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Luzerne County was true-blue in 2012, but this November, it went for Donald Trump in a landslide. Want to know what it's going to take to keep them from turning on him the way they turned on Obama? Just ask 'em—they're still pissed off, and dying to tell you why. *by Josh Saul*

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BIG SHOTS

USA

Water Windfall

Cannon Ball, North Dakota—Protesters celebrate on December 4 after hearing that the Obama administration had halted work on the Dakota Access oil pipeline. Native Americans and environmentalists have camped out in teepees and tents since July in an effort to block construction, arguing that a breach would contaminate drinking water for the Standing Rock Sioux's reservation. While the Army Corps of Engineers has refused to grant the pipeline company permission to tunnel under a reservoir on the Missouri River, the administration of President-elect Donald Trump supports the project and could reverse the corps' decision.



DAVID GOLDMAN





VOTA
NO



BIG SHOTS

ITALY

Torn From Today's Headlines

Rome—An anti-referendum poster shows Italian Premier Matteo Renzi on December 5, the day after voters soundly rejected his constitutional referendum in yet another massive blow to Europe's political establishment. The leader of Lega Nord, the country's right-wing party, celebrated the results by tweeting, "Viva Trump, viva Putin, viva la Le Pen e viva la Lega!" The "Vota No" campaign appealed to voters unhappy with the establishment, globalization and the European Union. Renzi, a centrist, had promised to step down if he lost, and he did, throwing Europe's fourth-biggest economy into political and economic limbo.



GREGORIO BORGIA

AUSTRIA

A Broken Right Wing

Vienna—Just when it seemed as if Europe’s populist revolt couldn’t be stopped, it was. On December 4, Austria’s Alexander Van der Bellen, a former Green Party leader who ran as an independent, defeated Norbert Hofer, his far-right counterpart, in the country’s presidential election. He won on a pro-European Union platform at a time when many voters seem to be angry at the EU’s bureaucracy in Brussels. His victory, however, doesn’t mean moderates in France, Germany or the Netherlands are safe in a post-Brexit world. As Daphne Halikiopoulou, an analyst at Britain’s University of Reading, told *Newsweek*, “I wouldn’t put anything past anyone.”



LEONHARD FOEGER



LEONHARD FOEGER/REUTERS



CUBA

A Death Foretold

Baire, Cuba—People declared him dead on dozens of occasions, but this time it was real: Fidel Castro, Cuba's controversial leader, died November 25 at age 90. For the next nine days, Cubans mourned his passing. Some, like this man, whose car sits next to a portrait of Cuban revolutionary Ernesto "Che" Guevara on December 3, took part in a funeral procession carrying Castro's ashes through cities where his rebels fought their way to power. Those ashes were then buried in Santiago, the eastern city where his Communist revolution began some six decades ago.



RODRIGO ABD







P A G E O N E

TERRORISM

SYRIA

MEDIA

TRUMP

BANGUI

VODKA

A GIANT TOMB

The Syrian Civil War has been a nightmare for Barack Obama. It might be even worse for Donald Trump

THE LEAFLETS fell from the sky over Aleppo, offering dire warnings. “If you don’t leave these areas quickly,” they admonished civilians, “you will be annihilated. Save yourselves.... Everyone has left you alone to face your doom....”

As Syrian government forces continue to steamroll through eastern Aleppo, the rebel opposition’s last stronghold in this war-ravaged city, the leaflets aren’t just a warning for residents; they’re also an indication that President Bashar al-Assad is poised for victory. It was only a year ago that the rebels seemed on the verge of taking Aleppo, once Syria’s bustling commercial capital. But due to a massive Russian bombing campaign, the ophthalmologist turned strongman has held on to power—and reduced the city to rubble.

Yet even with Aleppo under the regime’s control, the Syrian Civil War would still be far from over, and the conflict promises to be as much of a nightmare for U.S. President-elect Donald Trump as it has been for his predecessor, Barack Obama.

This is not how the U.S. wanted the war to end—Washington once hoped that moderate rebels would take over a democratic, post-Assad Syria. That didn’t happen, and much of the Sunni-dominated opposition has largely morphed into a bewildering array of radical jihadi groups. Now, the White House has run out of options to challenge Assad, and for all its condemnation of the regime’s assault on Aleppo, the Obama administration has also done nothing to stop it. “Essentially, U.S. policy has become to acquiescence in Assad’s retaking of Syria,” says Joshua Landis, the head of the Center for Middle East Studies at the University of Oklahoma. “It’s clear that the Obama administration has decided that it cannot risk dislodging Assad from Damascus. The rebels are too Islamist, too radical.”

Instead, over the past year, the U.S. and its allies have concentrated on two things: “fighting ISIS and avoiding starting a war with the Russians by accident,” says one senior European

BY
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JAWAD AL RIFAI/ANADOLU/GETTY

+
**DEATH IN THE
AFTERNOON: A man
cries next to the
body of two girls
who were killed by
government air-
strikes in Aleppo.**

diplomat who asked for anonymity because he was not authorized to speak on the record.

This position—leaving Assad in place and focusing on fighting the Islamic State group (ISIS), in coordination with the Russians, if necessary—is precisely the one advocated by Trump during the 2016 campaign. “Trump has merely articulated what has been the U.S.’s actual policy” for at least a year and a half, says Landis. For perhaps the first time this year, that puts Obama and Trump in agreement on foreign policy. Both are skeptical of the neoconservative doctrine of democracy through regime change—and both agree that ISIS, not Assad, is the main threat to world (and American) security. Even Trump’s idea of fighting ISIS alongside Putin is Obama’s; for months, Secretary of State John Kerry was discussing joint operations against the militants with his Russian counterpart Sergei Lavrov in Geneva.

It was Hillary Clinton, as Obama’s secretary of state, who was pushing for “regime change and democracy promotion in the wake of the [2011] Arab Spring,” says the senior diplomat. But by 2014, after the U.S. failed to find democratic and secular allies on the ground in both Libya and Syria, the White House “gave up on regime change. Obama put the brakes on.”

ASSAD HAS WON

Trump’s Syria policy is far from clear—but he has been a vocal critic of regime change in Libya and Iraq. But the Syrian problem might not be any easier for him to solve than it was for Obama. Even if ISIS can be destroyed on the ground and Assad fights the remaining rebels in Syria to a standstill, military victory will not bring any simple political solution. “There is no chance that [Assad’s] generals will sit down with rebel groups like Ahrar al-Sham and come up with a form of workable

SUBMIT OR STARVE: Syrians reach out for Russian food aid. In Aleppo, the regime has used food as a way to control locals who continue to resist President Bashar al-Assad.

OMAR SANADIKI/REUTERS





government,” says Landis. And the regime’s victory would strengthen Iran, the nation most Trump advisers see as the greatest threat to U.S. interests and allies in the Middle East.

In April, Trump promised to hire “new voices,” instead of old foreign-policy hands “who have perfect résumés but very little to brag about except responsibility for a long history of failed policies and continued losses at war.” As Aron Lund, a Syria expert with the Carnegie Institute in Washington, D.C., points out, the New York real estate mogul’s understanding of policy detail during the campaign was vague. His stated positions included “bombing the hell” out of ISIS, complaining that the Kurds deserved more support and toying with the idea of a “safe zone” within Syria.

When it comes to Syria, Trump’s foreign policy team, Lund notes, includes an eccentric mix of lobbyists and right-wing pundits. One prominent adviser to the Trump campaign is Jack Kingston, a former Republican congressman from Georgia, and he’s a paid lobbyist for the Syrian opposition. Trump’s list of foreign policy advisers also includes Walid Phares, a controversial Fox News commentator and former member of the Lebanese Forces militia, who regularly castigates the White House for not having intervened early enough in Syria. Phares recently attacked Obama for not having “finished off” Assad during the early years of the war. The president-elect, however, seems only vaguely familiar with the views of his ostensible adviser and at one point even appeared to believe that Phares, a lifelong Christian activist, was Muslim.

His team is equally disjointed on Russia. Republican Representative Mike Pompeo of Kansas, Trump’s pick to head the CIA, has been skeptical of Moscow’s motives in Syria, telling a foreign policy forum in Washington last year that Russian President Vladimir Putin is “heck bent on changing the geopolitical future.” He also suggested Russia’s real goal is trying to establish a foothold in the Middle East. Trump’s new national security adviser, Lieutenant General Michael Flynn, on the other hand, has appeared frequently on Kremlin-sponsored RT television and has long been an advocate of working with Putin. “Russia has its own national security strategy, and we have to respect that,” Flynn said on RT in April. “We have to try to figure out: How do we combine the United States’s national security strategy along with Russia’s national security strategy, despite all the challenges that we face?”

For Trump, however, making a deal with Assad and Putin is less a matter of ideology than of acknowledging the reality on the ground, which is why taking Aleppo in the final months of Obama’s presidency has become a priority for Moscow and Damascus. “I think we have to concede that Assad has won,” says a senior British military commander, on the condition of anonymity because of the sensitivity of the matter. “The only way to end the horrific humanitarian catastrophe is to give him the victory.”

‘THERE’S NOTHING LEFT’

To allow Assad to remain in power would be a massive failure for the United Nations; his forces have killed too many civilians and done so indiscriminately. But for many Syrian analysts, it is also necessary. Letting him remain is the only real way to end the war, the only way to

“ASSAD HAS WON, AND THE ONLY WAY TO END THE HORRIFIC HUMANITARIAN CATASTROPHE IS TO GIVE HIM THE VICTORY.”

help the nearly one million people living under siege in Syria, not to mention the 9 million who are internally displaced or the almost 5 million refugees, who want to come home.

“[The situation in Aleppo] is the beginning of the end,” says Abdullah, an activist who declined to give his last name, fearing punishment for speaking out. He is beginning to make plans to leave the city where he was born, where he once played on the streets and where he attended college. “There is nothing left,” he says. “The city we knew is gone.”

The destruction of Aleppo, once Syria’s second largest city, has been steady and brutal. First there was urban warfare; then came the barrel bombs, which Assad’s forces dropped, many



analysts say, with the explicit goal of killing as many civilians as possible. As more bombs fell, the city became a giant tomb, where survivors struggled to find medical care and put their children in makeshift schools.

Yet life in Aleppo has grown significantly worse since September 2015, when the Russians began relentlessly bombing the city on Assad's behalf. Moscow has employed the same strategy it used to destroy Grozny, the Chechen capital. This strategy has broken the stalemate and helped the regime, but it has killed and terrified more Syrian civilians than ever. Members of the White Helmets, a volunteer Syrian rescue team, recall attempting to save civilians trapped beneath the rubble, only to have the Russians launch a "double tap"—a second bomb meant to cause maximum damage to first responders.

Things only got worse for civilians as the Syrian government tightly regulated access to food to control locals who dared to resist Assad. This was all part of the siege of eastern Aleppo, an effort that included deliberate targeting of doctors and medical facilities, largely by Russian aircraft. The result: There are only 30 doctors left in the city to treat Aleppo's entire population. As Human Rights Watch Deputy Director Ole Solvang put it in a recent press release: "Those who ordered and carried out these attacks should be tried for war crimes."

AN IMPOSSIBLE CONTRADICTION

Even after Aleppo falls, Trump will have to address the war in Syria, whether he wants to or not. Ignoring the conflict, and its aftermath, will not make it go away; a failed state in the Levant would be a disaster for all sides. ISIS recruitment is on the rise, and many of the group's fighters are fleeing Mosul as Iraqi and Kurdish forces (with help from the Americans) continue to advance. Some will return home to Europe or North America, where the authorities fear they will strike—just as they did last year in Paris and Brussels.

Whereas Obama's policy was simply to fight ISIS abroad, Trump will be forced to acknowledge what the White House ignored: the civil war and the humanitarian catastrophe. "Even if fighters put down their arms tomorrow, there would still be an emergency humanitarian situation for at least a year," says Jens Laerke, the U.N. Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs's Geneva spokesman.

Until now, the U.S. has remained committed to a unified Syria, but the war has divided the country. Uprooting extremists and providing humanitarian protection in Syria would have to be the world's priority. But who is going to do it? The Russians who helped to destroy the country? The Iranians who sent fighters into Homs and the Damascus suburbs? As one U.N. senior official tells *Newsweek*: "If Assad wants the international community to help rebuild his country, he is going to have to negotiate."

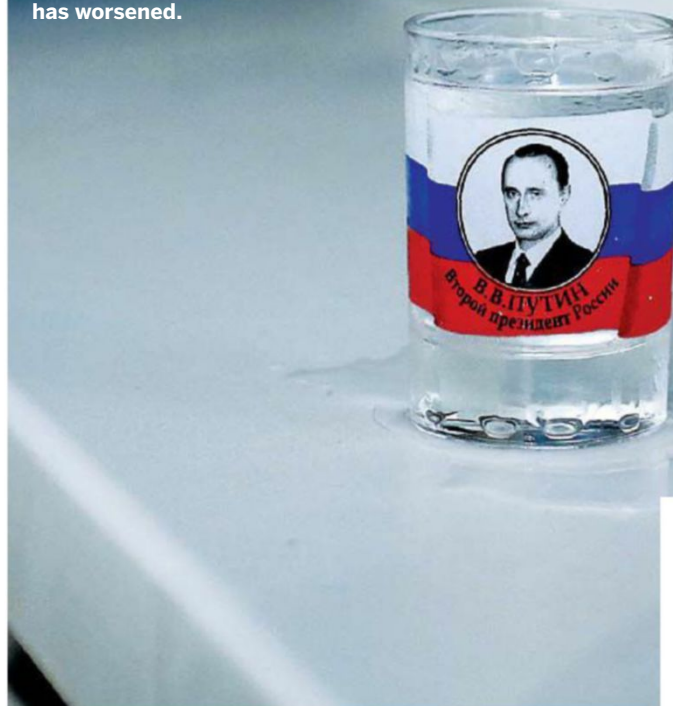
The bigger problem for Trump: Assad's victory, and the eventual success of the Iraqi campaign in Mosul, will be a major triumph for Iran. It will

—
"THE OBAMA ADMINISTRATION HAS DECIDED THAT IT CANNOT RISK DISLODGING ASSAD FROM DAMASCUS. THE REBELS ARE TOO ISLAMIST, TOO RADICAL."

also outrage and alienate America's longstanding Sunni allies such as Turkey, Saudi Arabia and Qatar, who have been the Syrian opposition's most active supporters.

Obama negotiated a historic deal with Tehran, offering an end to sanctions in exchange for Iran surrendering its nukes—and the most difficult part was getting Tehran's enemies to sign off on it. Trump has threatened to scrap that deal, potentially destabilizing the delicate truce between Iran and its neighbors. His stated policies represent an impossible contradiction—to help Assad, an ally of Iran, in Syria, but isolate the country elsewhere. How Trump resolves this paradox will determine where the U.S. stands on the escalating tension between Middle Eastern superpowers Saudi Arabia and Iran—a massive proxy war in which Syria, Iraq and ISIS are just bit players. ■

BOTTOMS UP: Analysts say the vodka market in Russia began to decline gradually in 2007. But it's accelerated rapidly in recent years, as the country's economic crisis has worsened.



signs of stabilizing, with the introduction of a new excise tax increase likely in 2017.

Just how much Russia's taste for vodka has declined remains unclear, because the analysts aren't factoring in the country's huge black market for booze. Finam, a Moscow-based market research company, estimates that illegal sales make up at least 20 percent of the alcohol trade in Russia, while the U.S. Department of Agriculture has cited figures estimating that the number is 50 percent.

"Since the 1990s, a big share of the vodka market has been illegal, though it is often produced by the same enterprises as legal vodka," says Sergey Aleksashenko, a Russian economics analyst at the Washington-based Brookings Institution. "The financial incentive to avoid excise tax is big, because, other than that, vodka is simple and cheap to make. It is more profitable than oil."

With the holiday season approaching, how much vodka has fallen out of favor with Russians should soon become clearer. For the first time since launching its new nationwide bottle demarcation system in January, Moscow will attempt to electronically track all alcohol transactions in the country.

So when Russians toast the New Year, the Kremlin will surely be watching. **n**

Russia's Vodka Hangover

ARE RUSSIANS REALLY ESCHEWING THEIR NATIONAL BEVERAGE FOR HARD CIDER?

FOR CENTURIES, going back as far as the days of the czar Ivan the Terrible, vodka has been Russia's drink of choice. Another czar, Peter the Great, always kept a goblet of vodka at his palace banquets—downing it was the penalty for arriving late. Dmitri Mendeleev, the inventor of the periodic table, wrote his doctorate on the distillation of vodka in 1865. And legend has it that Josef Stalin's father used to give his baby son a cloth soaked with vodka, rather than a pacifier.

But now analysts claim the country's national spirit is being replaced by lighter, trendier and cheaper alternatives, such as hard cider. The proof: The latest figures from Russia's Federal State Statistics Service show that legal sales of fruirty cider climbed by 35 percent during the first three quarters this year. Vodka sales, however, barely budged.

This decline began gradually in 2007 as a new generation of Russians grew up with a wider variety of choices. But it's accelerated rapidly in recent years, as the country's economic crisis has worsened, thanks in part to Western sanctions and a drop in oil prices.

Vodka, it seems, is not only out of fashion for young Russians; it's also too expensive. Since 2013, the Russian government has made steep annual increases in the excise tax on alcohol. In 2014, the government also hiked the minimum price for vodka, as Russia's recession hit consumer spending. Since the start of the financial crisis two years ago, alcohol prices have risen by almost 21 percent. The result: Legal sales of Russian vodka fell by 13.4 percent, compared with the same period two years before. Only in recent months has the industry showed



SPY TALK

FEAR OF THE BLACK BANNERS

As the battle of Mosul rages, authorities are bracing for new ISIS attacks in Belgium. But will Parliament give them the powers they say they need?

CATHERINE DE BOLLE is waiting, and she is worried. Even before U.S. warnings of a “heightened risk of terrorist attacks” in Europe during the holiday season, the head of Belgium’s Federal Police was bracing for a new wave of assaults in or around Brussels. The city’s immigrant Muslim neighborhoods were staging grounds for

last November’s attacks in Paris, which killed 130 people and wounded nearly 500, as well as suicide bombings in March at Brussels Airport and a downtown metro station, which killed 32 and wounded 300 more.

