What Trump Can Push Through Congress / Uber's Ugly Crash

Newsweek

03.17.2017

KILLER INSTINCT

IS NORTH KOREA'S KIM JONG UN OUT OF CONTROL?

BY BILL POWELL

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MARCH 17, 2017 / VOL.168 / NO.10

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BAD TRIP: People wait at a streetcar terminal in Oklahoma in 1939. Victor Hugo Green wanted to treat his African-American readers like ordinary travelers, but the raison d'être of his book was that they were anything but.

RUSSELL LEE/THE CROWLEY COMPANY/LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

FEATURES

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BIG SHOTS

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DOWNTIME

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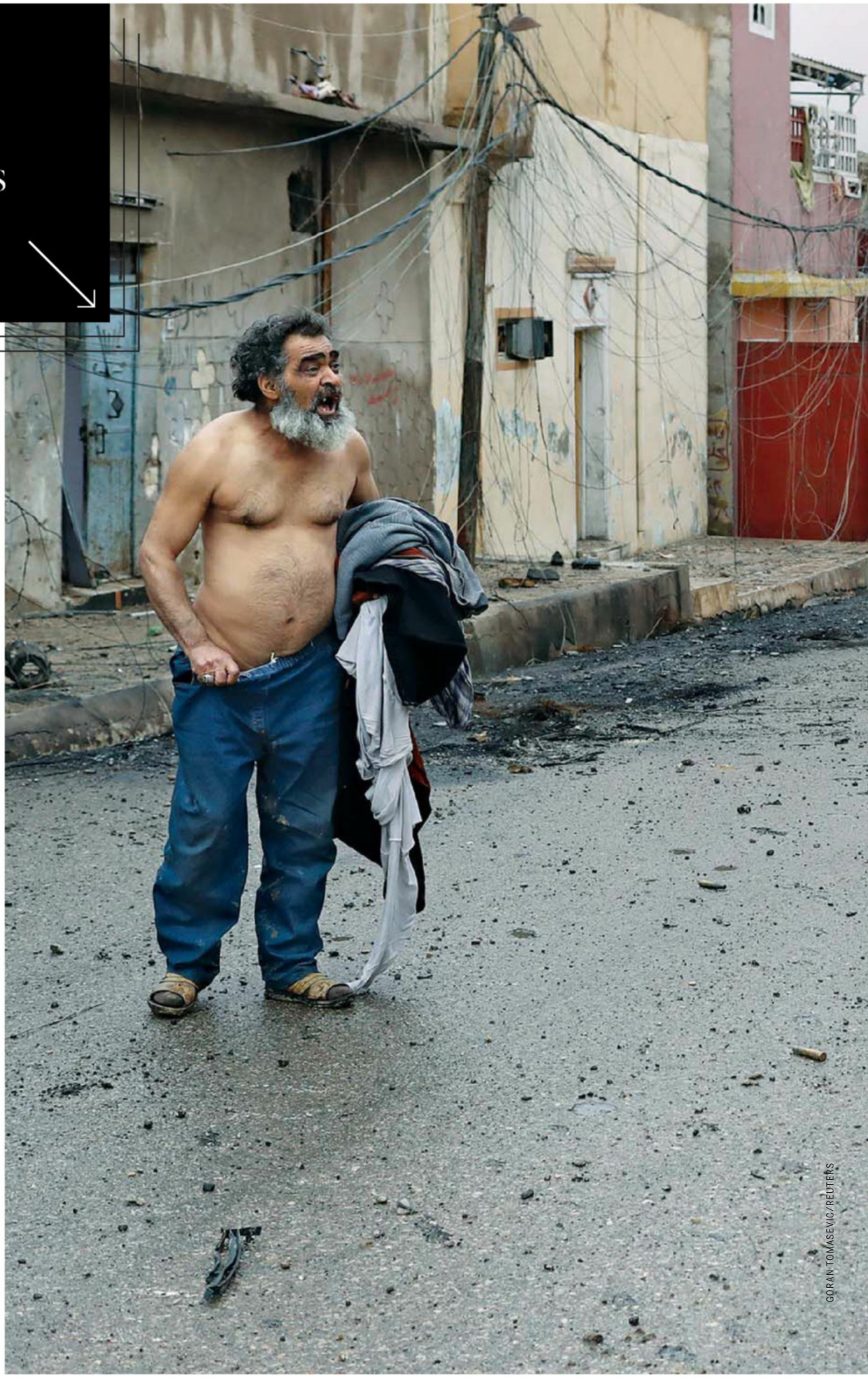

IRAQ

Baring Arms

Mosul, Iraq—An Iraqi soldier inspects two men for weapons and explosives on March 4. While American-backed Iraqi forces continue their push to retake western Mosul from the Islamic State militant group, tens of thousands are being displaced. Aid agencies say they are being overwhelmed, and the number of people looking for food and shelter may soon spike as the Iraqi fighters close in on more densely populated parts of the city. ISIS is reportedly fighting back with suicide bombers, snipers and weapons filled with toxic chemicals.

GORAN TOMASEVIC

GORAN TOMASEVIC/REUTERS


SPORT

FRANCE

Le Pen Quotidien?

Lyon, France—Marine Le Pen, the head of France's far-right National Front party and a leading candidate in this year's presidential election, holds a rally on February 26. Some have compared her to Donald Trump because of her populist stances on immigration and globalization. Polls suggest Le Pen and centrist candidate Emmanuel Macron will advance to a runoff in May. The prospect of a Le Pen presidency has alarmed a number of French politicians, including President François Hollande, who said his "ultimate duty" is to make sure she doesn't win.

JEFF J MITCHELL

JEFF J. MITCHELL/GETTY

WEST BANK

Dragging Their Feet

Ofra, West Bank—Protesters appeared by the hundreds, standing on the rooftops and blocking the streets, after an Israeli court ruled that eight homes in this Jewish settlement had been built on Palestinian land and needed to be evacuated. The families agreed to leave after speaking to the authorities, but the protesters—like this one being dragged by a border policeman on February 28—continued to demonstrate against the move, forming circles and singing religious songs over loudspeakers. Weeks before, similar protests turned violent near Ramallah, as settlers threw rocks and set fires to stop Israeli security forces.

RONEN ZVULUN

RONEN ZVULUN/REUTERS

SYRIA

Gray Gardens

Arbin, Syria—A man waters herbs on his roof in this rebel-held town in the Eastern Ghouta region, near Damascus, on March 3. It's been six years since Syria's civil war began—a conflict that started as a series of nonviolent protests but quickly morphed into an international crisis that's killed hundreds of thousands and left much of the country in ruins. Recently, Amnesty International reported that forces loyal to President Bashar al-Assad hung thousands of people after a series of quick sham trials. Assad has long said his soldiers treat detainees lawfully, but the report offered more evidence of mass killings by the regime.

AMER ALMOHIBANY

AMER ALMOHIBANY/AFP/GETTY

DEAL WITH IT

President Trump has spent his first month issuing executive orders. Now comes the hard part: working with Congress

IN 1987, Donald Trump helped create his image as a master negotiator with his best-selling book, *The Art of the Deal*. Never mind that his ghostwriter, Tony Schwartz, says *he* wrote virtually all of it. Either way, the book includes an important lesson: Not every deal goes well. "I never get too attached to one deal or one approach," Trump (and Schwartz) writes. "For starters, I keep a lot of balls in the air, because most deals fall out, no matter how promising they seem at first."

Trump will soon be juggling as fast as he can. He and his White House team will be working on multiple deals, from defense spending to health care. And they will be sitting across the table from not one party but 535 independent actors—100 members of the Senate and 435 members of the House of Representatives. Trump often plays the Rolling Stones' "You Can't Always Get What You Want" at his rallies, and when it comes to Congress, the song is fitting.

Even though Republicans hold majorities in both chambers, Trump's path to getting what he wants is strewn with hazards. Senate rules allow the minority party—in this case, the Democrats—to thwart lots of deals with just 40 votes, so Trump will need to reach out to the likes of Chuck Schumer, the Senate minority leader and fellow New Yorker, who is under enormous pressure from progressives to resist every Trump entreaty. Much of the president's agenda won't please Republicans either; they aren't even fond of his massive budget cuts. But the biggest obstacle Trump faces is math: His cuts need to pay for his massive tax reductions and defense spending—and that won't be easy.

So far, all that's come out of the White House is a broad outline. In March, the administration will release a slightly more detailed budget plan to Congress. But from where things stand, here's the likelihood of Trump getting the deals he desires.

BY
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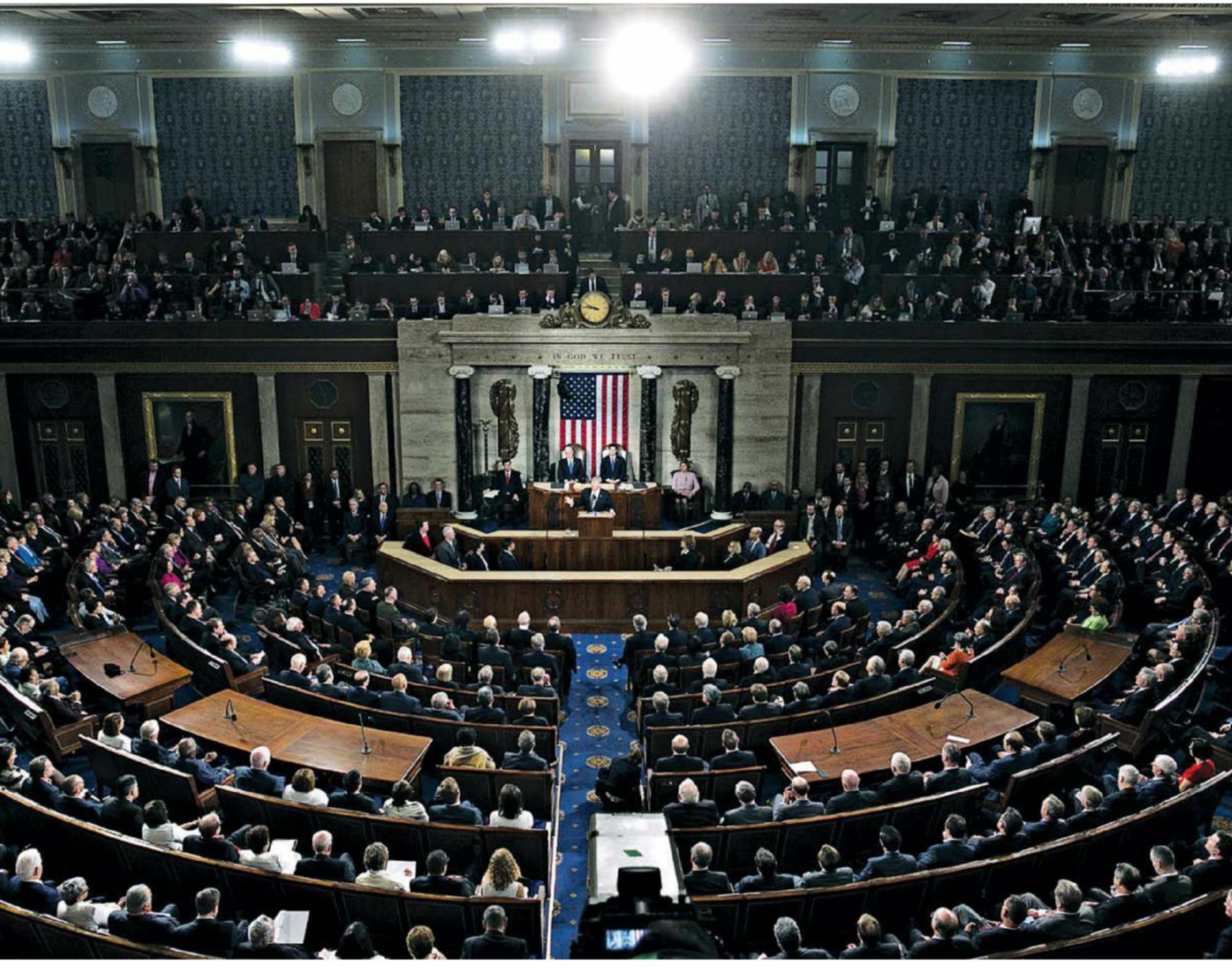

ANDREW HARRER/BLOOMBERG/GETTY

BACK TO THE SHOWERS: Even though Republicans control both the House and Senate, Trump will have a hard time delivering on some of his campaign promises.

'REPEAL AND REPLACE OBAMACARE'

As a candidate, Trump regularly said he'd replace the Affordable Care Act—with "something *so* much better." Of course, doing so is proving, "incredibly complicated," as Trump recently put it. No kidding. The House will spend much of March considering the first tranche of legislation to change the U.S. health care system, which has already drawn opposition from conservative House Republicans who believe the approach is too gradual—as well as Democrats, and even some Republicans, who think it's too abrupt. A centrist proposal from two Senate Republicans—Bill Cassidy of Louisiana, a physician, and Susan Collins of Maine—would effectively allow states to keep large portions of the ACA, but their bill is too moderate for the GOP-controlled House. Obamacare is likely to be picked at but not unwound, leaving what Trump calls a "disaster" very much in place.

'REBUILD OUR MILITARY'

Throughout the campaign, Trump promised to rebuild the "decimated" U.S. military. Never mind that the U.S. spends more on defense than the next 11 highest-spending countries combined, or that America has overwhelming technological advantages. Still, Trump is likely to get a sizable hike in the defense budget. Military spending is popular in Congress, in part because the defense industry is spread out all over the country.

'WE'RE GOING TO CUT TAXES'

If there's one area where Trump has been a traditional Republican, it's cutting taxes. The president has vowed to cut personal income taxes—which would offer the greatest benefits to the wealthiest Americans. He has also vowed to cut business taxes. Can he succeed? When it comes to the latter, he has a good chance. Democrats and Republicans disagree on specific deductions, but there's been bipartisan agreement that U.S. business tax rates are too high and are causing too many American companies to leave their profits overseas. While Trump is planning to propose a massive tax bill that will include business and personal taxes, no such reform has made it through Congress since 1986. What's likely to happen: Congress will pass a bill that meets the least political resistance—one that cuts business taxes but offers smaller changes on the personal side, such as creating new tax deductions for child care and health savings accounts. It's not the tax nirvana of Republican dreams, but it's likely to be a solid win.

'WASTE LIKE YOU WOULDN'T BELIEVE'

Programs for the poor have the weakest constituency, so look for cuts to Medicaid, the health care program for the indigent that Congress expanded under Obamacare, as well as the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program, also known as food stamps. Trump hasn't unveiled specific cuts, but he's likely to get what he seeks. He could have a harder time with programs that have a wealthier constituency, like the Corporation for Public Broadcasting, the National Endowment for the Arts, the National Endowment for the Humanities and others conservatives have long eyed for slashing. Despite his "America first" rhetoric, Trump will also have a harder time cutting budgets at the State Department and the Agency for International Development because the military, including Defense Secretary Jim Mattis, tends to support them. The Pentagon brass believes such soft power complements military strength, and Mattis will likely push for preserving it.

> OBAMACARE IS LIKELY TO BE PICKED AT BUT NOT UNWOUND, LEAVING WHAT TRUMP CALLS A "DISASTER" VERY MUCH IN PLACE.

'RUSSIA IS FAKE NEWS'

Trump doesn't have any legal say over how Congress chooses to investigate Moscow's interference in the 2016 election. But the president has made it clear he doesn't think there's a scandal. He defended Sessions's former National Security Adviser Mike Flynn's December discussions with the Russian ambassador to the U.S., Sergey Kislyak. The president has also defended Attorney General Jeff Sessions's meetings with the same ambassador during the campaign. Trump

OBAMACARE-LESS: Collins and another Republican senator have proposed a compromise fix for the ACA, but it's probably too moderate for the House.

MELINA MARA/THE WASHINGTON POST/GETTY

is likely to stymie an exhaustive inquiry from Congress or the Department of Justice, and despite the pressure on Congress to establish a special select investigative committee or an independent, 9/11-style commission, Republican leaders are holding firm. The eventual probe is likely to be a much more limited inquiry from the intelligence committees in both houses. That benefits Trump because such a hearing would be largely secret and spare the president a lengthy public examination that might distract from his legislative agenda or uncover malfeasance. And while Sessions has recused himself from dealing with the Russian matter, the Justice Department is unlikely to appoint a special prosecutor along the lines of Kenneth Starr, who led the Whitewater crusade against Bill Clinton. That would be a victory for Trump.

And on every front, count on the president to do whatever he can to win. As he (and Schwartz) writes in *The Art of the Deal*: "I play to people's fantasies. [A] little hyperbole never hurts."

WALL OF LIES

Why a barrier along the Mexican border won't stop the drug cartels

IN EVERY place and every era—from ancient China to East Germany—walls have created fractures, divisions, injustice. So when a politician announces the construction of a wall, the first question we should ask is: What is its purpose? And then: Will it make things better or worse?

On February 28, in his first speech to Congress, President Donald Trump affirmed his commitment to dismantling the criminal cartels that have spread drugs across the United States. He reiterated his commitment to the "great wall" along the Mexican border as a fundamental pillar of his strategy, guaranteeing that the wall will be "a very effective weapon against drugs and crime."

It's not the first time Trump has marketed his wall as an anti-narco measure. And it won't be the last. However, anyone familiar with the power of the Mexican cartels knows this is a lie. The barrier, which already covers one-third of the border with Mexico, has not stopped the drugs or the cartels, and closing the gaps won't change that. More effective and less expensive measures exist to combat the narcos, from better anti-money-laundering rules to legalizing drugs and thus tackling the dealers' lifeblood. But a wall is symbolic, and it sends a message: We are working for you, and we are doing it concretely. You can see it, brick by brick.

The wall that now stands between the United States and Mexico was a bipartisan project,

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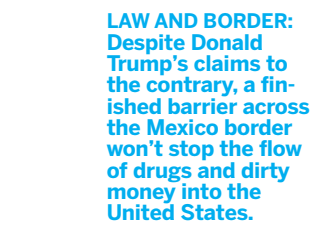


LAW AND BORDER: Despite Donald Trump's claims to the contrary, a finished barrier across the Mexico border won't stop the flow of drugs and dirty money into the United States.

DAVID MCNEW/GETTY

created over time by both Republicans and Democrats to reassure a frightened electorate. It was meant to prevent the flow of Latin Americans who want to illegally cross the border, and to stop the drug trafficking organizations across the border—both the South American producers and the Mexican distributors—that peddle their products and launder money.

Despite the wall, the Mexican cartels have long managed to get drugs into the U.S. by a variety of means: catapults, hang gliders, underground tunnels, even submarines. And drugs from Mexico often still enter the United States through official border crossings: With more than half a million people entering from Mexico into the U.S. every day, it's impossible to check every car, motorcycle, truck and tour bus.

Narcos often attach coke to the underside of vehicles that have permits to cross the border in a special lane; the best couriers are those who don't even know they're smuggling. They are even able to hide the odor of cocaine—and fool drug dogs—by adding coffee or cayenne pepper to the outside of the packages. Once the vehicle makes it to the other side of the border, they find ways to retrieve the drugs. As long as the U.S. remains the world's largest consumer of coke, and as long as Mexico continues to provide it, no wall will ever be able to stop the trade.

