

The CHRISTIAN SCIENCE
MONITOR WEEKLY

JANUARY 1 & 8, 2018 \$4.00

BRIDGING BLACK & WHITE



HOW ST. LOUIS
RESIDENTS ARE TRYING
TO SURMOUNT RACIAL
INEQUITIES POST-
FERGUSON.

BY CHRISTA CASE BRYANT

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

— MARY BAKER EDDY

COVER STORY

Bridging black and white

Here's how St. Louis residents are trying to surmount racial inequities post-Ferguson.

BY CHRISTA CASE BRYANT



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◀ DRUG TREATMENT: RUSSIA'S TOUGH APPROACH TO ADDICTION

The opioid crisis is not exclusive to the West, and understanding how other countries are dealing with it may provide insights closer to home. But a look at these countries' treatment methods also may show the costs of toeing a harder line on addiction. BY FRED WEIR

▶ PEOPLE MAKING A DIFFERENCE

The suicide rate among military veterans is high. Bobby Colliton is working to change that – with hockey.

BY HANNAH SCHLOMANN



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CAPT. PERRI JOHNSON (C., IN UNIFORM) ATTENDS THE 'TOUCHY TOPICS TUESDAY' MEETING IN ST. LOUIS DEC. 5, 2017.

ANN HERMES/STAFF

The Monitor's true bias

SOMEONE ONCE TOLD ME that The Christian Science Monitor's reputation for unbiased journalism was all wrong. He wasn't criticizing the Monitor or saying that it was – or should be – partisan about any policy, party, or person. He was saying that there were things on which the Monitor clearly did take sides: for justice, for compassion, for dignity, and for responsibility, just to name a few. Former Monitor editor Marshall Ingwersen summed it up this way: "The Monitor has a bias for progress."

Christa Case Bryant's cover story this week is a beautiful example of how that Monitor bias works.

So often, the national conversation after the 2014 killing of Michael Brown by a policeman in Ferguson, Mo., has compelled us to take sides. The views behind Black Lives Matter and Blue Lives Matter are not necessarily in conflict, but they often end up seeming that way. The deep emotions on both sides – so often undergirded by legitimate concerns – can often tempt us to choose teams.

But Christa's story tells us about Elyssa Sullivan and Charles Lowe, who did something interesting. In some ways, they chose the "other" team. Ms. Sullivan, a white suburbanite, joined Black Lives Matter protests. Mr. Lowe, a black police sergeant, chose to join a police department that, many critics say, still struggles with racism, and which, according to data, is disproportionately white.

Recent elections – from the US presidential election to "Brexit" – have provided powerful evidence that many people are closed into their own bubbles. The traditional word for that is segregation. We usually think about segregation in physical terms when people of different races don't live

together. Demographic studies show that that remains overwhelmingly true in the United States. But recent elections brought to the surface a different kind of segregation – a mental segregation. You could say that Sullivan and Lowe are rebelling against that trend. And you could say the Monitor is biased in support of them.

Time and again, Monitor reporters have found that when people have the courage to break out of narrow assumptions about those on the "other" side – no matter who that "other" is – and engage them with a genuine sense of goodwill, barriers fall. That can be the residents of an Atlanta neighborhood learning to trust the cop next door. Or a dyed-in-the-wool

Second Amendment supporter reaching out to gun control advocates to address the suicide rate. Or residents of Greek islands embracing the refugees in their midst.

These stories are not about telling readers what to think. They should not take sides on a policy. Rather, they should at least begin to break down the idea that the sides we often choose are irreconcilable.

Is the Monitor biased toward a sense of unity? Toward a sense that, amid all the diversities of opinions, races, and nations, we can find a common humanity that more strongly binds us? Yes. The Monitor's mission is "to injure no man, but to bless all mankind." That can't leave anyone out.

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

NOTE TO READERS: This is one of a handful of double-dated issues we produce each year. Your next issue will be dated Jan. 15.

BY MARK SAPPENFIELD
EDITOR

'For all those millions of Americans struggling paycheck to paycheck, help is on the way.'

– **House Speaker Paul Ryan** (R) of Wisconsin, after the House of Representatives passed the GOP's \$1.5 trillion tax overhaul Dec. 19. The Senate approved the bill Dec. 20. Both votes were along party lines. The bill, the biggest overhaul of the US tax code in decades, slashes the corporate tax rate from 35 percent to 21 percent and eliminates the Affordable Care Act's individual mandate. The bill also cuts individual tax rates for all income levels. Without intervention, however, taxes would rise for 53 percent of Americans by 2027. President Trump is expected to sign the bill in early 2018. (See related story, page 7.)



'It is so, so bad, and the public knows it.'

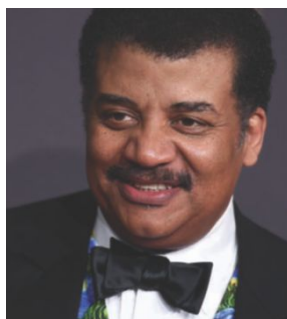
– **Senate minority leader Charles Schumer**, at a press conference just before the final House vote on the tax bill. Senator Schumer added that '11th-hour backroom deals' had made the bill 'even worse.' House minority leader Nancy Pelosi, in a speech on the House floor, accused Republicans of 'monumental, brazen theft of the middle class.'

'This declaration of non-cooperation ... can only be viewed as a strong indication that there must be something terribly awful happening in Rakhine...'

– **Yanghee Lee**, United Nations special rapporteur, on the human rights situation in Myanmar (Burma). She spoke Dec. 20 after the government banned her from further investigation of the ongoing military crackdown on the country's minority Rohingya Muslim population. More than 650,000 Rohingya have fled to neighboring Bangladesh, and, according to a Doctors Without Borders report, about 6,700 have been killed. The ban came one day after the military discovered a grave containing 10 bodies at Inn Din, north of the Rakhine state capital, Sittwe. The military says 'an investigation would be carried out.'

'Poland is as devoted to the rule of law as the rest of the EU. Current judiciary reform is deeply needed.'

– **Polish Prime Minister Mateusz Morawiecki**, of the nation's ruling Law and Justice party, responding in a tweet Dec. 20 to the European Commission's recommendation that the European Union's 27 other member states issue a formal warning to Poland over its recent alterations to the judicial system. The EU sees the changes as a threat to Poland's democracy. If passed, the warning could lead to a vote to suspend Poland's voting rights in the EU. 'Judicial reforms in Poland mean that the country's judiciary is now under the political control of the ruling majority,' Frans Timmermans, vice president of the European Commission, told reporters in Brussels Dec. 20.



'Call me when you have a dinner invite from an alien.'

– **Neil deGrasse Tyson**, celebrity astrophysicist, telling CNN why he is unmoved by revelations published by The New York Times and Politico on Dec. 16 that the Pentagon ran a secret \$22 million UFO research program between 2007 and 2012 called the Advanced Aviation Threat Identification Program. Harry Reid, the Nevada Democrat who was the Senate majority leader at the time, led a push to fund it. 'The evidence is so paltry for aliens to visit Earth, I have no further interest,' Mr. Tyson said. He was equally unimpressed by a video released by the Department of Defense showing a UFO off the coast of San Diego in 2004.

A close-up photograph of a person's face as they sip from a cup. The cup is white with a pink floral pattern and a gold rim. The milk foam on top of the drink is printed with a black and white image of the person's face, creating a 'selfie' effect. The person's hand is visible holding the handle of the cup. In the background, a blue saucer with a floral pattern and a silver spoon are visible on a white surface.

VIEW
FINDER
LONDON

HERE'S LOOKING AT ME

A customer at the Tea Terrace in London sips a 'selfieccino,' featuring a cellphone image of the customer rendered on the milk foam by a special printer. The idea originated at Singapore's #Selfie Coffee cafe. This is the first selfie cafe in Europe. SIMON DAWON/REUTERS

One week

GLOBAL POLITICS

Trump's two-pronged strategy

He aims to 'go it alone' and provide leadership. Can he do both?



BRENDAN MCDERMID/REUTERS

VETO: US Ambassador to the United Nations Nikki Haley vetoes a resolution on decisions about the status of Jerusalem at a UN Security Council meeting Dec. 18. President Trump has threatened to tie aid to votes.

WASHINGTON – The scene at the United Nations Security Council last month was reminiscent of the run-up to the US invasion of Iraq in 2003, when the international community balked at President George W. Bush's "with us or against us" message to the world body concerning the coming war.

This time the impetus for the emergency Council meeting was President Trump's recognition of Jerusalem as Israel's capital – a move in opposition to decades of US-backed resolutions – and neither friend nor foe of the United States was having anything to do with it.

Bolivia's UN ambassador fumed that if the Council did not stand up to the rogue US action, the Council would cease to be anything but "an occupied territory."

A group of America's European allies, some of whose leaders had personally cautioned Mr. Trump against the move, issued a joint statement condemning it.

The Jerusalem decision was only the

latest in a year of go-it-alone actions and retreat from international cooperation that have typified the "America First" president.

Trump came into office with two seemingly contradictory messages to the world: one, a nationalist clarion call that the US would no longer be a tied-up Gulliver, but would break free of international strictures and put its own interests first; and the other,

'TRUMP REPRESENTS A CLEAN BREAK WITH THE LAST EIGHT DECADES OF AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY...'

– Charles Kupchan, Georgetown University

a commitment to restore "strong American leadership" in global security challenges.

Those two messages have taken form through actions suggesting that under Trump, it's hard power over soft power, national action over international cooperation, and immediate gains over what a business-mogul president sees as gauzy

long-term pursuits. The promotion of hard power and a nationalist vision of prosperity over values and soft-power pursuits was underlined in Trump's first National Security Strategy, released Dec. 18.

In ways large and small – from withdrawing from the Paris climate accord and the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) trade deal, to pulling out of an international migration pact and the UNESCO culture and education agency – Trump has shown his disdain for the system the US designed and built.

Trump has coupled this diplomatic retreat with a reemphasis on military power, which – under a long line of Republican and Democratic presidents – had increasingly shared the national-security stage with priorities such as democracy, human rights, development, and global trade expansion.

Trump recently signed a \$700 billion defense authorization act, calling it the "first step in rebuilding our military." He stepped up US military action against the so-called Islamic State in Iraq and Syria while dialing back the US role in Syria diplomacy. He recommitted to a US military presence in Afghanistan and pursued a hard-power posture toward North Korea.

For some US foreign-policy hawks, such as former UN Ambassador John Bolton, Trump is pursuing bold leadership after what they saw as two terms of namby-pamby interaction with the world under President Barack Obama.

Yet while many in the foreign-policy community see Trump's path as a sharp deviation from that of postwar presidents, few agree that a more muscular but inward-focused US will provide stronger global leadership.

"Trump represents a clean break with the last eight decades of American foreign policy – really going back to Pearl Harbor – and a dismissal of the liberal order of American-led institutions the US worked so hard to build," says Charles Kupchan, senior director for European affairs on Mr. Obama's National Security Council and now a professor at Georgetown University.

For Trump, Professor Kupchan adds, the previous world order was "a recipe for other countries to take advantage of the US. He wants to back away from the international institutions and agreements that [other presidents] saw advancing US security and prosperity, but which he sees as tying us up."

– Howard LaFranchi / Staff writer

TRUMP VICTORY

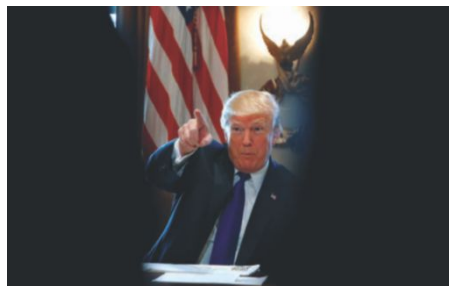
How will tax plan affect midterms?

Voters may not see effect of cuts till after ballots are cast

WASHINGTON – With final passage of the most sweeping tax overhaul in 31 years, President Trump and the Republicans in Congress have a significant legislative achievement under their belt – the crown on an economy with a surging stock market, the lowest jobless rate in nearly two decades, and annualized economic growth that tops 3 percent.

These are the contours of the Trump economy, and the president and his party now own it – happily, they believe. “Our team will go onto many more VICTORIES!” Mr. Trump tweeted.

How it plays out politically in 2018 – whether it curbs the traditional loss of congressional seats for a first-term president, and a highly controversial one at that – will depend on how Americans perceive and experience the economy, and what else is competing for their attention.



CARLOS BARRIA/REUTERS

A WIN: President Trump talks with members of the press at a lunch for Republican members of Congress working on the final tax bill Dec. 13.

“How people feel about the economy will help guide their vote in 2018,” says Nathan Gonzales, editor and publisher of the non-partisan Inside Elections. American elections are often about the economy, but not always, he says. North Korea or a terrorist attack could refocus attention on national security. The unfolding sexual harassment saga on Capitol Hill could also scramble races in unpredictable ways.

For now, Republicans have cause for concern. According to opinion polls, the tax bill is unpopular and so is the president – despite the positive economic indicators. Recent elections in purple Virginia and deeply red Alabama show Democrats

on the rebound. Their base is revved up, while enthusiasm for Republicans is at a historic low in generic ballot polling, says GOP pollster Ed Goetas.

“The intensity gap is on steroids,” he says, adding that Republicans hope the tax overhaul – which includes eliminating the penalty for the individual mandate under “Obamacare” – will help gin up zeal.

The messaging war over the bill has begun. Republicans say that slashing the corporate rate from 35 percent to 21 percent and giving other businesses a substantial break will make the United States more globally competitive, generate economic growth, and in turn result in more jobs and higher wages.

‘THE INTENSITY GAP [BETWEEN THE PARTIES] IS ON STEROIDS.’

– Ed Goetas, Republican Party pollster

By doubling the standard deduction and the child tax credit, middle- and low-income Americans will have more money in their pockets – \$2,059 for a family of four with a median income of \$73,000, House Speaker Paul Ryan (R) of Wisconsin points out.

The vast majority of Americans will see a tax cut in 2018, according to independent analyses. But Democrats counter that for most families the cut won’t amount to much and it’s temporary – while the bulk of the plan will benefit the wealthy and corporations and will increase the deficit by at least \$1 trillion. They call it a “tax scam.”

Differences in paycheck withholding may come as early as February, “but for most people, the change won’t be big enough to make much of a difference,” says Stan Collender, a budget expert in Washington. Meanwhile, the midterm elections will take place before people have their first real reckoning with the full effects of the bill – when they do their tax returns in April 2019.

– Francine Kiefer / Staff writer

RAIL SAFETY

Crash turns focus on safety, again

Three years, three derailments points to foot-dragging

SAVANNAH, GA. – The crash of the inaugural run of Amtrak’s upgraded Cascades train from Seattle to Portland, Ore., Dec. 18 caught American commuter rail service at

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PRIME NUMBERS

24

Percentage of Americans who believe the Republican tax overhaul is a good idea; 41 percent say it is a bad idea.

19

People injured Dec. 21 when an Australian citizen of Afghan descent deliberately drove into a crowd at a busy intersection in Melbourne, Australia. Police said it was not terror related.

50

Miles per hour over the speed limit (30 m.p.h.) an Amtrak train was reportedly traveling when it derailed Dec. 18., killing at least three near Tacoma, Wash. (See related story, this page.)

9,000

Civilian death toll from the nine-month battle to liberate Mosul, Iraq, from Islamic State – 10 times as high as previously reported. The number could be as high as 11,000.

11

Hours during which the world’s busiest airport, Atlanta’s Hartsfield-Jackson International, was without power after a fire at a power station Dec. 17. More than 1,500 flights were canceled.

220 MILLION

Box-office earnings (in dollars) for “Star Wars: The Last Jedi” on its opening weekend (Dec. 16-17), the second-best North American movie opening ever. The film’s 2015 predecessor, “The Force Awakens,” holds the record at \$249.7 million.

7,500

Percentage increase in the share price of the world’s fifth-biggest cryptocurrency, bitcoin, in 2017, to around \$330 (Dec. 20).

16.7 MILLION

Twitter followers to whom tech mogul Elon Musk accidentally tweeted his mobile number Dec. 19. Mr. Musk swiftly rerouted the number so callers heard a humorous recorded message from the video game God of War.

Sources: NBC-Wall Street Journal poll, CNN, CNN, The Associated Press, NBC News, Hollywood Reporter, Bloomberg Technology, The Telegraph

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a juncture of colliding trends. Ridership is growing rapidly even as the industry grapples with inertia over safety problems. The result has been three major derailments in three years.

