

TIME



THE GREAT MANIPULATOR

STEVE BANNON
CHIEF WHITE HOUSE
STRATEGIST

TIME

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▲ Steve Bannon, the former executive chairman of Breitbart News and now Trump's chief strategist, at a rally in Manchester, N.H., on Oct. 28, 2016

Photograph by Stephen Crowley—The New York Times/Redux

ON THE COVER:
Photograph by Nadav Kander for TIME

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STANDOUT EFFORT

YOUR JAN. 23 ISSUE WAS probably the best TIME issue I've read, especially the "White House Survival Guide" article. I really appreciated the thought behind it and that it allowed the reader to get a glimpse of many different perspectives from multiple high-level sources in a way I have never read before—I kept turning the pages in dread thinking the article was going to end! That point about there being no volume knob when speaking for the President and that everything is always at 10 is something that is especially relevant given Donald Trump's Twitter habits. So, thank you for devoting so many pages to this topic. Sometimes the international edition can feel a little too America-oriented, but that's not an issue when the subject matter is one that affects us all, no matter where in the world we live. And the Bush daughters' essay to Sasha and Malia Obama was so thoughtful ["Dear Sasha and Malia"]. Bravo to all involved on a most excellent issue!

Nigel Pacquette,
LONDON

NOT MY LEADER

RE "RUSSIA, A DOSSIER OF Rumors and a President-Elect" [Jan. 23]: You've referred to President Donald

Trump as the "leader of the free world." Apart from the horrifying thought of him as leader of anything other than a donkey, I strongly object to this inclusive term that presumably includes the U.K. He is not and never will be a leader of anywhere other than the U.S. Thank God.

Tim Thompson,
HAMPTON GAY,
ENGLAND

STAR POWER

RE "MOVIE STARS AND THE Perils of the Podium" [Jan. 23]: What a sorry review of Meryl Streep's statement at the Golden Globe Awards. Who has the right to make a judgment about what an actor decides to express when she is accepting an award for her lifetime accomplishments? Who is this moral authority? Streep made a choice to express her opinion in her own allotted time, a moment well earned, about a decisive argument terribly relevant to the moment we are all living. I personally was grateful to hear something straight from the heart, clear and honest. This is what America's freedom is all about.

Terri Pecora,
MILAN

ENLIGHTENING FACTS

RE "FOR THE RECORD" [Jan. 23]: You report the



discovery of fossilized remains of tomatillos, 52 million years old. For too many right-wing evangelicals, this is absurd and impossible. For them, the world was created just a few thousand years ago, and any evidence to the contrary was put there by God to test their faith. Never mind science—these folks do not accept evolution despite evidence that is beyond overwhelming. In the election of Trump, the votes of these people were crucial. They were encouraged to vote for him by their pastors, and some regard his election as God's doing. In Trump they will have a President just as capable as themselves to disregard evidence and to act irrationally.

Michael Huber,
LINDFORD,
ENGLAND

RISKY BUSINESS

RE "THE TOP GLOBAL Risks for 2017, a Year of Geopolitical Recession" [Jan. 16]: Ian Bremmer lists eight political risks for the year. The election of Donald Trump presents the greatest risk. His mercurial and erratic temperament, confrontational and pugnacious inclinations, and his unpredictability do not bode well for peace between nations. Unpredictability, above all, is a great risk for international relations, for it will leave allies and adversaries alike uncertain what will come next. His "Let it be an arms race" utterance will get the world enmeshed in an arms race reminiscent of the Cold War, with a nuclear sword of Damocles hanging by the slenderest threads.

Frank Yu,
MELBOURNE

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Spitsbergen, Norway.

© Wild Wonders of Europe / Ole Joergen Liodden / WWF

'A JUDGE WHO LIKES EVERY OUTCOME HE REACHES IS VERY LIKELY A BAD JUDGE.'

NEIL GORSUCH, 10th Circuit Court of Appeals judge, explaining his legal philosophy after President Donald Trump nominated him to the U.S. Supreme Court on Jan. 31

'Thirty-six million hearts are breaking with yours.'

JUSTIN TRUDEAU, Prime Minister of Canada, voicing solidarity with the nation's Muslim community after a gunman killed six and injured more than a dozen at a Quebec mosque on Jan. 29 during evening prayers

Amazon Reef

The newfound coral system was revealed in photos from Greenpeace

GOOD WEEK
BAD WEEK

Amazon Prime

Walmart debuted free two-day shipping for all customers, besting the paid service



508

Number of sleds it took to set a new world record for the longest such chain, as organized by the Bramberg tourist office in Austria

'I feel like somebody has killed me.'

MOHAMED MUEZEB, 47-year-old Yemeni green-card holder and 27-year U.S. resident, after President Trump's Executive Order—which temporarily barred refugees and citizens of seven predominantly Muslim nations from entering the U.S.—prevented his wife and two kids from boarding a flight to New York City from Qatar

'They are hidden figures no more!'

TARAJI P. HENSON, actor, accepting the Screen Actors Guild award for Outstanding Performance by a Cast in a Motion Picture (alongside Octavia Spencer and Janelle Monáe) for *Hidden Figures*, which chronicles the story of the unheralded African-American women who worked as mathematicians for NASA to help launch John Glenn into orbit

38,000

Age in years of engraved art, thought to feature some of the earliest known graphic imagery found in Western Eurasia, from a site in France's Vézère Valley



\$81,000

Amount the Atlanta Falcons spent on painkillers in 2009, far above the NFL average of \$30,000, according to emails recently obtained by the Washington Post and Associated Press

'She's my inspiration.'

SERENA WILLIAMS, tennis player, championing her sister Venus after defeating her on Jan. 28 to win the Australian Open and break the record for most Grand Slam titles (23); Venus, at age 36, became the oldest professional Australian Open finalist

The Brief

'FOR TRUMP, OUTRAGE MAY HAVE BEEN THE POINT.' —NEXT PAGE



Demonstrators pray during an immigration-ban protest at Dallas–Fort Worth airport on Jan. 29

POLITICS

Trump's immigration order is legal—for now

By Massimo Calabresi

THE U.S. HAS GIVEN SANCTUARY TO more than 3 million people fleeing religious, political or racial persecution since instituting rigorous refugee screening in 1980. Not one has killed anyone in a terrorist attack. Even if you include the three Cuban refugees who murdered three people in the 1970s, before those standards were in place, the odds of a U.S. citizen dying from a terrorist attack by a refugee on American soil are infinitesimal—roughly 1 in 3.6 billion, according to the Cato Institute, or 48 times less than the chance of being killed by an asteroid.

But that didn't stop President Trump from raising the possibility on Jan. 27, when he signed an Executive Order suspending refugee resettlement for 120 days and barring it indefinitely from Syria. The order also temporarily

barred other immigrants, including professionals and green-card holders, from seven majority-Muslim countries. The goal, Trump said, was to keep out “radical Islamic terrorists” and give authorities more time to increase vetting standards. “We want to ensure that we are not admitting into our country the very threats our soldiers are fighting overseas,” he explained.

The backlash was swift. On Jan. 28, amid massive protests at airports nationwide, the ACLU and other rights groups successfully filed suits preventing deportations under the order. At least four state attorneys general took legal action to overturn it. On Jan. 30, Trump's acting Attorney General, Sally Yates, who had been appointed by President Obama, told federal prosecutors not to defend

the order; she wasn't sure, she wrote, that Trump's order was "consistent with [the Justice Department's] solemn obligation to always seek justice and stand for what is right." Trump promptly fired her, saying that increased vetting of immigrants and refugees was needed and had been undertaken by Democrats under Obama.

There is precedent for some of this. In 2011, Obama did pause the processing of refugee-resettlement requests from Iraq for six months in response to a suspected terrorist plot. And legally, it does fall to the President, in consultation with Congress, to oversee immigration and set the levels of refugee admission. Under a 1993 Supreme Court ruling, refugees and immigrants get legal protections when they arrive in the U.S., including under the Geneva Conventions, but have few rights before they come to the country. The Office of Legal Counsel at the Justice Department, which gives definitive legal advice to the President, looked at the order and declared it legally sound.

There were criticisms on nonlegal grounds. For one, the order wasn't drafted and circulated among agencies using the normal checks and safeguards. The staffs of the Senate and House Judiciary Committees, which are supposed to oversee the White House on immigration matters, helped write the order after reportedly signing nondisclosure agreements. The secretive process led to widespread confusion when the order took effect. Many customs and border agents were unclear how to enforce it, sending some refugees back to their countries of origin—possibly violating the rights they were entitled to once on U.S. soil—and leaving other

travelers stranded and in custody at airports.

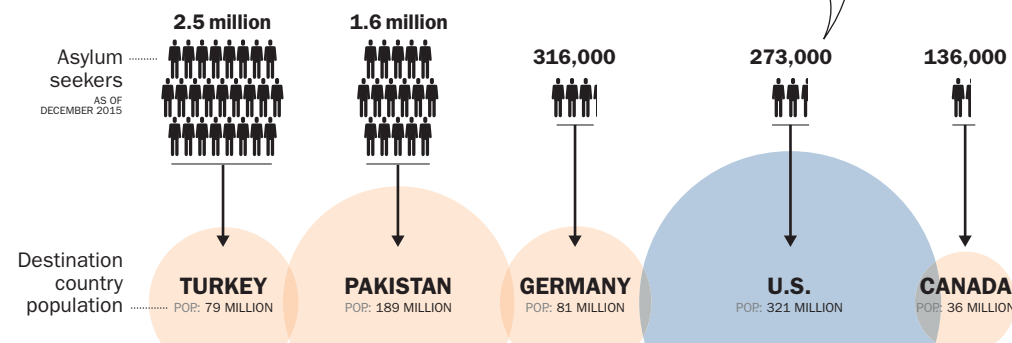
The more pointed criticism is that the order discriminates on the basis of religion. Trump denies this charge, despite calling for "a total and complete shutdown of Muslims entering the United States" during his campaign. But even his allies have suggested it may be true: "When [Trump] first announced [the vetting plan], he said, 'Muslim ban,'" Rudy Giuliani told a Fox News host on Jan. 28. "He called me up. He said, 'Put a commission together. Show me the right way to do it legally.'" On security grounds alone, experts worry, the veneer of discrimination could alienate Muslim-American allies who are crucial to thwarting homegrown terrorist attacks, and could help terrorists persuade recruits that America is at war with Islam.

The Constitution bars religious discrimination, but lawyers will have a hard time proving that Trump's order targets Muslims, says Alex Aleinikoff, a professor at the New School. The order's immigration measures target only seven of many Muslim-majority countries in the world, and the refugee constraints apply globally. Then again, courts haven't been asked to weigh in on a religious test for refugees before.

The outrage continues. Iraq voted to bar Americans' entry, Britain's House of Commons unanimously condemned the order, and protests continue in the U.S. But for Trump, outrage may have been the point. Senior White House officials are reportedly planning more immigration Executive Orders in the coming days to deliver on Trump's campaign pledges targeting immigrants. It remains to be seen which threats—real or exaggerated—he will use to justify them. □

Where asylum seekers go

Most of the world's 16.1 million refugees remain in countries adjoining the ones they fled. A fraction are resettled in Western countries, which vet them along with foreign nationals (tallied below) who arrive seeking asylum.



TICKER

Transgender Boy Scouts allowed

The Boy Scouts of America changed its policy to allow transgender children who identify as boys to enroll in its boys-only programs. The move comes after a recent case in Secaucus, N.J., where an 8-year-old transgender child was asked to leave his Scout troop.

U.S. soldier dies in Yemen attack

One U.S. soldier died and three were injured after a raid on an al-Qaeda stronghold in central Yemen that killed 14 militants. White House press secretary Sean Spicer said "a tremendous amount" of intelligence was obtained.

Myanmar leader's adviser killed

Prominent lawyer U Ko Ni, an adviser to Myanmar's leader, Aung San Suu Kyi, was fatally shot in the head outside Yangon's international airport on Jan. 29. Police arrested a suspect, who was accused of trying to "undermine the country's stability."

ACLU flooded with donations

The American Civil Liberties Union received \$24.1 million in online donations, six times the amount it typically receives in the space of a year, over a single weekend after President Trump's Executive Order suspended refugee entries.



ROOSTER REVELS Traditional dancers perform on the second day of the Lunar New Year, on Jan. 29, in Beijing. Chinese communities across the globe celebrate the holiday that falls on the first new moon between the end of January and February. This year's festivities mark the Year of the Fire Rooster, the 10th animal on the Chinese zodiac, and will continue for two weeks. *Photograph by Kevin Frayer—Getty Images*

WORLD France's battle royale

The French presidential elections are sizing up to be an unpredictable but consequential battle in which a far-right populist win could herald the collapse of the E.U. The four main candidates are now finalized ahead of a first round of voting on April 23, followed by a May 7 runoff. Here's who's in the running.

—Tara John

FRANÇOIS FILLON

The center-right candidate for Les Républicains is a free-market evangelist who wants Russian sanctions lifted and takes a hard-line stance on immigration and Islamic terrorism. He was leading in polls until becoming engulfed in a scandal over claims he paid public funds to his wife. He denies the allegations, but the party is said to be eyeing replacements.

MARINE LE PEN

The far-right National Front leader is staunchly anti-immigration, vowing to cut admissions by 95%. She promises to dismantle France's relationship with the E.U. and seek closer ties with Russia, and sees herself and U.S. President Donald Trump as part of a global antiestablishment movement. A Feb. 1 poll by Elabe has her leading the first round.

BENOÎT HAMON

The so-called Gallic Bernie Sanders won the Socialist Party primary on Jan. 29 on an anticapitalist, antiglobalist platform. The radical left-winger wants to introduce a universal basic income and a tax on industrial robots, and reduce the workweek to 32 hours. But he might pay the price of the deeply unpopular rule of outgoing Socialist President François Hollande.

EMMANUEL MACRON

The pro-E.U. politician was once Hollande's protégé and is running as an independent under his own organization, En Marche! (On the Move!). Hamon's candidacy, which has divided Socialists, has allowed Macron to stake out the center ground, and the Elabe poll predicts he will beat Le Pen in the runoff. But he has yet to set out detailed policies.



DATA

WHERE SHARKS ATTACK

Unprovoked shark attacks dropped in 2016 after a record-breaking 98 attacks the year before, the International Shark Attack File announced on Jan. 24. Here's where some of the 81 attacks occurred last year:



53
U.S.



15
Australia



4
New Caledonia



2
Indonesia



1
Spain

Trump's Supreme Court pick puts Democrats in a bind

By Tessa Berenson

DONALD TRUMP KNEW HOW TO MILK THE MOMENT. AS HE prepared to name his Supreme Court pick on Jan. 31, the President scheduled a prime-time announcement and invited Washington luminaries to the East Room of the White House. When he finally introduced Judge Neil Gorsuch as his choice, Trump took a moment to bask in the dramatic reveal. "So was that a surprise?" he asked the audience. "Was it?"

In some ways it was. Given the chance to shape the court for a generation, Trump handled the decision with uncharacteristic discipline. He stuck to a pool of prospects that he submitted last year to mollify conservatives. The White House sprang few leaks during the selection process, then telegraphed finalists with sterling credentials. In the end, a President who campaigned as a populist outsider picked an Ivy League-educated judge from the conservative establishment.

'I am a man of my word.'

PRESIDENT TRUMP, arguing that the pick fulfills his promise to nominate a conservative judge

Gorsuch, 49, has served on the federal appeals court in Denver for a decade. Appointed to the bench by George W. Bush in 2006, he sailed through the Senate on a simple voice vote. In talking points distributed to Republican Senators and surrogates, the White House called him a "mainstream" choice.

This puts Senate Democrats in a difficult spot. In the past, a judge with Gorsuch's résumé would have met little resistance. But the intense liberal opposition to Trump has ratcheted up the pressure on Democrats to block the nomination. Within an hour of the announcement, activists protested the pick on the steps of the Supreme Court. Demonstrators also massed that night outside the Brooklyn home of Senate minority leader Chuck Schumer. Meanwhile, Democrats in Congress are still steaming over the GOP's refusal to hold hearings for President Obama's Supreme Court pick in 2016. "The ghost of Merrick Garland," said Democratic Senator Chris Murphy of Connecticut, "still floats around this place."

BUT NOT EVERYONE wants to stonewall a qualified nominee who won't change the balance of the court. Ten Democratic Senators are up for re-election in 2018 in states that Trump won. Some of them, like Claire McCaskill of Missouri and Jon Tester of Montana, have said Gorsuch should receive a vote. "We have to approach this thing in a rational, sensible, constitutional fashion," says Dick Durbin of Illinois, the No. 2 Democrat in the Senate.