So far, the wall hasn't even stopped the flow of undocumented immigrants who attempt to cross the border, risking their lives in the desert and enriching the human traffickers who are controlled by the cartels. These migrants are crossing in search of honest work, of a better life for their families. Some are even fleeing the violence caused by the drug war. Contrary to Trump's racist innuendo, they are not cartel members. But the wall has allowed the narcos to exploit some of them: If a migrant doesn't have the $1,500 to $2,000 required to pay a coyote, he can eliminate his debt by putting cocaine in his bag before crossing the border.

The wall hasn't stopped laundered cartel money either. A 2012 study by two Colombian economists, Alejandro Gaviria and Daniel Mejía, revealed that 97.4 percent of drug trafficking revenue in Colombia is laundered by American and European banking networks through diverse financial operations.

The case of Wachovia is a glaring example. Between 2004 and 2007, several million dollars passed from the coffers of the Sinaloa cartel into the bank accounts of Wachovia through *casas de cambio* (currency exchange offices). These Mexican offices would receive the cash, open accounts managed by a Wachovia branch in Miami and electronically transfer the money into accounts in the U.S. Wachovia didn't respect the anti-money-laundering protocol in the transfer of more than $378 billion. Of that enormous sum, at least $110 million came from drug trafficking and ended up in international banking networks. In 2010, Wachovia negotiated a $160 million settlement ($110 million in forfeiture plus a $50 million fine) with federal authorities. But that figure is paltry compared with the bank's earnings.

Everyone—the narcos, the banks, the casas de cambio—profited despite the wall because smugglers no longer cross borders with suitcases of cash. Now money is moved directly from Mexico with a click. Yet recently the Clearing House, an association that represents the largest American banks, announced it plans to propose a new system of anti-money-laundering rules to the government. This system would reduce the current requirements (which include the completion of a report on every transaction that could be criminal), thus lightening the bureaucratic and financial load that banks bear in order to respect the current anti-money-laundering protocols.

> A WALL SENDS A MESSAGE: WE ARE WORKING FOR YOU, AND WE ARE DOING IT CONCRETELY. YOU CAN SEE IT, BRICK BY BRICK.

"What we are witnessing today is the renewal of the American spirit," Trump said in his speech to Congress. But a wall is not part of that spirit; it's part of a darker, more cynical tradition, one not in line with those inalienable rights cited in the Declaration of Independence: life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. Rights that the Founding Fathers recognized for all men, not only Americans.

PUTIN ON ICE

Why Russia is way ahead in the race to control the Arctic

BY **BOB REISS**

IN OCTOBER 2014, the *Yamal*, a Russian nuclear icebreaker with enormous shark teeth painted on its bow, rammed through the thick ice at the North Pole as a research vessel followed behind it, firing its seismic guns. Its multiyear mission: find oil and natural gas and help claim the Arctic sea bottom in Moscow's name. In January, as Russian scientists were finalizing the test results, one of the mission's leaders was elated as he stood before a rapt audience in Tromsø, a stunningly beautiful Arctic city in Norway. "We assure you, there is oil there," said Gennady Ivanov of Russia's Marine Arctic Geological Expedition. "And the oil is recoverable," he noted later, in response to a question.

U.S. and European oil companies have long fantasized about tapping the Arctic's abundant reserves; the U.S. Geological Survey estimates they make up to 13 percent of the world's undiscovered oil and 30 percent of its natural gas. Now, as rising temperatures cause more ice to melt, which is clearing Arctic seas, the trillion-dollar race to own the region's riches is on. In 2012, Russia tried to claim 460,000 square miles of Arctic ocean floor—an area the size of France and Spain—as national territory. Moscow did so as part of a treaty called the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea, which allows countries to expand the undersea area where they own mineral rights beyond the currently recognized 200-mile limit.

The catch? Russia must prove to a committee of international scientists based at the United Nations that the area is an extension of its continental shelf. The committee initially rejected Moscow's claim, sending Russian scientists back to the High North to search for more evidence. Ivanov now insists the proof exists. If he's right, it will help Russian President Vladimir Putin achieve two of his primary Arctic goals: to boost his country's massive oil and natural gas reserves and to encourage commercial shipping through an Arctic shortcut between European and Asian ports.

Even as Moscow waits for the science committee's decision about the North Pole, its Arctic energy push is yielding results. Russian land-based oil and natural gas production in the Arctic is peaking year after year. In January, Russia's state-controlled Gazprom Neft company announced that four oil wells are up and running at the Prirazlomnoye fields in the Arctic Pechora Sea, and the company plans to put 28 more online. Meanwhile, a new $27 billion liquid natural gas plant, based in the Arctic and jointly funded by Russian, Chinese and French energy companies, is moving gas south to Europe through a new 786-mile-long pipeline.

Once considered too remote and dangerous for commerce, the Arctic is about to get a lot more crowded. Norway is expanding its search for oil in the region and recently offered a new round of oil leases in the Barents Sea, farther north than ever before. Despite the challenges of High North drilling, an official from the Norwegian oil and gas association tells *Newsweek* the breakeven cost will be $45 a barrel. So even

SERGEY ANISIMOV/ANADOLU/GETTY

ICE BREAKER CHALLENGE: U.S. and European oil companies have long fantasized about tapping the Arctic's abundant oil and gas reserves.

if global oil prices remain low, Norway's newest Arctic operation will quickly become profitable.

Profit has been less of an incentive thus far in the U.S., which has been much more cautious in the far north. President Barack Obama blocked most federal Arctic offshore areas from exploration in December, citing environmental concerns. Those include possible oil spills, which could damage or scare away marine life, some of which local Iñupiat Eskimos rely on for food and cultural identity. Now Donald Trump might try to reverse Obama's executive action, and Alaska's congressional delegation is lobbying for him to open up more of the American Arctic—on- and offshore—to oil exploration.

Regardless of what Trump decides, some fear that competition between the great powers over trade routes and natural resources could get out of hand. Already, there are signs of tension. In May 2015, Russia unleashed 250 aircraft and 12,000 troops in a massive Arctic war games exercise in response to a smaller NATO maneuver. Last month, the U.S., a NATO member, stationed 300 Marines in Norway full time.

Meanwhile, Russia has changed its war game strategy. It no longer offers advance warning

REALLY COLD WAR: In part because of the region's natural resources, Russian military planners have identified the Arctic as a likely place for future conflicts.

ANDREW BURTON/GETTY

when an exercise is planned—something that has unsettled its NATO neighbors up north. One of those countries, Denmark, has, like Russia, claimed the North Pole sea bottom under the Law of the Sea treaty. Canada, which is also in NATO, will file a claim by 2018, which is expected to include the North Pole too. If that happens, it is possible that all three countries will be able to prove the area is an extension of their continental shelves. The treaty, formally known as the Third United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea, calls for the owners of legitimate overlapping claims to work out boundaries among themselves.

Which is perhaps one reason why Russian military planners have identified the Arctic as a likely place for future wars. "The Russian political and military leadership has systematically argued that there will be an acute shortage of energy resources worldwide, which may lead to conflict, and that the West, led by the United States, may attempt to seize Russia's oil and gas," says Katarzyna Zysk, an associate professor at the Norwegian Defence University College who specializes in Russian defense policy.

But not everyone believes a clash is inevitable. American and European diplomats routinely assure reporters that Russia and the other Arctic nations—the U.S., Canada, Norway, Sweden, Finland, Denmark and Iceland—continue to cooperate in the High North, especially on shipping and search and rescue efforts, despite tensions elsewhere. They also proudly point to an agreement signed in 2010 by Norway and Russia that peacefully resolved a maritime Arctic border dispute in the Barents Sea.

Security, however, may be a different matter as the region opens. Bobo Lo, an independent Arctic expert and the author of *Russia and the New World Disorder*, is cynical. "Once the Arctic becomes high profile, you'll have friendship break down."

If that happens, the Kremlin is far better prepared for outright conflict or plain old competition. Moscow not only has more than 40 icebreakers; it's in the middle of the largest Arctic military push since the Cold War. Russia has more Arctic bases than any country and is building more, including 13 new airfields and 10 Arctic-based air defense radar stations scheduled to be in operation by the end of this year. Russia has also formed a new brigade, trained in Arctic warfare, and is constructing 16 deepwater ports and 13 airfields in the region. The way Lo sees it, the Russian response to NATO war games is "You think you can frighten us, buster? We can always escalate."

The U.S., however, is poorly prepared to react to any sort of challenge or emergency—and it's still unclear how the Trump administration will change America's Arctic policy. Washington has only two icebreakers, both old, and only one can break through heavy ice. The country has no concrete plans to build more. "We need Arctic ports," says the State Department's top Arctic diplomat, David Balton. "We're not prepared in terms of oil spill response or pollution. In the event of a shipping mishap, we have very little search and rescue assets nearby."

The U.S. is also the only Arctic nation that hasn't ratified the Law of the Sea treaty. It has no representatives on the scientific committee analyzing claims and no way to make its own, even though, under treaty rules, the U.S. could possibly enlarge its undersea territory off the coast of Alaska by an area about the size of California.

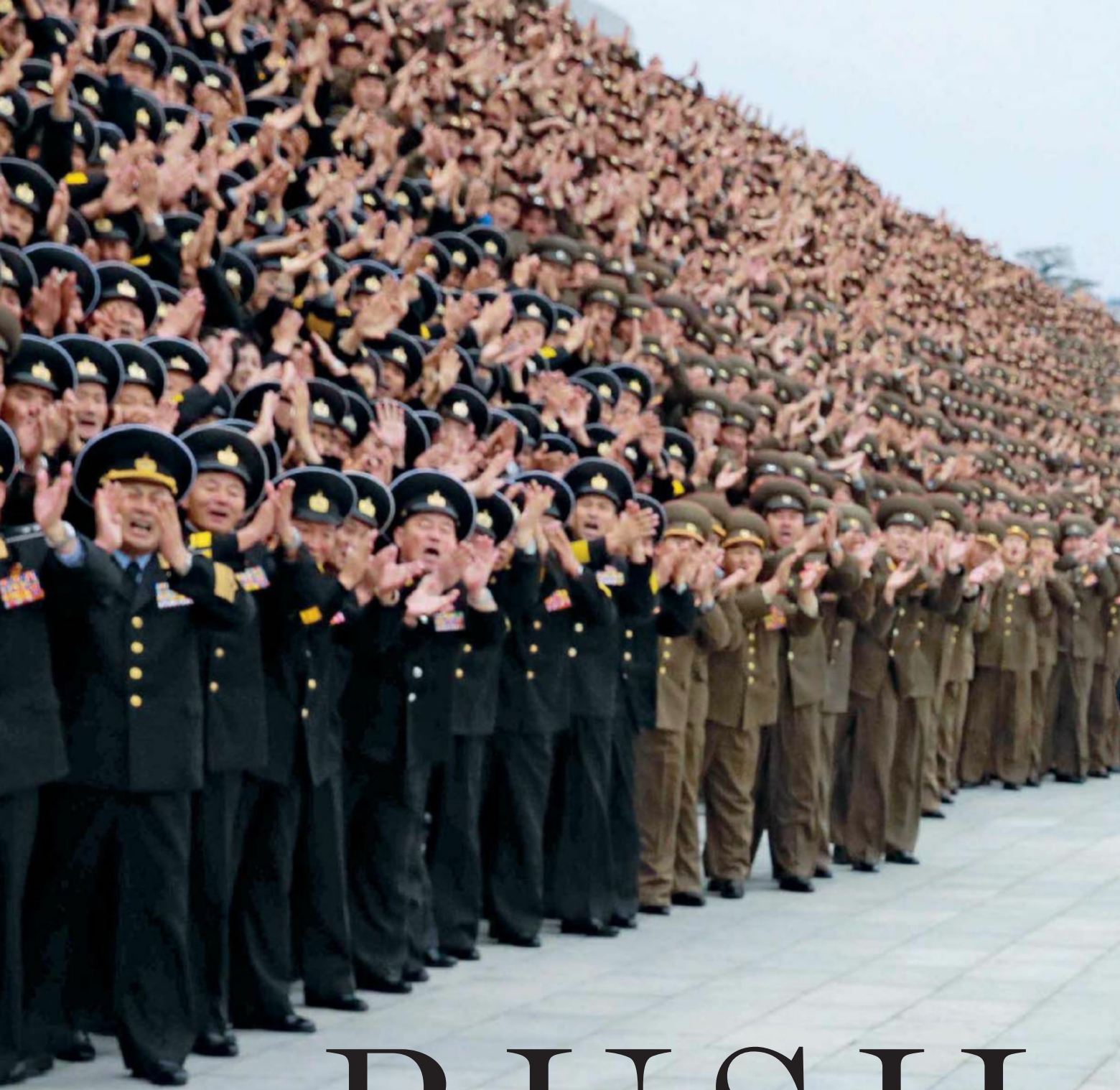
If the treaty process were a baseball game, "the U.S. wouldn't be on the field, in the stands, even in the parking lot," Coast Guard Rear

"WE ASSURE YOU, THERE IS OIL THERE. AND THE OIL IS RECOVERABLE."

Admiral Gene Brooks told me in 2010. Seven years later, there has been little progress toward ratifying the treaty, despite support from both the Obama and George W. Bush administrations, the Navy, environmental groups, shippers and oil companies. A small group of Republicans keep blocking it in the Senate because they don't want to participate in any international agreement they believe will give foreign bodies power over American policy.

The irony is that the current lack of U.S. attention to the rapidly changing Arctic will provide foreign competitors with just that, by default.

BOB REISS is the author of *The Eskimo and the Oil Man* and, under the pseudonym of James Abel, the novel *Vector*, due out this summer.



Mad RUSH

IS THE WORLD RUNNING OUT OF TIME TO CONTAIN NORTH KOREA'S KIM JONG UN?

BY *BILL POWELL*

THE FOOTAGE IS GRAINY but chilling. On the morning of February 13, a portly, middle-aged man ambles through the main departure terminal at the airport in Kuala Lumpur, the capital of Malaysia, preparing to board a flight to Macau. Kim Jong Nam was the eldest son of the late North Korean dictator Kim Jong Il, and it is said that for a brief time he wanted that son to be his successor, but Kim Jong Nam turned out to be flighty, a playboy and gambler who once infuriated his father by trying to get into Japan on a phony passport to visit Tokyo Disneyland. (He was 30 at the time.) With his father's permission, he chose to live in Macau, the former Portuguese colony that is now the gambling capital of China—under the watchful eye of Chinese security.

Kim Jong Nam was the half-brother of the current North Korean ruler, Kim Jong Un, but the two likely never met. Kim Jong Nam was 13 years older, and his mother—a North Korean actress—had an affair with Kim Jong Il. "They were raised in separate households," says a former South Korean intelligence analyst, "and [Kim Jong Nam] was shipped off to Switzerland for school as a boy. No way they ever met."

Which makes what happened on February 13 that much more confounding and disturbing. Since about 7:30 that morning, four North Korean men and two women—a Vietnamese and an Indonesian—had been waiting in an airport restaurant. Shortly before 9 a.m., as Kim Jong Nam walked through the terminal, he was approached by the women; one walked in front of him, as if to distract him, while the other slipped behind him. Both quickly touched his face and then hurried off. A few minutes later, he realized something was wrong and approached a police officer. He was escorted to an ambulance, but within 20 minutes he was dead, the victim of an assassination using VX—a lethal nerve agent listed by the United Nations as a chemical weapon of mass destruction.

Malaysian police arrested the Vietnamese woman, Doan Thi Huong, two days later. In the early hours of the next morning, police stormed a hotel where the Indonesian woman, Siti Aisyah, was holed up. She claimed she had been paid the equivalent of $120 to take part in a "prank" TV show.

Both women have been charged with murder. One North Korean man was also arrested, but Malaysian authorities later allowed him to go back to North Korea because they lacked sufficient evidence to prosecute. The other North Korean men involved appear to have escaped.

The assassination— unquestionably ordered by Kim Jong Un, current and former South Korean and U.S. officials say—was stunning in its brazenness: out in the open, easy for security cameras to capture and then display to the world. But this killing was just the beginning of a lethal spree. Two weeks after the carefully rehearsed and choreographed murder in Malaysia, South Korean intelligence revealed in a closed briefing for legislators in Seoul that Kim Jong Un had placed under house arrest his minister of state security, a hugely powerful position in North Korea, and had five of his deputies executed with anti-aircraft guns.

During the U.S. presidential transition, Barack Obama had warned Donald Trump that North Korea would be the most pressing foreign policy problem he would face. During Obama's tenure, North Korea conducted underground tests of nuclear bombs and worked to increase the range of its ballistic missiles. Pyongyang's goal is plain: a nuclear warhead on an intercontinental ballistic missile capable of reaching the United States. If it does that, "it will be a game changer," says Victor Cha, a former National Security Council (NSC) adviser under George W. Bush who is now at the Center for Strategic and International Studies, in Washington.

Trump was sobered by Obama's prediction and has requested personal briefings from the intelligence community on North Korea, according to officials who worked on the transition. Just a day before the assassination of Kim, as Trump was having dinner with Japanese Prime Minister Shinzo Abe, North Korea tested another missile—a solid-fuel rocket, which analysts say involves a much smaller fleet of support vehicles and can be prepared for launch much more quickly than previous missiles Pyongyang has tested. That makes it more difficult for the U.S. or its allies to make a pre-emptive strike as North Korean missiles are being prepared for launch.

> PYONGYANG'S goal is *plain:* A NUCLEAR warhead *on an* ICBM *capable of reaching* the UNITED STATES.

The latest missile test and the Kim assassination jolted the Trump administration and vividly illustrate why North Korea is such a vexing problem for the U.S., its allies and even China—North Korea's sole ally. That Pyongyang is seeking both an arsenal of nuclear weapons and the long-range missiles to deliver them is not news. What's dismaying is that despite steadily ratcheted-up sanctions against it, the North Korean regime seems to be making steady, incremental progress. The intelligence communities in Washington and Seoul believe North Korea is at least four years away from being able to miniaturize a warhead and place it on a long-range delivery system. Shortly before the election, Richard Haass, president of the Council on Foreign Relations, published an op-ed outlining a scenario in which Pyongyang becomes a crisis in 2020. And former NSC official Cha believes Pyongyang might have long-range nuclear capability in two years. Whatever the timing, at some point, unless something changes, a nuclear crisis is coming.

The recent assassination makes this nuclear race even

CLOCKWISE FROM TOP: AP, KUALA LUMPUR INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT/FUJI TV/AP, THE YOMIURI SHIMBUN/AP; PREVIOUS SPREAD: KCNA/REUTERS

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PRANK CALL: Huong, top-middle, and the other assailant, Aisyah, claim they thought the assassination was merely a TV prank. Kim Jong Nam, below, who can be seen on airport security footage seeking help minutes after the lethal nerve agent VX was rubbed on his face, may have been seen by North Korean dictator Kim Jong Un as a threat to his dynastic rule.

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ROCKET'S RED GLARE: North Korea hands say Kim Jong Un's goal is to put a nuclear warhead on an intercontinental ballistic missile capable of reaching the United States. Intelligence experts in D.C. and Seoul believe he is at least four years away from that goal, but some estimates put the time frame at just two years.

more chilling because it underscores how unpredictable and unrestrained North Korea can be. That aligns with the portrayal of North Korea and its leaders in some of the press and in pop culture (think of how Kim Jong Il was portrayed in *Team America: World Police*, or Kim Jong Un in the more recent movie, 2014's *The Interview*): They're whack-jobs, willing to do pretty much anything at any time.