As investigators focus on track conditions and whether the train was going too fast into a curve, questions are arising over why a long-delayed emergency braking system – or positive train control (PTC) – wasn't operational a decade after it was mandated.

The answers provided by the Nation-

THERE'S AN AGE-OLD RELUCTANCE IN THE INDUSTRY NOT TO MAKE IMPROVEMENTS WITHOUT CLEAR PROFIT INCENTIVES.

al Transportation Safety Board (NTSB), railroad experts say, are likely to touch on Amtrak's cultural struggles to enforce safety rules, including an age-old reluctance in the railroad business to make improvements without clear profit incentives. (PTC is a \$10 billion effort.)

"This was a new route around the Tacoma area. That was the first train over it.... The bridge looked rickety, and it's on a curve – all of which raises questions about whether the engineer was exceeding 79 miles per hour while there was no system in place to enforce a lower speed limit," says signaling expert Steven Ditmeyer of Alexandria, Va.

The accident occurred after Amtrak registered a record year in 2016, during which it served 31.2 million riders. Ridership has grown steadily, especially on midrange trips and commuter runs like the Cascades in the Pacific Northwest and the Downeaster in New England, both of which have seen double-digit percentage growth year to year.

The \$181-million Cascades expansion was a bid to build ridership by increasing frequency and cutting time off the Seattle-to-Portland run, so business travelers used to disembarking at lunchtime could instead be in town for a 10 o'clock meeting.

There were warning signs. Don Anderson, the mayor of Lakewood, Wash., raised concerns on Dec. 4 that high-speed trains along the new route would make it "virtually inevitable that someone is going to get killed" without first making more improvements to signage and crossing grades.

And there appeared to be immediate similarities to crashes in 2015 and 2016 in which investigators cited operator error and a lax safety culture as contributing to deadly derailments outside Philadelphia and in Chester, Pa. In both cases, the NTSB found, a fully operable PTC system could have prevented the deadly destruction.

– Patrik Jonsson / Staff writer



SPACEX/AP

Need a boost?

THE PRIVATE SPACE AGENCY SPACEX shows off its new Falcon Heavy rocket in a hangar at Cape Canaveral, Fla., Dec. 20. It is scheduled for a test flight in January. It is billed as the most powerful operational rocket in the world by a factor of two, with a payload capacity of 60 tons.

FOLLOW-UP

Ballot controversy arises in Florida

Despite requests to see them, 2016 ballots were destroyed

FORT LAUDERDALE, FLA. – A South Florida law professor, running to unseat Rep. Debbie Wasserman Schultz, is calling for a federal investigation into the destruction of all ballots cast in the August 2016 Democratic primary in Broward County here.

The challenger, Tim Canova, has made repeated public-records requests and filed a lawsuit seeking access to paper ballots cast in his unsuccessful race against the former Democratic National Committee (DNC) chair in Florida's 23rd Congressional District.

A statistical analysis of the primary conducted in 2016 suggested the election results were "potentially implausible."

The Broward supervisor of elections, Brenda Snipes, has taken no action on requests by Mr. Canova and journalist and documentary filmmaker Lulu Friesdat to examine the ballots. Instead, Dr. Snipes has urged a judge to throw out Canova's lawsuit.

Despite the pending records requests

and the ongoing litigation, Snipes ordered the ballots and other election documents destroyed, according to court papers.

"When something like this happens where all the ballots are destroyed, it completely undermines people's faith in the system," Canova says in an interview. "What is the Broward supervisor of elections hiding?"

Snipes and her lawyer did not respond to the Monitor's requests for comment. Ms. Wasserman Schultz's office offered no statement on the issue.

The supervisor's destruction of the documents comes at a time of intense public alarm over potential attempts by Russia and other foreign powers to hack into American election systems. One safeguard against such efforts is the ability to conduct robust audit procedures based on a close examination of paper ballots cast by voters.

Election experts agree that the lack of a

A STATISTICAL ANALYSIS OF THE 2016 PRIMARY SUGGESTED THE ELECTION RESULTS WERE 'POTENTIALLY IMPLAUSIBLE.'

paper trail verifying voter choices undercuts the ability to identify systemic election fraud and might make such fraud impossible to detect. (See cover story, "Insecure ballots," Dec. 11, 2017.)

The Aug. 30 Democratic primary in Broward was being closely watched across the United States. A month earlier, amid bitter

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controversy, Wasserman Schultz was ousted as chair of the DNC. She was removed over allegations that she and other party officials had rigged the Democratic presidential primary process to favor Hillary Clinton over Bernie Sanders. The pro-Clinton “fix” was first divulged in DNC emails allegedly obtained by Russia-backed hackers and released to the public in the months leading up to the election.

Wasserman Schultz is an ally of Mrs. Clinton. Canova is an ally of Mr. Sanders.

The Democratic primary in Florida’s 23rd District was seen by some as an opportunity for enraged Sanders supporters and other voters to fight back against DNC favoritism – by voting for Canova.

Nonetheless, Wasserman Schultz won, with 56 percent of the vote.

After the election Canova did not contest the result, but later contacted the election supervisor’s office seeking to examine the ballots. Two public-records requests were submitted in November 2016, and a third in March 2017. In June, Canova filed a lawsuit.

Snipes’s order to destroy the requested documents is dated Sept. 1, 2017.

Under Florida law, ballots and other election documents are public records that must be made available for inspection by members of the public “at any reasonable time, under reasonable conditions.”

– Warren Richey / Staff writer

Groups aim to end debate over ivory

Regulate it or ban it? Fate of elephants may be at stake.

For decades, two distinct camps of elephant advocates have butted heads over how best to protect the animals: Ban ivory or tightly regulate a market in ivory?

“We are all limited by our own perspective,” says wildlife researcher Gao Yufang, a PhD candidate at Yale University in New Haven, Conn. “People tend to see the same problem in very different ways.”

Elephant conservationists share a common goal: Halt the slaughter of elephants for their ivory. The “prohibition versus regulation” debate is common to other ills, including alcohol abuse, gambling, and smoking.

Poaching of African elephants has declined since its peak in 2011. But poaching rates remain higher than natural population growth, so elephants are still at risk.

Advocates for a regulated market say there will always be a demand for ivory. They presume it best to satisfy that demand with tusks harvested from elephants that have died of natural causes and invest the

profits in conservation. Advocates of a total ivory ban say that it would give consumers and law enforcement a bright line.

Frustrated by nearly 30 years of debate, Mr. Gao and some two dozen scientists have proposed a way to unite the two groups.

Two sides of an elephant quandary have come together before: In the mid-to-late 1900s, conservationists faced a similar impasse over how to keep elephant herds in check. Culling was employed at South Africa’s Kruger National Park, with more than 14,500 animals killed.

The conversation changed when the

‘PEOPLE TEND TO SEE THE SAME PROBLEM IN VERY DIFFERENT WAYS.’

– Gao Yufang, Yale University

pro- and anti-culling groups realized they had the same objective: “It was by understanding that we weren’t fighting about elephants,” says Robert Scholes, a coauthor of the report. “We were fighting about the appropriate way to treat them in different circumstances.” (He’s an ecologist at the University of Witwatersrand in South Africa.)

Now, instead of culling, the park’s wildlife managers rely on indirect methods such as reducing artificial water supplies that had fostered unnatural population booms.

– Story Hinkley / Staff writer

DC DECODER

Trump outlines a competitive worldview

President Trump’s new National Security Strategy (NSS) might be summed up by the first subhead in its introduction: “A Competitive World.” If the 56-page document has a defining theme, it is that the globe is a dangerous place, and the United States needs to struggle harder for advantage. It plays down the importance of multilateral cooperation (though it backs traditional US alliances such as NATO).

It does not promote democracy per se, and indeed seems to indicate little concern for how other countries are governed. What matters most is how the behavior of those other countries affects the welfare of the American people, an attitude the strategy defines as “principled realism.”

“This is a competitive vision. It is not a leadership vision,” says Gordon Adams, former White House defense budget official

and current distinguished fellow at the Stimson Center, a nonpartisan security policy research organization in Washington.

NSS documents are generally efforts whose final product belies their name. Mandated by 1986 congressional legislation, they are not actual strategies that spell out specific policy goals. Instead, they tend to be long and detailed summaries of approaches to dealing with national security concerns.

Of course, the rhetoric of foreign policy often does not match the reality, says Anthony Cordesman, the Arleigh Burke Chair in Strategy at the Center for Strategic and International Studies in Washington. In NATO and other strategic partnerships, the Trump administration has made very few changes, and in some ways has actually strengthened America’s presence overseas.

“I think almost all of our allies are going to find this document reassuring,” says Mr. Cordesman.

Yet allies are also closely studying the president’s behavior, and that often sends messages that are at odds with the sober language of his senior staff, says Julianne Smith, senior fellow and director of the Transatlantic Security Program at the Center for a New American Security. Mr. Trump’s tweets and words have put very little value on NATO and other alliances, for instance.

“So there are definitely parts of [the NSS] that don’t ring true if you closely watch what the president has said over the last year,” says Ms. Smith. “It’s hard to assume that he would agree with everything that’s in here.”

– Peter Grier and Harry Bruinius
Staff writers



JOHNNY ANDREWS/THE SEATTLE TIMES/AP

RAISING THE AGE: Plans to build a new \$210 million juvenile justice center and lockup in Seattle are met with opposition by protesters on Jan. 11, 2017.

JUVENILE JUSTICE

How old is old enough for jail?

Massachusetts raises age of criminal majority to 19

Massachusetts could be the first state to view 18-year-olds as juveniles in the criminal justice system.

A sweeping criminal justice reform package that would, among other things, raise the age of criminal majority to 19 – meaning that 18-year-olds would be treated as juveniles for most crimes – recently passed in the state Senate.

The House version of the bill left the age of criminal majority at 18 – indicating that not everyone in the state legislature is on board with raising the age. A committee is now tasked with reconciling the two bills before sending the end product to the governor.

If the age of criminal majority at 19 is signed into law, it would mark the highest age of juvenile jurisdiction in the United States.

The proposal follows on the heels of widespread reform across the country to raise the age to 18. Ten years ago, 13 states – including Massachusetts – didn't consider 17-year-olds to be juveniles when they were arrested. Today, five states are holdouts, four of which are currently considering legisla-

tion to change that.

Prompted by a growing body of research on adolescent mental development, some studies suggest including teens in the juvenile system lowers recidivism rates. The push to raise the age also signifies a larger shift in the way society defines adulthood, observers say. Legal experts in Massachusetts and elsewhere see raising the age to 19 or higher – as has been suggested in Connecticut – as a natural next phase of the movement.

“The argument seems to be just about settled, when it comes to public safety and justice, that older adolescents – 17-year-olds, 16-year-olds – belong in the juvenile justice system,” says Joshua Rovner, juvenile justice advocacy associate at The Sentencing Project in Washington, D.C. “So I think it's pretty clear that the next step in this is to continue expanding the juvenile justice system.”

'[O]LDER ADOLESCENTS ... BELONG IN THE JUVENILE JUSTICE SYSTEM.'

– Joshua Rovner, The Sentencing Project

Reform in the juvenile justice system is happening across the board in the US, from adjusting forms of sentencing – which Vermont is in the process of rolling out – to rethinking how those sentenced are incarcerated. This comes at a time when the number of young people being jailed is at its lowest level in two decades, thanks to a drop in crime rates and reform efforts.

But despite the momentum, changing the age of criminal majority may not be a simple shift. New philosophical questions and

concerns arise when 18-year-olds – who are considered mature enough to vote and join the military – are included in the juvenile system. And on a practical level, experts say, shifting a large cohort of young adults from the adult to juvenile systems may not be possible for all states.

For generations, being 18 meant the start of adulthood in more ways than just the ability to cast a vote or buy a lottery ticket, observers point out. In 1960, nearly half of all young people ages 18 to 24 were married, says Vincent Schiraldi, senior research scientist and adjunct professor at the Columbia School of Social Work in New York. Today, as college enrollment rates rise and more Americans delay marriage, it's rare to find a recent high school graduate who's married with a mortgage and a full-time job.

For men in particular, marriage and steady, gainful employment – two steps that now typically come later in life – have proved to be important deterrents from crime.

Taking on serious adult roles helps to occupy young men's time, making them less likely to commit criminal acts, says Professor Schiraldi. “They haven't really taken on those fully adult roles at 18 in the United States like they had in previous generations, but the law really hasn't changed to reflect that.”

– Gretel Kauffman and Bailey Bischoff
Staff writers

HEALTH-CARE COVERAGE

Insurance for kids faces a gap

A delay on reauthorization puts coverage for children at risk

SAN ANTONIO AND LOS ANGELES – Dakota Flores sees a future for her children that she never had. Tyler and Harmonie, both in middle school in San Antonio, are honor roll students, choir singers, and musicians. And they have a shot at college.

But Ms. Flores worries that her children's future could be derailed by their chronic health conditions. Their health insurance coverage, along with the coverage for an estimated 8.9 million other children around the United States, could soon disappear because Congress allowed funding for the Children's Health Insurance Program (CHIP) to lapse at the end of September.

For the past few months, states have been funding the joint federal-state program

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out of their own pockets, but they are starting to run out of money. Most of CHIP's funding is federal, and at press time it was unclear whether Congress would reauthorize funding in time to stop the program from shuttering in early 2018.

In late November, Colorado became the first state to send letters to CHIP families warning them that support might end in January. Texas has asked the federal government for \$90 million to keep its program running through February.

Health experts say CHIP has been an unmitigated – and bipartisan – success since Congress created it in 1997. The program provides health insurance for children and

'IT'S JUST CONCERNING [THAT] ... THE LEGISLATURE ... WOULD PLAY THAT KIND OF A GAME WITH CHILDREN'S LIVES.'

– Sonya Vazquez, Community Health Councils

pregnant women in households that earn too much to qualify for Medicaid, but not enough to afford private insurance. The percentage of uninsured children nationwide dropped from 15 percent in 1997 to 4.5 percent in 2015, thanks in large part to CHIP.

Funding for the program needs to be reauthorized every few years. When House Republicans introduced a bill to reauthorize the program early in 2017, however, it included provisions to pay for it in ways Democrats didn't agree with, such as taking money from the Medicare and Affordable Care Act programs.

That funding for CHIP would be used as political leverage the way it was in 2017 is "unprecedented," several health policy experts say. "It's just concerning for us," says Sonya Vazquez, chief program officer at Community Health Councils in Los Angeles, "that you would have a certain portion of the legislature that would play that kind of a game with children's lives."

– Henry Gass and Jessica Mendoza / Staff writers



TATIANA FLOWERS/AP

COVERAGE IN QUESTION: TC Bell's daughters are both recipients of the Children's Health Insurance Program.

DARRIN ZAMMIT LUPI/REUTERS



Precious treasure found at sea

A CREW MEMBER of search and rescue ship Open Arms carries a migrant baby before passing the child to crew members of MV Aquarius, another search and rescue ship, during a mid-sea transfer of migrants in the central Mediterranean off the coast of Libya.

ASTRONOMIC HAZARDS

New tech limits asteroid threats

Recent asteroid activity posed little serious danger to Earth

Every once in a while, as we earthlings strive to explore the cosmos, we're reminded that bits of the cosmos occasionally visit Earth, too. One such reminder came in the form of a blazing green fireball streaking across the pre-dawn sky last month. Police footage shot at 3:09 a.m. on Dec. 2 in Hamilton, N.J., shows a meteor plunging into Earth's atmosphere and exploding in a brilliant flash. No injuries were reported.

A slightly larger visitor hurtled past our planet Nov. 9, one that astronomers didn't detect until the following day. An asteroid designated 2017 VL2 came within 75,000 miles of Earth – less than a third of the distance to the moon. Despite news reports that the asteroid, which measures about 22 yards wide, carried enough energy to obliterate New York City, the asteroid – the 48th known one to pass within the moon's orbit in 2017 – would have actually burned up in the atmosphere.

"The most important message to get across is that asteroid impacts are extremely

unlikely," says Paul Chodas, manager for the Center for Near-Earth Object Studies at NASA's Jet Propulsion Laboratory in Pasadena, Calif. The chance of a destructive meteor impact is small, but the consequences could be huge. Hence Spaceguard, an international project to track potentially hazardous asteroids and comets. So far, astronomers have spotted more than 15,000 objects.

"We can reassure the public that our observatories scan the night skies every dark night," says Dr. Chodas. In 1998, Congress mandated that NASA find 90 percent of asteroids more than 1 kilometer (0.62 miles) wide – about a tenth of the size of the asteroid believed to have abruptly ended the age of dinosaurs. NASA met this goal in 2011, but in the meantime, Congress expanded its mission to include 90 percent of asteroids 450 feet wide or larger. Scientists say they have detected about a third of these so far.

