smallest of the nine monkeys.

On May 15, 1940, Mr. Rey received an advance of 23,000 francs (roughly $10,000 today) from French publisher Librairie Gallimard for "The Adventures of Fifi" and two other titles, according to a bank statement and a letter now in the Reys' archives in the University of Southern Mississippi's de Grummond Children's Literature Collection.

That advance helped the authors make their escape as the Nazis invaded France. A slow-moving river of **refugees** was pouring out of Paris by car, wagon, bicycle and foot. The Reys could find no bicycles for sale except a tandem, which Margret vetoed after a test ride.

According to Mr. Rey's diary, they purchased bicycle parts on June 11. The following morning they "left Paris at 5:30 by bicycle reaching Étampes, there slept on farm in room with maid and woman **refugee**," he scrawled in French.

In Orléans, they hoisted their bicycles onto a train and traveled by rail to Lisbon, then by sea to Rio de Janeiro and finally to New York, arriving on Oct. 14, 1940, on the S.S. Uruguay, according to a ship manifest Ms. Borden found in her research.

In New York, they reunited with Grace Hogarth, an editor who had worked for the Reys' British publisher, Chatto & Windus, in London. Ms. Hogarth was now working in Boston for Houghton Mifflin Co., and signed a four-book contract with the Reys. The couple and their editor decided to give Fifi an American name. "Curious George" was published in the U.S. in 1941.

The following year, the book made its debut in the U.K., under the title "Zozo." Naming a monkey George would have been an insult to England's King George VI.

The introduction on the book flap noted the author's escape from Paris and Zozo's earlier cameo in "Raffy and the Nine Monkeys." This monkey, the introduction said, "is, perhaps, the most daring and mischievous of them all and when you have read of his escapades you will see that it would take more than Hitler to catch and keep him."

Because of paper rationing in wartime England, the book had a small initial print run. "Zozo won all hearts over here," the Reys' British publisher Harold Raymond wrote to Mr. Rey in 1943. "How many more I could sell if I had the paper, I don't know. Someday I shall put that to the test."

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Germany seems to be softening its stance on Brexit, and not a moment too soon.

"Given Britain's size, significance, and its long membership of the European Union, there will probably be a special status which only bears limited comparison to that of countries that have never belonged to the European Union," Michael Roth, Germany's minister of European affairs, said last month. Mr. Roth's comments mark a departure from Chancellor Angela Merkel's declaration, made shortly after the Brexit referendum in June, that Britain would receive no special treatment, nor would it be allowed to "cherry pick" benefits such as full access to the single market.

The change in tone was probably inevitable. Mrs. Merkel's initial response was a negotiating tactic that stalled when new British Prime Minister Theresa May refused to trigger formal exit negotiations immediately. Mrs. Merkel apparently hoped that the lack of any Brexit plan might lead the British government to call a second referendum or an early election.

Instead, the passage of time is revealing how weak Germany's and the EU's negotiating position actually is. Politically, Mrs. Merkel is committed to "ever closer" integration within the EU and wants to transform Germany into a "moral superpower." But these goals, which have manifested partly in a willingness to bail out bankrupt eurozone member states and partly in controversial policies, such as welcoming more than 1.5 million migrants over the past 18 months, carry spiraling economic and social costs that German voters might not be prepared to bear.

So Mrs. Merkel has sought to disguise the true costs of European union by shifting the book value of Germany's total euro rescue loans and guarantee exposure to the Bundesbank, the European Central Bank and the European Stability Mechanism. But this strategy has turned those three institutions into "bad banks" holding nonperforming assets such as Greek sovereign debt. With taxpayers on the hook in the event of losses at those institutions, Berlin can't afford many more financial shocks.

Meanwhile, Germany has stood by while, for the sake of holding the euro together, the ECB has pursued policies that hurt Germans. German savers lost interest income worth €125 billion ($140 billion) between 2011 and 2015 as a result of the ECB's ultralow rates and quantitative easing, according to a study from Germany's Postbank. And the open door to migrants will cost €50 billion in 2016 and 2017 alone and nearly €400 billion over the next 20 years, assuming optimistically that most of these **refugees** eventually find work. If integration fails or many more **refugees** arrive, the costs will be significantly higher.

Due to continuing euro crisis measures and the increasing costs of its **refugee** policy, Germany's economy and public finances are likely to weaken while German unemployment should start rising again beginning next year. With economic growth chronically sputtering, Berlin (and the EU overall) will have to depend on trade-induced moderate growth to minimize the future costs of these various policies to taxpayers.

Trade with the U.K. will be a crucial component. Nine EU member states send at least 5% of their total exports to Britain, and in Germany that percentage is around 7.5. Germany's trade surplus with the U.K. was €51 billion in 2015, around 20.5% of Germany's entire trade surplus.

Yet even these figures understate Germany's economic dependence on Britain. Around 36% of Germany's total exports in 2015 went to countries within the eurozone. However, under the so-called Target2 payments system operated by the ECB, Germany's balance-of-payments surplus with the eurozone is financed not by the transfer of foreign-currency reserves, gold or other near-liquid assets, but by an open-ended overdraft facility granted by the Bundesbank.

Under this peculiar system, the exporter is paid not by the importing country but by Germany's central bank, which itself never receives payment. Rather, a credit note is issued by the importing country's central bank, which it has no obligation ever to pay.

The Bundesbank's Target2 balance stood at more than €660 billion as of July. If Germany's eurozone exports were paid for in the same way as its other exports, it would be a much richer country.

That Germany is moderately prosperous at all under this system is owed in large measure to its trade surplus with partners outside the eurozone. This surplus is paid for in the traditional way, by transferring actual money to Germany. Germany and other export-driven eurozone economies thus depend on trade with Britain as a key partner outside the dysfunctional eurozone much more than is commonly realized.

ECB President Mario Draghi is well aware of the EU's fragility. According to ECB and Italian political sources, he has assured investment banks, including Goldman Sachs, that Germany won't do anything to put trade relations at risk. Mr. Draghi has also reportedly expressed confidence that French and European Commission resistance to concessions to Britain could be overcome and that, in return, Mrs. Merkel would be open to French demands for a eurozone finance ministry after the 2017 German election, as well as new bail-out facilities for Italy's moribund banks. According to Wells Fargo, Italian banks are currently sitting on €350 billion in nonperforming loans.

If the British government plays its hand well, it will be able to choose its terms of renegotiation with the EU. By postponing the official start of withdrawal negotiation until 2017, Mrs. May has made a promising start.

Mr. Beck teaches law at the University of London and is a practicing barrister and Brexit adviser at 1 Essex Court (Chambers of the Rt. Hon. Sir Tony Baldry).

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**VIENNA—Austria's politics are coming unstuck. Or more precisely, unglued.

Special envelopes designed to hold mail-in ballots for the Oct. 2 runoff presidential election are rimmed with a glue that should seal them tight. But it is mysteriously malfunctioning, and that has provoked a crisis, which in the words of one TV anchor is leading to a "Bundespräsidentenwiederholungswahlverschiebung"—the postponement of the rerun of the presidential election.

Investigators, including forensics experts from this country's version of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, have been struggling to pinpoint the problem. They have baked the envelopes at 158 degrees Fahrenheit to see if excessive heat is behind the problem. It isn't.

The glue's menace to democracy, however, is clear enough. Some ballot envelopes open on their own after being signed and sealed, nullifying the votes inside.

"It's true that half of Europe is now laughing at us," said Interior Ministry spokesman Alexander Marakovits. "When everything is running well, why would anyone think about envelopes? No one has time for this in the Ministry. Now, of course, they do."

Newspapers have dubbed it Gluegate, the Glue Glitch and the Glue Crisis. For embarrassed Austrians, the one consolation is that the glue came from Germany.

On Monday, Austria's top elections official, Interior Minister Wolfgang Sobotka, said the vote needed to be delayed by two months[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/defective-envelopes-delay-austrian-election-rerun-1473680560] to allow for new ballots to be printed and distributed. He acknowledged he had no way to know "how many and which ballot envelopes could still come open."

On Thursday, the Constitution Committee of the lower house of parliament will take up legislation authorizing the delay and the use of more basic envelopes in which the glue, they hope, will work.

The roots of the Glue Crisis go back to 2009, when Austria's Data Privacy Council criticized how voters' signatures and year of birth were visible on mail-in-ballot envelopes. In response, parliament changed the law to require the personal information to be covered by a specially designed, perforated outer flap. The mandated envelope is so complicated to produce—and of so little use beyond Austrian elections—that only one company in the country manufactures it, officials say.

For years, the envelope quietly did its job. Then came the hot election year of 2016, in which the **refugee** crisis shook Austrian politics. An anti-**immigrant**presidential candidate, Norbert Hofer, stunned the establishment by winning the first round in April in a landslide. He lost the runoff in May by just over 30,000 votes to center-left challenger Alexander Van der Bellen, narrowly missing his chance, it seemed, at becoming the first right-wing populist head of state in postwar Western Europe.

But the Constitutional Court in July nullified the May election, upholding a challenge from Mr. Hofer's Freedom Party alleging improprieties in how mail-in ballots were counted. A rerun of the runoff was scheduled for Oct. 2.

Beate Rhomberg, a 32-year-old photographer and journalist in western Austria, planned to be on vacation, and requested a mail-in ballot. Two weeks ago she filled it out, signed it to certify she had voted, peeled off the tape covering the adhesive flap, sealed it shut and left it on her desk at home. The next day, she noticed something strange.

The flap and an envelope edge had come undone.

"The envelope simply came apart from one day to the next," Ms. Rhomberg recalled.

She emailed the Interior Ministry over the weekend and got a call back just after 7 a.m. on Monday of last week. An official said because the envelope had come unstuck after she had already signed it, she had lost her vote—and that the only recourse, if the problem was widespread, would be to challenge the results after the election.

Ms. Rhomberg's local newspaper covered the story, which quickly made national news as more cases emerged.

The Interior Ministry demanded an explanation from the ballot printer, Kbprintcom.at, which also sells custom-printed beer coasters and bottle openers. The ministry's Mr. Marakovits said the response wasn't sufficient. Kbprintcom.at's parent company, Vienna-based DPI Holding GmbH, declined to comment.

Interior Ministry officials sought help from their own forensic experts, asking Austria's Criminal Intelligence Service, or BKA, to get involved.

"We have a problem here in the adhesive area," Andrea Raninger, head of forensics at the BKA, Austria's top crime investigations agency, said in an interview. "There are a great many envelopes to be examined."

She said the investigation quickly ruled out the theory that high heat during transportation could have caused the glue to become undone.

Now officials say the focus is on the three "tranches of glue" on the envelopes and how they were applied. The printing company told the BKA it used 1,300 pounds of glue, delivered from Germany in three separate batches, to produce the roughly 1.5 million ballot envelopes, according to Ms. Raninger. Austrian officials haven't identified the glue maker.

"We are now concentrating, of course, on these points of adhesion, on the application of the adhesive and on the adhesive itself," Ms. Raninger said.

Her department's experts in chemical analysis, often involved in drug cases, are assisting specialists in document forensics. She said they have found no evidence of foul play. The investigation, she warned, could take weeks.

In the political arena, patience with election officials—and the ins and outs of adhesives, envelopes and flaps—is wearing thin.

"The whole world has managed to deal with glue. For centuries," said Andreas Schieder, the parliamentary leader of the governing, center-left Social Democrats. "It's supposed to work. That is why we have an administration, and it simply has to get all of this in order. Period."

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Japan is reluctant to accept the need for more **immigration**, despite demographic decline and economic stagnation. So it was encouraging to see Japanese firms make a compelling argument earlier this month for accepting skilled and unskilled migrants. Better still, Tokyo heard their pleas and endorsed them.

Just one catch. The prescription is for the United Kingdom, not Japan.

Tokyo released a 15-page open letter Sept. 2 on Britain's exit from the European Union, relaying the concerns of Japanese investors in Britain. For skilled workers, it requested that freedom of movement for EU citizens be maintained and the treatment of non-EU migrants liberalized. "In order to ensure stable staffing for business operations in the UK, the requirements for obtaining and extending visas need to be relaxed, especially for intracompany transferees," the report said.

"With regard to unskilled workers," Japan said, "Japanese businesses rely on inexpensive labor from Eastern Europe in the manufacturing and agricultural industries in the U.K. If their access to such labor were restricted, staff shortages and increased labor costs could be reflected in such firms' product prices."

Sage advice for Britain, but the case for freer **immigration** is even stronger for Japan. The country suffers severe labor shortages in the construction, restaurant and health-care industries because few Japanese want to take these low-paying and difficult jobs.

Japan has quietly allowed some workers to enter under training programs and other schemes. A quota for nurses from the Philippines went unfilled because about 90% of applicants are unable to pass a stringent Japanese-language test.

The shortage of unskilled workers holds back the entire economy. Even the building of facilities for the 2020 Tokyo Olympics was delayed because of the lack of construction workers.

One of the usual arguments against **immigration** is that it depresses locals' incomes. Yet Britons prospered as Poles and Romanians arrived to wait tables and pour concrete, while a largely closed Japan has suffered declining real wages. Prime Minister Shinzo Abe's economic reform program would be more successful if it took his own government's advice on **immigration**.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**The Obama administration plans to raise the number of **refugees** admitted to the U.S. to 110,000 in the 2017 fiscal year starting Oct. 1, from 85,000 this fiscal year, according to an annual **refugee** report to Congress obtained by The Wall Street Journal on Tuesday.

President Barack Obama was widely expected to announce an increase in the U.S. commitment ahead of a summit on **refugees** that he is convening next week during the United Nations General Assembly meeting.

The 110,000 target for 2017 for individuals fleeing persecution and conflict around the world represents a nearly 30% increase over this fiscal year and an almost 60% increase over the 70,000 admitted in 2015.

The last year that the U.S. committed to resettling as many **refugees** was in 1995, when President Bill Clinton set the ceiling at 112,000.

Each year, the president makes a determination of how many **refugees** will be admitted into the U.S.

Secretary of State John Kerry presented the new target, outlined in the report to Congress, in a closed session to members of the House and Senate judiciary committees on Tuesday.

As he left the meeting, Mr. Kerry refused to provide details, saying he was "going to wait until the president releases it."

A State Department official confirmed that Mr. Kerry had held the closed briefing regarding the president's plan to admit **refugees** and said the official determination would be issued in coming weeks.

Following terrorist attacks in Paris[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/terrorist-suspects-in-europe-got-welfare-benefits-while-plotting-attacks-1470350251] and the U.S., the resettlement of Muslim **refugees**, particularly from Syria, has become a contested issue at the state level and in the presidential campaign.

Last year, Republican governors in roughly two dozen states voiced opposition to receiving Syrians[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/u-s-governors-object-to-white-house-syrian-migrant-policy-1447699052], and some states tried to halt resettlement with lawsuits, which they lost.

Alabama Republican Jeff Sessions, chairman of the U.S. Senate's Subcommittee on **Immigration** who attended Tuesday's meeting, said, the "common-sense concerns of the American people are simply ignored as the administration expands its reckless and extreme policies."

The number of Syrian arrivals has accelerated in recent months[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/settlement-of-syrian-refugees-in-the-u-s-accelerates-1468402205], and the U.S. has exceeded its goal of admitting 10,000 in fiscal 2016.

It aims to admit "a significantly higher number" in fiscal 2017, according to the report, which didn't cite a figure. The report said 40,000 **refugees** would be authorized from the Near East/South Asia, which includes Syria, the most of any region. The second-largest number, 35,000, would come from Africa. A total of 14,000 slots were listed as not allocated.

On Sept. 20, President Obama will host the "Leaders' Summit on **Refugees**" with a view to bolster **refugee** resettlement as the world grapples with the worst **refugee** crisis since World War II.

"The administration is trying to send a signal to other countries that they should increase the number they resettle," said Jennifer Quigley, an advocacy strategist for **refugee** protection with Human Rights First, a nonprofit group.

However, she noted that funding for U.S. resettlement still isn't secure. The House and the Senate indicated earlier this year that they might limit spending on **refugee** resettlement in this year's budget, which would be unprecedented.

"Congress could hinder the ability of the U.S. to resettle **refugees** by limiting the amount of money going to the effort," Ms. Quigley said.

More than five million Syrians have been displaced as a result of the conflict in their home country. The U.S. has thus far committed nearly $5.6 billion in humanitarian assistance since the crisis erupted, more than any other donor, according to the report.

Siobhan Hughes contributed to this article.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Rudy Giuliani and Michael Bloomberg live on Manhattan's Upper East Side, share friends, golf at some of the same clubs and vacation in the Hamptons. They both ran the country's largest city and became national figures.

But the two former New York City mayors, who both wanted to be president, have diverged sharply during the 2016 election.

Mr. Giuliani has become one of Republican presidential nominee Donald Trump's most vocal backers, advising him on "pretty much everything," helping to write speeches and sitting up late on a private plane with the billionaire. Mr. Bloomberg, asked by Democratic nominee Hillary Clinton's campaign to speak at her party's national convention in July, delivered a scathing rebuke of Mr. Trump[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/michael-bloomberg-to-woo-independents-in-convention-address-1469647760], imploring the nation to elect a "sane, competent person."

Being mayor of New York is one of the most difficult balancing acts in politics, and Messrs. Giuliani and Bloomberg each left the job with their reputations enhanced. "Without question they're the most effective leaders back to back on a 20-year period of government anywhere in the country," said Steve Schmidt, the architect of Sen. John McCain's 2008 presidential campaign. "They occupy a unique space in American politics."

Mr. Giuliani's national reputation was buttressed by his leadership in New York just after the 9/11 attacks, which came near the end of his second and final term. Mr. Bloomberg, a onetime Democrat who ran as a Republican and is now an independent, succeeded Mr. Giuliani for three terms and was credited with helping revitalize New York in the years after the terror attacks, and introducing bold policies that reshaped its culture like banning smoking in bars and restaurants.

But efforts by both men to explore higher office have fizzled. Mr. Giuliani sought the GOP presidential nomination in 2008 but quickly dropped out. As Mr. Bloomberg weighed a presidential bid[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/michael-bloomberg-says-he-wont-run-for-president-1457389429] earlier this year, polls showed him with less than 20% of national support if he ran as a third-party candidate.

Mr. Giuliani, though a centrist on many issues, is more likely to energize the GOP base than win over undecided voters, Mr. Schmidt said. He now regularly pummels Mrs. Clinton on the stump, often to wild applause. "Trump running for president removes any need for Giuliani to censor himself," said Ken Sherrill, a political scientist and professor emeritus at City University of New York's Hunter College.

Mr. Giuliani said Mr. Trump had some issues with "temperament and tone," but they were exaggerated. And Mr. Giuliani said while the Republican nominee had damaged his campaign some in the weeks following the GOP convention, there was plenty of time to recover. "It's going to be hard, but I think he does have a chance," Mr. Giuliani said.

Mr. Trump's campaign welcomes Mr. Giuliani's participation because he proves a valuable surrogate on national security, observers say. And his name still resonates among voters. A July poll in Ohio, a key swing state, showed Mr. Giuliani's favorability rating topping his unfavorable number by 12 percentage points.

A spokeswoman for Mr. Trump didn't return requests for comment.

Marcel Groen, chairman of the Pennsylvania Democratic Party, said he believed Mr. Bloomberg would be a potent surrogate for Mrs. Clinton in that state, especially in suburban areas and with centrist Republicans. While Mr. Bloomberg's efforts to influence national issues over the years have been uneven, he has become a visible advocate for tighter gun laws and action on climate change.

Mr. Bloomberg has done little since taking the stage at the Democratic convention, but representatives of the former mayor and of Mrs. Clinton have discussed a combination of policy events and fundraising, said Howard Wolfson, an adviser to Mr. Bloomberg. Any such effort would focus on courting independents, Republicans and business leaders, he said.

"These people are coming to the conclusion to vote for Secretary Clinton with some degree of trepidation," Mr. Groen said. "He's got credibility with them because he didn't drink the Kool-Aid. He comes at it from their perspective."

Mr. Bloomberg decided to support Mrs. Clinton, a former U.S. senator from New York and a former secretary of state, after seeing a series of comments he deemed as troubling from Mr. Trump on **immigration** and economic matters, an adviser said. Several allies to Mrs. Clinton said the campaign valued Mr. Bloomberg's speech because the former mayor was a billionaire with a strong business record and he provided a repudiation of Mr. Trump to independent voters.

Despite their differences, Messrs. Bloomberg and Giuliani have said they respect each other. Mr. Giuliani's endorsement of Mr. Bloomberg propelled the businessman's unlikely bid for mayor in 2001. But the two men have never been particularly close.

"Mike has a lot of respect for Rudy," Mr. Wolfson said. "It's fair to say that they have different politics."

Mr. Giuliani said he liked Mr. Bloomberg but "he was basically a mainstream Democrat" and that they hadn't talked about Mr. Bloomberg's convention speech criticizing Mr. Trump.

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\* Trump, Team Recast His TV Image[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/team-recasts-trumps-tv-image-1473807844]

\* Pence Returns to Washington to Court Ted Cruz, Address Doubts[http://blogs.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/washwire/2016/09/13/mike-pence-returns-to-washington-to-court-ted-cruz-address-doubts/]

\* Obama to Increase **Refugees** Admitted to U.S. by 30%[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/president-obama-to-increase-refugees-admitted-to-u-s-by-30-1473818352]

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**CANBERRA, Australia—Pauline Hanson, the far-right firebrand who shook Australian politics two decades ago with a warning that her country was in danger of being "swamped by Asians," has returned to Parliament with a fresh call for a ban on Muslim **immigration**.

Ms. Hanson, founder of the anti-**immigration** One Nation party, regained office with a group of 11 minor-party senators in elections in July[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/australian-leader-turnbull-claims-election-victory-for-his-conservatives-1468126866]. They hold bargaining power in an upper house in which Prime Minister Malcolm Turnbull's conservatives are in minority.

"I call for stopping further Muslim **immigration** and banning the burqa as they have done in many countries around the world," she told Parliament on Wednesday in her first speech since being re-elected, prompting a walkout by Australian Greens senators in protest at her remarks.

"No more mosques and schools should be built and those that already exist should be monitored in regard to what they are teaching until the present crisis is over," she said.

While Ms. Hanson's views are no longer so surprising to many Australian voters, most of whom support the country's two main centrist blocs, her party is a crucial hurdle for Mr. Turnbull as he tries to push economic and spending reforms through an unwieldy upper house.

Rather than being a lone voice, Ms. Hanson now heads a bloc of four One Nation senators elected on a swing of support for small populist parties[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/in-uncertain-australian-election-small-parties-have-big-moment-1467715335] that reflects some of the disenchantment with mainstream politics in Europe and in the U.K.'s Brexit vote, as well as Donald Trump's U.S. presidential campaign.

With Australia struggling to retool its economy after the end of a mining boom, amid flat wage growth and a weaker currency, some voters have begun to question the benefits of free trade, pro-**immigration** and investment policies largely supported by both the Labor opposition and Mr. Turnbull's ruling Liberal-National coalition.

Ms. Hanson, a former fish-and-chip shop owner, first entered Parliament in the mid-1990s. She called for an end to multicultural policies that successive Australian governments had championed, saying migrants that have "their own culture and religion, form ghettos and do not assimilate."

Her remarks prompted the conservative government—then headed by John Howard—to dramatically sharpen **immigration** policies. In 2001, the conservatives created policies requiring asylum seekers to be detained offshore[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/australias-top-court-backs-tough-stance-on-immigration-1454469596] that are still in force today.

With her anti-**immigration** appeal neutralized to a degree, Ms. Hanson lost office after a single term. For much of the next two decades, she tried unsuccessfully to re-enter politics—both at state and national level—until her victory two months ago.

Her return speech on Wednesday revisited the same anti-**immigration** and anti-foreign investment themes seen almost exactly 20 years ago, but with a focus on Muslim **immigration** and the purchase of farmland by foreign citizens[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/australia-seeks-to-calm-concerns-over-chinese-farm-ownership-1473221705].

Ms. Hanson said she was willing to take migrants unwilling to fully assimilate into Australian culture to the airport "and wave you goodbye." Around 2.2% of Australia's population of 24 million are Muslim, according to census data, or 476,000 people.

She also singled out investment by foreigners in farmland as something she planned to oppose, but said she would back efforts by the government to curb "out of control" welfare programs to address debt and deficit.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Sergei Guriev, Biagio Speciale and Michele Tuccio on VoxEU find that **immigrant** wages in Italy's formal sector didn't drop during the recession while informal sector wages did[http://voxeu.org/article/wage-stickiness-and-unemployment-regulated-and-unregulated-labour-markets-italian-evidence]. "Our results confirm the conventional logic of the importance of labour market flexibility. The destruction of formal jobs due to the wage rigidity puts an additional burden on the public finances (already stretched during recession)—due to lower employment taxes and higher unemployment benefits. Our work—which is based on **immigration**data—also contributes to the migration literature, by suggesting that labour market regulation can impact the effectiveness of **immigration** policies."

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**NEW JERSEY

Insurer to Drop Out Of Health Exchange

Health Republic of New Jersey is leaving the state's health-care insurance marketplace created under the Affordable Care Act.

Officials with Health Republic of New Jersey said the co-op has been under "considerable financial strain" due to requirements under the ACA's risk adjustment mandate.

The program requires insurers with healthier and less expensive enrollees to contribute to a fund that supports plans serving sicker and more expensive customers. Health Republic owes more than $46 million under the program this year.

The state Department of Banking and Insurance said Health Republic will serve customers through the end of 2016.

The move follows similar announcements earlier from Oscar Health Insurance and UnitedHealthcare.

Associated Press

MIDTOWN

Muslim Woman Says Man Set Fire to Blouse

A Muslim woman wearing traditional clothing has told police that a man set her blouse on fire in New York City.

The New York Police Department hate crimes task force is investigating it as a possible bias crime. No arrests have been made.

Police said the incident happened on Saturday night and the victim, a 35-year-old tourist, patted out the fire. She said she saw a man standing nearby holding a lighter, who walked away.

Associated Press

MANHATTAN

Tenement Museum

Widens Its Focus

The Tenement Museum is expanding its story of **immigration** on Manhattan's Lower East Side for the first time to include those who settled there in the decades after World War II.

Next July, the museum is adding an exhibition on Holocaust survivors, Puerto Rican migrants and Chinese **immigrants** who arrived in the neighborhood after 1945.

The exhibition will focus on three families who lived at 103 Orchard St., which the museum purchased in 2007.

Until now, the museum has focused on the residents who lived next door at 97 Orchard St. between 1863 and 1935.

Associated Press

NEW YORK

Pilot Error Is Cited In '15 La Guardia Skid

A Delta Air Lines jet skidded off a snowy runway at La Guardia Airport last year because the pilot used too much reverse thrust and lost control of the plane's direction, federal investigators said.

There were no serious injuries aboard the airliner arriving from Atlanta on March 5, 2015, but the National Transportation Safety Board chairman said it was "a very close call."

The Boeing MC-88 veered left, hit a fence with its left wing and came to rest with its nose on an embankment.

The NTSB faulted the pilot for mishandling the landing and faulted the flight crew for failing to evacuate the plane promptly.

Atlanta-based Delta said Tuesday in a statement that it "will use this NTSB guidance to further enhance the safety of our global operation."

Associated Press

BRONX

Habitat for Humanity

Sets 57-Unit Project

Affordable-housing advocates say New York City is getting the largest multifamily development ever built by a Habitat for Humanity affiliate.

Habitat for Humanity New York City and a for-profit developer called the Almat Group have announced the closing on a property in the Bronx's Williamsbridge neighborhood.

They say the 57-unit development, called Sydney House, will include green roofs, an interior landscaped court with trees, and parking for bikes as well as for vehicles.

Construction on the $30 million project is expected to begin next year.

Almat says one of its founders grew up across the street from the property.

The Habitat model combines the "sweat equity" of home buyers with the work of volunteers and contractors. The goal is to build high-quality homes at lowered costs.

Associated Press

CONNECTICUT

Auditor Says UConn Misuses State Funds

State auditors say the University of Connecticut has been misusing state money that was earmarked for maintenance, diverting it instead to renovation and construction projects on campus.

The state auditors' report released Tuesday covers the fiscal years that ended in July 2014 and July 2015.

In it, auditors say, they found more than $49 million in deferred maintenance money that was spent on projects such as increasing seating at a dining hall, renovating laboratories and improving the safety of pedestrian walkways.

In its written response, the school says it believes the money was used appropriately to repair or renovate under-maintained facilities or bring projects up to current standards.

The school says it reported the use of the funding to the Legislature and other state agencies without objection.

Associated Press

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**PORTLAND, Ore.—Ammon Bundy and others conspired to orchestrate the armed takeover of an Oregon wildlife **refuge**[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/oregon-protesters-show-little-sign-of-leaving-1452121039] and made threats to the local sheriff weeks before the occupation began in early January, federal prosecutors told jurors here on Tuesday.

But a defense lawyer said their actions were meant to hold the federal government accountable, and that Mr. Bundy threatened no one.

The claims came during opening statements Tuesday in a case that has brought national attention to tensions over federal land-use policies in the West. Mr. Bundy, 41 years old, his brother Ryan and five others face charges of conspiracy to impede federal officers through intimidation, threats or force.

The Bundys and their supporters staged a 41-day occupation of the Malheur National Wildlife **Refuge** over complaints that the federal government exerts too much control over public lands, blocking ranchers and other industries from using land for economic development.

The occupiers said they were particularly provoked by a long-running case of two Oregon ranchers who were prosecuted for setting fire to federal lands.

Assistant U.S. Attorney Geoff Barrow said in his opening statement that Mr. Bundy threatened Harney County Sheriff David Ward on Nov. 5, 2015, telling him that rancher Dwight Hammond Jr. and his son Steven, who were convicted of arson on federal lands in the county, had been wrongfully charged.

He and other supporters also asserted that federal ownership of vast public lands in the county amounted to an illegal occupation, requiring the sheriff to return the property to local control, the prosecutor said. If the sheriff "did not do as they demanded" they said they "would bring thousands to Harney County and do his job for him," Mr. Barrow told the jury.

Mr. Bundy's lawyer said his meeting with the sheriff was not intended as a threat.

"He asked if he was going to stand up for the citizens or not," said the lawyer, Marcus Mumford.

Mr. Mumford said Mr. Bundy and his supporters were lawfully following a doctrine called "adverse possession," which he said allows for certain conditions under which someone may take control of a property in dispute.

Growing up on a Nevada ranch with his father, Cliven—who also faces federal charges in a 2014 standoff with the Bureau of Land Management—Mr. Bundy believed the federal government often deals unfairly with ranchers, his attorney said. When he heard what happened to the Harney County ranchers, the lawyer said his client had to act.

"He did what he had to do to demand accountability from the federal government," Mr. Mumford said.

The occupation spectacle, much of it livestreamed, riveted the country for weeks. The occupation fizzled soon after Mr. Bundy and others were arrested. One occupier, Robert LaVoy Finicum, was shot and killed[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/fbi-releases-video-showing-deadly-shooting-of-oregon-protester-1454042619] by a law enforcement officer during a standoff.

One defendant, Kenneth Medenbach, said he is confident the outcome will be in his favor. "I think we're going to win," said the 63-year-old from Crescent, Ore.

Family members of the Bundy brothers also were hopeful that the brothers would be exonerated, but said the case has strained the family. "It's so hard on our family," said their aunt, Margaret Houston, 60, who traveled from her home in Nevada to be in the courtroom. "It's tearing us apart."

One courtroom spectator said he hoped the Bundys would be convicted. "When you have guns, you have an armed revolt," said Robert Lawton, 70, a retired carpenter from Beaverton, Ore. "We need to discourage this nonsense."

Testimony in the trial is scheduled to begin Wednesday.

Write to Jim Carlton at jim.carlton@wsj.com[mailto:jim.carlton@wsj.com]

Read more

\* Oregon Armed Occupation Trial Set to Start[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/oregon-armed-occupation-trial-set-to-start-1473499800] (Sept. 10)

\* A Timeline of the Oregon Occupation[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/a-timeline-of-the-oregon-occupation-1455220235]

\* Oregon Standoff Ends as Last 4 Occupiers Surrender[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/oregon-standoff-ends-as-last-4-occupiers-surrender-1455218754] (Feb. 11)

\* FBI Releases Video Showing Deadly Shooting of Oregon Protester[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/fbi-releases-video-showing-deadly-shooting-of-oregon-protester-1454042619] (Jan. 28)

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**LONDON—The U.K.'s new Brexit minister told lawmakers Tuesday that his recently formed department was still determining its negotiating aims and strategy for exiting the European Union , in an appearance before British lawmakers Tuesday.

David Davis avoided answering questions about what relationship the government wants to secure with the bloc, despite mounting pressure for more clarity. Two months into Prime Minister Theresa May 's time in office [http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/theresa-may-gets-set-for-u-k-leadership-with-brexit-top-of-agenda-1468390512], her team has given little indication of how it plans to proceed with negotiations [http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/u-k-s-theresa-may-holds-brexit-brainstorm-with-ministers-1472643903].

Mr. Davis reiterated the government's position that it wouldn't trigger the formal EU exit process, known as Article 50, until next year [http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/u-k-s-theresa-may-holds-brexit-brainstorm-with-ministers-1472643903]. He said the government needs time to assess negotiating aims and tactics and the legalities of Article 50.

"All those things really have to be fairly clear before you start," Mr. Davis said. "I would rather go a month late and get it right than go a month early and get it wrong."

He said he thinks the U.K. can complete negotiations on leaving the EU within two years from the time it triggers Article 50. He added that he thinks the U.K. is unlikely to end up in a situation where it doesn't strike a deal on its new relationship with the EU and must rely on World Trade Organization rules.

He said his department has quadrupled over recent weeks to about 200 staff and he expects it to double again in size.

His team so far has been focused on preparatory work, including consulting with representatives from various sectors. He said the department would need to study how Brexit would affect the U.K. economy before formally starting negotiations, including an assessment of non-tariff barriers.

In terms of the government's negotiating strategy, he said the government would set out broad objectives but not publicly detail its strategy because he said it didn't want to undermine its negotiations.

He said the government cabinet committee on Britain's exit from the EU has met twice already and he expects it to meet once a month.

Mr. Davis defended the government's position that it doesn't have to consult with Parliament before formally triggering Britain's exit from the bloc, saying it wouldn't be right for Parliament to have the opportunity to overturn what the people voted for.

His comments came after a U.K. parliamentary report said it would be "constitutionally inappropriate" [http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/u-k-parliament-should-have-vote-on-triggering-brexit-process-lords-say-1473775143] to act on the referendum without explicit parliamentary approval, something Mrs. May's office has said is unnecessary

The report, published by the House of Lords constitution committee, also said Parliament should have a role in approving the final deal between the U.K. and the EU and that not consulting Parliament would set a "disturbing precedent."

Mrs. May's government argues it has the authority to act alone. "This is a decision for the government," Mrs. May's spokeswoman said Tuesday. "Both houses of Parliament decided to put the decision about whether or not we remain a member of the EU in the hands of the British people and now we need to get on with delivering that decision."

The British public in June voted to leave the EU in a historic referendum [http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/u-k-projected-to-leave-european-union-1466740486], a decision the government has pledged to implement. But the ballot didn't cover what sort of relationship Britain should have with the bloc after it left, and British politicians are torn over how the negotiations should be handled and to what extent Parliament and the public should have a say on the matter.While some argue the U.K. should have a relationship that is as close as possible with the rest of Europe, others say it should prioritize full control over **immigration** [http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/u-k-may-seek-to-curb-immigration-before-it-leaves-the-eu-1468781772], even at the expense of access to the EU 's single market, which could put British companies at a disadvantage.

Guy Verhofstadt, the European Parliament 's lead negotiator on Brexit, said the EU needs to have an agreement on Britain's withdrawal from the bloc by 2019. A statement from his Twitter account Tuesday [https://twitter.com/GuyVerhofstadt/status/775633697336942592] said that if the U.K. wants access to the EU 's single market, it "must also accept the free movement of citizens."

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

Earlier

\* U.K.'s David Davis Hails Brexit as Exciting Opportunity for Britain [http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/u-k-s-david-davis-hails-brexit-as-exciting-opportunity-for-britain-1473097750] (Sept. 5)

\* Prime Minister May Discusses an EU Exit Strategy With Cabinet [http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/u-k-s-theresa-may-holds-brexit-brainstorm-with-ministers-1472643903] (Aug. 31)

\* U.K. May Seek to Curb **Immigration** Before It Leaves the EU [http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/u-k-may-seek-to-curb-immigration-before-it-leaves-the-eu-1468781772] (July 17)

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Donald Trump installed his third leadership team at a campaign low point on Aug. 16[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/donald-trump-overhauls-campaign-team-1471424401]. The next day, his new managers at a meeting in his Trump Tower office in New York suggested the Republican Party nominee visit residents suffering in the Louisiana floods[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/damage-grows-from-louisiana-flood-1471803140].

Mr. Trump didn't like the idea. Wouldn't he look like he was pandering? he asked, according to advisers. And besides, he added, Louisiana wasn't a swing state.

Newly installed campaign chief executive Stephen Bannon and campaign manager Kellyanne Conway told their new boss, basically, trust us. Mr. Trump needed to move away from a preoccupation with rallies and wall-to-wall TV interviews toward "moments," in the new managers' parlance, that showed him in TV newscasts as presidential, with a caring side.

The approach would give Mr. Trump a break from the media replaying unattractive off-script comments and off-putting tweets—including a few viewed as racist—that were helping widen the polling lead of Democratic presidential nominee Hillary Clinton, they said. Besides, President Barack Obama was away playing golf on an island vacation.

Mr. Trump went to Louisiana the next day, Aug. 18, accompanied by running mate Mike Pence. The trip turned out successfully in Mr. Trump's view, and cinched his ties with Mr. Bannon and Ms. Conway, shifting his campaign's focus toward such events as a trip to a Detroit inner-city church, the meeting with Mexico's president and a planned visit Wednesday to Flint, Mich., to speak with families hurt by tainted drinking water, campaign advisers said.

The new team, said supporters, has fostered a more disciplined candidacy.

"Actually I'm freer now, relying on my instincts and working with a team I trust," Mr. Trump said in an interview.

His political opponents question how much has changed. Hours after his visit last month with Mexico's President Enrique Peña Nieto, they said, Mr. Trump delivered an **immigration** speech in Arizona that made even some Trump supporters cringe over its harsh tone and off-the-cuff flourishes.

"Fifty days of script can't change 15 months of actual positions and beliefs," said Hilary Rosen, a Democratic strategist and Clinton supporter. "Trump isn't going to be able to run away from his divisive rhetoric."

After Mrs. Clinton's campaign announced late Sunday that she had been diagnosed with pneumonia, many expected Mr. Trump to pounce on the news, arguing that it proved his claim she lacks the stamina to be president.

Instead, Mr. Trump told campaign advisers deluged with media calls to stand down. The response struck opponents as uncharacteristic, and some supporters attributed Mr. Trump's restraint to his new campaign organization.

Mr. Trump said efforts by previous campaign leaders to remake him into a politician were "dishonest." And, Mr. Trump said, he resisted at times by going off script.

The Republican nominee said he was more comfortable with his new team, which, ironically, has succeeded in some of the same changes sought by former campaign chairman Paul Manafort: Mr. Trump is sticking closer to a teleprompter, giving more policy details in speeches—and making fewer off-the-cuff remarks, which hurt his campaign after the GOP convention this summer.

The shift began around the second week of August, as Mr. Trump saw a sharp decline in the polls. After Mr. Manafort's team told Mr. Trump in several campaign meetings that he was losing and needed to stick to the message, Mr. Trump looked to Ms. Conway, then working as a campaign adviser.