More than eight months after that last attack, Brussels authorities have girded the city with

BY
JEFF STEIN
[@SpyTalker](#)



ON GUARD: More than eight months after the suicide bombings in Brussels, the authorities have girded the city with new security measures.

new security measures, starting with heavily armed soldiers guarding the airport—still under repair from the March attack—as well as European Union buildings and the embassies of NATO countries battling the Islamic State militant group (ISIS) in Syria and Iraq. Combat-ready soldiers patrol the city’s central train station and even the narrow winding streets of its quaint, 19th-century shopping and dining districts. Green army trucks and personnel carriers are a constant presence outside the elegant Hilton Brussels Grand Place hotel. New surveillance cameras are ubiquitous, recording faces and license plates, officials say.

“People are used to seeing more security on the streets now,” Peter Mertens, spokesman for the Brussels all-agency Crisis Center, tells *Newsweek*. “It wasn’t that way a year ago.” But it should have been, critics say. Belgium is “a central hub for ISIS,” Sajjan Gohel, international security director for the Asia-Pacific Foundation think tank, told CNN after the Brussels attacks. Now Europe is under full assault by ISIS-inspired or -directed attacks, many of them connected to Belgium-based militants. With 129 dead and almost 550 wounded in Western Europe so far in 2016, the level of carnage is expected to surpass 2015’s horrific numbers. “The Belgian authorities did not take Sharia4Belgium [a radical Salfist group founded in 2010] seriously until it was too late,” added CNN’s Tim Lister. “The damage had been done.” It wasn’t shuttered until last year.

De Bolle, the lone female national police chief in Europe, is expecting trouble from ISIS militants returning to Belgium because of the deteriorating conditions around Mosul, its key stronghold in Iraq, as well as Raqqa, Syria, the group’s main stronghold. “In the first six months of this year, we have already arrested 163 people who are now in prison, so this means we still have a problem,” she says during an exclusive *Newsweek* interview in her Brussels office. “A lot of people have come back or will come back, their women will come back, their children will come back. How will we deal with this? What will they do when they come back? Will they be reintegrated?”

It’s not just a police problem, she says, but also a challenge for Belgium’s social agencies and schools. Already, housing inspectors have ramped up efforts to ascertain who is living where, and whether a house or apartment has ghost tenants who could be fighting with ISIS while relatives cash their welfare checks.



A soft-spoken mother of three, De Bolle projects the calm authority expected of a major police agency chief. But like her counterparts in Europe and America, she cannot hide her anxiety about what may be coming. According to a report last year by a private intelligence company, the Soufan Group, Belgium has produced more foreign fighters per capita for ISIS—and militant returnees—than any other country in the world. Six months ago, Belgium’s interior minister said there may be as many as 100 battle-tested jihadis plotting attacks in the country.

De Bolle insists Belgium is better equipped to prevent and respond to terrorism than it was last year, when critics acidly mocked the splintered nation’s governing structure, a byzantine system that apportions authority among federal authorities and local officials in the Flemish-speaking north and the French-speaking south, who barely get along. Meanwhile,

GHOST TENANTS COULD BE FIGHTING WITH ISIS WHILE RELATIVES CASH THEIR WELFARE CHECKS.

the largely North African immigrant communities of Molenbeek and Schaerbeek have turned into incubators for ISIS recruits.

De Bolle credits a January 2015 police raid on a hideout in Verviers, in eastern Belgium, for getting Brussels to do more about its homegrown threat. Police confiscated four Kalashnikov assault rifles, bomb-making equipment and police clothing in the raid, which ended with two militants dead and another captured. “Things went much faster” after that, De Bolle says, with top ministries agreeing in principle on new law enforcement and social agency remedies to mitigate the danger from Belgium-born ISIS fighters. “I am convinced we are doing everything we can to keep us more safe,” she says. “We have developed



policies to integrate the different services—the secret services, the intelligence service, the army, the center responsible for analyzing threats to the region. Everybody is more educated on the global approach of radicalism and terrorism.”

A top Belgian counterterrorism official, however, called such measures “cosmetic.” At the same time, he added, police now treat every Arab petty criminal as a potential ISIS threat, which has put an additional burden on police resources. “We have hundreds of people to put under surveillance,” he says, speaking on the condition of anonymity because of the subject’s sensitivity. “It’s impossible.”

De Bolle granted that new security measures have vastly increased the number of suspects police are tracking. “We have a dynamic database where we put in all the people suspected of potential terrorism,” she says. “This is a new law. We wanted to do it before, but because of the [2016] attacks it has gone much better and faster.”

De Bolle, who is the first Belgian to represent Europe on Interpol’s Executive Committee, says tightening border controls on the continent “is the first priority.” But there’s little evidence much progress has been made on that. Europe’s porous borders, especially in the east, have enabled Belgian and French ISIS fighters to return home and plot attacks, the latest of which was uncovered November 20, when French police raids in Strasbourg, on the German border, and in Marseilles disrupted what France’s interior minister called “a coordinated attack aimed to hit several sites simultaneously” in Paris. Four of the five suspects are French nationals of North African origin, authorities said. The fifth is a Moroccan citizen who had been flagged by what French Interior Minister Bernard Cazeneuve called a “partner country.” Authorities suspect the group is linked to Salah Abdeslam, a Belgian-born member, and sole survivor of the ISIS team that carried out the Paris and Brussels attacks.

Despite the gathering threat, Belgium’s security ministries and Parliament are still debating minor changes in the law that police say they desperately need to cope with attacks. Chief among them: a measure that would permit the Federal

Police to hold a suspect more than 24 hours without charges. “It’s too short,” says De Bolle of the 24-hour window. “The problem for us is the electronic devices. We cannot exploit them in 24 hours.” A single iPhone can hold thousands of contacts, plus telephone call records and photos, while a single raid may reap scores of devices. “There might be a plan for an attack in there,” she adds, “but we need time to read it.”

A judge can extend the hold time to 48 hours but only in exceptional cases. Parliament is debating whether to extend the search time to 72 hours—a contentious issue in a country where memories of the Nazi Gestapo infused Belgian laws with strict limitations on police. “I won’t say we can solve this problem [of exploiting evidence] with [an extension to] 72 hours, but at least we will have more time,” De Bolle says. Loosening restrictions on police is “the most important thing for us.”

Another challenge: The Federal Police cannot use civilians as undercover agents. While detectives can pay for tips from informants, only sworn members of the force are authorized to go undercover with the goal of identifying a cell’s

“IN THE FIRST SIX MONTHS OF THIS YEAR, WE HAVE ALREADY ARRESTED 163 PEOPLE.... SO THIS MEANS WE STILL HAVE A PROBLEM.”

members and leaders and disrupting its plots. That role is relegated to Belgium’s civilian and military intelligence agencies.

Nor can De Bolle’s agency expect much help by recruiting for police cadets in Belgium’s restive North African immigrant communities. “We took action a few years ago to recruit people with a different cultural background,” says De Bolle’s counterterrorism chief, who spoke only on terms of anonymity because of the sensitivity of his job. But that turned out to be mostly useless, he adds. “We have seen time and time again that Arab police officers were not welcome in their communities.”

Youth unemployment in the Muslim Molenbeek neighborhood is about 40 percent, its mayor told CNN after the Vervier raid last year.

TOP COP: De Bolle, the national police chief, fears that Belgium-born militants will return home from Mosul, Iraq.



“Overall, Belgium scores very low on labor market integration of third-country nationals compared to other European countries,” according to a 2012 study by the Washington, D.C.-based Migration Policy Institute. Belgium’s generous unemployment benefits have also stifled the integration of Arabs into the labor market, the report said. Ask any Brussels taxi driver—most of them appear to be Arab—and he will say that too many young Muslims face dead-end futures, making them ripe for ISIS recruiting videos.

In an interview last November, Claude Monique, a former intelligence agent and co-founder of the European Strategic Intelligence and Security Center, called Molenbeek “out of control.”

“In some areas,” De Bolle concedes, “you really do have the problem that there’s no trust

anymore. In some communities, the second or third generation don’t accept authority anymore, even from their parents or grandparents like they did before.”

Police can’t solve that problem, she says, echoing the pleas of her American counterparts. Parents, teachers and social workers have to take the lead in rooting out miscreants, identifying future troublemakers and giving hope to young people who want to succeed.

That’s a lot to do after years of pretending there wasn’t a problem, De Bolle and other officials say. But further delay is unacceptable. The need for fixes is “really, really immediate,” she says.

“It’s everybody’s responsibility, it’s everybody’s problem. Everybody must ask what we can do to save our society.” **N**

THE MAESTRO OF MEDIA MANIPULATION

Decades after creating the infamous Willie Horton ad, Floyd Brown has helped build a media empire on largely bogus stories

FLOYD BROWN couldn't believe what he was watching. It was November 11, 1993, and NBC was doing a story about Whitewater, a failed real-estate venture involving Bill and Hillary Clinton. As one of the leaders of Citizens United, a conservative advocacy group, Brown had provided sources to the network, and his colleague, David Bossie, had even guided a producer on a helicopter fly-by of the Whitewater properties. The conservative activist had been confident the story would make the Clintons look bad. But as he watched the segment, he was shocked and delighted: NBC had linked Whitewater to a larger conspiracy, the death of White House aide Vincent Foster. "It was [Brown and Bossie's] first success on a national news broadcast," writes James Stewart in *Blood Sport*, his book about the Clinton scandals. "A success even beyond their fondest expectations."

More than two decades have passed since that NBC segment aired. The Clintons were never charged with any crimes regarding Whitewater, and two investigations ruled Foster's death was a suicide. Brown, meanwhile, has gone on to build a media empire with his son, Patrick. The younger Brown runs the sites, while Floyd Brown helped provide the funding for them, serves as the chairman of the board of their parent company and contributes columns to *WesternJournalism.com*.

As of December, the Browns' sites, *Conservative Tribune* and *Western Journalism*, get approximately 32,986,786 unique visits per month,



which means they together receive more monthly unique views in the U.S. than almost any adult entertainment site besides Pornhub, according to the analytics site Alexa. During the 2016 election, many of their most popular stories had a

BY
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ALL THE NEWS THAT'S FIT TO SPIN: Fake or misleading stories became far more prevalent during the 2016 presidential campaign because of social media.

+



pro-Donald Trump or anti-Hillary Clinton spin, and they were shared by prominent conservatives such as Mike Huckabee.

Critics say much of their content is, at best, misleading. While pundits spent 2016 blaming Pepe the Frog-loving trolls for sharing fake news, the Browns' sites were pumping out bogus articles claiming the FBI had proof Hillary Clinton took several trips to Jeffrey Epstein's "orgy island" and that there was "new evidence" linking her to Foster's death. "Brown's sites," writes Lee Fan of the Intercept, "churn out bombastic headlines with little regard to the truth."

Not all of their stories are completely false, and that's what makes them more "dangerous" than completely fake news sites, says Judy Muller, a professor of journalism at the University of Southern California. "If you hate Hillary Clinton or you hate Barack Obama and someone dangles this kind of red meat in front of you, you're going to want to believe it. They put just enough in there to make it sound like it could have happened."

(Via email, Floyd Brown declined to be interviewed. In a separate email, the younger Brown said his sites post legitimate news and simply offer an anti-establishment point of view.)

The burgeoning success of the Browns' sites come as fake-news outlets have received increased scrutiny in the aftermath of Trump's electoral victory. And Floyd Brown's career is a testament to how media manipulation has evolved. As the head of Citizens United, he spent the 1990s leaking stories to mainstream outlets, backing up his work with primary sources and working hard to make sure the media trusted him. By 2008, however, his goals had changed. He spent that year's presidential campaign running online ads claiming Barack Obama was a secret Muslim.

This shift from traditional media was informed by his experience with political advertising. In 1988, he created the infamous Willie Horton ad, which played on racist fears of black criminals to make Michael Dukakis, the Democratic presidential nominee, appear soft on crime. (Brown's Citizens United later successfully challenged federal election laws before the Supreme Court.)

In 2009, he took over the Western Center for Journalism, a nonprofit that trains conservative activists to use social media. Five years later, his son Patrick established Lifiable Media, Inc., which acquired the domain WesternJournalism.com.

Since 2009, the site's page views have increased from 1,000 a day to often more than 1 million, according to Patrick's bio on the Western Center website. "For many years," the younger Brown writes on that site, "the same few media entities have largely...decided what is newsworthy, what is worthy of discussion, and, ultimately, what is 'true.'" Now, he says, there are alternatives.

Deciding what's news and even what's true has become increasingly difficult for Americans. Fake or misleading stories became far more prevalent during the 2016 campaign because of social media. As BuzzFeed's Craig Silverman wrote, fake-news sites garnered more interaction on Facebook than "19 major news outlets" combined during the last three months of the election.

The Browns' sites make deciphering the truth even more difficult by hedging their language and manipulating what quotes mean. In one article

CONSERVATIVE TRIBUNE AND WESTERN JOURNALISM RECEIVE MORE COMBINED VIEWS THAN ALMOST ANY ADULT ENTERTAINMENT SITE IN THE U.S. BESIDES PORNHUB.

titled "BREAKING: American Muslims Ordered to Vote Hillary," the author uses an innocuous statement from a Muslim leader and makes it sound like something sinister. Another twists a quote by Obama to claim the president "possibly" encouraged "illegals" to vote. (He didn't.)

Muller, the University of Southern California professor, believes Western Journalism and Conservative Tribune don't necessarily fit the definition of fake news, but "they are not real news sites. They are not verifiable, independent, accountable news sites.... If [a publication] doesn't match those three things, it's something else. And in this case, I'd say that something else is propaganda."

Either way, Floyd Brown—and his websites—may soon become more influential, even if indirectly. Bossie, once his pupil, was Trump's deputy campaign manager and is on the president-elect's transition team. According to Bloomberg and sources close to the Trump transition team, Bossie, the man who once arranged the helicopter flyover for NBC, is now angling to become the next chairman of the Republican Party. ■



GRAFT EXPECTATIONS

Congress probably won't care that Donald Trump may violate the constitutional ban on accepting gifts from foreign powers

DONALD TRUMP has a problem—and it dates back to 1787.

At the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia, the delegates were divided on many issues, especially slavery. But they agreed the new republic was vulnerable to subversion from European countries that wanted to once again rule the North American continent. “Foreign powers will not be idle spectators,” delegate Alexander Hamilton said at the convention. “[They will] interpose their will, confusion will increase, and a dissolution of the union will ensue.” To prevent this dissolution, the founders of the United States banned any government official from receiving gifts or fees for profit from a foreign power.

This ban is a huge problem for the president-elect. Diplomats to the U.S., for instance, have already said they plan to stay at Trump’s Washington, D.C. hotel instead of at those of his competitors. This could be reasonably understood as a kind of gift that violates the Constitution. And if Trump’s overseas hotels received building permits, tax abatements or other largesse from foreign governments, those could also be seen as the type of fee, salary or profit the U.S.’s founders prohibited.

On November 30, Trump tweeted that “legal documents are being crafted which take me completely out of business operations.” And with a showman’s elan, he chirped that he’ll hold “a major news conference” with his

children on December 15 to offer more details. What happened next was even more bizarre: The Office of Government Ethics, an independent agency whose head was appointed by President Barack Obama, sarcastically tweeted back at the billionaire mogul. “OGE is delighted that you’ve decided to divest your business!” Trump, of course, has said no such thing. And whatever he announces this month, few think he’ll allay the constitutional concerns of both Democrats and Republicans.

“The intent of the founders was not to have government officials beholden to foreign governments,” says Richard Painter, who was in charge of ethics in the White House Counsel’s office under President George W. Bush. He believes Trump’s conflicts of interest run so deep that unless he completely divests from his company, the Electoral College should deny him the presidency when its members meet on December 19.

Trump’s not the first government official ensnared by what legal scholars call “the emolument clause.” The language the founders crafted is a mouthful: “[N]o Person holding any Office of Profit or Trust under them, shall, without the Consent of Congress, accept of any present, Emolument, Office, or Title, of any kind whatsoever, from any King, Prince, or foreign State.” Historically, that’s meant presidents or government officials have had to decline or give the Treasury any gifts bestowed by a foreign power.

BY
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Nothing has to be done in return for the gift to be unconstitutional. When the Imaum of Muscat (a city in Oman) shipped horses and pearls to President Martin van Buren as an unexpected present, Marty didn't keep them. The U.S. government sold the horses and deposited the money in the Treasury; the pearls wound up at the Smithsonian.

There are lots of other test cases. The Justice Department ruled that a government historian couldn't receive payment from a historical commission formed by the Austrian government because, well, it's a government. But two NASA scientists were allowed to go on leave without pay and accept money from a Canadian university because the school was deemed independent of Ottawa. In 2009, the Justice Department determined that President Obama could keep his Nobel Peace Prize money—as had Theodore Roosevelt and other government officials before him—because it was being awarded by an independent commission, not the Norwegian government.

Trump is expected to stop running his business, but not relinquish his ownership of it. That would still allow him or his children to profit from foreign gifts. The president-elect has com-

plained about the windmills near his Scottish golf resort. If the British government accommodated him, that could be construed as a gift. Similarly, Trump reportedly has substantial loans from the Bank of China. Any loan forgiveness from a government-run lender could be seen as an unconstitutional gift. “Unless his solution is to sell the business outside the family and put the proceeds

THE JUSTICE DEPARTMENT DETERMINED THAT PRESIDENT OBAMA COULD KEEP HIS NOBEL PEACE PRIZE MONEY.

in a blind trust, he's not really doing anything to solve the problem,” said Citizens for Responsibility and Ethics in Washington in late November.

The best way for Trump to proceed, according to Painter, the former Bush counsel, and Norm Eisen, the White House Special Counsel for Ethics under Obama, is for Trump to sell his business either through a buyout or a stock offering. Then the cash could be put in a more traditional blind trust managed by a third party. As *The Wall Street Journal* recently put it in an editorial: “The presidential stakes are too high for Mr. Trump to let his family business become a daily political target.”

