

TIME

Trump's War on Washington

By Massimo
Calabresi



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▲ *Scavenging for jade stones as discarded residue from the Kayin Gyaung jade mine is dumped in Hpakant, Myanmar, on Jan. 18*

Photograph by Adam Dean—Panos for TIME

ON THE COVER:
Illustration by Tim O'Brien for TIME



What you said about ...

THE GENIUS OF SNAPCHAT After reading Joel Stein's March 13 cover story about the tech company Snap, readers who don't use its signature disappearing-message app wrote that they appreciated Stein's "enlightening" them "as to what Snapchat is all about," as Valerie Emmerich of Brookline, Mass., put it. But many noted that they still didn't get the appeal. "Your past remains with you always," Dr. Doris B. Hammett, of Asheville, N.C., pointed out. And it's not all fun and games, said Richard Mansbach of Erie, Colo., a former restorative-justice facilitator who has worked with young girls whose explicit photos were saved against their will: "Beware of the so-called safety of disappearing in 10 seconds!"

'Oh, goody! This way everybody can spend their time doing something useless.'

GEORGE BRODY,
San Clemente,
Calif.

THE LONGEVITY REPORT TIME's Feb. 27/ March 6 review of the science behind living a long, healthy life inspired readers to share their own longevity secrets. Frank Sganga, 95, from New Smyrna Beach, Fla., attributed his long life to daily naps, frequent racquetball games, lifting 10-lb. dumbbells—he even has one in his car to use when stopped at a red light—and adhering to "Alfred E. Neuman's attitude of 'What, me worry?'" Robert G. Douglas of Walnut Creek, Calif., who's almost 94, agreed that attitude matters: "A strong sense of humor" keeps life enjoyable, he wrote, adding that scotch and junk food do too. But Tom Morman of Leipsic, Ohio, who cares for his 101-year-old mother, noted that he read the story with "mixed feelings" because he knows firsthand that aging is "not all fun."

'Death can be good.

I'll tell you how.

Just have it come

Decades from now.'

FELICIA NIMUE
ACKERMAN,
Providence, R.I.

THE FEMALE GAZE To mark Women's History Month in March, TIME's photo team asked 34 experts to help create a list of female photographers who are impacting their medium in exciting ways. "It's never been more critical for us to have a woman's visual perspective," explains Kira Pollack, TIME's director of photography, whose own pick was Luisa Dörr, who shot this portrait of a Brazilian girl. See the full list at lightbox.time.com



LIVING WELL TIME Labs has mapped Gallup-Healthways' 2017 Well-Being Index, which ranks 189 U.S. communities (like these top scorers) by five well-being factors. See the interactive feature at time.com/cities2017

- 1. Naples-Immokalee-Marco Island, Fla.** This Gulf Coast region ranks first overall.
- 2. Barnstable Town, Mass.** The Cape Cod community is in second place overall and first in terms of physical health.
- 3. Santa Cruz-Watsonville, Calif.** The area is third overall but ranks 20th for social well-being.

**BONUS
TIME
HEALTH**

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SETTING THE RECORD STRAIGHT ▶ In Time Off (Feb. 27/ March 6), a chart misstated the number of Oscars won by *Gigi*, *The Last Emperor* and *The English Patient*. Each film won nine. We also misstated the amount of time between Heath Ledger's death and posthumous Oscar win and the year in which *Crash* won Best Picture. It won in 2006. The chart also mistakenly listed Howard Ashman as the composer of *Beauty and the Beast*'s theme song. Ashman was the lyricist and Alan Menken the composer. In "Celebrity Squabbles for the Ages" (March 13), we incorrectly described the circumstances surrounding Johnny Carson's retirement from *The Tonight Show*. NBC picked Jay Leno over David Letterman as host.

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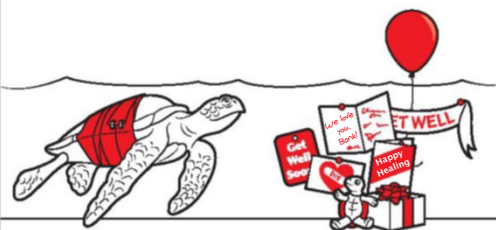
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‘IF YOU
DON’T WANT
REFUGEES,
STOP
CREATING
THEM.’

RAABYAAH ALTHAIBANI, Yemeni American, speaking about the U.S.’s role in the war in Yemen, where she met her husband, who is now seeking a U.S. visa that might conflict with the Trump Administration’s revised travel ban



915

Number of coins that surgeons removed from the stomach of Bank, a 25-year-old Thai sea turtle; Bank lives in a fountain popular among tourists, who toss in coins for good fortune

‘I love the Marine Corps. But after seeing that, I wouldn’t re-enlist.’

MARISA WOYTEK, Marine lance corporal at Camp Pendleton, after thousands of private photos of Corps women (including her) were posted to a secret online Facebook group of active-duty and veteran male Marines; the Department of Defense opened a criminal investigation of the group

‘If it took
10 years,
I’d stick
with it.’

GAVIN GRIMM, 17-year-old Virginia high schooler, vowing to continue his fight for transgender rights after the Supreme Court remanded his case against his school board, which barred him from using the boys’ bathroom at his high school; the case is back before the Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals

Future
The rapper became the first artist to replace his own No. 1 album on *Billboard*’s charts



History
Housing and Urban Development head Ben Carson referred to slaves as “immigrants”

‘I sleep
pretty
good at
night.’

CASEY ANTHONY, speaking for the first time since her controversial 2011 acquittal for murder charges relating to the disappearance of her 2-year-old daughter

6

Number of days without a homicide in Chicago (as of March 5), the longest streak in four years



2

Hours of sleep that two wild African elephant matriarchs in Botswana’s Chobe National Park get each night, believed to be “the **shortest ... of any mammal** recorded to date,” according to the journal *PLOS One*

‘This is McCarthyism!’

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP, claiming without evidence that the Obama White House wiretapped Trump Tower late in the election campaign; a spokesman for the former President vehemently denied the charges

The Brief

'IN SAUDI ARABIA, WOMEN MAKE UP LESS THAN ONE-QUARTER OF THE WORKFORCE.' —PAGE 10



Iraqi troops advance in western Mosul on Feb. 24

WORLD

New travel ban helps U.S.-Iraq relations but still stings elsewhere

By Jared Malsin/Cairo

WHEN PRESIDENT TRUMP ORDERED a ban on immigration from seven predominantly Muslim nations on Jan. 27, ostensibly to defend the U.S. from terrorism, global uproar ensued. Rights advocates, foreign governments and many U.S. citizens denounced a move that seemed to single out those of Muslim faith. On March 6, Trump signed a revised version of that Executive Order, designed to withstand the legal challenges that prompted a federal court to block the implementation of the initial ban. Now only six countries are subject to the ban. Iraqis may travel freely to the U.S. as before.

Trump's original order was received poorly in Iraq, whose armed forces are engaged in a massive U.S.-backed offensive against the forces of the Islamic State. Iraq's military is cur-

rently fighting alongside some 5,000 U.S. troops in an operation to dislodge ISIS from Mosul, the largest city under the militant group's control during its advance across Syria and Iraq in 2014.

Under the previous order, at least one Iraqi commander was barred from visiting the U.S. for strategy sessions. Iraqi citizens who risked their lives while working with U.S. military forces as interpreters and contractors since the 2003 invasion were separated from their families. Many regarded it as an insult to a country that had been a loyal partner in the war against terrorism. "We don't deserve to be banned from going to the U.S.," Major General Najim al-Jabouri, a senior Iraqi army commander in the Mosul operation, told TIME. "We fought, and are fighting, shoulder to shoulder against ISIS with

the Americans.” Jabouri’s office is filled with certificates for military training he completed in the U.S. and photos of him with American officers. Jabouri himself has a U.S. green card and a home in Virginia. His office outside the northern Iraqi town of Makhmour is located steps from the U.S. army base. “We are fighting ISIS here, so that they don’t make it to America,” he said.

The reversal came after a major lobbying effort on U.S. officials by their Iraqi counterparts. On Jan. 28, a day after the signing, a delegation from the Iraqi Foreign Ministry met with Douglas Silliman, the U.S. ambassador in Baghdad. “We told him, ‘Iraq is not a country that exports terrorism to other countries,’” recalls Ahmad Jamal, a spokesman for Iraq’s Foreign Ministry. Iraq’s parliament even voted on Jan. 30 to urge a retaliatory ban on Americans entering the country. Baghdad never carried out the ban, but if it had, it might have created chaos for the international military coalition battling ISIS—especially as military chiefs in the U.S. mull the possibility of increasing troop numbers in Iraq.

Good relations have been restored as the campaign to stamp out ISIS in Iraq is at a pivotal point. After reclaiming large portions of Mosul, Iraq’s military launched a new phase of the operation in February, pushing into the neighborhoods west of the Tigris River. The fight for this western section poses a complicated new challenge, with up to 800,000 civilians trapped in the area as of mid-February, according to the U.N. In the bitter fight ahead, the Iraqis need to be confident their partnership with the U.S. is not on rocky ground.

But Trump’s revised Executive Order may yet destabilize the fight against Islamic extremism elsewhere. It still imposes a 90-day ban on new visas to citizens of Iran, Somalia, Sudan, Yemen, Syria and Libya and also bars refugees from any country from entering the U.S. for a period of 120 days. The rules have been derided, in these six countries and elsewhere in the Arab world, as an act of discrimination against Muslims, roiling relations with key U.S. allies and further straining relations with majority-Muslim nations. The ban strengthens the position of conservatives in Iran who oppose engagement with the U.S., and may complicate U.S.-backed operations against ISIS in Syria, al-Qaeda in Yemen and allied extremist groups in Libya.

“[These countries] are very aware that this White House has a profound anti-Muslim current. The ban was kind of a small symptom of that,” says Paul Salem, an analyst with the Washington-based Middle East Institute. “What they’re asking themselves now is, ‘How will that manifest itself in the future?’” —With reporting by REBECCA

COLLARD/ERBIL



TICKER

Saber rattling in North Korea

North Korea launched four ballistic missiles that landed in the sea off Japan’s northwest coast on March 6, the latest in a series of missile tests. The following day, the U.S. deployed the first elements of its THAAD antimissile defense system in South Korea, despite opposition from China.

Sikh man shot in alleged hate crime

A Sikh father of three and nationalized U.S. citizen was shot in the arm outside his home in the Seattle region and allegedly told to go back to his country. The incident took place less than two weeks after two Indian men were shot in Kansas, one fatally.

Poachers kill white rhino in French zoo

A 4-year-old white rhinoceros was shot, killed and had one of its horns sawed off in its enclosure at Thoiry Zoo, near Paris, by poachers who then escaped. The zoo’s head said he and his staff were “shocked.”

Statue of Liberty briefly goes dark

The lights around the Statue of Liberty went dark for several hours March 7. The National Park Service said it was a “temporary, unplanned outage,” but some noted the symbolism of its happening on the eve of International Women’s Day.

WORLD

Tensions with Russia rise in the Baltics

Sweden said on March 2 that it will reintroduce military conscription, with officials citing Russian aggression as a reason. Here, other nations on Russia’s doorstep where military capabilities are being bolstered:

FINLAND

On Feb. 16, Helsinki announced plans to increase military troop levels by 20%. Russian jets allegedly breached Finnish airspace in 2016, a day before Finland signed a defense pact with the U.S.

LATVIA

After Russia’s 2014 annexation of Crimea, Latvia agreed to raise military spending by 2018 to meet NATO’s target of 2% of GDP. A NATO battalion led by Canada will be formed there in June.



POLAND

About 3,500 U.S. troops arrived in Poland on Jan. 12 for a nine-month deployment to forge closer NATO ties. The country will eventually host more than 6,000 foreign troops.

LITHUANIA

A German-led NATO battalion arrived in Lithuania on Feb. 7. Locals are worried about Russia’s nuclear-capable missiles in Kaliningrad, between Lithuania and Poland.

DIGITS

360



Height, in feet, of India’s tallest flagpole, newly erected on the border with Pakistan; some Pakistanis fear it holds a spy camera



GIRL POWER A statue of a young girl standing her ground before Wall Street's iconic *Charging Bull* was unveiled in New York City on March 7. Asset manager State Street Global Advisors commissioned the temporary installation for International Women's Day to address the lack of gender diversity on corporate boards and the gender pay gap. Women in the U.S. earn about 79¢ for every dollar men make at work. *Photograph by Drew Angerer—Getty Images*

SCIENCE

The perils of an early spring

FEBRUARY TEMPERATURES BROKE RECORDS across the South and the Eastern seaboard, offering an early end to harsh winter weather. But the phenomenon—linked to long-term man-made climate change—may have troubling side effects:

OFF-BALANCE ECOSYSTEMS Earlier springlike weather means many plants bloom earlier than usual. (In the Arctic, some species are blooming nearly a month earlier than they did a decade ago, according to a December study in the journal *Biology Letters*.) But the warming does not affect all plants equally, which could disturb the fragile balance of ecosystems and open the door to invasive species. Moreover, those plants that do bloom early face increased chances that they might be killed off if temperatures drop again.