Mr. Trump said he told Ms. Conway that he needed advisers he trusted and who "wouldn't say I'm going to pivot at the slightest inkling of a problem." Ms. Conway told Mr. Trump that he was behind, but there were ways of getting back on track, according to a person familiar with the conversation.

A few days later, Mr. Bannon told Mr. Trump that campaign messaging, which was emphasized by Mr. Manafort, was "for politicians," while "communicating is for leaders," according to people familiar with the conversation.

Shortly afterward, Mr. Manafort was sidelined in favor of Mr. Bannon and Ms. Conway.

The new campaign team, now in its fourth week, consists of three interconnected circles of advisers.

One circle consists of newly-installed political pros led by Ms. Conway, now the campaign's main pollster. Another circle, headed by Mr. Bannon, the former head of Breitbart, the pro-Trump online news site, helps produce policy and TV campaign "moments" and provides camaraderie. That group includes press secretary Hope Hicks and former New York City Mayor Rudy Giuliani.

A third circle includes Mr. Trump's older children in a less prominent day-to-day role. Eric Trump has negotiated leases for field offices in Virginia and Pennsylvania, and is a frequent surrogate on cable TV news. Donald Trump Jr. travels to campaign fundraising events. Their sister Ivanka Trump helped with the rollout of Mr. Trump's child-care policy Tuesday[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/donald-trump-proposing-child-care-subsidies-1473798499]. Her husband, real-estate developer Jared Kushner, is probably the most involved family member in strategy.

"With these circles working together, Donald is more effective every day," said Republican Sen. Jeff Sessions of Alabama, a Trump adviser and member of the circle of political pros.

The Trump campaign circles don't always agree. Regarding **immigration**, Mr. Trump at first appeared to soften his stance on whether illegal **immigrants** must be deported. The political pros, led by Republican National Committee Chairman Reince Priebus, wanted Mr. Trump to relax his hard-line stance. Mr. Bannon urged immediate deportation.

After days of wavering, Mr. Trump's speech in Arizona largely reverted to the tougher policy he staked out originally.

Another policy debate played out during a recent night at Trump Tower headquarters. Ms. Conway and Mr. Bannon reviewed a giant U.S. map in Ms. Conway's office punctured with colored pins in battleground states.

The question looming that night—as well as over the coming weeks of the race—is how much Mr. Trump should participate in the sort of "retail-style" campaigning he largely shunned during the Republican primaries.

Mr. Bannon argued in favor of staging large rallies, which Mr. Trump enjoys. "He feeds off their energy," Mr. Bannon said, standing to make his point.

Ms. Conway argued the GOP candidate was a "natural in a diner or at a round table."

The decision: Most of Mr. Trump's campaign swings will include a prepared speech, maybe a rally and, always, an appearance at a small local venue.

One constant remains for Mr. Trump, a preoccupation with poll results. "Did you see the polls showing I'm beating Hillary?" he asked during a recent flight aboard his private plane.

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More Election 2016

\* Leaked Powell Emails Lambaste Trump, Clinton[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/leaked-colin-powell-emails-lambaste-donald-trump-hillary-clinton-1473862328?mod=wsj\_nview\_latest]

\* New York Attorney General Probes Trump Foundation[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/new-york-attorney-general-probes-trump-foundation-1473814531]

\* Obama Stumps for Clinton, Knocks Trump's Stance on Putin[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/obama-stumps-for-hillary-clinton-knocks-donald-trumps-stance-on-putin-1473800057]

\* Pence Courts Republicans In Visit With Lawmakers[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/mike-pence-courts-republicans-in-visit-with-lawmakers-1473807650]

\* Trump Proposing Child-Care Subsidies[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/donald-trump-proposing-child-care-subsidies-1473798499]

\* Trump Says Ivanka Pushed ‘Daddy' on Family Policy[http://blogs.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/washwire/2016/09/13/donald-trump-says-ivanka-pushed-daddy-on-family-policy/]

\* House GOP Could Keep Majority, Lose Sway[http://blogs.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/washwire/2016/09/14/house-gop-could-keep-majority-but-lose-leverage/]

\* Trump Aide: Charity Questions ‘Badgering'[http://blogs.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/washwire/2016/09/13/questions-about-trumps-charitable-giving-are-badgering-aide-says/]

\* Employees Who Worked on Clinton's Email Server Invoke Fifth Amendment[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/employees-who-worked-on-hillary-clintons-email-server-invoke-fifth-amendment-1473824078?tesla=y]

\* Video: Clinton Tries Using ‘Deplorables' to Her Advantage[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/video/clinton-tries-using-deplorables-to-her-advantage/3C84A00E-28AF-4F08-A6AD-7917B5846F4A.html]

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**BERLIN—German police on Tuesday detained three men believed to be members of Islamic State, officials said, in what is believed to be the first arrests of a group of foreign fighters sent to Germany by the extremist group.

The three men traveled to Germany on Syrian passports last November, possibly to carry out an attack, and have connections to the militants who carried out suicide bombings and mass shootings for Islamic State in Paris the same month, Interior Minister Thomas de Maizière said.

The men—ages 17, 18 and 26—appear to have used the same human traffickers and obtained their passports from the same illegal workshop in the Middle East, Mr. de Maizière said.

"Based on current investigations, we have no indication for any specific terror attack plan, but we nevertheless suspect that the detainees came to Germany in November 2015 on behalf of Islamic State," he said. "They could be a sleeper network."

The General Prosecutor said the men were strongly suspected of traveling to Germany to "execute an existing order or to be on standby for instructions."

Along with documents, the three men were seized during raids early Tuesday by more than 200 police officers on the homes of **refugees** in the states of Lower Saxony and Schleswig-Holstein. Identification of criminal suspects is barred under German law.

In launching the raids, authorities were acting on a tip from asylum seekers, officials for the Federal Criminal Police Office and General Prosecutor said.

The arrest is more bad news for Chancellor Angela Merkel, whose standing in opinion polls has dropped since she opened Germany's doors to **refugees**, leading to the arrival of more a million migrants in the country since the beginning of last year.

Security officials have warned that many migrants have entered Germany without any form of valid identification, making it difficult for officials to identify potential terrorists.

"It would be wrong to throw suspicion on all **refugees**. But security authorities repeatedly get tips that individual potential terrorists or those sympathizing with terrorists could be among **refugees**," Mr. de Maizière said.

"It may be the case that the so-called Islamic State is aiming or has aimed to send such people among **refugees** in order to cause uncertainty in Europe in Germany. The so-called Islamic State doesn't depend on migration streams to bring people to Europe," he said.

Surveys show a majority of Germans are concerned about the influx and about potential attackers among the migrants.

Two attacks committed by **refugees** and claimed by Islamic State rattled the country this summer. Several of the attackers in last November's deadly assaults in Paris are also known to have traveled to Europe while posing as **refugees**.

Mr. de Maizière said authorities had looked for months at possible connections between the three men and the Paris attackers, who carried out a series of assaults last autumn in a bustling entertainment district and outside a soccer stadium that killed more than 100 people.

"We will have to find out whether there have been more links to other people and additional networks," the interior minister said. "This all shows that the so-called Islamic State doesn't only have France, or only Germany or Italy or Belgium or Britain or others on its radar but the West."

The prosecutor said the three men detained Tuesday were sent to Germany via Turkey and Greece by an Islamic State official responsible for foreign operations. The men were under orders to carry out an attack or await instructions, he said, adding that no specific details of a plan had been found.

The men are believed to have received cash and mobile phones with a preinstalled communication program, according to the prosecutor.

Tuesday's raids come as recent terror attacks in Paris and Brussels showed that Islamic State was planting fighters into the stream of migrants flowing to Europe, a spokeswoman for the Federal Criminal Police Office said.

Police say migrants have provided about 400 tips from **refugees** about those in their midst with alleged links to Islamic State. Some 60 of these have led to preliminary proceedings, the spokeswoman said.

Most of these tips weren't substantiated, Mr. de Maizière said.

Write to Andrea Thomas at andrea.thomas@wsj.com[mailto:andrea.thomas@wsj.com]

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**NEW HAVEN, Conn.—A surge in Syrian **refugees** has overwhelmed resettlement agencies, pushing them to add staff to help newcomers who need apartments, English lessons and job training.

National Security Adviser Susan Rice announced Aug. 29 that the U.S. had reached its goal of admitting 10,000 Syrian **refugees** this fiscal year, which ends Sept. 30. The majority arrived in the past five months.

In the tri-state area, 90% of the 1,192 Syrian **refugees** resettled this fiscal year arrived after April 1.

The surge has made the summer months particularly hectic, said Mia Witte, associate director for resettlement for Church World Service, one of nine resettlement agencies contracted by the federal government to help **refugees**.

"It kind of overwhelms people and institutions when everyone arrives at once," she said.

The surge[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/settlement-of-syrian-refugees-in-the-u-s-accelerates-1468402205] stems from the Obama administration's efforts to reach its yearly resettlement goal for Syrians after a slow start. Beginning in February, the federal government sent additional staff to the Middle East to review applications and conduct security checks.

"Implementing enhancements that allow for a significant increase in arrivals takes time," said a State Department spokesman.

Church World Service, which has resettled 1,334 Syrians across the country this fiscal year, surveyed its 33 local offices nationwide and found that housing has been the biggest challenge. Many Syrian families are large, sometimes numbering eight members, and finding places that are both big enough and affordable can be difficult.

"Almost everyone was having trouble identifying housing for so many people at once," Ms. Witte said.

Church World Service is in the process of recruiting a housing specialist who will help local resettlement offices. The agency also raised $100,000 through its summer fundraising appeal to fund emergency housing assistance for **refugees**.

The group's top location nationally for Syrian resettlement is New Haven. Its affiliate there, Integrated **Refugee** & **Immigrant** Services, has developed partnerships with local community groups willing to co-sponsor **refugee** families. The partnerships have allowed the agency to more than double its caseload since last fiscal year, said Executive Director Chris George.

The agency had resettled 267 Syrian **refugees** as of Monday, up from 23 last fiscal year. On a Wednesday morning earlier this month, **refugees** crowded the agency's hallways as they waited to enter the food pantry, which was stocked with fresh tomatoes and corn, potatoes and boxed couscous. A sign on the refrigerator in the corner indicated the meat inside was "halal," meaning it conformed with Muslim dietary laws.

Upstairs, a group of seven Syrian men attending daylong English classes sat around a table studying furnishings vocabulary.

"Do you have a carpet in your living room?" one man asked.

"I have a radio," another man replied.

"English only!" The instructor pleaded as the enthusiastic group slipped into Arabic.

Even with support from community groups across Connecticut, Integrated **Refugee** & **Immigrant** Services needed to hire four full-time and several part-time staff members to manage the influx.

"It's a lot of work," Mr. George said. "But we're happy to do it."

In New York, 92% of the 589 Syrian **refugees** resettled this fiscal year, mostly in Albany, Buffalo and Syracuse, arrived after April 1. Marlene Schillinger, chief executive officer of Jewish Family Service of Buffalo & Erie County New York, said her agency expects to have resettled 64 Syrians by the end of the month after not receiving any last fiscal year.

Ms. Schillinger said she is hiring two full-time and one part-time employees to handle the extra workload. Helping **refugees** secure their Social Security cards has been difficult, she said.

"In Buffalo, the social services system is jammed, they're overloaded with **refugees** and others, so we take our **refugees** 45 minutes away to Niagara Falls," Ms. Schillinger said.

Darren Lutz, a public-affairs specialist for the U.S. Social Security Administration, said all of its offices are busy, but Buffalo's may be more so compared with Niagara Falls' because it is in a more populated area.

Resettlement agencies are required to find and furnish **refugees**' housing before they arrive, pick them up from the airport, help them sign up for social services and enroll their children in school. In New Jersey, where 91% of the 275 Syrian **refugees** resettled this fiscal year arrived after April 1, finding and furnishing apartments was extremely difficult, said Mahmoud Mahmoud, the former director of Church World Service's Jersey City office.

The amount of funding the federal government provides isn't enough for resettlement agencies to hire the necessary staff, Mr. Mahmoud said.

"All the things they require—it just isn't realistic," he said.

In addition to federal funding that goes directly to **refugees**, the State Department also allocates $14 million a year to the nine resettlement agencies to defray administrative costs. A spokesman for the State Department said **refugee** resettlement is a "public-private partnership" and relies on donations from individuals and companies.

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We Want to Hear From You

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Madrid may be Spain's capital and largest city, but it's still the country's new kid on the block, rising to prominence centuries after places like Seville and Barcelona. Spanish King Philip II moved his court there in the 1560s and slowly Madrid was transformed from a landlocked Castilian backwater into the big, brash, metropolis it is today—larger than Paris, as cosmopolitan as London and with a nightlife that can rival Berlin's.

That all makes for an ideal urban getaway, but not a very Spanish one. Luckily the city is smack dab in the middle of the country, where two solid decades of infrastructure improvements make a deeper dip into traditional Spainishness as easy as a day trip.

After acquainting yourself with the Prado, one of the world's very best museums, and sleeping off a night crawl in the tapas bars of the Chueca and Malasaña neighborhoods, get up early and head for Atocha, Madrid's main train station and point-of-departure for the country's state-of-the-art, high-speed train network. You will appreciate Madrid's urbane pleasures all the more after a day away, and be a bit wiser about the manifold pleasures of Spain itself.

1¾ hours away by high-speed train

Best for: Beach bums with a minor in art history; paella snobs; fans of "The Borgias."

What it has that Madrid doesn't: Orange trees and palm trees; beaches of every stripe; the Mercat Central, Spain's most grandiose market hall; Oceanogràfic, one of the world's premier aquariums.

Don't miss: The gothic Church of St. Nicholas, former haunt of the notorious Borgia dynasty, who got their start in this corner of Spain. The church's ornate baroque frescoes were recently restored. But if the sun is out, make a quick trip through the church and head straight to the sand and surf of Playa de Malvarrosa, just north of the port and reachable by tram.

Don't bother: Walking to the beach from the historic center. On a map, the stroll from the heart of Valencia to the Mediterranean proper looks promising but isn't, taking you through nondescript, deserted urban stretches. Hop in a taxi and save your walk for the art nouveau Mercat Central or one of the beach boardwalks.

Instagram gold: The City of Arts and Sciences, which houses the sprawling Oceanogràfic aquarium, is a cultural complex codesigned by Valencia native Santiago Calatrava. A product of the 1990s, it still feels uber-modern after all these years (cac.es[http://cac.es/es/home.html]).

If you have time for only one meal: Casa Carmela, a beachfront restaurant that's only open from 1–4 p.m. Their prime attraction is paella, a Valencia specialty, served just the way the locals love it—as a thin, savory cookie sticking to the pan it was cooked in. Use a special wooden spoon to help you scrape off the best bits (casa-carmela.com/es[http://www.casa-carmela.com/es/]).

And a snack: Stop by the Horchateria Fabian, in the upscale Ensanche district, for a glass of horchata, another Valencian favorite, along with sweets like bunyol, a local doughnut (Carrer de Ciscar, 5).

Getting there: The first direct high-speed train typically leaves Madrid's Atocha station at 7:40 a.m., and the last fast train returns at 9:10 p.m.

If you miss the last train: Cab it to the seaside Balneario Las Arenas, just outside the center of town (seaview rooms from about $337; hotelvalencialasarenas.com[http://www.hotelvalencialasarenas.com/en/]).

An hour by commuter train

Best for: Spanish-history buffs, gardening buffs, sweet tooths.

What it has that Madrid doesn't: Mountains, up close; out-of-the-way Titians; Counter-Reformation street cred.

Claim to fame: At the end of the 16th century, when Imperial Spain was settling in as the world's first superpower, the newly built Royal Monastery of San Lorenzo de El Escorial was the symbol of Spanish glory and Roman Catholic resistance to Protestantism.

Don't miss: The monastery-palace, top to bottom, side to side. The complex was meant to combine a hunting lodge for Philip II with a working monastery for hundreds of hermit monks, and its mammoth granite exterior vaguely resembles the grill on which namesake Roman martyr St. Lawrence was roasted alive. Soak in the forbidding atmosphere before you go in, and then seek out highlights like the frescoed library, a think tank for Europe's Counter-Reformation. The palace-like King's Apartments were the private **refuge** of Philip II, one of the great art collectors of all time, and the rooms once used for monks' meetings are now an art museum, with masterpieces like Titian's "Last Supper" and a bevy of El Grecos (el-escorial.com).

Insider Tip: In the basilica, whose dome presides over the complex, get as close as you can to the high altar and seek out Benvenuto Cellini's marble depiction of Christ on the cross. The Christ figure's nakedness was just right for Tuscany but a tad too much for Spain. He was outfitted with a loincloth before being installed here.

For a breath of fresh air: Enjoy the formal gardens adjoining the palace, or take a walk on the wild side in La Herreria, the mountainous pine forest that begins where the monastery grounds end.

If you have time for only one meal: La Cueva, a few minutes from the monastery, is a restaurant and Spanish-style bar hidden in a thrillingly gloomy 18th-century building. Ideal for tapas any time of day (mesonlacueva.com[http://www.mesonlacueva.com/]).

And a snack: The train station's in-house bakery makes a killer torrijas, a riff on bread pudding.

Getting there: Pick up the commuter train C-3 in central Madrid.

If you miss the last train: Nearby hotels are nothing special. Cab it back to Madrid.

Madrid Day Trip: Cabañeros National Park

This huge national park keeps a low profile.

An hour by train plus 30 to 45 minutes by taxi or two hours if you drive from Madrid

Best for: Birdwatchers, tree-huggers, Cervantes nerds.

What is has that Madrid doesn't have: Car-free vistas, pure solitude, deer on dates.

What it has that Madrid doesn't: A 150-square-mile preserve, this national park, cobbled together in the 1990s out of onetime hunting estates, is known for rare surviving stretches of Mediterranean forest.

Claim to fame: The park is located largely in Ciudad Real province, the heart of Spain's historic La Mancha region and the setting for Cervantes's "Don Quixote." The areas west and south of the park were immortalized by the knight's slapstick misadventures, like his signature run-in with a cluster of windmills.

Don't miss: The park remains underused, and you may have the place to yourself—though on early spring mornings, expect to share it with few hard-core bird-watchers. If you're a birder yourself, your trusted binoculars will help you spot rarities like imperial eagles, black storks and black vultures. During the fall, the naked eye is enough to watch the annual spectacle of rutting deer doing their mating dances.

Don't bother: The park has Spanish-language information centers that include displays about park-area flora and fauna. Ask for the maps but skip the exhibits, which look like taxidermy shops.

Insider tips: Cabañeros has restricted vehicle access, and many visitors opt for a guided tour in an authorized jeep, taking in la raña, an overgrown grassland with a Serengeti-like ambience (destinosmanchegos.com[http://destinosmanchegos.com/]). Enter the park on foot and hike one of several trails up onto the Montes de Toledo mountain range. As of this spring, a new 14-mile circular path leads hikers up to the 4,500-foot summit of El Pico del Rocigalgo.

Getting there: If you plan on hiking, rent a car and drive down, via Toledo, accessing the park from the north where you'll find the best trails. If you are taking a guided tour in an authorized jeep, or want to hire a nature guide to speed up your high-powered birding, choose the hourlong high-speed train ride to Ciudad Real, a stopover on the Madrid–Seville line, and arrange for a pickup at the station.

If you have time for only one meal: Drivers should take a detour to El Carmen de Montesión, a Michelin-starred restaurant outside the historic center of Toledo, halfway between Madrid and the park (tasting menu: about $67, elcarmendemontesion.com[http://elcarmendemontesion.com/]). Train-takers can plan on a delicious break in Ciudad Real at San Huberto, a fine restaurant near the train station. (Set lunch menu, about $28, asadorsanhuberto.com[http://asadorsanhuberto.com/]).

If you miss the last train: In a region sorely lacking in luxury, you can find **refuge** and spa facilities at La Casa del Rector hotel in Almagro, southeast of Ciudad Real (A suite with a fireplace from about $219 a night, lacasadelrector.com[http://www.lacasadelrector.com/en/]).

55 minutes away by high-speed train

Best for: Art lovers and Gothic-architecture nuts who don't suffer from vertigo; carnivores.

What it has that Madrid doesn't: Clean air; 500-year-old byways; starry nights.

Claim to fame: Cuenca's medieval core hangs precipitously above a river gorge. Madrileños come for the views but linger for the art. In addition to Moorish foundations and Catholic flourishes, the old town is marked by traces of Spanish 20th-century modernism, whose followers made Cuenca an avant-garde redoubt during long, dreary decades of Francoism.

Don't miss: The Museum of Spanish Abstract Art, housed in a complex of 15th-century buildings, turned 50 this year and celebrated with a dramatic makeover, adding loads more gallery space. The permanent collection shows off the Spanish modernists who gravitated here. One of them—locally born Gustavo Torner, now in his 90s—just reopened his own private museum, Espacio Torner, housed in a 16th-century church (espaciotorner.com[http://espaciotorner.com/]). And Cuenca's cathedral is a rare Iberian example of Anglo-Norman Gothic, noted for both its delicacy and its grandeur.

Don't bother: Spain's Modernist artists left behind some of their best work here, but a few of the country's less inspired modernist architects blighted the newer parts of town with concrete boxes. From the train station, take a taxi directly to Plaza Mayor, near the old town's cathedral.

Instagram gold: A shot from the jaw-dropping, stomach- churning Puente de San Pablo, the bridge that spans 130 feet above a gorge. The bridge connects the historic center to the smaller neighborhood that contains Espacio Torner and Parador de Cuenca.

If you have time for only one meal: Figón del Huécar is an old-fashioned, frankly fancy restaurant with great views and, like nearly every Cuenca eatery, meat dishes galore. Order the roasted lamb (figondelhuecar.es[http://figondelhuecar.es/]).

Getting there: Take the Madrid-Valencia high-speed line to Cuenca's Fernando Zobel station, then a taxi to the historic center. The last train back leaves around 10 p.m.

If you miss the last train: Crash at Parador de Cuenca, fashioned out of a onetime monastery (from about $211 a night, parador.es/en/paradores/parador-de-cuenca[http://www.parador.es/en/paradores/parador-de-cuenca]).

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Three weeks before a scheduled presidential election that could install postwar Austria's first right-wing populist head of state, the country's top elections official said the vote needed to be postponed.

The reason: Defective glue has been causing some mail-in ballot envelopes to open, rendering the vote inside invalid.

"I must acknowledge that a ballot-card production error is the reason why we cannot guarantee an election that is irreproachably in conformity with the law," said Interior Minister Wolfgang Sobotka, who oversees elections, in a news conference in Vienna on Monday. "We cannot estimate today how many and which of these ballot cards could still open."

Mr. Sobotka said he would submit a bill to parliament on Tuesday to postpone the vote until Dec. 4.

It was the latest embarrassment for the Alpine country's government, which has been struggling to execute a closely watched election.

The runoff vote for the mainly ceremonial post of president had been scheduled for Oct. 2, pitting center-left candidate Alexander Van der Bellen against Norbert Hofer of the anti-**immigrant** Freedom Party. Mr. Hofer, propelled by a popular backlash against the centrist government's handling of the **refugee** crisis, has been running about even with Mr. Van der Bellen in the polls.

Mr. Van der Bellen beat Mr. Hofer by just over 30,000 votes in a runoff election on May 22. In July, the country's Constitutional Court ordered a rerun because of improprieties in how some mail-in ballots were processed. But in recent days, reports emerged in Austrian media that some mail-in ballot envelopes for the rescheduled vote were defective, raising the prospect of yet another bungled election.

"If a well-developed and modern democracy such as the one in Austria isn't able to guarantee regular elections, then it is anything but funny," journalist Michael Völker wrote in Der Standard newspaper on Sunday.

"One could take this glue fiasco as a symbol of what Austria needs now: to stick together," Mr. Van der Bellen said later Monday.

The government's acknowledgment of problems with mail-in ballots could, however, energize supporters of Mr. Hofer and his Freedom Party's anti-establishment campaign.

"This government is not even able to conduct a lawful, timely, and proper election," Freedom Party Chairman Heinz-Christian Strache said on his Facebook page. "Austria is being embarrassed by this government."

Mr. Sobotka addressed the news media Monday alongside Franz Lang, director of the Federal Criminal Agency, Austria's version of the FBI. The agency has found no signs of foul play but continues to investigate, Mr. Lang said.

"We must still examine a number of defective ballot envelopes," Mr. Lang said.

A company that printed the ballots for more than a dozen previous elections in Austria produced the defective envelopes, Mr. Sobotka said. Another company, Österreichische Staatsdruckerei, will now print new ballots with a simpler envelope design that was used until 2008, pending parliamentary approval of the new law.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**MANASSAS, Va.—Corey Stewart had visited the Dar Al-Noor mosque many times as chairman of the Prince William Board of County Supervisors, but never as the leader of Donald Trump's presidential campaign in Virginia.

"As-salamu alaykum," he said Monday morning, greeting hundreds of Muslims on the holiday of Eid al-Adha, marking the end of the yearly pilgrimage to Mecca. "This is kind of an awkward position that I'm in."

He didn't need to explain. Mr. Trump's proposed ban on Muslim **immigrants** has provoked widespread outrage and potentially unprecedented interest in the presidential election by the fast-growing Muslim community.

Muslims make up only about 1% of the U.S. population, according to the Pew Research Center. But the community is concentrated in several large swing states that could influence the November election, including Virginia, Michigan, Ohio, Pennsylvania and Florida.

"I have never seen an election cycle this divisive, where Americans are being turned against each other," Rafi Uddin Ahmed, the mosque's former president, told the room full of male worshipers. "This is not the America that you know. We need to make sure we are active, every election, but especially this one."

The U.S. Council of Muslim Organizations, the largest coalition of national and local Muslim groups, aims to register one million voters by the Nov. 8 election.

It declared Monday as "National Muslim Voter Registration Day," with mosques all over the U.S. hosting voter-registration tables as worshipers streamed in to celebrate the holiday. The Council on American-Islamic Relations estimates 300,000 Muslims have registered to vote since 2012.

In a rare reproach of the GOP nominee by one of his surrogates, Mr. Stewart told the audience at the mosque that he disagreed with Mr. Trump's position on Muslim **immigrants**. Still, he said, the only way to agree completely with a candidate is to personally run for office.

"There was no sense in trying to paper over it," Mr. Stewart, who is running for governor, said later to reporters.

Some Muslim leaders caution that Democratic nominee Hillary Clinton shouldn't take their support for granted, pointing to her support as a U.S. senator in favor of the war in Iraq.

State Sen. Jeremy McPike, a Democrat, spoke on Mrs. Clinton's behalf at the mosque on Monday. He noted that as first lady, she hosted the first Ramadan celebration dinner at the White House in 1996. Her running mate, Sen. Tim Kaine, attended the mosque's 2007 dedication when he was governor. She has denounced Mr. Trump's call for a temporary ban on Muslim **immigrants**.

"The dialogue that you've heard this year is based on Islamophobia," Mr. McPike said. "We've got to dig in as a people to show that our values are greater than that divisive rhetoric."

Among those who filled out a registration form was Saidu Sesay, 25 years old, who works with disabled people. "We are good people in the community,'" said Mr. Sesay, whose family fled the civil war in Sierra Leone. "We are citizens like everyone else."

Shafiuddin Ahmed, 42, filled out the same paperwork while his 12-year-old twin boys waited patiently. "Trump is going to kick all the Muslims out," said one son, Sarim. "That's bad."

The Republican nominee has changed his focus in recent months from blocking Muslims from entering the U.S. to newcomers from countries rife with terrorism, but he has never officially abandoned his position on Muslim **immigration**.

His statement "calling for a total and complete shutdown of Muslims entering the United States until our country's representatives can figure out what is going on" remains on his campaign website.

Sheryar Khan, 40, a real estate consultant who picked up a registration form at the mosque, said he would probably vote for Mrs. Clinton. But he cited her public-policy experience, not Mr. Trump's **immigration** policy.

"I'm educated. I could go wherever I want," said Mr. Khan, who moved to the U.S. from Pakistan and has been a citizen since 2009.

Muslim leaders say the community has been less politically engaged than other religious groups, in part because of the distrust and discrimination that followed the Sept. 11, 2001, attacks. Only 60% of Muslims are registered to vote, compared with a combined 86% of Jews, Catholics and Protestants, according to a study by the Institute for Social Policy and Understanding.

"People don't want to put their name on things for fear they will be targeted," said Ehsan Islam, president of the Muslim Association of Virginia.

Emerging as a hero in the Muslim community during this election year is Khizr Khan, a Muslim attorney and father of a U.S. Army captain killed in Iraq, who condemned Mr. Trump at the Democratic National Convention.

In a recent interview with The Wall Street Journal, Mr. Khan said he is trying to keep a low profile since his convention speech touched off a public spat with Mr. Trump. Mr. Khan spoke at the annual festival celebrating Pakistani independence in Centreville, Va., in August and at the Islamic Society of North Americaconference in Chicago earlier this month.

At the conference attended by thousands of Muslims, he urged the audience to vote "regardless of issues, where you stand," Mr. Khan added: "Let your voice be heard, so that tomorrow, our future generations, our children, don't have to hear this ugly political rhetoric that we have heard."

Mr. Khan, who is scheduled to speak to other Muslim groups this fall, didn't name Mr. Trump.

Related

\* Trump's Mixed Signals on **Immigration** Roil Campaign[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/donald-trumps-mixed-signals-on-immigration-cause-a-flap-1472169148] (Aug. 25)

\* Donald Trump Calls for a New War on Terror[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/donald-trump-calls-for-ideological-test-for-entry-into-u-s-1471291339] (Aug. 15)

\* Trump Pushes Back Against Father of Fallen Muslim Soldier[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/donald-trump-pushes-back-against-father-of-fallen-muslim-soldier-1469986267] (July 31)

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**En route to running ahead of Angela Merkel's Christian Democrats in her home-state elections earlier this month—and exposing the deep instability of German politics before nationwide elections next year—the hard-right Alternative for Germany (AfD) party gave a notable miss to waving official German flags at its rallies.

Instead, reporters for the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung noted that AfD supporters unfurled flaglike banners with a horizontal black-and-yellow cross against a red background. The newspaper described the gesture as "part of their attempt to style themselves as resistance fighters in a non-free state" or, as Alexander Gauland, an AfD leader, called it, a Germany run by "Chancellor-Dictator" Merkel.

The demonstration associated the AfD with a flag created in 1944 in honor of the failed attempt, led by Claus von Stauffenberg, to kill Adolf Hitler. Stauffenberg was undoubtedly a brave man, but one who historians, according to the newspaper, say had no time for the ideas of the Enlightenment.

Today, the flag routine speaks for a current of deeply antidemocratic reflexes within the illiberal German new right.

The AfD's election score of 21% gave it second place behind the Social Democrats in the state of Mecklenburg-West Pomerania. It became the ninth of Germany's 16 state Parliaments where AfD has representation, and created the very strong probability that it will win Bundestag seats in the general election, threatening Mrs. Merkel's chance for a fourth term.

A few near certainties: For the first time since the end of World War II, a party sharply to the right of the Christian Democrats and their Bavarian allies, the CSU, is receiving broad public acceptance. The AfD will seize much of the public mood rejecting the chancellor's open-door **refugee** policy and exploit it ruthlessly.

The party can find more success in anti-Americanism, an aggressive pro-Russian stance, and challenging the Federal Republic's years of Western alignment by cozying up to neutralism and an exit from NATO.

"German nationalism is coming back," Joschka Fischer, the former foreign minister, told me. "And that's something special. American weakness and rejection of a leadership role is an element in the process."

German nationalism, obviously, no longer means a German will to conquer the world. Rather, it has become a unique area of German retreat.

The movement accelerated with the implosion of Mrs. Merkel's notion that she ingeniously created a cushioned middle ground for the country away from her allies' world of dread—terrorism, Islamic State, Russia, Syria.

Briefly, the Germans under Mrs. Merkel had lived in a frame of reference quite free from the rumble of outside events. A paradigmatic instant: the chancellor's remark on her website just after a Malaysia Airlines jetliner was shot down in July 2014 over territory held by pro-Russian rebels in Ukraine, saying that "The events show how fortunate we are to live in peace and freedom in Germany."

A year later, Mrs. Merkel opened Germany's frontiers to an unrestricted flow of largely Muslim **refugees** from Syria and other Middle East war zones. More than a million have arrived since.

Support for the government's self-congratulatory "Welcome Culture" wilted in face of the self-protective reflexes of citizens to close off the never officially capped influx—and with the deadly arrival this summer of Islamist terrorism.

Left and right parties at the edges of extremism began to find a common voice in anti-Western blame and German victimization, classic elements of the past half-century's nationalist calls for German "emancipation" from the U.S. and German "equidistance" between Russia and America.

Soon, AfD and the hard-left Linke party, heir to East Germany's Communists, sounded alike in their denunciation of the Germans' so-called subordination to the Europe Union, and in urging the lifting of EU sanctions against Russia for its annexation of Crimea and aggression in eastern Ukraine.

A recent poll—revealing a German populist kinship with Donald Trump—reported that among the two parties' supporters, 30% on each side were more confident in Vladimir Putin than in Mrs. Merkel. The Social Democrat leadership in the chancellor's home state claimed, meanwhile, that "the West" was "engaged in a spiral of escalation" against Russia.

In the process, Mrs. Merkel, who has fallen to sixth place in popularity polls of attitudes toward nationally prominent politicians, has come up short in fighting rising nationalism, failing to defend the West publicly to the Germans with anything resembling intense heat or urgency, and refusing to confront Islamic State militarily (unlike the Danes or Dutch) by withholding German aircraft from attacking positions in Syria.

In the end, her politician's caution has contributed to legitimizing some of the country's dangerous instincts.

Germany's Federal President, Joachim Gauck, has spoken in the context of the German **refugee** crisis of a Germany of Light and a Germany of Darkness. There's no argument now about which one is on the move.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Federal Reserve Bank of Minneapolis President Neel Kashkari said demographic challenges, psychological scars from the financial crisis and lackluster technological innovation are leading causes for the tepid economic recovery in the U.S.

In one of his first economic papers since joining the Minneapolis Fed in January, Mr. Kashkari said that, "we are likely seeing a confluence of three fundamental causes all combining to slow the economic recovery.…Unfortunately, these headwinds aren't likely to reverse anytime soon on their own."

The paper, release Monday, also included a number of policy proposals but didn't advocate for any specific actions. However, Mr. Kashkari highlighted several potential solutions, such as more government spending to boost innovation, **immigration** reform to attract more high-skilled workers and increasing government funding on infrastructure.

Basing his paper off a June New York Times op-ed by Harvard University economist N. Gregory Mankiw, Mr. Kashkari identified seven possible reasons for why the U.S. economy hasn't returned to its precrisis levels of growth. Noting challenges like low productivity growth and chronically low real interest rates, among others, Mr. Kashkari listed a series of possible reasons for why the U.S. economy hasn't bounced back as much as it has since previous recessions.

Mr. Kashkari said mismeasurement of GDP, a slowdown in life-changing technological innovation, secular stagnation, psychological scarring from the crisis that is keeping people from taking risks, an aging population, policy missteps and debt overhang were possible explanations for the current economic malaise.

Mr. Kashkari, who isn't an economist by training, mostly avoided touting any specific diagnosis or policy solution. His conclusion, however, highlighted three forces he believes are fundamental to the weak recovery.

Mr. Kashkari noted that recent technological innovations in social media or email aren't as life-changing—particularly for productivity—as technological breakthroughs of the past, such as running water or electricity. "Current innovations seem to me much less likely to generate the type of future growth that we enjoyed from past innovations," he said.

He laid out several policy responses to the lack of innovation, such as an increase in government funding of basic research, education and **immigration** reform, and cutting down barriers to investment and migration.

Mr. Kashkari, who was a top Treasury Department official during the financial crisis, said he also believes people may be scarred after the trauma of the recession and too afraid to take on new risks.

"Scarring affects people's willingness to take risks: to borrow to buy a house or a car, to change jobs, to start a new business," he said. "Scarring can last years or, some argue, even a lifetime."

Still, he said instituting policies that can safeguard financial institutions could be one way to make people feel more confident in the system and its ability to withstand risk.

Mr. Kashkari also highlighted how an aging workforce and slowing population growth are creating demographic challenges that are contributing to weaker economic output. **Immigration**, which has helped beef up the workforce in the past, has slowed due to the financial crisis, he said.

Mr. Kashkari said offering families more incentives for childbearing, like tax breaks, subsidized child care or generous family leave policies, could help address the challenge. He touted **immigration** reform to help bring in new workers. He also suggested looking at ways to update welfare or disability insurance to correct any disincentives for work.

Mr. Kashkari said he plans to explore some of the issues raised in the paper in greater depth in the future.

"It is important to understand why the recovery has been so slow if we hope to design policy responses to jump-start economic growth," he said.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Hillary Clinton's campaign said Sunday she had been diagnosed with pneumonia[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/hillary-clinton-felt-overheated-and-left-9-11-ceremony-1473607626] and would cancel a planned two-day swing through California, hours after the Democratic presidential nominee abruptly left a 9/11 memorial ceremony in New York for what her aides described as her feeling "overheated."

The diagnosis, coupled with a remark by Mrs. Clinton late Friday criticizing some Trump supporters as a "basket of deplorables,"[http://blogs.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/washwire/2016/09/10/trump-campaign-seeks-clinton-apology-over-dig-at-his-supporters/] is an unwelcome distraction for a campaign facing a tightening of polls in recent weeks.

Amateur video taken Sunday near Ground Zero in New York showed Mrs. Clinton looking wobbly as she got into her motorcade with an assist from staff and Secret Service agents. The 68-year-old went to her daughter's apartment and emerged about two hours later, waving at the waiting cameras.

"I'm feeling great," she said. "It's a beautiful day in New York."

Her Republican challenger, businessman Donald Trump, has sought to fan concerns about Mrs. Clinton's health, questioning her stamina and chiding her for keeping what he says is a light campaign schedule.

Mrs. Clinton's doctor examined the candidate at her home in Chappaqua, N.Y., later Sunday and said in a written statement that she had been diagnosed two days earlier with pneumonia[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/pneumonia-cases-can-be-mild-physicians-say-1473652613]. The doctor on Sunday said she had been dehydrated and overheated and was "recovering nicely."

The Clinton campaign didn't respond to a request for comment about why they didn't reveal the diagnosis earlier. Mr. Trump hadn't commented on the matter as of Sunday night.

The campaign said Mrs. Clinton was canceling a planned trip to California on Monday and Tuesday. She had planned to attend fundraisers and tape an appearance on Ellen DeGeneres's talk show.

Mr. Trump, who is 70, has called on Mrs. Clinton to release more detailed medical records. In December 2012, Mrs. Clinton fainted and suffered a concussion. She was hospitalized and treated for a blood clot in her head.

In July 2015, her personal physician wrote a letter saying Mrs. Clinton was in "excellent physical condition and fit to serve" as president. The letter said Mrs. Clinton suffered from hypothyroidism and seasonal pollen allergies.

With polls showing voters question Mrs. Clinton's honesty, the delay in revealing her condition after Sunday's incident could further damage her credibility, critics said.

"I can't understand the Clinton operation. You have to frankly tell people what happened and do so right away," said Ari Fleischer, White House press secretary under President George. W. Bush. "If you do that, these things really are not big deals. They only become big if it doesn't appear you're dealing straight."

Mr. Trump himself has come under attack for putting out few details about his health.

The Clinton campaign's recent difficulties stand in contrast to a summer in which its allies saw a position so commanding they didn't think Mrs. Clinton needed to do much in the way of campaigning. She spent parts of August holed up in private fundraising events.

