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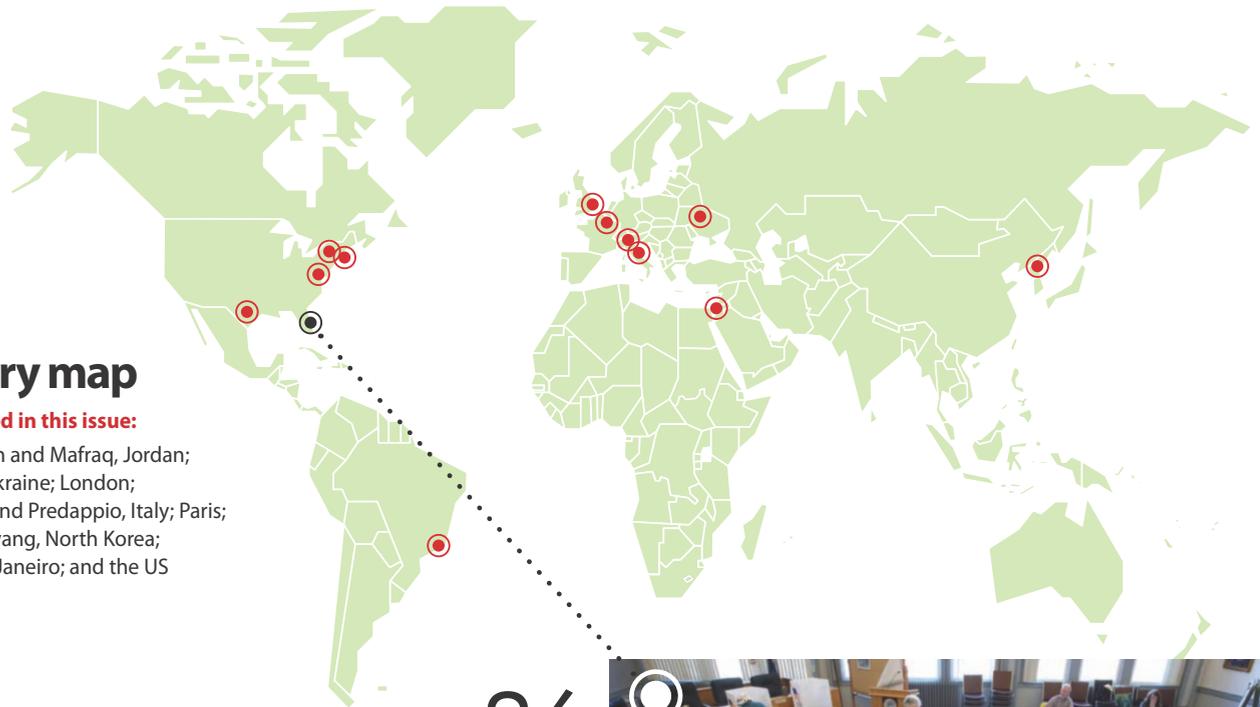


STEALING DEMOCRACY

A SPECIAL REPORT

HOW HACKERS, FROM
RUSSIA OR ELSEWHERE,
COULD SWAY
A U.S. ELECTION

BY WARREN RICHEY



Story map

Covered in this issue:

Amman and Mafraq, Jordan;
Kiev, Ukraine; London;
Milan and Predappio, Italy; Paris;
Pyongyang, North Korea;
Rio de Janeiro; and the US

26

COVER STORY Insecure ballots

The election system's very modernity and reliance on voter-friendly technology has made it staggeringly vulnerable to outside interference. **BY WARREN RICHEY**

COVER ILLUSTRATION: JOHN KEHE



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BRIEFING: TPS: WHAT IT IS AND HOW IT'S CHANGING

The Department of Homeland Security is determining the future residency of more than 300,000 Central Americans and Haitians who have been in the United States under the Temporary Protected Status program. **BY WHITNEY EULICH**



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"The object of the Monitor is to injure no man, but to bless all mankind."

— MARY BAKER EDDY



FILM Woody Allen depicts Coney Island as a candy-colored fantasia in his latest film, "Wonder Wheel."

PEOPLE MAKING A DIFFERENCE

Gisela Bushey knows mentors can make all the difference for youths. Her approach in San Jose, Calif., has won a prize.



HOME FORUM For one New Englander, permission to build a deck meant scouring a thicket for obscure markers.



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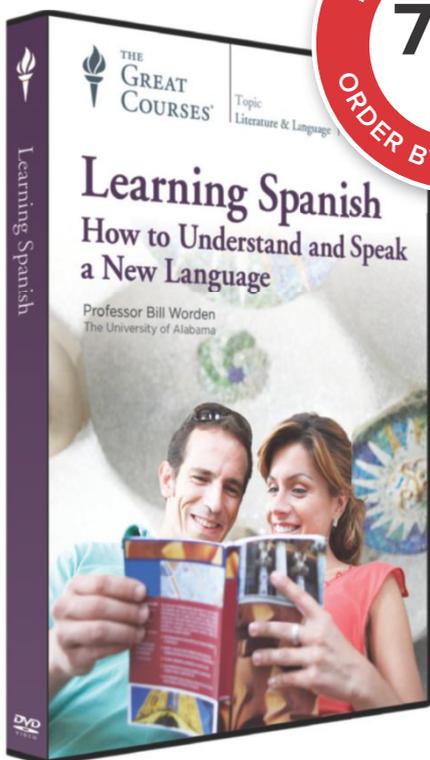
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8. The Verb *Ir* in the Present
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12. The Verbs *Saber* and *Conocer*
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20. Double Object Pronouns
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23. Talking about the Past: *¿Desde Cuándo...?*
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VOTING MACHINES AT A WAREHOUSE IN NEW ORLEANS

MAX BECHERER/THE ADVOCATE/AP

Darkness and light on the net

LATANYA SWEENEY AND HER COLLEAGUES at Harvard University were essentially asked to keep their mouths shut.

Worried about the vulnerability of American voting systems, her team had looked into just how credible the threat was. What they found was stunning. “With moderate computer programming skills, hackers can make malicious changes to registration files that might affect thousands or even millions of votes,” notes the Monitor’s special projects writer, Warren Richey, in this week’s investigative cover story.

Publishing the information from the Harvard study could, in some senses, be seen as akin to publishing a how-to guide for bombmaking. It could show the bad guys how to do their work. But in publishing anyway, the Harvard team’s rationale was simple: To stay silent was akin to putting our heads in the sand.

Technology enables action as never before. An iPhone, after all, is millions of times more powerful than all the computers possessed by NASA during the first moon landing.

For cybercriminals munching on Doritos in their sweatpants, a string of ones and zeros can be more devastating than any cannon or missile. For those intent on stopping cybercriminals, all the potential schemes and sleights must be made plain to neutralize them.

And this is how technology is refining the nature of conflict. When it comes to bombs and bullets, knowledge is an accessory. It helps us build better armor or radar. But ultimately, the battle is a clash of flesh or steel. In the cyberworld, knowledge itself is power and is countered by knowledge. Technology is the accessory.

BY MARK SAPPENFIELD
EDITOR

In the case of hacking elections, the internet provides a vast and dark new space for countries to carry out the age-old design of tampering with rivals. Warren’s story shows graphically that one of the great challenges of today is figuring out how to expose and defeat the old forms of malice given a new cloak by the internet.

What’s interesting is that the exact opposite is also true:

The internet is an enormously powerful invention for exposing secrets, lies, and disguises. Consider a story that ran in the May/June 2016 issue of *Foreign Affairs* magazine. “Transparency has long been a rare commodity in international affairs,”

it said. “But today, the forces of technology are ushering in a new age of openness that would have been unthinkable just a few decades ago.”

Think about how the world can use satellites to watch, frame by frame, how China is building new islands for potential military stations in the South China Sea. Think about how Daniel Ellsberg had to photocopy the Pentagon Papers in 1971, while Chelsea Manning downloaded 400,000 documents one day and another 91,000 a few days later. Think about how people were tweeting about the Osama bin Laden raid before the president announced it.

In the internet era, secrecy is evolving into new forms. The years ahead will be a cat-and-mouse game of finding and exposing new hiding places. Yet the opposite is also happening as those same forces demand a more open and honest world.

■ You can reach me at editor@csmonitor.com.

‘Meeting with “Chuck and Nancy” today about keeping government open and working.... I don’t see a deal!’

– **President Trump**, in a tweet Nov. 28, in which he indicated his lack of confidence in a scheduled meeting with Democratic minority leaders Charles Schumer and Nancy Pelosi. The meeting was to be a negotiation on legislative spending priorities in order to avert a government shutdown. Mr. Trump accused the Democrats of being weak on immigration and crime, and of wanting to substantially raise taxes. Analysts say a holiday-season standoff on spending now looks almost certain. Trump has explicitly threatened a shutdown twice this year.



AP

‘His empty chair photo opp showed he’s more interested in stunts than in addressing the needs of the American people...!’

– **Representative Pelosi**, in a tweet after she and Senator Schumer withdrew from the meeting with Trump after the president’s tweet, which they took as an indication of no confidence. Trump then invited press to the meeting at which two empty chairs at the table had place cards for the missing Democrats. Pelosi and Schumer proposed meeting alone with Senate majority leader Mitch McConnell and House Speaker Paul Ryan. The Democratic leaders are increasingly resolute that any spending plan address the fate of so-called Dreamers, noncitizens who came to the United States as minors.

‘How do you reconcile your love for someone with the revelation that they have behaved badly?’

– **Savannah Guthrie**, co-host of NBC’s ‘Today’ show, speaking live on the Nov. 29 broadcast about the firing of longtime co-host Matt Lauer (r., with Ms. Guthrie) for ‘inappropriate sexual behavior in the workplace,’ following a complaint from an employee. Mr. Lauer joins a string of high-profile media and political personalities accused of sexual misconduct. ‘To the people I have hurt, I am truly sorry,’ Lauer said in a statement. ‘Some of what is being said about me is untrue or mischaracterized, but there is enough truth in these stories to make me feel embarrassed and ashamed. I regret that my shame is now shared by the people I cherish dearly.’



AP

‘I bet he thought he was completely safe and wasn’t looking over his shoulder – to have some Americans show up and bring him back to face justice.’

– **John Carlin**, a former national security official, remarking to NBC News about the apprehension – by US special forces and FBI agents – of Ahmed Abu Khatallah, the mastermind of the fatal attack on a US government compound in Benghazi, Libya, on Sept. 11, 2012. After a trial, a federal jury on Nov. 28 convicted Mr. Khatallah for his role in planning and helping to carry out the attack in which US Ambassador Chris Stevens and three other Americans died. Khatallah was acquitted of murder charges, thus avoiding the death penalty.



PHILIPPE SEMERIA/WIKIPEDIA

‘We didn’t set out to debunk the myth. We were open-minded.’

– **Charlotte Lindqvist**, one of a team of scientists who ran DNA tests on biological samples purported to come from yetis, also known as ‘abominable snowmen’ (artist’s rendering at left). The samples were from treasured collections around the world, and the results seem to – once and for all – debunk the myth of an elusive, apelike creature that walks upright. The yeti’s mystique captured Western imaginations in 1951, after Eric Shipton’s photos of very large footprints on a Himalayan glacier were published worldwide. The results of the recent study in the Proceedings of the Royal Society B concluded that the hair, skin, and bones were mostly from various species of bears native to Nepal and Tibet, where the yeti was thought to live. And the footprints? They seem to be consistent with a ‘tree bear’ native to the region.



VIEW
FINDER

LONDON

A CHANGE IN THE GUARD

Able seaman Laura Suttle takes her place in a sentry box as sailors from Britain's Royal Navy perform the changing of the guard at Buckingham Palace in London Nov. 26 for the first time in the ceremony's 357-year history. Army units have performed the ceremony up until now. Eighty-six sailors from 45 ships practiced for a month to learn the drill. DOMINIC LIPINSKI/PA/AP

One week

NORTH KOREA

What timing says about latest test

Is it tit for tat? Provocation? Or something more pedestrian?



KOREAN CENTRAL NEWS AGENCY/KOREA NEWS SERVICE/AP/FILE

LIFTOFF: This undated photo, distributed by the North Korean government, purports to show the test of an intermediate-range ballistic missile. The frequency of the North's missile tests slows in the fall.

Late last month, Pyongyang launched an intercontinental ballistic missile from South Pyongan province, according to South Korea's military. North Korea said it was a new, longer-range ICBM, the Hwasong-15. Western analysts speculate that it could hit targets on the US East Coast.

But prior to that launch, North Korea's last test launch was in mid-September. It

'NORTH KOREA TESTS ITS MISSILES WHEN IT'S READY TO. THEY'VE GOT A PROGRAM IN PLACE THAT PROBABLY HAS A SCHEDULE...'

— Shea Cotton, open-source intelligence expert

tested missiles at a rapid pace in the summer — seven launches from July through the end of August. Then, for two months, zip, *nada*. The launchpads were quiet until Nov. 28.

It's tempting to speculate about possible geopolitical reasons for this pattern. Perhaps President Trump's rhetoric, such as his vow to use "fire and fury" to counter

North Korean nuclear threats, gave Pyongyang pause. Perhaps China leaned on North Korea — finally — to rein in its risky behavior.

Then Mr. Trump relisted North Korea as a state that sponsors terrorism. The United States added some new sanctions to squeeze the already-constrained North Korean economy. North Korean leader Kim Jong-un may have felt he had to respond.

It's more likely, however, that the pause has practical causes, say experts. In recent years, North Korea has generally tested few missiles in the fourth quarter of the year. Occasionally, it launches one or two. But generally there is no rapid pace at the end of the year.

"North Korea tests its missiles when it's ready to. They've got a program in place that probably has a schedule and a timetable for deliverables," says Shea Cotton, a research associate at the Monterey (Calif.) Institute of International Studies in an email.

Mr. Cotton is an expert in open-source

intelligence who has built and runs a North Korean Missile Test Database. He is also part of a team that uses satellite images and modeling to geolocate North Korea's missile test and nuclear sites — even the location of Mr. Kim in propaganda photos.

His data show that North Korea accelerated its missile test program beginning in 2014. It stepped back a bit the next year, then leapt ahead in 2016 with 24 major tests.

So far in 2017 there have been 19 tests, according to Cotton. The late-November launch was the first in the fourth quarter.

It did not come completely out of the blue. Japan told reporters the day before that it had detected radio signals indicating preparations for a launch.

North Korea has averaged 4.1 to 4.8 launches per quarter for the first three quarters of every year since 2012. For the last three months of each year over the same period, that number is 0.8.

The consistency of this quiet period suggests a recurring cause. Cotton points to an obvious one: the fall harvest. In North Korea, scarce labor and fuel resources may be diverted to getting in the crops.

In this context, North Korean tests appear to be less planned provocations than a steady march toward greater missile capabilities. It is entirely possible that the recent launch was a reaction to perceived taunts on the part of the US and its allies. If so, it is likely to be a one-time event.

"I don't see them returning to the rapid pace of testing missiles every other week like we saw earlier this year," Cotton says. "That'll probably have to wait until next February or March."

— Peter Grier / Staff writer

FOREIGN POLICY

White House at odds on Russia

Increasingly visible rift hampers decisionmaking

WASHINGTON — Russia, friend or foe?

The strikingly harsh language that Secretary of State Rex Tillerson used recently to describe Russian behavior toward the

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United States and its allies wouldn't seem to leave any doubt: "Malicious" is not usually a term chosen to describe a partner.

But wait. On the other hand, after meeting with Russian President Vladimir Putin Nov. 11 in Vietnam, President Trump repeated his belief that Mr. Putin is telling the truth when he says Russia had no hand in interfering in last year's US presidential election

'[THE RUSSIANS] HAVE NO INCENTIVE TO ... DEMONSTRATE ANY COOPERATION....'

— **Nikolas Gvosdev**, US Naval War College

(one of the very actions that prompted Mr. Tillerson's "malicious" comment Nov. 28).

Mr. Trump again left the impression that he considers Putin someone he can work with and confide in when he touted as "great" the more than hourlong phone call he had with the Russian leader Nov. 21, largely on the topic of Syria.

That more recent upbeat view apparently left Trump's Russia aides cringing, especially since it came a day after a photo of Putin welcoming Syrian leader Bashar al-Assad to Russia with an energetic bear hug — an embrace between rescuer and rescued.

What emerges from the Trump administration's split Russia assessments is an approach that is impeding US action on top-of-the-agenda foreign-policy issues from Ukraine to Syria and the broader Middle East, US-Russia policy analysts say.

"We're really dealing with a picture where the president has certain instincts



YURI GRIPAS/REUTERS

REX TILLERSON: In a recent speech, the US secretary of State had harsh words for Russia's action. President Trump has a more upbeat view.

about Russia that are not shared by his national security team," says Nikolas Gvosdev, a professor of national security affairs and Russia specialist at the US Naval War College in Newport, R.I. "The result is a bit of an impasse."

Indeed, the inability to settle on one approach to Russia is hampering the administration's decisionmaking on the Syrian peace process, whether or not to impose

additional sanctions on Russia, and whether to provide Ukraine with weapons.

Moreover, the lack of a clear and assertive Russia policy encourages Russian determination to pursue a resurgence of regional and global power, Dr. Gvosdev says.

"The Russians are very confused by all of this. They don't understand why the president hasn't instructed his national security staff to reflect his views," he says. "[T]hey have no incentive to do certain things or to demonstrate any cooperation or goodwill."

The disconnect between Trump and his top national security aides — national security adviser H.R. McMaster, Defense Secretary James Mattis, and Tillerson — is not new, but it is increasingly visible.

The normally deadpan Tillerson surprised many with the intensity of his criticism of Russian actions in a speech at Washington's Wilson International Center for Scholars late last month. He cited the "malicious tactics" Russia has used against the US and its European allies — including election interference — that he said had sunk relations to cold-war levels.

Referring to Russia's invasions of the Georgian Republic and Ukraine, its politically motivated regional energy policies, and its cyberwarfare on democratic elections in the US and other countries, Tillerson said such actions "are not the behaviors of a responsible nation."

"This is designed to get the president's attention," says Lawrence Korb, a former Pentagon official during the Reagan administration now at the Center for American Progress in Washington, "just as [Tillerson] did when he pressed ahead publicly on diplomacy with North Korea."

— **Howard LaFranchi** / Staff writer

MIDDLE EAST

Sinai mosque attack: ISIS error?

The sheer carnage of the attack has alienated the group's base

AMMAN, JORDAN — Last month's Sinai mosque attack appears to represent a strategic miscalculation by the Islamic State (ISIS) and its affiliates, the leading suspects in the deadliest act of terror in Egypt's history.

By waging war on a centuries-old Islamic order and attacking a common ritual of Muslim life, ISIS is not only alienating the very audience it is trying to recruit, say an-

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PRIME NUMBERS

10

Number of times as high as the International Space Station that North Korea's missile, launched Nov. 29, reached at the peak (2,800 miles) of its trajectory, according to South Korea's military. (See story, facing page.)