The predominant view in the foreign policy and military establishments in Washington, Seoul and Tokyo is a little more sober: Most believe Kim simply wants to guarantee that he will stay in power—and keep power within the Kim bloodline. His father believed that having a nuclear arsenal was the ultimate insurance policy, and he clearly agrees. He knows no one wants to mess with a nuclear-armed North Korea. But this desire for self-preservation also means, according to this view, that Pyongyang understands that the country would be obliterated if it ever attacked Washington's allies in East Asia or the U.S. homeland.

This was the message that new Defense Secretary James Mattis underscored on his first trip abroad, to Seoul and Tokyo, because candidate Trump had made comments that unnerved both of those U.S. allies. (At one point, the Republican candidate said maybe they both could go nuclear.) So in Seoul Mattis delivered a message publicly to all, Pyongyang very much included: Any North Korean attack on a U.S. ally would be met with "an overwhelming response."

But the audacious assassination in Kuala Lumpur has shaken those who believe Kim's instinct for self-preservation will make his behavior abroad somewhat rational. It also coincided with a North Korean policy review the Trump administration had just commenced, intensifying an already heightened sense of concern among the president's people. "You can't help but think, Jesus, maybe [Kim] is crazy," says a Trump transition adviser.

The assassination triggered an intense hunt for a motive: Why would Kim use a weaponized nerve agent in one of Southeast Asia's largest airports to kill a half-brother who hadn't lived in North Korea for years and whom he didn't even know?

There is a possible cause: Over the years, Kim Jong Nam had occasionally criticized how North Korea is run, saying it should follow in China's footsteps and loosen up its economy so its citizens can have better lives. Any criticism of the top leader is forbidden in North Korea, and for it to come from someone who shares the Kim bloodline with Kim Jong Un could not have pleased the young dictator. There have also been reports in the South Korean press that Kim Joo Il, a North Korean defector in London who started a group called the International North Korean Association for Human Rights and Democracy, met with Kim Jong Nam in China in 2014 and had been in contact with him since then. Kim Joo Il urged him to become the leader of a government in exile, but Kim Jong Nam turned him down. The defector says Kim Jong Nam opposed hereditary leadership, whether it was in Pyongyang or in exile. Besides, Kim Jong Nam allegedly told Kim Joo Il he wasn't interested in politics, and from what's known about his sybaritic lifestyle in Macau, that was clearly true.

Were these faint whispers of dynastic challenge enough to prompt Kim Jong Un to sign his half-brother's death warrant? One former South Korean intelligence analyst believes it's plausible, but current intelligence and defense officials in

KCNA/REUTERS

Seoul are skeptical. "It sounds like a defector trying to gin up publicity for his group," says an intelligence analyst, speaking about Kim Joo Il. And a former Obama administration defense official captures the unending frustration of trying to figure out North Korea: "Anyone who says they know what the motivation was is kidding you."

The more pressing question in Washington—as well as in Beijing, Tokyo and Seoul—is, What now? On March 1, press reports indicated that as part of its North Korean policy review, the Trump administration had put "all options" on the table—including a military response to Pyongyang's latest provocations. Trump had previously vowed in a tweet to prevent Pyongyang from ever developing a nuclear weapon that could reach the U.S.—"It won't happen"—so the reports seemed plausible. But just a day later, the administration was downplaying the notion that it was focused on a more muscular response to North Korea. In a policy review, it said, all options are, by definition, always on the table.

One option Trump is considering: expand on the Obama administration's efforts to disrupt North Korean missile tests using cyberwarfare. A March 4 report in *The New York Times* says Obama's Pentagon ramped up such activity aggressively starting in 2014—and had some success in disrupting missile tests. Skeptics of the program, however, say cyber alone probably isn't enough to derail Pyongyang's program. They note that by the end of February there had been three successful launches in the last eight months. And on March 6, North Korea tested four intermediate-range missiles—a show of force apparently timed to coincide with long-planned U.S.–South Korean military exercises, which had just begun.

> THERE are *options* WHEN dealing with NORTH KOREA, *just not* really GOOD ONES.

Former officials who've worked on North Korea policy almost uniformly agree with a former member of Obama's Defense Department, who says, "There are options when dealing with North Korea, just not really good ones." In the wake of the VX attack on Kim Jong Nam, it's almost certain the U.S. will place North Korea back on the State Department's State Sponsors of Terrorism list. (The Bush administration had taken it off in hopes of cutting a nuclear deal in 2008.) But as Bruce Klingner, a former North Korea analyst at the CIA who's now at the Heritage Foundation, says, that's mainly part of a "political, naming and shaming policy.'' It is unclear that Kim would care.

Trump is also considering ways to help U.S. allies in the region bolster their ability to assist the U.S. in interdicting illicit shipments to Pyongyang. As a Council of Foreign Relations report last fall said, North Korea's skill in evading sanctions and moving forward with its missile program in the face of existing sanctions and interdiction efforts worries the U.S. and its allies in the region. It's urgent to figure out ways to make interdiction efforts in the region more effective, says one Trump adviser, in order to slow down North Korea's progress.

It's also almost certain the U.S. will seek to ratchet up international sanctions. Analysts say a likely target is so-called secondary sanctions on the array of Chinese front companies that Pyongyang uses to launder money and import illicit goods for its missile program.

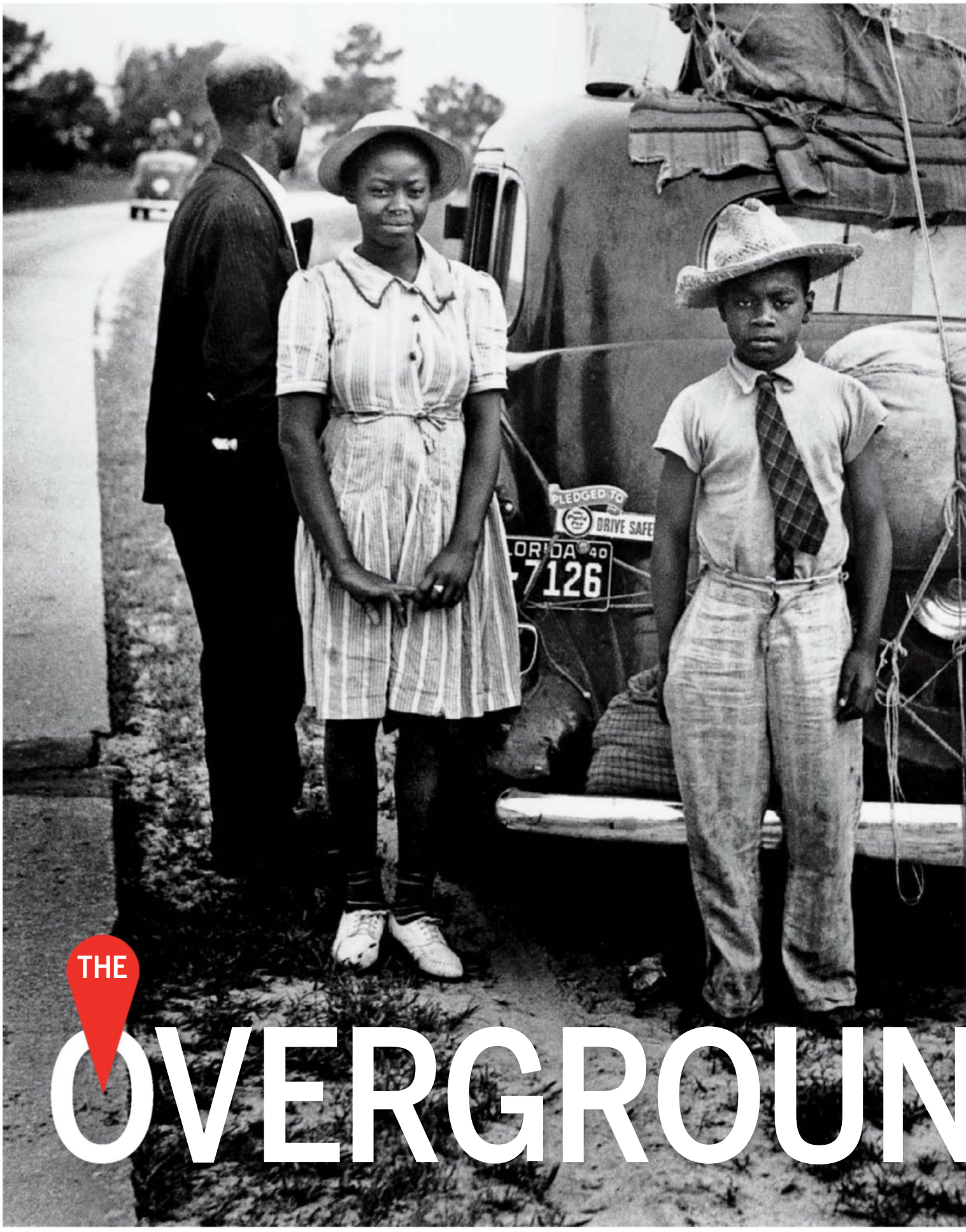
But here, as always, the going is likely to get rough. Would the Chinese, Kim's patron, enforce tightened sanctions that target Chinese companies doing business with North Korean companies? Some note that in the wake of the Kim Jong Nam assassination, Beijing announced a cessation of coal imports from North Korea—a key economic lifeline for the Kim regime. But as usual with Beijing's policy toward North Korea, it's not clear how long the coal ban will be in place or what the effects will be. Pyongyang exported a record amount of coal to China in 2016 and doesn't necessarily need to export more in the near term. Beijing has a coal glut. Whether the ban continues beyond the first quarter will be the true measure of Beijing's seriousness here.

Cautious optimists say Beijing could go along with the sanctions on Chinese companies doing business on the border with North Korea because not many of them are important, and state-owned, companies. China's former foreign minister, Yang Jiechi, was recently in Washington pushing for a summit between Trump and China's president, Xi Jinping. And while some in Trump's orbit are skeptical of the early-summit idea, the sense of crisis regarding North Korea makes it more likely that such a meeting will take place.

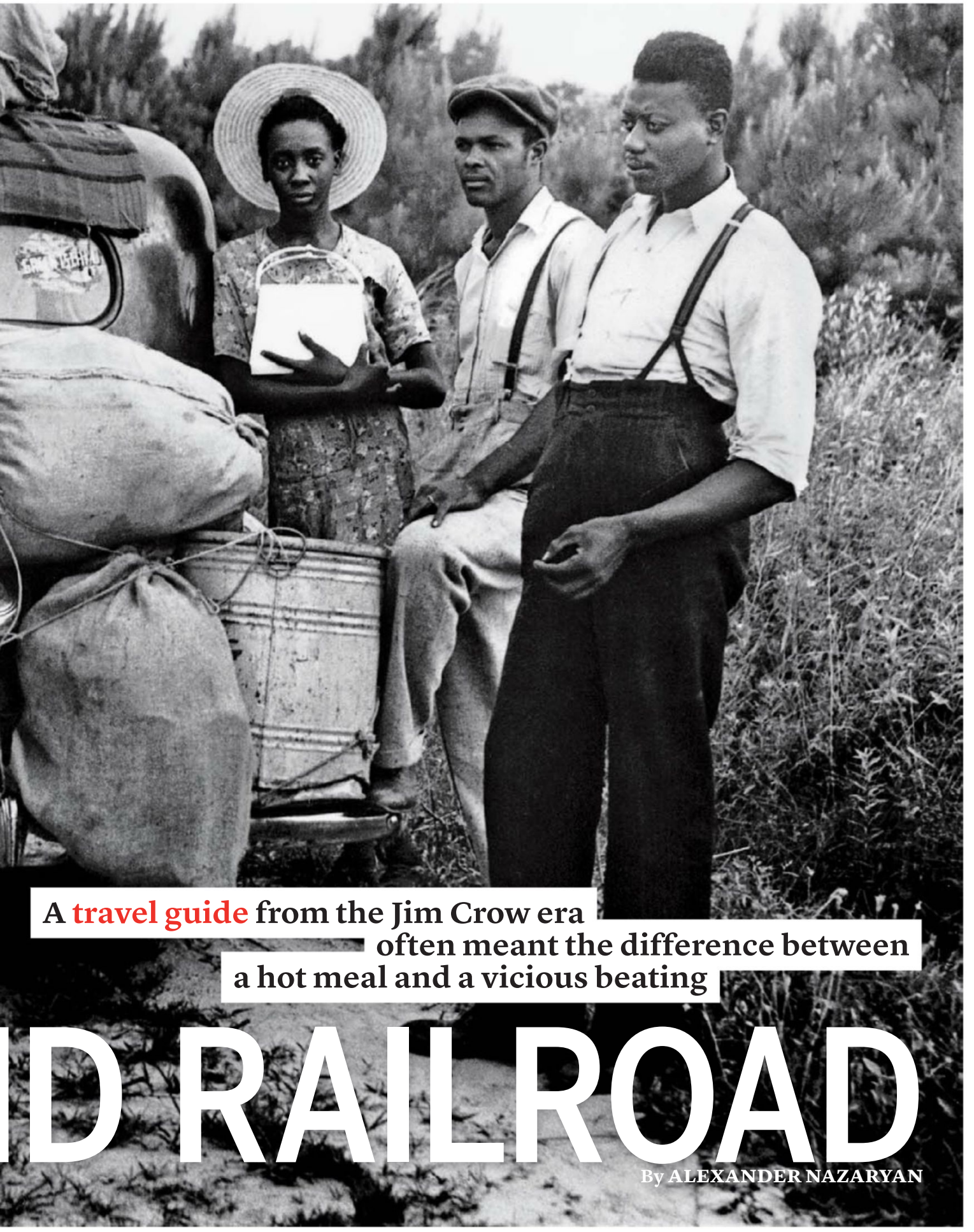
Analysts on both sides of the Pacific say there's another thing Washington and its allies may have going for them as they urge a tougher line on Pyongyang. Xi is said to have little respect for Kim Jong Un, believing him to be unqualified to run North Korea. The supreme leader had his uncle Jang Song Thaek killed in late 2013; he was one of the closest North Korean officials to the Chinese leadership. Jang also kept an eye out for Kim Jong Nam, as, allegedly, did the Chinese state security ministry. (Although, as we've seen, not particularly well.) The murder of Kim, who spent much of his time in China over the past decade, was an affront to Beijing. The Chinese will not be happy. The U.S. must now figure out just how unhappy they are.

As the NSC's Cha and others say, a North Korea with the long-range capability to deliver nukes is in sight. That will enable Pyongyang to be more provocative toward Seoul and Tokyo, perhaps launching small-scale attacks and then daring them or the U.S. to hit back: We've got nukes in our pocket, and we can deliver them anywhere—want to play? This prospect makes the central issue when dealing with Kim Jong Un—is he rational or not?—obviously more urgent. At some point, the prospect of a pre-emptive strike by the U.S., and all the risks that would entail, could be on the table.

This is why Obama flagged North Korea for Trump. And Trump, by all accounts, got the message. What he doesn't have—because no one does—is an attractive way to avoid the disaster now unfolding on the Korean Peninsula.



THE OVERGROUN



A travel guide from the Jim Crow era often meant the difference between a hot meal and a vicious beating

D RAILROAD

By ALEXANDER NAZARYAN

The year is 1940. You are in a '37 Buick, driving west on the Dixie Overland Highway. You plan to take it all the way to California, but as things stand, you might not even make it to the Texas border. For you are black, and you are deep in Alabama, and night is coming.

This is the land of strange fruit: Elizabeth Lawrence, an elderly black woman who'd chastised white children for throwing rocks at her, lynched in 1933; Otis Parham, 16, set upon by a mob that couldn't find the perpetrator of an alleged attack on a white man in 1934. They killed Parham instead and threw his body into a ditch. You don't have to know the names of Alabama's recently murdered to feel the presence of their ghosts in the roadside thickets of longleaf pine.

With the day's light faltering, you pull over and retrieve *The Negro Motorist Green Book* from your Roadmaster's glove box. It is 48 pages of practical scripture, offering safe passage through the United States—where you can sleep, eat and fill your gas tank. The 1940 edition of the *Green Book* offered several options for safe harbor in central Alabama from the Ku Klux Klan, not to mention less deadly manifestations of hatred. Some of these are hotels that will allow black guests, like the Fraternal in Birmingham. Others are private homes, such as that of Mrs. G.W. Baugh, at 2526 12th Street in Tuscaloosa (private homes are almost always listed under the name of a female host). The *Green Book* also lists a few restaurants, clubs, garages and beauty salons. In Augusta, Georgia, you are welcome at Bollinger's liquor store—but nowhere else.

The number of listings will grow, especially after a brief hiatus in publication during World War II, as more and more people write in with suggestions, crowdsourcing a compendium of black-friendly sites across the nation. In 1957, North Dakota would be the last state in the continental United States covered by the *Green Book*. In 1964, Hawaii became the 50th state in the guide, which that year also featured entries for Europe, Africa and Latin America.

Thus what began in 1936 as a barebones aggregation of New York–area advertisements would eventually create what the historian Jennifer Reut calls an "invisible map" of America. The guide's creator, Victor Hugo Green, had recognized that such a map was necessary. But he also hoped that his work would eventually be obviated by social progress. Later editions of the *Green Book* contained an introduction with this optimistic passage:

> *There will be a day sometime in the near future when this guide will not have to be published. That is when we as a race will have equal opportunities and privileges in the United States. It will be a great day for us to suspend this publication for then we can go wherever we please, and without embarrassment.*

The *Green Book* did, in fact, cease publication in 1967, three years after the passage of the Civil Rights Act. But equality legalized wasn't equality realized. A 2012 survey found that 40 percent of waiters polled in North Carolina admitted to discriminating against black customers. Earlier this winter, a Quality Inn in Maryland was sued because black guests alleged "hotel workers demanded that black guests show their meal tickets to get breakfast while ignoring white and Asian guests."

As for that ancient sin of driving while black? It remains, ameliorated only slightly by time. "My dad told me when I was driving to be extra careful," a black administrator at Pennsylvania State University told the BBC last year. "It goes back to how officers will look at you as an African-American driving."

An out-of-date listing—a motel that welcomed blacks suddenly shuttering—could spell doom for a traveler stranded in the thick of Mississippi.

National statistics regarding the perils of Driving While Black are frustratingly elusive, but those that do exist all point to a significantly higher rate of police stops for blacks than any other ethnic group. Sometimes, those stops turn deadly, as in the cases of Philando Castile, Samuel DuBose, Walter Scott and Sandra Bland, all of whom died as a result of traffic stops.

The *Green Book* is obsolete. Its lessons are not.

HARLEM ON THE PRAIRIE

ON AN EXCEPTIONALLY cold morning this winter, I walked into an International House of Pancakes on 135th Street in Harlem. I'm a fan of IHOP's powdered sugar crepes, but that wasn't why I'd trooped uptown. I'd come to see what remained of Smalls Paradise, which occupied the ground floor of this decorous terra-cotta building from 1925 until 1986. More than a music venue, Smalls Paradise was central to African-American culture in the 20th century. Malcolm X worked there as a waiter in 1943: "No Negro place of business had ever impressed me so much," he wrote in his autobiography

JACK DELANO/PHOTOQUEST/GETTY; PREVOUS SPREAD: BETTMANN/GETTY

of first entering Smalls. Fats Waller and Ray Charles performed there. It was also a site of racial mixing unique to the Harlem Renaissance: The early civil rights leader W.E.B. DuBois, for example, was feted at Smalls on his 83rd birthday by Paul Robeson and Albert Einstein.