Yet if Trump doesn't follow this advice, he'll probably get away with it. The Constitution puts Congress in charge of enforcing the gift ban, and so the Republican-controlled House and Senate could grant him waivers. (Technically, it could also pursue impeachment on this question, which is unlikely, given the Democrats' chances of taking back both houses in 2018.)

If Trump is allowed to flout the Constitution, it would be a supreme irony. As the leader of the birther movement, he demanded to see Obama's birth certificate and only announced his belief that the president was a citizen this fall. Natural-born citizenship is one of the requirements for being president, which the founders established to limit foreign influence. But Trump seems less concerned with the gift ban intended to stem this same influence; he spent the past year skewering his rival, Hillary Clinton, for accepting foreign contributions to the Clinton Foundation. “A secretary of state,” he lamented, “sold her office... betraying the public trust.” Critics may eventually say the same about him. ■

A HUGE PROBLEM: Some believe Trump's conflicts of interest run so deep, that unless he divests from his company, the Electoral College should deny him the presidency.

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ANDREW MULLIGAN/PA/AP





TANZANIA



THE AFRICAN LION THAT ROARS AS IT RISES

Cover Picture: Magdalena Paluchowska Shutterstock.com

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“With a strong concentration of consumers, huge amount of resources, the fact that it is surrounded by a multitude of different countries that can rely on its ports - all this means Tanzania is going to be an important player in East Africa and Africa as a whole. It will be one of the top 3 African countries in the next 15 - 20 years.”

Joe Eshun,
Partner of Deloitte Consulting Ltd., Tanzania

The true protagonist of the Africa Rising narrative, Tanzania, once stained by the brushes of poverty and foreign aid, is now flourishing and competing amongst the most successful emerging market economies.

Tanzania held an average growth rate of around 7 percent from the period 2011 to 2015, with projections for 2016 and 2017 at 6.9 percent and 7 percent respectively. When many developed countries were picking up the pieces following the global recession at the beginning of the decade, Tanzania was listed as one of the world’s fastest growing economies, and looks to retain this positioning for the foreseeable future.

With a population of around 55 million, an abundance of natural resources, and unprecedented growth margins: Tanzania is a shining example of economic prowess. It is no wonder that the spotlight is shining upon this East African nation - and what it has to offer the world.

Tanzania’s healthy economic performance is reflected in the growth of its sectors, namely communications, transport, manufacturing, construction and the sophistication of its already buoyant agriculture sector. Resource-rich Tanzania has a wealth of yet untapped potential, particularly in the extractive industries. Tanzania is the third biggest gold producer on the continent and despite having some of the world’s largest deposits of other minerals, the extractives industry, although experiencing high growth, contributes less than five per cent to the country’s GDP. President Magufuli’s

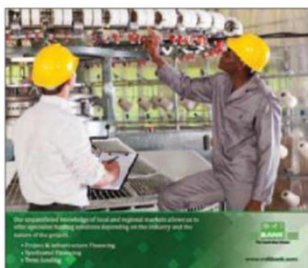
new government expects to double this by 2025. In addition to this stock of mineral resources, the recent discovery of around 1.5 m3 of natural gas reserves boosts Tanzania’s economic prospects considerably.

Taking advantage of Tanzania’s natural resources is something that Ineke Bussemaker, managing director and CEO of Tanzania’s National Microfinance Bank (NMB), believes will ensure a sustainable future for the country. Through the development of ports, coupled with the efficient production of raw materials, she believes that Tanzania has the potential to develop into the main trade hub of the region: “Currency will only increase in value if we export more dollars than import, and the only way to do this is to increase our export capacity. This is why we need to increase agriculture, our largest export capacity. In doing so, we would create employment, development - and dollar export, which will strengthen the currency.”

Dr. Charles Kimei, managing director of CRDB Bank explains how the government’s current infrastructure policies, in tandem with the country’s natural resources, will act as an attraction for yet greater FDI, which will then seek to improve the business environment: “We have enough resources, that is what is required for any investment. With the current programs for improving infrastructure, it will become an even better environment for investment. Tanzania is also opening up for labor in neighboring countries, so once you invest here, through the EAC, you can benefit from countries in the region too.” Both Bussemaker and Kimei agree that Tanzania, as the current chair of the East African Community (EAC), can be the business and trade hub of the East African region, especially given its strategic positioning.

BUILDING A BUSINESS FRAMEWORK

While many sectors of the economy are growing at a healthy and expeditious rate, and foreign investment ploughs



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in, the business environment should match these improvements to facilitate greater, sustainable, growth within the country.

The World Bank Ease of Doing Business 2016 report lists Tanzania as 139 out of 189 countries. While this is an improvement on the previous year's ranking of 140, this modest achievement does not reflect the growth of other areas of the economy. One of the greatest stumbling blocks the World Bank highlighted for doing business in Tanzania is that of starting a business, which dropped 7 points to 129 from 2015 to 2016. Established Tanzanian companies are willing to use their market experience to assist in the implementation of easing business practices for those looking to bring business to Tanzania. Mansoor Daya Chemicals Ltd. has just celebrated 50 years in the pharmaceutical industry in Tanzania, therefore managing director and founder Mansoor Daya, has had more experience of the business climate than most in the country. He urges foreign investors to come to Tanzania with the intention of establishing a base in the country, and dissuades those simply looking for a quick return on investment. Mansoor Daya desires investors that wish to assist Tanzania in its structural transformation and to thus improve the business environment: "We have a lot of potential here, but of course the country needs expertise, as we would like to be self-sufficient. I would ask investors what they are looking for, to make sure that they look at their business as a Tanzanian company, and a Tanzanian investment."

Also looking to assist the development of businesses in Tanzania is founder and president of business consultancy Peniel World, Basil Sadindi.

He explains his company's mandate to align public sector initiatives with those of the private sector, in order to streamline business practices. For Sadindi, this will make Tanzania a more attractive environment for establishing a business: "We [Peniel World] are here to change Tanzania for the better, in line with the President's vision. We also want the private sector aligned with this vision. The government develops policies that enhance goals and it is the role of the private sector to support these initiatives by putting up corporate strategies, which are in line with the government's." This continuity between the public and the private sector is something that has posed a challenge in many other emerging economies, yet Magufuli – affectionately called *tingatinga*, Swahili for 'the bulldozer' - may just be the man to lead Tanzania through its structural transformation.

DIVERSIFYING DEMAND

While the LNG sector has enormous potential, alternative sources of energy are gaining weight. By introducing a regulatory framework for small power producers - regulating off-grid energy systems - Tanzania has responded to the growing energy demand and is exemplifying how to tackle energy poverty. Smaller energy companies are now able to take advantage of a growing market, especially renewable energy suppliers. Mollel Electrical Contractors Ltd., chairman Adam Mollel explains how they are responding to this demand: "Currently, electricity is not that reliable here in Tanzania, so we plan to expand our solar energy department to be able to have the usage and the supply." In this way, Mollel Electrical can be at the

forefront of construction in the country, having already collaborated on some of Tanzania's biggest projects, such as Dar es Salaam's twin towers.

As the growing youth population delivers an increasing number of consumers in Africa, banking and telecoms are two sectors that would benefit most from solid FDI. CEO of telecommunications service Maktech & Tel Co. Ltd., Basil Sadindi, reflects on the rise of telecommunications and the competitive, and lucrative, environment that this has created in Tanzania: "There is definitely room for additional investors in telecoms. The capital expenditure is minimum because they do not have to build new towers - the infrastructure and fiber optics are already there." This reflects figures given by McKinsey, that investment in telecoms infrastructure was around US\$15 billion each year until 2010.

Benoit Janin, CEO of Zanzibar's telecomm giant Zantel, confirms the importance of telecommunications: "The telecommunications sector is one of the key pillars of growth in Africa. The data revolution is a new engine to this development. The fact that we are able to touch so many inhabitants through our services, which are developed here in East Africa, is key to information and communication development." It is not simply connectivity that consumers receive from this increase in data - it also corresponds with an improved standard of living. Studies have shown that a 10 percent increase in broadband penetration leads to GDP growth of up to 1.5 percent. Janin also sees telecommunications as a way to make Tanzania a regional hub: "Because of Tanzania's specific geographical location, it can be a major global player." ●

WHY INVEST IN TANZANIA

Ineke Bussemaker, managing director and CEO of National Microfinance Bank (NMB), reflects on the growth of both the banking and the telecommunications sectors: "Less than 15 percent of the population have a bank account, and 50 percent have a mobile phone, so there is so much potential here. You need stable banking infrastructure to become a developed country, so NMB is looking to harness this potential."

■ In 2014, the economy of Tanzania was US\$48 billion, making it the second biggest economy in East Africa. With an average GDP growth rate of 7 percent over the past five years, and projections for a similar growth rate over the next five, it is also one of the fastest growing economies in the world.

■ In 2014, Tanzania received the third highest amount of FDI in the continent, the US\$2.1 billion shows external confidence in the Tanzanian economy.

■ There are 800,000 youths entering the workforce every year. Tanzania is one of the most resource-rich countries in the world. To add to its abundance of natural resources, there has been a recent find of around 1.5 m3 of natural gas reserves. The Central

Bank believes that when work begins on sites of planned LNG, 2 percentage points will be added to Tanzania's annual economic growth.

■ It is expected that by 2050, the population of the world will reach 11 billion. The UN believes that half of this amount will be concentrated in just 9 countries - one of these being Tanzania.

■ A mixture of tight monetary policy, falling import costs and an increase in regional exports, has caused inflation to remain relatively low at 5.6 percent.

■ President Magufuli plans to use natural gas reserves for revenue - but also to boost electricity generation by at least 3,000 megawatts by 2021.

■ The United Kingdom, China, South Africa, the European Union, and Canada are the country's primary investors. Foreign investment is usually directed towards mining, energy, and agriculture.

■ Tanzania has the world's most developed rules for mini grids and off-grid power sources, showing the world how to tackle energy poverty. This paves the way for smaller energy companies to take advantage of a growing market, especially renewable energy suppliers.





ENTER THE DONALD

BY BILL POWELL



**THE U.S. CAN GET TOUGHER
ON CHINA IN A WAY THAT WOULD
BENEFIT U.S. WORKERS WITHOUT
TRIGGERING A TRADE WAR.
BUT IT REQUIRES A STILETTO,
NOT A BLUNDERBUSS**

SOLDERING ON:
Trump and his veep,
Mike Pence, left,
have vowed to keep
jobs in the U.S., and
create new jobs.

EARLY

one evening in January 2009, Xiao Hongzhi walked down a nearly deserted street in the eastern Chinese city of Dongguan, to the door of the factory at which he had until very recently worked. It was shuttered now, and a note on the gate told former workers they should go to the local party office, where they would receive some compensation. Xiao shrugged, and headed off, relieved that he'd at least get something.

Dongguan, in the coastal province of Guangdong, was arguably the epicenter of what Western economists now call the China Shock: the massive impact, for good and for ill, of Beijing's emergence as the world's factory floor. It became, in the years since China's economic opening to the world, home to factories that made almost everything imaginable—and, for the most part, exported those goods to the rest of the developed world.

That is why, when I visited in 2009, Dongguan was in turmoil and why Xiao no longer had a job. A financial crisis in the United States half a world away, had laid waste to the world's largest economy, and that meant export-dependent China—Dongguan in particular—was in serious trouble. In fact, Xiao was one of the lucky ones—he and his small family got some compensation, with which they financed their trip back to their home province in central China, where he now runs a small business. Earlier that same day, when he and I visited that closed factory, hundreds of riot police had been summoned to break up a demonstration by workers at another factory—one whose owner had shuttered the place and got out of town, leaving nothing behind.

Ugly incidents like that panicked the Chinese government. To placate those millions of workers whose lives were upended by what had happened on Wall Street, China went on a debt-fueled spending binge, one that's still driving its economy. No matter: The Chinese Communist Party knew that if all those workers weren't mollified, China's rulers might have been looking into an open grave.

During more than a decade living and reporting in China, nothing better illustrated for me the extraordinary impact our two economies have on each other than my trip to Dongguan—the impact of the U.S. financial crisis was immediate and devastating, and both countries are still living with its consequences. That is why Donald Trump's election as president of the United States, and his stated policy goals when it comes to China, are fraught with danger.

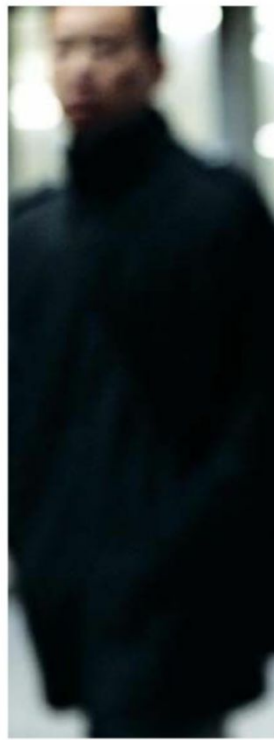
The mainstream economics professionals have already retired to their fainting couches as a result of the protectionist noises Trump made on the campaign trail and since. They were joined by the nation's diplomats and old China hands, who had a collective stroke when the president-elect accepted a congratulatory phone call on December 2 from the president of Taiwan, Tsai Ing-wen, and then tweeted about it. China insists Taiwan is a renegade province that will someday return to Beijing's mother ship, and long-standing diplomatic protocol between Washington and the PRC has precluded any contact between Taiwan's leader and the U.S.'s. (The last time a U.S. president spoke to his counterpart in Taipei was 1979.) Two days later, Trump again signaled to Beijing that it wasn't going to be business as usual when he takes office. He tweeted that China never “asked us if it was ok” to “devalue” its currency or place tariffs on U.S. exports, or to “build a massive military complex in the South China Sea” (a subject he had said little about during the campaign).

Beijing—and the rest of us—had better come to grips with the fact that this appears to be the real Donald when it comes to China policy, particularly on trade. During the campaign, he called for a 45 percent tariff on Chinese exports and a 35 percent bill on any goods exported back to the U.S. by American companies that send jobs offshore. He repeatedly bashed China for “stealing” U.S. jobs. He has, since the election, nominated as commerce secretary the businessman and investor Wilbur Ross, who in his public statements has indicated he, like Trump, views trade as pretty much as a zero-sum game: If you're running a trade deficit, you are, as Trump might put it, a loser, and if you're running a surplus—which China has for years—you're winning big. Further, one of the president-elect's “brains” on trade (though it's not yet clear if he'll have a job in the administration) is Peter Navarro, an academic whose two most recent books on China are titled *Death by China* and *The Coming China Wars*.

Putting that aside, Trump *loves* the place....

PUNISH THE IMPUDENT LAOWAI

THE ECONOMIC relationship between the U.S. and China is complicated and ill-served by shorthand versions of the current trade debate: “Slap a 45 percent tariff on 'em and all's well” versus “Cue the references





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CALL BAITING:
Trump jolted U.S.-China relations before even taking office when he got on the phone with Taiwan's president,

to the Smoot-Hawley tariff, here comes the next Great Depression.” It’s also remarkable the degree to which mainstream, free-trade economists and their fans in both politics and punditry get wrong basic things about the trade and economic relationship.

That’s why the conventional wisdom about a U.S.-China trade war—that it would inevitably blow up in the U.S.’s face—is not necessarily correct. It’s widely assumed, for example, that a country running an account surplus will always be in a position of strength relative to a deficit country when trade friction intensifies. But this is not borne out by facts. Michael Pettis, a professor of finance at Beijing’s Tsinghua University—and one of the most clear-eyed observers of China’s economy and trade relationships—says, “The historical precedents are pretty clear that during times of trade and currency war, it is the surplus countries that are most vulnerable.”

Consider one of the prevailing myths about why it’s foolhardy for Trump to even think about a trade war with China: Beijing owns more than \$1 trillion of U.S. debt, and has over the past decade been the biggest buyer at U.S. Treasury auctions. Hillary Clinton, the smart, seasoned diplomat, once said that picking a fight with China was too risky because Beijing is “our banker.” The supposition here is that should the U.S. slap tariffs on Chinese goods, the Chinese central bank would dump its Treasury bills, driving up interest rates in the U.S. and punishing the impudent *laowai*—foreigner.

The only problem with that theory is that it’s almost entirely wrong. Beijing doesn’t buy U.S. debt—or anyone else’s, for that matter—either as a favor or to attain leverage in anticipation of a trade

war (or worse). The Chinese buy it because they try to peg their currency, the renminbi, at a relatively fixed rate to the U.S. dollar, in order (among other reasons) to run domestic-employment-producing trade surpluses. (If Beijing recycled its surpluses into its domestic bond market rather than the U.S.’s, the value of the renminbi would increase relative to the dollar at a faster rate than China’s central bank has been comfortable with over the past decade. By selling dollar-denominated debt, in other words, China would be shooting itself in the wallet.)

Should the U.S. start a traditional trade conflict—and based upon Trump’s rhetoric, that seems to be his plan—the risks for the U.S. are more obvious and straightforward. Across-the-board tariffs on Chinese-made goods (even those, presumably, made there by American companies and shipped back to the U.S.) would bring almost certain retaliation against U.S. products sold in China. This is why, at a “watch party” on Election Day (Wednesday morning China time), the mood at the American Chamber of Commerce in Shanghai turned “funereal,” said one participant, as it became clear Trump was going to win.

The United States might not sell nearly as much in China as China sells in the U.S., but there are lots of fat targets for Beijing. In an editorial, the *Global Times*, a vituperatively nationalist newspaper in China, has already said, in effect, “Hey, Apple, nice little iPhone business you’ve got here in China. Be a shame if anything happened to it.”

A minority of economists—Pettis is one—say it’s possible for the U.S. to get tougher on trade in a way that would benefit U.S. workers, without triggering a trade war. They argue that a trade policy that isn’t implemented “disruptively,” as Pettis puts it,

“THE NOTION THAT BEIJING WOULDN’T RETALIATE AND RETALIATE STRONGLY IS JUST LAUGHABLE.”

