



HARRYS  
OF  
LONDON

NEVER PEDESTRIAN  
[harrysoflondon.com](http://harrysoflondon.com)



**HIGH ON THE HYPE**

# Newsweek®

**POP  
CULTURE  
SAYS**

09.06.2019

**MARIJUANA  
CURES  
EVERYTHING.  
WHAT DO  
SCIENTISTS  
SAY?**

\$8.99



0 733616 4

# ORLANE

PARIS

EXTRAORDINAIRE.  
YOUTH IS BACK.

**firmer  
skin**

97%

**wrinkles  
fade**

88%

**moisturized  
skin**

97%

**radiant  
skin**

97%



\* Results from self-evaluation tests on 40 women after 28 days.

**PATENTED**

Available at [neimanmarcus.com](http://neimanmarcus.com) and [bergdorfgoodman.com](http://bergdorfgoodman.com)



RAJAVI BY SIAVOSH HOSSEINI/NURPHOTO/GETTY; BOTTOM RIGHT: ALEX FINE & CHLOE ELSWICK

FEATURES

FIGURE HEAD

Maryam Rajavi has steered Iran's leading—and most controversial—opposition group since her husband mysteriously disappeared in 2003.

COVER CREDIT

OpenRangeStock/Getty



For more headlines, go to [NEWSWEEK.COM](http://NEWSWEEK.COM)

20

## Bracing for the Fall

Iran's opposition groups are preparing for the regime's collapse. Is anyone ready?

BY JONATHAN BRODER

30

## High on the Hype

Scientists are rushing to figure out if Cannabidiol, everyone's favorite cure, is snake oil or miracle drug.

BY DAVID H. FREEDMAN



## DEPARTMENTS

### In Focus

- 06 **Gaza City**  
Cooling Off
- 08 **Tallmannis, Syria**  
Strike Down
- Guadalajara, Mexico**  
On the Beat
- Amazon Rainforest**  
Fuel to the Fire

### ENDS OF THE EARTH

Migration is a theme for Cate Blanchett's latest character, and in her own work as an advocate for refugees and immigrants.



P.10

### Periscope

- 10 **The Trade War's Ultimate Cost**  
A Presidential Election?
- 13 **Talking Points**  
Donald Trump, Simone Biles and more
- 14 **Working in the Shadows**  
Large Rewards, Little Risk

### Culture

- 42 **Sex in the City, Again**  
Candace Bushnell's New Chapter
- 46 **Uncharted**  
Flea Markets
- 48 **Parting Shot**  
Cate Blanchett



GLOBAL EDITOR-IN-CHIEF \_ Nancy Cooper

CREATIVE DIRECTOR \_ Michael Goesele

EDITORIAL DIRECTOR \_ Hank Gilman

DEPUTY EDITOR (EUROPE + OPINION) \_ Laura Davis

MANAGING EDITOR \_ Melissa Jewsbury

SPECIAL PROJECTS EDITOR \_ Fred Guterl

EDITOR AT LARGE \_ Diane Harris

### EDITORIAL

New York News Director \_ Juliana Pignataro

Managing Editor, Trending News \_ Maria Vultaggio

Senior Editors \_ Mo Mozuch, Peter Carbonara,

Meredith Wolf Schizer, Tara Francis Chan

Deputy Editor \_ Christopher Groux (Gaming)

Associate Editors \_ James Etherington-Smith,

Hannah Osborne (Science), Dom Passantino,

Harriet Sinclair (Politics)

London Sub-Editor \_ Hannah Partos

Copy Chief \_ Elizabeth Rhodes Ernst

Contributing Editor, Opinion \_ Lee Habeeb

Editorial Assistant \_ Jason Pollack

### CREATIVE

Director of Photography \_ Diane Rice

Contributing Art Director \_ Michael Bessire

Associate Art Director \_ Paul Naughton

Assistant Photo Editor \_ Alessandra Amodio

Digital Imaging Specialist \_ Katy Lyness

### WRITERS

David Brennan, Nina Burleigh, Dan Cancian, Brendan Cole, Shane Croucher, Chantal Da Silva, Sam Earle, Benjamin Fearnow, Kashmira Gander, Ari Georgiou, Nicole Goodkind, Katherine Hignett, Jessica Kwong, James LaPorta, Cristina Maza, Tom O'Connor, Ewan Palmer, Callum Paton, Tom Porter, Bill Powell, Roberto Saviano\*, Marc Vargas, Janice Williams, Christina Zhao (\*Contributing)

### VIDEO

Video Production Manager \_ Jessica Durham

London Video News Editor \_ Daniel Orton

Bangalore Video News Editor \_ Nandini Krishnamoorthy

Senior Video Producers \_ Sho Murakoshi

Video Producers - Chiara Brambilla, Rufaro Nodoro,

Frances Rankin, N. Ravichandran, Holly Snelling

Motion Graphics Producers \_ Simon Vella

### PUBLISHED BY

### Newsweek LLC

Chief Executive Officer \_ Dev Pragad

Chief Content Officer \_ Dayan Candappa

Chief Operating Officer \_ Alvaro Palacios

Chief Revenue Officer \_ James Green

Chief Financial Officer \_ Amit Shah

Chief Technology Officer \_ Michael Lukac

General Counsel \_ Rosie Mckimmie

VP, HR Business Partner \_ Leiann Kaytmaz

VP Ad Sales, North America \_ Shaun Hekking

SVP Global Creative Director \_ Robert Lee

Director, Content Strategy \_ Nalin Kaul

Deputy News Director + Senior Digital Strategist \_ Adam Silvers

Managing Editor, Branded + Native Content \_ Paula Froelich

Editor, Branded + Native Content \_ Dan Avery

Global Executive Producer \_ Alfred Joyner

Global Head of Programmatic + Partnerships \_ Jeremy Makin

SVP, Product + Business Intelligence \_ Luciano Costa

Senior Sales Director \_ Chantal Mamboury

Head of Subscription Operations \_ Samantha Rhodes

Newsstand Manager \_ Kim Sermon



“Journalism I don’t see elsewhere until later, if at all.”

[NEWSWEEK.COM/TRY](https://www.newsweek.com/try)

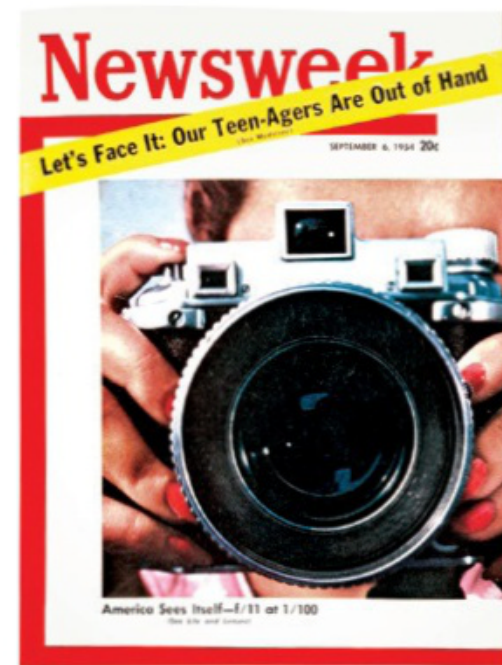
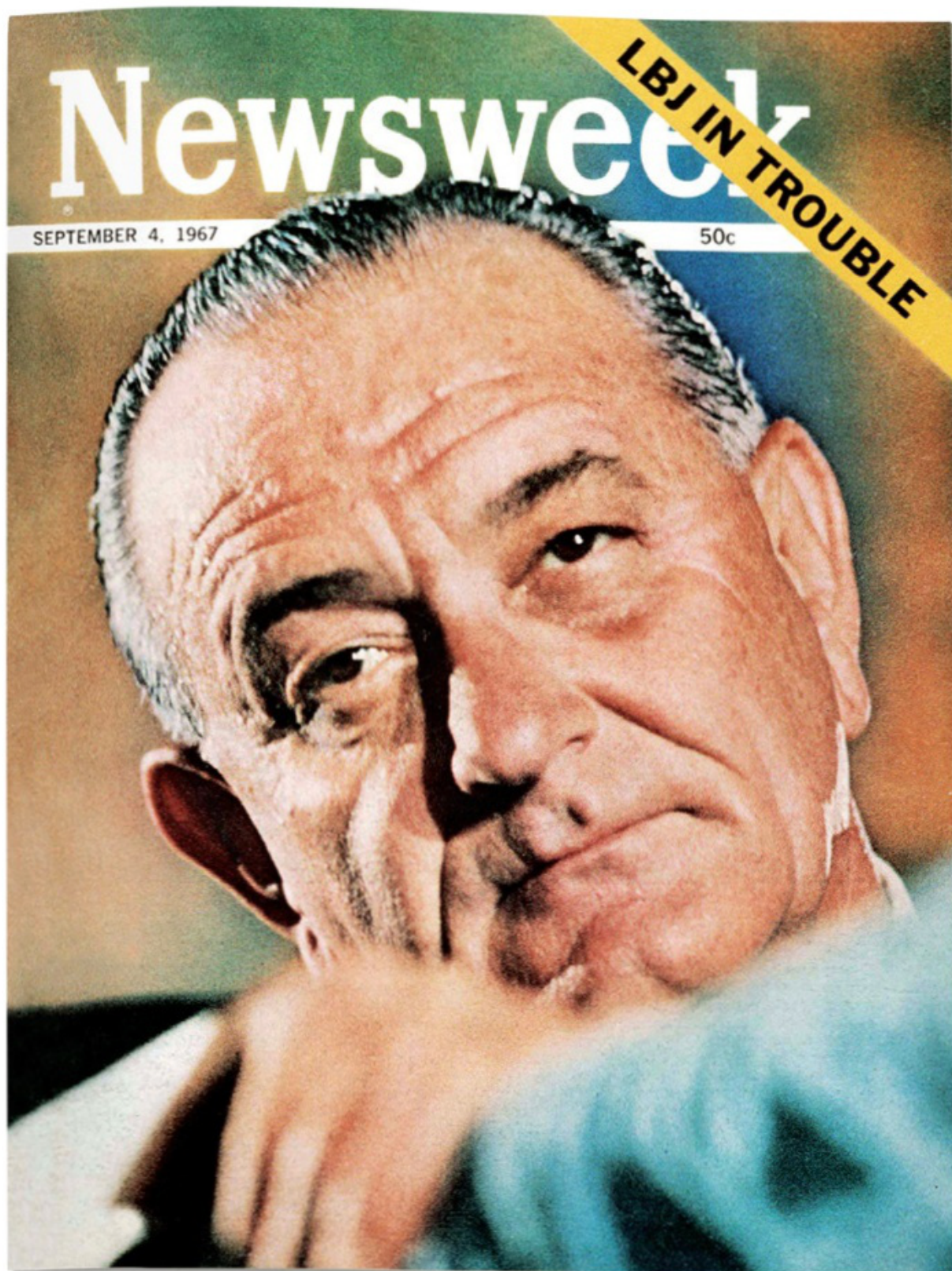


SAVE 79%

**Subscribe**  
**FROM \$1.72 PER WEEK**

# The Archives

**1967** While some men were made by the presidency, “other men have been broken by it,” *Newsweek* wrote of Lyndon B. Johnson, the “president in trouble.” He was the first president “beset simultaneously with a major war abroad and a major rebellion at home.” His personality became an issue as well, resulting in “almost as much criticism and contention as the war in Vietnam and the tumult in the ghettos” and the “rising tide of anger, frustration and bitterness that is cresting around the White House.”



**1954** With “35 million Americans who pursue amateur photography as a hobby,” there is a new American affliction, *Newsweek* wrote, as the “all-seeing” lenses make “safe refuge for the camera-shy practically non-existent.” Today, the smartphone-wielders are the hobbyists, and—whether aware or not—nothing goes unseen.



**1994** “The story of its rise is epic, almost Disneyesque,” *Newsweek* reported of the Disney empire itself. But the “\$22 billion dream machine” turned corporate nightmare with the death of the company president and power struggles within the executive team. It was a tumultuous time for America’s “fantasy maker,” but Disney proved capable of keeping its magic. **N**

