

The CHRISTIAN SCIENCE
MONITOR WEEKLY

IRAN'S EXPANDING REACH



How Tehran may be the new superpower of the Middle East and what that means.

BY SCOTT PETERSON



Story map

Covered in this issue:

Baghdad; Harare, Zimbabwe; Harbin, China; Kabul, Afghanistan; Krasnoyarsk, Russia; Paris; Rome; Tegucigalpa, Honduras; and the US

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COVER STORY

Mideast's new superpower

Here's how Iran is expanding its footprint across the region – and what it means.

BY SCOTT PETERSON

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BRIEFING

THE NSA POWERS UP FOR RENEWAL

Congress is struggling to reauthorize key rules that govern National Security Agency wiretapping, without a warrant, of foreign targets outside the United States. The rules are set to expire at the end of the year. **BY PETER GRIER**



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

— MARY BAKER EDDY



FILM The mockumentary "I, Tonya" skips Tonya Harding's love of skating for fatuous irony.



BOOKS Marjorie Hillis is largely forgotten today, but historian Joanna Scutts aims to change that with "The Extra Woman: How Marjorie Hillis Led a Generation of Women to Live Alone and Like It."



PEOPLE MAKING A DIFFERENCE Shara Fislser is bringing the ocean closer to low-income youths in San Diego. The goal: to get them excited about science.

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VOLUME 110 – ISSUE 5

© 2017 The Christian Science Publishing Society (ISSN 2166-3262 PRINT) Published weekly, except when combined issues counting as two issues are published, by The Christian Science Publishing Society, 210 Massachusetts Avenue, Boston, MA, USA, 02115-3195.

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POSTMASTER: Send all UAA to CFS.
NON-POSTAL AND MILITARY FACILITIES: send address corrections to The Christian Science Monitor, P.O. Box 6074, Harlan, IA 51593-1574.

For subscriptions or change of address:
US: 800-456-2220
Outside the US: 1-515-362-7462
email: csmonitorcustserv@cdsfulfillment.com,
or post: The Christian Science Monitor Weekly,
P.O. Box 6074, Harlan, IA 51593-1574.

Advertising inquiries: call: 617-450-2644

Reader comments/questions: call 617-450-2300
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PERMISSION TO REPRINT: PARS International,
 253 West 35th Street – 7th Floor, New York, NY 10001
 phone: 212-221-9595, fax: 212-221-9195
 www.CSMonitorReprints.com

CANADA POST:
 Publications mail agreement nr. 1435922.
 Online at www.CSMonitor.com

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DAVID COOK (SEATED) GETS A STANDING OVATION AT THE NOV. 30 BREAKFAST. ON HIS RIGHT: SEN. SUSAN COLLINS, WITH LINDA FELDMANN (IN BLUE) AND MARK SAPPENFIELD.

A change at the Monitor Breakfast table

EVERY SO OFTEN, I like to use this column to pull back the curtain a bit on what’s going on at the Monitor. The Monitor isn’t a stock that you simply invest in as shareholders. You, as readers, are the expression of the Monitor’s action. You’re a part of the team.

This week, I wanted to pass along news about the Monitor Breakfast, which has grown into one of the Monitor’s most beloved activities. The Monitor has been holding on-the-record breakfasts for newsmakers and the media in Washington, D.C., since 1966, when Godfrey “Budge” Sperling Jr. started the tradition. We’re now nearing our 4,000th breakfast. In all that time we’ve had only two hosts. Former editor David Cook took over from Mr. Sperling in 2001 and has conducted 672 Breakfasts on his watch.

On Nov. 30, Mr. Cook hosted his final breakfast. It was a milestone for the Monitor and for the Breakfast.

The Monitor’s claim to doing a different kind of journalism is built on employing a different kind of journalist. Among the most conspicuous qualities of a Monitor journalist are humility, grace, and kindness. Rigorously maintained, they create a news publication that, in the words of former Monitor editor Erwin Canham, “is to professionals a kind of daily astonishment.”

It would be difficult to point to a member of the Monitor staff who has more genuinely expressed these qualities than David Cook. As Washington has become more polarized, more obsessed by the Twitter-fication of political discourse, and less genial, Cook has maintained the Breakfast as a haven against these trends.

BY MARK SAPPENFIELD
EDITOR

“Dave’s hosting of Monitor Breakfasts, to me, encapsulated the spirit of Monitor journalism,” says the Monitor’s economy editor, Mark Trumbull. “Even before Dave, the Breakfast tradition represented a search for humanity and understanding in a city of power-player sound bites. He set a tone with humor and grace, and with questions that were respectful yet penetrating. The result was news, but perhaps also an impetus for progress – including even a nudge for the newsmakers to find the best in themselves and their offices.”

That impetus is as needed now as it ever has been and with Cook’s retirement will be carried on by Washington bureau

chief Linda Feldmann.

As a writer, Ms. Feldmann has dedicated herself to giving readers a fairer view of Washington – seeing a Washington of substance and principle behind the froth. She’ll bring that same commitment to the Breakfasts in addition to her continued role as a writer.

This is also a great time to pull the curtain back on the Breakfasts a bit and help you feel like a part of the team here, too. We invited three Monitor subscribers to the Nov. 30 Breakfast and are looking for new ways to make the Breakfast more inclusive for readers, so stay tuned. We’ve had an excellent roster of guests recently – including Sen. Susan Collins (R) of Maine, a pivotal figure in the tax debate – and we expect that to continue as evidence that the Breakfast’s model of thoughtful and respectful conversation is wanted and needed in Washington and beyond.

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

'This is a long overdue step to advance the peace process.'

– **President Trump**, in his Dec. 6 announcement that the United States now recognizes Jerusalem as the capital of Israel and will move its embassy there from Tel Aviv. Mr. Trump's recognition of Jerusalem breaks with seven decades of US foreign policy, while the embassy move makes him the first president in 22 years to honor the Jerusalem Embassy Act, instead of using a waiver clause to delay the move. The act passed the US House and Senate by overwhelming margins in 1995. (See story, page 8.)



AP

'There is no alternative to a two-state solution, and Jerusalem is key to any peace agreement.'

– **Jordan's King Abdullah**, who added his voice to a chorus of Arab and European leaders Dec. 6 saying the decision would have a severe destabilizing effect in the Middle East and would crush, rather than foster progress toward, peace. The king, whose nation is a close ally of the US, warned that ignoring Palestinian Muslim and Christian rights in the holy city 'could fuel terrorism.'

'My legacy can't be compromised or diminished in any way by what we're going through now. This too shall pass...'

– **Rep. John Conyers** (D) of Michigan, a civil rights icon, telling a local Detroit radio station Dec. 5 that he was retiring immediately from the seat he has held for five decades. His decision came amid calls from within his own party to step down because of sexual harassment allegations against him by multiple women. Mr. Conyers, who has a list of high-profile legislative achievements to his name, denied the accusations and said he was retiring for health reasons. He endorsed his son John Conyers III to replace him in Congress. Two days later, on Dec. 7, Sen. Al Franken (D) of Minnesota said he would resign after multiple women accused him of sexual harassment and under pressure from fellow Democrats. (See story, page 18.)



AP

'Increased hostilities will further threaten civilian lives and exacerbate their suffering.'

– **Ismail Ould Cheikh Ahmed**, the United Nations secretary-general's special envoy for Yemen, calling on all parties involved in the war in Yemen to show restraint, even as a Saudi-backed coalition ramped up airstrikes on the capital, Sanaa. They were targeting the Iran-backed Houthi group, which has tightened its grip on the capital after it ambushed and killed former President Ali Abdullah Saleh on Dec. 4. The Houthi group turned on Mr. Saleh, a former ally, accusing him of 'treason' after he made gestures of reconciliation toward the Saudis.

AP



'This is the fastest-moving social change we've seen in decades, and it began with individual acts of courage by hundreds of women...'

– **Edward Felsenthal**, Time magazine's editor in chief, explaining on the 'Today' show Dec. 6 why the magazine's Person of the Year is 'The Silence Breakers,' the women (and some men) who have come forward in the snowballing national outcry against sexual harassment. The women featured on the cover include Ashley Judd, Taylor Swift, former Uber engineer Susan Fowler, and a woman who is only partially pictured, representing those who haven't yet come forward. President Trump was runner-up for the cover, followed by Chinese President Xi Jinping.



SNOW-BIZ SPECTACULAR

People work on a massive sculpture carved from blocks of compacted snow for the Harbin Sun Island International Snow Sculpture Art Expo in Harbin, Heilongjiang province, China, Dec. 6. AMMAR AWAD/REUTERS

One week

ISRAELI-ARAB CONFLICT

What Jerusalem recognition means

It pleases Trump's base but tarnishes US role, observers say



AMMAR AWAD/REUTERS

CONTESTED: An Israeli flag flies near Jerusalem's Old City Dec. 6. The ancient metropolis is home to sites sacred to Christians, Jews, and Muslims. Both Israelis and Palestinians claim it as their capital.

WASHINGTON – As a presidential candidate, Donald Trump pledged – to the roaring approval of evangelical Christians and some pro-Israel donors – to buck long-standing policy and move the US Embassy in Israel from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem.

He also asserted that, as the consummate deal artist, he would succeed where

'TRUMP ... HAD TWO OBJECTIVES AND [TOOK] ACTION THAT PUT THOSE OBJECTIVES IN TENSION.'

– **Bruce Jentleson**, Duke University

other US presidents had failed – in crafting the “ultimate deal” to end the Middle East conflict through a peace accord between Israelis and Palestinians.

President Trump made partial good on the embassy pledge with his announcement Dec. 6 recognizing Jerusalem as Israel's capital and directing the State Department to begin the process of moving America's

diplomatic headquarters there.

But at the same time, he may have put off – if not scuttled altogether – prospects for the “ultimate” Arab-Israeli peace deal.

By recognizing Jerusalem as Israel's capital rather than leaving the city's status to be decided as part of a final-status settlement between Israelis and Palestinians, Mr. Trump could be plunging a dagger in Palestinian dreams of establishing disputed East Jerusalem as the capital of their future state.

In a brief White House statement, Trump said it was time for “fresh thinking” and to “reject the same failed approaches” in the long US effort to bring a lasting peace to the Middle East. The president said his actions should not be construed as a position on the “final status” and boundaries of Jerusalem or a departure from the US effort “to facilitate a lasting peace agreement.”

But the actions were viewed in sharply differing ways in the region and worldwide.

Trump's decision was hailed by Israeli

leaders, who said there would be national celebrations marking the momentous day. But Palestinian leaders declared “three days of rage” to express their rejection of the move, while Arab and European leaders lined up in opposition to the unilateral US action that runs contrary to international diplomatic efforts to reach a peace accord.

Muslim and Arab leaders, including Jordan's King Abdullah, warned of a backlash, while Saudi Arabia, which has worked closely with Trump on a new regional peace push, warned that the step would “provoke the sentiments of Muslims throughout the world in light of the great importance and the pivotal status of Jerusalem.”

Many diplomats, analysts, and key US allies say the move could work against other US priorities in the Middle East. Those include defeating Islamist extremism and Muslim radicalization, and countering an anti-American Iran's rising influence across the region. (See cover story, page 24.)

“This is not the first time that Trump has had two objectives and taken action that put those objectives in tension,” says Bruce Jentleson, a former State Department Middle East adviser now at Duke University in Durham, N.C. “Recognizing Jerusalem [as Israel's capital] follows an intensified pattern lately of appealing to what [Trump] sees as his base,” he says, “but it is incredibly counterproductive in terms of these other objectives he claims.”

– **Howard LaFranchi** / Staff writer

JUSTICE

'Cake' case pivots on free speech

High court hears arguments on bakery vs. same-sex couple

In July 2012, Charlie Craig and David Mullins walked into a cake shop in Lakewood, Colo. Across the counter was Jack Phillips, owner of the bakery he had opened 24 years earlier.

The two men told him they wanted a cake for their wedding reception. They even had a binder of ideas. Before they could open it, Mr. Phillips told them that while

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he'd be happy to make them other products, he did not sell baked goods for same-sex weddings because of his Christian beliefs.

Mr. Craig and Mr. Mullins left embarrassed and, they say, distraught. After the Colorado Civil Rights Commission found in 2014 that Phillips had violated the state's anti-discrimination law and ordered him to make cakes for same-sex weddings or not design wedding cakes at all, Phillips says he felt forced to choose between his faith and his livelihood.

Five years after the couple left the Masterpiece Cakeshop, the case challenging a state law prohibiting discrimination against lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) people was heard by the US Supreme Court Dec. 5. It seems destined to be a historic ruling. Heavyweight legal organizations on both sides have warned that defeat will bring seismic consequences.

Observers predict the justices will split along ideological lines, and that Justice Anthony Kennedy – often the court's deciding vote, but also its leading proponent of gay rights – will be the focus of court-watchers.



RICK WILKING/REUTERS/FILE

IS IT ART? Jack Phillips decorates a cake in his bakery in Lakewood, Colo. He says making a cake for a same-sex couple goes against his religious beliefs.

This is “the first time we have this question of whether or not someone’s religious beliefs in not serving [people] something should be stronger than the state’s interest in making sure that people are not improperly excluded from participating in the public marketplace,” says Robert Tuttle, a professor of law and religion at George Washington University in Washington.

The case brought to the Colorado Civil Rights Commission is much different from the case now before the Supreme Court. Back then, the case was one of religious freedom versus LGBT rights. Phillips also made an argument on free speech grounds, however, and the validity of that argument is likely to decide the case. The Roberts court has strongly backed freedom of speech.

Phillips says the First Amendment pro-

tects his right to create and sell wedding cakes in a way that is consistent with his religious identity. He also refuses to make cakes that celebrate Halloween, divorce, or “promote atheism, racism, or indecency.” What the lower courts in Colorado are doing, he claims, is forcing him to speak in favor of something he objects to.

Under the “compelled speech” doctrine, the Supreme Court has held that in some circumstances the First Amendment protects an individual from being required to express a thought with which they disagree. Students cannot be forced to salute the flag, for example, and a newspaper cannot be required to publish an advertisement.

HEAVYWEIGHT LEGAL ORGANIZATIONS ON BOTH SIDES HAVE WARNED THAT DEFEAT WILL BRING SEISMIC CONSEQUENCES.

Phillips’s argument “is no different conceptually than if an artist or painter offered to paint people at a gallery for a fee but refused to paint black people,” says Floyd Abrams, a leading First Amendment scholar, in a conference call with reporters organized by the American Civil Liberties Union.

The couple points to a 1968 high court ruling that government can regulate speech under certain circumstances, including if “the incidental restriction on First Amendment freedoms is not greater” than a “substantial government interest.”

Furthermore, some experts say it would be easier for Phillips to convince the justices that he was compelled to say something he disagreed with if there was an actual message on the cake. Since the 2012 conversation never got that far, and Phillips is arguing that the cake by itself would have spoken to his support for same-sex marriage, there are fewer concrete facts for the justices to point to.

The court is not expected to issue a ruling in the case until June.

– Henry Gass / Staff writer

Trump inflames debate over land

Cuts to national monuments recall movements of the past

BOULDER, COLO. – President Trump has unleashed the latest salvo in a long-running battle over how America’s public lands should be treated. In a stark contrast to

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PRIME NUMBERS

2 MILLION

Combined area (in acres) by which President Trump said Dec. 4 he intends to shrink Bears Ears and Grand Staircase-Escalante national monuments in Utah – the largest reduction of protected land by a president in US history.

310,531

Arrests made by US border agents along the US-Mexican border during the 2017 fiscal year, the lowest number since 1971. Deportation arrests surged 25 percent over the same period.

100+

Athlete urine samples Russia’s Ministry of Sports tampered with at the 2014 Sochi Winter Games, resulting in the International Olympic Committee’s decision Dec. 5 to bar Russia from the 2018 Games in South Korea.

50,000

People evacuated, as of Dec. 7, as a wildfire in Ventura, Calif., spread. It had burned 90,000 acres and destroyed hundreds of homes.

3,554

US airstrikes on Afghanistan this year, through Oct. 31, the most since 2012. President Trump authorized looser restrictions on air power in the hope of breaking a stalemate in the war.

84

Percentage of US high-schoolers who graduated in 2015-16, a record high. The rate was nearly one percentage point higher than the previous year, with all groups of students gaining.

69 BILLION

Price (in dollars) that pharmacy chain CVS will pay for health insurer Aetna. Analysts said the move could shake up the health industry, making CVS a one-stop shop for basic medical services.

25,000

Value (in dollars) of Wal-Mart gift cards the San Diego Police Department used to buy back 164 unwanted guns from South Bay residents. The police ran out of money.