Trump was determined to defang critics. While he was careful to choose a judge who would satisfy conservative supporters, he was also keen to find someone difficult for the left to oppose. Trump interviewed the four finalists in person in January, says Leonard Leo, a conservative legal scholar who



▲
Trump announces Gorsuch as his nominee to the Supreme Court on Jan. 31

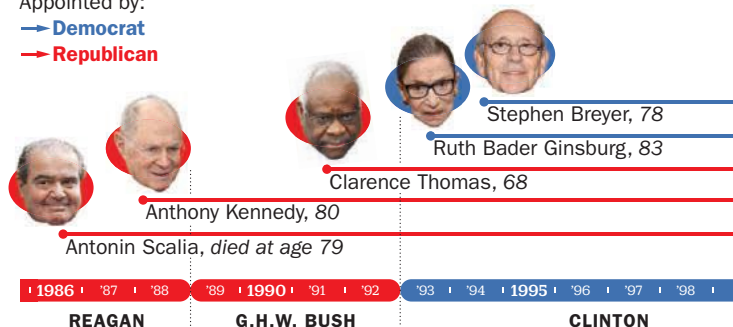
advised the President on the selection. "He just came in one morning," Leo recalls, "and said to somebody, 'Hey, I think I've made my decision.'"

Legal experts say Gorsuch is a natural replacement for the Justice who preceded him. Like the late Antonin Scalia, Gorsuch is a textualist, who interprets statutes as written, with

The composition of the court

If Gorsuch is confirmed, he'll be joining eight other Justices appointed by five other Presidents. Here's a look at when they joined the bench:

Appointed by:
→ Democrat
→ Republican





NEIL MCGILL GORSUCH

AGE
49

FAMILY
Wife Louise; teenage daughters Emma and Belinda

EDUCATION
B.A., Columbia University
J.D., Harvard University
D.Phil., University of Oxford

KEY DECISION
In *Hobby Lobby Stores v. Sebelius*, Gorsuch sided with the company, which objected on religious grounds to the Affordable Care Act provision requiring it to offer contraceptive coverage

KEY QUOTE
"Judges should be in the business of declaring what the law is using the traditional tools of interpretation, rather than pronouncing the law as they might wish it to be in light of their own political views."

POLITICAL IDEOLOGY
Conservative

the Poor Home for the Aged v. Burwell, Gorsuch sided with claimants seeking religious exemptions for providing contraception to employees, as required by the Affordable Care Act. He wrote a 2006 book arguing against euthanasia and assisted suicide, using language that suggested antiabortion views. He also has opinions on deference to the Executive Branch that break with Scalia. Gorsuch is skeptical about the Chevron doctrine, an obscure but important principle that requires courts to defer to federal agencies in some circumstances. Progressives fear Gorsuch's position "would result in preventing the federal government from enforcing countless acts of Congress," says Nan Aron, president of the liberal advocacy group Alliance for Justice. "You cannot get any more extreme than that."

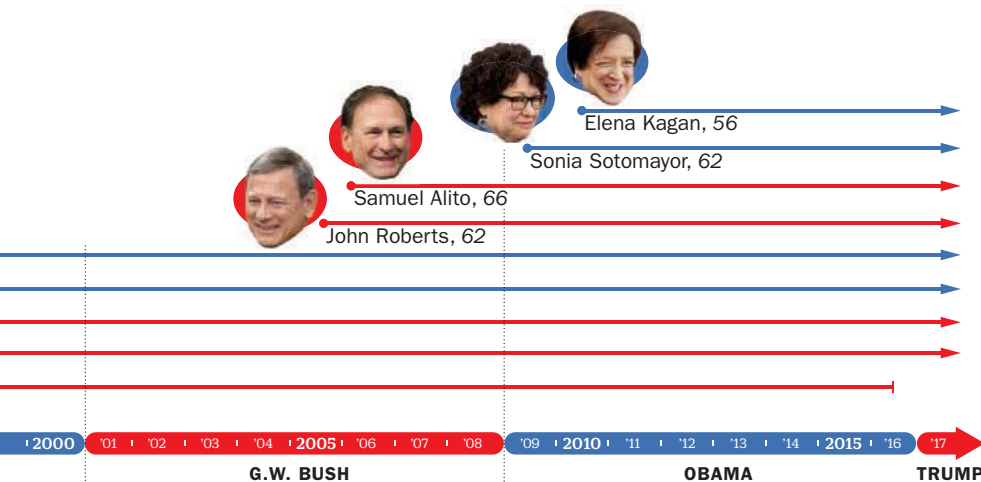
Liberal groups that despise Trump and remain furious about how the GOP treated Garland have been gearing up to oppose Gorsuch. Democracy for America called for "total opposition" to the nominee. The Progressive Change Campaign Committee raised \$50,000 for Oregon Senator Jeff Merkley, the first Senator to promise to filibuster whomever Trump chose. MoveOn.org plans to encourage its 8 million members to call wavering Senators. "Democrats who don't stand up to Trump," says Ben Wikler, the group's Washington director, "are going to be hit with a hurricane force of outrage."

While some congressional Democrats have signaled they will oppose Gorsuch, they've so far been coy about plans to filibuster. Schumer declared that the Senate "must insist upon 60 votes for any Supreme Court nominee." But Senate majority leader Mitch McConnell has vowed that the nominee will be confirmed, implying that, if necessary, he would invoke the nuclear option—a parliamentary maneuver allowing Republicans to push Gorsuch through with a simple majority. Overriding a filibuster for Gorsuch could undermine the Senate's ability to stand up to Trump on other matters. But the GOP should have the votes. "The feeling was, yes, there will be a fight," says Leo, "but yes, the nominee will be confirmed." — *With reporting by SAM FRIZELL/WASHINGTON*

minimal regard for legislative history. And he is an originalist, a judge who tries to interpret the Constitution according to the views of its framers. He's also renowned for writing clear and lively opinions. Although he was raised in Denver, Gorsuch has roots in Washington: his mother served in Ronald Reagan's Cabinet, and he

clerked on the Supreme Court for Justice Anthony Kennedy more than 20 years ago. If confirmed, Gorsuch would be the first Justice to join a former boss on the bench.

HIS SIGNATURE OPINIONS have dealt with religious liberty. In *Hobby Lobby Stores v. Sebelius* and *Little Sisters of*





TICKER

Philippines drug war on hold

Philippines President Rodrigo Duterte ordered the country's police to dissolve its antidrug units following the killing of a South Korean businessman by rogue officers last year. Duterte said he was "embarrassed" by the antidrug officers' abuse of power.

\$1M in donations for Texas mosque

A global campaign raised \$1 million to help rebuild a mosque that was gutted by a fire on Jan. 30. The Islamic Center of Victoria was almost completely destroyed, but no one was hurt. Federal officials are investigating the cause.

Ukraine fighting leaves 19 dead

A new outburst of fighting between government forces and Russian-backed separatists in eastern Ukraine left at least 19 people dead and dozens injured. NATO chief Jens Stoltenberg said it was "the most serious spike in violence in a long time."

Bacon prices on the rise

Demand for the pork used to make bacon has far outpaced supply, according to the nonprofit Ohio Pork Council, leading to surging prices. Reserves of frozen pork belly have hit a 50-year low.

THE RISK REPORT

Trump's hard line on Mexico gives left-wing populist an opening

By Ian Bremmer

PRESIDENT TRUMP WILL HONOR HIS pledge to build a border wall, and he has answered Mexico's refusal to pay for it with threats of a 20% tax on Mexican imports. He says he'll renegotiate NAFTA, and Mexicans fear he'll try to limit investment in their country's manufacturing and automotive sectors to revive those industries in the U.S. So how will Mexico respond? It could answer Trump by electing a populist firebrand of its own—a President of the left who vows to punch back.

Mexico's current President, Enrique Peña Nieto, had plenty of problems long before Trump entered the White House. Corruption scandals and his failure to put an end to Mexico's bloody drug wars have driven his poll numbers down in recent years. His approval stood at 12% as 2017 began, according to a survey published by the newspaper *Reforma*, amid inflation, currency volatility and a stagnant economy. Public rage reached a boiling point in January when dwindling state revenues forced Peña Nieto to slash government fuel subsidies, abruptly hiking gasoline prices on consumers by up to 20%. Protests and looting followed.

Peña Nieto's legacy will likely be marked, however, by his inability to defend his country's dignity from Trump's threats. Already term-limited, he is now well on his

way to political irrelevance. Yet Trump's aggressive push will have a discrediting effect on Mexico's entire political class, creating a golden opportunity for a populist presidential candidate in the 2018 presidential election.

Enter Andrés Manuel López Obrador, a veteran leftist who has promised to hike

Andrés Manuel López Obrador has promised to hike spending, tackle graft—and stick it to Donald Trump

public spending, tackle corruption and—crucially—stick it to Donald Trump. "Enough of being passive," he said recently. "We should put a national emergency plan in place to face the damage and reverse the protectionist policies

of Donald Trump." López Obrador has run unsuccessfully for the presidency before, in 2006 and 2012, with the center-left Party of the Democratic Revolution. But under the banner of his new, left-wing Morena party he is polling ahead of his 2018 rivals. A President López Obrador wouldn't make Mexico the next Venezuela and would be unlikely, despite his promises, to reverse Peña Nieto's much-needed energy-sector reform. But he would bring consistent opposition to Trump and foster a more general anti-U.S. sentiment.

If you don't know what the former Mexico City mayor looks like, you will soon. To dramatize his scorn for Trump, López Obrador will tour major U.S. cities with large populations of citizens of Mexican origin in February. Trump might start to wish he had made a quicker start on that wall. □

SCIENCE

The science of making food taste better

Researchers revealed on Jan. 27 that they had isolated the genes responsible for a flavorful tomato, a breakthrough in a movement to use good old-fashioned crossbreeding, rather than genetic modification, to improve how produce tastes. Here, three other foods getting a flavor boost thanks to science. —T.J.

STRAWBERRIES

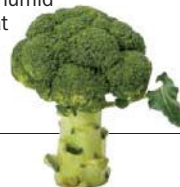
The University of Florida's strawberry-breeding program used modern chemistry and genetic analysis to isolate what gives the fruit flavor. In 2015 it released a sweet, disease-resistant strawberry called Florida Sensation.

**CHOCOLATE**

Two groups of scientists, one from Mars Inc. and the other backed by Hershey, determined the DNA sequence of the cacao tree in 2010. The discovery could allow them to isolate what makes chocolate taste so good.

**BROCCOLI**

The Eastern Broccoli Project at Cornell University is attempting to create new hybrid broccoli varieties that can retain flavor and thrive in the hot and humid conditions that characterize summers on the East Coast.



ENERGY

A tale of two pipelines

Just days after President Trump signed memorandums on Jan. 24, reviving the Keystone XL pipeline and calling for quick approval of the Dakota Access pipeline (DAPL), the acting Army Secretary ordered the Army Corps of Engineers to issue a final construction permit for it. The move was heavily criticized by anti-Dakota Access activists. Here's how Keystone XL and DAPL came to occupy the national consciousness. —Justin Worland

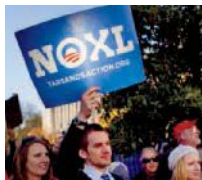
SEPTEMBER 2008

TransCanada applies to extend its existing Keystone pipeline, beginning a long permit process at the state and federal levels. The new section would be dubbed Keystone XL.



APRIL 2010

BP's Deepwater Horizon oil-drilling unit explodes, spilling more than 200 million gallons of crude oil into the Gulf of Mexico and bringing attention to the risks of oil projects.



NOVEMBER 2011

President Obama postpones a decision on Keystone XL until after the 2012 election in the face of stiff opposition from environmental activists and landowners.

JUNE 2013

Obama says that to receive his approval, the new pipeline could not contribute significant levels of new carbon pollution. Activists would later remind Obama of this statement.

Keystone pipeline
Proposed Keystone XL pipeline
Proposed Dakota Access pipeline



DECEMBER 2016

The Army declines to allow Energy Transfer Partners to build under the Missouri River and soon begins a review of the project that could take two years.



OCTOBER–NOVEMBER 2016

Resistance to DAPL grows as law enforcement uses dogs, water cannons and tear gas to remove protesters. Nationally, millions post to Facebook in solidarity.

JULY 2016

The Army Corps of Engineers issues permits for Dakota Access to cross the Missouri River, near the Standing Rock lands, without a full impact assessment.



DECEMBER 2014

Energy Transfer Partners applies to the federal government, with little fanfare, to build the Dakota Access pipeline.



NOVEMBER 2015

Obama rejects Keystone XL, citing the negative publicity associated with the project and upcoming negotiations for a global climate deal. The move comes despite a request from TransCanada to suspend the application.



APRIL 2016

Dakota Access opponents gather at the planned construction site, arguing the pipeline would disrupt ancient burial grounds near the Standing Rock Indian Reservation and threaten the clean-water supply. More protesters join them.

Milestones

DIED

British actor **John Hurt**, 77, whose career spanned six decades and included roles in *The Elephant Man*, *Alien* and the *Harry Potter* movies. Hurt, who was diagnosed with pancreatic cancer in 2015, continued to work until his death, most recently in *Jackie*, alongside Natalie Portman.

➤ Japanese toy-and-game entrepreneur **Masaya Nakamura**, 91, whose video-game company released *Pac-Man* in 1980.

SOLD

By **Volkswagen** last year, 10.3 million cars, making it the world's largest automaker. The German car company said its global sales rose by 3.8%, ending Toyota's four-year reign at the top.

INCLUDED

Cats, in the **Westminster Dog Show**, for the first time in the show's 140-year history. The felines will be shown alongside dogs in the meet-the-breeds portion of the Feb. 11 event and will also compete in an agility contest.

The world's failure on refugees is apparent on the streets of Paris

By Vivienne Walt/Paris

EVEN WITH AN OVERSIZE BASEBALL CAP LOW ON HIS HEAD, the teenage boy's grueling trek from his country of Eritrea to the French capital can be seen in his bloodshot eyes. "I left my home more than four months ago," says Makbel, 16, standing on a street in northern Paris after midnight on Jan. 28. Having journeyed through Sudan, Libya, across the Mediterranean to Italy and finally to France, the boy carried his few possessions in a small bag, with some donated bedding to help him sleep outdoors in near freezing temperatures. "My mother and father are dead. My brother is in London," says Makbel, who did not want to give his last name for fear of being deported back to a home country where youth vanish into military conscription for decades. "The government wants us for war. There is no work, no study, no life," he says. "The situation is very, very bad."

MAKBEL IS NOT ALONE in his misery. These days, the streets of Paris—like others across Europe—abound with refugees sleeping rough through yet another bitter winter. In cities

'Parisians totally believe in welcoming [refugees]. But we know that during the presidential elections this question will be divisive.'

DOMINIQUE VERSINI, deputy mayor of Paris

from Berlin to Belgrade, it is a depressing tableau of the world's conflicts thousands of miles away. While the migrant flow has eased this winter, those already on the continent are not going anywhere, and neither are the arguments over how to resolve it. Through summit after summit, E.U. leaders have remained at loggerheads over how to share the responsibility of resettling about 1.3 mil-

lion people who have crossed the Mediterranean illegally since the numbers began soaring in 2015. The leaders were due to meet again in Malta on Feb. 3, as TIME went to press, to try to resolve the issue. But few expected success. German Chancellor Angela Merkel, whose country has taken in by far the greatest number of refugees, said in her weekly podcast, "I would not spread too much optimism."

These E.U. leaders are meeting as President Donald Trump's temporary entry ban to the U.S. on citizens of seven Muslim-majority countries and his indefinite block on resettling Syrian refugees continue to cause outrage here and across the world. "When he refuses the arrival of refugees, while Europe has done its duty, we have to respond," French President François Hollande told reporters bluntly after Trump's order. "Withdrawal into oneself is a dead-end response." Yet despite the outrage over Trump, several E.U. politicians are themselves wary of their own countries'



^
A group of Afghan migrants sleep under a bridge in northern Paris early on Jan. 28

nationalist and populist movements, which have rocketed in popularity over the past year, in large part by pushing for harsh new limits on immigration. The battle is especially pronounced in France, where the deeply unpopular Hollande opted not to stand for a second term in this year's presidential contest, and a fiercely anti-immigration leader could replace him. The far-right National Front leader Marine Le Pen—a strong Trump fan who sees his victory as a precursor to her own—could win the most votes in the French presidential election in the first round, according to the polls, and has a possible shot at the presidency in the decisive second round on May 7.

TRUMP'S ORDER HAS now thrust the battle over the migrant crisis to the center of France's presidential race. With many French already struggling economically, and jittery over a continual flow of new immigrants, the U.S. political battle seems highly resonant, and presidential candidates have rushed to



state which side they are on. Le Pen, who has proposed closing the E.U.'s open borders, tweeted after Trump's order that what truly bothered people was that the U.S. President "respects his [campaign] commitments." Other candidates were appalled, however. "I stand with people fleeing war and persecution," tweeted the center-left independent Emmanuel Macron on Jan. 29, with the hashtag #NoBanNoWall. That same afternoon, the center-right candidate François Fillon said at a Paris rally that the government should compel migrants who want to stay in France to absorb the culture. "Immigration without integration, without assimilation, must be stopped," he said. Yet he hastened to set himself apart from Trump. "The Americans are our allies and friends, but France is nobody's vassal," he said.

