

# The Washington Post

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Thunderstorm 87/75 • Tomorrow: Partly sunny 91/72 B6

Democracy Dies in Darkness

MONDAY, JUNE 24, 2019 • \$2

## Hack pulls the veil off secret eyes at border

Documents give glimpse of complex system U.S. uses to monitor travel

BY DREW HARWELL

The recent cyberattack on a U.S. Customs and Border Protection subcontractor didn't expose just the faces and license plates of thousands of U.S. travelers. It also revealed the inner workings of a complex surveillance network that border authorities have long sought to keep secret.

CBP officials have played down the significance of the material taken in the hack, saying only that fewer than 100,000 photos of travelers had been compromised and that none of those had been posted to the "dark Web," the corner of the Internet where stolen documents are often traded and displayed.

That assessment, however, woefully understates the number of sensitive documents that are now freely available on the Web — so much material, totaling hundreds of gigabytes, that The Washington Post required several days of computer time to capture it all.

The documents offer an unusually intimate glimpse of the machinery that U.S. officials depend on for the constant monitoring of legal immigration through the border. They also illuminate the government's plans for expanding its use of license plate readers

SEE BORDER ON A2

## Once driver of hope, U.S. now source of pain in Cuba

BY ANTHONY FAIOLA

HAVANA — Just like that, the cruise ships are gone, along with thousands of cash-toting Americans who oohed and aahed — and shopped — amid the crumbling grandeur of Old Havana.

For Cubans, it's a bitter reversal of fortune. President Barack Obama's opening of relations here, leading to his historic visit three years ago, inspired hopes of an economic boom, bringing American investment and visitors back to this communist island largely shut off from the United States for more than a half-century. A new crop of restaurateurs, IT entrepreneurs, artists and fashion designers, reveling in a fresh sense of optimism, began building businesses to tap into the seemingly lucrative detente.

But as a deepening frost settles in between the Trump administration and Havana, Cuba is instead confronting its worst economic setback in years.

Lines have snaked for hours in front of markets selling rationed meat. The lawn of the Nicaraguan

SEE CUBA ON A10



MELINA MARA/THE WASHINGTON POST

Firefighters start a controlled burn in the Inyo National Forest. Years of inadequate forest management have allowed the area to become overgrown. Controlled fires are being set months earlier than usual, and plans allow vast stretches of state forest to burn if wildfires begin.

## A can't-win climate challenge for California

While wet winters buoy the state's water supply and tourism, they also create more fuel for wildfires

BY SCOTT WILSON

MAMMOTH LAKES, CALIF. — This early June morning is Boyd Shepler's birthday, No. 66, and he is spending it in a classic California way: a few hours of skiing in a snowflake-filled morning, then a round of golf in the dry afternoon sun.

The snow here in the Sierra Nevada is epic, packed into a base that is more than double the his-

torical average for early summer. Here on Mammoth Mountain, the ski lifts will be running into August. At lower altitudes, a spring of atmospheric rivers and hard rain has filled the state's once-languishing reservoirs.

"The coverage at the top is as good as I have seen it in 30 years," said Shepler, stoked after skiing Hangman's Hollow in June for the first time in years before trading his waterproof pants for a pair of

shorts and flip-flops. "We live for these summers up here."

But the bounty of California's have-it-both-ways climate has evolved into a can't-win challenge, something former governor Jerry Brown called the "new abnormal."

Awash in precious snow and water that will help meet the demands of the state's 40 million residents, the wetness also is forcing California to confront an even

greater threat of wildfire. The soaking spring nourishing the Jeffrey pines and sagebrush is giving way to a desert dry as soaring heat scorches the new growth into blankets of kindling.

At least eight wildfires have flared this month to the north and west of here, and the Bay Area hit record-high temperatures for early June. The utility company responsible for the state's deadliest

SEE CALIFORNIA ON A6

## Huawei digs in for a protracted battle with the U.S.

Chinese tech firm responds to Trump administration curbs by stockpiling parts and investing heavily

BY JEANNE WHALEN

DONGGUAN, CHINA — At the gleaming new offices of Chinese tech giant Huawei, an employee cafe last week was festooned with an intriguing image: a photo of a bullet-riddled Soviet plane from World War II.

A laminated copy of the photo had been placed at every table, along with a rousing caption: "Wounds and scars toughen you up, and great hardships make true heroes," it said, noting that the Ilyushin Il-2 aircraft "kept on flying and made it back safe" despite sustaining enemy fire.

The message was a call to arms for Huawei's 188,000 global employees as the world's biggest seller of telecom network equipment and second-biggest seller of smartphones prepares for a protracted struggle with the United States.

The Trump administration has called Huawei a threat to U.S. national security and taken several steps in recent months to undermine Huawei's business. Some of those tensions could be smoothed over this week when President Trump meets Chinese President Xi Jinping at the Group



QILAI SHEN/BLOOMBERG NEWS

A shuttle train leaves a station at a Huawei campus in Dongguan, China. The tech giant's global aspirations are on display at the campus, which is being built to resemble the great cities of Europe.

of 20 summit in Japan on Friday and Saturday to discuss the countries' sustained trade battle.

But the mood around Huawei's headquarters in southern China suggests the company is girding itself for a future in which the United States is more bitter rival than friend.