Sources: Vox, Business Insider, The New York Times, The Washington Post, Los Angeles Times, Education Week, USA Today, Los Angeles Times

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recent presidents who created national monuments, Mr. Trump plans to drastically reduce two of those established by his predecessors. His action – which is expected to be challenged in court – is a test of whether, in fact, he has the power to do so.

But, while Trump’s actions tread new legal ground, the tension over America’s public lands stretches back more than a century. At the heart of it is a shared sense of pride in America’s so-called natural cathedrals and a fundamental disagreement over how land use should be regulated.

“This is a reflection of the ongoing tug of war over preservation of resources and lands, and multiple-use activities” on those lands, says Robert Keiter, a law professor at the University of Utah in Salt Lake City and director of the Wallace Stegner Center of Land, Resources, and the Environment.

National parks are often cited as “America’s best idea,” but Professor Keiter notes that simply reserving vast tracts of lands in the public domain as national forests, an action which began in the late 19th century, was also a pretty radical step at the time. But while Americans historically have had a great deal of pride in those public lands, there has also been long-standing pushback

‘THIS IS A REFLECTION OF THE ONGOING TUG OF WAR OVER PRESERVATION....!’

– Robert Keiter, University of Utah

from some Westerners over the amount of public land and the way it’s used.

Trump’s announcement Dec. 4 affects two national monuments in southern Utah: Bears Ears, a 1.35 million-acre monument designated by President Barack Obama a year ago at the urging of five area Native American tribes; and Grand Staircase-Escalante, a 1.9 million-acre monument designated by President Bill Clinton in 1996. Trump’s order reduces Bears Ears by 85 percent; Grand Staircase-Escalante would be cut nearly in half.

The tension over how America’s public lands are used has its roots in the Western expansion of the 1800s, when settlers and companies hoped to exploit the vast natural wealth – minerals, forests, and pasture.

“There was appropriate concern, maybe even despair, in the late 19th century over the outcome of full-out resource extraction and unrestrained land use,” says Patty Limerick, board chair of the Center of the American West at the University of Colorado in Boulder. But there was also, she notes, plenty of opposition among some Westerners. “Episodically, those currents of



Playing for peace in Honduras

MUSICIANS PROVIDE A CONCERT at a park in Tegucigalpa, Honduras, in support of peace Dec. 5. The nation has been racked by protests calling for the president to resign after the Nov. 26 election. At press time, no official winner had been declared, and some suspected foul play.

resistance seem to surge, and a movement that seems to echo previous movements comes into view.”

Such tensions rise at regular intervals: the Sagebrush Rebellion of the 1970s, the “wise-use movement” of the late 1980s and ’90s, and the clash over grazing rights at the Malheur Wildlife Refuge in Oregon in 2016.

“Over the last half century we have moved progressively and noticeably toward the protection of public lands in the West,” says Keiter. Close to 40 percent of the public land in 11 Western states is in some sort of legally protected status. But “that sentiment and action has been met with mixed results in various Western states.”

– Amanda Paulson / Staff writer

An Italian leader’s unlikely comeback

Berlusconi, once banned, may play kingmaker – or king

ROME – Just a few years ago, it seemed safe to assume that Silvio Berlusconi’s political career was over.

The billionaire businessman was forced to resign as Italy’s prime minister in 2011 over his management of the country’s debt crisis and revelations of risqué parties in-

volving actresses and models. Two years after that, he was banned from holding public office as a result of a tax fraud conviction. Meanwhile, Italian politics moved on under a center-left government and a rising, upstart Five Star populist movement.

But after forging a center-right coalition

BERLUSCONI HAS HIRED A CRACK TEAM OF BRITISH LAWYERS TO APPEAL HIS BEING BANNED FROM RUNNING FOR OFFICE.

that swept to victory in regional elections in Sicily in November, today Mr. Berlusconi is back at the forefront of Italian politics – and even has a chance to lead Italy again.

And while that speaks in part to the loyalty of the outspoken tycoon’s supporters, it also highlights the mood of the Italian public, both in terms of their dissatisfaction with the political options in their country, and how Italy’s mores differ from those of the rest of Europe – particularly about Berlusconi’s salacious reputation.

The Sicilian vote was seen as a litmus test of how the country might swing in a national election due to be held in the spring. The coalition consisting of Berlusconi’s Forza Italia party, the anti-immigration Northern League, and a third right-wing party, Brothers of Italy, won 40 percent of the vote on the island.

The alliance now has its sights set on the general election – and Berlusconi’s on the

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premier's office. And his ban from politics is not deterring him.

He is appealing to the European Court of Human Rights in Strasbourg, France, to overturn the ruling, hiring a team of crack British lawyers to argue his case. At a hearing last month, Edward Fitzgerald, a high-profile London lawyer, argued that Berlusconi was the victim of an injustice because the law that banned him was applied retroactively on offenses that had occurred more than a decade earlier.

The court is expected to take months, meaning that its ruling, even if favorable to Berlusconi, could come postelection.

But whatever happens, Berlusconi may act as a kingmaker if, as seems likely, the right fails to win an outright majority and has to do a deal with a rival party.

And while Berlusconi's political comeback is tainted by a history of "bunga bunga" sex parties that predated the Harvey Weinstein scandal, Italians don't draw many parallels between Berlusconi's behavior and that of Mr. Weinstein: Unlike the Hollywood producer, Berlusconi was never accused of sexual assault, let alone rape.

– Nick Squires / Correspondent

AFRICA

Hope rises again in Zimbabwe

A young couple's newborn daughter embodies that spirit

HARARE, ZIMBABWE – Alfred Garakara and his wife, Progress, have just had a baby. And they are putting a lot of faith in her future.

When Alfred and Progress were young, their country, Zimbabwe, was young and full of hope, too. A freshly minted democracy, newly independent and rich in resources, the nation emerged from white minority rule under the leadership of Robert Mugabe, a veteran of the liberation struggle.

"We were very optimistic," Alfred recalls. But little by little, the dream soured. Mr. Mugabe treated his rivals as enemies, massacring them if they were black and evicting them from their farms if they were white, and impoverishing everybody as he drove the economy to disaster.

After 37 years of his rule, the Army last month moved against him and Parliament forced him to resign.

The day he stepped down, Nov. 21, Progress gave birth to a daughter. The middle name her parents chose? Nokutenda – the Shona word for faith. "Her name is for faith in a new beginning," her mother explains.

– Ryan Lenora Brown / Staff writer and Wendy Muperi / Contributor



RYAN LENORA BROWN/THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

PROUD PARENTS: Alfred and Progress Garakara with their daughter, Aleea Nokutenda, born on the day Zimbabwe's longtime president resigned.

DC DECODER

New tax code: growth tool or giveaway?

WASHINGTON AND BOSTON – The Republican tax rewrite represents a legislative triumph for one core idea: that lighter tax burdens mean more economic growth.

That's not just the sales pitch behind the tax plan, it's arguably the idea that most unites a Republican Party challenged by internal divisions and electoral uncertainty.

"If we can't do better than 1.9 percent [growth], we've got real problems in this country," Sen. Rob Portman (R) of Ohio said recently, citing the current growth rate projected for the next decade by the nonpartisan Congressional Budget Office.

But now comes the test: Will the theory turn into economic reality? Will the virtue of tax cuts ring true for voters?

Many economists say the House and Senate bills – which now must be reconciled into a final bill – may be more a giveaway to the rich than an enhancer of growth.

At the same time, wage growth and gross domestic product have disappointed in recent years. During seven years of recov-

ery since the Great Recession, not once has GDP notched a calendar-year gain of 3 percent or higher. It's not just economists on the political right who see a connection between growth and the health of America's social fabric. Many finance experts say lower corporate tax rates could boost long-term growth, at least modestly.

"The corporate rate cut by itself certainly should be a pro-growth provision," says Alan Viard, a resident scholar at the conservative-leaning American Enterprise Institute. "Telling companies ... that they can keep 80 percent of their profits operating in the US instead of 65 percent should make the United States a more attractive investment location. So you should see capital flow to the United States, which would make American workers more productive and would drive up their wages."

The GOP bills would cut the top tax rate on corporations from 35 percent of income to 20 percent, while also reshaping the individual side of the tax code.

But if many economists embrace the idea of making US corporate tax rates more competitive with those in other advanced nations, that doesn't mean they like the GOP bills. Some see the tax plans adding a bit to long-term growth, but other prominent forecasters including Goldman Sachs and the Tax Policy Center forecast almost no GDP boost from the plan after 10 years.

And Republicans in Congress have pledged not just growth, but that Americans at all income levels will participate. Nonpartisan analysis by the staff of Congress's Joint Committee on Taxation shows big benefits flowing to the rich under both the House and Senate plans, while the Senate version causes tax cuts for individual taxpayers to expire after 2025.

"It's more of a sugar high" than a recipe for long-term growth, says Kimberly Clausing, an economist at Reed College in Portland, Ore. "And it's a sugar high for those at the top of the [income] distribution."

– Mark Trumbull and Laurent Belsie
Staff writers



SARA MILLER LLANA/THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

WOMEN FIRST: Heidi Evans founded a female-focused tour called Women of Paris to correct the imbalance in tours of Paris, which understate women's roles. Here she is outside a women's publishing house.

WOMEN'S HISTORY

Focusing on the 'herstory' of Paris

'What about the women?' A tour guide seeks the answer.

PARIS - From Charlemagne to Charles de Gaulle, the formidable men whose minds and military exploits have shaped La France are well chronicled and commemorated.

But a question kept troubling Heidi Evans, a young Briton who moved to Paris in 2014 to be a tour guide, as she herded tourists from the Panthéon to the banks of the Seine: "What about the women?"

"We talked about a lot of great men - Napoleon, and Louis the XIV, and other kings of France mostly called Louis," she says. "And we talked a little bit about 'bad women,' like Marie Antoinette. I didn't think it was fair, this 'great man' 'bad woman' imbalance."

So she sought to correct it by creating a "Women of Paris" tour. Running now for a little more than a year, it takes visitors - not exclusively, but predominantly, women - on a journey through feminist texts, scientific experiments, and rebellious disregard for social mores. The women who had to fight for recognition in their day, Ms. Evans points out, are still less recognized than their male counterparts.

On this day, we are on a newer tour that

the English-lit major crafted exclusively around female writers in the chic Saint-Germain-des-Prés neighborhood, the heart of French intellectual life in the 19th and 20th centuries.

We meet outside Les Deux Magots, the iconic cafe that served as a second home for the Parisian intellectual elite in the middle of the 20th century, including Simone de Beauvoir, most famous for her feminist treatise "The Second Sex."

But it is the less familiar addresses that are the most illuminating.

First stop is the Editions des Femmes, a publishing house for women authors opened in 1973 by Antoinette Fouque, cofounder of the French Women's Liberation Movement. She said her goal was to get women "out of the home and onto the page," says Evans.

And we pass the house of Colette, the French novelist best known for "Gigi," who

'I WANTED TO LOOK AT WHAT WOMEN HAVE DONE [TO HELP SHAPE] PARIS.'

- Heidi Evans, tour guide

was forced to write her first four books in her husband's name.

As we walk along the cobbled streets of the Left Bank, Evans doesn't just share biographical notes but the theories expounded by the "Women of Paris." We talk about the issues facing women that are as current as they are historical, such as abortion and domestic violence.

Curiously, the topic of disgraced Hollywood executive Harvey Weinstein doesn't come up until I raise it. For now, Evans says,

the question has not sparked much conversation, but she suspects that might change with her "Women on the Stage" tour, set to start this month. The idea that female stars must have slept their way to the top existed in ancient times, she explains, and persists.

When we pass the domed French Institute that houses the Académie Française, the notoriously conservative body tasked with safeguarding the French language, Evans asks us to guess how many of the 726 members elected since 1635 have been women.

The answer is eight. "It's pretty much an old man's club," says Evans.

Outside the former residence of Amantine Lucile Aurore Dupin, better known by her pseudonym, George Sand, Evans tells us about the novelist who cross-dressed to access a man's world. "She wanted to live like a man, and today she is so loved and respected for that, even more than for her writing," she says.

But old stereotypes endure. Evans recalls that when she was telling her grandfather about this tour, he referred to the 19th-century novelist as "Chopin's mistress."

"Women of Paris," Evans explains, aims to shift thinking about gender roles that have so often confined a woman's identity to that of "wife of" or "mistress of."

"I wanted to look at what women have done," she says, "how they lived and helped shape the city of Paris."

- Sara Miller Llana / Staff writer

IMMIGRATION POLICY

Will US target more war crimes?

When an unauthorized immigrant is a war criminal

PROVIDENCE, R.I. - When immigration agents arrived in October at a modest, three-story house here to detain a Guatemalan man in the country illegally, it was no ordinary arrest.

By most measures, Juan Samayoa Cabrera is a "bad hombre," the declared target of President Trump's effort to deport as many unauthorized immigrants as possible, in contrast to the Obama administration's priority of those with criminal records.

The crimes that Mr. Samayoa allegedly committed didn't take place in this New England city, where he's lived for the past quarter century, mostly in plain sight of US authorities. Samayoa was a paramilitary

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commander during the bloodiest phase of Guatemala's civil war, when tens of thousands of civilians died at the hands of government forces. Public prosecutors in Guatemala want him to stand trial there for murder and manslaughter.

Samayoa's detention raises questions about the priorities of immigration enforcers and the presence of other accused war criminals living in the United States. From one angle, it vindicates the Trump administration's more expansive policy. A previous deportation order against Samayoa, who had been rejected for US asylum and told to leave the country, was closed in 2011 in line with Obama administration guidelines

'[O]FFICES TASKED WITH IDENTIFYING ... WAR CRIMINALS ... ARE OVERWHELMED....'

– **Jo-Marie Burt**, George Mason University

for Immigration and Customs Enforcement.

"The Samayoa case and others like it show that US law enforcement can make decisions about targeting the worst human rights violators living among us.... This is an important and humane part of what our government is and should be doing," says Kate Doyle, a senior analyst at the National Security Archive, a nonprofit group in Washington that has provided archival evidence for war crimes trials.

But Ms. Doyle and other experts on war crime investigations say such cases are lengthy and complex. That makes it hard to draw a direct line between federal policy and the timing of a high-profile arrest.

That Samayoa was notorious in his community and subject to an arrest warrant at home didn't automatically put him on a fast track to extradition, says Jo-Marie Burt, an associate professor at George Mason University who tracks justice in Guatemala. "The offices tasked with identifying alleged war criminals living here in the United States are overwhelmed with the caseload that they have," she says.

– **Simon Montlake** / Staff writer



MOISES CASTILLO/AP

REMEMBERING: Maria Meza Paniagua marks the National Day of the Disappeared in Guatemala City.



Baby, it's cold in there!

CRYOPHILE WINTER SWIMMING club member Alexander Yaroshenko rubs himself with snow after swimming in the Yenisei River in the Siberian city of Krasnoyarsk on Dec. 4.

DISASTER FORECASTING

Seeking patterns of earthquakes

Historical data warn of an increase in temblors

It begins as a normal day. People go about their business: running errands, attending class, or going to work. Then suddenly the ground lurches, buildings quiver. Within seconds, irrevocable damage has been done and thousands of lives can be lost.

Pinpointing precisely when and where an earthquake will occur – and its severity – is impossible, most seismologists agree.

But that doesn't mean that there's nothing scientists can do. Forecasting efforts that calculate the probability that an earthquake will occur in the near future can prompt municipalities to revisit emergency and preparedness plans.

One attempt to provide a long-term forecast came in October when a pair of seismologists suggested a possible earthquake forecast at the Geological Society of America's annual meeting. The team spotted a pattern in historical data that suggests that 2018 and the following four years could bring an increase of earthquakes with a magnitude

of more than 7 globally.

This forecast isn't meant to scare anyone, says Rebecca Bendick, a geoscientist at the University of Montana in Missoula and one of the researchers behind the latest forecast. "We actually would like to empower communities to be safer and more responsive to their context, not to terrify people for these years."

The new hypothesis put forth by Professor Bendick and her colleague, Roger Bilham, at the University of Colorado at Boulder, looks at forecasting from a global perspective rather than forecasting for individual faults and considers whether there might be a calculable cycle of global upswings in large quakes.

Seismic waves do not instantly affect everyone when a quake occurs, they propagate outward like the waves created by a stone dropped in a still lake. So for communities away from the epicenter of an earthquake, early warning systems could add valuable seconds or even up to a minute of time to prepare for the incoming quake.

But how much can a few mere seconds help? Actually, a lot, says Bob de Groot of the US Geological Survey. For individuals, even a few seconds of warning can buy time to move to a safer location.