5,800

Barrels of oil leaked since TransCanada's existing Keystone pipeline in the Dakotas began operating in 2010. The company originally predicted spills of 1,000 barrels or more would occur no more than once every 100 years.

110 MILLION

Compensation payment (in Canadian dollars; US\$85 million) the Canadian government will pay to victims of its authorized program of discrimination against gay people from the 1950s to 1990s.

375 MILLION

Workers worldwide who will have to change careers by 2030 to avoid being replaced by machines, according to McKinsey Global Institute.

150

Percentage of salaries American Airlines is offering some of its pilots to fly over the Christmas season after a computer error allowed too many to sign up to take that period off.

969

Flights that left Mumbai Airport on Nov. 24, a new daily record. India's aviation industry is booming.

350,000

Highest estimated value (in dollars) of the diamond-encrusted engagement ring Britain's Prince Harry gave fiancée Meghan Markle. In the United States, the average person spends \$6,163 on an engagement ring.

512

Maximum estimated age (in years) of a 16-foot female Greenland shark carbon-dated by scientists using a new method.

Sources: NBC News, Reuters, The New York Times, CNN Money, Los Angeles Times, Fortune, The Washington Post, The New Yorker

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alysts, but is turning neutral parties into enemies, potentially aiding the very government it is fighting.

In the attack on the Al Rawda mosque frequented by Sufis, ISIS signaled it had found an “enemy” with which it could rally citizens in Sunni-majority states similar to the way it has inflamed sectarian tensions in Shiite-Sunni communities in Iraq and Syria.

But the attack, which killed more than 300 people and put a decades-old rivalry between Islamic ultraconservatives and mystics front and center, has led to widespread condemnation of the persecution of Sufis.

ISIS has frequently listed Sufis among “heretics” and “soothsayers.” In 2016, the group executed a 97-year-old Sufi cleric in Sinai, and in the January issue of its online Rumiya magazine it listed the Al Rawda mosque among Sufi “lodges” and places of worship to be targeted.

“They were unable to create a sectarian war between Christians and Muslims, and now they are just targeting Muslims writ large, irrespective of local dynamics,” H.A. Hellyer, senior nonresident fellow at the Atlantic Council in Washington and an associate fellow at the Royal United Services Institute in London, says via email. “I think this is a bit of desperation, to be honest.”

‘I THINK [THIS ATTACK] IS A BIT OF DESPERATION....’

— H.A. Hellyer, Atlantic Council, Washington

Although the violence is new, the vitriol and language are not.

Denouncing Sufis as “heretics” has become a calling card of hard-line Salafists of many stripes over the past two decades. The ultraconservative Sunni sect equates the Sufi movement’s veneration of clerics, tombs, and spiritual festivals to polytheism and idolatry.

In the power vacuums of post-Arab Spring Arab states, Salafi groups, backed by Gulf clerics, targeted Sufi shrines, tombs, and mosques in Tunisia, Libya, and Egypt. ISIS has taken the campaign a step further by using violence, demolishing Sufi mosques in Syria, assassinating Sufi clerics in the Sinai, targeting a shrine in Pakistan, and now attacking the mosque.

In countries such as Egypt, where, according to experts, there are 3 million official members of the Sufi orders and 15 million who identify with the movement, ISIS’s call to arms against Sufis has fallen flat. Sufi heritage runs deep in North Africa and is tied to local traditions and customs that even predate Islam.



Global rally against violence toward women

A DEMONSTRATION IN RIO DE JANEIRO on Nov. 28 was one of many worldwide marking a UN-sanctioned International Day for the Elimination of Violence Against Women. Crowds also gathered in Peru, Mexico, France, Sweden, and Spain. In Turkey, crowds clashed with police.

The use of violence against Sufis has forced many hard-line groups, themselves anti-Sufi, to condemn the attacks, exposing their own stances on Sufis to be criticized as “extreme.” Adding to the political fallout from the attack is the fact that the mosque, although founded by a Sufi order, was frequented by non-Sufis as well.

In the sheer carnage and killing of innocents in the attack, experts say ISIS may not only have lost its intended audience, but also pushed them toward the government. It would be a strategic loss for ISIS, which has thrived by gaining the trust of disenfranchised communities across the Arab world.

— Taylor Luck / Correspondent

‘WEINSTEIN EFFECT’

New scrutiny on assaults in France

This time, exposure of sexual predators is snowballing

PARIS — Dominique Strauss-Kahn was considered a probable French presidential contender in 2011 when a maid in a hotel in New York accused him of sexual assault.

The charges ended his career at the helm of the International Monetary Fund — and his political aspirations. The case also generat-

ed more accusations of sexual misconduct against Mr. Strauss-Kahn, known as DSK.

But when feminists tried to capitalize on the moment, they failed. One website called ledire.org, or “to say it,” tried to get women to anonymously come forward with their experiences involving untoward sexual advances, but it fizzled.

What a difference six years makes.

Today, in the wake of sexual harassment claims made against Hollywood mogul Harvey Weinstein, the French have been among the most vocal in calling out once-ignored abusers. France’s social media movement #BalanceTonPorc, or “out your pig,” is a more pointed and accusatory version of its American counterpart, #MeToo.

And the groundswell has been acknowledged at the top. “Our entire society is sick with sexism,” French President Emmanuel Macron said last month, unveiling plans to put gender equity at the heart of his presidency on the United Nations’ International Day for the Elimination of Violence Against Women.

Now women are seeking to capitalize on a moment that feels markedly more portentous than the DSK era to push for lasting cultural change.

The numbers seem to bear out a cultural awakening. Police reports of rape, sexual assault, and harassment increased by a third in France in October after the Weinstein affair became public, from 1,213 in Octo-

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ber last year to 1,577, according to figures reported by Agence France-Presse.

“In the past, we’ve had a tendency to minimize men’s actions, to say, ‘Oh, the guy was just dense or vulgar,’ ” says Alix Béranger, cofounder of the feminist group La Barbe, or the Beard. Now, she says, people are less accepting of that.

That includes the most powerful man in France. Last month Mr. Macron began a speech at the Élysée Palace with a minute of silence for the 123 women killed by a partner or ex in the last year, saying that “it is time for shame to change camps.”

‘IN THE PAST, WE’VE HAD A TENDENCY TO ... SAY, “OH, THE GUY WAS JUST DENSE OR VULGAR.” ’

— **Alix Béranger**, La Barbe

Macron went on to propose a series of disparate measures to rebalance power between the sexes, including a minimum age for sexual consent, after two recent cases in which 11-year-old victims were ruled not to have been raped by much older men because the act was “consensual.” Macron also called for an online hotline linked to police stations, on-the-spot fines issued by police for catcalling, and gender equality training for nursery school teachers.

— **Colette Davidson** / Correspondent and **Sara Miller Llana** / Staff writer

ASIA

US ‘retreat’ on human rights?

Experts see impact on plight of Rohingya, notably on women

The massive flight of the long-oppressed Rohingya ethnic group in Myanmar (Burma) is following a pattern of other recent displacements of populations – in Iraq, Syria, and Nigeria – where the human rights violations are magnified for women and girls.

The United Nations has deemed the systematic repression and displacement of more than 600,000 ethnic Rohingya – Muslims living in a majority-Buddhist country – a “textbook case of ethnic cleansing.”

But the population’s women and girls face the additional terror of widespread sexual assault – with the UN recently concluding that nearly every one of the hundreds of thousands of women or girls fleeing Myanmar has survived or witnessed some form of sexual assault, including rape and gang rape.

Now some UN officials and human rights experts are asserting that the conditions Rohingya women and girls face are being exacerbated by cuts in US funding. “We’re

barred from getting any money from the US government, and that is having a significant impact,” says Ugochi Daniels, chief of humanitarian response at the UN Population Fund (UNFPA).

US officials reject the notion of waning US leadership on issues like the plight of the Rohingya. Secretary of State Rex Tillerson added a stop in Myanmar last month to an already long Asia trip, officials note, and announced a boost in US humanitarian aid for the displaced population to \$87 million.

But UN officials and some human rights activists cite the Trump administration’s withdrawal this year of \$32 million in funding for UNFPA, the UN’s family planning agency, as evidence of the United States turning away from issues facing women and girls in humanitarian crises.

Daniel Sullivan, senior advocate for human rights at Refugees International in Washington, says he would not be able to tie the dearth of services for Rohingya women and girls to cuts in US funding. But on the other hand, he does say that a retreat by the US on human rights issues has had a noticeable effect. “The US voice has been missing under this administration, and humanitarian experts on the ground are very much aware – and the people affected by these crises are very much aware – of a vacuum left by the loss of this voice.”

— **Howard LaFranchi** / Staff writer

DC DECODER

Is it time to update the Fourth Amendment?

In more ways than one, Timothy Carpenter has been demonstrating the importance of smartphones in modern life.

Seven years ago, he began committing a series of armed robberies of cellphone stores in Michigan and Ohio. Late last month, he argued to the United States Supreme Court that the privacy of historical location data collected by cell towers should be protected by the Constitution. If the justices agree, it will be the first update to the Constitution’s privacy protections since the internet was invented.

“This case may very well decide whether we can expect privacy in the Digital Age,” says Alex Abdo, a senior staff attorney at the Knight First Amendment Institute at Columbia University.

While investigating the robberies Mr. Carpenter is accused of participating in,

authorities ordered MetroPCS and Sprint to turn over records of calls made to and from Carpenter’s phone. The records helped authorities to convict him.

Carpenter, however, has argued that if the government wants to know something as sensitive as his specific location at a certain time, it should have to abide by the Fourth Amendment and show a judge probable cause that he was involved in criminal activity first.

The Fourth Amendment is one of the Constitution’s blunter legal instruments, and thus the justices have periodically updated it throughout history. The amendment originally required a warrant only for searches of “houses, papers and effects,” but it was expanded in the 19th century to include contents of letters carried by the postal system. In the 1970s, it was expanded

to include telephone conversations, and it has not been updated since.

“More and more we store our private information on the servers and computers of third parties,” says Mr. Abdo, who co-wrote an amicus brief supporting Carpenter. “Do we sacrifice our right to privacy by using modern technology?”

But some worry about another kind of slippery slope. “The question is what should [the Fourth Amendment] protect and what should it not protect,” says Orin Kerr, a professor at George Washington University Law School. Giving cell tower records Fourth Amendment protection “would drag state and federal courts into impossible line-drawing exercises that would cause endless confusion,” he writes in an amicus brief supporting the government.

— **Henry Gass** / Staff writer



ITALY PHOTO PRESS/ZUMA PRESS/NEWSCOM

DUBIOUS PAST: A man wearing period clothing poses in front of Casa del Fascio, a Fascist-era building, in Mussolini's hometown of Predappio, Italy. The town is rich in architecture from Mussolini's regime.

EUROPEAN FASCISM

Addio to Mussolini memorabilia

A new law requires Il Duce's birthplace to change course

PREDAPPIO, ITALY – The items on display are as varied as they are sinister – Mussolini busts, Mussolini key rings, statues of “Il Duce” on a rearing stallion, and Mussolini propaganda posters. There are even Mussolini-themed bibs for babies and pasta in the shape of Mussolini's helmeted head.

The bizarre objects are crammed into a shop on the main street of Predappio, the town in northern Italy where Benito Mussolini was born in 1883.

In the past few decades it has become a place of pilgrimage for Italy's unrepentant neo-Fascists: unabashed admirers of a man who led Italy into disastrous colonial adventures and an alliance with Adolf Hitler that brought Italy to its knees.

They descend on Predappio, in the Emilia-Romagna region, to gather at Mussolini's resting place, a softly lit stone tomb in an underground crypt, leaving tributes in a visitors' book and admiring a collection of his personal possessions, including a pair of leather jackboots and a black shirt.

But the shops that sell Fascist memorabilia, as well as Nazi objects such as SS daggers, swastikas, and coffee cups bearing

portraits of the Führer, may not be around very much longer.

A new law that outlaws the glorification of Fascism and Nazism and the selling of related souvenirs was passed by Italy's lower house of Parliament in September. At press time, it was still being debated by the Senate, the upper house.

If the measure is approved, the shops that sell Mussolini posters, sweatshirts, and lighters will have to close down. And if the town mayor has his way, a tandem initiative will set Predappio on a new course, away from its dark past, by turning it into a home for academic study of Italy's Fascist past.

“We want to change Predappio's image, and we also think that [the project] will be of value for the rest of Europe, a place to understand what happened during the 20th century,” says Giorgio Frassinetti, the mayor.

Pier Luigi Pompignoli, who owns one of the Mussolini shops, is open in his admiration for Il Duce. He claims that the Fascist

‘THOSE WHO HAVE LEFT THEIR MARK ON HISTORY SHOULD NOT BE FORGOTTEN.’

– Claudio Ceccaroni, resident of Predappio, Italy

dictator achieved many good things – including building new towns and refurbishing older ones such as Predappio.

“Am I worried? Of course I am,” Mr. Pompignoli says. “But I've been selling these things for 35 years – how come the politicians have suddenly woken up now and said they should be banned?”

After a landslide, Predappio was rebuilt

in the 1920s and '30s around the crumbling stone farmhouse in which Mussolini was born. The little town is an architectural paean to Italy's two-decade Fascist era, an open-air museum of modernist buildings grouped around an expansive central piazza.

But Mayor Frassinetti, from the center-left Democratic Party that governs Italy at the national level, wants to convert one of the buildings into a museum and a study center where scholars from around the world can debate the origins of 20th-century totalitarianism.

He symbolizes the contradiction at the heart of Predappio – while the town attracts hard-core Fascist sympathizers from across Italy, most of its 6,000 inhabitants are far more liberal in outlook and have voted in center-left administrations for decades.

Sitting in a bar and reading about the proposed museum in a newspaper, Claudio Ceccaroni, a dentist, says, “I think it's important to be able to tell future generations about this period of history, and this museum will have exactly that role. Those who have left their mark on history should not be forgotten. History is history and should not be hidden away.”

– Nick Squires / Correspondent

MIDDLE EAST

Only fathers can give citizenship

Fears about national identity keep many children stateless

MAFRAQ, JORDAN – Ahmed Zubeidi is a living ghost. The 23-year-old is unable to get a job, be admitted into a hospital, or own a mobile phone. He cannot marry or even leave his village on the desert outskirts of the city of Mafraq near Jordan's border with Syria. He has no passport, no national ID. For Jordan, it is as if he has never existed. But his mother is a Jordanian.

“I am not a refugee or an [internally displaced person],” Mr. Zubeidi says from his cousin's home. “I am a Jordanian, the son of a Jordanian. But they don't see it that way.”

Zubeidi is one of an estimated hundreds of Jordanian residents who have been left stateless, and one of hundreds of thousands denied basic rights – all because their Jordanian mothers married foreign or unregistered fathers. (He requested his first name be altered because of the social stigma.)

Despite making huge gains in women's

▶ NEXT PAGE

rights this year, scrapping a marry-your-rapist law and criminalizing sexual harassment, Jordan remains far behind other Arab countries whose female citizens now confer citizenship on their children. Some 85,000 Jordanian women married to foreigners cannot pass on their citizenship to an estimated 400,000 children.

Even for those with foreign passports, life in Jordan is not easy. Children of Jordanian women and foreign fathers cannot own property, buy a home, or open a business.

But in Jordan, opposition to changing the citizenship law has little to do with

‘[JORDAN] IS FULL. IT JUST CAN’T TAKE ANY MORE PEOPLE.’

– Nabil Gheishan, Jordanian politician

women’s rights and everything to do with demographics. Jordan is home to an estimated 3 million Palestinian refugees who have been granted full citizenship and are nearly equal in number to the 3.5 million Jordanians of tribal origins.

Opponents of revising the law fear that the 150,000 Gazans in Jordan, the only Palestinian refugees who have never been naturalized, would use the measure to gain citizenship for themselves and their families. Then there are concerns that many of Jordan’s 1.3 million Syrians would intermarry with Jordanians, outnumbering “original” tribes.

The topic has created strange political bedfellows in Jordan; many lawmakers for women’s rights are against citizenship rights, and many conservative Islamists are standing with feminists for the first time. “I am all for women’s rights and equality, but the naturalization of Jordanian women is a political issue, not a humanitarian one,” says Nabil Gheishan, a member of parliament at the forefront of women’s rights.

“For a century, Jordan has been the sponge that has soaked up the humanitarian crises and wars in the region,” says Mr. Gheishan. “The sponge is full. It just can’t take any more people.”

– Taylor Luck / Correspondent



TAYLOR LUCK

NO STATE: Jordanian Zainab Abu Tabeekh’s three children do not share her citizenship.



Game, set, match – pray?

VISITORS PLAY TENNIS as part of the ‘Untitled (plot for dialogue)’ installation of American artist Asad Raza in the 16th-century San Paolo Converso deconsecrated church in Milan, Italy. The installation includes nets, lines, rackets, iced tea, and coaches who play with visitors.

SHIFT IN THOUGHT

Ukraine’s disabled vets win hearts

A country that once ignored disability learns compassion

KIEV, UKRAINE; AND WASHINGTON – As he approaches the finish line of the Marine Corps 10K race, Vadym Svrydenko breaks into a broad smile: He has picked out the blue and yellow of his country’s national flag.

Mr. Svrydenko, a Ukrainian, stands out, too. He’s running on “blade” prosthetics, having lost parts of both arms and both legs while fighting Russian-backed separatist forces in 2015.

As Ukraine enters its fourth year of war, the growing number of wounded veterans is forcing the country to upgrade its rehabilitation programs and to look afresh at how it treats people with disabilities in an urban landscape that is still largely Soviet.

Ukraine’s team of men and women veterans won 14 medals at the Toronto Invictus Games, a multisports competition open to injured military personnel and veterans created by Britain’s Prince Harry. Their success drew wide press coverage at home.

The phenomenon has brought closer attention to people with disabilities. Earli-

er this year a glossy magazine devoted an unprecedented amount of space to fashionable portraits of veterans, each missing one or more limbs. Characters with disabilities have started appearing more frequently on TV drama shows.

This is a stark departure from Soviet times, when people with disabilities were “taboo and highly stigmatized,” says Sarah Phillips, a professor at Indiana University Bloomington who has written a book on disability rights in Ukraine.

Now, very visible veterans are coming back from the front, and last year Svrydenko was appointed President Petro Poroshenko’s commissioner for the rehabilitation of men and women wounded in the war. Though the government recently extended disability rights laws to war veterans, a presidential decree ordering more rehabilitation centers for people with disabilities has yet to be fulfilled. Access “is still an acute question,” says Svrydenko.