The fierce arguments continue out of earshot of migrants like Makbel, who are living rough in France's capital. Here, many seem unaware that there is a presidential campaign under way at all. Most struggle to comprehend why it

has been so difficult to find sanctuary. "I think I have been in 14 countries," says Awate Tesfamichael, 26, an Eritrean whose travels brought him to Europe in December 2015. Tesfamichael registered as a refugee in Romania, effectively cutting off options to claim asylum elsewhere, including in Australia, where his father and brother have resettled. Like Makbel and hundreds of others, Tesfamichael now has one goal in mind: to make it to Britain, where he speaks the language and where he knows other Eritrean refugees. "All I want is to go to England."

That option seems increasingly unlikely, not least because of Britain's intense reluctance to absorb them; the migrant crisis was one key driver of the Brexit vote last June, and just like the U.S., Britain is seeking to tighten controls over its borders. Until October, refugees wanting to enter the U.K. converged at the Calais Jungle, a sprawling tent camp in the French port city. The most desperate among them attempted to sneak aboard trucks crossing the English Channel. But French officials shut down and cleared out the unofficial camp as its population grew to more than 6,000 people. They bused many of its residents to small towns across France, where they were housed in about 450 "welcome centers" in provincial towns. There, according to officials, they would determine each person's claim to stay in France or go to Britain. So far, Britain has rejected most underage migrants from the Calais Jungle, according to the latest official figure, and in the High Court in London, lawyers have challenged the U.K. government's decision to reject 36 teenage migrants, all of whom are stuck in migrant centers in France.

THE FAILURE OF THE STRATEGY to distribute thousands of migrants from Calais across the country is clearly visible in the numbers now homeless in Paris. On Nov. 4, police dismantled a tent camp that sprung up along the freeway in northern Paris, evicting about 3,000 people. But hundreds, and at times thousands, of migrants have filtered back to the capital since then, many huddling at night under freeways, or in doorways. In addition, Paris of-

ficials have opened two temporary migrant shelters where they have housed about 4,500 people for about a week at a time. "There are divided opinions in France about how to welcome refugees," Deputy Mayor Dominique Versini tells TIME. "Parisians totally believe in welcoming them. But we know that during the period of presidential elections, this question will be very divisive." Much like New York, for example, Paris regards itself as a sanctuary city for illegal migrants and has largely accepted the 26,000 or so who have lived on its streets during the migrant crisis, Versini says. Yet there are obvious strains. The police, who represent the national government, regularly dismantle the migrants' tents, confiscate blankets and move them on. "We cannot tell the police what to do," Versini says.

Now, amid Paris' gracious boulevards and neighborhoods are pockets that have become a kind of refugee camp on a wide, fragmented scale. During one night on the streets of Paris, TIME saw how the migrant population effectively carves up the streets by nationality. Makbel and about 10 other Eritrean youth are camped in the doorway of a church in Paris' La Chapelle neighborhood. Across the street, about 10 Ethiopians lie curled in sleeping bags. A few blocks away, a disused underpass serves as temporary digs to about 30 Afghan men; a few sat huddled over a small fire at 2 a.m.

Makbel, who traveled alone from Eritrea, says that he and other teenage migrants were bused last October from Calais to a refugee center in Marseille, where he was told he could begin applying for asylum in Britain. But he quit the center in December and traveled north to Paris, after concluding he would never legally reach Britain that way. "People in the center told me England is impossible, and that I should stay in France," he says. "But all I want is to be with my brother." Sleeping alongside him, Kaled, also 16 and from Eritrea, says he too wants to join a brother in London. "I will not stay here in France," he says. Yet to many like him, eking out an existence illegally on the streets seems for the moment safer than trying to decipher which political argument will win out—here, and across the Atlantic. □



LightBox

Night light

A bolt of lightning further illuminates the Volcán de Colima, Mexico's most active volcano, during an evening eruption on Jan. 26. Authorities said a towering cloud of ash rose more than a mile into the sky.

Photograph by Ulises Ruiz Basurto—EPA

► For more of our best photography, visit lightbox.time.com



LONGEVITY

How family ties keep you going, in sickness and in health

By Alexandra Sifferlin

EXPERTS HAVE LONG KNOWN THAT PEOPLE WITH strong social networks tend to eat healthier, exercise more and even live longer. Now they're developing a more nuanced understanding of why. Scientists used to think that having another person around helped survival in a very practical way: if you fall ill (or fall over), you stand a better chance of getting the help you need if there's someone by your side. Now they're discovering that there may be something more at play.

FAMILY TIES ARE LINKED TO IMPROVED LONGEVITY

There are plenty of good reasons to spend more time with your grown kids or to call your sister, and living longer turns out to be one of them. The link between strong family ties and longevity is clear, and researchers are learning that the inverse is also true: people with fewer ties to their relatives, new research suggests, fare worse. In a 2016 study presented at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Association, about 3,000 people ages 57 to 85 listed up to five of their closest confidants. Older adults who said they felt "extremely close" to family members on their list had about a 6% risk of dying in the next five years compared with about a 14% risk of death in the same time period among people who didn't feel as tight with their family.

Researchers think this could be due to the sense of responsibility that family often inspires. "We have strong expectations around providing for one another and not shirking," says study author James Iveniuk, a postdoctoral researcher at the University of Toronto's Dalla Lana School of Public Health.

SIBLING RELATIONSHIPS ARE A BOON FOR WELL-BEING

They may get on your nerves, but you might also have your siblings to thank for at least some of your well-being. It turns out that people with siblings tend to fare better, mental-health-wise, than people without them, especially if they're close.

A 2015 study of siblings from 246 families found that young people who considered their relationship with their brother or sister to be positive had fewer depressive symptoms compared with those who didn't get along with their siblings. Other studies report that people with siblings, especially sisters, are less likely to report feeling



BONUS BENEFITS

BEING MORE FIT

A 2016 study found that people who are happily married are much more likely to report exercising often than those who are unhappily partnered.

BETTER EATING

Plenty of research shows that families that eat together are more likely to eat more healthily.

A recent study showed it can also help kids keep a healthy weight.

LESS DISEASE IN THE LONG RUN

The benefits of family closeness start early. A warm parent-child bond is linked to a lower risk of serious diseases like cancer even decades later.

lonely, unloved, self-conscious or even fearful.

Studies of adult siblings find that those benefits extend into middle age and beyond. The vast majority of people with adult siblings report having a good relationship with their kin. They are also likely to report being happy and having better moods.

SPOUSAL INTERACTIONS CAN HAVE BIG BENEFITS

Having a thoughtful conversation with a spouse can not only increase intimacy but also improve health in meaningful and lasting ways. A 2017 study of 162 married or co-habiting couples found that on days when they had a pleasant, positive conversation, the partners felt less lonely and more intimate, and fell asleep faster, than on days when they didn't. "When you experience something positive and share it with a partner, it influences your health," says study author Sarah Arpin, an assistant professor of psychology at Gonzaga University. "Interactions in our relationships impact us more than we think."

Although that particular study looked at conversations about good news, not all chats need to be positive for a beneficial effect. Just feeling that a partner is responsive has been linked to better overall health.

TheView

'DECADES OF POLICIES GROUNDED IN SCIENCE COULD BE UNDONE OVERNIGHT' —NEXT PAGE

SCIENCE

How a war on science could hurt the U.S.—and its citizens

By Jeffrey Kluger and Justin Worland

THE DISCIPLINE OF SCIENCE IS ONE where the facts, once they are peer-reviewed and published in scientific journals, are fixed. They're not open to interpretation, or at least not much. In that sense, it's the opposite of politics, in which nearly everything can be negotiated. But as the first days of the Trump Administration have shown, many of those seemingly settled scientific facts—the ones that have informed countless policies from previous U.S. Administrations—are once more up for debate.

Within hours of President Trump's Inauguration, the White House website was stripped of any mention of climate change or the effort to fight it. The Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) was ordered to temporarily freeze the grants it issues—a move by a new President that has happened before but one that some officials said went further than previous Administrations. Employees at the U.S. Department of Agriculture were forbidden to release any

JULY 1978



JULY 2011



NASA images show Qori Kalis (above), a glacier that is part of the world's largest tropical ice cap, on a plateau 18,670 ft. (5,691 m) high in the Andes Mountains of Peru. **In 1978, the glacier was still expanding.** But not anymore. By 2011, it had **retreated far enough to leave a lake 86 acres (35 hectares) in area and 200 ft. (60 m) deep.** Human-influenced climate change has also contributed to the retreat of Muir and Riggs glaciers (next pages), in Alaska.

AUG. 13, 1941



AUG. 31, 2004



“public-facing documents,” according to a leaked internal email. And before taking office, Trump repeatedly cast doubt on the safety of vaccines.

Taken together, this is worrisome to scientists. Research undergirds many of the federal policies designed to keep safe U.S. citizens and the country they live in. The Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC), for instance, issues national vaccine recommendations and plots how the U.S. responds to everything from the flu to Zika. The scientists at the EPA develop standards that aim to improve air quality and clean up potable water. And it’s the principles of science that inform investments at the National Institutes of Health (NIH), the single largest funder of health research in the world.

These agencies and others are responsible for policies that a growing chorus of scientists say are now under threat. “What binds together a lot of things we saw last week is a President basing statements and policies on beliefs rather than on evidence,” says Ken Kimmell, president of the advocacy group Union of Concerned Scientists. “Policies based on innuendo and hunches are doomed to fail.”

It’s not the first time an Administration has run afoul of science. President George W. Bush was criticized for not following science on a number of issues at the EPA. That ultimately led his EPA chief Christine Todd Whitman to resign,

but she senses that the current tension between the scientific community and the incoming Administration is unprecedented. “There were some cases when people questioned scientists,” says Whitman. “But [what’s happening now] is very different.”

EARLY SUSPICION OF TRUMP and his appointees has some scientists fearing that decades of policies grounded in science could be undone overnight. Nowhere is that concern more pressing than in the area of climate change, which Trump on Twitter called a “hoax” created by the Chinese. He later said he was kidding, but during the campaign he promised to pull out of the Paris Agreement, the most ambitious international effort in history to address climate change. Trump officials have also reportedly begun an internal debate about how best to unwind Barack Obama’s signature climate regulation, the Clean Power Plan. The policy requires every state to develop its own plan to reduce carbon emissions from power plants. The measure responds to a 2007 Supreme Court decision that the EPA must regulate carbon emissions if, in fact, they contribute to climate change—

something that was confirmed two years later in a landmark study showing that greenhouse-gas emissions do indeed cause global warming and can damage human health.

Striking or even watering down the Clean Power Plan could have a devastating impact on U.S. efforts to fight man-made climate change. Environmentalists also worry that the government may go a step further and suggest greenhouse-gas emissions are not dangerous in the first place—something reportedly under consideration, according to industry insider publication *E&E News*. That would be a nuclear option, endangering future efforts by any Administration to address climate change. It would also be untrue.

“Whatever people want to believe, greenhouse-gas emissions endanger human health,” says John Holdren, a physicist who served as Obama’s chief science adviser. “It’s not a matter of belief. It’s a matter of science.”

Beyond climate change, scientists worry that Trump’s science policies could threaten public health. Doctors at the CDC develop a recommended vaccination schedule for American children, elders and the rest of us during flu season, and

At the Women’s March on Jan. 21, some protesters expressed worry about science under Trump





there's no credible debate among scientists about vaccines' safety and value. Still, when doubts emanate from as august a place as the Oval Office, the consequences can be dire. "The President's willingness to reopen questions about the safety of vaccines can only serve to confuse people," says Jason Schwartz, a professor at the Yale School of Public Health. "But it's not an overstatement to say that lives depend on public confidence in vaccinations."

IF THERE'S ROOM for hope among scientists, it may lie in one of the least appreciated power centers in Washington: the nonpartisan, permanent bureaucracy. Presidential appointees usually serve the length of an Administration. The employees who answer to them—including scientists who have been working in government for decades—are on no such timeline. "You can't get anything done without the buy-in of the career workforce," says Jonathan Levy, a former senior official at the Department of Energy. "If you treat them with respect and get their buy-in, you can get a lot done."

The challenge is that once public trust in science is undercut—once it becomes politicized—the damage can be very hard to undo. "We are a society that has prospered on science and technology," says Holdren. "If we start neglecting science and technology, we will suffer for it." □

SCIENCE

U.S. policies informed by science

Most federal policies incorporate a mix of law, facts and the best judgment of those calling the shots. Some are also required to take into account the latest science. Here are six policies and programs that are rooted in science—and that some experts say could change under President Trump. —JUSTIN WORLAND

PANDEMIC RESPONSE

In the next global pandemic—which experts agree is a question of when, not if—the directors of the CDC and NIH will be responsible for leading a coordinated response that relies on cutting-edge research, public-health policy and cooperative international relations. Public-health experts have questioned how Trump would respond to pandemics, citing his past comments questioning the advice of CDC and government scientists.



ENDANGERED SPECIES ACT

The 1973 law protects land inhabited by endangered species regardless of economic considerations. Some Republicans in Congress have called for an overhaul of the law, and Trump's choice to run the Department of the Interior, which implements the law, has supported such a move in the past.



VACCINE PROGRAMS

An advisory body at the CDC—appointed by the Health and Human Services chief—issues immunization recommendations for the entire country using the best available science. Some experts worry that those guidelines could change under Trump, who has linked vaccines to autism and met with antivaccine advocates, including Robert Kennedy Jr. and Andrew Wakefield, before taking office.

PROTECTED WATERWAYS

The EPA determined the waterways that have a significant effect on water quality downstream and set restrictions to safeguard them in 2015. The rule drew ire from Republicans who said it would hamper business, and Trump repeatedly promised on the campaign trail to undo the measure.



FUEL-ECONOMY STANDARDS

The Department of Transportation and the EPA use a data-driven approach to set fuel-economy standards for consumer vehicles—which affect how much people pay to fill up their tanks. The formula takes into account a variety of goals, including energy independence, vehicle safety and reduction of environmental impact. The Trump transition team promised to review the policy, noting that its creators did not intend for it to be used to combat global warming.

CARBON EMISSIONS

The controversial Clean Power Plan, which regulates carbon dioxide emissions from power plants, was the centerpiece of President Barack Obama's climate-change agenda. It followed an extensive EPA study that concluded that greenhouse gases threaten human health. Trump officials have begun discussions about how to eliminate the rule, including whether or not they can reverse the EPA's scientific conclusion—known as an endangerment finding—that linked carbon emissions to health problems.

'It all looks as if the world is preparing for war'

By Mikhail Gorbachev

THE WORLD TODAY IS OVERWHELMED WITH PROBLEMS. Policymakers seem to be confused and at a loss.

But no problem is more urgent than the militarization of politics and the new arms race. Stopping and reversing this ruinous race must be our top priority.

The current situation is too dangerous.

More troops, tanks and armored personnel carriers are being brought to Europe. NATO and Russian forces and weapons that used to be deployed at a distance are now placed closer to each other, as if to shoot point-blank.

While state budgets are struggling to fund people's essential social needs, military spending is growing. Money is easily found for sophisticated weapons whose destructive power is comparable to that of weapons of mass destruction, for submarines whose single salvo is capable of devastating half a continent, for missile-defense systems that undermine strategic stability.

Politicians and military leaders sound increasingly belligerent and defense doctrines more dangerous. Commentators and TV personalities are joining the bellicose chorus. It all looks as if the world is preparing for war.

In the second half of the 1980s, together with the U.S., we launched a process of reducing nuclear weapons and lowering the nuclear threat. By now, as Russia and the U.S. reported to the Nonproliferation Treaty Review Conference, 80% of the nuclear weapons accumulated during the Cold War have been decommissioned and destroyed. No one's security has been diminished, and the danger of nuclear war starting as a result of technical failure or accident has been reduced.

This was made possible, above all, by the awareness of the leaders of major nuclear powers that nuclear war is unacceptable.

In November 1985, at the first summit in Geneva, the leaders of the Soviet Union and the U.S. declared: Nuclear war cannot be won and must never be fought. Our two nations will not seek military superiority. This statement was met with a sigh of relief worldwide.

I recall a Politburo meeting in 1986 at which the defense doctrine was discussed. The proposed draft contained the following language: "Respond to attack with all available means." Members of the Politburo objected to this formula. All agreed that nuclear weapons must serve only one purpose: preventing war. And the ultimate goal should be a world without nuclear weapons.

TODAY, HOWEVER, the nuclear threat once again seems real. Relations between the great powers have been going from bad to worse for several years now. The advocates for arms buildup and the military-industrial complex are rubbing their hands.

We must break out of this situation. We need to resume political dialogue aimed

**MAKE
PEACE,
NOT WAR**

Russia has an estimated 7,000 nuclear weapons while the U.S. has about 6,800. The two countries hold **90% of the world's nuclear arms.**

at joint decisions and joint action.

There is a view that the dialogue should focus on fighting terrorism. This is indeed an important, urgent task. But as a core of a normal relationship and eventually partnership, it is not enough.

The focus should once again be on preventing war, phasing out the arms race and reducing arsenals. The goal should be to agree not just on nuclear-weapons levels and ceilings but also on missile defense and strategic stability.

In the modern world, wars must be outlawed, because none of the global problems we are facing can be resolved by war—not poverty, the environment, migration, population growth or shortages of resources.