“through a series of hasty and clumsy interventions [could benefit] U.S. manufacturers and their workers” even more than it harms the rest of the country through higher import prices.

Pettis and like-minded economists are calling for the use of a stiletto in trade, but Trump seems more inclined to use a blunderbuss. Even some of the president-elect’s supporters are a little nervous about his campaign rhetoric. China’s initial surge to manufacturing prominence came in industries like shoes, textiles, luggage and furniture—industries that had already migrated from the U.S. (to South Korea,

Taiwan, the Philippines). There is no trade policy that will bring back those industries. Thus, an across-the-board 45 percent tariff against Chinese goods “probably doesn’t make a whole lot of sense,” says Alan Tonelson, a longtime trade hawk who did a research project for Team Trump during the campaign.

Such a tariff would be the ham-handed intervention Pettis and others warn against. It would do all the bad things conventional economists warn

→ **“HEY, APPLE COMPUTER, NICE LITTLE IPHONE BUSINESS YOU’VE GOT IN CHINA. BE A SHAME IF ANYTHING HAPPENED TO IT.”**

against in protectionism: It would harm the most vulnerable, low-income Americans, who spend a bigger percentage of their budgets on clothes, shoes and furniture than do more affluent consumers, while doing virtually nothing to help U.S. employment or wage growth. It would also trigger Chinese retaliation, and thus a potentially ruinous trade war.

Trump’s supporters confidently play down the notion that China would respond in kind to any moves to restrict their exports. Even though Beijing’s trade surplus is less than 3 percent of its overall economy—down from nearly 10 percent in 2007—there is little chance, Tonelson and others assert, that Beijing would jump into a full trade war with Washington.

If Trump believes this, Americans should be worried, because it’s a serious misreading of the Chinese government, and seems willfully ignorant of that most basic Asian concept: face. “The notion that Beijing wouldn’t retaliate and retaliate strongly is just laughable,” says a U.S. diplomat not authorized to speak publicly on trade matters. “In order to retain any self-respect [at home] they’d *have* to respond.” And if that should happen, the possibility of an absolutely ruinous trade war (for both parties) would be very real.

Trump, of course, fancies himself the ultimate deal-maker, and it could well be that his “45 percent tariff” rhetoric is merely his opening bid; that he will sit down with President Xi Jinping, say during a two-day summit in California, as President Obama did in 2015, and figure out a way to ease tensions in what is undeniably a worsening economic relationship. But that would require a detailed discussion—and knowledge—not just of where China is now, but of where it’s going. For Trump, that means making a critical choice: Does he base his policy on trying to punish China for the very

real economic damage its trade in the United States has done (as outlined by a paper titled “The China Shock,” published at the beginning of this year by the National Bureau of Economic Research)?

Or does he focus on where Beijing has very explicitly said it wants to go? One of the myths that trade hawks seem to believe about China is that its government can’t be trusted; that it won’t live up to trade agreements, and that it’s real economic strategy is a well-hidden secret. Since its historic economic opening in 1978, this has rarely if ever been the case. That China would initially use its low-cost labor to succeed in export markets was obvious. So too was its more recently stated desire to diversify its economy away from export dependence. Now, Beijing is again making its economic desires transparently plain.

Consider “Made in China 2025,” a document issued in 2015 by the State Council, Beijing’s chief policymaking body. Among its chief goals: advancing Chinese manufacturing prowess throughout the entire manufacturing process, not just in innovation. The document sets out clear and specific measures for innovation, quality, intelligent manufacturing and green production, with benchmarks identified for 2013 and 2015, and goals set for 2020 and 2025. “This is where China is headed,” says James McGregor, the Shanghai-based Greater China CEO for APCO Worldwide, a consulting firm. “The talk about 45 percent tariffs should be irrelevant. The United States needs to figure out how to respond to where China is going.”

That’s a lot more complicated than just applying an across-the-board tariff and declaring victory. Trump and his trade team would do well to sit down with the heads of American multinationals in China and hear how the landscape is changing for them (it’s not getting better) and how the U.S. government might respond. Many American manufacturing companies, for example, have agreed to bring top-flight technology to China—if not necessarily the crown jewels—in order to be allowed to invest directly in that market. Whatever the wisdom of that may have been 10 or 20 years ago, it now seems questionable if you think Beijing’s goal is to dominate virtually all phases of manufacturing in less than a decade. The Made in China 2025 plan can be read as a “go it alone” strategy for Beijing; it’s in effect saying: “Thank you very much for all of your foreign direct investment over the past 20 years, we’ll be OK from here on—and by the way, we’re going to eat your lunch.”

What might the U.S. do in response? Dan DiMicco, the former CEO of Nucor steel company who’s in charge of Trump’s transition when it comes to the United States Trade Representative’s office (and who many people in Trump world believe should get the job himself), argues that U.S. multinationals have been fearful of upsetting the Chinese govern-



+ **CHASING GHOSTS:** China’s initial surge to dominance in manufacturing came in industries that had already left the U.S., and there’s no trade policy that will bring them back.



ment because they've been "understandably fearful of retaliation." But now, if "China is going to undermine the investments Americans make and kick us out as soon as it can," the Fortune 500 crowd needs to let the U.S. government reciprocate: look with a very skeptical eye at *any* Chinese direct investment in the U.S. by a state-owned company. Make acquisition of U.S. high technology companies off-limits, something the Obama administration has already been doing. (In the summer of 2015, according to sources in both Beijing and Washington, the administration quietly made it plain that a Chinese company's interest in Micron Technology, a Silicon Valley producer of microchips, was not appreciated.) In other words, Chinese companies are aggressively trying to set up shop abroad (Beijing calls it the "going out" policy), and the U.S. should make that a difficult proposition *if* American companies are treated unfairly in China.

Calibrating an effective response should preoccupy the trade warriors in Trump's administration. American, Japanese, German and South Korean companies are still the global pacesetters in manufacturing and services, and China's goal of surpassing all of them by 2025—while perhaps overly optimistic in terms of timing—should not be dismissed as fanciful government propaganda. "They're dead serious about it," says APCO's McGregor. Making sure U.S. companies maintain their competitive edge should be the focus of U.S. trade policy. And you can't do that, nearly all agree, by retreating into a protectionist shell.

That, ironically enough, was one of the reasons President Obama pushed for the Trans-Pacific

Partnership. Whatever its flaws, it was an ambitious trade agreement, negotiated with our allies, that *excluded* Beijing. Together, Trump and Clinton killed TPP during the campaign by bashing it. Now, Beijing has moved in with its own Asia-Pacific free-trade proposal, and not surprisingly, countries from Australia to Japan to South Korea—all of which wanted the U.S.-led TPP—are listening.

Is an Asian trading bloc dominated by China going to be better or worse for the U.S. than the TPP would have been? Do you have to ask?

Trump was not wrong to campaign on the issue of trade. It resonated with a lot of economically insecure voters. The problem is, his solutions to America's

"CHINA IS GOING TO UNDERMINE THE INVESTMENTS AMERICANS MAKE [THERE] AND KICK US OUT AS SOON AS IT CAN."

trade problems are worse than the problems they're supposed to fix. They could produce the same kind of pain on both sides of the Pacific that were felt in the wake of the 2008 financial crisis. With his campaign over and won, Donald Trump now needs to get smart on trade. The question is, can he? **■**

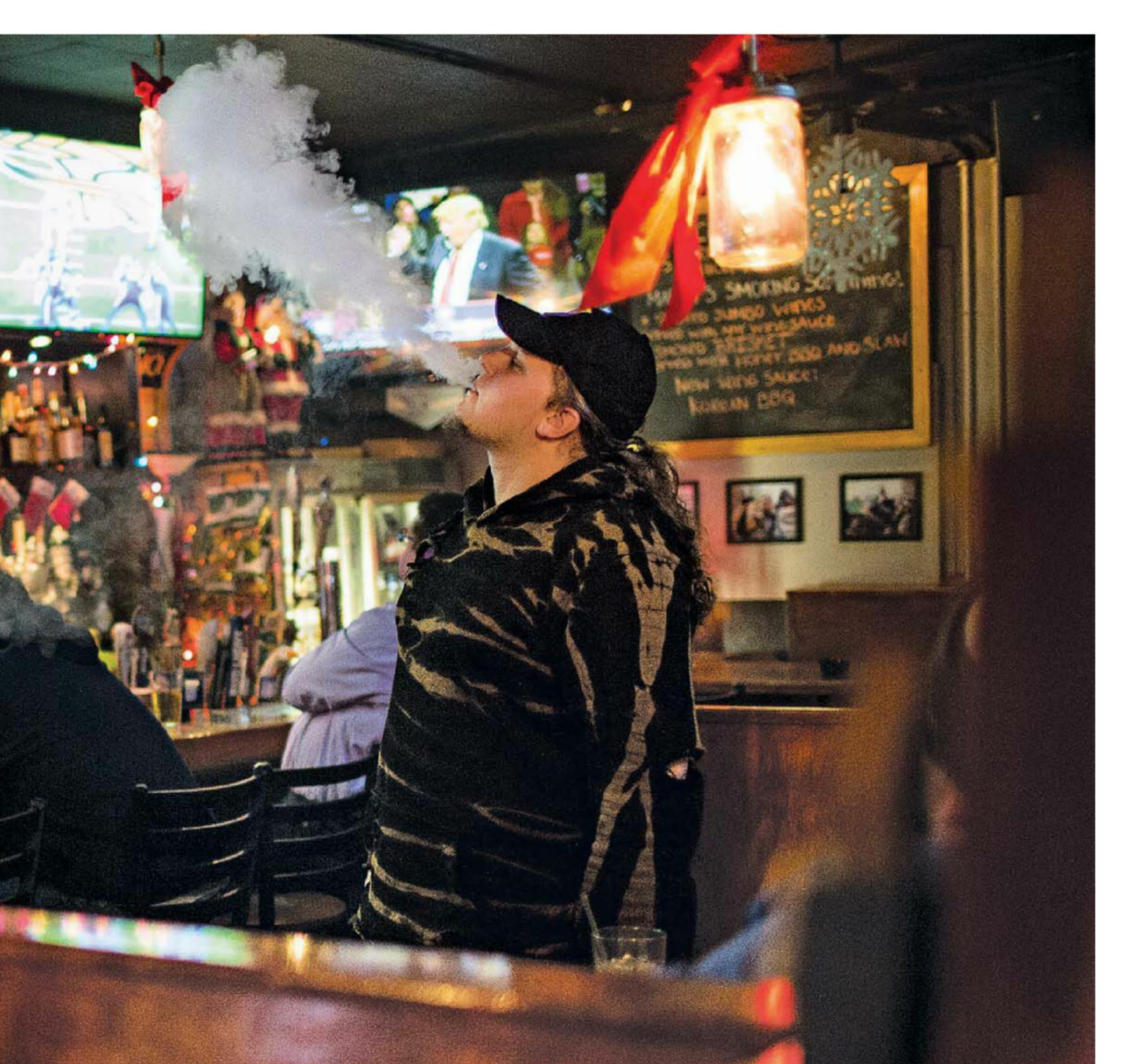


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TRUMPLA



LUZERNE COUNTY WAS TRUE-BLUE IN 2012, BUT THIS NOVEMBER, IT WENT FOR DONALD TRUMP IN A LANDSLIDE. WANT TO KNOW WHAT IT'S GOING TO TAKE TO KEEP THEM FROM TURNING ON HIM THE WAY THEY TURNED ON OBAMA? JUST ASK 'EM—THEY'RE STILL PISSED OFF, AND DYING TO TELL YOU WHY

ANDIA, PA.

E

ILEEN AND RICHARD

Sorokas loved Barack Obama. They made calls and even knocked on doors to get him elected president in 2008 and 2012 because they believed he would bring change to their stagnant corner of northeast Pennsylvania. (The couple even named two of their ducks after the president and his veep, though a coyote killed Biden.) But in early November, Eileen and Richard voted for Donald Trump for president, as they and the rest of Luzerne County, Pennsylvania, flipped from supporting Obama by 5 points in 2012 to a 20-point victory for the billionaire. Reversals like that throughout Pennsylvania gave the state to the Republicans for the first time in a national election since 1988.

“I have all the confidence in the world he’s going to do a good job because you could tell just [from] how he campaigned,” Eileen says, detailing her deep faith in Trump, even as a scrapbook of souvenirs from when she worked for Obama lies on the table in front of her. “He’s a businessman, and he knows what he’s going to do with the economy. He’s sincere with getting America back to work.”

Blue-collar and working-class voters got credit for Trump’s surprise victory this November, but he flipped a lot of very white-collar voters as well. Eileen’s and Richard’s fathers both worked the local coal mines, but their children have done very



well for themselves—they own three homes in Luzerne County and almost 200 acres of land. Richard has an MBA, worked his way up to research and development at Procter & Gamble over 31 years—“I put the roses on Charmin toilet paper,” he says proudly—and the couple is now somewhere between “very comfortable” and “well-off.” Sitting next to his wife on the porch of their home in Hunlock Creek, a rural area 15 miles south of the county seat of Wilkes-Barre, Richard talked about why they went for Trump, and why they might turn on him. He says his support will waver if the businessman doesn’t follow through on his campaign promises, quickly ticking off the issues he’ll be watching: a jump-started economy plus illegal immigration and health care reform. “If he goes in there and it appears to people he ain’t sticking with what he was saying, you’ll see the Congress changing back to Democrat again.”

Richard and Eileen got the change candidate they voted for; now, like many of their neighbors, they’re eagerly, and sometimes angrily, waiting to see if he delivers.

THE ANTI-GLOBALISTS

GET READY for your ears to pop a few times if you drive across Luzerne County, most of which is covered by mountains. It’s rugged country, but it’s close to some big cities...and close to the best kind of “nowhere”—it’s a two-hour drive north of Philadelphia and two and a half hours west of Manhattan. Interstate Highways 80 and 81 crisscross the county, making it an attractive home for warehouses for big companies like Amazon and American Eagle, and churches dot the landscape. Long-haul truckers pray and cross themselves before tucking into their fried chicken at the Iron Skillet Restaurant, which serves its food in actual iron skillets.

It’s a county of “Firewood for Sale” signs and volunteer fire departments, of beautiful views from the tops of mountains and runaway truck ramps on the drives down. People pronounce “WikiLeaks” as “Wee-Kee Leaks,” and a map of the county’s precinct voting in the presidential election looks like a bowl of tomato soup with two blue jellybeans plopped in—one for Wilkes-Barre, the county’s biggest city (40,000), and

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HOPE NO MORE: The Sorokas voted for Obama twice (she still has her scrapbook from those campaigns), but they voted for Trump this year because they believe he knows how to jump-start the economy.





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ARE YOU NOW, OR HAVE YOU EVER BEEN? Over 5,000 Democrats in Luzerne County changed their registration to Republican in 2016; Trump won 77 percent of the vote there, the biggest margin in the state.

one for the smaller town of Hazleton.

In 2016, 5,644 Democrats in Luzerne County changed their registration to Republican, presumably so they could vote in the Republican primary, which Trump won with over 77 percent of the vote—the biggest margin in the state. (Less than 1,000 Republicans switched their registration to Democrat.) And the aging, mostly white county is changing in other ways as well: The Hispanic population doubled to 9 percent between 2008 and 2014—the kind of growth some locals openly admit they don't like.

Like many Americans in 2016, the voters in Luzerne County say they want change. They want lower insurance premiums, an end to illegal immigration and better jobs than those that involve a graveyard shift walking miles on the concrete floor of a cavernous warehouse. More than one in five Luzerne County families with kids lives in pov-

erty—5 percentage points over the state average, and 9 points higher than in 2000. Per capita income hovers under \$25,000, about \$4,500 less than the state average, and unemployment tops 6 percent—also over the state and national rates. Since 2009, the number of manufacturing jobs has dropped by 10 percent, and retail jobs have climbed by 8 percent. “People perceive themselves as worse off,” says Thomas Baldino, a political science professor at Wilkes University in Luzerne County.

The best way to tap into that discontent is to tune your rental car radio to WILK-FM, “Northeast PA’s Newsradio,” and listen as callers from all over the county rail about everything from the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) to the Islamic State militant group (ISIS) to Obamacare. I sat in the WILK studio with midday host Sue Henry one morning after the election so I could talk with Luzerne County voters who pulled the lever for Trump. Henry told me that her father was never the same after his drilling company shut down, and that her husband has been forced to take a “brutal” job in a Home Depot warehouse. “So many men have found themselves vulnerable and unemployed in the middle of their life, and they are in despair,” she says.

Henry starts off by wryly warning me not to describe the



county as “hardscrabble,” as other media outlets had done, and then for two hours we took calls from Trump voters eager to explain why they are pulling for the president-elect and what they expect him to do for them. A Teamster from Sweet Valley who voted twice for Obama wants Trump to shut down sanctuary cities. A retired doctor in Drums says he left medicine because of Obamacare. Anna from Nanticoke doesn’t want transgender people in her bathroom. And the owner of an ink factory in Pittston hopes Trump will fix the Asian trade agreements that have crippled his business.

All the callers that day were vehement members of what *The New Yorker* recently called “a global movement against globalism,” represented by Trump, Brexit and Marine Le Pen’s National Front party in France. “Mr. Trump was more, for me, voting against globaliza-

tion, which I saw Hillary Clinton as their spokesperson,” Nancy from Kingston says, explaining that her career as a medical transcriptionist was destroyed by NAFTA. Asked how she’ll decide whether to vote for politicians who support Trump in 2018, she says, “I’m going to look for job security for our people. That will be the turning point for me as far as whether I would continue my support for Mr. Trump.”

Our last caller was Frank, who says he’d handed out voter registration forms to the mechanics and auto body technicians he works with so they could vote for Trump. He says Luzerne County residents supported Trump because they wanted “jobs for Americans” and

**“SOMETIMES
IT’S NICE TO BE
FRIENDS WITH
THE DEVIL.”**



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POOR RESULTS: More than one in five families in the county with kids lives in poverty; per capita income is under \$25,000. Since 2009, manufacturing jobs have dropped 10 percent.

an end to illegal immigration. “They knew that their jobs were being drained away and going to other countries,” he says, calling from Old Forge, up Highway 81 toward Scranton, where Hillary Clinton’s father grew up. “After listening to Barack Obama for eight years, they weren’t ready to trust another insider.”