High-profile sporting events and their attendant media coverage cannot disguise how far there is to go before the average Ukrainian fully accepts people with disabilities, or before society fully takes their needs into account, says Professor Phillips. But the journey has begun. “I have seen an opening up of people’s hearts and minds in terms of thinking about this type of difference and having true concern for ... equal rights and disabilities,” she says.

– Lydia Tomkiw / Contributor

POINTS OF PROGRESS

US starts to nip vaping in the bud

New York becomes the most recent of 11 states to enact a ban

A growing number of US cities and states have begun to enforce bans on e-cigarettes in public areas, often citing the startling popularity of vaping among young people and its possible negative effects on bystanders.

There has been a recent uptick in states including e-cigarettes in already existing smoke-free laws. Of the 11 states that have passed comprehensive smoke-free indoor air laws, six implemented them within the past three years.

New York is the 11th and most recent state to institute a statewide ban on vaping in public spaces. (Washington, D.C., and Puerto Rico also have similar laws.)

New York precludes vaping anywhere that smoking is banned with its inclusion of e-cigarettes in smoke-free laws. "This measure closes another dangerous loophole in the law, creating a stronger, healthier New York for all," said New York Gov. Andrew Cuomo in a statement.

Cigarette smoking in the United States has been in decline over the past decade, dropping to its lowest rate in 2015, according to the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC). But the introduction of e-cigarettes containing nicotine has experts concerned that a new generation will get hooked on smoking. While it is too early to determine a definite cause, some say they are hopeful that a significant one-year decline in teen vaping may indicate that the new efforts are taking hold.

After e-cigarettes were introduced to the US market in 2007 they surged in popularity among youths. By 2015, approximately 1 in 6 high school students said they were using e-cigarettes, according to the US Surgeon General. Easy access, low cost, a wide assortment of friendly-sounding flavors such as bubble gum and cotton candy, and aggressive advertising

NEW EFFORTS TO REVERSE THE RAPID RISE IN POPULARITY OF E-CIGARETTES MAY BE WORKING.

▶ SEE PAGE 16

ISRAEL

Israeli scientists say turkey excrement may be a major untapped source of electricity and heating. Researchers from Ben-Gurion University of the Negev believe this newly discovered source of waste fuel could one day replace 10 percent of coal used for electricity generation. "Environmentally safe disposal of poultry excrement has become a significant problem,"



REUTERS

said the researchers in a statement. "Converting poultry waste to solid fuel, a less resource-intensive, renewable energy source, is an environmentally superior alternative that also reduces reliance on fossil fuels."

THE TIMES OF ISRAEL, 10 NEWS

AFRICA

The continent's people are living longer, are healthier, and are better educated. African babies born today are less likely to die young and more likely to go to school, according to the latest Ibrahim Index of African Governance released Nov. 20. Between 2000 and 2015, life expectancy at birth grew by around 10 years, to 60 years old. That news was tempered by deterioration in stability and the rule of law in many African countries, although analysts note that trend has slowed in the past five years.



CHILDREN PLAY ON A ROAD IN KWANDENGEZI, SOUTH AFRICA, IN AUGUST.

THE ECONOMIST

A WEEKLY GLOBAL ROUNDUP

CZECH REPUBLIC

Critically endangered twin Malayan tiger cubs have been born in the Prague Zoo and have a strong chance of survival. The birth of the male and female cubs on Oct. 3 marked a particularly rare occurrence in Europe – only two European zoos have ever successfully bred this subspecies. There are only a few hundred Malayan tigers surviving in the wild. The cubs will be named in December.

ABC NEWS, MY SAN ANTONIO



NEWLY BORN MALAYAN TIGER CUBS REST IN THEIR ENCLOSURE AT THE PRAGUE ZOO.

REUTERS

AFGHANISTAN

A new rail project looks set to boost the landlocked nation's commercial ties with Europe. On Nov. 15, officials from Afghanistan, Turkmenistan, Azerbaijan, Georgia, and Turkey signed an agreement to build the Lapis Lazuli corridor – a \$2 billion rail route connecting Afghanistan with Europe via the Caspian Sea. While questions remain about the financing of the project, the new route is expected to make the export of Afghan goods faster and cheaper, and to free the nation from dependence on the ports of often hostile neighbors such as Pakistan, Iran, and Russia.

EURASIANET

CHINA

The world's most populous nation has made substantial strides in its war on pollution. In 2013, Premier Li Keqiang vowed to reduce reliance on coal, massively invest in renewable energy, and shutter outdated steel and cement plants. The nation still has a long way to go in improving its air quality – Beijing pollution levels were graded "code red" in December 2016 – but a recent study shows air quality is improving. Between 2013 and 2015 the concentration of fine particulate matter in the air, known as PM2.5, declined by 21.5 percent.

WORLD ECONOMIC FORUM, IOP SCIENCE



REUTERS

KEY: Regions

Specific countries

► FROM PAGE 14

campaigns by manufacturers added to the product's appeal to youths, says Brian King, deputy director for research translation at the CDC's Office on Smoking and Health.

Experts are particularly concerned that vaping will lead to cigarette smoking. Dr. King points to more than a dozen studies that show a strong association between e-cigarettes and cigarette smoking, both of which contain nicotine. The studies conclude that children who use e-cigarettes are more likely to try conventional cigarettes later on in life, King says.

One difficulty in combating the popularity of e-cigarettes among youths has

IT'S A MATTER OF EXTENDING AND MODERNIZING ... PROVEN INTERVENTIONS....'

— Brian King, CDC

been a lack of understanding about their harmful effects. "There is a perception that e-cigarettes are safer than combustible cigarettes, which they may be...", says Jennifer Unger, professor of preventive medicine at the University of Southern California. "[B]ut some people think they're completely safe,

and they're definitely not completely safe."

The CDC warns that the presence of addictive nicotine in e-cigarettes is a cause for concern for pregnant women, those who have never tried tobacco before, and especially young people whose brains are still developing. Even the aerosol emitted from e-cigarettes can present a danger to nonsmoking bystanders. The aerosol has been characterized as "not harmless" by the Surgeon General since it contains "harmful and potentially harmful chemicals."

In addition to state smoke-free laws, the Food and Drug Administration has begun to regulate the e-cigarette market. Since 2016, e-cigarette manufacturers have been required to put nicotine warning labels on e-cigarettes and seek FDA marketing approval for their products. The FDA has also banned the sale of e-cigarettes to anyone under the age of 18.

Regulations and bans are some of the tactics used to help lower the number of cigarette smokers in the US. (The CDC notes that e-cigarettes may help current cigarette smokers to quit altogether.)

"We do know that, based on past science with conventional cigarettes, when you prohibit their use in public areas, that helps to



REED SAXON/AP/FILE

DECEPTIVE APPEAL: Vials of flavored liquid are for sale at a store selling e-cigarettes in Los Angeles.

de-normalize the use of those products in that environment..." says King. "[I]t's no longer seen as a normal behavior."

A downturn in the number of youths using e-cigarettes in the past year gives experts hope that recent public education efforts and the prohibition of vaping in public may have a lasting effect. Youth use of e-cigarettes dropped 5 percent in one year, with only 1 in 10 high-schoolers using e-cigarettes in 2016, according to King.

"[I]t's really just a matter of extending and modernizing those proven interventions [for cigarette smoking and] including e-cigarettes in smoke-free policies," he says.

— Bailey Bischoff / Staff

Nelson Island

Nelson Island is located approximately 502 miles west of Anchorage. It is the 15th largest island in the United States. The island has three villages, Tununak, Toksook Bay and Nightmute. Also included in this group of knitters is Newtok, it is located just across the Ningaluk River. There are just over 1100 people total between the four villages.



In the winter time the three villages on the island are connected by snow machine trail. The Yupiit people have lived a traditional subsistence lifestyle for thousands of years. The traditional diet consists of several types of fish, seafood, caribou, musk ox, and several other edible greens.

We have the most active knitting members from the Nelson Island villages. This is a perfect example of the economic impact the Co-operative is bringing into remote Alaska. Job opportunities are largely seasonal and limited in length. Through knitting for the co-operative, the members have a reliable source of income, and a way to share their culture with the world.

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THE NEW REVOLUTION



A HISTORIC REVIEW OF CIVIL CONFLICT

Richard C. Williams, PhD.

The material has been assembled and updated from my doctoral thesis, Social Causes of Violent Revolution in Eighty-Six Nations Since World War II). In this current update, I have enlarged the scope of the project to include nonviolent revolutions as well. South Africa has been the obvious model here and suggests that the most successful revolutions in the world have indeed been nonviolent. There have been a few others as well in the latter part of the 20th and early 21st centuries. Examining the causes and developments preceding

these revolutions and comparing them with political and social conditions today has convinced me that our own country may be facing some kind of radical social upheaval during the coming century. By examining more closely the causes of such upheavals in the world during the 20th century, I would hope we could then see how closely current conditions match those early ones. Remember that Thomas Jefferson said that this country would need a new revolution every twenty years. "God forbid we should ever be twenty years without such a rebellion", Thomas Jefferson wrote to William Stephons Smith in Paris on November 13, 1787.

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TPS: what it is and how it's changing

After decades in the US, some immigrants are losing protections

The Department of Homeland Security (DHS) is determining the future residency of more than 300,000 Central Americans and Haitians who have been in the United States under the Temporary Protected Status program.

Q: What is TPS?

TPS is meant to provide short-term protection from deportation for people who can't return to their home country because of natural disasters, civil unrest, or health crises. The protection is designed as a reprieve lasting between six and 18 months, and it includes permission to reside and work in the US. Many Central Americans first received TPS following hurricane Mitch, which ravaged the region in 1998. But protection for Hondurans, Haitians, Nicaraguans, and Salvadorans has been renewed so many times that hundreds of thousands have been in the US for decades.

In November, Nicaraguans and Haitians lost their protection. The protective status for Hondurans and Salvadorans is still under consideration.

Nicaraguans and Haitians have been given 14 and 18 months, respectively, to regularize their legal status in the US or return home.

As of October, other countries whose people can qualify for TPS include Nepal, Somalia, Sudan, South Sudan, Syria, and Yemen.

Q: Why is it being canceled – and potentially being canceled – now?

At the end of October, Secretary of State Rex Tillerson sent a letter to DHS arguing that conditions in Central America and Haiti no longer justify protection from deportation. It's true that the situation in Central America following hurricane Mitch has improved. But there are other conditions that many argue still merit attention, including some of the highest murder rates in the world for countries not officially at war. Although Haiti's last serious earthquake was in 2010, it's been battered by hurricanes in the interim, and some 2.5 million Haitians are still in need of humanitarian support, the United Nations estimates.

The secretary of State's assessment is required by law during the TPS review process. But some see Mr. Tillerson's evaluation – and moves to do away with temporary protection for these groups – as politically fueled, and as part of a hard-line approach that President Trump has taken toward immigration.

Others argue that TPS was never meant to be as permanent as it's become. Poverty, crime, and corruption may exist back home for the people who have lost permission to stay via TPS, but the program wasn't designed to serve as a path to legal, long-term residency.

Q: Are home countries prepared for this kind of return?

The return of individuals who have spent long periods living, studying, and working in the US is often portrayed as a boon for their home countries. The argument is compelling: In struggling nations, US-educated nationals could help inspire change. But it overlooks critical factors, such as whether the home countries are prepared to tap into these skills, offer employment opportunities, and help in the emotional aspects of transitioning "home" after such a long absence.

Formal employment opportunities are scant in Haiti, Nicaragua, and the Northern Triangle, made up of El Salvador, Guatemala, and



EDUARDO MUNOZ/REUTERS

RALLY: Haitian immigrants and supporters in New York on Nov. 21 show their opposition to the US decision to terminate Temporary Protected Status for Haitians.

Honduras. An uptick in deportations from the US has inspired some governments to run pilot programs offering job training for returnees. But with the removal of US protection for 2,500 Nicaraguans and nearly 50,000 Haitians, the wave of potential returnees could go from a trickle to a landslide, something neither Nicaragua nor Haiti is prepared for.

Complicating matters further, many TPS recipients have partners or children who are US citizens. There are an estimated 275,000 US-born children linked to someone with TPS.

Q: How are Central American and Haitian governments responding to the potential end of TPS?

Earlier this fall, the Haitian ambassador to the US argued that a TPS extension was "a necessity" for Haiti. He wrote that the country is still struggling to recover from the 2010 earthquake, and those challenges have been compounded by a cholera outbreak and damage from last year's hurricane Matthew.

There are also concerns about how the termination of protection could affect remittances sent to the weak economies back home, which depend on these injections of cash.

Q: Is TPS the only program on the chopping block?

Mr. Trump's executive order from January on border security triggered the review of many programs seen as admitting immigrants outside the normal legal channels.

Earlier this year, the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals program, which has protected some 800,000 young adults who were brought as children to live in the US illegally, was ended. As early as March, some DACA recipients could be eligible for deportation if Congress doesn't move on an immigration overhaul.

– **Whitney Eulich** / Correspondent

Reps. Beto O'Rourke and Will Hurd's road trip charmed the US.
Can their careers survive their friendship? **BY HENRY GASS** / STAFF WRITER

Can bipartisan buddies win over Texas?



MARY CLARE JALONICK/AP

IN A CAR FOR 36 HOURS: GOP Rep. Will Hurd (l.) and Democratic Rep. Beto O'Rourke, shown March 15 in Washington, became friends after a road trip.

Earlier this year, a snowy winter deluge turned gridlock in Washington from figurative to literal. In that pause for breath, bipartisanship went viral in the form of two young Texas congressmen taking a road trip together.

Will Hurd, a Republican and former undercover CIA operative from Helotes, and Beto O'Rourke, a Democrat and former software company founder from El Paso, spent two days in a car – along with their piñata mascot, Williberto – talking music, food, their first cars, and politics. Hundreds of thousands of people followed on social media. A few other members of Congress even suggested making their own #bipartisanroadtrip in the future.

“One reason it captured so much attention is because it’s so rare,” says Harold Cook, a Texas Democratic strategist. “I think a lot of people were wondering [at the time], ‘Why is this so rare? There’s something wrong if it’s so rare.’”

The two emerged from the trip friends, becoming a prominent example of bipartisanship for a country that some say is increasingly eager for it.

There is one looming challenge: Both will be fighting for their political careers next year. And there’s every chance both could lose. Representative O'Rourke has launched a long-shot bid to unseat Republican Sen. Ted Cruz, while Representative Hurd will be fighting to retain one of the most hotly contested seats in Congress.

Their futures raise larger questions. Can a moderate Republican rise through the ranks of an increasingly partisan GOP? And is cooperation, and genuine friendship, with members of the opposing party something that voters will reward? Or punish?

Having served together for three years, Hurd and O'Rourke knew each other well enough to schedule three joint meetings with veterans in San Antonio the day the winter storm hit Washington. They didn't know each other well enough, however, to

▶ WHY IT MATTERS

Reps. Will Hurd and Beto O'Rourke are a rare example of bipartisanship in a country that some say is increasingly hungry for it. Fifty-four percent of Americans say they want political leaders to compromise to get things done, compared with 18 percent who want them to stick to their beliefs, even if little gets accomplished.

avoid an uncomfortable first few hours on the road (after O'Rourke suggested they rent a car and drive back to D.C.).

“The first 90 minutes were tough, I’ll be honest,” Hurd told ABC News in July. “But what was great about this was while Beto and I had worked on things before ... [by] having a long dialogue we learned there were many other areas we could probably cooperate on.”

The two have remained friends. Hurd
▶ NEXT PAGE

had a hand-drawn map of their route framed for O'Rourke. O'Rourke compiled a Spotify playlist of the music they listened to. They check in with each other on the House floor.

"It's been a productive relationship, but it's also a friendship," says O'Rourke in an interview. "I think I've become more effective for our friendship."

It is a rare friendship, not only because they are members of opposing parties, but also because they are both public about it.

"I think there are many more bipartisan friendships [today], but people are afraid to be public about them because it sets them up for primary challenges," says Sean Theriault, a professor of government at the University of Texas at Austin.

Bipartisan friendships were commonplace about 40 years ago, particularly among same-state representatives. Members of Congress would tear into each other on the floor, then golf together in the afternoon. But when asked for another example like O'Rourke and Hurd today, Professor Theriault is quiet.

"Maybe my stunned silence means it's unique," he says, finally.

Now, portions of the electorate and some members of Congress are hoping that may be about to change.

"The voters are really pushing," says Rep. Henry Cuellar (D) of Texas. "They don't want extremes up here. They're getting tired of the extremes, and I think that's why folks like Beto and Will do well."

But not all voters are eager to see common ground and compromise.

Take a town hall event that O'Rourke held in San Antonio in October. James Kane, Democratic chairman of a county precinct, stood up and asked the congressman to publicly distance himself from Hurd.

When O'Rourke refused – saying he would lose Hurd's trust, and thus their ability to work together – Mr. Kane told him he didn't have his precinct's support.

"I gotcha," O'Rourke replied. "That may be the price of bipartisanship."

"No. It's not bipartisanship," Kane interrupted. "You're backstabbing us."

Congress has been polarized and gridlocked for years, and while voters have complained, they have generally tolerated it. But they may now have reached a breaking point, some experts believe.

"Donald Trump is not the first one to polarize Americans, but he is, I think, the first one to at least not try to give lip service to bring Americans together," says

Mr. Cook. "It probably seems a lot more destructive and harmful to voters than it ever did before."

Indeed, 54 percent of Americans say they want political leaders to compromise to get things done, an October Gallup poll found, compared with 18 percent who said they would prefer leaders to stick to their beliefs, even if little gets accomplished.

Rep. Elise Stefanik (R) of New York – co-chair of the center-right Tuesday Group caucus – believes there is something deeper at work in Congress, where a new generation of young, practical lawmakers is seeking to bridge the yawning partisan divide.

"They have come of age in adult life where there has been quite a lot of gridlock," says Representative Stefanik, who serves with Hurd on the House Intelligence

Committee and with O'Rourke on the House Armed Services Committee, where they co-sponsored a bill allowing the Department of Veterans Affairs to hire doctors faster. "I think younger members ... they're looking for results; they're looking for good ideas."

But if he is to become the first Democrat elected to statewide office in Texas since 1994 – the longest losing streak of any state party in the United States – appealing to Republican voters will be critical, experts say. That seems to be where O'Rourke is focusing his efforts. His campaign has been defined by road trips to town hall meetings in remote conservative towns around Texas. They often involve uncomfortable debates with residents. One woman in Fort Stockton, for example, told him she wanted to see "Obamacare" repealed. "If President Trump, if the speaker of the House, have a better way to cover people less expensively, they can call it 'Trumpcare' and Beto O'Rourke would vote for it in a second," he told her.