I URGE THE MEMBERS of the U.N. Security Council—the body that bears primary responsibility for international peace and security—to take the first step. Specifically, I propose that a Security Council meeting at the level of heads of state adopt a resolution stating that nuclear war is unacceptable and must never be fought.

I think the initiative to adopt such a resolution should come from Donald Trump and Vladimir Putin—the Presidents of two nations that hold over 90% of the world's nuclear arsenals and therefore bear a special responsibility.

President Franklin D. Roosevelt once said one of the main freedoms is freedom from fear. Today the burden of fear and the stress of bearing it is felt by millions of people, and the main reason for it is militarism, armed conflicts, the arms race and the nuclear sword of Damocles.

Ridding the world of this fear means making people freer. This should become a common goal. Many other problems would then be easier to resolve. The time to decide and act is now.

Gorbachev was the leader of the Soviet Union and is the author of The New Russia



Our historical ambivalence about immigrants is a great American paradox

By Jon Meacham

PASSIONS WERE HIGH, AND THE PRESIDENT OF THE United States was eager to act. In 1798, John Adams, amid talk of war with France, signed the Alien and Sedition Acts to, in his view, protect the national interest against internal dissent and outside agitation. Passed by a Federalist-controlled Congress, the laws, among other things, increased the number of years applicants for citizenship had to wait and authorized the President to deport any foreigner he deemed dangerous to the country. “The Alien bill proposed in the Senate is a monster that must forever disgrace its parents,” James Madison wrote to Thomas Jefferson that same year. Madison was right: in the long run, Adams’ historical legacy has been tarnished by this decidedly unrepugnant grab for power. And in the short term, the acts had the unintended consequence of giving new force to Adams’ opposition, led by Jefferson and Madison, who went on to defeat the Federalists in the 1800 election.

Anxiety about refugees and immigrants and the related desire of Presidents to quell that unease are nearly as old as the Republic. Americans have often limited immigration in moments of fear, only to have their fears dissipate amid cooling emotions and a reinvigorated opposition. It happened, as we’ve seen, in 1798. It happened in the mid-19th century, when the Know-Nothings sprang up in reaction to a wave of European immigration in the wake of the revolutions of 1848. It happened with the Chinese Exclusion Act under Chester Arthur, and with anarchists under Teddy Roosevelt, and with punitive immigration quotas after the Bolshevik Revolution on through the 1920s and ’30s (a period of “America first”), and with refugees from the communist bloc in the early 1950s.

ONE SAD THING about President Trump’s attempted immigration ban—to choose an adjective with which the President is comfortable—is that Presidents before him have also used a sledgehammer blow when a pinprick would do. It’s totally reasonable to worry about infiltration, but fighting infiltration is a subtle business. And Trump has been anything but. He has also now put himself on an unhappy historical trajectory to join other Presidents—many of them otherwise good and even great men—who must forever face posterity’s judgment for clenching their fists when they might have opened their arms.

That Trump is not alone in attempting to shut America’s gates to particular groups was largely lost in the backlash against his Executive Order suspending admission of all refugees as well as immigrants and visitors from seven majority-Muslim nations. From John Winthrop to Emma Lazarus to Ronald Reagan, who spoke of welcoming “all the pilgrims from all the lost places” in his farewell address nearly 30 years ago, Americans prefer to think of themselves in a warm and generous light when it comes to the nation’s open door.

OPEN
AND SHUT



“I regard our immigrants as one of the principal replenishing streams which are appointed by Providence to repair the ravages of internal war.”

ABRAHAM
LINCOLN,
1864



“Foreign influence is truly the Grecian horse to a republic. We cannot be too careful to exclude its entrance.”

ALEXANDER
HAMILTON,
1793

THE TRUTH IS both more complicated and less attractive. George Washington articulated what we like to think of as the American creed, writing in 1783, “The bosom of America is open to receive not only the opulent and respectable stranger, but the oppressed and persecuted of all nations and religions.” Yet fears about indiscriminate immigration are coeval with the nation’s founding and the early Republic. In 1802, even the now sainted Alexander Hamilton—himself an immigrant and, in the 21st century, an emblem of American mobility—had reservations: “The influx of foreigners must, therefore, tend to produce a heterogeneous compound; to change and corrupt the national spirit; to complicate and confound public opinion; to introduce foreign propensities.” We’ve never been as open as we’d like to think, but at our best we have managed to remain truer to the spirit Washington expressed than to the one Hamilton did.

It’s an American paradox, one that continues unabated. An example from the Cold War—another moment of rising international tensions and domestic fears—is worth commending to Trump’s attention. In 1952, President Harry Truman vetoed a bill—Congress overrode him and passed it anyway—that perpetuated the quota system from the isolationist 1920s. “Today, we are ‘protecting’ ourselves, as we were in 1924, against being flooded by immigrants,” Truman wrote to Congress. “This is fantastic. The countries of Eastern Europe have fallen under the communist yoke—they are silenced, fenced off by barbed wire and minefields—no one passes their borders but at the risk of his life. We do not need to be protected against immigrants from these countries—on the contrary we want to stretch out a helping hand ... to succor those who are brave enough to escape from barbarism.” Truman was calling on our better selves. We didn’t listen then, but one of the great things about America is that redemption is always possible. At least thus far. □





The **second** most powerful man in the world?

Steve Bannon has the President's ear. But he wants more

By David Von Drehle

Bannon, seen through a window, paces the Oval Office on Jan. 28 as President Trump speaks with Russian President Vladimir Putin

Most modern Presidents chart their opening moves with the help of a friendly think tank or a set of long-held beliefs.

Donald Trump's first steps had the feel of a documentary film made by his chief strategist and alter ego Stephen K. Bannon, a director who deploys ravenous sharks, shrieking tornadoes and mushroom clouds as reliably as John Ford shot Monument Valley.

Act I of the Trump presidency has been filled with disruption, as promised by Trump and programmed by Bannon, with plenty of resistance in reply, from both inside and outside the government. Perhaps this should not be surprising. Trump told America many times in 2016 that his would be no ordinary Administration. Having launched his campaign as a can-do chief executive, he came to see himself as the leader of a movement—and no movement is complete without its commissar. Bannon is the one who keeps the doctrine pure, the true believer, who is in it not for

money or position, but to change history. "What we are witnessing now is the birth of a new political order," Bannon wrote in an email to the *Washington Post*.

This forceful presence has already opened cracks in West Wing. The Administration was barely a week old when, on the evening of Jan. 27—with little or no explanation to agency heads, congressional leaders or the press—Trump shut down America's refugee program for 120 days (indefinitely in the case of Syrian refugees), while barring travelers from seven majority-Muslim countries. Almost immediately, U.S. customs and border agents began collaring airline passengers covered by the order, including more than 100 people whose green cards or valid visas would have been sufficient for entry if only they had taken an earlier flight. Protesters grabbed markers and cardboard scraps

and raced to airports from coast to coast, where television cameras found them by the thousands.

As the storm reached the gates of the White House on Saturday, many of the West Wing's senior staff had departed to attend the secretive Alfalfa Club annual dinner, an off-the-record black-tie soiree where politicians drink and tell jokes with billionaires. But Bannon avoided this gathering of the elites he believes to be doomed, and remained at the White House to continue the shock and awe.

Having already helped draft the dark and scathing Inaugural Address and impose the refugee ban, Bannon proceeded to light the national-security apparatus on fire by negotiating a standing invitation for himself to the National Security Council. His fingerprints were suddenly everywhere: when Trump tweeted on Jan. 30 that the national media was his "opposition party," he was echoing Bannon's comment a few days earlier to the *New York Times*.

There is only one President at a time, and Donald Trump is not one to cede authority. But in the early days at 1600 Pennsylvania, the portly and rumpled Bannon (the only male aide who dared to visit Trump's office without a suit and tie) has the tools to become as influential as any staffer in memory. Colleagues have dubbed him "the Encyclopedia" for the range of information he carries in his head; but more than any of that, Bannon has a mind-meld with Trump. "They are both really great storytellers," says Kellyanne Conway, counselor to the

THE AGE OF BANNON



1953 Born into an Irish-Catholic family, Bannon grew up near a naval base in Virginia.

◀ **1975** Bannon won the Student Government Association presidency during his junior year at **Virginia Tech**.

Late 1970s to early 1980s Bannon joined the Navy, attended officer school and served on the destroyer *U.S.S. Paul F. Foster*. He then became a

special assistant to the chief of naval operations at the Pentagon.

1983–85 Bannon got his M.B.A. from **Harvard Business School**.

Late 1980s He worked at **Goldman Sachs** until he



launched his own boutique investment bank, **Bannon & Co.**, in 1990.

◀ **1993** Bannon received a small but lucrative **stake in *Seinfeld*** as part of his compensation for consulting on the sale of Castle Rock Entertainment to Turner.

▼ **Mid-1990s** Bannon was hired to turn around a struggling Arizona project called **Biosphere 2**, to test whether humans could survive in space. He clashed with the management and researchers, some of whom staged a mutiny.

▶ **Late 1990s** Bannon left his firm to focus on the entertainment business, **producing and directing movies** such as Anthony Hopkins' *Titus*, a 2004 Ronald Reagan movie called *In the Face of Evil* and a 2011 documentary about Sarah Palin titled *The Undeclared*.



President, of their bond. “The President and Steve share an important trait of absorbing information and weighing consequences.”

They share the experience of being talkative and brash, pugnacious money magnets who never quite fit among the elite. A Democrat by heritage and Republican by choice, Bannon has come to see both parties as deeply corrupt, a belief that has shaped his recent career as a polemical filmmaker and Internet bomb thrower. A party guest recalled meeting him as a private citizen and Bannon telling him that he was like Lenin, eager to “bring everything crashing down, and destroy all of today’s Establishment.”

And by different paths, he and Trump have found themselves at the same philosophical destinations on issues of trade, immigration, public safety, the environment, political decay and much more.

Yet Bannon’s prominence in the first 10 days of the Administration—and the scenes of confusion and disorder that are his disruptive hallmark—has rattled the West Wing and perhaps even dismayed the President. According to senior Administration officials, Trump hauled in some half-dozen of his key advisers for a brisk dressing-down. Everything goes through chief of staff Reince Priebus, he directed. Nothing flows that hasn’t been scheduled by his deputy Katie Walsh. “You’re going to see probably a slower, more deliberative process,” one official told TIME.

Still, Bannon possesses that dearest

of Washington currencies: walk-in privileges for the Oval Office. And he is the one who has been most successful in focusing Trump on a winning message. While other advisers have tried to change Trump, Bannon has urged him to step on the gas.

Both of these images, the orderly office and the glorious crusade, have genuine appeal for the President. And they will likely continue to pull him in opposite directions. By marking Trump’s first days so vividly, Bannon has put the accent on Trump the disrupter. In that sense, as one veteran Republican said, “It’s already over, and Bannon won.”

PEOPLE WHO HAVE studied one of Donald Trump’s favorite books, *The Art of the Deal*, are aware that he sees grandstanding, trash-talking, boasting and conflict as useful ingredients in the quest for success. “My style of dealmaking is quite simple and straightforward,” he declares in his opus. “I aim very high, and then I just keep pushing and pushing and pushing to get what I’m after.”

Perhaps no place in the U.S. is more adamantly resistant to pushing than Washington. But Trump won the election in part by understanding that this is no ordinary time. Technology has placed a communications revolution in nearly every American palm. When mixed with the economic frustrations of a globalized economy, this power unleashed a new populism. In the history of human beings, it has never been easier to organize groups, for good or ill, or to communicate both truth and lies, to

question authority and to undermine the answers that authority gives. Trump leveraged this growing power to bypass the traditional gatekeepers of power—the media, the political parties, the elected and unelected bosses.

Bannon’s background at Breitbart taught him the same lessons. Founded as an alternative to mainstream media by the late Andrew Breitbart, the website was an immediate disruptive force in U.S. politics. Ask Anthony Weiner. In 2011, the New York Congressman was a darling of the Democratic grassroots with sky-high ambitions. Then Breitbart published a screen grab from Weiner’s Twitter feed that opened a door on his late-night sexting habits. Social media did the rest. The sudden death of the founder in 2012 placed his friend Bannon in command. As the site ramped up its video, radio and merchandising and opened several bureaus overseas, Breitbart honed the art of the inflammatory headline and offered a home to the bullyboys of the so-called alt right, including those determined to elevate the abhorrent ideals of white nationalism.

The essence of the place could be found in a viral video that made its debut around the time of Bannon’s takeover of Breitbart. Over a piece of old nature footage, a clever narrator commented on a single-minded beast known as a honey badger. Through bee stings, snakebites and other degradations, the animal never stops killing and eating. “Honey Badger don’t give a shit,” the narrator summed up. Bannon adopted the phrase as a motto.

2010 Bannon spoke at a **Tea Party** gathering in New York in 2010.



2011 After meeting Andrew Breitbart in the early 2000s, Bannon joined **Breitbart News’** board in 2011. When Breitbart died in 2012, Bannon took over as executive chairman of the news network.

2012 Bannon founded the Government Accountability Institute, a research organization that investigates politicians and aims to partner with mainstream media outlets.

► **August 2016** Donald Trump appointed Bannon as his **campaign CEO**.



November 2016 Trump announced that Bannon would serve as his **chief strategist and senior counselor** in the White House.
—Abigail Abrams

Official Washington and its counterparts around the globe are struggling to understand just how much the honey badgers are now running the show. There is no doubt the badgers are starving for change and don't care if they get stung by swarms of pundits, incumbents, lobbyists and donors—not to mention foreign leaders and denizens of Davos. In fact, they seem to like it.

The capital was in a lather over the immigration order, with denunciations pouring in from Republicans and Democrats alike. Rumors swirled of resignations from the Trump White House, when Trump's policy badger, Stephen Miller, a Bannon ally, calmly stepped before the cameras. "Anytime you do anything hugely successful that challenges a failed orthodoxy, you're going to see protests," he told CBS News. "In fact, if nobody is disagreeing with what you're doing, then you're probably not doing anything that really matters in the scheme of things."

The withering fire Trump has drawn from nearly every direction would normally have a President backpedaling. Not the badgers. In Trump country, the vast red sea of Middle America where the President won the election, many people welcomed the squeals of the outraged elites. As one delighted Kansas City businessman put it, "He's upsetting all the right people."

Bannon helps Trump remember that he never made a priority of being a uniter, as George W. Bush did, nor did he offer to heal our divisions in the manner of Barack Obama. The new President has crafted himself as a defender of the "forgotten people," which places in his sight those with powerful names you already know. With new goals came new thinking. "People tell us that things have always been done a certain way," said one trusted Trump aide. "We say, Yes, but look at the results. It hasn't worked. We're trying a new way."

On this Trump and Bannon agree. What happens next is the mystery. Trump, in his long past as a businessman, has always aimed his disruptions at the goal of an eventual handshake: the deal. Bannon, in his films and radio shows, has shown a more apocalyptic bent.

Sometime in the early 2000s, Bannon was captivated by a book called *The Fourth Turning* by generational theorists

William Strauss and Neil Howe. The book argues that American history can be described in a four-phase cycle, repeated again and again, in which successive generations have fallen into crisis, embraced institutions, rebelled against those institutions and forgotten the lessons of the past—which invites the next crisis. These cycles of roughly 80 years each took us from the revolution to the Civil War, and then to World War II, which Bannon might point out was taking shape 80 years ago. During the fourth turning of the phase, institutions are destroyed and rebuilt.

In an interview with TIME, author Howe recalled that Bannon contacted him more than a decade ago about making a film based on the book. That eventually

In official Washington, honey badgers are now running the show

led to *Generation Zero*, released in 2010, in which Bannon cast the 2008 financial crisis as a sign that the turning was upon us. Howe agrees with the analysis, in part. In each cycle, the postcrisis generation, in this case the baby boomers, eventually rises to "become the senior leaders who have no memory of the last crisis, and they are always the ones who push us into the next one," Howe said.

But Bannon, who once called himself the "patron saint of commoners," seemed to relish the opportunity to clean out the old order and build a new one in its place, casting the political events of the nation as moments of extreme historical urgency, pivot points for the world. Historian David Kaiser played a featured role in *Generation Zero*, and he recalls his filmed interview with Bannon as an engrossing and enjoyable experience.

And yet, he told TIME, he was taken aback when Bannon began to argue that the current phase of history foreshad-

owed a massive new war. "I remember him saying, 'Well, look, you have the American revolution, and then you have the Civil War, which was bigger than the revolution. And you have the Second World War, which was bigger than the Civil War,'" Kaiser said. "He even wanted me to say that on camera, and I was not willing."

Howe, too, was struck by what he calls Bannon's "rather severe outlook on what our nation is going through." Bannon noted repeatedly on his radio show that "we're at war" with radical jihadis in places around the world. This is "a global existential war" that likely will become "a major shooting war in the Middle East again." War with China may also be looming, he has said. This conviction is central to the Breitbart mission, he explained in November 2015: "Our big belief, one of our central organizing principles at the site, is that we're at war."