‘YOU NEED TO BE DEPORTED’

MARTY BECCONE owns the 4th Street Pub, a smoky bar in Hazleton with good wings and cheap beer. Beccone has a big American flag tattooed on his right shoulder, and he laughs good-naturedly when a customer jokingly ribs him about the bartender

“short-pouring” his drink. The place feels more like a welcoming community center than a depressing dive—at about 10 p.m. on a recent November night a waitress brought out a cake with a candle shaped like a huge “26” and set it in front of a pretty brunette as the people around her sang “Happy birthday, Lauren!” Beccone proudly surveyed his chain-smoking crowd, packed two-deep at the bar, and told me, “Everybody here punches a time card.”

Hazleton has a population of about 25,000, and many of the people who live here don’t like the way that figure is climbing. The Hispanic population jumped from 5 percent in 2000 to 46 percent in 2014, and the town became the flash point for the region’s anger toward immigration a few years ago when it passed laws—later struck down—that banned undocumented immigrants from working or renting there. “I’d love to see the sanctuary cities go away,” says Beccone, when asked what he wants from Trump. “If you’re a criminal, you need to be deported.... They’re a drag on our system.”

That’s what many in Luzerne County say. Enter the U.S. legally, they say, as their grandparents did through Ellis Island. They often complain about crime and lowered property values and say undocumented immigrants—or sometimes just immigrants—are to blame. (FBI records show a crime spike in Hazleton between 2000 and 2014, with more murders, six times as many robberies and a 70 percent increase in assaults.)

Richard Sorokas, who put those roses on your rolls of Charmin, complains about how undocumented immigrants held in the county’s correctional facility on criminal charges—not just because they are undocumented—cost taxpayers \$1.8 million between July 2015 and June 2016, according to a local newspaper. But gripes from other residents seem to have less to do with policy or budgets and more to do with negative views of immigrants or Hispanic people. In April, a “white rights advocate” won re-election as a Luzerne County Republican committeeman. One elderly man, echoing a questionable (at best) Breitbart story from 2015, earnestly explained to me that undocumented immigrants are reintroducing a wide range of diseases into the U.S., and his girlfriend added, “Even measles came back.”

While Beccone and I were talking about these issues, he jumped up to pull out chairs and make room for four Hispanic men who had just walked into his bar. But he also told me that in his 25 years running bars, the closest he’s ever come to pulling out the .357 he carries at all times was when “a Hispanic guy who didn’t speak any English” argued with the bartender and kept reaching into his pocket—for what turned out to be a cellphone.

Beccone adds that extremists’ violence justify Trump’s proposed ban on Muslims entering the U.S., which he says “seems like a common sense-type approach.” He also wants to see Trump expand gun rights and appoint conservative Supreme Court justices in the mold of the recently deceased Justice Antonin Scalia. But even if Trump doesn’t make much progress on those fronts, Beccone says he will continue to back him: “My support wouldn’t waver. In my opinion, it’s infinitely better than what would have happened if Clinton had won.”

Shortly after Beccone declares his undying support for the president-elect, a political discussion at the bar heats up, then

erupts into a chant of “Trump! Trump! Trump!” When a lone female voice calls out “Hillary!” a man yells, “Kill her!”

‘NOT TRYING TO BE RACIST’

JUST OFF Interstate 81, between Hazleton and Wilkes-Barre and smack-dab in the middle of the county, lies Nuangola, population 671, a mile-square borough bucolic enough to be classified as rural but close enough to those towns for residents to drive in for work each day. A small, single-story white house with a saddle on the porch still has a Trump-Pence sign in the yard, so I knock on the front door and introduce myself to Jabin Lutz, 21, who works nights in an AutoZone warehouse.

Lutz tells me that he doesn’t like Trump’s morals but that he and his wife, a security guard, are very anti-abortion and chose the president-elect in part for his stance on abortion. As moths spiral around us under the porch light, he says his health care premiums jumped recently, and he expects Trump to lower those costs. “Whatever he has to do to lower the premiums for the average American or the lower-class American, I just want to see those come down,” says Lutz, who hurt his back while on a church retreat and was angry about having to meet a high deductible when he had to see a chiropractor.

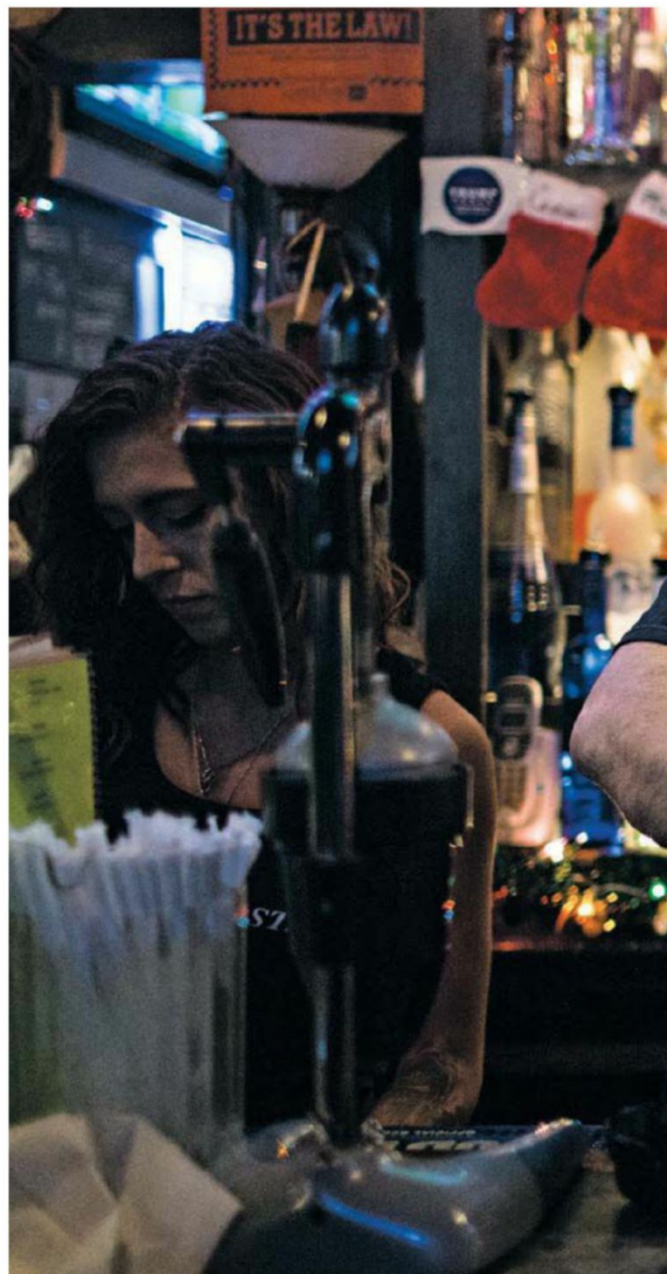
Lutz, who has a year or two of college but didn’t graduate, also circles back to immigration when he lists what he wants from his president-elect. He doesn’t like seeing people he assumes are immigrants filling two or three carts with food at the grocery store and paying with Pennsylvania’s version of food stamps, the Access card. “I see white people doing it too, so I’m not trying to be racist,” he says. “I’m struggling to get half a cart, and they’re swiping an Access card.

“I’m not gung-ho Trump,” he says, looking out over the old cars he and his wife drive to work. Still, he notes that Obama had eight years in the White House and the only good thing he did was end the war in Iraq. “If I don’t see [Trump] doing anything, I can’t change anything in two years, but in four years, I can change my vote if he runs again,” he says.

Down the road from Lutz’s house, I spot a Trump sticker pasted above a Penn State decal on the back of a green Jeep Liberty. I park and knock on the house’s front door, sparking the two beagles inside to bay as if they’ve picked up the scent of a hare—until Andy Kobela shouts them into silence and steps outside to talk.

He’s a retired Navy electrician with enormous eyeglasses, wearing a worn Carhartt jacket and a cap that says “Destroyer Escort Sailors Association.” Kobela tells me he wants to see Trump increase the size of the military. “Especially the Navy. You need a larger Navy. An army is good, but how the hell they going to get over there? Walk?” Speaking loudly now and warming to the idea of Trump in control of U.S. foreign policy, he says, “I’d like to see him be friends with Vladimir Putin. I’d love to see the United States and Russia get together. We’re the same people.”

Surprised to hear the old sailor speak so warmly about the country the U.S. faced off against during the Cold War while he was in the Navy, I ask what he thinks of the ex-KGB agent’s human rights record or of Russia’s hacking of U.S. political organizations



**“EVERYBODY
HERE PUNCHES
A TIME CARD.”**

to influence the presidential election. He says, “Sometimes it’s nice to be friends with the devil.”

Kobela packs a two-shot derringer and vows that if any of the anti-Trump protesters he’s seen on the news come down the backroads by his house, he’ll shoot them. He also won’t brook any questions about what Trump could do to lose his support: “I’m not going against Trump, period. That’s it.”

While trying to steer my rental back from Kobela’s driveway to the highway, I see a middle-aged woman walking her dog. I pull over to ask what she thinks of the election...and if I can bum a Marlboro off her. “I’m afraid,” she says as we smoke, her dog jumping up



STRAIGHT SHOOTER: Beccone, like many of his neighbors, is outraged over the lax treatment of undocumented immigrants; he also thinks banning Muslims from the U.S. is “common sense.”

to rest his paws on my gut. “I’m afraid globally and nationally. I’m afraid of everything we fought for. I think people wanted a change, but I don’t think they wanted this kind of change.”

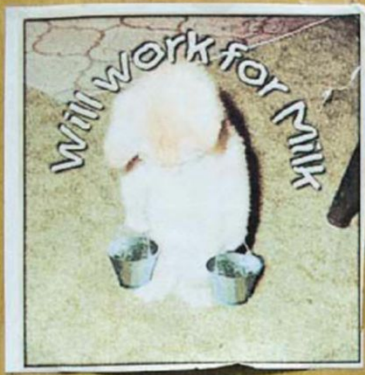
‘YOU KNEW I WAS A SNAKE’

TO UNDERSTAND how Donald Trump, a billionaire living in a vast Manhattan penthouse, churned up such passionate support in Luzerne County, watch the video of his October 10 rally at the Mohegan Sun Arena in Wilkes-Barre. Introduced as the next president of the United States, Trump walked out beaming and clapping to the Lee Greenwood anthem

“I’m Proud to Be an American” as the crowd held up signs that said “TRUMP DIGS COAL” and “MAKE AMERICA GREAT AGAIN.” To huge applause, Trump recited the lines his supporters in Luzerne County have been repeating back to me for the past few days. That night, he told them, “We’re going to make Pennsylvania so rich again, your jobs are coming back.”

The crowd cheered that line, cheered again when he vowed to end illegal immigration and booed when he mentioned Syrian refugees. He then recited the lyrics of a 1970s song, “The Snake,” which describes a tenderhearted woman who finds a frozen snake and brings it home, clearly casting immigrants in the role of the serpent. Nursed back to health, the poisonous snake bites her.

He recited the lyrics of what the treacherous snake tells the woman as she dies: “‘Oh shut up, silly woman,’ said the reptile with a grin. ‘You knew damn well I was a snake before you took



Please close door
humidifier in use

MAKE
AMERICA
TWERK AGAIN

FISHBOY

Paid for by Donald J. Trump for President, Inc.

me in.” In case anyone missed his point, he then said, “And then we have our very incompetent politicians in Washington taking everybody in.”

The only awkward moment in the otherwise rapturous assembly came when Trump invited onstage two local politicians, U.S. Representatives Lou Barletta and Tom Marino, along with Alabama Senator Jeff Sessions and former New York City Mayor Rudy Giuliani, whose wife grew up in Hazleton. Trump was still getting applause, but while he was standing with those four pols, there was a steady thrum of boos punctuating the cheers. “Who likes congressmen? But I like these two,” Trump said, as the audience made it clear that it disliked any establishment

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SHAKE YOUR BODY POLITIC: Many of the voters in Luzerne County who backed Trump say their support of the president-elect is unshakable, even if he doesn't deliver on his campaign promises.

politicians—even ones embraced by their candidate.

Political experts from colleges in Luzerne County say voters there backed Trump because of their suspicion and even hatred for anything they saw as the establishment—whether it's politicians in Harrisburg, the state capital, those in Washington, D.C., or bankers on Wall Street. To many of them, Clinton represented that corrupt and self-serving establishment. “It's the deep distrust of anyone



who's in government," says political science professor Beth Admiraal of King's College.

"Remember that in the recession, people were losing their homes. And she's giving speeches and taking money from the banking establishment. Those kinds of memories are long here," says Baldino, the Wilkes University poli-sci professor. Baldino, who cut our conversation short because a French film crew was waiting to interview him about

the election, says many people in Luzerne County are especially open to populist campaigns like the one Trump ran because they are "low-information voters"—voters who don't have a sophisticated knowledge of how government works, don't follow political news and base their votes on emotional responses to issues. Before he got off the phone, Baldino told me, "In the case of Trump, he sold the public here that he could end their misery."

TIME TO BUY A GUN

ED HARRY grew up in Luzerne County, the son of a coal miner. He did two years with the Air Force in Vietnam, and when he returned home, he worked 30 years as an organizer and staffer with the local government employees union. He was a die-hard Democrat and served as a delegate for Bill Clinton in 1992. But then Clinton passed trade agreements like NAFTA and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, the pact that created the World Trade Organization, even as Harry's union and others did everything they could to fight them. Harry was even head of the Wilkes-Barre Labor Council until he broke with the union this spring over its endorsement of Hillary Clinton. "I was president until April of this year, when I came out in support of Trump," he says. "It was very unpopular."

I speak with Harry and his girlfriend, Rosalie—who boasts that her vote for Trump was the first time she'd ever stepped into a voting booth—as we eat lunch in the restaurant of the Holiday Inn just outside Wilkes-Barre. (Rosalie's reaction to the *Access Hollywood* tape of Trump bragging about grabbing women "by the pussy": "Lots of women say worse stuff than that.") Harry wears a Penn State ball cap and criticizes both Republicans and Democrats as he eats his beef barley soup, calling them "two ruthless organizations" that allow illegal immigration because they want cheap labor (Republicans) or automatic voters (Democrats). "Globalism is a planned attack that they've taken on this country," he says, a toothpick dangling from his mouth. "I want [Trump] to renegotiate NAFTA."

But even as Harry's laments start drifting into wild theories about a new world order and how secretive elites are pushing for a one-world government, he is clear about what would make him stop supporting Trump. "If I see him going back to the way it was with all the other presidents, and the way the government worked before—it was all buddies taking care of their own agendas. I see him becoming one of the boys, I'm done with him."

Harry tells me that after he left the military, he swore he'd never own a gun, but events he characterizes as odd coincidences and signs of conspiracies have made him fearful—from the father of the Orlando, Florida, shooter showing up at a Clinton rally to his unfounded belief that billionaire George Soros paid Black Lives Matter \$30 million to protest in Ferguson,

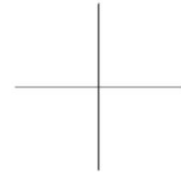
Missouri, and Baltimore. "I just bought my first weapon this summer," he says as elderly women play mah-jongg beside us, the sharp clicks of their tiles punctuating his words. I ask what made him decide he needed a gun. "Because I don't like the way things are going," he says. "I'm very concerned about what I see happening." ■

**"GLOBALISM IS A
PLANNED ATTACK
ON THIS COUNTRY."**





NEW WORLD



MEDICINE

3-D

INNOVATION

CANCER

PSYCHEDELICS

TECHNOLOGY

GOOD SCIENCE

WOMB FOR INSTAGRAM

Virtual reality images could spot abnormalities early in pregnancy. And they're really cool

FETAL ART: Images like this one of a fetus at 26 weeks could one day help doctors identify health problems early in pregnancy.

THE FIRST photos expectant parents show off to family and friends—ultrasound images of a growing fetus in its earliest days—are often underwhelming. Families long to see something more lifelike. And soon that may be possible.

Researchers at Clinica de Diagnóstico por Imagem in Rio de Janeiro can produce three-dimensional images of a fetus, umbilical cord and placenta using MRIs and ultrasound. With an Oculus Rift 2 virtual reality headset, parents can see their child in the womb before it enters the real world.

The 3-D models might prompt conversations about family resemblance before birth, but, more important, they could help diagnose structural abnormalities as early as the first trimester of life.

“We believe that these images will help facilitate a multidisciplinary discussion about some pathologies, in addition to bringing a new experience for parents,” says Dr. Heron Werner, an expert in fetal medicine and leader of the study.

With the headset on, it’s possible to see the respiratory tract of a fetus and any potentially life-threatening, abnormal masses that could block its airway. Eventually, the technology could go further, providing 3-D views of vital organs, too.

Werner, who presented his findings at the annual meeting of the Radiological Society of North America in November, has used the technology to produce models of 10 infants in utero, including some with congenital abnormalities.

Dr. Beth M. Kline-Fath, chair of the fetal imaging committee for the Society of Pediatric Radiology, says the models can help guide physicians monitor pregnancies where the infant has anomalies of the face or mouth, such as large lesions, that make it difficult to breathe at birth. “Having a three-dimensional image could be helpful for planning at delivery to get a tube in the airway for support,” she says.

And helpful for the newborn as well.

BY

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A FRIGID DARE

The popularity of cryotherapy is growing, even though there's little proof it works

FOR YEARS, Kyle Patten, a former college baseball player and competitive powerlifter, recovered from intense workouts with toe-curling ice baths. He'd put on a pair of socks and fill his bathtub with ice, and he was like the olive in a huge gin and tonic. Patten would settle into his deep freeze for at least a half-hour, but that alleviated only the discomfort in his legs, and it was often an intolerable soak. These days, he sticks to golf, but the pain from old injuries hasn't gone away.