"The system has great potential, as has been demonstrated around the world, of saving lives and reducing damage," Dr. de Groot says.

– **Eva Botkin-Kowacki** / Staff writer

POINTS OF PROGRESS

Curbing racism with bedtime tales

Parents embrace We Stories as a way to start conversations on race

Erin Brennan was reading “Ron’s Big Mission” aloud when her 5-year-old daughter stopped her.

They were learning about how astronaut Ron McNair, an African-American who grew up in Jim Crow times, would go to the library to read about flight and space – but was never allowed to check out books.

How was it possible for someone to be denied a library card, Ms. Brennan’s daughter wanted to know. “Books are for everyone!” she declared.

More than 550 white families have been having such conversations through We Stories, a nonprofit started in 2015 by two white mothers in the suburbs of St. Louis. In the country’s fifth-most segregated city, We Stories is working to raise “big-hearted kids” who will better understand their black and brown fellow citizens.

The group, which provides a private Facebook forum for participating families, has become a catalyst for broader change across the St. Louis area. With alumni from 67 different ZIP Codes, We Stories helps like-minded parents share tips on how best to approach school officials with constructive criticism, for example.

Part of the group’s success stems from the fact that children’s books provide a relatively easy entrance into tough issues, says Laura Horwitz, cofounder and executive director of We Stories.

“Everybody knows that nothing terrible will happen to you when you open a children’s book,” says Ms. Horwitz. Plus, she adds, reading them with someone leads to questions and conversations. “That is completely the opposite mind frame that we as a nation often take to issues of race. We don’t start from, ‘Boy, I might have a lot to learn about this.’ ”

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ENGLAND

England is experimenting with free 24-hour vending machines for the homeless. In December Huzaifah Khaled’s charity, Action Hunger, will launch the first machine (which will dispense water, fresh fruit, sandwiches, socks, toiletries, and books) in Nottingham.

Major supermarkets are among the donors that will provide the goods, and volunteers will stock the machines. So-called rough sleepers will receive special keycards allowing them three items per day.

WORLD ECONOMIC FORUM, CNN



JACK HUGHES

AFRICA

The continent’s gender gap in agricultural research has closed dramatically. Traditionally fewer women than men have been trained or employed in the field of agricultural science. But a recent paper published in the *Journal of Gender, Agriculture, and Food Security* shows the tide has begun to turn. Data from 40 African countries show that there were more than 15,000 women researchers in the field in 2014, up from fewer than 9,000 in 2000. In Lesotho and Namibia the numbers are near parity.

QUARTZ AFRICA

A WEEKLY GLOBAL ROUNDUP

GERMANY

Germany is set to launch the world's most environmentally friendly trains. Since the trains are powered by hydrogen and oxygen, the only exhaust waste they produce is water vapor. They can travel 1,000 kilometers (621.4 miles) on a single tank, at speeds of 140 kilometers per hour (87 miles per hour). Fourteen of these trains are scheduled to come on line in Germany in December 2021. A pilot program will begin in December 2018.



AP/FILE

VISITORS LOOK AT A HYDROGEN-POWERED TRAIN AT THE INNOTRANS INTERNATIONAL TRADE FAIR FOR TRANSPORT TECHNOLOGY IN BERLIN IN 2016.

WORLD ECONOMIC FORUM

INDIA

The nation's top court ruled that sex with a child is always rape. India's Supreme Court made the ruling in October, closing a loophole that allowed men to avoid rape charges if they were married to the victim. Indian law already put the age of consent at 18, but rape laws used to feature a clause that lowered the age to 15 if a girl was married. "This is a landmark judgment that corrects a historical wrong against girls," Vikram Srivastava, founder of the campaign group Independent Thought, told the BBC.

BBC, GLOBAL CITIZEN

TANZANIA

A key fishery between the East African country's mainland and Pemba Island has received a major financial boost. The British-based firm Global Challenges Research Fund has committed £3 million (\$4.1 million) to a four-year project that aims to protect

mackerel, sardines, and anchovies in that stretch of the Indian Ocean. The funding will be used to pay for robots, modeling, remote sensors, field observation, and research to identify key environmental threats putting pressure on fish stocks.

THE CITIZEN



NUNGWI BEACH IN ZANZIBAR

REUTERS

CORRECTION: A Point of Progress item in the Dec. 11 issue highlighted the wrong continent. People are living longer, are healthier, and are better educated in Africa, not South America, as was indicated.

KEY: Continent

Specific countries

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Horwitz, a St. Louis native who had moved away, happened to move back in 2014 on the very day that Michael Brown, a black 18-year-old, was killed by a white policeman. The subsequent protests made headlines around the world, but in white suburbs, there was a lot of silence.

So when Horwitz and cofounder Adelaide Lancaster started We Stories the following year, they had modest hopes that within a month, they could recruit 60 kids for their Family Learning Program. Within 48 hours, they had 122 signed up. Two years in, there are still hundreds of people on a waiting list.

'WHEN YOU'RE SILENT ... KIDS WILL FILL IN THE BLANKS.'

— Farrell Carfield, Webster Groves, Mo.

Parents pay \$100 per child for the 12-week experience, which includes at least three in-person meetings with the rest of the cohort. Each child is given a “starter library” of four books that focus on how it’s OK to talk about differences. For the second and third months, parents can choose from recommended book lists, which are “bun-

dled” so that children read not only about oppression but also everyday life. Parents are given separate readings for context.

While We Stories includes a small subset of multiracial families, the focus is on white families because that’s where the cofounders see the greatest need for more robust conversations about race and racism.

“The story of We Stories is that there’s so much more interest than we have ever been equipped to handle,” says Ms. Lancaster. “I think that the thirst and the hunger has been really apparent.”

The nonprofit is not so much quenching that thirst as whetting an appetite. Some 85 percent of families continue to talk about race with their children after the program ends, and about half start new conversations with others or get involved in new initiatives — such as parent equity groups, which push for greater racial equity in schools.

“When you’re silent about it ... your kids will fill in the blanks, because they are definitely observing.... And they are coming up with their own explanations for why the other neighborhood with the house with the broken window is where it’s all brown people,” says Farrell Carfield, a mom from Webster Groves, Mo.



CHRISTA CASE BRYANT/THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

READING RACE: Laura Horwitz (l.) and Adelaide Lancaster founded the nonprofit We Stories in 2015.

The We Stories experience is not only helping kids understand history and justice issues, but also each other. Stacie Dixon, a white mom who is raising two African-American children, says her son is increasingly aware of the deficit that comes from not having frank conversations.

“That’s one thing my kids know, especially my older one, is that some of the kids that have caused him pain through racism and things like that — he’ll say, ‘I bet your family doesn’t talk about it at home.’”

— Christa Case Bryant / Staff writer

PRINCIPLE #2:

Famed growth stock investor Philip Fisher once said, “The stock market is filled with individuals who know the price of everything but the value of nothing.” Spending time getting to know a company and its true value can help you enhance your portfolio with investments that weather the good times and the bad.

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The NSA powers up for renewal

Some call for more privacy protections for US citizens inadvertently snared in the dragnet

Congress is struggling to reauthorize key rules that govern National Security Agency wiretapping, without a warrant, of foreign targets outside the United States. The rules are set to expire at the end of the year.

Q: What program is at issue?

The rules in question are set out in Section 702 of the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act. In US national security discussions they're usually referred to as "Section 702" for short. Under this program, the National Security Agency (NSA) can vacuum up the electronic communications of foreign intelligence targets deemed likely to be located outside US territory. Officials don't need a court-issued warrant for individual targets. Instead, the secret Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Court annually approves a list of proper categories of foreign intelligence collection.

Q: Is there a problem?

Section 702 surveillance efforts sometimes sweep up information on US citizens. This is inadvertent: The citizens in question are communicating with foreign intelligence targets, say, or are merely mentioned by those targets. Given that Americans have greater legal rights than the foreign targets, how should information involving US citizens be handled? Under current law it is not discarded, and in some circumstances it can be used for law enforcement investigations. For instance, the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) is allowed to search some of the data for national security purposes, using queries such as an email address or a name. But in general, the US material is supposed to be "minimized," with identities shielded and access controlled.

Privacy advocates say the current protections are not sufficient and that changes should be made. One possible modification: requiring the FBI to obtain individualized warrants to view some query results.

Q: What are the politics?

NSA surveillance issues can be politically complicated, and the renewal of Section 702 is no exception. Privacy protection draws support from both the left and right sides of the US political spectrum, as it combines elements of liberalism and libertarianism. Seldom are the American Civil Liberties Union and the conservative House Freedom Caucus in agreement, but they are in this case. Neither group wants Section 702 to simply be re-upped as it stands, a so-called clean reauthorization.

Washington's current polarized environment has added a layer of predictable partisanship on top of this mix. Earlier this year the chairman of the House Intelligence Committee, Rep. Devin Nunes (R) of California, said he had evidence that some Trump aides caught in the 702 dragnet had their names improperly revealed, or "unmasked," to other government officials. Democrats have vehemently disputed this. It's led to a situation where the GOP majority of the intelligence panel is pushing provisions to make unmasking more difficult. The Democratic minority, to this point, has been opposed.

Q: Where does the issue stand?

It's been kind of a mess. The NSA and other security agencies are pushing for a clean reauthorization of the Section 702 program, which they say is an important tool for protecting the US from terrorists



KEVIN WOLF/AP

IN WASHINGTON: Michael Rogers (L), director of the National Security Agency, speaks Oct. 13 at a Heritage Foundation event on Section 702 of the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act.

and other threats to national security. It was key in defusing a plot to detonate homemade bombs on the New York subway in 2009, said FBI Director Christopher Wray in October at a seminar on surveillance without warrants, held at the Heritage Foundation in Washington. It's also been used to help the US understand Russian meddling in the 2016 US presidential election.

"Any material change to the FBI's use of 702 would severely inhibit our ability to keep the American people safe," Mr. Wray told the Heritage audience.

Clean reauthorization might have difficulty passing the House, however, because of the left-right combination of opposition. Also, 702's critics haven't settled on a unified course of action for themselves. The House has at least five bills on the subject, with three approved by various committees. Of these, perhaps the proposed legislation passed by the House Judiciary Committee goes the furthest. That legislation would require the FBI to get a warrant anytime it queries 702-derived information as it looks for evidence of a crime. (But this requirement would not apply to inquiries devoted to counter-terrorism or other national security operations.)

Q: Where will this end?

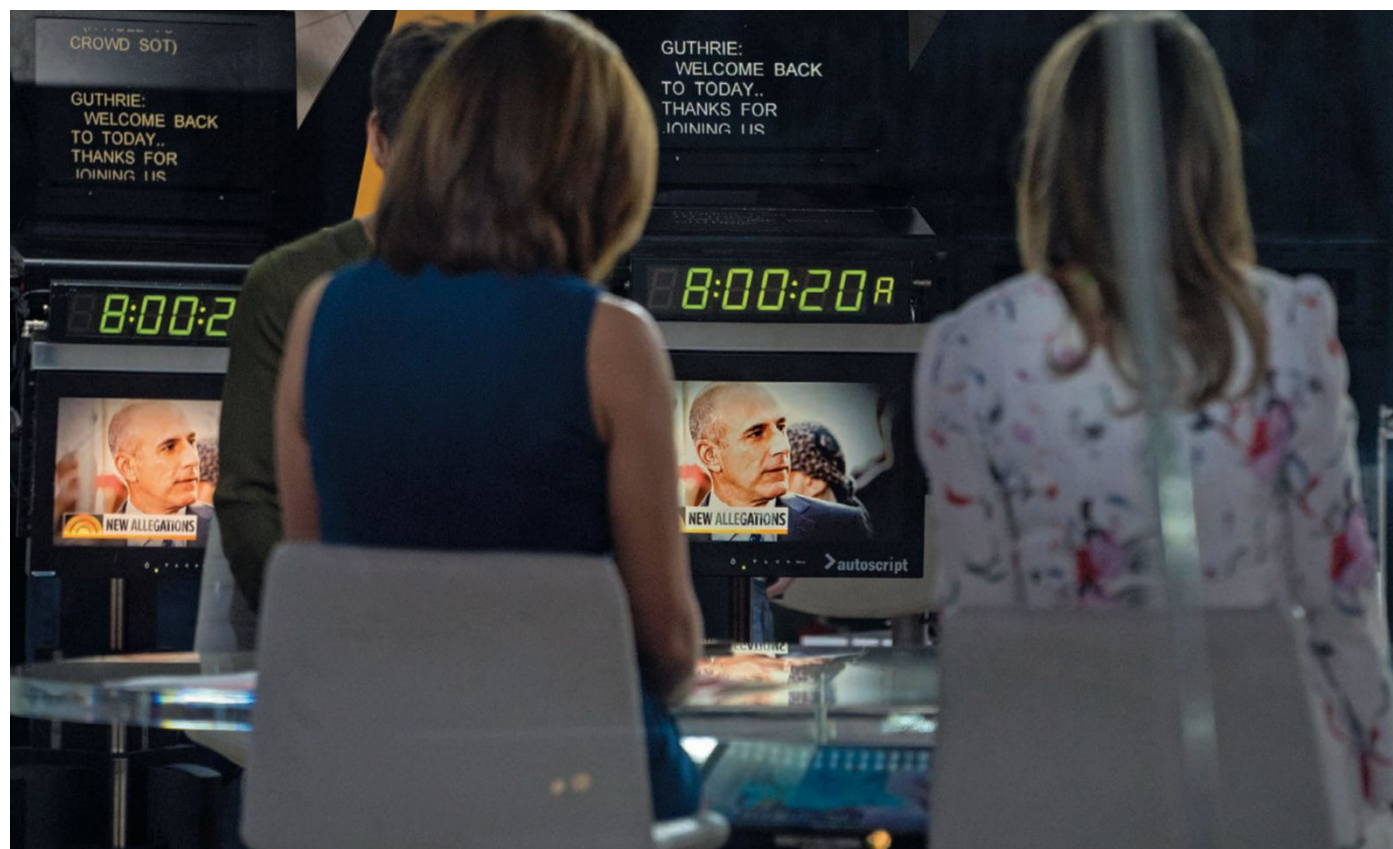
With December ticking down, it now appears highly likely that Section 702 reauthorization will be folded into whatever giant budget bill Congress cobbles together to keep the government funded and running into 2018.

That means congressional leaders will, in essence, get to pick and choose from various 702 reform efforts. It's possible they could just opt for continuing the program as it is. It's also possible they could include some requirement for particularized warrants for the use of information involving US individuals, while making unmasking a bit harder.

— Peter Grier / Staff writer

This fall, the boardroom has moved faster on harassment allegations than has Congress. **BY LINDA FELDMANN / STAFF WRITER**

Politics, business, and sexual misconduct



CRAIG RUTTLE/AP

AFTERMATH: Co-anchors Hoda Kotb (l) and Savannah Guthrie take part in a segment on the 'Today' show, in the wake of the firing of longtime anchor Matt Lauer.

The firing of “Today” show anchor Matt Lauer had the feel of a summary execution.

NBC brass received a credible allegation of workplace sexual misconduct against Mr. Lauer on a Monday night, and by that Wednesday morning, he was gone. In a flash, another famous personality joined the list of high-profile men from media, entertainment, and business who allegedly abused their power with (in most cases) women – and lost their jobs.

The contrast with the political world could not be starker, as Republican strategist Ana Navarro captured in a tweet. Members of Congress, a candidate for a critical Senate seat, and the president himself all face ugly sexual allegations. By and large these men are still in place, but that’s starting to change, at least among Democrats.

On its face, the disparity in outcomes may seem unjust. Why can’t men in politics who have been accused of abusing their office be dispatched quickly? Or, in the reverse, why shouldn’t Lauer have been allowed to hold onto his position, the way countless allegedly miscreant men in public life have, while the

WASHINGTON

charges are fully investigated and both sides aired?

The answer is simple: On questions of professional life and death, the political world and private sector are not parallel. And it is a distinction that goes right to the heart of democracy.

“The private sector is worried about bottom-line numbers and shareholders and about the kind of image a business wants to project,” says Kimberly Wehle, a law professor at the University of Baltimore. If the management – a boss or board – of a private organization finds a woman’s allegations credible, Professor Wehle notes, it can move quickly and fire the accused. Any hearing of defense takes place behind closed doors. And there is no legal structure that prevents swift action, though fear of a lawsuit could serve as a check.

With elected officials, there’s a larger authority at play: the United States Constitution, and the system of self-government it establishes.

“The boss is ‘We the People,’” says Wehle, reciting the document’s first three words.

