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## A key engineer for Trump's agenda

Miller, 31, began building a conservative foundation in liberal California

BY ROSALIND S. HELDERMAN

As a young conservative in liberal Santa Monica, Calif., Stephen Miller clashed frequently with his high school, often calling in to a national radio show to lambaste administrators for promoting multiculturalism, allowing Spanish-language morning announcements and failing to require recitation of the Pledge of Allegiance.

Miller's outrage did not appear to subside after he graduated. As a Duke University sophomore,



CHIP SOMODEVILLA/GETTY IMAGES  
**Stephen Miller's clashes in high school had a national audience.**

Miller penned a column, titled "Santa Monica High's Multicultural Fistfights," in which he ripped his alma mater as a "center for political indoctrination."

"The social experiment that Santa Monica High School has become is yet one more example of the dismal failure of leftism and the delusions and paranoia of its architects," Miller wrote in the 2005 article for the conservative magazine FrontPage.

In the years before he became a top adviser to President Trump

MILLER CONTINUED ON A8

## Democrats seek to convert activism into a movement

BY DAVID WEIGEL AND KAREN TUMULTY

A super PAC formed to reelect Barack Obama in 2012 is driving activists to congressional town halls. Veterans of Bill Clinton's administration are joining marches and plotting bigger ones for the spring. Democratic senators who had befriended Jeff Sessions in the Senate voted — 47 to 1 — against his nomination for attorney general.

Restive, aggressive base presents set of challenges

**Liberal tea party:** Will a new rising topple Democratic leaders? **A2**

Three weeks into President Trump's term, the Democratic Party and progressive establishment have almost entirely adopted the demands of a restive,

active and aggressive base. They are hopeful that the new activism more closely resembles the tea party movement, which embraced electoral politics, than the Occupy Wall Street movement, which did not.

The pace of the activists, and the runaway-train approach of Trump's administration, have given them little time to puzzle it out.

"He has a strategy to do so **DEMOCRATS CONTINUED ON A15**



SIRIO MAGNABOSCO/ARCTIC TIMES PROJECT

## GREENLAND'S URANIUM DILEMMA

As principal of the primary school in this once-prosperous fishing town near the southern tip of Greenland, Ivalo Motzfeldt has a clear view of what unemployment and shrinking opportunity can do to families: Children arriving at school hungry and traumatized by domestic violence. Recurrent waves of suicides. Flagging motivation and stubbornly low rates of academic advancement.

Motzfeldt knows that breaking this pattern is critical to Narsaq's future and to Greenland's. But she

passionately opposes the government's proposed solution: an open-pit mine for rare-earth minerals and uranium near town financed by a pair of Australian and Chinese mining companies. She fears that the mine will poison South Greenland's pristine environment with radioactive waste and open the tiny nation of 56,000 to foreign meddling. "We need money, but we can't sacrifice the land for money," she said.

While the world focuses on the potentially disastrous effects of Greenland's melting ice cap, Green-

Is the income from an open-pit mine worth the risk to health and the environment?

BY MICHAEL ONEAL IN NARSAQ, GREENLAND

**The Greenland town of Narsaq lies near a plateau where the extraction of uranium and rare-earth minerals is planned.**

landers themselves are struggling to solve a very different problem: how to tap their wealth of natural resources without inviting the environmental and political problems that have devastated other developing nations.

With a territory larger than Mexico and a population that could fit inside a football stadium, Greenland badly needs new sources of income to provide jobs and combat chronic social ills. Its economy leans heavily on one major export — shrimp — and is propped up by an

annual block grant of more than \$500 million from Denmark.

The question is what to do about it. Many in Greenland, including Prime Minister Kim Kielsen, view resource development as the nation's best chance for self-sufficiency. The issue is tightly intertwined with Greenland's fervent movement to win independence from Denmark, which began colonizing the sprawling territory almost 300 years ago. Greenland negotiated the right to self-rule in 1979 and has

GREENLAND CONTINUED ON A12

## 2 black burial grounds in Va. on path to justice

Delegate's bill would fund upkeep Confederate cemeteries have long had

BY GREGORY S. SCHNEIDER

RICHMOND — John Mitchell picks his way down the path through the woods, avoiding the thick brush on either side, stepping gingerly over a slab of fallen granite, until he gets to the broken crypt.