CLOCKWISE FROM LEFT: DENNIS BRACK/BLACK STAR; ED WERGELES; ROBERT GROSSMAN; INSET: MICHAEL ARMAND/AP

UNDER THE HIGH PATRONAGE OF HSH PRINCE ALBERT II OF MONACO

THE UNITED TALENTS OF

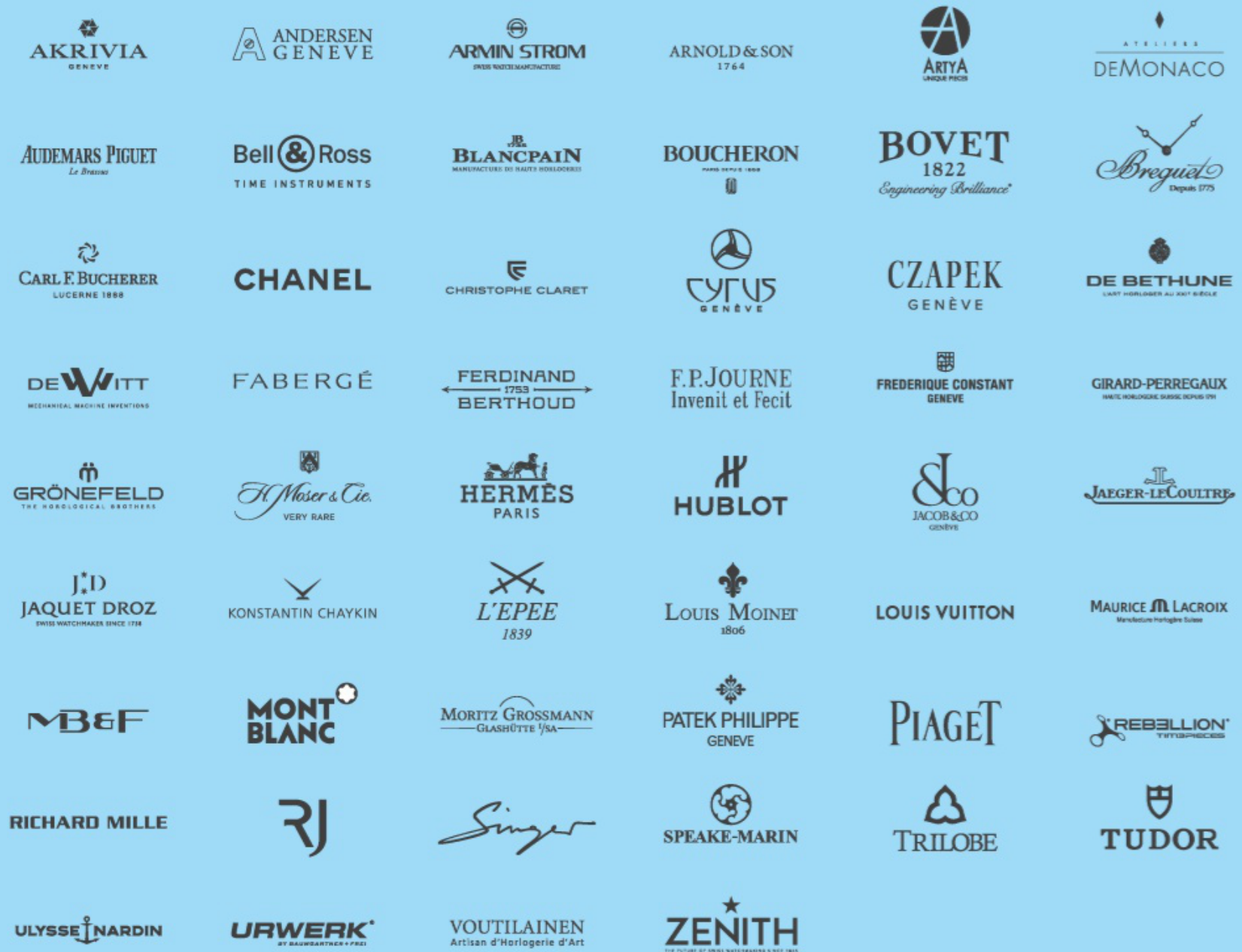
# ONLYWATCH

CREATE BEAUTY TO DO GOOD

9 NOVEMBER 2019 - 2PM, GENEVA

A BIENNIAL CHARITY AUCTION OF UNIQUE TIMEPIECES  
FOR RESEARCH ON DUCHENNE MUSCULAR DYSTROPHY

Participants as per July 16, 2019



## WORLD TOUR EXHIBITION

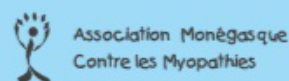
MONACO, SEP. 25-28 | DUBAI, OCT. 1-3 | PARIS, OCT. 7-8 | LONDON, OCT. 11-13 | NEW YORK, OCT. 16-17  
TOKYO, OCT. 22-23 | SINGAPORE, OCT. 25-26 | HONG KONG, OCT. 28-29 | TAIPEI, OCT. 30-31 | GENEVA, NOV. 7-9

Organised by

Auctioned by



ONLYWATCH.COM



CHRISTIE'S



# In Focus

— THE NEWS IN PICTURES



MOHAMMED ABED/AFP/GETTY



GAZA CITY

# Cooling Off

Beachgoers take a dip at the end of a warm summer day in the Mediterranean Sea along the coast of Gaza City on August 16. In one of the world's most dense cities, where residents have been locked in for years by a blockade, the sea provides respite and a sense of escape.

→ MOHAMMED ABED



CLOCKWISE FROM BOTTOM LEFT: ULISES RUIZ/AFP/GETTY; ABDULAZIZ KETAZ/AFP/GETTY; VICTOR MORIYAMA/GETTY



TALLMANNIS, SYRIA

## Strike Down

Syrian Civil Defence members carry a blanket-wrapped body at the site of a reported air strike that hit a clinic in Syria's northern Idlib province on August 21. More than two dozen health care facilities in Idlib have been attacked since April. In that time, the Syrian Observatory for Human Rights has recorded more than 500 civilian deaths in the region, caused by air strikes and shelling from the Syrian regime and its ally Russia.

📷 → ABDULAZIZ KETAZ



GUADALAJARA, MEXICO

## On the Beat

Kicking off the Mariachi International Festival, 882 dancers spin and stomp their feet to set a new Guinness World Record for largest Mexican folk dance on August 24. Performing a choreographed routine for at least five minutes, the crowd smashed a previous record set in the same city by 457 music lovers in 2011. Two years later, 700 Mariachi musicians gathered there to break the record for most mariachis performing simultaneously.

📷 → ULISES RUIZ



AMAZON RAINFOREST

## Fuel to the Fire

A fire burns in part of Brazil's Amazon on August 25 near Porto Velho. The Amazon, which is home to 1 million indigenous people in Brazil, has suffered from 40,300 fires so far this year, the fastest rate of burning since 2013, when record keeping began. Wildfires do occur during dry months, but illegal fires, which are started to deforest land for ranching or prepare already cleared land for next year's harvest, are also common.

📷 → VICTOR MORIYAMA

# Periscope

NEWS OPINION + ART



**A BITE OUT OF THE ECONOMY** Some argue that if America's current strong economy takes a downturn, it will be because of the ongoing trade war with China.



OPINION

# The Trade War's Ultimate Cost

Presidential elections are often won or lost on the strength of the overall economy. Maybe not this time

**➤** PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP PLANNED ON seeking a second term based largely on the strength of the economy. Unemployment is near a 50-year low. The Bureau of Labor Statistics reports the creation of nearly 6 million new jobs since Trump took office. Wages, profits and revenues to the federal Treasury are up. The stock market, despite its recent rockiness, has generally been surging during his term, and economic growth is still the order of the day.

It's an enviable record. Things have been going so well that even some of the president's most bitter foes predict the economy's performance is strong enough to carry Trump across the 2020 finish line first.

Naysayers point to a few statistics that suggest the fundamentals of the economy are getting softer. In particular, last month's appearance of an indicator called the inverted yield curve—in this case, longer-term 10-year government bonds started paying less interest than shorter-term two-year notes, which is unusual—has some people saying a recession sometime in the next year or two is possible.

The U.S. economy is the world's strongest right now but, says the president, it would be even stronger had the Federal Reserve not raised interest rates "too fast, too furious." Others maintain if things head south, it will

be because of the trade war with China. The most recent skirmish: In late August, China announced retaliatory tariffs on \$75 billion worth of American goods, prompting a threat by Trump to increase tariffs on a broader array of Chinese products and a call for U.S. companies to cut ties with Beijing.

Shortly after, Trump said trade talks would resume soon, turning the heat back down—for now.

## GROWING TENSIONS

These developments came just three weeks after Beijing had weakened the yuan, effectively blunting the effect of U.S. tariffs. Trump had countered by delaying until mid-December the next round of tariffs, mostly on consumer goods, which had been scheduled to take effect on September 1st.

The new date falls during U.S. retailers' most profitable period and could cause trouble at home. These and other moves have prompted dramatic fluctuations in the stock market. But the U.S. Trade Representative says everything's just "next steps" in the process of getting China to do a deal.

Whether that's true is a subject for debate. James Lucier of Capital Alpha Partners has counseled investors to view the delay of the tariff imposition as being as advertised and not

BY

PETER ROFF

[@PeterRoff](#)

TOP RIGHT: SMITH COLLECTION/GADO/GETTY



### TROUBLE SIGNS

Clockwise, from top: Soybean farmers are feeling the pinch; anxiety reigned on the trading floor, a day after tariff concerns helped fuel the stock market's biggest drop of 2019; Trump is taking some heat for the growing trade war.

as “backtracking in policy or a ‘blink’ by the U.S.” but rather “a case of the White House getting ahead of his own administrative machinery.”

If the economics are sound, the politics are shaky. A second Trump term depends on Midwestern farmers and industrial workers whom the tariffs potentially affect adversely in critical states like Florida, Michigan and Ohio.

These are places where the economy is always issue No. 1 and the three things voters care about most are jobs, jobs and more jobs. As of now, the tariffs are not working to the president's advantage. As much as the China-bashing rhetoric may excite his base, it's not helping them make ends meet.

#### THE BILLIONS AT STAKE

Florida's exports to China total about \$1.6 billion annually. That includes

\$533 million in gold because Miami is now the leading hub for refiners and processors who then sell to China for use in manufacturing. Civil aircraft parts, the state's second-biggest export, bring in \$126 million now and more in the future as China becomes, over the next 20 years, the world's largest single market for civilian aircraft sales.

The Miami Customs District alone did \$7 billion worth of business with China in 2017. In South Florida, manufacturers are suffering because of the steel and aluminum tariffs.

Michigan has a \$3.6 billion export relationship with China, with \$1.2 billion comprising car parts. The Wolverine State contains 75 percent of North America's auto R&D, and China is, by volume, the world's largest automaker. The Alliance of Automobile Manufacturers says higher-priced cars resulting

from the tariffs could potentially lead to the loss of 700,000 American jobs.

It's not just cars. Over half of all U.S. soybeans are exported, with 60 percent going to China and \$700 million coming from Michigan. “The noose is getting tighter,” Jim Byrum, president of the Michigan Agri-Business Association, told the *Detroit Free Press* in May. “We have lost market opportunities. We're not shipping soybeans around the world like we normally would. We're not shipping them to China. China was our biggest soybean consumer, and they're not moving.”

Ohio's exports to China total \$3.9 billion, with more than \$691 million worth of soybeans—the state's top agricultural export—shipped to China in 2017. “This will be tough to take. China takes one out of every three rows [of soybeans],” Bret Davis, a Delaware County farmer and governing board member of the American Soybean Association of China, told *The Columbus Dispatch* about proposed tariffs in 2018. An Ohio Manufacturing Extension Partnership survey of 457 Ohio manufacturers conducted in January found that 14 companies were hurt by tariffs for each it helped.

The Trump tariffs have already negatively impacted states that were key to him winning the presidency in 2016 and will be just as important in 2020. If the president wants to continue his record of economic success, he should focus on ending the trade war before Florida, Michigan and Ohio swing in the other direction. **N**

→ *Newsweek* contributing editor **Peter Roff** has written extensively about politics and the American experience for U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT, UNITED PRESS INTERNATIONAL and other publications. He can be reached by email at [RoffColumns@gmail.com](mailto:RoffColumns@gmail.com). The views expressed in this article are the writer's own.

# Talking Points



**"Are parts of the U.S. for sale? Alaska?"**

—RASMUS JARLOV, MEMBER OF DENMARK'S CONSERVATIVE PEOPLE'S PARTY



**"SO EARLY TO BED, EARLY TO RISE, WORK LIKE HELL, AND ORGANIZE. TOGETHER, WE WILL CONTINUE THE FIGHT TO DEFEAT THE CLIMATE CRISIS."**

—WASHINGTON GOVERNOR JAY INSLEE DROPPING OUT OF THE PRESIDENTIAL RACE



Jay Inslee



**"[I believe] he's innocent, and I continue to be really quite shocked with how things have developed... He might very well die in jail. He's an old man."**

—ARCHBISHOP OF MELBOURNE PETER COMENSOLI AFTER CARDINAL GEORGE PELL'S SEXUAL ABUSE CONVICTION WAS UPHELD



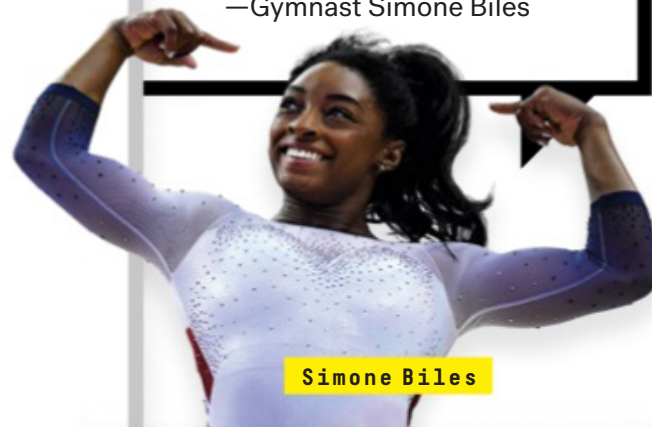
**"I advise [Chinese authorities] to not blame any nonexistent foreign forces for any deterioration, to engage in dialogue with the Hong Kong people."**

—TAIWANESE PRESIDENT TSAI ING-WEN



**"COMING BACK I'M DOING THIS JUST FOR ME AND I THINK THAT THIS IS DIFFERENT THAN THE LAST TIME AROUND, FOR ME I FEEL LIKE I HAVE NOTHING TO PROVE TO ANYONE."**

—Gymnast Simone Biles



Simone Biles



**"I am the chosen one."**

—PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP



**"TRUMP IS SUCH A VISCERAL ASSAULT ON THE SENSES."**

—Trevor Noah



Tsai Ing-wen

FROM LEFT: JACOB KEPLER/BLOOMBERG/GETTY; SAM YE/AF/GETTY; LAURENCE GRIFFITHS/GETTY





IMMIGRATION

## Working in the Shadows

The government rarely prosecutes employers for hiring undocumented workers who provide their bosses with large rewards, and little risk

**➔** THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST undocumented laborers in the U.S. escalated in August as federal agents with Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) raided seven Mississippi poultry processing facilities, sweeping up 680 people on suspicion of unlawful status—the most severe crackdown in over a decade.

Scenes of children crying after school, begging for the return of their parents while immigration officials insisted they were just doing their job, presented a jarring portrait to many Americans.

The outcry was immediate, and

though more than 300 people were temporarily released from detention, the operation served as a reminder of how important these workers are in their communities and how integral the undocumented workforce—which often operates in the shadows—is to the U.S. labor market at large.

But while undocumented employees are frequently terrified of law enforcement action, the companies that profit from their labor have largely escaped scrutiny for their role in the dysfunctional

immigration system. For companies that hire illegal immigrants, knowingly or not, prosecutions are few and penalties are low. And everyone involved in the system knows it.

### TARGETS ON THEIR BACK

When the federal government pursues violations related to undocumented labor, it is workers, and not the companies, who bear the brunt of the enforcement action.

According to Justice Department data, obtained by Syracuse University's research center Transactional Records Access Clearinghouse (TRAC),

BY

ASHER STOCKLER

[@quasiasher](https://twitter.com/quasiasher)

# WHAT IS AVAXHOME?

# AVAXHOME-

the biggest Internet portal,  
providing you various content:  
brand new books, trending movies,  
fresh magazines, hot games,  
recent software, latest music releases.