TO UNDERSTAND Steve Bannon, you have to understand what happened to his father. "I come from a blue collar, Irish-Catholic, pro-Kennedy, pro-union family of Democrats," he once told *Bloomberg Businessweek*. Martin Bannon began his career as an assistant splicer for a telephone company and toiled as a lineman. Rising into management, the elder Bannon carved out a comfortable middle-class life for his wife and five kids on his working man's salary. Friends say Steve pays frequent visits to his father, now 95 and widowed, at the old family home in Richmond's Ginter Park neighborhood.

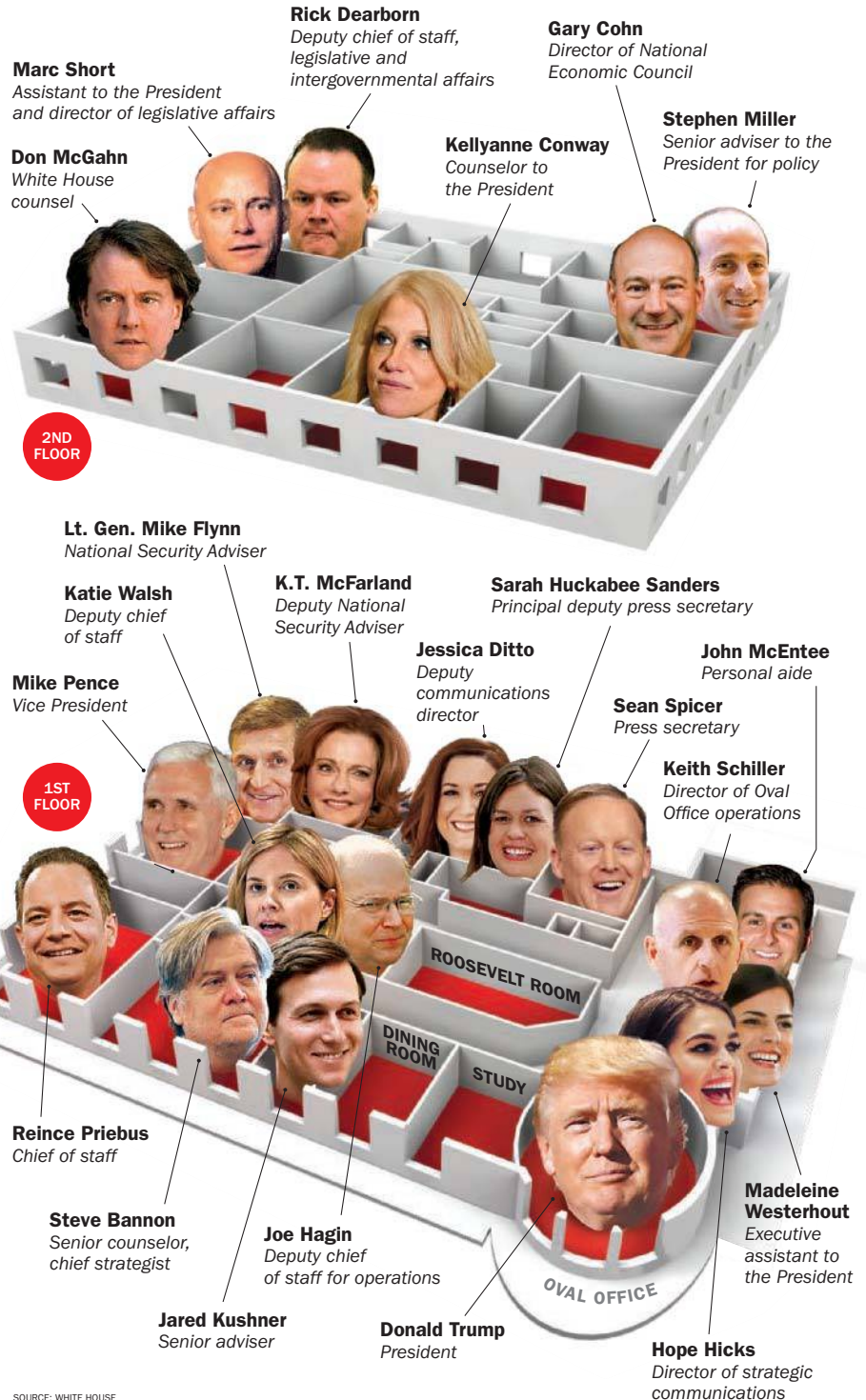
The last financial crisis put a huge dent in Martin's life savings, according to two people close to the family. Steve watched with fury as his former Wall Street colleagues emerged virtually unscathed and scot-free—while America's once great middle class, the people like his father, absorbed the weight of the damage.

"The sharp change came, I think, in 2008," says Patrick McSweeney, a former chairman of the Republican Party of Virginia and longtime family friend. Bannon saw it as a matter of "fundamental unfairness": the hardworking folks like his father got stiffed. And the bankers got bailed out.

Until then, Bannon had been, as he later put it, "as hard-nosed a capitalist as you get." Born in 1953, Bannon was

Meanwhile, Bannon was gradually evolving from dealmaker to filmmaker, with an unusual detour to manage a troubled experiment in the Arizona

Competing power centers are nothing new in the West Wing. Here are some of the key players in relation to the President.



desert called Biosphere 2. In 1999, he served as co-executive producer of *Titus*, a star-studded adaptation of a Shakespeare play that went nowhere. Turning to documentaries that he wrote and directed himself, Bannon became a sort of Michael Moore of the right, with films celebrating Ronald Reagan, Sarah Palin and Michele Bachmann.

Bachmann, a former member of Congress from Minnesota, says Bannon was able to see what the mainstream media either could not or would not. There was a rising tide of disgust in America, which the coastal elites dismissed in “a grotesque caricature of what Donald Trump has called the forgotten man,” Bachmann says. “He was simply trying to give voice, I think, and give a platform to people who were not only being ignored but who were being lied about in the mainstream media.”

Bannon’s life became a crusade against political, financial and cultural elites of all stripes. Bannon’s philosophical transformation showed in his clothes: no one could look at his preferred uniform of T-shirts, cargo shorts and stubble and think Goldman Sachs.

At Breitbart, Bannon was a volcanic figure, according to a number of former staff members who found themselves crossways with the boss. Republican consultant John Pudner, a Bannon friend who briefly worked at Breitbart as the editor of a sports section, recalls the time Bannon “reamed me out”—just hours before he turned around and connected his friend with a plum new job. “He could hit you with that level of intensity and at the same time be singing your praises,” he said.

Not everyone is charitable. “He is legitimately one of the worst people I’ve ever dealt with,” former Breitbart editor Ben Shapiro told TIME last year. “He regularly abuses people. He sees everything as a war. Every time he feels crossed, he makes it his business to destroy his opponent.” The sentiment was echoed by conservative commentator Dana Loesch, a former Breitbart employee. “One of the worst people on God’s green earth,” she said on her radio show last year. Bannon was charged with domestic violence after a dispute with his ex-wife in 1996, though she declined to testify against him and the case was



Before joining the Trump campaign, Bannon ran the site Breitbart News from a townhouse on Capitol Hill

dropped. She later claimed in legal papers that Bannon had objected to a private school for their daughters because there were a lot of Jewish students attending and he didn’t like the way they are raised to be “whiny brats.” Bannon denied those claims, and declined through a White House spokesperson a request from TIME to comment for this story.

In Trump, Bannon found his ultimate outsider. He frequently had the candidate on his radio show, and former staffers say he ordered a steady stream of pro-Trump stories. Now Bannon’s imprint can be seen on presidential decisions ranging from the hiring of former Breitbart staffers to key White House positions to the choice of Andrew Jackson’s portrait—a Bannon idol—for display near the President’s desk.

‘He sees everything as a war.’

—Ben Shapiro, former Breitbart editor

“Where Bannon is really having his instinct is on the policy front,” says a long-time Trump ally. Which policies? “All of them. He’s Trump’s facilitator.” In a Trump White House, this adviser says, you can only get—and keep—as much power as the President wants you to have. But Trump and Bannon “sat down before the election and made a list of things they wanted to do in office right away,” says this adviser. Trump is the one deciding which items to tick off. “Bannon’s just smart enough to give him the list.”

HOWEVER MUCH the disruptive Trump may have welcomed the outrage of the ruling elites, the slash-and-burn style has caused real internal tension at the White House. Senior staff say Trump has instructed chief of staff Priebus to enforce more orderly lines of authority and communication from now on. Presidential counselor Conway has agreed to take an increased role in planning White House messaging with the policy and legal shops.

The internal tribulations of the past few weeks are a clear cause for worry. The decision to rush the refugee order through a relatively secret process came after Bannon and Miller noticed that documents circulated through the National Security Council’s professional staff were leaking to the press, according to Administration sources. Bannon and Miller moved to curtail access to forthcoming memos and drafts. Members

of Congress, and even some Cabinet members, were cut out of the loop or had their access sharply limited.

As a result, the sources said, after the controversial order was signed, confusion reigned. An unknown number of holders of green cards and valid visas were en route to the U.S. The initial White House guidance was that they should all be turned back. But as immigration and civil-liberties lawyers rushed to federal court to challenge the order, the White House reversed itself, saying green-card holders would be granted waivers. Reporters had difficulty finding out even basic facts, like the names of the countries from which travel was banned. Days later, the President even intervened to amend the order that appointed Bannon to a regular spot on the National Security Council. Trump wanted his CIA director, Mike Pompeo, there too.

By Tuesday night, four days after the order was issued, the White House was trying to project a normal tableau. Trump orchestrated a prime-time announcement of his first Supreme Court pick, conservative Colorado judge Neil Gorsuch. But if the Administration had finally struck a note of steadiness, it surely didn't mean that Bannon had been banished.

The President had, once again, provided a course correction. But his central populist message and methods, the one brought to life in conversations with Bannon, remained. In the fight for the forgotten people, disruption was not a bad thing—it just needed to be done with more forethought and follow-through.

That push and pull between demolishing the Establishment and leading it is likely to continue as long as Trump is in office. It's the contradiction facing every outsider who wakes up inside. The entire presidential campaign had been narrated by Trump as a clash between David and Goliath, notes one senior Administration official. But now David has become king. "David shot Goliath with a slingshot but didn't hold a press conference or sign an Executive Order. Not everything we do here has to move so quickly or be released so spectacularly." —*With reporting by* ALEX ALTMAN, ELIZABETH DIAS, MICHAEL DUFFY, PHILIP ELLIOTT, ZEKE J. MILLER and MICHAEL SCHERER/ WASHINGTON

RESISTANCE

A billionaire resistance targets President Trump from the right

By Philip Elliott/Indian Wells, Calif.

As protesters converged on the nation's airports in late January, a very different sort of resistance was shaping up at a manicured golf resort in Palm Springs, Calif. The billionaire industrialist Charles Koch, perhaps the most influential free-market activist in the nation, stood before 550 like-minded donors to declare his intention to fight key policies of President Donald Trump. "We cannot be partisan," he said as his guests sipped wine and the sun set over the mountains. "We can't say, 'O.K., this is our party, right or wrong.'"

The wealthy conservative's call to action may soon prove more disruptive to Trump's ambitions than any of the liberal protests filling the streets. That's because the Koch network has for years been among the biggest and most successful spenders in Republican politics. With a budget of up to \$400 million for the next two years, these deep-pocketed patrons now plan to fight Trump where they think he is wrong. And their list of objections is long, including Trump's plans for new border taxes to incentivize American production, his recent ban on refugees and immigrants from some Muslim-majority countries, and rumored proposals to fund a massive new infrastructure program to rebuild bridges, tunnels and airports with red ink.

This influence will be most felt among members of Congress, whom Trump will need to pass his agenda. The same activist organizations, campaign bankrolls and election-data systems that Koch used to help them get elected could be turned off or directed against them

to fund primary challenges in the 2018 election. "Our secret sauce, so to speak," said Mark Holden, a longtime Koch lieutenant, "is the accountability play." Put another way: Stand with Trump at your own peril, Republicans. No one, not even House Speaker Paul Ryan, a Koch favorite, is exempt.

The resistance could also tap into the party's grassroots volunteers under Americans for Prosperity, a Koch-backed group with millions of activists and staff in 36 states. The group played a key role in helping organize the Tea Party in 2010 and could turn against its own now. "Do you really want to go home and explain a \$1.2 trillion tax on consumers to folks who live in your district?" Americans for Prosperity president Tim Phillips said, previewing his message for reporters invited to the three-day summit.

The Koch network will also be playing an inside game at the White House. Trump's first campaign manager, Corey Lewandowski, previously ran the New Hampshire chapter of Americans for Prosperity and remains an outside adviser to the President, and another Koch insider, Marc Short, has become Trump's legislative director. Charles Koch's writer, Stephen Ford, is now Vice President Mike Pence's speechwriter, and Koch-linked wonks helped Trump staff up his agencies.

But among the donors at the retreat, personnel mattered far less than the dogma. "No one wins in a trade war. Period," said Chart Westcott, a Dallas biotech investor who rolls his eyes at Trump's border-tariff plans. "We're selling airplanes and software. We're buying fruit and shoes."

Koch allies also expressed dismay at Trump's pattern of calling out corporate leaders by name in tweets. "Trump speaks in the mercantilist language," Denver-based energy CEO Chris Wright said, invoking an economic theory rooted in rich-at-home idealism. "That border tax would be a catalyst to a Great Depression." In the eyes of the Koch army, its members are the last line of resistance against Hooverville 2.0.



NATION

THE

THE NATION'S MOST POPULOUS STATE

CALIFORNIA

REPUBLIC

PREPARES TO RESIST THE PRESIDENT

COMES

ROARING

IN UNCERTAIN TIMES BY KATY STEINMETZ / SAN FRANCISCO

BACK



The California grizzly, rendered as protest art by San Francisco's 3 Fish Studios, has shown up on several desks in the state capitol

ILLUSTRATION BY ERIC REWITZER

LIKE MANY OF THE OTHER NEARLY 9 MILLION PEOPLE IN CALIFORNIA

who voted for Hillary Clinton in 2016, artist Eric Rewitzer reacted to Donald Trump's victory as if a tornado had swept his house away. "I just didn't believe he was serious," says the longtime San Francisco resident. "And I didn't see it coming." As disbelief gave way to sadness and then anger, the bespectacled printmaker found himself sitting at the table in the middle of his studio just blocks from the Pacific Ocean. He and his wife are known for their prints of a sweet "California bear," a version of the grizzly on the state's flag that likes to give hugs and sells very well at airport souvenir shops. But after he spent 40 hours carving and pressing a giant sheet of linoleum, a vastly changed animal appeared—roaring, teeth glaring, claws out. "You've stirred a beast," says the usually sweet and soft-spoken Rewitzer. "Watch out."

In a landslide year that saw Republicans win almost everywhere, America's most populous state turned even bluer. Home to about 1 in 8 Americans, California is now one of only five states to have a Democratic governor and both chambers of the legislature controlled by Democrats. (The next biggest is Oregon.) With Republicans reigning in Washington, D.C., the Golden State has become "the largest and most influential Democratic outpost in the country," says University of Southern California lecturer Dan Schnur. And it's not just printmakers who are mobilizing. From the streets of L.A. to the halls of the capitol in Sacramento, Californians seem

uncommonly united in their opposition to all things Trump. "We must prepare for very uncertain times and reaffirm the basic principles that have made California the great exception that it is," Governor Jerry Brown said in his State of the State speech on Jan. 24. Declaring that California would not compromise its crusade to fight climate change or stop welcoming immigrants with protective arms, he drew a line: "California is not turning back, not now, not ever."

Silicon Valley tech CEOs are sending company-wide emails to calm employees rattled by Trump's Executive Orders limiting immigration and suspending the admission of refugees, vowing to use the President's invitations to meetings as chances to change his thinking. The legislature hired former Attorney General Eric Holder's law firm to advise the state on ways to push back while respecting Washington's authority. And California's delegation to D.C. is joining the chorus. "The nation is looking at us for leadership," Senator Kamala Harris tweeted on Jan. 28. "It's time to buckle up and fight."

Since the discovery of gold fast-tracked the state's admittance to the U.S. in 1850, Californians have believed that this place is exceptional. And so it is today: from Hollywood to Silicon Valley, many see California leaning not to the left but forging ahead in a way that can "set an example for the rest of the country," as Brown said in his speech. In the era of Trump, that means continuing to advance

a progressive public agenda on everything from renewable energy to gun laws to health care. There is no question that the state, with the sixth largest economy in the world, has the numbers, dollars and clout to at the very least serve as the center of the Trump opposition in America.

THE FIRST BATTLE

It wasn't that long ago that California was a reliably red state for presidential candidates. Republican Ronald Reagan arrived at the White House in 1981 by way of the California governor's mansion and a landslide victory, which he repeated in 1984. Even George H.W. Bush won the state by a small margin before it went blue for Bill Clinton, who cared about California so much that he had a staffer whose job involved waking up every morning and thinking about what the Administration could do for the place. Republicans spent millions to run ads for George W. Bush here in the weeks before the 2000 election, hoping it might be winnable again. But it was not. And by the time Barack Obama ran for office, says USC's Schnur, "He didn't have to do anything to be popular in California except to not be a Republican." Even conservative Orange County went blue in 2016, for the first time since the Great Depression.