He first learned about whole body cryotherapy from a friend, who swore that just three to four minutes in the Space Age-looking apparatus, known as a cryosauna, could produce the same results as his icy tub-athons. Patten tried it and was sold. "It takes a couple of sessions, but once you get in the groove it feels incredible," he says.

Scores of professional athletes (like LeBron James, Kobe Bryant and David Beckham), celebrities (Jessica Alba, Alicia Keys and Mandy Moore) and an increasing number of physicians and other medical practitioners have touted the benefits of cryo treatment, but these claims are backed only by personal anecdotes and a smattering of obscure studies that critics say are poorly designed and lack statistical significance. And the Food and Drug Administration (FDA) is also chilly to the concept: It warns that cryotherapy can cause asphyxiation, frostbite, severe burns and injury to eyes. It's also possible for a person to lose consciousness, because the nitrogen vapors in a closed room can result in oxygen deficiency. Oh, and whole body cryo-

therapy might cause a heart attack in a person with cardiac disease.

The unregulated devices also pose the potential for misuse. Last year, a woman who worked at a spa in Las Vegas tried out the system after hours and accidentally locked herself in the contraction. She passed out and died of suffocation. When her colleagues showed up the next day, she was frozen stiff.

The FDA regulates any product that meets the definition of a medical device "intended for use in the diagnosis of disease or other conditions, or in the cure, mitigation, treatment, or prevention of disease." A company that doesn't plan to market and sell a device intended for medical purposes doesn't require FDA clearance. An increasing number of cryosauna companies claim to treat or cure serious medical conditions such as Alzheimer's disease, asthma, migraines and depression. Some advertise that the therapy can promote weight loss or slow aging. When they make medical claims, the FDA may take action to bring them into compliance with the law.

In August, the FDA sent letters to two cryosauna companies making medical claims, America Cryo USA and Cryohealthcare Inc. An FDA spokesperson told *Newsweek* the agency is "concerned about device labeling that may be false or misleading to consumers, including claims made on websites."

NOT A WARM, FUZZY FEELING

A session in a cryosauna involves stepping into the freezing chamber cooled with liquid

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nitrogen vapor to around minus-250 degrees Fahrenheit or lower. The user wears only gloves, socks and underwear to protect the most cold-sensitive areas of the body. Some chambers run a little warmer, and some resemble fancy walk-in refrigerators, with seating for more than one. But the premise is the same: Send the body into “fight or flight” mode by subjecting it to extreme cold, and get plenty of oxygen-rich blood flowing to the body’s core. That blood then returns to the extremities and is said to speed the body’s healing process and reduce inflammation.

Lance Mald, chief medical officer and co-founder of KryoGenesis, says his is the first company in the U.S. to have a cryosauna in a doctor’s office. That doctor, Kenneth McCulloch, an orthopedic surgeon in New York City, says his goal is to make the therapy more accessible to patients. In the past, McCulloch has offered other unregulated therapies, including stem cell injections or platelet-rich plasma injections. “There’s a lot of things that were

delayed in obtaining FDA approval that were used for years, and literally decades, in Europe and Asia before the United States,” he says.

Whole body cryotherapy was developed in the 1970s by a Japanese physician to treat rheumatoid arthritis patients. It soon became wildly popular in Europe, where it is often covered by health insurance. Its popularity began taking off in the U.S. a little more than a decade ago.

The benefits of applying cold to an injured body part, even a bag of ice, are disputed by many health experts. For every physician who claims cold therapy soothes injury and speeds healing, there are experts who say introducing cold to the skin delays healing. A study published in *The American Journal of Sports Medicine* in 2013 found that while cold on the skin slowed swelling, it did not speed up recovery of muscle damage. A study published in 2014 in *Knee Surgery Sports Traumatology, Arthroscopy* suggests that icing slows the body’s natural healing process by constricting blood vessels long after the compress is removed.

However, most physicians since Hippocrates have recognized that ice can help alleviate pain and inflammation. Though it’s still not completely understood why, when something cold is placed on the skin—at the site of injury—some physiological changes occur: cold constricts blood vessels, which reduces blood flow to the

FREEZE OUT: The FDA warns that cryotherapy can cause asphyxiation, frostbite, severe burns and other ills.

+



THE BENEFITS OF COLD AFTER INJURY, EVEN A BAG OF ICE, ARE DISPUTED BY MANY HEALTH EXPERTS.

injury and prevents fluid buildup. (Swelling from injury compresses nearby tissue, which causes pain.) Ice also numbs the surface of the skin, acting as an analgesic.

Dr. Charles Kim, a pain management specialist at NYU Langone Medical Center, says the risks of cryotherapy still seem to outweigh the benefits, especially when considering the price tag. Treatments run around \$40 to \$80, and cryotherapists recommend at least 10 sessions to reap the benefits of the Arctic blast. “Ice has been around for a long, long time. It does the trick. It’s cheap,” he says. “Sometimes ice is even too cold, so I tell my patients to get a bag of frozen vegetables.” ■



THE EMERGENCY SHROOM

Psilocybin from hallucinogenic mushrooms greatly eases anxiety in cancer patients, and the effect might be permanent

IN 2010, doctors diagnosed Dinah Bazer with ovarian cancer. After treatment and chemotherapy, it went into remission, but as the months wore on, she became increasingly terrified that the disease might return. Two years after diagnosis, she felt worse than ever. “The fear was eating me alive,” she says. “It was destroying my life.”

She heard about a study at New York University, where physicians were using psilocybin—the

active ingredient in psychoactive mushrooms of the genus *Psilocybe*, referred to by some as magic mushrooms—to treat cancer patients struggling with extreme anxiety and depression. After being carefully screened, Bazer entered the study and got to know the psychologists running it during her many therapy sessions. Then, one day, she was given a moderately high dose of psilocybin.

After feeling the drug kick in, she felt as if she

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+ **SAFETY CHECK:** Researchers say no long-term problems have been seen in the patients studied so far.

was lost at sea, afraid. One of her therapists held her hand, and this gave her mooring. She had a vision of her fear as a dark mass under her rib cage. It was consuming her. She became angry, furious. “Get the fuck out!” she screamed.

A moment later, the fear was gone. “It completely evaporated,” she says.

Next she felt transported to a place where she felt nothing but love. “I’m an atheist, but the best way to describe it—I felt bathed in God’s love...probably the most powerful emotion I’ve ever felt.”

Four years later, the anxiety hasn’t come back. She feels happy to be alive and does things she couldn’t do before, like making new friends, meditating and simply slowing down. “It really changed everything for me,” she says. “I’m so much more active, so much more able to reach out. I feel like I belong in the world.”

‘I’M DYING. IT’S OK’

When Dr. Stephen Ross, head of the NYU research team, first heard anecdotes like this from study participants, he was skeptical. “But after seeing this 20 to 30 times, I thought, This is amazing,” he says. “It’s a real effect.”

Two long-awaited studies published December 1 in the *Journal of Psychopharmacology* attest to this. One conducted at NYU involved 29 patients; another, done at Johns Hopkins University, had 51. Both studies followed similar protocols, and both found that after being given psilocybin, 80 percent of patients experienced a drop in anxiety and depression that lasted for more than six months. In some cases, as in Bazer’s, it appears to be permanent. Both the patients and their psychiatric evaluators concurred that these people were more optimistic, felt their lives were more meaningful and had a better quality of life.

In cases in which the cancer was terminal, the treatment allowed people to accept their impending deaths and suffer less than they might have without the psilocybin, says Roland Griffiths, who led the Johns Hopkins study. “There’s something about these experiences that allows people to see their disease process in a much larger scope,” he says. “They might say, ‘I’m very sad, I’m dying. But in a larger sense it’s OK, and it’ll be all right.’ They’re certainly not welcoming their death, but they’re no longer deeply fearful of it.”

Charles Grob, a researcher and psychiatrist at UCLA, says there is no other drug that can be taken once and have such long-lasting effects. He’s not surprised, though, because he conducted a 2011 study on psilocybin that found similar improvements in 12 cancer patients.

The results have been hailed by leading

psychologists as a potentially paradigm-changing way to treat anxiety and depression in patients with cancer or other terminal illnesses. Griffiths says it also raises hopes that the drug could one day be used to do the same for healthy people.

Nineteen scientists and doctors, including two former heads of the American Psychiatric Association, wrote 10 commentaries in the journal about the importance of the work. “To many people brought up on the Reagan drug-war era with the ‘Drugs fry your brain’ message, psilocybin may seem a strange and possibly even a dangerous drug treatment of serious mental illness,” writes

“I’M AN ATHEIST, BUT THE BEST WAY TO DESCRIBE IT—I FELT BATHED IN GOD’S LOVE....”

David Nutt, a neuropsychopharmacologist at Imperial College London, in an editorial. But the high quality of the research and the strong support shown for it—the “list of the commentators reads like a Who’s Who of American and European psychiatry”—should “reassure any waverers that this use of psilocybin is well within the accepted scope of modern psychiatry,” Nutt adds.

TRIPPING IN THE LAB

In both studies, participants got to know the participating psychologists over the course of more than a dozen hours, to establish rapport and a sense of trust and comfort before the drug experience. After taking the psilocybin or a placebo dispensed in a single white capsule, patients laid down in a comfortable room they were familiar with. They were invited to wear eyeshades and listen to calming music.

The NYU researchers split their group in two, with half getting psilocybin the first time and half getting an “active placebo” of niacin, which can

induce a rush of blood to the skin that mimics the beginning of a psychedelic experience. Then they had a second session where the groups switched, half getting the placebo and the rest getting the real thing. In both cases, niacin had little effect.

The Johns Hopkins protocol was slightly different. Patients had two sessions, one with a high dose of psilocybin and one with a very low dose. The researchers found that the small dose had negligible effects, compared with the large one.

This is not to say that popping psilocybin mushrooms is a good home remedy to treat depression or anxiety. For one thing, psilocybin is listed as a Schedule I substance in the United States, a category reserved for chemicals that the Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA) considers to have no medical value and a high potential for addiction. Possession is illegal.

In these studies, patients ingested psilocybin in carefully controlled settings, and participants were screened for a history of mental illness or schizophrenia. When used carelessly, or in people with an underlying vulnerability toward psychosis, psilocybin can cause problems, Ross says. He has treated people in his private practice who've had delusional episodes after taking it, he adds. And psilocybin may also lead to anxiety that can spiral out of control in an unsupported environment.

No long-term negative effects have been observed in any patients studied so far, the researchers say. A small percentage of participants encountered short-lived nausea and headaches, while one-fifth to one-quarter of participants experienced residual anxiety.

Griffiths says that before psilocybin could be legally used in healthy people, or in people with anxiety or depression without serious illness, it would need to go through the kind of rigorous testing now being performed on cancer patients. These two papers set the stage for a Phase III clinical trial to be evaluated by the Food and Drug Administration. That could lead to reclassification of the drug by the DEA, he adds.

Researchers are testing the drug in cancer patients because there are few good treatments for this group. Up to 40 percent of these people have symptoms of a mood disorder. Besides making life miserable, severe anxiety and depression make cancer itself more difficult to treat, leading to decreased adherence to medication, longer hospital stays and increasing risk of suicide. Antidepressants and anti-anxiety drugs don't work as well in these patients as they do in the general population, Ross says. This is due in part to the complexity and difficulty of dealing with imminent death, which our whole society doesn't



+ MORE THAN MAGIC:
Preliminary data shows psilocybin could also help treat alcoholism.

handle particularly well, he adds. Doctors label these fears and concerns “existential distress.”

Exactly how psilocybin causes long-lasting changes isn't clear, but scientists have some clues. Psilocybin is known to bind to a receptor normally used by serotonin, one of the brain's most important neurotransmitters, which is involved in everything from mood to perception to sleep. MRI studies done at Imperial College London show that this activity changes the activity of neurons throughout the brain, allowing different regions to communicate that aren't usually connected. This is thought to help facilitate breakthroughs that people report while under its spell, Griffiths says.

SHROOMS BEAT BOOZE

Both studies found that the degree to which anxiety and depression improved was linked to the intensity of the patients' “mystical experience.” It may sound a little far-out for psychiatry, but most of the participants taking the drug reported such experiences. Psychologists describe mystical experience as moments during which people report a sense of unity with other humans and the universe. They can have profound insights, feel they are transcending space and time and also have trouble putting it all into words, Ross says.

There's something about these moments that allows people to reframe how they think about their disease and to escape “their story” about being a victim, Griffiths says.



Ross argues that psilocybin should not be a Schedule I drug. These two studies, as well as previous research, suggest that it does have medicinal value. And there's no evidence whatsoever that it's addictive, Ross says. In fact, psilocybin and similar psychedelics show some promise for *treating* addiction.

One small 2014 study found, for example, that psilocybin may help people give up another addiction: cigarettes. In the paper done at Johns Hopkins, 12 of 15 participants quit lighting up after taking the drug and were abstinent six months later, a success rate much higher than that seen with similar initiatives. A larger study is now underway at the university.

Psilocybin (and another hallucinogen, LSD) may also help treat alcoholism. A proof-of-concept trial done at the University of New Mexico in 2015 found that 10 alcoholics who took psilocybin in a controlled environment drank significantly less than before, and this was maintained for a period of nine months. Bill Wilson, the founder of Alcoholics Anonymous, wrote that he believed LSD could help “cynical alcoholics” embrace a higher power, though the organization was scandalized by the suggestion and rejected it. Wilson himself finally got sober after a mystical experience brought on by taking the so-called belladonna cure in a New York City hospital in 1934. This concoction contains hallucinogenic alkaloids, found in the nightshade plant, that are chemically similar to psilocybin.

Mystical experiences have been written about and witnessed since prehistoric times and are very similar to what people report feeling during religious conversions (although they need not involve a recognizable divine power, as Bazer's case illustrates). These experiences can occur spontaneously, brought on by fasting, breath work, religious ceremonies and the like, Griffith adds. “It appears to be biologically normal that we have these experiences—these are part of [being] human.” However, these activities often take a long time and are harder to study. Psychedelics can more reliably elicit them in most people, Griffiths says.

In the 1940s, Swiss chemist Albert Hofmann discovered the psychoactive effects LSD, after which it was used by researchers in Europe and the United States. Investment banker Gordon Wasson also became one of the first Westerners to take psilocybin mushrooms, in Mexico, and introduced them to a wide audience in a 1957 article about his trip published in *Life* magazine. These mushrooms, as well as synthetic psilocybin (first isolated and produced by Hofmann), led to an explosion of psychedelic research in



the 1950s and '60s; there were more than 1,000 studies published on LSD, for example. These compounds showed promise for treating addiction, anxiety and depression. However, the drugs “escaped the lab,” and their nonmedical use among members of the counterculture gave them a bad name, Ross says. All research ground to a halt shortly after LSD was outlawed by the U.S. government in 1968.

Grob's 2011 paper was one of the first to look again at hallucinogenic drugs in cancer patients. It followed a 2006 study at the University of Arizona that found that psilocybin helped temporarily reduce symptoms of obsessive-compulsive disorder in nine subjects. Griffiths has tested psilocybin in more than 50 healthy subjects. Most

PATIENTS “ARE CERTAINLY NOT WELCOMING THEIR DEATH, BUT THEY’RE NO LONGER DEEPLY FEARFUL OF IT.”

of these people reported improved quality of life afterward and said the experience was one of the most profound of their lives.

The 19 scientists and doctors who wrote commentaries on the research all said basically the same thing—that research on psychedelics should be more widely explored. “It’s time to take psychedelic treatments in psychiatry and oncology seriously, as we did in the 1950 and 1960s, which means we need to go back to the future,” Nutt says.

Griffiths says he hopes further work reveals more about “what’s going on under the hood” during these spiritual experiences. But he says it’s important to have the “humility to know that some of these questions may be unanswerable.... I’m open to having great wonder about this.” ■

GENETIC OUTLAW

After a 30-year chase, one of the most elusive—and dangerous—cancer culprits may finally be on the run

WHEN IT comes to the state of cancer survival, Susan Bates feels like many of us. “It’s incredibly frustrating,” she says. For Bates, who treats pancreatic and other cancers at Columbia University, the frustration is worsened by knowing her enemy—an elusive gene that “makes cancer grow very fast.”

Bates is speaking about the ras family of genes that drive many deadly cancers. The three members of this family—*kras*, *nras* and *hras*—are responsible for nearly 30 percent of all human cancers, and *kras* is particularly frightening. Nearly all pancreatic cancers, about half of colorectal cancers and about a third of lung cancers contain mutant *kras*, which is involved in an estimated 1 million cancer deaths annually.

Although the role of ras in cancer has been recognized for more than 30 years, all efforts to create drugs to block it have thus far failed. But after years of frustration, researchers are finally hammering some cracks in this once impenetrable wall. “Now I can see a path forward for developing drugs against *kras*,” says Frank McCormick, a cancer researcher at the University of California, San Francisco (UCSF), who is leading the four-year-old Ras Initiative at the National Cancer Institute. “I don’t see any massive impediment that will stop us.”

Discovered in 1982, ras was the first known human oncogene; that is, a gene that serves an essential function in healthy cells but can

mutate and, in its mutated form, trigger cancer. Unlike inherited genetic variants linked to some malignancies, cancer-causing ras mutations cannot be predicted or prevented. Although more than 500 genetic mutations have been found in tumors, ras is among the few proved to fuel the progression of cancer and is often present at the very start of tumor growth.

Ras genes encode proteins known as signaling molecules, which trigger cells to grow and spread. They can be turned on or off, except when there are mutations in the ras gene. Then the signals remain on, leading to unstoppable cell growth—the very definition of cancer. Several features of Ras (meaning the protein, as opposed to the ras gene, which codes for it) have hindered experimental therapies against it. Most notably, drugs cannot latch on to Ras proteins because their spherical surfaces are smooth, like “a greasy ball,” as Adrienne Cox, a biomedical scientist at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, puts it. Also, because the differences between the active and inactive forms of Ras are extremely subtle, drugs don’t always land on the correct target. Mutant ras and normal ras (which is vital to healthy cells) are also extremely similar. Stopping the mutants without harming the normal genes has so far proved impossible.