Unlimited satisfaction one low price

Cheap constant access to piping hot media

Protect your downloadings from Big brother

Safer, than torrent-trackers

18 years of seamless operation and our users' satisfaction

All languages

Brand new content

One site



# AVXLIVE ICU

AvaxHome - Your End Place

We have everything for all of your needs. Just open <https://avxlive.icu>

**HARD LABOR** Migrant workers, left, often live in property owned or run by their employers. This entangles bosses in the lives of undocumented employees in ways that complicate plausible deniability.

prosecutions of employers are exceedingly rare. Only 11 people were prosecuted for knowingly employing undocumented workers in the 12 months before March 2019, and no corporate entities were targeted.

The department, however, emphasizes that the lag time between arrests and prosecutions can make it difficult to draw conclusions from the data.

“Law enforcement operations can take time. ICE has publicly stated that it has initiated worksite audits and inspections at thousands of businesses across the country over the last couple of years,” a spokesperson said. “Oftentimes, those audits and inspections are the beginning of a lengthy process that could potentially lead to criminal charges.”

To be sure, the differences between how laws are enforced against companies versus undocumented individuals are complex.

For companies, employing an undocumented worker is not enough to generate criminal liability. Among other criteria, the hiring of undocumented employees has to be done knowingly, which is complicated by the fact that many undocumented workers present fraudulent documents.

While the process for investigating workers can be swift—often involving sweeps, lineups and mass detentions—the process for employers is more protracted.

“What generally happens is that these employers are issued notices of inspection,” Allen Orr, an attorney who represents companies in immigration matters, said. “It’s a paper chase; it’s not a raid. It’s a long administrative process. The employer gets back a

notice of suspect documents, and then the employer deals with employees on site by dismissing them. If there’s constructive knowledge found by the company, then they are fined heavily.”

Fines appear to be the government’s preferred method of handling violations of immigration labor law by businesses. From 2009 to 2014, the number of fines issued by ICE in civil cases grew by more than 1,200 percent, according to a report from the Congressional Research Service, with hundreds of fines yielding over \$16.2 million in penalties in 2014.

“You usually see large fines” in cases of significant violations, said Orr, “but very rarely do you see people go to jail.”

For Jay Gervasi, a workers’ compensation attorney who frequently represents migrant employees in North Carolina, many of these cases are merely the result of an employer looking the other way when hiring an undocumented worker.

“In the vast majority of cases I’ve handled in which an undocumented worker is injured, the employers are fully aware that everyone there was undocumented,” he said. “They are happy to use the undocumented workers, and sometimes they’re cynical enough to use their undocumented status to thwart their workers’ compensation claims. It does hang over people.”

This awareness, however, may not reach all the way to the top. In many cases, the employee who is aware of a worker’s undocumented status is a lower-level human resources

representative, so broader attempts to prosecute company executives or the corporation are seldom possible.

“The way justice is administered is the same way it’s administered in every other area of law,” Orr said. “The lower-level person, the drug dealer, for example, he goes to jail. The distributor doesn’t go to jail. He gets fined.”

But Bryan Cox, a spokesman for ICE, said the idea the agency doesn’t prioritize cases against employers “could not be more inaccurate.”

“ICE Homeland Security Investigations (HSI) is equally focused in its worksite enforcement efforts on those who unlawfully seek employment as well as the employers who knowingly hire them,” Cox said, highlighting the case of James Brantley, a Tennessee slaughterhouse owner who was sentenced to 18 months in prison in July for hiring undocumented workers and avoiding payroll taxes by paying them cash for 20 years.

Cox also pointed to the prosecution of 72 managers during the 2018 financial year, who were charged with more crimes than those counted by TRAC for knowingly employing undocumented workers. But while worksite arrests, including for being illegally present in the U.S., were multiple times higher last year than in 2017, manager indictments hardly budged.

A former top HSI official, who spoke on the condition of anonymity in order to be candid about his experience, said that immigration enforcement in employment has been lumbering forward for years, enabled by a lack of reform at the federal level.

“It works today the same way that it did under the Bush and Obama administrations,” the immigration official, who worked under both presidents, said. “It doesn’t matter how great your case is. We presented cases to the Department of Justice, and it’s

**“The investment is hardly an act of charity.”**

up to them to take up prosecution. HSI can do the greatest criminal investigation there is, but if it's not meeting the Department of Justice's prosecutorial priorities, then it's going to sit on the back burner."

A current law enforcement official who works with these prosecutors also acknowledged the challenges they face.

"Some federal prosecutors have expressed frustration about the statutory bar required to meet in order to prosecute employers who are intent on evading immigration law," they said.

#### AGRICULTURAL BACKBONE

The disparities and complexities with criminal prosecution are only one part of the puzzle.

As the number of undocumented immigrants living in the U.S. has surged in recent decades—to 10.5 million in 2017, according to the Pew Research Center—federal lawmakers have failed to comprehensively overhaul the immigration system in a way that accounts for those already living and working here without paperwork.

Nearly all of the experts who spoke with *Newsweek*, regardless of inclination towards immigration, described the current system as fundamentally flawed, if not completely broken.

While the system has failed to change around them, employers have felt an acute demand for workers in sectors that involve manual labor, especially agriculture. Just under 22 million full-time and part-time jobs were involved in the agriculture and food business in 2017, totalling 11 percent of all U.S. employment.

"The law of supply and demand generally outweighs the statutory law, and what we're seeing here is that policy-makers and Congress are all perfectly okay with having this black-market system of undocumented labor to keep American business thriving," Jeremy

McKinney, an executive committee member of the American Immigration Lawyers Association, said.

According to a 2018 report prepared for the Department of Labor, 49 percent of all U.S. crop workers in 2015 and 2016 were immigrants who lacked work authorization.

Employment of such workers, who in many cases leave their families and support networks behind, often requires employers to provide basic social services, further entangling them in the lives of their undocumented employees in ways that complicate plausible deniability.

Fifteen percent of farmworkers reported living on property owned or administered by their employer, the same report found. Migrant farmworkers, defined as someone who traveled more than 75 miles to find work, were nearly three times as likely to live in employer-provided housing for free.

"Employers will house them, provide transportation and really facilitate the undocumented workforce's ability to work," the former HSI official said. "They're underpaid, overworked and in many cases deductions are being made from their paychecks so they're left with little disposable income."

But the investment is hardly an act of charity. When asked whether or not undocumented work was part of the business model of agriculture, the official replied, "absolutely."

**"49 percent of all U.S. crop farmworkers in 2015 and 2016 were immigrants who lacked work authorization."**



#### BROKEN SYSTEM, BROKEN PROMISES

McKinney, the immigration lawyer, highlighted the perceived unfairness of a system that seems to entrap employees, but rarely those complicit in their employment.

"All the stakeholders in this system understand that the American immigration system is broken, and they understand that the enforcement side is broken when it comes to workers and employers," McKinney said. "But a lot of times they don't enforce the law against employers, because the view is that, 'Oh, the system doesn't work, the process is too long and the fines are too small.' They come to that conclusion when it comes to employers, and yet they're completely willing to take a broken immigration system and apply it with abandon against workers. I don't understand that."

The former HSI official echoed this sentiment, opining that "many of



**HOLDING PATTERN** ICE raids multiple Mississippi plants on August 7, leading to officers detaining 680 undocumented workers, in the biggest raid in a decade.

with ICE to provide testimony about their employer's potential complicity in exchange for some consideration of lawful status. But many don't view the administration as acting in good faith. In fact, ICE recently revised guidance "to make it easier to deport individuals" who decide to cooperate as victims of crime in other matters, McKinney said.

"These individuals stepped forward to cooperate with the authorities to report a crime, and they're supposed to get protection under the law, and they're not. Why is that?" he asked. "It's because the administration changed. When it comes to employment, we're trying to provide HSI with witnesses, but I've only been able to get one person to come forward because they're afraid that they're going to be coming out of the shadows and putting themselves out there, only to be arrested."

Suspicion and paranoia quickly spread after the latest raids, destabilizing an already fraught situation. McGowan said that people are "hearing rumors about ICE vehicles" on patrol and now residents "are just on high alert."

"There's definitely a concern that more raids will occur soon," McGowan said. "People have expressed that they're sort of living in apprehension all the time. Part of it is just the unknown. That's the biggest thing, the unknown."

But this fear, it seems, is still mainly borne by the immigrant workers who operate the plants and tend the farms. Their employers are able to carry on, buoyed by a long, winding justice system that affords them a due process that can seem elusive to those they once hired. ■

the folks at HSI would say what we've got is not a sufficient deterrent, and I don't think that the current administration thinks so either."

While the government sorts out how to resolve the dueling pressures of the economy and immigration law, undocumented farmworkers who provide an essential service to American consumers are living on edge.

Many immigrants whose family members were swept up in the Mississippi raids are still looking for their loved ones, according to Amelia McGowan, a senior attorney at the Mississippi Center for Justice who helped coordinate legal representation for impacted families.

The raids resurfaced old fears about ICE worksite actions that were triggered most significantly in 2006, when the agency conducted worksite raids of six Swift & Company meat-packing plants in the Midwest, the

largest single worksite immigration operation in U.S. history. The Swift raids, which saw the arrest of nearly 1,300 workers, continue to live in the cultural memory of the immigration community, and came up multiple times in discussions with attorneys about the sustainability of the current system.

Targeted immigrants also have an acute awareness of the one-sidedness of the government's immigration priorities. McGowan said a common refrain was how immigrants were the apparent focus of crackdowns, rather than their bosses.

"A lot of people were saying, 'We've provided support for this company for years, and this is what happens?'" she relayed. "They knew very well that they were the ones who were getting caught up and not the employers."

In some circumstances, victims of employer misconduct can cooperate

# UNDERSTANDING CHINA'S FOREIGN ASSISTANCE POLICY

What makes its help different from developed countries' strings-attached aid By He Rui

By providing various types of foreign assistance, China has become an important contributor to international development. While some say the largest developing country in the world should focus on its own domestic goals rather than international ones, actually, domestic development and external development are two sides of the same coin. No nation can be insulated from the outside world when facing interconnected global development challenges like poverty, unemployment, infectious diseases and terrorism.

As Chinese President Xi Jinping said at the U.N. Office at Geneva in 2017: "China will do well only when the world does well, and vice versa." This is a summary based on the experience of China's economic growth, a development miracle in human history. For more than 40 years, China received support from the international community and experienced rapid development. Now the second-largest economy in the world is upholding peaceful development and cooperation for win-win results, calling for an open, inclusive, clean and beautiful world with lasting

peace, universal security and common prosperity.

## **A Shared Future**

In 2018, Xi put forward his thoughts on diplomacy. They are an important component of China's governance philosophy, as well as a guide for conducting diplomacy in the new era. Going forward, one major task of China's diplomatic work is to build a community with a shared future for humanity through win-win development. Building a community with a shared future is a peaceful, inclusive and integrated vision, combining China's successful experience with the wisdom of the world.

As one important means of major country diplomacy, China's development assistance plays an important role in building a community of shared future. Actually, under the framework of South-South cooperation, China has been committed to foreign assistance for more than 60 years. In 1964, the Chinese government announced the Eight Principles for Economic Aid and Technical Assistance to Other Countries, whose core contents are equality, mutual benefit and no

strings attached, setting the basic principles of China's foreign assistance. After 1978, the foreign assistance transformed from simply providing aid to exploring various mechanisms of mutually beneficial cooperation.

## **Diversified Assistance**

China's foreign assistance doesn't consist of dropping money from a helicopter. There are three major financing modes: grant assistance, interest-free loans and concessional loans. Grant assistance is mainly used for livelihood issues like poverty reduction and emergency humanitarian aid. Interest-free loans go to infrastructure construction in industrial and agricultural areas. Concessional loans are designed for projects that can create economic benefits in the future.

In terms of cooperation, China's foreign assistance comes in eight types to satisfy the needs of different countries: complete projects, common materials, technical cooperation, human resources development, medical teams, emergency humanitarian aid, foreign assistance volunteers and debt relief.

To follow through on the promise of building a community with a shared future, China's foreign assistance focuses on effective development. Imbalance in development is the greatest imbalance confronting today's world, which threatens the developing world, including China. If balanced and sustainable development cannot be ensured in other countries, China can hardly deepen the reform and opening-up policy in the new era, since the Chinese economy relies on the global value chain. Poverty and infrastructure deficit are the two major bottlenecks in many developing countries, blocking their capabilities to attract foreign capital, create jobs, improve people's livelihood and accelerate industrial transfers.

Appropriate foreign assistance can enhance development-oriented approach in two ways. In the short term, humanitarian assistance can provide basic and necessary remedies to individuals from various disasters and catastrophes, enhancing social stability and resilience. For example, in 2014-'15, when West Africa faced an outbreak of Ebola,

more than 1,000 Chinese medical workers went to the areas affected to offer medical help. The Chinese government also provided emergency assistance worth 750 million yuan (\$109 million) to the infected region to combat the virus. Only when people's life and property are guaranteed can they begin to think about development.

In the long term, development assistance, especially for infrastructure construction, can strengthen developing countries' vital functions. For example, in 2016, China completed the Aba Samuel hydropower plant and handed it over to Ethiopia. Ethiopia's oldest power plant had gone online in 1941 but then sat idle since the 1970s due to technical problems. In 2012, China signed a contract to repair it, and today the plant has resumed operation, providing power as well as jobs and promoting the business environment for both local people and foreign investors.

### From Giving to Partnering

Compared with the international aid regime led by developed countries, China's foreign assistance has some advantages welcomed by developing countries. First, as a developing country that led 800 million people out of poverty in the past four decades, China knows better the difficulties, traps and challenges faced by developing countries when they try to industrialize. As a reliable friend and partner of other developing countries, China emphasizes the



**Zambian President Edgar Chagwa Lungu attends the ground-breaking ceremony of a China-assisted milling plant project in Lusaka on April 17**

XINHUA

importance of investment in infrastructure construction, human resources training and technology transfer because these things are the necessary conditions of development. China has learned it in the past 40 years.

Second, China would like to share both successful experiences and lessons with other developing countries in an equal way when providing assistance. It prefers to work together with the recipient countries rather than "help" them. Also, it neither interferes in other countries' internal affairs nor gives conditional assistance. The foreign assistance is part of South-South cooperation, seeking to narrow the North-South gap and supporting other developing countries in enhancing their capacity for

self-development.

At the same time, China would also like to learn from other countries. The assistance agenda is flexible and inclusive, ready to absorb opinions and suggestions from partners, as well as the international community.