ENDANGERED FOOD SUPPLIES Many creatures rely on plants for food. And if flowering schedules change, those food supplies could be in jeopardy. Bears, for example, could awake from hibernation out of sync with the plants they normally eat, and pollinators like bees could have a tougher time pollinating crops (and thereby sparking seed production). That's bad for plants and human farmers alike, since pollinators are needed to produce more than 90 commercial crops in North America, including nuts, fruits and vegetables.



WORSE ALLERGIES The beginning of spring tends to kick off allergy season for tens of millions of Americans, and research shows that its early arrival extends and exacerbates those problems.

—JUSTIN WORLAND

◀ *If plants bloom too early, it's harder for bees to pollinate them*

DATA

WORLD'S BEST COUNTRIES

The U.S. fell three places in an annual survey ranking the world's 80 best countries, conducted by a team led by U.S. *News & World Report*. The survey asked 21,000 people to score countries on metrics such as citizenship, cultural influence, heritage and quality of life. Here's a sample of the rankings:



1.
Switzerland

4.
Germany

7.
U.S.

25.
India

38.
South Africa

62.
Colombia

80.
Serbia



TICKER

Bias in wrongful murder convictions

Innocent black people are approximately seven times as likely to be convicted of murder as innocent white people, according to a review of 1,900 exonerations. The National Registry of Exonerations report found similar patterns for sexual assault, indicating “clear evidence of racial bias.”

Bird-flu outbreak at Tennessee farm

Federal officials confirmed the outbreak of a deadly form of bird flu at a southern Tennessee farm that supplies chickens to Tyson Foods. Some 73,500 birds were culled, and South Korea, Japan, Taiwan and Hong Kong limited imports of U.S. poultry.

Banksy opens Bethlehem hotel

Graffiti artist Banksy opened the Walled Off Hotel in Bethlehem, located by the Israeli West Bank wall. The 10-room hotel, which features a gallery and small museum, was built in secrecy over the past 14 months.

Female pedestrian signs Down Under

The Australian city of Melbourne is testing the use of female figures at pedestrian crossing lights instead of male ones as part of a 12-month trial. The move is intended to “reduce unconscious bias,” the Committee for Melbourne said.

THE RISK REPORT

To reinvent itself, Saudi Arabia must empower its women

By Ian Bremmer

WHAT DOES SAUDI ARABIA NEED? DEPUTY Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman knows the answer. If his country is to become an economically dynamic, politically stable nation, it must relieve the kingdom’s dependence on energy exports, adapt to a world of accelerating technological change, prepare Saudi citizens to excel in 21st century jobs and empower many more women to participate.

Vision isn’t enough, however, and the likely future king’s reform plans will probably come up short on social change. There has been progress; last year, for example, the religious police had their powers of arrest curbed. But a bid to unleash the talent of Saudi women is still headed the wrong way up a one-way street. As much of the world marked International Women’s Day on March 8, the Saudi workplace remained a remote destination for too many women.

Vision 2030 aims to increase the percentage of women in the workforce from 22% to 30%. Yet bin Salman continues to support the unofficial ban on women driving automobiles. That’s probably political pragmatism, as the kingdom’s conservatives push back hard on social reform, particularly reforms that involve women’s rights. Even in an authoritarian state, politics remains the art of the possible. But this often contradictory approach toward reform makes it impos-

sible to modernize the kingdom’s economy.

This is an old story. In 2017, Saudi political stability still depends on a pact between Saudi royals and the kingdom’s conservative clerics. The ruling family subsidizes clerics and lets them preach as they choose; the clerics, in turn, support the royals’ political

legitimacy. Royals challenge religious conservatives at their peril.

It’s hard to change Saudi Arabia because there’s no apparent consensus demand for reform from its younger citizens. Many in the West imagine

that youth everywhere want individual freedom. Is that true for Saudis? There are no credible opinion polls within the kingdom, but we can see that conservative clerics have far more social-media followers than do the king, well-known athletes or the few political activists in this closed society. That’s hardly a precise measure, and many younger Saudis surely back social change, but it is telling nonetheless.

This isn’t simply a question of religious tolerance or social justice. This is a country where women outnumber men among university graduates but make up less than one-quarter of the workforce. For a country that badly needs new economic vitality, it’s a problem that must be surmounted. Mohammed bin Salman knows exactly what his people need, but his ability to deliver these changes remains very much in question. □

A bid to unleash the talent of Saudi women is still headed the wrong way up a one-way street

TECH

The world’s costliest typos

On March 2, Amazon blamed a rogue typo for a five-hour outage on some web services, which cost U.S. companies an estimated \$150 million. Here are some other pricey keyboard blunders. —Tara John

\$617
BILLION

Accidental orders of Japanese stock worth more than the GDP of Sweden had to be canceled in 2014, in what is believed to be the largest “fat finger” (caused by keyboard error) trade ever.

\$6
BILLION

A junior staffer at Deutsche Bank accidentally paid this 10-figure sum to a U.S. hedge fund in 2015 by processing the wrong type of trade. The bank recovered the funds the next day.

\$14
MILLION

Taylor & Sons Ltd. was accidentally listed as having gone bust on the U.K.’s register of companies in 2015 when its name was misspelled. The British government had to pay the firm’s owners millions in compensation.



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MISSISSIPPI RIVER

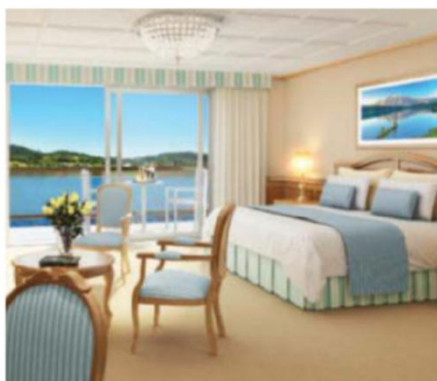
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ALASKA

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Milestones

DIED

Dr. Thomas Starzl, known as the “father of transplantation,” at 90. The renowned surgeon led the world’s first successful liver transplant operation in 1967, and developed antirejection drugs that opened the door to other transplant surgeries.

➤ **Paula Fox**, the prize-winning author, at 93. Fox wrote more than a dozen children’s books, including *The Slave Dancer*, which won her the Newbery Medal in 1974.

➤ **Robert Osborne**, the journalist and longtime host of Turner Classic Movies, at 84. The movie aficionado had been on TCM since its inception, in 1994.



CREATED

An **artificial mouse “embryo” from stem cells**, by scientists for the first time. This breakthrough may help experts understand why many human pregnancies fail in the very early stages.

REQUIRED

Anyone on a **U.S. soccer team to “stand respectfully” during national anthems**, according to a new U.S. Soccer policy. The policy, which comes after star Megan Rapinoe caused friction by kneeling during the anthem at two national team matches last year, was passed by the board of directors on Feb. 9 but came to light on March 4.

FLOWN

A commercial airplane **around the world by an all-female crew** for the first time, according to Air India. An all-women team, from the captains to the cabin crew, flew the Boeing 777 over the Pacific Ocean from New Delhi to San Francisco, and then back over the Atlantic Ocean.



Can the CIA hack your cell phone and smart TV? WikiLeaks says yes

CYBERSECURITY

The CIA’s hackers find their secrets posted online

IF ANY MORE EVIDENCE WAS NEEDED that privacy in the digital realm exists chiefly in theory, it arrived on March 7 with the publication by WikiLeaks of a trove of apparent Central Intelligence Agency documents detailing schemes to hack mobile phones, smart TVs and even car computers.

The documents suggested that, despite an Obama Administration pledge to more often alert device makers to security gaps, the CIA kept many vulnerabilities to itself, exploiting them to obtain information sent on “secure” messaging services like Signal, Telegram and WhatsApp by collecting the data before it was encrypted—at least on specific phones the CIA had cracked.

The disclosures shed new light on just how far intelligence agencies now go in breaking into commercial technologies. When the FBI was stumped by a locked iPhone in the San Bernardino terror case, it finally hired a hacker. The CIA has a whole division of them but can legally act only overseas.

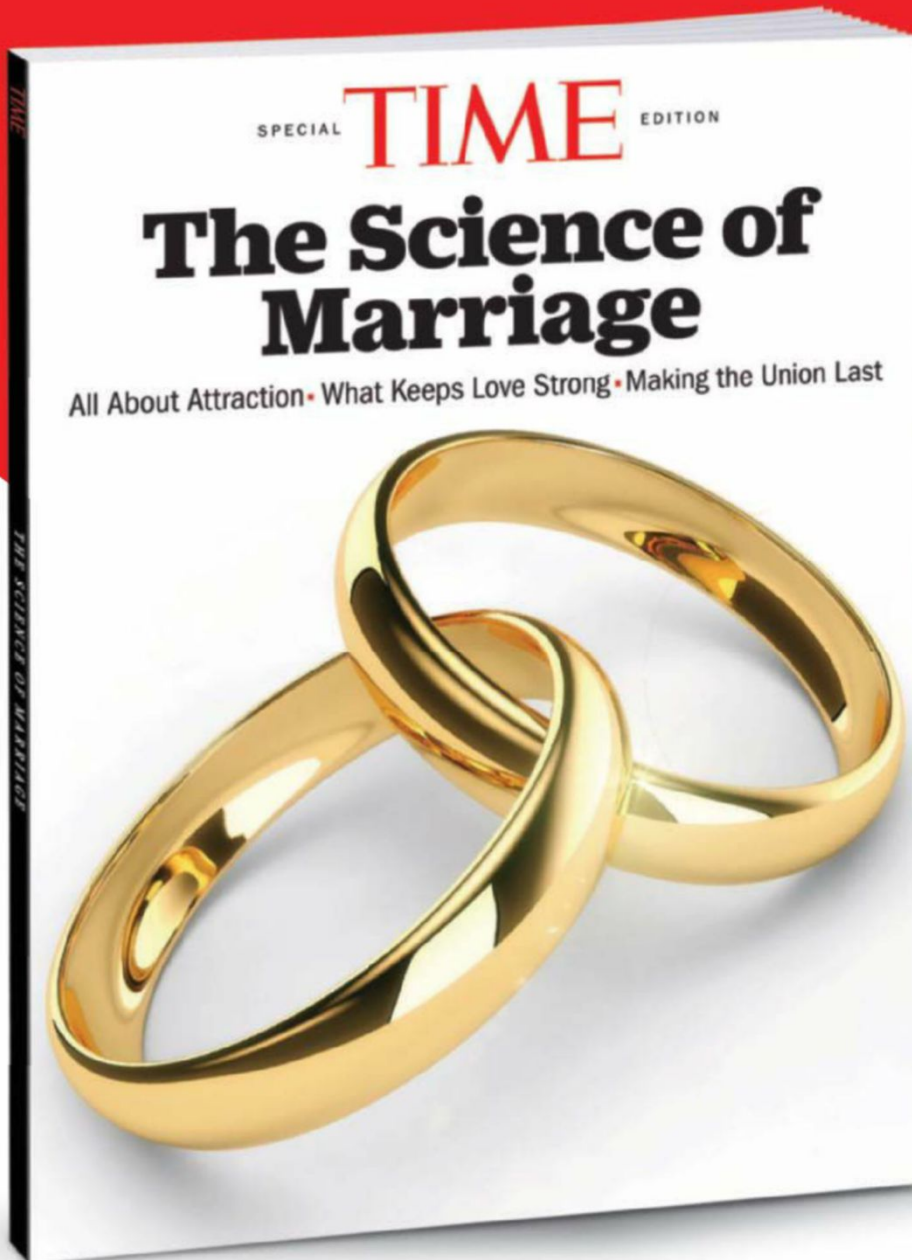
“We probably want the CIA to be

able to hack iPhones,” says Ben Wizner, the ACLU attorney who represents Edward Snowden, the former NSA contractor who in 2013 revealed the NSA’s secret programs—all with less dashing names than the leaked CIA operations Medusa, Cutthroat and Brutal Kangaroo. The challenge is finding a way to spy that doesn’t leave everyone vulnerable.

Samsung had warned buyers of its smart TVs that the set’s voice-remote microphone could be used as the kind of bug described in the CIA trove, which WikiLeaks calls just the first installment from a huge archive that “appears to have been circulated among former U.S. government hackers and contractors.” The source of the leak is unknown, and both the White House and the CIA have refused to comment on the matter. All that’s really clear is that in digital form, no one’s secrets stay secret.

“We’re kind of at an atomic moment in computer security,” Wizner says. “All of a sudden we’re seeing a new means to inflict all kinds of damage around the world. It’s proliferating, and we have no rules. The U.S. for a long time didn’t want rules, because we acted like we had a monopoly on these kinds of capabilities.” Those days are long gone. —KARL VICK

Discover Your Happily Ever After[♥]



From the science of attraction to the ten ways to make your marriage divorce-proof, this new special edition from TIME will help you master the steps to finding and sustaining a more perfect union

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[♥] *Learn the secrets to finding the right partner
and staying happy long term*

Trump Country worries about replacing Obamacare

By Sam Frizell/Tryon, N.C.