Statistically speaking, O'Rourke is the second-most bipartisan Texas representa-



ON THE TRAIL: Rep. Beto O'Rourke campaigns for the Senate on Nov. 12. If he wins, he would be the first Democrat elected to statewide office in Texas since 1994. WILLIAM PHILPOTT/REUTERS

Committee and with O'Rourke on the House Armed Services Committee, where they co-sponsored a bill allowing the Department of Veterans Affairs to hire doctors faster. "I think younger members ... they're looking for results; they're looking for good ideas."

Wooing Texas Republicans

O'Rourke is charismatic, with floppy hair and a toothy smile reminiscent of Robert Kennedy. He outraised Senator Cruz in the first quarter after declaring his candidacy. He draws big crowds in person and online. Twelve thousand people tuned in for a Facebook Live video of him getting a haircut.

tive in the recent House session, per the Lugar Center's Bipartisan Index, which determines rankings based on the number of bills a politician cosponsors with a member of the opposing party. Hurd was sixth.

The strategy makes sense when one considers that O'Rourke is running against Cruz, a man who helped incite a government shutdown in 2013 and who wears his colleagues' frustration with him as a "badge of honor."

The El Paso congressman favors small, incremental gains over ideological stands.

Comprehensive and progressive im-

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migration reform, for example, is one of his larger goals. For now, he is working to reform parts of immigration law, such as that involving family members of US citizens barred from reentry because of a technical issue. He drafted a bill that would let a federal judge decide if those family members can reenter the country, a bill Hurd signed onto after their road trip. (O'Rourke also signed onto one of Hurd's bills.)

"I can hold out for [comprehensive immigration reform] and go bust in this session," he says, "or I can in the meantime work on things that can make the situation better."

"I try to keep an open mind and work with anyone who I can find some common ground with," he adds.

The spy-turned-congressman

Although their friendship could help O'Rourke, it is probably a greater asset for Hurd. As the representative for the 23rd District of Texas, bipartisanship is more than an asset for him. It's a requirement. "Being in the only competitive district in Texas," he told ABC, "my job is to get things done, and people back home appreciate that."

The 23rd covers 800 miles of arid West Texas brush and desert between San Antonio and El Paso. It is 70 percent Hispanic, and it includes suburbs, small country towns, and Big Bend National Park. Its southern boundary is one-third of the US-Mexican border, and it is larger than 29 states.

In the decade it has been drawn this way, no person has held the district for more than a single term – until voters reelected Hurd by a 1.3 percent margin last year. Four people have entered the Democratic primary to challenge him next year, including a female Air Force veteran. It is "one of the five most competitive congressional seats in the country," says Matt Mackowiak, an Austin-based GOP strategist.

"Showing bipartisanship, showing effectiveness, demonstrating legislative success – those are all critical in that district, no matter who the representative is," he adds.

Hurd, who didn't respond to requests for comment, seems to accomplish this by sticking to his expertise in computer



FROM CIA TO CONGRESS: Will Hurd visits with a voter in San Antonio on Nov. 8, 2016. The moderate Republican was reelected by about 3,000 votes. ERIC GAY/AP

Will Hurd and Beto O'Rourke's friendship shows 'young members are willing to work and reach across the aisle.'

– **Elise Stefanik**, Republican representative from New York

science and national security. He worked as an undercover agent in places such as Afghanistan, Pakistan, and India, and he focuses on granular issues such as information technology procurement.

But a practical approach to lawmaking is not enough to win a coin-flip district like the 23rd. That approach is reinforced by an intensive personal presence. The banner example is "DC2DQ," a tour with stops at small-town Dairy Queens – a strategy that echoes O'Rourke's own small town-focused campaign.

Cook, the Democratic strategist, saw Hurd speak at a banquet celebrating the Big Bend Conservancy. "If I wasn't political and if I just walked in there barely aware [he] was my member of Congress, I would think, 'That guy's all right,'" he says. "And by the way, I probably wouldn't have got any hints about which party he belonged to."

One can imagine Hurd being exactly what the GOP had in mind when it released its "autopsy report" following the 2012 elections: a smart, charismatic, African-American Republican representing a

majority-Hispanic district.

But that vision of the Republican Party was interrupted by the rise of Trumpism, and Hurd's career, along with other moderates', may have stalled along with it.

Today's GOP "is Trumpian; it's [Senate candidate] Roy Moore; it's the tea party," says Cal Jillson, a political scientist at Southern Methodist University in Dallas. "It's just a hard time to be a sensible person."

After retaining his seat on the same night as Trump's victory, Hurd has been walking the tightrope between

criticizing the president and not alienating his base.

While he votes in line with Trump's position 96 percent of the time, according to a FiveThirtyEight analysis, he voted against repealing the Affordable Care Act and is a vocal critic of a border wall. He's also friends with a Democrat.

If there is pushback against Trump's populist brand, Hurd "might not have hit his ceiling," Theriault says.

But if there is no pushback?

"I think he could have a long and fruitful career as the representative from that district," Theriault says, "and not much more."

A new generation?

While the road trip certainly cast members of Congress in a refreshing light, O'Rourke has said it also elevated Americans' compassion and kindness above the usual cynicism seen on social media. He recalled leaving a late-night stop at Gibson's Donuts in Memphis, Tenn., where a waiting crowd worried whether Hurd had his seat belt on and if O'Rourke had enough coffee.

When the two pulled up at the Capitol steps in their rented Chevy Impala, a dozen people, a news crew, and a man with a Texas flag were waiting. O'Rourke put on a tie while Hurd, wearing his friend's coat, answered questions. After cracking a few jokes, they walked up the stairs, shook hands, and entered the House chamber.

Their friendship "shows that young members are willing to work and reach across the aisle," Stefanik says. "I'm hopeful more of these new generations of leaders will be elected and help cut through the divide." ■

The future of coal, and why it matters

Coal may be falling out of favor, but the transition is not a straight line. **BY MARK TRUMBULL / STAFF WRITER**

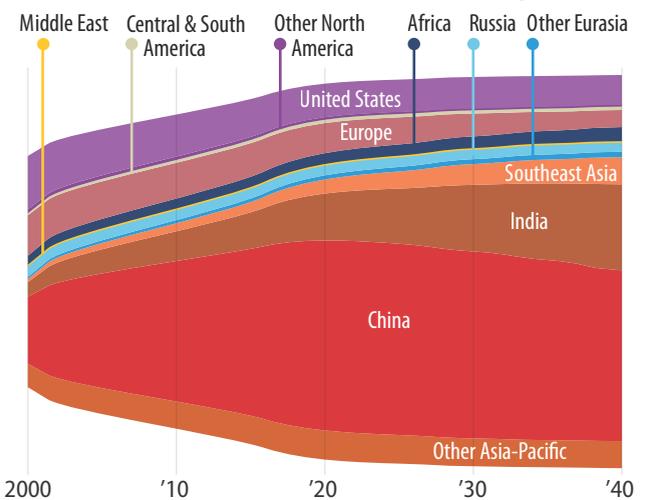
At a recent global summit on climate change in Bonn, Germany, one tangible outcome was a pledge by 19 nations to phase out coal by 2030. That's significant because coal is a chart-topper when it comes to emissions of the heat-trapping gases behind global warming.

The larger context, though, is that China and India still rely on coal to fuel their huge and fast-growing economies. And in the United States, the Trump administration held a public hearing Nov. 28-29, in coal-oriented West Virginia, on its plans to dismantle President Barack Obama's Clean Power Plan (which discouraged coal use).

But there's also big potential for progress: A new report outlines a feasible path for the world to achieve the United Nations-backed goal of holding global warming to 2 degrees Celsius above preindustrial levels. With a push to use less coal and put more electric vehicles on the road, carbon emissions could start falling globally. And it could happen while also expanding access to electricity and doubling the global economy in size, the International Energy Agency's report says.

In the sustainable scenario, it's not just that coal use declines in favor of renewables. It's also that investment in energy efficiency puts per capita energy use on a downward path. In this scenario, global carbon dioxide emissions would soon start a steady decline to less than 20 billion metric tons of CO₂ a year by 2040, from more than 30 billion metric tons today. ■

Coal demand: Millions of tons of coal equivalent



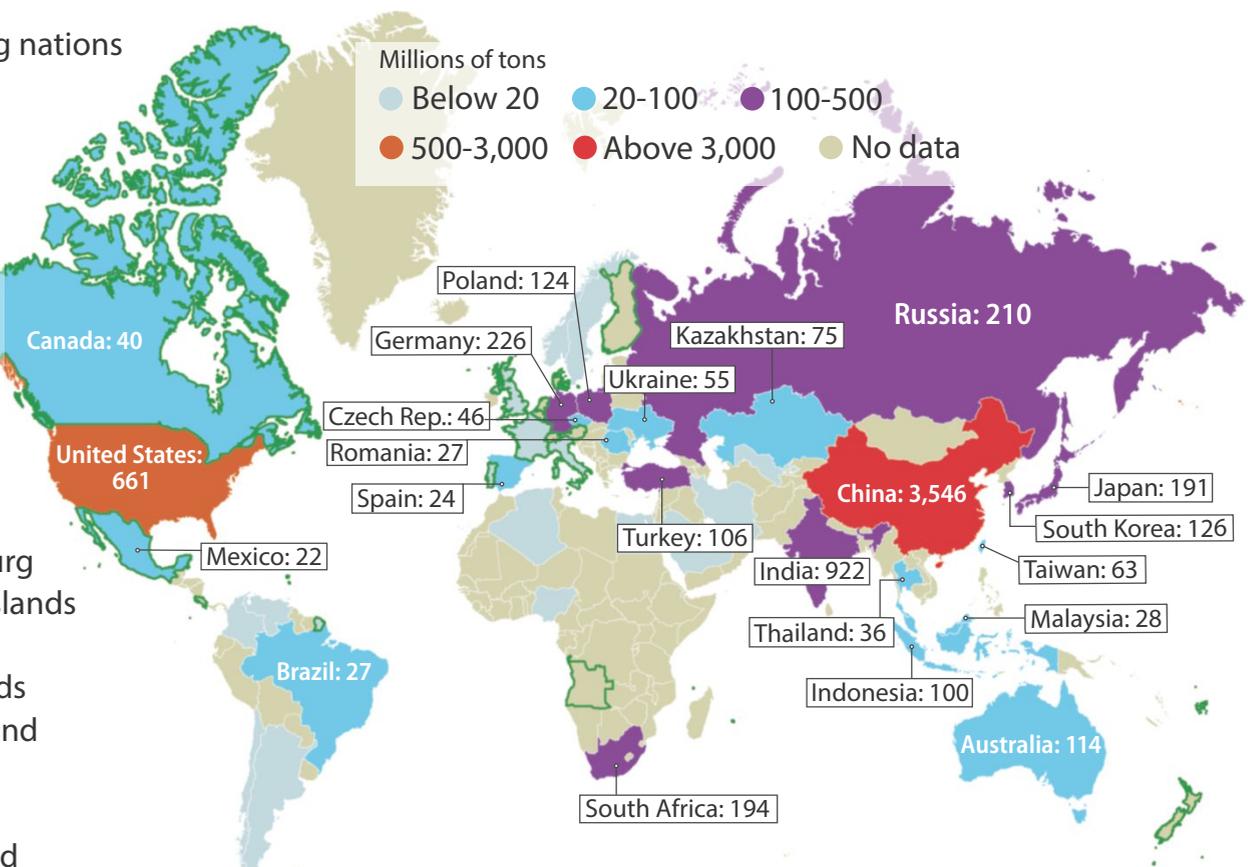
One challenge: Pledges to phase out coal are not coming from the biggest coal-using nations

○ Pledging nations

- Angola
- Austria
- Belgium
- Britain
- Canada
- Costa Rica
- Denmark
- Finland
- Fiji
- France
- Italy
- Luxembourg
- Marshall Islands
- Mexico
- Netherlands
- New Zealand
- Niue
- Portugal
- Switzerland

Millions of tons

- Below 20
- 20-100
- 100-500
- 500-3,000
- Above 3,000
- No data



SOURCE: International Energy Agency, Enerdata

GRAPHICS: KAREN NORRIS AND JACOB TURCOTTE/STAFF

Decades of life in Afghanistan

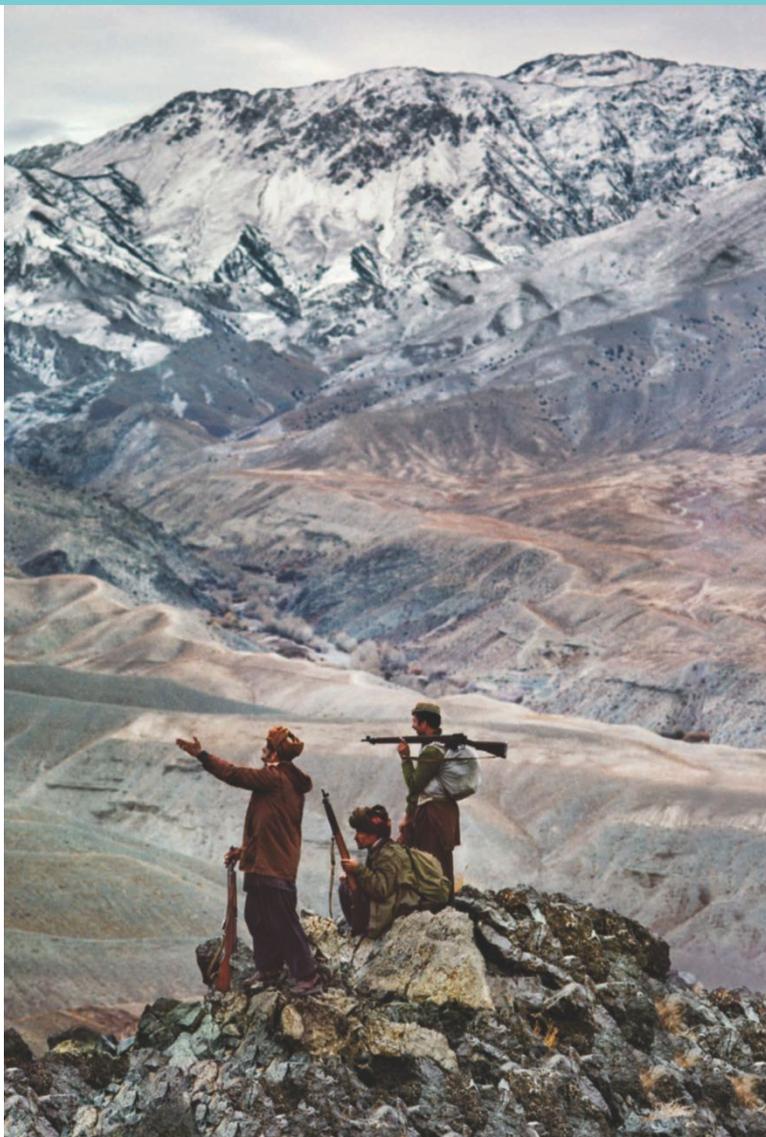
A LAND OF ENDURING BEAUTY AND PAIN.

By **Melanie Stetson Freeman** / Staff photographer

Afghanistan is a rugged, violent land with a tragic history and some of the most photogenic people on the planet. Photographer Steve McCurry has been documenting its story for almost 40 years. His powerful images have made him famous. (Remember “Afghan Girl” – the green-eyed beauty with the haunting look on the cover of a 1985 National Geographic?) This year, a beautiful coffee-table book called simply **Afghanistan** delivers a collection of McCurry’s best. It starts immediately – no title page – with a series of black-and-white, high-contrast images of mujahideen fighters, many of them children, staring you down. Next, his supersaturated color work: A boy sells oranges on the trunk of a battered car. Women navigate life in colorful burqas. Girls gleefully juggle in a park. Soldiers stand on a rocky outpost, with the Hindu Kush mountains in the distance. McCurry gives viewers a deep look into this complex society – the many ethnic groups, the warfare, and the dry, harsh landscape.

It should be noted that earlier this year, McCurry was accused of digitally altering some of his images. Dozens of his pictures were discovered to have been manipulated, including by the use of cloning (where parts of a photo are removed or replaced). McCurry countered by saying he now considers himself a “visual storyteller,” not a photojournalist.

As a photojournalist myself, I am conflicted. In the Digital Age, the integrity of photos is more important than ever. But I can’t deny that in this book, McCurry captures the essence of the country with his painterly images. ■



LOGAR PROVINCE, AFGHANISTAN (1984)

STEVE MCCURRY



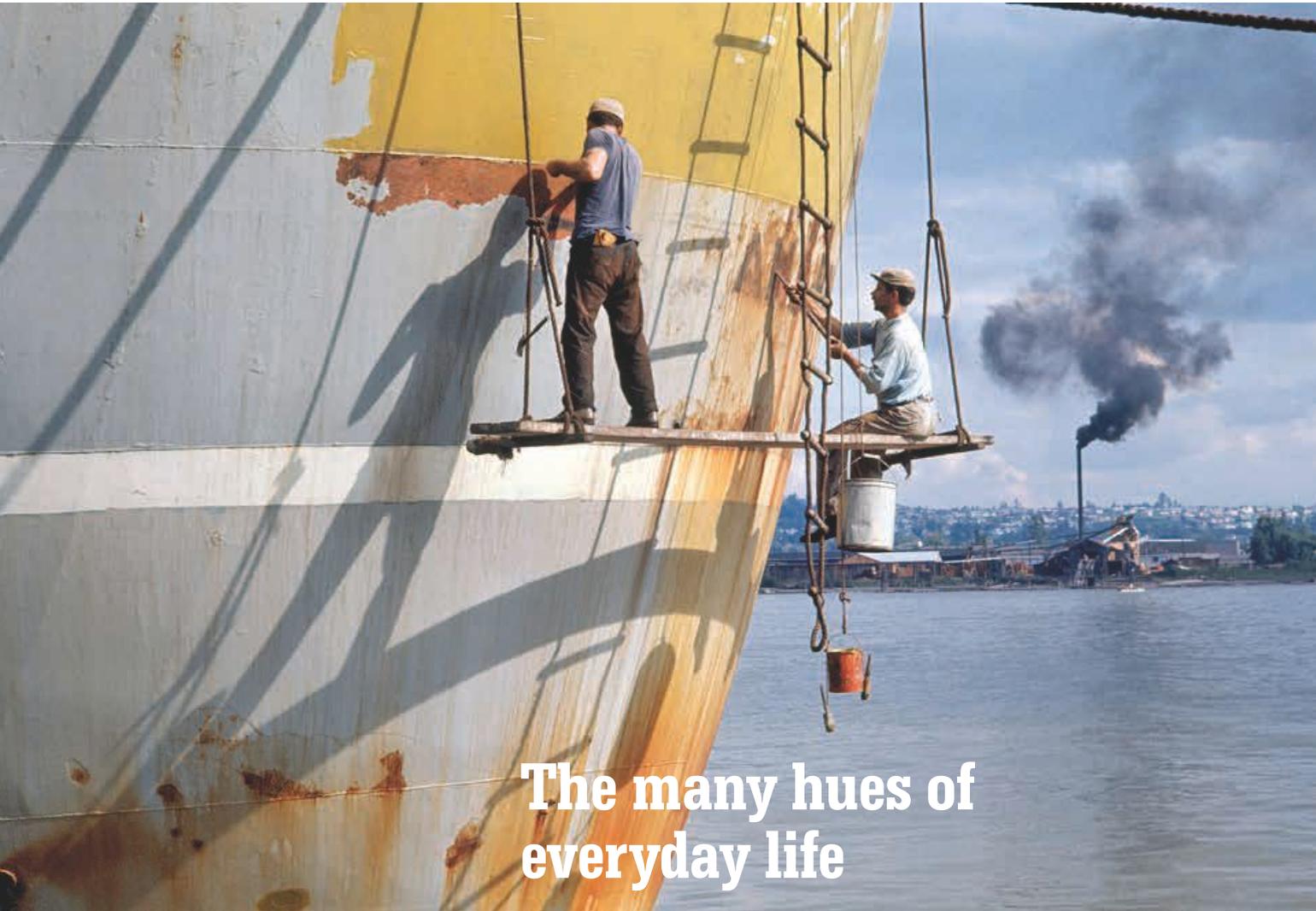
PESHAWAR, PAKISTAN (2002)

STEVE MCCURRY



KABUL, AFGHANISTAN (2016)

STEVE MCCURRY



The many hues of everyday life



FRED HERZOG CAPTURED AN ERA IN LIVING COLOR.