Beyond the South-South cooperation, China's foreign assistance also supports the reform of global governance. The concept of building a community with a shared future has been written into several important U.N. resolutions related to peace, development and human right issues, becoming a global consensus. China's foreign assistance is a window through which the world can know China's vision. Swayed by this, more

multilateral institutions, developed countries and international NGOs have started to cooperate with China, working together in global governance.

To build a community with a shared future for humanity, Xi said in his speech in Geneva that China must uphold the right approach to justice and interests in diplomatic work, which requires speaking up for justice politically, pursuing mutual benefit and common development economically, and acting in good faith and valuing friendship in international affairs. This is also the principle of China's foreign aid.

The author is an assistant research fellow at the China Institute of International Studies

Comments to [yulintao@bjreview.com](mailto:yulintao@bjreview.com)



Iran's opposition groups  
are preparing for the regime's collapse.  
Is anyone ready?



# BRACING FOR

# THE FALL

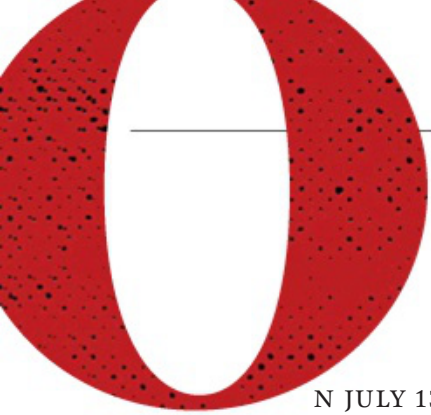
by  
**JONATHAN  
BRODER**

Image  
by  
**GLUEKIT**



RAJAVI: ZAKARIA ABDELKAFI/AFP/GETTY

**MEK CALLING**  
Opposition leader  
Maryam Rajavi holding  
Iran's prerevolutionary  
flag at the annual Free  
Iran conference in 2018.



ON JULY 13, PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP'S PERSONAL lawyer, Rudi Giuliani, addressed an Iranian opposition group called the Mujahedin e-Khalq (MEK) at the group's tightly guarded encampment in rural Albania, where some 3,400 members have been preparing for the overthrow of the clerical regime in Tehran.

Calling the MEK Iran's "government-in-exile," Giuliani assured MEK members that the Trump administration regards the group as an acceptable replacement for the current regime. "It gives us confidence that if we make those efforts to overthrow that horrible regime, sooner rather than later, we will not only save lives but we will be able to entrust the transition of Iran to a very responsible group of people," the former New York City mayor told his cheering audience.

Like other former U.S. officials, Giuliani has been a frequent—and highly paid speaker—at MEK events over the past several years. So has John Bolton, Trump's hawkish national security adviser, who has earned \$180,000 from his MEK speeches according to Joanne Stocker, an editor at *The Defense Post* and an expert on the MEK. Bolton stopped addressing the group last year when he took up his White House post, which precludes such appearances. But in his last speech to the MEK at a Paris rally in 2017, Bolton enthusiastically endorsed the group's claim to be the most attractive alternative to the Iranian regime. "There is a viable opposition to the rule of the ayatollahs and that opposition is centered in this room today," Bolton said. His financial disclosure showed he earned \$40,000 for that speech.

The MEK, whose name means the "People's Holy Warriors," is the oldest, best organized and best known of several Iranian opposition movements waiting in the wings. But there are others. One group are the monarchists, led by the son of the deposed shah, Crown Prince Reza Pahlavi, who hopes to coordinate the different opposition groups and create a provisional government until democratic elections can be held. There are also several armed groups representing Iran's oppressed ethnic and religious minorities, who favor a federal-style government that will give their regions greater autonomy.

Earlier this year, the Trump administration said it would not rule out the MEK as a viable replacement for the current regime. But at the same time, senior officials also stress that Trump is not seeking regime change. Instead, these officials say, the administration is focusing on Trump's campaign of economic sanctions against Iran aimed at forcing the regime to negotiate what U.S. officials call "behavioral changes." They include a verifiable end to Iran's nuclear weapons program, a halt to its ballistic missile development and a stop to its support for proxy militias in Lebanon, Syria, Iraq and Yemen that have expanded Iran's influence throughout the Middle East. Iran has rejected the administration's demands, describing them as tantamount to regime change.

Regime change or no regime change, the opposition groups remain deeply divided, which undermines their chances of ever taking power, Iran experts say. Over the years, several opposition

### FREEDOM FIGHTING?

From bottom: U.S. National Security Advisor John Bolton, who has been paid for his MEK speeches; a protest in Paris of Iran's 40th Anniversary of the Islamic Revolution; President Trump's lawyer Rudy Giuliani with MEK leader Maryam Rajavi in 2018; and MEK headquarters in Albania.



FROM TOP: SIAVOSH HOSSEINI/NURPHOTO/GETTY; SIAVOSH HOSSEINI/NURPHOTO/GETTY; ALAIN JOCARD/AFP/GETTY; MARK WILSON/GETTY



### The Mystery of the MEK

THE MEK HAS BEEN THE LEADING OPPOSITION VOICE AGAINST THE Islamic Republic for years. For the past decade, MEK leaders and their supporters have presented the group as a secular, democratic and nonviolent organization with widespread popular support inside Iran.

It is also the most controversial group. Many former U.S. officials and Iran experts question the MEK's democratic credentials, as well as the depth of its support base inside Iran. Indeed, virtually every claim made by the MEK draws denials and counter-narratives.

Founded in 1965 by Iranian students who opposed the U.S.-installed monarchy of Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, the MEK espoused an odd hybrid of Marxism and Islam. It was the first opposition group to take up arms against the shah and his supporters in the west. In the 1970s, according to U.S. intelligence, the MEK assassinated three U.S. Army colonels, murdered another three American contractors and bombed the facilities of numerous U.S. companies, earn-

groups have tried repeatedly to form a united front against Tehran, but their attempts have failed because of clashing histories, agendas and personalities.

Opposition to Iran's clerical regime, in the form of street protests and armed attacks on government officials and installations, has been around since the country's 1979 Islamic revolution. But something is different now. What distinguishes the most recent protests from those that erupted in 2009, 2017 and 2018 are both the severity of Iran's economic woes and the regime's reluctance to crack down hard on the demonstrators for fear of sparking another revolution. "These days, they're cautious," Abdullah Mohtadi, the leader of the Iranian Kurdish Komala Party, one of the country's principal ethnic opposition groups, told *Newsweek*. "They know how fragile the system is."

Administration officials say that Iran's leaders can either negotiate the behavioral changes Trump is demanding or watch their country's economy crumble. Eventually, they insist, the Iranian regime will bend to the president's will. So far, Iran continues to defy Trump with a campaign of threats and harassment against shipping in the Persian Gulf that has drawn U.S. and British naval and air reinforcements to the region. Meanwhile, a recent Swiss intelligence assessment reportedly says Iranian leaders will wait out the U.S. elections in November 2020 in the hope Trump is defeated—and a Democratic administration lifts the sanctions under a return to the 2015 nuclear deal.

Still, many analysts say the current tensions could easily escalate into an armed conflict and the collapse of the Tehran regime. That prospect has raised the question of what kind of Iranian government might come next. And that conversation inevitably turns to Iran's opposition groups.

**SOONER RATHER THAN LATER,  
WE WILL NOT ONLY **SAVE LIVES**  
BUT WE WILL BE ABLE TO ENTRUST  
THE **TRANSITION** OF IRAN TO A VERY  
RESPONSIBLE GROUP OF PEOPLE.**

ing it a place on Washington's list of foreign terrorist organizations.

The MEK also backed Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, who led the Islamic revolution that deposed the shah in 1979. The group supported the takeover of the U.S. embassy, but it broke with Khomeini over his decision to release the American hostages. In 1981, after launching an abortive uprising against the Khomeini regime, the MEK was forced underground while its top leaders, the husband and wife team of Massoud and Maryam Rajavi, fled to Paris to avoid arrest.

But the Iraq-Iran war, which had begun in 1980, provided the MEK with another opportunity to fight the regime. The group aligned with Saddam Hussein and sent some 7,000 MEK members to Iraq for military training. Equipped by Saddam, the MEK fought numerous battles against Iranian forces during the war. In 1988, the group launched an armored invasion to topple the regime but suffered a major defeat, losing more than 3,000 soldiers. The invasion also prompted Iran to execute thousands of MEK political prisoners. Once the war ended later that year, Saddam prevented the group from conducting further cross-border attacks.

Many independent scholars say the MEK's alliance with Saddam in that long and bloody war turned the group into traitors in the eyes of most Iranians. In the 1990s, the Rajavis instituted



**HARD TIMES**  
From left: Freed U.S. hostages in Germany in 1981; (top) suspected supporters of MEK rounded up in 1982 in Tehran; Iraq's Saddam Hussein (right) in 1986, with Iran resistance chief Massoud Rajavi; and MEK leader Rajavi paying tribute to people killed in the attack at a refugee camp in Achraf in Iraq in 2013.



a number of cult-like measures to prevent defections. According to a 2005 Human Rights Watch report based on interviews with several defectors, members were required, among other things, to divorce their spouses and send their children abroad for adoption, lest family obligations divert their attention from the struggle against the Islamic Republic.

After U.S. forces toppled Saddam and occupied Iraq in 2003, they disarmed the MEK and placed its remaining 3,400 MEK members under U.S. protection. That same year, Massoud Rajavi mysteriously disappeared, and Maryam assumed sole leadership of the group.

In 2009, she launched a multi-million-dollar campaign from her Paris headquarters to get the MEK removed from Washington's terrorist list. Despite its official status as a foreign terrorist organization, the MEK operated openly in Washington from offices in the National Press Club, warmly embraced by Iran hawks. The group hosted lavish receptions on Capitol Hill and began paying as much as \$50,000 to prominent U.S. political and military figures to deliver speeches that stressed what the group said was its commitment to a secular, democratic Iran.

In addition to Bolton and Giuliani, the list of the MEK's paid speakers included former White House Chief of Staff Andrew Card, former national security adviser Gen. James Jones, former White House terrorism adviser Fran Townsend, former Attorney General Michael Mukasey, former Homeland Security Secretary Tom Ridge, former FBI director Louis Freeh, former CIA Director Porter Goss, former deputy CIA Director John Sano, former

Joint Chiefs Chairman Gen. Richard Myers, Gen. Wesley Clark, Gen. Anthony Zinni, former Vermont Gov. Howard Dean, former Pennsylvania Gov. Ed Rendell, former senators Robert Torricelli and Evan Bayh, and Reps. John Lewis and Patrick Kennedy, among others.

"Some people do it just for the money; others do it because they hate the Islamic Republic of Iran," said Barbara Slavin, who heads the Future of Iran project at the Atlantic Council, a foreign policy think tank in Washington. "They embrace the old adage that the enemy of my enemy is my friend, and they know this is a group that gives Iran heartburn. To top it off, they pay well."

The question of how the MEK could afford such generous speaking fees was partially answered when *Newsweek* first reported that the post-war search for Iraq's alleged weapons of mass destruction uncovered documents showing Saddam Hussein had given the group vouchers for the sale of more than 38 million barrels of oil to overseas middlemen for the four years preceding the U.S. invasion. A report by Charles Duelfer, the chief U.S. weapons inspector, estimated the MEK earned as much as \$16 million from the sales of the vouchers. (After Saddam's fall, many experts have speculated that Saudi Arabia, Iran's arch rival, took over funding for the group.)

Meanwhile, the MEK became known as a valuable intelligence asset. In 2002, the MEK was credited with exposing Iran's then-secret uranium enrichment plant at Natanz, which led to United Nations inspections. Over a five-year period starting in 2007, MEK assassins—financed, trained and armed by Israel's



## SOME PEOPLE DO IT JUST FOR THE **MONEY**; OTHERS DO IT BECAUSE THEY **HATE** THE ISLAMIC REPUBLIC OF IRAN.

Mossad intelligence service—killed a half dozen Iranian nuclear scientists, U.S. officials told NBC News.

In 2011, pro-Iranian militias in Iraq killed some 140 MEK members and deeply embarrassed the U.S. military, which was responsible for their protection. To prevent further slaughter, then-Secretary of State Hillary Clinton took the group off the terrorist list in 2012, a move that paved the way for the evacuation of Camp Ashraf's MEK members to Albania.

But had anything really changed?

Daniel Benjamin, the State Department coordinator for counterterrorism at the time, told *Newsweek* the delisting was done “at the discretion of the secretary out of humanitarian concern because no country would take them otherwise, and not because of any changed thinking within the MEK. We simply didn’t want any more blood on our hands.”

“The MEK has done a great job in gussing themselves up as democrats,” said Benjamin, now director of The Dickey Center for International Understanding at Dartmouth College. “They talk

the talk, but there’s no evidence whatsoever that they’ve changed in any way. And there is zero question about their support inside Iran itself—they have no statistically significant group of supporters in Iran.”

Officials of the MEK and its political arm, the National Council of Resistance of Iran (NCRI), vehemently deny this version of the group’s history, including any

responsibility for the assassination of Americans.

“The Iranian regime has been engaged in this misinformation campaign for four decades,” Ali Safavi, director of the group’s Washington office told *Newsweek*. “They have invested huge sums of money in it and developed a sophisticated network of talking heads and lobbies in the U.S. and Europe to demonize the Iranian opposition as having no support inside Iran and being undemocratic.”

Today, he said, the NCRI “brings together several different groups and about 500 well-known opposition personalities who are committed to the establishment of democratic, secular and non-nuclear republic.” Its funding, he says, comes solely from wealthy members of the Iranian diaspora community.

But other opposition groups say the MEK has rebuffed their overtures for coordination. “They’re deaf to any proposals other than their own beliefs,” said the leader of one opposition group, who spoke on condition of anonymity to discuss sensitive opposition politics.



Calligraphic text in white on a dark background, likely a religious or political slogan.



وَمَا كُنَّا بِمُعْجِزِينَ لَهُ

**WAR READY?**

Iran's religious leader Ayatollah Ali Khamenei addresses Iran Air Force officers and personnel in Tehran last February.







land a monarchist force on Iran's Kish island in the Persian Gulf with U.S. naval and air support. Pahlavi's first question allegedly focused on the exit strategy.

But since late last year, Pahlavi has set out to raise his profile by meeting with think tanks to explain the role he could play as the regime's disparate opposition groups prepare for its downfall. Pahlavi says he sees himself as a figurehead who can guide those groups in producing a common plan for a political transition. He already has taken a step in that direction with his Phoenix Project, an effort to bring together exiled Iranian scientists, scholars and experts to address the problems any democratic successor government in Iran will face. He has said he had no personal ambition to rule Iran.