In later years, the club was owned by basketball great Wilt Chamberlain, but he shuttered it in 1986, as the neighborhood was pummeled by poverty, drugs and neglect. The IHOP opened in 2004, when Harlem's fortunes were ascendant once again. It is supposedly one of the most popular IHOPs in the United States, but it is otherwise no different than its 1,650 peers. There is no sign, inside or out, that this was ever anything but a pancake restaurant.

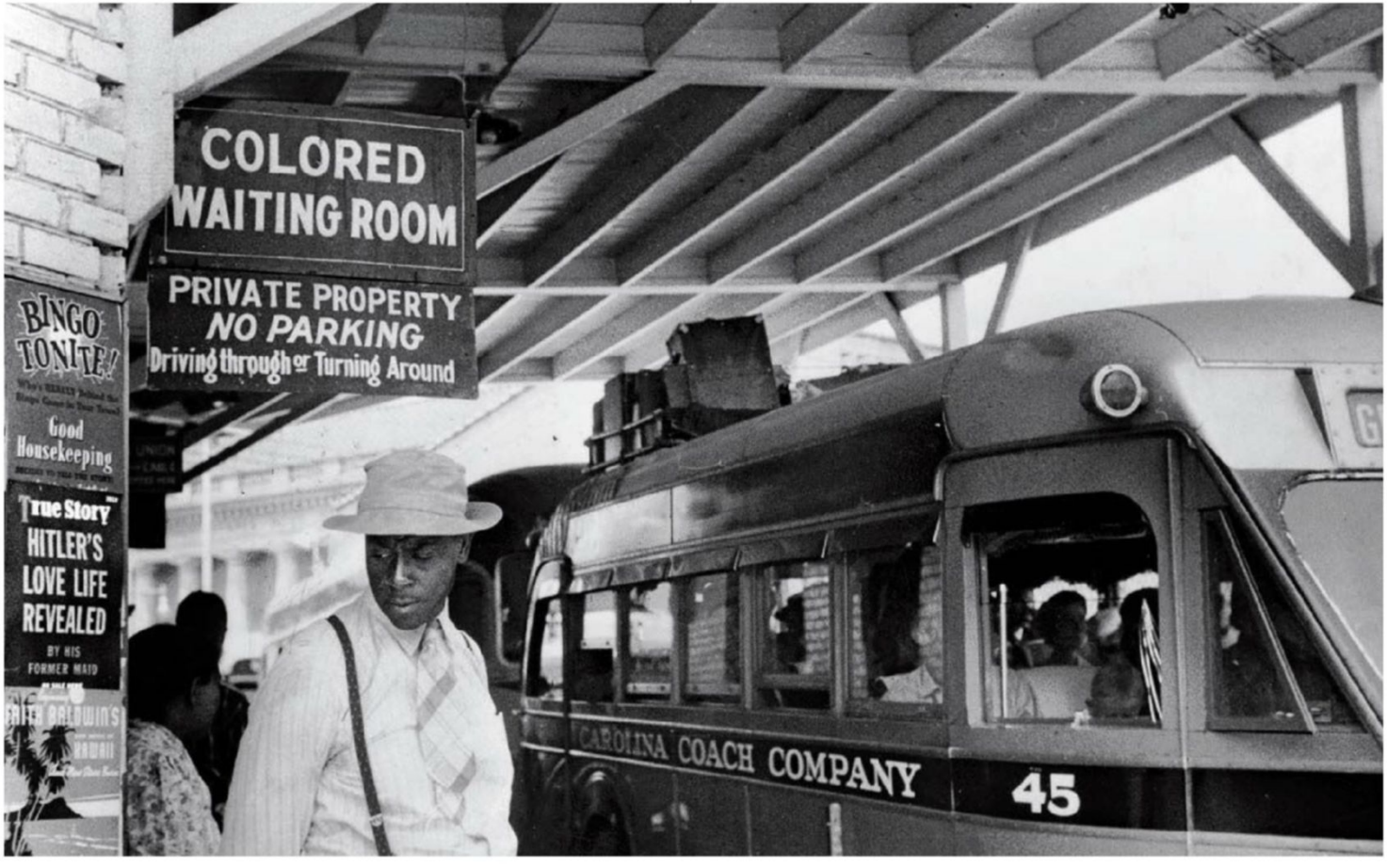
After a few minutes of waiting, I watched as a diminutive, well-dressed woman walked into the restaurant. Candacy Taylor was not there to eat sugary crepes either. Taylor is trying to catalogue every *Green Book* site across the United States. She wants to make that invisible map visible again.

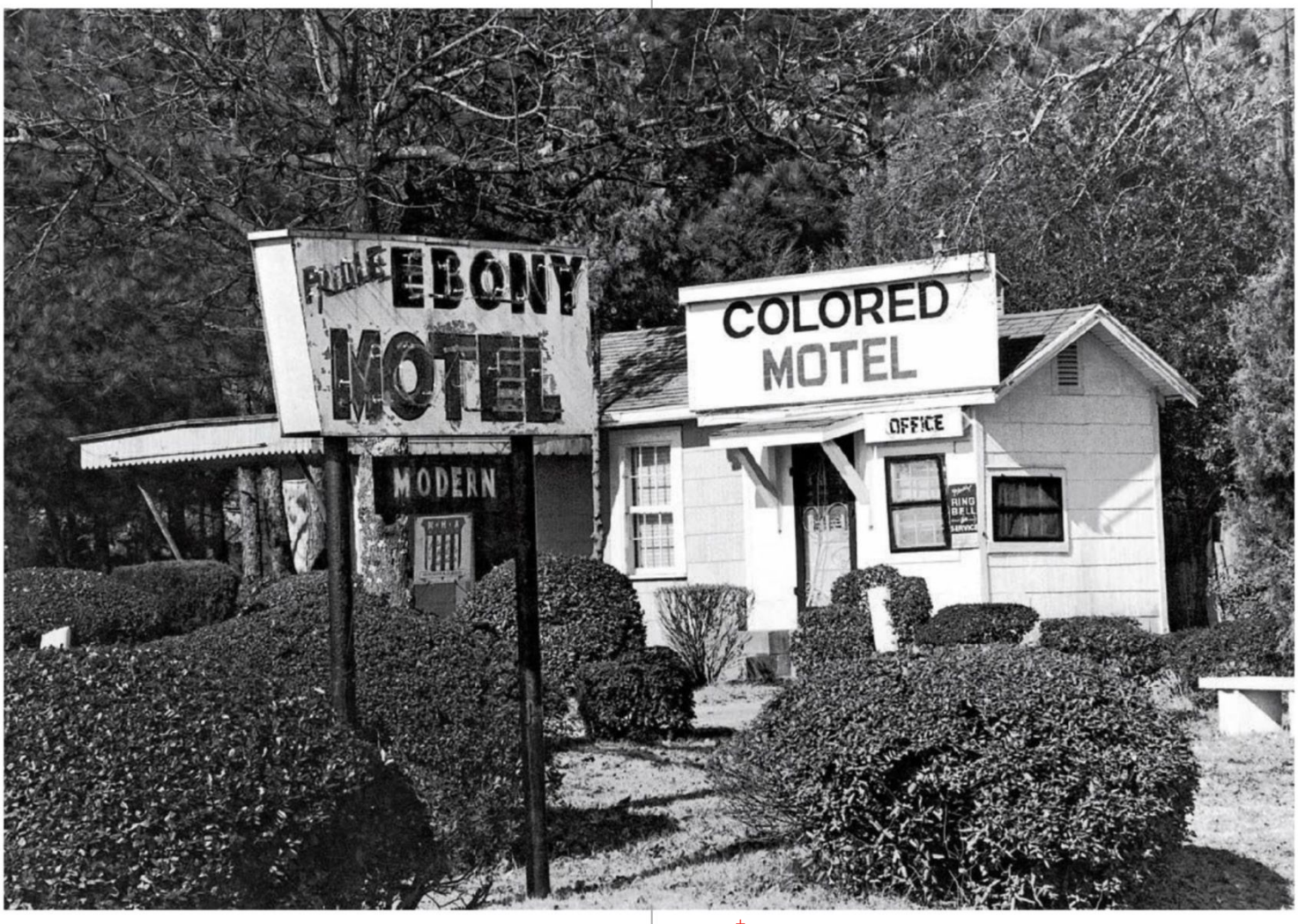
Smalls Paradise was such a site, one of hundreds in Harlem. The windows of the IHOP looked out at a shabby apartment building from which a faded marquis for the Hotel Fane extended like a vestigial limb. The Hotel Fane advertised in the *Green Book*, touting its presence in "the Heart of Harlem," as well as both hot and cold water in the rooms. Also in the *Green Book* was the desegregated YMCA on 135th Street—"the living room of the Harlem Renaissance," as it was known—where Malcolm X lived for a time. Taylor estimates that there may be as many as 700 *Green Book* sites in New York City, some of them famous, like the Savoy Ballroom, but most having long faded into oblivion: a millinery on Manhattan Avenue named Beulah's, a tavern called the Colonial Krazy House, on what I imagine was a stately stretch of Bradhurst Avenue in Harlem.

The *Green Book* created what Taylor calls an "overground railroad," used by the progeny of those who may have relied on that other, more famous railroad offering passage out of slavery. The Underground Railroad promised freedom; the *Green Book* promised something just as fundamentally American: leisure.

Taylor has spent the last several years photographing *Green Book* locations for her website while planning a much larger project she hopes will grant the *Green Book* the cultural prominence it deserves. Her task is made difficult by the fact that each edition of the *Green Book*

SOUTHERN DISCOMFORT: The *Green Book*, first published in 1936, grew each year in a primitive form or crowd-sourcing, as travelers submitted new discoveries or reported that establishments listed had closed.





MOTEL FIX: The Underground Railroad promised freedom; the *Green Book* offered something just as fundamentally American: leisure.

was often significantly different from those before and after, depending on the shifting landscape of prejudice in each state. An out-of-date listing—a motel that welcomed blacks suddenly shuttering—could spell doom for a traveler stranded in the thick of Mississippi.

Taylor went through all 22 editions of the guide to create a list of 4,964 sites—and she's gone through only about half of the nation. She believes that perhaps 25 percent remain standing in some form, like the IHOP in Harlem, while only about 5 percent operate as they did in Victor Green's time. A few are obvious and easy to find, like Clifton's Cafeteria in downtown Los Angeles, which recently reopened after a $10 million renovation, once more serving all those who reach the western terminus of Route 66, though it's pay-as-you-wish policy hasn't survived into the 21st century. But some are even more invisible than they were on Green's "invisible map," retreating into historical obscurity. There is Murray's Dude Ranch, in the high desert of Southern California, notable for catering to an African-American clientele. Black cowboy films like *Harlem on the Prairie* were filmed there. Today, it is just an expanse of sagebrush.

Other *Green Book* stops live on in shabby anonymity. The Hayes Motel, in the historically African-American section of South Central Los Angeles, opened in 1947, 18 years before an incident of police brutality led nearby Watts to erupt in fiery frustration against the city's reactionary leaders. The 1992 riots, in response to the acquittal of the four police officers who'd beaten motorist Rodney King, began a few blocks away. Somehow, the Hayes Motel remained in operation, but the turbulent times took their toll. When Taylor visited with a reporter for the *Los Angeles Times*, a telling sign greeted potential guests: "No drugs. No Prostitution. No Loitering. No Trespassing."

Taylor—who is writing a book on the *Green Book*, is in talks with the Smithsonian Institution Traveling Exhibition Service and is creating an interactive map with partners that may include Harvard, the New York Public Library and Google—isn't waiting for someone to invest $10 million in the Hayes Motel. But she believes it has a story worth commemorating, as do all its fellow *Green Book* survivors. She hopes to reclaim a forgotten chapter of African-American history, partly because it is *our* history and does not

deserve oblivion any more than Millard Fillmore's log cabin, but also because there were things we should have learned then but did not.

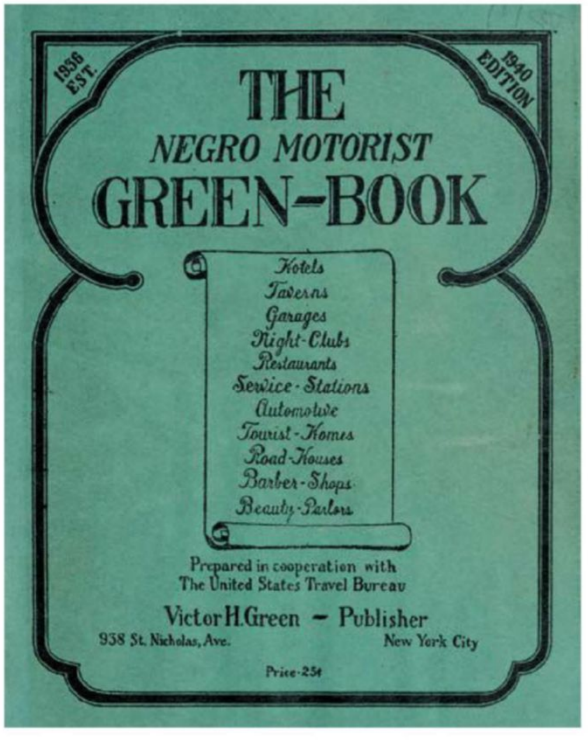
"This is a cautionary tale," she says. "This is still with us."

'TRAVEL IS FATAL TO PREJUDICE'

VICTOR HUGO GREEN was born in New York City in 1892. That year, there were 161 lynchings of African-Americans across the United States, an inglorious number never surpassed. Green grew up in New Jersey across the river from New York City and worked as a letter carrier. In 1918, he married Alma Duke, and they moved to Harlem.

The *Green Book* was born in part because of Green's marriage to Duke, a native of Richmond. "With Green's wife being from Virginia, he decided to make trips less humiliating and reached out to fellow mailmen all over the country," *Green Book* historian Calvin Alexander Ramsey told *The New York Times* in 2010. Ramsey added that Green had a friend who told him Jewish travelers, themselves often victims of discrimination, had guidebooks to make trips through hostile territory safer.

Today, any edition of the *Green Book* is a prized rarity. The Smithsonian National Museum of African American History and Culture recently bought a 1941 edition at auction for $22,500, or 90,000 times more than it originally cost: i.e., a quarter. The original *Green Brook*, from 1936, is the most elusive of all, with no known extant copies or even images of that edition.



FROM LEFT: JEAN-PHILIPPE CHARBONNIER/GAMMA-RAPHO/GETTY; NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY.

That second issue of Green's guide was only 16 pages long and little more than a collection of advertisements for New York–area hotels and restaurants. The book's introduction is printed on the front cover: "Let's all get together and make Motoring better." Motoring was becoming central to the American way of life when Green embarked on his project in 1936. The Triborough Bridge opened in New York that summer, the Bay Bridge in San Francisco that fall. Both were explicitly designed for vehicular traffic, funneling the residents of these large, coastal cities into the interior of the country. Highways began to stitch together distant parts of the country—Route 66, the "Mother Road" of automotive travel, opened in 1926. That same year, Route 50 traced a path from Maryland to California.

Gretchen Sorin, a historian of African-American travel who directs the Cooperstown Graduate Program of museum studies at the State University of New York College at Oneonta in upstate New York, says African-Americans back then were especially invested in automobile culture. She asked if I'd ever heard the stereotype of the young black male who lives with his mother but sports a flashy Cadillac with gleaming rims. I answered that I had, recalling Chris Rock's joke from a 2004 comedy special—"Maybe if we didn't spend all our money on rims, we might have some to invest"—which suddenly seemed just a little less funny. Sorin says this stereotype was rooted in the cruel reality of housing discrimination. Unable to buy real estate, many African-American families made an automobile their biggest purchase.

There were things we should have learned then but did not.

There was also safety in size, as well as speed. "It was harder to turn over a big car," Sorin says. "If you had a car that had a lot of power, you could get away." In 1955, the Reverend Moses Wright testified in a Mississippi courtroom against the two white men who'd murdered his grand-nephew, Emmett Till. Fearing for his own life, Wright fled in a '46 Ford sedan, in which he slept that first night. He later sold the car to buy a train ticket to Chicago, but without recourse to a vehicle, Wright would have also been lynched.

For middle-class African-Americans, travel down the nation's new roads and highways could serve as proof they were no different from their white counterparts. They would be, in a sense, ambulatory examples of

SOUTHERN EXPOSURE: Green started his guide because he had to regularly drive from Harlem to Richmond, Virginia, to visit in-laws, and he was determined to make the trip less humiliating.

black progress. Some editions of the *Green Book* featured a quote from Mark Twain: "Travel is fatal to prejudice."

The *Green Book* was always somewhat coy about its purpose, maybe because that purpose was so obvious, or maybe because it was so monstrous, it was better relegated to the margins. The guide was generally free of politics or commentary of any kind. In the 1947 edition, there is a listing of "Negro colleges," as well as an advertorial apparently reprinted from *The New York Times* that alludes to the participation of African-American soldiers in World War II: "The Negro...shared the mud, the danger, the sweat and the tears. Now he has the right to continue his interrupted education if he wants to do so."

But even such tame expressions of race recognition are rare. The goal is pleasure, not enlightenment. The ads show graceful hotels and suggest sumptuous meals. There isn't any fear-mongering, and warnings to stay *out* of places are similarly infrequent. Green's strongest language was reserved for road safety, in a recurring tongue-and-cheek item called "How to Keep From Growing Old" (e.g., "Always speed"; "Never Stop, look or listen at railroad crossings"). Green wanted to treat his African-American readers like ordinary travelers, though of course the raison d'être of his book was that they were anything but. The first year in American history since 1882 without a recorded lynching of a black person was 1952. In a sense, Green's book was a hedge against racial progress.

A deal with the Esso chain of gas stations allowed Green to distribute his guide more widely, so that by 1962 there were 2 million copies in circulation, with an annual print run of about 15,000 (Taylor warns that both of these numbers may be inexact). In 1947, he started his own travel company, prosaically named the Vacation Reservation Bureau. Its offices were above Smalls Paradise, where there is today, looming over that IHOP, a charter school named after Thurgood Marshall, the civil rights lawyer and Supreme Court justice who did so much to dismantle segregation in America. Because of him and fellow activists and jurists, the work Green did in that second-floor office eventually became unnecessary.

"I think what's exciting about the *Green Book* is that it literally did save lives," Taylor says. "But then there was this other side where it just gave black people the freedom to experience America like everybody else."

A COUNTRY DIVIDED AGAINST ITSELF: Green wanted to treat his African-American readers like ordinary travelers, though of course the raison d'etre of his book was that they were anything but.