By Ann Hermes / Staff photographer

Fred Herzog might not be a household name in the photography world, but his work holds its own against the likes of Walker Evans and William Eggleston, two photographers with whom Herzog shares an aesthetic. The images in **Modern Color** offer lovely, quiet vignettes of everyday life on the streets of Vancouver, British Columbia, in the 1960s and '70s. Herzog offers up a body of street photography created before it was a recognized genre.

Born in Germany, Herzog settled in Canada, taking a job in medical photography. In his free time, he would hit the streets in working-class neighborhoods, producing more than 100,000 exposures over 29 years. The volume of exposures was made possible by his choice of medium – Kodachrome transparency film. The film required no darkroom work on Herzog's part and allowed him to capture the hues he saw in urban landscapes before him. Color is as integral to Herzog's work as is his way of framing the world around him.

Kodachrome allowed Herzog's photos to portray the vivid tones of an era, but it also contributed to his relative obscurity. Since he had few options for producing high-quality prints from the film transparencies, his images remained largely unseen. Only recent advancements in digital scanning and printing allowed a faithful reproduction of this analog collection. The result is a collection of beautifully crafted images that offer the viewer a deep sense of time and place from a photographer well deserving of recognition. ■

A PHOTO BOOK OFFERS A SMART HISTORY OF FOOD PHOTOGRAPHY.

By Joanne Ciccarello

If you are interested in – or share – the compulsion to post photos of food on Instagram, you’ll love a new offering from Aperture Books. **Feast for the Eyes: The Story of Food in Photography** is a fascinating exploration of the genre. British photography curator Susan Bright deftly navigates her complex subject. This thoughtful tome is organized chronologically by decade, concisely encapsulating the salient points of each photo’s genesis. What we eat, and how we consume it, is directly linked to photography’s evolution.

Since the camera’s invention, images of food and consumption have remained touchstones for identity and power. “The Modern Farmer, 1909,”

THE MODERN FARMER (1909)

WILLIAM MARTIN



Why we love to photograph our food



PEAS ON A PLATE (1978)

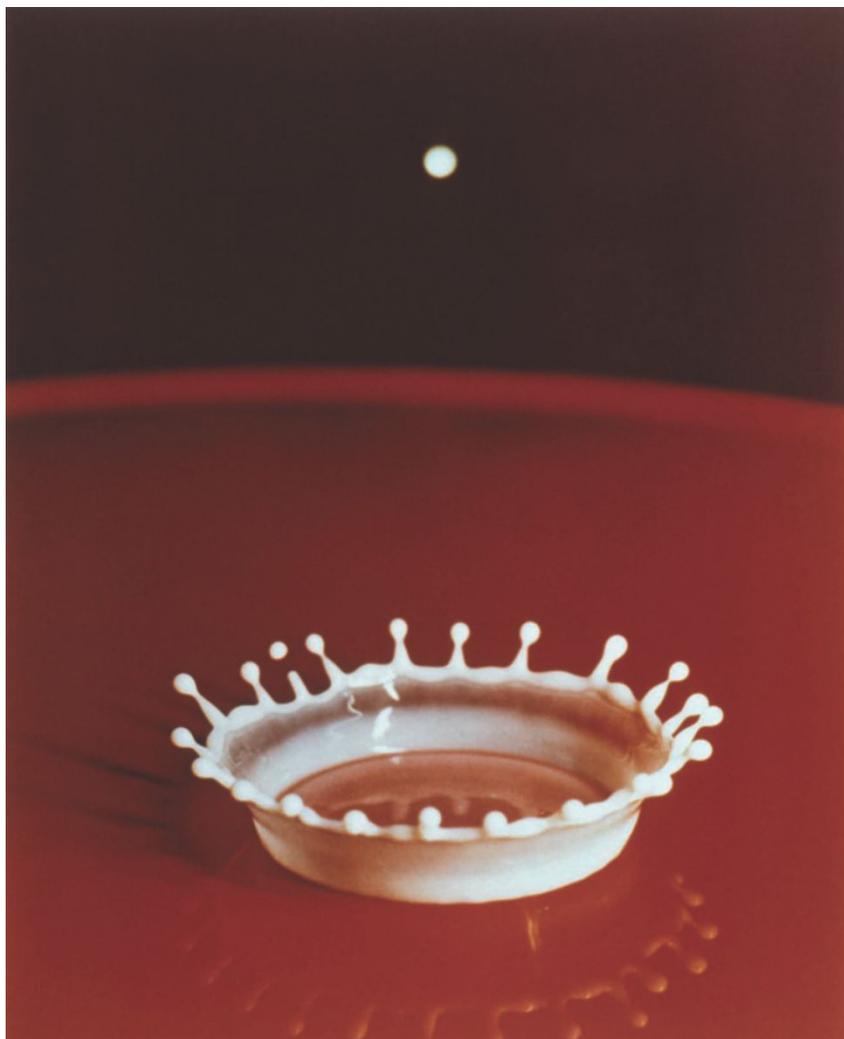
SANDY SKOGLUND

by William H. Martin, emphasized the agricultural dominance of the United States, according to Bright. The whimsical photomontage of a rural family hauling a harvest of giant peaches appeared as a “tall tale” image at the height of postcards’ popularity.

Technology furthered photographic possibilities on the subject. In 1957, Harold Edgerton’s newly invented strobe light captured the coronet of a milk drop falling into a red pan with stunning precision and beauty.

Along with the proliferation of vivid color photography in the 1960s came lush food photographs marketed to the busy homemaker. Those same products became props for later artists commenting on artifice and reality, as in Sandy Skoglund’s “Peas on a Plate, 1978.”

Food is fundamental to our existence and rich as a visual metaphor for desire, hope, abundance, and scarcity, says Bright. In “Feast for the Eyes,” photography and food are a perfect pairing.



MILK DROP CORONET (1957)

HAROLD EDGERTON

■ Joanne Ciccarello is a former Monitor photo editor.

A distant vision of 1960s Iraq



MEN FROM THE YAZIDI COMMUNITY IN NINEVEH (1962)

LATIF AL ANI



HOUSING PROJECT OFFICE IN BAGHDAD'S YARMOUK NEIGHBORHOOD (1962)

LATIF AL ANI

TAKEN SHORTLY AFTER THE COUNTRY GAINED INDEPENDENCE, THESE IMAGES CONVEY OPTIMISM.

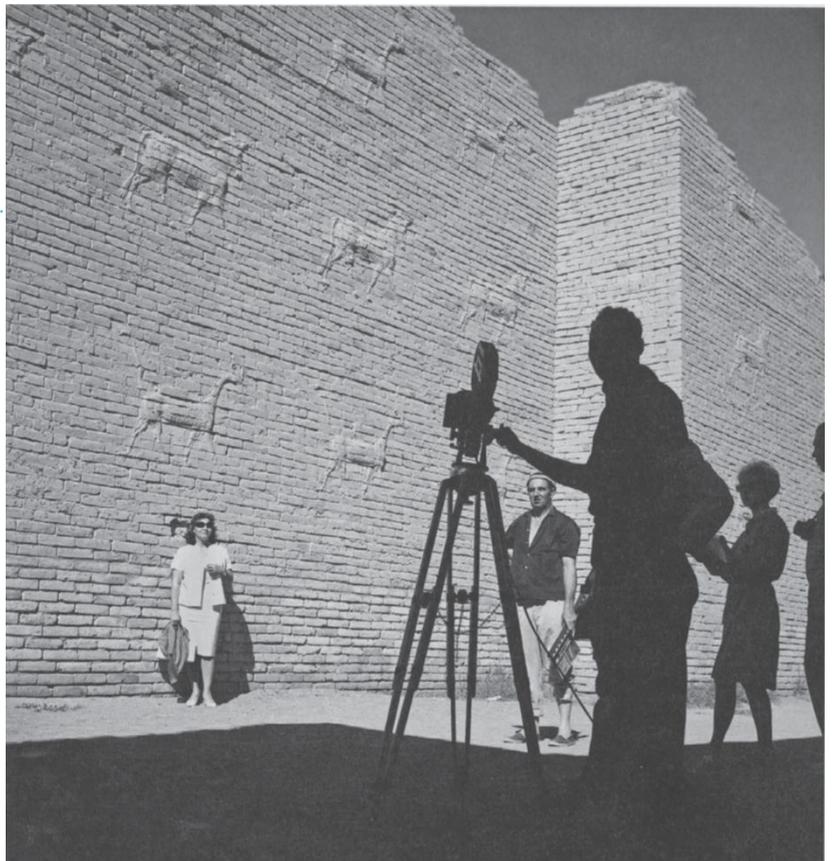
By Alfredo Sosa / Director of photography

Iraq has been part of the US's national narrative for a few decades now. Unfortunately, this discourse has been dominated by a seemingly endless cycle of destruction and reconstruction: a dictatorship, a long war with Iran, military action by the United States, and then the Islamic State group.

Latif Al Ani, an eponymous photo book by an Iraqi photographer, portrays a much different Iraq. Experienced from today's perspective, the work in this book seems utopian. I have never been to Iraq so what I know of the country – as it is today and as it was in the decade portrayed by Al Ani (mostly the 1960s) – derives from media and books.

Al Ani's work comes at a particular moment in Iraq's long history. After Ottoman and later British rule, a republic was formed in 1958. Al Ani's images of minarets, old towns, artists, and craftsmen celebrate Iraq's culture and past. He also portrays different ethnic groups, including the Yazidis, Kurds, and Mandaean, seeming to indicate that Iraq in the 1960s comprises all its peoples. And his images of housing projects and middle-class lifestyles suggest a bright future to come. The book ends with pictures of Germany and the US that Al Ani took in his travels. They are similar in subject matter to the ones taken in Iraq, and seem to be included for comparison.

I enjoyed this book because it showed me an Iraq that I was not familiar with, and helped me to better understand the ebbs and flows of history. I hope that the people of today's Iraq will someday be able to recapture the sense of optimism found in this book.



HILLAH, NEAR THE RUINS OF ANCIENT BABYLON (1970)

LATIF AL ANI

SPECIAL REPORT

INSECURE BALLOTS

LIAM JAMES DOYLE/THE MINNESOTA DAILY/AP

FORT LAUDERDALE, FLA.

Election officials in Florida have apparently tapped into the regenerative powers of Ponce de León's fabled Fountain of Youth. The proof is available on voter rolls in Broward County.

Among those on the official list of registered voters is Henny M. Nelson, age 131. So is Lillian E. Nicoletti of Davie, at 128 years old. And Sophie C. Golub of Sunrise, 118. The oldest known living person on Earth is believed to be 117. So something truly remarkable must be afoot in the voting precincts of Broward County.

Lawyers for a conservative election integrity group say there is a more plausible explanation: Broward's voting rolls are bloated with deceased voters, duplicate registrations, and people who moved away long ago without notifying the elections office. In a court case in Miami, officials with the American Civil Rights Union (ACRU) charge that the county's supervisor of elections is violating a federal law that requires the county to maintain "accurate and current" voter rolls.

The case is significant because it seeks to establish a national standard for the maintenance of voter registration lists as a way to guard against election fraud. Voter list maintenance is no small issue. The US Supreme Court is set to take up a similar case from Ohio early next year.

But the case is significant for a second reason. It arises at a time of intense national concern over alleged Russian-backed efforts to meddle in the November 2016 presidential election. A special prosecutor is investigating election interference, including whether there was any collusion with Donald Trump's campaign. Senate and House committees are also looking into that politically explosive charge.

Against this backdrop, The Christian Science Monitor set out to examine vulnerabilities in the US election system and whether they might allow someone to secretly manipulate the vote. What we found was an election system whose very modernity and reliance on voter-friendly technology has made it staggeringly vulnerable to outside interference.

★ ★ ★

In 2016, computer hackers tasked by Russia did attempt to break into America's election system, according to US intelligence officials. While there is no evidence

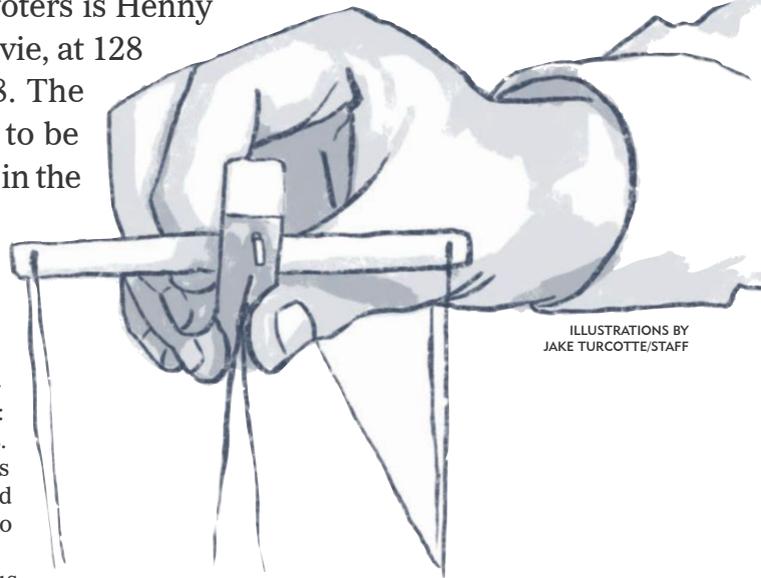
they manipulated any votes, signs exist of repeated attempts to infiltrate one critical part of the system: voter registration rolls. And whoever controls the list of registered voters, controls who gets to vote.

Which brings us back to Broward County and the quality of its registration lists. Is it possible that 131-year-old Henny Nelson could become an unwitting pawn in Russian President Vladimir Putin's alleged attempt to undermine the essence of American democracy?

There are easier ways to fix an election, but experts acknowledge that a large number of deceased or otherwise dormant voters on a registration list could help give cover to a malicious attack that might be exceedingly difficult to detect.

It doesn't necessarily have to be linked to Russia. North Korea, for instance, has demonstrated an ability to infiltrate computer networks in the United States, such as its strike on Sony Corp.'s Hollywood studio. Iran and China are known to possess similar expertise. Anarchists, hackers-for-hire, or a cyber sleuth with a strong party preference might also possess the ability to swing votes or sow chaos during an election, experts say.

Broward County offers an example of how this might happen. It was ground zero in the disputed 2000 presidential election that ended in Florida with a margin of 537 votes. With 1.2 million registered voters, Broward has more card-carrying Democrats than any other county in Florida, a key swing state. To carry Florida, a Democratic candidate would logically have to carry Broward by a very wide margin,



ILLUSTRATIONS BY
JAKE TURCOTTE/STAFF

HOW HACKERS, FROM RUSSIA OR ELSEWHERE, COULD SWAY A U.S. ELECTION.

BY WARREN RICHEY
STAFF WRITER

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while a Republican would benefit from making inroads among, or minimizing the turnout of, Broward Democrats.

Cybersecurity experts warn that hackers – Russian or otherwise – could change or erase voter registration records, including those of the most active and loyal voters for one party or the other. Such an all-out attack could plunge an election into chaos, though it would also tip off officials that the election was under assault.

A more subtle attack might seek to identify pools of dormant voters – registrants such as Nelson who haven't voted in years but who remain on the rolls, fully eligible to cast ballots. Under this scenario, the hackers could harvest individual names, submit online change-of-address forms, and request that absentee ballots be sent to a new location. This scenario hinges on whether there is a large enough pool of other "Henny Nelsons" on the voter rolls to make a difference in the election.

In recent years, there have been a number of investigations into Broward's list of registered voters. Conservative special interest groups, such as the ACRU and the Public Interest Legal Foundation, have conducted some of the inquiries. Ordinary citizens have initiated others, trying to discover why their deceased neighbors or those who moved away were still eligible to cast ballots. Among the findings by the various groups:

•During much of the past decade, Broward has had more voters listed on its registration rolls than there are citizens eligible to vote in the county – an estimated

'PERCEIVED ELECTION FRAUD CAN BE JUST AS HARMFUL AS ACTUAL FRAUD IF IT IS ADEPTLY WEAPONIZED.'

– James Scott,
Institute for Critical Infrastructure Technology

61,000 more in 2016.

•In 2016, there were 107,278 individuals in Broward who remained on the voting rolls and fully eligible to vote even though they hadn't voted or responded to any election office mailings in four years or more.

•Although officials estimate that 560 centenarians currently live in Broward County, the county's voter registration list contains the names of 3,044 voters who are recorded as 100 years old or older.

•A May 2016 examination of the voter rolls found 2,082 likely duplicate registrations, and 2,208 individuals who appear to have voted more than once in the same election in Broward.

•A computer analysis found 1,226 registered voters in Broward who listed a UPS Store as their legal address. Florida law requires that a legal residence be an actual residential structure – a home.

(After the existence of the UPS Store voters was reported to the supervisor of

elections, the voters were instructed to update their registration with a valid address. If they failed to do so within 30 days, their legal address would automatically be changed to "102 Government Way" – the supervisor of elections office in Fort Lauderdale. After that change, requested absentee ballots continued to be sent to the UPS Store postal boxes.)

Broward's supervisor of elections, Brenda Snipes, and her lawyers insist that she complies with all state and federal requirements for voter roll maintenance. In addition, she says she feels a strong responsibility to never remove someone from the registration list who may still be eligible to vote. "We exercise a lot of caution when we are moving a person to another status," she testified in federal court in July. "We reach out to them. We never just take a person off the rolls."