Pahlavi's supporters include several monarchist groups made up of Iranian exiles in the United States and Europe, as well as an unknown number in Iran, some of whom called for a return of the monarchy during anti-government demonstrations in 2017.

Over the past few years, several Europe-based TV stations have been broadcasting pro-monarchy programs into Iran in an effort to create a mood of pre-revolution nostalgia. But Pahlavi remains unpopular among Iran's ethnic minorities, who haven't forgotten the monarchy's Persian chauvinism. And some Iranian American

cans have urged the crown prince to distance himself from his late father's authoritarian rule as a prerequisite for any leadership role.

Patrick Clawson, the Washington Institute's director of research, suggested Pahlavi would prefer a role as a ceremonial monarch with no responsibility for governing along the lines of Britain's constitutional monarchy. "He wants to be Queen Elizabeth," Clawson told the Atlantic Council's Slavin.

**WHAT IS CERTAIN IS THAT THIS REGIME WILL COLLAPSE SOONER OR LATER. WE WANT TO AVOID THE BREAK-UP OF THE COUNTRY INTO DIFFERENT ETHNIC REGIONS.**

### A Royal Figurehead Emerges

AS THE TRUMP ADMINISTRATION TIGHTENS THE ECONOMIC SCREWS on the Islamic Republic, Crown Prince Reza Pahlavi has been speaking out against the regime in Tehran and calling for opponents to band together under his leadership and vision for a democratic Iran.

Pahlavi, 58, was only 17 when the Iranian revolution drove his family into exile. But over the past four decades, he has kept a close watch on developments in Iran, where he says discontent with government corruption and economic mismanagement has brought the regime to the brink of collapse. "The atmosphere [in Iran] seems to be close to a flash point," he told Radio Farda, the U.S. government's Persian-language broadcast service, in February.

But though Pahlavi lives just outside Washington, he's been an unfamiliar figure in foreign policy circles. Critics have said he lacks charisma and resolve. In 1980, he issued a proclamation declaring himself shah but later retracted it. In the 1980s, U.S. intelligence reportedly approached Pahlavi with a proposal to

### The Fight On The Periphery

AMONG ALL THE IRANIAN OPPOSITION GROUPS, THE ONES THAT ARE doing the most actual fighting against the regime are those representing the country's ethnic and religious minorities—Kurds and Azeris in the northwest, Arabs in the southwest, and Balochis in the southeast, all of whom demand autonomy for their regions.

According to Naysan Rafat, an Iran expert at the International Crisis Group, these groups have been conducting frequent but small-scale attacks on government targets since the revolution. The government portrays them as terrorists, supported by regional rivals.

For the past few years, Iranian Kurdistan's Komala Party has taken the lead in trying to unify these different groups behind the idea of replacing Iran's clerical regime with a decentralized federal government

**FIGHTING BACK**  
Former Crown Prince Reza Pahlavi (upper left) hopes to unite all of Iran's opposition groups; members of an Iranian Kurdish group during a military exercise in 2017.

whose constitution will safeguard the rights of the country's ethnic minorities.

"What is certain is that this regime will collapse sooner or later," the Komala Party's Mohtadi said. "We want to avoid the possibility that a collapse will lead to the break-up of the country into different ethnic regions."

Mohtadi is urging the Trump administration to establish contact with the opposition groups to plan for what comes next. Without such preparations, he warned, the regime's collapse could be followed by a seizure of power by Iran's Revolutionary Guards—or the country's disintegration into chaos. "The Trump administration has pressured the Iranian regime economically and politically," Mohtadi allowed, "but in terms of reaching out to the Iranian opposition, I haven't seen anything serious."

### Waiting For A Spark

IN FACT, THE TRUMP ADMINISTRATION HAS NOT MET WITH ANY Iranian opposition figures, deliberately distancing itself from the groups for now. "The future of Iran will be decided by the Iranian people," Brian Hook, the administration's special representative for Iran, told *Newsweek* in an interview. "We do not

pick winners and losers on that issue."

Of course, that could change overnight. White House aides say Bolton is still trying to convince the president to adopt an explicit policy of regime change in Iran, which would increase the value of opposition groups. Analysts say that is particularly the case for the MEK, given the group's organization, funding and high visibility in Washington.

Some supporters believe the MEK already has moved to the head of the line with the administration's decision not to rule out the group as a viable alternative to the regime in Tehran.

But for now, Trump's economic sanctions remain the principal element of his Iran policy. "If we want to get to a point where Iran's proxies are weaker and the regime doesn't have the resources that it needs to destabilize the Middle East, it will require economic pressure," Hook said. "There is no other way to accomplish that goal."

For the Iranian opposition groups, this state of no peace—and no war—means that there is no leadership vacuum in Iran to fill. And as the tensions between Tehran and Washington continue to simmer, all these groups can hope for is a spark that will finally put Iran's political future in play.

Will they—and Washington—be ready? **N**



# High



ON THE

Until recently **CANNABIDIOL** was an obscure extract of a cousin of the marijuana plant. Now CBD is everybody's favorite cure for whatever ails them. Scientists are rushing to figure out whether it's snake oil or **MIRACLE DRUG**



**A GARDEN OF GRASS**  
CBD, which comes from hemp, doesn't make you high. But many people use it for sleep, pain, anxiety and other health issues. It comes in oils, lotions, "vape" cartridges, smokable "flower" and candy. Medical science is just starting to catch up.

# Hype

FROM LEFT: MAREN CARUSO/GETTY; THOMAS VOGEL/GETTY

BY DAVID H. FREEDMAN



**J**ONATHAN DUCE ENTERED DION'S, his neighborhood liquor store in Waltham, Massachusetts, walked past the wine and six-packs and headed straight for the gummy worms. At \$69 for a jar of 25, they were more expensive than the Chateaufeuf du Pape, but he didn't mind. His wife likes them, he says, because they help her sleep.

The gummies aren't just candy. Each one packs a 30-milligram wallop of cannabidiol, or CBD, a constituent of the cannabis plant, more commonly known as hemp, a cousin of marijuana. Dion's started selling CBD products four months ago and now one in every 15 people who walk in buys at least one of the store's 30 CBD products, which include tinctures, vaping cartridges, smokable "flower," capsules and lotions. "But gummies are our biggest mover," says Kristen Correia, who works behind the counter.

Duce, 54, prefers rubbing salve on his neck to relieve the stress of work. "We discovered CBD at a farmer's market a few months ago," he says. "Instead of taking a prescription drug, I'd rather take something like this that comes from a plant."

Mass-market retailers like CVS, Walgreens and Krogers have already signed up to carry CBD products with Walmart said to be close behind them. CBD candies and other products have been widely available online and in tens of thousands of small stores across most states; and the entrance of large retailers is about to pour gas on that fire. Big Food and Beverage lurks in the wings with its own plans to inundate the world with CBD ice cream and beer. The Brightfield Group, a market research firm, projects that CBD annual sales in the U.S., now at \$600 million, will grow by a factor of 40 to \$23 billion by 2023.

Hardly anyone had heard of CBD three years ago, but now two-thirds of Americans are familiar with it, according to a recent Gallup survey. One in seven Americans use it as an over-the-counter treatment for pain, anxiety and sleep problems. They have also turned to CBD for depression, muscle spasms, digestive issues and skin ailments. One in three pet owners give it to their dogs and cats, says a survey by market-research firm Packaged Facts. It's also been touted as a treatment for cancer, Alzheimer's disease and Parkinson's disease. One medical clinic reported that CBD relieved 90 percent of all symptoms in all

**PEOPLE'S CHOICE**

Millions of people now use CBD to treat themselves, their children or their pets. So far, the FDA has approved CBD only for two forms of epilepsy, but the substance is widely considered to be safe. Clockwise from left: an acai berry drink laced with CBD is served at the Europe CBD Expo in July; Samantha Brown's daughter Kaylee, 5, depends on a cannabis oil to manage seizures; each morning, Brett Hartmann squirts a tincture into the mouth of his dog, Cayley, a six-year-old-Labrador Retriever, to treat hip pain and anxiety.

FROM TOP: SIMON DAWSON/BLOOMBERG/GETTY; DEREK DAVIS/PORTLAND PRESS HERALD/GETTY; ROBYN BECK/AFP/GETTY

**“Cannabinoid therapeutics is a completely **NEW FRONTIER**. We’re just where antibiotics were in the 1930s.”**



its patients.

“Consumers are participating in one of the largest uncontrolled clinical trials in history, and no one really knows what it is they’re taking,” says Pal Pacher, an investigator at the National Institutes of

Health and president of the International Cannabinoid Research Society. “It’s scary.”

Trouble is, almost all of the claims are currently unsubstantiated. Clinical trials have failed to produce convincing evidence that CBD works on anything other than rare epilepsies, the sole treatment licensed by the U.S. Food and Drug Administration. The agency, in fact, forbids companies from attributing any other health benefits to the substance. (It reprimanded Curaleaf, a startup, for making unsubstantiated claims about cancer and other diseases.)

“As far as we know, this may all be mostly a placebo effect,” says Pacher. “Everybody is being sucked into the big hype.”

The one thing scientists know about CBD is that it’s reasonably safe. There is solid data supporting the notion that it does no harm. “There are no credible issues with toxicity, and most people tolerate it quite well,” says Michael Tagen, a pharmacology researcher who consults for pharmaceutical companies about cannabis-related neuroscience.

Beyond safety, science doesn’t tell us much one way or the other. But that leaves open the possibility that CBD does some good and that at least some of the claims that people make about its restorative powers are true. Many scientists, in fact, think that further testing will uncover additional benefits—but which ones, if any, remain to be seen.

Europe and Israel have gotten a big head start on CBD research due to long standing legal restrictions in the U.S., but American scientists are rushing to catch up. In the meantime, says Tagen, “People should feel free to try CBD and see if it works for them.”

### **What’s it good for?**

EVERYONE SEEMS TO KNOW SOMEONE WHO RAVES about what CBD has done for them. Words like “miraculous” appear frequently in media reviews. Aside from anecdotes, there is some scientific evidence that CBD has benefits beyond epilepsy. These come mainly from observational studies, which track improvements after patients take CBD. Many people

show improvements with sleep, anxiety, digestive problems and a variety of aches and pains. Such studies lack the controlled comparisons to a placebo or other treatment, which is critical to getting a drug approved. But they are still considered scientific evidence, if of a weaker sort, and often establish promise for drugs long before clinical trials can confirm it.

While the animal and human observational evidence supports CBD's potential effectiveness for many conditions, the picture is far from clear. Consider CBD's impact on sleep and anxiety. A study from the University of Colorado Denver published earlier this year followed 103 patients with a mix of sleep and anxiety problems over three months of CBD treatment, finding that on average, CBD helped with anxiety, but sleep benefits faded after a month, possibly because the brain builds up a tolerance. And yet a similar patient study found the mirror opposite: that CBD gave sustained benefits on sleep but not anxiety. Rodent studies, too, go back and forth on the same questions.

This sort of hit-or-miss evidence has also been turning up for CBD's ability to fight the "inflammation" caused when the body's immune system attacks healthy cells. Inflammation is considered a cause or symptom of a wide range of ailments, including allergies, heart disease and illnesses of the gut. "Most major diseases are inflammatory, and

**"We discovered CBD at a farmer's market a few months ago. Instead of taking a prescription drug, I'd rather take something like this that COMES FROM A PLANT."**

that alone would make CBD useful," says Maurizio Bifulco, a professor and CBD researcher at the University of Naples Federico II Medical School in Italy.

Likewise, research indicates that CBD may—or may not—be helpful for psychosis, opioid withdrawal, arthritis, antibiotic-resistant infections, non-Parkinson's tremors, Alzheimer's disease, multiple sclerosis, tissue rejection after transplants, the side effects of cancer chemotherapy and even for several types of cancer itself, including the most aggressive and untreatable form of brain cancer.

(Oddly enough, the property that wins CBD the most praise from users—pain relief—is one of the most weakly supported, with CBD often failing to provide much benefit in studies.)

Scientists are not deterred by this conflicting data. Many new drugs get mixed results in tests—even Tylenol, a proven pain reliever for millions of people, comes up short in some trials. The clinical trials on

CBD that have been done so far could have been flawed in ways that missed some of its healing properties. Hundreds of new trials now getting underway may do a better job of zeroing in them. "We really don't know what to measure in patients right now," Pacher says. "I do think in the longer

term we'll figure that out and see some positive results in clinical trials."

What impresses researchers most about CBD is that it offers at least a hint of effectiveness against such a wide range of often serious and hard-to-treat conditions without providing a corresponding hint of the problematic and sometimes dangerous side effects that hang over virtually all other drugs. (See "What We Now Know About CBD Treatments," facing page.) Of those who use CBD oil, 40 percent take it daily, according to Paul Norman, CEO of Heavenly



#### BUDDING DRUG

The lack of proof that CBD is more effective than placebo doesn't deter scientists. They are encouraged by hints that CBD is effective against a broad range of diseases and conditions. Many patients seem to be using CBD in place of riskier prescription medications. New trials may clarify CBD's effectiveness. Above: Citiva, Brooklyn's first medical marijuana dispensary, which opened recently.

## WHAT WE KNOW NOW ABOUT CBD TREATMENTS

>> Some researchers and physicians suspect CBD may be effective as a drug for one or more conditions, while others remain skeptical. But they all agree that more research is needed. Here's a snapshot of what the research says.

**EPILEPSY** Evidence is strong that CBD can reduce the number and severity of seizures in two specific types of epilepsy—Lennox-Gastaut syndrome and Dravet syndrome. These conditions are the only ones for which CBD is approved as a treatment by the FDA; the evidence was confirmed in randomized controlled trials (RCTs)—widely considered the most reliable form of scientific testing. Other epilepsies are under study.

**PAIN** Though patients widely claim pain relief, the evidence from both animal and human studies is mixed. RCTs have not found it to work much better than placebos for most types of pain. Still, pain is a complex phenomenon that comes in different guises, such as chronic pain, nerve pain and pain from specific diseases. Research suggests that CBD may prove more effective against some kinds of pain than others, but the jury is out.

**SLEEP** Several studies, including RCTs, have supported the claim that CBD promotes better sleep. Other results suggest the benefit may be temporary, lasting only about a month on average.