It’s the voters who decide whether an accused politician is reelected or wins office

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► WHY IT MATTERS

Congress doesn’t have a human resources department – and politicians don’t answer to boards or bosses. If voters essentially say ‘who cares?’ to charges of sexual misconduct or abuse, what effect might that have in creating permanent change in society?

Behind sexual harassment: Why do the powerful prey?

By Eoin O'Carroll / Staff writer

WHAT PROMPTS the powerful to engage in sexually predatory behavior? While responsibility ultimately falls squarely on the perpetrator, experts say holding power can make it harder to control impulses and easier to justify selfishness, even to the point of disregarding other people's humanity.

"Money tends to create the context of the impulsive pursuit of sex," says Dacher Keltner, a psychologist at the University of California, Berkeley. "Wealthy people are more likely to have sexual affairs... They're more likely to flirt inappropriately."

Experiments, surveys, and observational data reveal that the high-

er a person is on the socioeconomic ladder, the more likely he or she is to betray a spouse, cheat at a game involving a cash prize, shoplift, and endorse bribery and embezzlement. On college campuses, male athletes, who tend to occupy the upper rungs of the social scene, are more likely to admit to acts of sexual aggression. People who drive expensive cars are more likely to cut off other motorists and blow through crosswalks with pedestrians waiting to cross. One experiment found that rich people are more likely than poor people to steal candy that had been set aside for children.

Those who score high on a psychological measure that assesses a person's likelihood of committing sexual harassment are more likely to unconsciously associate power with sex, which helps explain why many powerful men who make unwanted sexual advances seem surprised to learn that their actions are inappropriate. However, "this is not inevitable," says Dr. Keltner. "When you give really good people – nice people, kind people – power, they become kinder." ■

'[T]HIS IS NOT INEVITABLE. WHEN YOU GIVE REALLY GOOD PEOPLE ... POWER, THEY BECOME KINDER.'

– Dacher Keltner, psychologist at the University of California, Berkeley

in the first place. In the case of Roy Moore, the Alabama Republican who was vying for a US Senate seat on Dec. 12, allegations of unwanted sexual behavior while in his 30s toward teenage girls turned an easy GOP victory into a close race. But the bottom line is that Mr. Moore's political fate lay with the voters of Alabama.

The Constitution empowers both the House and Senate to expel a peer with a two-thirds vote. But the bar is high, and expulsion is rare.

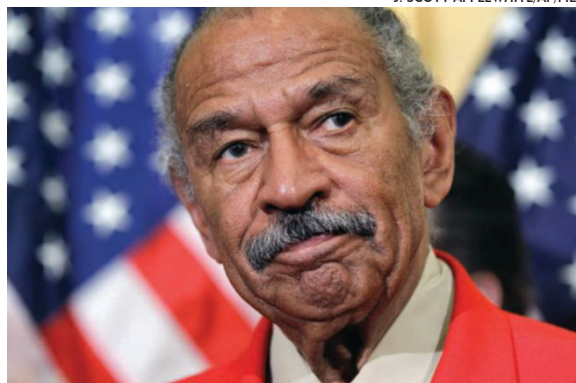
Senate majority leader Mitch McConnell has said that an investigation by his chamber's Ethics Committee is "almost certain," before any attempt to expel Moore. But the idea of possibly overturning the will of the people gave at least one fellow GOP senator pause, even though she says she did not support his candidacy.

"If the voters of a state, fully knowing all of these allegations, nevertheless choose to elect Roy Moore, is it appropriate for the Senate to expel him?" asked Sen. Susan Collins (R) of Maine at a Monitor breakfast Nov. 30. "I think that's a really difficult question. And I don't know the answer to that yet. I would want to see the Ethics Committee's deliberations."

It's also worth noting, analysts say, that the cumbersome expulsion process serves as a protection to public officials who could otherwise be vic-



BRYNN ANDERSON/AP



J. SCOTT APPLEWHITE/AP/FILE

FACING ALLEGATIONS: The accusations against Roy Moore (top), the Alabama Republican who was vying for a US Senate seat on Dec. 12, turned an easy GOP victory into a close race. Rep. John Conyers (D) of Michigan (above) announced he was resigning Dec. 5.

tims of a smear campaign for political reasons – just as allegations of sexual misconduct, in any context, could be false.

Under pressure to resign

Members facing major ethics charges often resign before they can be expelled. In 1995, Sen. Bob Packwood (R) of Oregon resigned after the Senate Ethics Committee issued a 10-volume indictment chronicling sexual abuse of former aides and lobbyists.

In the present day, House minority leader Nancy Pelosi called for Rep. John Conyers (D) of Michigan to resign in the wake of allegations that he sexually harassed women on his staff. Mr. Conyers, who has been in the hospital, announced he was resigning Dec. 5, although he denies the allegations. And on Dec. 7, Sen. Al Franken (D) of Minnesota announced he was resigning, even though he denied the characterization of some of the sexual harassment allegations leveled against him.

Also, Rep. Joe Barton (R) of Texas announced that he will not seek reelection, after sexually explicit images of him from a consensual extramarital relationship were posted online.

The issue of pressure to quit of fice, or quit a race, over allegations

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of sexual misconduct opens a Pandora's box of comparisons. When Reps. Gerry Studds and Barney Frank, both gay Democrats from Massachusetts, became embroiled in sex scandals in the 1980s, neither resigned or faced pressure from Democratic leaders to resign. Mr. Studds was censured by the House, and Mr. Frank was reprimanded – and yet both were reelected many times before retiring. In 2006, when Rep. Mark Foley (R) of Florida, also gay, faced his own scandal involving explicit messages allegedly sent to congressional pages, some underage, he resigned under pressure from the GOP leadership. A subsequent FBI investigation did not result in any criminal charges against Mr. Foley.

The highest-profile cases may be most instructive. In 1991, Clarence Thomas reached the US Supreme Court, despite charges of sexual harassment by a former subordinate, Anita Hill, at his confirmation hearing. He denied the allegations. In 1992, Bill Clinton won the presidency despite allegations of sexual misconduct, and he survived impeachment in 1998, after he was caught lying under oath about an affair with an intern, Monica Lewinsky. Both cases may have taught candidate Donald Trump an important lesson when he faced numerous allegations of sexual misconduct: True or not, deny the charges – and let the voters decide.

More explosive for Mr. Trump, late in the 2016 campaign, was an old recording by “Access Hollywood” of him boasting about aggressive sexual behavior toward women. Trump admitted making the comments and apologized. But today he is casting doubt on the tape's authenticity, a retreat into the old approach of denial when faced with uncomfortable information.

A tipping point – or not?

Depending on the message Alabama voters send on Moore, the takeaway for some – including Republican leaders in Washington who called on him to quit the race – may be that denying sexual impropriety still pays off.

A Moore victory could also dampen talk that society has reached a tipping point on the issue of sexual harassment. If voters are still willing to elect leaders amid numerous such charges, that may indicate a definitive



VOICE FOR CHANGE: Gretchen Carlson, one of many women who accused Roger Ailes of Fox News of harassment, calls for an end to forced arbitration on Capitol Hill Dec. 6. AARON P. BERNSTEIN/REUTERS

shift in the culture has yet to take place.

“I don't think we'll know if we've reached a tipping point until we see what happens in the 2018 midterm elections,” says Renee Knake, a law professor at the University of Houston.

Assessing public attitudes toward sexual harassment in the political sphere is complicated. Some Alabama voters say they resent GOP leaders in Washington telling them or Moore what to do. And some argue that even if the allegations are true, he's still better than the Democrat, former US Attorney Doug Jones.

'I don't think we'll know if we've reached a tipping point until we see what happens in the 2018 midterm elections.'

– Renee Knake, law professor at the University of Houston

That is the argument some Republicans offered when they voted for Trump: They disliked his treatment of women, but said he'd still be better than Hillary Clinton. When Mr. Clinton got caught with Ms. Lewinsky, an intern – a power disparity that could hardly be wider – plenty of feminists looked the other way and still supported him.

Those days may be over. Or they may not. The first to be accused in this wave of ha-

arrassment charges, Hollywood producer Harvey Weinstein, fell in part because some of his accusers were celebrities – women like Angelina Jolie and Gwyneth Paltrow – and the public believed them.

Social media provided the platform for the #MeToo movement and gave women a collective voice. Women and men from all walks of life – academics, lobbyists, hotel workers, dishwashers, and reporters – began to come forward.

Congress sets its own rules, but those rules reflect the cultural norms of the time.

The revelation that Congress's Office of Compliance has paid settlements totaling \$17 million in taxpayer mon-

ey over the past 20 years – although most of them not over sexual harassment – has sparked outrage. Whether such taxpayer-funded settlements will remain in place, including the confidentiality agreements that come with them, is a matter of debate.

Rep. Blake Farenthold (R) of Texas settled a lawsuit with his former communications officer for \$84,000 – making him the only known sitting member of Congress to have used the congressional account. He has said he will repay the taxpayer money but has no plans to resign.

The House passed legislation last month requiring sexual harassment training for lawmakers and their staffs, but members of Congress say it's only the first step.

Accusations against Trump

The story also hasn't ended for Trump. He faces a defamation lawsuit by Summer Zervos, a former contestant on “The Apprentice” who accused him of unwanted sexual advances. The New York State Supreme Court is weighing whether to allow the case to proceed. If it does, Trump's other accusers could be deposed.

The case is important because it may establish whether US presidents can be subject to civil suits in state court over their private conduct. Whatever the outcome, the subject of Trump and sexual harassment will return to the headlines, as will discussion of how a president's private actions should be treated in court. Lawyers note that in 1997, the US Supreme Court ruled in favor of allowing Paula Jones to sue Mr. Clinton for sexual harassment in federal court while he was in the White House. ■

Computerized forays into the arts prompt new exploration of what it means to be creative. **BY JOSEPH DUSSAULT / STAFF WRITER**



REMO CASILLI/REUTERS

CREATIVE COLLABORATION: Humanoid robot YuMi conducts the Lucca Philharmonic Orchestra alongside Italian tenor Andrea Bocelli at the Verdi Theatre in Pisa, Italy, Sept. 12, 2017.

Can a machine be creative?

Any novel idea can become an invention, but for a computer to truly be creative it has to innovate. “Creativity consists of innovations,” says David Galenson, a University of Chicago economist who studies art markets and human creativity. “It changes the way people do things. The question is, will machines be capable of doing new things that are actually used?”

Professor Galenson says that creativity comes in two types: conceptual, which tends to be spontaneous, and experimental, which comes from years of practice. Most artificial intelligence takes the experimental approach. This brute-force approach to creativity has already produced surprisingly human results. In 2015, a computer-generated poem was accepted by a Duke University literary magazine. In August, a program named Amper released the first music album produced entirely by AI.

But conceptual innovation presents a deeper challenge. How does one articulate a nebulous concept like “good” to a machine?

TECHNOLOGY BOUND

“Machine learning is good at generating and evaluating variations,” says Ranjitha Kumar, a computer science professor at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. “[But] you don’t really understand the problem definition, the constraints, or the criteria for goodness until you’ve built a bunch of things and tried them out. It’s hard to imagine an AI doing all that on its own anytime soon.”

But that future might not be so far off. In 2009, Canadian scientists developed a portrait-painting algorithm with an “automatic fitness function” to produce humanlike artistic choices. Without prompting, the AI “rediscovered” certain techniques used by famous artists, such as using brushstrokes to lead the viewer’s eye toward the eyes of the portrait’s subject.

“This is something that Rembrandt did, but this was not ‘hand-coded’ into the computer program,” says coauthor Liane Gabora, an assistant professor of psychology at the University of British Columbia-Okanagan. “It figured this out for itself.”

TECHSPEAK

In this occasional series, the Monitor’s science team offers explanations for scientific and technical terminology.

Automation: a glossary

As ‘smart’ technology becomes more prevalent in our everyday lives, terms once relegated to science fiction are going mainstream.

Machine learning: A term coined by IBM engineer Arthur Samuel in 1959 to describe a field that explores ways to teach computers to learn without being specifically programmed. Used in self-driving cars, web search engines, and speech recognition, machine learning uses algorithms and data to predict, learn, and adapt based on observation. Machine learning is used to develop artificial intelligence systems.

Artificial intelligence: A computer system that can learn, reason, and self-correct to complete a task or achieve a goal. Navigation systems such as Google Maps and Waze use AI to mine traffic and map data to recommend efficient routes. IBM’s Watson, Apple’s Siri, and Amazon’s Alexa are all examples of artificially intelligent systems that can “interact” with humans. Dartmouth math professor John McCarthy coined the term several years after the first theories of artificial intelligence were developed by the British mathematician Alan Turing.

Turing test: A test designed by Turing in 1950 to distinguish a machine from a human. In the test, a person asks a series of questions to an anonymous group of people and a machine, frequently a chatbot. If the interviewer cannot consistently determine which answer is from a human and which is from the machine, that computer is said to have passed the Turing test. One of the first AIs to pass the test (by some accounts, at least) was Eugene Goostman, a simulation of a 13-year-old Ukrainian boy, that is said to have successfully passed for a surly human during a 2014 event at the University of Reading in England.

Chatbot: A conversational computer program. Chatbots can help users schedule meetings, book flights, and troubleshoot electronics.

— HANNAH SCHLOMANN / STAFF

■ Questions? Comments? Email the science team at sci@csmonitor.com.



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1 TRUE LOVE Ayman, an 11-year-old jockey, kisses his camel at the opening of the International Camel Racing festival in the Sarabium desert in Ismailia, Egypt, March 21, 2017. AMR ABDALLAH DALSH/REUTERS

2 INHALE It's so cold that the camels can see their breath at 'Temeenii bayar,' the Camel Festival, in Dalanzadgad, Umnugobi aimag, Mongolia, March 7, 2016. B. RENTSENDORJ/REUTERS

3 ROBOT RIDERS Camels with mounted robots run across a three-mile racetrack during a camel race in Wadi Rum, Jordan, Nov. 2, 2017. MUHAMMAD HAMED/REUTERS

4 HOSPITALITY Members of the European Camel Association drink Arabian coffee during the opening of the 2017 International Camel Racing festival. AMR ABDALLAH DALSH/REUTERS

5 ON YOUR MARK Competitors ride racing camels during the Maralal Camel Derby in Kenya, Aug. 16, 2015. GORANTOMASEVIC/REUTERS





An ancient tradition evolves

A longtime custom at celebrations across the Middle East, Central Asia, and parts of Africa, camel racing has adapted in many ways. Once relied on for meat and milk, camels are now being bred for speed in a sport that – in some countries – has become a multimillion-dollar industry. In more sophisticated venues, child jockeys – once sought after for their light weight – have been replaced by small mounted robots on the camels' backs, which racers use to control their animals with whips attached to spinning drills and speakers mounted on the saddle. Yet even with these developments, camel racing remains deeply rooted in tradition and displays of local culture and traditional dress. ■

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Iraqi Shiite militiamen vow to fight ISIS in a show of strength in a 2014 military parade in Baghdad.

SCOTT PETERSON/GETTY IMAGES/
THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

HOW IRAN IS EXPANDING ITS FOOTPRINT ACROSS THE REGION – AND WHAT IT MEANS.



Fighters for Hezbollah, which is backed by Iran, take up positions along the Lebanese-Syrian border, where they have been clashing with Al Qaeda militants. BILAL HUSSEIN/AP

MIDEAST'S NEW



KHALED ABDULLAH/REUTERS

A supporter of the Iranian-affiliated Houthi movement protests in Yemen.

BAGHDAD; AND KABUL, AFGHANISTAN
WITH OPULENT FURNISHINGS and the finest cut-crystal water glasses in Baghdad, the new offices of the Iranian-backed Shiite militia exude money and power – exactly as they are meant to. At one end of the meeting room is a set built for TV interviews, with gilded chairs and an official-looking backdrop of Iraqi and militia flags, lit by an ornate glass chandelier.

A large portrait of Iran's supreme leader, Ayatollah Ali Khamenei, hangs unapologetically in the next room, signaling that Harakat Hezbollah al-Nujaba is one of 44 Shiite militias – out of 66 active on Iraq's front lines – that are loyal to Iran's leadership.

An article of faith – universally accepted in Baghdad – is that Iran's immediate intervention in June 2014 stopped the swift advance of Islamic State (ISIS) and “saved” the Iraqi capital, while the United States waffled and delayed responding for months, abandoning Iraq during its hour of need.

“If there were no Iranian weapons, then ISIS would be sitting on this couch,” says Hashem al-Mousawi, a spokesman for Nujaba, gesturing toward an overstuffed sofa as an aide serves chewy nougats from Iran.

“Our victory over ISIS is a victory for all humanity,” says Mr. Mousawi.