Recent progress by the Ras Initiative and other efforts are rekindling hope. In November, a National Cancer Institute (NCI)-funded team,

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led by Dhirendra Simanshu at Maryland's Frederick National Laboratory for Cancer Research, published its work describing the complete structure of a Kras protein. "Everybody can now see what the whole protein looks like from head to tail," says McCormick, a longtime veteran of both industry and academic attempts to target ras. Although he can't provide details yet, McCormick says other research has identified previously unknown differences between mutant Kras and healthy Ras proteins that could be exploited by drug developers.

McCormick oversees two groups: the approximately 50 NCI researchers who receive the bulk of the Ras Initiative's annual budget of \$10 million to \$15 million and other academic scientists, such as Cox, who receive a more modest portion of that funding. Cox's work is unraveling the complexities of mutant Ras proteins and how they interact with their surroundings. Cox, a member of a collaboration called the Ras Synthetic Lethal Network, is equally inspired by the cooperation among her colleagues and their work. Members of the network are, she says, "genuinely sharing important new data ahead of time," a departure from the guarded-secret style typical of academic and industry research.

The Ras Initiative maintains a similar spirit. "It's almost like a crowdsourcing approach to

Ras," says Stuart Schreiber, a pioneering scientist at Harvard and the Broad Institute who is not affiliated with the NCI program. Schreiber says such cooperation among the NCI, outside academics and industry is integral to making strides against ras.

Most recently, the Ras Initiative worked with the U.S. Department of Energy to create a computer simulation of how ras moves and interacts with other cell structures. This visualization will

THE MUTANT GENE KRAS IS INVOLVED IN AN ESTIMATED 1 MILLION CANCER DEATHS ANNUALLY.

allow drug developers to model experimental therapies. Other researchers are testing radical new ideas. In 2012, Greg Verdine, a Harvard chemist, founded Warp Drive Bio to pursue his theory that nature has already solved the problem of targeting the smooth ras surface. By mining the genomes of bacteria and fungi, Verdine is using natural products to create molecules that will stick firmly—and only—to mutant ras. Warp Drive recently acquired \$750 million in funding by Sanofi Pharmaceuticals after its initial investment of \$125 million in 2012. "What I love about it is that it's different," says Schreiber of the approach. "We need new ideas."

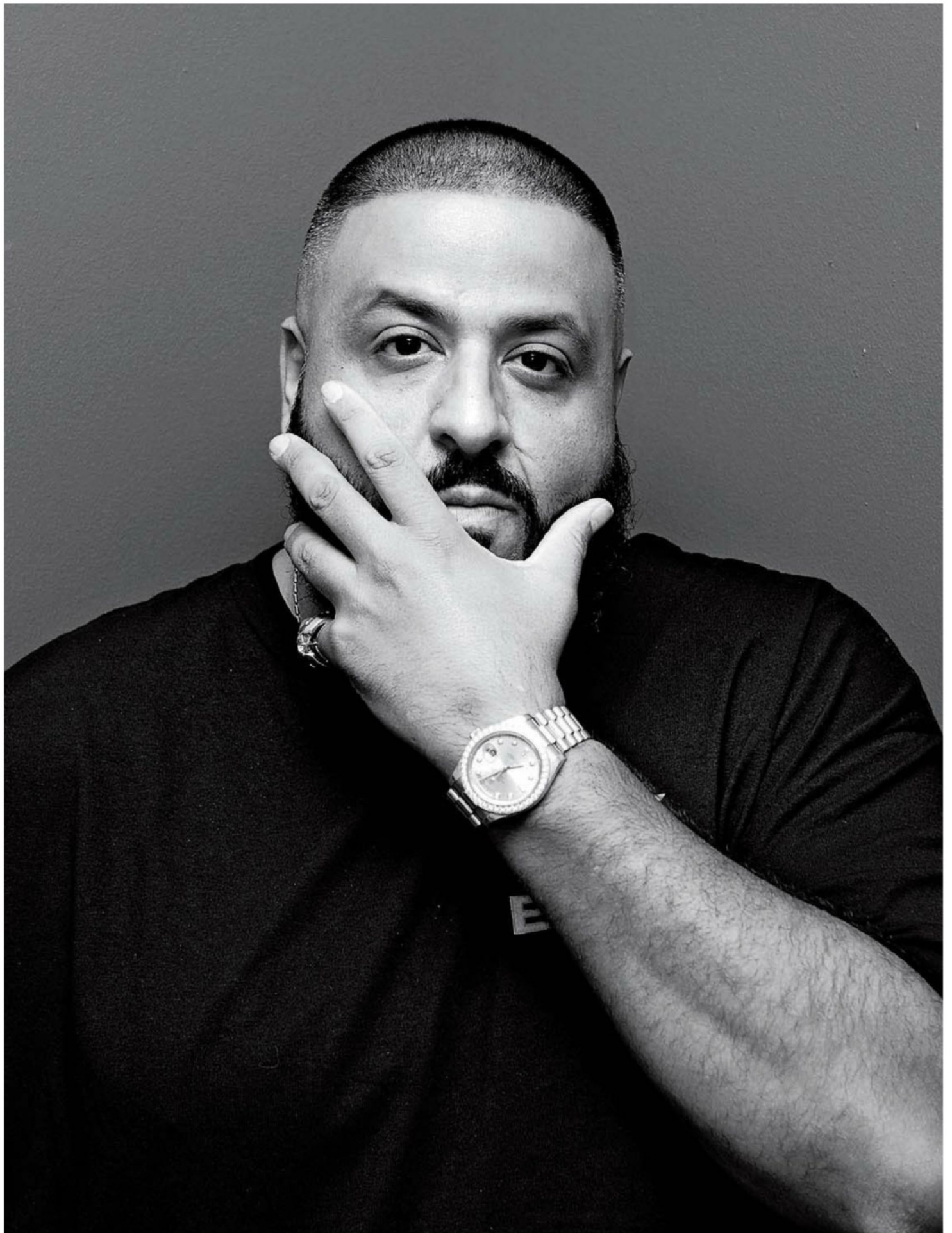
Additional efforts include immune therapy; RNA interference, which turns off genes; and covalent inhibitors, which bind to proteins lacking deep grooves or pockets. After a covalent inhibitor of kras created by Kevan Shokat and colleagues at UCSF blocked mutant kras in laboratory studies, Johnson & Johnson licensed the compound for development in 2014. No further data are available.

McCormick cautions that the road from here to patients is still long. Verdine anticipates starting clinical trials in 2018. And although NCI director Doug Lowy does not expect drastic funding cuts with the new administration in January 2017, he notes that federal budgets are always uncertain. But many ras researchers believe there's reason for optimism. Bates, who has watched too many patients die from pancreatic cancer, hopes they're right. "We aren't going to make any progress," she says, "until we find something to limit kras." ■

SUBTLE CLUES: DNA from bowel cells in these samples can show whether the ras gene is mutated, indicating an increased cancer risk.

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DOWNTIME

COMEDY

BOOKS

HOUSING

ART

CINEMA

MUSIC

YOU'RE NOT ALL THAT

Snapchat king DJ Khaled's positivity pabulum proves we could all use a little more negativity in our lives

+ **PIMP MY PEALE:** Khaled sells the power of positive thinking with a hip-hop veneer, aspiring, for example, to own a baby blue Bentley.

SEVERAL CENTURIES hence, as historians try to understand our strange cultural moment—beheading videos gone viral, cold-case murders solved on Reddit—they will come upon the curious case of Khaled Mohamed Khaled, much better known as DJ Khaled. They will discover that around the year 2016, the Palestinian-American was among the most famous people on the dying, desiccated planet known as Earth. Like a few of Khaled's contemporaries, these scholars will be mystified by the source of his vast celebrity, which is tethered to no discernible achievement. It will take reams of academic holograms to settle on the consensus that DJ Khaled is the kind of jester every culture in decline requires to speak truth to fading power. Some will be distracted and amused, some will be horrified and perplexed, while the truly perspicacious will be packing their bags for the first shuttle to the Red Planet.

What, exactly, Khaled does is a matter of vigorous online debate. He has made rap music but

does not actually rap, preferring to have vastly more talented associates to do the work for him—on one of his most popular tracks, “All I Do Is Win,” which has 70 million YouTube views, Khaled shouts his name a couple of times but otherwise mugs for the camera like a dispensable extra, leaving the work to T-Pain, Rick Ross, Ludacris and Snoop Dogg. He calls himself a producer but evinces no talent for musical arrangement. He claims to be a mogul but has none of the corporate stature of Jay Z or Dr. Dre. Khaled does have an online store that sells items emblazoned with his famous slogans, but, well, so does Ted Nugent.

His slogans are, as future historians will inevitably conclude, the key to understanding Khaled and his Khaled-sized success. Ursine but not the least bit threatening, in love with big cigars and really big cars but avoiding the edgier trappings of the gangsta trope, Khaled is the millennial generation's foremost prophet of noxiously empty optimism. He is Norman Vincent Peale—midcentury

BY
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REX/AP

America's great "possibilitarian" author of *The Power of Positive Thinking*—with a baby blue Bentley and a vast social media empire that is a land of Lotus-eaters, where all is good and all are blessed, and you are always on the cusp of winning and moving into a mansion that is nearly as big as his.

You would know, if you were a fan of DJ Khaled, that his Miami mansion is enormous, as many of his posts are set there. A new age prosperity preacher, he spreads his gospel in Snapchat videos that, *The New York Times* estimates, are each seen by about 2 million people. In his dispatches from splendid South Florida, Khaled slathers his body in cocoa butter, reviews the meals prepared Chef Dee, waters his plants and shouts Rastafarian slogans in a bad Jamaican accent from his Jacuzzi. He is fond of recording himself in the shower, from which he dispenses indispensable wisdom: "Follow code...feed ur family and keep ur face clean." From his Jet Ski, he tells his fans, "Ride wit me through the journey to more success." Once, he got lost Jet Skiing as night fell. This was, of course, recorded in a series of snaps, right through his joyous landfall. "Let's win more," he concluded as he returned home. If some Good Samaritan saved him from the sharks (he has never been clear on this point, despite the incident garnering enough coverage

to make most foreign nations jealous), Khaled offered that kind soul no thanks.

The whole point of DJ Khaled is that you will always be rescued from rough seas, and although you are already great, you should be even greater. More luxurious Jet Skis await, as well as yachts. The dream is yours, as long as you listen to DJ Khaled...and purchase Ciroc mango vodka, for which he has become a "brand ambassador." Khaled may sell vodka to pay the bills, but this is just a side gig for the philosopher-mogul. Say what you will about Kim Kardashian, but she isn't selling anything other than stuff: bracelets, creams, whatever. Khaled's outlook is more sophisticated, less obvious. He wants your buying power, but he'd rather have your faith. As any televangelist can tell you, the wallet will always come out after the hosannas fade.

Khaled's hosannas are better known as memes. There is his famous greeting, "Bless up," and his promise that he knows exactly what it takes to win: I got the keys. How do you know he has the keys? See above: All I do is win. Does anyone want Khaled to not win? Yes, a lot of people: They don't want you to win. What do you do once you have triumphed over "they" (the specific constituents of this shadowy group are never described) and have won once again? Let the world know by

DROP THE MIC: Khaled, center, doing what he does best: watching a more talented rapper rap; in this case, Nas.



THADDAEUS MCADAMS/FILMMAGIC

announcing it on social media.

DJ Khaled's new book is called *The Keys*, and it is less a book, as one might understand those antiquated cultural artifacts, than a director's-cut of his Snapchat feed assembled into occasionally coherent sentences organized into chapters with headings like "Be Yourself" and "Glorify Your Own Success." The book is 212 pages long, and it contains exactly one interesting sentence. Actually, it's only a clause: "show me another Palestinian mogul who succeeded in hip-hop."

You can't, of course. Khaled could have used the considerable talents of his ghostwriter, the journalist Mary H.K. Choi, to give far greater depth to the story of his family, immigrants from the West Bank who became successful clothiers in Orlando, Florida (one of their clients was the NBA star Shaquille O'Neal), only to apparently lose their wealth, in Khaled's vague telling, to a federal government that considers the payment of taxes a major key to its own success. Khaled, who never finished high school, rose diligently through the ranks of the hip-hop scene in Orlando and New Orleans—as a record seller, party promoter and disk jockey—before finally making it big in Miami, a city for which he professes a disturbingly deep affection. This would all have been far more interesting were it freed of the positivity preaching, but Khaled's life and Khaled's understanding of life are impossible to separate—all his reflection is pointed inward, in keeping with the prevalent narcissism of the age. He does allude to the Jet-Ski incident, offering this sound advice: "Don't drive your Jet Ski in the dark."

Mostly, though, *The Keys* is a paean to the kind of cheerful self-obsession that has come to rule the American psyche. Among its most notorious practitioners is the president-elect, Donald Trump, who has, among other transparently preposterous boasts, claimed to possess "the best temperament or certainly one of the best temperaments of anybody that's ever run for the office of president," to have one of the best memories in the world and to "know more about ISIS than the generals do"—and to have large hands. None of this is true, but in a post-truth world, that's pretty much beside the point. Note that Trump's main complaint, "We don't win anymore," is just an obverse of Khaled's "All we do is win." Both are hollow gourds, but struck hard enough, they ring true.

There is plenty of Trumpian self-aggrandizement in *The Keys*: "I'm humble. I was born humble, but now I get humbler every day. Now, just because I'm humble doesn't mean I'm not confident. I'm bold, and I know I'm one of the greatest to ever do it," whatever "it" is. In case you aren't convinced, the book is filled with laudatory blurbs



from music producers and executives, all of them seemingly written by the same intern fresh out of the University of Southern Carolina. Some are born great, some have greatness thrust upon them and a blessed few are great because Lyor Cohen and Kendall "Young Sav" Freeman say so.

Detractors—i.e., haters, i.e., "they"—have suggested that Khaled's entire persona is a winking joke, that he's really just an Andy Kaufman with gold chains and exceedingly well-watered plants. (Khaled loves to water his plants, which he calls his "angels.") Even if that is the case—and there's

"DON'T DRIVE YOUR JET SKI IN THE DARK."

no reason to think that—Khaled's popularity still points to a troubling feature of modern American life. More than 20 years after Peale's death, we remain entranced by his suggestion that self-confidence is what separates life's victors from its victims. Only today, his facile ideas have found a new home on the social media that have made DJ Khaled famous.

In a world that teems with ghastly news, DJ Khaled seems innocuous enough, a cuddly glancer dispensing hope like John D. Rockefeller dropping dimes on the poor. But that common view of Khaled ignores the fact that positivity harms our ability to work hard, persevere, succeed—the very traits positivity promises to enhance. A surplus of positivity has made us passive and self-satisfied, like those lazy French we love to mock for their smug indolence. At least they have good bread and drink wine at lunch.

On a recent episode of the *Hidden Brain* podcast, psychology scholar Jean Twenge explained to host Shankar Vedantam exactly why the cult of self-esteem can be so dangerous to young people: "If you're already great, why should you do anything?" She pointed to studies that showed successful people often do not have great self-confidence. For example, the least self-confi-



dent ethnic subgroup in the nation is Asian-Americans—who also happen to be among the most academically successful and upwardly mobile.

Social media have been shown to decrease self-esteem, with its trolls telling you to crawl under a rock and die because you happen to think Ray Romano is funny, and its showoffs Instagramming their perfect lives, blissed-out and gluten-free. Khaled is an antidote to all that, allowing you to bask in his positivity, which includes both his success and, if you listen carefully enough and buy his flip-flops, yours. When he takes snaps of his fans—Fan Luv, he calls them—they crowd with desperate joy into the frame, as if Khaled's good vibes were an extremely scarce resource they must compete for.

But what is winning anyway? Khaled's keys are nothing new, relying on shopworn premises of marketing and networking. His genius is self-promotion, which has shed the gaudy glaze of crassness to become an indispensable skill of the 21st-century workplace (including, apparently, the Oval Office). *The Keys* has plenty of more sober cousins: *Reinventing You: Define Your Brand, Imagine Your Future*; *Power Your Career: The Art of Tactful Self-Promotion at Work*; *How to Sell Yourself*. Says a mystifying headline from The Huffington Post: "Personal Branding: It's Not About Self-Promotion, It Is a Leadership Imperative." Read a few such articles by self-proclaimed marketing experts, and DJ Khaled's snaps will indeed come to seem like nuggets of hard-won wisdom.

It's true that self-promotion can be beneficial, in particular to women and minorities in majority white-male institutions like investment banks and tech companies. But do not mistake DJ Khaled for Sheryl Sandberg of *Lean In* fame. By the end of *The Keys*, I finally understood the source of Khaled's fame: He is a professional insinuator, a hanger-on who managed to become as indispensable as the people he was clinging to. He wants us to see him as the equal of Sean "P. Diddy" Combs, but my mind keeps snapping back to T.S. Eliot's servile J. Alfred Prufrock:

*No! I am not Prince Hamlet, nor was meant to be;
Am an attendant lord, one that will do
To swell a progress, start a scene or two,*

*Advise the prince; no doubt, an easy tool,
Politic, cautious, and meticulous;
Full of high sentence, but a bit obtuse;
At times, indeed, almost ridiculous—
Almost, at times, the Fool.*

In one passage from *The Keys*, Khaled describes how he once went to New York City to secure a collaboration with Jay Z. "I was relentless, and at the end of the day our relationship and his being my friend made it happen. Every morning I woke up and I believed I'd get that verse." This seems less like valuable persistence than low-grade stalking, confirmed by an inadvertently revealing testimonial in *The Keys*: "This man does not take no for an answer."