Mr. Trump, meanwhile, was on the defensive over a back-and-forth with a Gold Star military family and over other comments. The Republican ousted top campaign advisers and hired new ones, and Mrs. Clinton largely kept out of the spotlight.

But the release in recent weeks of new documents on Mrs. Clinton's use of private email while secretary of state, as well as news coverage about Mrs. Clinton's ties to her family foundation's donors, have weighed on her poll numbers. An average of polls by Real Clear Politics shows Mr. Trump down by just 3 points.

Whit Ayres, a Republican pollster, said polls showing that so many voters view Mrs. Clinton as unlikable and untrustworthy are "all you've got to know to figure out why this race is reasonably close." Polls have shown Mr. Trump regarded even more unfavorably.

A fresh round of polls[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/hillary-clinton-donald-trump-contest-expands-to-new-battlegrounds-1473591782] shows the race tightening in important battleground states. A pair of Democratic states in the last two presidential races—Nevada and New Hampshire—are now too close to call, according to a new Wall Street Journal/NBC News/Marist poll.

Another potential problem for the campaign was the remark Friday night. Assessing some of Mr. Trump's voters at a fundraiser, Mrs. Clinton said about half fall into what she called "the basket of deplorables."

The next day, Mrs. Clinton had put out a statement saying she was "wrong" to have demeaned some Trump voters in this fashion.

"There's no value in attacking a candidate's voters for how they vote," said Chris Kofinis, a Democratic strategist. A better strategy, he said, is to keep the focus squarely on one's opponent.

Mrs. Clinton still profits from an electoral map that gives Democrats an edge in the race for 270 electoral college votes. And the same Wall Street Journal/NBC News/Marist poll also offered troubling news for Mr. Trump. In two reliably Republican states, Mr. Trump led only narrowly: In Arizona, by one percentage point; in Georgia by three.

The Journal/NBC News/Marist results show how the traditional electoral map is being scrambled in a year that could see a realignment of both parties' coalitions.

Mr. Trump is making inroads among working-class, white men but **alienating** many Hispanic voters with his rhetoric about Mexico and illegal **immigration**. Mrs. Clinton is scoring gains among college-educated white voters, a bloc that Republicans have carried handily in the past.

"As we enter the final lap of this very unconventional election, it would not be surprising if the electoral map, in the end, has new contours," said Lee M. Miringoff, director of the Marist College Institute for Public Opinion. "Any of these four states [Nevada, New Hampshire, Arizona and Georgia] could awaken a fault line in what is looking more and more like a shake-up election, with more states being up for grabs."

These four states have historically been less competitive than vote-rich battlegrounds such as Ohio and Florida. President Barack Obama won New Hampshire and Nevada by more than 5 percentage points in 2012, while GOP nominee Mitt Romney won Georgia by nearly 8 points and Arizona by 9.

Now, the states look more competitive. Sensing opportunities in traditionally Republican territory, Mrs. Clinton is airing advertising in Georgia and Arizona.

The polls found that voting patterns in these four states are similar to trends in other places, with Mrs. Clinton leading among women and Mr. Trump winning among men.

Laura Meckler contributed to this article.

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\* Trump Wishes Clinton Quick Recovery, Pledges to Release ‘Very Detailed' Health Records[http://blogs.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/washwire/2016/09/12/trump-wishes-clinton-well-pledges-to-release-very-detailed-health-records/]

\* Most Pneumonia Cases Are Mild[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/pneumonia-cases-can-be-mild-physicians-say-1473652613]

\* Florida Tests Divergent Strategies[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/florida-tests-divergent-strategies-of-clinton-trump-1473638422]

\* Clinton, Trump Contest Expands to New Battlegrounds[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/hillary-clinton-donald-trump-contest-expands-to-new-battlegrounds-1473591782]

\* Clinton's ‘Deplorables' Comment Clashes With Recent Pitch[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/hillary-clintons-deplorables-comment-clashes-with-recent-pitch-1473638792]

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**In a sign that the list of competitive states in the presidential race is expanding, Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump are locked in tight contests in four states, including two that haven't been battlegrounds for decades, new Wall Street Journal/NBC News/Marist polls find.

The polls could be a warning sign for Mrs. Clinton, the Democratic nominee, as they found the races in New Hampshire and Nevada—two states that Democrats have won in recent presidential elections—to be neck-and-neck.

Mrs. Clinton, in head-to-head matchups against Mr. Trump, leads by a single percentage point among likely voters in both states, 42% to 41% in New Hampshire and 45% to 44% in Nevada.

But the polls also spotted trouble for Mr. Trump, the Republican nominee, in unexpected places. The races are tight in two states that Republicans can usually take for granted: Arizona, where Mr. Trump leads by just 1 percentage point, 42% to 41%, and Georgia, where his lead is 46% to 43%.

The competition between the two remains equally close when the field is widened to include Libertarian nominee Gary Johnson and Green Party candidate Jill Stein.

The results come amid other national and state surveys that show a tightening race. Mrs. Clinton's lead in the Real Clear Politics aggregate of polls stood at less than 3 percentage points this weekend[http://www.realclearpolitics.com/epolls/2016/president/us/general\_election\_trump\_vs\_clinton-5491.html], down from nearly 8 points in early August.

The Journal/NBC News/Marist results illustrate how the traditional electoral map is being scrambled in an unconventional year that could see a realignment of both parties' coalitions.

Mr. Trump is making deep inroads among working-class, white men[http://blogs.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/washwire/2016/09/09/trumps-september-pivot-fewer-rallies-more-small-rooms-and-greasy-spoons/] but **alienating** many Hispanic voters with his harsh rhetoric about Mexico and illegal **immigration**. Mrs. Clinton is scoring gains among college-educated white voters, a bloc that Republicans have carried handily in the past.

"As we enter the final lap of this very unconventional election, it would not be surprising if the electoral map, in the end, has new contours," said Lee M. Miringoff, director of the Marist College Institute for Public Opinion. "Any of these four states could awaken a fault line in what is looking more and more like a shake-up election, with more states being up for grabs."

These four states have historically been less fiercely competitive than vote-rich battlegrounds such as Ohio and Florida. President Barack Obama won New Hampshire and Nevada by more than 5 percentage points in 2012, while GOP nominee Mitt Romney won Georgia by nearly 8 points and Arizona by 9.

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The polls found that voting patterns in these four states are similar to trends in other places, with Mrs. Clinton leading among women and Mr. Trump winning among men.

Mr. Trump leads among white voters without a four-year college degree; Mrs. Clinton tends to do better among college-educated whites than those without a degree. She wins among those voters in New Hampshire and is competitive in Nevada and Arizona.

The exception is Georgia, where Mrs. Clinton trails among white voters regardless of education level: Mr. Trump leads by 25 percentage points among college-educated white voters, 57% to 32%, and by 54 percentage points, 72% to 18%, among whites without a college degree.

Still, the race is tighter than usual in Georgia, which hasn't voted for a Democratic presidential candidate since 1992. Mr. Trump's lead is far short of the 53%-to-45% victory Mitt Romney scored there in 2012.

Arizona has voted Republican for president in 15 of the last 16 elections, with Democrats scoring their lone win in 1996. Mr. Trump faces a challenge there because of the state's large Hispanic population. The poll found that Hispanics favored Mrs. Clinton, 55% to 30%.

She enjoys a stronger advantage among Hispanics in Nevada, 65% to 30%, while Mr. Trump leads among white voters there, 51% to 38%. Another strong suit for Mr. Trump in Nevada: He leads among independent voters, 42% to 37%.

In New Hampshire, Mrs. Clinton has been running far ahead of Mr. Trump in many other recent polls. But the new Journal/NBC News/Marist poll finds the two candidates essentially tied.

In these four states, as elsewhere around the country, the poll found that both candidates were viewed negatively by a large share of the electorate, including many who dislike both candidates. The share of voters who have a negative view of both Mr. Trump and Mrs. Clinton is 24% in Arizona, 23% in New Hampshire, 18% in Georgia and 16% in Nevada.

Independent voters may be a particularly unpredictable force in these states: More than one in 10 independents in each state—19% in New Hampshire, 17% in Georgia, 17% in Arizona and 11% in Nevada—report that they plan not to support either of the major-party candidates.

When the poll tested a ballot that included third-party candidates, the result benefited neither Mr. Trump nor Mrs. Clinton by any significant margin. Mr. Johnson did best in New Hampshire, where he drew 15% support.

In Senate contests in the four states, Republicans are outperforming Mr. Trump, and the results bode poorly for Democrats' goal of capturing a Senate majority, the polls found.

One key race is in New Hampshire, where Democrats hope to knock off incumbent GOP Sen. Kelly Ayotte. But the Journal/NBC News/Marist poll found her leading her Democratic rival, Gov. Maggie Hassan, 52% to 44%.

In Nevada, where Democrats hope to hold on to the seat of retiring Democratic Sen. Harry Reid, the poll found Democrat Catherine Cortez Masto trailing Republican Joe Heck among likely voters, 45% to 47%.

In Arizona, the poll shows GOP Sen. John McCain far ahead of his Democratic opponent, Ann Kirkpatrick, 57% to 38%.

In Georgia, GOP Sen. Johnny Isakson leads Democrat Jim Barksdale, 53% to 38%.

The Journal/NBC News/Marist surveys were conducted Sept. 6-8 and included 737 likely voters in New Hampshire, 627 likely voters in Nevada, 649 likely voters in Arizona and 625 in Georgia. The margins of error were plus or minus 3.6 percentage points in New Hampshire, 3.8 points in Arizona and 3.9 points in Nevada and Georgia.

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\* Clinton's Pneumonia Jolts the Presidential Race[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/hillary-clintons-pneumonia-jolts-the-presidential-race-1473639623]

\* Donors in Most Industries Back Clinton[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/donors-in-most-industries-back-hillary-clinton-1473462212]

\* Clinton's ‘Deplorables' Comment Clashes With Recent Pitch[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/hillary-clintons-deplorables-comment-clashes-with-recent-pitch-1473638792]

\* Florida Tests Divergent Strategies of Clinton, Trump[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/florida-tests-divergent-strategies-of-clinton-trump-1473638422]

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Presidential Race

Nominee Rues Slam Of Trump Backers

Hillary Clinton expressed regret for calling half of Donald Trump's supporters "deplorables," but stood by her sharp criticism of her Republican rival.

Mrs. Clinton said she was "grossly generalistic" when she took aim at Mr. Trump's backers at a Friday fundraiser in New York, characterizing many as racist, sexist and homophobic.

"That's never a good idea," she said Saturday of generalizing when describing Trump voters. "I regret saying ‘half.' That was wrong."

But she added in a statement after criticism mounted: "Let's be clear: What's really ‘deplorable' is that Donald Trump hired a major advocate for the so-called ‘alt-right' movement to run his campaign and that David Duke and other white supremacists see him as a champion of their values."

Mr. Trump responded by saying Mrs. Clinton "should be ashamed of herself" and asking how the former senator from New York could be president "when she has such contempt and disdain for so many great Americans."

Colleen McCain Nelson

Virginia

Shooter of Reagan Allowed to Go Free

John Hinckley Jr., the man who shot President Ronald Reagan, is now living with his mother in Williamsburg, Va., after being released from a Washington, D.C., mental hospital.

A federal judge ruled in late July that Mr. Hinckley isn't a danger to himself or the public. The 61-year-old must live with his mother for at least a year and has had limits placed on his travel. He will also be required to work or volunteer at least three days a week and continue to see his psychiatrist. Mr. Hinckley was found not guilty by reason of insanity in the 1981 shooting.

Associated Press

OREGON

Armed Occupation Trial Set to Start

Nearly nine months after the armed occupation of a federal wildlife **refuge** in Oregon that captivated the nation for weeks, arguments in the first trial against some of the participants open in Portland, Ore., Tuesday.

Eight of the 26 protesters facing charges—including their leader, Ammon Bundy—are due to appear before a federal jury. Mr. Bundy, 41 years old, his brother Ryan, 43, and the others all face charges of conspiracy to impede federal officers through intimidation, threats or force, which carry a maximum sentence of six years in prison. All have pleaded not guilty. A lawyer for Mr. Bundy didn't respond to request for comment. Ryan Bundy is representing himself.

In court documents, Ammon Bundy's attorney, J. Morgan Philpot, said his client and several supporters participated in a "lawful, nonviolent occupation at the **Refuge** where citizens were meaningfully petitioning their government for redress."

The conspiracy charge carries a sentence of up to six years in prison; five of the defendants, including the Bundy brothers, also face another year in prison if convicted on charges of possession of a firearm in a federal facility.

Of the 18 other defendants who faced the same charges, 11 have pleaded guilty while seven are set to stand trial in February.

Jim Carlton

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The drama played out for 41 days, starting in early January, on the frozen high desert of eastern Oregon, where a small group of antigovernment activists occupied the Malheur National Wildlife **Refuge** in a standoff with law enforcement authorities.

The protesters complained that the federal government restricted cattle-ranching, logging, and other economic development on land set aside for preservation—a point of tension for decades between locals and federal officials, especially in the West.

The occupation ended soon after Ammon Bundy and seven others were arrested in a highway showdown with state and federal officers during which one occupier, Robert LaVoy Finicum, was shot and killed by a law enforcement officer.

The Bundy brothers and five others from the Oregon occupation, along with their father Cliven Bundy, have also been separately charged in a 2014 armed confrontation with federal officials near the family's ranch in southern Nevada. That federal trial is set for next year.

Ammon Bundy and the other defendants in the Oregon case have argued they resorted to acts of civil disobedience to protest what they argue is the federal government's excessive control of public lands.

Occupation of the **refuge** was triggered by a long-running dispute elsewhere in Oregon involving a local rancher and his son after they were convicted of arson for setting fires that spread to federal lands; they said they set the blazes to protect their property from invasive plants and to prevent wildfires.

Mr. Bundy and the others have argued the Constitution prohibits the federal government from controlling the land and resources in states, giving them the right to turn the **refuge** over to local control.

But legal scholars say the Supreme Court has repeatedly upheld the right of federal agencies to manage public lands. "Whatever the federal government wants to do with its land it can do," said Michael Blumm, a law professor at Lewis & Clark Law School in Portland.

The **refuge** remains closed to the public, while workers repair an estimated $2 million worth of damage caused by the occupation, according to the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service.

Occupiers living at the **refuge** overloaded a septic system and disturbed Native American artifacts by digging new roads, said Jason Holm, a spokesman for the agency, which manages the 187,700-acre **refuge**.

Federal officials say they are aiming to reopen the **refuge** by spring of 2017.

As the trial opens, residents of Harney County, where the **refuge** is located, remain divided on whether the occupation was justified. During the occupation, some locals demanded the protesters leave.

"I thought their goal of getting **refuge** lands turned over" to locals "was pretty unrealistic, but I think it did bring attention to the issues," said Monte Siegner, 79, a local rancher.

Tom Sharp, treasurer of the Oregon Cattlemen's Association and a local rancher, called that a minority view. "The county is I would say mostly back to normal," Mr. Sharp said. "Obviously the presence of the occupiers is gone, and as a result the safety and security of people in this community has dramatically improved."

Write to Jim Carlton at jim.carlton@wsj.com[mailto:jim.carlton@wsj.com]

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**In July, the New Zealand government announced its intention to eradicate all rats, stoats and possums[http://www.doc.govt.nz/our-work/predator-free-new-zealand-2050/] from the entire country by 2050 to save native birds such as the kiwi. It's an ambitious plan, perhaps impossible to pull off with the methods available today, but it's a stark reminder that invasive **alien** species today constitute perhaps the greatest extinction threat to animal populations world-wide.

Birdlife International, a charity that works to save endangered birds, reckons that of the 140 bird species confirmed to have gone extinct since 1500, invasive **alien**species were a factor in the demise of at least 71—an impact greater than hunting, logging, agriculture, fire or climate change.

Rats, cats and diseases were the biggest culprits, contributing to the extinction of 41, 34 and 16 species, respectively. Most of these were on islands. The dodo[http://www.oum.ox.ac.uk/learning/pdfs/dodo.pdf] on Mauritius, emblematic of extinction, was wiped out less by hungry sailors than by the rats, pigs, dogs and cats they brought with them. Hawaii once had 55 species of honeycreeper[http://www.audubon.org/news/hawaiis-silent-extinction]; today just 17 remain, thanks largely to rats and avian malaria, transmitted by **alien** mosquitoes brought by people. Guam has lost nine species of bird to an introduced snake.

But continents aren't immune to invasion by **alien** species. In the Mississippi River, it is Asian carp; in the Everglades, Burmese pythons; in the Great Lakes, Russian zebra mussels; in the South, Indochinese kudzu vine. In Australia, cane toads from South America; in Lake Victoria in Africa, water hyacinth from the Amazon; in Germany, Chinese mitten crabs; in the Caribbean, lionfish from the Pacific. A fungus spread by African clawed toads (used in laboratories) has wiped out frogs in Central America.

On my farm in Northern England, three native species of animal are being extinguished by **alien** invaders from North America: the white-clawed crayfish by the signal crayfish; the water vole by the mink; and the red squirrel by the gray squirrel. Himalayan balsam flowers and Japanese knotweed infest the woods.

**Aliens** turn into pests away from home because they encounter naive and ill-equipped competitors or prey, and they leave behind their diseases and predators. Globalization is increasing the flow. An insect that would have struggled to survive a long journey by ship can stow away on board a plane. Today only Australia and New Zealand, whose isolated fauna and flora are especially vulnerable to invasives, take biosecurity really seriously.

European countries, by contrast, are lax in allowing exotic pets. In Britain, pet raccoons (native to North America) and raccoon dogs (native to China) have escaped into the wild and may one day establish breeding populations that would devastate native wildlife.

A paper published last month[http://www.nature.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/ncomms12485] by a team of ecologists, led by Regan Early of the University of Exeter in Britain, points out that whereas most invasive **alien** species (IAS) have affected rich countries so far, the developing world is increasingly at risk: "Many of the global biodiversity hot spots that are highly vulnerable to invasion are found in countries that our results suggest have little capacity to respond to IAS (in particular Central America, Africa, Central Asia and Indochina)."

None of this is to say that invasive species are always a threat. They can bring positive effects, too, by increasing biodiversity within a region. Ascension Island in the Atlantic was once a barren volcanic rock, but is now much greener thanks to a deliberate policy, suggested by Charles Darwin, of bringing in plants from elsewhere in the tropics to create a forest ecosystem. Dov Sax of Brown University points out[http://www.brown.edu/Research/Sax\_Research\_Lab/Documents/PDFs/Species Invasions PNAS.pdf] that New Zealand once had approximately 2,000 native plant species, has gained approximately 2,000 nonnative species that now have self-sustaining populations, and yet has lost fewer than 10 native plant species.

Another positive effect is that invasive species sometimes improve,[http://depts.washington.edu/oldenlab/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2013/03/ConservationBiology\_2011b.pdf] rather than harm, ecosystem services—the quality of water, soil or air. Zebra mussels were so effective in filtering the water of Lake Erie that they made its water clear[http://www.mtcws.mtu.edu/Education/2009\_Posters/VanDerLaar\_Policy EC Poster.pdf]. In the American Southwest, the endangered willow flycatcher has taken to nesting on **alien** tamarisk bushes, embarrassing conservationists who spent millions trying to eradicate the plant for the sake of the bird.

The best way to fight invasive **aliens** is often with other **aliens**: Go back to their native country, find an insect or fungus that eats them, and bring it in to help. Early horror stories when **alien** predators introduced to control **alien** prey turned on native wildlife instead—cane toads in Australia, stoats in New Zealand—have given way to much more cautious and careful scientific introductions of highly specific control organisms. Done right, such biological control is indispensable.

The Centre for Agriculture and Biosciences International[http://www.cabi.org.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/projects/case-studies/biocontrol-of-invasive-species/] is an international agency that scours the native homes of invasive **alien** pests for predators that can control them. It found a rust fungus that has reduced the infestation of rubbervine weed from Madagascar in Queensland, Australia—by up to 90% in some areas. The Centre used two parasitic wasps to control the mango mealybug from Asia, which did huge damage to mango trees in Benin in Africa.

Vaccines that cause sterility are another promising weapon. Spreading food coated with such a vaccine could render a species sterile, causing its numbers to fall. This approach is working well in the lab with pigs—invasive species in various places—and may soon help to fight gray squirrels in Britain.

Genomics is the latest weapon. The Aedes mosquito[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/mosquitoes-are-deadly-so-why-not-kill-them-all-1472827158] that spreads dengue and zika in the Americas is an invasive **alien**, from Africa. A biotech firm called Oxitec has devised a way of suppressing its population using mass releases of genetically modified males (males don't bite), which father offspring that cannot mature. In trials in Brazil, this method has achieved more than 90% suppression of numbers.

The next step is even craftier. Using a mechanism called "gene drive," it is possible in the laboratory to create a genetic variant that will gradually infect an entire population of a species with infertility. Whether such a technique would work in the wild, and how it could be safely controlled, or reversed if it began to affect the species back in its native range, are still unanswered questions.

Many nonnative species are here to stay, and many are welcome additions to biodiversity of a country. But scientists are going to be very busy over the next few decades working to reverse the damage done by some and to prevent the arrival of others.

Mr. Ridley is the author, most recently, of "The Evolution of Everything: How New Ideas Emerge" and a member of the British House of Lords.

Read more

\* Mosquitoes Are Deadly, So Why Not Kill Them All?[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/mosquitoes-are-deadly-so-why-not-kill-them-all-1472827158] (Sept. 2, 2016)

\* Pittsburgh Tries to Eat Its Way Through a Savage Weed[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/pittsburgh-tries-to-eat-its-way-through-a-savage-weed-1464013237] (May 23, 2016)

\* Voracious, Constantly Spawning Lionfish Have Proven Difficult to Contain[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/voracious-constantly-spawning-lionfish-have-proven-difficult-to-contain-1467984241] (July 8, 2016)

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Two siblings, one tall and strong, the other fragile and ailing, live with their parents by the sea. The convulsive coughing fits of the weaker child cast a pall across the household: The prognosis is not good. There is no cure for cystic fibrosis. Yet the children want to take risks and live adventurously—to the point of engaging with the supernatural. That's especially so for the afflicted child in two distinct but thematically similar books for readers ages 8-12.

With "Ghosts" (Scholastic, 256 pages, $24.99), popular graphic novelist Raina Telgemeier introduces modern-day sisters Catrina and Maya, whose parents move them to the foggy Northern California coast in hopes of easing little Maya's congested lungs. Swept by damp winds, the town of Bahía de la Luna seems awfully spooky. On their first outing, the girls meet a boy in an abandoned beach arcade who scares Cat with talk of ghosts. Sickly Maya, by contrast, can't wait until the town's annual celebration of the Day of the Dead, when specters rise to join the party. Alas, at midnight on Halloween when the feast begins, Maya is too ill to go. "It's not like I'm ever going to get better," she tells her stricken parents, the breathing tube along her nostrils a poignant echo of the halo atop her angel costume. "So why not let me have fun while I can?" Consolation comes from an uncanny source in this affecting illustrated tale (see right) for Ms. Telgemeier's legions of elementary-school fans.

Set in the 1980s on a small island in the English Channel, Tom Avery's novel "Not as We Know It" (Schwartz & Wade, 176 pages, $16.99) is also haunted—not by party-going ghosts but by the dread knowledge that 11-year-old Jamie's twin brother, Ned, is getting steadily weaker. As the story opens the boys are trading lines from "Star Trek" while poking through junk left on the shore after a storm. To Jamie's alarm and Ned's delight, they stumble on a freakish living thing with gills and bony hands. "We stared as an eye cracked open," Jamie says, ". . . and one of those long, thin hands shot out and grabbed Ned's wrist. Our creature pulled itself toward him with the faintest croak and perhaps a flickering of recognition."

Both boys scream, but soon they've hidden the creature, named Leonard for Ned's favorite "Star Trek" actor, in a tub of seawater in their garage. Jamie's unease builds as he observes a deepening bond between his brother and the mysterious being. Is Leonard a merman come to protect Ned, as in their grandfather's seafaring stories? Or does he have a darker mission? In this elegant story of courage and loss, both boys must decide, like their TV heroes, whether to "boldly go" toward the adventures that await.

The anguish of a family seeking **refuge** from war and trying to reach safer shores unfurls with heartbreaking directness in "The Journey" (Flying Eye, 48 pages, $17.95), a beautiful picture book by Francesca Sanna. The story line could have been pulled from contemporary news coverage, and, to a degree, it was. After meeting **refugees** in Italy, Ms. Sanna felt compelled to represent their plight in her work. Her pictures of what might be an educated and rather refined Iraqi or Syrian family are chic and richly hued, except when a stygian tide of fear and menace reaches into the illustrations, blotting out color and hope.

The book is meant for children ages 4-8, but its sophisticated moments—not inappropriate but painful and weighty—better suit children ages 6-10. Stranded at a border crossing in the woods, for example, the mother rests with the children in her arms, her black hair a carpet beneath them. "In the darkness the noises of the forest scare me," the young narrator says. "But mother is with us and she is never scared. We close our eyes and finally fall asleep." Yet young readers will see on the facing page what the story children do not: While they slumber, their mother lies wide-eyed with fear, weeping bitterly. It is a hard thing for a small child to see; harder still, of course, for those who are living it.

War has come to 12-year-old Mathilde and her best friend, Megs, in "Beautiful Blue World" (Wendy Lamb, 224 pages, $16.99), a thoughtful, pellucid story by Suzanne LaFleur that takes place in an alternate world somewhat resembling mid-20th-century Western Europe. Enemy "aerials" have been bombing the city of Lykkelig, and food is running dangerously short when posters go up advertising an aptitude test for a new, secretive "adolescent army." Successful applicants can secure food for their families, but they will also have to leave home, perhaps for years. The test produces unexpected results for Mathilde, who finds herself spirited away to a manor house filled with brilliant, puzzle-solving children. Yet why her and not clever Megs? What quality does she possess that others lack? Ms. LaFleur gently probes questions of loyalty, patriotism and sacrifice in this first-of-two novel for readers ages 8-13.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Imagine that life is discovered beyond the Earth. How would you react? Would it bring about some profound change of attitude? Hold on, it's happened already. I remember the day—Aug. 7, 1996—when NASA announced evidence of what appeared to be microfossils in a piece of Martian rock. My jaw dropped at news I'd longed to hear since childhood: We were no longer alone in the universe. As President Bill Clinton told the press assembled on the South Lawn of the White House: "If this discovery is confirmed, it will surely be one of the most stunning insights into our universe that science has ever uncovered." Yet for all the fanfare, Martian meteorite ALH84001 soon slipped out of the limelight. Here were no little green men, only tiny mineral structures resembling bacteria. And 20 years on, the evidence is still considered inconclusive.

It serves, Jon Willis writes in "All These Worlds Are Yours," as a warning that any search for extraterrestrial life "may not offer the clear answers that we perhaps naively expect."

A naive expectation on my part was that Mr. Willis's survey of the quest for **alien** life would give substantial coverage to the Search for Extraterrestrial Intelligence, or SETI, an organization that focuses on trying to pick up radio communications from distant planets. Leaving aside theoretical arguments against the likelihood of ever hearing anything, the decades of silence endured by SETI researchers are enough to convince Mr. Willis that the venture does not merit public funding. NASAagrees: It ceased its support in 1995. The project now relies on the generosity of patrons such as billionaire Yuri Milner and the roughly five million people who donate computer time to a crowd-sourced offshoot known as SETI@home.

All These Worlds Are Yours

By Jon Willis

Yale, 214 pages, $30

Mr. Willis wishes them all the luck in this and every other world, but as a professional astronomer he is concerned with trying to identify areas with the best chance of actually finding something. There are, he says, two ways we might discover **alien** life: by detecting a "biomarker" in a planetary atmosphere or by observing actual organisms. The first requires powerful telescopes; the second involves robotic space missions. In either case we need to have some idea of what we might be looking for.

NASA sets much store by both possibilities, and the anticlimax of ALH84001 has done little to dent hope or deflate hype. In April 2014 it was announced that the Kepler space telescope had detected an Earth-size planet in the "habitable zone" of a star 500 light years away. Dubbed Kepler-186f, the planet is at such a distance from its parent star as to allow liquid water to exist on its surface, and the media were quick to take up the possibility of a "twin Earth" that could potentially support life. But we don't know if there is any water on Kepler-186f, let alone anything swimming there.

A better measure of life-bearing possibility is the composition of a planet's atmosphere. The idea originated with James Lovelock, famous for his Gaia hypothesis. Suppose an **alien** civilization knew nothing about the Earth except what was revealed by sunlight glinting through air at the edge of its tiny far-off disk. As Mr. Lovelock pointed out, the **aliens** would be struck by the abundance of oxygen. The element was lacking on our planet until the appearance of photosynthesizing organisms that produced it as a waste product, making possible the evolution of animals such as ourselves who breathe it, and it is life that keeps oxygen at a high and fairly constant level. If all life vanished from the Earth, then so too, over a relatively short geological time period, would oxygen, consumed in fires, rusting and other reactions. One exoplanet that has yielded to the difficult challenge of having its atmosphere analyzed is HAT-P-11b, a Neptune-like world a little over 100 light years away, imaged by the Hubble Space Telescope and found to have water vapor in its clouds.

But is water necessary for life, and would oxygen be the surest biomarker? As Mr. Willis explains, extraterrestrial life could have evolved in very different conditions, and along very different chemical pathways, from our own. Aside from our oxygen-fed, glucose-burning metabolism there are other reactions that could potentially release energy into living cells: for example, inhaling acetylene and hydrogen and releasing methane. Interestingly, there is an anomalous abundance of methane on Titan, the largest of Saturn's moons. Perhaps the gas is venting from reserves beneath the surface, but life is seriously being considered as an explanation. Measurements by the Cassini spacecraft have revealed that acetylene and hydrogen are somehow being used up near Titan's surface, in unknown reactions. So, Mr. Willis asks, is this unambiguous evidence for acetylene-gulping microbes? No, he says: "A good astrobiologist should use life as the conclusion of last resort."

In 2005 the Huygens probe landed on Titan's surface, and through an orange fog it showed a terrain strewn with icy pebbles but devoid of any visible organisms. Scientists will need a lot of convincing before reaching for that last resort—as Carl Sagan liked to say, extraordinary claims require extraordinary evidence. Biomarkers detected from afar might never be enough to remove doubt, and if **aliens** never give us a call then perhaps the only hope of unequivocal proof will be when living goo is scooped from another world and brought back to Earth. That makes our own solar system the only feasible search area, and Mr. Willis singles out the prime targets as Mars, Titan and two of Jupiter's moons, Europa and Enceladus. His book largely concentrates on these worlds and the challenge of reaching them.

Mr. Willis teaches astrobiology to college students, and his book conveys great enthusiasm alongside necessary scientific skepticism. The technical details and problems are clearly laid out and discussed—even defining "life" is far from straightforward. All of this makes welcome reading for lovers of science fact, though it might be disappointing for those raised on science fiction and perhaps also those hoping for a little more by way of historical perspective on a subject that people have been speculating about for centuries. And while the transfer from lecture hall to page generally works well enough, I did wish that we could have had rather fewer rhetorical questions. At one point I counted 13 in three paragraphs.

If Mr. Willis could pick only one target from his shortlist it would be Enceladus; it is not as far away as Titan and has convenient water-spewing geysers whose outpourings could be collected by an orbiting craft. He puts the price tag of a Enceladus mission at $4 billion, noting that this is how much the world's nations collectively spend on defense every day.

All of which leaves the final rhetorical question: Is that a price worth paying?

Mr. Crumey's most recent novel is "The Secret Knowledge."

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**"Arrival" is a quiet science-fiction mindbender about free will and destiny, about motherhood and mourning. It's about linguistics and how the structure of our language can influence the way we perceive the world.

It also has slimy **aliens** that look like seven-legged squids.

"It took us a long time to create the **aliens**. It's so difficult to create a species that doesn't look like something you've seen before," says director Denis Villeneuve, who has plunged into worlds-of-their-own on Earth in his gripping films including "Sicario,"[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/in-sicario-emily-blunt-takes-on-a-dark-war-on-drugs-1441904702] "Prisoners,"[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/SB10001424127887323808204579085292501576688] and "Incendies."[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/SB10001424052748703983704576276653857492370]

The movie is based on "The Story of Your Life," a 1998 short story by Ted Chiang. The story's title hints at the intimacy at the film's core amid its intergalactic plot. Amy Adams plays Dr. Louise Banks, a mother dealing with a tragedy. She's also a world-class linguist who has worked with the government on national-security-related translations. When a dozen 1,500-foot tall watermelon-seed-shaped vehicles from outer space start hovering around the globe, Colonel G.T. Weber (Forest Whitaker) recruits Dr. Banks to visit Montana and start a dialogue with the **aliens** inside the oblong ship that's parked there.

"Priority one: What do they want? Where are they from?" the colonel says on the helicopter. Dr. Banks is teamed with a mathematician (Jeremy Renner), and they make contact with the strange visitors. She learns to understand the **aliens**' written language, circular symbols that resemble random coffee-mug stains and express complete thoughts rather than individual words or sounds.

"I liked the idea of it as a sort of Rorschach," Mr. Villeneuve says of the symbols.

There's ticking-clock suspense, as governments around the world start to freak out—are these good **aliens** or bad **aliens**?—and reach for their weapons. Only Dr. Banks's proper understanding of the **aliens**' intentions can preclude war.

Mr. Villeneuve, 48, hadn't done much science-fiction before, aside from the quirky "Enemy"[http://www.nytimes.com/2014/03/14/movies/enemy-stars-jake-gyllenhaal-twice.html] in 2013, though he spent this past summer in Budapest filming a sequel to "Blade Runner," slated for release next year. He grew up in Quebec as a fan of Frank Herbert's "Dune" and European science fiction including French cartoonist Moebius and the French fanzine Métal hurlant, published in America as "Heavy Metal."

**Alien** movies tend to be either home games or away games. The **aliens** come here (in the Steven Spielberg tradition), or we confront them in space (George Lucas, Ridley Scott). "Arrival" sort of sits in between. **Aliens** arrive on Earth, but much of the action takes place inside an **alien** ship, essentially on their turf. It's also in-between as a movie, bigger in scale than an independent "low-fi sci-fi" picture, and based around a brainy concept, although with less spectacle than "Gravity" or "The Martian" or "Interstellar."

"I tried to bring some scope and visual poetry to the movie," the director says. "But still the art of the film is based on that short story, that beautiful idea that language can transform your perception of reality."

Fall Film Preview

\* ‘Hacksaw Ridge'[http://online.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/article/SB11624205393132654173004582285880854599016.html]

\* ‘Denial'[http://online.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/article/SB11714248894223333342004582297631584834406.html]

\* ‘Loving'[http://online.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/article/SB10600502580659943613804582289862195227638.html]

\* ‘Rules Don't Apply'[http://online.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/article/SB11714248894223333342004582297602027146184.html]

\* ‘Manchester By the Sea'[http://online.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/article/SB11714248894223333342004582297593435735180.html]

Fall Books 2016[http://graphics.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/image-grid/fall-books-preview-2016/]

\* What to Read This Fall[http://graphics.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/image-grid/fall-books-preview-2016/]

\* Amor Towles on ‘A Gentleman in Moscow'[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/amor-towles-expands-his-portfolio-with-a-gentleman-in-moscow-1472743341?tesla=y]

\* Ian McEwan on ‘Nutshell'[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/ian-mcewan-on-nutshell-and-its-extraordinary-narrator-1472491905]

\* Candice Millard on ‘Hero of the Empire'[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/the-forgotten-story-of-winston-churchills-daring-escape-1472567050]

\* Margaret Atwood on ‘The Secret Loves of Geek Girls'[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/author-margaret-atwoods-secret-vice-the-comics-1472571928]

\* Bob Eckstein on Footnotes from the World's Greatest Bookstores[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/illustrator-bob-ecksteins-tribute-to-beloved-bookstores-1472572151]

\* An Algorithm to Predict a Bestseller[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/an-algorithm-to-predict-a-bestseller-1472659425]

\* 5 New Books About the Holocaust[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/new-books-trace-the-holocausts-legacy-1472664612?tesla=y]

\* 10 Life Stories to Read This Fall[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/bruce-springsteen-queen-victoria-and-other-life-stories-to-read-this-fall-1472659204]

\* 10 New Novels to Read This Fall[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/10-books-to-read-this-fall-1472742006]

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**BRUSSELS—As many as one million **refugees** in Turkey will receive debit cards and monthly cash transfers to help pay for food and housing under a new €348 million ($393 million) humanitarian program from the European Union announced on Thursday.

The EU's largest-ever humanitarian program is part of a €3 billion package of assistance the bloc promised Turkey[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/turkey-european-union-look-to-strike-deal-on-migration-crisis-1458292486] to support some three million **refugees** the country hosts, mainly from Syria.

Turkey has complained that the money, which was agreed to in exchange for Ankara's help in preventing migrants from entering the EU, is arriving too slowly.

"The situation in Syria remains very dramatic," said Christos Stylianides, the EU's humanitarian aid commissioner. With the debit cards, **refugees** will be able to buy what they need rather than getting food handouts, he said.

"The European Union is keeping its promise to assist Turkey in hosting the largest **refugee** population in the world," Mr. Stylianides said. When it comes to humanitarian assistance, "our cooperation with Turkish authorities has been excellent," he added.

The announcement comes ahead of a visit to Ankara by the EU foreign-policy chief Federica Mogherini and EU Enlargement Commissioner Johannes Hahn on Friday.

Relations between Turkey and the EU soured over the summer[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/eu-turkey-talks-dial-down-risk-to-migration-deal-1472906150] when Turkey accused the EU of failing to show its support for elected authorities after the failed July 15 military coup[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/turkey-widens-crackdown-after-coup-attempt-1468761724].

In Brussels, Berlin and elsewhere, there was widespread concern about President Recep Tayyip Erdogan's post-coup crackdown, with some senior European politicians questioning whether the bloc should continue membership talks with Turkey, as thousands of military and government officials were purged.

However, over the past 10 days, both sides have sought to steady the relationship. European officials, including German Foreign Minister Frank-Walter Steinmeier, have acknowledged the bloc may have fumbled its response to the coup attempt.

At a meeting on Saturday with EU foreign ministers, Turkey's European affairs minister, Omer Celik, pulled back a threat from Turkey to scuttle the migration agreement.

The new EU aid program will be overseen by the World Food Program, in cooperation with the Turkish Red Crescent. Each family's need will be assessed individually and there are additional funds available for education or supporting elderly family members, Mr. Stylianides said.

Ertharin Cousin, the WFP's executive director, said the debit-card project "is an exciting step forward."

"The money spent by the **refugees** will go directly into local economies, giving a boost to communities so generously hosting **refugees**," she added.

Of the €3 billion pledged, the EU has now earmarked projects valued at €2.2 billion for Turkey's **refugees**, including humanitarian aid and programs to provide health, education and other services for migrants.

Of that amount, €652 million has been contracted and €181 million has been spent.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**The growth in the population of U.S. Latinos, who represent the nation's largest minority, has slowed substantially since the Great Recession and most Hispanics in the country are now born here, according to a new study.

Latino settlement across the country, which gave rise to Hispanic enclaves in the likes of North Carolina and Iowa in the 1990s and early 2000s, has also slowed since the onset of the recession in 2007, according to analysis of U.S. Census data by the Pew Research Center released Thursday.

Between 2007 and 2014, the U.S. Hispanic population grew about 2.8% annually, down from 4.4% between 2000 and 2007, and 5.8% annually in the 1990s.

"Lower fertility combined with less **immigration** has led to slower growth of Hispanics," said Mark Hugo Lopez, Pew's director of Hispanic Research and co-author of the report. "It has also led to a slowdown in their dispersion," he said.