A jagged hole exposes caskets to the sky, their metal fixtures rusted, covers ajar. English ivy cascades down the sides of the crypt, and a cross and a strange symbol have been drawn in black over the opening, possibly by someone who broke in.

The grave of Mitchell's great-grandfather, Thomas Mitchell, is somewhere nearby, hidden under vines and tree roots on the hillside. All around the violated crypt, mounds in the ivy mark fallen tombstones, piles of collapsed iron fencing, granite blocks that once outlined family plots.

This is Evergreen Cemetery, burial ground for some of the elite citizens of Richmond in the late 1800s and early 1900s. Bankers, publishers, doctors, lawyers — the type of upper crust who are usually lionized in this city of monuments. Except that all of these people were black, and the city's grand cemeteries wouldn't have them when they died.

Founded 126 years ago, the 60-acre Evergreen has no on-going means of support. Only a

CEMETERIES CONTINUED ON A6

## The Islamic State's new threat: Child terrorists

The militant group is cultivating adolescents in the West, either by direct contact or inspiration

BY ANTHONY FAIOLA AND SOUAD MEKHENNET

ESSEN, GERMANY — The package ordered online arrived at his second-floor apartment on a brisk Saturday morning, a cardboard box packed with magnesium, potassium nitrate and aluminum powder for a homemade bomb. Weeks ahead of the attack, police said, the terrorist cell's leader — an Islamist his comrades called the Emir — had issued precautionary orders.

"Delete ALL pictures and videos of the Islamic State," the Emir warned via WhatsApp.

"Delete your chats."

"Everything that is weapon-like or similar (also bombs) must be immediately disposed of. ... Sell it, give it away, move it or destroy it."

And then one night last April, officials said, the Emir — a Muslim title for an exalted leader — led two cell members to a Sikh house of worship in this industrial city and hurled the bomb toward its door. A deafening boom rang out. Orange flames lit a mosaic of blood and

ISIS CONTINUED ON A16



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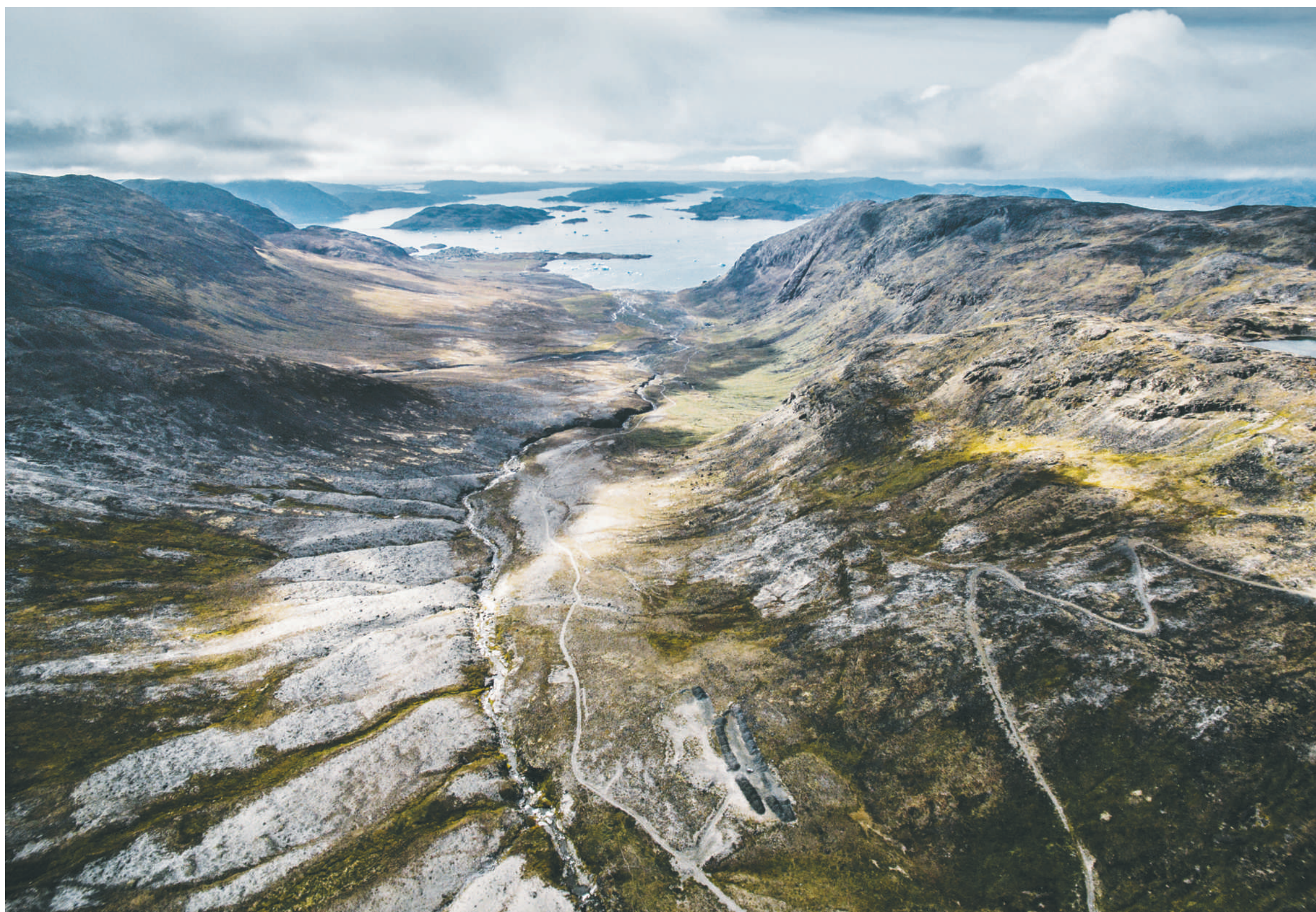
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The Washington Post  
Year 140, No. 69