BETTMANN/GETTY

'AMERICAN CARNAGE'

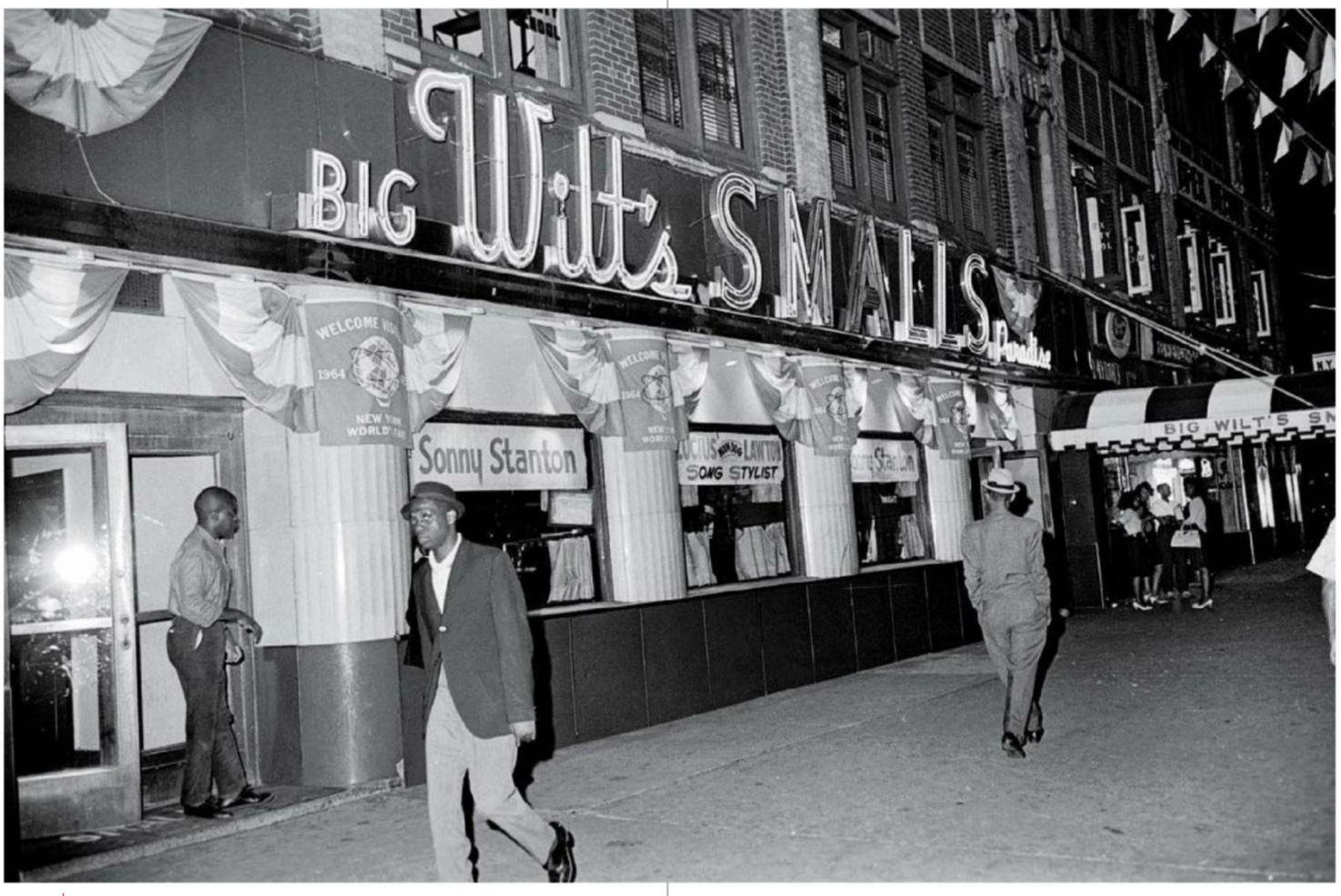
I FIRST MET Taylor in Los Angeles, two days after Donald Trump was elected president of the United States. That night, she was giving a talk on her project at the Petersen Automotive Museum. An exhibition hall of priceless Bugattis filled with a crowd that seemed hearteningly—if superficially—diverse.

Taylor likes to tell a story about driving with her mother through Houston in 1978. By the side of the road, a chain gang was working. A question bothered Taylor, which she posed to her mother: If slavery was over, then why were all the men in the chain gang black?

Jewish travelers had their own guides to make trips through hostile territory safer.

"She had no answer, or maybe she just didn't know how to explain institutional racism to a 7-year-old," Taylor wrote in *The Atlantic* last year. "Either way, it was painfully obvious to me that there was a problem. I've been questioning the existence of racial equality ever since." Taylor calls herself a "cultural documentarian," which means she writes—books on coffee shop waitresses and a guide to Route 66—but also takes photographs, as she has been doing for her *Green Book* project, and creates multimedia exhibitions, like the one she did on ethnic beauty salons. While researching the Route 66 guide, Taylor noticed most representations of travelers on the Mother Road were of "the lily-white suburban family" packed into an Airstream trailer. Black travelers didn't seem to exist. "I knew there were all these narratives that were missing in that story," she says.

As we watched the Petersen exhibition hall fill up, I mentioned the astonishing outcome of the election. Taylor is an intense, graceful woman who has the confident manner of a college professor and doesn't seem to enjoy small talk. She countered that the outcome wasn't astonishing to her. She'd spent a portion of the previous two years driving across the coun-



UPTOWN FUNK YOU UP: The music venue Smalls Paradise was central to African-American culture in the 20th century and a site of racial mixing unique to the Harlem Renaissance.

try, systematically trying to track down every single building from the *Green Book* that was still standing: every private house that welcomed travelers of color, every roadside diner, every gas station. Los Angeles, where she was living at the time, had 224 sites.

Between Clifton's and Smalls Paradise, there was an archipelago of safe sites across the continent, and these presented the greater challenge. Such establishments were often located in marginal areas that have only further deteriorated in the last five decades, whether because of white flight, freeway construction, "urban redevelopment" or, more likely, some noxious combination of those factors. Searching for the past, she also saw the present. "You don't think you're in America," she says of visiting the rougher sections of Chicago, where black culture had once thrived. "I would be in tears." Though she says she's no "shrinking flower," Taylor started to carry a stun gun after she was nearly assaulted by a homeless woman on Skid Row in Los Angeles. She saw, in other words, the "American carnage" Trump would correctly diagnose but incorrectly attribute. The greater fault is not with Mexico or China, but with ourselves.

BEAUTIFULLY AND TRAGICALLY

THE *GREEN BOOK'S* return to cultural relevance began a decade ago, with a 2007 traveling exhibit called the "The Dresser Trunk Project," which relied heavily on *Green Book* to highlight the travails of traveling in the era of Jim Crow. The following year, Americans elected their first African-American president, leading pundits to declare that the nation was entering a post-racial period of universal comity.

In the spring of 2009, a Tea Party protester who couldn't have been older than 14 carried a sign that explained the principles of "Obamanomics," which were "Monkey see, monkey spend." Many other signs hoisted by Tea Party protesters in their days of right-wing rage urged Obama to return to Africa, though he'd never lived there.

In 2010, as the brief post-racial moment waned, Calvin Alexander Ramsey published *Ruth and the Green Book*, a children's book about an African-American girl who travels with her parents from Chicago into the segregated South. She thinks, at first, that Jim Crow is a flesh-and-blood villain, only to quickly learn otherwise. The journey becomes easier—pleasant, even—after her father is advised by a bow-tied gas station operator on the Georgia border to buy a

Green Book. "It made me sad that some people were mean to Negroes," Ruth concludes. "But it helped to know that good black people all over the country had pitched in to help each other."

The *Green Book* became the object of widespread fascination in 2015, when the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture at the New York Public Library digitized its holdings and made them available online. Librarian Maira Liriano, who was responsible for that project, first heard about the *Green Book* in an NPR segment six years ago. Sometime after that, she was foraging in the Schomburg archives and discovered a copy of the guide. "Travel guides in general tend to be pretty rare," she tells me, and that is especially the case with one like the *Green Book* that were updated each year. Those who used it would discard old versions for each new one. "You didn't want to put yourself in danger by having something that was out of date."

Reut, the architectural historian, is working on a project called Mapping the *Green Book*, an online cartographic version of Taylor's work, while Sorin, the Cooperstown professor, is finishing a documentary with Ric Burns about the *Green Book* and driving while black. She says that while the *Green Book* highlights the struggles of African-Americans, it is also evidence of a broader integration of American society. The African-Americans who intrepidly set out with *Green Book* in glove compartment "laid the groundwork" for interracial couples, ethnic minorities and gays and lesbians who wanted the freedom already enjoyed by whites.

I first learned about the *Green Book* from *99% Percent Invisible*, a popular podcast about American history and culture. The 20-minute program concluded with Taylor in the basement of the central branch of the Los Angeles Public Library, which has 11 copies of the *Green Book* in its collections. "They're just little jewels," Taylor says, holding one. "I mean, I just buzz with this kind of good energy."

I had read plenty about the *Green Book* before I got to see one. But I finally did at the Schomburg Center, where Taylor was a scholar-in-residence before taking a similar position at Harvard. Several librarians met us in a conference room; on a large table were several editions of the *Green Book*. They were small, and the smallness felt acutely poignant in that first moment of contact. I understood for the first time how fragile was this "invisible map" Green had stitched together, how vulnerable the people for whom it was meant.

Taylor and the librarians watched as I flipped through the books with what may have been slightly unprofessional glee. I'd handled rare books before, including a First Folio of William Shakespeare's plays that a Dartmouth librarian placed into my ungloved hands. I like rare books even more than I like IHOP's powdered crepes; standing before the Gutenberg Bible or John James Audubon's *Birds of America* is, for me, an

ancient sugar of which there can be no excess.

The *Green Book* isn't quite as rare or valuable as those volumes, yet there was a familiarity to the booklets that multiplied their power. I wasn't just holding a rare book; I was holding a rare book that was American, beautifully and tragically so. It wasn't anywhere near

"What's exciting about the *Green Book* is that it literally did save lives."

as hefty as a modern-day *Lonely Planet*. Despite some fine cover art, it lacked the modernist design elements *Mad Men* taught us to prize. The *Green Book* couldn't afford any such flourishes, neither literally nor in the grander sense, because its most basic mission was to ensure survival.

ADDISON SCURLOCK/SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION

+
FREEDOM OF THE OPEN ROAD: Since they were often not allowed to buy real estate, many black families made an automobile their biggest purchase.

#LAUGHINGWHILEBLACK

TRAVEL HAS been the site of many conflicts, because travel forces people to interact in unpredictable ways. This is sometimes its great pleasure and often its greatest danger. As long dormant racial animosities have returned with grotesque force, Victor Green's wish for his guide to become obsolete has attained a new melancholy quality.

In August 2015, 11 members of the Sistahs on the Reading Edge book club got on the Napa Valley Wine Train. All but one of the women were black. The tourist train, which starts in the city of Napa and wends through the fertile hills of wine country, is popular with day-trippers who want to take in the views and cabernets without having to bother with driving.

Before the train left, a Wine Train employee asked the women to keep their voices down, according to an account later provided by Lisa Johnson, a member of the book club. The women were asked to quiet down again but continued in what was reportedly a boisterous but harmless conversation between old friends.

The crew apparently felt otherwise. In St. Helena, they asked all of the women to leave the train. The experience, which Johnson later described, left her shaken: "That was the most humiliating and embarrassing thing I've ever experienced in my life. To be paraded through all those cars, all those passengers looking at us, wondering what did we do that was so bad that we were being escorted off that train." She posted on Twitter with the hashtag #LaughingWhileBlack.

The story became a national outrage, in part because it seemed so obvious that being a little loud, a little tipsy, was the whole point of the wine train. The women sued and eventually won an undisclosed settlement, but the episode was a reminder that while the indignities of traveling while black may not be what they were in 1940, indignities remain. In fact, after a period of quiescence, they seem to have gotten worse. The migration of many travel services to the internet has allowed for new subtler forms of discrimination to flourish. Last fall, a study by the National Bureau of Economic Research found that some drivers for Uber and Lyft engage in discrimination. Customers with African-sounding names, for one, waited longer for a ride than those with "white" names.

Writing of the *Green Book's* "renaissance" in the age of #BlackLivesMatter, Makiba Foster, assistant chief librarian at Schomburg, argued that "in order to fully grasp and understand the importance of this 80-year-old publication, we must also truly grapple with how Black motorists are still being treated by the police and their fellow citizens."

Discrimination is especially pronounced on Airbnb, the peer-to-peer vacation rental service. Last year, an African-American man named Rohan Gilkes wrote on Medium about trying to rent a house in a picturesque part of Idaho where a white friend lived. He tried to book several houses, only to find owners either unresponsive or claiming, suddenly, that they wouldn't be away during the time of his planned visit.

In Atlanta, a black couple that rented an Airbnb house found themselves confronted by a host of police, neighbors having apparently figured the renters were thieves. That couple started a travel site specifically targeted to black travelers: Noirbnb.

Victor Green's book remains relevant even if the last drop of beer dribbled out of a tap at the Kentucky bar in Pasadena, California, decades ago. That's because the *Green Book* is not so much an object as a spirit, a version of Manifest Destiny that has nothing to do with triumphalist conquest. The spirit is intrepid but also hardened by experience, skeptical about Alabama but hopeful of New Mexico, optimistic that somewhere in the distance, in the darkness, a hot meal and cool sheets await.

RIGHT TO MARCH: At a protest against Berlin's refugee policy in 2015, Petry holds a banner reading "Asylum Needs Limits."

JOHN MACDOUGALL/AFP/GETTY IMAGES

SPRINGTIME FOR PETRY

As her right-wing party rises in the German opinion polls, is **Frauke Petry** the most dangerous nationalist in Europe?

BY **YARDENA SCHWARTZ**

WHEN DONALD TRUMP BECAME THE 45TH PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, MOST GERMANS SEEMED TO BE IN MOURNING. THE COUNTRY'S VICE CHANCELLOR, SIGMAR GABRIEL, WARNED OF "A ROUGH RIDE" AHEAD; A WEEK LATER, CHANCELLOR ANGELA MERKEL LECTURED TRUMP ON THE GENEVA CONVENTIONS, TELLING HIM THAT THE FIGHT AGAINST MILITANTS' ATTACKS DOES NOT JUSTIFY BANNING REFUGEES FLEEING WAR AND PERSECUTION.

But in the dawn of the Trump era, one political party formerly on the fringes of German society has been glowing: the anti-immigrant, anti-EU Alternative für Deutschland (AfD).

Four days after Trump's inauguration in January, I met AfD's party leader, Frauke Petry, who represents the district of Saxony, at her office in Leipzig, where she compared Trump's victory to Britain's vote to leave the EU. Both events, she said, inspire parties like hers, which are critical of the EU because they show that the increasing consolidation of power in Brussels is not inevitable. "It shows us at least that change is possible," she said.

While other prominent right-wing leaders, like Marine Le Pen of France's National Front and Geert Wilders of the Dutch Freedom Party, have received more attention for their fiery brand of politics, the AfD's Petry may, in some ways, be the most consequential of all the nativist European politicians.

The AfD has gained political influence extraordinarily quickly. Just four years after its founding, the once-peripheral party has become a major force, having won seats in 10 of Germany's 16 state parliaments. It succeeded in some surprising places, defeating Merkel's party, the Christian Democrats (CDU), in the chancellor's home state of Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania, and in September 2016, it won 14 percent of the vote in liberal Berlin, the highest showing there for a far-right party since World War II.

PETRY HAS BECOME THE FACE OF TRUMPISM IN EUROPE'S MOST POWERFUL NATION.

Now the AfD, which critics have lambasted for peddling xenophobia, seems poised to do well in Germany's federal elections in September, which could give it seats in the country's national parliament, the Bundestag, for the first time. Polls and political analysts predict the CDU will win the largest share of votes, which means Merkel will likely remain chancellor, despite a challenge from the left. But if the AfD's support holds, it would become the third largest party in the Bundestag, and the government's most prominent opposition party, making it the most successful nationalist party since the Nazis.

As Merkel has become Germany's—and the continent's—most powerful defender of liberal Western democracy, Petry has become the face of Trumpism in Europe's most powerful nation. Her party has campaigned to reverse Merkel's open-border immigration policies and her tough stance on Russian aggression, and it seeks to limit Germany's role in the EU. The AfD's rapid rise in a country whose dark history has made it so wary of nationalism speaks to the magnitude of the frustration and xenophobia that have brought Trump—and others like him—into the Western political mainstream.

The End of National Guilt?

Unlike France's National Front and Austria's Freedom Party, both founded decades ago, the AfD is relatively new. Established in February 2013 by economists critical of the expensive bailouts of smaller EU members like Greece and Spain, the AfD failed to enter the German parliament that year. But in 2015, a refugee crisis brought hundreds of thousands of mostly Muslim asylum seekers fleeing war, violence and persecution in Syria, Iraq, Afghanistan and elsewhere to the shores of Europe.

This spurred anti-immigrant and anti-Muslim sentiment—especially in Germany, which absorbed 1 million asylum seekers in 2015, more than all other European nations combined. The decision to do so was Merkel's; that same year, her government announced that all Syrian refugees were welcome to stay in Germany and that the country would place no limit on the number

of asylum seekers permitted to apply for refuge. While many Germans saw this open-border policy as a courageous, humanitarian response to the crisis, it generated resentment among some of their fellow citizens who felt it was a threat to national security and national identity.

Tapping into this resentment helped Petry lead AfD's transformation into an anti-immigrant party when she took charge in July 2015. Under her leadership, Bernd Lucke, the party's founder quit over concerns the AfD was becoming "Islamophobic and xenophobic." Recently, the AfD has won many voters who used to support the National Democratic Party, a neo-Nazi party that all of the country's 16 state parliaments recently tried to ban. (Germany's supreme court overruled that ban, arguing that while the party's goals are unconstitutional, it is too weak to achieve them.) But the AfD's message of reclaiming national pride and identity has attracted more than just fringe followers. Recent polls have put support for the AfD between 10 and 15 percent of voters—a result that could allow it to enter the Bundestag in September.

Compared with Trump's remarkable victory in November, those poll numbers may seem modest. But the AfD's rising popularity alarms many people in Germany, where guilt over the country's Nazi past has long played a significant role in its psyche and politics. Some AfD leaders have fueled the anxiety with their comments. One party official, Wolfgang Gedeon, has called Holocaust deniers "dissidents" and lamented that one of the nation's largest memorials, in Berlin, is dedicated not to national heroes but to the Holocaust, which he has called "misdeeds." In January, another AfD official, Bjoern Hoecke, stirred national outrage by calling that same memorial "a monument of shame."

"IT'S SIMPLY A LIE BY THE GOVERNMENT THAT THESE MIGRANTS WILL FIT INTO OUR SOCIETY."

Fear of a Muslim Planet

When I met Petry at her Leipzig office on January 24, it quickly became clear why she was chosen to lead the AfD and how, under her stewardship, a nationalist party has managed to gain such a large following: In person, she comes across as disarmingly normal.

Arriving just a few minutes late, the 41-year-old pregnant mother apologized profusely, explaining that she had to drive her kids to school. "The roads were so icy," she said, adding that one of her young sons didn't want to leave the house.

Pretty and petite with a pixie haircut, wearing jeans and a navy blazer, Petry spoke in lengthy,

EMMANUELE CONTINI/NURPHOTO/GETTY

POLITISCH INKORREKT: Petry campaigned in 2016 elections on a platform against the "Islamization" of Germany.

didactic sentences that seemed more suited to a university professor than the leader of a populist party. She seems to have little in common with the more controversial characters within the AfD, especially those associated with anti-Semitism. As we talked, Petry was quick to criticize Hoecke's call for a "180-degree turn" in how Germans perceive their history, by which he means that Germany should move on from what they believe is a kind of guilt driving political decisions, like accepting refugees. (That's a sentiment that several party members told me they agree with, even if they wished Hoecke had phrased it differently.)

"THE WHOLE OF EUROPE NEEDS GOOD RELATIONS WITH RUSSIA."