These two trends point to the end of the U.S. demographic earthquake unleashed by rapid Latino population growth that began in the 1990s. That growth caused Latinos to surpass blacks and become the second-largest population group in the country, after whites.

"The demographic impact of Latinos that we have seen over the last 2.5 decades will continue into the future, but it is going to be a declining impact," said Mr. Lopez.

All told, the U.S. was home to 55.4 million Hispanics in 2014, out of a total population of around 319 million that year. U.S. Latinos, or Hispanics, are individuals born mainly in Mexico, Caribbean countries like Cuba and the Dominican Republic and Central American countries like Guatemala and El Salvador, as well as all Americans who trace their ancestry to those places.

Despite the slowdown, Latinos still represented 54% of the nation's population growth between 2000 and 2014, according to Pew.

Minorities could determine the outcome of the presidential election in November, and Latino electoral clout will continue to climb in coming years. That is in part because Hispanics in the U.S. are increasingly born here—and, thus, automatically eligible to vote.

**Immigration**, once the biggest driver of Hispanic population growth, has taken a back seat to U.S. births. Indeed, more people from Mexico, the biggest source of Latino **immigrants**, are now leaving[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/mexican-immigration-to-u-s-reverses-1447954334] than entering the U.S., according to Pew.

In most states, Hispanics born in the U.S. now outnumber their foreign-born brethren.

In California, the country's most populous state and home to the most Latinos, nearly two-thirds of Hispanics were U.S.-born in 2014. In Texas, which ranks second, 70% of Hispanics were born in the U.S. In Colorado, that figure was 76%.

Among the 15 metropolitan areas with the largest Hispanic population, only two are majority foreign-born. In Miami-Fort Lauderdale-West Palm Beach, 61% of Latinos are foreign-born and in Washington, D.C. and adjacent Virginia and Maryland suburbs, 53% are **immigrants**.

The Hispanic fertility rate has fallen as the share of Hispanics who are **immigrants** has declined.

Throughout the early 2000s, the birthrate among Hispanic women of childbearing age was 95 births per 1,000 women, peaking at 98.3 in 2006. The Hispanic birthrate declined steadily, to 72.1 in 2014, and is unlikely to reverse.

Take Ana Villegas, one of six U.S.-born children to Mexican **immigrants** in California.

The 33-year-old executive assistant at a nonprofit in Los Angeles plans to have one or two children to "make sure I can offer them the best possible quality of life," she said.

Her sister, 35-year-old Gricelda, the oldest of the six children and the only one who is married, has two kids and doesn't want more, she said.

The Pew analysis found that Hispanics were more evenly distributed across U.S. counties in 2014 than previously, but that their dispersion has slowed since 2007.

The biggest increase in Latino population happened in North Dakota, where energy-related jobs due to expansion of the oil and natural-gas sectors also attracted other groups. The size of that state's Hispanic population doubled in the seven-year postrecession period, albeit to just 18,000.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**BERLIN—For more than a decade, Germany's focus on promoting fiscal discipline[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/german-government-achieves-historic-budget-surplus-1452691320] in Europe made any discussion of tax cuts at home off limits—but no longer.

This week, Finance Minister Wolfgang Schäuble, seen across the continent as the face of austerity[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/german-leadership-differs-on-greek-debt-relief-1462641832], floated limited tax relief as a possibility from 2018, a concession of sorts after years of pressure from the U.S. and other governments to loosen the purse strings in Europe's largest economy.

But there is a twist: Most Germans don't want tax cuts.

An Infratest Dimap survey conducted last month for public broadcaster ARD showed 58% of respondents thought the government should spend surplus taxes on investments and 22% said it should be used to reduce debt. Only 16% said they would like their money back in the form of tax cuts.

Such lack of interest jars with Germany's position as one of the world's most heavily taxed economies—a burden that has also risen in recent years. Yet pollsters say it is no surprise since about half of Germans, including students, pensioners, and the unemployed, live off of state handouts. Statistics show that 29% of the roughly 39 million people eligible to pay taxes don't do so because their incomes are too low.

Yet allies of Mr. Schäuble say his promise, in a speech to parliament on Tuesday, for €15 billion ($16.9 billion) of tax cuts starting in 2018—that is after national elections next year—could still make political sense.

First, of those people who would welcome such cuts—those who do pay a lot of taxes—a disproportionate number are traditional supporters of the center-right Christian Democratic Union, the party of Mr. Schäuble and Chancellor Angela Merkel.

"The time is now right for tax cuts," said Hans Michelbach, a lawmaker with Ms. Merkel's Bavarian allies, the Christian Social Union. "We owe it to our people to ease their tax burden given the higher tax revenues."

Second, Mr. Schäuble's pledge would also benefit low- and middle-income earners—those who, according to recent polls, have benefited less from Germany's economic upswing in recent years and are particularly concerned by the huge migrant inflow since early last year.

For years, said Klaus-Peter Schöppner of polling institute Mente>Factum GmbH, the government has said it couldn't afford tax cuts. "And suddenly there is all this money available for **refugees**[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/germany-puts-migration-related-costs-at-over-86-billion-over-next-four-years-1467392402]. In this context, it's important for the government to show that good deeds will not only be handed out to asylum seekers."

Supporters say tax cuts could also help many Germans worried about dwindling income from their savings[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/german-savers-lose-faith-in-banks-stash-cash-at-home-1472485225] since the European Central Bank's loose monetary policy has sent returns on many popular fixed-income products crashing.

"We tell people every day that they must provide for their old age even though interest rates are so low. These people ask us where this money should be coming from," said Carsten Linnemann, lawmaker with Ms. Merkel's Christian Democrats.

Lower-income Germans—the 40% of taxpayers with a monthly disposable income below €1,500—"make up the backbone of our society," he said. "If we neglect them, social cohesion is at risk."

It has become harder lately for the government to claim it has no leeway to cut taxes. Despite a costly **refugee**crisis[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/germanys-welfare-bill-rises-169-as-refugee-numbers-grow-1473077920], the entire German public sector—the federal and regional governments and the country's combined welfare programs— recorded a €19.4 billion surplus last year, a figure almost matched in the first half of this year.

That is hardly the result of tight cost controls: federal spending increased to €311.4 billion last year from €292.3 billion in 2009 and is foreseen to grow another 12% by 2020.

This, some economists say, means that despite its reputation as a champion of austerity[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/germany-doubles-down-on-fiscal-discipline-1460560327], Germany is less fiscally conservative than it is overtaxed. Of the 34 members of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, only Belgium siphons off more taxes and levies from employees' wages, according to OECD data. Germany's top income-tax rate of 42% was last cut more than 10 years ago and the tax bracket hasn't been lifted since 1990.

And since employer contributions were frozen several years ago, the burden of financing the country's expanding welfare state has been weighing increasingly on workers. Both tax revenues and their share of German economic output have been growing almost continuously over the past decade.

Abroad, Berlin has come under pressure to do more to stimulate consumer demand. The International Monetary Fund and the U.S. in particular have criticized Germany[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/u-s-warns-five-economic-powers-over-policies-1461960876] for running huge current account surpluses, which measure the share of a country's savings that isn't invested domestically.

Germany reached a surplus of €249.1 billion in 2015, far above the €212.1 billion posted in 2014. Munich-based economic think tank Ifo said this week that the surplus would reach 8.9% of economic output this year, overtaking China's.

Some economists say Mr. Schäuble's modest tax proposal can only be a first step.

"They should increasingly think about the prospect of a tax reform," said Michael Hüther, director of the business-funded IW economic institute. Tax cuts in the order of "€25 billion to €30 billion could be doable," he said.

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Related

\* Merkel Tells Her Party to Moderate Its Tone After Loss[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/merkel-urges-politicians-to-watch-their-language-in-fight-against-afd-1473240133]

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**WASHINGTON—The Justice Department is seeking to bolster its chances in a Supreme Court **immigration** case by introducing new information at the final stage of litigation, even though the government was recently forced to apologize for erroneous information provided in this way.

Unlike other litigants who generally are limited to the trial record, the government can introduce new evidence when a case reaches the Supreme Court. That enables it to avoid the scrutiny that evidence normally receives at trial, and critics argue it risks introducing incorrect material into the record.

Slated for the Supreme Court's next term, Jennings v. Rodriguez concerns the government's power to imprison **aliens** without bail while their **immigration** cases are pending. The Obama administration is asking the justices to overturn a 2015 lower court decision holding that the Constitution's due-process guarantee entitles **aliens** to seek, if not necessarily obtain, bail after six months of detention.

In a brief filed last month, the government asserts that "in fiscal year 2015, 11,325 of the 27,443 initial case completions by **immigration** judges for released **aliens**—41% of the total—were in absentia orders after the **alien** absconded." That absentee rate is a "serious problem" justifying a blanket no-bail policy, the government argues.

The statistics come from the Executive Office for **Immigration** Review, a Justice Department unit that oversees **immigration** courts. That office also supplied data[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/justice-department-gave-supreme-court-incorrect-data-in-immigration-case-1472569756] that recently was proved erroneous in a 2003 case on **immigrant** detentions, Demore v. Kim. Earlier this month, following a report in The Wall Street Journal documenting the errors, acting Solicitor General Ian Gershengorn sent a letter of apology to the Supreme Court.

In the Rodriguez case, the government didn't make its claims about the **aliens**' no-show rate in the trial before U.S. District Court in Los Angeles, where attorneys could have raised questions about it through the adversarial process.

Later, on appeal to the Ninth U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals in San Francisco, the government sought to strengthen its case by inserting the statistics. That court refused to accept them, noting the general rule that appeals courts consider only evidence from the trial record.

The Justice Department declined to comment on its move in the Rodriguez case, saying the litigation was ongoing. "The office of the solicitor general takes its obligation to provide complete and accurate information to the [Supreme] Court with the utmost seriousness." the department said.

But Michael Wishnie, a professor at Yale Law School, said the practice of introducing new evidence at the Supreme Court level raises questions about its reliability.

"The issue is not how ‘serious' the office is," Mr. Wishnie said. "The issue is whether the Supreme Court can reasonably and fairly rely on **immigration** data and records provided for the first time without any opportunity for the other side to scrutinize it."

Complicating matters, in a separate case in Seattle, the Justice Department is arguing that different statistics from the **immigration**-review office should be excluded because they are unreliable.

In F.L.B. v. Lynch, the American Civil Liberties Union contends that the government should be required to appoint lawyers for juvenile **immigrants** facing deportation proceedings. Relying on data published by the **immigration**-review office, a plaintiffs' expert found that juveniles without counsel are up to 20 times more likely to be ordered deported than those who are represented by attorneys.

"There are serious questions concerning the accuracy of the data," the Justice Department told a federal-district court in August. The department re-examined every Ninth Circuit case over a one-month period involving an unrepresented minor who was ordered deported after appearing at an **immigration** hearing and found what it depicted as significant errors in the data.

Twice in recent years, the Justice Department has acknowledged introducing incorrect information about **immigration** policy at the Supreme Court stage. In both instances, doubts over government claims in years-old cases were substantiated through Freedom of Information Act requests filed by **immigrant** advocates.

In 2012, the department said it had inadvertently misled[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/SB10001424052702303978104577364371988403372] the Supreme Court in a 2009 case, Nken v. Holder, when it incorrectly asserted that officials routinely help deported **aliens** return to the U.S. if they later win their **immigration** appeals.

In the 2003 Demore case, the Supreme Court voted 5-4 to uphold the government's no-bail policy for certain **immigrants**, including legal residents with "green cards" who were eligible for deportation because they had committed crimes.

The court cited data saying the average detention period for **immigrants** appealing removal orders was only four months. But the American Civil Liberties Unionlater obtained underlying statistics showing that on average the **aliens** at issue were held without bail for more than a year.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**BERLIN—German Chancellor Angela Merkel on Wednesday urged fellow politicians to avoid escalating their rhetoric in combating the upstart Alternative for Germany.

Speaking here to the Bundestag, the lower house of parliament, Ms. Merkel said "scolding the voters achieves nothing" in her most extensive comments on the anti-**immigrant**, populist party since it defeated her conservative party in a state election at the weekend.

"Politicians who, like us, carry responsibility today should at any rate moderate their language," Ms. Merkel said. "If we start to escalate our language only those win who express things even more clearly and simply."

The three-year-old Alternative for Germany[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/merkel-stands-by-refugee-policy-after-election-loss-1473078641], or AfD, jolted Berlin Sunday by coming in second in the election in the sparsely populated northeastern state of Mecklenburg-West Pomerania.

While the center-left Social Democrats won, the AfD received 20.8% of the vote and came in ahead of Ms. Merkel's center-right Christian Democratic Union—the first time in German postwar history that the CDU lost to a right-wing populist challenger in a state election. The AfD made the **immigration** of Muslims and of Ms. Merkel's acceptance of **refugees** the centerpiece of its campaign.

Ms. Merkel said that voters' concerns had to be taken seriously, but that Germany was on the right track in assuring Germans' security, reducing the flow of **refugees**, and integrating those who have already arrived. She also urged Germans not to be afraid of change—and promised that the country's core values wouldn't change despite the more than a million new arrivals in the past year and a half.

Germans must "orient ourselves around the values that made us who we are today: that is freedom, that is security, that is fairness, that is solidarity," Ms. Merkel said. "Germany will stay Germany with everything we love and value about it."

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More Reading

\* Germany Rethinks Once-Taboo Tax Cuts[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/in-germany-tax-cuts-go-from-taboo-to-potential-political-tool-1473285107]

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Chinese and Indian newcomers to the U.S. are now outpacing Mexican arrivals in most regions of the country, a marked reversal from a decade ago, when **immigrants** from America's southern neighbor dwarfed arrivals from the large Asian countries.

A Wall Street Journal analysis of census figures shows that in Illinois, New York, Ohio, Virginia, Florida, Georgia and other states, more **immigrants** from China and India arrived than from Mexico in 2014, the most recent year for which data are available.

That year, about 136,000 people came to the U.S. from India, about 128,000 from China and about 123,000 from Mexico, census figures show. As recently as 2005, Mexico sent more than 10 times as many people to the U.S. as China, and more than six times as many as India.

The figures include people who come legally and illegally, but don't distinguish between the two. While Chinese and Indian **immigrants** are far more likely to be in the U.S. legally than those from Mexico, Asians represent one of the fastest-growing segments of undocumented **immigrants** in the country, researchers say. People from Mexico and other Central American countries account for about 71% of the U.S. unauthorized **immigrant** population, while Asians account for the second-largest share at 13%, according to the Migration Policy Institute.

Republican presidential nominee Donald Trump has made stopping illegal **immigration** from Mexico a centerpiece of his campaign, through his proposed border wall and other enforcement measures. Last week, he also pledged to add thousands of new border enforcement agents.

But demographers say the quick shift in migration flows shows that the campaign discussion's emphasis on illegal crossings at the nation's southern border doesn't tell the whole picture.

"This notion of a wall and of Mexican **immigration** being the most pressing challenge facing the United States is completely out of touch with the reality we face," said Karthick Ramakrishnan, associate dean of the University of California, Riverside School of Public Policy. **Immigration** today "is much more Asian."

A spokesman for Mr. Trump said the campaign is focused on stemming illegal border crossings from all of Central America, noting that apprehensions along the southwest border have surpassed those from the previous fiscal year.

The Republican also has proposed a biometric tracking system to tackle visa overstays, which account for an estimated 40% or more of the people in the U.S. illegally. The federal government has already tried and failed to create the exit portion of such a system, most recently when lawmakers worked on an **immigration** overhaul in 2013. A spokesman for Mr. Trump called such a system a national-security imperative and said it is achievable with the right leadership in Washington.

Democrat Hillary Clinton wants to enact an **immigration** overhaul that would create a path to citizenship for some Americans here illegally and end rules requiring certain green card seekers to first leave the country. Her plans also don't explicitly address the shift toward Asian **immigration**, but put far less focus on securing the Mexican border. A Clinton spokeswoman said the Democratic nominee backs an **immigration** overhaul but didn't address details of her proposals so far.

The Journal's analysis found that in 2014, there were 31 states where more **immigrants** arrived from China than from Mexico that year, up from seven states in 2005. Newly arrived **immigrants** from India in 2014 outnumbered those from Mexico in 25 states, up from four states in 2005. Even in California, a top destination for Latinos, Chinese **immigrants** outnumbered Mexican **immigrants** in 2014, and the number from India was only slightly below that of Mexico.

Census figures show that about 82,000 people came to the U.S. from all other Central American countries besides Mexico in 2014, a surge from the prior year tied largely to an influx of unaccompanied children from Honduras, Guatemala and El Salvador that has since tapered off.

A swirl of forces is driving the shift. Highly educated technology workers from China and India are flocking to the U.S. for skilled jobs as the U.S. moves toward a more knowledge-based economy. While the number of such work visas is capped each year, extended families that trail such workers are spawning their own wave of new arrivals. China and India now send more international students to the U.S. than any other countries.

At the same time, fewer Mexicans are coming to the U.S. as Mexico's own job market improves and its birth rate has declined. The construction and manufacturing jobs that lured low-skilled Mexican workers until the start of the 2007-09 recession remain in short supply. As of 2014, more Mexicans had returned to Mexico than had migrated here since the recession's end, according to the Pew Research Center.

Census figures show how far Asian **immigrants** are settling beyond traditional gateways like metropolitan Los Angeles and New York, filtering into places as varied as Atlanta, Cincinnati and Charlottesville, Va. In suburbs and smaller towns, **immigration** lawyers, language centers and real-estate agents are adapting their work to an increasingly Asian clientele.

In Virginia, the steady flow of Mexicans that came to the state a decade ago has now slowed to a trickle. In 2005, about 4,900 people from Mexico came to Virginia, census figures show. By 2014, that number was less than 500.

Blue Ridge Literacy in Roanoke dropped two of its four English classes tailored toward native Spanish this year as learners from other countries began to outnumber them, said executive director Russ Merritt. An annual celebration for new citizens the center held recently didn't include a single Mexican who had gained citizenship. "For us it's just been a surprise," he said.

Meanwhile, the number of people from China and India coming to Virginia has risen sharply. In 2005, fewer than 700 **immigrants** came from both China and India, census figures show. In Virginia in 2014, about 4,000 people came from China and almost 3,900 people came from India.

The Northern Virginia towns that comprise an affluent cluster of the Washington, D.C., suburbs—and exurbs that extend beyond them—are attracting a flood of Chinese and Indian workers at defense companies like Northrop Grumman and financial-services firms. They have helped make the state's **immigrant** population more highly educated than its native-born residents, said Michael Cassidy, president of the Commonwealth Institute for Fiscal Analysis, a left-leaning think tank in Richmond.

"Within the last five years I've started seeing a lot more Indians buying expensive homes," said Vinh Nguyen, owner of Westgate Realty Group in Falls Church, Va. Lately he said is also seeing more parents of Asian students snapping up homes as investments that double as housing for their children.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**VIRGINIA BEACH, Va.—Republican presidential nominee Donald Trump announced support from former military officials on Tuesday as he highlighted his call to rebuild the nation's armed forces, though he has offered few details and no price tag.

The New York billionaire planned to use a speech on Wednesday in Philadelphia to call on Congress to boost military spending after ending automatic budget cuts, known as sequestration, a Trump campaign aide said. Mr. Trump wants to end the cuts only for defense spending, a plan that Democrats have opposed without similar relief for social programs.

Mr. Trump plans to detail this plan at a "commander-in-chief forum" to be televised live by NBC News in which Mr. Trump and Democratic nominee Hillary Clinton in back-to-back appearances will field questions about national security and veterans issues.

His endorsements, announced on the eve of the event, were aimed at countering the criticism from 50 Republican national-security veterans[http://blogs.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/washwire/2016/08/08/gop-national-security-veterans-trump-would-be-dangerous-president/] who said they wouldn't vote for their party's nominee because of questions about his qualifications, character, values and experience.

"He has the temperament to be commander-in-chief," said Major General Sidney Shachnow, a 40-year veteran of the Army and a Holocaust survivor who helped organize the endorsement list for the Trump campaign.

The campaign is also seeking to boost his support in military communities that could sway the outcomes of the presidential election in several key states, including Virginia and North Carolina.

In Virginia Beach, Mr. Trump promised to streamline health-care services for veterans, accused Mrs. Clinton of treating **immigrants** better than retired soldiers and called women veterans "forgotten people."

The event was billed as a town-hall meeting, but Mr. Trump took no questions from the audience. Instead, the nominee was queried for 45 minutes by one of his most prominent backers, retired Lt. Gen. Michael Flynn.

Asked how he would rebuild the military, Mr. Trump said the armed forces are getting most of its parts "from plane graveyards and museums."

He added, "We're going to rebuild it with the finest technology in the world. We have the finest technology, but we're not paying for it anymore. And frankly, we're paying far too much. And sometimes we're going to companies that are political, and we're getting things that aren't as good."

Most of the retired officers who flagged their support for Mr. Trump on Tuesday aren't military leaders well known inside the Pentagon or Washington, D.C. A majority haven't served since the first Iraq war in the early '90s.

"It's a terribly disappointing thing for these generals and admirals to have done," said Eliot Cohen, a former Pentagon adviser in George H.W. Bush's administration and a Defense Department official under former President George W. Bush, said about the endorsements.

"The last thing we need, at this juncture in our country, is for retired generals and flag officers to plunge into politics," Mr. Cohen said Tuesday. "That goes for those who endorsed Hillary, too."

Mr. Cohen was among 50 Republican national-security advisers who signed the letter last month saying Mr. Trump would be the "most reckless president in American history." He has called for Republicans to support a third-party candidate instead of Mr. Trump, even if it resulted in a victory for Democratic nominee Hillary Clinton.

Mrs. Clinton hasn't yet released a full list of military endorsements. "I think we're up to 89, but who's counting," Mrs. Clinton quipped to reporters on Tuesday. "But here's what's important: I now have more endorsements from retired flag officers than any Democrat other than an incumbent president has ever had."

The 2012 Republican presidential nominee, Mitt Romney, was endorsed by more than 500 retired generals and admirals. About 40 people on that list are also backing Mr. Trump.

Mr. Trump has made a series of statements that have raised red flags with national-security experts.

He said he would "take out" the families of terrorists, offered qualified praise for Russian President Vladimir Putin and the late Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein, and disparaged Muslim and Mexican **immigrants**, many of whom serve in the military.

During the primary campaign, Mr. Trump suggested he approved of torturing terrorism suspects, though he later reversed himself[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/trump-reverses-his-stance-on-torture-1457116559] and said he would follow international law.

"You have a long list of military people supporting Trump who haven't been involved in important decisions in a considerable period of time," said Anthony H. Cordesman of the Center for Strategic and International Studies. "You also have a candidate who doesn't seem to be able to take a single position on any one issue."

At least two of the names on the pro-Trump list have faced scrutiny in the national spotlight.

Retired Lt. General William G. "Jerry" Boykin was criticized by then-President George W. Bush in 2003 for casting the fight against terrorism as a religious war between a "Christian nation" and Satan. He also said a militant Muslim militia leader in Somalia worshiped an "idol'' and not "a real God.'' Mr. Boykin, who serves as executive vice president at the Family Research Council, said on Tuesday that Mr. Bush misunderstood his views.

"Many people thought my views were extremist in nature but reality has set in and what I was telling them was based on a careful assessment and knowledge of what jihadists are up to," he said. "Jihad is totally evil and jihad is based on an interpretation of the Koran....The majority of the Muslims around the world are not extremist and not jihadist."

Retired Lt. General Thomas G. McInerney is a Fox News military analyst who has challenged Mr. Obama's eligibility to be president based on the theory that he wasn't born in the U.S. Mr. McInerney couldn't be reached for comment.

Colleen McCain Nelson and Michelle Hackman contributed to this article.

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\* Terrorism Looms as the Wildest of Wild Cards in Election 2016[http://blogs.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/washwire/2016/09/07/terrorism-looms-as-the-wildest-of-wild-cards-in-election-2016/]

\* Trump Leads Clinton Among Military Voters in Poll[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/donald-trump-leads-hillary-clinton-among-military-voters-in-poll-1473242403]

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**As our dispiriting presidential campaign grinds on, the rest of the world is not standing still. And the news is not good.

At the G-20 meeting last weekend, Chinese officials treated the president of the United States and his senior aides with blatant disrespect. As Chinese nationalism surges, President Xi Jinping is asserting his country's claims throughout the South China Sea, a move that episodic demonstrations of American naval power have failed to halt. Meanwhile, the linchpin of President Obama's "pivot" to Asia—the Trans-Pacific Partnership—faces opposition from both presidential candidates and hangs by a thread in Congress. Its defeat would deal a heavy blow to American credibility.

In the Middle East, the Syrian civil war continues its bloody course, and the latest effort to negotiate a humanitarian cease-fire with the Russians has foundered over what the administration describes as "trust" issues. Mr. Obama's prediction that Vladimir Putin's use of military force would land him in a quagmire described his own state of mind rather than reality. Instead, at modest cost, Mr. Putin has restored Russia's standing as a key player in the region, while our friends and allies see America in retreat.

In northern Syria, U.S.-backed Kurds have been the only effective fighters against Islamic State. But when Turkey sent its forces across the border, Mr. Obama sent Vice President Joe Biden to Turkey, where he demanded that the Kurds withdraw from ISIS-held territory they had recently seized. President Recep Tayyip Erdogan sees every manifestation of Kurdish nationalism, wherever it may occur, as a threat to Turkey's domestic security.

The U.S. is under no obligation to agree with him, especially at the expense of one of the few reliably pro-Western forces in the region. Mr. Obama's meeting in China with Mr. Erdogan did not yield an agreement. The administration's brand of "realism" in Syria has ended in a damaging muddle.

The group photo at the G-20 meeting spoke volumes. At one end, President Putin was speaking to President Erdogan, who listened attentively. At the other end, President Obama peered curiously at the colloquy. In the middle, President Xi smiled confidently. As the authoritarian entente cordiale flowers, the U.S. is reduced to a bystander's role.

Mr. Obama seems to have assumed that events in Syria, however awful to behold, would have no effect on core American interests. If so, he was badly mistaken. The flood of Syrian **refugees** has destabilized its neighbors in the Middle East and Europe.

Anti-**immigrant** nationalism is on the rise throughout the Continent, and it contributed to June's pro-Brexit vote in the U.K. German Chancellor Angela Merkel, who initially welcomed the **refugees**, has been thrown on the defensive. In an election in her home state last weekend, her Christian Democrats finished third, behind the anti-**immigrant** Alternative for Germany party. Even Denmark, long regarded as a bastion of tolerance, is witnessing a backlash, and the anti-**immigrant**Danish People's Party is now the country's second-largest.

Weakness begets weakness. America's response to Mr. Putin's annexation of Ukraine's Crimea was totally ineffective. When Hitler's forces marched into the Rhineland in 1936, along the demilitarized border with France, England's Lord Lothian remarked that this was no more than the Germans walking into "their own back garden"—never mind Germany's treaty obligations not to do so.

It was not hard to discern similar undercurrents in the wake of Mr. Putin's bold Crimea stroke and the U.S. failure to provide defensive weaponry to Ukraine after Russian-backed separatists struck again in eastern Ukraine.

Presidents often define their foreign policy in opposition to the most unpopular features of their predecessor's. This seldom works out well: The opposite of a mistake is usually the opposite mistake.

And so it has been with Mr. Obama. He opposed George W. Bush's decision to invade Iraq—rightly, in my view—and rode that opposition to the White House. But "no more Iraqs" turned out be an inadequate maxim, even (or especially) in the Middle East. His allergy to the use, or even the threat, of force has rendered U.S. diplomacy all but toothless. We have conducted an eight-year experiment in foreign policy with almost no sticks and very few carrots. The results are clear: The force of the better argument is seldom enough to prevail on its own.

Donald Trump's election would make a bad situation worse, which is why most of the Republican foreign-policy establishment has deserted him. Some of them have already announced that they will vote for Hillary Clinton, who has emerged as the one champion of the traditional, muscular, often bipartisan approach to American foreign policy.

Despite its many mistakes, the U.S. remains the most credible guarantor of global peace and security. No invisible hand will secure this outcome. When we pull back, chaos results. And nothing in human affairs is worse.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**European leaders have made clear they view Britain's access to the single market and the free movement of people within it as inextricably linked in the aftermath of Brexit. Yet it is still unclear how far British Prime Minister Theresa May will go to placate Brexit hardliners by sacrificing Britain's access to the common market to impose **immigration** curbs.

Last week's cabinet meeting on Brexit saw Ms. May taking a restrictionist stance, stressing the need to control "the numbers of people who come to Britain from Europe." But on Monday the Prime Minister signaled that she wouldn't favor an Australian-style points-based system either. The chronically misunderstood topic has come to life again on data that Britain's yearly intake of **immigrants** exceeded 630,000, though the net figure came to barely half that after accounting for emigration. Net **immigration** from EU countries comes to 180,000.

For a country of 64 million, this amounts to a yearly increase of about 0.5%—not exactly an **alien** invasion. Proportionally few of Britain's **immigrants** come from impoverished regions or terrorist havens. As of 2013 China sent the largest share of **immigrants**, followed by Spain, India, Australia, Poland, France and the U.S. Most come to work or study, and many eventually go home.

None of this suggests a crisis, much less a reason to create one in negotiations with the European Union. On the contrary, the **immigrants** are helping fill a skills shortage in Britain's tight labor market. Of 900,000 job openings studied by the government's Commission for Employment and Skills last year, employers struggled to fill 210,000 for lack of sufficient skilled labor. "An inability to recruit appropriately skilled labor may act as a brake on business growth and higher productivity," the report warns.

**Immigration** restrictionists believe the government can address the labor shortage by adopting a points-based system to let in skilled **immigrants** from anywhere. Maybe so, but the risk is that this gets the government to set labor quotas that rarely reflect business needs. A great benefit to Britain of the EU's free movement of people is that it gives employers and workers much greater flexibility to respond to labor supply and demand in real time.

Part of the reason **immigration** is so contentious is that the British government is bad at dealing with what should be the manageable consequences of new **immigrants**. The National Health Service struggles to keep up with the rising number of people using its services, and the housing market is overheating in part because planning restrictions make it difficult to build new homes. But the solution to those problems is to reform the NHS and press ahead with zoning reforms, not to starve the economy of human capital.

The promise of Brexit is that an independent Britain can better offer its citizens greater freedom and prosperity. Sacrificing the U.K.'s access to the common market so it can bar the door to Europe's talented and willing workers achieves the opposite.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**A substantial bloc of Republican-leaning voters has declined so far to back either major-party candidate for president, suggesting Donald Trump has an opportunity to make the race more competitive by persuading them to return to the GOP.

His challenge is formidable, however, since almost eight in 10 of these voters have sharply negative views of Mr. Trump and his Democratic rival, Hillary Clinton. That raises the prospect they might vote for a third-party candidate—or sit out the election.

The composition of the undecided pool also is far different than in prior years, data from Wall Street Journal/NBC News polling shows. Typically, undecided voters show little attachment to either party and only slight enthusiasm for the election.

They also tend to have lower income levels and educational attainment than voters overall. This year, the pool includes far more upper-income and Republican-leaning voters from suburban and metropolitan communities—areas that often determine which party will win a state. And they form a larger pool than in the last election—about 13% of all voters, compared with 8% in 2012.

Among them, some 48% of those who say in Journal/NBC News surveys that they don't back either major-party candidate nonetheless want the next Congress to be controlled by Republicans, suggesting they are GOP voters at heart. That is a far larger share than in 2012 and about twice the share who want Democrats to run the next Congress.

"These are not the less-engaged, weakly partisan people," said Republican pollster Bill McInturff. "They're better-educated people who lean Republican, who don't like Trump and have zero use for Hillary Clinton, and they're sort of paralyzed and frozen right now."

Some surveys in recent days have shown the contest tightening, a development arising in part from some Republican holdouts moving to support Mr. Trump. In a new CNN/ORC poll, for instance, Mr. Trump was backed by 83% of Republican registered voters, up from 78% in late July.

Overall, Mr. Trump led Mrs. Clinton by 2 percentage points among likely voters in the CNN/ORC survey, 45% to 43%, on a ballot that included third-party candidates. Mr. Trump trailed Mrs. Clinton by three points among registered voters.

There appears to be little movement in the share of voters who pick neither Mr. Trump nor Mrs. Clinton. Asked which candidate they'd choose, some 15% in a Journal/NBC News survey in August said neither the New York businessman nor the former secretary of state, another candidate or that they were unsure. That was about the same share as in June and July. Similarly, the share backing neither candidate has held fairly steady since late July in CNN/ORC polling.

An analysis by the firm Survey Monkey, which specializes in online polling, also concluded that more Republicans than Democrats are undecided, with independents outnumbering both.

"Should every undecided voter cast a ballot, these results suggest an opportunity for Trump to narrow Clinton's lead," Mark Blumenthal, who leads election polling at the company, wrote about the study.

But he added that the company's data also suggest that being undecided correlates with skipping the election. "So, the slightly greater Republican skew of the totally undecided may be early signs of lower than usual turnout on the horizon among Republican partisans," he wrote.

Normally, people who remain undecided at this point "are voters who aren't paying attention," said Terry Madonna, director of the Franklin & Marshall College Poll of Pennsylvania voters. That isn't the case with many of this year's undecided or third-party voters. "There are a larger number of particularly Republicans on the fence, because they're torn. They'd like to vote their party" but are wary of backing "the controversial Donald Trump," he said.

These voters are plentiful in the populous suburbs around Philadelphia, Mr. Madonna said. The GOP nominee's weakness in the suburbs is one reason that Mrs. Clinton leads by 6 percentage points in Pennsylvania statewide in the Real Clear Politics aggregate of surveys.

Nationally, these are voters such as Erin Tolman, 29, a pharmacy technician and mother in College Station, Texas, who voted for Republican Mitt Romney in 2012 and backed social conservative Ben Carson in this year's GOP primaries. Now, she plans on voting for Libertarian Gary Johnson.

Mrs. Clinton, says Ms. Tolman, is a "career politician," while Mr. Trump's tough stance on illegal **immigration** turns her off. "He's against everything that as Americans we believe in," she said. "We're a country of **immigrants**."

Roughly 6% of all voters favor a GOP-led Congress over a Democratic one but aren't backing either major-party candidate, merged data from Journal/NBC News surveys from July and August shows. Results from the two months were compared with those from July and August of 2012.

If Mr. Trump could win this group over, he would make the race more competitive, said Mr. McInturff, who directs the Journal/NBC News poll with Democrat Fred Yang. But it would take more than that to overcome the advantage Mrs. Clinton holds due to the larger number of Democrats than Republicans in the electorate.

In 2012, President Barack Obama and Mr. Romney carried almost identical shares of their own party—Mr. Obama won 92% of Democrats and Mr. Romney 93% of Republicans, exit polls showed. Yet, Mr. Romney lost the election, even though he also carried independent voters by 5 percentage points.

Another challenge for Mr. Trump is that he's already well known to most voters. Only 20% of adults said in a July CNN/ORC survey that they need more information before knowing whether Mr. Trump would make a good president, with 78% saying they knew enough. That suggests new information won't change many minds.

Further, these voters have very negative views of either candidates, the share of voters with a negative view is 79%, according WSJ/NBC polling in July and August. By contrast, President Barack Obama and Mr. Romney both were viewed negatively by 49% of undecided voters at a similar point in the last election.

In addition, these voters have options beyond Mr. Trump and Mrs. Clinton. The Libertarian Party's Mr. Johnson and Green Party candidate Jill Stein are drawing more attention this year, and possibly more support than they received in 2012.

Tasha Lonsdale, 25, a teacher in Boston, is planning to vote for Ms. Stein.She questioned Mr. Trump's disposition but doesn't see that as a reason to vote for Mrs. Clinton, who hasn't drawn her support, either. "I don't think you should vote for someone out of fear," she said.

David Majors, a retired teacher from Monroe County, Ohio, who backed Mr. Obama in 2012, said he's not happy with his choices this year.Mr. Majors sees Mrs. Clinton as too beholden to big business and those who benefit from government entitlements.

At the same time, he said in an email exchange, "Trump's uncontrolled mouth has lost him some popularity...In the last few days, he has been trying to repair the damage of ‘foot in mouth disease,' but it may be too late." He added: "At this juncture, I don't know who I will vote for."

Polling has shown that adults with higher educational attainment, particularly those with graduate degrees, are more likely to take liberal policy positions than those with less education, and Democrats have made steady gains with those voters. In 2012, Mr. Obama carried 42% of white college graduates, exit polls showed, compared with the 31% that Jimmy Carter, another Democratic president seeking re-election, won in 1980.

The nation's suburbs are home to many of these voters, making them one of the prime battlegrounds in presidential elections. While the GOP hold on swing-state suburbs has been ebbing, state-level polling this year has shown Mr. Trump amplifying the trend: He is drawing significantly fewer voters than did Mitt Romney, his party's 2012 nominee, in the suburbs of Denver, Philadelphia and of Washington, D.C. in Virginia, as well as in other competitive states.

Dante Chinni and Janet Hook contributed to this article.

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\* Poll: Trump Leads Among Military Voters[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/donald-trump-leads-hillary-clinton-among-military-voters-in-poll-1473242403?tesla=y]

\* Voters ‘Deserve' to See Trump Taxes: Clinton[http://blogs.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/washwire/2016/09/06/clinton-says-voters-deserve-to-see-trumps-tax-returns/]

\* Terrorism Looms as an Election Wild Card[http://blogs.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/washwire/2016/09/07/terrorism-looms-as-the-wildest-of-wild-cards-in-election-2016/]

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Good morning,

Email Me

On the heels of recently released FBI documents[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/key-findings-in-the-fbi-summary-1473131099] on Hillary Clinton's use of a private email account at the State Department, thousands of pages of Mrs. Clinton's official records are set to be released[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/media-conservatives-seek-release-of-hillary-clintons-records-1473069601] in the coming weeks. The coming disclosures are likely to provide fodder for Donald Trump and test Mrs. Clinton as she looks to maintain her slight advantage in the final two months of the campaign.[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/clinton-trump-enter-final-stretch-to-white-house-1473067802] Dozens of lawsuits, mostly brought by conservative groups and Republican operatives against the State Department, are being heard in federal courts. Many of the documents still to come are expected to involve correspondence between Mrs. Clinton, her aides and employees at her family's charitable foundation. Meanwhile, calendar records obtained in a lawsuit[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/calendar-shows-hillary-clinton-meetings-with-foundation-donors-1473134460] show Mrs. Clinton meeting with foundation donors in 2011. Her candidacy is a study in paradoxes,[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/the-many-paradoxes-of-the-front-runner-hillary-clinton-1473094667] writes our Washington bureau chief Gerald F. Seib.

Out of Bonds

Central banks have become some of the biggest investors in bond markets. Now some in the financial markets think stocks should benefit more from their largess.[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/equity-markets-could-get-a-boost-if-central-banks-started-buying-1473090954] Some economists say the ECB, which meets Thursday to decide if it should expand its current bond-buying program, should invest in equities. The reason: It is running out of bonds to buy. Other central banks already invest in equities. Switzerland's central bank has accumulated more than $100 billion worth of stocks, while another big stockholder is the Bank of Japan. A move by the ECB into equities would have big implications for Europe's stock markets, which have been rocked by a series of shocks this year, from volatility in China to Britain's vote to leave the EU. Stock purchases don't appear to be on the near-term agenda, but ECB officials haven't ruled them out.