This slide to the left took place as the state became more diverse—absorbing millions of immigrants from Latin America and Asia—and as Republicans on the national stage took a harder line on women's issues and illegal immigration. Latinos surpassed whites as the biggest ethnic group in 2014, and today more than a quarter of the state's population is foreign-born, twice the average across the country. About 10 million immigrants live here—more than the entire population of such states as Michigan or Virginia—and an estimated 25% of them are undocumented, according to the New York-based Center for Migration Studies. Officials in cosmopolitan coastal cities proudly refuse to help federal authorities deport people, especially if their primary offense is lacking paperwork. "We are a sanctuary city, now, tomorrow, forever," San Francisco Mayor Ed Lee said in a speech on Jan. 26. The line got him a standing ovation. There's even been talk of California becoming a sanctuary state.



Hundreds of thousands of protesters take to the streets during the L.A. Women's March on Jan. 21

Vague worries about what Trump might do crystallized in his first 10 days as President, as he started making good on campaign promises to build a wall along the border with Mexico and starve sanctuary cities of federal funds. L.A. Mayor Eric Garcetti called that threat “un-American,” citing the 10th Amendment, which says any powers not delegated to the federal government belong to the people and their states. In one of his first acts as the state’s new top lawyer, Democrat Xavier Becerra joined attorneys general from 15 other states on Jan. 29 to condemn Trump’s order to severely restrict immigration and travel from seven Muslim-majority countries. He vowed they “will use all of the tools of our offices to fight this unconstitutional order and preserve our nation’s national security and core values.” With some travelers prevented from boarding planes bound for the U.S. and others detained, thousands swarmed airports in San Francisco and Los Angeles yelling “Let them in!” just as they did elsewhere around the country.

The resistance is coming on the heels of panic that has set in among immigrants since Election Day, many of whom have loved ones who came here illegally even

if they did not themselves. “I kind of just shut down,” an undocumented teenager from Berkeley says of how she reacted to the election, speaking on condition of anonymity for fear of legal repercussions. “For me, this is my home. This is where I grew up. This is all I know.” On Inauguration Day in San Diego, just miles from the border, hundreds of protesters marched through cold rain behind a leader holding a Mexican flag high in the air. They chanted in English (“Refugees are welcome here! Immigrants have no fear!”) and in Spanish (“Trump, ¡escucha! ¡Estamos en la lucha!”). A white woman had a sign taped to her back: I WILL STAND WITH THE MOST VULNERABLE.

That evening, diehards holding soggy cardboard signs stood shaking in a park in

**‘CALIFORNIA IS NOT
TURNING BACK. NOT
NOW, NOT EVER.’**

—GOVERNOR JERRY BROWN

a Latino neighborhood. Many individuals nervously refused to speak to the press. An exception was Pedro Rios, local director of the American Friends Service Committee, a 100-year-old Quaker organization that supports border communities. He has been hosting forums with immigrants, undocumented and otherwise, reminding people of their rights and helping them develop plans for what they’ll do if there are immigration raids or if the family’s breadwinner gets deported, “just as when you’re kids and you make a plan in case of a fire at your home,” he says. Organizations like the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) are meanwhile championing state legislation that would bar state and local resources from being used to help the feds with immigration enforcement and dedicate funds to defending immigrants in deportation proceedings.

How much California can fight back on immigration may well be resolved in court, as the latest chapter in one of the oldest struggles of the American political system. On Jan. 31, the city of San Francisco filed a lawsuit against Trump and his Administration, alleging that depriving sanctuary cities of federal funds is unconstitutional. “There’s always been

big fights between the states and the federal government,” says Paul Nolette, an assistant professor of political science at Marquette University, on subjects ranging from “small things” like the drinking age to issues like slavery that nearly ripped the country asunder. Though the supremacy clause, which says federal law trumps state law, might seem simple, “the line of when that actually happens gets really, really complex quickly,” he adds. During Obama’s tenure, Texas was famously litigious, with its then attorney general once describing his job this way: “I go into the office, I sue the federal government, and I go home.” While Obama was in charge, Texas sued the government at least 48 times, according to an analysis by the *Texas Tribune*, with cases covering everything from air quality to contraception. The state, both as a lone plaintiff and alongside others, won some and lost some. Many are still pending.

At state attorney general Becerra’s first confirmation hearing in early January, most questions were about what he could—or would—do if Trump made changes that went against the California grain on everything from marijuana to minimum wage to LGBT rights. Assembly member Reggie Jones-Sawyer foretold “a looming, long, ferocious and hard-fought legal war with bloodshed stretching from the Golden State to Washington, D.C.” Becerra, the son of immigrants, sounded a more measured tone. “I’m not going to sit here and tell you that I’m going to disobey federal law.” But, he said, if the federal government goes after people “simply because of who they are ... I’m going to be a big bull.”

DIFFERENT CALIFORNIAS

Before Trump even put his hand on the Bible, more than 1,000 progressive lawyers gathered in San Francisco in January at a “strategic engagement conference” to sound the alarm bells over what the new President and his Cabinet picks might mean for environmental standards, violence against women, workers’ rights, voting rights and more. In the same hall where Tim Cook introduced a new iPhone months before, they made plans to “repudiate the disgusting, terrible policies that the Trump Administration is going to try to push forward” before there techni-

cally was a Trump Administration. Organizations signed up volunteers, attorneys joined issue-based working groups, and plans are under way to replicate the conference in cities such as L.A. and Seattle.

In more conservative and less diverse inland parts of the state, there are Californians who wish their neighbors along the coast would give it a rest. As the Cold War ended and defense-industry jobs in Southern California dried up, Republicans moved inland where it was cheaper to live, says Thad Kousser, a political-science professor at UC San Diego. Many others just left the state, as more progressive young people and people of color moved in near the seashore. Gradually California went from being a state that had a north-south divide (with a more liberal north) to a state with an east-west one. Several sparsely populated counties east of the I-5 went more than 60% for Trump last year. And speaking to people who live in the area, it’s easy to imagine how Trump’s Inauguration speech—with his promises to never again forget anyone who felt forgotten—would have resonated with them.

“There are conservatives all over California, but they live in areas where their vote doesn’t end up meaning anything,” says Vicky Reinke, chair of the Republican Party in Calaveras County, southeast of Sacramento. “I get called a racist, a bigot, just because I’m a Republican.” She calls the legislature’s decision to hire Holder’s law firm “disgusting.”

Among Trump’s natural allies are manufacturing and agricultural industries in areas where people like 31-year-old Jason Giannelli live. The farm manager in Kern County—home to dusty Bakersfield, which went solidly to Trump—was wooed when Trump came to visit during

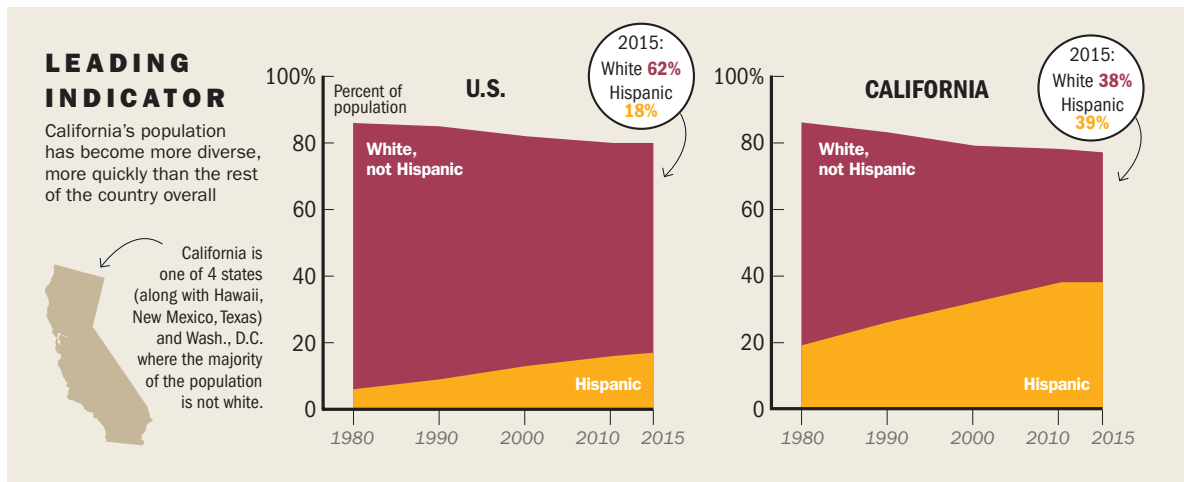
the campaign and told water-thirsty farmers that he valued them over wildlife. In the Central Valley, there is hope that Trump’s election will mean relaxed environmental regulations that help farmers get more water for crops that show up in grocery stores all over the country. The area continues to be hugely dependent on immigrant labor, but Giannelli doesn’t believe any of the more extreme outcomes people fear—like raids at schools or mass deportations—will come to pass. “Just give it a chance,” he says of the Trump Administration. “We saw what we had with the last eight years; let’s see what we have with at least the next four.”

The plight of Republicans who are sick of feeling ignored in the state has led some counties to sign declarations saying they’d like to secede and be part of the 51st state of Jefferson, the goal of a movement that began decades ago in isolated towns along the Oregon border where people felt steamrolled by decisions coming out of the capital. (Calaveras County’s Reinke is an ardent supporter, fantasizing that the resulting state “could be like Idaho.”) But the election naturally energized a very different, if equally quixotic, movement to secede stage left: #CalExit, the hashtag used by those who would like California to leave the U.S. and form its own more liberal country, went viral in the hours following Trump’s win. A group called Yes California, which has supported that effort for years and is preparing to gather signatures to get the secession question on the ballot in 2019, saw its following blow up overnight. An email list of 13,000 became 130,000, says the group. A Twitter following of 1,500 became 15,000.

The quest remains the longest of long shots, but the attention it is getting says something about the Californian state of mind in this moment—and the perception that for all their cutting-edge technology, many people here are living in a disconnected bubble. “These people are a people, and they’re very different from everyone else in America,” says Yes California’s Marcus Ruiz Evans, noting how strongly the election would have gone to Trump without the Golden State’s votes. Remove California, and rather than lose the national popular vote by nearly 3 million, Trump would have won by more than 1.4 million. “American decisions,” Evans says, “are constantly

**‘I GET CALLED A
RACIST, A BIGOT,
JUST BECAUSE I’M
A REPUBLICAN.’**

**—VICKY REINKE, CALAVERAS
COUNTY RESIDENT**



being viewed as horrific by Californians.”

The feeling can be mutual. In a recent debate over a contentious bathroom bill in North Carolina, a conservative lawmaker in Raleigh spoke out against “the hateful crowd from California” after Hollywood icons like director Rob Reiner and tech titans like Salesforce CEO Marc Benioff joined a chorus of voices shaming the Tar Heel State for not upholding transgender rights. What some Californians see as setting a fine example for the rest of the states can seem like a sense of superiority from places east of here—much as America’s sense of exceptionalism can appear nauseating abroad.

NORTH AND SOUTH

Yet the fact remains that the liberals are steering this ship, and California’s west side has been stirred to action in the north and the south. In her acceptance speech for an achievement award at the Golden Globes on Jan. 8, actor Meryl Streep used her pulpit not to speak about herself but to argue that Trump is targeting the vulnerable: “Disrespect invites disrespect, violence incites violence. And when the powerful use their position to bully others, we all lose.” Accepting a Screen Actors Guild award on Jan. 29, Julia Louis-Dreyfus mocked Trump’s rhetorical style (“I’m the winner. The winner is me. Land-slide!”) before noting that her father was an immigrant who fled Nazi-occupied France and calling the “immigrant ban” a “blemish” on the face of America.

Reiner tells TIME that this is what

influence in La-La Land is all about: “Hollywood is always used for bringing attention to issues. That’s basically what we’re good for.” And more of that is surely coming when Hollywood has the world’s attention for the Oscars on Feb. 26. Iranian director Asghar Farhadi, whose feature *The Salesman* was nominated for Best Foreign-Language Film, said he wouldn’t be attending the ceremony—even if he could get a waiver from the immigration order.

The day after Trump’s Inauguration, women (and men) flooded downtown L.A. to show their strength in numbers at the Women’s March. “We’re luckier than most places in the country because we have a state that’s going to take care of us,” said Hannah Waldman, a consultant and mother who brought her 5-year-old son. By some estimates, the number of marchers who showed up in L.A.—350,000 or more—rivalled the number that turned out on the Washington Mall the day before. On a stage at the rally, celebrities handed the mike off to one another like a baton in a relay race, many pushing the crowd to focus their efforts on change at the local level. “All that stuff that’s unsexy and doesn’t seem exciting, that’s actually the place where we can make the most immediate change, the most effective change,” said comedian Keegan-Michael Key, half of the duo Key and Peele. “And I’m going to roll up my sleeves,” he said to the cheering crowd, “because for the first time in months, I am proud to be an American.”

Andy Spahn, a deeply connected political consultant in the Los Angeles area,

estimates that efforts led by the entertainment industry raised \$40 million for Hillary Clinton’s candidacy. And he says he’s been busy taking meetings—with people from the Obama Administration, Senate minority leader Chuck Schumer, think tanks like the Center for American Progress and others—about how to best deploy resources for the left in the next four years. Will that be on redistricting fights? Senate races in 2018? Embattled organizations like Planned Parenthood? “Patience is a virtue,” Spahn says. “We’ll have to pick our fights, and I think a path will emerge in terms of the national play.” Celebrities like filmmaker Judd Apatow and comedian Rosie O’Donnell have already been among those making hefty public pledges to the ACLU.

That organization will be cashing checks from Silicon Valley too, a place that depends on—and works hard to recruit—the most skilled engineers and executives from all around the world in the pursuit of disrupting everything. Ride company Lyft pledged \$1 million to the ACLU following Trump’s order, as companies scrambled to get dozens of employees home from overseas. On Jan. 30, employees at Alphabet, Google’s parent company, walked out of work to protest in Mountain View, holding signs with slogans like MAKE AMERICA WELCOMING AGAIN. In a company memo, CEO Sundar Pichai wrote, “It’s painful to see the personal cost of this Executive Order on our colleagues.” One of Google’s founders, Sergey Brin, who was born in the Soviet Union, was among the hundreds who



Moreno Valley resident Sabine Durden, who once backed Obama, now supports Trump's stance on immigration

descended on San Francisco's international terminal. When asked by a business news reporter why he came to the protest, he said, "I'm here because I am a refugee." Airbnb meanwhile announced that it would be providing free temporary housing for refugees and others affected by the travel ban.

A psychologist who practices in the Berkeley area, Deborah Kory, says the region has been experiencing a "collective trauma" that she imagines being like what the New York City area experienced in the wake of 9/11. "This is just a whole other level of change that we're not able to give assurances around," she says. She says feelings of panic and disbelief in an area where about 80% of people voted for Clinton are giving way to determination among her clients. "We can't really maintain a level of anxiety and hyperarousal forever," she says, "so people are less dissociated and panicked and are beginning to be able to reach out to one another."

On the Saturday after Trump's immigration order, residents in the Bay Area town of Alameda left flowers and signs decorated with hearts on the doorsteps of local mosques. Not 24 hours later, roughly 400 people rallied together outside

an Islamic center with signs that said EVERYONE BELONGS HERE and WE LOVE OUR MUSLIM NEIGHBORS. Motorists who drove by honked in solidarity, sending waves of cheers through the crowd as they marched around the block. "It shows we are one. And we're human and we love each other," said Eslam Oodin, who attends the center for prayer, as he walked with the crowd of local families. "It's beautiful. It's beautiful." As the march drew to an end, one woman approached an organizer hoping for more: "So is this going to be a regular thing?"

Back in his studio in San Francisco,

**'HOLLYWOOD IS ALWAYS
USED FOR BRINGING
ATTENTION TO ISSUES.
THAT'S BASICALLY WHAT
WE'RE GOOD FOR.'**

—ROB REINER, DIRECTOR

artist Rewitzer takes issue with the notion that he lives in a bubble, though the reality he describes sounds rather bubble-like—a place where people all believe in the same progressive future. "When Trump won, it reminded me how comfortable I had become in just accepting that progress was going to continue. If the bubble is anything, it's a sense of comfort that we're doing the right thing," he says. "What happened after the election is I felt I have to stand up. I can't take for granted that this is the way good people think everywhere."

His wife Annie Galvin is standing by him. She emigrated from Ireland decades ago, but she doesn't even think of herself as a immigrant anymore. After Rewitzer carved and printed his ferocious bear, she painted some of her signature orange poppies—the state flower—around the hulking beast's feet. "You can be powerful and kind," Rewitzer says. He also made a version that included a statement that the Democratic leaders from the legislature issued in the hours after Trump was elected, which he says helped inspire the piece. "California was not a part of this nation when its history began," it reads, "but we are clearly now the keeper of its future." □

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Sports

Man Out of Time

To win his 18th Grand Slam, Roger Federer defied age, expectations and his own nerves

By Sean Gregory

*Federer outlasted
longtime rival
Rafael Nadal in
five thrilling sets to
win the Australian
Open in Melbourne
on Jan. 29*

RUN OF EXCELLENCE

Federer's 18 Grand Slam singles titles stretch for nearly 15 years



IN MORE THAN 20 YEARS ON THE PRO tennis tour, Andre Agassi won eight Grand Slam titles, more than \$30 million in prize money and a spot as the top-ranked player in the world. Yet as he watched the men's final of the Australian Open on Jan. 29 from his home in Las Vegas, the former superstar couldn't help but feel somehow flawed. There was 35-year-old Roger Federer, ancient in tennis years and just back from a six-month layoff following a knee injury, battling back from a fifth-set deficit against his longtime rival Rafael Nadal, five years younger and the winner of six of their eight previous Grand Slam final duels.