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SUPERPOWER

BY SCOTT PETERSON / STAFF WRITER

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And also a victory for Iran, which has emerged from the anti-ISIS battlefields in Iraq, Syria, and beyond as an unrivaled regional superpower with more hard- and soft-power capacity to shape events in the Middle East than it has ever before experienced.

Until now, Shiite Iran had met with only limited success trying to expand its influence across the mostly Sunni Islamic world, despite the call decades ago to “export the revolution” by Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, the leader of Iran’s 1979 Islamic Revolution.

But today – on the back of years of Iranian military intervention to fight ISIS and bolster its allies abroad, years of diminishing US leadership, and repeatedly outsmarting and outmuscling its chief regional rival, Sunni Saudi Arabia – Iran has emerged as the dominant power in the region.

One narrative of the modern Middle East is of potentates trying to stamp their imprint across these often volatile states. From Egypt’s Pan-Arabist Gamal Abdel Nasser, to Iraq’s Saddam Hussein, to the theocrats in Tehran today, the region has served as the world’s

‘IRAN HAS BECOME AN UNRIVALED REGIONAL SUPERPOWER USING PROXY COMMUNITIES AND PROXY FIGHTERS ... TO SPREAD [ITS] INFLUENCE FAR AND WIDE.’

– Fawaz Gerges, a Mideast scholar at the London School of Economics and Political Science

premier crucible for rulers to forge geopolitical hegemony, often with failed results. This is to say nothing of the intrusive meddling of the US, Russia, and other outside powers over the decades.

But now Iran has achieved milestones of leverage and influence that rival any regional power in the past half-century. While there are limits to how far it can extend its authority, Tehran’s rapid rise poses new challenges to the US, Israel, and Saudi Arabia as it undermines their previous dominance. In a region already reeling from multiple wars, the residue of the Arab Spring uprisings, and a deepening Sunni-Shiite divide, the fundamental question is this: How far can Tehran extend its reach?

Ironically, the first steps of Iran’s ascendancy came as a result of American actions. US forces ousted the Taliban in Afghanistan in 2001, and toppled Iraqi dictator Saddam in 2003 – both strategic enemies on Iran’s flanks. But it has been Iran’s own moves since 2011, in combination with the stepped-up dedication of its allies – especially Russia – and lack of devotion of its enemies, that have resulted in Iran’s new regional status.

Helping to defeat ISIS was a particularly exultant moment for the theocratic state. Iran has long accused the US of creating ISIS in the first place – citing Donald Trump’s frequent allegations on the campaign trail that President Barack Obama was the “founder” of the terrorist organization.

Declaring victory over ISIS in late November, Mr. Khamenei called it a “divine triumph” of the Iranian-led “axis of resistance.” Iran’s president, Hassan Rouhani, decreed Oct. 23: “Without Iran ... no fateful step can be taken in Iraq, Syria, North Africa, and the Persian Gulf.”

No doubt the US-led coalition and its more than 25,000 airstrikes contributed hugely to crushing ISIS and forcing it out of Iraq

An Iranian-Iraqi cooperation association prepares food for Shiite pilgrims marching to commemorate a Shiite saint in Karbala, Iraq.



and Syria, as have the 3,000 American military advisers helping to rebuild Iraq’s armed forces. And no doubt Russian air power has been crucial to the survival of Iran’s beleaguered ally, Syrian President Bashar al-Assad.

But Iran has dramatically reshaped regional power structures in its favor through a pattern of pragmatic and often risky moves. Many revolve around creating and marshaling proxy, mostly Shiite, forces from as far away as Pakistan to fight on its foreign battlefields.

This gives it an edge over rivals such as Saudi Arabia, which has flailed in its attempts to push back against Tehran’s growing influence. Saudi Arabia’s young Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman has called Khamenei “the new Hitler of the Middle East,” but the kingdom has been unable to slow Iran’s rise.

In its latest counterattack, for example, Saudi Arabia orches-

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SCOTT PETERSON/GETTY IMAGES/THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

trated the abrupt resignation in early November of Lebanese Prime Minister Saad Hariri, its most important Sunni political bulwark against the power of Shiite Hezbollah – and its patron, Iran – in a delicate coalition government.

Mr. Hariri, in his departure speech reportedly written by Saudi hands, said, “Wherever Iran settles, it sows discord, devastation and destruction, proven by its interference in the internal affairs of Arab countries.” Iran’s hands “will be cut off.” Instead, Hariri returned to Beirut a couple of weeks later, greeted the Iranian ambassador among well-wishers, and suspended his resignation.

Another example is Yemen, where Saudi Arabia has waged a 2-1/2-year war disastrous for civilians – with critical US military support – ostensibly to “roll back” Iranian-affiliated Houthi rebels. So far the results are an estimated 10,000 dead, hospitals and historical districts turned into rubble, and a Saudi blockade that

exacerbates disease and mass starvation in one of the poorest nations on earth.

Israel also sees the threat from pro-Iranian forces gaining strength along its borders. Lebanese Hezbollah, created by Iran during Israel’s 1982 invasion of Lebanon, has served as a model for Iran’s newer proxy forces and has grown battle-hardened in the Syrian civil war.

“In historical terms, Iran has never had such a powerful position,” says Fawaz Gerges, a Mideast scholar at the London School of Economics and Political Science.

“Iran made a conscious decision to invest both blood and treasure, particularly in Syria, and the odds were against Iranian influence,” adds Mr. Gerges, author of “ISIS: A History.” “Everyone, including myself, thought that Iran had made the wrong choices,

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Iran's supreme leader, Ayatollah Ali Khamenei, waves as he arrives to deliver a speech in Tehran.

REUTERS

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that Iran would lose and ... was trying to shore up a dying regime. In fact, in terms of geostrategic influence, Iranian investment in Syria – billions of dollars and hundreds killed – is the spearhead that has allowed Iranian influence to spread.”

Iran hasn't been immune from the violence engulfing much of the region. A double ISIS attack last June on Iran's parliament and the Khomeini mausoleum in Tehran killed at least 17. It shocked the country and reinforced the official “fight them abroad, not at home” justification for Iran's foreign adventures.

The country faces formidable risks in its outside military ventures, too: Every theater of war where Iran has been active has seen an uptick of Shiite versus Sunni sectarianism, which complicates Tehran's ability to establish control. And there are risks of blowback against Arab Shiites, who may be seen by Sunnis and others as doing Iran's bidding, further undermining Tehran's influence.

Nevertheless, across the region Iran has improved its leverage using astute, asymmetrical means despite limited military resources. Three countries in particular – Syria, Iraq, and Afghanistan – illustrate how Iran has expanded its power and highlight some of the risks it faces with its newfound clout.

In Syria, Iran has been key to achieving what Mr. Obama said years ago was not possible: the survival of the Assad regime, and a military “victory” over both ISIS and anti-Assad rebel forces once backed by the US, Turkey, Saudi Arabia, Qatar, and Jordan.

Aside from sending hundreds of its own advisers to Syria, Iran helped persuade Hez-

bollah to fight in the country soon after an Arab Spring uprising began in 2011. Tehran deployed Shiite units from Iraq, raised a pro-Assad militia, and later recruited Afghans and Pakistanis to fight in Syria as mercenaries. Maj. Gen. Qasim Soleimani, the vaunted commander of Iran's Revolutionary Guards' Qods Force, reportedly flew to Moscow in mid-2015 and persuaded the Kremlin to weigh in with air power, a crucial factor in helping tilt the balance of the war.

On the ground, the systematic deployment of mostly Shiite Afghans is emblematic of Iran's tactics. The recruits often agree to fight out of a desire to work and shared religious values. A Monitor investigation found that Iran offered members of the Fatemiyoun Brigade, a unit made up of several thousand Afghan migrants, as much as \$700 a month, plus Iranian citizenship, houses, and long-term family support and education, if they took up arms.

Other migrants are intimidated or coerced into joining. Videos of captured Afghan fighters show many living in rudimentary conditions, exhibiting limited military training, and unable to speak Arabic. “Iran has become an unrivaled regional superpower using proxy communities and proxy fighters ... as effective tools to spread [its] influence far and wide,” says Gerges.

The price has been high, both for Iran and its mercenaries. More than 500 Revolutionary Guards have died fighting in Syria since 2012, including a number of generals, according to tabulations by Washington-based analyst Ali Alfoneh. Hezbollah has lost 1,200 fighters, and more than 800 Afghans have perished.

Iran's image has taken a hit, too. It has

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‘IF YOU ASK ME, THE REVOLUTION OF KHOMEINI AND IRAN HAS SUCCEEDED BY EXPORTING ITS REVOLUTION.’

– Khudayer al-Amara, member of a political group, the Islamic al-Taleea Party, tied to an Iranian-backed militia

been backing a Syrian regime accused of multiple war crimes, from the use of chemical weapons to indiscriminate dropping of barrel bombs on civilian targets. Overall, the conflict has left as many as 470,000 dead and displaced more than half of Syria's prewar population of 22 million.

Iran's use of proxy forces in Iraq stretches back to 1982. That was the year Tehran formed the Supreme Council of the Islamic Revolution in Iraq and its 10,000-strong Badr Brigade militia. These forces fought against Saddam during the Iran-Iraq War in the 1980s, and took part in a failed Shiite uprising in Iraq in 1991. Today some of the most pro-Iran militias in Iraq trace their lineage to Tehran's support for anti-Saddam groups.

As regimes changed, so did targets. Starting as early as 2004, Iran-backed Shiite militias battled US troops in Iraq. They inflicted heavy American casualties and introduced noxious weapons such as the "explosively formed penetrator" – a device that could blast a lethal slug of molten copper through a vehicle. But these forces faded after the US withdrawal in 2011.

Iraq's Shiite militias were reinvigorated in mid-2014 with the advance of ISIS. Iraq's top religious authority, Grand Ayatollah Ali al-Sistani, issued a *fatwa* calling on all able-bodied men to take up arms as ISIS forces pushed perilously close to Baghdad.

Iran moved quickly to shore up Iraq's crumbling forces and took advantage of the *fatwa*, analysts say, to expand a network of well-financed Shiite militias that now number an estimated 150,000 fighters. Iran also poured arms and hardware into Iraq – \$10 billion worth in 2014 alone.

The controversial militias are widely seen as tools of influence by Iran, though they operate under the umbrella of the Popular Mobilization Forces (PMF, or *hashd al-sha'abi*), which Iraqi lawmakers last December voted to officially incorporate into Iraq's security forces. Harboring similar religious motivations with Iran, the militias sometimes enter battle wearing pins and waving banners with images of Iranian ayatollahs and generals.

US Secretary of State Rex Tillerson said in October that, with the anti-ISIS fight coming to a close, "Iranian militias that are in Iraq ... need to go home." Iranian Foreign Minister Javad Zarif responded with a tweet: "Exactly what country is it that Iraqis who rose up to defend their homes against ISIS return to?"

"There is not a single part of Iraq without Iran," says Hisham al-Hashemi, a defense analyst in Baghdad. "You find Iran in every detail."

Indeed, shops are stocked with Iranian goods, and several million Iranians partake in an annual pilgrimage to Shiite shrines. Though Iraqi lawmakers have banned the militias from playing an overt role in politics, 28 political parties affiliated with the militias are already registered for 2018 elections.

Iran reportedly helped orchestrate the removal of Finance Minister Hoshyar Zebari last fall because he was considered too close to the US. Mr. Hashemi notes that the Iranians are intimately involved in Iraq's security, politics, and economy, not to mention exert indirect influence over more than 58 TV and radio outlets and newspapers.

"Iran wanted to make Iraq only one entity, only Shiites," he says. "Who is controlling Iraq now? Only Shiites. It is a big victory."

Nowhere is Iran's influence more obvious than in the headquarters of Iraq's most pro-Iran militias, such as the Nujaba. It is here, sipping water from crystalline glasses, that pains are taken to explain how the loyalty of Nujaba's 10,000 fighters to Khamenei

– as the embodiment of Iran's system of *velayat-e faqih*, supreme religious rule – is not the same as loyalty to Iran.

Nujaba has its own satellite TV station, and its propaganda videos highlight its fight in Syria around Aleppo. Nujaba's leader,

'IRAN WANTED TO MAKE IRAQ ONLY ONE ENTITY, ONLY SHIITES. WHO IS CONTROLLING IRAQ NOW? ONLY SHIITES. IT IS A BIG VICTORY.'

– Hisham al-Hashemi, a defense analyst in Baghdad

cleric Akram Kaabi, has been feted in Tehran and – echoing Iran – vows to carry on the fight, post-ISIS, against Israel.

"We don't belong to Iran," says Mousawi, the Nujaba spokesman. "If you follow *velayat-e faqih*, it is not an illegal crime."

He draws a comparison with Roman Catholics and Pope Francis, who is Argentine. "So are the people who follow the pope agents for Argentina?" asks Mousawi. "If you follow the pope and the Vatican, do the people of your country say you are a traitor, and follow the Vatican?"

Similar views are heard in the offices of the Iranian-backed Khorasani Brigade militia. This unit also fought against ISIS and in Syria, at Iran's request. But its members consider themselves Iraqi nationalists, says Khudayer al-Amara, a ranking member of the brigade's Islamic al-Taleea Party. "It's not necessary for all members to follow *velayat*," says Mr. Amara. "They are unified to defend Iraq [and] defend victims of injustice. They think, when they fight in Syria, it's the same battle as in Iraq."

"If you ask me, the revolution of Khomeini and Iran has succeeded by exporting its revolution," adds Amara. "Hezbollah and its followers believe in that revolution.... You can say that we [Iraqi militias] look like Hezbollah now – but we are Iraqi."

Still, there are limits to Iran's influence in Iraq. Iraqi Prime Minister Haider al-Abadi has welcomed Iranian support but chosen a firmly nationalist path that also embraces the US-led coalition. In mid-2015, Mr. Abadi rejected an offer for Iraq to join an Iran- and Russia-led "Coalition 2.0."

"Iran saved us. They later sent us the invoice, but they saved us," says an Iraqi analyst who has worked for the Defense Ministry in Baghdad. "They literally sent us an invoice for the weaponry, the bullets, and the ammo that they gave us to fight ISIS, [which] proved to people that Iran does not look out for Shiite interests. Iran looks out for Iranian interests, period."

The Shiite militias also may get more credit for military triumphs than they deserve. When he visited Fallujah during the mid-2016 fight, for example, the defense analyst says he saw no sign of the militias. But afterward, "I saw nothing but *hashd*, and their posters, and their flags," he says. "They're good at PR. You'd think they liberated the place."

Nor are the flags always welcome. "We need to keep in mind that there was an awful eight-year war fought with Iran," says the defense analyst, and Iraqis "don't forget."

The US still plays a significant role in Iraq, too. It gave Baghdad \$5.3 billion in foreign aid in 2016 alone and lost 4,500 US soldiers. The US ambassador meets with the Iraqi defense minister every week. Abadi's official website is full of pictures of the Iraqi premier meeting senior Americans officials. Iranians are absent. Such high-level contact has some Iraqis asking if the Americans, not the Iranians, should back off.

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Afghans pass through a road crossing where Shiite Muslims put up religious banners and flags to mark a holy day in Kabul, Afghanistan.



SCOTT PETERSON/GETTY IMAGES/THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

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“You cannot discount Iraqi nationalism, especially after literally thousands of people – militias, Iraqi Army, Interior Ministry – have laid their lives on the line for the country,” says the defense analyst. “People say, ‘You’ve got to look at what Iran is doing with Hezbollah, in Syria.’ No, Iran looks after No. 1. As America does. And we [Iraqis] do as well.”

Iran must tread carefully in Afghanistan, too. It supports the government of President Ashraf Ghani – but also has given calibrated support to the Taliban for at least a decade to help it attack US forces, and more recently to crush ISIS.

Afghan government forces hold little sway over their Wild West border with Iran, where ISIS first popped up in 2014. But the Taliban does – and has proved to be an ideal tool for Iran’s buffer policy.

“For stopping ISIS, the best alternative is the Taliban, so it is easy for Iran to support the Taliban,” says Daoud Naji, a leader of Afghanistan’s Shiite Hazara community in Kabul. Proof of the brutal result came to him with pictures of dead ISIS fighters from an eyewitness. “The Taliban hung them, ISIS people, out on trees for weeks, and no one was allowed to take them down,” says Mr. Naji. “When Iran hit them strongly, [the ISIS fighters] moved to the east.”

That narrative is borne out by a map used by Afghanistan’s intelligence service, the National Directorate of Security. It shows ISIS emerging at points along Iran’s border in 2014-15, and then shifting east toward Pakistan’s border. “It’s a smart policy, to be honest,” says a Western official in Kabul.