The bigger the asteroid, the lower the chance of impact: The odds of an asteroid 1 kilometer wide hitting Earth in any given year are 1 in about 500,000.

Asteroid 2017 VL2, for its part, came from the direction of the sun, and it was lost in the glare. "But chances of impact from any source are very small," says Martin Connors, an astronomer at Athabasca University in Alberta. "We do know theoretically and statistically that there is not a huge group of such hidden asteroids."

– Eoin O'Carroll and Joseph Dussault
Staff writers

POINTS OF PROGRESS

American water use takes a dive

The average American has cut daily use by 6 gallons

The average American is using a lot less water on a daily basis. Six gallons less, to be exact.

The US Geological Survey's National Water Use Science Project has estimated water use in the United States every five years since 1950. In its most recent estimate published this fall, the USGS found that American daily water use per capita went from 88 gallons in 2010 to 83 gallons per capita in 2015.

Conservation of fresh water is important because it is a limited resource: Less than 1 percent of all the water on Earth can be used by humans. With growing populations and changing climates, fresh water is becoming increasingly valuable, says Edward Osann, a senior policy analyst and water efficiency project director at the National Resources Defense Council.

"One of the effects of climate change is we are seeing more extremes: more substantial droughts, followed by substantial floods," says Mr. Osann. "If we can sustain ourselves while using less fresh water, we will be more resilient while going into these fluctuations in the hydrologic cycle of the future."

The US population grew by 4 percent between 2010 and 2015, or 12 million people, but total withdrawals for public supply – water that comes out of kitchen faucets and lawn sprinklers – decreased by 7 percent. According to the USGS, total public-supply withdrawals were at their lowest levels since 1995.

US household water use has been tracking downward since President George H.W. Bush signed the Energy Policy Act of 1992, says Osann. October 2017 marked the 25th anniversary of the policy, which required the first national standards for water efficiency in new consumer products such as faucets, shower heads, and toilets. For example, the law required a change in toilet water use from 3.5 to 5 gallons

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WITH A GROWING POPULATION, WATER USE HAS DROPPED 7 PERCENT IN THE PAST FIVE YEARS.

NEW YORK

Queens Boulevard is no longer known as the "Boulevard of Death." Since 1990, some 186 people, 138 of them pedestrians, were killed along the treacherous stretch of road in New York City by hurtling cars and trucks. But since 2014, not a single cyclist or pedestrian has been killed on the seven-mile thoroughfare. The turnaround has been attributed to a range of law enforcement and safety measures spearheaded by Mayor Bill de Blasio, whose Vision Zero campaign aims to eliminate traffic deaths citywide.

THE NEW YORK TIMES, PATCH



AP

FLORIDA

The United States is set to get its first private high-speed rail service. The \$3 billion project, the first section of which was scheduled to begin running in December between West Palm Beach and Fort Lauderdale, will expand to Miami in 2018, and is planned to eventually run all the way to Orlando. That corridor is estimated to be traveled by some 6 million residents and tourists, and early estimates suggest the new line, run by Brightline, could take as many as 3 million cars off the roads.

WORLD ECONOMIC FORUM, CURBED



PRNEWSFOTO/BRIGHTLINE

A WEEKLY GLOBAL ROUNDUP

MONGOLIA

Local herding communities and endangered snow leopards have found a way to coexist and thrive in the Tost Mountains.

The leopards used to attack livestock, and herders would retaliate by killing them. But now, after more than two decades of conservation efforts led by the grass-roots Snow Leopard Conservation Foundation, the community is actively engaged in conserving snow leopards. Meanwhile, the locals have diversified their incomes by using natural resources sustainably to make and sell handicrafts to conservation-minded customers worldwide.

SNOW LEOPARD TRUST



MELANIE STETSON FREEMAN/STAFF/FILE



KENYA

A girl with albinism has overcome discrimination and threats to her life to win the nation's headline-grabbing top school prize. Goldalyn Kakuya's appearance – lighter complexion, eyes, and hair – is often seen as a curse in Kenya; she was taunted and her parents had to protect her from consequences common to many others that look like her, ranging from ostracization to murder. But the 14-year-old from Lubao in West Kenya persevered and claimed top honors in the Kenya Certificate of Primary Education exam, with a total of 455 marks out of a possible 500. Goldalyn said she wants to become a psychotherapist so she can "understand why the children who taunted me were doing so and what can be done to change this."

THOMSON REUTERS FOUNDATION, VOICE OF AMERICA



PHILIPPINES

Conservationists notched a win with the recent listing of five endangered migratory species. The listing was considered a victory for the broader efforts of the Convention on the Conservation of Migratory Species of Wild Animals to protect migratory routes. Headlining the list was the whale shark, a species that is key to sustainable ecotourism in the country. Also protected were the yellow bunting, black noddie, Christmas frigatebird, and a member of the ray family, the white-spotted wedgefish.

BUSINESS MIRROR



► FROM PAGE 12

per flush, to a mandated 1.6 gallons or less.

But while the country is using less water, many Americans are still receiving expensive water bills. Joseph Kane, a senior research associate at the Brookings Institution's Metro Policy Program who focuses on issues of water and infrastructure, explains

'[A] LOT OF THE SOLUTIONS ... ARE COMING FROM ... STATES AND LOCALITIES.'

— Joseph Kane,

Brookings Institution's Metro Policy Program

that although water utility companies are not in the business of making money, they still need to ensure they have the revenue needed to repair infrastructure that is between 50 and 80 years old.

"We're at a time of great maintenance and replacement needs," says Mr. Kane. "The challenge beyond increased sustainability and efficiency is the issue of affordability."

Along with improved product efficiency, droughts in the country's two most populous states — California and Texas — were significant drivers of water use decline in 2015, says Cheryl Dieter, a hydrologist with the USGS and coauthor of the recent report. To-

gether, California and Texas accounted for 78 percent of the nationwide water use decline due to drought-related restrictions. "A lot of the states had a lot of small decreases," says Ms. Dieter. "But when things happen in those big states, they affect the overall national trends."

In January 2014, California Gov. Jerry Brown declared a state of emergency because of the state's record drought, asking Californians to reduce their water use by 20 percent. In 2015, Governor Brown increased his request to 25 percent.

To reach this goal, the state and local governments have imposed stricter water use regulations. While the national toilet-flush standard is 1.6 gallons per flush, California lowered its standard in 2016 to no more than 1.28 gallons of water per flush.

"As much as people turn toward Washington, a lot of the solutions we are seeing are coming from the bottom up, from states and localities," says Kane. "These times of drought and greater climate uncertainty are compelling many communities to start deciding what their longer-term strategies are."

And while Texans reduced their daily



ERIC RISBERG/AP/FILE

WATER WISE: Water resources specialist Randy Barron looks over a water-efficient garden outside a Lomita Heights home in Santa Rosa, Calif.

use by 46 million gallons a day in 2015, California's statistics were especially dramatic: The Sunshine State reduced its water use by roughly 680 million gallons — or 1,030 Olympic-sized swimming pools — per day.

"If they are able to do this right during a period of drought, it does tell a positive story and perhaps give precedent for other regions," says Kane — regions that, he adds, may not be seeing such big reductions. "What are they doing that other places can learn from?"

— Story Hinckley / Staff writer



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Stock market: Just how strong is it?

Since Trump's election, the S&P is up about 25 percent

In 2017, for the first time, the Dow Jones industrial average broke through five 1000-point milestones: 20000 in January all the way to 24000 by November. Here are six questions, plus a chart, to put the market boom in perspective.

Q: How does it compare to previous booms?

This is the third-strongest bull market since the crash of 1929, according to data from S&P Dow Jones Indices. As of mid-December, the Standard & Poor's 500 index was up just under 300 percent since the last bear market ended in 2009, behind only the boom of the 1990s (417 percent) and the rebound from the Great Depression in the 1930s (325 percent). Some analysts who date the 1990s boom differently argue that the current boom is a lot closer to taking the crown.

Q: What's behind the rise?

After the market's plunge during the Great Recession, stocks were bound to recover. What has kept the boom going for more than eight years – the second-longest on record, trailing only that 1990s rise – is strong earnings, among other things. US corporations notched a record \$1.9 trillion of after-tax profits in the third quarter of 2017. The Federal Reserve has helped by keeping the economy humming with ultra-low interest rates. The near-zero rates have buoyed the market in a second way: With savings accounts and bonds offering such paltry returns, investors have little incentive to switch out of stocks.

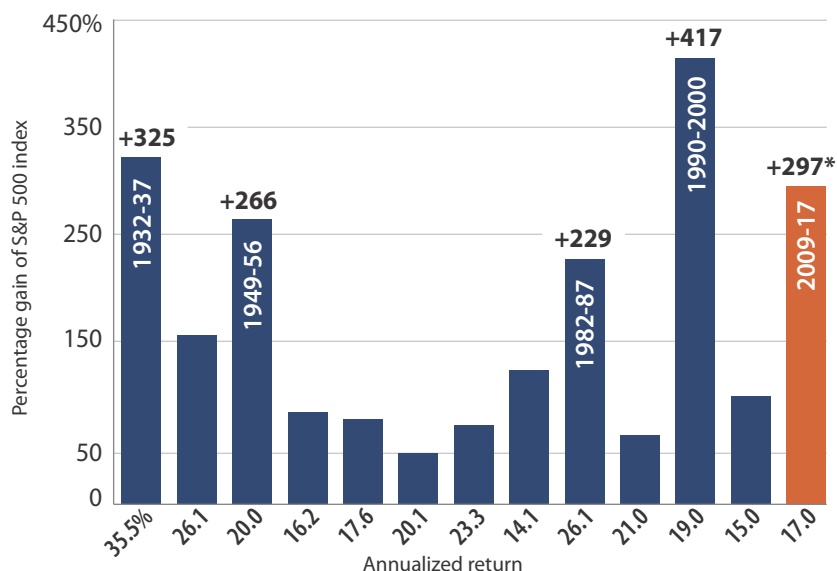
Q: Is there a Trump factor?

Quantifying it isn't easy, but many analysts say President Trump's push for deregulation and tax cuts has had an effect, increasing traders' optimism that economic growth and corporate earnings will be even better in 2018. Since Mr. Trump's election, the S&P is up about 25 percent, close to the annual return of 2009 but below the 2013 rise under President Barack Obama.

Q: What effect would tax reform have going forward?

The market has already priced in the expected changes in the tax code this year. Tax cuts for corporations could boost the stock market in two ways. Lower taxes would boost business profits. Lower tax rates would also encourage US-based multinational companies to bring their foreign earnings back to the United States. Republicans hope they'll use the money to build more factories and create more jobs. But history suggests they'll use much of any inflows to buy back their own shares. The more shares they buy, the fewer shares available to the public. This "shortage" of stocks helps drive share prices up. In 2017 alone companies have bought some \$570 billion worth of their own stock, according to Goldman Sachs estimates, and this year they're expected to buy slightly more. The modest tax cuts for individuals could also boost economic growth and, in turn, the market.

Bull market is third-strongest since the 1920s ... and still running



*As of Dec. 18

SOURCE: S&P Dow Jones Indices

Dates of smaller bull markets are not shown.

KAREN NORRIS/STAFF

Q: Is it a bubble?

Some say yes; others say not quite. In a paper on stock bubbles in 2017, two Harvard economists excluded any run-up that didn't surge at least 50 percent in two years. The current boom has lasted unusually long but its growth, while strong, has stayed well below that threshold. As booms go, its annualized rise has been lackluster.

Q: Will the boom keep going?

Market forecasters generally see gains continuing in the next year. Some expect a "melt-up," in which a buying frenzy takes over, rather than a meltdown. Such a bullish consensus is often considered a danger signal. Also, expected interest-rate hikes in 2018 could be a head wind for stocks. And share prices are high by almost any measure, with a cyclically adjusted price-earnings ratio (created by economists Robert Shiller and John Campbell) of more than 30. Only twice before has the ratio of share prices to annual profits exceeded 30: in 1929 and during the dot-com boom of the late 1990s and early 2000s. Each peak was accompanied by plenty of fearful articles about rampant speculation and was followed by a crash. What's been different this time is the lack of press discussion about a bubble. Mr. Shiller wrote in a September piece for The New York Times. "That doesn't mean that there is no danger of a crash," he said. "But at the moment, the psychological preconditions for a spiraling downturn don't appear to be in place."

— Laurent Belsie / Staff writer

The opioid crisis in Russia is of similar proportions to that in the US, but experts in the two nations differ on many points. **BY FRED WEIR** / CORRESPONDENT

Russia's tough approach to addiction



KONSTANTIN SALOMATIN/REUTERS/FILE

REHAB: A woman does some reading in the dormitory of a treatment center in Alapayevsk, Russia.

Yulia Morozova works as a clinical psychologist at the Center for Practical and Research Narcology, a sprawling complex occupying an entire city block in southeast Moscow and the largest drug treatment center in Europe. There, she counsels people who've made the challenging passage from addiction and are learning how to stay clean, navigate an indifferent social landscape, and, perhaps, rebuild their lives and relationships.

But her introduction to the center came almost a decade ago – as a heroin addict herself.

After breaking up with her husband, who'd gotten her hooked on heroin, she began her recovery at the center in what

MOSCOW

Russian heroin addicts call the “vegetative state” in which, she says, you “know nothing” and can't cope with anything without help. It was definitely “not easy,” she recalls.

That is due in no small part to Russia's controversial method of dealing with its addiction crisis: cold turkey withdrawal.

In the West, the favored treatment for opiate addiction is replacement therapy – substitution of drugs like methadone for heroin or other destructive opioids. As addicts step down to less deadly alternatives, Western doctors say, they can more easily and humanely be taught to control addictive impulses and return to a normal life.

But Russian doctors claim that treating heroin addiction with drugs like methadone – themselves opioids – merely prolongs the problem. Russian law, and most medical

▶ WHY IT MATTERS

The opioid crisis is not exclusive to the West, and understanding how other countries are dealing with it may provide insights closer to home. But a look at these countries' treatment methods also may show the costs of toeing a harder line on addiction.

opinion, regard addicts as “cured” only if they are completely drug-free.

“Our philosophy is simple. We organize treatment and rehabilitation in a completely drug-free environment,” says Yevgeny Bryun, head of the center and chair of addiction at Russia's official Medical Academy. “In Russia, it is illegal to use any drugs

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in treating drug addicts.” Indeed, the rules at the center overseen by Dr. Bryun are so tough that in its rehabilitation wing, where patients spend a mandatory month under tight supervision, even the strong, brewed Russian tea known as *chifir* is prohibited.

So instead, addicts in Russia go a harder route to be free of their dependency – one that Russian doctors say is truer to the goal of making patients drug-free, but which Western doctors say is less effective in the long run. And the stark variance between the two methods – as well as underlying differences in the sources of the respective drug problems – has become the focus of an emotionally charged debate and ideological sniping between Russia and the West at a time when opioid addiction has become a major health threat.

What Western doctors say

Russia’s opioid addiction crisis is of similar proportions to that in the United States – 1.5 million addicted people, or about 1 percent of the population. But Western doctors argue that the Russian approach to ending addiction is a brutal kill-or-cure solution that denies all the scientific advances that have been made in using replacement drugs to gradually wean a person from their addiction while allowing them to get on with their lives.

They argue that replacement therapy drugs, though they are opiate-based substances, have different effects when administered under controlled medical conditions and are not only more humane, but also achieve better long-term results.

“The data is showing after chronic treatment, some of these patients [addicted to opiates] are able to slowly taper off this [replacement] medication,” Dr. Nora Volkow, director of the US National Institute on Drug Abuse, told *The Guardian* newspaper in 2016 in response to Russian arguments. The ideal of complete cure is sometimes unattainable, she added. “The reality is that in some instances we just cannot achieve [full sobriety] – and it’s not any different than someone who has diabetes. Is it that we are substituting and making [diabetics] dependent on insulin? Perhaps we could say that, but we could also say it’s a way for them to have a perfectly normal life.”

Bryun argues that the replacement therapies favored in the US are often just the cheapest and easiest way to treat people who can’t afford to pay for expensive rehabilitation. Those who can, he says, generally

‘Our philosophy is simple. We organize treatment and rehabilitation in a completely drug-free environment.’

