

WORLD



Mr. Trump's advisers say that the president is ready to confront Vladimir Putin about Russia's "malign activities," and that the United States wants a strong and unified NATO.

NATO allies brace for Trump

NATO, FROM PAGE 1

At a campaign rally last week in Montana, Mr. Trump previewed his trip to Brussels to thousands of supporters. "I'll see NATO and I'll tell NATO, 'You've got to start paying your bills,'" he said. "The United States is not going to take care of everything."

He also said he had suggested to Chancellor Angela Merkel of Germany that the tens of thousands of United States troops who are stationed in her country might not be worth the expenditure — an opinion he has shared privately with advisers at the White House, according to one person familiar with the discussions.

Last month, Mr. Trump wrote personal letters to the leaders of several NATO allies, asking them to task for failing to live up to a goal set in 2014 that every member work toward spending 2 percent of its gross domestic product on defense. His note to Ms. Merkel was particularly pointed, holding Germany responsible for other allies' shortfalls as well as its own.

Germany has promised to increase military spending to 1.5 percent of its economy by 2024. While not the 2 percent level, Berlin will argue that will still be more than any other NATO country other than the United States.

Norbert Röttgen, chairman of the German Parliament's Foreign Relations Committee, said the answer to Mr. Trump is "to accept he has a point, and respond by displaying more European strength and enhancing European defense in cooperation with NATO." As a whole, the alliance's European members spend about \$200 billion a year.

"That's a lot, but it's cost inefficient, militarily ineffective and lacks political weight and impact," he said. "We need to

strengthen the European pillar of NATO."

Still, the fear is that Mr. Trump will seek to bargain — to conflate trade and security — as he has already done with South Korea and Japan.

Europeans cannot accept making collective security transactional, or dependent on actions on tariffs or specific spending targets in a relationship that is mutually beneficial, said Robin Niblett, director of Chatham House, a policy institute in London.

"It can feel like a protection racket, trading security for economic return,"

The fear is that President Trump will conflate trade and security, as he has already done with South Korea and Japan.

Mr. Niblett said, especially as Mr. Trump "then goes off to see Putin."

Mr. Trump has dismissed concerns about Mr. Putin as overblown.

Last month, he suggested that Russia should be readmitted to the Group of 7, from which it was expelled after illegally annexing Crimea.

During a phone call with Mr. Putin in March, when the president was urged by aides not to congratulate the Russian president on his electoral victory, Mr. Trump did just that.

He told Mr. Putin that Russia and the United States should get along better. And he described as "stupid people" the unnamed Trump administration officials whom the Russian president said had tried to prevent the call from happening, according to a person with direct knowledge of the conversation.

Mr. Trump's stance has alarmed

many conservatives. The Heritage Foundation, a conservative think tank, posted a tweet last week with reminders that appeared designed to speak directly to Mr. Trump ahead of his trip.

"Things to remember before @realDonaldTrump travels to Europe," it said. "Russia is the aggressor — Ukraine is the victim. Crimea belongs to Ukraine. NATO & US troops in Europe serve our national interests. Europeans must spend more on defense. Putin's track record shows he can't be trusted."

Mr. Trump's advisers have struck a far sharper tone against Russia.

They say that the president is ready to confront Mr. Putin about Russia's "malign activities," and that the United States wants a strong and unified NATO.

They also have dismissed any suggestion that Washington would consider pulling back its military presence or commitment to the alliance in response to what it considers to be under-spending by member countries.

"The major thing, the major deliverable, the major overall theme of this summit is going to be NATO's strength and unity," Kay Bailey Hutchison, the United States ambassador to NATO, said in a conference call with reporters last week. She said she had heard nothing about adjusting the United States' military presence in Germany, and praised European allies for spending more on their defense, saying it would be a main focus of the gathering.

"Every one of our allies — 100 percent — are increasing defense spending," Ms. Hutchison said. "So that is something that we will talk about as an achievement, but also that we need to do more."

Mr. Trump's advisers are hoping to avoid a blowup akin to the one the presi-

dent provoked at the Group of 7 summit meeting in Quebec last month, and have pointed Mr. Trump to evidence that NATO allies have responded to his aggressive pressure by increasing their own military spending.