Despite Petry's measured approach to nationalism, her beliefs on multiculturalism are no different from the most extreme on the right. Petry's mistrust of Islam fuels her political passions: Citing Sharia and reports of sexual assaults committed by refugees in Germany, she argued that Muslims are a threat to a free, Western society. Muslim immigrants come here "with attitudes that are so way out of our sort of common behavior and European attitudes," she said. "It's simply a lie by the government that these migrants will fit into our society."

In the 2016 state-level elections, Petry campaigned on a platform against the "Islamization" of Germany, which she said should include changes to family policy. She argues the government should offer things like tax incentives and cheaper child care to encourage Germans to have more children to preserve national identity, rather than relying on immigration to fill the gaps left by the country's low birth rate. (She is expecting her fifth child, the first with her second husband, Marcus Pretzell, who represents the party in the European Parliament in Brussels.) Asked if she hopes to be Germany's chancellor, Petry dismissed the suggestion, but she is quick to say that Germany should be led by someone with children—Merkel has none—because, she noted, "it makes you look beyond your own lifetime."

She also criticizes Germany for applying different rules to asylum seekers than to its citizens. "The government basically allows them to live in a different world," she said, arguing that statistics ("if you're able to read them") show that violent crimes have increased in Germany because of refugees. (They don't. Federal statistics show that refugees have not increased crime and are no more likely to commit offenses than native Germans.)

If that doesn't sound Trumpian enough, Petry seems to echo the New York billionaire on Russia too. She seeks closer ties with Moscow and hopes to speak to President Vladimir Putin soon. (Members of her party, she adds, have already met with Kremlin officials.) "The whole of Europe needs good relations with Russia," she said. "This doesn't mean that we favor Russian hegemony over Europe in any way. I mean, coming from…[East Germany], we had enough of Russian domination. But yes, with Trump many new perspectives appear possible."

While many leaders have expressed concern over Trump's statements about lessening U.S. engagement overseas, Petry welcomes the prospect. "American involvement in European issues since the First World War has led to a situation where many European states relied on America instead of taking their own responsibility," she said. Referring to American troops who have been stationed in Germany since World War II, she added, "Just as the Russians had to leave Germany in the '90s, I think it's time that the Americans leave as well."

'We Can't Allow This to Happen'

Before helping create the AfD, Petry was a chemist who founded Purinvent, a company that produces environmentally friendly polyurethane products (the company's website now explicitly disassociates Purinvent from the AfD). She used to vote CDU, Germany's most conservative party until Merkel moved it to the center, and even considered becoming a party member back in the early 2000s. "The CDU used to stand for family values, conservative policy and a rational economic policy,

SHOW OF HANDS: Berliners react as right-wing activists march in May 2016 demanding "Merkel must go."

FROM LEFT: EMMANUELE CONTINI/NURPHOTO/GETTY; WOLFGANG RATTAY/REUTERS

DAMPENED HOPES: A couple from Deir ez-Zor, Syria, rides a bus after registering as asylum seekers in Herford, Germany.

and they've given up on many of those ideas," she said. "They used to be the party that guaranteed security and safety for its citizens, but we see with Merkel that she cannot secure borders anymore. She doesn't want to."

Like Petry, a majority of AfD voters used to be supporters of the CDU, while others felt there was no political home for their conservative views, according to Kai Arzheimer, a political science professor at the University of Mainz and an expert in far-right voting patterns. Arzheimer's analysis shows that most AfD voters are under 65, and many are young with diverse educational and socioeconomic backgrounds. AfD voters also skew male, and support for the party is far higher in the former East Germany than it is in what was once West Germany, owing partly to AfD's anti-establishment brand, said Werner Patzelt, a political scientist at Dresden's Technical University.

In Germany, AfD's attitudes toward Islam also seem surprisingly mainstream: A poll published last year by German company Infratest Dimap showed that 60 percent of Germans surveyed believe that Islam does not belong in German culture; another 2016 poll, from the Friedrich Ebert Foundation, found that 25 percent believe Jews are "exploiting the past of the Third Reich." These views may explain why AfD support is growing among the broader German population. "People are very watchful when it comes to the radical right in Germany," said Arzheimer. "I think it is misleading to brand the AfD as a party of neo-Nazis."

"I THINK IT IS MISLEADING TO BRAND THE AFD AS A PARTY OF NEO-NAZIS."

For the liberal majority, the rise of this new movement has been alarming. Hajo Funke, a professor at Berlin's Free University and the author of a book about the AfD, *On Angry Citizens and Arsonists*, said Petry is merely the acceptable face of an otherwise ugly party, arguing that she hasn't done enough to distance the AfD from anti-Semitism and Islamophobia. "It's the classic right-wing populist concept of 'We represent the people, We have the solutions,' using the scapegoat of Islam," said Funke. "It's a kind of second wave of anti-Semitism that has re-emerged."

Richard Weiss, a member of the Green Party in Munich, agrees, saying that Germans, of all people, should be standing up to anti-Muslim rhetoric. "We have to wake up because this is a really dangerous situation if we give the Muslims the same stamp that we gave to the Jews. It's no different," he tells *Newsweek*. "We know better than anyone in the world that we can't allow this to happen."

GOOD SCIENCE

THE RE-TIRING SORT

A new eco-friendly rubber could make the tire industry cleaner and less costly

+

WHEEL SAVINGS: Each tire produced today uses seven gallons of oil; two for manufacturing and five for feedstock. A new process would replace the oil used for feedstock with renewable sources.

ANDREY RUDAKOV/BLOOMBERG/GETTY

BY
NATHAN DICAMILLO
@NathanAlec

SINCE 2001, when the gene of the compound needed to create rubber was identified, there has been a lot of pressure on scientists and the tire industry to get some traction in the search for eco-friendly rubber. Recently, researchers at the University of Minnesota discovered a method, published in the journal *ACS Catalysis*, that could make the industry greener by using carbon from natural sources such as grass, trees and corn instead of fossil fuels like petroleum. The process yields isoprene, the main compound needed to create rubber. "We have a really good chance of making this a viable process," says Marc Hillmyer, director of the university's Center for Sustainable Polymers. "It could also get the cost [of tire production] down a little bit."

Paul Dauenhauer, lead researcher and an associate professor of chemical engineering and materials science at the university, says that with 10 researchers on the project, eight from Minnesota and two from the University of Massachusetts Amherst, collaboration was a key factor in the success of the project. He likens the partnership to a "bank heist," since the expertise of each researcher made the project run more efficiently.

Dauenhauer now wants to do more tests in the hopes of learning how the newly discovered catalyst class works, and warns that making the process work for the tire industry might take some time. "You have to scale this up using large facilities, and the journey from discovery to large scale could take years."

The Rubber Manufacturers Association says 70 percent of all rubber is synthetic and that 90 percent of natural rubber comes from Asia, where rainforests are being cut down to make room for rubber trees. Producing natural rubber is also laborious: latex is collected from a tree, processed, refined and coagulated. Rubber is then teased out of the latex. "We try to start with a biological source and economically compete with the fossil fuel source," says Frank Bates, a professor of chemical engineering and material science and a member of the executive committee at Minnesota's Center for Sustainable Polymers. "That's what's called good chemical engineering."

DISRUPTIVE

RUNNING RED LIGHTS

Uber might be heading for the most spectacular car crash in history

JUST A year ago, Uber reigned as the tech industry's awe-inspiring, all-powerful Wizard of Oz. But lately, the curtain is being pulled back to reveal a guy who's more like an angry drunk frantically yanking levers while taking roundhouse swings at the Tin Man and propositioning Dorothy.

Uber is in a whole lot of bad right now, and there's growing concern that it's about to melt down like a haywire nuclear reactor, which would leave a crater in the heart of Silicon Valley.

Uber gave us on-demand transportation. Countless people all over the world love this new kind of service. The category is going to get bigger. But it's possible it will do that without Uber.

At the heart of Uber's trouble is its culture, which seems to have been born from a one-night stand between John Belushi's crude Bluto in *Animal House* and Ayn Rand's hypercompetitive Hank Rearden. That culture got put on public display in February, when former engineering employee Susan Fowler published a blog calling out Uber's rotten treatment of women and its general dysfunction. The place is so cutthroat, she wrote, "it seemed like every manager was fighting their peers or attempting to undermine their direct supervisor so that they could have their direct supervisor's job."

If anyone thought Fowler was a lone whiner, a few days later tech industry legend Mitch Kapor and his wife, Freada Kapor, an expert in workplace mores, published an open letter to Uber's board. The Kapors were early investors in the company, and they were unhappy about Uber's tepid response to Fowler's post and fed up with Uber's "destructive culture," to use their term. "We are speaking up now because we are disappointed and frustrated; we feel we have hit a dead end in trying to influence the company quietly from the inside," they wrote.

A week later, while riding in an Uber, CEO Travis Kalanick was captured on video berating the driver, who dared to complain about cuts to his income because Uber keeps reducing fares. "I'm bankrupt because of you," the driver told Kalanick, who then erupted. After Bloomberg obtained and published the video, Kalanick found himself in the all-too-familiar position of publicly apologizing. He posted on Uber's site, "I must fundamentally change as a leader and grow up." Duh.

Negative publicity keeps battering Uber. It ran afoul of the protesters who flocked to airports after Donald Trump's travel ban, then had to fend off a #DeleteUber movement. (Some estimates say 200,000 people deleted the app in the days after the hashtag went viral.) About six months earlier, Uber took a $3.5 billion investment from Saudi Arabia's Public Investment Fund, a move that made Uber look as if it was buddies with a government that won't let women drive and puts gay men in jail. One Uber investor said to *Fortune* about the deal, "It goes to the heart of who Travis is. He just doesn't give a shit about optics. Ever."

Now Uber is being painted as a technology thief by Google's parent, Alphabet. Last year, Uber bought a company called Otto for a reported $680 million. Otto develops autonomous driving tech-

BY
KEVIN MANEY
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DRIVER'S ED: Uber CEO Kalanick, who reportedly "doesn't give a shit about optics," has been pummeled in the past year for how his company is run and got schooled by one of his drivers in a leaked video.

MARLENE AWAAD/BLOOMBERG/GETTY

nology. A bunch of people who work there came from Alphabet's autonomous car subsidiary, now called Waymo. Alphabet alleges that some of those people stole technical data from Waymo, and Alphabet is suing to stop Uber from using it. Uber has often stated that its future rests on having a fleet of self-driving cars—so it won't have to share revenue with those pesky drivers. If Alphabet wins its case, Uber would pretty much have to start building the technology all over again or pay a ton of money to buy someone else's.

While Uber is counting on a hazy future of self-driving cars, in the meantime it has to keep its 160,000 drivers happy, and they are not, as Kalanick's video encountered showed. Drivers want the Uber app to allow tips; Uber won't do it. Uber has fought court cases brought by U.S. drivers asking for employee benefits. It settled a suit for $20 million for posting ads that were misleading about how much its drivers can earn. Rival Lyft has been running ads lampooning Uber's treatment of drivers, hoping to lure away Uber drivers—and convince conscientious riders they should prefer a company that treats its drivers better.

SOME SPECULATE UBER MAY HAVE LOST $3 BILLION LAST YEAR.

Strategically, Kalanick and his team seem guilty of constant overreach. Does anybody ever order a falafel from UberEats? Who at Uber thought it was a good idea to take on Seamless? Not only did Kalanick buy Otto to get into self-driving cars, but in February he hired a former NASA scientist to develop *flying* cars. Trump likes to say we always lose to China—well, Uber proved him right by going into China ill-prepared. Last summer, Uber cut a deal with China's Uber clone, Didi Chuxing, to leave China in exchange for 17.5 percent of the Chinese company and a $1 billion investment by Didi. Is that setting up Didi to beat Uber worldwide? Trump will have a seizure if U.S. riders no longer say they're going to "Uber" somewhere and instead say they're going to "Didi."

And then there is Uber's financial picture. The company is private, but some numbers have been leaked. Bloomberg reported that Uber lost $800 million in the third quarter of 2016. Some speculate Uber may have lost $3 billion last year. Uber is a costly business to run. To serve more customers, it needs to bring in and pay more drivers, so the company can't take advantage of economies of scale. It has little pricing power because it still faces competition from Lyft and taxis and other newcomers, including Maven, which is a unit of General Motors. To have the cash to fund operations and expansion, Uber has brought in round after round of private investment, pumping up the valuation of the company to nearly $70 billion. That would make Uber worth more than GM. Raise your hand if you think that makes sense.

The sky-high valuation may haunt Uber. Kalanick has refused to go public, even though the company, at eight years old, is in the sweet spot where many tech companies do an initial public offering. He makes his stance sound like a maverick's declaration of independence from public markets, but whispers now are that Uber's finances might not justify an IPO at a valuation high enough to make current investors happy. If that's true, Uber is in a hole. It won't be able to raise money from anyone who has passed sixth-grade math.

If Uber stalls, it isn't going to be saved by a loyal consumer fan base. There is no stickiness to Uber. It has no frequent-rider program. It has no social component. It prevents users from forming bonds with drivers. No one gets a heightened sense of self by identifying as an Uber rider versus some competitor. We'll stick with Uber as long as it continues to get us where we want to go at a price we like. Someone else comes along with a better service or lower price, we'll use it.

It's hard to imagine the devastation that would come with an Uber collapse. Its dozens of investors range from venture capital companies to individuals like Kapor and companies such as Microsoft and Citigroup. The company employs 11,000 people (excluding drivers), mostly around Silicon Valley, and is in the process of spending $250 million on new offices. The blow to Silicon Valley's ego might be up there with the pain the Democratic Party has been feeling lately.

Uber has done amazing work in its short life. It created, defined and has so far dominated a new market of on-demand transportation, changing the way we do things today and profoundly changing the way we think about the future of urban transportation. It is a historically important company. No one will ever take that away from Kalanick and his crew. But Uber has proved to be a flawed company. To find a business tragedy that's an appropriate warning for Uber, go back to Drexel Burnham Lambert in the 1980s, when Kalanick was in grade school. (He is, believe it or not, 40 years old.) Drexel, led by investing legend Mike Milken, defined and dominated junk bonds as a category of finance. This changed Wall Street and business forever. Drexel was a superstar. But the company had a flawed culture of insane pressure to perform, so employees took sketchy risks that ultimately led to criminal charges. Within a couple of years, the company fell from the pinnacle of Wall Street power to filing for bankruptcy. Milken went to prison for securities fraud.

IT'S HARD TO IMAGINE THE DEVASTATION THAT WOULD COME WITH AN UBER COLLAPSE.

The category Drexel created lives on. Junk bonds are a $1 trillion market, without Drexel.

The Kapors are pushing Kalanick to reinvent Uber's culture. It would be awesome if Uber can fulfill its promise and stand next to companies like Apple and Amazon. But as Uber's bad days pile up, it often looks as if Kalanick has built a Drexel.

IGNORANCE ISN'T BLISS: Youth and young adults are particularly vulnerable to mental illness, and most of those affected aren't being treated.

LEMUEL CAPARAZ/EYEEM/GETTY

THEY KNOW WHY YOU'RE SAD...

MENTAL ILLNESS CAUSES MORE MISERY THAN POVERTY OR UNEMPLOYMENT

BY **DOUG MAIN**
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WHAT MAKES people miserable? Traditionally, economists have blamed unemployment and poverty as the biggest drivers of despair. But new research suggests this analysis is flawed. "We keep on finding in every country that the mental health problems are the biggest causes of misery," says Richard Layard from the London School of Economics, who along with colleague Sarah Flèche analyzed happiness and satisfaction surveys from around the world. In a paper published in January in the journal *Kyklos,* Flèche and Layard found that the correlation between mental illness and misery was strong even when poverty and unemployment were controlled. In other words, it isn't just that people have mental health troubles only because they face deprivation; the mental problems do a great deal to cause unhappiness whether or not somebody has a job and makes a decent living, Layard says.

The finding may seem obvious, but nonphysical ailments were ignored in the past as economists tended to focus on external factors, and it was generally thought that not much could be done to improve mental health, says David Clark, a professor of experimental psychology at the University of Oxford. This finding is consistent with work done by Clark and Layard in Britain showing that mental illness takes a bigger toll on productivity than physical health problems. They calculated that if these mental health problems were treated, gross domestic product (GDP) would increase by 4 percent.

Over the past decade, the scholars, as well as others, have lobbied the government to treat mental health as aggressively as physical problems, and they have succeeded in prodding British authorities to start a program that now provides 550,000 people a year with evidence-based psychological and psychiatric treatments, Clark says.

Youth and young adults are particularly vulnerable to mental illness. "We have a success-oriented culture [that] puts a lot of strain on young people," Layard says. At least 10 percent of those ages 5 to 18 in the United States and Britain are diagnosable with mental illness, he says. But around three-fourths of these people are not being treated.

"It is quite a scandal, I think, that in most Western countries and the U.S., the majority of people just don't get access to the latest evidence-based psychological treatments," Clark says.

This doesn't necessarily suggest that drugs should be more widely prescribed. In many cases, psychological and behavioral treatments work as well or better, without side effects, and people prefer psychological therapies over drugs by a factor of 3-to-1, Layard says. However, many more people get drugs and no psychological intervention. One reason for this is the pressure brought to bear by pharmaceutical companies.

Regardless of how they are treated, mental health problems are handled best when caught early, and they need to be treated as quickly and aggressively as physical ailments, Clark says. The United States and Britain have made strides in this area in the past two decades, and now each spend about 1 percent of their GDP on mental health treatment, though there is room for improvement.

TOXIC UNDERGROUND

The EPA is allowing contaminated groundwater to go untreated—with potentially dangerous consequences

THE REMAINS of the George Air Force Base on the edge of California's Mojave Desert are little more than a dusty sprawl of squat buildings, their roofs riddled with holes, their hinged windows flapping open and shut in the dry wind.

The Clinton administration decommissioned the base in 1992, but this crumbling ghost town carries a worrisome legacy—a stew of toxic waste that has been the target of a federal cleanup, which is still under way after two decades of work and more than $100 million in spending.

At George, as at many other military bases, chemicals and jet fuel were leaked or haphazardly disposed of for years, polluting hundreds of acres

BY
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HASTE AND WASTE: The Hanford Site in Washington, the location of the nation's biggest nuclear cleanup. Part of the problem is being handled with a process that could jeopardize drinking water supplies.

TED S. WARREN/AP

NEW WORLD/POLLUTION

of groundwater. Trichloroethylene, a cancer-causing solvent, has contaminated two aquifers underneath the base and threatens a third aquifer, as well as the Mojave River. It has also tainted monitoring wells at a nearby wastewater reclamation plant and forced workers there to drink bottled water as a precaution.

Yet even as contaminants continue to spread, the Air Force wants to finish part of the cleanup with a laissez-faire strategy, raising alarm at the local water board. The approach—adopted by environmental agencies at toxic cleanup sites across the country—leaves contaminated groundwater to remain untreated and instead slowly diminish over time. It's a strategy that saves money for polluters but could jeopardize drinking water supplies and cost taxpayers dearly.

The strategy is called monitored natural attenuation, or MNA. With little public awareness or debate, it has become increasingly widespread since the 1990s as a way to cope with the enormous cost of some groundwater cleanups.

Despite the bureaucratic name, MNA basically involves keeping a watchful eye while natural processes purge groundwater of chemical pollution. According to Environmental Protection Agency guidelines, it's an acceptable approach under some circumstances. That includes when contaminants are expected to degrade over a period of years rather than centuries, and when there is no risk of polluted water seeping into, and spoiling, fresh water supplies. MNA can be effective with contaminants such as petroleum hydrocarbons that are eaten by microbes in the soil and groundwater.