Money Trail

The suspected ringleaders of Malaysia's 1MDB scandal allegedly cultivated bank executives,[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/behind-the-1mdb-scandal-banks-that-missed-clues-and-bowed-to-pressure-1473109548] pressed compliance officers and obsessed about secrecy. Between 2009 and 2013, financier Jho Low, a family friend of Prime Minister Najib Razak, and his associates helped embezzle at least $3.5 billion[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/graphics/1mdb-money-flow/] from the state investment fund created by Mr. Najib, the U.S. Justice Departmentalleged in a lawsuit filed in July. Mr. Low and his cohorts for years eluded detection or interference by at least eight banks, big accounting firms, a central bank and various government regulators. That the alleged fraud[http://graphics.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/1mdb-decoded/] could roll on for so long without detection suggests weaknesses in a global system designed to clamp down on money laundering, a problem U.S. and other Western leaders have pledged to fix. We examine how banks missed clues and bowed to pressure along the way.

This Altercast Brought to You By...

The next time you want to persuade someone, you might try "altercasting." Psychologists and communication experts use the term to describe a technique in which one person characterizes another as a certain type of person[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/if-you-want-to-persuade-people-try-altercasting-1473096624] to encourage him or her to behave in a desired manner. Psychologists say it is widely used in the real world—by advertisers, fundraisers, parents, teachers, spouses, and therapists, among others. In "manded" altercasting, you don't change your behavior but openly state a role for the other person. In "tact" altercasting, you don't state anything explicitly but change your behavior to suggest a role to the other person. The strategy works because people typically want to rise to the occasion. We offer tips on the technique, such as knowing your audience and emphasizing the relationship.

Today's Video

Smashed Fortunes

At the world's biggest ship-recycling yard at Alang, India, life is becoming harder as fewer ships arrive.[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/smashed-fortunes-1473091368]

TOP STORIES

U.S.

Zika Researchers Work to Crack Virus's Genetic Secrets[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/zika-researchers-work-to-crack-viruss-genetic-secrets-1473067800]

Congress Faces Tight Budget Deadline[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/congress-faces-tight-budget-deadline-1473113779]

WORLD

G-20 Closes With Call for More Efforts to Boost Global Growth[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/g-20-closes-with-call-for-more-efforts-to-boost-global-growth-1473096156]

Obama, Putin Meet as Syria Deal Stalls[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/obama-putin-meet-on-sidelines-of-g-20-summit-in-chinas-hangzhou-1473056453]

BUSINESS

Bayer Raises Offer to Buy Monsanto[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/bayer-raises-offer-to-buy-monsanto-1473121719]

Apple's New iPhones Arrive, as Glow Fades[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/apples-new-iphones-arrive-as-glow-fades-1473099607]

MARKETS

Junk Debt Getting Crowded[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/boom-in-junk-debt-draws-concern-1473101113]

Investors See Danger as Global Assets Get Pricey[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/with-global-asset-prices-riding-high-some-investors-see-danger-1473091282]

Number of the Day

$200 million

The approximate amount Volkswagen plans to pay to buy a minority stake in Navistar to gain a foothold in the U.S.[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/volkswagen-to-take-19-9-stake-in-navistar-1473089215] and bolster its global truck-market aspirations.

Today's Question

Going back to our story above, what are your thoughts on the FBI's summary of its investigation into Mrs. Clinton's email practices? Send your comments, which we may edit before publication, to 10point@wsj.com[mailto:10point@wsj.com]. Please include your name and location.

—Compiled by Margaret Rawson

Reader Response

Responding to Friday's question on Donald Trump's trip to Mexico City,[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/donald-trumps-mexico-trip-was-weeks-in-the-making-1472779067] Bill Kaupert of Illinois said: "The trip to Mexico and follow-up speech were master strokes by a campaign led by a nonpolitician. Mr. Trump displayed a hands-on approach to handling the **immigration** issue and put his person where only his words had been. All the while securing and energizing his base." And Mary Thompson of New Mexico wrote: "Accepting the opportunity to go to Mexico and meet with Mexican President Enrique Peña Nieto was a good move on Mr. Trump's part. I doubt Mr. Peña Nieto actually expected Mr. Trump to accept the invitation but he honored the invite and held a joint press conference following their discussion. Mr. Trump considerably improved his profile and conducted himself as a person of importance representing the U.S." But Richard Betz of Indiana opined: "Mr. Trump's ‘semi-presidential' appearance in a news conference with Mexico's president and then his bombastic **immigration**speech in Phoenix that same evening refuting what he said in Mexico are further proof that he has no intention of changing into a serious, knowledgeable presidential candidate. He cannot yell and tweet his way into the White House. His core constituency may enjoy the show he puts on for them, but they are not numerous enough to give him victory. He is on his way to a memorable defeat."

This daily briefing is named "The 10-Point" after the nickname conferred by the editors of The Wall Street Journal on the lead column of the legendary "What's News" digest of top stories. Technically, "10-point" referred to the size of the typeface. The type is smaller now but the name lives on.

The 10-Point In Your Inbox

CLICK HERE[http://online.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/public/page/email-setup.html?sub=the\_10\_point] to sign up for this briefing by email.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**LONDON— Britain's exit from the European Union [http://graphics.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/brexit/] presents both a considerable challenge and an exciting opportunity, said the U.K. minister overseeing the process of leaving, adding that the government will take the time needed to get it right.

In his first statement in parliament since taking up the new role, Secretary of State for Exiting the European Union David Davis on Monday shed some light on the work government is beginning to undertake. He said the government would be speaking to organizations, companies, institutions and local governments to try to build a national consensus around its approach to exiting the bloc. He didn't, however, provide details on some of the big questions such as how the government planned to approach **immigration** and access to the European single market.

The British government is under mounting pressure at home and abroad to spell out its plans for exiting the EU , known as Brexit, following warnings before the June national referendum on membership that leaving the bloc would have dire consequences for the country's economy and its standing in the world.

British Prime Minister Theresa May on Monday reiterated her plans to not trigger Article 50—the formal process for leaving the EU — before the end of the year [http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/u-k-s-theresa-may-holds-brexit-brainstorm-with-ministers-1472643903], but didn't specify timing. Speaking at a news conference in China, where she was attending the meeting of leaders of the Group of 20 nations, she said the British people wanted to see an element of control over **immigration** but ruled out introducing an Australian points-based system.

Mr. Davis, one of a handful of government ministers who supported Brexit during the referendum campaign, said the government has already met with the country's main union umbrella group, and representatives of the universities and charitable sectors and farming and fisheries organizations.

Mr. Davis added he will conduct a series of meetings with representatives of various business sectors next month, and begin meetings with other EU member states during a visit to Dublin in October. He reiterated that there would be no return to the hard militarized border between Ireland and Northern Ireland.

The Department for Exiting the European Union , the new government ministry headed up by Mr. Davis, now has 180 staff in London, plus the expertise of 120 officials in Brussels, and was still growing rapidly, he said.

In addition to building a national consensus on Brexit, the government would be guided by three other principles: putting the national interest first while acting in good faith with European partners; trying to minimize wherever possible any uncertainty that change will inevitably bring; and ending the process by leaving the EUand putting the sovereignty and supremacy of the U.K. parliament beyond doubt, Mr. Davis said.

"Naturally, people want to know what Brexit will mean. Simply, it means leaving the European Union . So we will decide on our borders, our laws, and the taxpayers' money," he said.

"This is a historic and positive moment for our nation. Brexit is not about making the best of a bad job. It is about seizing a huge and exciting opportunity that will flow from a new place for Britain in the world. There will be new freedoms, new opportunities, new horizons for our country," he added.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**German voters have been unhappy with Angela Merkel's **refugee** plans for almost a year, and on Sunday they sent the Chancellor an electoral warning she can't easily ignore. The anti-**immigration** Alternative for Germany, or AfD, beat Mrs. Merkel's center-right Christian Democrats (CDU) for second place in legislative elections in Mecklenburg-West Pomerania, the Chancellor's home state.

The overall winners were the center-left Social Democrats, who took 31% of the vote and will retain the regional premiership. But the real news was that AfD beat the Christian Democrats 21% to 19%—the center-right's worst-ever performance in the region. "Mrs. Merkel is bringing herself down," AfD leader Frauke Petry said, and it's hard to disagree.

This was more or less a single-issue election over migration. The Chancellor declared an open-borders policy at the height of last year's Middle East **refugee**crisis, eventually bringing some 1.1 million newcomers into a country of 80 million. Many arrivals are desperate **refugees** from Syria, but others are economic migrants riding the humanitarian train.

The new arrivals have severely strained Germany's social-welfare system and security apparatus. The country spent nearly $6 billion on asylum-seekers last year, double the 2014 figure. The behavior of many migrants hasn't helped. Rapes and forced prostitution are serious problems at asylum centers, and Germany has registered hundreds of sexual-assault cases committed by migrants. At least two terrorist attacks this summer were committed by migrants, including an ax-wielding Afghan on a train and a Syrian suicide bomber outside a concert.

Yet Mrs. Merkel still refuses to cap the number of **refugees** Germany will accept, driving voters toward the AfD and infuriating others in the CDU leadership. Like France's National Front, the AfD is capitalizing on the centrist parties' failure to respond to public concerns about Islamism and assimilation. And like the Front, the party's **immigration** restrictionism comes with an additional set of nativist and protectionist impulses that are far worse than modest border controls.

Mrs. Merkel's compassionate impulses are admirable, but they have to be backed by a politically sustainable policy. She and the Christian Democrats will need a migration course adjustment if they are to win back the political center ahead of next year's general election. Lecturing voters on their moral obligations won't do when voters are also being asked to suffer for them.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**BERLIN—Growing populist forces shook Europe's pillar of stability this weekend, as an unprecedented defeat[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/social-democrats-win-vote-in-germanys-mecklenburg-west-pomerania-1473006387?tesla=y] for Chancellor Angela Merkel's conservatives in Germany signaled more political tumult across the continent.

For the first time in postwar history, Ms. Merkel's Christian Democrats finished behind a populist challenger to their political right in a state election. Riding a wave of discontent with her migration policy, the Alternative for Germany—a three-year-old anti-**immigrant** party—beat the chancellor's party in her home state, spurring her allies to debate Monday whether she should change course.

Beyond Germany, more political crossroads are approaching that could jolt Europe—as the migrant influx, terrorism fears, and antiestablishment sentiment complicate the recovery from years of economic problems.

A week from Sunday, an election in the city-state of Berlin is likely to deliver Ms. Merkel another setback, according to opinion polls. Two weeks after that, polls show voters in Austria's second-round presidential election[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/austrian-court-orders-rerun-of-presidential-vote-1467369788] could crown postwar Western Europe's first right-wing, populist head of state.

Later in the fall, Italy faces a constitutional referendum seen as an up-or-down vote on Premier Matteo Renzi's pro-European government. And in December, Spain could face its third parliamentary elections[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/spains-rajoy-braces-for-second-confidence-vote-in-parliament-1472816776] in a year if its troubles in forming a government persist—a symptom of the same political fragmentation and antiestablishment sentiment dogging much of Europe.

Every populist success in one European country appears to be emboldening the populists in the next[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/europes-anti-immigration-parties-see-opening-to-weaken-eu-bonds-1466190274]. "That which was impossible yesterday has become possible," French nationalist leader Marine Le Pen wrote in a Twitter post late Sunday after the initial results of the populist Alternative for Germany, or AfD, came in. "The patriots of the AfD have swept away the party of Ms. Merkel. All my congratulations!" Polls show Ms. Le Pen is likely to make it into the second round when France votes for a president in the spring.

The political turbulence has added to the challenges weighing on Europe's economies, which, to the exception of Germany's, remain anemic despite the European Central Bank's years of ultra-easy monetary policy. In turn, the bank's strategy, including large-scale bond purchases and negative interest rates, has sparked mounting complaints in Germany, in part because of its ill effects for the country's millions of savers.

In an example of political and economic uncertainty feeding on each other, Germany's finance minister said earlier this year that the ECB had contributed to the Alternative for Germany's rise.

Amid the drama, European politicians will be closely watching events across the English Channel in Britain as a barometer of the consequences of turning away from the EU. It was in the U.K. that antiestablishment populists have scored their biggest success so far this year, winning the referendum to quit the European bloc.

A string of data there suggests the British economy appears to be regaining its footing following the Brexit vote—including a survey published Monday showing the U.K.'s powerhouse services sector bounced back to growth in August following a July slump.

The precise contours of the political debate differ across Europe, but the mounting disaffection with the establishment—often in favor of **immigration**, greater EUintegration, and free trade—echoes from country to country.

Another major point of contention—**refugee** policy—has put Germany at the debate's epicenter, after the arrival of more than a million asylum seekers since early last year. The three-year-old AfD has made opposition to Ms. Merkel's acceptance of **refugees** the centerpiece of its campaigns, riding public disaffection with the chancellor to the biggest electoral gains by an upstart right-wing party in Germany in decades.

Its second-place finish behind the incumbent Social Democrats in the sparsely populated eastern state of Mecklenburg-West Pomerania on Sunday marked one of the AfD's most striking advances yet.

With slogans such as "Politics for our own people!" the AfD finished with 20.8% of the vote, ahead of the 19% won by Ms. Merkel's center-right Christian Democrats, traditionally the big-tent home for conservatives in a country long wary of nationalist populism. The AfD will now hold seats in nine of Germany's 16 powerful state parliaments, building momentum ahead of the Berlin election later this month and the national election in September 2017.

In response to the regional defeat, the chancellor acknowledged the need to give Germans more confidence that the government had things under control, but said her migration policy remained on track. "I believe the fundamental decisions we made in the past months were right, but we have much to do to win back trust," she said on the sidelines of the Group of 20 meeting of economic powers in Hangzhou, China.

In recent months, her government has sought to speed deportations of rejected asylum applicants and negotiated with Turkey to successfully stem the flow of Middle Eastern migrants across the Aegean Sea. Nevertheless, exit polls showed that the AfD drew voters from across the political spectrum in Mecklenburg-West Pomerania who were mainly motivated by the **refugee** issue and who wanted to send a message of discontent to the established parties.

"People have a diffuse feeling that the state no longer has this challenge under control," said Mike Mohring, the Christian Democrats' party chairman in the state of Thuringia. "More than anything, it's a question of emotions and of rhetoric."

AfD leaders, meanwhile, sounded emboldened. National co-chairman Jörg Meuthen said the party's long-term goal was "to govern in this country." AfD officials promised that Sunday's vote spelled the beginning of the end of her chancellorship. Ms. Merkel has yet to announce whether she will seek a fourth term in Germany's national elections next year, but a strong AfD showing in the national vote would likely complicate her efforts[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/half-of-germans-oppose-fourth-term-for-angela-merkel-survey-finds-1472379679] to form a new governing coalition.

"One cannot act in politics against the people, against the will of the people," lawmaker Hans Michelbach, a conservative ally of Ms. Merkel, said Monday, urging her to be more responsive to public criticism of her **refugee** policy. "One must of course also take the concerns and fears of the people seriously."

A tumultuous political season is in store for the rest of Europe as well: Austria's October runoff election for president, a largely symbolic post, could be won for the first time by a right-wing populist, Norbert Hofer, according to polls.

In November, Italy is expected to hold a plebiscite on a constitutional reform aimed at creating more stable governments that has emerged as a referendum on Mr. Renzi, who has tried to rally support for the EU. The likely beneficiary if the referendum fails and Mr. Renzi resigns: the populist 5 Star Movement, founded by comic Beppe Grillo, which has surged to about 30% in the polls and whose left-right politics reflect the breadth of anger [http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/italian-local-elections-pose-big-test-for-prime-minister-matteo-renzi-1465118835]among Italians at their political class.

Meanwhile, Spain is struggling to form a government, despite two parliamentary elections since last December. The problem: two upstarts, including left-wing populists Podemos, have fragmented the political landscape and blocked efforts by Prime Minister Mariano Rajoy to negotiate a governing coalition. If the quagmire drags on, Spain faces yet another election this December.

Andrea Thomas contributed to this article.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HEREImmigration**

Trump Reconsidering Return-Home Decree

Donald Trump added another round of uncertainty to his **immigration** policy Monday, saying he was reconsidering whether undocumented **immigrants** must "return home" before seeking legal status in the U.S.

"We're going to make that decision into the future," he told reporters in Ohio, potentially reversing a position he staked out firmly only days ago.

Speaking aboard his private plane, Mr. Trump reinforced his plan to focus on deporting criminal **immigrants** who are in the country illegally. Asked what he thought about fellow Republicans who supported legal status for undocumented **immigrants** who have long lived in the U.S. without committing a crime, Mr. Trump said, "Good question. I'm glad you asked it." Then he added, "That decision will be made."

In a Phoenix speech last week that convinced several Hispanic advisers to quit his campaign, Mr. Trump repeatedly said he opposed protecting undocumented **immigrants** from deportation: "You cannot obtain legal status or become a citizen of the United States by illegally entering our country. Can't do it."

Mr. Trump also has backed away from his promise to deport all 11 million undocumented **immigrants** in the country, and has softened his call for a temporary ban of all Muslim **immigrants**.

Michael C. Bender

Travel Arrangements

Reporters Join Candidates on Planes

After months of keeping the press at a distance, Hillary Clinton inaugurated a new campaign plane on Monday to ferry candidate and reporters alike. Then, lo and behold, opponent Donald Trump decided Monday would be a good day to invite reporters aboard his private Boeing 757, too.

"It's nice every once in a while," he told a small pool of reporters who represent the full press corps. "On occasion we'll do it and maybe more than that."

Mrs. Clinton, by contrast, is committed through Election Day, with a Boeing 737-800 newly outfitted for campaign travel for candidate and press alike. The Trump campaign has indicated it has no plans for a plane to carry the media with him.

The Democratic nominee has come under fire for not answering questions at news conferences and, until Monday, for flying without her press corps. Mr. Trump has come under even sharper criticism for banning news organizations the campaign doesn't like from his events.

Before taking off from an airport near her home in Westchester County, N.Y., Mrs. Clinton came to the back of the plane and poked fun at her well-known reluctance to mingle with reporters. "I'm so happy to have all of you with me. I've been just waiting for this moment," she said. "No, really."

Laura Meckler

Presidential Debates

Trump Commits to All Three Showdowns

Republican nominee Donald Trump said Monday only an act of God could keep him from three debates with his Democratic rival, Hillary Clinton.

Mr. Trump previously hadn't committed to the schedule outlined by the nonpartisan Commission on Presidential Debates. When reporters asked in Ohio what may keep him from participating, he answered, "Hurricanes, natural disaster. No, I expect to do all three."

Mr. Trump said he didn't plan to practice in a mock debate with his team, adding that he never prepared that way during the primaries. He said he regularly discusses the coming debates with advisers. "I look forward to the debates," he said. "It is an important element of what we're doing. I think you have an obligation to the debates."

Mrs. Clinton committed last month to the debates, which are scheduled for Sept. 26 in Hempstead, N.Y., Oct. 9 in St. Louis, and Oct. 19 in Las Vegas.

Michael C. Bender

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**PARIS—Truck drivers, farmers and shopkeepers blocked a highway leading into the French port of Calais on Monday, demanding the dismantlement of a sprawling migrant camp and snarling traffic in one of Europe's busiest transport hubs.

Two convoys of about 40 trucks driving at three miles an hour made their way toward the port of Calais—located on the French side of the English Channel—blocking traffic in and out of the city, police said.

Several hundred people also formed a one-mile human chain near the highway, according to protesters.

Local frustrations are surging as President François Hollande's Socialist government strains to find a lasting solution to the migrant crisis in the region.

Despite recent efforts by the French government to empty out the camp, the number of migrants in Calais has more than doubled over the past few months, reaching a record 9,000 migrants in August, according to aid workers.

Tightened security around the port and tunnel in Calais is also pushing migrants to make more desperate attempts to reach the U.K.[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/france-says-u-k-keeps-right-to-stop-migrants-in-calais-1472572568], jumping from bridges onto trucks or hurling tree branches on the highway to slow down traffic.

The camp in Calais, known as the Jungle, opened in the spring of 2015 as authorities sought to group migrants spread across informal settlements around town into a single location to avoid clashes with local far-right groups.

As the influx of **refugees** and migrants from Syria, Iraq, Sudan and Afghanistan to Calais rose, French and British authorities stepped up security. Tall razor-wire fences were erected around the entrance to the Channel tunnel and the port. More than 1,000 police were deployed.

By October 2015, police counted about 6,000 migrants in Calais. To roll back the camp, the French government adopted new measures to persuade migrants to leave Calais and, if necessary, remove them by force[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/camped-in-calais-migrants-defy-french-resettlement-plan-1449443928]. Social workers started patrolling the camp to encourage **refugees** to apply for asylum, while police arrested migrants caught sneaking onto trucks and sent them to detention centers across the country.

Since 2015, the Interior ministry said it has transferred 7,484 migrants from the Jungle to shelters across the country.

Those efforts helped bring down the number of migrants in Calais to around 3,500 people in January 2016, police said. In February, French authorities started clearing[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/france-to-begin-plan-to-dismantle-calais-migrant-camp-1456426883] the southern part of the Jungle. But the numbers of migrants in Calais surged as warmer summer weather encouraged migrants to brave the journey to Calais.

French Interior Minister Bernard Cazeneuve, who was in Calais on Friday to meet truck drivers and farmers, pledged to dismantle the camp as "quickly as possible."

"That's not soon enough," says David Sagnard, head of a French regional transport federation. "We are the target of perpetual attacks by migrants. It's unacceptable," he added.

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Top of Form

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**BERLIN—Asylum seekers in Germany received nearly €5.3 billion ($5.91 billion) in welfare benefits last year, more than double the cost in 2014, statistics showed Monday, highlighting the scale of the country's **refugee** challenge.

Some 975,000 asylum seekers received benefits last year, more than double the number in 2014, the Federal Statistical Office said. In total, Germany paid asylum seekers €5.27 billion in support, ranging from lodging to food and medical treatments, up from €2.4 billion in 2014.

This is just part of the total amount the German state spent on helping migrants last year since the statistics only include asylum seekers--including rejected applicants who cannot be deported--and not recognized **refugees**, most of whom are eligible for income support. Only a minute fraction of the roughly 1 million migrants who entered Germany last year have found work.

The statistics are a stark reminder of the financial burden Germany has taken on when it opened its borders to **refugees** from the Middle-East, Asia and Africa last year. Chancellor Angela Merkel has defended the country's liberal **refugee** policy in the face of mounting discontent, particularly among conservative backers of her Christian Democratic Union.

On Sunday, the upstart anti-**immigrant** party beat Ms. Merkel's center-right Christian Democrats[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/social-democrats-win-vote-in-germanys-mecklenburg-west-pomerania-1473006387] for the first time in the latest sign of public disapproval of the chancellor's **refugee**policy.

The majority of asylum seekers receiving benefits last year were from Asia, with 308,021 from Syria and 114,543 from Afghanistan, the data showed. Some 67% were men with an average age of 25 years, the statistics show. Some 30% of those receiving aid were minors.

Germany's 16 states are responsible for distributing social benefits to asylum seekers while their applications are being reviewed and there are differences in how the states handle this duty. The government agreed earlier this year to limit cash handouts with the aim of reducing the incentive for economic migrants to come to Germany and lodge bogus asylum claims just to claim benefits.

States have been pushing the federal government for more support since migrant numbers peaked last autumn. Since the start of the year, the federal government has paid states a lump sum of €670 per asylum seeker to cover basic needs from the moment they register until a decision on their status is made.

In 2015, the state of North Rhine-Westphalia spent the most in social benefits, handing out €1.22 billion in benefits to 226,218 asylum seekers, according to the data.

While the influx of migrants has slowed since the beginning of the year—the **immigration** office has said it expects some 300,000 new asylum seekers to arrive in 2016—the finance ministry expects **refugees** to remain a burden for many years.

The ministry said in July it expected to spend €77.6 billion over the next four years[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/germany-puts-migration-related-costs-at-over-86-billion-over-next-four-years-1467392402] feeding, housing and training **refugees** as well as helping their home countries to stem the flow, according to updated budget estimates for the period from 2017 to 2020.

For German taxpayers, the most expensive aspect of the crisis—coming at a cost of €24 billion between 2017 and 2020—will be to cover the social benefits granted to migrants after they obtain asylum, the finance ministry said.

Write to Ruth Bender at Ruth.Bender@wsj.com[mailto:Ruth.Bender@wsj.com]

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Afghanistan

Two Bombings Kill At Least 24 in Kabul

Twin suicide bombings struck near the defense ministry in Afghanistan's capital on Monday, killing at least 24 people and wounding more than 90 others, officials said.

The first blast occurred as employees were leaving at the end of the work day, near one of the highly fortified compound's gates. A second bomber detonated his explosives as rescuers rushed to the scene, said interior ministry spokesman Sediq Sediqqi.

The Taliban claimed responsibility for the attack in a statement that said they had targeted the ministry.

An Afghan army general and a Kabul police station chief were among the dead, according to Mr. Sediqqi.

The Taliban in recent months have stepped up their campaign of attacks against the U.S.-backed Afghan government, a steady worsening of the country's security since NATO forces ended their combat mission there in late 2014.

Afghanistan's defense ministry is located in central Kabul near the presidential palace and the headquarters of the U.S.-led international military coalition that maintains a presence in the country. Other governmental offices and markets are nearby.

Ehsanullah Amiri

China

Beijing and Riyadh Forge Closer Ties

China and Saudi Arabia agreed to a raft of joint development proposals, including construction of oil facilities and housing projects, and shared thinking about security risks during recent meetings, a top Saudi official said.

"Security was a big thing between us and the Chinese," Saudi Culture and Information Minister Adel al-Toraifi told The Wall Street Journal Monday on the sidelines of a Group of 20 summit in the eastern city Hangzhou. Saudi Arabia's G-20 delegation is led by Deputy Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman, who last week met in Beijing with Chinese President Xi Jinping as a follow-up to Mr. Xi's visit to the Gulf[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/saudi-arabia-and-iran-tussle-over-exports-to-china-1453222569] in January.

Mr. Toraifi said the two sides have given each other a year to finalize deals outlined in more than a dozen memorandums of understanding signed during the Beijing visit[http://blogs.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/chinarealtime/2016/01/19/xi-jinpings-middle-east-trip-what-to-expect/] that envisage a five-year program of investments in both countries, plus joint funding into third nations he declined to identify. He said interests overlap in the development programs each country is pursuing. Saudi Arabia's Vision 2030[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/saudi-arabia-approves-economic-reform-program-1461588979] and China's One Belt, One Road[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/western-retreat-makes-room-for-chinese-advance-1467697742].

The minister said discussions in Beijing included a proposal for a Saudi-built oil-storage facility in China, though he didn't provide details.

Chinese builders plan to construct homes in Saudi Arabia in a bid to help alleviate its housing shortage[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/saudi-tax-targets-undeveloped-land-1454409001]. Financiers from the two countries are looking for ways to cooperate, the official said.

James T. Areddy

France

Mass Protest Blocks Traffic Around Calais

Truck drivers, farmers and shopkeepers blocked a highway leading into the French port of Calais on Monday, demanding the dismantlement of a sprawling migrant camp and snarling traffic in one of Europe's busiest transport hubs.

Two convoys of about 40 trucks driving at three miles an hour made their way toward the port of Calais—located on the French side of the English Channel—blocking traffic in and out of the city, police said.

Several hundred people also formed a one-mile human chain near the highway, according to protesters.

Local frustrations are surging as President François Hollande's Socialist government strains to find a lasting solution to the migrant crisis in the region.

Despite recent efforts by the French government to empty out the camp, the number of migrants in Calais has more than doubled over the past few months, reaching a record 9,000 migrants in August, according to aid workers.

Tightened security around the port and tunnel in Calais is also pushing migrants to make more desperate attempts to reach the U.K.[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/france-says-u-k-keeps-right-to-stop-migrants-in-calais-1472572568], jumping from bridges onto trucks or hurling tree branches on the highway to slow down traffic.

The camp in Calais, known as the Jungle, opened in the spring of 2015 as authorities sought to group migrants spread across informal settlements around town into a single location to avoid clashes with local far-right groups.

As the influx of **refugees** and migrants from Syria, Iraq, Sudan and Afghanistan to Calais rose, French and British authorities stepped up security. Tall razor-wire fences were erected around the entrance to the Channel tunnel and the port. More than 1,000 police were deployed.

By October 2015, police counted about 6,000 migrants in Calais. To roll back the camp, the French government adopted new measures to persuade migrants to leave Calais and, if necessary, remove them by force[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/camped-in-calais-migrants-defy-french-resettlement-plan-1449443928]. Social workers started patrolling the camp to encourage **refugees** to apply for asylum, while police arrested migrants caught sneaking onto trucks and sent them to detention centers across the country.

Since 2015, the Interior ministry said it has transferred 7,484 migrants from the Jungle to shelters across the country.

Those efforts helped bring down the number of migrants in Calais to around 3,500 people in January 2016, police said. In February, French authorities started clearing[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/france-to-begin-plan-to-dismantle-calais-migrant-camp-1456426883] the southern part of the Jungle. But the numbers of migrants in Calais surged as warmer summer weather encouraged migrants to brave the journey to Calais.

French Interior Minister Bernard Cazeneuve, who was in Calais on Friday to meet truck drivers and farmers, pledged to dismantle the camp as "quickly as possible."

"That's not soon enough," says David Sagnard, head of a French regional transport federation. "We are the target of perpetual attacks by migrants. It's unacceptable," he added.

Noemie Bisserbe

Britain

New Data Point to Buoyant Economy

The U.K.'s powerhouse service sector bounced back to growth in August following a July slump, a survey showed Monday, a fresh sign the British economy appears to be regaining its footing following the country's surprise decision to leave the European Union.

It comes on the heels of a string of data points, including on manufacturing and consumer confidence[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/british-manufacturers-shrug-off-brexit-1472720758], suggesting that there was a recovery in August following a dip in July.

But many economists cautioned that it is too early to say whether the economy will avoid a slowdown, and that uncertainty over the U.K.'s future ties to its biggest trading partner is likely to weigh on economic prospects for some time.

A closely watched gauge of activity in the services sector, which accounts for some 80% of annual economic output in Britain, r rose to 52.9 in August, from 47.4 the prior month, according to financial information firm IHS Markit Ltd. A reading above 50 indicates an expansion.

The 5.5-point monthly gain in the purchasing managers index, or PMI, was the largest observed in two decades, said IHS Markit, which compiles the index. It was the highest reading since May.

The pound gained on the news, rising 0.6% against the dollar to $1.3373 and 0.4% against the euro, to €1.1967.

IHS Markit said the survey of around 700 companies in a sector that spans industries including financial services, retailing and tourism found the pickup in activity in August was driven by a revival in business as the initial shock of the voters' June decision passed. Exporters said they were aided by a weak pound, which boosts the competitiveness of British services to foreign buyers.

Jason Douglas and Wiktor Szary

AUSTRALIA

Assurance Sought Over Submarines

Australian Prime Minister Malcolm Turnbull has sought assurances from French President François Hollande that France can guarantee security for a $38 billion fleet of Australian submarines after damaging public leaks about vessels being built for India's navy.

Mr. Turnbull said Monday he would raise the issue with Mr. Hollande at the G-20 leaders summit in China after thousands of documents were published last month about new attack submarines being built for India by state-backed French naval shipbuilding giant DCNS.

"Maintaining absolute maximum security, total security on information of this kind is critical," Mr. Turnbull said, adding that he had already raised the issue with his French counterpart ahead of detailed discussions. "The leaks of the material relating to Scorpene submarine are very, very regrettable," he said.

The meeting underscores regional alarm about the leaks, despite assurances from DCNS—Direction des Constructions Navales Services—that the trove of technical information hadn't compromised the security of India's French-designed Scorpene class submarines.

India's government has dropped a $1.5 billion option to buy three more Scorpenes because of the data leaked to an Australian newspaper last month, although crucial details were blacked out ahead of publication to prevent them being examined by potential adversaries.

Submarines are at the heart of a mini arms race in Asia as regional nations try to hedge against uncertainty triggered by China's growing military capability and territorial assertiveness. The region will be home to half the world's submarines and advanced combat aircraft within the next two decades.

Rob Taylor

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**BERLIN—Germany's upstart anti-**immigrant** party beat Chancellor Angela Merkel's center-right Christian Democrats on Sunday for the first time in a state election, while the center-left Social Democrats held on to win the vote in Mecklenburg-West Pomerania, exit polling and initial results showed.

The three-year-old Alternative for Germany, or AfD, was set to receive 21.4% of the vote, projections from pollster Infratest Dimap said after the polls closed in the northeastern German state. The Christian Democrats, by contrast, were to receive 19%—the party's worst-ever result in Mecklenburg-West Pomerania, a sparsely populated, economically challenged state in the former East that also happens to be home to Ms. Merkel.

Sunday's election was for the legislature in a single state with a population of about 1.6 million. And overall, the center-left Social Democrats won the vote, with 30.3%, according to projections—setting the stage for that party's leader in the state, Erwin Sellering, to be able to continue his tenure as the state's premier.

But the results—in particular the AfD's performance—reflected a wave of public discontent with Ms. Merkel's **refugee** policy, which dominated the regional campaign. The AfD has now won seats in nine of Germany's 16 powerful state parliaments and is building momentum ahead of next year's national elections that could spell trouble for the chancellor.

"This is a proud result that we couldn't have dreamed of some time ago," Leif-Erik Holm, the AfD's top candidate in Mecklenburg-West Pomerania, said after the first results came in. "Hopefully this is today, finally, the beginning of the end of the chancellorship of Angela Merkel."

In a sign of how much the AfD's rise has shaken up German politics, the party drew voters from all political camps as well as many supporters who didn't vote in the previous election, exit polling showed.

Among the casualties: the ultranationalist National Democratic Party, which appeared set to come in below the 5% threshold for seats in parliament and thus lose its last presence in a state legislature.

Under pressure from the AfD, Ms. Merkel has unveiled a range of new initiatives to stop the flow of migrants and to convince Germans she is keeping them safe. While the influx of people seeking asylum has dropped markedly from last year, two Islamist terror attacks by asylum seekers in July further unsettled the public about the security implications of the migrant tide. Ms. Merkel's approval rating has sunk to 45%, the lowest level in five years.

Sunday's results "are bitter for everyone in our party," said the Christian Democrats' Secretary General, Peter Tauber. "Among a recognizable portion (of the voters,) there was an explicit desire to register discontent and protest, and one could notice this especially in the discussion about **refugees**."

Two-thirds of AfD voters cast their ballot for the upstart party because they were disappointed by the other parties, the Infratest Dimap exit poll found. About half of AfD voters said that the **refugee** issue was decisive in their voting choice. Nearly all of them said they feared that the influence of Islam was becoming too strong and that crime would rise.

Ms. Merkel was in China Sunday for the Group of 20 meeting of economic powers and wasn't expected to comment on the vote results. She has yet to announce whether or not she will run for a fourth term in next September's national election.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**GERMANY

Anti-**Immigrant** Party Wins in State Vote

Germany's upstart anti-**immigrant** party beat Chancellor Angela Merkel's center-right Christian Democrats on Sunday for the first time in a state election, exit polls projected.

The anti-**immigrant**, three-year-old Alternative for Germany is set to receive 21% of the vote in Mecklenburg-West Pomerania, the initial projections from pollster Infratest Dimap said after the polls closed in the northeastern German state. The Christian Democrats were to receive 19%. The center-left Social Democrats won the vote with 30.5%, according to the projection.

The initial results showed the breadth of public discontent with Ms. Merkel's **refugee** policy, which dominated the campaign

Anton Troianovski

VIETNAM

India Warms to Hanoi

India agreed to provide Vietnam with a $500 million loan for defense purposes, a further sign of warming ties between two countries in separate territorial disputes with China.

Vu Trong Khanh

UZBEKISTAN

Karimov Laid to Rest

Uzbekistan held three days of official mourning for President Islam Karimov, the strongman who led the country to independence. Mr. Karimov's death was announced Friday[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/islam-karimov-dominated-uzbekistan-for-25-years-dies-at-78-1472839476], nearly a week after news emerged of his hospitalization following a stroke. Mr. Karimov, a former Communist apparatchik, ruled for 25 years following its independence.

Nathan Hodge

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Donald Trump: On day one, we will begin working on an impenetrable, physical, tall, powerful, beautiful southern border wall. . . . Our message to the world will be this: You cannot obtain legal status or become a citizen of the United States by illegally entering our country. Can't do it.

Paul Gigot: Welcome to "The Journal Editorial Report." I'm Paul Gigot.

That was Donald Trump in Phoenix, Arizona, on Wednesday, doubling down on his hard-line position on illegal **immigration**, despite some recent suggestions he might be "softening"—that was his word—on his signature campaign issue. The speech followed a meeting with Mexican President Enrique Peña Nieto earlier in the day, where the Republican presidential candidate struck a more subdued tone, promising that a Trump administration would work with Mexico to secure the southern border.

Joining me on the panel this week, Wall Street Journal columnist Kim Strassel, assistant editorial page editor James Freeman, columnist, Mary Anastasia O'Grady and editorial board member Joe Rago.

Kim, let's start it off by talking about the Mexican trip, which a lot of people in advance said was high-risk for Donald Trump. How do you think that turned out for him?

Strassel: I think that that was a good moment for Donald Trump, because, look, the point of this was to take this opportunity to go down and show that he had the ability to talk to a foreign leader, he had the temperament to go and do a negotiation. This is something that Hillary Clinton has hit him on hard, suggesting he's not qualified. To go down there, not have any too big of an explosive moment, be able to do the photo-op and shake hands—that was arguably a good moment for Donald Trump.

Gigot: Mary, you cover Mexico. You know all those folks down there. It didn't play as well in Mexico, although I tend to think, for an American audience, I tend to agree with Kim. What do you think?

O'Grady: I don't think it was a good moment at all. In Mexico, President Peña Nieto is being called a traitor to his country for having met with Donald Trump. And I think even though the moment may have seemed diplomatic, the fact that he came back and basically sandbagged the Mexican president, I think is sending a signal to the world that this guy, if he becomes president, is not someone we can trust.

Gigot: Now, the Mexican president did invite both Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump. And Donald Trump is the only one who took him up on it. I don't understand why Hillary Clinton didn't do it. It would seem to me she would want to do it, too.

O'Grady: I agree. I think it's a better opportunity for Hillary Clinton. I think what was going on there is the Mexican president thought, if Trump is softening and he comes down here and we make some progress on a more reasonable, you know, relationship between the two countries, that he would get credit for it. And I think it backfired on him. And it may have worked well with Trump for his base but I think, for the Hispanics in this country, they didn't like it at all.

Gigot: I don't know. It seemed to me one of the arguments, James, against Donald Trump that Hillary Clinton is making is that basically he can't be—he can't behave in polite company.

Freeman: Right.

Gigot: He looked on stage—to me—with Peña Nieto, at least sober, gracious, respectful.

O'Grady: Yes. In the moment.

Gigot: OK.

O'Grady: But the follow-up, I think, was devastating.

Gigot: All right. Let's talk about that follow-up.

Freeman: I was going to say in the moment, just to disagree a bit, I thought he looked presidential. I thought it was also a great moment for Peña Nieto, even if there's temporary domestic political blowback, because he was the statesman. He understands, this is their neighbor and he—whether it's Trump, Clinton, he's saying I understand we have a relationship, I want to work on it. I think he did the right thing.

The blowback. Now, I wish Donald Trump had just gotten on the plane with the bucket of Kentucky Fried Chicken, and flown back to New York and called it a day. Obviously, that didn't happen that way. I think he seems to feel that he was sandbagged because Mr. Peña Nieto, after the meeting, said I'm not paying for the wall.

Gigot: Right, which isn't a surprise.