It also benefits the US, he says. In 2014, Taliban defectors started aligning themselves with ISIS. “Was it US Special Forces that nipped

that in the bud? No, it was probably Iranian-backed Taliban.... They have succeeded in stamping out the presence of self-declared ISIS groups in any province that borders Iran,” says the Western official.

Tehran’s main interest is preventing ISIS from crossing into Iran. Last year, Iran’s hard-line Kayhan newspaper described how Afghan recruits were taken for 25 to 35 days to a “special training base.” An Afghan intelligence operator confirms the base is in Birjand, an Iranian city 75 miles from the Afghan border. Of those sent there, 75 percent would go on to fight in Syria, while the remainder were shipped back to Afghanistan to work with the Taliban or attempt to infiltrate ISIS.

“Their job is to stop ISIS at the border,” he says. “They infiltrate ISIS ... but work for Iran. This is a new strategy for them.”

Still, Iran’s presence in Afghanistan continues to anger Kabul. Afghan security forces have arrested 50 or 60 people working for Iran in the past year, and “we have a plan to arrest more and more,”

‘[THE IRANIANS] ARE ... USING AFGHAN PEOPLE LIKE WEAPONS AGAINST ISIS.’

– An Afghan intelligence operative in Kabul, Afghanistan

says the source. “They are ... using Afghan people like weapons against ISIS.” Some of those arrested are Afghans with Iranian identity cards; others are Iranian intelligence agents, he claims.

For now, Iran’s proxy strategy, in Afghanistan and across the Middle East, is giving Tehran unprecedented influence. The question: Will that bring more power or only more problems? ■

Founded in 1908 by Mary Baker Eddy

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

Why speak up about anti-Muslim tweets?

In a rare spat between close allies, British Prime Minister Theresa May has denounced a retweet by President Trump. The original Twitter message included three anti-Muslim videos posted by a nationalist group in Britain. Ms. May said resending such images "was the wrong thing to do." Her courage to speak out against such biased claims about Muslims, even if they are spread by a fellow world leader, is as commendable as what she actually said.

And that may be the larger point.

'IN A SENSE, WITH RISING ISLAMOPHOBIA HAS COME MORE SUPPORT FROM THE AMERICAN PUBLIC.'

— Amaney Jamal, Princeton University

Just as many more women now find it in themselves to reveal and denounce acts of sexual harassment and assault, many more non-Muslims are taking a brave stand against religious bigotry directed at Muslims. Their forthright honesty first exposes the wrong belief and then, even more important, asserts the truth about Muslims. In the case of the Trump retweet, May said that British Muslims are peaceful and law-abiding, and that many Muslims have themselves been subject to acts of terror.

Rising support for American Muslims

This kind of affirmation about Muslims, when aimed at countering anti-Muslim bias, may be having a healing impact. According to a Pew survey released in July, nearly 50 percent of American Muslims said they have recently experienced support for being Muslim — a remarkable increase from 32 percent

10 years ago.

In fact, Muslims in the United States are 19 percentage points more likely than the general public to say that Americans are friendly toward Muslims.

"In a sense, with rising Islamophobia has come more support from the American public," said Amaney Jamal, a professor at Princeton University who served as an adviser for the survey.

In addition, an earlier Pew poll found that the share of all Americans who say there is not much or no support for extremism among US Muslims has risen to 54 percent, up from 45 percent in 2011.

One reason may be that Muslims and non-Muslims are living closer to or working more closely with each other. The same survey found that non-Muslims who personally

know someone who is Muslim are far more likely to say there is not much or no support for extremism among US Muslims.

The beneficial effect of these shifts in attitudes may be that Muslims and non-Muslims will be more willing to work together to curb extremists within the Muslim community and to head off terrorist acts. To broad-brush Islam as inherently violent only helps to stoke Muslim extremism. The best course against terrorism lies in accurate depictions of Muslims, not biased retweets against them. ■

When the poor are rich in giving

End-of-year holidays such as Christmas have long been marked as a time for generous giving. The kickoff has lately become "Giving Tuesday," an initiative started in 2012 to counter the commercialism of Cyber Monday and Black Friday. And during this "giving season," at least one act of charity usually stands out. This year's winner may be Haiti.

Despite being devastated by a 2010 earthquake, the poorest nation in the Western Hemisphere made a big donation last month. It promised to give \$250,000 to other Caribbean islands hit by hurricanes Irma and Maria.

The amount may seem small, especially given the billions needed to restore those islands, including Puerto Rico. And many wealthier countries are promising millions in grants and loans. The amounts were pledged at a special donors conference sponsored by the Caribbean Community, an organization of 15 nations and dependencies.

But as a percentage of Haiti's wealth, the donation is almost sacrificial. And it ranks up there with the biblical tale of the poor widow who gave away a high proportion of her income.

Compassion is often easier for those humbled by the loss of material well-

being, whether it comes by poverty or disaster. Such givers may be better able to recognize others in need and be more willing to come out of themselves to help. Their special kind of empathy can be as healing as the gift itself.

'Sacrificial donors'

In the United States, individuals give more to charity than do philanthropies and private companies. While wealthier individuals give more money in absolute terms, often it is the poor, or those making less than \$45,000, who give the most as a proportion of income. And these so-called sacrificial donors are most often found in the poorest regions, such as the South, and give 12 percent of their income.

A good example of this phenomenon comes from Puerto Rico, one of the poorest parts of the US. A survey of the territory's residents in 2014 found a very high propensity for giving. Three out of 4 households on the island reported making charitable donations. In the rest of the US, just over half of households give to charity.

Haiti's pledge to its neighbors has yet to receive much acknowledgment. Yet Haiti didn't expect much. Its own experiences have left a humility that seeks to give without receiving credit. ■



AP DEC. 1 PROTEST OUTSIDE THE U.S. EMBASSY IN LONDON AP

THE GUARDIAN / LONDON

Three months to halt devastating war on the Korean Peninsula?

“The drumbeat for a potentially devastating war on the Korean peninsula ... has grown louder in the wake of North Korea’s latest missile test...,” writes Mark Seddon. “[Earlier this month], John Bolton, the former US ambassador to the UN ... visited London.... His mission [was] to relay that CIA chiefs have told Donald Trump that he has a ‘three-month window’ in which to act to halt the North’s [intercontinental ballistic missile] programme, after which the North Koreans will have the capability to hit US cities ... with a nuclear payload.... Diplomacy may be the only way out of this swiftly developing crisis.... No efforts should now be spared to prevent a slide to war....”

SOUTH CHINA MORNING POST / HONG KONG

Will the Republican tax plan really boost the economy long term?

“[I]n coming months, the novelty of Washington actually managing to pass a package of tax cuts and reforms could well prompt markets to bid up US assets, including the US dollar...,” writes Neal Kimberley. “But the lurking reality is that over the next decade it is estimated the proposed tax plan will add another US\$1 trillion to the US’ national debt.... [W]ith 2020 in mind President Trump clearly hopes that the emerging Tax Cuts and Jobs Act will enhance both his own and the Republican Party’s electoral prospects. Unfortunately it may also be that the legislation proves unfit for purpose and, down the line, leaves the US economy worse off than before.”

AL JAZEERA / DOHA, QATAR

World powers must stop passing the buck on Syrian refugees

“In a no man’s land along the Syria-Jordan border, an estimated 55,000 Syrians escaped the horrors of Syria’s conflict only to languish, abandoned in the desert as one country after another evades responsibility for their safety and wellbeing...,” writes Sara Kayyali. “The Syrians are living in makeshift tents and mud huts in deplorable conditions in an informal camp known as ‘Rukban’ ... near the convergence of the Iraqi, Syrian, and Jordanian borders. They were trapped there when Jordan sealed the border ... in June 2016.... Residents of Rukban need a place where they are safe – where their children do not come under attack or starve to death. The US, Jordan and Russia should stop passing the buck and resolve the serious humanitarian crisis in Rukban camp now.”

LIBERIAN OBSERVER / MONROVIA, LIBERIA

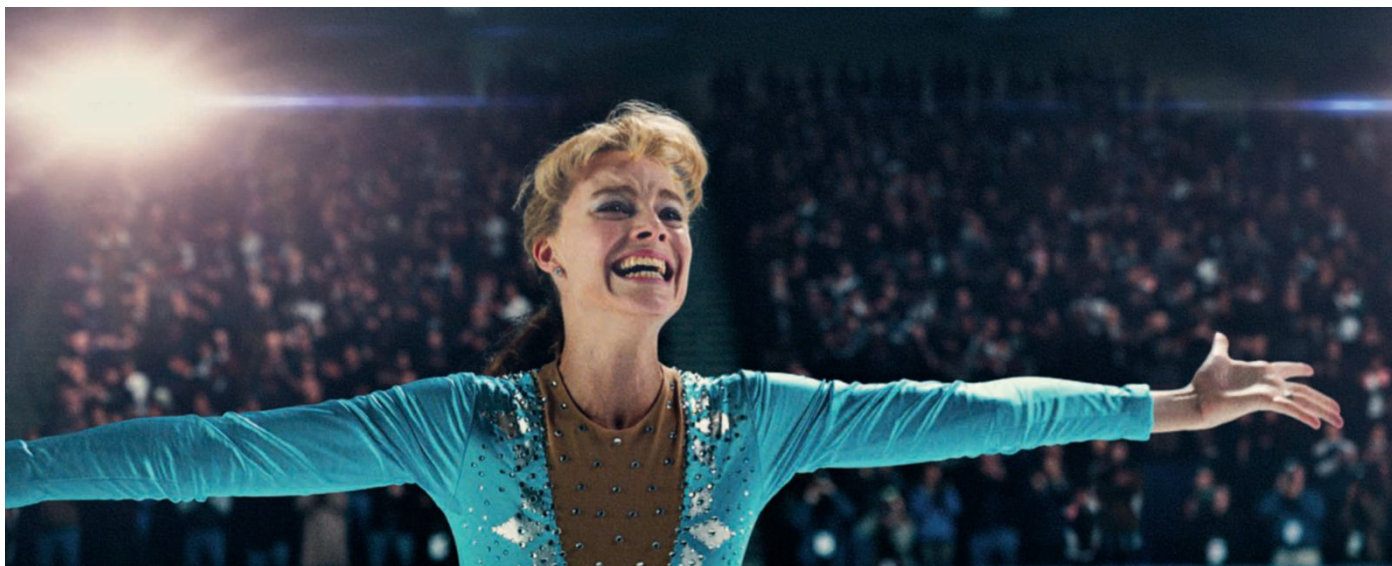
The West isn’t the only culprit in Libya’s West African slave trade

“Haunting and harrowing images of Africans, mainly West Africans, on TV being treated worse than beasts of burden, traded and auctioned off to the highest bidder, have pricked the conscience of well-meaning people throughout the world...,” states an editorial. “And it is happening in Libya.... While some are quick to condemn and blame the West for the situation in Libya, which is true to a large extent, there is also a need to do critical soul searching.... We ask just what [are] the push and pull factors responsible for driving so many thousands of our youth from the resource-endowed lands of their birth to seek fortunes in Western countries.... [W]e identify poor governance and extreme corruption as the main culprits....”

THE HINDU / CHENNAI, INDIA

Don’t forget Yemen’s awful war

“For the past 33 months, Saudi Arabia has been bombing Yemen with help from its Western allies...,” states an editorial. “Yemen is now on the brink of ‘the world’s largest famine,’ according to the United Nations.... In recent weeks, the Saudis had reached out to [former President Ali Abdullah] Saleh, whose loyalists were fighting alongside the Houthis, in an apparent bid to break the rebel coalition. But a day after Saleh expressed readiness for talks with Riyadh, Houthis claimed to have killed him on [Dec. 4], escalating the civil war. To break this cycle, all warring parties ... should move towards talks. Till now, the international community has largely looked away. It cannot continue to do so.”



MARGOT ROBBIE STARS IN 'I, TONYA.'

COURTESY OF NEON

ON FILM

'I, Tonya' skips Harding's love of skating for fatuous irony

FILM ASKS US TO REGARD ABUSE AS ENTERTAINMENT.

By Peter Rainer / Film critic

"I, Tonya" is a screwy mockumentary about Tonya Harding, the first female skater to execute two triple axels in one competition. More famously, of course, she was at the center of the 1994 scandal in which fellow Olympics hopeful Nancy Kerrigan was kneecapped. Nancy barely makes an appearance in the film, but, starting with Tonya, the movie is chockablock with narrators, most of them unreliable, looking back in confessional talking-head interviews to the events leading up to the scandal and its aftermath in full, self-justifying cry.

Margot Robbie plays Tonya as an adult, and the actress clearly relishes the idea of working against her glam image. Raised in Portland, Ore., as self-described white trash, with a viperish single mother, LaVona Golden (Allison Janney), who ruthlessly promoted her career on the ice, Tonya in no way represented the wholesome image favored by the US Figure Skating organization. She skates to ZZ Top and wears a fur coat made of squirrel. She puts out her cigarettes with the blades of her skates. When she doesn't like the way the judges rate her, she speeds over to them and offers up an expletive.

All of this is fun as far as it goes, but it doesn't really go far enough. Directed by Craig Gillespie and written by Steven Rog-

ers, the movie is all smirk and wink. Given the amount of emotional and physical abuse on the screen, which includes not only LaVona's handiwork but also the beatings of Tonya's husband, Jeff Gillooly (Sebastian Stan), the movie's jaunty tone is something of a con job. It's asking us to regard these actions as a species of entertainment.

What doesn't really come through in all this is Tonya's love of skating. As much of a rogue and a renegade as she was, she was genuinely gifted on the ice (as the end credits showing the real Tonya remind us). If the filmmakers had put more of that ardor into the movie, it might have been richer, but also less "cool." It's tough to show ardor

when fatuous irony is the order of the day.

The film is periodically enlivened by some of the supporting players, including Paul Walter Hauser as Shawn Eckhardt, the supposed mastermind of the Kerrigan assault whom the movie depicts as a world-class schlub. He lives in his parents' basement and fancies himself a secret international operative.

Janney's performance has been much lauded, and it's certainly a scene-stealer. LaVona, in fact, recognizes this. In the script's funniest moment, after a stretch in which she doesn't appear in the movie, LaVona, talking right into the camera, complains that her story line has been lost. But LaVona is a one-note character like all the others; it's just that her note is more nastily acerbic. She makes it clear to Tonya that all of her competitors are "the enemy." Janney knows how to nail a line like few others in the business. It helps that, in this film, she has most of the best ones.

■ *Rated R for pervasive language, violence, and some sexual content/nudity.*

WHAT ARE YOU WATCHING?

Monitor readers, please share your favorite viewing selections.

Tell us, and your fellow Monitor readers, what you've been enjoying lately, whether it's a streaming TV series, a broadcast television show, the DVD of a 1930s screwball comedy, or something completely different.

"What are you watching?" is a new feature that will present reader-provided suggestions for worthy viewing.

Email us about your latest discovery, old or new, and briefly tell us why you recommend it.

Send your email to whatareyouwatching@csps.com.

Don't forget to include your full name and where you're from.

We hope to publish the first group of responses in January.

Some of Broadway's best picks focus on love, inclusiveness

By **Ward Morehouse III** / Contributor

There are worthy plays – new ones and revivals – on Broadway this season. “Junk” is a first-rate play about greed on Wall Street that is dazzlingly acted and directed, and “M. Butterfly,” a revival of a 1988 hit play, opened to a number of good reviews. (This show runs only until Jan. 14, 2018). There

are also the sheer entertainment blockbusters such as **THEATER** “Hello Dolly!” and “Aladdin,” sometimes propelled by name actors including Bette Midler. But other new and recent musicals have become modern Broadway icons. They are holding a mirror up to the America of today with a promise of inclusiveness and brotherly love.

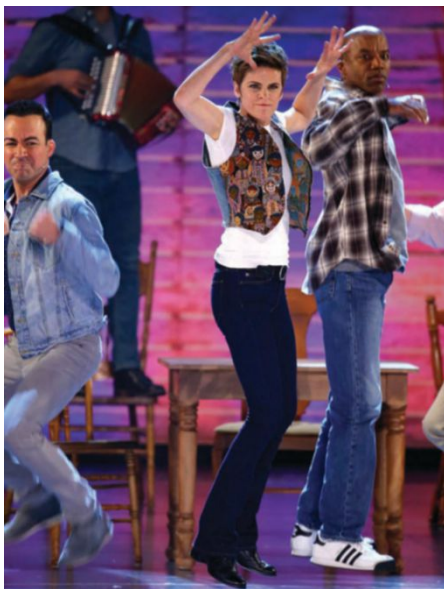
My personal picks for the best current Broadway shows include the following:

1. “Come From Away”: Based on the true story of airline passengers diverted to Gander Airport on the Canadian island of Newfoundland on the day of the 9/11 terrorist attacks in New York, the musical is unusually inspiring and upbeat, leaving audiences filled with hope and goodwill. It is my personal favorite currently on Broadway. The book, music, and lyrics are by Irene Sankoff and David Hein. It is directed by Christopher Ashley. Newsweek magazine simply and aptly said, “It takes you to a place you never want to leave.” I don’t think there was a dry eye in the audience the night I saw it.