WHEN HIS SON CUT HIS TOE ON A CHAINSAW OUTSIDE their house in the Appalachian foothills, Robert Champion did what he often had to: barter for health care. He offered to fix a local doctor's car in exchange for wrapping his son's wound. "We're prideful people," says the longtime Republican, who owns a tiny mechanic shop outside Tryon, N.C., on a dusty patch of grass overlooking the mountains. "Everything you see here is ours. Nobody helped us."

But the Champions' fortunes improved, after a decade of being uninsured, when they signed up for the Affordable Care Act, also known as Obamacare, in 2013. As a result, the family has been receiving as much as \$10,600 every year in federal subsidies to help pay for Robert's blood-pressure medication and his wife Melinda's osteoporosis medication and a gastric sleeve. "It saved my life," says Melinda, who voted for Donald Trump in November. "It's been a blessing for us."

'It scares me to death because I don't know what's going to happen.'

MELINDA CHAMPION, a Trump supporter in North Carolina

And that is the rub for Republicans now squabbling over just how to repeal and replace President Obama's signature accomplishment. For all its problems, the law has helped millions of people in deep-red counties across the country gain insurance. Of the top 20 congressional districts in the country receiving Obamacare subsidies, 11 are represented by Republicans, according to a TIME analysis. As much as 7% of households in those areas receive funds to help pay for insurance.

The GOP replacement plan revealed on March 6 would keep some of the popular parts of Obamacare, like prohibiting insurance companies from discriminating against those with preexisting conditions, and allowing people under age 26 to stay on their parents' plan. But the proposal would end direct subsidies for families like the Champions, and instead provide tax credits between \$2,000 and \$4,000, depending on age.

As a result, federal assistance to people on the individual market would drop by an average of 36% nationwide in 2020, according to the Kaiser Family Foundation, and significantly more for poorer people. The plan would also freeze the increases in Obamacare's expansion of Medicaid by 2020 and raise premium caps on the elderly, both of which could raise out-of-pocket costs and the ranks of the uninsured. The Champions would receive \$4,100 less per year if the replacement were applied today. "I was sick," Melinda said, when she heard the news about the replacement bill. "I can't imagine that they could just cut it off."

The proposed shift has sparked concern from conservatives

THE GOP REPLACEMENT

INSURANCE SUBSIDIES

The plan would cut subsidies for lower-income people buying insurance on their own. It would increase subsidies for some middle-income earners.

HEALTH SAVINGS ACCOUNTS

The new plan would double the amount that individuals can put in tax-free accounts for medical expenses.

COVERAGE RULES

Like Obamacare, the new law would protect coverage for those with preexisting conditions and people under age 26 who want to stay on their parents' plans.

MEDICAID CAPS

It would reduce federal spending on Medicaid, resulting in more uninsured people, while giving states more control over spending the money.



and moderates in the Republican Party, leaving House Speaker Paul Ryan and Senate majority leader Mitch McConnell with fewer votes than they need to pass the bill in its current form. Some moderate Republicans, afraid their plan will hurt constituents, want to protect Medicaid from future cuts. Many other Republicans want to repeal the law immediately and get rid of the premium tax credits altogether, viewing them as another costly entitlement. Senator Rand Paul of Kentucky has begun calling the GOP bill "Obamacare lite."

The three top subsidy-receiving districts in the country are in southern Florida, represented by Republican Representatives Carlos Curbelo, Mario Diaz-Balart and Ileana Ros-Lehtinen, all of whom have promised to repeal the law. One in 14 people there receive subsidies. Hillary Clinton beat Trump in two of those three districts. "Our



▲
At town halls across the country, including at this one for Senator Chuck Grassley in Garner, Iowa, on Feb. 21, voters have voiced concerns about losing benefits under plans to repeal and replace Obamacare

patients went from approximately 69% uninsured to 50% uninsured,” said Brodes H. Hartley Jr., president and CEO of Community Health of South Florida, which helped more than 25,000 people enroll under Obamacare. “We don’t want to throw away the baby with the wash.”

Here in Appalachia, where counties supported Trump by 30-point margins, many will get left behind under the new plan. Sandra Sizemore, a Trump voter and fast-food worker, lives in the district of Freedom Caucus leader Mark Meadows, who opposes any federal tax credits to help pay insurance premiums.

She receives \$780 per month to help pay for blood thinners and stomach medicine. Justin Phillips, a 31-year-old truck driver who has 15 head of cattle on a farm outside nearby Waynesville, uses insurance subsidies to cover his baby daughter. “If a man works hard, he shouldn’t have to worry about, ‘How am I going to provide for myself?’” says Phillips, who receives \$600 a month and also voted for Trump.

With Democrats refusing to support any replacement, the Republican efforts to repeal could ultimately fail, forcing a new bipartisan effort to alter the current system. For families like the Champions, that might be a relief. “It scares me to death,” says Melinda Champion, sitting in her kitchen below a painting of Jesus exposing his heart, “because I don’t know what’s going to happen.” —*With reporting by PRATHEEK REBALA/WASHINGTON*

Proposal keeps two key benefits for moms

IN THE FIRST DRAFT OF THE GOP’s replacement bill, two key provisions for women who breast-feed have been left intact, enshrining protections for mothers who want to pump at work. The Affordable Care Act required larger companies to provide time and space for hourly workers to pump milk, and mandated coverage of preventive services like breast pumps and lactation support. One 2010 report estimated that the ACA provisions covered almost 19 million employed women of childbearing age.

“It’s a small part of the overall health care bill,” says Representative Carolyn Maloney, a Democrat from New York, who helped lead the charge for those provisions. “But it’s absolutely ‘huge,’ as the President would say, to nursing mothers.” Some studies show that breast milk lowers a child’s risk for chronic conditions like asthma and Type 2 diabetes, and breast-feeding may lower a mother’s risk of certain cancers.

Breast-feeding rates have gone up in recent years, according to CDC data, but many mothers still face barriers. Since 2011, the Wage and Hour Division conducted 238 investigations related to nursing mothers’ provisions and found 161 violations, according to a Labor Department spokesperson. A 2015 study found that just 40% of women had access to both break time and private space.

But women still have the government on their side. “It sets the standard pretty high, so I have expectations now when I go places,” Christine Borges says of her experience with a workplace lactation program at the NYC Department of Health and Mental Hygiene. “I know I can ask for these things and I can cite federal law.” —*TESSA BERENSON and MADELINE FARBER*



LightBox

Color war

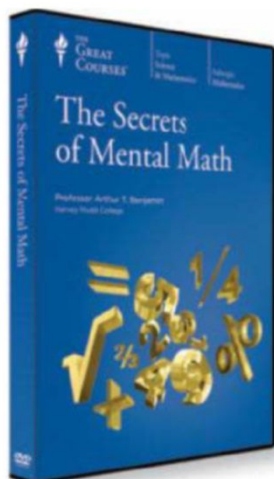
Men from Nandgaon, a town identified with the Hindu god Krishna, mark the Lathmar Holi spring festival while covered with powder at the Radha Rani temple in the village of Barsana, northern India, on March 6. During the local celebrations, women of Barsana—said to be the birthplace of Krishna's beloved Radha—beat the men with wooden sticks after they try to shower them with the color.

Photograph by Rajat Gupta—EPA

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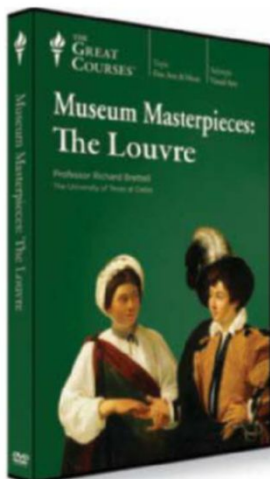
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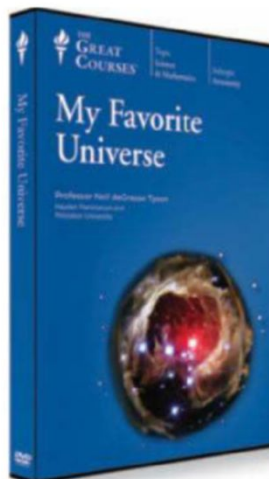
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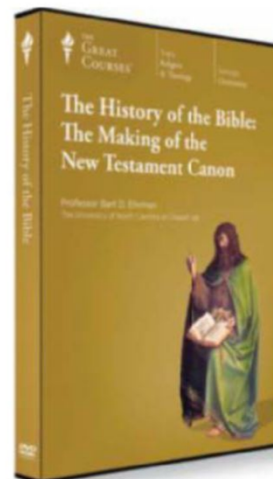
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The View

'EVEN THE GREATEST THINKERS DO NOT THINK IN A VACUUM.' —PAGE 20

MENTAL HEALTH

The club drug ketamine may treat depression—but the risks could be big

By Mandy Oaklander

FOR DOCTORS AND THE PEOPLE they care for, depression can be a vexing condition. It's common—about 16% of American adults will be clinically depressed at some point in their lives—and yet about a third of those cases won't respond to the standard treatments of antidepressants and psychotherapy. Stubborn depression can have dire long-term effects on people's health and well-being: those with treatment-resistant depression tend to die nine years earlier, on average, than those whose mental health is well managed, and they're twice as likely to die after a heart attack.

The dearth of treatment options has led some scientists to explore unconventional therapies, and some fresh hope has emerged from an unlikely source: ketamine hydrochloride, a drug synthesized in the 1960s and approved by the Food and Drug Administration (FDA) as an anesthetic. Ketamine is prized for its fast-acting painkilling properties (and its hallucinogenic ones, if you ask the clubgoers who call it "Special K"). But the drug has also been found in a cluster of small studies to help treatment-resistant depression with impressive speed and efficacy.

Studies about ketamine—and the buzzy headlines that follow them—have stoked the curiosity of clinicians and patients, with some calling the drug the most exciting development in depression treatment



For depression that hasn't responded to typical treatments, ketamine shows promise

in the past 50 years.

Other experts, however, are urging caution. In a recent issue of the leading medical journal *JAMA Psychiatry*, a task force from the

American Psychiatric Association (APA) concluded that ketamine isn't ready for widespread adoption as a depression treatment because of a lack of evidence

and long-term research. The panel of experts points out that while the positive effects of ketamine seem to last for a few days to a week at a time, researchers don't yet know what happens to a person who takes ketamine over the long term. They also don't know what happens when people stop taking it, or what the ideal dose is for treating depression.

The lack of large, lengthy studies has not stopped doctors from prescribing it off-label. (Once a drug is approved for one condition, doctors can prescribe it for any ailment they think it may help.) In recent years, there's been a boom in pricey, privately run ketamine clinics, where a single dose, prescribed by a doctor, can cost \$500. The research arms of some prominent medical centers, including Yale University, Mayo Clinic and Cleveland Clinic, have also embraced ketamine for some people.

In a handful of studies, when depressed people who had tried every other treatment were hooked up to an IV with ketamine, half to 75% of them (and sometimes even more) felt significantly better within a day, says Dr. Gerard Sanacora, a professor of psychiatry and director of the Yale Depression Research Program who led the recent study. "For most antidepressants, it takes at least six weeks to get to that point," he says.

But even optimistic researchers have questions about the drug. One of the problems is that only about 368 people with severe depression have taken the drug in published clinical trials. "That's pitifully small compared to what a clinical trial would generally be comprised of for FDA approval," says Dr. Charles Nemeroff, chair of the APA task force and chairman of the department of psychiatry at the University of Miami Miller School of Medicine. Trials of that type typically include several thousand people.

Ketamine is not a risk-free drug. Some patients have developed high blood pressure while taking it, chronic ketamine use has been linked to cognitive impairment—and it may be addictive. "The last thing we would want to do as a field would be to promote the use of a substance to treat depression that turns out to have tremendous abuse liability, and that would end up creating a cadre of depressed patients who are now, in addition to that, substance abusers," Nemeroff says.

When a drug shows early promise for people who have run out of options, it's hard to argue with doctors' willingness to experiment with alternatives. Still, with patients' long-term health so uncertain, even those who have studied ketamine for a long time say more research is needed. "It's one of the most difficult things to face as a physician," says Sanacora, "that balance between not offering a treatment that has potential life-changing ability for some patients, but balancing that against the limited amount of data that we have on it." □

VERBATIM

'Feminism is not a stick with which to beat other women. It's about freedom, it's about liberation, it's about equality.'