**ANXIETY** There is fairly strong, if not entirely consistent, evidence that CBD can reduce anxiety, including one RCT. The substance may even be helpful in reducing anxiety when used in conjunction with THC, the main psychoactive ingredient in marijuana. That's potentially important because THC is believed by many researchers to be the more promising drug, if its psychoactive effects can be made tolerable.



**SCHIZOPHRENIA** A few human studies have shown some reduction of symptoms such as hallucinations in patients with schizophrenia, but others have not.

**AUTISM** Contrary to early claims, the evidence so far suggests CBD is not helpful.

**ADDICTION** There's good evidence that CBD can reduce cravings, pain and discomfort related to withdrawal from opioids, but no convincing RCTs yet.

**CROHN'S DISEASE** Along with other forms of "inflammatory bowel disease," which together affect 3 million Americans, Crohn's leads to serious digestive symptoms. Less rigorous studies have shown CBD can help, but an RCT did not.

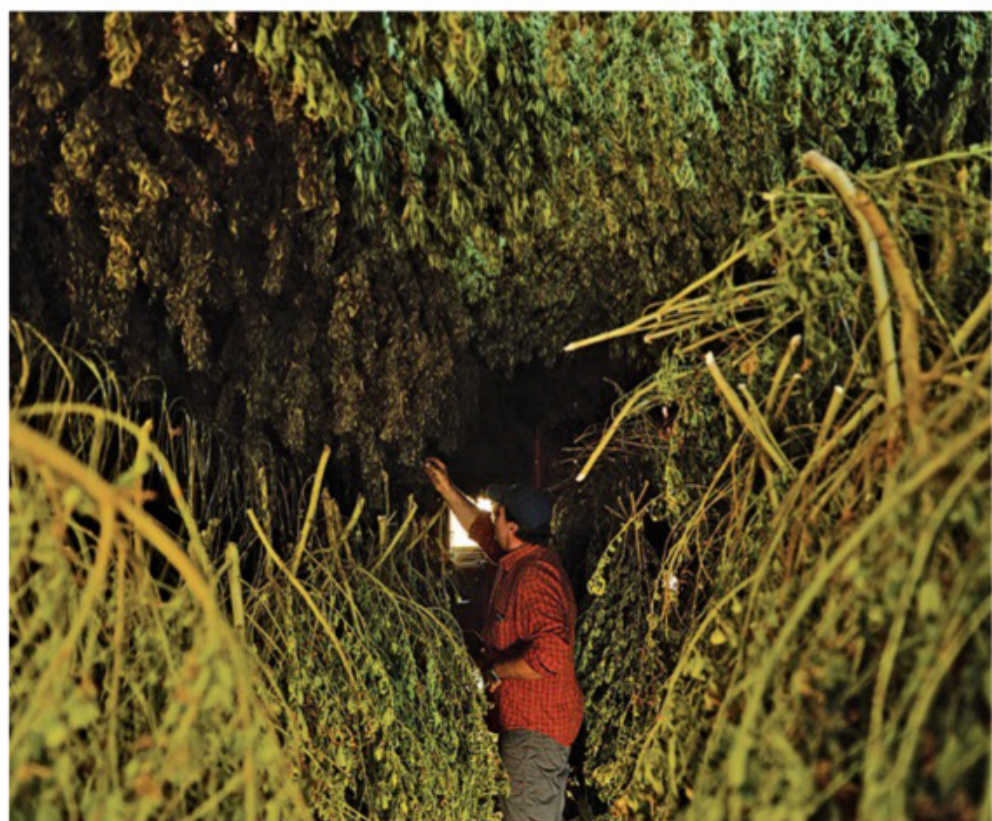
**ARTHRITIS** There is some evidence from animal and less-rigorous human studies that CBD can reduce arthritis pain and inflammation. But RCT evidence is lacking.

**MULTIPLE SCLEROSIS** There has been enough evidence from human studies, including RCTs, to lead European countries—but not the U.S.—to approve the use of a mix of CBD and THC to ease symptoms. CBD has shown some promise on its own in a few non-rigorous studies.

**PARKINSON'S** Animal studies have been encouraging, but results from human studies have been mixed. RCTs so far have found no or limited benefit to some symptoms.

**NAUSEA** There is some evidence that CBD can help with nausea, particularly for chemotherapy patients (though no RCTs). But THC is considered a far superior drug for that purpose and its use is backed by a wealth of evidence—it's one of only two uses of THC approved by the FDA. (The other is for appetite stimulation in seriously ill patients.) Some patients seem to do better with a combination of THC and CBD. **N**





Rx, a major producer of CBD products. A survey by *Consumer Reports* earlier this year that found 22 percent of CBD users are using it as a substitute for prescription medications.

### Industry Rushes In

A MORE RELAXED REGULATORY ENVIRONMENT HAS helped set the stage for the CBD boom. Although the hemp plant includes only trace amounts of THC, it is a close cousin to marijuana. (CBD can also come from marijuana plants in which the THC has been bred out or extracted.) While there are still occasional stories of CBD busts and seizures at hemp farms, mom-and-pop stores and airports, they are rapidly vanishing. That's due to public outrage over any effort to suppress what's increasingly seen as a beneficial and harmless substance and to federal and state efforts to spell out CBD's legality.

states as Kroger starts hawking the company's products. Heavenly Rx, another major player, brought in CEO Norman from Kellogg, where he ran the company's \$9 billion North American business. "The CBD industry's future is in mainstream distribution," says Norman, adding that he thinks as much as two-thirds of all CBD products will be sold in big stores by 2022.

The boom will be even bigger when CBD starts getting infused into major consumer products, such as cosmetics. Most of the stuff is currently sold as tinctures and capsules, but consumers have also taken to slathering it on their skin. Most of the leading CBD manufacturers have started selling a range of lotions and balms and major cosmetics retailer Sephora has taken on topical CBD products from Estée Lauder and other companies.

Soon consumers may be getting CBD with almost anything they put in their mouths. "Global food, bev-

**"Some of these companies have ZERO SCIENCE behind what they're doing. The quality control and regulatory oversight for CBD is not much beyond what it is for SNICKERS BARS."**

### POT JUGGERNAUT

Businesses, undeterred by conflicting results in clinical trials, are ramping up to meet a growing demand. Clockwise from top left: Curaleaf, with more than two-dozen stores in 12 states, was recently valued at about \$4 billion; Wild Folk Farm in Benton, Maine, grows hundreds of cloned organic hemp plants; acetaminophen, the active ingredient in Tylenol, comes up short on some clinical trials even though it is considered an effective pain reliever; a hemp farm owned by CBD Rx in Longmont, Colorado; cannabinoid extracts have been approved in Thailand; hemp clones at Wild Folk Farm are prepared for planting.

It helped, too, that the 2018 Farm Bill passed by Congress protected hemp growers, processors and sellers from federal or state prosecution, with reasonable qualifications such as keeping THC levels below 0.3 percent of the dry weight of the product. "There are still FDA restrictions," notes Brandon Beatty, CEO of Bluebird Botanicals, one of the better-known purveyors of CBD, with 2018 sales of \$14 million. "But at least there's no risk now from the Drug Enforcement Administration."

With consumers going all in and the government backing off, the business world has stepped up to meet demand. Bluebird's 2018 sales were more than double its 2017 figures and the company says it's on track to more than double sales this year, too. That's typical for the industry. Veritas Farms, another major player and a publicly traded company, has also doubled revenues annually for the last two years and turned in first-quarter revenues this year of more than \$1.5 million, nearly four times higher than the same quarter last year.

Big retail's entry will keep that streak going. Veritas is already in 950 stores, including CVS and Rite Aid, and expects to reach 1,350 stores this year across 22

erage and tobacco companies are just treading water waiting for the FDA to allow them to add CBD," says Brady Cobb, CEO of SOL Global Investments, a cannabis-focused investment firm that owns 45 percent of Heavenly Rx. "When that happens, they're going to plunge in head first." Among the companies that have reportedly already made plans to bring out CBD-infused products are Coca-Cola, Molson Coors Brewing and American Premium Water. Heavenly Rx has invested in craft soda maker Jones Soda, with the intention of eventually bringing out CBD versions. It's also acquired a line of protein bars for the same reason. "CBD can help with recovery after a yoga workout," explains Norman—a claim many users would endorse, though no study has clearly proven that CBD aids in workout recovery.

### What's in the bottle?

WITH CBD PRODUCTS, IT'S HARD TO BE SURE WHAT you're getting. THC aside, most companies boast of offering "broad spectrum" or "full spectrum" CBD products, which means other ingredients from hemp plants end up in the mix besides CBD. There are in fact hundreds of compounds in hemp falling into a

WHERE  
DOES  
CBD  
COME  
FROM?



HEALTH

variety of categories with names like cannabinoids, terpenes and flavonoids. Many consumers are already sold on the notion of “the entourage effect”—the scientifically unsubstantiated, though not entirely implausible, claim that the different ingredients somehow combine to provide health benefits that go beyond what any of the individual components might do. But good luck sorting out which of those ingredients are actually present in a given CBD product and in what quantities. “‘Full spectrum’ is a meaningless marketing term,” says Tagen. “It’s rare that any of these companies actually test for these ingredients and even rarer that they release the results.”

In fact, it’s hard for consumers to know much of anything about what they might be getting when they buy a CBD product. “Some of these companies have zero science behind what they’re doing,” says Karyemaitre Aliffe a Seattle-based physician and pharmaceutical researcher who runs a small biotech company and teaches at the

>> The making of CBD products starts with the hemp plant, a cousin of marijuana

CBD COMES FROM THE CANNABIS SATIVA plant, which naturally contains another well-known compound: tetrahydrocannabinol (THC), the stuff in pot that gets you high. The plant has been cultivated over thousands of years into two basic versions: marijuana, bred to maximize THC, and hemp, bred to minimize THC. Thanks to the Farm Bill passed by the U.S. Congress in 2018, the growing of hemp is much less tightly regulated and restricted than marijuana crops, though details are left up to the states. By federal law, a plant is categorized as hemp if its THC level is below 0.3 percent. That means hemp contains about one-hundredth as much THC as is often found in today’s marijuana plants, far too little to get anyone high without consuming enormous quantities of a hemp product in one sitting.

Hemp is a hardier, more scraggly looking plant than marijuana, lacking the latter’s huge, lush buds prized for their THC. Hemp and its tougher buds grow in a wider variety of soils and weather conditions than marijuana, with a longer growing season and under more close-packed conditions.

The CBD extraction process starts with the harvesting of hemp plants, which are then air-dried for about a month. The buds—that’s where the CBD is—are snipped off. They can be sold as is, as “flower” for smoking in joints or pipes or for “dry” vaping in vaporizers designed to

heat flower. But most buds are coarsely ground for CBD extraction. (Lower-CBD forms of hemp can also be grown for textile fiber, seeds or non-CBD oils.)

In the most common extraction process, hemp-bud grounds are soaked in alcohol, which draws the CBD-containing oil out of the grounds. The alcohol-and-hemp-oil mixture is filtered out and chilled for a day or so, which causes undesirable hemp fats to solidify and drop to the bottom. Once the gobs of fat are removed, the chilled liquid is warmed, causing the alcohol to completely evaporate, leaving behind thick CBD-rich oil. Additional filtering can then remove any remaining impurities, as well as some or all of the other non-CBD hemp compounds—depending on whether the goal is to get a fairly pure CBD “isolate,” or the “full-spectrum” or “broad spectrum” mix of CBD and other compounds currently popular with consumers. Testing at this point can confirm the mix of ingredients and the absence of impurities.

If the extract is intended to be consumed as a bottled tincture, it’s usually first mixed with coconut or olive oil to help thin the CBD oil and make the sometimes grassy-flavored oil taste and smell better. Or the oil can be injected into cartridges for vaping, either as is or after mixing in non-fatty thinning agents such as vegetable glycerin. It can also be infused into salves, lotions, beverages or any other type of product. **N**

**“As far as we know, this may all**

University of Miami Medical School. “The quality control and regulatory oversight for CBD is not much beyond what it is for Snickers bars.”

Studies have indicated CBD products from some established vendors can have CBD levels well below or above what’s claimed on the label, along with illegally high levels of THC and contaminants including heavy metals and pesticides. The hemp plant tends to pull in whatever lies in the soil and hang onto it, so unless the soil or resulting products are carefully tested—still not the case for many CBD products, especially those imported into the U.S. rather than grown and produced here—there may be risks for any number of toxins.

For what it’s worth, vendors like Bluebird, Veritas and Heavenly Rx insist they have rigorous quality-control and testing programs in place and enlist independent firms to analyze and certify their products.

But even if you knew exactly what is in the bottle, is there enough of it to do you any good? There’s little understanding of CBD dosages at this point, but what scientists do know suggests the amounts normally advertised as a typical dose are probably well below what’s needed to make a big dent in a health



be mostly a **PLACEBO** effect. Everybody is being sucked into the big hype.”

#### HIT OR MISS

So far clinical trials of CBD have yielded conflicting data on a wide range of diseases and conditions, including psychosis, opiod withdrawal, arthritis, antibiotic-resistant infections, non-Parkinson's tremors, Alzheimer's disease, multiple sclerosis, tissue rejection after transplants, the side effects of cancer chemotherapy, pain relief and inflammation, which forms the basis of many diverse ailments. Left to right: an x-ray of the knee of a 66-year-old man with osteoarthritis; a woman applies moisturizing cream.

problem. The rare childhood epilepsies—the one condition considered proven to be treatable with CBD—are treated with daily doses in the range of 500 milligrams, or about a sixtieth of an ounce—and that's for children. The standard recommended adult dose of over-the-counter CBD oil is an eyedropper-full, typically amounting to between a fiftieth and a hundredth as much CBD as the child-epilepsy dose. It wouldn't be advisable to take hundreds of milligrams a day—that would require chugging a whole bottle—outside of a doctor's care, but anyone who did would likely be paying more than a thousand dollars a month for the habit.

Cecilia Hillard, director of the Neuroscience Research Center of the Medical College of Wisconsin, and one of the U.S.'s more prominent CBD researchers, says that she's encountered people who actually take such large over-the-counter doses and who do in fact report higher levels of relief from such problems as neuropathic pain. But one big hitch, notes Hillard, is that at doses that large, many CBD products would be delivering enough THC along with it to provide a bit of a high and that's more likely where the relief is coming from. “Even at high doses, the effects of CBD

itself tend to be mild,” she says. Human studies of CBD using purified and tested versions of CBD with little or no THC have shown effectiveness against acute anxiety, but they use single doses in the range of 300 milligrams—dozens of times larger than what a typical consumer takes. If CBD vendors were to recommend such high doses, it would raise concerns about as-yet-undiscovered side effects. And it prices CBD treatment out of the reach of most consumers.