SIRIO MAGNABOSCO/ARCTIC TIMES PROJECT

The Kuannersuit Plateau, the planned location of a mining project to extract uranium and rare earth minerals near the town of Narsaq. The fishing harbor would be developed into an industrial export center.

## Greenlanders wrestle with cost-benefit of uranium mining

### GREENLAND FROM A1

since built the institutions of a modern democratic society.

The next step, pro-development interests think, is to launch large-scale mining projects to jump-start a diversification of the economy. Opponents counter that courting foreign mining interests amounts to swapping one form of dependency for another, with the added risk of environmental degradation.

The policy debate is playing out in Nuuk, Greenland's capital, but the struggle is more palpable in Narsaq, where mining companies propose digging into a treeless mountain called Kvanefjeld that rises imposingly just outside of town. The mine would produce 3 million tons of ore per year when at full production. It would be the world's second-largest rare earth mine; its overall footprint, including disposal areas and housing for workers, would be close to five square miles.

From the top of Kvanefjeld, it's easy to see what's at stake. The view is spectacular — a patchwork of rugged mountains and aquamarine fjords studded with ice floes in various shades of white and blue.

But the surrounding region is in steady decline. Although it thrived for generations on fishing, that changed in 2010, when Royal Greenland, the state-owned fishing company, closed the local shrimp-processing plant, eliminating more than 100 jobs. Narsaq's population has dropped 13 percent since 2006 as young people have moved elsewhere. Those who remain are left wondering how they can carve out a new future in an Arctic region that is changing rapidly and dramatically.

### The operations manager

Ib Laursen, the local manager of the Australian mining company Greenland Minerals and Energy (GME), spends much of his time trying to convince his neighbors that their fears about uranium are overblown. Unless GME and its Chinese partner, Shenghe Resources Holding Co., demonstrate that they can develop and operate the proposed mine safely, he said, there's no way Greenland's government will allow the companies to proceed.

At 61, Laursen is tall and toned, a former fitness specialist in the Danish army who moved to Greenland to be a hunting outfitter 31 years ago. He and his wife have raised two children here, and he claims as much stake as anyone else in



PHOTOS BY SIRIO MAGNABOSCO/ARCTIC TIMES PROJECT

CLOCKWISE FROM TOP: Sebu Kaspersen is a whale and seal hunter who says the animals are scarcer in the warmer climate. Vittus Qujaukitsoq is the minister for industry, labor, trade and foreign affairs. He backs the uranium and rare earths mine, whose future his government will decide. Shopkeeper Hans Knudsen said he "was positive about the mine, but now I'm a father and I see things different."

making sure the mine doesn't contaminate his adopted home.