– **Yevgeny Bryun**, head of the Center for Practical and Research Narcology in Moscow and chair of addiction at Russia’s official Medical Academy

opt for a cold turkey approach in private clinics that is not too different from the Russian way.

At Bryun’s center, for example, patients in the 1,400-bed detoxification wing under-

detox, psychiatric and support services, and rehabilitation all together under one roof. We view treatment as a single continuous process, and we follow each patient through the entire three-year program.”

Given the radically different standards employed, it’s difficult to compare the results claimed by Russian and US addiction specialists. In the US, figures show that between 40 and 60 percent of heroin addicts relapse after a year, which suggests that, often using long-term replacement therapies, the US achieves a roughly 50 percent success rate.

Sergei Igumnov, a narcotics specialist at the private Rehab Family clinic in Moscow, cites Russian medical texts that suggest long-term recovery rates from heroin addiction under tough Russian treatment methods are as low as 10 percent. But Bryun



TELECAST: Patients at a rehabilitation center in Stavropol, Russia, watch the annual end-of-year news conference of President Vladimir Putin in 2014. EDUARD KORNIYENKO/REUTERS/FILE

go a 21-day withdrawal from narcotic or alcohol dependency with none of the drugs commonly deployed in the West to ameliorate symptoms. For almost three years after that, they must report regularly for checkups at the in-house psychiatric center before spending a month under close supervision in the tightly guarded final-stage rehabilitation ward.

“In Russia we have an integrated system, and it is all paid for by the state,” he says. “In our center, you find all the facilities for

says figures from the state clinics he oversees show that after one year, the figure is 32 percent. After that, he says, there is no way to obtain reliable figures on who stays clean.

Beginnings of the heroin problem

The US heroin problem goes back at least as far as the 1950s, while the drug only became known in Russia during the Soviet Union’s long intervention in Afghanistan in the 1980s. The first documented case of

► NEXT PAGE



PATIENT: Alexander Pevzenko was treated for drug addiction in Sevastopol, Crimea, in 2014. After Russia's annexation of Crimea, it banned methadone, which is used in treatment as a substitute for heroin or other destructive opioids. PAVEL GOLOVKIN/AP/FILE

► FROM PREVIOUS PAGE

heroin addiction in Russia was in 1982, according to Bryun.

Today, as much as 20 percent of Afghanistan's annual opium production makes its way through Central Asia to Russia, flooding Russian cities with cheap heroin. And it feeds another Russian complaint against the West – that NATO forces occupying Afghanistan have done nothing to curtail the burgeoning narcotics production and export industry over the past decade and a half.

"During [NATO's] operation in Afghanistan, the terrorist threat has not been rooted out, while the drug threat has increased many times over," Russian Foreign Minister Sergei Lavrov told a military conference last March. "The drug industry prospered. There is factual evidence that some of the NATO contingents in Afghanistan turned a blind eye to the illegal drug trafficking, even if they were not directly involved in these criminal schemes."

Dr. Morozova, the former addict, says her former husband never had any difficulty finding heroin on the street, and continued easy access remains a constant temptation reported by many of her patients.

It's a different scenario in the US where, according to the American Society of Addiction Medicine, 4 out of 5 addicts begin by misusing prescription painkillers like oxycodone. According to the group, in 2015

there were 20,101 overdose deaths related to prescription pain relievers and 12,990 overdose deaths related to illicit heroin use. Bryun says that about 8,000 Russians die annually from overdoses of "drugs and psychotropic substances" – mostly heroin – and about 35,000 are hospitalized with drug poisoning.

"In Russia, [the abuse of prescription opiates] is impossible. You can't obtain opiates

'In Russia, [the abuse of prescription opiates] is impossible. You can't obtain opiates in drugstores because there is very strict control.'

– **Dmitry Movchan**, deputy director of the private Marshak Clinic in Moscow

in drugstores because there is very strict control," says Dmitry Movchan, deputy director of the Marshak Clinic, a private addiction treatment center in Moscow that claims a much higher success rate with patients than do the official centers.

"Allowing easy prescription access to opiates as tranquilizers or painkillers is reckless policy. Over there [in the US], they 'play

democracy' with drug addicts. But these are not people to be treated with half-measures. Either you cure them and they stay clean, or they will have this addiction for their entire life," he says.

Relief for pain

Russia's strict control of access to opiates is not limited to addicts, though, and the broader application of that philosophy has been sharply criticized for creating its own set of problems for those dealing with ongoing pain issues. The near impossibility of legally obtaining strong analgesics came to public attention in 2014 when a military hero, Rear Adm. Vyacheslav Apanasenko, killed himself after months of being unable to receive opiate-based drugs for his cancer pain.

"It's true; we've erred on the side of making access to palliative medicines too difficult. We are addressing that," says Bryun. "We are developing policies ... and we are sure we will find the right balance."

Nongovernmental groups that work with patients in hospices say the problem is far from solved in practice.

Another problem Western critics cite about Russia's approach to drug addiction is that it bans the kind of programs adopted in some Western countries to provide clean needles to addicts in order to block the spread of HIV/AIDS. They argue that the Russian approach is a major deterrent to addicts seeking treatment and has also contributed to skyrocketing rates of HIV infection, which, according to the Russian Federal AIDS Center, have risen by about 10 percent annually over the past five years, for a total of 1.1 million people.

Community support groups

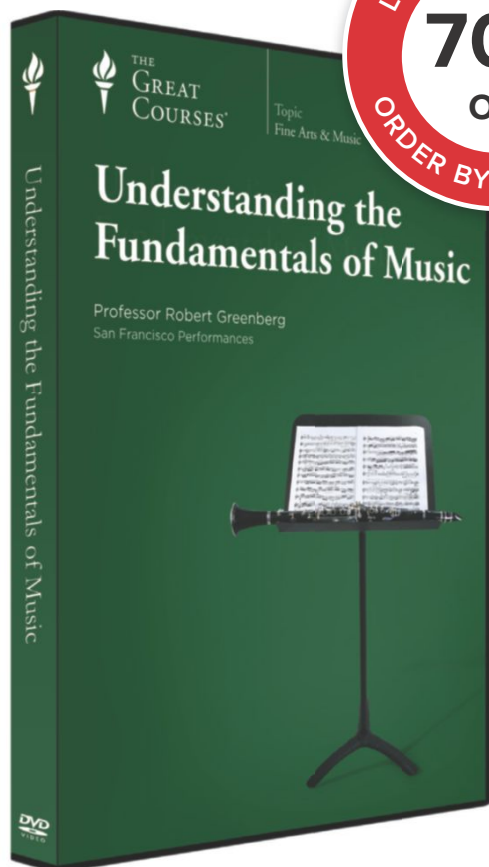
But there is one Western approach that has caught on heavily in Russia, and it may be the most effective one of all.

Western-style community support groups such as Alcoholics and Narcotics Anonymous are active in all major Russian cities.

The first Russian meeting of Narcotics Anonymous was held in 1990, and the organization has since expanded from Moscow to 160 Russian cities. In Moscow alone there are more than 100 groups, together holding an average of about 250 meetings weekly.

Representatives of Narcotics Anonymous declined to talk to reporters or allow them to visit any of the groups' meetings or facilities. But many former addicts say they couldn't have made it through or rebuilt their lives without those regular meetings and the group help they offer.

"The 12 steps saved my life," says Morozova. ■



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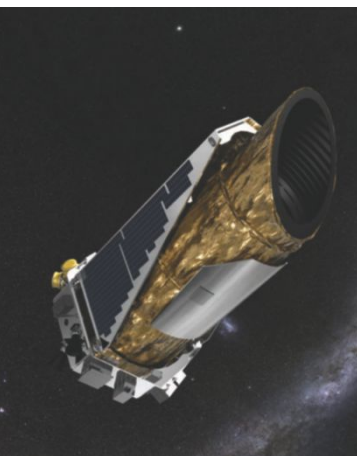
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A stellar year for astronomy

Space exploration has tested the bounds of human innovation for centuries. In 2017, technological breakthroughs opened doors to the universe that the first astronomers never could have imagined.



T. PYLE/JPL-CALTECH/NASA AMES

◀ AI MEETS E.T.

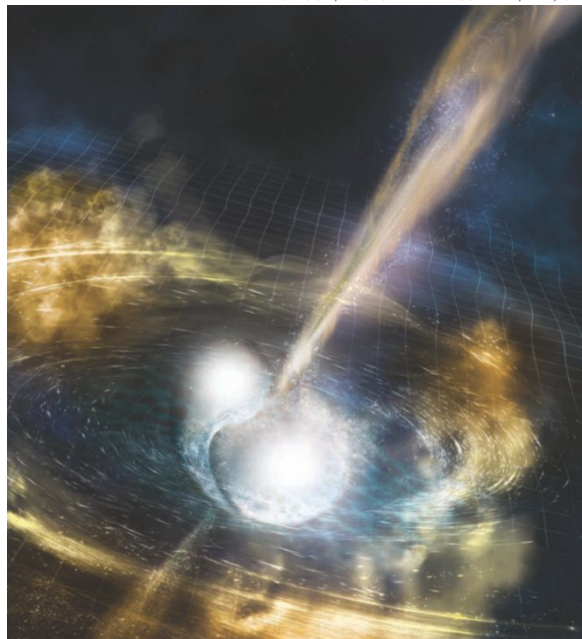
Just 30 years ago, astronomers lacked direct evidence of any planet outside our solar system. Today, we know of more than 3,500 exoplanets. And in December, NASA announced that there is at least one other star system out there with at least as many planets as our solar system. Scientists found Kepler-90i, the eighth known planet in the Kepler-90 system, by training a neural network developed by Google to analyze

data gathered by the Kepler telescope. A regular dimming of a star can indicate that a planet is passing in front of it. The Kepler spacecraft's data set likely represents just the tip of the cosmic iceberg. "If Kepler looked at our solar system," says Princeton astrophysicist Tim Morton, "it would probably see nothing." "It's pretty exciting news," says NASA scientist Tom Barclay of the huge number of planets detected by Kepler. "It really has fundamentally changed the way we see ourselves."

— Eoin O'Carroll / Staff writer

Learn more at <http://bit.ly/AlmeetsET>.

A. SIMONNET/SONOMA STATE UNIVERSITY/LIGO/NSF



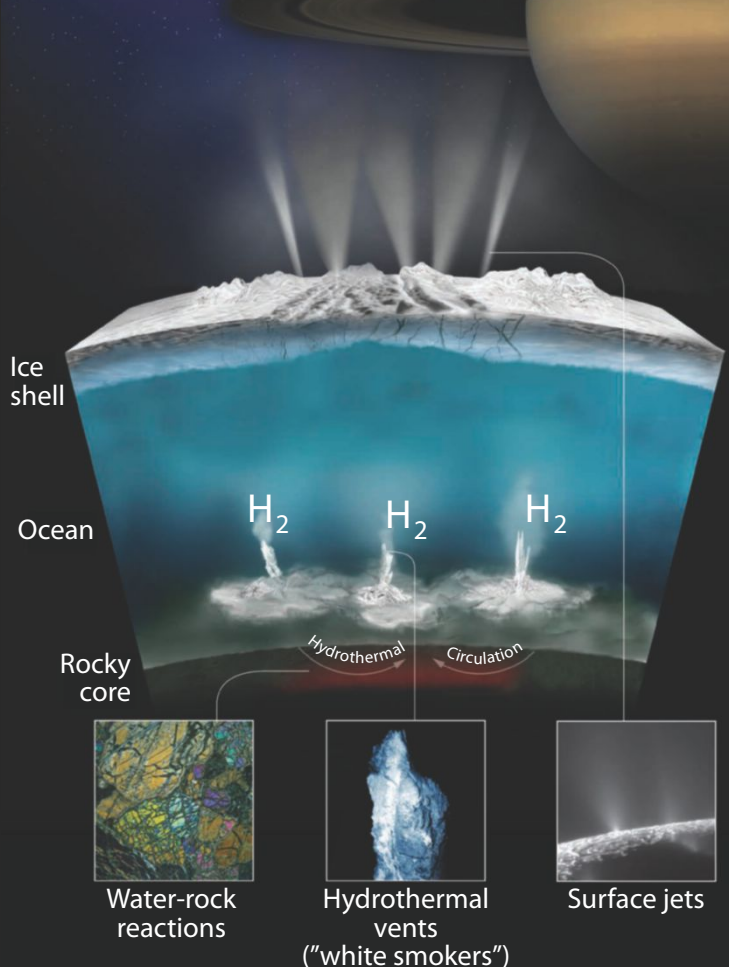
◀ A NEW ERA OF ASTRONOMY

The collision of two neutron stars 130 million years ago unleashed a blast of radiation and ripples in the fabric of space-time that scientists today say signals a new era in astronomy. On Aug. 17, a trio of observatories built to detect such ripples, known as gravitational waves, registered a disturbance in space-time. Mere seconds later, several ground and space telescopes detected a flash of gamma rays emanating from the same region. The combined data from gravitational waves and electromagnetic waves – a watershed moment in the fledgling discipline known as multi-messenger astronomy – suggests that neutron-star collisions are the source of short gamma-ray bursts as well as heavy elements like gold, platinum, and uranium.

— Eva Botkin-Kowacki / Staff writer

Read more at <http://bit.ly/newastronomy>.

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



NASA

NEW HORIZONS FOR LIFE

In the search for habitable worlds, astrobiologists look for three characteristics: liquid water, chemical building blocks, and an energy source (aka food). And in its 13 years orbiting Saturn, NASA's Cassini spacecraft found a place that nearly fits the bill: Enceladus, one of the ringed planet's many moons. A salty liquid water ocean sloshes beneath the icy crust of the moon. Enceladus also has four of the key chemical ingredients for life. And in April 2017, just months ahead of the mission's September finale, NASA announced that Cassini had detected molecular hydrogen – a possible food source for microorganisms. These discoveries have encouraged scientists to expand their search for habitable worlds.

— Eva Botkin-Kowacki / Staff writer

Read more at <http://bit.ly/EnceladusLife>.



1 HOME AGAIN As the reindeer return from their grazing grounds, Dukha men and women herd the animals to a camp in the East Taiga near Tsagaan Nuur, Mongolia.

STORY AND PHOTOS BY TAYLOR WEIDMAN / CONTRIBUTOR

A traditional world in jeopardy

TSAGGAAN NUUR, MONGOLIA – The Dukha are one of the smallest ethnic minority groups in the world. They live in far northern Mongolia in a snow forest near the Russian border and lead a traditional nomadic lifestyle dependent on the reindeer they herd. For decades, they have relied on hunting, gathering firewood, and accessing pasture in the taiga for their reindeer and livestock. But this changed in 2011 when the Mongolian government established a national reserve within the taiga to protect its many endangered species.

2 FURRY FRIEND A Dukha boy plays with a reindeer. Many Dukha children stay in dorms in a nearby town during the school year.



Park rangers began patrolling the protected areas, outlawing the hunting practices of the Dukha and restricting their reindeer herds to limited pasture areas. With their lifestyle now impeded, the Dukha worry that their traditions will die out. Some have continued their practices illegally and in secret, which has resulted in arrests, community schisms, and a growing cry to change the reservation's conservation rules. While the government has been proactive in preserving the environment by creating this park, the Dukha believe that the planning was conducted without adequate consultation and has pushed out other voices. Ironically, both the Mongolian government and the Dukha want the same thing: to preserve the taiga and the species that thrive there.



3



4



7



3 PLAYTIME A young Dukha boy swings in front of his family's teepee. Dukha teepees were once made of birch bark, but now most are constructed from canvas.

4 AFTERNOON TEA Uvugdorj Delger, a former ranger, sits with his wife as she makes milk tea – a common drink made with tea, salt, and reindeer milk.

5 WARM AND DRY A Dukha man wears a pair of reindeer fur boots. These boots are prized possessions in the cold winter months for their insulating abilities.

6 REINDEER RIVALRY Two reindeer attempt to lock horns at their camp. Reindeer are released each day to graze; to make milking them easier, they are tied up after they return.

7 WOMAN'S WORK A Dukha woman ties up a reindeer. Although women typically help with milking and caring for reindeer in the village, men are in charge of caring for the animals as they travel far from the villages in search of grazing grounds.





A 'Black Lives Matter' sign is displayed next to a 'Thin Blue Line Flag' supporting the police in an affluent suburb of St. Louis.

HOW ST. LOUIS RESIDENTS ARE
TRYING TO SURMOUNT RACIAL
INEQUITIES POST-FERGUSON.

BRIDGING BLACK AND WHITE

ST. LOUIS AND WEBSTER GROVES, MO.