EMMA WATSON, actor, responding to those who questioned her feminism after she posed in a revealing top for *Vanity Fair*

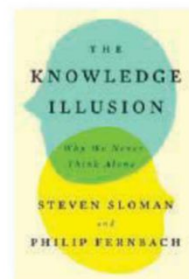


BOOK IN BRIEF

The essential power of the hive mind

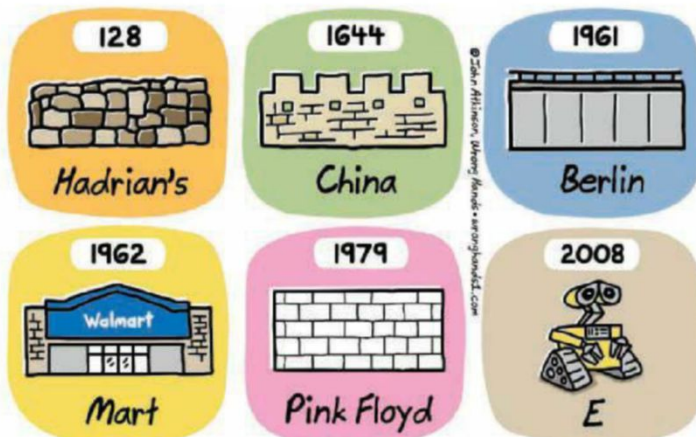
WESTERN SOCIETY TENDS TO LIONIZE individual intelligence—pilots who fly planes and architects who design skyscrapers, the thinking goes, must surely possess powerful brains. While that may be true, Steven Sloman and Philip Fernbach argue in their new book *The Knowledge Illusion: Why We Never Think Alone* that even the greatest thinkers do not think in a vacuum; we all rely on a "hive mind"—not just our own intellect—to get stuff done, even if we don't realize it. Pilots, for instance, collaborate with co-pilots, instruments and system designers in order to seamlessly fill any gaps in their understanding of flight. Architects, too, depend on various sub-experts to bring their ideas to fruition. So yes, it's good to be smart. But ultimately, Sloman and Fernbach conclude, "the contributions we make as individuals depend more on our ability to work with others than on our individual mental horsepower."

—SARAH BEGLEY



CHARTOON

A brief history of walls



JOHN ATKINSON, WRONG HANDS

SNAPSHOT

Billboards that don't block the view

Most highway advertisements are meant to stand out. Not so with these billboards along the Gene Autry Trail in Coachella Valley in Southern California, which were designed by artist Jennifer Bolande to blend into their surroundings: from certain vantage points, the murals they depict align perfectly with the environment behind them. The goal, said Bolande, is to remind drivers to “contemplate their surroundings and consider the differences between real and artificial horizons”—at least through April 30, when the billboards are set to come down. —*Julia Zorthian*



HISTORY

The original point of daylight saving time

ASK MOST AMERICANS WHY THEY STILL turn their clocks backward and forward twice a year—as they’re set to do on March 12—and they’ll likely cite the same reason: farmers said they needed more daylight in the field.

This is mostly a myth. While the farm lobby did participate in the policy debate a century ago, they were actually lobbying *against* daylight saving time—which they said would reduce the time they had in the morning to milk cows and get crops to market. In fact, after World War I, Congress had to repeal the DST law “to quell the revolt from the farm lobby,” says Michael Downing, author of *Spring Forward: The Annual Madness of Daylight Saving Time*. Congress replaced it with a new version in 1966.

So who lobbied for DST if not the farmers? Industrialists and politicians, including President Woodrow Wilson, who

thought that increasing daylight hours would reduce demand for electricity and free up coal for the war effort, according to David Prerau, author of *Seize the Daylight: The Curious and Contentious Story of Daylight Saving Time*.

Data remains mixed on whether DST does, in fact, reduce energy consumption to a significant degree. But it has succeeded in another one of its initial goals: getting more people to shop. (The Chamber of Commerce was an early backer.) The extra month of DST that the U.S. began observing in 1986, when “fall back” moved from October to November, boosted the golf and BBQ industries by between \$200 million and \$400 million, according to some estimates. That trend continues for many retailers today.

—OLIVIA B. WAXMAN

► For more of these stories, visit time.com/history



DATA THIS JUST IN

A roundup of new and noteworthy insights from the week’s most talked-about studies

1

AMERICANS ARE HAVING LESS SEX

A study in *Archives of Sexual Behavior* reports that the average American adult had sex 54 times per year from 2010 to 2014, nearly nine fewer times annually than from 2000 to 2004.

2

SOY MAY HELP PROTECT AGAINST CERTAIN BREAST CANCERS, AFTER ALL

A study in *Cancer* of more than 6,200 women with breast cancer found that those who ate more soy—a half to one serving per week—were 21% less likely to die over the next nine years. This contradicts previous research that suggested that soy increased the risk of death for women with certain types of breast cancer.

3

ACUPUNCTURE COULD RELIEVE CARPAL TUNNEL SYMPTOMS

A *Brain* study of 80 people with carpal tunnel syndrome found that those who received acupuncture on the affected arm over eight weeks had less pain, improved wrist nerve conduction and partly repaired brain mapping in the short term, as well as better long-term functionality. —J.Z.

BUSINESS

The latest victim of Uber's bold disruption may be itself

By Robert Hackett

TO SAY THAT UBER, THE BRASH RIDE-HAILING UPSTART, has had a tumultuous 2017 would be an understatement. The still-young year has been wreckage.

The company's latest misstep: a dodgy program, dubbed Greyball, with which Uber actively prevented officials in cities that resisted its operation from hailing rides—one in a string of recent controversies that has called into question Uber's aggressive business practices. Since its founding in 2009, Uber has led a vast economic and regulatory disruption in the U.S. and abroad, unlocking the value of people's untapped automotive resources while making more than a few enemies along the way. But the present spate of problems has the world's highest valued private company—it's appraised at nearly \$70 billion—rethinking its combative approach.

"When you have a culture that is as aggressive in all regards as Uber is, you're going to get people being mistreated and the misuse of company assets," says influential Silicon Valley investor Mitch Kapor, an early Uber backer who, along with his wife and business partner, Freada Kapor Klein, published an open letter last month lamenting Uber's "destructive" workplace environment.

Already this year, Uber has weathered a boycott during which a reported 200,000 people dropped its service, many of whom accused the company of trying to profit from a taxi strike in New York City inspired by President Trump's first immigration order. (CEO Travis Kalanick resigned from a council advising the President after an outcry.) Waymo, a unit of Google parent Alphabet, slapped the firm with a lawsuit for allegedly stealing self-driving car technology. (Uber called the claim "baseless.") A former engineer blasted the company for fostering a culture of entrenched sexism. (Uber assigned ex-U.S. Attorney General Eric Holder and board member Arianna Huffington to investigate.) And late last month, footage leaked of Kalanick hurling profanities at an Uber driver from the backseat of a car. (He apologized.) As if all those scandals weren't enough, then Greyball was exposed.

HERE'S HOW IT WORKED: whenever Uber entered a new market, the firm identified and barred local regulators from hailing rides by tracking their behavior on the Uber app, tracing credit-card numbers back to police credit bureaus, serving up fake versions of the app that featured "ghost cars" and adding restrictive "geofences" near municipal offices, according to the *New York Times*, which first reported the program. An Uber spokesperson confirmed Greyball's existence to TIME and said it remains operational, but that its methods are now largely used to protect drivers outside the U.S. from violence.

To critics, Greyball confirmed their worst fears about Uber: an unregulated livery business excluding



Protesters rallied against the ride-hailing company in New York City on Feb. 2

Beset by controversy, Uber and CEO Travis Kalanick are at a crucial moment



certain people, or classes of people, based on its own prerogatives. (Unlike traditional cabs, Uber has not been bound by "common carrier" laws, which guarantee service to all comers.) "That the very technologies this company uses to serve its customer base were being used to evade regulations that sought to protect the public is highly disturbing," says Michael Cox, a spokesman for the mayor's office of Portland, Ore., one of the cities whose investigators were Greyballed by Uber.

However troubling, several legal scholars TIME consulted are uncertain about Greyball's legality, saying it occupies something of a, well, grey area.

Still, the company's image problem is not open to debate, and Uber faces a crucial moment to clean up its act. After Greyball came to light, Kalanick posted a job notice on Uber's website. He said his team intended to hire a chief operating officer, "a peer who can partner with me to write the next chapter in our journey." If the past is any indication, that journey will be a bumpy one. □





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MAKE LIFE EASIER

How to become a morning person

By Alexandra Sifferlin

NIGHT OWLS GET A BAD RAP, SO let's get one thing out of the way: there is nothing wrong with staying up late as long as you're getting a good amount of sleep every night (and not using those extra hours to fuel unhealthy habits). Similarly, larks have no special biological advantage: recent research has upended the long-held belief that morning people are healthier than late risers. What research has not disproved, however, is that morning people tend to be more conscientious, agreeable and hardworking—and that means they also tend to get more done.

The productivity expert Laura Vanderkam, who has written several books about time management, including *What the Most Successful People Do Before Breakfast*, argues that people should consider switching their schedule not because it's necessarily better but because it's practical.

"People find morning hours useful because it's time you have to yourself before everybody else wants a piece of you," Vanderkam says. Waking up earlier to work out, make headway on a creative project or enjoy a stress-free cup of coffee (without a smartphone in your hand) can help reframe your morning, making it easier to accomplish more without sacrificing time for yourself.

Here, some advice from experts on how to pull it off.

We asked TIME readers what they do to enjoy their mornings

"I get up between 5 and 6 a.m. to do jigsaw puzzles and listen to music."

MICHAEL YANEGA, Washington

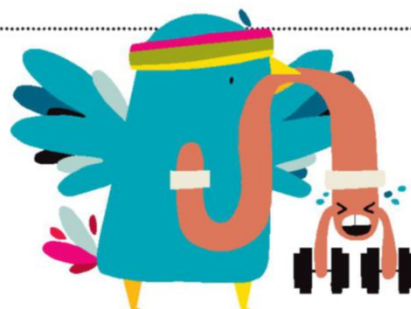


FIGHT SLEEP INERTIA

When you wake up in the middle of the night, a physiological state called sleep inertia helps you fall back asleep. But that same state is responsible for your morning grogginess. To get your body going, Michael Grandner, a sleep expert at the University of Arizona College of Medicine, recommends doing some stretches, drinking some water or taking a shower right after your alarm goes off.

GET MOVING

Studies show that you're more likely to stick with an exercise regimen if you do it at the same time every day, and working out first thing in the morning just makes sense, as it's less likely that something will come up suddenly to derail your plans. "Our mornings tend to be more regimented," says Vanderkam. Plus, getting it out of the way before work means you need to shower only once.



MIND YOUR LIGHT EXPOSURE

Morning light exposure can help recalibrate your internal clock and regulate your levels of the sleep hormone melatonin, making you less out of it when you rise. "Getting morning light is the most important thing you can do," says Grandner. "It immediately sends your body a wake-up signal." The opposite is also true: nighttime light exposure (yes, even the light from your smartphone) can perk you up—and interfere with your brain's transition into rest mode.

"I lay out my workout clothes before bed so as soon as I wake up I can get in them."

PAUL VEILLEUX, Connecticut

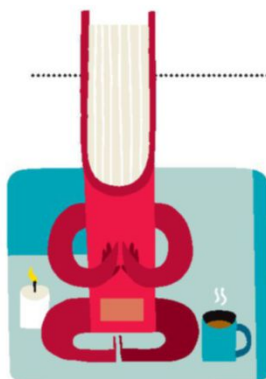
BRIBE YOURSELF

Humans do not naturally gravitate toward punishment, so if your morning routine feels like one, it's time to change how you start your day. Instead of warring with the snooze button, motivate yourself with a reward. Vanderkam suggests you treat yourself to something—a fried egg, a fancy latte—that will get you moving.



DO SOMETHING OTHER THAN WORK (OR SOMETHING THAT FEELS LIKE WORK)

Some of the most successful larks Vanderkam has interviewed say they start the day doing something they truly enjoy. So instead of rolling over and reading the news on your tablet, consider meeting a friend for a jog, reading a chapter of a novel or writing in a journal. "It's a lot easier to get up and do something you want to do than something you don't," says Vanderkam.



"I pour coffee and sit down to do my morning writing, starting with a gratitude statement."

SHARON TANABE, California

“LOOK, NO HANDS!”
(REALLY, I HAVE NO HANDS...)



CRUNCHY WHEAT. FROSTED SWEET.
FEED YOUR INNER KID



*The President
returns to the
White House on
March 5 after a
weekend retreat
in Florida*



PHOTOGRAPH BY ERIK S. LESSER



Nation

INSIDE DONALD TRUMP'S WAR AGAINST THE STATE

WHO WINS AND LOSES IN HIS ATTACK ON THE U.S. GOVERNMENT

BY MASSIMO CALABRESI

A

AT 6:35 A.M. ON MARCH 4, PRESIDENT Donald Trump launched an attack against the government of the United States. Deploying his favorite weapon, Twitter, he wrote, “Terrible! Just found out that Obama had my ‘wires tapped’ in Trump Tower just before the victory. Nothing found. This is McCarthyism!” In fewer than 140 characters, he accused a former President of an impeachable offense, suggested that Justice Department agents might have engaged in a felony and gestured at the possibility that federal judges enabled a political outrage.

He wasn’t finished. Over the next half hour—as Trump’s staff, left behind in Washington, began waking up and unlocking their phones to discover what the boss was up to down at Mar-a-Lago—the President added two more tweets suggesting that Obama and federal investigators had broken the law and should be prosecuted. He capped his indictment with a fourth blurt, comparing the allegation with the worst political crisis of his 70-year lifetime. “How low has President Obama gone to tapp [sic] my phones during the very sacred election process. This is Nixon/Watergate. Bad (or sick) guy!”