Freeman: Not a surprise. Mr. Trump is making an unreasonable request of our neighbor to pay for a wall to keep some of our neighbors down south out. It's a totally unreasonable request. So I think he did not react well. The moment was a triumph for Mr. Trump and I think from there it went downhill.

Gigot: Let's talk about the speech, Joe, and the **immigration** policy. We had 10 days of back and forth. We didn't know—would he be softening, that was his word, his approach to **immigration**, would he not be? In the end, I read it as, no softening.

Rago: Yeah, I think Trump has gone from point A to point A on **immigration**. He essentially embraced mass **immigration**—

Gigot: Mass deportation.

Rago: Mass deportation, excuse me, in a 10-point plan on all the security measures that he was going to take not only at the border but internal enforcement measures against businesses, e-verify, which is a dysfunctional program to kind of cross-check who has the right papers. And no incentive for people who are already here illegally to come out and have some kind of legal status going forward.

Gigot: Kim, so on Joe's point, I want to talk about the politics of this **immigration** speech, because it's interesting to me—after you have that event in Mexico, come back and then you indicate you may be softening and then you don't, what's the politics, what's the political calculation?

Strassel: Look, I think what he was trying to do with the Mexico trip, he's trying to walk a very careful line here, Paul. He went down to Mexico in part to show himself to be presidential—

Gigot: Right.

Strassel: —but also to say, look, I can work with this, I can negotiate. He's trying to sort of appeal in that way to an Hispanic audience in United States and—

Gigot: What about the **immigration**. Why no change on **immigration**?

Strassel: It's, I think, that this is a result of the blowback he got from many of his base supporters over the last week, which hammered him on the suggestion that he was going wobbly on his signature issue. That seems to have resonated in the end, and that seems to have informed that speech in the end, which I don't see in any way how you can say was a softening, but was, in fact, kind of a more aggressive version of a lot of what he's saying. It's a very law-and-order Donald Trump speech.

O'Grady: Paul, Trump had something called Trump's National Hispanic Advisory Council. One member resigned from it. One member came out and called the whole thing a scam.

Gigot: After the speech?

O'Grady: Yes. And Alfonso Aguilar, the president of the Latino Partnership for Conservative Principles, a really solid free-market conservative Hispanic, said that he's inclined to pull his support from Trump.

Gigot: James, quickly, do you think it was a success politically?

Freeman: No. And he's running out of time to redefine here. But I think he's got—I thought what he was doing was moving toward the sweet spot of we're going to fight criminality and terrorism but we're not going to limit legal **immigration**. And he missed an opportunity here.

Gigot: Certainly the criminality came through loud and clear.

Freeman: That was a big part of it.

Gigot: OK.

Still ahead, as the presidential campaign kicks into high gear, polls show the race between Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump tightening, both nationally and in some key battleground states. What it means for the post-Labor Day sprint to the White House, when we come back.

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Gigot: As the candidates gear up for the post-Labor Day sprint to November, polls show the race for president is tightening, with the latest RealClearPolitics average giving Hillary Clinton a 4.5-point lead over Donald Trump nationally, down from almost eight points earlier this month. That lead shrinks to 3.9 points in a four-way race with Libertarian Party candidate Gary Johnson and Green Party candidate Jill Stein. And in some key swing states Trump appears to be chipping away at Clinton's lead as well.

Ed Goeas is a Republican pollster and president of the Tarrance Group. He joins me now from Washington.

Ed, good to see you.

Goeas: Good to see you, Paul. How are you?

Gigot: Good, thanks. What do you make of this Trump modest bounce?

Goeas: Well, it's very interesting. I think everyone keeps looking for big movement in the race. Both candidates, if you look at the average of all the polling going back to the last year, both candidates have been working within a certain range—bandwidth, if you will—on the ballot. Hillary's bandwidth is a little higher, Trump's is lower. But as we have seen the fluctuations of the race, it's come from Hillary bumping to the top of her range and Trump to the bottom or both being in the middle. Or as we're seeing with the numbers, I think Hillary has been inching down towards the bottom of her range and Trump has had a couple of good weeks leading up to his speech in Arizona on **immigration** this week. So—

Gigot: On that point, Ed, I think what it looks to me like is Hillary Clinton's favorables have been going down, and with that, her ballot test, back from the mid-40s to maybe upper 40s in some surveys, now back down. That's the big change in the last two weeks.

Goeas: Actually, the image of the two candidates is not changing much. Both started a year ago with a 55% unfavorable rating. If you look at the averages today, Hillary is at 54%, Trump is at 56% unfavorable. Those numbers are baked in. That's what I mean about everybody keeps looking for big movements in the race.

Gigot: Right.

Goeas: I think the only potential for big movements to break out of that bandwidth that they've been in is the first debate, and that's nearly a month away.

Gigot: And is that—would that be in particular, Trump can improve his image as a potential president, is that the key test for him in the debate?

Goeas: I think as it's, first of all, there's not much expectation for the candidates to move their favorable/unfavorable rating but I do think you could see him bumping up towards the top of his range and her knocked to the bottom, or vice versa. But the bottom line, I think, is this race is, if you look at the numbers today, you mentioned 4.5 points—if you look at the race today, I believe that's about where the race is. That's kind of the center of them both being in the middle of their bandwidth.

Gigot: Is this a race where one of the two candidates could win the presidency with 45% of the vote?

Goeas: It is, and that's why you look at, I think you're going to see everyone looking more and more at the four-way ballot.

Gigot: Right.

Goeas: The interesting thing about the four-way ballot is actually Hillary loses more. For example, the latest FOX News poll, she had a six-point lead on the two-way, and dropped to a two-point lead on the four-way. She loses more of that vote. And I think, where in the past, we've always kind of downplayed the four-way ballot, because those candidates in the fall tend to fade away.

Gigot: Right.

Goeas: Because the negatives are so high with both these candidates I think you're going to see them driven to that point on the four-way ballot and, if not to vote for those candidates, they may well stay at home.

Gigot: Well—

Goeas: And that's when you see the numbers change.

Gigot: OK. What puzzles me is that the vote for Gary Johnson, Libertarian, would be coming from Secretary Clinton. The Libertarian, you would think, would be taking votes away from the traditionally more free-market party, the Republican Party. Why do you think this might be happening, gaining votes from her in this election?

Goeas: Well, again, it's coming from independents. It's not coming from Democrats or Republicans. It's coming from Independents, who have a 65% unfavorable rating of both these candidates. What you see is that Trump—in the four-way, Trump's advantage with those independents shrinks because—because he's also losing some of those independents. But in the case of Hillary Clinton, she has two places those independents can go. They can go to Stein or Johnson—

Gigot: Right.

Goeas: —and that's what's happening. It's not that all those votes are going to Johnson.

Gigot: Do you see any chance that Trump can flip this where he comes up on top, other than maybe a sterling debate performance?

Goeas: You know, I have felt all along that there's nothing in the numbers that says he can't win this race. So that's always an opportunity—that's always going to be an opportunity for him. You know, he's at a little bit of a disadvantage if you look at the numbers. But certainly he can come in to play. I think more and more, the focus is going to become the ground game. I was talking to someone this week about Hillary having 450 people on the ground for her campaign in Ohio, and with Trump, he's depending on the national party. They have 100 people on the ground in Ohio for him. That could make three or four points difference on Election Day.

Gigot: Yeah.

Goeas: And if she has a superior turnout, these numbers all of a sudden become that much harder to overcome.

Gigot: Does it look to you like Pennsylvania may be—which Trump targeted—increasingly out of reach for his campaign?

Goeas: Interesting, this week, RealClearPolitics moved it back into a toss-up on the presidential. And I think when you're looking at the Senate race, the assumption in Pennsylvania, the assumption in New Hampshire is that as long as you keep the margin of the loss, if he loses those states, low they can overcome it with running a superior campaign, which, to date, they've been running very, very good campaigns, both in New Hampshire and in Pennsylvania.

Gigot: All right. Ed Goeas, we'll keep watching. Thanks for being here again. Hope to talk to you again before the election is over.

Goeas: Thank you, as always, Paul. Thank you.

Gigot: Still ahead, Hillary Clinton's postconvention bounce may have flat-lined but one poll number in particular is rising for the Democratic presidential candidate. Find out what it is when we come back.

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Gigot: A milestone of sorts for Hillary Clinton as a new Washington Post poll shows 56% of Americans share an unfavorable impression of her, up six points in three weeks, and a new high for the former secretary of state. Donald Trump's unfavorable rating is at 63% in the same survey, making them the two most unpopular presidential candidates in more than 30 years of polling.

We're back with Kim Strassel, James Freeman, Mary Anastasia O'Grady, and Joe Rago.

James, you heard Ed Goeas—

Freeman: Yeah.

Gigot: —say it's winnable but Trump is trailing. Where do you see the race?

Freeman: He's got it right where he wants it. No, in all seriousness, he's trailing, as he has been for a while. Less of a deficit than before. When Kellyanne Conway joined this campaign, she said she would rather be in his position than Hillary Clinton's. I think she would still say that. If you look at the upside that each candidate has going into the stretch here—normally when incumbents, and I think you have to consider her the incumbent because she's the establishment figure running for an Obama third term, when they're in the situation she is, they are in deep trouble. They often lose. Late deciders tend to give the new guy a try. His **immigration**speech aside, he's actually had a good few weeks here of fairly disciplined message on the economy, on taxes. So I think he's in a good spot and he's better on TV than she is. He should win the debates.

Gigot: I agree with you, but the change candidacy, all right? If an incumbent is polling as poorly as she is, the problem is you've got—the question is, can that challenger present himself as a tolerable president? Worth taking the risk? And that's what Trump's—the barrier Trump hasn't gone over yet.

O'Grady: Well, Ed mentioned the ground game.

Gigot: Right.

O'Grady: And Trump's ground game is really weak. If you look at the number of offices she has opened compared to the number of offices he has opened in important states, he's way behind. He says he's going to catch up. Let's take Florida, for example. She has 34 offices in Florida. He has one. What is he going to do to fix that? He's going to use RVs. He'll use three RVs. He's going to put one down the—what is it—the I-4—

Gigot: I-4.

O'Grady: —corridor. And he's got two others that are going to roam around the state. And the other part of their strategy there is registering voters. Maybe it's going to work, but I think that's a little bit of a stretch.

Gigot: There is a real disconnect here in the just the breadth of the organization, Joe. Trump—Clinton is really a machine. They've got a lot set up. Trump isn't raising much money. And he doesn't have much of an organization.

Rago: No, it's remarkable if you look at it. More money has been spent on this year's Senate races than the presidential contest because Trump is not spending money on advertising. So that's one thing I think he could do. I think a good Trump, a more professional Trump, could go a long way to close this gap. It's advertising, organization, showing that he has a better temperament, tone, experience. If he does those things, I think he could make it more competitive.

Gigot: Kim, on that point about performance, it does seem that a lot of people are giving Trump more credit for being a more consistent, more disciplined campaigner over the last couple weeks, as James suggested. Reading off the teleprompter, he's not had any riffs that are getting him into trouble. Do you think that that is true and that's—can that help him get over that barrier of people concluding that he is a plausible president?

Strassel: I think it's been a stunning reversal, and he has had, as Ed Goeas said, a good couple of weeks leading up to the **immigration** speech. We'll see what effect that **immigration** speech has on him. But he's clearly—he brought in this new team. Clearly, has decided that he is going to act in a sort of presidential disciplined manner. I think the frustration for Trump supporters will be, in the end, if he does all of that and he does it perfectly and say he has a great debate performance, and in the end, it nonetheless comes down to the things that Joe was just talking about, and Mary, that he just doesn't have the ground game because he didn't do that investment, that's going to be great knock for his supporters.

Gigot: What a disappointment that would be for all of his supporters who were saying—he was telling them, look, I'm funding my own campaign, I don't need to take money from all of these rich guys, and I'm a businessman, I know how to organize, and then to fail on something so fundamental to a presidential campaign.

Freeman: Yeah. I think he's got to write big checks at the end here, at a minimum, to keep faith with his supporters, and whatever he does after this to make sure they're backing him. But you can also look at this the other way. She has been outspending, outadvertising, outorganizing him for weeks and weeks and months and months, and where is this race? It's not working. The facts are bad for her. The American people don't like the Clintons' corruption, the dishonesty. Just this week, we learned the Clintons have taken $16 million from taxpayers to support them in postpresidential life. This is—

O'Grady: James, that only means that she's an incredibly beatable candidate. So why the heck is he so far behind?

Freeman: He's not that far behind. I think she will be beaten.

Gigot: All right, thank you all.

Still ahead, Hillary Clinton's unfavorable numbers may be tough to turn around as her email woes continue to mount. We'll have the latest in that ongoing investigation, next.

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Gigot: The FBI on Friday released a summary report of its probe into Hillary Clinton's use of a private email server as well as the note from Clinton's July 2 interview with agents. The documents reveal the former secretary of state could not recall any briefing or training by the State Department related to the retention of federal records or handling classified information. Mrs. Clinton also told the FBI that she did not recall receiving any emails she thought should not be on an unclassified system. The FBI notes that it was unable to track down all of the devices used by Clinton, making it impossible to know for sure whether her emails were hacked.

Tom Fitton is the president of the watchdog group Judicial Watch and author of the new book, "Clean House: Exposing Our Government's Secrets and Lies."

Welcome, Mr. Fitton.

Fitton: Thank you, Paul.

Gigot: You have now looked at the FBI report, as have I, and what is your biggest takeaway?

Fitton: Well, Mrs. Clinton's remarkable lack of memory. Thirty to 40 times she says I don't recall. At one point she blames the concussion she had near the end of her term, with perhaps her inability to recall briefings she should have received about whether or not she could be taking government records with her when she left office. She had a BlackBerry device that she kept in a sensitive part of the State Department, where BlackBerry and other computer devices like that are banned, because that's where classified information is created, used and discussed. Then she blames everyone else in the State Department for the classified mishandling of documents, saying, well, if they're on my system, I was relying on other people not to send me material that was classified.

Gigot: Right.

Fitton: But she admits she was a principal, who should have known about the handling of classified information and recognizing it, even if it wasn't marked.

Gigot: I will tell you one thing that stood out to me is that there's—a record in there that Colin Powell warned her in an email at the beginning of her term that if she wasn't careful and if she used the personal email, all of what she said could become federal records subject to the Federal Records Act. And instead of—I mean, sort of saying, OK, I better go on to not use my private server she went on to use her private server despite the warning.

Fitton: And not only that, but Powell seems to suggest don't tell anyone about it because if they find out about it they're certainly going to point out that they're government records. And, boy, if that isn't an incentive for her and explains why she didn't tell anyone about it outside the State Department. Frankly, it looks like she didn't tell too many people about it inside the State Department because, according to the FBI, even her closest aides didn't know about the private server until it became public. It's unbelievable.

But the other big thing is that after the email scandal was broken by the New York Times, her emails were deleted.

Gigot: Right.

Fitton: And there was a meeting with her lawyer, David Kendall, between—that involved the person who deleted the emails, whose name we don't know, and David Kendall, and they were asked about what went on at that meeting and attorney/client privilege was cited and no one got an answer.

Gigot: Now, there's also, the report says, 17,448 work-related emails that she and her lawyers did not turn over to the State Department. Are those the emails that, in fact, you have been trying to get a hold of in your Freedom of Information Act requests?

Fitton: Yeah. That's curious because now, you know, it answers a question perhaps, because we've been told there are 14,900 emails sent or received that she didn't turn over.

Gigot: I thought I had seen that number 15,000 or so. This is a different number. It's even more.

Fitton: There's a second disk that has classified material. So I'm wondering if the difference between those two numbers—is the 2,000 or so on that second disk, are there 2,000 records that are classified that were deleted by Mrs. Clinton? It seems to suggest some of them were.

Gigot: To suggest—we will probably never see what was deleted, right? The FBI says we don't have that, we don't have access. They didn't get access to the archive server and so they probably can never get those back.

Fitton: No. They talk about the archive computer being mailed and being lost, her having 13 devices, which is probably a world record even in this day and age. I know we like to upgrade our devices quickly, but 13? And so much for convenience, if you need 13 devices and you're going through 13 devices.

What comes across here, Paul, is that this is a pretty big operation. And they spent a lot of time moving records around. And once it became known that she had the records, removing them and deleting them, and then making sure they were really deleted. The FBI really blew it on this one. And a lot of the questioning avoided a lot of elephants in the room related to records retention and their obligation us under law there and the Federal Records Act and Freedom of Information Act. And the pass on the classified information is readily apparent. Mrs. Clinton thinks she's a law unto her herself when it comes to classified information. It's remarkable.

Gigot: And the purpose of this, in your view—and we don't have a lot of time here—was to disguise what emails—make sure that the public would not see any communication she might have had with the Clinton Foundation, for example, and politically related emails.

Fitton: You know, there's this big lie, I think, in Washington or a big falsehood that the coverup is worse than the crime. There's usually something to cover up, and we're seeing in these email releases she didn't want access to any of her personal emails because they documented, you know, Benghazi guilty knowledge and these "pay to play" connections with the foundation, for sure.

Gigot: Finally, Tom, how many more emails do you think will come out here between now and the election?

Fitton: Oh, I think several thousand. The governments is going to have to tell us in the middle of September where—when are we going to get these 14,900 evidently the FBI recovered. So they will be coming out over the next few months, and it's just a question of how quickly the courts force the government to move and the Obama administration to move.

Gigot: All right. Thank you for being here.

Fitton: You're welcome.

Gigot: Still ahead, ObamaCare makes a return to the campaign trail. With rising premiums and shrinking options, could the controversial law help Republicans keep control of the Senate?

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Gigot: Is ObamaCare making a return to the campaign trail? With health-plan choices shrinking and premiums soaring ahead of November's open-enrollment period, the controversial Affordable Care Act may be a defining issue in some key Senate races this fall.

Here's an ad running in Arizona, where Republican Senator John McCain is locked in a tight race with Democratic Congresswoman Ann Kirkpatrick.

Announcer: ObamaCare is failing Arizonans. First, a massive rate hike, more than twice the national average. Then America's largest health insurer abandoned Arizona's failing ObamaCare exchange. That's devastating, especially to rural counties. Congresswoman Ann Kirkpatrick bragged about her ObamaCare vote, saying:

Kirkpatrick: It's also the one I'm most proud about.

Announcer: While Kirkpatrick is proud at putting us at risk, John McCain is leading the fight to stop ObamaCare.

Gigot: All right, Joe, no doubt about where McCain thinks he can win on that. That's the—between now and November, what new are we likely to learn about the Affordable Care Act?

Rago: Well, we'll get final premium rate increases. Right now, they're just submissions to state regulators. It's about 18% to 22% on average nationally.

Gigot: For one year?

Rago: That's for one year. You have a McKinsey study this week saying that the average lowest rate increase is going to be 11%. So you're really having some serious problems with these exchanges.

I think health care has receded a bit in recent years as a political issue because Republicans can't do anything about it as long as President Obama is in office. Now that's changing, and I think it's re-emerging as a real flash point in this election.

Gigot: What about the choices? Because there's a new Kaiser study showing that 31% of the counties in the United States are now only going to have one insurer in the ObamaCare exchanges. Is this lack of choice becoming an issue?

Rago: Yeah, I think it is. In Arizona, for example, there's several counties where there are zero insurers selling any kind of ObamaCare policies. You've got a big withdrawal of the major insurers. It's really down to kind of Medicaid contractors who are selling these plans, low quality, very narrow network of doctors and hospitals. And just not what people have come to expect from normal private insurance. So it's becoming an issue in people's lives. And that naturally comes into politics.

Gigot: Mary?

O'Grady: Well, I mean, I think one of the—you mentioned the 31% of the counties in the United States. Another statistic that came out of that same study is that almost 60% of the counties will only have two insurers. As Joe was mentioning, the withdrawal of these companies, which can't make money in these places because of the rules in the ObamaCare, is leaving Americans with very little choice. And of course, when you don't have choice, that pushes up prices.

Gigot: Kim, on the politics of this, for example, in the Indiana race, Chuck Schumer, Democrat, recruited Evan Bayh to run in Indiana, thinking he would have a pretty free run, but Evan Bayh voted for ObamaCare and decided not to run in 2010, when that was such a contentious issue. But now that vote he made back then is going to come back here and become an issue. Are Republicans ready to make that an issue?

Strassel: Yes, his competitor out there, Todd Young, is already hitting him on this, talking about how he was a deciding vote for ObamaCare back in 2010, trying to make him responsible for that vote, and talking up his own reform alternatives to ObamaCare. You have seen this play out in several states where there are people—in Wisconsin, for instance, Russ Feingold voted for ObamaCare.

Gigot: Right.

Strassel: Out in Colorado, Michael Bennet was one who voted for ObamaCare. The competitors are definitely trying to hold their feet to the fire on that and think that it could be a defining issue.

What's also notable about the Senate races, too, Paul, aside from actually having some Democrats who voted for the bill, it so happens that some of the states being worst hit by the law—like Arizona, like North Carolina—just happen to be places where there are very competitive Senate races. And you are seeing the Republicans really move aggressively attempt to make it a defining issue.

Gigot: All right, Kim, so how are the Democrats responding to this? Because a lot of them once had thought, well, this would be a great, like most entitlements, and work for us down the road. Are they defending it, are they saying it's the proudest vote I've made, or are they walking away from it?

Strassel: Some of them are walking away from it. What you're beginning to see, like what just happened in Florida, too, is a lot of pressure on Democrats to say what they would do. And I'm not really sure this is going to work for them. Like in Florida, for instance, Patrick Murphy, Democrat running against Marco Rubio—his solution for what you would do is he said we need a public option.

Gigot: Right. That's where they're falling out.

Strassel: Yes. And that's where a number of them—and Hillary Clinton has said that as well, too. I don't think that necessarily helps them. Republicans are saying: Look, you're going to make a bad situation worse. And they're really jumping on that in an aggressive offensive way, too.

Gigot: The public option, is that the savior for the Democrats?

Freeman: More government control. You know, there was a—

Gigot: I'm sorry. Pardon the interruption. Huge step toward national health care if it passed.

Freeman: Right. And disaster. ObamaCare has already run kind of public option lite. We got those evil private—public—excuse me, private corporations out of the business, they ran these co-ops, they have failed all over the country. You took away the profit motive, patients didn't benefit. Taxpayers obviously didn't either.

It's hard to call this a sleeper issue because, obviously, its failures are manifest, but it is a problem. You look at Russ Feingold in Wisconsin—he has spent years pretending that it's working. It's not. It's a problem for him.

Gigot: All right. Thank you all.

Still ahead, this Labor Day, a look at the state of the American economy and disturbing new data about the plight of working age men in America.

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Gigot: With Labor Day weekend upon us, a look now at the state of the American economy and the workforce, and some disturbing new data from political economist Nicholas Eberstadt. In a Wall Street Journal op-ed Friday, Eberstadt argues that America is now home to a vast army of jobless men, noting that there are roughly seven million between ages 25 and 55 who are not only unemployed but no longer even looking for work.

So, Mary, you want to get to Eberstadt, but let's step back. Got the jobs number this week. Kind of a mediocre number, 50,000 new jobs. Where are we in terms of the economy?

O'Grady: First of all, we're in the late stages of a very long recovery, but it's been very tepid. We haven't grown very fast. I think that basically if you want to try to understand what's happening in the labor market, looking at unemployment is as helpful as looking at the employment rate, in other words, the number of people who are actually participating and at wages. And in both those counts, the number of people participating, who are able-bodied people, who are actually either looking for work or working, is at the lowest level it's been since the late 1970s. And wages have not been growing. And fundamentally, that comes down to productivity because productivity is a jargon word but it really means output per worker. And you can't have wages going up if output per worker isn't going up.

Gigot: And that means investment—

O'Grady: Exactly.

Gigot: —to drive technological change and new innovation.

Freeman: Right. And that decline in productivity we're seeing is happening at the same time you've had this terrible business investment environment. It seems weird. We see stocks at high levels. But when you look at the level of the company, they are not investing in new plants, new equipment, technology, all those things that allow people to produce more and get paid more. Obviously, Friday, we saw the employment numbers basically follow the bad GDP numbers. It's a slow-growth economy. It's a limited-opportunity economy.

Gigot: As a political matter, Joe, this—let's take the factors. I think benefiting Clinton would be low gasoline prices, which is often a political hot button. You have low inflation. The economy is growing, no recession. On the other hand, you've had such mediocre wage growth and slow growth, so it's hard to know politically who is going to benefit from the economy.

Rago: Yeah. The other thing I would throw in is you have a low unemployment rate. The flip side is that the rate is low because a lot of people have left the workforce and just are no longer participating in the economy. I would give a slight political advantage to Trump on the state of things. This would normally be a change election. Now, can he prosecute the economic case? We really haven't seen that so far.

Gigot: What you mean by that is make the case: Here's what's happening, here's why you haven't had the growth in wage increases, here's why policies aren't working, and here is my better alternative. That's not the thing he typically does.

Rago: Right. He's not saying look what ObamaCare regulations are doing to the labor market and pushing people into part-time work. He's not saying here's why energy regulations are preventing the business investment that we're talking about.

O'Grady: He's mentioned those things from time to time, but he has trouble staying on message. And another giant problem is that he is against free trade, and free trade is a very important part of the engine of growth.

Gigot: All right, Kim, let's talk about the Eberstadt numbers. The figures are striking with all these men out of the workforce. These guys are Rago's and Freeman's age. Unfortunately, I think I'm out of that demographic, so we have to work even harder. What about those numbers? They're really dispiriting when you look at them.

Strassel: Yeah. He calls this an out-and-out crisis, and points out there are basically, as a percentage of the population, more able-bodied men not working, not even actively seeking work, than any time since basically following World War II. And moreover, what they're doing—and they fall into certain demographics and types of people as well too. It's often African-Americans, for instance. And they're not using their time when they're not working very gainfully either. They're proving to be a drag on society. So it is a very bleak situation and one that hasn't been talked about enough. And I think that's why he's highlighting it because he says it's a crisis.

Gigot: I think some of these people are workers who may have lost their jobs, don't have the skills in a changing economy to adapt, it's not their fault. But what role has government played here?

Freeman: I think another factor we haven't talked about yet is we've seen a decline in new business creation, the creation of new employers to hire these people, and I think that is really a much better way to solve an issue of someone not having the skills or their old company fading away. We're not creating the new businesses. And this is the "you didn't build that" culture that President Obama has presided over for years. And I would say Mr. Trump has really laid out some compelling ideas on tax reform and regulation in terms of allowing that business creation, getting the government off the back of particularly small business.

Another point, the NFIB numbers, small business is hurting more than big businesses, so I think that's a focus, and that's what he's pointing up.

Gigot: All right.

We have to take one more break. When we come back, "Hits and Misses" of the week.

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Gigot: Time now for our "Hits and Misses" of the week. Kim, start us off.

Strassel: Paul, this is it a big miss to the Supreme Court refusing to reinstate North Carolina's voter ID law, thereby robbing that state of the comfort of knowing they have some integrity at their polls at this upcoming election. This is a reminder of how important the Supreme Court is in this upcoming presidential race. The ID law they refused to reinstate is not much different than ones the court has up held in the past. The only thing that's changed is that Antonin Scalia has passed away. So another reminder of the stakes.

Gigot: All right, thanks, Kim. Joe?

Rago: Paul, another big miss to the European Union for rewriting Ireland's tax law to charge Apple $14 billion in retroactive taxes. Apple complied with the law, but the EU decided that Ireland's corporate tax rate was too low and, therefore, a subsidy. This is an attack on tax competitiveness and tax competition between countries. And if you want to know why British voters decided to leave the EU, here it is. Maybe Apple should be next.

Gigot: All right, thanks, Joe. Mary?

O'Grady: This is a hit for the people of Venezuela. On Thursday, a million people turned out on the streets of Caracas, many of them traveling from other cities around the country, to ask the military dictatorship to abide by the constitution and allow a recall referendum—to judge the president, whether the people want him or to say, no, he should be recalled before the end of the year. It's very important it's done before the end of the year, because if it's done next year, he can pass the torch to his vice president. And Venezuela needs change and the people of Venezuela deserve a lot of credit for taking to the street.

Gigot: James?

Freeman: A hit to Mother Teresa being canonized as a saint this weekend by the Catholic Church—provided an inspiring example for the people around the world with her work with the poor in the slums of Calcutta. Shared a message of hope, faith and love, and really just a life of service rather than condemning people for the sins of global warming, for example.

Gigot: All right, James, thank you.

That's it for this week's show. Thanks to my panel and thanks to all of you for watching. I'm Paul Gigot. Hope to see you right here next week.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**In 1977, in the introduction to an anthology of "Jewish-American Stories," Irving Howe sounded a controversial death knell for Jewish literature in the United States. The distinction of that literature, Howe wrote, relied on a firsthand exposure to the **immigrant** experience. From Henry Roth to Philip Roth, the uniqueness of Jewish-American writers—their singular voice and perspective—was bound to the outsider's struggle to leave behind the old world and find a foothold in the new. The problem was that Jews had been too successful at integrating. Assimilation necessarily meant dilution.

His premise has been debated ever since, but Howe would feel vindicated by "Here I Am" (Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 571 pages, $28), the long-awaited third novel by Jonathan Safran Foer. At the center of the book is Jacob Bloch, a suburbanite struggling through the "Great Flatness" of middle age. This particular Bloch is blocked; once an acclaimed novelist—like Mr. Foer, he won a National Jewish Book Award at age 24—he now has a soulless job writing for television.

Jacob's marriage, which has been shaky for years, is nearing its end after his wife, Julia, discovered him sexting with one of the show's directors. Meanwhile his son Sam, the oldest of three boys, is petitioning to skip his own bar mitzvah, a ritual he considers pointless and insincere. The bar mitzvah is supposed to be a signal event for the Bloch family—Jacob's **immigrant** grandfather is willing himself to stay alive solely to witness it—and Sam's repudiation is an indictment of his father's longstanding indifference to his religion.

"He cleaved to the life from which he cleaved himself," we're told of Jacob as he desperately clings to his unraveling marriage and the frayed strands of his faith. The sentence gives a nice example of a contronym, the rare linguistic case when two of a word's definitions have directly opposed meanings. A contradictory doubleness defines Jacob's identity as well: He's a writer who barely writes, a Jew who doesn't observe or believe, and a husband who can't look his wife in the eye.

Jacob's spiritual malaise, and the ripple effect on his family, forms the drama around which "Here I Am" is built. But it's difficult to sustain a novel with the kind of low-grade conflict that his ambivalence and inertia provide. To his credit, Mr. Foer is aware of the dilemma, and the book is replete with self-conscious diagnoses that might apply equally to Jacob and, one feels, to the current state of Jewish-American fiction. "The inside of life became far smaller than the outside, creating a cavity, an emptiness," he writes. When Jacob's brash Israeli cousin Tamir visits, he judges that Jacob has gone soft from easy living: "The problem is that you don't have nearly enough problems."

A lot of "Here I Am" is just such psychiatrist's-couch platitudes, which infiltrate the characters' speech. This is a novel staged in noisy arguments: between Jacob and Julia; Jacob and his freakishly intelligent sons, who each spout accidental wisdom like a fire hose; Jacob and Tamir; Jacob and his bloviating neocon father. Mr. Foer is good at reproducing the din of domesticity—there's a vibrant comic energy to the arguments, which are constantly sidetracked by nosy children and kibitzing relatives—but you can't shake a sense that the incessant dialogue is covering for the novel's lack of substance, a suspicion bolstered when Julia complains to her husband, "you're always talking, and your words never mean anything."

Only at the book's midpoint, after much foreshadowing, does Mr. Foer introduce the event that rouses Jacob from his chatty lassitude. An earthquake strikes Israel, devastating its infrastructure and damaging the holy sites. In the chaotic aftermath, the Arab world unifies to declare war against the Jewish homeland, which responds by calling for a "reverse diaspora," urging Jews from all nations to return to Israel to fight.

However far-fetched, the catastrophe is a fascinating thought experiment. How would the world respond if battle lines were suddenly drawn this sharply? And what would secular American Jews do? For Jacob, the war provides an opportunity to remedy his bereft "homelandless" condition and inject meaning into his life, so to his family's shock he announces that he is going to Israel with Tamir to join the army.

And this is pretty much where Mr. Foer leaves matters. Having spurred Jacob to his momentous resolution, the world war and its ramifications fade into the background. "Here I Am" almost defiantly returns its focus to the Bloch family crises of Sam's bar mitzvah and Jacob and Julia's separation. "It was amazing how little changed as everything changed," thinks Jacob. He eventually goes to Israel, but events there exist beyond the narrative—though Mr. Foer does assure readers that Jacob comes back safely, sadder but possessed of more self-knowledge.

This is a familiar move for the author. His blockbuster novels "Everything Is Illuminated" (2002) and "Extremely Loud and Incredibly Close" (2005) were structurally daring but born of the insecure conviction that contemporary Jewish-American experience is fundamentally insufficient as a source of literature without a horrible cataclysm to dignify it. In those books Mr. Foer used, respectively, the Holocaust and 9/11 to offer healing lessons in how to bravely overcome historical trauma and grief. In "Here I Am," he invents the catastrophe, but he exploits it for the same kind of tackily ennobling personal transformation. This is a better book than its predecessors, more intelligent and more demanding. Still, it's amazing how little has changed.

There's a temptation to contrast the weaknesses of "Here I Am" with the strengths of the short, exceptional debut novel by Anuk Arudpragasam, "The Story of a Brief Marriage" (Flatiron, 193 pages, $24.99). The book takes place over the span of around 12 hours in a Tamil **refugee** camp during the last months of the savage Sri Lankan civil war. Dinesh is a student who was uprooted from his home nearly a year earlier, and though he has managed to avoid conscription into the separatist army—a certain death sentence—the Sri Lankan military is subjecting the camp to hourly airstrikes, and he now has little to do but wait, with thousands of other displaced civilians, for his turn to be killed.

Stupefied by the bombing and the multitude of dead and mutilated bodies, Dinesh views his surroundings with the forensic detachment that characterizes so many accounts of trench warfare during World War I. The novel opens with a remorselessly matter-of-fact description of a child having his mangled arm amputated. But Dinesh's morbid vigil is interrupted when an older man singles him out for a shotgun marriage with his daughter Ganga. The proposition is practical—married women have an infinitesimally better chance of escaping abuse from their captors—yet the sudden intimacy it creates subtly alters Dinesh's perceptions, awakening in him tenuous notions of a future life that the bombardment had foreclosed.

With rapt precision, the novel details the first hours of this makeshift union: Ganga prepares a meal; Dinesh bathes and washes his clothing; they take turns falling asleep beside each other. Mr. Arudpragasam invests these normally prosaic events with the sort of religious awe that their proximity to annihilation confers. Watching Ganga sleep, Dinesh notices that her "lips were twitching faintly, with words that couldn't be made out, and beneath her eyelids strange images seemed to flicker and die." She is dreaming, and the presence of that mysterious world within her fills him "with a strange reverence."

Like "Here I Am," "The Story of a Brief Marriage" fuses the personal and the political. But while war is largely rhetorical for Mr. Foer—a plot device and an odd source of wish fulfillment—Mr. Arudpragasam depicts it realistically, as a meaningless, machine-like force of destruction. And in examining the basic particulars of human interaction, his book displays the devotional intensity that Mr. Foer's characters endlessly pontificate about but rarely find.

"The Story of a Brief Marriage" offers no revelations or emotional uplift. It's simply beautiful and penetrating and truthful: a small work of art whittled from atrocity.

Related Reading

\* Jonathan Safran Foer's Contrasting Crises[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/jonathan-safran-foers-contrasting-crises-1472664751]

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**BRATISLAVA, Slovakia—Turkey on Saturday withdrew its threat to exit from its migration deal with the European Union if the bloc doesn't speedily approve visa-free access for Turkish citizens to the bloc, as the two sides sought to ease sharp tensions that emerged after July's coup attempt.

EU foreign policy chief Federica Mogherini said Saturday's talks—the highest-level discussions between Turkey and the EU since the failed coup[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/turkey-widens-crackdown-after-coup-attempt-1468761724]—marked a potential "turning point" in ties.

However, under the surface, firm disagreements and potential flashpoints remain. EU officials continue to worry that Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan has used the military coup to further crack down on the opposition and tighten his grip on power.

European concerns about Turkey's antiterror legislation and the Turkish military foray into Syria[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/turkey-launches-fresh-incursion-into-syria-1472911575] remain prominent. Ankara is clearly frustrated by the lack of progress on its visa-free bid and its push to join the EU.

"We agreed that all previous agreements that we have among us will be continued and respected," Ms. Mogherini said Saturday afternoon. "There is no taboo in our dialogue."

Speaking to reporters Saturday afternoon, Turkey's Europe minister, Omer Celik, also called for a renewed focus on common interests, even while he again slammed the EU's "weak" response to the coup.

The Turkish decision to stick to the current EU migration deal[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/turkey-european-union-look-to-strike-deal-on-migration-crisis-1458292486] removes the risk of a fresh round of recriminations in the short term.

Turkish officials have repeatedly warned the migration deal was under threat if the EU didn't approve by October Turkey's bid to secure visa-free access to the bloc for its citizens. EU governments and the European Parliament have said they cannot do that unless Turkey narrows the scope of its terror laws. They fear the current law allows journalists and opposition figures to be arrested without probable cause.

March's EU-Turkey migration deal is based around a one-for-one agreement under which the EU resettles one Syrian **refugee** in Turkey into the bloc for every migrant that Turkey takes back who had crossed illegally into Greece. The deal is central to a string of measures that have sharply reduced the number of migrants crossing from Turkey into Europe.

"We will continue to implement it out of humanitarian reasons," Mr. Celik said in a press conference Saturday afternoon.

Mr. Celik also sought to reassure the EU over talk of restoring the death penalty, saying this wasn't "on the agenda." The EU has warned any such move could immediately scuttle Turkey's slow-going membership bid.

European officials have softened their tone toward Turkey in recent days and some have even hinted that Europe had fumbled its post-coup reaction. The EU was quick to condemn the coup but European politicians stayed away from Ankara in the aftermath.

The EU should perhaps exercise some "self-criticism and acknowledge that the empathy and the solidarity of this support wasn't received in Turkey with necessary…intensity," German Foreign Minister Frank-Walter Steinmeier said Saturday.

Yet few expect smooth relations in the medium term.

While Ms. Mogherini will visit Turkey next week, Austria's chancellor has demanded EU leaders discuss whether to end accession talks with Turkey when they meet this month.

Mr. Celik made it clear Turkey wasn't going to change its antiterror laws to win a visa-liberalization deal. He said it was "not rational" for Europe to press Turkey to soften its laws when the country was facing regular attacks from Islamic State and the Kurdistan Workers' Party.

He said Turkey would explore future commitments to adjust its antiterror legislation now but only implement changes when the terror threat fades. He and Ms. Mogherini both said they were open to discussing possible solutions with the Council of Europe. However, an open-ended promise to make future changes is unlikely to pass muster with EU lawmakers and many national capitals already skeptical about a possible visa-free deal.

Without that deal, Mr. Celik warned that Turkey would be unable to deepen its cooperation if there was a fresh inflow of **refugees** from Syria.

Ties between the EU and Turkey, a key North Atlantic Treaty Organization member, are also being tested over Ankara's military offensive in Syria. Mr. Steinmeier warned the offensive could turn into a permanent military confrontation.

Tensions have also grown with Washington.

Mr. Erdogan has blamed the failed coup, which killed at least 270 people, on supporters of U.S.-based Muslim cleric[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/u-s-not-persuaded-to-extradite-imam-over-turkey-coup-1470357556] Fethullah Gulen. It is pressing Washington to extradite Mr. Gulen and pushing EU governments to crack down on Gulenist organizations in European countries, like the Netherlands and Germany, with large Turkish communities.