But some analysts say regulators overseeing federal and state cleanups have at times approved MNA in violation of EPA guidelines. Because it is usually much simpler and cheaper than active cleanup methods—such as pumping water out of the ground and treating it—they say polluters increasingly push MNA at contaminated sites, often with too little resistance from regulators. "I have a very sour attitude towards this concept," says Robert Alvarez, a senior scholar with the Institute for Policy Studies, a think tank based in Washington, D.C. "It's a very big concern, especially for very contaminated sites."

There are obvious risks in leaving toxic contaminants in groundwater. If the pollutants aren't correctly monitored, they could continue to spread and contaminate nearby aquifers. And with large areas of the U.S. already facing dwindling water resources because of drought and population growth, particularly in Western states, any widespread reliance on MNA threatens to eliminate more water from public use. Meanwhile, if the land atop polluted groundwater is subsequently sold or if those responsible for the pollution go out of business, taxpayers could be left holding the bill.

Alvarez is particularly critical of the use of MNA at radioactive waste sites, where experts estimate that certain kinds of radioactive waste will take millions of years to naturally degrade to safe levels. The most dramatic example is the Hanford Site in southern Washington state, the location of the nation's biggest nuclear cleanup, where part of the problem is being handled with MNA.

Despite multiple requests over a period of months, the EPA refused to grant *Newsweek* an interview about the use of MNA. The agency, in one of the responses it provided via email, said that under its Superfund toxic waste site program, "cleanup remedies are selected to be protective of human health and the environment. EPA has developed numerous technical and policy guidance documents that present a logical technical approach...for assessing MNA's effectiveness."

> CHEMICALS AND JET FUEL WERE LEAKED OR HAPHAZARDLY DISPOSED OF FOR YEARS, POLLUTING HUNDREDS OF ACRES OF GROUNDWATER.

There appears to be no comprehensive, reliable estimate of the number of places around the country where MNA has been employed, but according to data from the EPA, the method is in use at 85 of 141 U.S. military locations classified as Superfund sites. That includes Camp Lejeune in North Carolina, where from the 1950s into the 1980s hundreds of thousands of people may

have been exposed to tainted drinking water. A separate assessment shows that in 2011, the most recent year tracked, 31 percent of EPA groundwater cleanup decisions involved some use of MNA.

The issue does not appear to be on the radar of most major environmental organizations, but it has come under attack by some regional officials and residents near polluted sites. In California, for example, water-quality authorities and the Air Force have been locked in a protracted battle over pollution at the George Air Force Base. The Lahontan Regional Water Quality Control Board, the agency overseeing the cleanup, claims the contaminants won't degrade to safe levels for up to 500 years if MNA is applied as proposed by the Air Force. This is happening in a region where water is already scarce and where the nearby towns of Adelanto, Victorville and Hesperia continue to expand.

"The Mojave Desert is the Mojave Desert," says Patty Kouyoumdjian, executive officer of the Lahontan water board. "Their only source of drinking water is groundwater."

The water board is pushing for a return to active treatment, such as pumping and cleansing the water and then returning it to the ground. But the Air Force disputes the water board's dim assessment of MNA for the site. In an email, the Air Force said it remains "in discussions" with the agency to "reach a common understanding of the nature and extent of the contamination."

Such tensions are commonplace, but they raise a question: Why can't the EPA and state regulators just demand an active cleanup?

It largely comes down to money. The cleanup of Defense and Energy Department sites depends on congressional appropriations, and the amount of available funding is limited. That narrows options and leads regulators to compromise.

When the polluter is a small private company, money is often a problem too. Philip Chandler, a senior geologist with the California Department of Toxic Substances Control, says "cash-strapped" companies commonly struggle with the costs of installing, maintaining and sampling monitoring wells. Because of that, Chandler—speaking for himself, not for his department—says he has come across cases of regulators in his agency letting polluters get away with doing things like not putting in enough wells to adequately track the movement of polluted water. The department, in an email, said on its cleanups "a rigorous evaluation process is followed to ensure the most appropriate technology for the site is chosen." But Chandler says that doesn't always happen. Sometimes, he says, "we effectively look the other way on the basic requirements of MNA."

The Air Force, frustrated with escalating costs and the slow pace of cleanups at a number of bases, took the lead in studying whether nature could do the job more quickly and cheaply. Officials at an array of agencies, however, struggled to figure out how to regulate the strategy, prompting the EPA to issue an MNA directive in 1999.

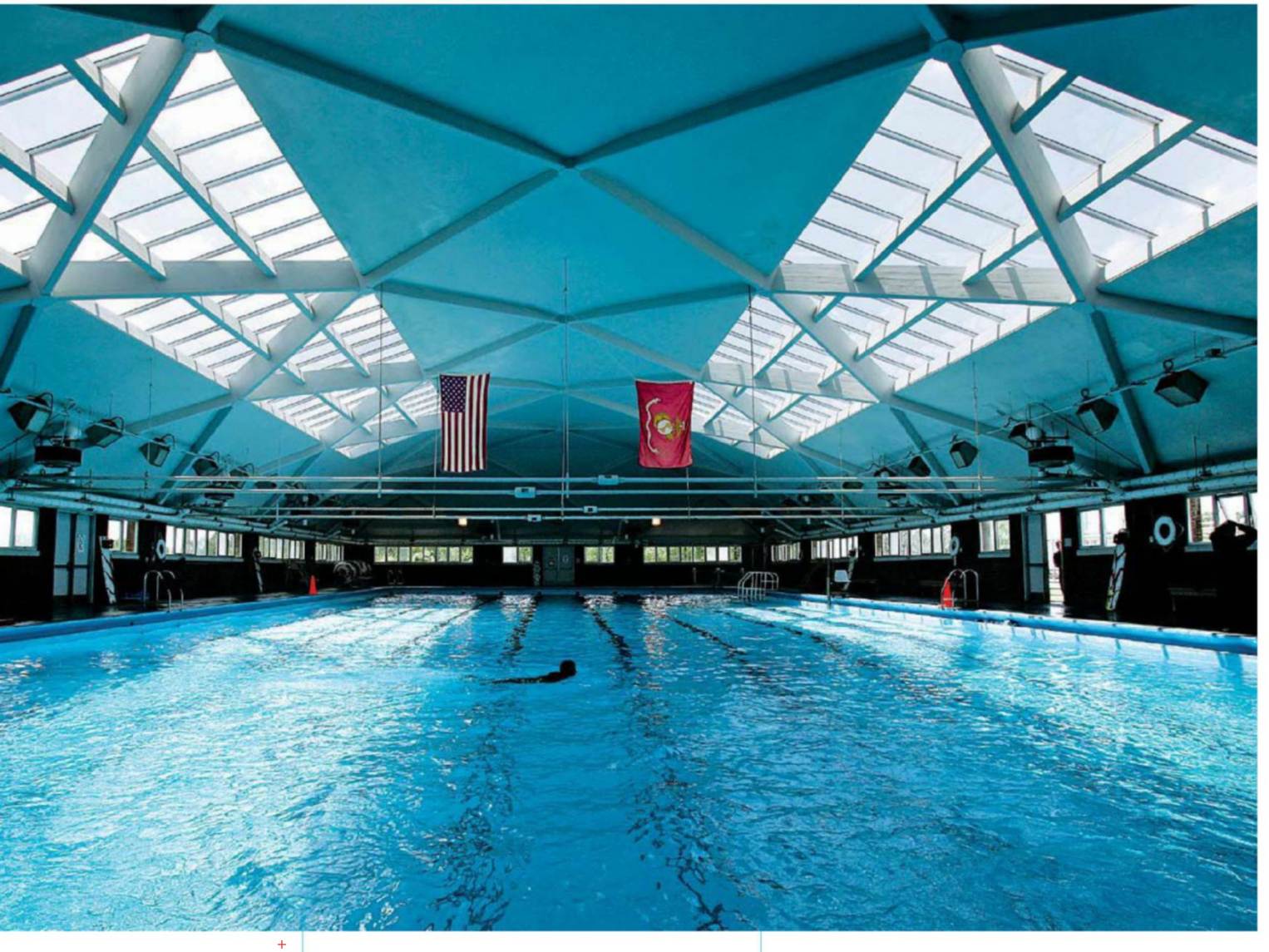
That directive and the EPA's updated guidelines state that MNA shouldn't be applied when, among other things, the source of pollutants isn't yet under control, when the tainted groundwater still is spreading and when the contaminants won't break down to safe levels within a "reasonable" period. "The notion of reasonable time frame has been such a big issue," says Peter Strauss, of PM Strauss & Associates, an environmental consulting firm. For many analysts, a rough estimate is 30 years, and for Strauss, MNA should work as quickly as proven active remedies: "Ideally, you should be looking to get as much done as possible without burdening future generations."

MNA SAVES MONEY FOR POLLUTERS BUT COULD JEOPARDIZE DRINKING WATER SUPPLIES AND COST TAXPAYERS DEARLY.

Many of the nation's most complex toxic cleanups are on the EPA's Superfund list. At some Superfund sites, critics say, MNA has been applied in circumstances that clearly violate the agency's guidelines. As an example, these critics point to Hill Air Force Base in northern Utah. It's the second largest U.S. Air Force base in size and personnel, and the site of a cleanup that has continued for about 20 years.

Perhaps the greatest concern among local residents and environmentalists is a contaminated area straddling the northern boundary of the base, uphill from an elementary school in

GERRY BROOME/AP



CESSPOOL? A pool at Camp Lejeune in North Carolina, a military base where many may have been exposed to tainted water.

the city of South Weber. It is polluted with an array of highly toxic contaminants, including arsenic and benzene.

For nearly 25 years, John Carter was employed as an environmental consultant by the South Weber Coalition, a local residents group. Carter says the Air Force has put out a "false image" of MNA as safe, despite the fact that contaminated water is essentially seeping downhill and underneath homes in the city. "And so, right away it does not meet the EPA's MNA criteria of no potential for movement of contamination," he says.

Worse still, says Carter, inadequate monitoring means the full reach of the contamination has never been accurately mapped. The result is that South Weber residents are at risk of toxic exposure to noxious gases that can seep into homes through the floor, often undetected, he adds.

Air Force officials say an estimated 5 to 10 percent of homes in a voluntary monitoring program had contaminants in their indoor air exceeding accepted levels from a contaminated sewer. The officials say the Air Force has put air cleanup systems in 123 homes to suck vapors from beneath their floors and that there is no "unacceptable risk of exposure" to residents. But many potentially at-risk residences have yet to be tested because the program is voluntary, says Brent Poll, a member of the South Weber Coalition. "The only thing you can say that's good about [MNA] is that it's very cheap," he says.

But in the long run, critics say, such projects could wind up being even more expensive if the contamination continues to spread. "If in 30 years you have to go in and say, 'Oh, Monitored Natural Attenuation isn't working,' who's paying for that?" says Strauss, the environmental consultant. "That's our children—it's a possible shifting of a tax burden to future generations."

This story was reported by FairWarning (FAIRWARNING.ORG), a nonprofit news organization based in Pasadena, California, that focuses on public health, consumer and environmental issues.

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FROZEN RAINBOW: Unalaska doesn't have high-speed internet, but it does have diversity: "When you enter a classroom of 20 kids, you have 15 different ethnicities."

JIM WILSON

THE BALLERS AT THE END OF THE WORLD

It's astonishing that the Unalaska Raiders can even field a team, and amazing that they win, win, win

BY **JOHN WALTERS**
@jdubs88

IF ALASKA—vast, untamed and magnificent—is "the Last Frontier," then Unalaska is Alaska's last frontier. Roughly 800 miles southwest of Anchorage on the necklace of volcanic islands known as the Aleutians, Unalaska is out there. Way out there. No community in the United States with more people than your typical high school reunion is farther west than Unalaska.

Unalaska, a term from the indigenous Unangan (or Aleut) language meaning "near the peninsula," is the name of both the island and its lone pocket of civilization. It is a treeless outpost twice the size of Oahu, and it is also a city (pop. 4,500) that represents the largest community within a radius of 600 miles. It is home to not only Dutch Harbor, the largest commercial fisheries port in the U.S. (home port of *Deadliest Catch*) but also an array of idiosyncratic wonders that seem sprung from Garrison Keillor's frontal lobe: a herd of feral cows that graze in the shadow of an active volcano, Mount Makushin; a road span, linking Unalaska to neighboring Amaknak Island, named the Bridge to the Other Side; and 200 or so Unangan people whose ancestors first arrived in the Aleutians 9,000 years ago, making them, as far as anyone knows, the lone ethnic group that has maintained the same address from the Stone Age to the Nuclear Age.

Unalaska is also home to the best Class 2A prep boys basketball team in the state, the Unalaska City High School Raiders: the basketball team at the end of the world. "You're from 'Not Alaska?'" confused mainlanders ask team captain Carter Price when he ventures inland. "No, *Unalaska*," says Price. "I live on a rock out in the middle of the Bering Sea."

To the typical American—and even to many Alaskans—Unalaska seems impossibly remote.

It is reachable only by air or as the last stop on the Alaska Marine Ferry, a four-day voyage out of Homer. No one just happens upon Unalaska. "I first came up here in 1995," says Deputy Police Chief Jennifer Shockley, a native Texan. "I didn't know what I wanted to do, but I knew I wanted to go someplace I'd never been before."

Kent Russell, the Raider basketball coach, played college football at Chadron State in Nebraska and sought a teaching job in Alaska because it "is Colorado on steroids." Five years ago, Russell accepted a job at Unalaska without a clue as to its location. "When I phoned my dad, he laughed," Russell says. "'Have you looked at a map yet?'"

Last year, the Raiders won their first state championship in 18 years. In the past two seasons, they are 31-2, both losses coming to larger 3A schools. In a place without pretension (or high-speed internet), Russell is an ideal fit. "I'm a defensive coach," says Russell. "I don't like the NBA. I like team ball."

"He's a football guy," says Unalaska City High's principal, Jim Wilson, whose son, Trevor, is the team's leading scorer. "I kid Kent that he's taking basketball back 50 years."

The Raiders rarely eclipse 50 points in a game, but they are immensely popular, even more popular than the witty, weekly police blotter Shockley writes. A recent sample:

"Sunday, 11/13/16, 03:55 The captain of a vessel called 911 to report he was unable to control his drunken crew. The crew showed no respect toward the captain and showed this disrespect by continued food fights. Officers determined there had been no crime committed."

The bard of the blog scoffs at the suggestion she is a celebrity. "Unalaska basketball is the biggest event in town," she says.

And why not? In a community with no movie theater, no bowling alley, no streaming video services and limited dating options ("There's an attractive single person behind every tree," the local joke goes), gainful winter distractions are few. "We carry all the Raider games," says Lauren Adams, station manager of 660-watt KUCB, the local public radio affiliate. "Unalaska basketball is by far our most popular broadcast all year. By far."

Far is the adjective that also describes all of Unalaska's competition. "We are the only school within 400 miles," says Wilson. "Our nearest conference opponent is 600 miles away. We take a lot of road trips, which is a misnomer: We fly."

This year, the Raiders have taken four extended odysseys, venturing 1,500 miles east to play in Metlakatla and Haines on separate occasions and more than 1,200 miles north on different pilgrimages to coastal Nome and Kotzebue (every road trip becomes a miniature round-robin tourney, as four teams customarily assemble for games). Iditarod mushers, by comparison, are out for a Sunday stroll.

Each tour of duty involves Russell and eight players packing uniforms, shoes, basketballs, air mattresses and sleeping bags. "Teenagers here become mileage-plus gold members before their parents do," says Adams, the radio station manager.

Recently, the Raiders flew 1,300 miles north to Kotzebue—the first leg of any trip always involves a layover in Anchorage—north of the Bering Strait on the Chukchi Sea. To ease costs, they played three games in three nights and slept, all nine of them, in a borrowed classroom. "NBA teams talk about how tough it is to play back-to-backs," says Price, the team captain. "They're spoiled."

Russell attempts to make every road trip an Outward Bound exercise. Earlier this winter in Nome, the squad took a photo at the finish line of the Iditarod sled dog race when it was minus 20 degrees. On the recent sojourn to Kotzebue, they sampled *muktuk*, i.e., whale blubber. "It's important for us to expose our kids to worlds beyond

WINGS AND A PRAYER: Because they often fly 1,000 miles or more on road trips, the Raiders triple-book, playing back-to-back-to-back games.

JIM WILSON

Unalaska," says Russell. "They're not even used to seeing trees. It's a big world out there."

On that same trip, Russell roused his players for a walk on the ocean. In February, the Chukchi Sea is frozen, so the Unalaska City High Raiders went for a walk on the ice. Somewhat by accident, the team was re-enacting, on a smaller scale (and in reverse), the migration that some nine millennia ago brought the first inhabitants to North America.

For the one or two home weekends Unalaska has each season, the gym is jammed with 250 locals and a pep band. How do the Raiders entice opponents to travel out to a rock in the middle of the Bering Sea for what will almost certainly be a loss? "We'll pay part of the visiting team's costs," says Sharon Svarny-Livingston, a native Unalaskan, "because we just want to cheer on our kids in person so badly."

Svarny-Livingston is acutely aware of the irony of Unalaskans inviting outsiders for an exercise in friendly strife. In June 1942, a squadron of Japanese planes attacked Unalaska—the last military engagement on U.S. soil of World War II. Six weeks later, all of Unalaska's 350 or so Unangans were given 24 hours' notice, then forcibly repatriated 1,500 miles east, where they would remain for three years. "No one complained at first because they were U.S. citizens and thought they were helping their country," says Svarny-Livingston, whose 87-year-old mother was among those removed. "There's still resentment."

WHILE MAINLAND Alaska braces for subzero temperatures, Unalaska, whose climate is relatively temperate, braces for winds. On a treeless island located at the crossroads of two major bodies of water (the Pacific Ocean and the Bering Sea), the torrents are ferocious. Unalaskans take them in stride, provided such strides are short and purposeful. "We get hurricane-force winds several times a year, but nobody names them," Shockley says. "It's just 'Wednesday,' you know?"

"Most of the time, you can't even play basketball outside because of the wind," says Price, whose grandmother is full Unangan and thus has roots on the island dating back thousands of years. "You just deal with it. People only talk about the wind when there isn't any."

What is wind, after all, but the migration of air? Unalaskans are familiar with migration for, as isolated as this island is, it is hardly insular. Its population is remarkably diverse—there are Unalaskans whose families have been in the Aleutians for 9,000 years and others who arrived on the last ferry out of Homer. "I have never seen a town, school or community like Unalaska," says Wilson, who was raised in Montana. "It begins with a welcoming acceptance by local Unangan residents to those who have come."

The Raiders' starting five includes two Filipinos, a Caucasian, a Caucasian-Unangan and a 6-foot-3-inch, 295-pound Samoan. Two top reserves are Vietnamese. "The demographics at our school are crazy," says Russell, who also teaches math. "When you enter a class of 20 kids, you have 15 different ethnicities."

The city prides itself on inclusiveness, as does the school. Early last December, 41 of Unalaska City High's 60 male students tried out for basketball, and they all lace up for practice every afternoon. "We don't make cuts," says Russell, who takes eight players for road trips. "But how do you work on your transition game when you have 40 kids at practice?"

> "TEENAGERS HERE BECOME MILEAGE-PLUS GOLD MEMBERS BEFORE THEIR PARENTS DO."