Trump was right that the government now faces a test of historic dimensions. The FBI is probing a plot by Russia to subvert the core exercise of American democracy in the 2016 presidential election. Revelations of contacts between Trump aides and Russian officials have forced the resignation of the President’s National Security Adviser, Michael Flynn, and the recusal of his Attorney General, Jeff Sessions. This probe, which may or may not have involved court-approved surveillance, has unleashed an orgy of po-

litical exploitation, resulting in a crisis of confidence in the government’s ability to play by the rules.

But no matter what he tweets from his Palm Beach Xanadu, Trump is more author than victim of this crisis. Neither he nor his White House staff provided any evidence for his extraordinary accusations against what some of them call a “deep state.” Obama denied Trump’s assertions, and was soon joined by former Director of National Intelligence James Clapper and, via intermediaries, FBI Director James Comey. Trump is rallying his political base against the federal agencies he oversees, thus partnering his presidency with a radical fringe. Win or lose, the standoff he has engineered will diminish the credibility of the government.

Approaching the halfway point of his first 100 days, this has become a defining aspect of Trump’s presidency. His latest Twitter attack, like other actions before it, targeted institutions that stand in his path to what aides say is a larger political purpose: undoing much of what government has become over the past century. Few, if any, Presidents have paid so little deference to the chief executives and legislators who came before them. The extent of Trump’s battle plan remains unclear. But at a recent gathering of conservative activists in Washington, Trump’s top strategist, Stephen Bannon, said the goal was the “deconstruction” of the administrative state. “The progressives for the last 100 years have set up really a fourth branch of government,” he tells TIME. “So the deconstruction of that is really a massive project.”

It’s ambitious talk, and difficult to compress into even a storm of tweets. Trump’s results so far are mixed. He has embraced a budget that would slash non-

defense government-agency spending by \$54 billion. He has delayed, suspended or reversed 90 regulations imposing government controls on everything from Wall Street to telecoms to hunters, according to an analysis by the *New York Times*. He has frozen federal hiring, and his allies on Capitol Hill have proposed reducing federal employees’ pensions. He says many of the nearly 2,000 open executive federal positions might be “unnecessary.”

On the other hand, Trump has promised to preserve and even bolster many of the federal government’s largest programs, such as Social Security, Medicare and the Pentagon, to name a colossal three. His immigration policies are a federal overreach in the eyes of some traditional antigovernment conservatives. And his comments on health care policy suggest he will be happy to sign a bill that leaves Washington neck-deep in the middle of America’s largest industry.

It can be difficult to separate his program from his petulance, for nothing moves the mercurial Trump like hearing the word *no*. When federal courts blocked his Executive Order banning refugees and travelers from seven mostly Muslim countries, Trump attacked. He said the “so-called” judge’s opinion was “ridiculous” and the federal judiciary “political.” The tantrum moved Trump’s own Supreme Court nominee, U.S. Circuit Court Judge Neil Gorsuch, to criticize the President’s rhetoric. Trump’s Twitter backlashes have been interpreted as judo moves against elite power, or a CEO’s frustration that government can’t work like a business. Yet his senior aides say that every attack feeds into the same Trump strategy to shrink the federal government. It’s nothing personal, Bannon says. “He’s not doing that because he wants to disrupt the lives of bureaucrats,” he says. “It’s just the natural process of how one looks to dismantle part of a massive bureaucracy.”

At the same time, a senior official says Trump’s Twitter rants are tactical moves designed to build his political strength by going around the media to marshal his supporters. And nothing marshals his supporters like seeing him on the attack against political elites.

Strategy and tactics aside, though, this is playing with fire. Where does the so-called deep state or administrative state end, and our beloved 228-year-old con-

WHERE DOES
THE “DEEP STATE”
END AND THE
CONSTITUTIONAL
REPUBLIC BEGIN?



Top strategist Bannon, right, with Trump and Homeland Security Secretary John Kelly at a cybersecurity meeting in January

stitutional republic begin? Who will ultimately have a say in drawing that line, apart from Trump? When the President's advisers talk about a century of government action, they are covering a tremendous amount of ground, ranging from the National Park System to the federal rule that requires disclosure of diced or dried onions in onion rings.

So far in his young presidency, Trump has attacked his predecessor, the judicial branch, military commanders (they were to blame for the recent combat death of a Navy SEAL, Trump said), the intelligence agencies and the legacy of a century of legislative actions, executive decisions and court rulings. And he is only getting started, the senior White House official says.

THERE WAS A TIME when the kind of domestic spying abuse that Trump charged against Obama was widespread. During the Kennedy, Johnson and Nixon administrations the FBI, CIA and NSA all used lawless investigative techniques to collect and pass along political intelligence to the White House. Robert Kennedy's Justice Department received wiretap information on Martin Luther King Jr., while Richard Nixon "authorized a program of wiretaps which produced for the White

House purely political or personal information unrelated to national security," according to the post-Watergate Church Committee. The FBI passed along information on the social lives of Supreme Court Justices and "social contacts with foreign officials by Bernard Baruch, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt and Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas," while the IRS compiled files on "more than 11,000 individuals and groups" between 1969 and 1973 based on "political rather than tax criteria."

The motivation for this lawless behavior, according to David Kris and J. Douglas Wilson, who wrote the definitive reference work *National Security Investigations & Prosecutions*, was a rampant fear of the Soviet Union. Some of the fears were outlandish but terrifying: the CIA believed, for example, in the aftermath of World War II, that the Soviet Union was engaged in a wide-ranging program of testing LSD. It genuinely thought that the Soviets might develop mind-control

drugs and turn every American into an obedient, communist zombie. One CIA officer testified that he and his colleagues were "literally terrified" at the prospect. The excesses led to a series of laws passed in the years after Nixon's resignation designed to constrain America's spies and spy hunters.

In 1976 and 1977, Congress created the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence and the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, which have broad oversight power over the FBI, CIA and NSA. Congress also passed the Inspector General Act, creating multiple independent watchdogs at the investigative and national-security agencies. Most important, it passed in 1978 the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act (FISA), which governs all spy-targeting electronic surveillance in the U.S. After 1978, if the U.S. government wanted to eavesdrop on a foreign spy in the U.S., an official from the FBI or NSA had to get a warrant from the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Court—which comprises federal judges selected for the task by the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court—whose proceedings are generally classified.

And getting such a warrant was not easy, especially if the feds risked invading the privacy of Americans as part of

the investigation. Multiple Justice Department and White House rules required approval by senior law enforcement and intelligence officials before a warrant application could even be made. FISA itself required that application to include detailed and specific information about who was to be targeted, where, for what purpose, for how long and what exactly the result was likely to be. Any information on Americans caught up in the surveillance had to be set aside and destroyed unless specific conditions were met, like evidence of a crime. Multiple rules set even higher safeguards against accidental snooping against politicians, activists or academics, among others. And the newly formed congressional committees were to be kept “fully informed” of any FISA court activity.

By the summer of 2016, the FBI had plenty of incentives to jump through all those legal hoops. The first hint that Russia had designs on the election came in April, when the spy service of a foreign ally passed along a tip that Russia was funneling money through two banks to fund a political-influence operation in the U.S., according to several published reports. Over the next several months, as Russia hacked into state voting databases and leaked emails stolen from the accounts of leading Democrats, U.S. spy hunters realized they had a growing problem on their hands.

In early September, the *Washington Post* reported that the FBI was investigating a possible Russian operation against the election. That was followed on Oct. 7 by a public assessment from the U.S. intelligence community that Russia was interfering in the November vote. Under those circumstances, it would not be surprising if investigators had sought a FISA warrant to gather documents or authorize surveillance of Russian contacts with American political figures. The first such report—a day before the election—was by a former member of the British Parliament turned journalist for Rupert Murdoch’s News Corp., Louise Mensch. She published an article on the website HeatStreet claiming that the FBI had in fact sought and received a FISA warrant against members of Trump’s campaign for an investigation of ties to Russian banks.

The article went largely unnoticed, but then the FISA warrant issue resurfaced in

January, reported by the BBC. Over the following weeks, the allegations merged with stories about the long-standing associations between Trump aides and various members of Russia’s oligarchy. Trump’s refusal to acknowledge the authorship of the Russian influence operation, before and after Election Day, and his often admiring remarks about Russian President Vladimir Putin, lent further credence to the idea of a Russia connection inside Trumpland.

By February, Trump was a new President beset with questions about Russian influence and furious at persistent leaks concerning contacts that his aides and advisers had with Putin’s representatives. Trump’s defenders began to speculate that Trump’s aides were the actual targets in the probe, rather than being caught up in an investigation of the Russians. Meanwhile, Trump’s opponents in the Democratic Party ramped up their charges that Trump officials communicated with Russia about the election interference. The result: Trump’s presidency found itself hobbled with each new revelation from the ongoing and intensifying investigation.

First National Security Adviser Flynn was forced to step down on Feb. 13 after misleading Vice President Mike Pence about his conversations with Russian ambassador Sergey Kislyak. Two weeks later, the *Washington Post* reported that Attorney General Sessions had met with Kislyak twice in 2016, though he had denied during his confirmation hearings meeting any Russian officials. Under pressure, Sessions recused himself from oversight of the FBI’s Russia probe.

At first the White House reported that Trump had demanded Flynn’s resignation. But soon he was complaining

on Twitter that “information is being illegally given to the failing @nytimes & @washingtonpost by the intelligence community (NSA and FBI?). Just like Russia.” He was even more furious at Sessions’ recusal.

After storming out of Washington for another weekend in Palm Beach, Trump read an incendiary mash-up of all the earlier coverage related to a possible FISA warrant assembled by Breitbart News, according to aides. The conclusion of that report: “the Obama Administration sought, and eventually obtained, authorization to eavesdrop on the Trump campaign.” The article quoted right-wing radio host Mark Levin calling the investigation a “silent coup.”

That was good enough for Trump, who promptly opened his Twitter app. And if his tweets were correct—if Obama and federal investigators working for him tapped Trump’s lines without legal authority—it would be a felony unlike any since Watergate. But if Trump had gone off half-cocked, he stood to undermine the very system put in place to prevent some of the worst outrages of that earlier era. A FISA warrant issued by a duly appointed judge would normally be a good sign, evidence that the FBI was getting to the heart of the Russian operation. “FISA coverage is always hoped for,” in a properly run FBI intelligence investigation, the Justice Department’s Inspector General observed in a November 2004 report.

Trump gave supporters a stark choice: believe me, or believe the government.

IT WOULD BE ONE thing if Trump’s outburst against those investigating the Russia operation was simply an emotional backlash in the face of political woes. But the pattern of Trump’s seven-week presidency so far has been to reach for his political base whenever he faces opposition. As a self-declared warrior against the state and drainer of Washington’s swamp, he has opposition on multiple fronts.

Trump has taken a number of steps aimed at cutting the government. He has ordered that for every new government rule, two existing ones must be eliminated. He has set in motion an unwinding of Wall Street regulations imposed after the 2008 financial crisis. His Labor Department is under orders to review, and

TRUMP AIDES TALK OF A MASTER PLAN TO ATTACK EXCESS GOVERNMENT

presumably rescind, Obama's regulation of financial advisers who deal with Main Street investors.

His proposed budget, which faces an uncertain fate in Congress, contains aggressive cuts totaling \$54 billion at non-defense agencies. Cuts proposed at the EPA could shrink Clean Air Act implementation funds granted to states by \$68 million, to less than \$160 million. Even greater cuts, percentage-wise, would limit funds for fighting water and lead pollution. Trump's denunciation of a "slow and burdensome" FDA has many in the medical community, not to mention staffers in that agency, fearful that his future pick to lead them could pare back drug- and food-safety measures in place since the early 1960s.

Trump has declined to nominate officials below the Cabinet level in many agencies, leaving some effectively paralyzed. Only six departments—Commerce, Justice, Health and Human Services, Defense, Homeland Security and Transportation—have any Senate-confirmed positions at headquarters nominated below the Secretary level. Agencies accustomed to driving the agenda are sitting idle. At the State Department, diplomats not immediately involved in crises like Russia or North Korea are biding their time reading cables.

This, argues the Administration, is all part of the master plan. For the better part of a century, progressives have been building up an unaccountable fourth branch of government, multiple White House officials argue. Rulemakers have supplanted legislators, and administrative courts answering to the President have supplanted the judiciary. The result has been a bureaucracy that is larger than all three traditional branches of government combined.

Defenders of the administrative state say it exists for a reason: to make sure the laws and policies of the government are implemented fairly and according to the Constitution. Staffed by experts who oversee an open governmental process, they say, the federal bureaucracy exists to protect those who would otherwise be at the mercy of better-organized, better-funded interests. "It's not realistic to expect that Congress is going to solve all the policy problems that come up" in the modern world, says Susan Rose Acker-

TRUMP SAYS MANY OF THE OPEN EXECUTIVE FEDERAL POSITIONS MAY BE "UNNECESSARY"

man of Yale Law School. The war on the administrative state, she says, is in fact a "war on the core responsibility of the bureaucracy to make sure the laws as passed are carried out."