"We have the institutions. We have the transparency," he insisted. "Greenland needs to have one good experience and develop from there."

So far, GME has spent \$65 million studying the mine's feasibility and will soon submit final environmental- and social-impact studies. To help defray costs, it brought in Shenghe as a 12.5 percent partner in September. The agreement included the possibility of increasing that stake to 60 percent in the future.

Standing on a hill near the mine site made barren by naturally occurring high levels of toxic fluorine in the soil, Laursen explained that Kvanefjeld was formed when magma forced its way into Earth's crust eons ago, then slowly cooled in place instead of spilling over as a volcano. The cooling produced one of the world's richest deposits of rare earth oxides, used in the manufacture of consumer electronics and in alternative energy technologies.

Uranium makes up only about 9 percent of the total value of the deposit. But there's no way of getting at the more lucrative minerals without generating radioactive waste, dramatically increasing the project's environmental risk.

GME proposes building a two-mile pipeline over the mountain to channel a slurry of radioactive "tailings" from the mine into a lake perched high above the fjord. The miners will build a complex dam that blocks the lake's outlet stream but allows snowmelt to pass through so the lake basin doesn't overflow. Then there's the radioactive dust: The miners will have to deploy a host of measures to keep it from contaminating the town and nearby sheep pastures.

Not surprisingly, the complexity of this plan gives many locals pause. They also balk at plans to establish a village for more than 700 mostly foreign workers and transform Narsaq's pristine harbor into a transpolar shipping facility. But Laursen argues that all of this is manageable.

"This is a golden opportunity to do it correctly," he said. "Greenland is standing at the starting block just waiting for the gun to go off."

### The tattoo artist

Tattoo artist Paninnguag Lind Jensen isn't buying it. She fears that the environmental degradation and health risks posed by an open-pit mine will inevitably outweigh the benefits. "If you Google 'open-pit mine,' all you see is destruction," she said. "It GREENLAND CONTINUED ON A13



GREENLAND FROM A12

would be like killing the spirit of South Greenland.”

But Jensen has also seen Narsaq's decline firsthand. While growing up here in the 1990s, most of the adults she knew had jobs, and her neighborhood was filled with children playing in the streets, the older ones looking after the younger. Jensen left Narsaq at 16 to finish her education in Denmark, and when she returned last year at 26, the town was diminished: The shrimp-processing plant was closed, whole apartment buildings were boarded up and unemployment had become a major problem.

“It's like people lost all hope about Narsaq,” she said.

Hope can be fragile in Greenland, which has one of the highest suicide rates in the world. Of the 30 children in Jensen's primary school class, five have taken their own lives over the years, she said. With the rise in joblessness, social problems in general have spread.

She would like to think these problems would go away if the mine added jobs and improved local health services, but she's convinced it's not that easy.

“That's a really romantic picture,” she said, “but I don't believe it.”