#### Tongue vs gut vs clinical trials

ADDING TO THE UNCERTAINTIES OVER CBD'S EFFECTIVENESS is the variation in how it gets into the bloodstream, which is where it has to go to do any good. Smoking and vaping are relatively efficient ways to take it—they deliver about half of the CBD in a dose to the bloodstream in seconds. But they carry health risks similar to smoking and vaping tobacco. Placing a tincture under the tongue and holding it there for a minute delivers about 20 percent of the CBD, with a delay of a few minutes. Swallowing CBD is the least efficient of all—only 10 percent makes it into the bloodstream because liver enzymes break CBD down in the gut—and what does make it through

can take two hours to reach your blood. Eating fatty foods helps, because CBD dissolves in fat and is thus more easily absorbed in the gut before being broken down. But that doesn't bode well for consumption via fat-free beer or soda. "You'd end up with vanishingly small amounts in your body," says Hillard. "I can't imagine that little doing anything at all."

That makes taking CBD under the tongue—so-called sublingual consumption—a winner in many

**"Consumers are participating in one of the largest uncontrolled CLINICAL TRIALS in history and no one really knows what it is they're taking."**

experts' and aficionados' minds. But you won't see that recommended on your bottle of CBD oil. That's partly because many consumers don't like the oily, grassy-tasting stuff pooling around their mouths. It's also because the FDA doesn't allow unapproved references to sublingual dosing, considering it a drug-delivery mechanism. "Under the tongue is my personal preference," says Alexander Salgado, CEO of Veritas Farms, "but I can't say that on a label until the FDA provides some clarity." If the FDA relents on that score, Salgado predicts there'll be a big market for CBD-saturated strips that dissolve under the tongue.

Chewing gum could hit another sweet-spot. Axim Biotechnologies, which has patents on gum-based drug delivery and FDA approval, is selling gum with 10 milligrams of CBD. "A chemotherapy patient can chew a piece and get immediate relief," claims Axim CEO John Huemoeller. The company will soon introduce a line of mass-market "wellness" gums that mix CBD with caffeine, ginseng, melatonin, tryptophan (the ingredient in turkey that supposedly makes everyone sleepy after Thanksgiving dinner) and other ingredients. It's also starting clinical trials of toothpaste and mouthwash that will aim CBD's claimed anti-bacterial and anti-inflammatory properties against gingivitis and periodontitis.

Researchers are now fashioning clinical trials to learn which patients can be helped by what form of CBD. More than 500 trials are in the works around the world, says Hillard, fueled partly by startups al-

ready profiting from CBD. One firm, Kannalife Sciences, is designing clinical trials for treating chemotherapy side effects, liver disease, chronic skin conditions, non-Parkinson's tremors and even stage IV cancers. "At stage IV you have to hit the cancer with a sledgehammer," says CEO Dean Petkanas. "We want to transfuse 10,000 milligrams of CBD into bone marrow to see if it reduces the proliferation of cancer cells."

Researchers will have to ply the scientific method through hype-roiled waters for years. In the meantime, doctors, scientists and consumers will have to feel their way. "Cannabinoid therapeutics is a completely new frontier," says Petkanas. "We're just where antibiotics were in the 1930s." **N**

#### PICK YOUR POISON

One hazard of an unregulated industry is that consumers can't be sure what dosage they're getting. A lot also depends on the method used for taking the CBD. Vaping (below) delivers about half the CBD to the bloodstream in seconds, but carries some health risks. Placing a tincture under the tongue and holding it there delivers about 20 percent of the CBD in a few minutes, but many people object to the oily taste. Lotions (bottom) rely on the skin's ability to absorb CBD.



# ' A SAFE AND APPEALING THERAPY '

>> A medical doctor and researcher offers her advice on CBD.

BY DAVID H. FREEDMAN

It will be years before medical research catches up with the CBD craze. In the meantime, patients are peppering their physicians with questions about when to use it and what risks are involved. Melinda Ring, MD, Executive Director of the Osher Center for Integrative Medicine at Northwestern University, is on the front lines of research on CBD. Newsweek asked her what advice she gives based on her experiences and her work. Excerpts:

**Q. What are you hearing from your patients about CBD?**

**A.** The biggest reasons people ask me about it is for issues with different types of pain, for anxiety, for sleep--which is often related to pain and anxiety--and for inflammatory diseases like Crohn's and rheumatoid arthritis.

Some patients tell me they tried it, felt nothing, and stopped. But more often they tell me they got some benefit from it. Usually they say they feel like it helped a little, that maybe it took the edge off their anxiety, but it didn't completely relieve their systems. But some definitely find it transformative, even to the point of being able to stop taking opioids or sleep medications. Some of my patients with cancer are interested in trying it to relieve their symptoms.

I don't often hear patients complain about adverse effects, but occasionally someone will say it made them feel agitated, or gave them some GI issues.

**Q. What advice do you offer them?**

**A.** I'm open to people using it. I ask which product they're taking, what dose, where they're getting it, and what effects they're experiencing. I encourage them to stick with clearly labeled, quality products. And if they're also taking medications prescribed by other doctors, I tell

them to discuss their CBD use with them. There are a few drugs that can interact with CBD, and other interactions may be possible, so that's something I tell them to be cautious about. I know that while some oncologists are very supportive of CBD, others are concerned there could be interactions with chemotherapy.

My patients are getting CBD at their salon, or at the grocery store, or it's being added to their coffee. There's a sense the public has that if you see it everywhere and it's natural, it must be completely safe. But that's not necessarily true. Patients need to be a little cautious. There's not a lot of oversight from the FDA yet.

**Q. How do you guide patients in terms of dosage?**

**A.** I'd say at least three-quarters of the patients who tell me they've tried CBD have no idea what dose they're taking. The ones who say they tried it and it failed to work, that may be because they're not taking an adequate dose.

CBD products typically have about 10mg or so of CBD, at least according to the labels, if they list that information at all. But what's in the bottle might not be the same as what the label says. I recommend to patients they check the information at ConsumerLab.com.

I tell people to start with a low dose and gradually increase it until they've found the minimum amount that gives them

the effects they want and doesn't create any adverse effects. You can't really predict how it will work for an individual patient. The same product might be calming at one dose for a patient, and agitating at another.

**Q. There are a huge number of CBD products out there. Do you recommend particular types?**

**A.** I tend to encourage the use of CBD oils under the tongue, or vaping, or topical products, which many patients seem to find helpful with pain and inflammation. I think those are better than edibles, because there are issues with what happens in the gut with edibles that affect absorption, and that makes the response less predictable. How much you absorb with an edible can change five-fold depending on what you eat it with.

I think it's better to stay with an established vendor that's been around a while and has a good reputation, like Charlotte's Web, Bluebird [Botanicals], and PlusCBD. That's a good way to avoid products that may be contaminated with excess THC and various impurities.

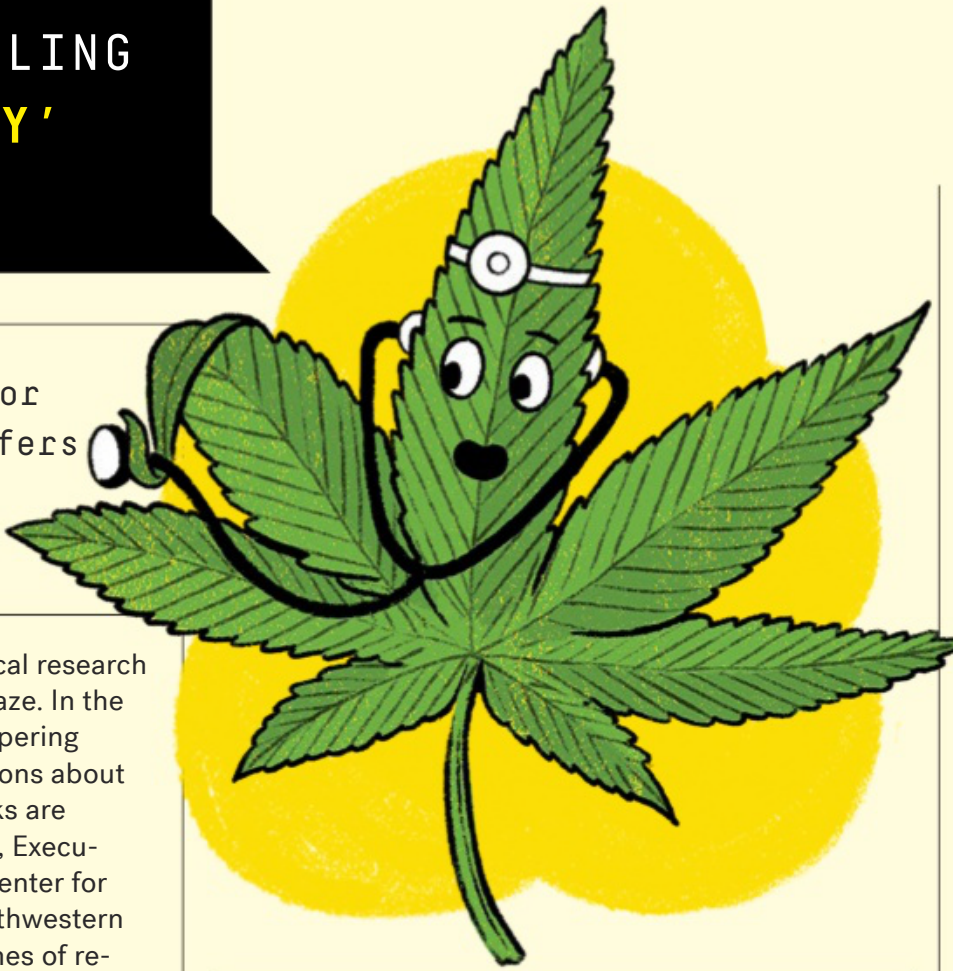
Some of my patients come in and tell me they've been taking hemp oil. I tell them it's a nice oil, with some of the same beneficial compounds you find in flaxseed or chia-seed oil. But there's very little CBD in it.

**Q. Do you recommend full-spectrum CBD products over CBD isolates?**

**A.** Nature tends to be very wise, and the different compounds you can find in a whole extract from some plants can work together. So personally I like the idea of full-spectrum CBD. But we don't know enough about CBD yet to make that kind of recommendation.

**Q. Do you think CBD is effective against the conditions that your patients typically take it for?**

**A.** It's a generally safe product with great potential for many different conditions. But right now it's a bit of a guessing game. We have some good science, but we're lacking studies that translate that science to clinical outcomes. I've just completed a study with colleagues at two other integrative medicine centers, and we're analyzing the data. But for now all I can say for sure is that CBD is very interesting, and because it's natural and generally safe it's a very appealing therapy. ■



INTERVIEW

# Sex in the City, Again

Candace Bushnell on her new book—and life as a woman in her 60s



LEFT: MONICA SCHIPPER/GETTY; JOE DANIEL PRICE/GETTY; TETRA IMAGES/GETTY; TOP RIGHT: KRUGLI/GETTY

## WORLDWIDE BARGAINS

“Antiques, oddities and treasures can be found at every stall.” » P.46



**➔** IN HER NINTH BOOK, THE CHRONICLER OF PRE-MILLENNIAL FEMALE SOPHISTICATES ON THE HIT TV SHOW *Sex and the City* (which aired from 1998 to 2002) checks in from the other side of the menopausal divide. Candace Bushnell's *Is There Still Sex In The City?* is a sad, but amusing, tour through the lives of women navigating what she calls “Middle Aged Madness.” Bushnell, who lost both her parents and got divorced during the last 10 years, moved to the country with a new group of friends looking more for sympathy than pink Cosmos. The stilettos were tucked away in the closet, presumably in her country house, when an editor enticed Bushnell back into New York. The result: a new taxonomy of the mating habits of men and women while relating the trials of a variety of composite female friends in their 50s. In the book, she explores online dating, meets young men “cubs” in their 20s and early 30s with a fetish for older women, and drops thousands of dollars on a Russian anti-aging scam on Madison Avenue on a low day. She tries to take up cycling, but finds herself too unmotivated to join what she calls the “Super-Middles”—health conscious aging jocks who reach their 60s looking younger than they have in decades. In an interview with *Newsweek*, Bushnell, 60, looks back at the *Sex and the City* era, and talks about her own middle age, among other things. Edited excerpts:

### Why “Middle Aged Madness” instead of menopause?

Because menopause is just too simple. I'm talking about women in their really early 50s and into their 60s. Chances are those women have gone through menopause. It's really about life circumstances and about losing your mojo and having to find it again in a new iteration as an older woman in a society where you are not valued. This is a psychic passage. The reality is that there is loss in this time for many women.

### The New York Times ran a correction on its book review, saying yours is not a nonfiction book. It's a novel. How is it a novel and not nonfiction, because it looks like a lot of your real life.

That's a good question. I used myself as an example of somebody who's going through this passage, but the others are really composites. There are parts of it that just are fiction, where I don't know of anybody who this happened to, but these are the kinds of things that could happen.

### The book has been optioned to be a TV show. Who should be playing you now?

I don't know that the character will be me. The character will probably be me eight or 10 years ago when I started embarking on this journey. I don't know and I don't make any assumptions about

casting. Honestly, whoever ends up playing the part, I will be happy, I'll be grateful.

### What do you think of some of the newer, younger female comedy shows that have sort of taken the place of *Sex and the City*? *Broad City*. *Fleabag*. Do you have a favorite?

I do love *Fleabag*, but I don't feel like it is *Sex and the City*-ish at all. I think that because *Sex and the City* was a success, it opened the door for people in the entertainment business to think, “Hey, shows

about women and shows about complicated women characters can work and make money,” because honestly, all that they're looking at is the bottom line. There are lots of shows out there with lots of different young women expressing themselves in different ways. I think that's what's really great. Does one of

them in particular stand out to me? No, but that's just because I don't spend a lot of time watching Netflix, because my streaming doesn't work.

### You're not a binge watcher?

No. In my spare time at night, I'm usually reading.