2. “Dear Evan Hansen”: This is an emotionally charged musical about a young man struggling to fit in with family, friends, and everyone else. The songs were written by



BEN PLATT AND THE CAST OF ‘DEAR EVAN HANSEN’



JENN COLELLA AND THE CAST OF ‘COME FROM AWAY’

Benj Pasek and Justin Paul who won an Oscar for “La La Land,” and this musical won the 2017 Tony Award for best musical. In a revealing number called “Waving Through a Window,” Evan Hansen sings, “I try to speak but nobody can hear.”

3. “A Bronx Tale”: Based on Chazz Palminteri’s hit play of the same name, this musical tells the story of a young man torn between his father’s love and a mob boss he idolizes. Like “Dear Evan Hansen,” this is a powerful, heartfelt show that underscores the importance of strong family values. It has a doo-wop score akin to that of the long-running “Jersey Boys.” Codirected by Robert De Niro and veteran Broadway director Jerry Zaks, it takes place in New York’s turbulent crime-ridden borough of the Bronx in the 1960s.

4. “The Band’s Visit”: This musical is built around the story of an Egyptian band that lands in a remote Israeli village by mistake. It’s based on a 2007 movie of the same name,

and in the past several weeks it has become a huge artistic and commercial hit. The show’s message of goodwill is reinforced by lilting music and eloquent lyrics. The understated theme of the musical, that Arabs and Jews can not only get along but love each other, is captured sensitively in the love between Dana, an Israeli cafe owner, and Egyptian band leader Tewfiq.

5. “Hamilton”: Lin-Manuel Miranda’s hip-hop musical centers around George Washington’s chief lieutenant, Alexander Hamilton, and other Founding Fathers who drafted the Declaration of Independence. But its unusual casting and dynamic, cutting-edge score, with explosive hip-hop and other standout music, has created an artistic and economic revolution itself, starring a diverse cast of actors in the roles of America’s Founding Fathers.

The demand for seats for “Hamilton” has been so great that there are now two road companies touring the United States. There is also a spoof of the musical called “Spamilton” off-Broadway, conceived by Gerard Alessandrini, who created the long-running “Forbidden Broadway” off-Broadway. One critic called “Spamilton” “the next best thing to seeing ‘Hamilton.’”

But tickets for the biggest hits are not easy to get, and certainly not inexpensive. Orchestra seats for “Hamilton” have been selling for more than \$1,000 each. Yet some people I’ve talked to have purchased tickets for just under \$200 each

by getting them several months or more in advance.

If you want to see other Broadway shows more economically I suggest going to the TKTS booth at 47th Street and Broadway for tickets as much as 50 percent off. TKTS opens at 3 p.m., but you don’t need to stand in line for hours for an evening performance. Shows send unsold seats to TKTS an hour or so before showtimes and many Broadway theaters are only a few minutes walk from TKTS. You can also get tickets for a number of hits at their box offices or online – provided you are willing to wait several months to see them.

■ Ward Morehouse III occasionally covered Broadway when he was a staff writer for *The Christian Science Monitor*. He has a website called *Broadwayafterdark.org*.



LIN-MANUEL MIRANDA IN ‘HAMILTON’

MOVIES

'Dunkirk' won box office – is an Oscar next?

MELINDA SUE GORDON/WARNER BROS. PICTURES/AP



FIONN WHITEHEAD STARS IN 'DUNKIRK.'

IN 1940, the evacuation of Dunkirk, France, inspired celebration in Britain, and the World War II event still fascinates the moviegoing public, judging from the box-office results and awards buzz generated by the movie based on it.

"Dunkirk," directed by Christopher Nolan of the acclaimed "Dark Knight" series and starring Fionn Whitehead, Tom Hardy, and Mark Rylance, chronicles the operation that rescued more than 300,000 men and enthralled the people of Britain. The film became a box-office hit this past summer and is now one of the 10 domestically highest-grossing movies of the year. As a historical drama, it stands in sharp contrast to such fellow Top 10 list occupiers as the remake of "Beauty and the Beast" and superhero movies "Wonder Woman," "Spider-Man: Homecoming," and "Guardians of the Galaxy Vol. 2."

In a summer that was full of such fare, what drew moviegoers to "Dunkirk"? "I think Christopher Nolan's name," says Mark Evan Schwartz, associate professor of screenwriting at the School of Film & Television at Loyola Marymount University. "It's certainly an interesting historical event ... but I think that Christopher Nolan is one of a handful of directors who have really reached star status.... I think there's a cross-generational appeal there as well.... An older audience that sort of yearns for some history and a sort of good old-fashioned heroic war story ... would be interested in seeing it."

Now that Oscar season is approaching, many industry-watchers are considering "Dunkirk" a contender for best picture. If nominated, the film likely would be a favorite of both academy voters and the public. However, while Professor Schwartz expects the film to get a best picture nomination, he doesn't see it taking home the big prize. Instead, he calls it a likely winner for technical awards such as best sound editing and best sound mixing, or best score for Hans Zimmer's work. "I think it's one of the best-scored movies that I've heard in a long time," he says.

– Molly Driscoll / Staff writer

1 EXPLORING BADLANDS

The Badlands in the United States are the site of visually stunning scenery and quintessentially American animals such as the bison and the prairie dog. The new Smithsonian Channel program **America's Badlands** looks at the difficult conditions of the area and how the animals who live there manage to do so. "America's Badlands" airs Dec. 20 at 8 p.m.



MELANIE STETSON FREEMAN/STAFF

2 LOUNGING AROUND

Looking for a place to relax while waiting for your holiday flight home? The **LoungeBuddy app** can tell you which lounges are nearby and which features each has. If you read about one you like and it's worth it to you to shell out some cash, you can book through the app as well. It's free for iOS.

3 COMPELLING PRINCIPALS

In the movie **Marjorie Prime**, Marjorie (Lois Smith) is given a hologram that resembles her husband (Jon Hamm). "All the principals in this extraordinarily well-acted film are intensely compelling," Monitor film critic Peter Rainer writes. "Marjorie Prime" is available on DVD and Blu-ray and is not rated.



COURTESY OF FILMRISE

SUPREME COURT EXPLORATION

Take off your biases and put on your black robes – the Radiolab podcast **More Perfect** is a compelling and educational look at the US

Supreme Court. Well-edited audio and top-notch storytelling bring much-needed light to the highest court in the land. Check out "The Gun Show" and "Citizens United" episodes for starters at www.wnyc.org/shows/radiolabmoreperfect.

5 BLUES DUO

If you like your blues music with a spoonful of sugar, do we have an album for you. In the tradition of blues duos such as Sonny Terry and Brownie McGhee comes **Tajmo**, the inspired pairing of blues circuit vets Taj Mahal and Keb' Mo'. Casting a wide net, their charming duets cover contemporary tunes (John Mayer's "Waiting On the World to Change"), blues chestnuts (Mahal's funky "Diving Duck Blues"), a rollicking take on the Who's "Squeezebox," and some fine Keb' Mo' originals. It is nominated for a Grammy Award as the best contemporary blues album.



A brave new view of happiness for women

MARJORIE HILLIS WAS AN EARLY ADVOCATE OF FREE CHOICE FOR WOMEN.

By Barbara Spindel

In 1936, an editor at *Vogue* wrote a book in which she put forth the radical notion that women need not be married in order to partake of the joys of eating, drinking, and entertaining at home. “Live Alone and Like It: A Guide for the Extra Woman” became a bestseller, and its author, Marjorie Hillis, became a well-known lifestyle guru and syndicated columnist who went on to write six more books of advice for single women.

Hillis is largely forgotten today, but historian Joanna Scutts aims to change that with her smart and enjoyable first book, **The Extra Woman: How Marjorie Hillis Led a Generation of Women to Live Alone and Like It**. The years between feminism’s first wave, which culminated in 1920 with the success of the campaign for suffrage, and its second, nearly five decades later, are often thought of as a dormant period in the struggle for women’s rights, particularly with the postwar pressure on women to retreat to the suburbs and embrace domesticity.

But Scutts elegantly argues that Hillis was a trailblazer during this period, calling her sharp, witty writing “a beacon of social change and a precursor to the feminist revolutions of the 1960s and ’70s. ‘Live Alone and Like It,’ along with its many sequels and imitators, helped to make single women visible and their way of life viable, free of the sympathy and scandal it had attracted in the past.”

In “Live Alone and Like It” and subsequent books, Hillis extolled the virtues of living and working – and playing – in cities, which have long been havens for single women.

Hillis took a notably modern approach

to dating and relationships, declaring that “a Woman’s Honor is no longer mentioned with bated breath and protected by her father, her brother and the community. It is now her own affair.”

With pithy tips on how to dress, what to cook, and how to decorate, Hillis made the single life seem enviable and chic. “The woman who always looks at night as though she were expecting a suitor is likely to have several,” she advised.

Her perspective was vastly different from that of other self-help books for women; Scutts quotes a 1940s gem that urged unmarried women that “if there is anything around in trousers who is not an absolute jerk, latch onto him now.”

ette pads and nights out on the town.

Hillis’s own privilege was compounded when, at age 49, she married a wealthy widower, sparking what Scutts calls a “minor sociological scandal” as newspapers gleefully interpreted the wedding as Hillis’s admission that she’d been hoping to land a husband all along.

Scutts, on the other hand, sees Hillis’s late, happy, and brief marriage (her husband died 10 years after they wed) as affirmation of the lifestyle guru’s broader point that women must be free to make independent choices.

Hillis refused to consent to marriage, in Scutts’s words, “out of social pressure and simple fear.” Scutts continues, “Seen in this light, her wedding did not repudiate, but reinforced her quietly radical rethinking of what happiness could look like for women, and how it might be achieved.”

By the end of Hillis’s “quietly radical” life, American women were beginning to get noisy in their demands for their legal and political rights.

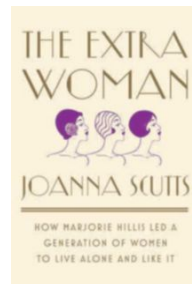
Betty Friedan’s “The Feminine Mystique,” credited with helping to kick off feminism’s second wave, was published in 1963, and the National Organization for Women was founded three years later.

The following year, in 1967, Hillis, then a widow, published her final book, “Keep Going and Like It,” which was addressed to older women living alone and breezily instructed them “how to be as glamorous in December as you were in May.”

While that message seems hopelessly out of step with the upheavals that were roiling American culture, Scutts’s affectionate portrait of Hillis helps draw a line from her subject’s cheerful independence to the choices we enjoy today.

■ Barbara Spindel regularly reviews books for *The Christian Science Monitor*.

NONFICTION



THE EXTRA WOMAN
By Joanna Scutts
Liveright
336 pp.



PENNY CARTER

Of course, all that glamour and interior decorating didn’t come cheap, and Scutts makes clear that Hillis was writing from a place of race and class privilege, addressing readers she imagined could, like herself, easily afford their own Manhattan bachelor-

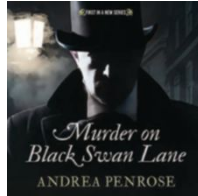
4 'COZY' AUDIOBOOKS FOR DECEMBER

1 *Murder on Black Swan Lane*, by Andrea Penrose

(Read by James Cameron Stewart; HighBridge Audio; 10 CDs; 12 hours)

The first “Wrexford & Sloane” mystery, set in Regency England, is an unexpected delight. Andrea Penrose conjures up atmosphere but never gets bogged down in detail. The brusque, scientific Earl of Wrexford and the artistic Charlotte Sloane are thrown together when Wrexford is blamed for the death of a clergyman. Intriguing characters and a solid mystery are enhanced by narrator James Cameron Stewart, whose pacing is quick and whose diction is perfect.

Grade: A

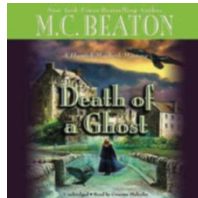


2 *Death of a Ghost*, by M.C. Beaton

(Read by Graeme Malcolm; Hachette Audio; 5 CDs; 5 hours and 30 minutes)

The 32nd book in the “Hamish Macbeth” series is character-driven, engaging, and hard to turn off. Hamish, a Scottish police sergeant, is an odd duck with a wonderful sense of justice and very firm opinions. While solving the purported haunting of a castle, he discovers a body that soon disappears. Graeme Malcolm, who has been the voice of Hamish for years, reads with vigor and assurance. This book is wonderful fun and easily stands alone.

Grade: A

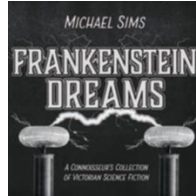


3 *Frankenstein Dreams*, by Michael Sims

(Read by Tim Campbell; HighBridge Audio; 11 CDs; 13 hours and 30 minutes)

This unusual short story collection offers a chance to hear real Victorian literature, although the story introductions may be a bit too academic for the casual audiophile. Authors include Edgar Allan Poe, Thomas Hardy, Robert Louis Stevenson, Arthur Conan Doyle, and Rudyard Kipling. Tim Campbell has a deep voice and manages a dramatic tone without overdoing it. He seamlessly adopts accents and understands dramatic timing.

Grade: B



4 *Chocolate Chip Cookie Murder*, by Joanne Fluke

(Read by Suzanne Toren; Recorded Books; 9 hours and 35 minutes)

The 22-book “Hannah Swensen” mystery series begins with this light and charming story. Starring smart young baker Hannah, who is also an amateur detective, this entertaining narrative offers likable characters and an array of recipes. The problem, and it is a big one, is narrator Suzanne Toren, who can't manage accents or voices. Too bad. Otherwise, it's a tasty little cozy.

Grade: C+

– Rochelle O’Gorman





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Elaine and Lucy are two of our Nelson Island knitters from Newtok.

What was it like growing up on Nelson Island?
Elaine: “It was fun. We’d have outdoor activities all the time. Subsistence fishing, berry picking. Then you’d move to Tununak for fishing in the summer and move back in the fall.”
Lucy: “Toksook Bay has the mountains around their village, I used to go there for fishing and Tununak was the place to go for berry picking, gathering qiviut from the musk ox and collect bird’s eggs.”

When did you first come to Anchorage and how did it compare to living on Nelson Island?
Lucy: “I first came to Anchorage in 1965 right after the earthquake. I worked during the day and went to school at night.”
 Both women say that Anchorage is way cheaper to live, with better access to groceries and more things to do.

What are the biggest changes you have seen in Newtok?
Elaine: “It seems like the kids are more into electronics, than they used to be. Everywhere you see kids with their fingers on their phones or playing video games. People don’t hunt and fish like they used to.”
 Elaine also says the biggest change is the erosion. “The erosion was maybe 100 feet from my mom’s house, in 2015. Now it’s about 30 feet away. Hopefully the houses that were closest to the erosion are being built at the new village site first, so they can move first. Because it won’t be long until the houses fall.”

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Shara Fisler is bringing the ocean closer to low-income youths in San Diego. The goal: to get them excited about science.



DAVID KARAS

NEXT CHAPTER: Shara Fisler, founder of Ocean Discovery Institute, stands near the site of its \$17 million Living Lab, which is set to open by early 2018.

By David Karas / Correspondent

SAN DIEGO
Carla Camacho grew up in the San Diego neighborhood of City Heights, in which some 30 languages and 100 dialects are spoken in the schools. Besides its diversity, however, the neighborhood is also known for high poverty rates.

Ms. Camacho, now in her mid-20s, acknowledges that, like many other City Heights youths, she was isolated. “You never really understand what else is in the world,” she says.

That all changed at the age of 14, when she joined Ocean Discovery Institute for an intensive science research project in Mexico’s Baja California. “With Ocean Discovery, they helped me to discover those things,” she says of the opportunities out there. “You’re doing awesome things like swimming with whale sharks.”

Founded in 1999 in San Diego, Ocean Discovery is a nonprofit organization that aims to open up new worlds for the area’s underserved young people. It taps into the vast resource in these youngsters’ backyard – the Pacific Ocean – and offers an

array of possibilities for learning about science and engaging in research.

It’s the creation of Shara Fisler, who was inspired by research she did with young people when she was teaching at a university.

