

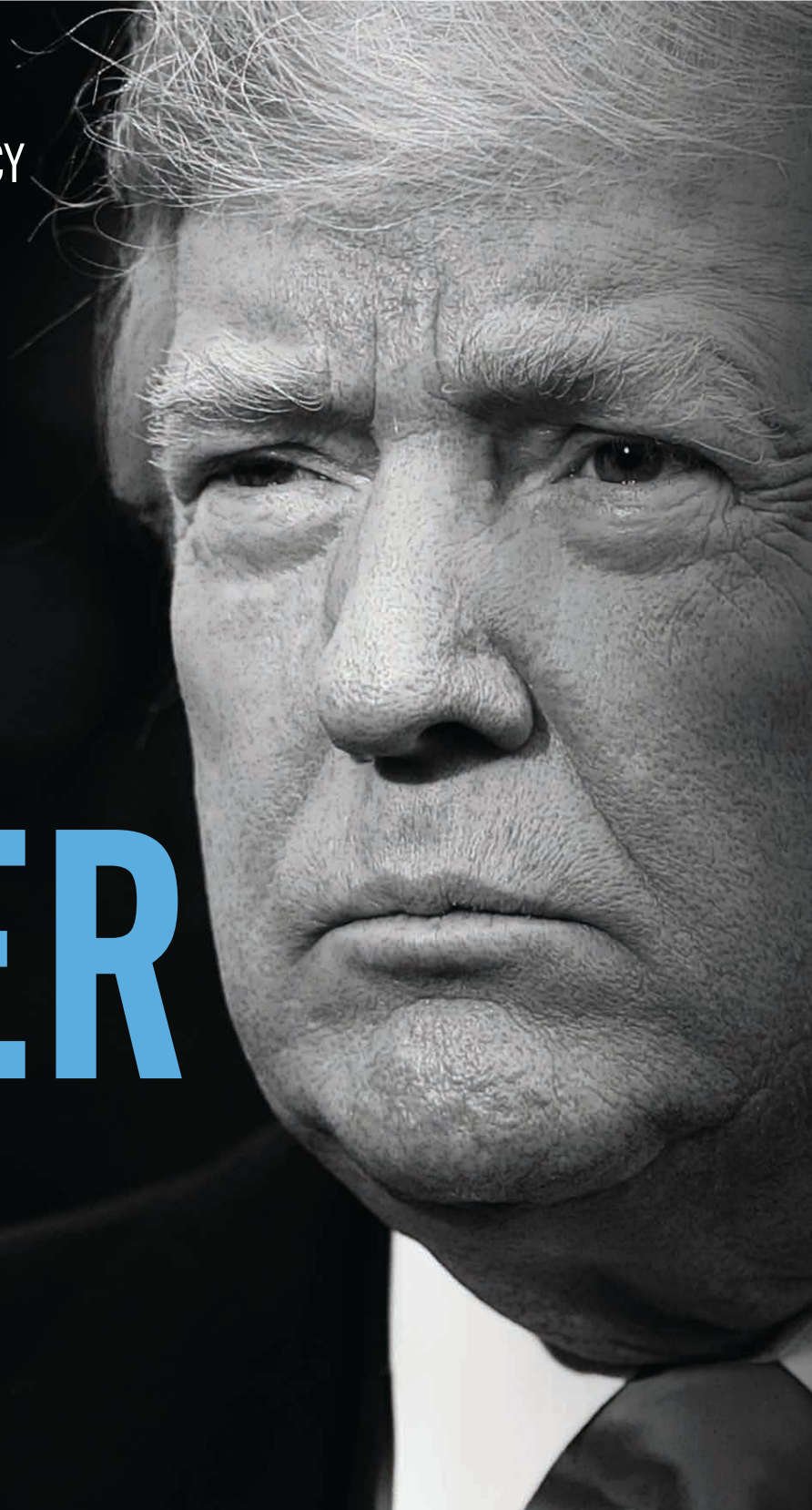
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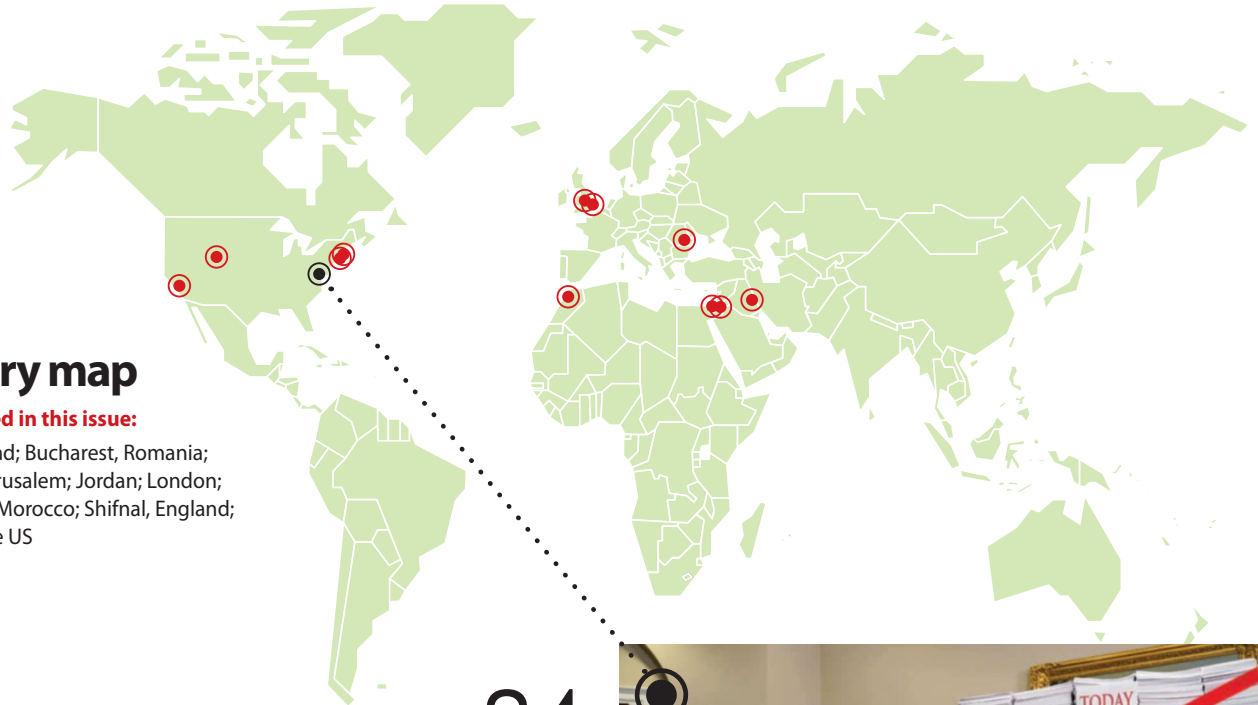
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HOW DONALD TRUMP
IS CHANGING THE PRESIDENCY
AFTER ONE YEAR
IN OFFICE.

LIKE
NO
OTHER

BY LINDA FELDMANN





Story map

Covered in this issue:

Baghdad; Bucharest, Romania; East Jerusalem; Jordan; London; Rabat, Morocco; Shifnal, England; and the US

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COVER STORY

Disrupter in chief

Here's how Donald Trump is changing the presidency after one year in office.

BY LINDA FELDMANN

COVER PHOTO: MANUEL BALCE CENETA/AP



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ENERGY: WYOMING SEEKS PROSPERITY IN THE WIND

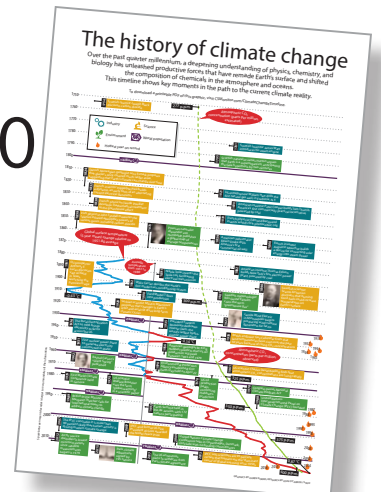
In a state whose economy has been devastated by the decline in fossil fuel industries, some are rethinking their attitude toward renewable energy. BY AMANDA PAULSON

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THE HISTORY OF CLIMATE CHANGE

Over the past quarter millennium, a deepening understanding of physics, chemistry, and biology has unleashed productive forces that have remade Earth's surfaces and shifted the composition of chemicals in the atmosphere and oceans.

BY KAREN NORRIS AND EOIN O'CARROLL





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PEOPLE MAKING A DIFFERENCE The Mei Mei food truck was just the start: how Irene Li is trying to improve an interconnected food system.

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– MARY BAKER EDDY

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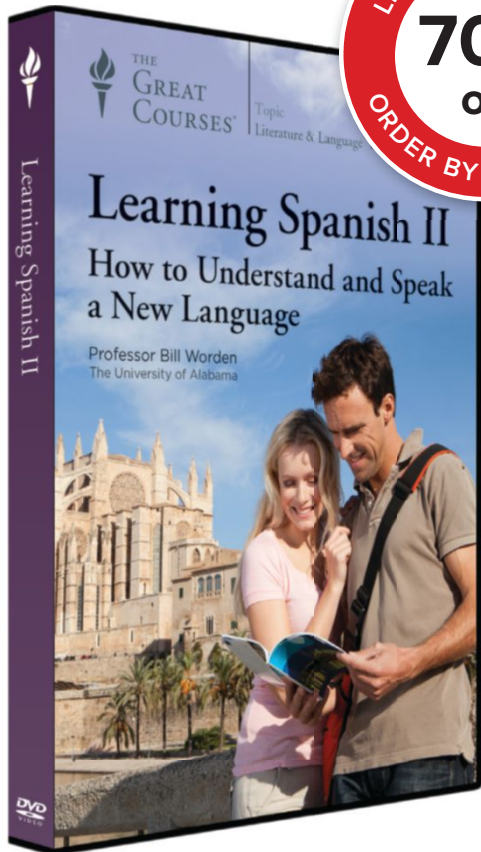
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PRESIDENT TRUMP SPEAKS WITH REPORTERS IN THE OVAL OFFICE ON DEC. 22, 2017.

EVAN VUCCI/AP

Keeping the American experiment alive

I NEED NOT TELL YOU THAT THE AMERICAN POPULACE has a rather conflicted opinion of their chief executive. Just trying to come up with a headline for this week’s cover story by Linda Feldmann was interesting. To an astonishing degree, what defines Donald Trump’s first year as president varies wildly depending on how one views him. And how one views him has become the central fault line in American politics.

That makes this as good a time as any to ask: Is that as it should be?

As president, Mr. Trump clearly wields huge power. What he does matters, in many cases enormously. But it’s also fair to say that, according to the vision of the Founders, a fixation on Trump – pro or con – is a backward way of addressing America’s challenges.

Their America was founded most conspicuously on liberty – the freedom of the individual to flourish, the freedom of the individual from tyranny. And what was the Founders’ great bulwark to defend this ideal? What consumed the majority of the Constitutional Convention’s time? Congress.

The reasoning was simple, but radical. If you truly wanted to protect liberty, empowering a single man or woman was likely to be more of a threat than an answer. So “the people” would write laws, control the spending, and set the nation’s course through Congress. The president would be Congress’s errand boy.

In many ways, however, the presidency has evolved as a convenient end run around the messy complications of lawmaking, particularly in recent years. And that trend matters enormously, too. It speaks to views of power and of political impotence. In a country as diverse and large as

the United States, government by the people is bound to be messy and frustrating. But that is its cost.

George Washington was terrified to accept the presidency because he worried “that my countrymen will expect too much from me,” he wrote to a friend.

The Founders recognized that, ultimately, citizens would make or break their creation. After the Constitutional Convention finished, Benjamin Franklin reportedly told those outside that the result was “a republic, if you can keep it.”

Keeping that republic has always been an exercise in patience and trial.

President Lincoln saw the Civil War as a battle to ensure that “government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth.”

And Washington saw it in his day, when “local prejudices and attachments” imperiled the young republic. “The sacred fire of liberty, and the destiny of the republican model of government, are justly considered as deeply, perhaps as finally staked, on the experiment entrusted to the hands of the American people,” he said in his inaugural address.

America has evolved over the generations, but those changes only reveal new challenges to that model of government. And to focus only on Trump is to risk missing the deeper echoes of his presidency, which speak to a nation perpetually struggling to come to terms with the radical vision that founded it.

BY MARK SAPPENFIELD
EDITOR

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

'The people of Iran are finally acting against the brutal and corrupt Iranian regime... The people have little food, big inflation and no human rights. The U.S. is watching!'

– **President Trump**, praising Iranian protesters in a Jan. 2 tweet. Days of protests have resulted in more than a score of deaths as a demonstration fanned by hard-liners against the policies of Iranian President Hassan Rouhani spun out of control and spread nationwide. (See story, page 8.)



'We stand with the Iranian people so much that we won't let them come here.'

– **Former United Nations Ambassador Samantha Power**, pointing to what she sees as ironic about Mr. Trump's sympathy for tens of thousands of Iranian protesters. Iran is one of the eight majority-Muslim nations from which the Trump administration wants to permanently ban people from entering the United States – the latest iteration of the ban, announced in September, is mired in legal challenges. An Iranian dissident wishing to immigrate to the US would not be able to do so under what American Conservative magazine calls 'Trump's ridiculous travel ban.'

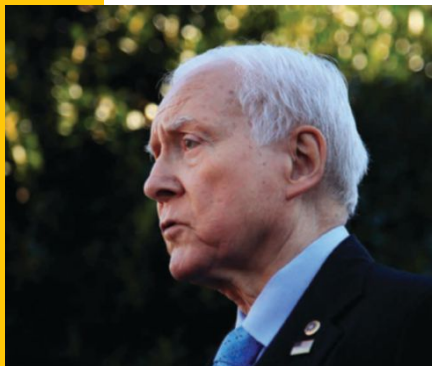
'Please, let's not extinguish the hope in their hearts, let's not suffocate their expectations of peace.'

– **Pope Francis**, calling for people worldwide to 'embrace' migrants and refugees in his New Year's address. He reminded listeners that the theme of this year's World Day of Peace (Jan. 1) was 'Migrants and Refugees: Men and Women in Search of Peace.' Francis reiterated his support for 'all those fleeing from war and hunger, or forced by discrimination and persecution, poverty and environmental degradation to leave their homelands.'



'Jerusalem is not for sale, neither for gold nor silver.'

– **Palestinian Authority President Mahmoud Abbas's office**, responding to President Trump's tweeted threat to cut funding to the Palestinian Authority. Mr. Abbas's spokesman Nabil Abu Rudeineh called the tweets 'blackmail,' adding that 'if the United States is keen on its interests in the Middle East, it must implement the international resolutions which call for a state on the 1967 borders with East Jerusalem as its capital.' Without this, the US 'will push the region to the abyss,' he said. Mr. Trump had expressed impatience with the lack of progress in his efforts to broker a peace deal between the Israelis and the Palestinians.



'[E]very good fighter knows when to hang up the gloves. And for me, that time is soon approaching.'

– **Sen. Orrin Hatch (R) of Utah**, currently the longest-serving Republican in the Senate, announcing Jan. 2 that he will not run for an eighth term this year, despite pleas from President Trump to do so. Senator Hatch's retirement began wide speculation that Mitt Romney, who has been sharply critical of Mr. Trump, would run for Hatch's seat. Mr. Romney, a Mormon, moved to Utah after his unsuccessful run for the presidency as the GOP nominee in 2012.



VIEW
FINDER

SHIFNAL,
ENGLAND

DAREDEVIL JANITOR

A suspended specialist addresses a Hawker Hunter T7A (a dual-control trainer) at the Royal Air Force's Cosford Museum in Shifnal, England, Jan. 2, as part of an annual maintenance regimen. The jet is part of the museum's cold war exhibit. AARON CHOWN/PA/AP

One week

CONGRESS'S TO-DO LIST

This time, it's bipartisanship or bust Urgent items will require Democratic votes in order to pass



MANUEL BALCE CENETA/AP

'DREAMERS': Supporters of the Obama-era Deferred Action on Childhood Arrivals rally outside the White House last month. The future of the DACA program will be a bargaining chip for Democrats.

WASHINGTON – After a year of operating on a strict party-line basis, lawmakers returning to Washington will face a new demand: bipartisanship. Nothing on Congress's long to-do list – from funding the government to avoiding a default on the national debt to finding a legal solution for immigrant "Dreamers" – can be accomplished without winning votes from across the aisle.

'[T]HE PARTIES CAN PIVOT. THE QUESTION IS, WILL THEY? THERE ARE A LOT OF HARD FEELINGS [AMONG DEMOCRATS]....'

– Ross Baker, Rutgers University

That may be easier said than done. With midterm elections coming up, the Democratic base is intent on opposing President Trump and Democratic leaders may be reluctant to give him any wins. For their part, Republicans already have a big accomplishment to tout – a \$1.5 trillion tax cut – and may decide that, politically, they

don't need to go for a serious bipartisan effort on something big like infrastructure.

"[T]he parties can pivot. The question is, will they?" says Ross Baker, a longtime observer of the Senate at Rutgers University in New Brunswick, N.J. "There are a lot of hard feelings [among Democrats] from both the attempt to repeal 'Obamacare' and from tax reform. The feeling of exclusion doesn't promote a disposition to be cooperative."

Professor Baker says it's not unlike how Republicans felt after the Affordable Care Act passed on a party-line Democratic vote early in the Obama administration. In the aftermath, the GOP focused single-mindedly on making President Barack Obama a one-term president. Republicans were rewarded for their staunch opposition, retaking the House in the 2010 midterms.

The parties must work together, at least on urgent, must-pass legislation such as spending bills, avoiding a default on the national debt, reauthorizing funding for

children's health care, and renewing a key national security provision.

Unlike last year, when Republicans used special rules to push through a Supreme Court nominee, federal judges, and a tax cut with just a majority vote, everything on the agenda needs a 60-vote Senate majority. So Democrats have a big say in what happens – particularly with the swearing-in of Sen. Doug Jones (D) of Alabama, which leaves the GOP with 51 seats to the Democrats' 49.