**The shrimper**

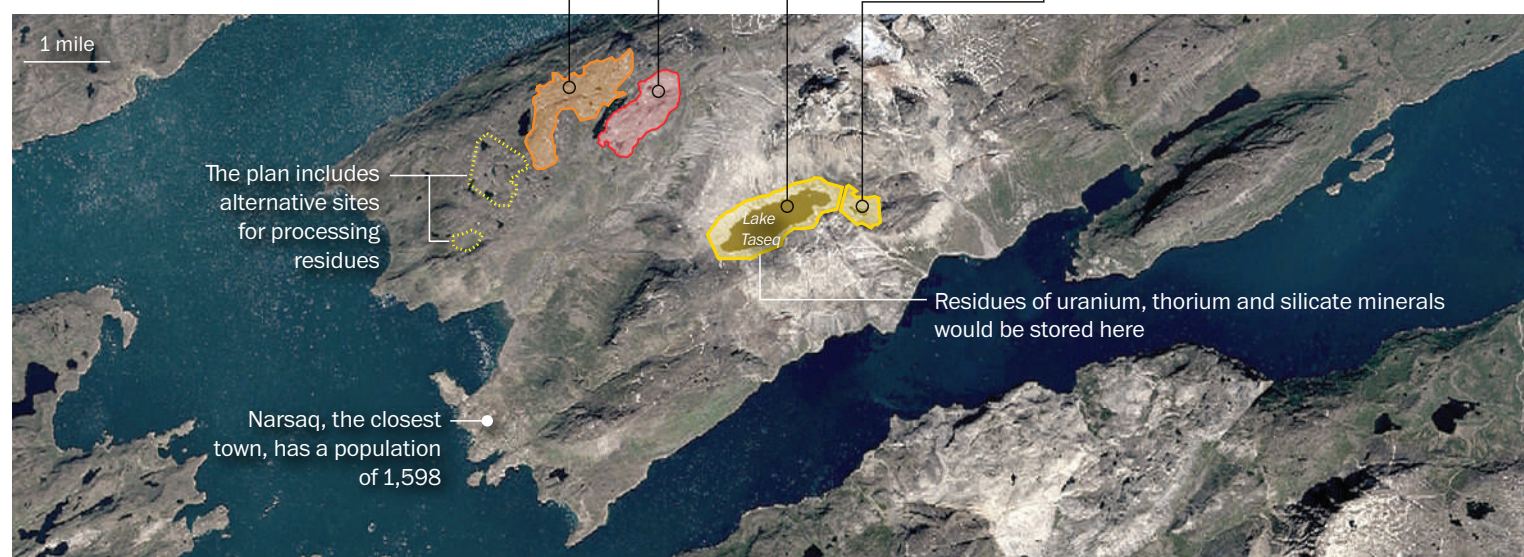
Until he died in December at 58, Jorgen Olesen had spent most of his life at sea. He and his brothers owned a small fleet of shrimp boats, and he was fond of telling stories about the days not so long ago when hauling 16 tons of prawns in a three-day run was commonplace.

“The town had a flow to it then,” Olesen had said, when interviewed in September. “People were happy. They went to work every day and got paid every two weeks.” Narsaq's local processing plant ran 24 hours a day in three shifts, peeling, freezing and packing shrimp for a global market.

While climate change seems to be benefiting Greenland's overall fishing industry, coastal shrimping near Narsaq has fallen victim to several factors. Because shrimp thrive in the cold, they have moved to deeper water and farther north as temperatures have risen. Royal Greenland's large, modern factory ships are better suited to chasing moving

**Kvaneffjeld mine proposal**

The uranium and rare earth element mine in South Greenland could be one of the biggest sources of rare earth elements in the world.



Source: Greenland Minerals and Energy LTD

SAMUEL GRANADOS / THE WASHINGTON POST

species and can process them more efficiently onboard.

To preserve some jobs, the government mandates that 25 percent of the catch be delivered to onshore plants, but Narsaq's was not one of them. Left without a place to land their catch, small boats such as Olesen's eventually stopped operating.

With less pressure on their numbers, some shrimp are returning to the fjord. Halibut fishing is also better, and mackerel are on the rise. But few think Narsaq will see renewed fishing employment anytime soon. Olesen said he had counseled his son to find another career — but not in the mine, which he opposed.

Even if you thought it made sense to take the environmental risk, Olesen said, mining is unsustainable. The project is expected to run its course in 30 to 40 years. Young people taking jobs there “won't be employed even for a generation,” Olesen said. “Then they'll just throw them back into unemployment.”

**The farmers**

All that Klaus Frederiksen and Aviaja Lennert have to do to remember why they oppose the mine is to walk out their front

**MINING AREA**

The pit, which is open to the air, is where the digging takes place.

The dump is where waste rock is piled.

**PROCESSING RESIDUES**

The flotation tailings storage facility receives 92 percent of the solid residues after processing.

The chemical residue storage facility receives the remaining 8 percent of refinery residue.

door. Sixty-six acres of sheep pasture stretch toward a blue fjord choked with giant ice floes that have calved from the nearby glacier — a southern tributary of Greenland's massive ice cap. Frederiksen's family has farmed this land for three generations.