If Russell sounds perturbed, he is not. An avid scuba diver, he understands that wonders lie beneath the surface. His junior center, Matthew Faoasau, for example, emigrated from American Samoa two years ago. Faoasau is already an indispensable and imposing figure on the court, even if he is still learning the game. Wilson recalls Faoasau asking during a game this season why the opposing team's center had left the game. "He fouled out," Wilson explained.

Faoasau said to his coach, "You only get five?"

To play for Unalaska is to discover that you are allotted more fouls in a game than home games in a season. That's life for the basketball team at the end of the world.

FOREVER FOR NOW

Italian-American lesbian feminist LP has been music's next big thing for over a decade, and now she's finally got her breakout song

LAURA PERGOLIZZI, better known by her fans as LP, has been in the music business since 2001, but after bouncing from label to label to label and writing or co-writing hits for other artists (Rihanna, Backstreet Boys, Christina Aguilera), she is finally gaining mainstream recognition for her own music. LP's song "Lost on You" delves into the pained realization that she has devoted years to a doomed romance, and the grit in her voice on the track is reminiscent of Johnny Cash. In 2016, the searing ballad topped music charts in France, Poland, Greece, Serbia, Switzerland and Turkey, and the accompanying music video has racked 92 million streams on YouTube across the globe. Now, LP is pushing the track to radio in the U.S. and the U.K.

LP wears her sexuality as comfortably as she wears that large tatt of a sailboat on her chest. (The banner beneath the vessel says, "Forever for Now.") That sea of ink is an integral part of her identity, which she has been forging since her teenage years, when she realized she was gay. She grew up on Long Island in New York in an Italian-American household and was raised Roman Catholic, but "I always felt like somebody was inside that had to come out."

An Italian-American lesbian feminist whose ancestors migrated to New York from Italy, LP sees the irony of her finally breaking through as a solo artist just as a unique solo artist–politician, Donald Trump, made his huge breakthrough. "I think it's so interesting, the personalities that want to confine and separate us. Who thinks they can tell you what to do with your body, with your mind? [Defunding] Planned Parenthood and all this stuff. How dare you? If men had to carry babies, there'd be no question how to end that life. They'd end that life in two seconds."

Although LP is passionately pro-choice and believes people should be able to choose their gender, she insists she is not a "radical feminist." In fact, she says, "our message gets marginalized to the fringe because it's too radical. I think one of the people that's done the most for the gay movement is Ellen DeGeneres. There are people in Middle America that say, 'I hate those faggots. Wait a minute, Ellen's on.' She's wheeled her lifestyle into the fabric of the country and the world. She's done so much just by being herself."

Now, it's LP's turn to see how far being herself gets her.

I'M WITH THE MARCHING BAND: LP has a deep arsenal as a performer: in addition to her voice, she is an expert whistler and plays a mean uke.

MICHAEL COMTE

BY
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FOREVER FOR NO

TIME WAITS FOR NO FIRST BASEMAN

Baseball needs to start running out the clock before it runs out of fans

YOGI BERRA, baseball's inscrutable sage, once said of left field at Yankee Stadium, "It gets late early out there." The same can be said of the national pastime, whose games last year for the first time eclipsed the three-hour mark, on average. "Pace of play is an issue that we need to be focused on,'' Rob Manfred, the baseball commissioner, recently told *USA Today*. The "we," he said, includes "players, owners, umpires... everyone who is invested in this game."

For most of its first sesquicentennial, Major League Baseball, which began play in 1869, was blithely indifferent to time management. Baseball games were to other sporting events what Paul Thomas Anderson movies are to other films. Brevity was immaterial. What would you expect from an endeavor invented by a man named Doubleday?

Baseball's unofficial anthem, "Take Me Out to the Ballgame," was written in 1908. The song's creators, Jack Norworth and Albert von Tilzer, introduced the tune in the midst of a halcyon era when those Americans with an appetite for sport and the means to enjoy it attended 24-hour bicycle races and heavyweight bouts that lasted 49 rounds. The only thing people binge-watched in 1908 were sunsets.

"I don't care if I ever get back."

When Norworth and von Tilzer wrote that line, neither of them had ever been to a baseball game. What did they know about its massive intrusion on one's schedule? It's not as if Norworth or von Tilzer had already plunked down $34 for a SoulCycle class at 7 a.m. the next day.

Baseball games are too damn long, especially in a 21st-century age of mutually assured distraction. In 1920, the first year in which there is ample data, a typical game lasted one hour and 47 minutes. Last year, the average game ran three hours and two minutes, which is a respectable time— if you are running a marathon.

Baseball games take 70 percent longer to complete now than when Woodrow Wilson was president (and it isn't all television's fault). Recently Manfred instituted a rule, to take effect this season, that the intentional walk will no longer require four pitches. Instead, a signal will come from the dugout. That this signal is not a giant photo of former reliever Grant Balfour suggests a regrettable lack of imagination in the commissioner's office.

Naturally, Manfred is facing brushback from players and traditionalists alike, as if he's crowding the plate with his proposals (he also wants a 20-second pitch clock, which has been used in the minor leagues since 2015). Don't blame him. Baseball has placed itself in a force-out predicament. If baseball wants to keep the attention of fans, it would help to return contests to the 2:30-to-2:45 range, and to do that, changes must be made.

Players and traditionalists should note that five of the past six Indianapolis 500s were run in less time than a typical game last year. And the Indy 500 still offers spectators the suspense of a potential collision, which baseball has outlawed (at home plate). With the hope that baseball's

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stewards and connoisseurs will digest these ideas with open minds, here are five suggestions for picking up the pace. (By the way, in a typical day with all 30 teams playing, there are, on average, only five intentional walks issued; we'd not mess with that aspect of the game.)

1. ONE FREE THROW TO FIRST BASE PER BASE RUNNER:
When a runner is on first, the pitcher can throw over once. Each throw after that will be counted as a ball in the hitter's count. This does not eliminate strategy; it enhances it. The pitcher can no longer indiscriminately play catch with the first baseman as the cascade of boos builds. Besides, what is the difference between a called pitchout and a pitcher simply wasting a ball on a second throw to first base? This rule does not eliminate a pitcher's ability to hold the runner on; it simply compels him to be more judicious.

2. MAKE THE BATTER'S BOX AN IN-BOX:
When a batter steps into the box, he must remain there unless the previous pitch resulted in a foul ball, wild pitch or passed ball. If he is nearly hit by a pitch, he may leave the box, but only with the umpire's permission. The penalty for leaving the box otherwise is one strike against the batter.

JOLTIN' JOES: One suggestion for speeding up the game that somehow didn't make the commissioner's list: installing a cappuccino machine behind second base.

MATT SLOCUM/AM

Likewise, the pitcher must remain on the rubber after each pitch, except for the aforementioned foul ball, etc. The penalty for leaving the rubber is one ball awarded to the batter.

3. THE 20-SECOND PITCH CLOCK:
Since the batter has to remain in the box, the pitcher must throw to the plate in a timely fashion. Pitchers rarely exceed this time limit any way. It would simply prevent pitchers from making hitters antsy.

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BASEBALL GAMES ARE TOO DAMN LONG IN THIS AGE OF MUTUALLY ASSURED DISTRACTION.

4. CURTAIL SUMMIT MEETINGS:
As the pitcher's mound is the highest ground on any ballfield, every conversation that takes place there is a summit meeting. These take place entirely too often, especially considering that many is the confab in which there is no common tongue between battery mates. Here's the deal: one pitcher-catcher meeting per pitcher per game (failure to comply puts the batter on first base) and one pitching coach or manager visit to the mound per pitcher per game.

5. ELIMINATE THE SIXTH INNING:
Mostly kidding here, but if skyscrapers can scrape skies without a 13th floor, why can't baseball games be complete without a sixth inning? You need five innings for a game to be official, while managers prioritize their bullpen staff based on the final three innings (before I forget, the reliever will now be given three warmup pitches upon entering the game, as opposed to eight). The sixth inning is a bridge inning, and who pays to see middle relievers anyway? Right away, we've eliminated 11 percent of the length of a game, or roughly 19 minutes. You could adopt this rule and not need to alter anything else.

"I don't think there's a magic bullet that is going to come one year and that's going to be the solution to pace of play," Manfred told *USA Today*. Perhaps not, but it is past time that the national pastime confront its laggard pace. This may be the spring when umpires yell, "Play ball!" and fans shout back, "Faster!"

HOPE BLOOMS IN HELL

Decades after the Khmer Rouge genocide in Cambodia, Angelina Jolie's new film confronts the atrocities

THE TOWERING terrors of Pol Pot's Cambodia are hard to see in today's Phnom Penh, where traffic-choked streets and wild development have seemingly erased the past, and some have grown so wealthy that a car dealership is about to start importing Bentleys from Britain.

Yet the Khmer Rouge genocide, which killed 1.7 million people—nearly a quarter of the country's population—between 1975 and 1979 still looms over this tiny Southeast Asian nation, where many still wake up in the middle of the night screaming and recalling the horrors.

That's why so many here in this capital city seemed profoundly moved when Oscar-winning actress Angelina Jolie invited thousands to the local premiere of her new film, *First They Killed My Father*, which is about the genocide as seen through the eyes of an orphaned little girl.

The film was shown at the indoor arena of the city's National Olympic Stadium, a magnificent building where General Charles de Gaulle made his famous speech in 1966 calling on the United States to withdraw its troops from Vietnam or face disaster. The Americans did not heed his words, and the war dragged on for another nine years, spilling over the border into Cambodia and paving the way for the murderous Khmer Rouge.

I remember how the stadium looked in early 1975 as rockets smashed into the capital; the building served as a makeshift clinic, overflowing with the wounded and dying as Khmer Rouge leader Pol Pot's peasant soldiers tightened their grip on the city. Later, the dictator and his henchmen used it for political rallies to glorify their revolution in the manner of Hitler, Stalin and Mao.

As the sun set and Jolie's film flashed across the screen, bats wheeled beneath the high ceiling, and the audience sat in the dusty air, transfixed by a wrenching tale full of love and humanity. Some in the audience, like the woman next to me, sobbed throughout the movie.

Jolie says she was determined to make this film, driven by her love for the country and for her son Maddox, a Cambodian orphan she adopted in 2002. "Without Cambodia," she says, "I may never have become a mother."

Jolie produced and directed the film along with award-winning French-Cambodian director Rithy Panh, who lost his parents and brother in the genocide. He ensured that the film's portrayal of the country's descent into hell did not blot out Cambodia's ravishing beauty and its wonderful people. Throughout the film, for instance, we see lotus flowers blooming in slime and mud, a symbol, perhaps, of hope amid the horrors.

First They Killed My Father isn't the first feature film to explore the Khmer Rouge atrocities; in 1984, Roland Joffé directed *The Killing Fields*, a movie in which I am a character. However, what's remarkable about Jolie's film, aside from the powerful story, is its authenticity: The movie was shot in Cambodia, with an all-Cam-

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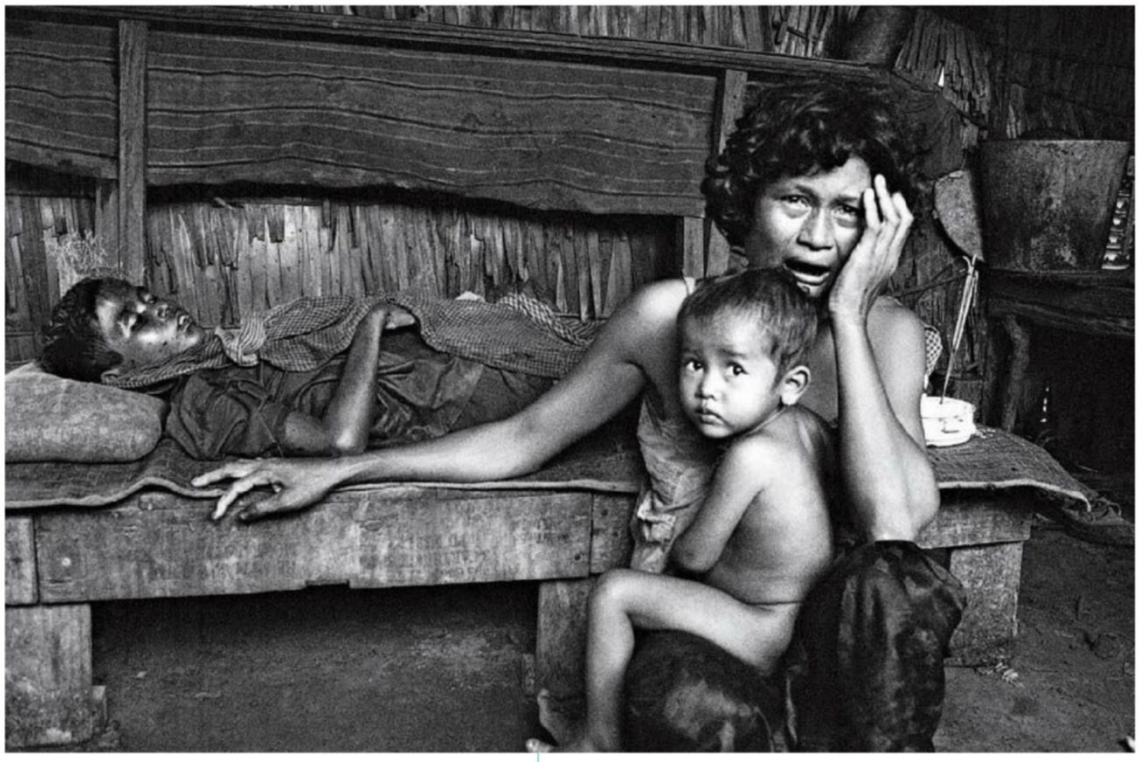


KILLING FIELDS: A Cambodian mother grieves in the fall of 1974 after the Khmer Rouge killed her son. The regime killed 1.7 million people over a four-year period in the 1970s.

CHOR YUTHY/AP

bodian cast, many of whom are survivors or the children of survivors, and all the dialogue is in the Cambodian language.

The film is told from the point of view of a child, which is significant because in Pol Pot's Cambodia even a child's laughter was against the law. The Khmer Rouge killed doctors, professionals, even those whose soft hands or spectacles suggested they could read. Their executioners were often child soldiers, whom Pol Pot saw as tiny vessels who could be easily indoctrinated.

The film was inspired by the memoir of the same name, published in 2000 and written by Loung Ung, who, as a little girl, endured the murder of her father, mother and two sisters by the Khmer Rouge.

Loung's character is played by Sareum Srey Moch, a Cambodian girl who grew up in the Phnom Penh suburbs. She was 7 when the film was made and was barely as tall as the AK-47 she brandishes in many of the scenes.

I was one of the few journalists in Phnom Penh when the city fell, so I saw what happened then, and as I watched the film, I was overwhelmed by its accurate re-enactments—especially of how the Khmer Rouge emptied the city at gunpoint, forcing roughly 2 million people into the countryside. There, they toiled and died while attempting to create Pol Pot's agrarian utopia.

Four years later, that disastrous social experiment failed, and the Vietnamese military and disaffected Khmer Rouge fighters drove Pol Pot's regime from power, installing a new, Vietnamese-backed government. The memories of what happened remain fresh for many here. For Panh, the director, the film offers an important lesson about the country's need for reconciliation, not revenge. "The suffering from this genocide is so great that it exceeds the desire for vengeance," he says, which is why he advised Jolie to change an incident in Loung's book in which a crowd beats to death a captured Khmer Rouge soldier; in the film, he is battered but survives. This does not mean, however, that the victims have to forgive the killers. It just means they find a way to move on.

> "THE SUFFERING FROM THIS GENOCIDE IS SO GREAT THAT IT EXCEEDS THE DESIRE FOR VENGEANCE."

Jolie and Panh hope the film, due out on Netflix this fall, will help with that. Some Cambodians who have seen the film told me they felt less burdened by the past, more willing to talk to their children and grandchildren about the horrors they witnessed. As Panh puts it, "We have got out of this hell, despite everything. At last, we can talk and discuss what happened and...begin a process of reconstruction."

REWIND

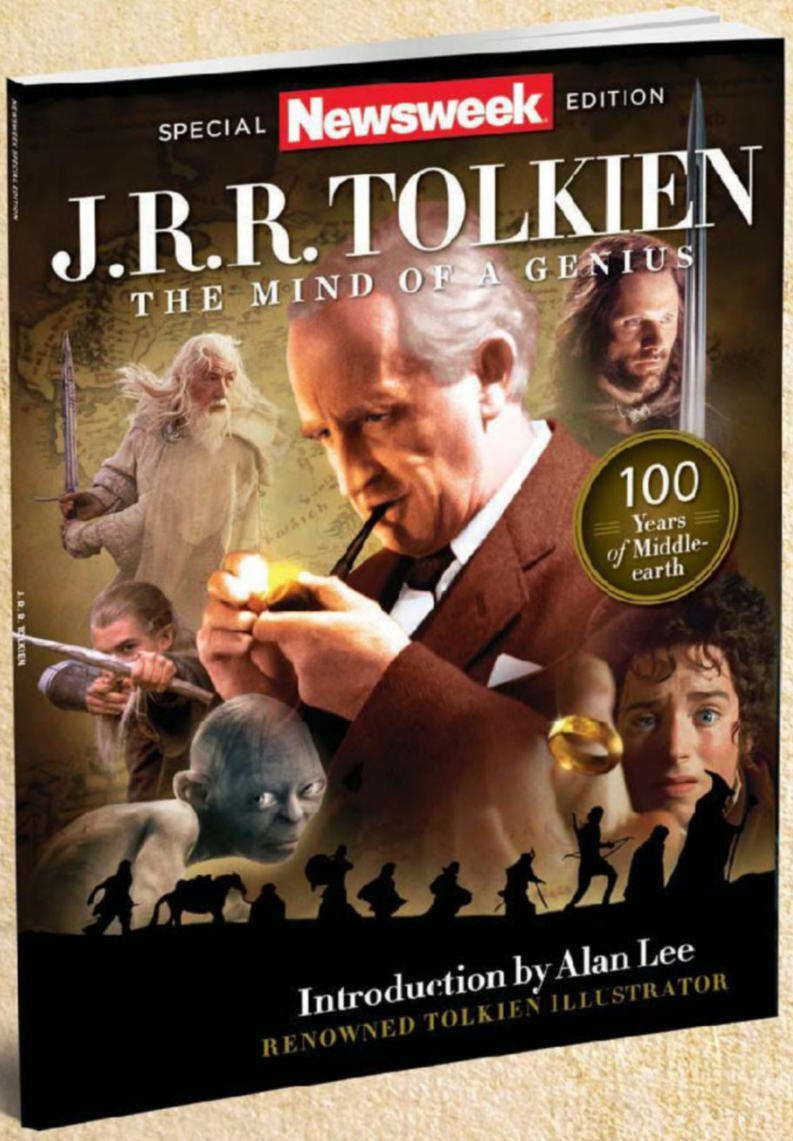
20 YEARS

MARCH 17, 1997

CAREY LOHRENZ, A COMBAT PILOT, QUOTED IN A STORY ABOUT SEXIST TREATMENT OF THE NAVY'S FIRST FEMALE COMBAT PILOTS

"It doesn't matter if your left foot is on fire or you've just heard that your mom and dad are dead. You do your job."

The story behind one of fiction's most influential worlds



"Not all those who wander are lost."

— Gandalf the Grey, *The Fellowship of the Ring*

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