On Jan. 3, congressional leaders from both parties met at the Capitol with senior Trump administration officials to discuss budget and other issues. The federal government is set to run out of money at midnight on Jan. 19, and Democrats want to use that as an opportunity to strike a deal for children whose parents brought them to this country illegally, known as Dreamers.

Democrats have an advantage going into these talks and they should use it to get concessions on issues such as the Dreamers, says Democratic strategist Jim Manley.

Resolving the issue of young immigrants is one thing about which both parties have been cautiously optimistic that they can reach agreement – but not if it means paying for Trump's wall, Democrats say. Mr. Manley believes Republicans would be blamed for a shutdown, because they hold all the levers of power. Given the president's low approval ratings, "there's no Democrat I'm aware of who's afraid of the president at this point in time," says Manley.

– Francine Kiefer / Staff writer

PROTEST

Why unrest in Iran caught fire

Hard-line attempt to undercut Rouhani lurched out of control

LONDON – The violent days of protests in Iran have brought to the surface several underlying and destabilizing forces in Iranian society, among them anger at the top clerical leadership and resentment at some of the government's cherished foreign-policy commitments.

The protests, which have delivered the

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worst scenes of unrest there since millions took to the streets over a disputed presidential vote in 2009, have so far left 22 people dead. They have also exposed a political miscalculation by hard-line foes of President Hassan Rouhani in launching the protests as an effort to discredit his economic policies, then seeing them spin out of control.

Still, the protests are fundamentally about the economy more than anything else, say analysts in Iran: stubbornly high poverty and unemployment, the failure to extract a peace dividend from the much-heralded 2015 nuclear deal, and the continuing entrenched corruption that was one of Mr. Rouhani's rallying cries in the last election.

The protests began in the shrine city of Mashhad as an attempt by hard-line factions to undermine Rouhani. But as they have morphed into a broader, nationwide public challenge against Iran's top leadership, protesters from even remote corners of the nation often considered to be bastions of regime support have torn down posters of



AP

VIOLENT CLASH: A university student at a protest at Tehran University is surrounded by smoke from a smoke grenade thrown by riot police.

Iran's supreme leader, Ayatollah Ali Khamenei, and chanted "Death to the Dictator!"

The crowds are far smaller than in 2009 – several tens of thousands in total, it appears this time – but the protests have been fueled by a constellation of causes, including Rouhani's latest austerity budget.

Still, in his first public comments after the violence began, Mr. Khamenei accused "the enemies of Iran, [of] using various tools at their disposal, including money, weapons, political means and their security apparatuses," to harm the Islamic Republic.

"The enemy is waiting for an opportunity, for a crack to enter and interfere," he said.

As protests grew, Rouhani said the economy needed "major surgery" and that "people are angry about corruption and demand transparency."

One target for protesters' chants has been Iran's years-long and expensive projection of power abroad, especially in

Syria, Iraq, and Lebanon, where Iran has spent billions of dollars propping up Syrian President Bashar al-Assad, creating Shiite militias in Iraq to fight Islamic State, and ensuring the military prowess of its vital ally, the Lebanese Shiite movement Hezbollah.

"Leave Syria, find a solution for us!" is one chant on the streets, where social media and even state TV have shown buildings and cars on fire and military bases under attack.

'NO TO GAZA, NO TO LEBANON, WE SACRIFICE OUR LIVES FOR IRAN!'

– Chant heard from protesters on Iranian streets

Another: "No to Gaza, no to Lebanon, we sacrifice our lives for Iran!"

Outsiders may find it easy to link the cost of Iran's intervention abroad to economic woe at home. But analysts inside the country say Iran's current unprecedented status in the Middle East was not made at the expense of economic prosperity at home. They point to mismanagement and corruption.

"I don't believe that even half of 1 percent of the GDP of Iran is allocated for Syria or Yemen," says Saeed Laylaz, a reformist economist and former presidential adviser in Tehran who spent time in prison for his reformist affiliations. "These are arguments, but people are poor," says Mr. Laylaz. "This is the fact: that around 30 million Iranians are under the relative poverty line."

Iran's gross domestic product has grown roughly 20 percent in five years, and inflation during Rouhani's 4-1/2 years in office has dropped from 40 percent to 10 percent. But food prices remain high, and few Iranians feel the benefit of the landmark nuclear deal, which Rouhani said would bring prosperity as US and other sanctions were lifted.

– **Scott Peterson** / Staff writer

POST-ISIS

Iraq grapples with 'Sunni Holocaust'

But out of latest disaster, an Iraqi nationalism may emerge

BAGHDAD – While unbridled joy has greeted the defeat of the so-called Islamic State (ISIS) across Iraq, the wreckage left behind includes severe trauma to Iraq's Arab Sunnis – leaving the minority community facing what some say is an existential crisis.

One metric by which to assess this is the numbers: Most of the 5 million displaced

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PRIME NUMBERS

1,950

False or misleading claims made by President Trump in 347 days in office, according to a tally by The Washington Post.

6

Fewer gallons of water used per capita in the United States in 2015 (latest data), compared with 2010: from 88 gallons to 82, the lowest since 1995. A 1992 federal law mandated more water-efficient faucets, showers, and toilets.

1

BILLION

Global box-office receipts for "The Last Jedi" last year, making the latest "Star Wars" epic the top-grossing film of 2017. "Beauty and the Beast," another Disney offering, was No. 2.

0

Deaths in commercial passenger airline accidents in 2017, making it the safest year in the industry's history.

48

Percentage decrease in the number of accidental gun deaths in 2015 (latest data) compared with 1999. Despite high-profile incidents of gun violence, accidental fatal shootings fell from 824 to 489. (The percentage drop takes into account the rise in US population over that period.)

22

Fatalities (at press time) from antigovernment protests in Iran, centered on dissatisfaction with the economy. (See story, on facing page.)

1/3

Proportion of food produced for human consumption each year that is lost or wasted. According to a United Nations estimate, that amounts to 1.4 billion tons of food.

19,000

Weight (in pounds) of China's "heavenly palace" space station that is due to fall from orbit in March. (Skylab, an early US space station that fell harmlessly to Earth in 1979, weighed more than 10 times as much.)

Sources: The Washington Post, CSMonitor.com, Los Angeles Times, BBC, Los Angeles Times, The Telegraph, FAO.org, NPR

► FROM PREVIOUS PAGE

persons in Iraq are Sunnis. And most of the tens of thousands of Iraqis who were killed, raped, or kidnapped by ISIS jihadists were Sunnis. Nearly every city left in ruins by the fight to expel ISIS – from Fallujah and Ramadi to Mosul – is predominantly Sunni.

Another metric is psychological: The community’s failure has been so acute – succumbing to nearly four years of brutal ISIS rule, and even sometimes welcoming ISIS, at first – that Iraq’s Sunnis are reeling in a way they haven’t for a century.

‘A LOT OF [SUNNIS] LOST THEIR SONS TO ISIS, AND THEY WANT REVENGE.’

– Sheikh Fares al-Dulaimi, Sunni leader

“You have to go back to the Ottoman period to see the level of damage that has been caused to the Sunni people in the last four years,” says an analyst in Baghdad who has worked for the Defense Ministry and asked not to be named.

The effect has been a “Sunni Holocaust,” he says, and it has begun to galvanize part of a community that ruled Iraq for decades until the toppling of Saddam Hussein in 2003.

The result is a reckoning by some Sunnis and their politicians – but not all – that is helping create a fragile new Iraqi nationalism and yielding lessons about accommodation with the Shiite-led government.

“So the realization now among the Sunnis is that, wait a second, who died to liberate us?” says the analyst. “It wasn’t our [Sunnis] politicians. It wasn’t their sons. It was some kid in Diwaniyeh, who’s never seen Mosul, will never see Mosul ever again ... who is Shiite.”

Iraq’s Arab Sunnis have traveled a long and painful trajectory, starting with the overthrow of the iron-fisted Saddam. Almost immediately came the disbanding of the Sunni-led Iraqi Army, then years of ethnic cleansing of Baghdad’s mixed neighborhoods in which Baathists and Sunnis were a key target, and then the Sunni militants of Al Qaeda in Iraq – the progenitor of ISIS – led an anti-Shiite suicide bombing campaign and anti-American insurgency.

Finally, a widespread Sunni uprising in 2013 against the Shiite-first rule of then-Prime Minister Nouri al-Maliki meant many Sunnis initially welcomed ISIS in 2014 as a tool to take on Baghdad.

The subsequent carnage of ISIS – and the widespread belief among Iraq’s Arab Shiites and even Sunni Kurds that all Arab Sunnis are jihadi extremists – are the latest blows to the Sunni social fabric.

But the main problem now is the settling



Life on the edge

CHILDREN ROLL TIRES as they run along an Israeli barrier in the East Jerusalem refugee camp of Shuafat on Jan. 3. President Trump recently threatened to cut off US funds to the Palestinian government, accusing them of intransigence in the search for peace.

of scores within the Arab Sunni community, says Sheikh Fares al-Dulaimi, a Sunni leader who plays a role in government reconciliation efforts. “A lot of [Sunnis] lost their sons to ISIS,” he says, “and they want revenge.”

– Scott Peterson / Staff writer

NORTH KOREA

Threat rises as weapons diversify

Missile and sub strategies aim to counter S. Korea and US

WASHINGTON – North Korea says it has tested its first hydrogen bomb and an intercontinental ballistic missile with the range to reach the entire continental United States. In his year-end speech President Kim Jong-un announced that there is a “nuclear button” on his desk to deter any would-be attacker. What’s next for Pyongyang’s nuclear program? Perhaps construction of its first operational ballistic missile submarine.

Movement of parts and equipment at a key North Korean shipyard indicates workers are assembling a new missile sub on an “accelerated schedule,” according to 38 North, an analysis site run by the US-Korea Institute of Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies. Clues revealed

by surveillance photos include large hull sections near construction halls and a test stand likely used for missile-ejection tests.

One missile sub by itself might not worry the US. The sub would almost certainly be too noisy to go undetected, for one thing. But the fact that North Korea is moving to diversify its nuclear arsenal is of concern.

It’s part of a doctrine called “asymmetric escalation,” says one expert, who judges that North Korea has already built a strategic force capable of plausibly carrying it out.

“I think we have to assume, from a policy perspective, that they plausibly do – certainly enough that I wouldn’t risk New York or DC to find out,” says Vipin Narang, a proliferation expert and associate professor of political science at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, in an email. Doubts remain about how big the gaps are in the regime’s present capabilities, such as whether

MOVEMENTS AT A NORTH KOREAN SHIPYARD INDICATE WORKERS ARE ON AN ‘ACCELERATED SCHEDULE’ FOR A SUB.

its warheads can withstand reentry.

One year ago, the North Korean program seemed more notional or emerging. Missile tests sometimes went awry, perhaps because of secret US cyber-interference with North Korean systems. On the scale of things atomic, their tests were relatively small.

That changed on Sept. 3 last year, when

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Pyongyang tested a nuclear device whose estimated yield was at least 140 kilotons – seven times as much as previous tests.

Then on Nov. 28, North Korea tested a big new missile, the Hwasong-15. Launched relatively vertically, this ICBM went about 600 miles high. If fired on a lower trajectory, according to US calculations, it could reach the big cities of the continental US, including those on the East Coast.

Last year, North Korea also demonstrated new short- and medium-range missiles. Pyongyang seems to be moving up a step on the ladder of technology, away from missiles based on old Soviet-era Scud technology to more advanced and reliable designs.

Enter the submarine-launched ballistic missile. North Korea already has an experimental Sinpo-class diesel electric sub that “may” be able to launch ballistic missiles, according to a Congressional Research Service report. A ballistic missile sub might be able to slip behind the THAAD antimissile systems of South Korea and Japan. THAAD radar has only a 120-degree field of view and thus theoretically an oceangoing submarine could hit them from behind.

The basic idea is to use one set of nuclear weapons to prevent conventional war, while reserving longer-range and more powerful weapons to hold off nuclear annihilation by US forces, according to Dr. Narang of MIT.

– Peter Grier / Staff writer

In Morocco, fear censors press

Despite new laws, journalists are reluctant to cover protests

RABAT, MOROCCO – Last year, Morocco overhauled its speech and press laws, a move the country heralded as a major step toward a free press. The intent was to decriminalize all speech that does not incite violence.

But as a Human Rights Watch report noted, Morocco’s penal code undercuts the new laws. The judiciary hands out prison sentences for reporting it deems harmful to Is-

‘JOURNALISM IN MOROCCO NEEDS PEOPLE WILLING TO SUPPORT IT.’

– Achraf El Bahi, aspiring magazine publisher

lam, the king, or the country, which doesn’t leave much room for critical coverage of the most influential issues in Morocco.

The threat of harassment, arrest, fines, and suspension – as well as economic pressure from advertisers close to the monarchy – has stifled coverage of the government and of citizen protests, including the mostly peaceful demonstrations that have taken

place in Morocco’s northern Rif region since a fish seller was crushed to death last year as he tried to retrieve fish confiscated by police.

Hamid El Mahdaoui, founder and editor in chief of an Arabic-language online news website that has since been shut down, was sentenced to three months in prison for covering a banned protest. Several other journalists also have been arrested, and at least one foreign journalist was deported after his coverage was published.

As a consequence of such measures, says Abdelmalek El Kadoussi, a communications professor in Meknes, the majority of journalists have taken to practicing self-censorship. And the list of stories they steer clear of has grown in recent years.

“I can’t trust anything I read in Morocco,” says Achraf El Bahi, an English translator who has worked with foreign journalists and other organizations.

In spite of that – and maybe because of it – Mr. El Bahi sees opportunity. He is launching an English-language magazine from Rabat next year. He knows it won’t be easy, he says. But he adds, “For anything to change, for media integrity, it’s going to be the job of civil society. Journalism in Morocco needs people willing to support it.”

– Jackie Spinner / Correspondent

■ This story was supported by a grant from the Pulitzer Center on Crisis Reporting.

DC DECODER

In Trump era, what does ‘evangelical’ mean?

For political pollsters and journalists, the term “white evangelical Protestant” has been one of the most handy demographic labels out there.

White Americans who say that they are “born again” or who self-identify as “evangelical Christian” have for decades voted consistently and overwhelmingly Republican. As a group, too, they reveal some of the most crystal-clear political positions of any subgroup out there. Making up around 25 percent of the population, white Evangelicals are the most worried about the threats posed by immigrants, by far. They are the most suspicious of Islam, by far. They are the most resistant to same-sex marriage, by far.

Which makes it very “useful as a category of analysis in sociology and political science,” notes John Schmalzbauer, a professor of religious studies at Missouri State Univer-

sity in Springfield. “The fact that 81 percent of people in a religious category voted for a single candidate suggests that it is a helpful way of mapping social reality,” he says about the overwhelming support white Evangelicals have given to President Trump.

Yet even as the disruptive forces that helped propel Mr. Trump to the presidency continue to reshape American politics, a growing number of Evangelicals themselves contend the term has been both distorted and corrupted during the Trump era – a marker of politics rather than a belief system within the Christian faith.

Lately, a number of high-profile evangelical leaders, such as Scot McKnight and Peter Wehner, have been questioning or even abandoning the term. Younger Evangelicals are starting to disavow the label. And after 8 of 10 white Evangelicals in Alabama nearly

sent former state chief justice Roy Moore to the US Senate last month, despite charges of sexual misconduct involving teenagers, some Evangelicals have been wondering whether the now politically charged term has become too toxic to even have a future.

“The biggest issue about the word ‘evangelical’ is whether it should be a political identification for an ethno-religious group, or whether, if you look at it from a worldwide or historical perspective, you see that evangelicalism has hundreds of different kinds of expressions,” says George Marsden, professor emeritus of history at the University of Notre Dame in Indiana, and a leading scholar of evangelicalism.

“As a religious designation,” he notes, “it’s become very confusing here in America to use the term evangelical.”

– Harry Bruinius / Staff writer



CAMERON BLOCH/AP/FILE

GOODBYE, COLUMBUS?: New York's Columbus Circle features a statue of Christopher Columbus. A movement to replace Columbus Day with Indigenous Peoples Day has gained new momentum.

MONUMENT DEBATE

Columbus Circle no more?

New York reviews monuments to remove 'symbols of hate'

NEW YORK – When Joseph Guagliardo was a street kid growing up in Red Hook in Brooklyn, the statue of Christopher Columbus at the southwest corner of Central Park in Manhattan made him swell with pride.

“My grandmother had three pictures hanging on a great big wall her entire life: the pope, Jesus, and Columbus,” says Mr. Guagliardo, who heads The National Council of Columbia Associations in Civil Service, a Brooklyn-based coalition of Italian-American civic groups from around the

‘[THESE DEBATES] BRING TO LIGHT ... MULTIPLE AND COMPETING NARRATIVES.’

– Robert Futrell, University of Nevada, Las Vegas

United States that continue to see the explorer as an icon of American resilience.

But the famous memorial, donated to the city by immigrants in 1892, the 400th anniversary of Columbus's first voyage, has now been caught up in the nationwide controversy over the meaning of history and the purpose of public monuments,

For Guagliardo, the history of the monument itself recalls a time when Italians were considered an inferior, darker-skinned

minority and immigrants had to fight to become part of what they saw as the promise of America.

The controversy over the history of Columbus's legacy is hardly new, but after the deadly events of Charlottesville, Va., in August, when groups of white nationalists and neo-Nazis held a “Unite the Right” rally to protest the removal of a statue of Robert E. Lee in a public park, the stakes have been raised in ways Guagliardo never imagined.

Last month, a mayoral advisory commission concluded a 90-day review of what Mayor Bill de Blasio called an effort to remove “all symbols of hate on city property” and offer recommendations about the fate of the Columbus monument and other controversial memorials in the city. Yet the controversies in New York have in many ways presented a more “complicated moral and historical kaleidoscope” than the debates over Confederate monuments, some scholars suggest.

Some of the issues, in fact, put many New York Italians on the other side of the statue debate. The mayor's advisory commission is also evaluating a statue of Theodore Roosevelt on horseback, standing in front of the city's beloved American Museum of Natural History, just a few blocks north of Columbus Circle.