Frederiksen has firsthand experience with uranium. He apprenticed on a Norwegian sheep

farm in 1993 that was still finding radiation in animals seven years after the Soviet Chernobyl nuclear plant accident. He knows the mine is not Chernobyl but still worries that if radioactive dust drifts northward from Narsaq, it could taint the pastures where he grazes his 600 sheep.

GME says there is no threat of such contamination, but farmers fear that even the suggestion of such exposure could turn consumers off the meat from South Greenland and discourage tourism. Like many of their neighbors, Frederiksen and Lennert

have developed a nice side income by renting their outbuildings to ecotourists.

Lennert thinks a rapidly warming climate will create opportunities to develop new forms of sustainable agriculture. But climate change is unpredictable. Warming has produced an extended drought in the region that has forced sheep farmers to im-

*“Is it an option for people to be unemployed and supported by subsidies? No.”*

Vittus Qujaukitsoq, minister of industry, labor, trade and foreign affairs

port fresh hay from Denmark via barge, an enormously expensive undertaking.

Frederiksen said a family used to be able to make a living from 300 sheep but now must own 500 to get by. Even so, Lennert wouldn't trade her life for anyone else's.

“I feel like I'm rich,” she said.

**The seal hunter**

Standing on a bloody dock next to six small boats filled with slabs of whale meat, Sebu Kaspersen, 31, said he, too, is feeling the effects of climate change. For

years, he has hunted adult seals that sun themselves on the sea ice that floats down from East Greenland each spring. But a lack of ice last year meant seals were scarce.

Whale and seal hunting hardly endears Greenlanders to the rest of the world, but it is a proud Inuit tradition and an important source of food and jobs. As friends and neighbors crowded around the boats to fill bags with meat and blubber, Kaspersen said he considers himself part of an essential circle of life. Kaspersen grew up on his father's boat and got his professional hunting license at 18. The work isn't easy, but the idea of trading his life for a job in the mine, he said, is unthinkable.

Still, Kaspersen is in favor of the Kvaneffjeld project. Having watched Narsaq decline after the shrimp plant closed, he thinks the town needs a new source of jobs. Although Kaspersen said he would keep a wary eye on the local environment, he's confident uranium can be mined safely. “Today the technology is much better,” he said. “I'm okay with it.”

**The politician**

For Vittus Qujaukitsoq, Greenland's minister of industry, labor and trade, the question is not

whether a uranium mine makes sense for Narsaq but whether the town has any choice.

“Is it an option for people to be unemployed and supported by subsidies?” he asked. “No.”

Qujaukitsoq, who is also Greenland's foreign minister, is a blunt, hard-nosed leader of the Siumut party that has controlled Greenland's government since 2013. Wide-shouldered and solid, he has the pugnacious air of a big-city mayor and is not afraid to pick a fight.

Qujaukitsoq insisted there is no reason to think the laws and frameworks in place will not protect Greenland's interests — environmental, cultural and political.

“Is our small size a concern?” he said. “No. We have to become more than we are. . . . Everything has a price, including our freedom. It's a question of how willing the people are to be free.”

**The shopkeeper**

Hans Knudsen did not expect to be back here. He had gone away after primary school and eventually studied IT support and multimedia Web design in Denmark. He thought he was headed for a job in the new economy.

But when the shrimp plant shut down, his father's variety store began to falter. Fishermen and plant workers — customers for cigarettes, laundry detergent and much else — once were a steady clientele, but now their patronage was gone. Knudsen's father called him home to help out.

He complied. And like his father, Knudsen, 33, was initially a big supporter of the mine proposal. The town needed jobs, and a mine could provide them. But then he began a relationship with a local girl, and they had a child. The mine opponents' warnings about toxic dust floating over the town began to resonate.

“I'm worried about my own family now,” he said. But he's also concerned about keeping the family business afloat. He's stuck on the fence, full of anxiety about the future.

“I don't know,” he said. “I'm not saying no, and I'm not saying yes.”

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Michael Oneal went to Greenland as part of the nonprofit Arctic Times Project, an international team of journalists exploring transformation in the Arctic region.

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