Elyssa Sullivan never expected to get thrown in jail. The white suburban mother lives in a tony enclave on the outskirts of St. Louis with street names like Joy and Glen, a world apart from the turmoil that erupted 16 miles away in Ferguson, Mo., in 2014.

She had no inclination to join the protests sparked by a white policeman's fatal shooting of Michael Brown, a black 18-year-old, that overnight triggered a fraught – and painfully familiar – national debate on race relations in the United States.

"I was really scared," says Ms. Sullivan. "I kind of bought that narrative, 'Oh, that city is on fire; look at those protesters. I care about what they're saying, but that's not my place.'"

She never thought that three years later she would count a former battle rapper among her personal role models, or that she would scrawl "White Moms for Black Lives" on poster board and march down a highway. She couldn't imagine that a police officer would yell obscenities at her – and another would zip-tie her wrists together.

But there came a point when Sullivan concluded that it was more dangerous for her to sit at home, ignoring what she now sees as an unequal justice system for black and white people, than to drive her minivan downtown and stand face to face with police in riot gear. Even if it meant spending a night in jail, as she ended up doing, unable to get an answer about the charge against her and denied a phone call to her husband and two kids.

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STORY BY CHRISTA CASE BRYANT / STAFF WRITER

PHOTOS BY ANN HERMES / STAFF PHOTOGRAPHER



Elyssa Sullivan, a suburban mother who has become active in pushing for civil rights reforms in St. Louis, brings her sons home from school in Webster Groves, Mo.

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"It just made me hyperaware of how no one is listening when people of color in our community have shared their stories of how they've been brutalized by police and damaged by police," she says.

Sullivan is part of a broad movement that has sprung out of Ferguson, in which white people are increasingly joining a spirited crusade by black people to foster racial equity in St. Louis. They see the Midwestern city

the emboldening of the white supremacist movement, combined with few convictions in police shooting cases around the country, dashed many of their hopes. Then, a few months ago, a St. Louis judge acquitted Jason Stockley, a white ex-police officer, in the shooting death of African-American Anthony Lamar Smith in 2011.

Mr. Stockley had pursued Mr. Smith, who was on parole for possession of marijuana and an illegal firearm, after witnessing a

Adopting that strategy in St. Louis, black and white people have been protesting together amid trendy cafes and fancy suburban malls, challenging the idea that racial inequity is only a worry in neighborhoods with broken windows and empty streets.

Not everyone is happy with the new activism.

Some conservative whites believe it is misguided. They see rallying around black victims with suspected or demonstrated criminal backgrounds, questioning court verdicts, paying large settlements to families of police-shooting victims despite investigations clearing the officers, and forcing police officers to move away from the city

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'I'M BLACK, I GOT SHOT, AND I'M A POLICEMAN FIGHTING EVERY DAY TO MAKE THIS COMMUNITY SAFE. DOESN'T MY LIFE MATTER?'

— Charles Lowe, St. Louis police sergeant

as a modern Selma, Ala., fueling a new civil rights movement. From schools to homes, from courts to churches, they are combating the city's long history of segregation and racism – and building on the often-forgotten pioneers of civil rights in Missouri.

While St. Louis still lags behind many other cities in instituting police and criminal justice reforms, Ferguson has acted as a catalyst for change, from more grass-roots political engagement to the departure of a much-criticized police chief. Perhaps more important, it has led to a more frank dialogue between black and white people that could provide a path forward for a country cleaved by racial division.

"If we can be as successful in St. Louis as Dr. King and the civil rights leaders were in Selma, it could change this country as Selma did," says the Rev. Darryl Gray, who participated in the original civil rights movement and has been a major force behind the drive here.

■ ■ ■

In the immediate aftermath of the Ferguson shooting, activists sensed the mood was right here and across the country for a major new push forward on social reforms.

But the election of Donald Trump and

suspected drug deal. When the car chase ended in a crash, Stockley approached Smith's vehicle and shot him, later testifying that he saw a gun in the suspect's hands.

Heroin and a gun were found in the car, and an FBI investigation ended without prosecution of Stockley, a West Point graduate and Iraq War veteran. But after the officer had left the force in 2013, and the department had paid a \$900,000 settlement to the Smith family, fresh evidence surfaced showing that the gun in Smith's car bore only Stockley's DNA. The prosecution argued it had been planted by the officer.

Stockley's acquittal in the face of the new information stunned many who had worked for systemic change post-Ferguson, and it ignited a fresh round of protests.

Yet this time something was different. More than half the faces were white. That was intentional, taking a page out of the Selma playbook, says Mr. Gray.

In 1965, after state troopers brutally thwarted a march from Selma to Montgomery, Martin Luther King Jr. put out a call for whites to join them. Marching as a united front against voter discrimination, they reached Montgomery and helped persuade President Lyndon Johnson to enact the Voting Rights Act.



A pedestrian walks past a mural with a healing message in Ferguson, Mo., where rioting occurred in 2014.

as undermining law and order.

Yet the new social movement extends far beyond street protests. It involves a broad range of initiatives – many of them involving people of all colors working together – springing up everywhere from preschools to Pottery Barn-furnished living rooms.

■ ■ ■

Tiffany Robertson watched her neighborhood turn toxic after a police shooting, this one of VonDerrit Meyers Jr., a young black man, in 2014.

“There was so much polarization in the community ... I didn’t want to choose a side,” says Ms. Robertson, who is African-American. “I didn’t want my children to choose a side.”

So she started Touchy Topics Tuesday and invited white people to ask tough questions. She posed one of her own: “What about my skin offends you?”

The group has evolved to include a diverse mix of people, from airline pilots to police officers. Participant Sarah Riss has started another branch, in Webster Groves, where Sullivan lives, and she also runs the Alliance for Interracial Dignity, a group that



A sign that Elyssa Sullivan carries while protesting in support of black people sits on a bookshelf.

promotes racial equity.

Other bridge-building efforts have focused on children. Laura Horwitz and Adelaide Lancaster, two white mothers, have started We Stories, which helps parents spark conversations about race and racism through children’s books. In two years, more than 550 families in 67 different ZIP Codes have been through their program. Several hundred more are on a waiting list.

City Garden Montessori was spearheaded by two mothers – one white, one black – who wanted a school with kids from a rich mix of racial and socioeconomic back-

grounds. The school, which gets two applicants for every available slot, has become a model of integrated education and an avenue for improving cross-racial understanding and cooperation.

“It was a bit of an experiment to see if we are all coming together around our children and engaging in each other’s lives in ways that we would not be otherwise,” says executive director Christie Huck. “Can we begin to break down barriers and build meaningful relationships across race and class and strive to interrupt racism and these patterns that keep our region stuck?”

Witnessing Whiteness, a group inspired by a book of the same name, holds workshops to help people “notice and respond to interpersonal, institutional and cultural racism.” Sisters CARE – Christians Advocating Racial Equality – brings together a diverse range of Christian women to foster understanding. Other parent groups are pushing for more equity in schools.

“The old PTO guard is scratching their heads, like, ‘Why is there so much juice around this racial equity conversation?’ And they are figuring out how to support it,” says Farrell Carfield of Webster Groves, noting that her Parent Teacher Organization enthusiastically contributed funding.

“St. Louis certainly has the potential for being a model for creating ... important systemic change,” says Adia Harvey Wingfield, a sociology professor at Washington University in St. Louis. “But only if the conversations that are happening now are coupled with actual attempts to address the institutional processes that maintain racial and gender inequality.”

■ ■ ■

The solution to St. Louis’s problems may lie as much in how those of the same race deal with each other as in cross-racial work. Consider the experience of police Sgt. Charles Lowe. On a sultry night in July 2015, he was moonlighting as a private security guard when an intuition told him to put his bulletproof vest back on.

The African-American officer was still wearing his police uniform after getting off his shift at 2 a.m. He had done a walk around the property, then gotten back into his car, taken off his vest, and turned up

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the air conditioning. The impulse was insistent: "Put the vest on."

Lowe, who says he felt a divine presence, heeded the directive. He also became aware of two young black men nearby. Soon a third arrived. They must be waiting for an early morning bus, he told himself. Then they disappeared.

Suddenly, a Ford pulled up. A guy got out, gun in hand. Lowe caught a glimpse of those inside. He was sure it was the men he'd seen moments ago.

The gunman fired at him through the front windshield. Lowe shot back, feeling midway through emptying his weapon that he'd been hit on his side. But, in fact, the bullet had lodged in his vest. While immensely grateful to be alive, Lowe has a question for his fellow African-Americans.

"I'm black, I got shot, and I'm a policeman fighting every day to make this community safe. Doesn't my life matter?" asks the 15-year police veteran. "Or was it because I was wearing a blue uniform that it doesn't matter?"

The Brown shooting unleashed a wave of African-American fury toward white police officers, who continue to be heavily criticized. But African-American officers such as Lowe are not exempt from such scrutiny. Within their own communities, they face distrust and even outright hostility.

Perri Johnson, who is an African-American police captain and participant in Touchy Topics Tuesday, is now planning to start a similar group to promote understanding between black officers and black residents.

He was struck by an African-American adult who confessed to him that he was afraid of law enforcement. The 2015 Ferguson Commission report, which examined the root causes of the Brown shooting and subsequent protests, cited research that showed a big gap in trust of police – only 37 percent of black Americans trust officers versus 59 percent of white Americans.

"I had someone come to me and say,

'Well, you know what, as a black officer, you need to quit your job [as a form of protest] and turn your badge in,' says Mr. Johnson. "Well, that doesn't make any sense.... There are a lot of people within the department that want to make change."

Johnson, who is deputy commander of the police department's Bureau of Community Outreach, says 90 percent of people in the black and white communities are good. The same goes for police officers. "We have to help each other with our 10 percents," says Johnson.

The officer is also helping to break down stereotypes within the department, teaching required classes on racial profiling. Though blacks make up 47 percent of the population in St. Louis, they account for only 29 percent of the police force today – and the disparity grows starker in the higher echelons of the force. The Ethical Society of Police, the city's black police union, found in a 2016 report that among many of the most prestigious

units, 80 to 100 percent of officers were white. While expressing support for the majority of officers, the report described systemic biases along racial lines.

"As with any organization, we can always do better," says Ed Clark, president of the St. Louis Police Officers Association, the main police union. "We want everyone to feel like you got a fair shot at promotion, or a special job, or even getting hired." But he adds that no one has ever come to him and said they believed they hadn't gotten a job because they were a minority – though some white officers have told him they got passed over in favor of less-qualified African-Americans.

Often overlooked in the racially charged conversation about policing is the increasingly dangerous environment in which the city's police force operates. Since 2011, incidents of murder and non-negligent manslaughter have risen 66 percent in the city, according to FBI statistics. And that affects officers – white and black – not only as cops but as residents.

"We are part of the community," says Mr. Clark, who – like many officers – lives within city limits. "We don't want to worry about our families when we're at work.... We want the crime to go down. That's what I think everyone is working for."

■ ■ ■

St. Louis has a mixed legacy when it comes to racial issues. Missouri entered the Union as a slave state, and it rejected Dred Scott's quest to win his freedom through the courts. As recently as 1948, Missouri's highest tribunal upheld a lawsuit that banned a black family from occupying a home in a white St. Louis neighborhood – a decision later overturned by the US Supreme Court.

Yet civil rights activists in Missouri were also among the first to push for the desegregation of buses, lunch counters, and other public places. Despite these pioneering efforts, however, St. Louis today ranks as the fifth-most-segregated city in the nation.

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Flags fly outside the headquarters of the St. Louis Metropolitan Police Department, which has faced calls for reform since the shooting of a young black man in Ferguson in 2014.

“Often we want to, and a lot of white people want to, jump to healing without really reckoning with the history and the mistrust and the deep hurt,” says David Dwight, a member of Forward Through Ferguson, a group created to implement the 189 recommendations of the Ferguson Commission. “And you have to deal with that first, before you can get to healing.”

An 18-year gap in life expectancy exists between blacks and whites in neighbor-

‘THERE ARE A LOT OF PEOPLE WITHIN THE [POLICE] DEPARTMENT THAT WANT TO MAKE CHANGE.’

– Perri Johnson, St. Louis police captain (below, center)

appointed an African-American judge as her director of public safety, which oversees the police department. She has also pulled together a citizen advisory committee to help find a new police chief.

In November 2016, Kim Gardner became the first African-American to be elected circuit attorney, the office that prosecutes state-level criminal cases in St. Louis, on the promise of trying to restore trust in the criminal justice system.



Members of Touchy Topics Tuesday, a diverse group of people who get together for frank discussions, share a moment of levity during a meeting in St. Louis.

hoods here just 10 miles apart. Close to six times as many black children live in poverty in St. Louis County as white children. The state headquarters of the Ku Klux Klan lies just an hour’s drive from the city.

In the wake of Ferguson, a US Department of Justice investigation revealed that the largely white city government was deriving millions of dollars in revenue from mainly poor, black citizens stopped for minor traffic violations. Because of their inability to pay the initial fine, many of those ticketed spent weeks or months moving in and out of jails, navigating court appearances, and

shelling out fees, fines, and bail payments.

It’s a pattern that lawyers say remains common – and deleterious – across St. Louis County. “We’re not getting public safety by fining or jailing or citing folks whose contact with the legal system is a result of their poverty,” says Thomas Harvey, executive director of the legal advocacy group ArchCity Defenders.

■ ■ ■

Yet many changes have taken place in the city since 2014. In April, Lyda Krewson became St. Louis’s first female mayor. She

One of her top concerns is how to investigate police shootings. Currently, a Force Investigation Unit within the police department takes the lead on such inquiries. But after Stockley’s acquittal, Ms. Gardner asked the city’s Board of Aldermen for \$1.3 million to create a unit that would become the lead investigative body. She argued that her office had not been able to access key interviews and obtain relevant documents – a charge the FIU disputed.

“At what time do we think that a body who is investigating one of [its] own is ap-

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appropriate?” asks Gardner. “It deteriorates the public trust.”

Other changes have come from the courts. In November, a federal judge ordered the city to refrain from using chemical agents such as pepper spray and other tactics against people engaged in “expressive, nonviolent activity.”

Yet the police have their supporters, too. Just days before the judge’s ruling, the city voted overwhelmingly to pass Proposition P, which gave the police department more funding – a move Clark, of the main police union, says reflects confidence in the men and women in blue.

Ultimately, some residents believe the best way to improve race relations in the city isn’t through street protests but the ballot box. Dellena Jones, a hair salon owner in Ferguson who is still paying off loans for damage caused by the riots, holds classes on how to fight discrimination through government channels. “There’s other ways of doing things, like voting,” says Ms. Jones. “You can’t say the system is flawed if you don’t work the system.”

A few activists are going even further: They’re running for office themselves. One, former battle rapper Bruce Franks Jr., is now a state legislator. Cori Bush, a nurse and pastor who took her ministry to the

streets of Ferguson, is vying for a seat in Congress in 2018. Ms. Bush decided to run after watching elected officials remain silent or visit the protests just for a photo op.

“There have to be people in positions of power that actually love the people, that have a heart for the people, and that the people actually love and respect as well,” she says.

But social change doesn’t come through legislative action alone. Some of it comes through private conversations and shifts in attitudes. Sullivan, the suburban mother, is using the post-Ferguson ferment as a teaching moment for her children. She’s also been talking with friends about what she’s learning – though it hasn’t always been well received.

‘THERE’S OTHER WAYS OF DOING THINGS, LIKE VOTING. YOU CAN’T SAY THE SYSTEM IS FLAWED IF YOU DON’T WORK THE SYSTEM.’

– Dellena Jones, a hair salon owner in Ferguson, Mo.

When she shared on Facebook her account of being arrested during a demonstration, an account that was widely circulated, some people accused her of embellishing the story. And a few longtime friendships have flagged as Sullivan has taken to the streets to promote racial equality and push for fairer police practices.

Yet she seems committed to her new crusade to foster change, even if it means sacrificing nights at the gym and occasional reading time with her children. “I don’t think white people can place all of the burden of protest and speaking up and educating and changing hearts and minds and policy ... on the people who are being oppressed by our white racist systems,” she says, sitting at her dining room table. “That’s our work.” ■

RICK WILKING/REUTERS/FILE



A Missouri State Highway Patrol officer watches a protest march in Ferguson, Mo., in August 2015.