For many Italian-Americans, the nation's rough-riding 26th president and former New York City police chief is remembered as much for his views on white supremacy, eugenics, and his casual approval of the 1891 lynchings of eight Italian-American men in New Orleans, just 1-1/2 years before the statue of Columbus was dedicated to the

city of New York.

“The debates we're having bring to light how multiple and often competing narratives exist about people and historical circumstances, and it is forcing an effort to try and reconcile these narratives,” says Robert Futrell, professor of sociology at the University of Nevada, Las Vegas.

And the context of communal memory matters. Defenders of Confederate memorials in the South have denounced their removals as “the hatred being leveled against our glorious ancestors by radical leftists who seek to erase our history.”

But critics point out that the majority of the nation's Confederate monuments were erected during two particularly tense times: the early 20th century, when states were instituting Jim Crow segregation; and the 1950s and '60s, during the height of the civil rights movement, according to an analysis by the Southern Poverty Law Center.

“They were less about the Civil War and cultural values and more about racial intimidation,” says Erika Doss, professor of American studies at the University of Notre Dame in South Bend, Ind. By contrast, Italian New Yorkers focus on their collective memories of the end of the 19th century, when tens of thousands of immigrants arrived seeking a better life. Yet they were often reviled for their language, Roman Catholic faith, and foreign traditions.

So Italian immigrants adopted Columbus as one of their own, a symbol of their portion of the new life offered by America.

“And at the time, we were suffering under the American flag, too,” says Guagliardo.

– Harry Bruinius / Staff writer

HIGHER EDUCATION

Easing Latino access to college

How a California county made a difference for Latino students

MORENO VALLEY, CALIF. – High school senior Raymond Franco made three mistakes on his college application. They were little things, like putting “2017” instead of “2018” as his graduation year. They probably wouldn't have hurt his chances at getting into his schools of choice – the 17-year-old takes three Advanced Placement classes and trains with three different sports teams.

Then again, Raymond says, maybe they would have. “If you mess up on one thing,

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it can mess up your whole application,” he says. Which is why he was thankful that Rancho Verde High School devoted several class periods last fall to helping students fill out college and financial aid applications. Faculty and counselors were present to answer questions, explain requirements, and – as in Raymond’s case – spot errors.

The push to provide direct assistance to high school seniors applying for college is one small slice of Riverside County’s efforts to help students prepare for, enroll in, and ultimately graduate from college. Since 2014 the county has also expanded student access to college counselors, improved parent engagement and bilingual

ONE MISTAKE ‘CAN MESS UP YOUR WHOLE APPLICATION.’

– **Raymond Franco**, aspiring college student

services, and helped students fill out the Free Application for Federal Student Aid. As a result, graduation rates, college enrollment, and FAFSA completion are up across the county. This year the California Student Aid Commission took Riverside County’s FAFSA completion challenge, called “Race to Submit,” and implemented it statewide.

It’s a strategy that education advocates say could serve as an important model for chipping away at a broader issue: improving outcomes for California’s Latino students, who, despite making up the majority of the state’s student population, still face some of the greatest barriers to college enrollment and completion for any demographic, according to a report released in November.

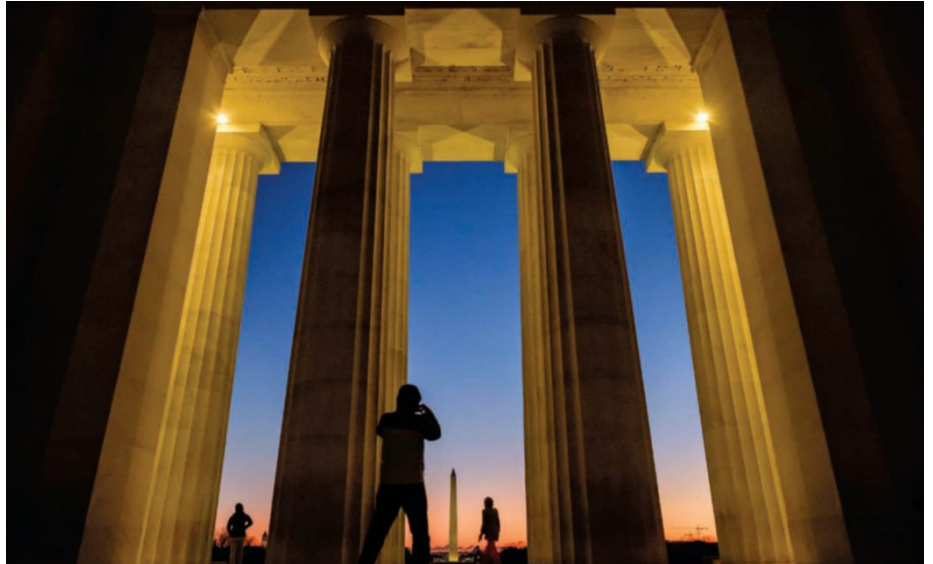
Today 500 counselors across the county are part of the network – the largest in the state. Morale is also up among local counselors, who typically feel overworked and undervalued, says Robin Ellison, a school counselor at Rancho Verde. “Just to have the support, and have people see value in the work that we do, is huge for us,” she says.

– **Jessica Mendoza** / Staff writer



JESSICA MENDOZA/THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

FOCUS ON COLLEGE: Mark LeNoir is assistant superintendent of education services for California’s Val Verde Unified School District.



A new year dawns

SPECTATORS GATHER to watch the first sunrise of the new year on a bright but bitterly cold morning at the Lincoln Memorial in Washington, D.C.

EUROPE

Romanians mourn a long-lost king

Michael I’s death marked a bitter contrast for Romanians

BUCHAREST, ROMANIA – Outside the monumental former royal palace that looms over the main square of Bucharest, mourners were laying flowers for days. Crowds waited for hours to pay their respects to King Michael I of Romania, one of the last two surviving World War II European heads of state.

He died Dec. 5 at age 96, some 70 years after being forced to abdicate by the country’s Communist government, reportedly at gunpoint, and then sent into exile.

Even from Britain and Switzerland, where he spent much of his life, the former monarch commanded widespread respect among ordinary Romanians. His death has prompted nostalgic comparisons with the nation’s present-day political leaders.

“You can’t compare our current political leaders with him,” said Livia Amzar, a middle-aged engineer who laid flowers outside the palace before Michael’s funeral.

Michael’s death comes at a time of considerable political turmoil in Romania, which joined the European Union in 2007.

Despite being the fastest-growing economy in Europe, the country has seen escalating confrontations between the government and people. In February 2017, more than half a million demonstrators took to the streets to protest government moves to weaken anti-corruption efforts. Politicians quickly backed down, but subsequent efforts to amend judicial legislation have brought tens of thousands back out in anger.

Against that background, the former king’s funeral provided “a moment of dignity in a confusing and noisy political world,” says Radu Magdin, a political consultant.

Michael actually ruled Romania twice: as a child between 1927 and 1930, and then again between 1940 and 1947. In 1944, as a 22-year-old, he played a key role in a coup that removed Romania’s pro-Nazi leadership. Three years later Michael was forced into exile and not allowed back until 1992. Not until 1997 was his Romanian citizenship restored; he never moved back.

Despite his lengthy absence, and little enthusiasm for restoring the monarchy, Michael remained popular in Romania.

The funeral was “probably the most grandiose funeral in Romanian history,” says Theodor Paleologu, a historian and former diplomat. “This turnout shows the deep affection for the king, but also the consciousness that a very important chapter in Romanian history is coming to an end,” he adds.

– **Kit Gillet** / Correspondent

POINTS OF PROGRESS

World's first solar refugee camps

The UN and partners find a better way to power refugee camps

Facing dwindling funds and a humanitarian disaster stretching into its seventh year, the United Nations and Syrian refugees reached for the sun.

In Jordan, the UN and its partners have hooked up the first solar-powered refugee camps in the world – a test of whether the international aid community can step beyond the emergency relief approach and provide sustainable solutions that benefit refugees, host communities, and the environment long after each crisis ends.

Jordan, which imports 98 percent of its energy needs, has struggled to manage the cost of the country's 1.3 million Syrian refugees. The Zaatari camp, established in 2012 a few miles from Syria's southern border, houses 80,000 Syrian refugees; Azraq, home to 32,000 refugees, is in the middle of the country's eastern desert.

Zaatari residents took UN-supplied power from camp streetlamps, causing constant shortages and forcing the UN to cut electricity to eight hours a day; Azraq remained without electricity.

With funds for Syrian refugees drying up as donors shift their focus to new humanitarian crises, the UN looked for a way to ease the financial burden of maintaining the camps until it saw the light: solar.

In May, the Azraq camp became the first solar-powered refugee camp in the world, with a plant funded by the IKEA Foundation providing electricity to 20,000 refugees. The UN was working to expand the plant's capacity to provide electricity to the entire camp by the end of 2017.

In November, Zaatari followed suit, with a 12.9-megawatt solar farm funded by the German government that provides 14 hours of electricity per day to more than 80,000 Syrian refugees.

AT LEAST 100,000 REFUGEES NOW HAVE RELIABLE ACCESS TO ELECTRICITY.

► SEE PAGE 16



BUSINESS WIRE

CALIFORNIA

The Golden State is pushing its energy efficiency measures to a new level. New government standards, effective Jan. 1, require homes and businesses to use energy efficient bulbs, which are three times as efficient as the incandescent bulbs that have been around since the time of Thomas Edison. The bulbs last 25 times as long as their predecessors. Once they are installed in the roughly 250 million sockets across the state still estimated to be using traditional bulbs, they are expected to save consumers and businesses more than \$1 billion a year in electric bills. They will also reduce greenhouse gas emissions because electricity use will be lower.

NRDC

JAMAICA

A new wildlife sanctuary, on a site once slated for a megaport, has become a haven for the critically endangered Jamaican iguana. The government decision Dec. 13, 2017, was considered a major victory for environmentalists who campaigned for two years to save the Goat Islands from the development of a \$1.5 billion transshipment port with Chinese interests. It is also good news for the iguanas, which had been thought to be extinct until 1990. They were reared by Kingston's Hope Zoo before being released into their natural habitat.

GLOBAL WILDLIFE CONSERVATION, GLOBAL VOICES

A WEEKLY GLOBAL ROUNDUP

BAHRAIN

Hotels in the Gulf nation have made inroads on water conservation and electricity use. As efforts to promote public awareness of the importance of environmental sustainability grow in Bahrain and other Gulf states, the Electricity and Water Authority's campaign, which began in July 2016, reported that 16 participating hotels saved a combined 566,417 Bahraini dinars (about \$1.5 million) on water and electricity use. The Gulf Hotel Bahrain won an award for reducing electricity use by 27 percent, while the Sofitel Bahrain Zallaq Thalassa Sea & Spa won the water achievement award with a reduction of 22.5 percent.

NEWS OF BAHRAIN, ALBAWABA

BELGIUM

The number of animals the country is using for research purposes has fallen to the lowest level in the past two decades. In 2016, the number of research procedures on animals declined 5.4 percent from the previous year to 535,829. The fall was led by a 39 percent drop in the number of fish used in research, then dogs (17 percent), and rats (11 percent). Testing on cats and birds, however, grew 50 percent and 37 percent, respectively. Mice are used in the bulk of procedures (337,027 in 2016).

SPEAKING OF RESEARCH

AUSTRALIA

A small carnivorous marsupial, thought to be extinct from the state of New South Wales for 100 years, has been discovered. A juvenile female crest-tailed mulgara, a relative of the Tasmanian devil, was discovered by ecologist Rebecca West and Wild Deserts project coordinator Reece Pedler in Sturt National Park two years before scientists had planned to reintroduce the marsupial to the area from populations elsewhere in the country. Invasive foxes, cats, and rabbits were thought to have killed off the mulgara. A program of eradication of such predators is planned for 2018.

NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC,
THE GUARDIAN



NEWSCOM

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For the refugees themselves, the solar power is literally giving them a new lease on life. In camps like Azraq and Zaatari families used to have limited access to power, leaving them unable to refrigerate food, use lighting, charge mobile phones, or run electric fans in the sweltering summer.

Now, doing homework at night, moving about the camp freely, and making trips to the bathroom have all become easier and safer. Cooled by electric fans, families can stay in tents during dust storms.

“We didn’t know what a power outage was until we came to Jordan,” says Mohammed Ahmed, a 49-year-old Zaatari resident from the southern Syrian town of Tafas. “Thanks to solar energy, we now feel like

‘[W]E NOW FEEL LIKE WE HAVE REJOINED THE 21ST CENTURY.’

– Mohammed Ahmed, Syrian refugee

we have rejoined the 21st century.”

The introduction of solar is saving scarce resources for the UN in Jordan, which was paying as much as \$10 million per year for electricity, leaving more funds to provide other lifesaving services for the 650,000 Syr-

ian refugees registered with the UN – 78 percent of whom live outside the camps – and the 75,000 non-Syrian refugees in Jordan.

The UN estimates that the average refugee crisis worldwide now lasts 17 years, so the agency is looking for ways to provide sustainable solutions that would last after donor interest fades with international attention. The power plants at the Zaatari and Azraq camps ensure electricity for the next 20 years.

“By nature of the humanitarian system, refugees become dependent on outside support,” says Stefano Severe, the UN High Commissioner for Refugees representative in Jordan.

“We need to find ways to make this support sustainable and independent, and solar energy is a major step in that direction,” says Mr. Severe. The UN says financing such projects hinges on the private sector, with most costing about \$10 million or more.

Only 11 percent of the 8.7 million refugees and displaced people living in formal camps worldwide had access to reliable energy sources as of 2015, according to a 2015 report by the Chatham House, a British-based think tank. The vast majority of refugees are forced to rely on firewood,



TAYLOR LUCK

GOING SOLAR: Syrian refugee Qasim Thisab stands near the panels of the Zaatari refugee camp solar farm in November 2017.

coal, and liquid gas for cooking, heating, and light, often at their own expense – and paying well over the market price.

By contrast, the Zaatari and Azraq projects are providing free power and helping Jordan to cut carbon dioxide emissions. The Zaatari plant reduces the camp’s emissions by 13,000 tons per year; the Azraq plant reduces that camp’s emissions by 2,370 tons.

“There are ongoing discussions on how to use this as a model, and there are many camps that could benefit,” Severe says.

– Taylor Luck / Correspondent



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In a state whose economy has been devastated by the decline in fossil fuel industries, some are rethinking their attitude toward renewable energy. **BY AMANDA PAULSON / STAFF WRITER**

Wyoming seeks prosperity in the wind



AMANDA PAULSON/THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

LEADING EDGE: The Seven Mile Hill Wind Project, one of Wyoming's early forays into wind power, fired up in 2008.

RAWLINS, WYO.

It's a sunny day in early November in southern Wyoming, but the wind is blowing so hard that opening a car door is a chore. Signs on the Interstate warn of gusts topping 70 miles per hour, and semitrucks have pulled over all along I-80. It's difficult to hear a word Bill Miller says as he steps out of his truck at the top of a rise on the Overland Trail Ranch to describe the development taking place on the expanse below him.

Of course, that fierce wind is exactly what makes this pocket of the West so desirable for that development. The Chokecherry and Sierra Madre Wind Energy Project is slated to become the largest wind farm in the United States once it's up and running. And it's causing some in Wyoming – a state whose economy has been devastated by the decline in its bedrock fossil fuel industries – to rethink their attitude toward renewable

energy.

The 3,000-megawatt project near Rawlins, Wyo., is emblematic of a growing industry that is hitting its stride and is fueled less by ideology than by economics. Gone are the days when wind power advocacy fell exclusively to liberals and environmental advocates. As the economics of wind power have become more viable, many staunch conservatives have come to view the industry as a fiscally responsible component of a diverse energy future. The Chokecherry and Sierra Madre project is bankrolled by Philip Anschutz, a Denver billionaire who made much of his fortune in fossil fuel industries and is a major Republican donor.

"We're in the resource business," says Mr. Miller, a native Wyomingite with a trim gray beard who grew up on a ranch and has worked for The Anschutz Corp. for 37 years, mostly on oil and gas projects. He now runs both the Power Company of Wyoming and

▶ WHY IT MATTERS

In conservative communities, renewable energy development has often been framed as a threat to the livelihoods of people who work with fossil fuels. But for many in coal-rich Wyoming, wind power has become a source of economic hope.

the TransWest Express Transmission Project, the two Anschutz subsidiaries behind the wind farm and the transmission line that will carry its electricity from the expanses of Wyoming to urban California and the desert Southwest. "I try to ignore the political, ignore the policy, and think about it from an economic point of view."

Anschutz already owned the 500-square-mile working cattle ranch where the new wind farm is being built. As Miller drives its

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THE BIG SWITCH: Bill Miller has spent a lifetime working with fossil fuels. Today, he oversees construction of a wind farm near Rawlins, Wyo. AMANDA PAULSON/THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

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bumpy roads up to a plateau overlooking the site, with Elk Mountain rising in the distance, he points to the primary reason this project made sense: “This is, without exception, the best wind resource anywhere in the US.”

For a state with such strong winds, Wyoming has actually been slow to enter the wind market. That honor goes to the Plains states like Texas, Iowa, Oklahoma, and Kansas. Many of those states – which are generally conservative and supported Donald Trump in 2016 – generate a sizable portion of their power from wind.

When Kansas legislators voted two years ago to do away with a mandate that 20 percent of the state’s electricity come from renewable sources by 2020, it was largely a symbolic action; more than 20 percent of Kansas’ power already came from wind energy by 2014. Today, about 30 percent of its electricity generation comes from wind.

“A combination of the [federal] tax credit and improving technology has made wind very cost-effective,” says John Nielsen, clean energy program director at Western Resource Advocates in Boulder, Colo. One of the biggest barriers to development has been a lack of transmission and an antiquated grid system, but Mr. Nielsen and others say that once there’s more regional connectivity, wind can become an even larger player.