For many of Trump's followers, his declared war and the steps he has taken to wage it so far are all part of a job well done, exactly what they asked for. And his credibility with them is on the rise. "He was given a mandate with the election to go up there and correct and fix Washington and drain that swamp. That is exactly what I see him doing," says Janice Westmoreland, 69, of Milledgeville, Ga.

But patient advocates worry about changes at the FDA, while environmentalists warn of the consequences of loosened regulations. "Millions of people around the country will be exposed to unhealthy air," says Bill Becker, executive director of the National Association of Clean Air Agencies. "It could literally be the difference between protecting public health and premature death."

Trump's greatest foes are among his principal targets: the men and women of the U.S. government. Leaks have sprung all across the Trump Administration. Some, presumably from those alarmed by his foreign-policy agenda, have exposed Trump's gaffe-filled conversations with foreign leaders. Other leaks, perhaps from those angry at Trump's attacks on the intelligence community, have detailed the Russia investigation in ways that make Trump look bad.

To combat these, Trump reaches for Twitter. On Feb. 16, at 7:02 a.m., Trump tweeted a warning: "low-life leakers" will be caught.

More damaging confrontations arise when Trump goes after other parts of the government, namely the courts and agen-

cies charged with law enforcement. It's not clear that the President has a thorough understanding of checks and balances, and compared with most Presidents, he doesn't surround himself with people who do. To paraphrase former Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld, Trump went to war against the state with the army he had, business-school ideologues and website provocateurs like Bannon, rather than with the army he should have wanted: experienced, cold-blooded lawyers. No personnel in the White House will ever alter a core fact about Washington: power depends on knowing how to use the law even more than knowing how to change it.

Charged with responding to that reality is Trump's White House counsel, Don McGahn. It has already become clear that changing laws on Capitol Hill will be, at best, a slow and partial part of the war. McGahn says he is staffing his office with lawyers experienced both inside and outside the administrative state. "In order to increase the power of President Trump to implement his policy preferences, you have to decrease the role of the unelected bureaucracy which has grown accustomed to implementing their policy preferences," McGahn says.

The cost of that effort, for Trump and for America, is unclear. "Trump is spending at a terrific rate the accumulated credibility capital of the office he occupies," the former head of the Justice Department's National Security Division, David Kris, wrote recently in the *Washington Post*. "There may come a day when he needs to speak seriously, and to be taken seriously, at home or abroad. On his present course and speed, that will be a hard day."

In the meantime, the gumshoes at the FBI have their old nemeses, the spies of Moscow, squarely in their sights. And those agents will keep grinding away, using the investigative tools granted them by law, until they make their case. Whatever they prove in court against the Russians and anyone who helped them will be a testament to the institutions that have ensured the survival of American democracy for 241 years. The question is how much lasting damage America's political leaders will inflict on those institutions in the meantime. — *With reporting by* PHILIP ELLIOTT *and* ZEKE J. MILLER/WASHINGTON; ALICE PARK, JOSH SANBURN *and* JUSTIN WORLAND/NEW YORK

MOSCOW COZIES UP TO THE RIGHT

THE WARMING OF OLD COLD WARRIORS

BY ALEX ALTMAN AND ELIZABETH DIAS

B

BISTRO BIS, A SWANKY FRENCH JOINT ON Capitol Hill, is a Washington institution that has hosted all sorts of political summits over the years. But the group that piled into the restaurant's Leaders Room on the night of Feb. 1 was among the more unusual. For four hours, current and former Russian officials dined with two Republican Congressmen, a conservative magazine publisher, a longtime GOP consultant and a close friend of top White House strategist Steve Bannon.

As the murky ties between Moscow and members of Donald Trump's campaign consumed the city outside, the group dining inside the George Hotel explored ways to strengthen the bonds between the two countries. "We have so many people who are trying to destroy the relationship between Russia and the United States," says Representative Dana Rohrabacher of California, who attended the dinner and has visited Russia at least a half-dozen times over the past five years. "I'm trying my best to expand the amount of personal contacts we have

with people who are engaged in government in Russia."

Russia is equally keen on cultivating links to Republicans. Some of the officials who attended the dinner—including a deputy central banker and former Russian senator named Alexander Torshin, and his protégée, a young gun-rights activist named Maria Butina—have been part of a years-long campaign to build connections between Russia's leaders and American conservatives. The crusade, which predates the rise of Trump, has garnered scant attention but achieved significant success, sparking new alliances with leading U.S. evangelicals, lawmakers and powerful interest groups like the NRA.

The outreach to Republicans marks a dramatic shift in Russia's attempts to influence U.S. domestic politics. During the Cold War, the Kremlin tried to forge links to the American left. Such efforts haven't stopped entirely. It's no accident that Green Party presidential candidate Jill Stein scored a seat at Vladimir Putin's table at a 2015 banquet in Moscow for the state-sponsored propaganda outlet RT, or that RT hired former MSNBC anchor Ed Schultz, who boasts a fervent liberal fan base. But over the past five years, Russia has also been fostering a growing affinity on the right. According to a February Gallup poll, nearly one-third of Republicans now say they have a favorable impression of Putin, up from 12% two years ago and far higher than Putin's rating among Democrats.

The role reversal isn't lost on the coterie of conservatives who have led the effort to ease tensions with Moscow. "We were some of the biggest cold warriors ever," says Paul Erickson, a veteran Republican activist who attended the Feb. 1 dinner. "But then the Wall fell. We won. There

is a huge school within the conservative movement and the Republican Party that says you can't look at these people through the same lens of the Cold War."

WHAT WOULD RIGHT-WING activists in the U.S. have in common with Putin's Russia? More than you might expect. Conservative Christianity has been one common touchstone. The dinner at the George Hotel, hosted by conservative activist and Rockefeller scion George O'Neill Jr., was part of the festivities surrounding the National Prayer Breakfast, an annual event run by evangelicals to forge new, if informal, diplomatic ties through shared spiritual principles. Evangelicals have discovered common ground with Moscow's nationalist and ultraconservative push—led by the Russian Orthodox Church—to make the post-Soviet nation a bulwark of Christianity amid the increasing secularization of the West.

Prominent social conservative leaders, like Franklin Graham, say they see Putin as a powerful partner in the quest to protect Christian religious minorities. In war zones like Syria, says Graham, Putin has been a stronger defender of Christians than U.S. leaders. "Islam teaches to kill Christians and Jews," claims Graham, president of the Billy Graham Evangelistic Association. Putin "sees himself in the Middle East as defending the Christian remnant that is left in Syria." In 2015 Graham met privately with Putin, who has supported Syrian President Bashar Assad's regime, while visiting Moscow at the Russian Orthodox Church's invitation. They planned a conference on persecuted Christians, which will be held in Washington in May. "He was very supportive," says Graham. "He said he would do all he could from his office to help."

Catholic leaders like Brian Brown have been impressed by the Russian Orthodox Church's decision to tighten policies on abortion and uphold traditional marriage. Since 2014, Brown, president of the National Organization for Marriage, has worked closely with the church and with Russian anti-abortion and antigay marriage activists like FamilyPolicy.ru. In late January, Brown visited Moscow to seek the Duma's support for his group's new manifesto on those issues. These new bonds with Russia have "been a sea change, both in my own view and also,

ONE RUSSIAN
BOASTED OF
MEETING
TRUMP'S SON AT
AN NRA MEETING



Former Russian senator Alexander Torshin, center, with Vladimir Putin at a Kremlin ceremony in 2011

I think, for many conservatives,” Brown says. “Wherever there are folks standing up for marriage, we will meet with them.”

While some activists bonded over faith, others found shared purpose in guns. Russia has no real tradition of Second Amendment rights. But with Torshin’s help, Butina has managed to form close relationships with top NRA officials. Butina, 28, was running a furniture business in her provincial Siberian hometown just a few years ago. After moving to Moscow in 2011, she founded a gun-rights organization, the Right to Bear Arms, and began traveling back and forth to the U.S. “She’s very, very well connected with elected officials in the Soviet Union,” says Alan Gottlieb, who founded the Second Amendment Foundation, serves on the board of the American Conservative Union and has met with Butina and Torshin in Russia.

IN 2015, a collection of NRA officials flew over to attend Butina’s annual gun conference. Among them was Erickson; former NRA and ACU chief David Keene; gun manufacturer and NRA first vice president Pete Brownell; and Milwaukee County sheriff David Clarke, a Trump supporter and sensation among

the conservative grassroots. One of their hosts was Russian Deputy Prime Minister Dmitry Rogozin, who was sanctioned by the White House in 2014 in connection with Russia’s invasion of Ukraine. According to a disclosure filed by Clarke, Butina’s group shelled out \$6,000 for the sheriff’s meals, lodging, transportation and other excursions on the trip.

NRA allies say the group is happy to work with international firearms-advocacy groups to advance mutual interests. The NRA forked over some \$30 million to help elect Trump, about two and a half times the amount it shelled out on the 2012 election, despite his previous support for gun-control measures. (The group did not respond to a request to comment for this story.) “I am deeply grateful for the friendship of the American NRA,” Butina, now a graduate student in international relations at American University in Washington, wrote in an email to TIME. “My work has been focused exclusively on the expansion of gun rights—

very publicly.”

But Butina’s attraction to the Republican Party runs broader than common ground on gun rights. “It may take the election of a Republican to the White House in 2016 to improve relations between the Russian Federation and the United States,” she wrote in the summer of 2015 in the *National Interest*, a magazine published by the Center for the National Interest. The same Washington think tank hosted a foreign policy speech for candidate Trump in April 2016, where Trump was introduced to Russian ambassador Sergey Kislyak, according to the *Wall Street Journal*.

In April 2015, Butina and Torshin traveled to Tennessee to attend a fundraiser for a political group backing the presidential campaign of Wisconsin Governor Scott Walker, then viewed as a leading contender for the GOP nomination. In July, she attended Walker’s campaign kickoff in Wisconsin. The same week, Butina flew to Las Vegas for one of Trump’s first campaign events. She asked Trump whether he would end the “damaging” U.S. government sanctions on Russia. “I know Putin, and I’ll tell you what, we’ll get along with Putin,” he responded. “I don’t think you’d need the sanctions.”

It wasn’t the pair’s only brush with the Trump campaign. Torshin, who according to *Bloomberg News* has been accused by Spanish investigators of directing a money-laundering operation for a Moscow syndicate, was among the crowd at Trump’s foreign policy speech last April. (Torshin has denied any wrongdoing.) The following month, he boasted of meeting the President’s son Donald Trump Jr. at a Louisville meeting of the NRA, where he is a lifetime member. That encounter “should have set off alarm bells,” said one former White House official. “It is a big deal.”

Last month Torshin assembled the delegation of Russians who attended the National Prayer Breakfast. The group of 16 included Kremlin advisers, university presidents and the mayor of an eastern Russia city. At the Bistro Bis dinner, the room was set in traditional Russian style, with the guests on one side of a long table and the Americans on the other. “The better to hear, the better to toast,” Butina explained. — *With reporting by* MICHAEL SCHERER/WASHINGTON



*Populists on parade:
Holland's Geert Wilders, left,
France's Marine Le Pen and
Germany's Frauke Petry,
far right*

EVER MORE DIVIDED UNION

AS THE DREAM OF A UNITED EUROPE
TURNS 60, CAN THE E.U. ESCAPE THE GRAVE?

BY CHARLOTTE MCDONALD-GIBSON/
MAASTRICHT, THE NETHERLANDS



IT'S RUSH HOUR IN MAASTRICHT, AND A STREAM of bikes flows past a modest granite slab marking the signing of a treaty that changed Europe. It was here, a quarter-century ago, that representatives of 12 countries signed the Maastricht Treaty, creating a political and economic community with open borders and one currency. On this spot, the modern European Union was born. Not every passerby is brimming with pride.

"It was a very big mistake," says 36-year-old Var Cihan, an out-of-work forklift driver on his way home from the unemployment center. He glances dismissively at the monument and reels off a list of complaints: inflation after the introduction of the euro in 2002; state housing going to refugees before citizens; Dutch taxes bailing out Greece. "The first thing you need to do is be good to your own people," he concludes.

This year sees not just the 25th birthday of the Maastricht Treaty but also the 60th anniversary of the Treaty of Rome, which established the first common European market and turned the idea of a united Europe into reality. It should be a moment of celebration for a supranational bloc that has

since expanded to 28 nations and won the Nobel Peace Prize for decades of doing what it was formed to do: prevent war. But there is little jubilation among many of the people the E.U. was ostensibly set up to help. Instead, the bloc's very foundations are being eroded by a rising tide of antifederalist populism.