The worry in Europe is that Mr. Putin will flatter Mr. Trump and play on the American president's notion of himself as a great negotiator in face-to-face meetings. They cite the Singapore summit with Kim Jong-un of North Korea, following the Group of 7 crackup, when Mr. Trump emerged to announce the cancellation of longstanding military exercises with South Korea — without consulting or informing either the South Korean government or the Pentagon.

They fear that Mr. Trump might unilaterally cancel planned NATO exercises, in particular Trident Juncture, a large one planned for late October, and Anakonda, for November, to practice the defense of Poland. And they are concerned he might abandon sanctions on Russia over Crimea and eastern Ukraine.

"In the past, Europe did not doubt that U.S. interests and values were fundamentally aligned with theirs," said Daniel M. Price, who was an international economic adviser to President George W. Bush and a White House veteran of major summit meetings.

"Now they wonder whether they can count on us in times of crisis without our first checking to see if they are current on their rent or royalty payments," Mr. Price said. "The decline in confidence is palpable."

Julie Hirschfeld Davis reported from Washington, and Steven Erlanger from Brussels. Maggie Haberman contributed reporting from New York.

A.I. and cameras tighten China's grip

SURVEILLANCE, FROM PAGE 1

"The goal is algorithmic governance," he added.

THE SHAME GAME

The intersection south of Changhong Bridge in the city of Xiangyang used to be a nightmare. Cars drove fast and jaywalkers darted into the street.

Then last summer, the police put up cameras linked to facial recognition technology and a big outdoor screen. Photos of lawbreakers were displayed alongside their names and government ID numbers. People were initially excited to see their faces on the board, said Guan Yue, a spokeswoman, until propaganda outlets told them it was punishment.

"If you are captured by the system and you don't see it, your neighbors or colleagues will, and they will gossip about it," she said. "That's too embarrassing for people to take."

China's new surveillance is based on an old idea: Only strong authority can bring order to a turbulent country. Mao Zedong took that philosophy to devastating ends, as his top-down rule brought famine and then the Cultural Revolution.

His successors also craved order but feared the consequences of totalitarian rule. They formed a new understanding with the Chinese people. In exchange for political impotence, the citizens would be mostly left alone and allowed to get rich.

It worked. Censorship and police powers remained strong, but China's people still found more freedom. That new attitude helped usher in decades of breakneck economic growth. Today, that unwritten agreement is breaking down.

China's economy isn't growing at the same pace. It suffers from a severe wealth gap. After four decades of fatter paychecks and better living, its people have higher expectations.

Xi Jinping, China's top leader, has moved to solidify his power. Changes to Chinese law mean he could rule longer than any leader since Mao.

For support, he has turned to the Mao-era beliefs in the importance of a cult of personality and the role of the Communist Party in everyday life. Technology gives him the power to make it happen.

"Reform and opening has already failed, but no one dares to say it," said the Chinese historian Zhang Lifan, citing China's four-decade post-Mao policy. "The current system has created severe social and economic segregation. So now the rulers use the taxpayers' money to monitor the taxpayers."

Mr. Xi has begun a major upgrade of the surveillance state. China has become the world's biggest market for security and surveillance technology, with analysts estimating the country will have almost 300 million cameras installed by 2020. Chinese buyers will snap up more than three-quarters of all servers designed to scan video footage for faces, predicts IHS Markit, a research firm. China's police will spend an additional \$30 billion in the coming years on techno-enabled snooping, said one expert quoted in state media.

Government contracts are fueling research and development into technologies that track faces, clothing and even a person's gait. Experimental gadgets, like facial-recognition glasses, have begun to appear.

Judging public reaction can be difficult in a country where the news media is controlled by the government. Still, so far the average Chinese citizen appears to show little concern. The erratic enforcement of laws against everything from assault to speeding means the long arm of China's authoritarian government can feel remote from everyday life. As a result, many cheer on new attempts at law and order.

"It's one of the biggest intersections in the city," said Wang Fukang, a college student who volunteered as a guard at the crosswalk in Xiangyang. "It's important that it stays safe and orderly."