THE GLOBE AND MAIL / TORONTO

Canada's frustrating year dealing with the Trump administration

"In dealing with the Trump administration, it's been a year of frustration for Prime Minister Justin Trudeau and his cast. Try as they might ... they haven't been heard....," writes Lawrence Martin. "Where Ottawa's exasperation lies is in trying to locate where, on any given day of the week, Mr. Trump's head is situated. The North American free-trade agreement zigzags offer an example.... Frustration anyone? How is the Prime Minister supposed to deal with a President whose modus operandi is the hairpin turn?... It's not all bad. The Keystone XL pipeline favoured by Mr. Trudeau was given the go ahead.... A big plus for Canada is the high-flying economy over which Mr. Trump presides, making American markets for the northern neighbour more bounteous...."

THE GUARDIAN / LONDON

Why the West is culpable for untold suffering in Yemen

"[Saudi Arabia's] Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman is on quite the shopping spree: a \$500m yacht here, a \$450m Leonardo da Vinci painting here," writes Owen Jones. "As this despot showers himself in decadent luxury, the children of Yemen are starving as Saudi bombs ... destroy the country. It is one of the greatest crimes on earth, so it is welcome that [on Dec. 19] 350 high-profile figures – Nobel peace prize laureates and celebrities among them – have signed a letter demanding the leaders of France, the US and the UK stop 'stoking the flames of war'. The barbarous Saudi regime is being armed and supported by the west as it pummels Yemen."

THE JORDAN TIMES / AMMAN, JORDAN

The new year calls for a pivot in anti-Islamic State strategy

"The year 2017 will be looked upon as setting a crucial milestone in the long and costly war against jihadists and in particular the self-proclaimed 'caliphate' of [Islamic State]," writes Osama Al Sharif. "In the past few weeks there has been a number of celebratory events – all marking the defeat of this brutal cult.... But is it too early to sign the death certificate of one of the most enigmatic and radical takfiri groups in recent history?... [W]hile the so-called 'caliphate' no longer exists, the brand continues to linger.... 2018 should be the year that sees the beginning of the defeat of the dogma that continues to appeal to disenfranchised young men and women."

AL JAZEERA / DOHA, QATAR

President Trump's National Security Strategy is devoid of direction

"[President] Trump's assertions [in his speech about the National Security Strategy Dec. 18] about renewed US respectability and influence around the world seem laughable....," writes Marwan Bishara. "Trump's doctrine reveals a zero-sum vision that leads to a zero-sum strategy: Us vs them. It is a vision of an alien world that's hostile to US interests, a vision that led the US to pull out of the Paris Climate accords, from UNESCO, and from the Trans-Pacific partnership, among others.... President Trump has advanced a three-tier strategy to protect the homeland, promote American prosperity, and preserve peace through strength. But his logic is populist, his style antagonistic, and his policy is belligerent.... In sum, Trump has embraced a hyperrealist foreign policy and sees no real value in universal values."

THE HINDU / CHENNAI, INDIA

Chile's new president faces a balancing act

"The election of the centre-right Sebastián Piñera as Chile's President in a run-off [Dec. 17] comes at a critical juncture, with the country's political boundaries in the post-Pinochet era being redrawn....," states an editorial. "Mr. Piñera's victory raises expectations of the country's return to the robust economic performance of his previous term during 2010-14.... Economic consolidation is a critical priority in Latin America, still reeling under the effects of the plummeting commodities markets in recent years. But governments may not be able to ignore demands that the fruits of growth be distributed evenly."

Founded in 1908 by Mary Baker Eddy

EDITOR: Mark Sappenfield

CHIEF EDITORIAL WRITER: Clayton Jones

MANAGING PUBLISHER: Abe McLaughlin



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

How people once at odds can learn not to even the score

After he declared victory over Islamic State (ISIS) on Dec. 9, Iraqi Prime Minister Haider al-Abadi made an important promise. He plans to address the wide distrust between Sunnis and Shiites – which was a root cause for ISIS's rise three years ago. "Iraq today is for all Iraqis," he said, citing the rare unity of military forces during the final push against ISIS.

Mr. Abadi is now the latest world leader searching for national reconciliation and

'NO OTHER COUNTRY TODAY HAS SO MANY PERPETRATORS OF MASS ATROCITY LIVING IN SUCH CLOSE PROXIMITY TO THEIR VICTIMS' FAMILIES.'

– Phil Clark, scholar on Rwanda

a healing of social wounds after the end of an armed conflict or the collapse of an authoritarian regime.

In the West African nation of Gambia, a new president, Adama Barrow, plans to set up a truth commission to shed light on the human rights abuses committed during the two-decade rule of his dictatorial predecessor, Yahya Jammeh. "We must understand what happened under Jammeh so we never slide back," says Abubacarr Tambadou, Gambia's minister of Justice.

In Colombia, President Juan Manuel Santos took a step in December in cementing a 2016 peace deal between the government and the country's largest guerrilla group. He formed a truth commission that will reveal atrocities committed during a half-century of civil war. Another tribunal will administer justice for major war crimes.

In Tunisia, a truth commission set up after the 2011 Arab Spring continues its work to uncover the misdeeds of a previous dictatorship. Meanwhile, Nepal and Sri Lanka are weighing similar efforts after wars in those countries.

Rwanda's harmony after a genocide

While any of these efforts could serve as hopeful possibilities for other countries currently in conflict – Syria, Myanmar (Burma), Libya, Ukraine, Yemen, and South Sudan – perhaps the best recent example of reconciliation is Rwanda, 23 years after a genocide there killed 800,000.

In a new article in *Foreign Affairs* magazine, University of London scholar Phil Clark writes of "the immense steps" that

Rwanda has taken at the individual, local, and national levels to achieve harmony between the Hutus, the ethnic majority, and the minority Tutsis.

"No other country today has so many perpetrators of mass atrocity living in such close proximity to their victims' families," he writes after conducting more than 1,000 interviews with everyday Rwandans over 15 years of research.

The country used community courts called *gacaca* to prosecute 400,000 genocide suspects. Those who confessed and showed remorse were shown leniency and reintegrated into their villages.

Rwanda's leader, Paul Kagame, has used annual commemorations and civic education to bring the two ethnic groups together. The country is alert to divisive ethnic propaganda. And victims on both sides found their common suffering drew them together.

Most of all, the economic gap between Hutus and Tutsis was reduced, "helping redress some of the deep grievances that have bedeviled local communities for decades," Mr. Clark writes. "Many communities have ... formed economic cooperatives,

incorporating both Hutus and Tutsis, to pool resources such as seeds or fuel. They have started these not only out of economic necessity but also in the hope that working together will start to mend historical rifts."

People once at violent odds with each other now tend the same fields, send their children to the same schools, sell goods to each other in the marketplace, and often intermarry. Such daily activities tested the ethics of each individual's commitment to the community. They have created a foundation of trust.

The risk of mass violence now seems remote. While progress toward democracy has slowed, Rwanda shows how a country torn apart by war or cruel leaders can reconcile with the right mix of justice, dialogue, and socioeconomic development. Most Rwandans, concludes Clark, "have chosen to get on with life rather than settle old scores." ■

Arctic pact shows what's possible

For decades, the Arctic has been viewed as a problem, a place of tension between nations with competing claims to its potential wealth, especially as the ice cap recedes. The top of the world might become a new Wild West.

That view has now shifted after a new international pact was signed in late November in Washington. Dozens of nations agreed to hold off on commercial fishing in waters roughly the size of the Mediterranean for 16 years while the Arctic habitat is studied under a joint research program. Arctic fish are critical for other creatures such as polar bears and help sustain coastal native communities. If the research shows that the ocean's ecology is too delicate, another five years could be added to the moratorium.

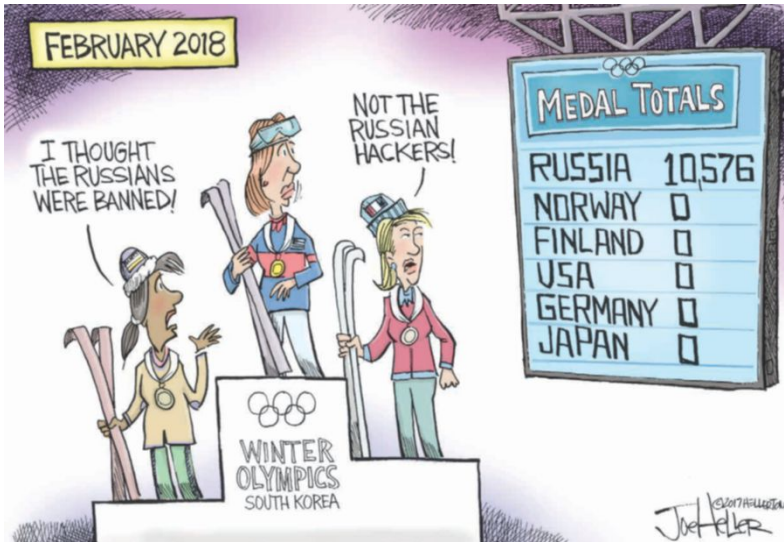
The Arctic is now not merely a problem, but an opportunity to show how differences between nations can be resolved and an untouched environment preserved before it is

exploited. An important principle has been applied: It's better to act with caution and understand a natural environment before meddling with it.

A model of statesmanship

The pact now opens the possibility for even more cooperation on other issues in the Arctic, such as territorial claims and oil exploration. A model of statesmanship has been established despite moves by some nations to define their underwater territory and tap the Arctic's riches. Unilateral acts are now less likely.

Countries with large oceangoing fishing fleets have learned the hard way that fish stocks can easily collapse without international agreements that strictly regulate the size of catches. Environmental governance takes cooperation. And as the Arctic warms, the nonfishing pact shows how a consensus about preservation can flip a problem into an opportunity. ■



Mosaic nation

Regarding the Nov. 27 cover story, “Heartland strong”: I loved this article because it shows the mosaic substance of our nation. So much of what I have read fails to deliver what goes on in the minds of middle-of-the-road thinkers with big ideas. Thank you.

ROBERT RUNO
Chardon, Ohio

Intriguing tour

Regarding the Dec. 18 OneWeek article “Focusing on the ‘herstory’ of Paris”: Now that’s a tour I’d like to take! I am not one to “do” tours, but this article has whetted my appetite, and I’d like to do this one.

LAURA LAWRENCE
Ashland, Ore.

Possibilities for every area

Regarding the Nov. 20 cover story, “A billionaire’s war on poverty”: This article was so full of wonderful details of George Kaiser’s support for his community of Tulsa, Okla., that I found myself applying these ideas here in St. Louis, Ferguson, and other nearby suburbs of Missouri. I spend time each week in the jail volunteering with a book club, and we use our books to learn how to live better lives and evaluate how good a job our leaders are doing in envisioning a more forward-looking community. Some of Mr. Kaiser’s ideas are ones we sometimes reach for but have not articulated as clearly.

I intend to make copies of this article and take it to our next discussion to see what the prisoners think of it so that we can use it to help solve issues in our community. I have told them that they are the hope of the future of our city, and I think they are beginning to believe me; however, they are grappling with how they can have any individual impact.

I also love your “People Making a Difference” series – it is so fresh and inspiring! Thank you for offering these little gifts of possibilities to those of us living in areas that sometimes feel left behind!

SUSIE GETZSCHMAN
Rock Hill, Mo.

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TOM HANKS AND MERYL STREEP STAR IN 'THE POST.'

NIKO TAVERNISE/20TH CENTURY FOX/AP

ON FILM

'The Post' intended to resonate as freedom-of-the-press film

MERYL STREEP PORTRAYS PUBLISHER KATHARINE GRAHAM.

By Peter Rainer / Film critic

Most movies coming out of Hollywood this year have been determinedly apolitical. Not so with Steven Spielberg's "The Post." Ostensibly it's about The Washington Post and its battles with the Nixon White House, and alongside with The New York Times, over the right to publish the Pentagon Papers. But clearly this freedom-of-the-press clarion call is also intended to resonate in the Trump era. Spielberg, who rushed the film into production, has stated, "I could not believe the similarities between today and what happened with the Nixon administration against their avowed enemies The New York Times and The Washington Post. I realized this was the only year to make this film."

As is true of most movies about "important" topics, "The Post" is least successful when it's glorying in its own righteousness. If the movie has any shelf life beyond the current historical moment, I suspect it will be because of Meryl Streep's performance as Washington Post publisher Katharine Graham. Her genius for emotional nuance continually undercuts the movie's grandstanding.

When "The Post" begins, Graham is arranging for the family-owned paper, which

was passed along to her in 1963 after her husband committed suicide, to go public in order to avoid bankruptcy. Executive editor Ben Bradlee, portrayed by Tom Hanks with enough gruff charisma to make us (almost) forget Jason Robards in "All the President's Men," is chafing at the White House's decision to bar his reporters from covering Tricia Nixon's wedding. He wants to lift the paper out of its regional rut and go up against the Times with something big.

This turns out to be the Pentagon Papers, the voluminous secret documents – leaked in 1971 by Daniel Ellsberg first to the Times, and then, when a court injunction halted publication, to the Post – outlining three decades of lies and coverups employed by four presidents to justify the American involvement in Vietnam, a war that many, including Nixon's secretary of Defense and Graham's good friend Robert McNamara (Bruce Greenwood), privately thought unwinnable.

The film proceeds on parallel, often intersecting tracks as both an old-fashioned newspaper movie, full of scoops and skulduggery, and a movie about a society matron with no real business experience, who, as the first female publisher of a major newspaper, finds herself at the forefront of

a major test of the First Amendment before the Supreme Court. Disparaged or ignored even by her own top business associates – all men – she finds her voice and, as Streep has described it in interviews, quoting Nora Ephron, becomes "the heroine of [her] life." In the movie's terms, Graham finding her own voice is tantamount to the United States finding its own voice.

If all this sounds pat, that's because Spielberg and his writers, Liz Hannah and Josh Singer (who co-wrote "Spotlight"), have made it so. The newspaper's machinations are presented with dogged diligence. When Graham, conquering her fear of causing the paper to collapse and facing possible jail time, gives the go-ahead to publish the Pentagon Papers, you can practically hear the newsroom cry out, "Start the presses!"

We've seen enough better-than-decent newspaper dramas by now, most recently "Spotlight," to expect a bit more from Spielberg. As is often true with him when he tackles a historical subject – think "Bridge of Spies" or "Lincoln" – he tamps down his cinematic flair in the service of what he clearly perceives as a higher calling.

In the case of "The Post," that calling is nothing less than championing a free press in Trump World. The film is saying that there is nothing fake about the news in the Post – then or now. And the fact that "The Post" is essentially a prequel to "All the President's Men" is likewise intended as a cautionary warning shot to the Trump administration.

You can sympathize, as I certainly do, with the sentiments behind this free press posture and still resist the movie's self-congratulatory tone. In the film's closing minutes, do we really need to see a gaggle of women gazing adoringly at a victorious Graham as she descends the steps of the Supreme Court?

As a matter of fairness, one could also argue that the film's heavily skewed emphasis on those unlikely soul mates, Graham and Bradlee, undervalues the primary role that the reporters, not to mention Ellsberg, played in the battle. Their courageous work made her courageous decision possible.

But there is no arguing with Streep's performance. In inexorable increments, she transforms what might have been just another feminist standard-bearer into something far more complex. Her hesitations, rue, and ultimate valor are soul-deep. Graham's victory over her fears does not come lightly, but when it does, it's definitive.

■ **Rated PG-13** for language and brief war violence.

MOVIES

No dark side – ‘Star Wars’ inspires fans to do good

COURTESY OF B. MARCHULAITIS PHOTOGRAPHY



PATRICK LOCHELT PORTRAYS A SCOUT TROOPER IN WOBURN, MASS., ON OCT. 29, 2017.

IN WOBURN, MASS., Chewbacca was getting a hero's welcome. The man playing Han Solo's buddy was getting ready for a parade when a group of boys from Woburn Youth Hockey, also ready to head out on the parade route, spotted him. "CHEWIE!" the young hockey players shouted, and the "big walking carpet" Resistance hero accommodated the boys, doling out high-fives.

Dozens of members of "Star Wars" fan groups – the 501st Legion and the Rebel Legion – had headed out for the parade dressed as characters ranging from Princess Leia Organa to the malevolent Darth Vader. It's not just the fun of putting on a Stormtrooper helmet that motivates many of the members to sign on with the Empire or the Rebel Alliance. Both the 501st Legion, which represents the dark side, and the Rebel Legion, which represents the good guys, focus on charity.