Huawei founder and chief executive Ren Zhengfei suggested last week that the Trump administration's recent move to cut off the company's U.S. suppliers was motivated not by a desire to protect national security, but by a wish to check a fast-growing Chinese rival.

"We realized when we reached a certain level there would be competition, but it didn't occur to us the U.S. government would be so determined to take such extreme measures against Huawei," Ren, a former soldier in the People's Liberation Army, said during a panel discussion June 17 at company headquarters.

As Washington stops Huawei from buying U.S. software and chips, the Chinese company is scrambling to roll out its own smartphone operating system and to redesign some telecom network equipment to exclude U.S. elements, according to industry analysts.

Huawei says it stockpiled months' worth of U.S. parts before Washington announced the ban, in anticipation of the conflict.

"The company has known this could be a possibility for many years. We have invested heavily and made full preparations in a variety of areas, including R&D and business continuity," Huawei Deputy Chairman Ken Hu said in a May 16 memo to employees.

Some industry analysts doubt Huawei's defensive actions will

SEE HUAWEI ON A9

## Trump brakes hard on policies

ABRUPT SHIFTS ON TARIFFS, RAIDS, IRAN

Security and political risks seen in brinkmanship

BY FELICIA SONMEZ AND DAVID J. LYNCH

Three policy turnarounds by President Trump this month have underscored his freewheeling governing style, an approach that some experts warn sends mixed messages and puts U.S. national security at risk.

Trump's approach on three issues — U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement raids, tariffs on Mexico, and action against Iran — is politically risky for the president, who is increasingly employing brinkmanship in an effort to achieve key policy goals.

On Sunday, Trump's defenders, including Vice President Pence, argued that the president showed admirable caution in refusing to move forward with a military strike on Iran in light of the potential casualties.

"The president demonstrated the restraint that the American people, I know, admire and are grateful for," Pence said on CNN's

SEE TRUMP ON A6

Mobilizing despite ICE raid delay  
Immigrant rights groups continue preparations in case talks fail. A3

## Candidates out of sync with voters on health care

BY AMY GOLDSTEIN

Medicare-for-all. Medicare for all who want it. Health care as a form of freedom. As they campaign, most of the 23 Democratic candidates for president are trumpeting bold ideas to achieve the party's long-held dream of ushering in health coverage for every American.

The problem is that many voters are not focused on such lofty goals. They want something simpler — to pay less for their own health care.

Voters have plenty to sort out, with nearly two dozen Democrats running, each offering a raft of proposals on many issues. But in public opinion surveys and interviews, people rank health care as their top concern. And with insurance deductibles, prescription drug costs and other medical charges squeezing the middle class, they consistently say they want elected leaders to lower their out-of-pocket costs.

SEE HEALTH CARE ON A4

New plan to scrap student debt  
Proposal by Sen. Bernie Sanders escalates 2020 policy fight. A4

## IN THE NEWS



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**Protest in Prague** An estimated quarter of a million Czechs called for the resignation of Prime Minister Andrej Babis. A8

**High anxiety** Washington-area residents say increased helicopter traffic is impossible to ignore and giving them nightmares. B1

**THE NATION**  
**Ahead of this week's** debates, Sen. Kamala D. Harris (Calif.) has had a hard time drawing contrasts between herself and her rivals for the Democratic nomination for president. A7

**THE WORLD**  
**An opposition party** candidate won the do-over race for Istanbul mayor, a substantial political defeat for Turkey's president, Recep Tayyip Erdogan. A12  
**A U.S.-backed** investment conference organized by presidential aide and son-in-law Jar-

ed Kushner to drum up business for Palestinians will have no Palestinian government representatives, and Israeli officials are unlikely to attend. A15

**THE REGION**  
**A recent appeals court** ruling could mean more defendants charged with violent crimes in D.C. Superior Court will be released from jail as they await trial. B1

**THE WEEK AHEAD**  
**MONDAY**  
**Vice President Pence** addresses a Maryland Republican Party fund-

raiser in Linthicum.  
**Microsoft co-founder** Bill Gates speaks in Washington on clean energy start-ups.

**TUESDAY**  
**President Trump** awards the Medal of Honor to David G. Bellavia for gallantry while serving as an Army staff sergeant in Iraq.  
**Virginia Gov.** Ralph Northam (D) signs legislation making it easier for same-sex couples to adopt children through donated embryos.  
**New-home sales** for May will total 680,000 on an annual basis.

**WEDNESDAY**  
**The first of two Demo-**

cratic presidential debates is held.  
**Trump speaks** at a Faith & Freedom Coalition conference.  
**Secretary of State** Mike Pompeo visits officials in India.

**THURSDAY**  
**The second Democratic** debate is held.  
**First-quarter GDP** is seen rising 3.1 percent.  
**Jobless claims** for the week ended June 22 are estimated at 218,000.

**FRIDAY**  
**Japan hosts** the Group of 20 summit in Osaka.  
**Personal income** for May is expected to rise 0.3 percent.

## INSIDE



**STYLE**  
**A network's role** MSNBC is a face of the Resistance and a news outlet. Will that affect the primary debates? C1  
**A chef's memory** On what would have been Anthony Bourdain's 63rd birthday, it's time to discuss depression. C1

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