That Federer could dig so deep without losing the spirit of grace and generosity he has carried for much of his career—amazingly, it didn't sound insincere when he told the crowd in Melbourne that he would've been happy if Nadal had won—was enough to make Agassi introspective. He fired off a text to a friend, fellow American ex-pro James Blake. Watching Federer, Agassi wrote, “makes me feel like I was much more of a broken person than I even realized.”

Federer's balletic performances on the court and equanimity off it have a way of inspiring admiration. No other man has as many Grand Slams as Federer's 18, and the incredibly deep talent pool of the current men's tour has much to do with a generation of players chasing his excellence. Even without this unlikely win he was widely regarded as the greatest men's tennis player of all time—with fellow 2017 Australian Open champion Serena Williams making the same case on the women's side of the draw.

Still, this title is particularly sweet. Federer had not won a Grand Slam title in nearly five years, since Wimbledon in 2012, and even his diehard fans were starting to wonder if he would ever win another. A freak knee injury sustained

while running a bath for his twin daughters helped end his 2016 season early. Federer spent months rehabbing and entered Melbourne ranked 17th, a borderline afterthought—even to himself. “Honestly, I never thought I'd be able to win this tournament,” Federer told TIME in a phone interview from his home in his native Switzerland a few days after the final.

But luck, as they say, falls on those in position to receive it. When the world's top two players, Andy Murray and Novak Djokovic, were upset early, Federer seized the opening, winning three five-set matches over top-10 players with a combination of grit and guile. And none meant more than the final. With a win, Nadal would have trimmed Federer's major championship edge to 17-15, with Nadal's favorite tournament, the French Open, around the corner.

“I still can't believe I was able to make it all happen,” Federer says. “This one has a very special, different taste than all the

other Grand Slams I ever won. Coming back, getting older, and people have written me off maybe, makes this one so unique.”

FEDERER WASN'T ALONE in seeing this win as part of something larger. “It's tough to even comprehend this level of achievement,” says Justin Gimelstob, a Tennis Channel analyst and former tour player. “He's a once-in-a-lifetime type athlete, in any sport. When it's all said and done, we're going to be celebrating Roger like we celebrate Michael Jordan.”

But unlike Jordan or other supremely driven stars like Kobe Bryant and Tiger Woods, Federer never sacrificed decorum on the altar of success. Jordan and Bryant, for example, were notoriously rough on less talented teammates: Jordan once slugged Steve Kerr in the face at a practice. During his heyday, Woods brought an Arctic chill to major tournaments.

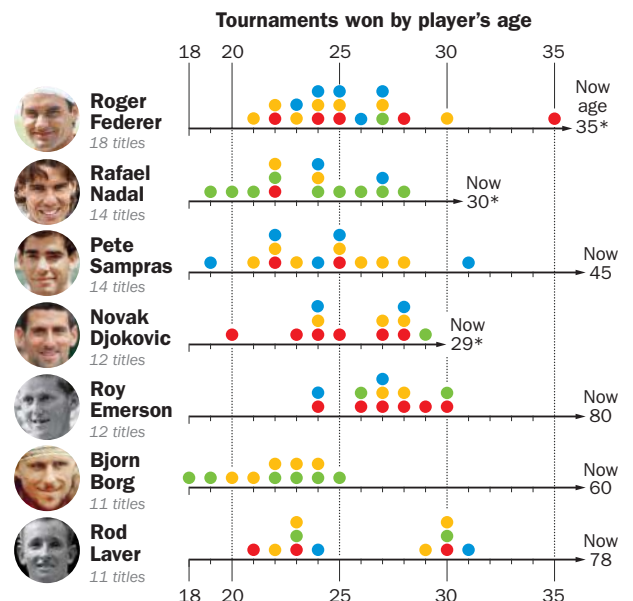
Federer's fellow players, however, have

GRAND MASTERS

Roger Federer's Australian Open title adds to his Grand Slam singles record and makes him one of the few players to win a Slam after age 30. Here's how he stacks up against the other top title-holders.

- U.S. Open
- Wimbledon
- French Open
- Australian Open

*ACTIVE PLAYER





2006	2006	2006	2005	2005	2004	2004	2004	2003
U.S. Open	Wimbledon	Australian Open	U.S. Open	Wimbledon	U.S. Open	Wimbledon	Australian Open	Wimbledon

selected him winner of the tour's sportsmanship award 12 times since 2004. "I've been in a lot of rooms and been around a lot of people," says Agassi. "There's a lot to be said for those rare people who you meet that, when you speak to them, nobody else in the room exists. There's a generosity of spirit with Roger that anyone would want to emulate."

Most athletes turn inward before a big contest, with a DO NOT DISTURB sign etched on their face. Federer might as well be at the pub. "If you wanted to talk to him about anything 10 minutes before his match, you can have a normal conversation," says Blake. "It feels like you're in a coffee shop hanging out. Not like he's about to go out and beat one of the best players in the world."

That attempt to preserve normalcy extends to his family life. Federer's wife Mirka and their two sets of twins, ages 7 and 2, accompany him to most major tournaments. When most players are resting at their hotel, the Federer clan is doing things like touring the Guggenheim Museum in New York City during the U.S. Open.

The tennis world has become accustomed to Federer's gracious postmatch remarks praising his opponents, no matter the outcome, but friends and players say the impulse runs deeper than collegiality and a knack for good PR. To prove his point, Blake says Federer was the only player to send him a note after he broke his neck during a 2004 practice in Rome. "He had no reason or need to write that note," says Blake. "He wasn't gaining anything from me aside from my friendship."

All of this has helped make Federer the most important player in tennis. The game depends on the success of Federer—winner of the tour's fan vote for favorite player 14 years running—to draw eyeballs and dollars. In Europe, the final from

Melbourne drew a record Australian Open TV audience (16 million) to Eurosport. Australian TV saw its highest viewership numbers in a decade. On ESPN, the Federer-Nadal final—which started at 3:30 a.m. E.T.—drew more than twice as many viewers (an average 1.13 million) as the Djokovic-Murray final a year ago and was the network's most viewed Australian Open men's match in 13 years.

Federer has also been instrumental in setting a high bar on the court. As he and Nadal continue their run through the record books, hungry young players like Grigor Dimitrov of Bulgaria and Milos Raonic of Canada are knocking ever louder. "His play has made everyone else realize they have to raise the level of their game," says Australian Hall of Famer Ken Rosewall, the oldest player to win a major in the Open era (he took the 1972 Australian Open title at 37). "Men's tennis is as good now as it's ever been."

FOR MOST TENNIS PLAYERS, a long injury rehab can help your body recover but drain your brain. "Every time I was away from the game, it was a real mental battle more than it was a physical battle," says Agassi. "You have to watch guys win tournaments, knowing that every week, you're sort of going the wrong direction."

Yet Federer says the long break recharged him. "In life, I like to choose," he says. "I want to be healthy as a person No. 1 for me and my family, and No. 2 to play tennis again. After playing for almost 20 years, all of a sudden you realize, 'I think the body, and maybe the mind, deserves a break.'" So Federer took advantage of the moment. He took hikes with his kids in the Alps. He went to fashion shows in Paris. He made leisurely lunch dates with friends and family. "That gave me a lot of power for this year," Federer says. "I said I have to come out of this six months rejuvenated. Fresh. Hungry.

Ready to go. We were able to achieve that."

Federer's physical skills have tended to obscure just how resilient he has been throughout his career—a point not lost on him. "My mental toughness has always been overshadowed by my virtuosity, my shotmaking, my technique, my grace," says Federer. "That's why when I lose, it seems like, 'Oh, he didn't play so well.' And when I win, it looks so easy." He says it has been that way since he was young. "Just because I don't sweat like crazy and I don't grunt, I don't have this face on when I hit the shot like I'm in pain, doesn't mean I'm not trying hard," he says. "It's just how I play. Sorry."

He needed that even keel in the final against Nadal. Down 1-3 in the fifth set, Federer knew he was on the cusp of letting the match slip away. "I told myself, You have one more set to play, pal," he says. "It's so easy to get down on yourself, and say, 'Look, it was a great run, it is a great comeback, be happy with the final. It's fine. It's all good.' I didn't allow that to creep into my mind." Instead, he told himself to play offensive, to play free, to embrace that both men were in pain. "Hopefully, that's enough," Federer says. "And it was."

Will it be enough if this is the last Slam for the man who has won more than anyone else? "I tried to party like this was my last one," says Federer, who danced through the night after winning in Melbourne. He returned to his room at 6:30 a.m., trophy in hand, as his kids were getting up. He knows Wimbledon and the U.S. Open are his best shots this season. But he insists he has no milestone in mind before he would consider hanging up his racket. "I waited 4½ years, so let's enjoy this one," Federer says over the phone as he looks out onto the Alps. "But plans are important. They make a lot of dreams come true. And that's what happened to me in January." □



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NOW I HAVE A CHANCE ♡

Time Off

'I'M TRYING TO ANSWER OTHER QUESTIONS, PHILOSOPHICAL QUESTIONS, SOCIAL QUESTIONS.' —NEXT PAGE



MacArthur grant winner Coates is tackling race and gender in new Black Panther comics

COMIC BOOKS

Ta-Nehisi Coates is retooling America's myth factory

By Eliana Dockterman

IN 2015, TA-NEHISI COATES published the National Book Award winner *Between the World and Me*, written as a letter to his son on being black in America. In 2016, the MacArthur “genius” grant winner surprised many by turning to a new format: comic books.

Marvel lately has been intent on diversifying its cast of characters. It's created a black-Hispanic Spider-Man, a Muslim Ms. Marvel and a black, female Iron Man, among others. Coates, who is 41 and grew up on the X-Men, was a natural fit. He revived the first mainstream black superhero, T'Challa, a.k.a. Black Panther, ruler of the African nation of Wakanda and a member of the Avengers team. The first issue sold more than 300,000 copies and will influence the plot of

a 2018 *Black Panther* Marvel movie, directed by *Creed* filmmaker Ryan Coogler. Coates then recruited writer Roxane Gay and poet Yona Harvey to helm a spin-off comic series, *World of Wakanda*, focusing on two queer female warriors and a female revolutionary.

This year, Coates and Harvey are writing *Black Panther & the Crew*. It's a revival of a series by Marvel's first black editor, Christopher Priest, but with a new all-black superhero team—Black Panther, X-Men's Storm, *The Defenders'* Luke Cage, Misty Knight and Manifold—and set in Harlem. Priest's version dealt with gentrification, poverty and religion. The first issue of the reboot, slated for April, begins with cop Misty Knight investigating the death of an activist in police custody.

TIME: How does writing about a crime-fighting team in Harlem compare with writing about a super-powered king?

Coates: There's this concept in comic books of street characters—those who mostly deal with street-level stories: your Daredevils, your Luke Cages—who are considered lower tier. And then you have your more cosmic-level heroes, like the X-Men, the Fantastic Four, the Avengers. What we have in this book is a group of characters who operate on both levels. What does it mean to protect the street and protect the world? How are those things connected? What happens when T'Challa is walking down the street without his [Black Panther] uniform and people don't recognize him? He's just a black person.

The inciting incident of this story echoes real life. Why?

This is in the air. It's not like I looked at a Black Lives Matter protest and said, "Hey, I want to write a comic about that." But you're confronted with it every day. So when I sat down to think about what is this story with four black protagonists about, that [rose] up. The events of the day are with me.

How much do you think that is because you are also a journalist?

Not as much as you would think. These issues are all over comic books, and particularly throughout the history of Marvel. What weighs on me is reading *X-Men* as a child. They were charged. They dealt with discrimination. They dealt with being an outsider. They dealt with the things that I was feeling. The comics I've always read have always had a philosophical thread. The *Black Panther* books are not just a story about a king trying to rule. I'm trying to answer other questions, philosophical questions, social questions.

You've said your female characters were a response to the outcry for more nuanced, powerful women in comics. Do you still pay attention to that debate?

I hope so. Yes. You know, there were no women in the original Crew. And it just felt like you could not have a book like this without women. The moment it became clear I couldn't do the original Crew and had to come up with my own, it just felt wrong to put together five dudes. These days, that's not going to fly.



BLACK PANTHER'S NEW CREW

Coates and Harvey's all-black superhero team must protect Harlem in the era of Black Lives Matter

Comics we can't wait for

Comic books have become ground zero for new kinds of heroes. Here are five to seek out this year. —E.D.

MOTOR CRUSH

Image Comics, available now

The team behind the Doc Martens-wearing Batgirl creates a sci-fi series featuring Domino Swift, motorcycle-racing champ by day and skull cracker by night.



STEVEN UNIVERSE

Boom! Studios, February

The Cartoon Network show gets an ongoing comic series about a boy raised by three magical aliens. The kid-friendly stories explore issues like gender identity.



BATWOMAN

DC Comics, February

Batwoman is perhaps the highest-profile queer superhero. She'll get her own series co-written by Marguerite Bennett, who has penned DC's female-focused *Bombshells* comics.



EXTREMITY

Image Comics, March

Thea, an artist and the daughter of a warrior, seeks revenge after warlords decimate her home and chop off her drawing hand in this *Mad Max*-esque series.

AMERICA

Marvel Comics, March

Queer Latina superhero America Chavez gets her own comic—and a striking cover inspired by Beyoncé's "Formation"—after starring in the *Young Avengers* series.





In Chapter 2, retired hit man John Wick (Reeves) heads abroad for another round of grisly vengeance

sequel pits Wick against a global crime syndicate and ratchets up the intensity of its anime-inspired fight sequences. (Both films were directed by Chad Stahelski, a former stuntman who doubled for Reeves in *The Matrix* in 1999.) This *Wick* feels more commercial and less subtle, but the melancholy that pervaded the first film is still there. Reeves says that gloom drew him to the character. “In fiction, suffering is good,” he says. “I liked his grief.”

Most hero stories are catalyzed by some form of tragedy, and contemporary action films tend to dispense with backstory quickly as a method of establishing bare-minimum sympathy with the audience before moving on to spectacle. Reeves, by contrast, seems drawn to characters whose deep woundedness is the story. He is adept at carrying tragedy with him through a film, rather than just the perfunctory scene or two. Quips are relatively few and far between. And from the '90s—when he starred in films like *Point Break* and *Speed*—onward, Reeves has looked different from most of his peers: more sinew than gruff, more likely to be driven by inner turmoil than external aggression. In the character of Wick, for instance, Reeves sees a fight for agency he says echoes his own. “That sense of wanting to have independence and move freely in the world,” he says. “That’s one of the threads.”

Reeves cuts an enigmatic figure in popular culture, too, especially in his downtime. There was the “sad Keanu” meme in 2010, and a string of side projects. He’s played bass guitar in two bands, produced a well-received documentary about the transition from photochemical to digital film and co-founded a motorcycle company. Several years ago, he began collaborating with artist Alexandra Grant. In 2011, they published *Ode to Happiness*, a grownup picture book with illustrations by Grant and soulful aphorisms written by Reeves. For their next work, they’ve been riffing on failure as a theme. Reeves says he’s been writing it in his head, though he hasn’t gotten anything on paper yet.

For now, he has found a surprisingly rich hero in Wick, a guy who’s had everything taken from him, and so ends up adding to the canon. Says Reeves: “It’s me reclaiming my life.” □

MOVIES

Keanu Reeves’ contract killer with feelings returns

By Sam Lansky

“I’M NOT AN ANARCHIST,” KEANU REEVES SAYS. “But as a kid, I always asked, ‘How come?’ So this is my childhood tradition. Stories about fighting against unreasonable authority and systems resonate with me.” The actor has seen that dynamic play out again and again over the course of his long career. At 52, he says, “I’m old enough now to almost have a Reevesian canon.”

Soon that canon will include *John Wick: Chapter 2*, in theaters Feb. 10. The film is a sequel to 2014’s unexpectedly great *John Wick*, a surreal, moody revenge thriller that grossed \$86 million globally against a budget of about \$20 million. In the first film, Wick, a onetime assassin grieving the death of his wife, comes out of retirement to track down the punk who killed his puppy. The



↑ FOUR-LEGGED FRIENDS

While the puppy from the first *John Wick* met a tragic end, in the sequel, Wick roams New York City with a new canine pal



Robertson, left, and Butterfield: in *The Space Between Us*, love defies gravity

MOVIES

Boys are from Mars, girls are from Earth

IT'S RISKY TO GIVE A MOVIE POINTS FOR WHAT IT'S TRYING to be, rather than what it is. In the sci-fi romance *The Space Between Us*, Gardner (Asa Butterfield), a 16-year-old who has lived on Mars all his life, falls in love with an Earth girl, Tulsa (Britt Robertson), whom he's met via the Internet. She's a foster teenager living in Colorado; he's stuck on the Red Planet, having known no other life. His mother, an astronaut who was one of the planet's first colonists, died giving birth to him. When this lanky, awkward Martian gets the chance to travel to Earth, where he can meet his crush face-to-face, he leaps. But not everyone thinks Gardner belongs there. And so he and Tulsa take off on an escapee's road trip, zipping along America's majestic winding highways in a "borrowed" vehicle. Freedom, they say, is just another word for nothing left to lose.