In comments unlikely to assuage Western fears over the rule of law in Turkey, Mr. Celik said the fate of the coup plotters was an example of Turkish restraints.

"We could have easily killed the plotters…But we didn't kill them. We made sure they are called to justice," he said.

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Related

\* Turkey Launches Fresh Incursion Into Syria[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/turkey-launches-fresh-incursion-into-syria-1472911575]

\* EU Ministers Seek to Steady Ties With Turkey[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/eu-officials-voice-concerns-over-turkey-relations-ahead-of-talks-1472827256]

\* Kurds Carve Out a Home in Syria, Testing U.S. Ties With Turkey[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/syrias-kurds-have-carved-out-a-statelet-adding-new-snags-to-a-complex-region-1472661321]

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**It's not easy being a Floridian. We're dealing with scary mosquitoes and major storms with unpronounceable names such as "Hermine."

And then there's the fact that the rest of the country thinks we're nuts.

Every few months, I get a call from some media person wanting to interview me about Florida, where I have lived for three decades. The tone of the interview is never positive, or even neutral. The interviewer never asks: "Why do you live in Florida?" Or: "What do you like about Florida?"

No, the tone is always: "What the hell is wrong with Florida?"

These interviewers are not always calling from states that have a lot to brag about. I have been interviewed on the wrongness of Florida by people who live in, for example, Illinois, which constantly has to build new prisons just to hold all of its convicted former governors, who form violent prison gangs and get into rumbles with gangs of convicted former state legislators.

Even so, Florida has become the Punchline State, the one everybody makes fun of. If states were characters on "Seinfeld," Florida would be Kramer: Every time it appears, the audience automatically laughs, knowing it's going to do some idiot thing.

But we weren't always the Punchline State. We used to be the Sunshine State, known for our orange groves and beaches and deceased senior citizens playing shuffleboard. People might have seen Florida as boring, but they didn't laugh at it. They laughed at New Jersey, because it contained the New Jersey Turnpike and smelled like a giant armpit. Or they laughed at California, because it was populated by trend-obsessed goobers wearing Earth shoes and getting recreational enemas.

But today, all of these states are laughing at Florida. Everybody is laughing at Florida. Mississippi is laughing at Florida.

How did this happen? As far as I have been able to determine without doing any research, the turning point was the 2000 presidential election. On election night, almost all of the other states were able to figure out pretty quickly whether they voted for Al Gore or George W. Bush. But not Florida. Florida had no earthly idea who it had voted for. By dawn we still had no winner, and network TV political analysts were openly shooting heroin on camera.

Meanwhile, the morning skies over the state were darkened by vast fleets of transport planes swooping in from Washington, D.C., opening their doors and dropping tens of thousands of election lawyers. Some landed in the Everglades and were consumed by Burmese pythons. But tragically, many survived, and, without taking time to remove their parachutes, they commenced filing lawsuits.

This finally ended when the U.S. Supreme Court ruled, in a 7-2 decision, that Florida should be given back to Spain. OK, not really. But by then, that was basically how the rest of the nation felt. And the nation did not forget. The nation had formed a negative, stereotyped image of Florida as a subtropical festival of stupid. From then on, every time anything stupid happened here, America rolled its national eyeballs and went, "There goes Florida again!"

Journalists have built entire careers on chronicling Florida people doing stupid things. Somebody started a popular Twitter account called "Florida Man,"[https://twitter.com/\_FloridaMan] which consists entirely of links to news items about Florida men doing stupid things: "Florida Man Seen Firing Musket at Cars While Dressed as Pirate"; "Florida Man Poses as Superman on Side of Road While Pantless, Urinating"; "Florida Man Sets Home on Fire With Bomb Made From Bowling Ball"; "Florida Man Seen Trying to Sell Live Shark in Grocery Store Parking Lot"; and on and on and on.

Why do there seem to be so many stupid people in Florida? There is a scientific explanation.

Imagine several hundred laboratory rats that have been selected at random from the general rat population. Now imagine that laboratory scientists scientifically place these rats in the center of a large box that is open on top but has high walls around the perimeter. The box is shaped roughly like a rectangle, but at the lower right corner, a long, skinny, dead-end corridor juts out.

The rats can roam freely inside the box. Almost all of them, sooner or later, venture down the skinny corridor. After checking it out, they decide to leave. The intelligent ones immediately realize that they need to turn around and go back out the way they came in. The ones with average intelligence, or even slightly below-average intelligence, take longer, but eventually they too figure it out. But what happens to the really stupid rats?

That's right: They elect the governor of Illinois.

No, seriously, because these rats aren't smart enough to turn around and retrace their steps, they become stuck down there in the corridor, wandering cluelessly this way and that, unable to figure out how to get out.

This is exactly what has happened in Florida, except instead of rats we have people, and instead of walls we have the Atlantic Ocean and the Gulf of Mexico.

People come down here all the time. Most of them, sooner or later, decide to leave, but the stupid ones can't figure out how to do this. So they remain, and in time are issued ballots.

The point is that, yes, Florida, because of its unique shape and warm climate, does have an unusually high percentage of low-IQ people doing stupid things, frequently naked. But most of these people came here from other states, the very same states that are laughing at Florida. Those of us who live here have to contend with not just our native-born stupid, but your stupid, too. We are like Ellis Island, except instead of taking the huddled masses yearning to breathe free, we take people who yearn to pleasure themselves into a stuffed animal at Wal-Mart.

But it isn't just the Stupid Factor that has given Florida its unfortunate national reputation. There is also the Weirdness Factor. Things keep happening in Florida—things that are similar to things that happen in other states, except that there is some mutant element, some surreal twist, that makes the rest of the nation nod its national head and think, "Ah, Florida."

In 2015, for example, a tractor-trailer blew a tire on Interstate 95 and went off the road into some woods in Volusia County, Fla. The crash resulted in a fatality.

"Wait a minute," I hear you saying. "That's unfortunate, but it's not weird. Accidents involving fatalities happen all the time."

Yes, but in this case, the fatality was a shark. The tractor trailer was carrying four sharks from the Florida Keys to an aquarium in Coney Island in New York City, and one of the sharks was ejected during the crash[http://www.orlandosentinel.com/news/breaking-news/os-shark-dead-tire-blowout-i95-20150610-story.html]. Fortunately, it didn't hit anybody, but the fact remains that there was, briefly, an airborne shark on Interstate 95, and it could have hit a car, which would have been tragic, by which I mean pretty funny.

Another vivid example of a Florida story that got national attention involved the death in 2012[http://www.cnn.com/2012/10/09/us/florida-roach-eating-death/] of a man at a Deerfield Beach reptile store. I don't recall ever seeing a reptile store when I lived in the Northeast, but down here they're everywhere, like Starbucks, except instead of lattes they sell snakes.

Now: Try to guess what would cause this man to die at a reptile store. If you guessed that he was bitten by a venomous snake, thank you for playing, but no. The cause of his death—and here we are definitely in Florida-only territory—was eating cockroaches. The store held a cockroach-eating contest.

Now try to guess why this man entered a cockroach-eating contest. To pay the mortgage? To defray urgent medical expenses? Don't be silly. He was trying to win a snake. First prize was a ball python—which, for the record, the man didn't even intend to keep for his personal use. He planned to give it to a friend. Anyway, he won the contest, but tragically, the cockroaches did not agree with him. The reptile store stated on Facebook that the snake "now belongs to his estate."

This would not have happened in a normal state. Florida, through no fault of its own, and possibly as a result of some kind of powerful Weirdness Ray being beamed at us from a distant planet inhabited by an advanced **alien** civilization that enjoys playing interstellar pranks, has a random Weirdness Factor that blankets the state like a fog.

And so we are the Punchline State, the state everybody loves to mock. Nobody overlooks Florida's flaws. Nobody cuts Florida any slack.

And yet Florida is also the number-one destination of people leaving a number of other states, including both New York and New Jersey. In fact, people from all over are moving to Florida. Florida's population is growing like crazy. It's now bigger than New York's.

So we have an apparent contradiction: On the one hand, the national consensus is that Florida is a stupid weird insane dysfunctional hellhole that is also a hurricane zone that will soon be largely submerged when global climate change causes the seas to rise to the point where vast herds of lobsters roam what is now Interstate 95; and on the other, people keep coming here. And most of them—even the non-stupid ones—decide to stay here.

The question is: Why?

To answer that question properly, we need to conduct an objective, in-depth study of the Florida **immigration** phenomenon—a study involving a professionally designed and conducted survey of scientifically selected sample of **immigrants** to the state over a significant time period. I think we can all agree that such an effort would be unbelievably boring. So instead, I'll just tell you some of the reasons why I, personally, like living in Florida:

The weather is warm. Almost any day of the year, I could walk out my front door naked and be perfectly physically comfortable until the police Taser me. Granted, sometimes in the summer (defined as June through the following June), it gets a little too warm down here, but too warm beats the hell out of too cold. Too cold means if you stay outside too long you will die. Too warm means you might have to have another beer.

The taxes are low. Florida's taxes are close to the lowest in the nation. There is no personal income tax. And yet our state government is excellent. All right, that's a lie: Our state government is incompetent and corrupt. But so are the state governments of California, Illinois, New Jersey and New York, and their taxes are high. So residents of California, Illinois, New Jersey and New York—not to mention other states—are paying unnecessarily high taxes for the quality of state government they're getting. These people could move to Florida and get corrupt and incompetent government for much less. "More Value for Your Dollar" should be the official state motto of Florida, except that the Florida government would spell it "More Value for You're Dollar," and nobody would notice the mistake until after all the stationery was printed.

It isn't boring. As we have established, things keep happening here. Granted, many of these things are bizarre or stupid or dangerous. Often drugs are involved. Or alligators. We cannot rule out the possibility of alligators on drugs. We cannot rule anything out, because we never know what will happen next in Florida. We know only that, any minute now, something will. That's what makes Florida more interesting than states such as, no offense, Nebraska.

Florida has Disney World. This means that wherever you live in Florida, you have easy access to the number-one family theme resort in the world. My family can get into our car in Miami and, in just 3½ hours, we can be in the Magic Kingdom, standing in a four-hour line to get into Space Mountain. You cannot put a price tag on a family theme experience like that.

I could go on and on, listing all the good things about Florida. I could point out that it is the only state where you can get a really good mojito. Or that it's the nation's flattest state, so if you fall down after a few mojitos, you will not roll far. Or that Florida is a very tolerant state, willing to grant a driver's license to pretty much any organism consisting of more than one cell. Or that Florida leads the nation in lightning strikes, which is pretty cool as long as the lightning does not strike you personally.

But I think I have more than proved my point. Florida, despite what you hear, is a great state. To live here is to truly understand the feelings of the great Spanish explorer Juan Tostones de Bodega, who, upon setting foot in Florida for the first time in the year 1503, is said to have observed: "Esa araña tiene el tamaño de un guante de receptor," or, "That spider is the size of a catcher's mitt." He died only hours later, but his words are as true today as they ever were.

Adapted from Mr. Barry's "Best. State. Ever.: A Florida Man Defends His Homeland," to be published Sept. 6 by Putnam.

More From Dave Barry

\* Dave Barry: The Greatest (Party) Generation[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/dave-barry-the-greatest-party-generation-1424965599] (Feb. 26, 2015)

\* Dave Barry: Why Van Morrison's ‘Gloria' Is the Best Song Ever[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/dave-barry-why-van-morrisons-gloria-is-the-best-song-ever-1403809634] (June 26, 2014)

\* Dave Barry's Manliness Manifesto[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/SB10001424052702304675504579391143240721978] (Feb. 21, 2014)

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Donald Trump's **immigration** plan aims to deport more categories of people than the Obama administration does, speed up the removal process and take broader actions to crack down on the estimated 11 million people living unlawfully in the U.S.

The nation's current deportation policy targets felons who pose a threat to public safety, as well as those recently caught illegally crossing the border. Officials with U.S. **Immigration** and Customs Enforcement, the main agency charged with identifying individuals for deportation, are directed to exercise discretion, avoiding breaking up families and deporting those who have committed minor offenses, such as traffic infractions.

In his speech on Wednesday night in Phoenix[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/donald-trump-eases-terms-on-immigration-trade-after-meeting-with-mexican-president-enrique-pena-nieto-1472677336], the Republican presidential candidate suggested he would cast a wider net to detain and deport people in the country illegally. "We will issue detainers for illegal **immigrants** who are arrested for any crime whatsoever, and they will be placed into immediate removal proceedings, if we even have to do that," he said.

Citing a figure that there are 2 million criminal illegal **immigrants** at large that he would swiftly target, he pledged, "We will begin moving them out day one. As soon as I take office. Day one."

Department of Homeland Security officials couldn't corroborate the 2 million figure. According to official data, 176,000 **immigrants** convicted of a crime and ordered removed from the country by a judge remain in the U.S., their whereabouts unknown.

To carry out more deportations, Mr. Trump said he would create a new "special deportation task force, " which would count on three times more ICE deportation officers.

Currently, about 6,200 ICE deportation officers are charged with finding removable individuals and making arrest, detention and prosecution determinations. The officers generally work in collaboration with jails and prisons, as well as through field investigations.

Unless an individual agrees to voluntary removal, which can be immediate, he or she is afforded by law the opportunity to a hearing in **immigration** court. It can take several months or years until a judge makes a decision.

Mr. Trump didn't specify whether he would bypass the legal system and try to use his executive authority to achieve his deportation objectives.

"He can't just deport people who have a right to a hearing," said Carl Shusterman, a Los Angeles attorney who was a prosecutor for the former **Immigration** and Naturalization Service. "That would be unconstitutional, unless Congress changed the system and put it into law," he said.

The candidate also said that he would deputize federal, state and local law enforcement in his efforts to track down those here illegally, which would mark a significant expansion of their role in **immigration** enforcement.

In fiscal year 2015, ICE conducted 235,413 removals and returns, down from 315,953 the previous year, or a 25% drop. About 59% of the total were convicted criminals; 41% were noncriminals.

ICE said it couldn't supply a breakdown of removal by type of crime. However, it said that 86% of the individuals fell into the agency's "priority 1" for removal, which encompasses a wide range of people. They include those deemed a security threat, as well as recent illegal border-crossers, who haven't committed any other offense.

ICE released 19,723 criminal **immigrants** from custody in 2015. About 2,166 of them were released based on a 2001 Supreme Court decision that prevents authorities from detaining a convicted criminal for more than 180 days past the date of their removal order.

In its 2015 annual **immigration** enforcement report, Homeland Security attributed the decline in removals and returns to the administration's "clearer and more refined civil **immigration** enforcement priorities." It also noted that the nature and scope of enforcement has been affected by illegal **immigrant** flows and changing migrant demographics.

Illegal entries are at their lowest level in more than four decades. Border-patrol apprehensions, a key indicator of the influx, totaled 325,117 in fiscal 2015, the smallest number since 1971.

According to a Pew Research Center analysis, more **immigrants** from Mexico, the country of origin of half of all the undocumented, are returning home than coming to the U.S. Meanwhile, a larger share of **immigrants** currently hail from further, such as Central America, the Middle East and Africa, complicating their removal.

Many of those countries refuse to accept the repatriation of their nationals. Afghanistan, Algeria, China, Cuba, Iran, Iraq, Libya, Somalia, and Zimbabwe are among 23 countries that fall into that category.

Mr. Trump said that **immigrants** in the country illegally had only one option—"to return home and apply for re-entry like everybody else." Those here illegally should not be rewarded by gaining the right to remain in the U.S., he said.

Critics said that his idea amounts to "self-deportation," and that it echoed a controversial proposal by GOP presidential candidate Mitt Romney in 2012. In fiscal 2015, only 8,375 illegal **immigrants** voluntarily returned home after being apprehended.

President Barack Obama himself has been dubbed "Deporter in Chief" by **immigrant** advocacy groups, because more undocumented **immigrants** have been deported during his administration than during that of any other president.

Between fiscal years 2009 and 2014, the government deported a total of 2.4 million people, according to a Pew analysis of official data released this week.

Those include **immigrants** removed by both ICE and U.S. Customs and Border Protection, another Homeland Security agency.

In fiscal 2014, a total of 414,481 undocumented **immigrants** were deported, compared with 435,000 the previous year, an all-time high.

"The 2014 number is about 5% lower than 2013's, but it is still pretty close to that record year," said Ana Gonzalez-Barrera, lead author of the Pew report.

She predicted that the deportation tally will keep shrinking as a November 2014 memo issued by Homeland Security Secretary Jeh Johnson continues to streamline enforcement in the interior of the country.

More

\* Trump Revised **Immigration** Speech After Mexican Leader's Tweet[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/donald-trumps-mexico-trip-was-weeks-in-the-making-1472779067]

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**If there's a more stellar American publishing dynasty than the Medill Pattersons, it's hard to think what it might be. Joseph Medill bought the Chicago Tribune in the 1850s and turned it into a widely read powerhouse. His grandson Joseph Medill Patterson started New York City's Daily News in 1919. Twenty years later his granddaughter Eleanor Josephine "Cissy" Medill Patterson bought two Hearst newspapers in Washington and merged them into the Washington Times Herald. And then there was Alicia Patterson, Joseph Patterson's daughter and Cissy's niece, who founded Long Island's Newsday in 1940. An extraordinary figure whose life ranged well beyond the realm of newspaper ownership, she is now the subject of a vivid and entertaining biography, "The Huntress:."

Alicia Patterson's own niece, Alice Arlen, co-author of "The Huntress" with her husband, Michael, died in February after working on the project for several years. Five decades ago, she had written "Cissy Patterson," a life of her great-aunt. As with the earlier work, she brings a wealth of family lore to "The Huntress," as well as a brio and spiritedness that are entirely appropriate to her subject.

The eponymous huntress was a fearless horseback rider and dedicated aviatrix, pursuits encouraged by her father. In a way, he had only himself to blame for incubating in her the independence that was such an integral part of her character and that led her to becoming a Democrat cuckoo in her family's rock-ribbed Republican nest. It is worth remembering that the Chicago Tribune, the pride of Alicia Patterson's great-grandfather, was long a full-throated GOP booster, especially under Col. McCormick, another Medill relation.

But it wasn't just party affiliation that made Alicia such a maverick in her family. She spurned its militant isolationism, becoming an early advocate of aiding beleaguered Britain as it faced up to Hitler alone. She even wanted to do her bit by joining a proposed squadron of women pilots ferrying badly needed supplies across the Atlantic. She had to be reminded that, having just founded Newsday, "she had an obligation . . . ‘to stay home and mind the store.' "

The Huntress

By Alice Arlen and Michael J. Arlen

Pantheon, 357 pages, $28.95

The person who issued that reprimand was her husband, Harry Guggenheim, who owned Newsday with her. He was also a flier, as well as an expert in aeronautics. For Alicia, marrying a Jew was yet another act of rebellion against her father, who had urged her into a first marriage with a "suitable" Marshall Field heir. That union lasted little more than a year, but the one with Guggenheim, himself the scion of an eminent family, endured until her death in 1963 despite stormy professional and personal episodes.

Alicia pushed hard for admitting Jewish **refugees** in the 1930s and '40s and took two young Jewish children, with Rothschild connections, into her own home. More broadly, her internationalist outlook was reflected in Newsday's content and in her own busy life. The Arlens describe trips to places like Berlin during the 1948 airlift, Ghana soon after its independence and the Soviet Union during the Khrushchev era.

The trip to the Soviet Union, in 1958, was taken in the company of Adlai Stevenson, with whom Alicia conducted a passionate affair that somehow managed not to destroy her own marriage. It seems that neither Stevenson nor her husband were eager to disrupt the status quo.

Embedded in "The Huntress" is a portrait of Stevenson, who appears as a rather shallow, vain and vacillating figure. He was also something of a ladies' man. Alicia may have thought she reigned supreme, but she had many rivals. One anecdote shows Stevenson, on the Poland leg of the Russian trip, refusing her entreaties to visit nearby Auschwitz. He preferred to while away the afternoon on a "nature walk" with Ruth Field, the widow of Marshall Field and another fixture in his female entourage. Alicia did visit the ruins of the concentration camp, joined by Stevenson's two sons and her niece (the "Huntress" co-author herself).

Unlike her Medill Patterson relatives and her husband, Alicia embraced the Democrats from the New Deal to the New Frontier, to say nothing of being "Madly for Adlai" in more ways than one. In 1952, it is true, she allowed Newsday to endorse Dwight Eisenhower, "partly from her belief in Eisenhower's potential for leadership, also partly after being pressured by Harry," the Arlens write. But in 1956 the newspaper switched sides, a move that caused "a huge ruckus between the Guggenheims." This time around, the Arlens say, "she felt free to support Stevenson, both personally and with her ever-more-substantial newspaper."

Office conflicts between the Guggenheims were nothing new, the authors note. At the outset of their partnership, they wrote "His" and "Hers" editorials for the 1940 election. "She really wanted Roosevelt, Harry hated him and wanted Wendell Willkie." But such was the force of her personality that as long as she lived Newsday generally reflected her outlook, although her husband was technically the majority owner. Alicia's involvement with the paper continued right up until she was laid low by a stomach ulcer and died after surgery at age 56. Her husband carried on for a few years more, continuing to assert his own right-of-center politics even as the Zeitgeist shifted left. In 1970, he sold the paper to the then-conservative Los Angeles Times-Mirror.

The seamless collaborative authorship of "The Huntress" has produced the best of all possible results. On the one hand, it is obviously a labor of love, a tribute, although never an intrusive one, to a revered aunt who died when Alice Arlen was in her early 20s. On the other, it is a dispassionate, though engagingly written, biographical chronicle. The seasoned writer Michael Arlen—perhaps best known for "Passage to Ararat" (1975)—has seemingly infused the book with the necessary distance and perspective to produce a rounded, clear-eyed portrait of a remarkable woman, a veritable force of nature.

Mr. Rubin is a writer in Pasadena, Calif.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**UECKERMÜNDE, Germany—Two years ago, Tommy Piper, upset about increasing numbers of foreigners living in the country, voted for an ultranationalist, anti-**immigrant** party that claims German taxpayers are being squeezed by "Jewish interests."

Now the 20-year-old electrician says he's happy to have found a more moderate standard-bearer for his views: the upstart Alternative for Germany, or AfD.

"They represent my beliefs without being so radical," said Mr. Piper, who voted for the National Democratic Party, or NPD, in 2014 local elections. "Instead, they are reasonable, and they can make their arguments well."

This Sunday's election in the northeast German state of Mecklenburg-West Pomerania could herald a turning point in the politics of Europe's largest economy. Polls show the populist, anti-**immigrant** AfD[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/germanys-afd-adopts-anti-islam-stance-at-party-conference-1462120609] could both defeat German Chancellor Angela Merkel's mainstream conservative Christian Democrats, or CDU, and deprive the NPD of its last seats in a state parliament.

The three-year-old AfD is emerging as an unpredictable force in German politics, drawing mainstream conservatives disenchanted[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/german-welcome-for-migrants-cools-eroding-angela-merkels-standing-1457714259] with Ms. Merkel's acceptance of **refugees**[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/bavarian-leaders-plan-more-security-tougher-measures-on-asylum-seekers-1469699655] and fringe voters further to the right. Such broad support poses a challenge to Ms. Merkel a year ahead of her possible run for a fourth term and is ushering in new uncertainty for a system long dominated by two large, centrist parties.

The AfD "is a party with a very broad appeal," said Jürgen Falter, a specialist in political extremism at the University of Mainz. But, he went on, the young party lacks a stable, moderate core, making it susceptible to a shift toward greater radicalism. "This is, of course, potentially dangerous, because we don't know who will gain the upper hand in the party in the end."

Sunday's vote in the economically struggling, former East German state bordering Poland and the Baltic Sea will likely grant the AfD its ninth set of seats in Germany's 16 powerful state parliaments.

Now polling above 20%, the AfD has a shot at beating the center-right Christian Democrats for the first time in a state election and at challenging the center-left Social Democrats for the No. 1 position in the state. It will seek to build momentum ahead of the vote for Berlin's state legislature two weeks later and its effort next September to win its first seats in the national parliament.

The campaign here in Ueckermünde, a half-hour drive from the Polish border, shows how the AfD's rise is shaking up German politics. The AfD's 31-year-old candidate in the electoral district, Stephan Reuken, says he gave up his Christian Democrat party membership in 2014 because he "didn't feel represented at all as a conservative person."

"I don't know if you want to call it the Merkel factor—it has to do with national issues, with the **refugee** problem," said Andreas Texter, the CDU's candidate here, explaining why his party is on the verge of its worst result in the state since German reunification.

But Mr. Reuken isn't just wooing CDU voters. The NPD garnered a state-best 15.4% here in 2011, and the AfD's campaign has echoed its nationalist slogans. "Politics for our own people!" and "Save our homeland and values!," posters say.

"Many protest voters are switching over from the NPD," said Leif-Erik Holm, the AfD's top candidate in the state. "They basically only have the real, hard-core Nazi voters left."

Analysts say the AfD, whose senior ranks include businesspeople, lawyers, and former journalists, has managed to criticize **immigration** and Islam while not becoming branded as neo-Nazi—a tough balancing act in a country whose past has bred broad suspicion of right-wing populism.

Pollster Manfred Güllner, head of the Forsa Institute in Berlin, said this finely calibrated message also appealed to right-wing voters in the middle class, in addition to the largely working-class voters who used to support the NPD.

Holger Münch, head of Germany's equivalent of the FBI, told the Tagesspiegel newspaper Friday that the AfD has made "xenophobia socially acceptable in our society."

The NPD scored a string of successes in parts of former East Germany a decade ago but has been retreating since, with the AfD drawing in most of the voters who want to register their opposition to taking in **refugees**. Germany's upper house of parliament is now seeking to ban the NPD[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/germanys-top-court-is-urged-to-ban-extreme-right-party-npd-1456862021], arguing it espouses neo-Nazi views.

Now polling below the 5% threshold for seats in Mecklenburg-West Pomerania's parliament, the party could lose its last presence in a state legislature. The NPD's youth wing has put up posters with the slogan: "Squares vote AfD—real men vote NPD!"

"The AfD is sucking up all the discontent right now," said Stefan Köster, the NPD's state chairman. But by courting such a broad range of voters, he added, "they lack a clear political line and, in the end, the voters will be disappointed."

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**As Donald Trump arrived in Phoenix late Wednesday, fresh from a visit to Mexico City's presidential palace, he had in his hands a big **immigration**speech[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/donald-trump-eases-terms-on-immigration-trade-after-meeting-with-mexican-president-enrique-pena-nieto-1472677336] that omitted the usual line that Mexico would have to pay for his proposed wall along the U.S. southern border.

Just after landing, though, Mr. Trump discovered that Mexican President Enrique Peña Nieto had tweeted that he had told the Republican presidential nominee during their private meeting earlier that day that his country would refuse to pay for the wall.

Mr. Trump was peeved that Mr. Peña Nieto had gone public with the fact that the Mexican president had broken what Mr. Trump considered a deal to keep the question of paying for the wall off the table at their initial meeting.

So Mr. Trump hurriedly inserted a new sentence in his **immigration** speech, and he soon boomed out from the podium his traditional declaration that the wall would be paid for by Mexico—adding, "They don't know it yet but they're going to pay for the wall."

"I had no choice," Mr. Trump said in an interview on Thursday. But he also said of the Mexican president, "I liked him very much."

All told, Wednesday was a day of exceptional twists and turns, spanning multiple time zones and two countries, on the trade and **immigration** issues that have become signatures of the Trump presidential campaign.

The day wasn't only one of the most unusual in the campaign, but one of the most controversial. Many Mexicans were incensed that their president invited Mr. Trump. A poll published in the Reforma newspaper Wednesday showed 85% of Mexicans disapproved of the invitation, and 72% thought it weakened the Mexican government.

As the dispute between Mr. Trump and Mr. Peña Nieto over paying for the wall escalated, John Podesta, the chairman of Democrat Hillary Clinton's presidential campaign, tweeted late Thursday: "What a mess."

The high-stakes day, which seemed to have been put together at the last minute, actually had been discussed internally for weeks, according to Trump campaign advisers. The campaign saw the meeting in Mexico as a chance to appeal to moderate voters, and the **immigration** speech as a chance to motivate Mr. Trump's core voters.

Jared Kushner, the real-estate investor married to Mr. Trump's daughter Ivanka, initially floated to his father-in-law the idea of a trip to Mexico, Mr. Trump said. Mexico, of course, had been a central and controversial topic since the day Mr. Trump announced his campaign with a speech in which he accused it of sending the U.S. its criminals and "rapists."

Meanwhile, Mr. Peña Nieto was asked by media in his country if he would ever meet with Mr. Trump. He ultimately responded by sending invitations to both Mr. Trump and Mrs. Clinton last week. The former secretary of state hasn't accepted, but Mr. Kushner moved quickly to accept on Mr. Trump's behalf and orchestrate logistics, from security to protocol.

At the same time, Mr. Trump's team and the candidate himself suggested in media interviews that he was "softening" his **immigration** stance, particularly on deporting illegal **immigrants** already in the U.S.

As the campaign set Wednesday's speech in Phoenix as the time when Mr. Trump would lay out his detailed **immigration** platform, it also concluded the plan to meet the Mexican president. Over last weekend, the two sides drew up a list of items for discussion for this "initial meeting," according to former New York Mayor and current Trump adviser Rudy Giuliani.

Both sides agreed on several points—the need to reduce crime, including drugs and guns, each country's right to protect its "sovereign border" by whatever means, and that the North American Free Trade Agreement should be improved to benefit each country, senior Trump advisers said.

One point on which they agreed to disagree: who would pay for a wall. Trump advisers said the two sides decided they wouldn't discuss the topic of payment in their first meeting, to ease the process of getting acquainted and to focus on the bigger picture.

Mr. Trump flew to Mexico City with a small team, landing Wednesday morning. They flew by helicopter into the grounds of presidential palace, where they were met by Mr. Peña Nieto. Messrs. Trump and Peña Nieto sat in two wingback chairs with their advisers on either side. Mr. Trump brought into the meeting Mr. Giuliani, Alabama GOP Sen. Jeff Sessions, an early supporter and hard-liner on **immigration**, and Mr. Kushner.

The hourlong meeting began on a cordial tone, as the two men agreed on areas in common, such as an American-Mexican task force to go after drug cartels, similar to one that the U.S. implemented with Colombia, Mr. Giuliani said. Indeed, it appeared to Mr. Trump that the two men could be allies, not adversaries, on some issues, according to one attendee.

But Mr. Peña Nieto surprised Mr. Trump when he stated flatly that his country wouldn't pay for the wall. Immediately, Mr. Giuliani responded for Mr. Trump, "That's off the table." With that, Mr. Trump moved to another topic.

A person close to Mr. Peña Nieto said that "since there was such a clear disagreement in preparatory conversations over issues about the wall and its payment, both parties agreed not to discuss them at the meeting, and instead talk about other topics, such as the great contribution that the Mexican community makes in the U.S., illegal drugs and weapons trafficking, bilateral trade, within North America and the rest of the world." The person added: "Before the conversation began, Mr. Peña Neto reiterated to Mr. Trump that Mexico won't pay for any wall, and as agreed, they discussed other topics."

At the press conference after the meeting, the Trump campaign got the photo op it wanted of Mr. Trump and a world leader. The size of the press turnout pleased the candidate. When asked if they discussed the GOP nominee's proposed wall, Mr. Trump said they did, but not who would pay for it. Mr. Peña Nieto stayed silent. It wasn't until landing in Phoenix that Mr. Trump saw the Mexican's tweet about not paying.

Mr. Trump and his team were stunned, advisers said. News reports were questioning why Mr. Trump didn't discuss the payment issue at the joint press conference.

"I have to add back the line that Mexico will pay," Mr. Trump said, according to the people with him, adding that he couldn't let that tweet go unanswered. Mr. Giuliani, a lawyer and onetime prosecutor, said he told Mr. Trump that the talking-points deal was effectively breached by the tweet, which gave Mr. Trump the right to talk about his insistence that Mexico would pay for the wall.

Once Mr. Trump hit the Phoenix stage, he laid out a 10-point **immigration** platform, including the wall: "On day one, we will begin working on an impenetrable physical wall on the southern border," Mr. Trump said. "We will use the best technology, including above-and-below-ground sensors, towers, aerial surveillance and manpower to supplement the wall, find and dislocate tunnels, and keep out the criminal cartels—and Mexico will pay for the wall."

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**LONDON—British manufacturing activity rebounded strongly in August following a July slump, according to a survey Thursday, one of the clearest signals yet that the U.K. economy has regained its footing following voters' shock decision to leave the European Union. [http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/u-k-house-prices-rise-briskly-despite-brexit-1472626869]

The closely watched purchasing managers index for the U.K. manufacturing sector compiled by financial information firm IHS Markit Ltd. rose to 53.3 in August from 48.3 in July, the joint-largest month-to-month jump in 25 years. That placed it above June's pre-referendum level of 52.2 and marked the highest figure in 10 months. A reading above 50 indicates activity is expanding.

The latest reading was better than economists had expected and

sent sterling higher [http://blogs.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/moneybeat/2016/09/01/sterling-surges-after-u-k-manufacturing-survey-shows-unexpected-growth-in-august/], with the pound gaining 0.9% against the dollar to reach $1.3259. The yield on the 10-year U.K. government bond, which rises as prices fall, was up roughly 0.06 percentage point at 0.597%, according to Tradeweb.

Markit, which surveys some 600 industrial companies to compile its monthly index, said companies reported a revival in sales and orders in August after the initial surprise of the Brexit vote subsided.

Chris Williamson, Markit's chief economist, said work that was put on ice following the June 23 referendum was restarted, while exporters benefited from a weaker pound, which makes British-made goods cheaper to foreign buyers. The pound has slid some 11% against the dollar since the result.

Markit also on Thursday published a similar gauge of manufacturers in the 19-nation eurozone, which showed a fall in August, to 51.7 from 52.0 in July. Activity in Italy and France contracted. Mr. Williamson said one reason for the decline may have been the weaker pound, which may have sapped British demand for European goods.

One beneficiary of sterling's slide has been Longthorne Gunmakers Ltd., a small manufacturer of made-to-order shotguns in Northampton, England. Marketing director Elaine Stewart said the pound's fall has led to a lift in inquiries, and prompted one Texas-based customer to pay upfront in full rather than await delivery. "Our product is doing very well," she said.

The August manufacturing survey represents the latest piece of evidence that the U.K. economy appears to be shrugging off the referendum result, at least for now. Surveys have found that consumer confidence recovered in August after deteriorating in July, while retail sales rose during the summer, aided by warm weather and bargain-hunting tourists.

Economists responded cautiously to Markit's U.K. survey, saying it is still too early to say how the referendum result will affect the economy. Not all recent data has been positive: Figures from the Bank of England and mortgage lenders suggest the housing market is slowing, while Markit's survey Thursday found import prices are rising on the back of sterling's weakness, which could herald a revival in inflation.

"The economic impact of the Brexit vote may not be as bad as initially feared," said Simon Wells, a London-based economist at HSBC bank, in a research note. "However, it is too soon to be confident that the UK will avoid a marked slowdown."

A similar survey of the U.K.'s powerhouse services sector is due to be published by Markit on Monday. Services output also shrank sharply in July. Economists say that a recovery in services, which accounts for around 80% of annual economic output, will be crucial to prevent a slowdown in growth in the third quarter.

The BOE in August cut its benchmark interest rate [http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/bank-of-england-cuts-key-interest-rate-to-new-low-1470309155] to a new low of 0.25%, fearing the Brexit vote will have broad repercussions for the U.K. economy. Officials fret that the uncertainty surrounding the U.K.'s future trading relations with the EU will stunt business investment and restrain growth. They forecast that growth will slow sharply next year as these effects take hold.

The recent run of economic data will be welcomed by Prime Minister Theresa May and Treasury chief Philip Hammond, who took office in July after the Brexit result prompted David Cameron and his close ally George Osborne to resign as premier and Chancellor of the Exchequer, respectively.

Mrs. May and her top team assembled at the prime minister's official country residence Wednesday to begin thrashing out a strategy for managing the process of Britain's exit from the EU, or Brexit—an effort that could take years.

"I am determined to make the most of the opportunities Brexit presents," Ms. May said Thursday during a tour of England's West Midlands.

Paul Hannon and Christopher Whittall contributed to this article.

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Related

\* U.K. Premier May Discusses an EU Exit Strategy With Cabinet [http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/u-k-s-theresa-may-holds-brexit-brainstorm-with-ministers-1472643903]

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Some of Donald Trump's supporters went overboard after his campaign announced Tuesday he'd be visiting Mexico's president Wednesday. "You know, if @realDonaldTrump comes back from Mexico tomorrow with a big check from Mexico to pay for the wall...that's game, set, match," tweeted Joe Walsh[https://twitter.com/WalshFreedom/status/770818477254963200], the radio host and one-term representative from Illinois (2011-13) late Tuesday.

That's what we call a "big if." A few minutes later Walsh added[https://twitter.com/WalshFreedom/status/770819795294023680]: "Nixon goes to China. Trump goes to Mexico. I'm going to bed." Sleeping off that analogy was a good idea. The old Vulcan proverb[http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0102975/trivia] is "Only Nixon could go to China," and that's not true of Trump and Mexico, where plenty of American statesmen have gone before.

Which is not to deny the political significance of the trip. Hillary Clinton could have gone to Mexico City; President Enrique Peña Nieto invited both nominees. But only Trump stood to advance his candidacy by making the trip—though Mrs. Clinton may wish she'd pre-empted him by accepting the invitation first.

"It was a big win—a very big win—for Trump," writes the Washington Examiner's Byron York[http://www.washingtonexaminer.com/byron-york-gamble-in-mexico-a-huge-win-for-donald-trump/article/2600692]:

Going into a meeting with the potential for disaster—who knew how Pena Nieto would receive the world's most controversial presidential candidate or what embarrassments might lie ahead?—Trump came out of the meeting looking very much like a potential President of the United States. Standing beside the Mexican leader in front of a green-gray granite wall reminiscent of the United Nations, Trump presented the picture of a statesman. . . .

After the hour-long session, Trump benefited enormously from the conventions and practices of international relations. There they were, the president at one podium and the candidate at another, translators translating, the assembled international press watching. When it came time to talk, Pena Nieto observed the niceties of diplomacy, treating Trump as a quasi-president already.

But did the meeting really have "potential for disaster"? Some anti-Trump commentators certainly thought (or hoped) so. Late Tuesday night Josh Marshall[http://talkingpointsmemo.com/edblog/can-trump-be-this-stupid-not-a-trick-question] of Talking Points Memo published a post titled "Can Trump Be This Stupid? (Not a Trick Question)," though we think he meant it was not a rhetorical question. Marshall:

It's a general rule of politics not to enter into unpredictable situations or cede control of an event or happening to someone who wants to hurt you. President Nieto [sic; Peña is the patronym] definitely does not want Donald Trump to become President. He probably assumes he won't become president, simply by reading the polls. President Nieto is himself quite unpopular at the moment. But no one is more unpopular than Donald Trump. Trump is reviled. Toadying to Trump would be extremely bad politics; standing up to him, good politics.

Put those factors together and Peña Nieto has massive and overlapping reasons to want to embarrass Trump. . . .

When you're in a campaign under constant scrutiny you do your best to control every situation, reduce the risk of unpredictable, embarrassing or damaging events. You try not to cede control to others. You especially try not to cede near total control to someone who has every interest in the world in harming you. The maximal version of that "big thing you're not supposed to do" is precisely what it looks like Trump is doing.

In reality, Trump was completely in control. Peña did not insult or bait him, but what if he had? As long as Trump maintained the air of reasonable statesman, he would have benefited from the contrast.