Fan charities aren't just limited to long, long ago in a galaxy far, far away: The Harry Potter Alliance, which aims to "turn fans into heroes," started an Accio Books campaign that donated more than 250,000 books all over the globe. It also filled five cargo planes with supplies to help those in Haiti. And the Federation Relief Missions Task Force, operated by the International Federation of Trekkers, collected relief supplies and hygiene products for those affected by hurricane Harvey. The 501st Legion and the Rebel Legion have paired with organizations including the American Red Cross, the Make-A-Wish Foundation, and Toys for Tots.

Doug Wilder, a biker scout in the 501st Legion from Quincy, Mass., says it's the memories of children whose days were brightened that make participating in the 501st Legion special to him. "The little moments like making the kids smile are always a lot more fun," he says. "And ... you're reminded of why you put up with sweating in a giant plastic spaceman outfit."

– Molly Driscoll / Staff writer

1 U2 ROARS BACK

No longer the pop music kingpin it once was, U2 took stock for a few years and has come roaring back with a new collection of music that rivals its best work. **Songs of Experience** is stylistically diverse and, at times, too eager to please (on collaborations with guest stars Haim and Kendrick Lamar) or preachy (on political misfire "The Blackout"), but when the band gets it right, nobody else comes close. "You're the Best Thing About Me," "The Showman (Little More Better)," and the touching "The Little Things That Give You Away" are top-tier U2.



2 HISTORY RECAP

Calling all Anglophiles: **The History of England podcast** by David Crowther began with Anglo-Saxons and is making its way through the story of Britain. The podcast is currently covering the Tudors, so tune in if you're missing Hilary Mantel's "Wolf Hall" trilogy. You can find Crowther's retelling of the history of the country at thehistoryofengland.co.uk.



COURTESY OF MAXWELL TILSE

LANDMARK RENDERINGS

Like so many, artist **Maxwell Tilse** has seen globally famous monuments such as Big Ben, the Sydney Opera House, and the Globe Theatre. But he then created small, intricate pen-and-ink renderings of these sights and photographed them next to the real thing. Head over to maxwellillustration.com and marvel at the details.

4 TENNIS BATTLE

A new film looks back at how a match between tennis stars Bobby Riggs and Billie Jean King became a **Battle of the Sexes**. Emma Stone portrays King and Steve Carell takes on the role of Riggs. Monitor film critic Peter Rainer says Stone gives a "complex" depiction of King, while Carell is "remarkable." "'Battle of the Sexes' is best ... in those moments when both King and Riggs drop their public faces and reveal the roiling underneath," he says. The film is available on DVD and Blu-ray.

5 EARTH'S BEAUTY

Enjoy the beauty of Earth from your iPad or other tablet with the app **Brian Cox's Wonders of Life**. Learn more about creatures, including Australia's red kangaroo and the Christmas Island hermit crabs, and see them in 3-D. Video is included, too. Brian Cox's Wonders of Life is \$0.99 for iOS and \$1.53 for Android.



REUTERS/FILE

How to blog with wisdom and grace

By Hannah Schlomann

No Time to Spare: Thinking About What Matters is a pleasing read, and an engaging look behind the curtain into the life and mind of award-winning author Ursula K. Le Guin.

Le Guin, of course, is a national treasure. As one of America's leading science fiction writers (although she has said that she prefers to be simply known as a novelist), Le Guin has won multiple Hugo and Nebula Awards as well as too many other literary prizes to be able to list them all here. In 2014, the National Book Foundation gave her the Medal for Distinguished Contribution to American Letters.

Today, at the age of 88, Le Guin no longer writes fiction. But she does blog. (Her blogging habit was inspired, she writes, when she read blogs that Nobel laureate José Saramago wrote while in his 80s). "No Time to Spare" is a collection of Le Guin's blogs, featuring witty and insightful commentary on subjects ranging from art and literature to politics and felines.

The title essay explains why Le Guin found it hard to respond to an alumni survey she received from her alma mater, Harvard University. The survey asked her to state what she does with her spare time. Le Guin asks how it is possible to have spare time when simply living life, visiting with friends and family, grocery shopping, and writing fill each and every day.

"The opposite of spare time is, I guess, occupied time," she writes. "In my case I still don't know what spare time is because all my time is occupied. It always has been, and it is now. It's occupied by living."

Next she tackles old age – an ambitious task but one that she takes on with grace and humor.

Expressing her frustration with those who say "you're only as old as you think you are," Le Guin suggests that old age is not something to be denied. To do that, Le Guin argues, is to erase

LITERARY VETERAN URSULA K. LE GUIN TAKES ON DAILY LIFE IN HER ONLINE WRITINGS.



AUTHOR URSULA K. LE GUIN

COURTESY OF MARIAN WOOD KOLISCH

the long life already lived.

The practice of a lifelong skill or the wisdom gained throughout one's life is valuable and worthy of respect, she says, and should not be played down or denied. She finishes with the recommendation to "let age be age. Let your old relative or old friend be who they are. Denial serves nothing, no one, no purpose."

Le Guin quickly jumps to literary subjects in a section titled "The Lit Biz," which includes her thoughts on literary trends, the concept of the Great American Novel, and the pains and joys of answering fan mail.

She breaks down the Great American Novel, looking at what makes a novel both great and American, ultimately deciding that "We have all the great novels we need and right now some man or woman is writing a new one we

won't know we needed till we read it."

In between each of these sections, Le Guin pauses to tell captivating tales of Pard, the cat that she adopted from her local humane society in 2010.

Through quick verbal snapshots, readers get to know the little black-and-white tuxedo cat. Le Guin describes him as "a vivid little creature ... utterly sweet and utterly nutty." She notes that Pard doesn't merely run around the house, but "flies around, mostly about waist level." The sweet anecdotes and lively details of a day in her life with Pard capture the delightful essence of her cat, or, as she says, "the soul of the house."

Le Guin again takes on the impossible in the third section, "Trying to Make Sense of It," in which she addresses hot-button issues such as feminism and America's perception of war in the 21st century, among many others.

In the fourth section, Le Guin reflects on art, culture, the majesty of the outdoors, and soft-boiled eggs. In her final chapter, "Notes from a Week at a Ranch in the Oregon High Desert," Le Guin paints a beautiful picture of a desert valley in eastern Oregon worthy of an Aaron Copland orchestration. Birds dance through the air, poplar trees conceal the darkness until night falls, and "a creek comes energetically down off a mountain."

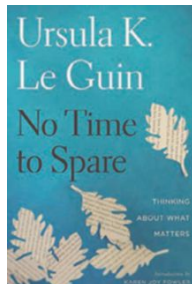
"No Time to Spare" brings life to even the smallest details of daily existence, even as it asks readers to ponder new perspectives, fall in love with Pard the tuxedo cat, and re-examine the little details of their own lives.

For Le Guin's fans, "No Time to Spare" will be a well-loved look into her lucid musings on subjects small and large. For readers new to Le Guin, it is a wonderful introduction to her work and thinking.

But the best thing about this collection is Le Guin herself. Her insightful stories and playful language will carry readers along, bringing them to the last page much too soon.

■ Hannah Schlomann is a Monitor staff member.

NONFICTION



NO TIME TO SPARE
By Ursula K. Le Guin
Houghton Mifflin
Harcourt
240 pp.

Q+A

WITH DEBORAH CADBURY, AUTHOR OF 'QUEEN VICTORIA'S MATCHMAKING'

*Monarchy manipulations, love connections (or not), and world-changing tragedy unfold in the fantastic new book **Queen Victoria's Matchmaking**, by British historian Deborah Cadbury. Cadbury recently spoke with Monitor contributor Randy Dotinga about Queen Victoria and her sometimes unintended impact on history.*

Q: What drew you to this topic?

I had always known that Queen Victoria had a reputation as a “matchmaker,” and I thought this would be an interesting way to examine her character. How did she exert her control? How did she induce people to fall in love with each other, or at least carry out her wishes? Was she playing roulette with their lives and feelings? These matches had tremendous significance. Seven of her grandchildren ascended European thrones. And of course, the queen’s descendants were heir to an empire that straddled a quarter of the globe, so these marriages mattered and [helped] to shape the course of history.

Q: What surprised you about Queen Victoria?

She is full of colorful contradictions, a compelling and emotional character who’s great fun for a writer. On the one hand, she is eagle-eyed with the mind of a lawyer, and on the other, readily succumbing to romance and emotion. She’s painfully critical of her own children but lavishes praise on her sometimes-undeserving grandchildren. And she’s reclusive and grieving but somehow with a knack for knowing exactly what is going on behind her back.

Q: What did she want to achieve through matchmaking?

After the Napoleonic Wars, in which up to 6 million died, Queen Victoria and Prince Albert believed it might be possible to help foster peace and stability on the continent through the marital alliances of their children and grandchildren. It was a means of

helping to spread British liberal values across the continent, perhaps even a pushback against the destabilizing forces of republicanism, revolution, and war.

Q: How did love fit into her vision?

Not much! But this changed over time. For the children, there was a clear expectation that these alliances were their duty and their own happiness came second. Yet after Albert’s death, Queen Victoria had softened and was beginning to see that grand foreign alliances brought all sorts of problems in their wake. But when it came to the heirs to thrones, love often had to fit around duty.

Q: Who are your favorite characters other than the queen?

I have a real soft spot for her oldest daughter, Vicky, who obligingly “fell in love”

with the Prussian heir at the tender age of 14, knowing full well how much her parents wished her to do so. The way this story unraveled, ending up with her son, the megalomaniacal Kaiser Wilhelm, becoming Germany’s mighty emperor, had me on the edge of my seat as I read Vicky’s heartfelt letters to her mother.

Q: In their letters, several royals seem remarkably perceptive.

I agree! I was particularly astonished by how savvy Vicky was in Germany. It is almost as though she saw in slow motion everything unravel that would lead to the First World War but felt powerless to prevent it.

Q: The lives of several characters do not end well, with great ramifications for the world. Is this story a tragedy?

Truly a Shakespearean tragedy. The great plan started with the very best intentions and unraveled spectacularly, arguably through no fault of her own. Queen Victoria would have been heartbroken had she lived to see the final outcome.



COURTESY OF JERRY BAUER

DEBORAH CADBURY

What are you reading?

Monitor readers share their favorite titles.

Ariel Sabar’s father spent his childhood in a remote corner of Kurdish Iraq in an Aramaic-speaking Jewish community separated from Israel for almost 3,000 years. Against considerable odds he became a world-renowned scholar of Aramaic, the language of Jesus. In **My Father’s Paradise**, Sabar tells his father’s story and his own, linking the ancient Middle East to the present. It’s a great read.

– Ginny Bear, Seattle

In **The Nordic Theory of Everything**, journalist Anu Partanen, who grew up in Finland but has lived in the United States, contrasts life in the US with life in the Nordic region. This is a must read for those dismayed with the US health-care system.

– John Wegmann, Port Angeles, Wash.

The True Flag, by Stephen Kinzer, examines the debate surrounding America’s pivotal move into imperialism. **Thunder in the Mountains**, by Daniel J. Sharfstein, examines the debate between the United States and the people of Chief Joseph, a leader of a band of Nez Perce. Set decades apart, the arguments of these two great debates could almost be interchanged. In each case, one side argues for the right of peoples to democratically determine their fate. Both books are replete with moving oratory, extensively document their epochs, and provide a deep understanding of the players involved.

– Richard Montgomery, Gig Harbor, Wash.

There Is No Good Card for This, by Kelsey Crowe and Emily McDowell, takes readers through all possible scenarios that we may have experienced with a friend in distress and helps guide us to empathetic responses. It is a book every home should have to help us all take meaningful actions when life seems unfair to people we love and work with.

– Louise Schullery Cox, Windsor Locks, Conn.

Wonder, by R.J. Palacio, is the story of August, a 10-year-old boy with a facial deformity that has prevented him – up until now – from going to school. As you follow him from his first day of school to his last, you will see how one boy, his family, and a community are changed. It’s an inspirational and uplifting story.

– Helen Harold, West Salem, Wis.

WHAT ARE **YOU** READING? Write and tell us at kehmem@csp.com.

The suicide rate among military veterans is high. Bobby Colliton is working to change that – with hockey.

By Hannah Schlomann / Staff writer

BEDFORD, MASS.

On a Saturday evening in the Boston suburb of Bedford, Mass., a small crowd is gathered to watch the New England Eagles Veterans Hockey Club take on the MA Hockey League Saints.

Both teams are mixed-level, made up of adult players who come together to compete and have fun on the ice. But for the Eagles, there's a larger goal. Dressed head to toe in red, white, and blue, these military veterans and current service members skate to raise awareness of the suicide rate among veterans.

In recent years, this rate was about 22 deaths per day, according to estimates by the US Department of Veteran Affairs. It's a number that many – including Bobby Colliton, an Army and Air Force veteran from Spokane, Wash. – find unacceptable.

After his own experiences transitioning back to civilian life in 2015, Mr. Colliton understands the struggles of veterans as they leave the military today. "I was isolated," he says. But hockey, he adds, was "the only thing I had that made life good."

'You can speak in your acronyms, and make your stupid military jokes and stuff. People get it.'

– John Dorman, former lieutenant colonel, speaking about the hockey club's camaraderie

Colliton started playing the sport with a recreational team in Florida shortly after leaving the military. It wasn't long before he decided to take his love of hockey a step further: In 2015, he founded the Skate for the 22 Foundation to draw attention to the suicide rate and provide a space for veterans to come together and support each other. Among the foundation's initiatives is the coed hockey team, the Eagles.

"I wanted to give a place for these guys never to feel alone again," says Colliton,



COURTESY OF PATRICK DALY

MORE THAN JUST A GAME: Jonathan Demers (with puck), an Army guardsman, joined the New England Eagles Veterans Hockey Club two years ago.

who has lost four friends to suicide.

The Eagles team, which was founded in November 2015, started with 18 veterans. Since then, the foundation and the team have grown to more than 210 members. In fact, demand has been so great throughout New England that this past October a sec-

ond team was formed – the Granite State Cannons. "Our growth rate is a testament, I think, to what we're doing on the ice," Colliton says.

Hockey novices welcome

While many come to the Eagles already knowing how to skate and play hockey, the team is open to any current or former service member, even if he or she has never been on the ice. The team has a regular season each year for practices

and games, plus skills clinics for players of all levels and family skate events. The most valuable part of it all, players say, is the camaraderie.

"Within the military, especially active duty ... there's definitely a mentality of brotherhood that is developed, mutual respect.... I really missed that when I retired from the Army," says John Dorman, a former lieutenant colonel who plays goalie for the Eagles. When he joined the team, he was glad to be back around people with a similar background. "You can speak in your acronyms, and make your stupid military jokes and stuff. People get it," he says.

For Lindsay Migala, an Air Force reservist who plays right wing for the Eagles, the team and players became "the family you never knew you had."

Although the foundation always recommends seeking help from mental health professionals, it also recognizes that community support for each and every veteran is a good way to help reduce suicide rates.

And the New England hockey commu-

► NEXT PAGE

GALLERY OF RECENT PROFILES



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



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



Shara Fisler is bringing the ocean – as well as science – closer to low-income youths in San Diego.

nity has answered the call for support. Professional players, coaches, and referees volunteer at the clinics, practices, and games; hockey rinks donate ice time and equipment; and National Hockey League teams such as the Boston Bruins have backed the Eagles with free tickets to NHL games and a chance to play charity matches.

One of the Eagles' regular coaching volunteers is Chris Dymont, a former American Hockey League player. He is now a coach

for the junior Islanders Hockey Club in the area and donates his time to Skate for the 22 to help new players get up to speed.

Going out of his way

The team atmosphere of lending a hand and welcoming everyone comes from Colliton at the top of the foundation, says Jonathan Demers, an Army guardsman who joined the Eagles two years ago. "[Colliton] just really goes out of his way to help people

in any way he can, even outside the organization. It doesn't even have to do with hockey," he says.

The work of the foundation has touched a lot of lives, but Colliton says more work needs to be done. "I want to go out of business; I want to be down to zero" veteran suicides, he says. "I want to have to pay for hockey again."

■ For more, visit skateforthe22.org.

How a Ghanaian decided to set up a food bank

Eric Darko had never seen one before a visit to the US.

By Stephanie Genkin / Contributor

When Eric Darko arrived in Seattle from Ghana to participate in a professional leadership exchange program in 2015, he had no idea that his visit would be life-changing – not only for himself, but also for the people in his community back home.

The biochemist, who works in a regional office of the Food and Drugs Authority, a state agency in Ghana, recalls being "moved" by the experience of volunteering at Northwest Harvest, Washington's only statewide nonprofit food bank distributor.