One key factor has been the growing de-

mand from companies and states looking for cleaner energy and climate solutions. That ideologically driven investment has propelled the industry toward an economy of scale that appeals to fiscal conservatives.

“In a lot of these more conservative states, the driver is the economics,” says Nielsen. “Ten years ago, the barrier to renewables was that they were more costly. Now, the barrier to really large-scale penetration is the existing system – that it’s not

‘There will come a day when that last coal train leaves Wyoming.’

– **Loyd Drain**, former executive director of the Wyoming Infrastructure Authority

as flexible as it could be to integrate these resources.”

Economic sense

Wyoming, despite its fierce winds, ranks 15th in wind capacity among US states. That’s the result of several factors: a lack of adequate transmission lines, particularly because coal plants generally have the right of first transmission; ambivalence from residents who worry about the effect on treasured views or on the state’s iconic eagles; and marked antipathy from some

Wyomingites who see wind as a threat to the coal, natural gas, and oil that have long been the bedrock of Wyoming’s economy. That antipathy is part of what drove the state to enact a \$1-per-megawatt-hour tax on wind power – one of just two states to tax wind energy – and to repeal its sales-and-use tax exemption for utility-scale renewable-energy equipment.

Between 2010 and 2016, when the US wind industry grew by more than 100 percent, wind in Wyoming grew by 5 percent, with just one 80-megawatt project added.

But that’s changing. Along with the Chokecherry and Sierra Madre project, Rocky Mountain Power has announced plans to add at least 1,100 new megawatts of wind power by 2020, mostly in Wyoming. Viridis Eolia, a proposed wind farm near Medicine Bow, Wyo., which is 50 miles east of Rawlins, would add nearly 2,000 megawatts of wind power if completed. The power company is also developing improvement projects to boost existing infrastructure and wind power capacity, including a new transmission line and a “repowering” of existing wind turbines to use longer blades.

“It is a necessary part of Wyoming’s economic future,” says Jerimiah Rieman, director of Economic Diversification Strategy and Initiatives in the Wyoming governor’s office.

Wyoming, in many ways, is at an inflection point economically. Its economy has been hit hard by the downturn in coal, at the same time as prices for oil and natural gas have dropped.

“It was kind of a perfect storm,” says Jonathan Naughton, director of the Wind Energy Research Center at the University of Wyoming in Laramie, speaking about the forces weighing on Wyoming’s economy. “And the thing that’s starker in Wyoming is how much of our economy is extractive-mineral-based.”

Against that backdrop, wind is one of the few potential bright spots. The two fastest-growing jobs in the US are solar panel installers and wind turbine technicians. Both are projected to grow more than twice as fast as any other profession in the next decade. The construction of big projects promises both direct and indirect jobs for the duration of the construction. And while the actual number of permanent jobs at new wind farms is relatively small – certainly not equal to the coal and gas jobs being lost in Wyoming – it’s one of the few industries in the state that promises any growth, and those jobs can make a big difference locally.

If 6,000 new megawatts of wind is added to Wyoming, it could mean more than \$2 billion in new tax revenue over 10 years

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for the state, more than \$10 billion in new investment, and about 50,000 new job-years of employment, says Robert Godby, an economist at the University of Wyoming who helped write a study on the potential effect of wind energy in the state.

“It doesn’t fill the gap that has been left by coal, but it’s not zero. It’s a significant amount,” says Professor Godby. “In places like Medicine Bow or Rawlins, it could make all the difference in the world.”

‘They grow on you’

In Wyoming’s Carbon County – home to both those towns, and named for its former coal mines – wind turbines are already a common sight, spinning rapidly amid the strong gusts and dotting the horizon all around Medicine Bow.

“They grow on you for sure,” says Laine Anderson, director of wind operations for Rocky Mountain Power, as he drives among the turbines at the company’s Seven Mile Hill Wind Project. Like most Wyomingites, Mr. Anderson used to curse the wind, he notes. Now, he sees it differently. “It’s pretty amazing to see them spin and know they’re not polluting, not costing any extra for fuel.”

And in Rawlins, a town of just under 10,000 in high-desert sagebrush country, some residents are hopeful about the jobs the new wind farms may usher in.

“We don’t want all our eggs in one energy basket,” says Shawn Dahl, the fast-talking owner of Buck’s Sports Grill, which features photos of local sports and history on its walls and a “wind turbine” burger on its menu. “If you’re not three years ahead, you’re already 10 years behind.”

Still, plenty of obstacles in Wyoming remain. Some residents are fiercely opposed due to the view shed, the extensive range from which the soaring turbines can be seen. (Not only do the turbines shoot up 200 to 300 feet into the sky, but aviation rules also require lights at night, which might be seen 50 or 100 miles away in these open spaces.) Others are concerned about threats to wildlife. Wyoming has critical greater sage grouse habitat, and the state has excluded wind development in those corridors, since the turbines can have a negative effect on breeding. Also, birds can be killed by blades. “We’re not killing

‘I would not call us environmentalists, but we’re really good conservationists.’

– Bill Miller, The Anschutz Corp.

sparrows in Wyoming. We’re killing eagles and hawks,” says Professor Naughton. “The public places a higher value on raptors than other birds.”

Wind energy proponents argue that most of these issues can be dealt with through conscientious siting and conservation efforts. Miller notes that he’s redesigned the Chokecherry and Sierra Madre farms five times as he’s worked to get the permitting done. The process has taken nearly 10 years and has been far more onerous and expensive than he anticipated. Along the way, he has focused on minimizing view-shed disturbance, and gathering and using the best possible research and studies about sage grouse, raptors, and other wildlife.

“I would not call us environmentalists,



PLANNING AHEAD: Research from conservationists, like these ecologists tagging a female sage grouse, offers Wyoming state officials guidance about siting wind farms. MEAD GRUVER/AP/FILE

but we’re really good conservationists,” says Miller.

An even bigger obstacle to wind development has been uncertainty around taxes. The generation tax levied on wind power in 2010, combined with the 2009 elimination of the sales-and-use tax exemption, will cost the Chokecherry and Sierra Madre project an additional \$440 million in taxes over its

economic life, says Miller – more than twice what was anticipated. Periodic attempts by some state legislators to raise that generation tax from \$1 per megawatt-hour to \$3 or even \$5 per megawatt-hour probably would have killed the project. Those efforts were defeated, and Miller and others say there seems to be much broader recognition on the part of both lawmakers and the governor of the self-inflicted harm Wyoming would do to itself economically if they were to price wind out, although the debate is not over.

“The attitude about the wind resource opportunity in Wyoming has done a significant shift in recent years,” says Miller, noting that he’s spent countless hours with county commissioners, state legislators, and wind skeptics. “The state of Wyoming does have significant issues with their funding. But you can’t cure what’s happened to the coal industry by taxing the wind industry out of the business.”

Beyond the coal vs. wind mentality

Lloyd Drain has been a tireless advocate for wind power in Wyoming, especially during the five years he led the Wyoming Infrastructure Authority before stepping down to return to Texas as an energy consultant. It drives him crazy to hear detractors who see wind as the enemy of coal. Texas, he notes, is “a huge fossil fuel state,” but has had no problem also embracing wind – and has benefited from the boom as a result.

“It takes decades to diversify a state’s economy,” says Mr. Drain. “There will come a day when that last coal train leaves Wyoming.”

And when Drain (who also serves as a consultant to the proposed Viridis Eolia farm near Medicine Bow) looks at the steady drop in costs for wind, he thinks it’s only going to grow – especially if the antiquated US grid system ever gets overhauled.

“I have no problem saying I’m a climate denier, because I am,” says Drain. “But if you give me the choice of buying coal, natural gas, solar, or wind, because of economics, because of my pocketbook, hands down I’m choosing wind.”

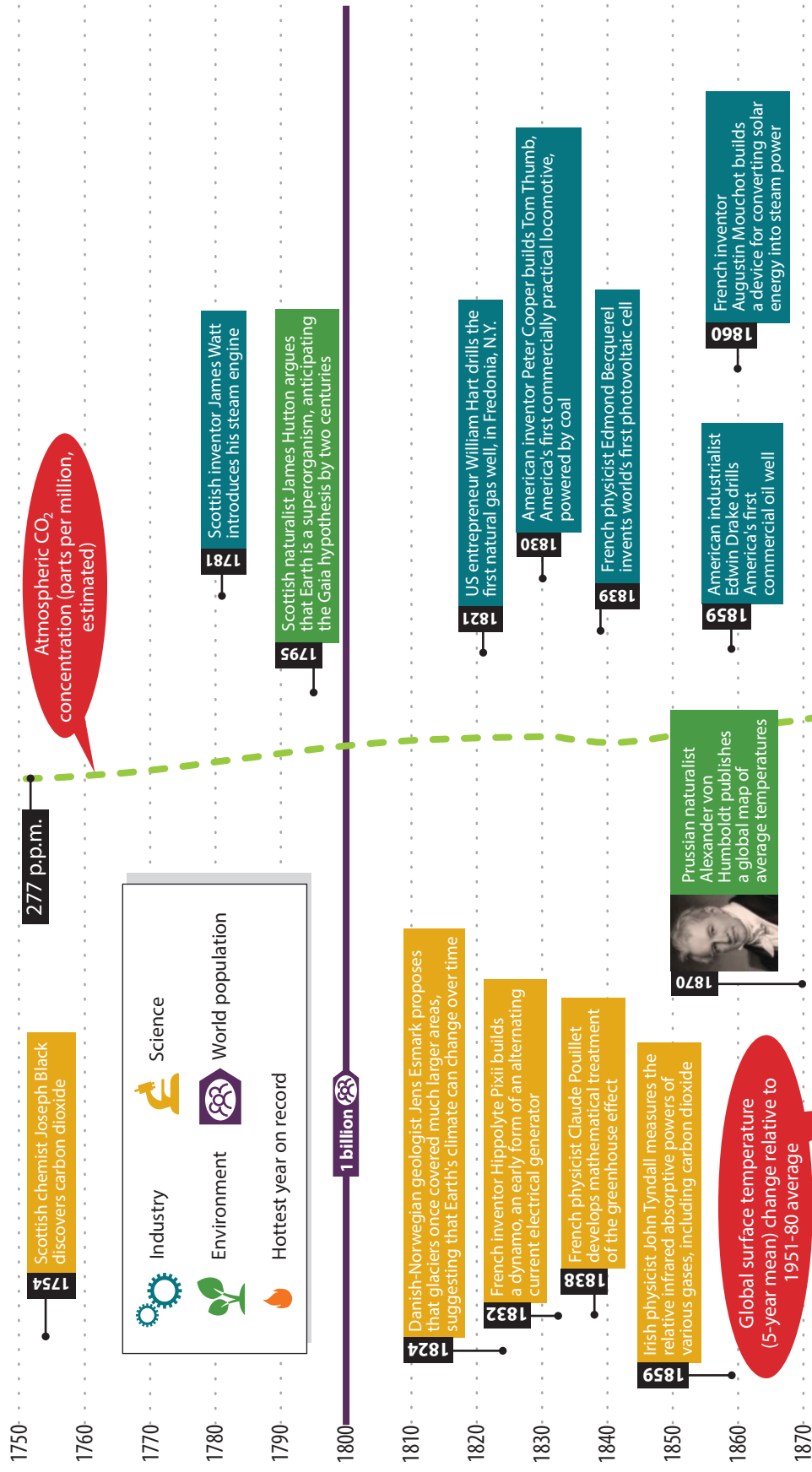
■ For a graphic showing key climate change moments over the past 250-plus years, see the next two pages.

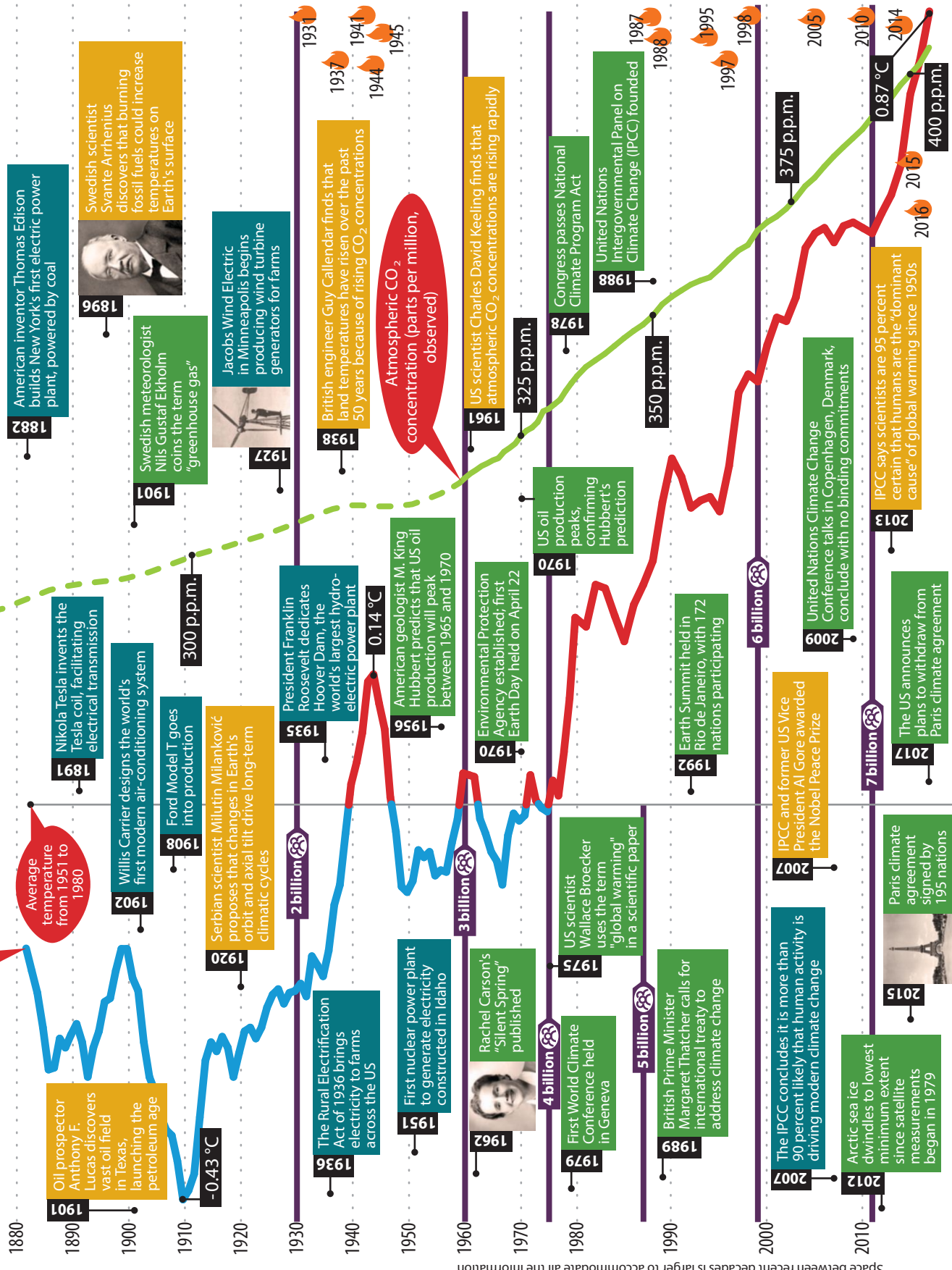
The history of climate change

Over the past quarter millennium, a deepening understanding of physics, chemistry, and biology has unleashed productive forces that have remade Earth's surface and shifted the composition of chemicals in the atmosphere and oceans.

This timeline shows key moments in the path to the current climate reality.

To download a printable PDF of this graphic, visit [CSMonitor.com/ClimateChangeTimeline](https://www.csmmonitor.com/ClimateChangeTimeline).





Space between recent decades is larger to accommodate all the information

GRAPHICS BY KAREN NORRIS, RESEARCH BY EOIN O'CARROLL/STAFF



1

The ancient art of drying food

Human beings have been drying food to preserve it for just about as long as they've been on the planet. In the Middle East fruit was wrapped in palm leaves and buried in the hot sand to dry. The Romans incorporated sun-dried fruits and vegetables into many of their dishes, as did indigenous peoples across North America. During the Middle Ages, special houses were constructed to dry foods using the heat from a fire. Many cultures today still use age-old practices including sun-drying fish, fruits, and vegetables to maintain their lifestyle and keep their traditions alive. For nearly 2,000

years in Taiwan, mian xian noodles have been made by hand and dried in the sun. In Turkey, a new process of dry-aging meat invented in the 1950s has influenced traditional dishes with the unique flavors and tenderness developed in the aging process. Today, mechanization reigns supreme in much of food preparation, but in countries from China to Serbia, there's still plenty of evidence of a more time-honored approach. ■



2





1 TODAY'S CATCH
A fisherman lays out fish to dry at a fishing harbor in the southern Indian city of Chennai. BABU/REUTERS

2 INNOVATIVE TECHNIQUE Chef Burak Sarikaya poses with dry-aged steaks at a Gunaydin steakhouse in Istanbul, Turkey. MURAD SEZER/REUTERS

3 SHIMMERING STRANDS A woman hangs handmade noodles to dry in the sun in Fuxing, Taiwan. OLIVIA HARRIS/REUTERS

3



5



4

4 PACKING HEAT A man hangs bunches of peppers to dry on the wall of his house in Donja Lokosnica, a village in southern Serbia. MARKO DJURICA/REUTERS

5 SWEET TREATS A woman dries persimmons at a workshop in Yiyuan County, in China's Shandong province. REUTERS



REPUBLICAN PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE DONALD TRUMP SPEAKS DURING THE FINAL DAY OF THE 2016 REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION IN CLEVELAND.

CAROLYN KASTER/AP/FILE

WASHINGTON

It was President Trump's first real national security scare. North Korea had just tested a ballistic missile, and Mr. Trump was dining outside at his Florida resort with Prime Minister Shinzo Abe of Japan. Aides hovered around them; one shined the light of his cellphone on documents the two leaders were reviewing. A Mar-a-Lago Club member sitting nearby snapped pictures and posted them on Facebook.

"Wow.....," Richard DeAgazio wrote, "the center of the action!!!"