SURVEILLANCE START-UP

Start-ups often make a point of insisting that employees use their technology. In Shanghai, a company called Yitu has taken that to the extreme.

The halls of its offices are dotted with cameras, looking for faces. From desk to break room to exit, employees' paths are traced on a television screen with blue dotted lines. The monitor shows their comings and goings, all day, everyday.

In China, snooping is becoming big business. As the country spends heavily on surveillance, a new generation of start-ups has risen to meet the demand.

Chinese companies are developing globally competitive applications like image and voice recognition. Yitu took first place in a 2017 contest for facial recognition algorithms held by the United States government's Office of the Director of National Intelligence. A number of other Chinese companies scored well.

A technology boom in China is helping the government's surveillance ambitions. In sheer scale and investment, China rivals Silicon Valley. Between the government and eager investors, surveillance start-ups have access to plenty of money and other resources.

In May, the A.I. company SenseTime raised \$620 million, giving it a valuation of about \$4.5 billion. Yitu raised \$200 million last month. Another rival, Megvii, raised \$460 million from investors that included a state-backed fund created by China's top leadership.

At a building complex in Xiangyang, a facial-recognition system set up to let residents quickly through security

"No matter which corner you escape to, we'll bring you to justice."

gates adds to the police's collection of photos of local residents, according to local Chinese Communist Party officials.

Wen Yangli, an executive at Number 1 Community, which makes the product, said the company is at work on other applications. One would detect when crowds of people are clashing. Another would allow the police to use virtual maps of buildings to find out who lives where.

A recent state-media propaganda film called "Amazing China" showed off a similar virtual map that provided the police with records of utility use, saying it could be used for predictive policing.

"If there are anomalies, the system sends an alert," a narrator says, as Chinese police officers pay a visit to an apartment with a record of erratic utility use. The film then quotes one of the officers: "No matter which corner you escape to, we'll bring you to justice."

GETTING CONFESSIONS

For technology to be effective, it doesn't always have to work. Take China's facial-recognition glasses.

The police in the central Chinese city of Zhengzhou recently showed off the specs at a high-speed rail station for state media and others. They snapped photos of a policeman peering from behind the shaded lenses.

But the glasses work only if the target stands still for several seconds. They have been mostly used to check travelers for fake identifications.

China's national database of individuals it has flagged for watching — including suspected terrorists, criminals, drug traffickers, political activists and others — includes 20 million to 30 million people, said one technology executive who works closely with the government. That is too many people for today's facial recognition technology to parse, said the executive, who asked not to be identified because the information wasn't public.

Still, Chinese authorities who are generally mum about security have embarked on a campaign to persuade the country's people that the high-tech security state is already in place.

In Zhengzhou, the police were happy to explain how just the thought of the facial recognition glasses could get criminals to confess.

Mr. Shan, the Zhengzhou railway station deputy police chief, cited the time his department apprehended a suspected heroin smuggler. While questioning the suspect, Mr. Shan said, the police pulled out the glasses and told the man that what he said didn't matter. The glasses could give them all the information they needed.

"Because he was afraid of being found out by the advanced technology, he confessed," said Mr. Shan, adding that the man had swallowed 60 small packets of heroin. "We didn't even use any interrogation techniques," Mr. Shan said. "He simply gave it all up."

Carolyn Zhang contributed reporting from Zhengzhou.

Showing another side of the White House

WASHINGTON

U.S. first lady to represent more open administration in weeklong trip to Europe

BY KATIE ROGERS

After weeks of solo travel around the United States, the first lady, Melania Trump, plans to revive her child-focused project "Be Best" as she accompanies her husband on a weeklong trip through Europe, the White House has said.

The trip, with diplomatic-and-golf-focused hops planned between Belgium, England, Scotland and Finland, began Tuesday. It will be a high-profile re-entry into the spotlight for Mrs. Trump, who has not done much with Be Best since starting it days before she was hospitalized for a kidney condition in May. In June, she sat out the president's visit to Quebec for the Group of 7 summit meeting and a later meeting in Singapore with Kim Jong-un, the North Korean leader. In recent weeks she has instead focused on visits with immigrant children detained at the United States' border with Mexico.