### Well, what are you reading right now?

*The Farm* by Joanne Ramos. It's a really interesting book about a business where the women are surrogate mothers and they all stay at a place that's like a spa, but of course, they can't leave.

BY

NINA BURLEIGH

[@ninaburleigh](#)



**What's on your playlist when you're on a road trip or when you're tooling back and forth between your Hamptons house and the city?**

Occasionally I'll make a playlist of pop hits, but I listen to a lot of '60s and '70s rock. I'm usually driving on the LIE, the Long Island Expressway. There isn't a lot of time to rock out because you're speeding up, then you're hitting the brakes, you know? It's not easy.

**You've written nine books. Do you have a favorite? And why?**

I think it is *Trading Up*. It's about an unlikeable heroine and I was just so much in that character's head. I think that book is a pretty brilliant description of New York society at the turn of the century.

**When you go to book signings these days, what sort of things do fans ask you, or the most common thing that you hear?**

People always want to know if there's a real Mr. Big. And there was. I get a lot from fans that they really feel like *Sex and the City* helped them through a certain passage in their lives. I'm always impressed with my fans; these women are smart and they're aspirational. They've got it together, they've got questions. They get it and they get the humor, too.

**Let's talk looks. You write about how you dropped \$4000 on a Russian face cream scam. How has your beauty routine changed given that you're 60? Do you have a position on Botox and fillers?**

In the '90s I worked for *Vogue* magazine, and I used to do these guinea pig pieces where you go and get the procedure done and write about it. So, I got collagen filler in my lips in the early '90s, when it first came out, for

a story. I didn't really like it. But then as time goes on, when I think I was around 40, I got Botox. I might have even done a story on it. I can't remember. I do get Botox and I do get filler, but one tries not to go too far. I don't have a problem with it. Now that I'm 60, I don't have a problem with plastic surgery, either. But plastic surgery is expensive, so I'm not rushing to get it.

**What's the difference between a cougar and cubbing?**

Cougars and boy toys, that's the old-fashioned idea of an older woman [pursuing] a younger man. This cubbing phenomenon is the opposite, it's about the younger guys pursuing older women. There are a few reasons for it. One is probably due to porn and this idea of the MILF, a sexy older woman. Interestingly, for younger men, a sexy older woman,

**“People always want to know if there's a real Mr. Big. And there was.”**



it's not taboo. It's not strange to them. Let's face it, we did not grow up with the idea that a woman over a certain age could possibly be attractive, nor could she possibly attract the interest of a younger man. That's something that society has drilled into our head again and again and again, but we live in a less rigid time.

**A cub is in his 20s, by definition?**

Twenties or early 30s. One of the first places that I noticed this phenomenon was when I did the story on Tinder and I changed the age range to younger guys. I did it as a joke and I got so many hits I could have gone on three dates a day with guys under 30.

**Going back to the Manhattan of the '90s, the *Sex and the City* era, is there one place or aspect of life that you would love to have back from that era?**

I think that there was a certain excitement and now that one looks back at it, maybe a naivete. I think what I miss is that feeling of going out and seeing friends all the time. It feels like that just doesn't happen so much anymore.

**Do you feel sorry for the digital natives who hook up online or do you feel like it's just a different universe from the one you inhabited?**

No, I don't. I don't feel sorry for them. I remember when I first published *Sex and the City*, a friend of mine's mother said, "Oh, I feel so sorry for you girls these days." That's a very easy attitude to adopt, but it's not true.

**This brings us to the #MeToo movement. What would Carrie have made of Harvey Weinstein's sexual habits?**

I think you should say, "What does Candace Bushnell make of it?" because I was Carrie. And I will tell you that



**SWING SHIFT** The cast of *Sex in the City* (left) and Bushnell today. Opposite page: the real Mr. Big, former *Vogue* publisher Ron Galotti, back in the day.

the sexual favor, you don't get the job. That was the reality.

**Your book has funny anecdotes, but it also has deaths and is filled with frustration about the indignities of middle age that are very specific for women.**

I think one of the differences in this age group of people is that the men are very entitled—in the sense that they feel like they're the movers and shakers in their own lives. They have more options. They have more money. And men who are still able to provide for a potential family are sought after and will always be sought after. Many studies have shown that middle aged women find themselves in diminished economic situations. It's not easy to go out there and get a job. There's another side of this equation too, which is the very pretty women who relied a lot on their looks, discover that they can no longer do that. I think it's easy for us to try to dismiss those women, but that's pretty much what women are encouraged to do in our society.

**Do you feel invisible?**

I do. One's got to look at it as a superpower. You can find out what people are saying without them noticing. Ageism, it's a real thing. But the good news is that this is a cohort of women who are used to being out there and doing something in the world. This is the group of women who stormed the offices and banks and law firms in the '80s. These are the women who were the independent single women in the '90s. It's a vibrant group that's a bit overlooked. **N**

certainly the underlying anger in the book comes from years of women in a #MeToo environment. I came to New York in 1979. It's interesting that what would be categorized as #MeToo now happened all the time and with a regularity then. Those incidents were so incredibly common. As women, we were told, society told us, "There's nothing you can do about it. This is the way men are. Deal with it or go home." There was no middle ground. It was a regular part of the work landscape.

**And now? Do you sense any change?**

Interestingly, if I go into an audience and ask a group of women how many of them have had a #MeToo experience in the workplace in the last couple of years, it's going to be maybe one or two older women who will raise their hands. The awareness of it



is terrific because it seems that while this still goes on, it doesn't seem to happen with the regularity it did in the '80s. Then, it was just blatant. For me, that was the most disheartening thing about coming to New York and entering the workforce, was how many men wanted sexual favors and how you couldn't win. You don't do



**01 Pasadena, California**  
— Rose Bowl Flea Market

Every second Sunday of the month, hordes descend upon Pasadena for one of the most famous flea markets in the world. Over 2,500 vendors sell their wares to over 20,000 visitors; but unlike other flea markets, there is an admission fee: \$9 for the general public.



**03 London, England**  
— Portobello Market

If you're in the market for antiques, head to London's Portobello Road market on a Saturday where—if you have the patience and a good eye—you can score anything from vintage records, hundreds-of-years-old paintings and furniture or historical bric-a-brac.



**02 Buenos Aires, Argentina**  
— Feria de San Pedro Telmo

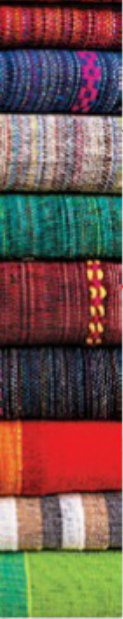
Opened since 1970, this Sunday market is renowned for its jewelry, accessories and home decor. Local artisans also sell their (newer) wares and tango dancers are known to give impromptu performances.



**04 Paris, France**  
— Marché aux Puces de Saint-Ouen

This renowned market open on Saturdays is actually a combination of 12 smaller markets in one area just north of Paris. It is also where the city's antiques dealers get the first crack at new-to-market goods from estate sales. So stock up on the vintage Chanel, the mid-century modern and Louis XIV furniture, but watch your wallet—vendors know the value of their goods and prices here can be sky high.





01: RIC TAPIA/ICON SPORTSWIRE/CORBIS/GETTY; 02: JON HICKS/GETTY; 03: MAREMAGNUM/GETTY; 04: LUCAS SCHIFRES/GETTY; 05: BLAINE HARRINGTON III/GETTY; 06: SEBASTIAN MEYER/CORBIS/GETTY; 07: ABDELRAHMAN M. HASSANEIN/GETTY; 08: TRAVELASIA/GETTY

**05 Tel Aviv, Israel**  
— Jaffa Flea Market

Set in the ancient Tel Aviv port and open Sunday through Friday, this market can be overwhelming. It is stuffed with everything from basic junk, jeans, clothing and wares, but if you're patient, you can find beautiful handcrafted Persian tiles, old coins and other historically significant trinkets.



**06 Baghdad, Iraq**  
— Souq al-Saray

Located in old Baghdad, this is a true, ancient market—where you can buy everything from dinner plates with Saddam Hussein's mug on them to rare books, beautiful jewelry and artifacts. Be warned: it is illegal to buy ancient goods, which some unscrupulous vendors on the second floor stalls try to sell.



**07 Nairobi, Kenya**  
— The Maasai Market

Every Friday in the Village Market parking lot, the Maasai and other Kenyan tribes descend to sell their wares. While smaller versions exist on other days around the city, the Village Market is the largest with a fascinating mix of beadwork, embroidery, clothing, wooden carvings, intricate walking sticks and other tribal treasures.

**08 Tokyo, Japan**  
— Oedo Antique Market

This outdoor market in the Marunouchi section is a joy for Japanophiliacs. Two Sundays a month, serious antique dealers move their tableware, ceramics, kimonos, woodblock prints, pipes and jewelry here. Hagglng is not allowed; the prices are as marked—but worth it.



**UNCHARTED**

# World's Best Flea Markets

To really get to know a place, you need to rummage around in its past—and there's nowhere better for that than a local flea market, where antiques and oddities can be found at every stall. These flea markets are internationally renowned, not just because of their size, but because of the varied goods on sale—priceless art treasures, vintage clothing, jewelry and first-edition books. Skip the mall and hit these markets instead. —Paula Froelich

## PARTING SHOT

# Cate Blanchett

➤ “I SUPPOSE THAT’S WHAT YOU GET WHEN YOU WATCH A FILM RATHER THAN read a novel: You see what the character doesn’t,” says two-time Oscar winner Cate Blanchett about her troubled yet comical character, Bernadette Fox. In theaters this month, her new film, based on Maria Semple’s novel, *Where’d You Go, Bernadette*, tells the story of an agoraphobic architect—an “absurd, hilarious and negative character”—who has been avoiding her problems for so long the only place left is Antarctica. After one too many lapses in judgment, she must now confront her fears. Migration—of sorts—is a theme for Blanchett. Her upcoming TV series *Stateless* shows the impact of the world’s current immigration systems. A UN Goodwill Ambassador since May 2016, Blanchett is an advocate for refugees and immigrants. Whether she’s telling a story about immigration or playing a mother in search of a reawakening, it comes down to this: “You hope to provoke a sense of empathy and change in audiences,” she said. “Hopefully both projects can do that and start a conversation.”

## How does the Bernadette on film compare to the book character?

Hopefully she’s got her same spirit. The world is public enemy No. 1. The problem is out there, not within. She has to really look at herself because she’s experiencing a seismic gap between who she thought she was and who she actually is.

## Did you have a favorite scene?

Selfishly, being on the ice and getting up close and personal with those monolithic, monumental extraordinary icebergs—I mean, that was one of the happiest days of my life.

## Can you tell me about *Stateless*?

Set in Australia, it’s almost a prequel to policies which have been exported elsewhere. It’s really about a system gone mad, and I think that system has gone mad in most countries.

## How did you get involved with your humanitarian work?

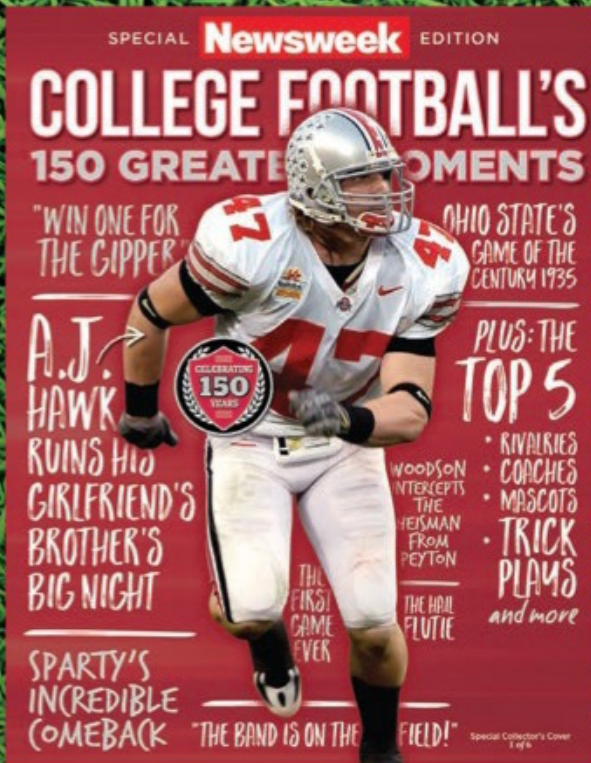
I come from a country, which—colonial invasion notwithstanding—was largely built on immigration and the welcoming of asylum seekers and refugees. I’ve watched that national characteristic gradually change. I felt if I had the platform to highlight how vulnerable—resilient but vulnerable—refugees are, then I should use it.

## What do you think about the detention centers in America?

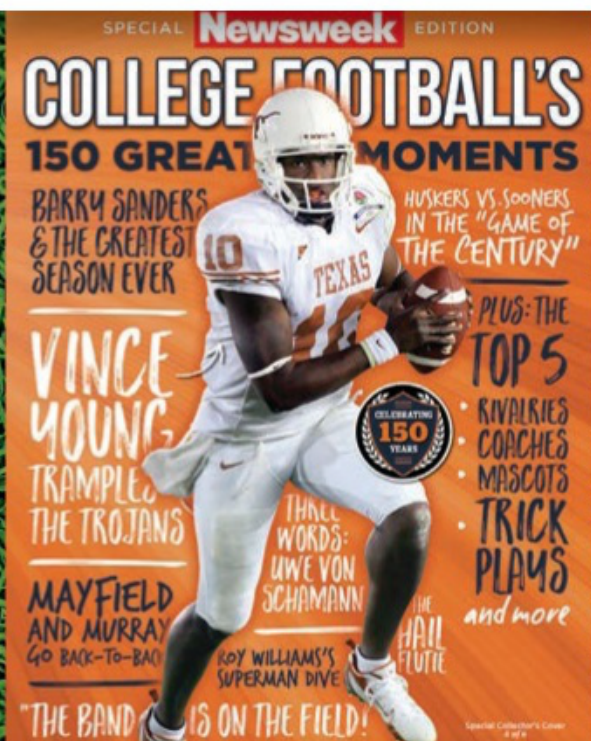
I think what you can see at the border in America is there is nothing positive about that. —*Maria Vultaggio*

“You hope to provoke a sense of empathy and change in audiences.”





# CELEBRATING 150 YEARS OF COLLEGE FOOTBALL WITH 150 UNFORGETTABLE MOMENTS



# GET ALL 6 COLLECTIBLE COVERS

**BUY NOW!**