The Mar-a-Lago terrace had, in effect, become an open-air White House Situation Room, but without the high-level security of the West Wing basement room where the president and top aides usually meet to address world crises. At that moment, just 24 days into Trump's presidency, some Americans' fears of having a novice to government serving in the top job crystallized.

Would Trump accidentally reveal classified information in public? Would he respond prudently to North Korea's provocation? Was he really ready

DISRUPTER IN CHIEF

to do the job he had won, defying expectations, just a few months earlier?

One year into Trump's presidency, North Korea remains a top security threat – and Trump's freewheeling, norm-busting approach to the presidency is the new normal. The dizzying turnover of top staff and breathless media reports of palace intrigue – as evidenced by the recent brouhaha over the new tell-all book on Trump's first year, "Fire and Fury" – have only enhanced the sense of reality-TV-style drama. So has the investigation into possible Russian collaboration with Trump associates in the 2016 campaign. Ditto the women accusing Trump of past sexual misdeeds.

In countless ways, from his provocative use of Twitter to his aggressive use of executive power to his attacks on the news media, Trump has disrupted American life, the American presidency, American politics, and America's place in the world.

"As Winston Churchill once said of an American cabinet member, 'He's a bull who carries his own china shop with him,' " says Barbara Perry, director of presidential studies at the University of Virginia's Miller Center.

To Trump supporters, that's exactly the point: They voted for someone who would "fight back" and shake up a Washington power structure – "the swamp" – that they believe stopped serving the people a long time ago. And they say he is delivering. Trump's war on government regulation has rolled back scores of policies on the environment, education, law enforcement, energy, and the internet.

To critics, Trump represents the sum of all fears: a populist demagogue who preys on voter anger, stokes racism, enacts self-enriching policies, and fans the flames of class division and partisan polarization that have been growing for decades. Some House Democrats are already pushing for impeachment, and held a symbolic vote in December, despite opposition from Democratic leaders.

In truth, the Trump disruption so far hasn't proved to be as, well, disruptive

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BY LINDA FELDMANN
STAFF WRITER

**HOW DONALD
TRUMP IS
CHANGING THE
PRESIDENCY
AFTER ONE YEAR
IN OFFICE.**

► FROM PREVIOUS PAGE

as it could have been. Trump is not a dictator – far from it. Respect for the Constitution remains deeply embedded in the American psyche. The two-party system remains vibrant, as seen last month in Doug Jones’s stunning upset in the Alabama special Senate election – a rare Democratic victory in a deeply Republican state.

“It looks so far like our system is more resilient than a lot of people thought it was,” says Gene Healy, vice president of the libertarian Cato Institute and author of the book “The Cult of the Presidency: America’s Dangerous Devotion to Executive Power.” “The courts and to some extent Congress have pushed back.”

In July 2016, Trump presented himself at the Republican National Convention as a savior who could solve the nation’s ills all on his own, from poverty and violence at home to war and destruction abroad.

“I alone can fix it,” he boomed.

Trump’s grand rhetoric brought conventiongoers to their feet, and on the political left, sowed fears of an authoritarian-in-the-making. One year into his tenure, experts on presidential power see a man who has, in some ways, pulled the levers of power with singular abandon – both formally and informally – even as he discovers the limits of that authority.

“It’s a fascinating case study,” says Jonathan Turley, a constitutional law professor at George Washington University in Washington. “As controversial as many of the statements and actions of President Trump are, he has not pushed the envelope of executive privilege as much as President Obama did during his presidency.”

Indeed, Trump’s use of executive power so far has centered on undoing Barack Obama’s legacy, many elements of which Obama had bypassed Congress to carry out. Trump pulled the United States out of the Trans-Pacific Partnership trade deal and the Paris climate accord, decertified the Iran nuclear pact, moved to ban transgender military recruits, and in perhaps his most explosive decision, announced the end of DACA – Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals, which protects some 800,000 young unauthorized immigrants from deportation.

Obama himself foresaw the risk of re-

lying on executive authority – and even warned President-elect Trump to be careful about going down that path.

It wasn’t until the third year of Obama’s presidency, after the Democrats had lost control of the House, that he began to rely on executive power to enact major policy shifts. So comparing one year of Trump with eight years of Obama isn’t quite fair.

Trump, like Obama, began his presidency with both houses of Congress under his party’s control, and so going the legislative route to enact major policy change made sense. Besides, matters involving the federal budget and taxation must go through Congress. Initially, Trump struggled to learn the art of the legislative deal – failing to repeal and replace the Affordable Care Act, or “Obamacare,” before passing tax reform. It was the only major piece of legislation he got through Congress in his first year.

The true test of Trump’s approach to executive power may come a year from now – after the November 2018 midterm elections – if the Republicans lose control of one or both houses of Congress.

“If one of the houses does flip, there will be a lot of pressure on Trump to act as Obama did in the face of legislative opposition,” says Mr. Turley.



KEVIN LAMARQUE/REUTERS

President Trump cuts red tape – literally – while touting deregulation. The piles represent the number of regulations in 1960 versus today.

And if Trump does move toward more aggressive use of executive authority, he will be following a certain tradition. Obama was dubbed an “imperial president,” just as he had accused his predecessor, George W. Bush, of being. Presidents Richard Nixon, Harry Truman, and Franklin Roosevelt were all parties to landmark Supreme Court cases challenging their aggressive uses of executive power.

A larger question may be whether Congress can find its way back to its rightful place as a vehicle for bipartisanship and

compromise. Scholars on the left and right speak of how polarization and other factors have made the legislative branch increasingly dysfunctional.

“I think the greatest challenge facing the Trump administration – or actually, any administration – these days is that Congress is broken,” says Daniel Bonevac, a philosophy professor at the University of Texas at Austin. He blames budgeting procedures put in place after Watergate that had the unintentional effect of making compromise more difficult.

“I don’t think President Trump is responsible, in short, for the change in norms,” says Mr. Bonevac. “I think he’s a response to the change in norms.”

In his inaugural address, on Jan. 20, 2017, Trump painted a bleak picture of “forgotten men and women” and “American carnage.”

“Now arrives the hour of action,” the new president pledged.

A week later, Trump announced a “travel ban,” temporarily barring entry into the US by nationals from seven predominantly Muslim countries. It was Trump’s first major executive order, and it suggested that the billionaire businessman used to issuing commands and seeing them carried out would try the same approach from the Oval Office.

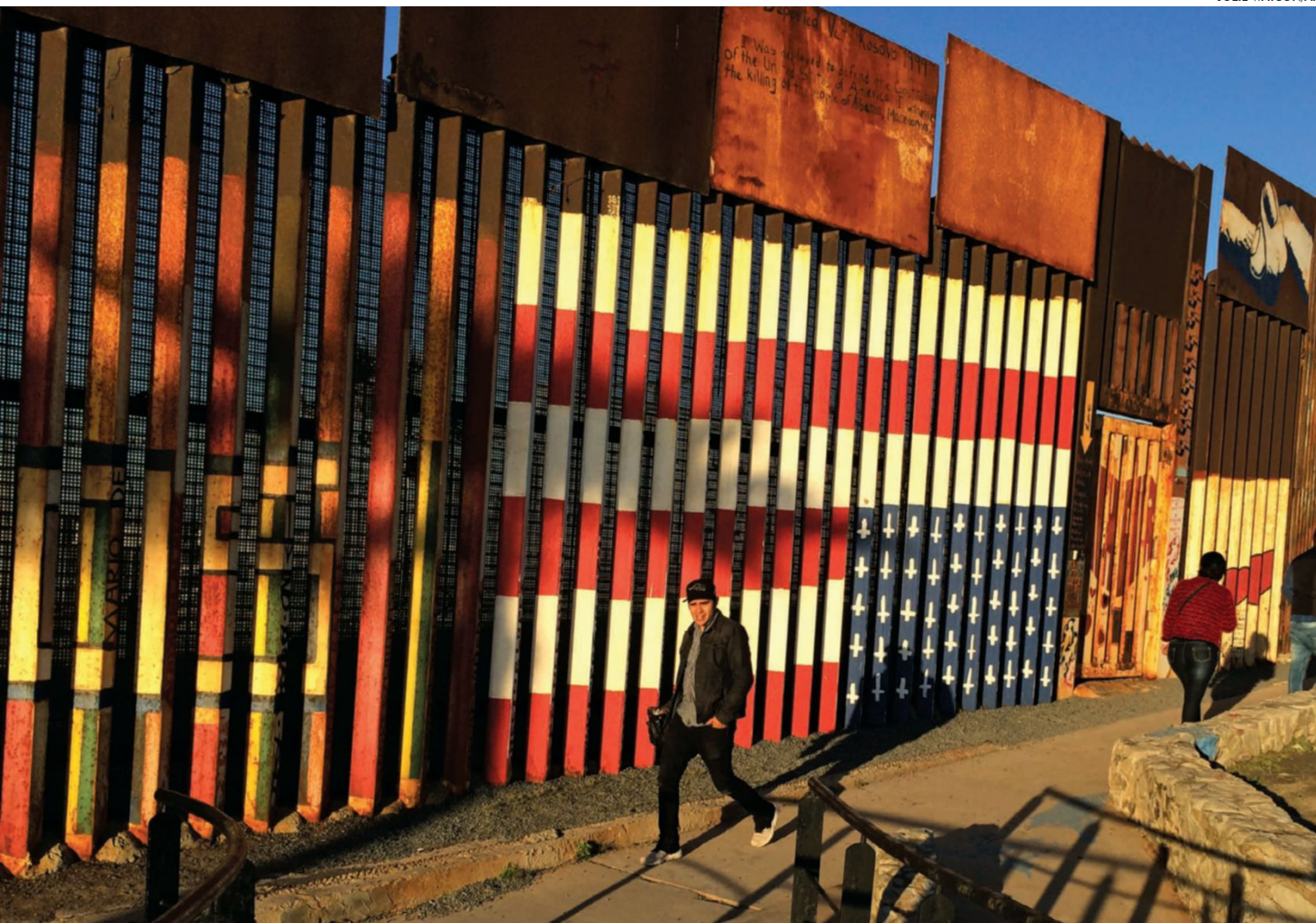
The checks and balances limiting the power of American presidents, as enshrined in the Constitution, were in for a test.

The answer came quickly. Within days, amid protests at American airports, a federal judge blocked the measure nationwide. Legal experts slammed the order as sloppily drafted. Trump responded with decidedly un-presidential rhetoric, lashing out on Twitter at “this so-called judge” – an echo of his 2015 slur against the Mexican-American judge handling the lawsuit against Trump University.

But the government agencies implementing the ban backed down, following the judge’s order. A revised travel ban was also blocked, and in December, the Supreme Court allowed a third version to proceed in full while lower courts review the merits.

That decision suggests the Supreme Court could uphold the ban, in keeping with the principle that presidents have broad authority to control who may enter the country. And so, in the end, Trump may well prove victorious on this issue. But the

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KCNA/REUTERS

People pass graffiti on a border barrier in Tijuana, Mexico (above). President Trump moved aggressively to tighten the US immigration controls shortly after taking office, including signing an executive order to jump-start construction of his promised US-Mexican border wall.

North Korean leader Kim Jong-un inspects artillery launchers (left). He and Mr. Trump have been locked in a war of words over North Korea's testing of missiles capable of reaching increasingly distant targets, including the US.

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path to fulfillment has been bumpy.

Despite Trump's desire to present himself as the biggest and the best, his use of executive orders has not been unusual. Obama issued an average of 35 per year, President Ronald Reagan 47, and President Jimmy Carter 80. Trump is on track to issue 59 in his first year (he had signed 55 through the end of 2017). But it's not about numbers; it's about what the orders do.

Most journalists covering the White House have the same routine: Wake up, grab phone, check @realDonaldTrump to see what's on POTUS's mind.

Trump's early-morning tweets can set the day's agenda. At times, they merely let people know what he was watching that morning – often Fox News. They can be witty or pungent, controversial or straightforward. Some contain falsehoods.

Sometimes Trump's tweets push the bounds of good taste, as when he called North Korean President Kim Jong-un "short and fat." But over the course of a day, Trump's Twitter feed is rarely dull.

And it is arguably the most revolutionary aspect of his presidency. With this simple tool, Trump has changed the tone of an office that is usually dignified, often a force for national unity, and turned it on its head. Internationally, Trump tweets have stoked diplomatic riffs. In the US, political polarization has deepened.

But Twitter is Trump's way of communicating directly with his base, and his supporters appreciate that.

"I follow him because I want to see what he's saying myself and not have someone interpret it for me," says Annie Anthony, a 50-something Trump voter who runs a volunteer center in Wilmington, N.C.

But she calls Trump's language "unprofessional" – a common complaint, even among Trump supporters. "He uses words like 'sad' and 'bad.' That's first-grade language," says Ms. Anthony, speaking at a recent focus group organized by pollster Peter Hart. "We're an intelligent population who elected you. Represent us!"

Trump's Twitter feed, in fact, isn't just about the president and his phone. It's an entire enterprise, with input from social media director Dan Scavino and other advisers.

A Trump White House insider identi-



MARY ALTAFER/AP/FILE

GOP candidate Donald Trump appears with vice presidential candidate Mike Pence in Cleveland.

fies three types of Trump tweets. "There's one kind where he's sitting there at 5 in the morning in his pajamas, tweeting," he says. "These are the kinds of things that make his staff scream into pillows."

The next kind of tweet involves Trump saying, "Hey, Dan, get in here," referring to Mr. Scavino. Trump says what he wants tweeted, then Scavino composes the words and puts it out. "I've been in the Oval Office and seen this," says the source.

Then there's the third kind of tweet that

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SCOTT G WINTER/TON/THE DESERET NEWS/AP

never crosses Trump's desk. Most are anodyne, and come from senior aides – Stephen Miller, Jared Kushner, the White House counsel's office, says the Trump insider. Occasionally, there are slip-ups – such as the recent tweet about former National Security Adviser Mike Flynn that called into question what Trump knew when he fired him. Trump lawyer John Dowd took the blame for composing that tweet.

"I think that was one of these categories where Trump really never saw the darn thing," says the Trump insider.

Presidential historians are struck, perhaps above all else, by how Trump's use of Twitter has shaped his presidency. "Imagine if Franklin Roosevelt or John F. Kennedy had had a hot mic in the Oval Office, and that every time they had a thought, it would go out over the airwaves," says Ms. Perry of the University of Virginia.

She notes that Roosevelt did just 30 radio "fireside chats" over 12 years, and President Kennedy held an average of two TV news conferences a month.

"They had a sense that they didn't want to be overexposed," says Perry. "Now, it's fascinating there's someone in the Oval who doesn't worry about overexposure."

Presidential scholar Matthew Dickinson says that beneath all the "surface churning," it's too soon to say if the Trump presidency has brought more fundamental shifts in the relative power of the president vis-à-vis Congress and the courts.

"But I do see a president who has transformed our expectations on a daily basis about what a president can do in social media, in public relations," says Mr. Dickinson, a political science professor at Middlebury College in Vermont.

Ever the showman, Trump had props ready when he walked into the White House's Roosevelt Room on Dec. 14 to talk deregulation: piles of paper representing regulations in 1960 (20,000 pages, he said) and today (185,000 pages, standing 6 feet tall).

A big red ribbon stretched across the higher pile, and with oversized scissors, Trump cut through the "red tape" – a bit of theater meant to symbolize his aggressive efforts to roll back regulations.

"We're just getting started," Trump said, speaking of a major deregulation effort that

goes to one of his campaign mantras: "Drain the swamp."

In Trump's lexicon, the term "swamp" can be interpreted broadly – the party "establishments," the lawyers, the lobbyists, the media, and the bureaucrats of "permanent Washington" who hinder economic growth, he says, with needless rules and regulations.

Trump has spent his short political career trying to lay waste to all those forces. Many key positions at government agencies remain unfilled, some even lacking a nominee. This may seem to be a swamp-draining exercise, though it also hinders Trump's ability to carry out his policies.

On the regulatory front, Trump's first year has been momentous – and highly controversial. In January, one of his first executive orders required that two regulations be eliminated for every new one. By December, Trump claimed a ratio of 22 to 1, including two eliminated through congressional action that reportedly saved the government more than \$480 million.

The Treasury Department has targeted some 90 banking and financial regulations. The Department of Education has rescinded Obama-era rules on sexual assault on campus and regulations on for-profit colleges. "Net neutrality" – the principle of equal access to internet content – is gone.

But the poster child of Trump-era deregulation has to be Scott Pruitt, administrator of the Environment Protection Agency. Among the scores of actions taken, Mr. Pruitt's EPA has moved to rescind Obama's Clean Power Plan, aimed at combating global warming; eliminated rules blocking construction of the Keystone XL and Dakota Access pipelines; and ended off-shore drilling bans in the Atlantic and Arctic Oceans.

"Like it or not, [deregulation] seems to be one area where he's doing what he said he would do," says Susan Dudley, director of the George Washington University Regulatory Studies Center.

Many business leaders believe Trump's deregulation effort has fueled the booming stock market. True or not, it has at least forced a rebalancing of power in Washington. "The bureaucracy, scarcely mentioned in the Constitution, is a huge branch of government now," says Dickinson. "It's not the sexiest topic, but increasingly it's where the action is. It's where all these competing powers are vying for influence."

Trump's attention to the "administrative state" is a welcome development, at least from a constitutional standpoint, says Turley. "I don't happen to agree with his priorities; for one thing I'm sort of a tree-hugger," says Turley. "But there was a need to rebal-

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JIM URQUHART/REUTERS/FILE

US Interior Secretary Ryan Zinke rides in the Bears Ears National Monument, a federally protected expanse in southeastern Utah that the Trump administration has dramatically shrunk in size (left).

Steam rises from the stacks of a coal-fired power plant near Point of the Rocks, Wyo. (above). The president has taken numerous steps to boost the coal industry in his first year in office, though employment among coal companies, because of market forces, has rebounded very little.

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ance power, particularly between Congress and the agencies. We're seeing a real effort now in Congress to find ways of reinforcing congressional oversight."