“We are totally dedicated to every child’s success, and know that they can

‘You’re doing awesome things like swimming with whale sharks.’

– **Carla Camacho**, Ocean Discovery Institute’s manager of business development, speaking about her experience in the nonprofit as a youth

be successful,” says Ms. Fisler, Ocean Discovery’s founder and executive director. “Every young person we work with has the capacity to become a science and conservation leader.”

When Fisler started Ocean Discovery, it was based in a rehabbed 250-square-foot

kayak closet along San Diego’s Mission Bay. A makeshift laboratory was shoe-horned into the tiny space, she recalls, yet it was enough space to host some meaningful experiences for youths.

Much has changed since that time, but the organization’s mission has remained constant. Ocean Discovery focuses on a “kid to career” timeline, with the hope that exposing young men and women to science can build the curiosity, understanding, and leadership that can spark a real interest in a career in science.

Today, Ocean Discovery hosts operations both at popular Pacific Beach and in City Heights. Some 10,000 children are within walking distance of the organization’s hub in City Heights.

In fact, Fisler is doubling down on the nonprofit’s commitment to that community. It’s building a \$17 million Living Lab, which is on track to open by early 2018. Operations currently based in trailers will then be moved to the 12,000-square-foot facility, which is set to be a Leadership in Energy and Environmental Design (LEED) Platinum building. It will include state-of-

▶ NEXT PAGE

How to take action

UniversalGiving (www.universalgiving.org) helps people give to and volunteer for top-performing charitable organizations around the world. All the projects are vetted by UniversalGiving; 100 percent of each donation goes directly to the listed cause. Below are links to three groups encouraging conservation or learning:

■ **EcoLogic Development Fund** (<http://bit.ly/EcoLogicDev>) works with rural and indigenous peoples to protect tropical ecosystems in Central America and Mexico. Take action: Support conservation in Honduras's Pico Bonito National Park (<http://bit.ly/PicoBonito>).

■ **Teach With Africa** (<http://bit.ly/TeachAfrica>) coordinates a reciprocal exchange of teaching and learning in Africa and the United States. Take action: Cover the expenses for a teacher to spend a summer in South Africa working with children (<http://bit.ly/TeachSA>).

■ **Seeds of Learning** (<http://bit.ly/SeedsLearn>) fosters learning in developing communities of Central America while educating volunteers about the region. Take action: Support this organization's Learning Resource Centers in Nicaragua (<http://bit.ly/LearningRC>).

the-art laboratory and learning space and even a residency program for scientists.

When Ocean Discovery launched, no more than a few hundred youths were engaged in programming each year. Today, that figure has risen to 6,000, and the Living Lab will easily allow the organization to exceed 10,000 on an annual basis.

Activities at Ocean Discovery range from dissecting a worm to learning about molecular biology. There are ample field experiences – anything from helping with habitat restoration to looking at creatures in tide pools. As the participants get older, they have more intensive opportunities involving deeper research.

"They are developing solutions that are really getting implemented around the world," says Fisler, citing one project in which youths worked with researchers to find a way to reduce inadvertent catching of sea turtles in commercial fishing equipment. The team found that using light sticks can deter turtles from winding up in fishing nets, and the approach is being tested in Peru, Indonesia, and elsewhere.

'I saw what they were able to contribute'

On a recent afternoon, Fisler spoke with the Monitor in a trailer housing the nonprofit, just a short walk from the site of the soon-to-be-opened Living Lab. She shared how her interest in science education and working with underserved youths came about shortly after she earned her master's degree in marine resource management from the University of Miami. She was then teaching as an adjunct faculty member at the University of San Diego, as well as continuing research begun during her graduate studies.

Fisler connected with an organization seeking internship placements for high-schoolers and would-be first-generation college students, and she involved a small team of those young people in her research for a summer.

"I saw what they were able to contribute to the scientific process, and I also saw their confidence just dramatically change over the course of the summer," she says. "The way I could best tackle scientific problems was

by providing opportunities for students who would otherwise not have them."

That same spirit fuels Ocean Discovery, which now functions on a \$2.2 million annual budget and has 28 staff members, including 10 AmeriCorps VISTA (Volunteers in Service to America) members. Programs are tuition-free, so the more than 350 volunteers and the combined support from government funding, foundations, individual donations, and corporate and in-kind giving are key.

The nonprofit has celebrated success among its program participants. "We have students who are engineers, who are really excited about what they are doing, [and] we've got students that are incredibly passionate about fisheries," Fisler says.

Data show that participants' grade-point average in science classes is more than a point higher, on average, than that for nonparticipants, and state standardized test scores indicate similar gains. Some 7 in 10 participants are earning degrees in science or conservation, and students in Ocean Discovery's after-school programs are eight times as likely to earn a college degree as are youths in the United States with a similar background.

Alumni routinely return to Ocean Discovery, Fisler says, whether it is to help teach, share information about their careers in the sciences, or mentor.

One such alumna, Camacho, has maintained her involvement with Ocean Discovery. Today, she serves as the organization's manager of business development, and she's worked with Fisler to explore replicating the program elsewhere – with a target to open a similar venture in Norfolk, Va.

"We found that every single community has a need for science education programs like these," she says.

Praise from NOAA

Sarah Schoedinger, a senior program manager in the Office of Education at the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, learned of Ocean Discovery in 2006 when her office provided a small grant to engage NOAA scientists in programs with young people. Since that time, the two entities have forged a deeper partnership, and NOAA has

been involved in recruiting for the nonprofit's scientist-in-residence program and in the replication of the business model in Norfolk.

"I've learned from first-hand observation of their programs and conversations with current and former students about myriad positive impacts they have on the kids, their families and other members of the community, and even the physical landscape in the local community," Ms. Schoedinger says in an email interview. "Ocean Discovery Institute is a trusted partner among the City Heights community, [and] I think they have succeeded in doing so, at least in part, because they are there serving those kids year-in and year-out."

She also speaks highly of Fisler's leadership. "Shara definitely sets the tone of the workplace culture there for staff, volunteers and students: You're expected to work hard, learn from mistakes, but also to have fun and celebrate successes...."

For Fisler, it's all about inspiring youths in ways they might not have considered: "A young person will start to believe that science is something they can do," she says, "and a scientist is something they can be."

■ For more information, visit oceandiscoveryinstitute.org.



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ESSAY

How Pootie got his way

I DIDN'T WANT A CHRISTMAS TREE, BUT MY HUSBAND INSISTED THAT SOMEONE ELSE TRULY DID.

Most people have traditions about their Christmas trees. They pick out the same kind and decorate it the same way every year. We don't. The closest we have to a tradition is the loud part in the beginning, when I hold the tree upright in its stand while my husband, Dave, lies crumpled up underneath swearing I'm not holding it upright in its stand.

Neither of us looks forward to this, and that's probably what led to the Great Tree Reduction Decade, during which we got ever-smaller trees until I suggested we skip it altogether.

Which is where Pootie comes in. Pootie is a small stuffed plush dog, and he has a lot more pull around here than he should.

He's hard to resist. A lot of things Pootie likes line up with what Dave likes. That is why the television is often tuned to a basketball game even when nobody but Pootie is watching; that is why the heat is often on in rooms no one's in. That is why there is a mountain of chocolate here every Easter, and why there is still a stocking for Pootie every Christmas, even though the rest of us have quit exchanging presents. And that is why we still always have some sort of Christmas tree.

The year we decided to quit altogether, Dave relayed the information that Pootie would like a small one for himself, so of course we got him one, and festooned it with dreadful ornaments we thought he'd like, including a garish star from the dollar store. That tree was about a foot tall, and it was a sight. The next year we again did not get a tree, but Pootie's was a little larger. This went on for years until Pootie's tree was the same size ours used to be.

I suspected I'd been hornswoggled, but Pootie had such a look of innocence in his eye-buttons that I went along with the program for a while. And then came the year I announced I just wasn't up for getting a tree. And that year, on Christmas morning, Pootie presented me with a tiny potted blue cypress because he knew I wanted one, and we hung as much stuff as we could on it.

Every time you think Pootie has been indulged quite enough, he goes and does something sweet like that.

The cypress went outside, still in its gallon pot, while I pondered where it might reasonably be planted. Finally I decided to plant it next door, at our rental house. It was then three years



LINDA BLECK

This led to the Great Tree Reduction Decade, during which we got ever-smaller trees.

old and three feet high. We took our eyes off it for a nanosecond, and when we looked again, it was 10 feet wide and 12 feet tall and utterly too ambitious for its location. We hatched a plan to dig it up and transplant it to a friend's house, but somehow that never happened, and it kept growing, audibly, until it occurred to me: Hey, it would make a terrific Christmas tree.

This felt wrong, somehow, but after all we'd been buying trees someone else had cut down for years. This way, we'd at least own our transgression. We checked with our renter, Anna, whose kitchen-window view was fast being obliterated by a bustle of cypress branches, because we knew her to be a sensitive, plant-loving soul, and she gave us permission to do the deed.

And so we butchered it humanely (which is to say, when Anna was not watching), and now Pootie's little 16-foot blue cypress is going out in a blaze of glory in our living room – with its nine-foot ceiling.

The top five feet or so of the tree stretch out across that ceiling, and the tree topper dangles straight down from the tip into the middle of the room. It's a star; it looks fine.

An angel would have been all wrong.

– Murr Brewster

■ To see this essay with photos, go to <http://bit.ly/brewstertree>.

Words in the news

Bolded clues are linked to current events.
What animals are no longer 'abominable'?

By Owen Thomas

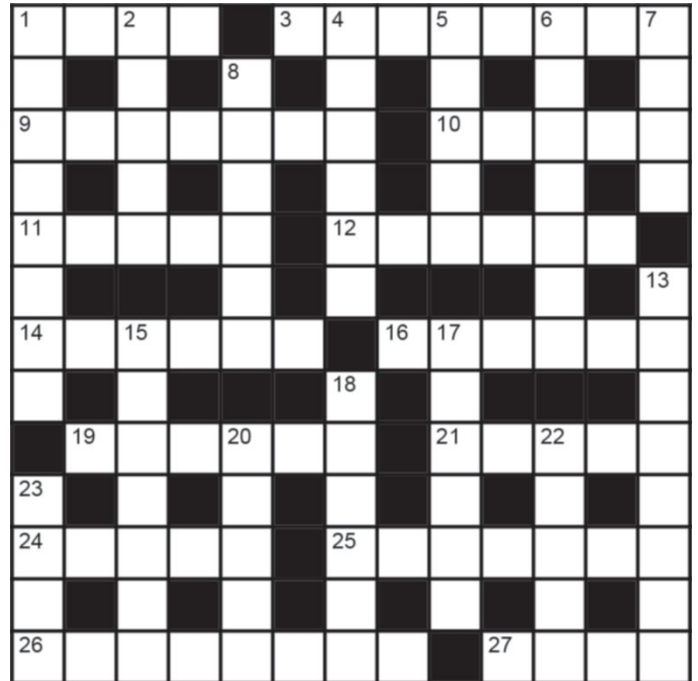
Across

- 1. Change
- 3. Alternative to a plastic one
- 9. **Darknet currency added to Chicago futures market**
- 10. **"Abominable snowmen," which are probably bears, DNA study concluded**
- 11. **Trump figure who pleaded guilty to lying to the FBI**
- 12. National song
- 14. Emperor's realm
- 16. Like some socks
- 19. **Last name of Prince Harry's betrothed**
- 21. **Former "Today" show cohost**
- 24. Muslim cleric's decree

- 25. **Japan's Emperor _____ announced he would abdicate April 30, 2019**
- 26. Last name of character played by Mary Tyler Moore on her eponymous show
- 27. Throat-clearing noise
.....

Down

- 1. Rejected abruptly
- 2. Short simple song
- 4. Every year
- 5. **Russia is in the process of regaining access to air bases in this Middle Eastern nation it lost in 1973**



- 6. **Tesla activated the world's largest one of these recently, in Australia**
- 7. Essence
- 8. Where two edges meet
- 13. Gold pocket watch, perhaps
- 15. **United Nations environmental conference may move to ban this substance from the world's oceans**
- 17. What a fog bank might do
- 18. Lincoln's secretary of State who pushed to buy Alaska
- 20. Aussie "bear"
- 22. Dickens's _____ Heep
- 23. Way, way off

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S	Y	E	T	N	O	I	C	B	I
I	A	G	N	C	I				E
A	G	R	B	A	P	P	A	P	R

meanwhile ...



A MOTHER AND BABY ELEPHANT FORAGE IN GABON. SAURABH DAS/AP/FILE

IN GABON, scientists are asking concerned citizens around the world to help save elephants.

Africa's elephant populations are shrinking rapidly in the face of aggressive poaching. One effective way to protect elephants is to deploy camera traps. But an extremely large number of man-hours is required to view all the photos collected by the traps. Fortunately, **citizen scientists are stepping up to fill the need.**

Anabelle Cardoso, a PhD candidate at Oxford University in Britain, and some of her colleagues recently launched a program called Elephant Expedition in the West African nation. There, a network of hidden cameras captures photos that volunteers can access by going to the Elephant Expedition website. Currently, about 9,000 volunteers from all parts of the globe are helping with the project, but Dr. Cardoso stresses that many more are needed.

IN SWEDEN, some girls are saying no to traditional Santa Lucia pageants.

For decades, Swedish towns have organized such pageants at Christmastime, choosing a blond choir girl to represent the 3rd-century saint who used a candle to light her way as she helped persecuted Christians. But now some towns have too few contestants to hold the pageants. **Young women are reportedly being turned off by the focus on images of a blond beauty.**

"Girls just do not want to compete in beauty pageants," Lena Kättström Höök, author of "Lucia in a New Light," explained to national broadcaster SVT.

ON ST. HELENA, an ancient tortoise is looking forward to a new crowd of admirers.

Jonathan, a Seychelles giant tortoise, is believed, at 185 years old, to be the oldest reptile on earth. Experts estimate that he was born several decades after Napoleon died in exile on the remote South Atlantic island in 1821. But now Jonathan's quiet life may be about to change as St. Helena opens its first airport and prepares for more tourism.

"[Jonathan] loves company," Lisa Phillips, governor of St. Helena, told Agence France-Presse.

– Staff

The power of understanding God's goodness

In recent months, the world has seen what appears to be raw power on display: threats of nuclear war, violence fueled by racial and religious hatred, ethnic cleansing, and other elements of cruelty, terror, and revenge. But are these really the most significant indications of power in operation?

Not long ago, I read a blog about the power of ideas. It occurred to me that our lives are indeed shaped powerfully by ideas. Take, for example, some of my favorites: the foundational ideas within the Ten Commandments and the healing ideas put forth through Christ Jesus' teaching and ministry. I've found that even thousands of years later, they continue to guide us forward. They help us see that God cares for us all, and that we are God's spiritual, inherently good creation.

Monitor founder Mary Baker Eddy spent her life exploring these ideas, which led her to the discovery of Christian Science. She came to see that goodness is the law of God, divine Truth. Even though it does not always appear this way, the spiritual fact remains that all power actually belongs to God, the infinitely good creator. Mrs. Eddy wrote, "There is divine authority for believing in the superiority of spiritual power over material resistance" ("Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures," p. 134). This can encourage us that evils such as injustice, hate, or vengefulness aren't as lasting or powerful as they seem, and this understanding can bring healing.

I witnessed this a number of years ago. I had just left a small ad agency, where I'd been a managing partner, and the owner was quite unhappy that I'd left. There were even threats of legal action against me to try to force me to pay half of the agency's large debt.

One morning the owner called and said a key client had requested a wrap-up meeting with me since I had worked on the account. I agreed, but there was serious potential for ugliness here. The owner would not release to me the records of the work we'd done, citing confidentiality. It felt like I was being set up to fail.

At that point, my preparation for the meeting shifted away from trying to recall all the facts and figures. Instead, I began praying, something I've often found helpful. As I affirmed the superiority of God, good, over any other seeming power, feelings of resentment and unpreparedness fell away.

At the meeting, I was able to represent our work accurately and to represent all involved in a fair and favorable light. When I met with the agency owner afterward, I shared the great news that the client wanted to continue working with the agency even though I was no longer going to be there. An additional outcome was that the threat of legal action against me was dropped. Not long afterward, I was able to voluntarily pay a substantial amount toward settling the agency's debt.

Our true identity, the likeness of God, divine Spirit, is wholly good and spiritual. All the strength of the one infinite, divinely loving Father-Mother is ours to express. And as we gain a measure of understanding of the power and authority of God, and of God's never-ending love and care, we'll each become a stronger force for good right where we are.

– Kevin Graunke

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