"I had never seen a food bank before. The thought of hungry people coming in and picking up food really touched me," Mr. Darko says. "I am the kind of person who likes giving. I remember saying in our closing meeting [for the exchange program that] I would open a food bank in Ghana."

'You can see how thankful people are.'

– Eric Darko, founder of Eastern Harvest Food Bank in Ghana

Five months ago, he made good on his promise, launching Eastern Harvest Food Bank in the New Juaben Municipality of Ghana's Eastern Region. It's believed to be the first food bank in the country with warehouse operations.

Ghana is a country of about 28 million people. Despite its relatively small size, it boasts a fast-growing economy because of natural resources such as gold and oil.

Over the years, the government has made impressive gains in fighting hunger.

Yet even with much progress, food scarcity remains a problem.

With two assistants helping Darko as well as volunteers, Eastern Harvest Food Bank is open on Tuesdays and Thursdays from 10 a.m. to 2 p.m. It provides people in need – generally local residents who are age 50 or older – with basics such as rice, beans, tomato paste, sugar, and *gari*, a popular West African staple made from cassava tubers.

Since its launch, Eastern Harvest Food Bank has fed more than 2,400 people.

"Some days we run out of food," Darko admits. "We need more donations."

So far at least 54 volunteers, some of whom work for the Municipal Nutrition Office, have given their time to help distribute food. And some return with donations.

The greatest need can be found among older Ghanaians. "The 50-plus population is among the most vulnerable," Darko explains. "There are often health issues, and some are also out of active work and they can't afford three square meals a day."

The Rev. Emmanuel Okyere Otu, who heads the community's Presbyterian Church, has volunteered at the food bank.

"I was amazed to see the number of elderly people who go to the food bank for assistance," he says via email.

"It's a clear indication that they don't have support elsewhere," he adds.

Darko was a participant in the International Visitor Leadership Program when he volunteered for a few hours at the Se-



VOLUNTEERS AT EASTERN HARVEST FOOD BANK

COURTESY OF ERIC DARKO

attle-area food bank. IVLP is a US State Department-funded program facilitated by World Learning, a global nongovernmental organization based in Washington, D.C.

Perhaps one of the most difficult challenges he's faced is the culture. It hasn't been easy getting volunteers. Darko explains: "It is a very difficult attitude that we have. Most people demand payment for any service for which they render. So changing that mentality will take a lot of work. In time, we are very hopeful we'll get more people to volunteer and that Ghanaians will learn to appreciate the act of volunteerism."

He wants to understand the challenges of running a food bank before he tries to establish a second one elsewhere in the country.

Despite the worry each week about how to find more donations and volunteers, Darko says the experience has been rewarding.

"You can see how thankful people are. They appreciate it so much," he says. "That's the reward."

■ Stephanie Genkin is a media and content strategist for World Learning.

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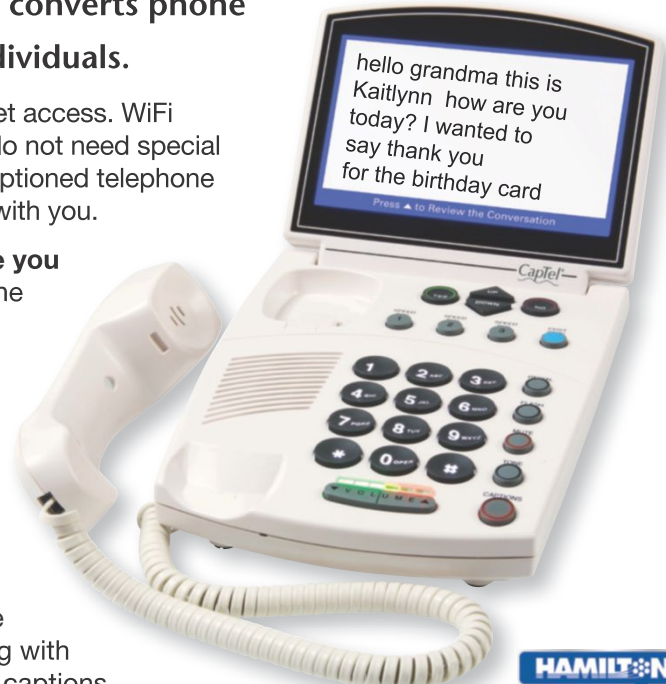
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ESSAY

I'm encouraged to go higher

My 8-year-old daughter has been waiting since the beginning of the school year for the day when she'd finally get to move up from her little-kid tumbling class to the big-kid gymnastics class. But now that it's time, she is suddenly terribly unhappy about the whole idea. She moped around for a few days, talking about quitting, before she finally told me one night at bedtime exactly what was troubling her. She's worried, she said, that she'll be the worst person in the class. She's worried she'll fall off the equipment. She's worried that everyone will laugh at her when she can't master the moves.

I'm not a gymnast. I can't imagine falling off the balance beam because I can't imagine a situation in which I'd have the guts to climb up there in the first place. So how

I was the smallest, weakest one in there. I felt silly.

to ease her fear of failure?

A few years ago, when I was living in Jordan with my diplomat husband, I decided it was time to get my middle-aged self back in shape. The gym at the embassy was tiny, without much room to maneuver around the stacks of weight plates, the racks of dumbbells, and the boxing bag. It was mostly military guys and federal agents in there, big guys with tattoos who were busily curling dumbbells that outweighed me. I was the smallest, weakest person in there day after day, and I felt out of place as I did my push-ups, squats, and dead lifts. Nobody in there really seemed to notice me, but I was aware that I stood out in that crowd of weightlifters, and I felt sort of silly. Still, I showed up, because I could tell I was making progress – I was getting stronger. I liked that feeling, so I persisted, mostly keeping to myself.

One day I was on my favorite machine, one that nobody else in the gym ever needed to use: the assisted pull-up machine, which let me go through the mechanics of a proper pull-up without requiring me to haul all of my weight up to the bar. I had just finished a set when this huge guy, a Marine Corps lieutenant colonel whom I kind of knew but had never really talked to, walked up to me and asked, "Why are you always doing assisted pull-ups?" I looked at him, embarrassed, searching for an answer. "Because I can't do real ones," I finally admitted.

And he laughed at me. But not in a mean way. More in a don't-be-ridiculous way.

"Yes, you can," he said. "I've seen you. You're strong. Get



NEWSCOM

A LESSON I LEARNED AT A GYM IS ONE I HOPE MY DAUGHTER WILL LEARN, TOO.

my other foot right out from under me, landing hard on my rear end. But even I could laugh about that, once it stopped hurting.) There were teachers everywhere in that gym, once I was willing to humble myself and ask for help.

By the time we left Jordan for a new assignment in Moscow, I could knock out 10 pull-ups, easy, and I had been certified as a personal trainer, so I could teach other women what I'd learned in that gym.

And so it will be with my daughter. She won't be the best gymnast in the room. But if she shows up, if she lets her desire to learn how to do a back handspring overcome her fear of landing on her face, she'll learn something, both about the sport and about herself, every time she walks into that gym. She'll have teachers and friends and competitors there. She'll just have to ignore anyone who might laugh at her efforts and seek out the ones who will push her to be better.

And – heck – as an 8-year-old, she can already do almost as many pull-ups as me.

over here, and I'll show you."

We walked over to the "real" pull-up bar, and he explained "reverse" pull-ups: Instead of pulling yourself up, you start at the top and slowly lower yourself down. He watched me do a couple. Then he told me to come back the next day and try a real one.

So I did. And I did! I had no idea I was strong enough to do a pull-up because I'd never tried.

"Keep practicing," he told me. "By the end of the month, you'll be able to knock out four or five." And then he went back to his task of slinging huge dumbbells around the gym.

After that day, I felt I had a cheering squad in there, with the others at the gym watching to see if I could boost my pull-up numbers and congratulating me when I did. I started to love going to that gym. I was still the smallest, weakest one there. But I could do pull-ups! First two, then five, then nine. And when I stopped worrying about looking foolish, I started asking others questions, and I learned all sorts of things. The Army major helped me fix my dead lift. The federal agent and I talked squats. The Jordanian kickboxing champ taught me to punch things, and Lauren, one of my few women friends at the gym, showed me what those crazy TRX straps were for.

The point is, nobody was laughing at me. (Well, except for the time I tried to land a kick during my kickboxing lesson and I kicked

– Donna Scaramastra Gorman

Words in the news

Bolded clues in this special year-end puzzle refer back to things that happened in 2017.

By Owen Thomas

Across

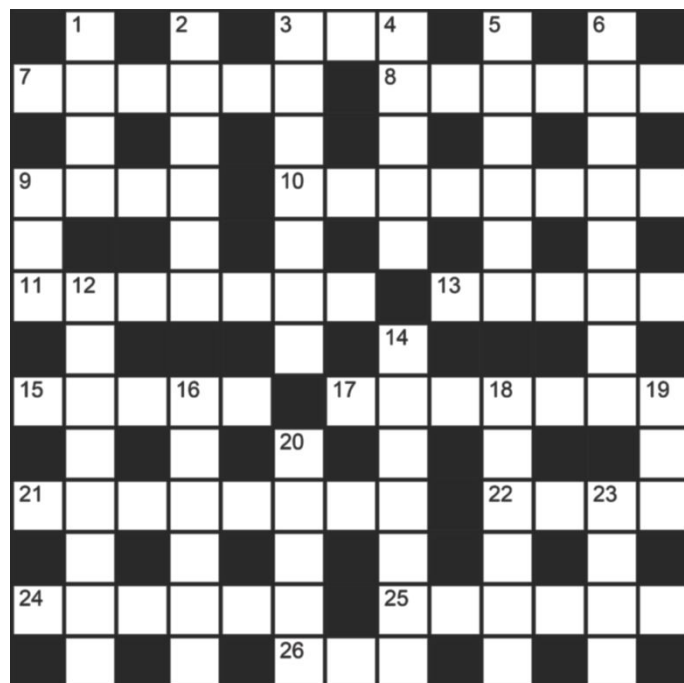
3. The original "i" device suffix
7. Word that relates to time or size
8. **Winner of 2017 World Series**
9. "Roots," e.g.
10. **Winner of 2017 Super Bowl**
11. Woody Allen's 1973 sci-fic comedy
13. **Islamic State's capital, which fell in October**
15. "Remember the ____!"
17. Abraham's first son
21. Welcome signal during the Blitz
22. Wander

24. "More!"
25. **Some Britons now seem to regret their June 2016 vote on this**
26. Born, in bios

.....

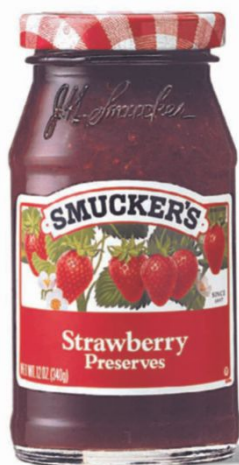
Down

1. One of Columbus's ships
2. **Zimbabwe's longtime strongman, ousted in 2017**
3. Puzzle
4. "Inferno" author
5. Fifth-century barbarian. Did his wife call him "Hon"?
6. Small shop



9. "Help!"
12. **Announced as best picture winner at 2017 Oscars; "Moonlight" was the real winner**
14. Attribute
16. **French leader who seems to be leading global movement on climate change**
18. **Her new political challenge has all of Europe fretting**
19. Bad guys in gangster movies were often "on the ____"
20. **Attention has shifted from Syria to this civil war/proxy war in Middle East**
23. Battery contents

FRUITFUL SINCE
1897.



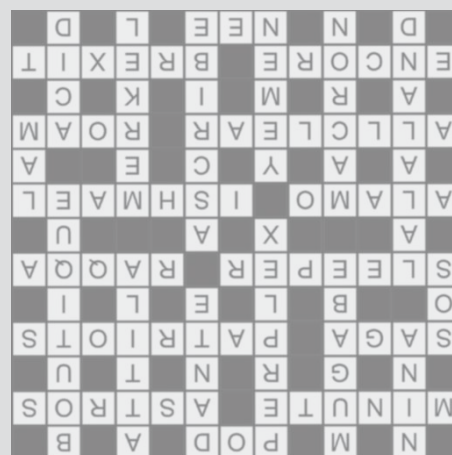
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meanwhile ...



SHOPPERS IN SEOUL, SOUTH KOREA

ANN HERMES/STAFF

IN SOUTH KOREA, more than 1.5 million South Koreans will have their debts paid off or restructured by the National Happiness Fund.

It's all part of a **government plan to relieve the economic pressure on some of the nation's lower-income citizens**. The fund was established in 2013. To qualify, South Koreans must have an income of less than \$910 per month and be able to prove that they have tried for at least a decade to repay the borrowed money. Debts of as much as \$9,000 will be considered.

According to the BBC, the plan could wipe out as much as \$5.6 billion in debt.

IN NTAGACHA, TANZANIA, young women are being taught to sew in order to give them a path to economic independence.

Many Tanzanians wear made-to-order clothing, so sewing skills are in high demand. Recognizing this, **the City of Hope school and home for orphans has launched a program called Sewing Empowers Women**.

The City of Hope school was founded by Tanzanian John Chacha and his Canadian-American wife, Regina Horst. Today, their daughter Tenzi runs the program. "I want [the students] to learn a trade so they'll be empowered – so they'll have a good job and a good future for themselves," Tenzi told *Glamour* magazine.

IN DUBROVNIK, CROATIA, tourists are flooding into the medieval city, hoping to see some of the noteworthy sites where HBO blockbuster "Game of Thrones" was filmed.

The Dubrovnik Tourist Board estimates that about **10,000 tourists are arriving by sea each day**, making the city the world's No. 2 most popular cruise destination after Venice, Italy.

Is the new attention welcome? "I find it idiotic, the 'Game of Thrones' and the tourism related to it," Krunoslav Ivanišin, an architect and professor of design and urbanism at the University of Zagreb in Croatia, told *City Lab*. "But you must understand that citizens of Dubrovnik must make their living, and 'Game of Thrones' ... [does] help them."

– Staff

Can great men (and women) be good?

"Power tends to corrupt, and absolute power corrupts absolutely. Great men are almost always bad men." As depressing as they may be, these words of British historian Lord Acton from more than 100 years ago are often accurate. Regrettably, reports of criminal and/or sexual misconduct are all too commonplace. And even after the handcuffing and apologies, a cloud of distrust can hang over the public.

Perhaps that was the scene in ancient Israel, when word got out that King David – beloved leader, heroic warrior, and "sweet psalmist of Israel" (II Samuel 23:1) – had committed adultery and intentionally sent the woman's husband to the front line of battle so that he would be killed. Learning of this shocking news, David's subjects might have felt his reformation a futile hope.

A CHRISTIAN SCIENCE PERSPECTIVE

Fortunately, someone felt otherwise. According to Scripture, the prophet Nathan was sent by God to restore David's sense of justice. He told David a story about a rich man with many sheep who took the single, beloved lamb owned by a poor man and killed it for a feast. Angered by such wickedness, David called for justice only to learn that the tale was aimed at himself. Realizing this, his integrity came to light. Not denying his guilt, justifying his actions, or shifting the blame, David simply confessed, "I have sinned against the Lord" (II Samuel 12:13). With this admission and deep repentance, his sense of human decency returned, as did his devotion to the Almighty.

Nathan isn't here today to bring offenders to their senses. But we're all here, able to care enough about our fellow man and woman, including our leaders, to help recover their innate, God-given purity. As God directed Nathan, He will surely guide our prayers to restore a sense of integrity to leadership.

If that sounds like a tall order, it helps to first reform our concept of one another. The common notion is that we're good-and-evil physical beings, separate from our Maker and forever enticed by the flesh. This can lure us into thinking we have license to act immorally, even criminally.

Instead, consider these words from Monitor founder Mary Baker Eddy: "Man's genuine selfhood is recognizable only in what is good and true" ("Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures," p. 294). How empowering to accept this view of everyone's actual spiritual identity. Further, she cautions: "Sorrow for wrong-doing is but one step towards reform and the very easiest step. The next and great step required by wisdom is the test of our sincerity, – namely, reformation" (Science and Health, p. 5).

Even the relatively small steps we individually take toward reformation can help arrest society's tendencies toward corruption. Favoring integrity over personality, purity over crassness, and always considering others' welfare, we'll be helping to light the way for those around us, including our leaders. "Ye were sometimes darkness, but now are ye light in the Lord: walk as children of light," counsels the Bible (Ephesians 5:8). It's not too much to hope that each individual effort and prayer for reform will contribute to supporting others, helping them understand and prove that greatness and goodness are one.

– Beverly Peake

Adapted from a Christian Science Perspective article published May 26, 2011.

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