The assumption underlying Marshall's analysis is that Trump lacks the ability to maintain such an air—or, to put it another way, that the media/Democratic stereotype of Trump as an unstable crackpot not only has some basis in truth but is the whole truth. Marshall calls his heuristic "Trump's razor": the assumption of "the stupidest scenario possible that can be reconciled with the available facts."

Marshall's view found support across the putative aisle. "There are so many ways this can go wrong that it boggles the mind," asserted Daniel Drezner[https://www.washingtonpost.com/posteverything/wp/2016/08/31/why-donald-trump-is-going-to-mexico/?utm\_term=.9e2a0578b9c6] in a Wednesday morning Washington Post blog post that favorably cited "Trump's razor" twice. Back in March Drezner, who teaches international law at Tufts University, was among the signatories on a denunciative "Open Letter on Donald Trump From GOP National Security Leaders[http://warontherocks.com/2016/03/open-letter-on-donald-trump-from-gop-national-security-leaders/]."

Trump has, to be sure, done much to encourage the stereotype that underlay these faulty analyses, and it is a challenge he has to overcome lest Mrs. Clinton win by default. But that's precisely what made Peña's invitation so advantageous to him: It gave him an easy opportunity to counter it.

Mrs. Clinton's campaign[https://twitter.com/HillaryClinton/status/771156031401521153] tweeted last night: "Trump just failed his first foreign test. Diplomacy isn't as easy as it looks. -H" (The "-H" means we are supposed to believe the candidate herself wrote the tweet.) That may well be true, but which candidate is more appealing, the one who makes it look easy, or the one who complains about how hard it is?

And what "test," exactly, did he fail? Apparently the one Joe Walsh set up with the over-the-top tweet that opened this column. Mrs. Clinton's campaign put out this statement from John Podesta[https://www.hillaryclinton.com/briefing/statements/2016/08/31/hfas-john-podesta-on-trumps-meeting-with-president-nietotrump-choked/]:

Donald Trump has made his outlandish policy of forcing Mexico to pay for his giant wall the centerpiece of his campaign. But at the first opportunity to make good on his offensive campaign promises, Trump choked. What we saw today from a man who claims to be the ultimate "deal maker" is that he doesn't have the courage to advocate for his campaign promises when he's not in front of a friendly crowd.

Outlandish his policy may be, but Trump, at least as yet, has no official capacity in which to make a deal with Mexico. Podesta later amended his statement, adding: "It turns out Trump didn't just choke, he got beat in the room and lied about it." The New York Times's Charles Blow[http://www.nytimes.com/2016/09/01/opinion/campaign-stops/the-duplicity-of-donald-trump.html] picked up the line without attribution: "If you believe Peña Nieto, Trump, the self-proclaimed tough negotiator, not only choked but openly lied about choking."

Here is what Podesta and Blow are referring to, as reported by CNN.com[http://www.cnn.com/2016/08/30/politics/donald-trump-enrique-pea-nieto-mexico/]:

Trump . . . said they discussed a wall Trump has vowed to build on the US southern border, but not his demand that Mexico pay for it—an assertion the Mexican president later disputed.

"Who pays for the wall? We didn't discuss," Trump had said when asked by a reporter during a news conference following their meeting in Mexico City. "We did discuss the wall. We didn't discuss payment of the wall. That'll be for a later date."

But Peña Nieto later claimed the two had discussed the wall and who would pay for it—and he had "made it clear" to Trump it wouldn't be Mexico.

"At the start of the conversation with Donald Trump, I made it clear that Mexico will not pay for the wall," Peña Nieto tweeted, after their meeting Wednesday.

He added that his conversation with the Republican nominee then moved on to other topics in a respectful fashion.

Actually Trump's and Peña's accounts are entirely consistent: Peña says only that he stated his position, not that the two men discussed it; indeed, according to the Mexican president, they moved on to other subjects.

The strangest comment from Team Clinton, though, came from Lanny Davis on CNN[http://transcripts.cnn.com/TRANSCRIPTS/1608/31/cg.02.html]: "What you didn't hear [Trump] do in Mexico in mutual respect is to apologize for challenging a federal judge, born in Indiana, that he can't be objective because of his Mexican heritage."

That was a reference to Gonzalo Curiel, the federal trial judge presiding over a civil case against Trump University. This column[http://bit.ly/25xuElc] criticized Trump's comments at the time, and we wouldn't disagree that an apology is in order. (Don't worry, we're not holding our breath.)

But why in the world would anyone expect Trump to apologize to the Mexican president for insulting an American judge?

Clarification [http://bit.ly/2bAghX9] We heard from a representative of Bahrain's Crown Prince Salman, who tells us the prince disputes a factual assertion in a Judicial Watch press release quoted in our Aug. 24 column. According to the representative, Salman did not donate $32 million to the Clinton Global Initiative but to his own organization, the Crown Prince's International Scholarship Programme, established in 1999. Our colleagues in The Wall Street Journal[http://bit.ly/2cmIkyg]'s news department report that in 2005 he made a "commitment to the Clinton Global Initiative" to fund CPISP with the $32 million.

Other Than That, the Story Was Accurate [http://www.cnn.com/2016/08/30/opinions/where-kaepernick-lost-me-cane/index.html] "Due to an editing error, an earlier version of this article included the sentence ‘We should trust the FBI,' which the writer had not intended to include."—CNN.com, Aug. 31

Fox Butterfield, Is That You? [http://thefederalist.com/2016/08/30/90378/] "Despite the fact that [Anthony Weiner] ruined his political career and damaged his marriage, he kept sexting."—Mollie Hemingway, Federalist, Aug. 30

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Make That 20

\* "19 Things NOT to Do in Mexico"—headline, DestinationTips.com[http://www.destinationtips.com/destinations/19-things-not-to-do-in-mexico/], Jan. 27, 2015

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Hypothesis and Proof

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Breaking News From 4711 [http://www.independent.co.uk/life-style/fashion/unisex-fragrance-best-comme-des-garcons-calvin-klein-a7209036.html] "Boy Meets Girl: The Rise of Unisex Fragrances"—headline, Independent (London), Aug. 31

Bottom Story of the Day [https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/clinton-just-made-a-very-important-announcement--and-hardly-anyone-is-talking-about-it/2016/08/31/5379ddfe-6ef5-11e6-9705-23e51a2f424d\_story.html] "Clinton Just Made a Very Important Announcement—and Hardly Anyone Is Talking About It"—headline, Washington Post, Sept. 1

The Coral Criterion [http://www.newcriterion.com/articles.cfm/The-New-Criterion--em-at-thirty-five-em--8460] Yesterday we had a few hours to kill while waiting to be dismissed from jury service (there were no trials—these days, it seems, almost everything gets settled or plea bargained). Fortunately, we'd brought along a copy of the latest New Criterion, the cultural journal founded by the late Hilton Kramer and edited by Roger Kimball. It's a "special, expanded issue" marking its 35th anniversary, as the opening editorial boasts:

As we've had occasion to point out on previous anniversaries, the longevity of The New Criterion is itself noteworthy. Serious cultural periodicals tend not to be long lived. Ones that are as independent-minded and outspoken as The New Criterion enjoy an especially parlous existence. Which is to say that three-and-a-half decades is not just notable, it is astonishing. T. S. Eliot's Criterion, from which we take our name and whose critical ambitions we seek to emulate, had a run of seventeen years, from 1922 to 1939.

We especially enjoyed George Nash[http://www.newcriterion.com/articles.cfm/Populism--I--American-conservatism-and-the-problem-of-populism-8462] on "American Conservatism and the Problem of Populism" and James Bowman[http://www.newcriterion.com/articles.cfm/The-end-of-the-news-8480] on the decline of the press in the age of Trump.

As for the original Criterion, 1939 was a perilous time in world history. Let's hope that 2016 proves less so, and that the New Criterion (not to mention all of us) is around for at least another 35 years.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Ronald Reagan described America as "a city on a hill" that people around the world aspire to reach. Donald Trump offered a different vision in his **immigration**speech Wednesday night: A fortress surrounded by a wall with guards and sensory detectors and police to hunt down and expel anyone who makes it past the barriers.

This isn't the "softening" **immigration** policy that Mr. Trump had been signaling for more than a week. Perhaps he blinked amid criticism from supporters, or perhaps he has decided this is what he really believes. Whatever the motive, the New Yorker's 10-point plan came straight from the wish list of the most restrictionist corners of the political right.

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We understand that in a world of rising terror threats the U.S. needs border controls and **immigrant** vetting. Most Americans no doubt agree with Mr. Trump's plan to deport criminal **aliens**, though his claim of two million far exceeds other estimates. Mr. Trump also has a strong case against "sanctuary cities," a reference to mayors who defy federal **immigration** law.

But the businessman missed a chance to make a more reasonable case to honor the law without embracing mass deportation that is politically impossible and economically damaging. "Anyone who has entered the United States illegally is subject to deportation," Mr. Trump said. "And you can call it deported if you want. The press doesn't like that term. You can call it whatever the hell you want. They're gone."

This presumably includes all 11 million people estimated to be here illegally, including those who have lived and worked in the U.S. for decades. It also presumably includes children born in the U.S. whose parents are illegal and thus lack documents through no fault of their own.

Mr. Trump said that anyone who wants to gain legal status must first return to his native country and "will have to enter under the **immigration** caps or limits that will be established." That means waiting five or 10 years or more, depending on the country quotas, which would mean breaking up families. These **immigrants**would have no incentive to declare themselves and become legal.

To hunt them down, the Republican would unleash a new wave of **immigration** enforcement well beyond the border and against American business. He would triple the number of deportation agents. So the same federal government that can't manage a competent E-Verify program for its own documents is going to harass employers for not adequately vetting those documents. How about focusing on the criminals first?

Mr. Trump also pledges to "turn off the jobs and benefits magnet" for **immigrants**. Yet he is offering no new legal ways to work in the U.S. He can build the tallest wall in the world at the border, but as long as jobs exist to be filled, **immigrants** will come to fill them. Border enforcement without a guest-worker program is like drug enforcement without reducing drug use: It won't work.

The New Yorker's plan would do economic harm by slashing the workforce for construction, agriculture, restaurants, travel and other services. There aren't enough Americans to fill those jobs now, so many of these services will vanish or become much more expensive. This is why Mr. Trump employs H-2B visa holders at his Mar-a-Lago resort.

Beyond the bad economics is the puzzle of Mr. Trump's political strategy. Wednesday's **immigration** speech was an appeal to his core, mostly white, supporters who propelled him to the GOP nomination and whose votes he already has. It made little effort to expand his coalition to ethnic groups with large numbers of mostly legal **immigrants**.

The Republican has closed the polling gap with Hillary Clinton but more because her favorable rating is falling again than any improvement in his standing. Mr. Trump's problem continues to be dreadful ratings among minorities, women and college-educated Republicans. It's revealing that the Clinton campaign almost seemed relieved when Mr. Trump didn't use his speech to modify his anti-**immigration** rhetoric.

The irony is that the speech came only hours after what may have been Mr. Trump's best move of the campaign—a high-profile meeting with Mexican President Enrique Peña Nieto. At a press event after the hour-long parley, the two men were candid about their differences. But Mr. Trump showed a respect and graciousness that belied the image promoted by his critics of an uncouth bully who can't behave in diplomatic company.

The nearby table shows the exit poll for ethnic voting groups in recent elections. Mitt Romney carried 59% of the white vote but still lost because he was crushed among minorities, including Hispanics and Asians. On present trend Mr. Trump won't get Mr. Romney's share of the white vote and will do worse among minorities.

These voters care about more than **immigration**, and Mrs. Clinton's ethics and the electorate's overwhelming desire for change are keeping the race competitive. But if Mr. Trump loses, his vision of an America that fears more than welcomes **immigrants** will be a large part of the reason.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Donald Trump's **immigration** proposals outlined during an evening rally Wednesday shocked some Hispanic leaders his campaign was courting, and may have narrowed the Republican presidential nominee's path to victory in November.

At least two members of Mr. Trump's Hispanic Advisory Council—Texas attorney Jacob Monty and business executive Massey Villareal—resigned after the speech, in which Mr. Trump said all illegal **immigrants** in the country would be "subject to deportation."

"I gave Donald Trump a plan that would improve border security, remove hardened criminal **aliens** and most importantly give work authority to the millions of honest, hardworking **immigrants** in the US," Mr. Monty wrote on Facebook. "He rejected that tonight and so I must reject him."

"We were misled and it's very disappointing," said Alfonso Aguilar, president of the Latino Partnership for Conservative Principles, referring to earlier comments from Mr. Trump suggesting that "he wanted to deal with undocumented **immigrants** in a compassionate and humane way."

Asked for comment about the resignations, Jason Miller, a spokesman for the Trump campaign, said the GOP nominee "has been consistent in advocating for an end to illegal **immigration** and he will continue to reach out and work with voters from all communities to defeat crooked Hillary Clinton this fall."

Artemio Muniz, who leads the Federation of Hispanic Republicans in Texas, said Mr. Trump's warning to minority voters that illegal **immigrants** were taking their jobs would fall flat, and that his campaign was trying to "win with the Caucasian coalition."

"Pitting Hispanics and blacks against illegal **immigrants** is class warfare, not conservatism," Mr. Muniz said. "Hispanic voters can see right through that."

The rejection of Mr. Trump by high-profile conservative Hispanics is a setback for a campaign that only recently set out to expand its support to the minority voters who could determine the outcome of the presidential race.

If he can't recover, Mr. Trump would be forced to rely in November on the same base of white, blue-collar workers who carried him to victory in the GOP primaries, a risky strategy in must-win battleground states such as Florida, where the electorate is increasingly diverse.

"Unless they have a magic wand, they can't create more white, pro-Trump voters," said Bettina Inclan, a former Hispanic outreach director at the Republican National Committee. "Elections are simple math: subtraction and addition, and I don't see the addition."

Jeff Roe, who managed Texas Senator Ted Cruz's Republican presidential campaign, said a strategy that focuses on white voters could work for Mr. Trump if his campaign modestly boosts white turnout from four years ago and wins a larger share of these voters.

But to succeed, Mr. Trump must improve his standing among suburban woman and college educated white voters who Mr. Roe said are turned off by the New York billionaire's combative style. Both groups are roughly split between Mr. Trump and Democratic nominee Hillary Clinton.

"He needs to get his base juiced up, and get the independents thinking he can do a state visit without embarrassing himself," Mr. Roe said.

That conflict—how to keep core supporters enthusiastic while winning over college-educated white voters—resulted in the seemingly mixed messages from Mr. Trump over the past week. He held his first meeting with a newly formed National Hispanic Advisory Council and began making direct appeals to minority voters at rallies that attracted mostly white audiences.

On Wednesday afternoon, Mr. Trump won applause from Republican strategists and Hispanic community leaders for his measured and welcoming posture at a news conference with Mexican President Enrique Peña Nieto.

But hours later, Mr. Trump promised in his Phoenix speech a "new, special deportation task force" and vowed to end President Obama's orders that protect an estimated 750,000 young undocumented people from deportation.

"Peace and law and justice and prosperity will prevail," Trump said about his **immigration** plan. "Crime will go down. Border crossings will plummet. Gangs will disappear."

While Mr. Roe said his party's nominee had a successful day appealing to white voters, Ms. Inclan said her party's nominee was losing Hispanic voters by "hanging the ills impacting society around the necks of illegal **immigrants**."

She said that would also add to his troubles in Colorado and Nevada, two other traditional battleground states with significant Hispanic populations. "Is Colorado even an option anymore?" she said about Mr. Trump's chances of winning there.

The most important battleground state for Mr. Trump is Florida. If he loses there and wins Ohio, Iowa, Colorado, New Mexico, Nevada and Virginia, he'd still come up short. And that calculation assumes he will carry all the same states as 2012 Republican nominee Mitt Romney, including North Carolina and Arizona where polls show the race is a dead heat.

In Florida, white voters are expected to be just 64.5% of the voting age population this year, according to an estimate from States of Change, a multi-partisan research group. In 2012, when Mr. Obama won the state by less than 1 percentage point, white voters accounted for 67% of the turnout.

Underscoring Mr. Trump's troubles in Florida, prominent Cuban-American Republican donor Mike Fernandez announced Thursday he would be supporting Mrs. Clinton on Election Day.

"Why has our party not sought a psychological evaluation of its nominee," Mr. Fernandez, the founder of MBF Healthcare Partners, wrote in a column that appeared in the Miami Herald. "This abysmally unfit candidate has unleased racist and violent acts."

Karen Giorno, a senior adviser for Trump's campaign in Florida, said the Republican's speech on Wednesday disappointed some of the campaign's Hispanic supporters in the state, but none have abandoned the campaign. Mr. Romney won 39% of his Hispanic vote in Florida in 2012, about 12 percentage points higher than his national average, but still lost the state.

"They're a little hurt, but they know this election is bigger than any one issue," Ms. Giorno said.

Mark Gonzales of the Hispanic Action Network, who was invited to join their Hispanic advisory council, said he told the Trump campaign after the Phoenix speech that "an endorsement and serving on the council would be out of the question."

He said he was buoyed by Mr. Trump's respectful, positive tone at the press conference with the Mexican president and was surprised with the hard edge he took at the Phoenix rally.

"I don't know what happened on the plane," Mr. Gonzales said. "But he definitely didn't help himself with the Hispanic community."

Write to Beth Reinhard at beth.reinhard@wsj.com[mailto:beth.reinhard@wsj.com]

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Corrections & Amplifications:

The Canadian government has resettled more than 25,000 Syrians since November 2015. An earlier version of this article incorrectly stated the government had resettled them since November 2016. (Sept. 1, 2016)

WESTBY, Mont.—The U.S. border with Canada is attracting greater scrutiny as debate rages in the U.S. presidential campaign about security on its southern border with Mexico[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/donald-trump-eases-terms-on-immigration-trade-after-meeting-with-mexican-president-enrique-pena-nieto-1472677336], and concern grows over global terrorism and vulnerability to illegal crossings.

The U.S. government has been steadily beefing up surveillance of the northern border with new technology designed to help monitor areas too remote for round-the-clock patrols by field agents. Much of the change comes from the gradual rollout of new technologies that were promised in the aftermath of a security reassessment following the 2001 terrorist attacks.

Sen. Heidi Heitkamp (D., N.D.) this year called on the Department of Homeland Security to pay closer attention to the northern border and not view it as an "afterthought." Last year, she co-sponsored a bill with Sen. Kelly Ayotte (R., N.H.) to step up funding for recruiting more border agents to specifically target more remote areas along the border with Canada.

Some lawmakers in northern border states cite Canada's greater willingness to accept **refugees** from war-torn areas such as the Middle East as a potential threat to the U.S. In particular, they note the Canadian government has resettled more than 25,000 Syrians since November 2015, more than double the 10,000 Syrian **refugees** that the U.S. has agreed to take in by September. A U.S. Senate homeland security hearing addressed the topic in February, but there have been no reported U.S. border incidents involving Canada's Syrian **refugees**.

"I do worry about it," said Mike Cuffe, a state legislator in Montana who lives about 4 miles from the border in the town of Eureka.

Mr. Cuffe harbors concerns about the possibility of terrorist infiltration from the north, but says that must be balanced with other issues such as the hit to commerce and road congestion caused by backups at a border crossing with Canada that once was guarded by little more than wooden sawhorses at night.

"A threat to one country is a threat to the other," said Christine Constantin, a spokeswoman for the Canadian Embassy in Washington, adding that Canada has a "zero tolerance" policy for **refugees** with security concerns.

"No terrorists have been successful in attacking the homeland coming through America's northern border," she said.

About 300,000 people a day legally cross the U.S.-Canada border, the largest bilateral flow of people in the world. Trade valued at nearly $2 billion crosses the border daily and business groups on both sides have pressured for a reduction in red tape.

The two countries have focused on expediting the safe flow of people and goods through a "Beyond the Border" initiative signed in 2011, including an expansion this year of a preclearance screening program that speeds travel to the U.S. by nearly 12 million passengers from Canada a year.

Some 2,200 agents are assigned to patrol the northern border in shifts, a 500% increase since Sept. 11, 2001, but that still leaves only one every 2 miles if deployed simultaneously. That is in addition to 3,700 officers stationed at 117 authorized land border crossings between the U.S. and Canada.

In rural stretches of Montana and North Dakota, where there are few natural obstructions and even fewer fences, fields of wheat and heavily treed forests make the border so hard to find that it can seem almost irrelevant to locals used to crossing daily.

U.S. officials say they focus on protecting the border where risks are highest, which means fewer resources are devoted to isolated areas in the north. "I"m not going to say it's not an issue, but absent specific intelligence we don't place it at the top of our priorities," said Alan Bersin, the U.S. Department of Homeland Security's assistant secretary for International affairs and chief diplomatic officer.

The southern border looms large in the U.S. presidential campaign. Representatives for Democratic nominee Hillary Clinton didn't reply to a request for comment about the northern border. Her Republican rival Donald Trump hasn't made it an issue, saying .Mr. Trump said at a Republican primary debate in February that if elected he wouldn't seek to build a wall on the Canadian border like the one he plans for Mexico. "We have far less problem with that border than we do with our southern border," Mr. Trump said.

By far, more incidents—from drug arrests to unauthorized entry attempts—occur on the Mexican border, which is where 86% of U.S. Border Patrol agents were stationed in 2015 and most of the government's remote land border-protection resources are deployed.

The number of unauthorized entrants apprehended in the Grand Forks sector surged to an 11-year high of 789 in 2015, but U.S. officials say only a few of those crossed from Canada. Most were Mexicans who migrated north in search of work in North Dakota's oil patch.

But the U.S. has quietly stepped up efforts to prevent unauthorized entry in sparsely populated areas with technology such as underground sensors, thermal cameras and unmanned drones targeting 1,100 miles of the northern border, mostly between Minnesota and Washington.

"Having access to the technology that we didn't have 10 years ago makes a big difference," said Aaron Heitke, Chief Patrol Agent for North Dakota and seven other states near the northern border.

Still, the border can be more of a state of mind than an actual place in the many areas that are devoid of markers.

Standing in a vast grassy field near an abandoned farm house near Ambrose, North Dakota, Border Patrol Agent Derek Schipferling points to an imaginary line a few hundred yards away as several deer slip into southern Saskatchewan. "You can see what we're up against trying to find one person in the middle of nowhere," he said.

Motion-detection cameras and satellite photos are some of the tools law enforcement is using to keep tabs on isolated areas where border stations are few and far between. When an alarm is tripped, agents are dispatched to investigate by car, snowmobile or horseback.

But not always. Gary McKinnon, a 66-year old farmer in Westby, Mont., crosses an unguarded section of the border several times a day because his driveway extends a few feet into Canada before curving back into the U.S. A knee-high obelisk demarcating the border stands at a gate into his property.

Mr. McKinnon's comings and goings rarely draw the attention of the border patrol—and he misses the company. "They don't stop in for coffee or just to shoot the breeze like they once did," he said.

Julian Routh contributed to this article.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**PHOENIX—Hours after seeming to ease his **immigration** and trade policy while standing with Mexico's president, Donald Trump reiterated the tough stance that powered his Republican presidential campaign.

He told a crowd of raucous supporters Wednesday evening that all illegal **immigrants** are "subject to deportation[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/donald-trump-says-he-would-deport-criminal-illegal-immigrants-if-elected-1472334324]" and all those seeking legalization would have to go home and re-enter the country legally.

Mr. Trump also doubled-down on his assertion that Mexico will pay to build an "impenetrable" wall on the Southern border. "They don't know it yet, and they're going to pay for it," he said at a rally here just hours after his meeting in Mexico City with President Enrique Peña Nieto, who told Mr. Trump that his nation had no intentions of underwriting such a project.

In amplifying the harsh tone of his **immigration** policy[http://blogs.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/washwire/2016/08/31/from-the-speech-donald-trumps-10-part-immigration-plan/], Mr. Trump was placing a clear bet that, on this signature issue of his campaign, it is more important to err on the side of revving up his supporters than to soften his tone to reach out to unpersuaded voters.

"We will break the cycle of amnesty and illegal **immigration**. There will be no amnesty," Mr. Trump said. "Our message to the world will be this: you cannot obtain legal status or become a citizen of the U.S. by illegally entering our country."

The surprise visit to Mexico City[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/donald-trump-mulls-trip-to-mexico-to-meet-president-enriquepena-nieto-1472611208] on Wednesday and the Phoenix address came as Mr. Trump trails Democratic rival Hillary Clinton in polling in each of the 11 battleground states that will decide the general election.

His weakness among Hispanic voters has damaged his standing in Colorado, Nevada and Florida, and made Arizona competitive—a heavily Republican state where the Clinton campaign opened two offices in August and invested more than $100,000 in field staffers to register voters and boost Democratic turnout.

David Axelrod, the senior strategist for President Barack Obama's presidential campaigns, predicted Mr. Trump would reap some political benefit merely by standing next to a world leader. But Mrs. Clinton disagreed, saying on Twitter, "Trump just failed his first foreign test. Diplomacy isn't as easy as it looks."

For the last 10 days Mr. Trump has articulated varied proposals on how he would deal with the millions of undocumented **immigrants** already in the country. On Wednesday, he punted on that politically vexing issue.

Instead, Mr. Trump said he would jettison protections President Barack Obama has sought for parents of legal U.S. citizens and, on his first day in office, deport 2 million illegal **immigrants** he said have criminal records. He also said he would, without due process, remove any undocumented person who is arrested for any crime.

"We will issue detainers for illegal **immigrants** who are arrested for any crime whatsoever and they will be placed into immediate removal proceedings," he said.

Deportations wouldn't be limited to people suspected or convicted of crimes. "Anyone who enters the United States illegally is subject to deportation," he said.

For new **immigrants**, Mr. Trump said he would install "new screening tests" that he said would "include an ideological certification." He also said he would complete a "biometric entry-exit visa tracking system."

Mr. Trump also reiterated **immigration** proposals he has touted on the campaign trail. He would rescind Mr. Obama's executive actions to defer deportations for some illegal **immigrants** brought to the U.S. as children and some illegal **immigrant** parents whose children are American citizens.

In addition to building the wall he said he would add 5,000 border patrol officers.

Earlier, Mr. Trump's campaign had signaled a softening of his rhetoric on issues of trade and **immigration**, and a more subdued Mr. Trump appeared to do that during a joint appearance with Mr. Enrique Peña Nieto.

On the issue of trade, the Republican presidential nominee did appear to give some room, telling reporters in Mexico City that he would aim to "improve" the North American Free Trade Agreement, an accord he has long called a disaster. In a joint briefing after the meeting, he also said he would aim to keep manufacturing "in our hemisphere," referring to North America.

Yet, during his evening rally, Mr. Trump repeated his pledges to punish American companies that move to Mexico and enact steep new tariffs on imports.

Earlier in the day in Mexico City, Mr. Trump said at the briefing that "we didn't discuss payment of the wall," but called the barrier "a shared objective."

Mr. Peña Nieto, however, said he told Mr. Trump in private that Mexico wouldn't subsidize a border barrier. "At the beginning of my conversation with DonaldTrump I made clear that Mexico would not pay for the wall," he wrote on Twitter later Wednesday.

Mr. Peña Nieto's spokesman, Eduardo Sanchez, said Mr. Trump didn't respond to the president's statement, so there was no discussion. Trump spokesman Jason Miller released a statement that didn't mention the wall payment dispute but said "it is unsurprising that they hold two different views on this issue." Mr. Miller didn't respond to requests for clarification.

Mr. Peña Nieto condemned several of Mr. Trump's campaign proposals and his characterization of some illegal **immigrants**[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/donald-trump-to-unveil-plans-for-2016-presidential-race-1434448982] as drug dealers and rapists. "Mexicans felt offended by what was said" during the campaign, Mr. Peña Nieto said.

The Mexican president noted illegal **immigration** was at a 10-year low, and said economic activity in the two nations benefit each other. He called the Nafta trade pact a boon to the U.S. economy, but said he would be willing to "modernize" it.

Messrs. Trump and Peña Nieto described their meeting as polite but blunt. Mr. Trump said it was "a great honor" to be invited to Los Pinos, the official residence of the Mexican president, while Mr. Peña Nieto said Mr. Trump demonstrated his willingness to work with Mexico by visiting the country.

Mr. Trump, reading from notes, said he told Mr. Peña Nieto that Nafta has benefited Mexico far more than it has the U.S. Mr. Peña Nieto said his priority is "to protect Mexicans, wherever they are."

The visit was harshly criticized in Mexico as capitulation to a U.S. candidate who had attacked the country repeatedly on the campaign trail. The meeting was unlikely to help Mr. Peña Nieto improve his approval ratings, which are the lowest of any Mexican leader in two decades, analysts said.

"Peña Nieto had a golden opportunity to speak truth to power and instead he showed weakness, handing the stage to Trump to reaffirm in our faces that yes, there will be a wall," said Sergio Aguayo, an academic at the Colegio de Mexico graduate school in Mexico City.

Mr. Trump's revised approach to Nafta differs from the trade policy he has articulated since launching his campaign. During a "60 Minutes" interview last September, he called Nafta "a disaster" that "shouldn't exist."

Though he said Wednesday that Nafta has benefited Mexico more than it has the U.S., he didn't repeat calls to install tariffs of up to 40% on U.S. companies that relocate to Mexico.

Santiago Perez and Hanaa Tameez contributed to this article.

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Related

\* Both Parties See Trump Effect Down-Ballot[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/both-parties-see-risk-from-trump-candidacy-in-down-ballot-races-1472672250]

\* Nieto Scorned for Inviting Trump to Mexico[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/president-enrique-pena-nieto-scorned-for-inviting-donald-trump-to-mexico-1472749279?tesla=y]

\* Security Debate Draws Attention to U.S. Border With Canada[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/security-debate-draws-attention-to-u-s-border-with-canada-1472753008?tesla=y]

\* THINK TANK: All-In Bet on White Working Class[http://blogs.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/washwire/2016/09/01/donald-trumps-immigration-speech-and-his-all-in-bet-on-white-working-class-voters/]

\* Phoenix Approves City Identification Card[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/phoenix-approves-city-identification-card-for-undocumented-immigrants-others-1472691491]

\* Donald Trump's 10-Part **Immigration** Plan[http://blogs.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/washwire/2016/08/31/from-the-speech-donald-trumps-10-part-immigration-plan/]

\* Some Democrats Press Clinton to End Ties to Foundation[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/some-democrats-press-clinton-to-end-ties-to-foundation-1472600643]

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Good morning,

Mixed Message

Hours after seeming to ease his **immigration** and trade policy while standing with Mexico's president, Donald Trump reiterated the tough stance that powered his campaign[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/donald-trump-eases-terms-on-immigration-trade-after-meeting-with-mexican-president-enrique-pena-nieto-1472677336] in a speech yesterday evening. Placing a clear bet that it is more important to err on the side of revving up his supporters than to soften his tone to reach out to unpersuaded voters, Mr. Trump said that all illegal **immigrants** are "subject to deportation"[http://blogs.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/washwire/2016/08/31/from-the-speech-donald-trumps-10-part-immigration-plan/] and doubled down on his assertion that Mexico will pay to build an "impenetrable" wall on the southern border. But Mexican President Enrique Peña Nieto earlier said he told Mr. Trump during their visit that his nation had no intention of underwriting such a project. Meanwhile, on the issue of trade, the Republican candidate did appear to give some room, telling reporters in Mexico City that he would aim to "improve" the Nafta trade pact, which he previously said "shouldn't exist."

Friends Electric

Two pillars of Elon Musk's empire, Tesla and SolarCity, are facing financial crunches[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/elon-musk-faces-cash-squeeze-at-tesla-solarcity-1472687133] as he seeks to combine them through a controversial acquisition.[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/tesla-one-of-these-things-is-not-like-the-others-1472686084] Tesla disclosed in a securities filing Wednesday that it has to pay $422 million to its bondholders in the third quarter, and that it will raise additional money by the end of the year. The purpose of the additional capital, among other things, is to support its proposed merger with home-solar company SolarCity. The filing also revealed that in recent weeks 15 institutional investors passed on either acquiring SolarCity or injecting equity into it. The company is having difficulty tapping public markets amid the proposed merger and is facing a liquidity squeeze. Last week, Mr. Musk and his cousins—SolarCity Chief Executive Lyndon Rive and its technology chief, Peter Rive—disclosed they would together buy more than 80% of a $124 million SolarCity bond issue.

Dog Days Deliver

An August surge in U.S. bank shares[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/bank-stocks-surge-makes-2016-rate-rise-look-more-likely-1472722201] is helping to drive an emerging consensus that the economy is strong enough to allow Federal Reserve officials to raise interest rates at least once by the end of 2016. The S&P Financial Sector rose 3.6% in August, far outperforming a 0.1% decline in the S&P 500 and making financials the best-performing sector in the index for the first month this year. Shares of Morgan Stanley rose by 12% in August, while Bank of America shares added 11% and Citigroup shares increased 9%. A Fed interest-rate rise would deliver banks modest but long-awaited relief. Meanwhile, we report that executives at Deutsche Bank are contemplating dramatic options for the German lender,[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/european-banks-need-more-mergers-lower-costs-to-boost-returns-deutsche-bank-ceo-says-1472628892] including selling all or part of a key business, a sign of growing pressure to speed up a flagging overhaul.

Loafing About

The loafer, that 1980s preppy staple, has stepped back into the spotlight.[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/big-moment-for-the-loafer-1472676908] Bass Weejuns penny loafers celebrate their 80th birthday this year. Introduced by G.H. Bass & Co. in 1936 as a casual slip-on shoe, they were based on the slip-ons worn by Norwegian fishermen in the 19th century. The style became known as penny loafers after young people put coins in the shoes' slots. Over the years, some put in dimes when that was the price of a phone call. Today, the recent loafer proliferation reflects the move to more smart-casual dress codes at work. The comfortable and versatile shoes are available at seemingly every price point, though they are also an easy style to mock for their long association with blue bloods and the Ivy League. We take a look at the classic footwear's various style options.

Today's Video

Road-trip Lifeline

After an accident, the Automatic Pro can call for help from police, EMTs and a loved one, even if you can't,[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/a-911-lifeline-for-your-car-no-fees-required-1472656682] writes our Personal Technology columnist Geoffrey A. Fowler.

TOP STORIES

U.S.

Supreme Court Blocks Stricter Voting Rules in North Carolina[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/supreme-court-blocks-stricter-voting-rules-in-north-carolina-1472673999]

Dating-Website Users Fall Prey to Fake Profiles[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/dating-website-users-fall-prey-to-fake-profiles-1472680583]

WORLD

Kurds Carve Out a Home in Syria, Testing U.S. Ties With Turkey[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/syrias-kurds-have-carved-out-a-statelet-adding-new-snags-to-a-complex-region-1472661321]

Michel Temer Seeks New Start as Brazil's President[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/michel-temer-seeks-new-start-as-brazils-president-1472676685]

BUSINESS

Insurers Move to Limit Options in Health-Care Exchange Plans[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/insurers-move-to-limit-options-in-health-care-exchange-plans-1472664663]

Hanjin Shipping Upsets Global Trade After Seeking Protection From Creditors[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/hanjin-shipping-upsets-global-trade-after-seeking-protection-from-creditors-1472683164]

MARKETS

Cash Keeps Pouring Out of European Stocks[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/cash-keeps-pouring-out-of-european-stocks-1472673420]

Consumers Are Driving Up the S&P 500. Why That's Nothing to Worry About[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/consumer-driven-stocks-help-s-p-to-new-highs-1472650050]

Number of the Day

$4 billion

Mobile Telecommunication's market value on the Tehran stock exchange. France's Orange has entered preliminary talks to buy a piece of MCI, Iran's largest cellular operator,[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/french-carrier-pursues-stake-in-iranian-wireless-firm-1472667875] in what would mark the first acquisition of a stake in a major Iranian firm by a Western company since nuclear sanctions were lifted in January.

Today's Question

Going back to our story above, what are your thoughts on the August surge in U.S. bank shares? Send your comments, which we may edit before publication, to 10point@wsj.com[mailto:10point@wsj.com]. Please include your name and location.

—Compiled by Margaret Rawson

Reader Response

Responding to yesterday's question on the European Commission's ruling that Apple must repay $14.5 billion in Irish tax breaks,[http://www.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/articles/apple-received-14-5-billion-in-illegal-tax-benefits-from-ireland-1472551598] Scott Patten of Connecticut wrote: "Perhaps this loss of current tax dollars (via credit offset) and the now very real threat to losing future tax dollars will force Congress to enact a needed corporate tax overhaul that will incentivize U.S. corporations to bring their cash back onshore. Once onshore, incentives need to be in place to encourage spending for growth and jobs." John Smith of Virginia commented: "The fundamental problem is that Apple is smarter and more agile than the EU legislators that create tax law. The EU's battle is with Ireland, not Apple. Bottom line: Apple pays all the taxes that the law requires." And Bob Kenney of Maryland weighed in: "The Apple ruling is long overdue. I hope the European Commission focuses on Amazon next."

This daily briefing is named "The 10-Point" after the nickname conferred by the editors of The Wall Street Journal on the lead column of the legendary "What's News" digest of top stories. Technically, "10-point" referred to the size of the typeface. The type is smaller now but the name lives on.

The 10-Point In Your Inbox

CLICK HERE[http://online.wsj.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/public/page/email-setup.html?sub=the\_10\_point] to sign up for this briefing by email.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**The Phoenix City Council voted Wednesday to issue identification cards to city residents regardless of their **immigration** status, a surprising move for a state that has long favored measures to crack down on illegal **immigrants**.

Phoenix is the first city in Arizona to offer such an ID.

The vote came just before Republican presidential candidate Donald Trump was due later in the day to outline his **immigration** policy in the border state, where national anxieties over illegal **immigration** have often played out.

The municipal ID card will enable individuals to access certain city programs and conduct daily business, according to the city manager's office, which had supported issuing the cards. The card will be available starting in February.

The ordinance passed by a vote of five to four, the culmination of a two-year campaign by **immigrant** and civil-rights groups and a reflection of the city's growing Hispanic population and Democratic clout in the Republican state.

New York, Los Angeles and Oakland are among cities that issue similar cards, including to undocumented **immigrants**. New Haven, Conn. was the first city to offer such an ID in 2007.

Supporters say it will benefit **immigrants**, homeless individuals and others who often lack traditional identification necessary to conduct everyday business, such as open a bank account, sign a lease and enter a library or city building.

"They are real people… whose lives we can make better" with the card, Vice Mayor Kate Gallego said ahead of the vote.

Opponents say it would promote identity theft and illegal **immigration**. Councilman Jim Waring said, "I hope nothing bad comes of this." He said the city would be "willy nilly" giving Phoenix IDs to foreign nationals.

The card can't be used to acquire legal residence in the U.S., register to vote or access welfare benefits. It will be valid for a maximum of two years from the date of issuance and for as long as the cardholder maintains Phoenix residency.

Each city department will accept the card as a valid identification and valid proof of Phoenix residency. The Phoenix Police Department may use other identification forms and processes as necessary to substantiate a person's identity.

To obtain a card, a resident must complete an application and present proof of identity, such as a passport, and Phoenix residency with utility bills. A fee will be charged for the card, which will be issued and administered by SF Global LLC, a private company; it won't be funded by taxpayers.

"We have found a way to do this in a cost-neutral fashion," said Councilman Daniel Valenzuela, adding that it would boost public safety.

Despite the victory, the identification card's long-term survival isn't guaranteed. Last session, State Senator John Kavanagh sponsored legislation, which failed to pass by one vote, to bar cities from creating such a card.

Write to Miriam Jordan at miriam.jordan@wsj.com[mailto:miriam.jordan@wsj.com]

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