Except sometimes the answer is no. Not because "they" rigged the system but because the race isn't always to the swift, and sometimes you aren't as swift as you thought you were, and sometimes you twist an ankle. Thus we lose, sometimes bigly. We lose in Pennsylvania and Wisconsin, and we do not know why. God does not automatically confer his blessings on us merely because we invoke his name. "More success is always the answer," Khaled says. To what? For whom? And really, always? The answer is never reflection, kindness or, God forbid, silence? What this inspires is not ambition—

ALTHOUGH YOU ARE ALREADY GREAT, YOU SHOULD BE EVEN GREATER.

which, if you have it, you don't need Khaled to stoke it—but an inability to deal with failure and disappointment, which are far more rare and valuable qualities than a winning attitude.

My favorite parts of Khaled's book are the slices of his everyday life. When posted on Snapchat, these have the feel of celebrity so close to you that you can nearly smell the cocoa butter. Here, shorn of social media's glow, they have a hilarious mundanity: "Look in my fridge: There are delicious juices and smoothies. I have healthy snacks all over my house for everyone." In one of his more famous snaps, shot while in bed, DJ Khaled declares that "the key to more success is to have a lot of pillows."

You heard the man. Get some pillows, wash your face, don't Jet Ski in the dark and you might end up living a pretty decent life. ■

AIRPLANE FUEL: Joel Levinson, far right, was inspired by the Zucker brothers, who produced *The Kentucky Fried Movie* themselves, because Hollywood wouldn't fund their projects.



A Funny Thing Happened on the Way to Dayton...

Want to make a comedy film? Flee Hollywood

AFTER SUFFERING through various crappy jobs, Joel Levinson finally landed the gig that changed his life: dressing as a giant smoothie cup. He got this mascot job by winning an online video contest, and he quickly realized other brands had similar contests that offered cash prizes and little competition. He entered so many that he was able to support himself with the earnings, like the \$100,000 he got from Klondike for filming himself scarfing down Klondike bars around the world.

But as online video became too valuable for brands to crowd-source, he grabbed whatever video production work he could get as he pursued his ultimate goal of making comedy films with his brother, Stephen, in Los Angeles. "It was branded comedy; it was short-form comedy; it was web stuff; it was advertising," Joel says. "[Stephen and I] thought we had something different to say, but there isn't really a way to say something different in Los Ange-

les and have someone pay for it."

They've had some success, releasing the acclaimed musical comedy album *2776*, which features a host of semi-big names like Patton Oswalt, Martha Plimpton and Dick Cavett. But Joel and Stephen were married with kids, and supporting their families through piecemeal work was spooky. Once, when Joel was hired to produce a web commercial, the project stalled when he was told a permit to shoot in his front yard would cost \$5,000. "You get people super-enthusiastic on the phone or in a meeting who never call you back," says Stephen, who earlier this year moved to New York City to write for *The Tonight Show*.

Joel decided he too needed to make a big career move, so he relocated to Yellow Springs, Ohio, a tiny suburb of Dayton. Yellow Springs has no serviceable film industry, but Dayton was the original home of *The Phil Donahue Show*, so he could hire

crew for much cheaper than in Los Angeles. And getting a permit required nothing more than a call to the local precinct office.

In October, with Joel directing and Stephen writing, they shot a feature-length comedy, *Boy Band: The HeartThrob Story*, about a pop group that reunites after 17 years to record the follow-up to their smash-hit debut. The project was financed by investors in Dayton and 289 Kickstarter donors for \$20,000. In Los Angeles, it would have been barely enough money for a week's worth of craft service vegetable platters; in Dayton, it was enough for an entire film. Stephen likens the experience to a "summer camp." They'll have to market it themselves, but they made the film they wanted.

"The only way somebody awesome starts to make movies is if they actually just go out and make their own movies," Joel says. Like the Levinsons, the Zucker brothers were roundly rejected by Hollywood before producing a film on their own. Three years later, they would release *Airplane!*

"You need to give people a chance to see what your voice looks like and that it can be a success," Joel says. "Then somebody might give you a chance to play with your own stuff. For now, we're just a bunch of guys trying to tell a stupid musical comedy about a fat boy band." ■



TINY HOUSING BUBBLES

Apartments are getting smaller as big cities get more crowded. Kiss elbow-room goodbye

SOON ENOUGH, barring some last-minute appeal on behalf of protesters, Brill Place Tower will shoot up in London's Somers Town. Its catwalk-slim presence will ruffle the neoclassical skyline of the world-famous, white stucco, early-19th-century terraced housing encircling the hallowed Regent's Park.

The 25-story "microtower," as it is described by its young architects at dRMM, is part of a \$1.2 billion gentrification plan to resurrect a run-down residential quarter and is backed by London's new mayor, Sadiq Khan. As London swells, huge numbers of new homes are needed, and with its many small yet well-planned studios and one-bedroom flats and its distinctive design, you can bet that Brill Tower will be a sellout.

The big question, though, is just how small urban homes are going to become as the idea of microapartments and microtowers catches on.

In New York this summer, residents paying from \$2,650 a month moved into the city's first microapartment building, Carmel Place. This Kips Bay project is the first fruit of former New York Mayor Michael Bloomberg's New Housing Marketplace Plan, but, however ingenious their design by nArchitects, just how sweet is it to live in 260 square feet? What this nine-story building, with its stacks of 55 prefabricated steel and concrete units sheathed in a façade of gray bricks, offers in mitigation for minimal personal space is a form of communal city center: a gym,

shared roof terrace, lounge and garden, storage for bicycles and a "butler service" so that fridges can be replenished.

In Austin, Texas, Jeff Wilson, a former professor of environmental studies at Huston-Tillotson University, lived for parts of 2014 and 2015 in a 33-square-foot dumpster that was converted into a most unlikely home. This was partly a way of showing how space can be recycled from, well, trash and to spur new thinking about how much space we need to live in city centers.

His latest project, for which he is seeking developers, is Kasita—*casita* is Spanish for little house—a proposal for prefabricated, 300-square-foot steel studios slotted into a frame like bottles in a wine rack. The idea is that it will be possible to lift these microapartments out from the rack with the help of cranes and a flatbed truck, then transport them to a new location equipped with an identical steel rack.

This notion of moving home—your physical home—without having to pack is intriguing, although you might choose to invest in a motor home instead, as many retirees have done.

One of the major criticisms of microliving, whether in London or Texas: What happens if a young single person meets another single young person and they produce a family? The answer, for now: They move to a bigger place. But however residents move on in life, many will leave their microapartments, resulting in ever-shift-



BY
JONATHAN GLANCEY



PREFAB DRAB: Tokyo's Nakagin Capsule Tower was built in 1972; about half the units have been converted to offices, art studios or second homes.

ing urban populations. Transience is one of the enemies of enduring communities. The more microapartments and towers there are, the more unsettled our city centers might become.

PLUG-AND-PLAY HOUSING

Experiments in microliving have been made several times over the past 90 years, and the results, while fascinating, are not encouraging. In the late 1960s, Tokyo boomed, and, as it did, young people and modest “salary men” and their families sought affordable homes in ever-sprawling new suburbs, commuting to the city in famously jam-packed Metro trains.

Kisho Kurokawa, a radically minded Tokyo architect, had an answer. His Nakagin Capsule Tower—a pair of interconnected 11- and 13-story towers, in fact—was completed in 1972 in Shinbashi, an expensive office district today. Prefabricated steel capsules, 140 of them, were bolted onto the concrete towers. Each capsule squeezed a bed, kitchen surface, an aircraft-sized bathroom and the very latest in Japanese audio technology into 300 square feet.

A revelation at the time, the much-feted and photographed Nakagin Capsule Tower is in a sorry state today. There has been no hot water here for

years. Most of the capsules are boarded up or used for storage or as makeshift offices, with a few Airbnb capsules to rent. Residents quickly decided they wanted more space than Kurokawa could offer, and the project failed.

Even sorer than the Nakagin Capsule Tower is Moscow's compelling Narkomfin apartment block. It was completed in 1932 to designs by Moisei Ginzburg and Ignaty Milinis, with tiny modern movement apartments served by communal kitchens, a laundry, library, gym and roof terrace. This was to be a model of socialist living. Feminist living too. “Petty housework crushes, strangles and degrades,” wrote Vladimir Lenin in “A Great Beginning,” “chains her [the housewife of the capitalist era] to the kitchen. The real emancipation of women, real communism, will begin only where and when an all-out struggle begins... against this petty housekeeping.”

Josef Stalin, however, put a sudden end to what he called such “Trotskyite” aberrations. Almost as soon as the first residents—some of whom installed their own tiny kitchens—moved in, the Narkomfin experiment in communal living was purged. Now much tarnished, it is a sorrowful collection of empty apartments, artists' studios and oddball enterprises.

Listed as an endangered building by UNESCO, this revolutionary building might yet be restored as a boutique hotel. Or it will continue to rot. When, in 2004, Yuri Luzhkov, the for-

“THE REAL EMANCIPATION OF WOMEN, REAL COMMUNISM, WILL BEGIN ONLY WHERE AND WHEN AN ALL-OUT STRUGGLE BEGINS...AGAINST THIS PETTY HOUSEKEEPING.”

mer mayor of Moscow, opened the massive and grotesque Novinsky Passage Mall, he is reputed to have said, while pointing to Ginzburg and Milinis's yellowing masterpiece, “What a joy that in our city such wonderful, new shopping centers are appearing—not such junk.”



THE SCREENING ROOM

DROWNING, NOT WAVING

Kenneth Lonergan's masterful new film floats a small story on a roiling sea of emotion

THE WRITER-DIRECTOR Kenneth Lonergan listens to his characters with the gentle forbearance of a Catholic priest receiving confession from his more error-prone parishioners—unshocked, even quietly amused, by what he hears; generous with the absolutions. In his third film, *Manchester by the Sea*, Lee Chandler (Casey Affleck), a taciturn janitor who lives alone in a basement in Boston and spends his days scrubbing toilets, shoveling snow, and doing odd handyman jobs. Hands jammed into his pockets, Lee seems a million miles away, eyes hazing over in conversations, small talk or flirtation striking him like a fly on a windscreen. You can practically feel the dead air around him. When he drinks, alone in a bar, he drinks to oblivion, and when someone looks at him the wrong way, he picks a fight almost like a kid rolling his eyes at his teacher, accepting the battering as his daily due—the tax on his existence.

What is *with* this guy? What happened to Lee? We don't find out until about an hour into the film, after Lee is summoned back to his hometown of Manchester, a small fishing community on Boston's north shore, by the news that his older brother, Joe (Kyle Chandler), has died. Moreover, Lee has been given custody of Joe's brittle, pithy-tongued teenage son, Patrick (Lucas Hedges). Patrick's mother is an alcoholic—out of the picture. Meanwhile, there are funeral arrangements

to be made, pizzas to be microwaved and two girlfriends to be shuffled. "Am I supposed to tell you to use a condom?" Lee asks Patrick; he's a wholly reluctant stepparent.

In some ways, *Manchester by the Sea* is a development of Lonergan's 2000 debut, *You Can Count on Me*, one of the most moving films of the decade, about a brother and sister who lose their parents as kids and come together again as adults to raise the sister's young son. Makeshift parents, reluctantly recruited from within the same family, clearly intrigue Lonergan: He followed with *Margaret* (2011), the story of a young girl, her existence poisoned by a fatal bus accident, who must find her own way in a post-9/11 New York. Held up for years in the editing process and the subject of litigation between Lonergan and the film's producers, *Margaret* was, upon its release, deemed a wounded masterpiece by critics sensing a replay of the old Orson Welles story: auteur mangled by the studio system. The film had all the spectral beauty and pathos peculiar to shipwrecks, but it was a wreck nonetheless.

In *Manchester by the Sea*, the ship sails beautifully from beginning to end. Flashbacks invite us to some happier times for Lee; his wife, Randi (Michelle Williams); and their three kids before, finally, the plot's turning point is revealed: a lightning strike of Sophoclean intensity, playing out to the sound of Albinoni's *Adagio in G Minor*, that resists easy description. As

BY
TOM SHONE
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does the film. It isn't a weepie, although its classical music score tugs it close to such tastefully lachrymose classics as Robert Redford's *Ordinary People*. Nor is it one of those bittersweet indies that cunningly entwine tragedy with the comedy of family dysfunction, though it is full of bickering families who drink too much.

Much of the movie simply follows as Lee keeps company with Patrick—driving him to school, band practice or one of his girlfriends' houses. A scene in a hospital turns into a family fight. Grief plays out over frozen chicken. "I can't believe we're having this conversation now," says a girlfriend of Patrick's, as news of his father's death segues into a discussion of the merits of *Star Trek*. Lonergan has done his writing a huge favor by forcing the story's heartbreak to peep from behind these tough, flinty New England exteriors, where it must jostle with sarcasm and world-class needling. For all its tragedy, the film sings with sharp, clear truths about human motivation and behavior. The humor deepens the heartache,

and the heartache sharpens the humor.

Lonergan found the right man in Affleck, standing stony-faced while others weep, his performance a master class in submerged feeling. Every gesture carries the faint rumblings of an internal avalanche. But it's Williams who stuns, in the course of a single, astonishing dia-

LONERGAN HAS FOUND THE RIGHT MAN IN AFFLECK. EVERY GESTURE CARRIES THE FAINT RUMBLINGS OF AN INTERNAL AVALANCHE.

logue toward the end of the film, after she and Lee run into each other at a supermarket. If this actress were put on earth to do one thing only, it would be this scene. "I've got nothing big to say," she says, tearing up behind agonized small talk. And then heaven's vault cracks. **R**

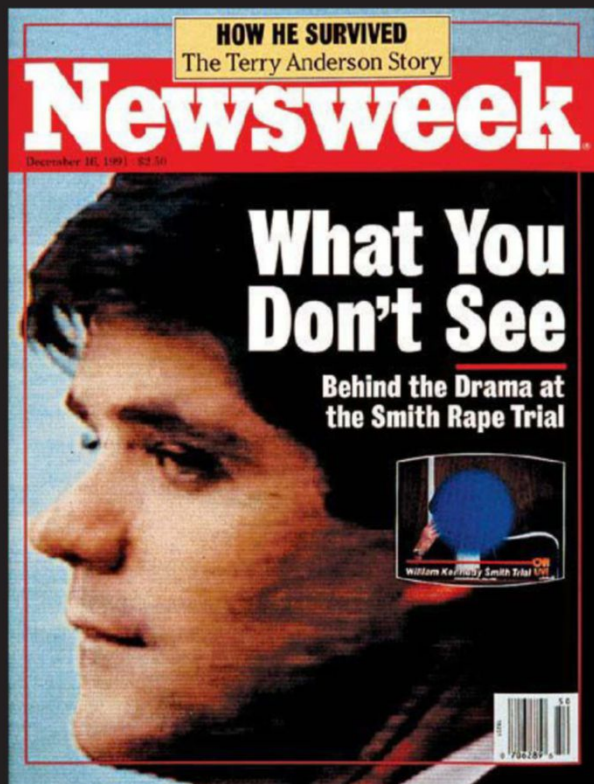
ADRIFT: Williams and Affleck are the young parents at the center of *Manchester by the Sea*.

+



REWIND

25
YEARS

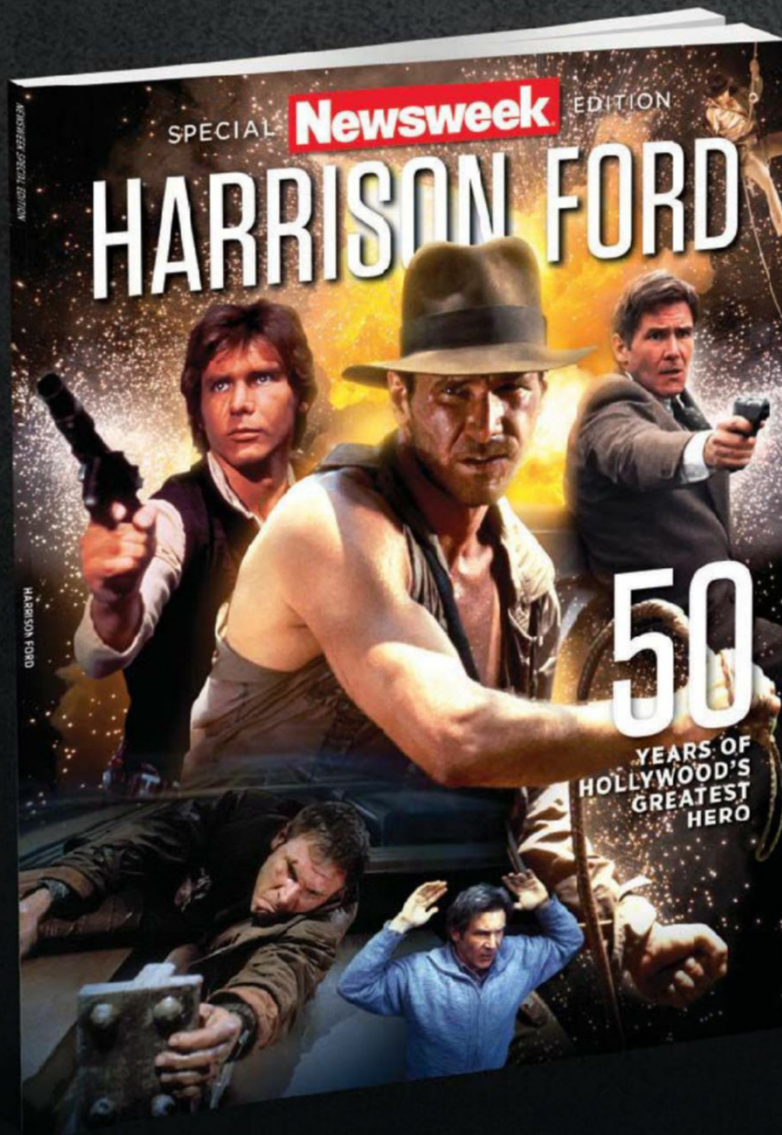


DECEMBER, 16 1991

A BRIEF *NEWSWEEK* REPORT REGARDING THE INADVERTENT LEAK OF CANADIAN DOCUMENTS AT A BRITISH PRISON

“**Seems** some important diplomatic pouches from Canada were sent to the laundry with confidential documents still inside. One problem: The laundry is done at Wandsworth prison... British members of Parliament wept with laughter at the news.”

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