Soon after taking office, top aides to Trump and the congressional leadership met to deploy a little-used law called the Congressional Review Act to eliminate Obama's final regulatory actions. In all, 14 regulations were overturned in short order.

It was a quiet but significant effort – and a reminder that Congress, as a co-equal branch of government, has more power than it often chooses to use. And it enabled Trump to add to his tally of promises kept.

Prototypes for Trump's promised wall on the US-Mexican border went up in October. His "travel ban" is in effect. He recognized Jerusalem as the capital of Israel, bucking decades of US policy and sparking an uproar. He took action against "sanctuary cities," though a federal judge blocked the order. He passed the first major tax reform in 30 years.

Though Trump failed to repeal Obamacare, he used tax reform to kill off a key component – the individual mandate to buy health insurance. A record number of appeals court judges were confirmed in Trump's first year, as was conservative Supreme Court Justice Neil Gorsuch.

"Probably more than any president in my lifetime, he's kept his promises," says Turley.

This, despite the dark shadow hanging over the Trump presidency from the start – the Russia investigation, led by special counsel Robert Mueller since May. Inside the White House, there's no doubt the probe has been a distraction, especially after the indictments and plea deals of former Trump advisers. But checking off agenda items has been a salve.

The jury is out on whether Trump is governing as a populist. Big tax cuts for corporations and the wealthiest Americans belie that label. And his promises of reduced engagement abroad have yet to materialize.

But through it all, Trump has held onto his core supporters – albeit with historically low job approval for a first-year president, at 39 percent on average through the end of 2017, accord-



JOHN GASTALDO/REUTERS

ing to Gallup.

Still firmly in his camp are the Trumettes, a group of wealthy women who began pushing Trump to run for president back in 2015. On Jan. 18, 2018, at his Mar-a-Lago Club in Palm Beach, Fla., they will host a \$300-a-ticket bash to celebrate his first year in office.

For Trump, the Jan. 20 anniversary will be a chance to tout accomplishments, and for Democrats, a day to redouble their resolve to fight – and look forward to the November midterms. Both the House and even the Senate are "in play," analysts say, especially after the Democratic sweep in Virginia and New Jersey last November, and Senator Jones's improbable victory last month in Alabama. Women are turning out to vote and running for office in large numbers, ready to do battle against

the Trump agenda. A big blue wave appears to be forming.

Trump himself plans to campaign heavily for Republicans ahead of the midterms, to which Democrats say, "Bring it on." A high-profile Trump is their best motivator.

The top legislative agenda items for 2018 are welfare reform and infrastructure. But with the Republican majority in the Senate now down to 51-49, passing anything significant will be that much more difficult – particularly if Trump loses either house of Congress in the midterms.

"On the homefront, there's been a lot of bluster, though I think he's learning that the government domestically doesn't run like a reality show or a business," says Mr. Healy of the Cato Institute. But overseas, he adds, "the executive branch seems as unrestrained as ever."

Trump's ability to act unilaterally abroad has sparked particular concern over nuclear-armed North Korea. In November, fears over whether Trump can be trusted with US nuclear weapons – whose use he can authorize on his own – spurred the first hearings in Congress in 41 years to examine who should control the arsenal.

No further action has been taken, though on another matter – Trump's ability to remove economic sanctions against Russia – Congress did vote to constrain the president. The larger questions over how Trump handles the powers of the presidency, both formal and informal, hang in the balance. The Trump Show, Year 2, has just begun. ■



EVAN VUCCI/AP

Protesters in San Diego rally against President Trump's decision to end the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals program, which protects some 800,000 young unauthorized immigrants from deportation (top).

Mr. Trump dances with first lady Melania Trump at an inaugural ball in Washington (above).

THE JORDAN TIMES / AMMAN, JORDAN

Jordan's need to diversify options

"In recent weeks, there has been much commentary in Jordan on the importance of taking a new approach to Jordan's bilateral relations," writes Amer Al Sabaileh. "Strategically, it is imperative that Jordan continues to diversify its options, but this must be done with a clear plan and idea rather than clichés and propaganda. Global political dynamics have shifted, particularly with respect to the Middle East. From the Syrian crisis to the first dual Chinese and Russian UN Security Council veto in 2012, the ground has been shifting beneath us for a few years now... We cannot follow populism, short-termism or the easiest path to our next aid donation. By the same token we cannot follow calls to build relations to Iran in response to US policy as there is no clear path to a better outcome for Jordan."

THE EAST AFRICAN / NAIROBI, KENYA

Freedom will save Kenya, not being ostriches

"Another year is over," writes Muthoni Wanyeki. "The trajectory for Kenya and its neighbours is not good.... Let it never be said that there's a dearth of hand-wringing and calls for dialogue on our 'inter-communal tensions' while ignoring the elephant in the room. We are ostriches: We blame the state of the economy on the elections. Yet our debt level is crazy.... Being good ostriches won't save us. But freedom, integrity in public office, constitutionalism and rule of law will."

THE SYDNEY MORNING HERALD / SYDNEY, AUSTRALIA

National Payments Platform could change banking

"It's one of the most important pieces of public infrastructure so far this century, but most people haven't heard of it," writes Caitlin Fitzsimmons. "It's called the National Payments Platform ... and, after several years in the making, it's finally going live soon after Australia Day. When it does, you'll be able to make 'real-time' electronic payments to other Australian bank accounts – meaning the funds arrive within minutes.... [F]or my money, the NPP will be far more transformative for the Australian economy than most physical infrastructure. For starters, faster payments will reduce a lot of the friction with transactions.... Second, the NPP should enable innovation in financial services."

THE GLOBE AND MAIL / TORONTO

Demolition of a wall of silence in 2017

"2017 was an edgy 365 days," states an editorial. "As disruptive as it was, though, there was one development that ... was welcome and needed. We're talking about the demolition of the wall of silence that has forever allowed men in powerful positions to prey in a sexual fashion on women, and sometimes on other men, with impunity. The fall of Harvey Weinstein was the spark.... A group of powerful women working in Hollywood announced ... they are setting up a fund to help ordinary women in the U.S. take on abusive employers. They are also calling for legislation to punish companies that tolerate harassment, and they intend to keep talking about the issue. That's all helpful. But it remains up to employers to reinforce their guidelines on sexual harassment, and to make it easy for employees to come forward and be heard. It is still the job of governments to ensure rules are implemented and enforced. And it still falls to the police to be better at investigating cases, and at making women feel comfortable going to them in the first place."

THE GUARDIAN / LONDON

Could Macron intervene on 'Brexit'?

"Emmanuel Macron emerged to transform a sclerotic political scene, dazzling the world and many in his country with a youthful energy that made French rejuvenation a buzzword...," writes Natalie Nougayrède. "If Macron really is the saviour of Europe he wants to be, then he should say something to help to prevent Brexit. Why couldn't his eloquence and daring be deployed? A window of opportunity may open up next summer, when it will become increasingly clear that Brexit is a near-impossible task, both in scale and in timing."



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

States make progress in cutting opioid drug abuse

The US Centers for Disease Control and Prevention calculates that 91 Americans die each day from opioid drug overdoses. As 2018 dawns it now seems likely that average life expectancy in the United States in 2017 could drop for the third year in a row.

Opioid overdoses will likely be a big factor. Drug overdoses accounted for more than 63,000 deaths in 2016, with more than 42,000 of them opioids, such as fentanyl, often prescribed by physicians to relieve pain. Opioid deaths have doubled since 2010.

But in some New England states there are hopeful signs that suggest a corner may be turning as 2018 rings in. Little by little, states and communities across the country are finding out what helps and taking action.

In Massachusetts and Rhode Island partial year estimates for 2017 show drops of 10 percent and 9 percent respectively in overdose deaths. Vermont and New Hampshire may see slight decreases as well.

Massachusetts was the first of what are now many states that limit the number of opioid pills doctors can prescribe per prescription. And more people who overdose are surviving as first responders widely use naloxone, an overdose-reversing drug.

Michigan has seen heroin and prescription opioid overdose deaths double over the past five years. In response a package of



AN OVERDOSE RESPONSE, MALDEN, MASS. BRIAN SNYDER/REUTERS

new laws now includes a seven-day limit on opioid prescriptions and establishes an online database to ensure those addicted don't jump from doctor to doctor to get quick refills.

Alternatives to drugs

In Colorado, Kaiser Permanente offers a \$100 eight-week course to help patients recognize the dangers of opioid use. Participants learn that higher doses and longer periods of use increase the possibility of ad-

diction. The program also offers alternatives to drugs, such as physical therapy, exercise, and meditation. The program has seen opioid use by patients drop significantly.

Americans take opioids at four times the rate that Britons do and six times more often than people in France or Portugal. One reason: Writing a prescription provides a quicker and simpler form of treatment than non-drug therapies. "Most insurance, especially for poor people, won't pay for anything but a pill," says Judith Feinberg, professor in the Department of Behavioral Medicine & Psychiatry at the West Virginia University School of Medicine.

"Say you have a patient that [has] lower back pain," she said in a BBC interview. "Really the best thing is physical therapy, but no one will pay for that. So doctors get very ready to pull out the prescription pad...."

The wider meaning of #MeToo

The #MeToo movement is sending out ripples of change far beyond its original goal of making public and condemning sexual harassment of women in the workplace.

The spotlight now is turning to the need for equal rights and opportunities in employment, including equal pay. Even talk of reviving the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) to the US Constitution has emerged.

Last month "E! News" television host Catt Sadler quit her job after learning that cohost Jason Kennedy was earning about twice her salary, despite the two having similar qualifications and experience. Ms. Sadler said she was inspired to take her stand after hearing the experiences women shared through the #MeToo movement.

According to Pew Research figures, in 2016 women on average earned 83 cents for every dollar earned by men. (The gap has narrowed: The figure was 64 cents for women in 1980.)

In a recent essay in Foreign Affairs magazine, Rachel Vogelstein outlines the economic cost worldwide of laws that restrict women's right to work.

In 155 countries women face restrictions on working, such as "limitations on property ownership, spousal consent requirements

"Other countries deal with pain in much healthier ways," Dr. Feinberg adds.

In October, President Trump declared opioids a public health emergency, but he failed to ask for any substantial new funding to deal with the crisis. More recently he made a personal gesture of support by offering \$100,000 from his presidential salary to address the problem.

In 2018 the federal government may yet decide to play a more robust role. In the meantime states and communities are beginning to find and implement programs that show promise of helping. ■

for employment, and laws that prevent them from signing contracts or accessing credit," she writes.

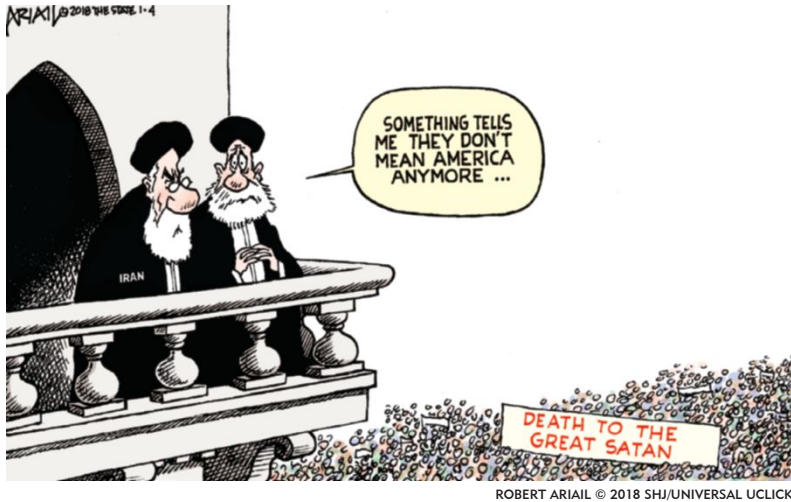
While much has been made of the move to allow women in Saudi Arabia to drive, she notes, the same Saudi regime still stops women from opening bank accounts, starting some kinds of businesses, applying for a passport, or traveling outside the country without permission from a male relative, "restrictions that are arguably more significant in limiting their full economic participation than the driving ban," she says.

Women's rights and the Constitution

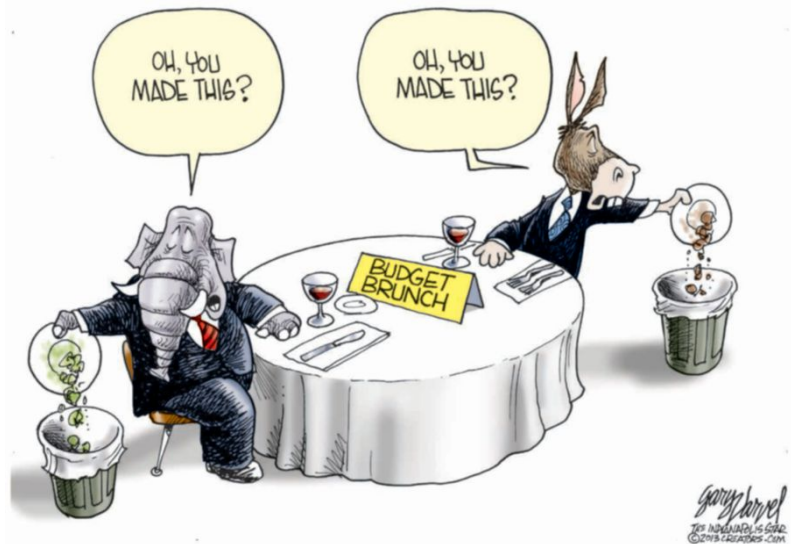
In a 2016 poll, 4 out of 5 Americans thought that the Constitution included an amendment that guaranteed equal rights for women. But the effort to enact such a provision stalled four decades ago.

The #MeToo movement may bring the need for an ERA back into the public conversation, historian Leigh Ann Wheeler wrote recently. "An ERA could establish a constitutional foundation for challenging discrimination that threatens women's health, safety and very lives," she says.

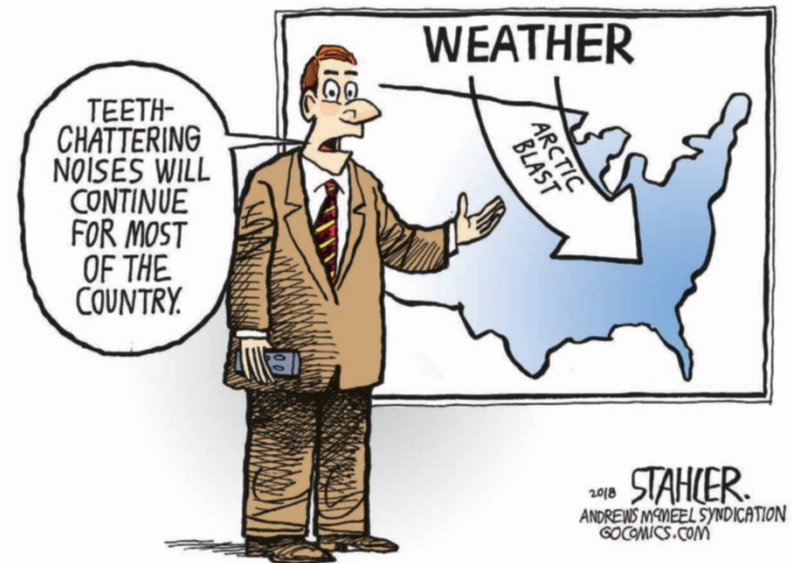
In the 21st century, nations can't afford the cost of barring women from full and equal participation in the workforce. ■



ROBERT ARIAL © 2018 SHJ/UNIVERSAL UCLICK



GARY VARVEL/THE INDIANAPOLIS STAR © 2018 CREATORS.COM



JEFF STAHLER © 2018 UNIVERSAL UCLICK

READERS WRITE

Birds and their plans

I read with delight the Aug. 7 OneWeek article “Can ravens think and plan ahead?” One early spring morning while on my back porch in Phoenix, I was enjoying a cup of coffee and looking over my back garden wall at the undeveloped land behind our property. The land was covered with various cactuses, including several large saguaros. Suddenly, two small birds landed on the large saguaro immediately behind our wall. They hopped around a small hole in the plant for a few minutes and then flew away. Moments later, they returned, accompanied by a Gila woodpecker. The woodpecker enlarged the existing hole and left. The two birds immediately started to build their spring nest. I find this a great example of the cognitive skill that many birds have.

MYLDRED K. RICHARDSON
Tucson, Ariz.

Billionaire fights poverty

The Nov. 20 cover story, “A billionaire’s war on poverty,” was an excellent article! The article has inspired me. Thank you so much for amplifying the good that this savvy benefactor is doing.

ROS BYRNE
Canberra, Australia

Bravo! Thank you for the Nov. 20 cover story. This touches on so many crucial social issues and goes into great depth. It was so sensitively felt and written as well! And many thanks for the touching photography! This is just what the Monitor is meant to accomplish.

CAROLYN NAGUSKY
Salida, Colo.

Using proven methods

Regarding the Nov. 24 Monitor Daily article “Plumbing the role of ancient culture in conservation”: Biocultural conservation makes such good sense! It makes use of what is practical and has proved to work. I’m glad to see the subject raised. I had not thought of it in these terms.

MARGERY GIBSON
Victoria, British Columbia

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DANIEL DAY-LEWIS STARS IN 'PHANTOM THREAD.'

LAURIE SPARHAM/FOCUS FEATURES/AP



ON FILM

'Phantom Thread' is reportedly Daniel Day-Lewis's final film

MIGHT OUR GREATEST LIVING ACTOR WANT TO RECONSIDER?

By Peter Rainer / Film critic

The ads for writer-director Paul Thomas Anderson's "Phantom Thread," starring the great Daniel Day-Lewis as a famed couturier in 1950s London, suggest a stately period production in the Merchant Ivory mode. What soon becomes clear, though, upon seeing the movie, is how inexorably creepy it is. Its antecedents are not Merchant Ivory movies but, rather, "Rebecca" and "Vertigo" — except it's even freakier than those films. It's closer in some ways to "Fifty Shades of Grey," but made by real artists and not pulpsters, and minus any overt sex. The eroticism is all in the fittings of fabric and the power plays of a couple who make Mr. and Mrs. de Winters in "Rebecca" seem like Ward and June Cleaver from "Leave It to Beaver."