In an interview, Dr. Snipes says the bulk of registration list maintenance is handled by state officials, including information about a voter's death, citizenship, felon status, and whether the person is registered to vote in other states.

"We have a regular list maintenance program, but much is subject to interpretation," she says. "We try to stay within the statute so we are being fair, first of all, to the voter."

★ ★ ★

The issue of how best to maintain voter registration rolls is politically divisive. Republicans charge that sloppy registration

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lists lay the groundwork for election fraud. They favor robust efforts to police voter rolls and remove those who are ineligible to cast a ballot.

In contrast, Democrats maintain that voter fraud in the US is exceedingly rare. They see efforts to purge voters from the rolls as often part of a Republican scheme to suppress the votes of likely Democratic supporters rather than protect them.

In the wake of the 2016 presidential election, many Americans are increasingly concerned about what the integrity of voter rolls means for one other threat – election fraud that might be perpetrated by foreign governments.

Attempted hacks, allegedly at the direction of Russian military intelligence, targeted registration systems in as many as 21 states during the 2016 campaign season, including a successful penetration in Illinois, according to US intelligence officials. Hackers also posed as employees with a Florida-based voter registration software company, VR Systems, and launched a spear-phishing campaign against 122 officials in jurisdictions served by that company. (Spear-phishing involves sending decoy emails to entice targets to click on a file and unleash a malicious program that can corrupt and manipulate data systems.)

VR Systems provides voter registration and voter verification services in 64 of Florida's 67 counties, including Broward. At least one of those phishing emails was addressed to an official in Broward.

"To our knowledge, according to our IT person, that did not get through to anyone," Snipes says.



GARY I ROTHSTEIN/REUTERS/FILE

Brenda Snipes (r.), supervisor of elections in Florida's Broward County, talks with then-Broward County Mayor Irene Lieberman in Fort Lauderdale in 2004.

In Illinois, the infiltration began on June 23, though officials did not recognize it as an attack until July 12 – about 19 days later. The intruders, working through foreign-based IP addresses, were flooding the state's online voter application website at a rate of five times per second, 24 hours a day, seeking a way to penetrate the system.

They were able to gain access to 90,000 voter registration records. The files were not altered, but the state notified 76,000 registered voters that their personal data might have been compromised.

Officials are not certain what the hackers were trying to achieve. The Russians have long sought to attack and undermine trust in American democracy. Given the current level of partisan enmity and distrust of election systems among Americans, that effort may be succeeding.

But there could be a second goal. The 2016 election hacking could have been a scouting mission to lay the groundwork for future covert efforts to actually rig a US election, security experts say. In June, former FBI Director James Comey delivered a stark warning about Russian intentions to the Senate Intelligence Committee. "They will be back," he said.

No one is sure why the hackers sought access to voter rolls. It is possible they wanted to tap into a large database to see if they could capture information useful for identity theft. In most states, some portion of the voter rolls are public infor-

mation. They can include name, date of birth, home address, telephone numbers, party affiliation, and voting history. Some include Social Security numbers or driver's license numbers, but those details are kept in more secure files. It is also possible that they were seeking to gather a large mass of data to analyze the proclivities of specific voters to allow them to better wage campaign-related information warfare: personalized fake news.

"More sophisticated attacks weaponize the [registration] logs against the population and against democracy itself," James Scott, senior fellow at the Institute for Critical Infrastructure Technology, wrote in an email.

"Attackers leverage the information in Big Data algorithms, which are powered by machine learning and artificial intelligence, to tailor malicious fake news lures to specific voters," he adds.

That approach would dovetail with the theft, leaking, and online discussion of embarrassing emails that were used to undercut Hillary Clinton's election prospects in the final weeks of the campaign.

There are also many less sophisticated ways to use unauthorized access to voter rolls to undermine an election. By altering registration information, hackers can force election officials to spend more time verifying a person's eligibility to vote on election day – slowing the process and

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suppressing voter turnout.

Even something as basic as changing a voter's party affiliation can cause big problems. In July 2016, officials in California's Riverside County received a number of complaints from voters who said someone had changed their party affiliation in the online voter registration list. The change meant they were not eligible to cast ballots in their party's primary election. Those who complained were provided a provisional ballot, but it is unclear how many others simply went home frustrated.

Computer forensic specialists were unable to trace who might have made the changes. But, according to a report in Time magazine, officials in the Obama administration believed the Riverside County incident may have been a Russian-linked operation.

Even if hackers don't do something nefarious when they gain access to voter registration lists, the mere knowledge of their presence in the system can raise questions about the integrity of the process.

"Perceived election fraud can be just as harmful as actual fraud if it is adeptly weaponized," says Mr. Scott.

★ ★ ★

Alarmed at the prospect of such infiltrations, a group of Harvard University researchers set about to see how difficult it might be to steal the identity of voters and their votes.

They specifically examined databases that allowed voters to make changes to a statewide registration list online. What they found was that the online registration systems of 35 states and the District of Columbia were susceptible to an imposter posing as a voter to submit changes to the registration rolls. (On Oct. 1, Florida became the 36th state with a statewide online registration system.)

"These aren't breaches. This is not somebody breaking into a computer," says Latanya Sweeney, professor of government and technology in residence at

Harvard and one of the report's authors. "This is somebody going in through the front door impersonating someone else."

It turns out that it is neither difficult nor expensive to surreptitiously change someone's voter registration information. With moderate computer programming skills, hackers can make malicious changes to registration files that might affect thousands or even millions of votes nationwide.

"A voter identity theft attack



'THESE AREN'T BREACHES. THIS IS NOT SOMEBODY BREAKING INTO A COMPUTER. THIS IS SOMEBODY GOING IN THROUGH THE FRONT DOOR IMPERSONATING SOMEONE ELSE.'

– Latanya Sweeney, who co-wrote a Harvard University study on voter fraud

could disrupt an election by imposters submitting address changes, deleting voter registrations, or requesting absentee ballots," says the study, which came out in September.

To do so, the imposter must only possess a few sensitive personal details about the voter to be able to gain access. That information includes name, date of birth, gender, address, Social Security number, and driver's license number.

The Harvard researchers found that those critical pieces of information could be easily acquired from government databases, private data brokers, or markets selling such information on the darknet – in some cases for as little as \$1,000.

Further, the report says that a computer could impersonate a voter on a state website and make an address change within one minute. By using a bank of computers, the infiltrators could carry out a national attack.

"We were asked by several parties to consider not publishing this study," the Harvard authors acknowledge in their report. "We decided to do so because whether we publish or not does not make the possibility of these attacks go away."

One safeguard against this kind of intrusion is that voters who show up to cast ballots and find their registration information changed would likely complain. That would alert elections officials to potential meddling.

To get around this, an intruder might seek to identify people who are unlikely to protest – in other words, people who no longer vote but still have valid registrations. The challenge in launching this kind of attack would be to find enough dormant registrations. Some experts are skeptical that the Russians have the skills to do this – or would take the risk.

"First, the Russians would have to have a capability that even we don't have – that is, confidently matching dead people and people who have moved out of state with 100 percent accuracy," says David Becker of the Center for Election Innovation and Research in Washington.

"If you take someone and ask for their ballot and that person shows up to vote, you are busted."

Others disagree about the difficulty of identifying reliably dormant registrations. "They are very easy to find," says Gregg Prentice, founder of the group Election Integrity Florida.

Registration data in Florida includes voter history dating back 10 years. A would-be attacker could run a program to identify anyone in the state or county who

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hadn't voted or updated his or her information for many years, Mr. Prentice says.

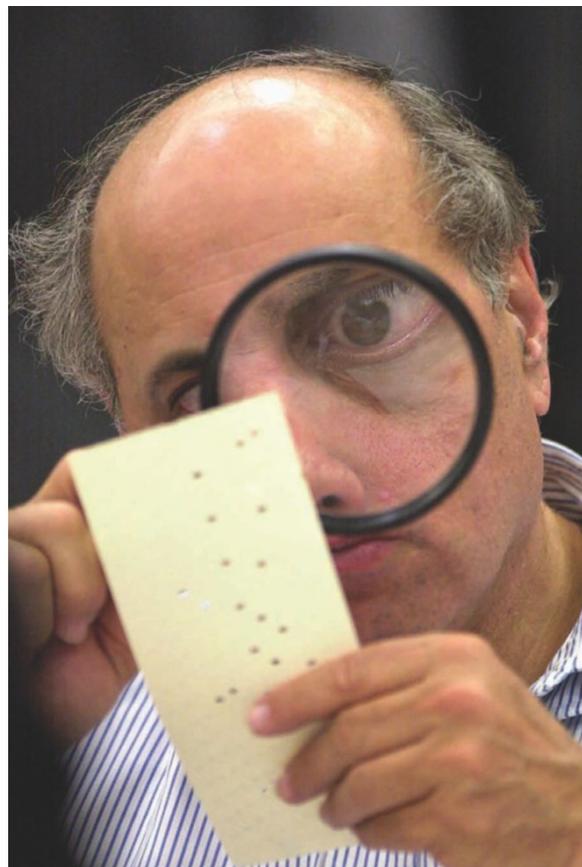
Another tactic would be to conduct a computer analysis counting the number of registrations per residence. In rental apartments with high tenant turnover, it could provide a rich cache of abandoned registrations.

One other possible source of votes to steal: elder care facilities, where voters are unlikely to discover their registration information has been tampered with.

"In that situation, the change of address [notification from election officials] might well go unnoticed because the purpose of the care facility is not monitoring your mail to say, 'Oh, there is a change in your voting record,'" says Professor Sweeney. "Depending on your mental, physical, and medical condition, even if you got the mail yourself, it is not clear it would be a priority."

★ ★ ★

Absentee ballots represent another area of vulnerability for US voting systems. In



ALAN DIAZ/AP/FILE

Judge Robert Rosenberg, a Broward County canvassing board member, examines a ballot in the disputed 2000 presidential election in Florida.

Broward County, voters can sign up to automatically receive absentee ballots for all future elections. It's intended to be a convenience and encourage voting.

The ballots will arrive at the listed address until the elections office is told to stop sending them. More than 215,000 Broward voters are currently participating in this perpetual vote-by-mail program.

In the November 2016 election, the Broward elections office distributed 283,000 absentee ballots. More than 77,000 were never returned. An additional 4,442 were returned as undeliverable.

The danger is that hackers could use dormant or abandoned registrations to request a large number of absentee ballots.

"If a voter roll is dirty and poorly kept, would that county clerk know they were even being hacked? Probably not," says Logan Churchwell, a researcher with the Public Interest Legal Foundation, which is working with the ACRU in the lawsuit against Snipes, Broward's supervisor of elections.

A vigilant election supervisor might notice a pattern of suspicious activity – if, for example, a large number of absentee ballots were being sent to certain locations overseas. But experts say such an attack spread over many months may blend in with legitimate voter registration activity.

Even domestically, too many ballots sent to one location would presumably raise questions. It would require a person being at each address – which could involve thousands of co-conspirators.

"That is pretty darn close to an act of war, if not over the line," says Mr. Becker of the Center for Election Innovation.

Still, others say the logistics and manpower to carry out such an attack aren't insuperable. In recent decades, many Russians have bought condos in seaside communities in southeast Broward and northeast Miami-Dade County.

For her part, Snipes says any effort to hijack absentee ballots would be discovered because county officials compare the signature on each absentee ballot with an electronic signature on file.

"If the signature does not match then we send correspon-

▶ NEXT PAGE

10 WAYS TO PREVENT VOTER FRAUD

Election security experts suggest a range of tactics and safeguards to prevent hackers from manipulating or undermining election systems in the United States.

- Upgrade decade-old election systems with **newer software** and more robust security features.
- Eliminate the use of **touch-screen voting** machines that are not capable of producing a paper trail to verify votes. Replace them with machines that count paper ballots.
- Conduct routine postelection **audits** to verify that a machine tabulation of election results corresponds with the results on paper ballots.
- Conduct a comprehensive **forensic analysis** of voter registration activity, including focusing on alterations to existing records, such as change-of-address requests in cases where multiple ballots will be sent to the same location.
- Use trusted IT personnel to **mimic potential hacker attacks** to identify and address system vulnerabilities.
- **Restrict administrative access** to election networks to a limited number of essential officials and contractors.
- Enact heightened security protocols to thwart phishing scams and implement more **secure authentication** to gain access to election systems software.
- Use protective IT techniques such as creating white lists and **firewalls** to block introduction of malicious programs into key data systems.
- Maintain a **backup of all databases**, including a paper record of registration lists and poll book data.
- Conduct **regular maintenance** of voter registration rolls, being careful not to remove eligible voters, but also being vigilant to cull long-abandoned registrations that might provide openings for hacking and other fraud.

– Warren Richey / Staff writer

► FROM PREVIOUS PAGE

dence out to the owner of that ballot and they have an opportunity to send us the corrected signature,” Snipes says. “We’ve not had any of that occur.”

The importance of signatures might partly explain the attempted hack of VR Systems in 2016. The company provides voter verification services to Broward and other counties – including maintaining the official database of voters’ signatures.

“I don’t think a person hacking into the system could go in and pull up signatures and re-create a signature in our system,” Snipes says.

Others disagree. “If you have access to that system you have access to people’s signatures because that is how they verify you at the polls,” says Mary Garber of the Florida Fair Elections Coalition, an election watchdog group. “It is everything that would be needed to phony-up a request.”

★ ★ ★

No evidence exists that Henny Nelson or Sophie Golub, both registered Democrats, or Lillian Nicoletti, a registered Republican, voted in the 2016 election – or

even the 2006 election. But that doesn’t mean their continued presence on the voter rolls might not be useful in a hacker attack.

The Monitor sought to identify the whereabouts of Nelson, Nicoletti, and Golub. Nelson’s last known residential address was the Margate Health Care Center, a skilled nursing facility. A receptionist checked the register of current patients and verified that Nelson was no longer a resident.

Nelson’s date of birth is recorded as Jan. 14, 1886. That year Apache leader Geronimo surrendered to US troops in a dusty canyon in Arizona and President Grover Cleveland dedicated the Statue of Liberty in New York Harbor.

Attempts to locate Nicoletti were also unsuccessful. County real estate documents show that she moved from her listed address in Davie to nearby Weston, but apparently failed to update her 1988 voter registration. That was in June 1994.

Both cases underscore the challenges facing election supervisors in tracking down and verifying that a voter is no longer eligible to vote. But critics say a simple computer search could easily identify

‘IF A VOTER ROLL IS DIRTY AND POORLY KEPT, WOULD THAT COUNTY CLERK KNOW THEY WERE EVEN BEING HACKED? PROBABLY NOT.’

– Logan Churchwell,
Public Interest Legal Foundation

registrants with birth dates in the 1800s. Such a check would at least raise a red flag and justify additional investigation.

In contrast to Nelson’s and Nicoletti’s, Golub’s whereabouts were relatively easy to discover and verify. Golub also apparently failed to notify election officials when she moved from her two-bedroom home in Sunrise, Fla., to the New York borough of Brooklyn. Real estate documents indicate her ranch house in Florida was sold in May 1996.

In an interview, the current owners of the home say Golub was in her 90s when they moved in and she moved out. According to records maintained by the Social Security Administration, Golub died in Brooklyn later that year in November 1996. She was 97 years old.

Nonetheless, in August 2017, nearly 21 years later, Golub’s voter registration file proclaimed optimistically: “You are currently eligible to vote in Broward County.”

In recent weeks, with a pending lawsuit and facing public criticism, election officials apparently noticed something was amiss. But rather than investigate registrations based on implausible ages, the officials simply added a new notice to the online registrations of Golub, Nicoletti, Nelson, and others.

The notice is highlighted in bright red lettering: “We have been unable to verify that this is your correct address. Please confirm or update your address with our office or use this website’s ‘change of address’ feature before voting in the next election.” ■

ONLINE Read the Monitor’s full report:
<http://bit.ly/Voters1>
<http://bit.ly/Voters2>
<http://bit.ly/Voters3>



ROBERT F. BUKATY/AP/FILE

Residents cast ballots in Cape Elizabeth, Maine. Experts say one way hackers can manipulate elections is to use dormant voter registrations to request absentee ballots and cast illicit votes.

THE JAPAN TIMES / TOKYO

North Korea's Kim will not be intimidated

“North Korea continued its defiance of the international community with the test of yet another ballistic missile [Nov. 29],” states an editorial. “In response to this latest outrage, concerned governments continue to try to muster a concerted effort to constrain North Korean behavior.... Still, flaws in the strategy to do so remain unfixed and must be remedied.... The challenge is for the U.S. and partners like Japan to articulate a diplomatic settlement that Pyongyang can support. Thus far, sticks are far more prominent than carrots. That may be emotionally gratifying but is unlikely to produce a deal that endures.”

KOREA JOONGANG DAILY / SEOUL, SOUTH KOREA

To get a read on North Korea, watch the US, not China

“After the Communist Party Congress on Oct. 24 [Chinese President Xi Jinping] announced a plan to send a special envoy to North Korea...,” writes Kim Hyun-ki. “North Korean leader Kim Jong-un was furious that the envoy to Pyongyang was used as an ‘ingredient’ for the U.S.-China relationship and refused to meet with the envoy.... The first response from the United States after learning this was redesignating North Korea as a ‘state sponsor of terrorism.’... It is also delusional to think that North Korea and the United States will somehow compromise. Washington’s will to denuclearize the North is stronger than we think. While every player is keeping quiet and studying China’s next move, what we really need to focus on is the next move of the United States after it half-gave up on China.”

THE GUARDIAN / LONDON

Why Pope Francis didn't say 'Rohingya'

“White is the colour of peace, and no one on the world stage wears it bigger than the pope...,” writes Joanna Moorhead. “It underlines his role in the global spotlight, so it’s understandable that many people ... are disappointed that he failed ... in Myanmar, to use the politically and emotionally charged word ‘Rohingya’ to stress his criticism of the crackdown on the Muslim community.... The truth is ... the primary role of the pope is as the leader of the Roman Catholic community. The first people he must protect are his own.... So when his representative in Myanmar ... warned him that ... he might compromise the situation of the country’s tiny Catholic minority, Francis felt he had no option but to back down.”

THE MONITOR / GABORONE, BOTSWANA

Can Zimbabwe's new president be 'born again'?

“Sworn in as the new [Zimbabwean] President, [Emmerson Mnangagwa] made pledges that resonated with the mood of everybody...,” writes Michael Dingake. “Zimbabwe politics was poisoned and polarised; jobs, jobs, jobs would be the fashion; investors would be attracted to invest in the country; though the land redistribution wouldn’t be reversed, the expropriated farmers would be compensated; government had to change how it operated; time for yap-yap was over, time for action was here! Who can believe him? Can [Robert Mugabe’s] right-hand man, complicit in all his blunders be born again, to undo the past lunacy displayed by his puppeteer?... His litmus test will come with the general elections scheduled for 2018. I want to side with the optimists.”