If you dare to keep track, the dumb stuff in *The Space Between Us* piles up quickly: Gary Oldman, playing a supremely wealthy Elon Musk-style space enthusiast, spends part of the time loitering dejectedly around his spacious luxury pad, looking forlorn in his rich-guy jogging pants. But it's not as easy to make fun of the mild sweetness at the heart of the movie. Director Peter Chelsom (*Hear My Song*, *Serendipity*)—tunes it to the wavelength of Gardner's isolation. When the kid first arrives on Earth, sunlight is so bright for him that he has to wear superdark, boxy, old-people sunglasses—a fashion fate worse than death for normal teens, though he doesn't know any better. Before long, he trades them for something hipper. But no matter what, a gangly, science-fixated nerd from Mars is always going to be just a little bit square—and thank goodness for that. —STEPHANIE ZACHAREK

'My joke has been that I just want to get this movie into theaters before we actually land on Mars.'

RICHARD BARTON LEWIS, producer of *The Space Between Us*, in *Newsday*

TIME PICKS

BOOKS

A wife searches for her husband when he goes missing from a Greek resort in Katie Kitamura's ***A Separation*** (Feb. 7). For an existential mystery, her buzzy third novel maintains a gripping pace.



TELEVISION

Jermaine Fowler, Katey Sagal and Judd Hirsch star in the new CBS comedy ***Superior Donuts*** (Feb. 6), based on the play by Tracy Letts, which revolves around a doughnut shop in Chicago.

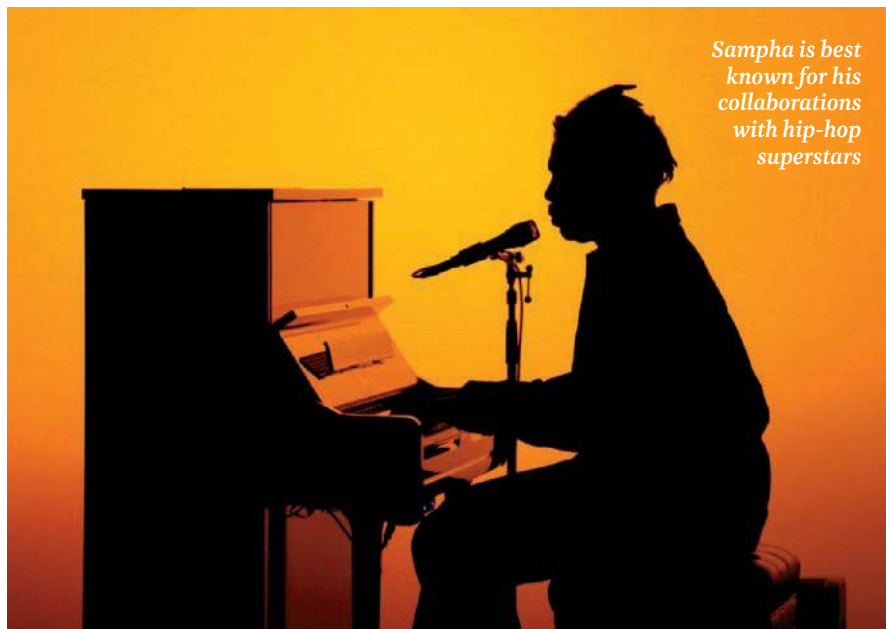
MUSIC

One of the breakout stars of neo-soul group the Internet, Syd debuts ***Fin*** (Feb. 3). Her first solo album is packed with slow-burning R&B jams.

MOVIES

A heroic 10-year-old boy strikes out on his own in ***Growing Up Smith*** (Feb. 3). This charming comedy turns on a family of Indian-American strivers in 1970s suburbia.





Sampha is best known for his collaborations with hip-hop superstars

MUSIC

Hip-hop's secret weapon steps into the spotlight

THE LONDON-BASED SINGER-producer Sampha Sisay is a secret weapon many of this decade's most popular musicians have somehow agreed to share. You've probably heard him before, a spectral presence haunting the edges of albums by stars like Drake and Beyoncé. Last year alone, he wrote and sang alongside Kanye West, Solange and Frank Ocean. He's an ideal collaborator—content to stay on the periphery while someone else dominates the stage. But *Process*, his beguiling full-length solo debut, is a tentative step forward.

Sampha understands that his voice—breathy, opaque, rounded by an accent—is the main attraction, and it's given plenty of room to move. “(No One Knows Me) Like the Piano,” a stark tribute to his late mother, hangs on little more than a luminous melody and unvarnished emotion.



CHART CONQUEROR

Sampha first cracked the *Billboard* Hot 100 in 2013 with his Drake collaboration “Too Much”

He cuts the engine at the peak of the chirpy “Kora Sings” to highlight a similarly intimate yelp: “Please, don’t you disappear!”

Sampha's singing has always been a strength. The surprise that brings *Process* to life is its spacious and vibrant production. You can hear steam rising from the unpredictable chords of “Take Me Inside,” while “Reverse Faults” stitches together disorienting synth patterns before morphing into a hard-knocking expression of guilt. This is anxious, unsexy music, shaped by health scares and death. But it's neither claustrophobic nor sour.

There are some weak spots, including lyrics that strive to be plainspoken and occasionally end up facile. But with *Process*, Sampha emerges as a versatile, genial talent with a killer ear. It's not hard to understand what hip-hop's biggest innovators see in him.

—JAMIESON COX



WHAT TO WATCH FOR AT THE GRAMMYS



The diva showdown: Beyoncé and Adele

The *Lemonade* and 25 powerhouses are up against each other in four of the biggest award categories, including Album of the Year and Song of the Year.

The renegades: Chance the Rapper and Kanye West

Chance—who isn't signed to a label and distributes his music only digitally—made history with seven nominations. Meanwhile, the unpredictable West has vowed to skip the ceremony out of solidarity with fellow artist Frank Ocean, who received none.

The mood masters: James Corden and John Legend

Will the music world respond to the political moment? Host Corden, the British wit behind *Carpool Karaoke*, is known as a friendly goof. Legend, a social-justice activist with a knack for captivating audiences, may use his performance to make a statement.

The legends: David Bowie and Prince



Bowie's *Blackstar* is up for five awards, giving the show a chance to pay posthumous respect to the rock icon. An all-star tribute to Prince is also expected to boost the night's emotional resonance.

The Grammys air on Feb. 12 at 8 p.m. E.T. on CBS

PROFILE

The empathizer

By Sarah Begley

VIET THANH NGUYEN HAD A PRETTY spectacular 2016: his debut novel, *The Sympathizer*, about a Vietnamese double agent who goes to California after the Vietnam War, won the Pulitzer Prize after selling only 22,000 copies in hardcover. Thanks to that and other plaudits, the book has now sold almost 400,000 copies.

Nguyen hasn't wasted time putting out a follow-up, though it was a long time in the making—20 years, in fact. Nguyen started writing *The Refugees*, a short-story collection, in 1997 and didn't finish it until 2014. Again, he focuses on Vietnamese immigrants who go to the States after the fall of Saigon. Ghosts and grocery-store owners, professors and prodigal daughters populate the pages. Some of the stories seem to resonate with his own childhood as a refugee of the Vietnam War, arriving in the U.S. in 1975. After several years of separation, his family settled in San Jose, Calif., where they opened a Vietnamese grocery store.

While his parents remain in San Jose, Nguyen, 45, lives in Los Angeles with his wife and son and teaches English and American studies at the University of Southern California. He wrote most of *The Refugees* before he started *The Sympathizer* and says he developed his fiction-writing process with the short stories. After he showed his editor, Peter Blackstock, the manuscript, Blackstock said, "These are good. They're ready to go."

Although the stories deal with the effects of the Vietnam War, they feel timely as Americans once again debate the fate of refugees. "I wanted to make the point through the title that the xenophobia and the fear that so many people have for a contemporary refugee from the Middle East, for example, is very ahistorical," Nguyen says. "The majority of Americans did not want Vietnamese refugees in 1975, and yet at this point in time I think that's been forgotten, and instead Vietnamese Americans are often held up as examples of the positive aspects of immigration."

Perhaps it's because groups like



WRITE WHAT YOU KNOW

Nguyen is himself a refugee, having fled Vietnam with his family as a child. He's written about the war and race theory in several nonfiction books.

Vietnamese Americans are touted as success stories that their societal frustrations get overlooked. Resentment of U.S. imperialism boils throughout *The Sympathizer*, even as the narrator enjoys free markets and free morals in Los Angeles. "Asian Americans have been perceived as not being angry, even though that's not true," says Nguyen. At the same time, they "know their entrée into American society is to be respectable, to be quiet, to be smart, to be articulate. If they do these things and be the model minority, they can be accepted." He questions that approach. "In terms of being angry in my fiction writing, it's not simply to say, 'I want the same privileges as a white man.' It's to say, 'I want to question those privileges altogether.'"

'My personal problem with American literature is that I think it's not very political.'

VIET THANH NGUYEN

The novel's title serves double duty—the narrator is a communist sympathizer but feels connections even with his enemies. Nguyen sees no similar capacity in America's polarized politics: "People on the left are arguing for sympathy and empathy for those who are considered different from the mainstream." Donald Trump makes a similar plea, Nguyen says, "but he means it for the people he considers to be Americans."

Nguyen, who's at work on a sequel to the novel called *The Committed*, wishes more American authors would engage with these questions. Noting exceptions like Junot Díaz, Maxine Hong Kingston and "the entire African-American literary tradition, which I think has played the role of America's conscience," he says he regrets that American literature is "not very political." But he believes change is coming: "The election of this new President has galvanized the literary population. Writers have started to mobilize to a degree that we haven't seen since probably the 1960s and the Vietnam War."

FICTION

A found novel of Harlem works as a time capsule

CLAUDE MCKAY (1889–1948) HAS LONG been considered one of the great authors of the Harlem Renaissance. He wrote novels such as *Home to Harlem* (1928) and *Banana Bottom* (1933) as well as poetry, memoirs and a major cultural biography, *Harlem: Negro Metropolis*. Scholars and admirers now have a new piece of the oeuvre to admire: 69 years after his death, Penguin Classics is publishing a McKay manuscript, *Amiable With Big Teeth*, found by a student in the Columbia University archives in 2009, making it just one in a recent slew of works by dead authors seeing the light of day for the first time.

Late last year, a posthumous collection of short stories by the filmmaker Kathleen Collins came out after sitting in a steamer trunk for decades; an unfinished Mark Twain story will be published as a children's book in September; the *Strand* magazine (which has made a cottage industry out of such finds) recently put out a previously unpublished H.G. Wells story; and Beatrix Potter fans got a new children's book from the *Peter Rabbit* author last year after it was discovered in the Victoria and Albert Museum archives.

Amiable With Big Teeth lives up to McKay's reputation. The book satirizes life in Harlem during the 1935 Italian invasion of Ethiopia, when "Aframericans" (the Jamaica-born author's term) rose up in support of Ethiopians. He was taking aim at the white communists who tried



to infiltrate pro-Ethiopia groups to win support for their cause, manipulating the "poor black sheep of Harlem" without caring about their problems. Socialites, intellectuals and hucksters debate the conflict abroad from the parlors and churches of Harlem, while communists picket to "Make Harlem safe for Soviet Russia." McKay mocks both sides, but he knows the stakes: "If a native state can maintain its existence in Africa and hold its head up among the white nations," one character says, "it adds to the self-respect of the colored Americans."

McKay enjoyed support from the Federal Writers' Project, a New Deal program that gave him a paycheck and access to rich sociological archives. (Other participants included Ralph Ellison and Zora Neale Hurston.) It's thanks in part to that project that we now have this time capsule of a novel.

McKay's editor turned the book down in 1941; it appears now almost exactly as it was drafted. The story could have used tightening, but it's a shame for McKay's contemporaries that it was passed over. For us, it's a lucky treat. — S.B.

POETS AND PUGILISTS

The Walt Whitman workout plan

IN 1858, WALT WHITMAN saw an America that was gorging itself on information and condiments, roiled by political tensions and, just as bad, physically weak. This drove him, three years after the first edition of *Leaves of Grass*, to write a newspaper serial titled *Manly Health and Training*, which had been lost but now is found and will soon be republished.

The manual proves that little has changed in the ever rebranded fitness industry. But Whitman, as punchy and commanding as a Soul-Cycle instructor, was selling more than a lifestyle. He was selling an ethos, albeit one with the eugenic undertones that plague his legacy. Whitman wrote from and for the North on the eve of the Civil War, seeking a "nation of fighting men" with not only magnetism but also morals. "History is full of examples of intellectually developed nations ... falling a [sic] prey to others of inferior mental caliber, but of daring and overwhelming physique." It raises the question: What good is an age of information if you cannot defend it with brawn? —NATE HOPPER

Lost, found, and then published



WHATEVER HAPPENED TO INTERRACIAL LOVE?
Kathleen Collins



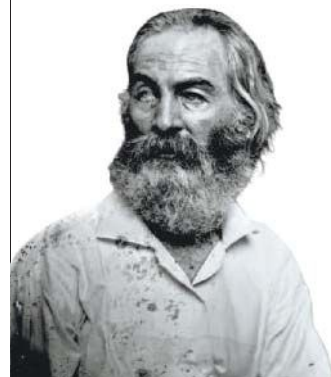
"THE HAUNTED CEILING"
H.G. Wells



THE PURLOINING OF PRINCE OLEOMARGARINE
Mark Twain



THE TALE OF KITTY-IN-BOOTS
Beatrix Potter



Barry Jenkins The writer-director of *Moonlight*, a story about a boy growing up black, gay and poor in Miami, on his Oscar-nominated film

What reaction have you gotten from people in Liberty City, Miami, where the movie is set? The community really took ownership. People see the main character as any one of the hundreds of kids living in that neighborhood. [Writer] Tarell Alvin McCraney and I are from that neighborhood, and they see that we have a Golden Globe, that we have eight Academy Award nominations, and they see themselves in that.

Do you see the main character, Chiron, as an antidote to stereotypes about black masculinity? It's not that characters like Chiron didn't exist before. It's just that they don't often get centered in narratives. There was a point where I realized there were things happening in front of the camera that I hadn't seen very often, or ever. Watching a black man cradle a boy in the Atlantic Ocean—I hadn't seen that before. That's a very simple image. It's not something you draw to counter a stereotype.

How did you approach the depiction of his mother, who is addicted to crack? This character was drawn from my mom, from Tarell's mom, so the idea of a stereotype never presented itself to me. When you're drawing from inside the community, you're drawing on human beings and not any stereotype. I haven't seen that many depictions of this supposed black crackhead mom. I feel like we're afraid of these images to the point that we stifle people from depicting things that they actually lived through.

The way the film captures light is remarkable. What were you and cinematographer James Laxton going for? Cinema is a little over 100 years old, and a lot of what we do is built around film emulsion. Those things were calibrated for white skin. We've always placed powder on skin to dull the light. But my memory of growing up in Miami is this moist, beautiful black skin. So we used oil. I wanted everyone's skin to have a sheen to reflect my memory.

What do you make of people's tendency to politicize this film? Art is inherently political. Once we make the work and release it into the world, it's beyond our control. This movie premiered under one President and is now going into the awards season under a different President. I've seen the cultural currency of the film shift just over the course of those six to eight weeks.

How do you feel about *Moonlight* being pitted against the musical *La La Land*, another Oscar front runner? They could not be more different films. I don't think a love for one has to be the rejection of the other. I can only speak to the film I made, which was made in the service of shining a light on a character who is often marginalized.

How does it feel to be the first black writer-director to be nominated for best picture, director and screenplay? It's bittersweet. I shouldn't be the first. I'll be happy when there's no longer any space for firsts because it'll mean those things have been done. I wouldn't be the first person who's merited this distinction. The greatest thing is, I can take out my phone and look at messages from total strangers who feel a little bit less alone because of this film. But it's important to note that the barrier is not mine to break. The barrier belongs to the Academy.

What are you into other than filmmaking? I love coffee. I've got, like, eight different ways to make coffee at my house. That's about it. I'm so damn boring. I like reading and writing and making coffee. And walking. Barry Jenkins likes long walks. —ELIZA BERMAN

'I shouldn't be the first. I'll be happy when there's no longer any space for firsts because it'll mean those things have been done.'



CHRISTIAN BEHRING—AP

I am very Sensitive to Lights and Sounds

Jacob Sanchez
Diagnosed with autism

Sensory sensitivity is a sign of autism.
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Friend in town, dinner in fridge, kids at practice. **Happiest hour.**

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