The problems of today began to emerge in 2009, after the global financial meltdown and the euro-zone crisis hit, exposing economic chasms between the richer north and poorer south. Austerity policies in the aftermath led to stagnant growth, high unemployment and public anger in member states such as Italy, Greece and Spain. The E.U.'s divisions have been further exacerbated by the migrant crisis that began in 2015, as Central and East European nations have defied E.U. orders to resettle refugees. Meanwhile, the peace and security safeguarded by the union have been shaken by terrorist attacks by radicalized citizens in France and Belgium.

Against this backdrop, E.U. citizens have begun to turn away from the bloc. A Pew poll in June 2016 found that just 51% of people across 10 member states had a favorable view of the E.U. Compared with the previous year, favorability fell in France by 17 points and in Germany by 8 points. That same June, the U.K. voted to become the first country to leave the E.U., and populist leaders have sprung up across Europe, with many preaching the dissolution of the union with the tacit backing of U.S. President Donald Trump.

This year promises to be pivotal. The French will vote in elections in the spring, which could bring the Euroskeptic Marine Le Pen to power. She has suggested she will bring back the French franc and hold a referendum on E.U. membership. In March, the very month the European project celebrates its diamond jubilee, the British Prime Minister is expected to formally begin the process of leaving it. The Dutch will vote on March 15 in an election whose polls predict a strong result for the Party for Freedom (PVV), led by Geert Wilders, a radical populist whose manifesto calls for the Quran to be banned, the "de-Islamization" of the Netherlands and—yes—a vote on leaving the E.U.

For those who still consider themselves Europeans first, the E.U.'s prospects

for survival if it continues down its current path look bleak. "In the last 10 years, 15 years, when we speak about Europe, we speak only about crisis: the refugee crisis, budgetary crisis, financial crisis," says Charles Michel, the Prime Minister of Belgium. "It is now or never—we have to build a new European dream."

SO WHAT WAS the European dream of the past that today's voters seem to have lost sight of? In Rome on March 25, 1957, the leaders of Belgium, the Netherlands, France, West Germany, Italy and Luxembourg created the European Economic Community, a trading zone that would foster economic interdependency to prevent a return to the militaristic nationalism that had led to two world wars. The Treaty of Rome promised to "lay the foundations of an ever closer union," and the Maastricht Treaty, signed on Feb. 7, 1992, built upon them, setting out an almost utopian vision of a diverse geographical area united by a single currency, a common foreign policy and one citizenry, with people able to work freely across the bloc.

Twenty-five years on, it is clearer than ever that this imagined utopia does not exist. Yet the E.U.'s legislative body in Brussels and its member states have stubbornly built policy upon policy on the basis of an imagined perfect future, rather than on the realities of an imperfect present. The regulators got too far ahead of the regulated.

Take the euro: its creation in 1999 envisaged economic uniformity across a prosperous continent. But the reality saw a host of nations with different monetary cultures and policies trying to fit into a single currency with a fixed interest and exchange rate, fueling one of the worst economic crises in modern history. Similarly, the asylum policies forged by the E.U.'s lawmakers assumed that every member state would be equally equipped to house and process asylum seekers. That miscalculation became clear in 2015, when hundreds of thousands of people found themselves without food, medicine and shelter in Greece.

Perhaps it was always a tall order to build a system reliant on consensus rule among sovereign countries that span the spectrum of histories, beliefs and cultures. The E.U. today encompasses na-



tions ranging from Greece, where close to half of all young people are unemployed, to Germany, where that figure is 6%; from Poland, where 86% of people believe in some sort of God, to Sweden, where nearly two-thirds don't.

These wildly divergent views and situations have allowed populists to drive a wedge into the heart of the E.U., claiming to represent ordinary people against a liberal Brussels elite intruding on everything from resettling refugees to dictating the curviness of imported bananas. The E.U. "took away our identity and our national sovereignty," Wilders said in a recent interview with Christian broadcaster CBN News. "The end is near. Like the Roman Empire, it's gone."

THE EUROPEAN UNION'S leadership is aware that something is rotten in the state of Brussels. Jean-Claude Juncker, presi-



Migrants marooned in Belgrade, Serbia, just outside the E.U., on Jan. 11

dent of the European Commission—the executive branch of the E.U., which sets the bloc’s laws—tells *TIME* he believes there has been overreach by his body and others. “The European Union and the Commission were giving the impression that we are in command of everything,” he says. “We were trying to have influence in so many things which are better in the hands of national, local and regional authorities.”

Juncker says he has tried to address the public’s concerns, curbing interference in everyday policies. Since he began his tenure in 2014, the European Commission has introduced 23 new initiatives, compared with about 120 per year under his predecessor. Yet few people listen, he

says. “We are living in a postfactual world. Those who are criticizing the European Union ... are spontaneously believed,” he says. “When [we try] to explain, we are not reaching those we want to convince.”

He and 27 European heads of state will try to rectify that situation on March 25, at a meeting in Rome to try to draft a blueprint for the future. The most popular idea emerging ahead of the talks is a so-called multispeed E.U., in which a cadre of member states plow ahead with closer ties and naysayers sit outside “core Europe.” This option got powerful backing in February, when German Chancellor Angela Merkel spoke out in favor of it. Under this model, smaller groups of member states would set up their own coalitions to cooperate in areas like security, defense or social issues. That, however, would risk further alienating Eastern European nations. The head of Poland’s Law and Jus-

tice Party, Jaroslaw Kaczynski, told Polish media that it would lead to the “liquidation” of the union.

The most likely outcome is that the E.U. will keep on muddling from crisis to crisis in what Chris Bickerton, a politics lecturer at Cambridge University and author of *The European Union: A Citizen’s Guide*, calls “a long-term process of atrophy.” When the end comes, he suggests, it will be less like a volcanic eruption than like continental drift. “In 50 years’ time, you might realize that nothing that the E.U. was remains anymore, but you won’t ever have seen it happen.”

That might suit some in Europe. In the former mining town of Kerkrade, just over 20 miles from Maastricht, supporters of Wilders and his party describe the same kind of economic and social isolation felt by voters in the U.S. ahead of Trump’s victory, and in the U.K. before Brexit. “[I will vote] PVV not because I like Geert that much, but I don’t trust the other ones,” says Joseph Gaertner, 56, a former truck driver forced out of work by ill health. “When you listen to the debates, the other leaders, they don’t touch me anymore.” The E.U. is “a failure,” he adds. “It’s too slow, it’s not possible to make any decisions, it’s one big mess.”

What does the E.U. have to offer voters like Gaertner? Michel, the Belgian Prime Minister, says the bloc’s long-term survival rests on giving “concrete results for the people,” especially on security, migration and economic growth. But to succeed requires the kind of boldness so far mustered only by nationalist leaders. It’s unclear that the E.U. even has the mechanisms for the strong leadership needed to drive real change.

“Radical reform can only be done by either revolution or by very powerful institutions that are able to transform themselves,” says Bickerton. Neither condition is in place right now in the heart of Europe. Instead, the E.U. remains caught in its eternal bind: an institution that is in urgent need of reform has no capacity to carry it out and may not survive without it. While populists like Wilders and Le Pen are creating new visions for the future, traditional European powers are scrambling to uphold the lofty ideals of the past. If they can’t find a way to fit in with the new world order, they might not have much of a future at all. □



*Freelance miners
scramble down a
hill at a mine in
Hpakant, in the
heart of Myanmar's
jade country, to
scavenge for jade
stones*

World

BATTLING FOR BLOOD JADE

Myanmar's jade mines may yield great wealth—but they leave a long trail of death. An exclusive report

By Hannah Beech/Hpakant



When the earth collapsed, as it does nearly every day in the jade hills of Myanmar, Ye Min Naing was poised on a steep slope of rubble and scree. It was a rainy night six months ago, at the tail end of the monsoons. A truck with wheels the height of a man had just deposited loose stones at the edge of the mountain, sending hundreds of scavengers scrambling through the tailings in hopes of finding a precious lump of jade.

Ye Min Naing heard the landslide before he saw it, a bass note that rattled his bones like thunder. Then a friend working near him was swallowed by a surge of earth. Ye Min Naing was buried too. “Up to here,” the 28-year-old says, making a slashing motion at his neck.

Somehow fellow wildcat miners pulled him out, along with a 19-year-old who was left paralyzed by the accident. Three people, Ye Min Naing thinks, were killed, but who really knows? Like many deaths in the mines of Hpakant township in northern Myanmar (once known as Burma), this accident never appeared in the media. No bodies were recovered. Most freelance miners in these hills, which produce nearly every piece of the world’s finest jade, are drug-addicted migrants, strangers to one another and lost to their families. In the months since the landslide, the mass of stony waste at Hmaw Sisar, where Ye Min Naing still forages, has only grown more perilous. “We don’t know who is buried in there,” he says.

Man and rock exist in inverse value in the Himalayan foothills of Myanmar’s Kachin state, wedged between India and China. The rock—a translucent mass of sodium aluminum silicate known as

jadeite—is one of the world’s most coveted gems, chiefly among the Chinese, whose growing buying power has spurred record sales. The roughly 300,000 jade pickers who sift through the detritus left by larger mining operations are migrants whose lives are threatened by landslides, drug addiction and disease. Tying the precious stone to dispensable miners is a web of Burmese military-linked firms, Chinese companies, ethnic rebel commanders and drug kingpins wanted by the U.S. government. The stone of heaven, as it is known in China, is also fueling civil war between the Burmese military and ethnic Kachin guerrillas seeking self-rule. Jade comes in many hues, from the shade of a kingfisher’s throat to what the Chinese describe as “moss entangled with melting snow.” But for the people of Myanmar, it is stained, most of all, by blood.

Few countries’ economies are so bound to one resource. Global Witness, an international watchdog that monitors natural-resource exploitation, estimates that Myanmar’s jade trade was worth up to \$31 billion in 2014, nearly half the nation’s GDP that year. Yet the industry remains shrouded. The ethnic Kachin, though native to the jade hills, control few



of the mines. In the 1990s, the Kachin Independence Army (KIA), one of several ethnic armed groups fighting the state in Myanmar’s borderlands, lost control of territory around Hpakant.

Today most of the big concessions belong to companies or cronies connected to the Burmese military elite. Even as



the country has transitioned from five decades of military rule to semicivilian authority, jade has proved the limits of democratic governance. Most stones are smuggled over the border to neighboring China; only a fraction are subject to the tax needed to fill government coffers in one of Asia's poorest countries.

The scale of graft and unaccountability is such that Global Witness calls Myanmar's jade economy the "biggest natural-resource heist in modern history."

WHILE CONFLICT DIAMONDS have yielded Hollywood scripts and rap lyrics, jade has largely escaped international

Miners find a jade stone among the discarded tailings at a Hpakant quarry; the slopes are dangerous, and deadly landslides often occur

scrutiny. Last October, then U.S. President Barack Obama lifted sanctions on the importation of Burmese jade and rubies, which had been put in place because of the gem trade's abysmal reputation. The repeal was a reward for political reforms that had brought democracy activist Aung San Suu Kyi's National League for Democracy (NLD) party to power in 2016. Many civil-society and watchdog groups, however, were aghast, arguing that the jade industry is still rife with abuses. Though the Burmese government has signed on to a global transparency initiative for extractive industries, the reality in Kachin remains bleak. In fact, fear that Suu Kyi's administration may soon enforce safety standards and anticorruption regulations has only intensified the race to unearth Hpakant's green treasure. "They are digging so fast that jade will be gone in 20 years," says one small-concession holder. "Maybe even in 10 years."

The world's best jade mines are sealed off to nearly all foreigners. But I managed to access Hpakant to experience a place so beguiling to 18th century Chinese imperial envoys that hundreds perished en route in the malarial wilderness. The scenes before me look like a cross between a magnified ant farm and a *Star Wars* set. In the distance I spy what appear to be hundreds of tiny insects clinging to a hillside. As we drive closer, I realize they are men. Backhoes, excavators and giant



Township officials have recorded hundreds of deaths in jade-mining accidents over the past year and a half. But locals say the real number is many times that. And in the hills, the Burmese army and Kachin rebels continue to wage war. "If there was no jade, there would be no war in Kachin state," says Yup Zaw Hkawng, an ethnic Kachin who owned large mining concessions before the Burmese military wrested control of Hpakant. "We are living and sleeping on so much jade in our earth, but jade is Kachin's curse."

IT IS NIGHT at Hpakant's Kyauk Sein Nandaw mine, and I cannot see anything in front of me but the beams of dump trucks barreling toward us. The oversize

rocky debris clattering down the quarry. In the spotlight of my headlamp, I catch isolated images of terror: the whites of widened eyes, grasping limbs and swirls of dust from the tread of frightened feet. The alarm turns out to be false. But less than a month before, at least three people were killed by a landslide at this very mine. A video, recorded on a miner's cell phone, shows a 400-ft.-long avalanche of earth rolling over human figures.

For years, no Western journalist had reached Hpakant. (Burmese reporters have filed compelling stories.) Frequent checkpoints enforce a ban on foreigners—save Chinese buyers—as do military intelligence, special branch, immigration and other agencies of what, despite Myanmar's gradual shift from army to civilian rule, remains a police state. As photographer Adam Dean and I make our way back from Kyauk Sein Nandaw mine that night, the inevitable happens. Two trucks filled with soldiers, plus about a dozen security forces, are waiting for us.