AL JAZEERA / DOHA, QATAR

Don't ignore the EU's role in Libyan migrant slavery

“Migrants and refugees being sold into slavery in Libya is not really new information...,” writes Joey Ayoub. “But following CNN’s release of footage showing men being sold by an auctioneer for the equivalent of \$800, there was finally international outrage.... But while the outrage has focused on the Libyan authorities, it has very much ignored the role the European Union has played.... The EU has pushed to curb migration and tighten its borders, but it has not provided alternative safe and legal paths for migrants and refugees. This has inevitably led to more dangerous conditions for people already in transit countries such as Libya. Slavery, unfortunately, has been a direct consequence of that.”

Founded in 1908 by Mary Baker Eddy

EDITOR: Mark Sappenfield

CHIEF EDITORIAL WRITER: Clayton Jones

MANAGING PUBLISHER: Abe McLaughlin



*"First the blade, then the ear,
then the full grain in the ear."*

Why an anti-corruption fight reflects a trend toward integrity

One of the surprising events of 2017 was the arrest of more than 200 prominent people in Saudi Arabia for corruption. The roundup on Nov. 4 even included princes within the ruling royal family. Now the leader of the campaign, Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman, has revealed a prime reason for this dramatic crackdown in the Middle East kingdom.

"My father [the king] saw that there is no way we can stay in the G-20 and grow with this level of corruption," he said in a New York Times interview. Prince Salman estimates that 10 percent of government spending is siphoned off by corruption.

The Group of 20 is a club of the world's wealthiest nations. It has also become the major forum for global governance. Its member states, including Saudi Arabia, not only set standards of reform for themselves, they also rely on peer pressure to hold each other accountable.

Since 2010, the G20 has had a "working group" of anti-corruption experts advising members on how to detect bribery and improve government transparency. For its part, Saudi Arabia has proposed a number of anti-corruption laws. It has set up university clubs to promote integrity and begun to measure public perceptions of corruption. And ever since the crown prince consolidated power this year – with a nod from King Salman bin Abdulaziz al Saud –

ACCOUNTABILITY AND OPENNESS MAKE SOCIETIES MORE INCLUSIVE. 'IN SHORT, INTEGRITY DELIVERS BETTER LIVES.'

– Angel Gurría, OECD secretary-general

the country's elite has been targeted by an anti-corruption commission.

The mass arrests, in other words, reflect a decades-long global trend to cultivate a culture of integrity in many countries. This drive to curb corruption has now reached a level of importance in world affairs similar to that of human rights.

The trend has also sparked mass protests for honest governance from India to Romania. And recently, the presidents of two G20 members, Brazil and South Korea, have been impeached while a former president of Argentina faces charges for corruption.

The United States began this global trend in the 1970s with its far-reaching Foreign Corrupt Practices Act. But the movement

has been widened to include the World Bank, European Union, and other bodies. Corruption is now seen as a driver of financial crises, terrorism, the drug trade, and slow economic development.

First global pact to focus on bribery

The main advocate for reform is a group of 35 developed countries called the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development. The OECD provides advice to the G20. In 1999, it approved the Anti-Bribery Convention, the first binding international instrument to focus exclusively on bribery in business transactions. The pact now includes 44 countries and encompasses much of the worldwide commerce.

This effort to instill a culture of open-

ness and accountability, says Angel Gurría, the OECD's secretary-general, has made economies more productive, governments more efficient, institutions more trusted, and societies more inclusive. "In short," he adds, "integrity delivers better lives."

Saudi Arabia has now jumped on this global bandwagon. Perhaps its mass arrests should not be seen as a surprise. Rather they are merely another example of a spreading norm that embraces the highest principles of governance. ■

A court verdict against prejudice

A special court set up by the United Nations during the Balkan wars of the 1990s issued its final and most important verdict on Nov. 22. It found Ratko Mladić, the former commander of the Bosnian Serb military, guilty of genocide, crimes against humanity, and war crimes. While the trial was the most significant since the Nuremberg tribunal, it did not end with any general message about some of Europe's worst atrocities in the 20th century.

Rather, prosecutor Serge Brammertz simply said afterward, "Mladić's guilt is his and his alone." The conviction, he added, is not a verdict against the Serbian people.

His comments will be as important to the future of Europe as the trial's outcome. Justice is always individual, a point that is especially important when an injustice like genocide is committed in the name of prejudice against a group.

In Mr. Mladić's case, the gross generalization was that all Muslims must be killed or kicked out of Bosnia in the name of a "greater Serbia." During the trial, he also justified his wartime actions as necessary to defend "Serbia and the Serbian people."

Such collectivized hate, driven by the ultranationalism that erupted after the 1991 breakup of the former Yugoslavia, ended with a massacre of some 8,000 men and boys from the village of Srebrenica in 1995

as well as with mass killings in the Bosnian capital, Sarajevo.

The prosecutor's point about individual responsibility is critical in the long struggle of ensuring peace in the Balkans. Tensions remain high among the region's religious and ethnic groups. Yet in some neighborhoods, Muslims and Serbs – as well as victims and perpetrators – have learned to get along. They are trying to restore the moral universe of seeing each other as individuals first. This equality between neighbors has now been echoed by the Mladić verdict – that all are equal before the law.

Forgiveness at work – between individuals

Michael Ignatieff, president of Central European University, recently traveled to Bosnia to write a book on moral virtues, and he interviewed Bosnians struggling to get along. "How is it that forgiveness works in these micro-settings?" he asked.

One person, who witnessed a massacre in his village, told him how he has learned to live with some of the perpetrators. He said, "I've learned not to generalize. That is, there is no such thing as a guilty Serb in general."

He refused to make a false aggregation, preferring to take each individual as an individual – just the way that justice was meted out for Mladić. ■

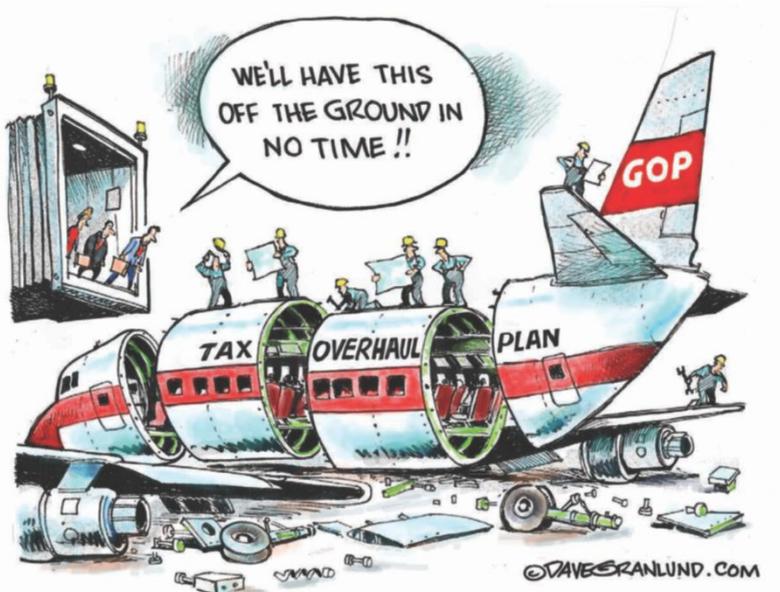
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Seeing the other side

I am convinced that the Nov. 6 issue of the Weekly has truly blessed all mankind by shedding light on the reality of life and thought in today's Russia with the Upfront column, "The Russia that Russians see," and the cover story, "1917 today." Can anything be more important than all people gaining an accurate understanding of each other and having their (unfortunately) regular diets of hatred, stereotyping, and propaganda exposed as dangerous to the survival of our planet?

JIM BENDER
Klamath Falls, Ore.

More Lebanon coverage

Regarding the Nov. 6 Monitor Daily article "Lebanese departure shows Saudi response to Iran's rising role": Please continue covering Lebanon. It seems to be a very complex situation that is quite puzzling to many of us. It's been "off my radar" for a long time.

STANLEY EASTON
Jacksonville, Ala.

Investigation recap

Regarding the Nov. 13 Monitor Daily article "Mueller investigation: what we've learned, and what comes next": This article summarized weeks of speculation, opinion, and partisan reporting. I feel I can rely on the Monitor for accurate, informative, and fair reporting. Thank you. Keep up the fine work for mankind.

I would very much welcome your updates on Robert Mueller's investigation.

ROBERT STORM
Brooklyn, N.Y.

Uranium story presentation

Regarding the Nov. 27 Briefing, "Hillary Clinton, Russia, and uranium": I already knew the details but read the article to see how the information was presented. It was clear, concise, and unbiased. What more can one ask for?

JEAN KING
Palm Harbor, Fla.

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JUNO TEMPLE STARS IN 'WONDER WHEEL.'

JESSICA MIGLIO/AMAZON STUDIOS/AP

ON FILM

Coney Island is a candy-colored fantasia in 'Wonder Wheel'

WOODY ALLEN'S LATEST HAS THINLY DRAWN CHARACTERS.

By Peter Rainer / Film critic

A fresh Woody Allen movie arrives practically every year like clockwork. Some are good – most are middling. Being prolific isn't a crime, but with Allen, what you often get are retreads dolled up to look brand-new.

"Wonder Wheel" is set in Brooklyn's Coney Island amusement park in the late 1950s, and so one might expect it to be more "personal" to this Brooklynite auteur than some of his other films. But it turns out that the main reason Allen likely chose this location is for its visual allure: With the help of his cinematographer, Vittorio Storaro, he gets to turn the boardwalk into a candy-colored, eye-popping fantasia. From a purely thematic standpoint, this "look" makes little sense, but it sure is nice to gaze upon. It takes one's mind off the theatrics, which are often less than galvanizing.

Ginny (Kate Winslet) and her husband, Humpty (Jim Belushi), live right on the boardwalk in a makeshift apartment. She's a waitress in a clam house; he operates the carousel. She was once married to a drummer and had ambitions to be an actress. In a sense, she's still an actress; she overremotes constantly and turns even the simplest domestic spat into high drama. It's not entirely believable that she would have

taken up with the kindhearted but boorish Humpty, whom she is constantly keeping away from the booze.

Into their lives comes Carolina (Juno Temple), Humpty's daughter from a previous marriage, who is on the run from her gangster husband. Since she and her father have long been estranged, she figures his boardwalk home is the last place the pursuing mobsters will think to look.

It doesn't take long before Humpty and Carolina are reconciled – he declares that she was "the light of [his] life." Ginny, meantime, is romanced by Mickey (a miscast Justin Timberlake), the local lifeguard. It is Mickey who acts as the audience's tour guide of this menagerie. He's a Lothario without really coming on like one. Having served time in the Navy, he attends New York University graduate school and fancies himself a budding playwright. He gives Carolina a present of Ernest Jones's psychoanalytic study "Hamlet and Oedipus" – can there be any more perfect gift in a Woody Allen movie? – and makes a point of looking for the "great tragic flaw" in the classic plays and also in the lives of the people with whom he surrounds himself.

This, of course, is a tip-off that the people in "Wonder Wheel," most pointedly Gin-

ny, are all flawed in ways that will upend their lives. The exception is Mickey, who blithely carries on with Ginny, and then with Carolina, who has no idea that Mickey is two-timing her with her stepmother. Mickey floats above it all.

In a film like "Crimes and Misdemeanors," probably Allen's best and darkest "philosophical" movie, the questions of guilt and morality play out in ways that deeply resonate with the characters. In "Wonder Wheel," the characters are too thinly drawn to support all that cranky fatalism that Allen specializes in. And this includes Winslet's Ginny, who in some ways comes across like Blanche DuBois from Tennessee Williams's "A Streetcar Named Desire," but without the poetry or the pathos. Ginny, instead, specializes in headaches. Allen has summoned up Williams's play before, in the overrated "Blue Jasmine," where it was Cate Blanchett's turn to do a variation on Blanche. But movies don't become great by association, and "Wonder Wheel" is a far cry from "Streetcar." There are ample flaws in this film, but they certainly don't rise to the level of tragic.

■ *Rated PG-13 for thematic content including some sexuality, language, and smoking.*

'The Shape of Water'

Guillermo del Toro has a head full of old movies, but his films somehow seem sui generis. I think this is because he uses all those stored-up movie memories as trampolines for his own inspiration rather than as touchstones. The best parts of "The Shape of Water," a fantasy fairy tale set in 1962 in a top-secret aerospace research center, are marvelously rhapsodic in ways that recall films like Jean Cocteau's "Beauty and the Beast" without ever seeming slavish. But del Toro, who co-wrote the script with Vanessa Taylor, also has his pulpy side, and I often wished while watching this film that he had jettisoned all the cold-war melodrama featuring Michael Shannon, as a big bad government agent, and focused more fully on the relationship between the mute Elisa (Sally Hawkins), a night-shift janitor, and the mysterious merman captured in the Amazon by government operatives in order to harvest his body parts for "research." Still, scenes like the merman and Elisa making lyrical love underwater stay with you, and Hawkins, as she also demonstrated this year in "Maudie," is touched by grace.

■ *Rated R for sexual content, graphic nudity, violence, and language.*

ART

Spotlight is on women artists for 'Her Paris'

COURTESY OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF ARTS



MARIE BRACQUEMOND'S 'ON THE TERRACE AT SÈVRES'

SUPPRESS A WOMAN and the world is deprived of her genius. That lesson will resonate with 21st-century viewers of an American Federation of Arts exhibition of more than 80 bold and engaging paintings by 19th-century women from the United States and across Europe.

"Women had to fight to be behind the easel," says Laurence Madeline, French National Museums chief curator and curator of "Her Paris: Women Artists in the Age of Impressionism."

Women, who, like men, converged on Paris when it was the center of the international art world, were barred from the prestigious École des Beaux-Arts until 1897. Some schools charged women double tuition, assuming they were supported by family and not serious artists, and restricted their curricula. Societal mores prevented women painters from roaming the countryside in search of subjects and kept their work from receiving its proper recognition. Now women have entered the academy and the workplace in art and other fields, but too often they are hobbled by harassment and abuse.

Some of the canvases Ms. Madeline had wanted to include in "Her Paris" were too damaged by neglect. Other works have been lost. "Her Paris" could encourage better preservation, Madeline says, adding that that had been the result of a 2014 show that two French museums devoted to artist Marie Petiet. The Denver Art Museum recently bought a lively oil-on-canvas of two young girls on a balcony by Eva Gonzales. The works of both Frenchwomen are included in Madeline's "Her Paris." "There is hope," Madeline said. "But there is still work to be done."

"Her Paris" is in Denver until Jan. 14, 2018, and will be at The Speed Art Museum in Louisville, Ky., (Feb. 17-May 13) and at the Clark Art Institute in Williamstown, Mass., (June 6-Sept. 3).

— Donna Bryson / Correspondent

1 CELEBRATING TYPEWRITERS

Think the days of the typewriter are over? Various fans, including famous ones such as Tom Hanks and David McCullough, would beg to differ. The documentary **California Typewriter** celebrates the machine and is "charming," writes Monitor film critic Peter Rainer. There's even a typewriter orchestra (hailing from Boston) in the film. "California Typewriter" is available on DVD and Blu-ray.



COURTESY OF AMERICAN BUFFALO PICTURES

2 STRIKING IMAGES

The **Cal app** isn't just a place to record your commitments – it will also get you excited about the coming day with images for your calendar (a new one is supplied daily) and will keep you on top of the events and tasks that you have coming up that day, week, and month. Cal is free for iOS and Android.



NASA

SKY GUIDANCE

If you're looking up at the night sky as you leave the latest holiday gathering, use the **Stellarium Mobile Sky Map app** to get guidance on the stars you're seeing. The app can identify more than 600,000 stars as well as satellites. Stellarium Mobile Sky Map is available for iOS for \$2.99 and Android for \$2.49.

4 ACTORS' SHOWCASE

Director Steven Soderbergh's latest film, **Logan Lucky**, stars Channing Tatum and Adam Driver as brothers who try to rob a NASCAR race with the aid of criminal Joe Bang (Daniel Craig). Hilary Swank, Katie Holmes, and Seth MacFarlane also star. Monitor film critic Peter Rainer compares the film to Soderbergh's "Ocean's" series: "Like those movies, it's inconsequentially entertaining – a showcase for some funny actors to horse it up." "Logan Lucky" is available on DVD and Blu-ray and is rated PG-13 for language and some crude comments.

5 SKIING HELP

No need to worry about getting stranded on top of the mountain without a map while you're skiing or snowboarding – the **Ski TrailMaps app** has more than 1,000 maps for the United States and beyond, and no cell service is needed to access them. If you're not on the slopes, the app also has snow reports for your favorite resort and forecasts so you can plan your next ski weekend. It's free for Android.



AP

Gisela Bushey knows mentors can make all the difference for youths. Her approach in San Jose has won a prize.

By Han Zhao / Staff writer

BOSTON

If it weren't for her mentor, Rebecca Cruz is certain that she wouldn't have gotten her bachelor's degree.

Ms. Cruz went through a troubling time during her second year in community college. She was struggling both financially and emotionally, and the first-generation college student didn't feel much support at home. Teetering on the brink of stopping her education, Cruz turned to her counselor, Alex Lopez.

"He [put me in] the right direction," Cruz recalls. Mr. Lopez "told me that education is a long-term investment. Especially if you are a first-gen student, you are going to break through a lot of barriers that have never been broken before. If I didn't do that, it could be years and ... generations before it could happen again."

That realization, along with the fact that Lopez pushed Cruz to apply for scholarships just 10 days before they were due, netted Cruz a full-ride scholarship – and ultimately an undergraduate degree in sociology from San Francisco State University.



COURTESY OF CRITICAL BRIDGE/OFFICE OF MAYOR SAM LICCARDIO

MAYORAL MENTOR: Sam Liccardo, mayor of San Jose, Calif., chats with a student from Alpha Public Schools, a network of charter schools in the city.

designed Critical Bridge, an organization that is linking with two existing youth programs in the city to provide them with mentorship.

their journey," says Ms. Bushey, who is director of community engagement in the San Jose mayor's office. "So they become that consistent adult role model that helps them navigate unfamiliar waters."

Mentors 'become that consistent adult role model that helps [students] navigate unfamiliar waters.'

– Gisela Bushey, director of community engagement in the mayor's office for San Jose, Calif.

"All the research shows that a student that has an adult that is interested in them and is paying a lot of attention to them, and spending a lot of time with them – there's a lot of different positive outcomes they can gain from that," says Sarah McGill, a program manager at the nonprofit Denver Urban Scholars.

In San Jose, Calif., Gisela Bushey is another woman who understands the importance of mentors, and she hopes to find an Alex for every Rebecca. So she

And in October, Critical Bridge received a boost in its efforts: It was named a recipient of the \$50,000 Encore Prize, which is awarded by Encore.org, a partner organization of the Monitor that aims to tap the talents of those age 50 or older.