Mrs. Trump will participate in at least two events in Europe, including one in London where she is expected to bring up Be Best, said Stephanie Grisham, Mrs. Trump's communications director.

Mrs. Trump will also meet with Philip May, the husband of Prime Minister



The first lady, Melania Trump, has sat out the president's recent trips abroad but will participate in at least two events in Europe.

Theresa May of Britain, while President Trump meets with Mrs. May.

"He's looking forward to meeting Melania," Mrs. May told The Sunday Times of London about her husband's preparation for the visit. "He has been out and bought a new suit."

Over all, Mrs. Trump's task is to try to present a more open side of an administration that has increasingly isolated itself from its closest allies and embraced dictators and authoritarian rulers. The trip will include a NATO meeting in

Brussels as well as a meeting in Helsinki between Mr. Trump and President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia.

"It is important to her that she represents our country in a positive way," Ms. Grisham said, "while paying respect to the host countries we are visiting."

Not all of Mrs. Trump's public relations efforts have gone smoothly. In June she created headlines around the world after boarding a plane to visit migrant children in Texas wearing a jacket with the phrase "I Really Don't Care, Do

U?" printed on the back. Mrs. Trump's office has declined to explain the reason she wore it, except to say it was a decision the first lady made on her own.

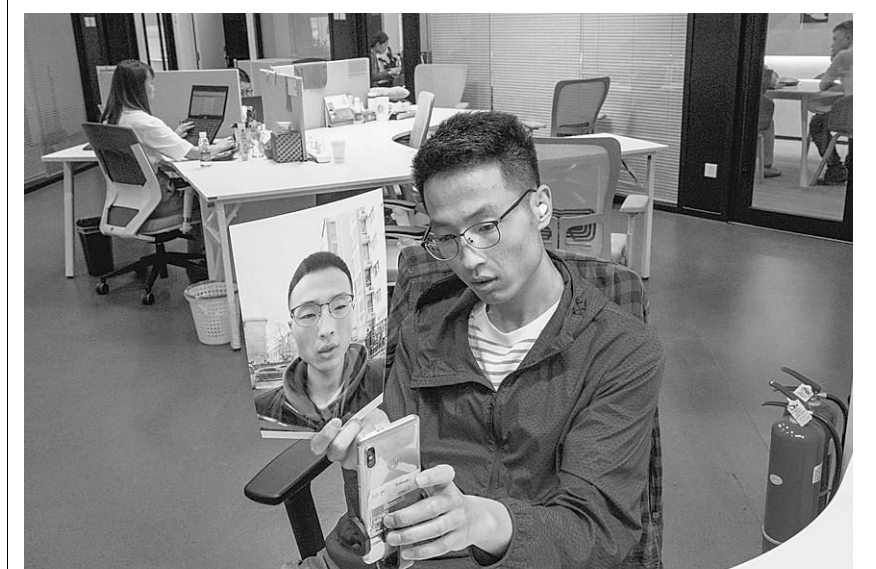
But she has had some success. On Mr. Trump's first trip abroad last year, the conservative Saudi press praised the first lady's manner and style of dress. She had a lighthearted exchange with Pope Francis over the president's diet, in contrast with a somber-looking group photo taken minutes later. Her fashion choices have been pored over by journalists and on Instagram.

The White House staff has also used her, not always successfully, to distract Mr. Trump. Last July when Mr. Trump and Mr. Putin spent more than two hours in a meeting that went far longer than planned, the first lady was sent in to try to end it.

"People were sticking their heads in the door," Rex Tillerson, the former secretary of state, who was in the meeting, said at the time. Officials "sent the first lady at one point to see if they could get us out of there."

"But it didn't work," he said. Katherine Jellison, a professor at Ohio University who studies first ladies, said that Mrs. Trump had her work cut out for her on the trip.

"This first lady probably has some challenges in that her husband is not a favorite among Europeans and European leaders," Ms. Jellison said in an interview. "I suspect that she will try to be particularly charming and win over locals on these side events where she goes out by herself."



Testing facial recognition software at Megvii, an artificial intelligence company in Beijing. China is the world's biggest market for security and surveillance technology.