Day-Lewis's Reynolds Woodcock is the imperious impresario of the House of Woodcock, with its Georgian London townhouse and its armada of seamstresses. His exclusive clientele includes socialites, celebrities, and royalty, but he disdains the trappings of high society. He cares only that his moneyed clients are worthy of his creations. (The film's costume designer is Mark Bridges.) In one startling scene, he is

so aghast at the sight of a drunken woman in one of his gowns that he summarily has it removed from her.

Reynolds regularly attracts and discards women, and his steely sister, Cyril (the marvelous Lesley Manville), who alone among his entourage has the power to rebuff him, keeps a beady eye on the procession of consorts. Both Reynolds and Cyril meet their match in immigrant Alma (Vicky Krieps, equally marvelous, in a very difficult role), whom Reynolds first meets at a seaside country inn where she is waitressing. She is smitten, as is he, and soon he is measuring her for a custom dress.

This dress-fitting sequence is their true courtship, but it also reveals their developing dynamic. He lavishes his attentions on her form while at the same time citing its flaws; she accepts his autocracy but doesn't shrink from it. In her own passive-aggressive way, she gives as good as she gets, and she becomes his live-in companion. He also makes her one of his models, but she is also, surreptitiously and perhaps not altogether knowingly, molding him as well.

It's a *folie à deux* that only becomes more intricate as the duet becomes more combative. Living with Reynolds is no picnic

— even the scrape of his companion's knife across buttered toast at breakfast can ruin his day. His pathological persnickiness, his mania for detail, is both his genius and his incubus. His specialty is sewing little trinkets into the linings of his dresses, and this fits perfectly with the elusiveness of his life. Symbolically, if not actually, Alma exposes those secret trifles. But she is no redeemer, at least not for most of the movie. She isn't trying to normalize Reynolds, which in any case would be an impossibility. Instead, in a development right out of gothic melodrama, she holds onto him in a way that demonstrates she is just as deranged as he is. (To her great credit, Krieps never telegraphs any of this for us.) For much of the movie, we have been led to believe it is Reynolds who is the nut-case genius. Now we realize he has competition. Like I say, a *folie à deux*.

Why should any of this matter to us? Aside from the terrific ensemble acting and the pleasures of watching an expertly designed human board game being played out, I think Anderson is also getting at something deeper. Many of his movies, most conspicuously "There Will Be Blood" and "The Master," are about grand-scale obsessives who ultimately bring about their own downfall. In "Phantom Thread," he is showcasing not an oil baron or a spiritual guru, as in those films, but an artist. The self-immolation of an artist who is both inspired and undone by his muse is the true subject of "Phantom Thread." In the film's final jolt of perversity, Anderson holds out a halcyon hope for these two. In their complicity with each other's manias, he sees a kind of salvation.

One last note: Day-Lewis has announced that this will be his last film. Far be it for me to tell him how to live his life, but might perhaps our greatest living actor want to reconsider? As Reynolds, he is so galvanizing that the slightest flicker of his hand, of his brow, opens up for us a wide thoroughfare into this man's stricken soul. What is so bafflingly fascinating about "Phantom Thread" is that Reynolds is an ascetic at the center of a movie that is anything but. The dry ice in this film burns with a hothouse intensity.

■ *Rated R for language.*

CORRECTION

In the Jan. 1 & 8, 2018, issue, the film review ("'The Post' intended to resonate as freedom-of-the-press film") misidentified the president under which Robert McNamara served. Mr. McNamara was secretary of Defense under former Presidents John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson.

MUSIC

New year, new music: the acts to watch in 2018

EACH YEAR at the Monitor, we seek out and bring the very best in popular entertainment to your attention. As a music reviewer, I admit that there is so much quality stuff out there that my filter can't catch it all. Take Nicole Atkins, who simultaneously channels Roy Orbison and Patsy Cline, yet sounds completely modern. Give yourself an extra holiday treat and check out her stunning 2017 album, "Goodnight Rhonda Lee."

Let's take a look ahead at what's on tap for 2018. So many veterans of the airwaves are readying new work: Bruce Springsteen has promised his first new music in six years, a solo effort he describes as "influenced by Southern California

MICHAEL ZORN/INVISION/AP



Bruce Springsteen performs at the Asbury Park Music and Film Festival in April 2017 in Asbury Park, N.J.

pop music of the '70s." Newly minted Broadway star Sara Bareilles has said she's also working on a new album. Star of stage and screen and this year's Super Bowl half-time performer Justin Timberlake has been working with mega-platinum producer Timbaland. Christina Aguilera is readying her first new

music in six years with Kendrick Lamar's producer Thundercat.

Some major band reunions will result in albums in 2018, among them Kim Deal's 1990s Boston "it band" the Breeders and Irish cult quartet My Bloody Valentine. En Vogue will be releasing "Electric Café" in March. Simple Minds is back with "Walk Between Worlds" in February. Other veteran bands are promising new albums: Modest Mouse, Vampire Weekend, My Morning Jacket, Franz Ferdinand, Guided by Voices, and Manic Street Preachers. And we welcome back the always interesting David Byrne, the always unpredictable Kanye West, the always amusing John Prine, and the always danceable Jennifer Lopez. Country rebel Kacey Musgraves, southern soul man Anderson East, golden-voiced Brandi Carlile, funky jazzman Jamie Cullum, and Swedish harmony angels First Aid Kit all have new product in the pipeline. Newish buzz talent to watch for this year: American band Aces, Brit band the Big Moon, and international popsters Anteros.

— John Kehe / Staff writer

1 VISUAL MUSIC

Japanese pianist/composer Ryuichi Sakamoto's music cannot be categorized. To his fans, that is the essence of the man and artist: always questioning, ever evolving. Following a long illness, he has released **Async**, his first solo album in eight years. It is contemplative, imaginative, and extremely visual – not surprising for the composer of many film scores. The album's 14 intriguing tracks combine Sakamoto's deft keyboard touch with natural and man-made sounds – footsteps, wind, hushed conversation – and the result is beautiful and mesmerizing.



2 EASY LISTENING APP

Searching for a simple way to listen to your podcasts? The **Pod Wrangler app** keeps it easy – just subscribe to your favorite programs and listen. The podcasts are even removed after you're finished. You can also choose to check out a single episode from a podcast if you're still deciding whether to commit fully. The Pod Wrangler app is free for iOS.



JOHN NORDELL/TCSM/FILE

3 EASY-TO-TRACK MATH

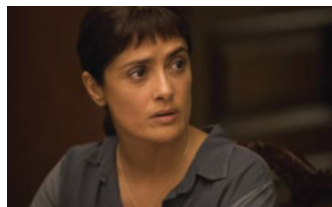
The **Solver app** could be a good fit for you if you need to do some math on your phone and are looking to keep all your work in front of you at the same time. You can add text alongside the numbers, too, to help you make sense of your calculations. The app is \$1.99 for iOS.

4 HAND-PAINTED FILM

Loving Vincent required more than 100 artists to hand-paint frames of film. The film, which is available on DVD and Blu-ray Jan. 16, follows Armand Roulin (Douglas Booth), the son of a postmaster, who has been given the job of delivering the final letter written by Vincent van Gogh to his brother Theo. Armand soon attempts to figure out the circumstances behind the artist's death. It's rated PG-13 for mature thematic elements, some violence, sexual material, and smoking.

5 DINNER CLASH

A masseuse/healer (Salma Hayek) and a billionaire (John Lithgow) encounter one another unexpectedly after they are invited to the same social event in the film **Beatriz at Dinner**, which is available on DVD and Blu-ray. Monitor film critic Peter Rainer praises Lithgow's performance, writing, "Lithgow is so good at playing CEO oiliness that you have to smile. He's the man you love to hate." The film is rated R for language and a scene of violence.



COURTESY OF MPRM COMMUNICATIONS

‘Tears of Salt’ is a cry from the front lines

A SICILIAN DOCTOR OFFERS AN UP-CLOSE, IMPASSIONED VIEW OF THE REFUGEE CRISIS.

By Marjorie Kehe

Pietro Bartolo has seen and experienced things that no human being should have to witness.

As a doctor working on Lampedusa, Italy’s southernmost island, he has been on the front line of the refugee crisis for more than 20 years. He has seen boats of refugees arriving from Africa, sometimes on a daily basis, crammed with people who are starving, dehydrated, and terrified. And these, he points out, are the fortunate ones – they are still alive.

He has seen desperate children separated from their parents and dying parents frantic to entrust their children to anyone who can help. He has seen young people who left home full of hope, only to arrive in Italy so frightened that they can no longer speak. He has seen the now infamous Favalaro Pier, his island’s main landing point, piled with corpses.

You would think that this would make Bartolo’s brief memoir, *Tears of Salt* (written with Lidia Tilotta), almost unreadable and, in fact, there is much in this book that is hard to process. Yet I would argue that it’s a work not to be missed.

Not only does Bartolo shake the world’s complacency (“Libyan prisons are the new concentration camps,” he writes. “The conditions under which migrants travel across desert and sea are not dissimilar from those of the death trains that transported victims of the Holocaust”), but he also limns his narrative with great compassion and humanity.

Bartolo is rightly angry about the conditions that created the suffering he encounters, but he is also deeply impressed by the courage and determination of many of the migrants, even as he is touched by the generosity of many of his fellow citizens.

There is the young Somalian migrant, Hassan, who refused to abandon his disabled brother and so carried him on his back all the way across the desert to Libya. There is Anuar, the 10-year-old Nigerian who left home on his own to find a way to make money to support his mother



MIGRANTS ON THE SOUTHERN ITALIAN ISLAND OF LAMPEDUSA

ALESSANDRO BIANCHI/REUTERS/FILE

and younger brothers.

There is also an Italian woman who rescued the beloved pet cat of a Sudanese refugee child and then flew with the animal to Germany (at her own expense) to personally restore him to his yearning owner. And there are the Italian schoolchildren in Pisa who used prize money to buy toys for the refugee children.

There is also a tiny Nigerian orphan named Favour – a baby girl with a smile so brave and beautiful that Bartolo begs his wife to agree to adopt her.

Told in alternating chapters with such vignettes is Bartolo’s own story. He was born into a loving Lampedusa fishing family and grew up cherishing the salt air and rustic lifestyle of an island closer to Tunisia than it is to Italy. Bartolo was educated on the mainland and ultimately persuaded his wife, Rita – a mainland and also a medical doctor – to move to Lampedusa.

At the time, agreeing to life on Lampedusa was already a difficult choice for Rita. The island was isolated and life there was raw. But that was before the arrival of migrants became a crisis. In the beginning, Bartolo writes, there were just a handful. “At this time it was a new phenomenon and they were few in number,” he writes. “But all at once, everything changed: many more refugees arrived, with many more reasons for fleeing home.”

Bartolo’s job becomes difficult in ways

he could never have imagined, and at times it seems close to destroying him. But he draws support, he says, from his fellow Lampedusans, so many of whom extended compassion and charity to arrivals.

In 2014, Bartolo meets Italian director Gianfranco Rosi, who came to Lampedusa to make a documentary about the refugees. That film becomes the 2016 Oscar-nominated “Fire at Sea.” The movie gives Bartolo great joy. “I had wanted this so badly,” he writes, “a raw, unequivocally clear message that would shatter all the lies and prejudice surrounding this issue, waken the public conscience, and open people’s eyes.”

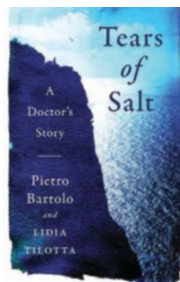
To Bartolo’s great sadness, however, shortly after the film’s release, borders were tightened throughout Europe and more doors were closed to refugees.

Bartolo writes that what he has seen has never caused him to lose faith in God. But he says he has become profoundly discouraged by “greedy, ruthless human beings who put their trust in money and power.” In this category he puts not only the human traffickers but also the politicians and ordinary citizens who have seen the suffering of the migrants but have not felt moved to help.

And yet Bartolo’s book serves as a powerful reminder of a very different kind of human response. His passionate advocacy on behalf of the flood of strangers continually showing up on his shores is deeply moving. One can only hope that it will prove contagious.

■ Marjorie Kehe is *The Christian Science Monitor’s* books editor.

MEMOIR



TEARS OF SALT
By Pietro Bartolo and
Lidia Tilotta
W.W. Norton & Co.
208 pp.

Q+A

WITH HENRY LOUIS GATES JR., AUTHOR OF '100 AMAZING FACTS ABOUT THE NEGRO'

Filmmaker, academic, and critic Henry Louis Gates Jr. was a young student at Yale University when he first encountered "100 Amazing Facts About the Negro with Complete Proof," by a journalist named Joel A. Rogers. Gates was fascinated by the 1934 book, which brought together remarkable facts about African-Americans. Last year, Gates published **100 Amazing Facts About the Negro**, his own updated homage to Rogers. Gates recently discussed his book with Monitor contributor Randy Dotinga.

Q: Was the original '100 Amazing Facts' inspired by 'Ripley's Believe It or Not!'?

It was viewed as a black version of "Ripley's," which I used to read in the funny papers. Rogers was very aware of Ripley. That's how he marketed it, and he wanted that comparison made.

Q: What draws you to write about the accomplishments of black people?

God put me on earth for many reasons, and one is to integrate the history of the human community by establishing the role that black people played.

There are so many urban legends. It's more astonishing to print the truth. I've been with Mexican people and say, "Your second president was a black man." They say: "You're so funny! You have a great sense of humor."

Q: What do you hope readers will take from your book?

It's a mini-encyclopedia of African-American history, but in a fun, readable way, a book made for leisurely and loving reading.

I wanted to maintain and mimic the sense of wonder that Joel A. Rogers had. I imagine him at the Harlem branch of the New York Public Library, finding these facts and saying, "Holy mackerel, no one will believe this!"

We still need to do books like this. Our society remains inadequately

educated about the contributions of people of color, both in the United States and across the ocean on the African continent. Our cumulative knowledge of the black world is still tiny, a thimbleful compared to our cumulative knowledge of Europe.

We have to figure out how to change the archive, how to broaden access and change the larger narrative of who created America and who and what is an American.

Q: Why did you use the word 'Negro' in the title of your book?

If I were writing it as a new book I'd use "African-Americans." But the only way that I can show respect for Joel A. Rogers and riff on him is to use that title.

Q: Did the rise of Donald Trump affect this book?

I'm sure that would have affected the mood, but this book was pre-Donald Trump. [The online magazine *The Root* published "Amazing Facts" columns from 2012 to 2014.]

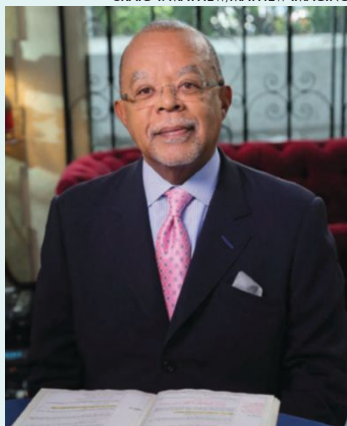
My response to the election of Donald Trump after eight years of Barack Obama is my next documentary for PBS about Reconstruction, a period of maximum black freedom followed by a rollback.

The rollback now is so intentional, just like it was during Reconstruction. Black men had this time of glorious freedom followed by a horrible rollback, and that's exactly what we're seeing. Forces in this country are trying to erase the hallmarks of the Obama administration, whether it's health care or voting rights.

I want to make this film, slated to air in February 2019, as a foreshadowing.

Q: Have you thought about a sequel to '100 Amazing Facts About the Negro'?

That's a great idea. If there's a popular response, I would love to do that.



CRAIG T. MATHEW/MATHEW IMAGING

HENRY LOUIS GATES JR.

What are you reading?

Monitor readers share their favorite titles.

Never Call Me a Hero, by N. Jack "Dusty" Kleiss, Timothy Orr, and Laura Orr, is one of the best personal accounts of the Battle of Midway that I have read. It offers a surprising number of informative insights into the battle that I have never read anywhere else (and I've read many of the major works on the Battle of Midway). It also offers a unique perspective on what it means to be a hero.

– Gil Boylston, Whitsett, N.C.

Sebastian Barry's **Days Without End** is a beautifully written novel about two young men on a harrowing and, sometimes, nearly sentimental journey through the 19th-century Great Plains. The characterization is, in a word, "fluid." We know these young men as we know two such young men in today's times, both lost and found in the world they make for themselves.

– Mary Ellen Ryan, St. Louis

I am reading **White Rage: The Unspoken Truth of Our Racial Divide**, by Carol Anderson, and I am really enjoying it. This book is a major eye-opener.

– Jeff Royer, Battle Creek, Mich.

This Side of Paradise, by F. Scott Fitzgerald, is a haunting, uneven, and disturbing book with endless strings of beautiful language. Set against a backdrop of World War I, the book is part memoir and part flirt with romance, taking protagonist Amory Blaine from Minnesota to Princeton University to New York City with poetry, plays, music, friendship, and longing for greatness. It's original and it's the big-bang first work of a great writer.

– Patrick Flaherty, Fossil, Ore.

A Gentleman in Moscow, by Amor Towles, which is exquisitely and humanely written, took me inside Russia from 1922 (post-World War I) through the time of the Iron Curtain, ending in 1954. Although fiction, it seemed thoroughly researched and left me eagerly open to the Monitor's new, comprehensive reporting on Russia today.

– Sara Barnacle, Harrison, Maine

In **Republican Like Me**, Ken Stern, a media anthropologist, sets out for a year to learn about Republican voters and where they live. I think Monitor readers would find the book informative.

– David Holmes, Blue Ash, Ohio

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

The Mei Mei food truck was just the start: how Irene Li is trying to improve an interconnected food system.

By Kendra Nordin Beato / Staff writer

BOSTON

On a recent weekday, head chef Irene Li glides around Mei Mei's restaurant in Boston before it opens for lunch, pausing to fluff the curtains just inside the door with the care of an attentive mother. While the clatter of dishes in the kitchen signals the work of busy line cooks prepping that day's menu, half of her staff is finishing up a finance class in the dining room.