As part of the prize, Encore.org will supply mentors to Critical Bridge. The mentors will work with youths throughout their participation in the two programs connected to Critical Bridge.

"The mentors will ... remain a part of

A generation of potential mentors

More than 10,000 baby boomers in the United States are retiring every day, according to Phyllis Moen, a sociology professor at the University of Minnesota in Minneapolis and the founding director of the U of M Advanced Careers Initiative. "They want to do something meaningful. And there's nothing more meaningful than mentoring across generations," she says.

The mentors for Critical Bridge will have gone through a training program by the end of this year. The training is being administered by several nonprofit organizations with robust mentoring programs.

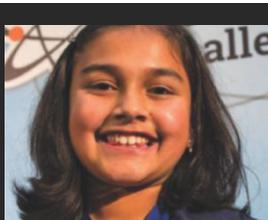
The two programs connected with Critical Bridge are San José Works and

▶ NEXT PAGE

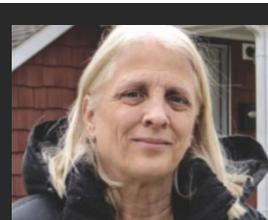
GALLERY OF RECENT PROFILES



Natasha Kirsch offers job training – in pet grooming – to those trying to get out of poverty.



Gitanjali Rao, age 11, was spurred by the crisis in Flint, Mich., to invent a water-testing device.



The Rev. Faith Fowler is working to curb homelessness in Detroit through a tiny homes project.

the San Jose Promise, both of which were launched out of the office of Mayor Sam Liccardo. San José Works focuses on providing high-schoolers with summer employment opportunities in Silicon Valley companies. The San Jose Promise, for eligible high school graduates going on to community college, guarantees that their two years at those schools will be tuition-free. Cruz was a participant in this program.

“It made sense to design [Critical Bridge] to integrate with the two existing programs that are targeting population that we really care about, which are disadvantaged youth,” says Bushey, who is also an Encore fellow.

Pitches for the prizes

Critical Bridge received the Encore Prize following a “Shark Tank”-like setup in Boston in mid-October. On a cloudy afternoon, tension and excitement filled District Hall, a public innovation center, as five organizations made pitches to 17 judges (some via videoconference) and 125 people in the live audience. Two \$50,000 Encore Prizes were up for grabs. The winners were chosen using a variety of factors that included strength of program, scalability, and diversity of ideas.

Mentors “will guide them; they will move with them; they will be that critical bridge,”

Bushey said during her pitch.

Critical Bridge received the Judges’ Prize. The other \$50,000 award, the People’s Choice Prize, went to Hire Autism/Organization for Autism Research. In the case of the prize money for Critical Bridge, half of it will provide a stipend for Bushey as she oversees the program; the rest supports the training program for mentors and other program costs.

Critical Bridge is expected to be fully launched next March. Its goal within a year is to match 250 youths with mentors, and it aims to pair 1,000 youths with mentors by the end of the third year. ■

From a CEO to a minister to a puppeteer

How one woman brought her experiences together to help youths.

This essay is part of an occasional series provided by our partner organization Encore.org, which is building a movement to tap the skills and experience of those in midlife and beyond to improve communities and the world. Read more stories and share yours at Encore.org/story.

ENCORE.org

By **Lottie Hood** / Encore.org

I became the first African-American pastor of the First Congregational Church of Detroit in midlife. I “got the call” after leading the National Council on Alcoholism and Drug Dependence of Greater Detroit. (I now have 48 years of sobriety.)

I soon realized that in the 150-year history of the First Congregational Church, my European-American and African-American congregants were like two different cultures under one roof. It took me seven years to find a way to bring them together, but I found the solution in 2001, on a black history bulletin board. I was ecstatic.

Congregational churches had been strongly antislavery since the 17th century, and our church had been a station on the Underground Railroad. That was the common bond: the abolition of slavery and the desire for freedom and self-determination.

In 2001, with a \$6,000 grant from the City of Detroit, I created the Underground Railroad Living Museum Flight to Freedom Tour. It’s an interactive “education through entertainment” experience simulating a 1,000-mile escape from slavery in Louisiana to freedom in Canada, and it takes place throughout the 50,000-square-foot cellar

of the church.

On our first tour, we had 20 “passengers.” By now, we’ve had more than 10,000, including thousands of schoolchildren. The tour has healed our congregation, and its message of freedom has touched people from around the world.

I’ve since retired from the church. And I’ve returned to BABES World, a project that I helped to create at the National Council on Alcoholism in 1977. (BABES stands for Beginning Awareness Basic Education Studies.) It uses fictional stories, told by puppets, to build resilience among at-risk children, who are too often vulnerable to alcohol and drug abuse, and to create the kind of safe, nurturing environment that many young people lack. We’ve trained more than 10,000 people in all 50 states and five countries to share BABES World with youngsters.

It’s especially gratifying to me now to meet adults who know BABES World from their own childhood. Here in Detroit, a man told me that he had had BABES when he was in kindergarten. He had developed an addiction in his late teens or early 20s. But he had kept one of those puppets – Recovering Reggie, the dog who is a recovering alcoholic – and now he’s in recovery, too.

I know it seems like, how could I go from being a chief executive officer to a minister, and from a minister to a worker with puppets? It all just sort of fits together, especially with a new BABES segment about the Underground Railroad, which grew out of my experiences at church. We added a new character, Belinda Bloodhound, and a new story, told from the perspective of

this little bloodhound: She is a descendant of the hounds that used to chase runaway slaves, but as a favorite of the black man who cared for the hounds, she helped him escape to freedom.

The Underground Railroad Living Museum changed the perceptions about slavery for African-Americans and European-Americans alike. People got the opportunity to see slavery from a different perspective. BABES World is giving thousands of children of all races a new perspective, too,

with its vision of a world where young people are supported and encouraged to develop, unencumbered by addictions and other destructive behaviors.

So today, I am still ecstatic.

■ *Lottie Hood is pastor emeritus of the First Congregational Church of Detroit.*



MICHAEL RAGLAND/COURTESY OF ENCORE.ORG

LOTTIE HOOD

TECHNOLOGY SIMPLIFIED – BIGGER AND BETTER

Wow! A Simple to Use Computer Designed Especially for Seniors!

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"I love this computer! It is easy to read and to use! I get photo updates from my children and grandchildren all the time."

– Janet F.

Have you ever said to yourself "I'd love to get a computer, if only I could figure out how to use it." Well, you're not alone. Computers were supposed to make our lives simpler, but they've gotten so complicated that they are not worth the trouble. With all of the "pointing and clicking" and "dragging and dropping" you're lucky if you can figure out where you are. Plus, you are constantly worrying about viruses and freeze-ups. If this sounds familiar, we have great news for you. There is finally a computer that's designed for simplicity and ease of use. It's the WOW Computer, and it was designed with you in mind. This computer is easy-to-use, worry-free and literally puts

the world at your fingertips. From the moment you open the box, you'll realize how different the WOW Computer is. The components are all connected; all you do is plug it into an outlet and your high-speed Internet connection. Then you'll see the screen – it's now 22 inches. This is a completely new touch screen system, without the cluttered look of the normal computer screen. The "buttons" on the screen are easy to see and easy to understand. All you do is touch one of them, from the Web, Email, Calendar to Games– you name it... and a new screen opens up. It's so easy to use you won't have to ask your children or grandchildren for help. Until now, the very people who could benefit most from E-mail and the Internet are the ones that have had the hardest time accessing it. Now, thanks to the WOW Computer, countless older Americans are discovering the wonderful world of the Internet every day. Isn't it

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ESSAY

Ill-defined boundaries that are set in stone

FOR THIS NEW ENGLANDER, PERMISSION TO BUILD A DECK MEANS SCOURING A THICKET FOR OBSCURE MARKERS.

I recently found myself walking through the woods near my house in New Hampshire, looking for a hole in a stone – in fact, for several of them. The house is close to the center of a small village, but there are woods out back, and we want to build a deck on the rear corner of the house so we can sit out and enjoy the sight and sound of the woods. The town fathers raised a question: How close to the property line would the corner of the proposed deck be? This involved a careful look at the deed for the house.

The house was built around 1929, and an aerial photograph of the town dated 1932 shows it as the only house in the neighborhood. Earlier owners of the land owned several of the surrounding pastures, most of which have since reverted to forest. Bits and pieces were sold off – a corner here, a wedge there, a couple of house lots. When my wife bought the house and land in 1952, the surviving area of about 3-1/2 acres was irregularly shaped. The corner markings had evolved over decades of surveying practice.

None of these markings were quite as archaic as those in a deed that my father claimed to have seen when he was a lawyer in a small Massachusetts town in the 1930s. That deed identified the corner of the property as being “at the place where the elm tree was cut down in 1732.”

In our case, a few of the 11 corners of the land were marked by “a stone post set” or “an iron rod set,” according to the deed. I found all but two of these: They were in a dense thicket and a swampy spot. But some of the other corners are identified in the deed and on the early surveyor’s map as marked by “a hole drilled in a stone.”

Early boundaries in New England were often marked by stone walls. There are plenty of stones with which to build them. Local people say that if you clear

all the stones from a field, a new crop of stones will grow the following year. This sounds like a fairy tale, but it is true. The glaciers left stones scattered in the soil like raisins in a pudding, and the annual frost heaves – given temperatures down to 20 degrees below zero F. – stir the soil



BARNES WILDLIFE SANCTUARY IN COHASSET, MASS.

MELANIE STETSON FREEMAN/STAFF

and force the stones upward a few inches every year.

Stone walls border the edges of our land, and separate old cow pastures and cow paths within it. It is no surprise, considering the history, that the border with one neighbor begins at a hole drilled in a stone, then follows the stone wall northwesterly to another hole drilled in another stone.

Early New England towns had a town officer, “the fence-watcher,” whose job was to resolve disputes about these walls, and, for example, ensure that neighbors maintained them sufficiently to keep the cattle in. A common rule required each neighbor to maintain one half of the wall

– the left half, I believe, as they faced each other across the wall.

I haven’t asked if our town still has a “fence-watcher,” but the stone wall between me and my neighbor runs through a wooded area and has not been maintained for decades. Tree roots have dislodged the stones in the wall, children have played with the stones, and in some places only an irregular set of scattered stones remain.

Occasionally wire fences have been set up to control pets, with no real attention to the actual property line, and we get along well enough that it has never been a problem.

But I’m still not really sure where some of those drill holes are, and the stones have eroded enough over the

years that I’m not sure the holes are identifiable.

The neighbor is perfectly willing to let me have the deck where I want it. The town is more careful – they prize open space and don’t want a structure too close to a property line. The town’s proposed solution is modern: They suggest having a careful survey, which would have the property line running at 42.83 degrees west of due north for 207.6 feet, or something like that. They could then determine the exact distance from the corner of the proposed deck to that line, much more precisely than the distance to the remains of the old stone wall.

That sounds expensive, and somehow not in keeping with the history of the land. I’ll go look one more time for those holes in the stones.

– Edward Ordman

One deed identified a corner of a property being ‘where the elm tree was cut down in 1732.’

Words in the news

Bolded clues are linked to current events. What company hushed up a hack – and paid ransom?

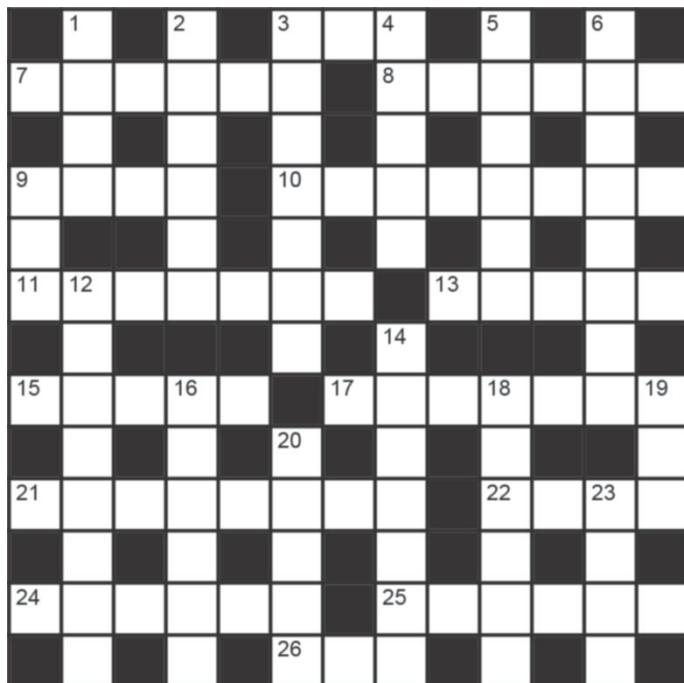
By Owen Thomas

Across

- 3. Nobel's achievement
- 7. Solemnly renounce
- 8. **Lebanese prime minister who put his unexpected resignation on hold**
- 9. **Home country of hacker who demanded ransom from HBO not to release "Game of Thrones" scripts and more**
- 10. Whist, for one
- 11. Name
- 13. **World's biggest democracy, which turned 70 this year**
- 15. **Trump administration intends to revoke special status of immigrants from this country who fled an earthquake's aftermath in 2010**
- 17. **Nationalist Chinese island**
- 21. Without thinking
- 22. Con
- 24. **Notorious general sentenced to life in prison recently by a UN tribunal for atrocities during Bosnian War**
- 25. Kind of monkey
- 26. Infomercials, e.g.

Down

- 1. **Corporation that hid massive data breach of riders' and drivers' information – and paid ransom to get it back**



- 2. Ask, as for aid
- 3. **Value of this Chinese social network company recently surpassed that of Facebook**
- 4. Not here
- 5. In "Harry Potter," Welsh Green, Hungarian Horntail, Swedish Short-Snout, e.g.
- 6. Joe Dante's 1984 comedy/horror film
- 9. Daughter of 19th-century Texas Gov. James Stephen Hogg
- 12. Umpire's call
- 14. **Democratic US representative from Michigan who is target of ethics investigation for alleged sexual harassment**
- 16. Chic
- 18. **Political crisis for this long-time European leader is seen as a crisis for Europe, too**
- 19. To some rockers, a guitar
- 20. Ancient city northwest of Carthage
- 23. **Middle Eastern monarchy: House of _____**

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meanwhile ...

IN RWANDA'S EASTERN PROVINCE, the Mahama refugee camp looks more like a city than camp. With 55,000 residents (mostly Burundians or Congolese who fled violence in their own countries), the massive camp – which opened with row upon row of tents donated by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, schools, health centers, and other offices – seems a world unto itself.

But one thing sometimes in short supply in the camp is hope – particularly among the camp's more than 25,000 children.

That's why newly formed charity Cricket Builds Hope is **teaching the camp's children the fundamentals of cricket**.



MARY MAINA AT THE MAHAMA CAMP PAUL JEEVES

“The purpose of sports is security, and when they play they forget trauma, self-pity and all other kinds of problems that refugees have,” Joseph Kamuzenzi, the camp's protection assistant in charge of youth and sports, told *The Telegraph*.

“[Y]ou add skills one by one, and then hopefully a cricketer is born,” says Mary Maina, captain of the Rwandan women's team and the children's new mentor and coach. “With these children it is about how to get through to them.”

Cricket Builds Hope has backing from Cricket Without Boundaries, a British group that has set up similar programs elsewhere in Africa.

IN AMERICAN SAMOA, the members of firefighting Squad 61 have developed **a motivational tool rarely if ever seen among other firefighters: They sing**.

This fall while wildfires raged across northern California, firefighters from around the world came to help, including American Samoa Squad 61. During their time in California the squad was filmed doing one of their usual marching and singing drills.

The video quickly went viral and Squad 61 developed a global fan base. (See <http://bit.ly/SamoanFirefighters>.)

But for the Samoan firefighters, it's just an ordinary feature of the workday. “It's part of what we call ‘fa'asamoa’ – our Samoan way of life,” firefighter Anthony Wyberski told PRI.org. “It's just something that's naturally born within us, and something that we do on a daily basis at home.”

IN SINGAPORE, robots named **Jeno and Jena are waiting on guests** at two different hotels owned by Shangri-La Hotels and Resorts.

Jeno and Jena are about three feet tall and display turquoise-and-pink tuxedo uniforms. Their main jobs involve delivering things to guests in their rooms. They are equipped with sensors that guide them to the proper rooms.

“The new ‘colleagues’ will be great team players in getting important things done well and delivered in ... distinctive style,” says Cetin Sekercioglu, executive vice president of Shangri-La Hotels and Resorts.

– Staff

A higher perspective

Having just taken off from a major airport in southern California, I was struck by what happens when you fly. On the ground, things can look disorganized, like a jumble of planes, service trucks, and runways. But after takeoff, as the plane gains altitude, the scene begins to look different. What appears chaotic at ground level starts to make sense from the air. That day I could see how the runways were orderly. Planes were grouped around the terminal in what seemed to me beautiful designs that resembled daisy petals joined to a common center.

Observing the effects of a change in vantage point provides a useful analogy. Life can sometimes seem to be helter-skelter, a jumble of activities and responsibilities. Much as the view from a plane rising from the airport helps us make sense out of the crowded scene on the ground, I've found that prayer – lifting

A CHRISTIAN SCIENCE
PERSPECTIVE

my thought to the Divine – provides a change in perspective that brings more peace and harmony into my life.

I like to think of prayer as allowing our thought to rise in order to glimpse how God sees. And how might that look? The Bible tells us that God is “of purer eyes than to behold evil” (Habakkuk 1:13). It follows that what God sees is entirely spiritual, a reality in which good is infinite and we are all created and sustained by that infinite goodness – spiritually, not materially.

This isn't about just ignoring bad things we see – the chaos, ugliness, or disorder. Rather, looking to God's reality can help us realize that these things aren't as overpowering as they may seem. To strive to understand that all God created is good is to mentally rise higher and to more clearly see the harmony of God's creation as the powerful reality. From this spiritual vantage point a sense of evil's reality and power fades, even as the sense of disorder at the airport disappears with the clarity of a higher perspective.

At one point I was asked to do a job I felt totally unqualified to perform. Because my initial view was of fear of failure and major self-doubt of my abilities, I asked God to show me how this looked from a higher perspective, a spiritual view.

As I prayed, I began to recognize that God was in charge of creation, and He gives every one of us all we need, including qualities such as intelligence and creativity. The fears and doubts vanished, and I was able to go ahead with my assignment and complete it successfully.

Mary Baker Eddy, a Christian healer who lived a life of prayer, writes, “The human mind will sometime rise above all material and physical sense, exchanging it for spiritual perception, and exchanging human concepts for the divine consciousness” (“Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures,” p. 531). Looking up from the chaos on the ground to spiritual reality opens thought to the ultimate view of existence, one that clarifies what is real and brings a sweet and practical promise of order and goodness right here, right now.

– Deborah Huebsch

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