A casual, hipster vibe permeates the small restaurant with its square wooden tables, exposed brick, and earnest messages stenciled in chalk on smooth black walls.

"We love food and spend a lot of time thinking about how we can use it to make the world a better place," reads one. "We form reciprocal relationships with farmers we trust & work hard to make their products and wisdom shine!" reads another.

The scene at Mei Mei hints at how Ms. Li is constantly considering ways to improve an interconnected food system. The innovations she's already put in place have touched an array of people, including regional suppliers for her restaurant and her employees.

Her work is being noticed. Under her guidance, Mei Mei has drawn accolades for its creative Chinese-American cuisine, made from locally sourced and sustainable ingredients. And she herself is becoming increasingly well known among the next generation of the restaurant world.

In short, Li is gaining recognition for helping to change the game – farm by farm, restaurant by restaurant.

"Irene has such inspiration and passion for doing what is right and understanding the whole food system and how everybody who has to work together has to take care of each other, essentially," says Niko Horster, who operates Shire Beef in Vershire, Vt., and is one of Mei Mei's suppliers. "She is a complete standout because she gets it."

When she was a college student in upstate New York, Li had a weekly custom that laid the foundation for her mind-set. It was something that helped her feel grounded and connected, but it wasn't participating in a sports team, an academic club, or even community volunteer work. It was going to the farmers market.

"My family isn't religious, but when I went to the farmers market I thought,



ANN HERMES/STAFF

INNOVATIVE IDEAS: Irene Li is co-owner of Mei Mei, a Boston restaurant known for its creative Chinese-American cuisine that's made from locally sourced and sustainable ingredients.

'Oh, this must be what it feels like to go to church on Sunday. You are here with your people; there is a routine; you are celebrating community and beauty and nurturing each other,' Li says. "Building those relationships and sense of belonging in the community was really important to me."

Taking the time to nurture relationships may seem nearly impossible in an industry that emphasizes volume, speed, and the bottom line. But Li has proved that such an undertaking can be as appealing as Mei Mei's signature dish, the

Double Awesome (cheddar cheese and two poached eggs tucked inside crispy scallion pancakes that are smeared with pesto made from locally sourced greens).

"There is a whole other level of care and concern that we get from Irene and the rest of the staff at Mei Mei for us as farmers," says Tristram Keefe, a farm manager at Boston's Urban Farming Institute and one supplier of the restaurant's greens. "So whether that is having a conversation during the winter about the potential things that we could grow

▶ NEXT PAGE

for them the following year or ... [how to make the] relationship work from both ends is kind of unique.”

‘Little sister’

Mei Mei began as a sibling-run food truck imagined by Li’s older brother, Andrew. Both Li and her older sister, Margaret, got on board with the idea right away – but the youngest Li had a single request: that all their menu items be locally and ethically sourced, including humanely raised meat.

Her siblings agreed and named the food truck Mei Mei, which means “little sister” in Chinese.

A typical restaurant may have only a few mainstream suppliers. And working just with regional producers demands daily ingenuity to devise menus centered around what’s available. But true to her vision, Li spent most of her time in the early days of the food truck developing relationships with more than 40 small-scale suppliers across New England and upstate New York. She explored how to get their goods delivered and how to get other Boston restaurants to sign on to make their trips worthwhile. She has since persuaded larger distributors to create new accounts for small farms.

“A lot of that is from sheer force of will from Irene,” says Caden Salvata, Mei Mei’s business manager, who started as a line cook for the restaurant’s food truck. He offers the example of The Piggery in upstate New York, which pasture-raises its meat and has its own butcher shop. Li lobbied hard for Baldor, a large-scale distributor, to deliver Piggery meat to Boston. It finally agreed. “It required a lot of work to get it set up,” Mr. Salvata says.

Mei Mei met with almost immediate success – a surprising result for three people who largely had no prior professional food experience. After the food truck rolled out in 2012, Boston magazine quickly deemed it the city’s best meal on wheels. The following year, the Lis opened their own bricks-and-mortar restaurant, located on the edges of the Boston University campus. The online publication *Eater* named it Boston’s restaurant of the year for 2014.

Today, Li is the only family member overseeing daily operations at the restaurant as Andrew and Margaret pursue other projects but remain co-owners.

Li is keenly aware of what it means to be a minority woman at the head of a restaurant majority-owned by women. While women made up 53.5 percent of the labor force in the food industry in 2016, less than

a quarter of all head cooks and chefs in the United States were women and just more than 10 percent were Asian, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics.

So it’s no coincidence that Mei Mei’s staff is 50 percent people of color and more than half women, Li says.

Most staff members are in their 20s or early 30s, such as Dolly Stanger, a line cook. This is her 10th restaurant job – and at seven months, it’s the longest she’s ever held. She responds to the trusting environment, the commitment to ethical sourcing and practices, and the opportunities to try new things.

“The fact that I am working in so many different areas in the restaurant is practically unheard-of” in the restaurant industry, Ms. Stanger says. “It makes sense to me. It just makes sense. That’s why I am here.”

Li’s efforts have caught the attention of the food industry. She’s been a semifinalist three times for the James Beard Foundation’s rising star chef award, and she’s been recognized as an *Eater* Young Gun – an up-and-comer in the restaurant industry. She was also recently honored as a top hospitality professional on Zagat’s “30 Under 30 National” list.

What’s next

But Li is the first to say that the philosophy that launched Mei Mei isn’t going to get it to the next business level. Even excellent relationships with dozens of farmers won’t sustain the restaurant in the long run, she says.

‘There is a whole other level of care and concern that we get from Irene [Li] and the rest of the staff at Mei Mei for us as farmers.’

– **Tristram Keefe**, a farm manager at Boston’s Urban Farming Institute and one supplier of the restaurant’s greens

“I’ve been especially interested in [food] hubs and aggregators” that serve as distributors for small farmers, she says. “If local food is going to be sustainable, it actually needs that kind of infrastructure.”

Now Li is driving efforts at the restaurant to implement an open-book management

How to take action

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

■ **The Small Things** (<http://bit.ly/SmThings>) creates care plans for orphaned children and at-risk families in the Meru district of Tanzania. Take action: Help pay for supplies for adult education workshops (<http://bit.ly/EdWorkshops>).

■ **Helen Keller International** (<http://bit.ly/HKInt>) aids vulnerable individuals by combating blindness, poor health, and malnutrition. Take action: Donate money to empower women through gardening (<http://bit.ly/WomenGardening>).

■ **Let Kids Be Kids** (<http://bit.ly/LetKidsB>) is an advocate for those who are poor, homeless, sick, displaced, or looking to improve their lives. Take action: Support indigenous peoples (<http://bit.ly/HelpSurvive>).

policy and improve the work-life balance of the staff. For Li this means maintaining a supportive work environment in an industry known for high turnover rates, toxic kitchen cultures, and wage gaps between the servers and kitchen staff.

In conjunction with ReThink Restaurants, a consulting group with a mission to improve industry practices, every member of Mei Mei’s staff – from business administrators to dishwashers – is paid to participate in a 36-week financial training class.

“We really teach them about how the business works,” Li says. “The first thing they learn is that we are not as profitable as they think we are. It gives them context for why we can’t pay everyone \$5 more per hour. The next thing we do is empower them to make changes in the business,” she adds. That could mean coming up with a new menu item or experimenting with marketing ideas.

Her ultimate goal: improving finances to the point at which a profit-sharing plan with the staff can be launched.

“Creating opportunities and changing the lives of the team is something that is really important to me,” says Li. “I think we are doing pretty well now, but I think we can do a lot better, so that’s where I want to be going.”

■ **For more, visit meimeiboston.com.**

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I SQUEEZE; MY HUSBAND ROLLS. WAS THERE ROOM FOR COMPROMISE?

JOHN KEHE

ESSAY

We seek peace in the toothpaste war

My husband and I dated for six years before we got married. And we'd known each other for four years before that. We went to pre-marriage counseling with my pastor. We even took a test. It said we were compatible.

So, after knowing each other for 10 years and taking steps to ascertain our marriage-readiness, one might assume there was nothing left to learn about one another.

But one would be wrong.

All was going smoothly in our new marriage. We shared the household chores, figured out money management, and agreed on religion. No problem. Then came the trouble with toothpaste.

Crest Tartar Control brought us to our knees and demanded to know what we were made of. You see, my husband likes to carefully fold and roll the toothpaste tube. I like to grab it in the middle and squeeze. I might call his folding a bit obsessive. He might consider my squeezing careless and rude. This difference in style may seem benign, but it caused the first trouble in our newly formed marriage.

At first it was a little joke. I'd squeeze. He'd roll. Ha, ha. I'd squeeze again. He'd roll again. Irritating. I'd squeeze even when I wasn't brushing my teeth. He'd sneak back in to roll, roll, roll.

After sneaking and squeezing, tip-toeing and rolling for two weeks, it was inevitable that we finally met face to face in our tiny pink bathroom with our hands on the toothpaste. We actually yelled at each other. I may have even cried. Why was he so obsessive? Why was I so vindictive? Why couldn't he loosen up? Why couldn't I get it together? Were we still talking about

the toothpaste?

The toothpaste had become more than something to brush our teeth with, it had become a stand-in for aspects of our individual personalities that we did not always care to reveal. Maybe I was being a little vindictive. Maybe he was being a bit obsessive. Maybe it really didn't matter how we dealt with the toothpaste. But maybe it did.

Thankfully, we thought of a solution. And it was simple but significant: We bought two tubes of toothpaste – one for me to squeeze and one for him to roll. And that made all the difference. Keeping the small things small conserves your energy for the bigger things later on.

And there are always bigger things. Like loading the dishwasher: My husband has a particular way of loading the dishwasher and it differs from my way.

But it matters more to him, so I let him load the dishwasher. The same goes with doing the laundry. I like the clothes folded a certain way, so I fold the clothes and put them away. Why focus on the differences that could separate us? Instead, I think it's better to split the duties, or buy two tubes of toothpaste, and live in relative harmony.

So, how do you measure compatibility in marriage? By how well you share a tube of toothpaste? How completely you agree on how to load the dishwasher? Or can it be measured by how you and your partner respect and handle your differences? I would argue the latter.

Now, 22 years later, the trouble with toothpaste is over. We still have our own tubes. Our daughter has her own, too. But every so often, when one tube runs out, we sometimes forget to rush to the store to get another. Instead, we share the toothpaste for a while. Sometimes I squeeze it, but mostly I roll. I admit it does keep the tube neater. And every so often I catch my husband squeezing (just a little) when he thinks I'm just brushing my hair.

– Dara Dokas

Maybe I was being a little vindictive. Maybe he was being a bit obsessive.

Words in the news

Bolded clues are words linked to current events. Whose 'heavenly palace' is headed for Earth?

By Owen Thomas

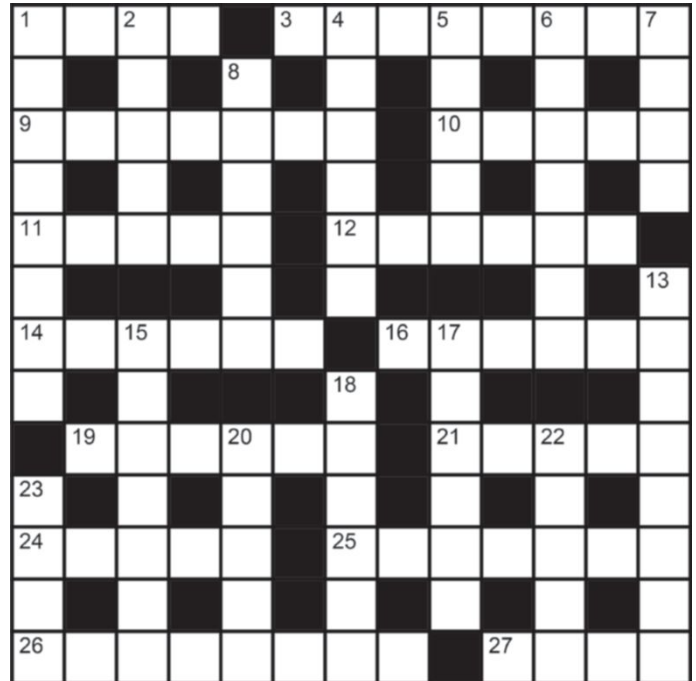
Across

- 1. Short shot
- 3. **2017 was a banner safety year for this group**
- 9. **North Korea's Kim Jong-un says he has a "_____ button" on his desk**
- 10. Extreme vegetarian
- 11. Add
- 12. **Pop star Britney gave her final performance in Las Vegas recently**
- 14. Barber, buffalo, Jefferson, e.g.
- 16. Connect
- 19. In ancient Greece, there was one at Delphi
- 21. Full range

- 24. Hindu sage or saint
- 25. **Homicides fell 16 percent in this US city last year, a welcome sign**
- 26. Like some creamers
- 27. Huckleberry's last name

Down

- 1. In early 1970s, a type of US-China diplomacy
- 2. Implied
- 4. Sudden arrival or entry of something
- 5. Bank



- 6. **Email scammer who claimed to be a prince from this African nation was recently arrested in Louisiana**
- 7. **According to a Monitor article last year, this common (and seemingly ubiquitous) building material is in short supply worldwide**
- 8. Headgear, occasionally with a propeller
- 13. **Urgent financial-related challenge for President Trump and Congress**
- 15. **New head of the Miss America pageant, after an email scandal**
- 17. With Euphrates, it formed the Middle East's "cradle of civilization"
- 18. Epee athlete
- 20. **Its "heavenly palace" is headed back to Earth in a ball of flame**
- 22. Algonquian tribe member
- 23. **Site of deadly antigovernment protests, cheered on by President Trump**

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meanwhile ...



RUFUS MCGAUGH IN NORTH KOREA COURTESY OF RUFUS MCGAUGH

IN DETROIT, middle school social studies teacher Rufus McGaugh has completed his goal to visit all the countries in the world.

It took Mr. McGaugh 49 years to do it, but last May he crossed the finish line when he visited Libya, the 252nd country on his list. (McGaugh counts territories like Greenland and Puerto Rico, so his list is longer than the 193-country membership roll at the United Nations.)

Over the course of his 45-year teaching career, McGaugh has shared tens of thousands of slides of his travels with his students.

A profile of McGaugh in The Detroit Press included comments from some of his former students, many of whom credit him with awakening their interest in global affairs. "I have traveled around the world for work and pleasure," one student told The Detroit Press, "as a direct result of Rufus' influence."

McGaugh has published a book about his travels called "Longitude and Latitude, with Attitude: One Man's Quest to See the Entire World."

IN CHIANG MAI, THAILAND, a nonprofit group called Urban Light is offering alternatives to get teenage male prostitutes off the street.

Urban Light founder Alezandra Russell told Al Jazeera that while she was visiting Thailand as an American tourist she was stunned to see so many teenage boys working as prostitutes. In 2010 she set up Urban Light to offer the boys a safe refuge and train them as tut-tut (three-wheeled taxi) drivers or barbers, **offering a viable alternative to the sex trade**. Ms. Russell says her group has reached 5,000 boys over seven years.

IN LAHORE, PAKISTAN, members of the Jane Austen Society of Pakistan dress up in Regency-style clothing and meet for high tea to discuss the works of their favorite author.

Some society members recently told the BBC that they can fully relate to the characters in Austen's novels because as women in Pakistan their rights are limited and their society forces them to participate in a "marriage mart."

"It's a comfort to read Jane Austen," one group member told the BBC.

– Staff

The power of spiritual unity

Around the world many countries and regions are experiencing a need for unity – a need to overcome divisiveness, whether caused by polarized political positions, race, religion, or even referendums. But with all the channels of communication and information available to help us know other people better, why shouldn't countries and, indeed, all humanity be feeling a sense of unity by now?

Mary Baker Eddy, the discoverer and founder of Christian Science, keenly observed human thought and understood the mental process by which neighbor comes to be divided against neighbor or group against group. She knew the apostle Paul's term the "carnal mind," which he said is "enmity against God" (Romans 8:7), characterized by selfishness, hatred, and division. But in studying the Bible's Old and New Testaments, she also found the inspired view that there is one infinite, supreme Mind, one God, whose conscious, active knowing and loving of its spiritual creation constitutes the true mental action of the universe, unchanged and unchanging.

And here she had a profound insight. Since God and His knowing are infinite, any thinking opposed to the infinite harmony expressed in God's creation is not only wrong, it's actually not real in an absolute metaphysical sense. This means that divisive thinking and action, while experienced on the human level and often tragically so, don't exist in the Mind that is God.

A bold conclusion! But one that doesn't lead to a Pollyannaish pooh-poohing of conflict and division as mere illusion. Rather, it leads to a moral imperative to confront divisive thinking as unacceptable, lacking a true claim to power, because it is opposed to the only legitimate source of authority – infinite Love.

This was the great lesson illustrated by the life of Christ Jesus, who prevailed against all that contradicted God's law of harmony in his healing of sin and disease and overcoming death. He emphasized the importance of becoming like little children in order to receive the kingdom of God (see Mark 10:15). Should we be surprised to learn that the key tool in overcoming division is the purity and honesty of our own hearts? Whatever our race, religion, or nationality, the desire to see and express harmony and unity is native to all that we are as children of God, at one with Him and with each other.

That inherent desire for unity helps us repel divisive thinking and replace it with thoughts and actions that are loving, peaceful, and brotherly. Divisive thinking is not actually natural to us, but comes from the carnal mind, the counterfeit of the one divine Mind. We can watch our thoughts and accept as truly ours only those that have their origin in divine Love.

Listening for thoughts from God helps us bring clarity and, if necessary, correction to our own actions, political or otherwise. It inspires our prayers, helping us to see that everyone, including every political leader, is capable of making good decisions. It brings alertness and protection from those who would exploit divisiveness for popularity and short-term gain. It leads to calm that promotes more balanced, progressive, and inclusive civic engagement and public policy.

In truth, divine Love and spiritual unity constitute the only power, a power to which we can turn to bring healing to discordant situations and circumstances of all kinds.

– Lyle Young

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