During our detention, we are treated with courtesy. We notice that local officials are profiting from jade: one has raw stones rolling around in the trunk of his car. A calendar in the Hpakant immigration office features images of jade mines. After we are released, we are followed on our entire 16-hour road trip out of Hpakant: at every checkpoint and toll-booth, every transition from one township to another, even in parts of Myanmar that are not restricted for foreigners, someone tails us or photographs us. The effort involves hundreds of monitors.

Many of Myanmar's ministries may now be run by opposition leaders and former democracy activists. But the army that kept the country cowering for so long still exercises great power, especially in jade country. "If you keep the jade business in a black box and don't let any information get out, it's hard [for outsiders] to put pressure on the people that control the industry," says Juman Kubba, a senior campaigner at Global Witness who has spent years tracking the Burmese jade trade. Last year she was blocked from reaching Hpakant, even though she had permission to visit from the Myanmar Ministry of Natural Resources. In January, while on an in-country tour, Yanghee Lee, the U.N.'s human-rights envoy for Myanmar, also complained that she

Conflict diamonds have yielded Hollywood scripts and rap lyrics, but jade has largely escaped scrutiny

trucks maneuver through a lunar landscape like creatures from an alien planet. Hpakant was once the domain of tigers and verdant foliage. All I see is dust and brown. Where prospectors used to dig by hand, now explosives and heavy machinery, mostly imported U.S. or Chinese brands, are ripping the entrails out of jungle, demolishing entire mountains within months. Already, Hpakant is mostly dead.

Fatal accidents mount. Only the biggest, like a November 2015 landslide that killed about 200 miners, make headlines.

vehicles move in erratic lines to the edge of a cliff where they will disgorge stones considered too trifling for the big mines to bother sifting through. Shadows of men shift with the trucks' trajectory. Behind us, the hillsides are covered in pinpricks of light, each the flashlight of a freelance miner striking bits of rock with an iron pick, hoping to hear the distinctive ping that denotes a chunk of jadeite.

Suddenly, a shout goes out. A cacophony of voices magnifies the panic. Miners storm up over the brink of the precipice,



was prevented from going to Hpakant.

In jade country, I get a glimpse of what the industry wants to hide. Last July, the NLD government announced a moratorium on new mining licenses and a freeze on the renewals of existing ones. More than 2,000 mines were ordered to suspend operations while environmental-impact surveys were carried out. Yet miners and small-concession holders in Hpakant allege that some of the biggest—and best-connected—mines are still operating, even when they lack proper certification. “The NLD government has no power,” says Lamai Gum Ja, a Kachin community activist. “It’s like we have no government at all, so the military does what it likes.” At every mine I visit, I can see that safety rules—such as efforts to license wildcat miners and limit the height

*Miner Thein Than Myo, 33,
a recovering heroin addict, is
HIV-positive and lives at a hospice
in the capital of Kachin state*

and gradient of slag heaps in order to prevent fatal landslides—are being flouted. “Before, this area was so beautiful,” says another small-mine owner in Hpakant. “Now it’s turning into hell.”

Sequestered from the outside world, Hpakant radiates a gold-rush lawlessness. Unexplained killings occur with regularity. While we are there, a schoolteacher is shot in the head. The day before, a jade trader died from an executioner’s bullet. Last year bombs exploded at the headquarters of two mining companies. In November, a jade scavenger at Hmaw

Sisar mine was shot dead by military intelligence or the KIA, depending on who’s telling the story. “There is no real law in Hpakant,” says one of the immigration officers holding us, with a touch of apology. “We don’t know who to trust.”

The Wild West atmospherics are heightened by the ongoing fighting between the Tatmadaw, as the Burmese military is known, and the KIA. The largely Christian Kachin have long chafed at rule by the Buddhist Bamar ethnic majority. It is a point of pride among these frontier people that while some Bamar initially collaborated with the Japanese during World War II, the Kachin fought on the Allied side, stringing on necklaces the ears of slain Japanese. In 2011, a 17-year cease-fire with the Burmese government, which is facing renewed fighting in various

ethnic strongholds, collapsed. Skirmishes flare near Hpakant; more than 100,000 Kachin have been forced to flee their homes. So thick is the jungle near the jade mines that the KIA uses elephants to resupply its forward bases. The land is stippled with land mines. One day, near Nant Yan village, we see a column of young Tatmadaw recruits, oversize helmets askew on their heads, creeping toward enemy territory. In February, the KIA claimed that the Burmese military had launched an offensive near Hpakant, even as Suu Kyi was pushing ethnic armed groups to sign a national cease-fire agreement.

Both sides in the conflict are using jade to fill their war chests. Jade scavengers, most of whom are not ethnic Kachin, complain that since the fighting intensified, the KIA has raised the levy it makes them pay for selling stones to middlemen. “The KIA say it’s their land, so we have to give them money,” says Aung Thar Tun, a jade picker at Kayin Gyaung mine who lives under a sheet of tarpaulin with his 15-year-old nephew, another scavenger. “If we don’t pay and their informers find out, they will shoot us.”

High-level KIA officials acknowledged to me that taxes on jade are the armed group’s primary source of funds. But it is the Tatmadaw and its cronies that are reaping far greater rewards from Kachin’s jeweled heritage. A 2015 Global Witness report compiling evidence of the companies that control many of the major jade mines in Hpakant reads like a *Who’s Who* of the military elite and its families, including former junta leader Than Shwe and ex–northern command chief Ohn Myint. Conglomerates linked to the army, with generic names like the Union of Myanmar Economic Holdings and Myanmar Economic Corp., hold jade concessions. Both companies were subject to U.S. sanctions until last fall. A rising player in Hpakant, locals say, is Wei Hsueh-kang, a commander of the United Wa State Army, Myanmar’s biggest ethnic armed group. The U.S. State Department is offering up to \$2 million as a reward for his arrest because it considers the Wa “the dominant heroin trafficking group in Southeast Asia, and possibly worldwide.”

FOR ALL THEIR POWER, local companies, whether Bamar or ethnic, are often proxies for Chinese firms that cannot legally

own mines, say industry researchers and Hpakant concession holders. So deep is the China connection that the Mandarin word for boss, *laoban*, has entered the Hpakant vocabulary. “Of all the hairs on the head of the jade industry,” says one small-mine owner, “only one strand is Burmese. The rest are all Chinese.” There is a growing sense of frustration in Myanmar that China may be stealing its patrimony. In recent years, demonstrations have erupted over a Chinese-controlled dam project and copper mine. But because the jade business is so opaque, it’s hard for Burmese to know what to protest against. “Everyone knows the Chinese control almost all the jade mines,” says Lamai Gum Ja, the Kachin activist who is also involved in the trade. “We know this, but we can’t do anything about it.”

In Hpakant’s Lone Khin village, Chinese buyers flock to the largest open-air jade market in the world. Beijing’s anti-corruption campaign has led to a drop in jade prices, as conspicuous consumption takes on political risk, but there are still plenty of speculators. Scavengers sidle up, dirty palms clutching dirty rocks. Every sale is a gamble. Chunks of jadeite—as opposed to the more common nephrite, which is considered an inferior jade—resemble mud-colored eggs. Buyers try their best to divine what’s within, carefully tapping a stone or holding a flashlight to the shell to check what colors glow beneath. None of these transactions will be recorded by any government.

If a buyer is unlucky, a fault line will mar the clarity. But the value of the finest jade can rival that of diamonds. In 2014, a necklace of 27 beads, once owned by Woolworth heiress Barbara Hutton, sold at auction for \$27 million, more than double the estimate. In a catalog note, Sotheby’s enthused that the beads were “round and succulent in shape and color, like mouth-watering grapes under warm sunlight, glowing through their thin skins, exuberant and mellow, elating the spirit of whoever set eyes on them.”

Such passion for jade helps explain why in less than a decade the number of wildcat miners in Hpakant has roughly doubled, as more mountains are reduced to rubble ready for prospecting. Drug use and disease, too, have soared. Hpakant residents estimate that heroin addiction afflicts 75% to 90% of the jade-pickers.



And the needles are almost always shared. Thein Than Myo worked at Hmaw Sisar mine for 12 years. Even after he discovered he was HIV-positive, he kept on using, scavenging needles from the ground of shooting galleries. One Kachin NGO says that up to half of all Hpakant miners will eventually contract the virus.



In December, Thein Than Myo checked into a Catholic HIV shelter in the Kachin state capital, Myitkyina. A few weeks into his antiretroviral regimen, he feels better and vows to return to Hpakant. When I tell him I met a miner at Hmaw Sisar who had been buried up to his neck a few months before, he shrugs. “I saw people

die in front of me,” he says. “People always die in the mines.” But that does not stop him from dreaming. There is always a tale of a friend of a friend who made impossible riches from Kachin’s jade hills. “I will go one last time,” Thein Than Myo says. “I can still make my fortune.” —With reporting by SAW NANG/HPAKANT □

Traders at a market in Mandalay, a city in central Myanmar, use flashlights to examine the color of the jade being sold and to check for cracks

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Time Off

'HIS LAST RELEASE WAS THE MOST-STREAMED ALBUM OF 2014.' —PAGE 53



The king of Kong: Skull Island is an ape who just wants to protect the humans in his threatened domain

MOVIES

A grand, nutty and visually splendid *Kong: Skull Island*

By Stephanie Zacharek

THE PRODUCER DINO DE LAURENTIIS, a loopy genius who knew a thing or two about big-screen great apes, once said of his own 1976 *King Kong* star, “When the monkey die, people gonna cry.” Fortunately, the monkey in Jordan Vogt-Roberts’ exhilarating and pleasingly strange fantasy-adventure *Kong: Skull Island* doesn’t suffer the same fate. Instead, this Kong looms large as a protector of the weak and a steward of the natural world. He’s the king of all he surveys. As in the original, that’s a mysterious, lost-in-time island, one that an ambitious explorer—played by John Goodman, in full wheeling-dealing mode—is hell-bent on exposing to the world.

Tagging along are valiant combat photographer Mason Weaver (Brie Larson, radiant in that 1970s Bonne

Bell no-makeup way) and studly-but-elegant soldier of fortune James Conrad (played by studly-but-elegant Tom Hiddleston). There’s also a military escort, led by an army officer spoiling for a fight, played by Samuel L. Jackson—it’s 1973, in the waning days of the Vietnam conflict, and he’s still smarting from the effects of a war that couldn’t be won. His bad attitude spells trouble, especially when he crosses a certain beast of distinction.

Kong: Skull Island isn’t a remake of an earlier *King Kong* movie, but more of a reimagining. If this Kong has one problem, it’s this: there are too many humans. The sprawling ensemble includes a duo of science types (Corey Hawkins and Jing Tian) and a gaggle of soldiers, the most distinctive among them played by Toby Kebbell.

(Kebbell portrayed a motion-capture primate in *Dawn of the Planet of the Apes*—he contributed a few facial expressions to Kong’s repertoire in this film, but the character is played chiefly by movement coach Terry Notary.)

Kong: Skull Island is still great fun, if occasionally in a slightly sadistic way. Some scenes, featuring prehistoric-type critters chomping on humans, may be too intense for really little kids. But for big kids, why not? Vogt-Roberts—who has worked extensively in TV, on shows like *You’re the Worst* and *Single Dads*—has both a sense of humor and an understanding of what we want from a creature feature. The picture is grand and nutty and visually splendid: Vogt-Roberts knows he’s gotta go big or go home, so he treads boldly, even channeling an *Apocalypse Now* vibe when military choppers whirl, with ill intent, over Kong’s tropical paradise.

Vogt-Roberts knows what to do with actors too. John C. Reilly is wonderful as Hank Marlow, a World War II pilot who’s been stranded on the island for years, living contentedly but somewhat forlornly among its natives, a tribe of sober, generous, silent people. (Vogt-Roberts gives them a resplendent entrance: their painted faces and bodies emerge, trompe l’oeil-style, from a formation of similarly decorated rocks.) Marlow is only slightly off his rocker; mostly he’s a whiskery, mellow charmer. When he gets a gander at pretty photographer Mason, he tells her, solemnly, “You are more beautiful than a hot dog and a can of beer at Wrigley Field on opening day,” his eyes glowing like state-fair pinwheels.

But there can be only one king of *Kong: Skull Island*, and you already know who that is. This Kong protects the humans of his island—the deserving ones, that is—from its many dangers. Striding through this neverland’s lush dream-world foliage, he’s the principal dancer in his own primeval ballet, leathery of chest and furry of butt. His brow is broad, flat and noble. His eyes hold both the warmth and sadness of a million suns, or maybe just the memory of the giant banana he may have eaten for breakfast—but no matter what, he’s the movie’s soulful center. Kong lives. But he still might make you cry. □

A monstrous legacy

Through nearly nine decades and almost as many major studio movies, the enormous, tortured ape has moved the dial on special effects time and again



KING KONG, 1933

The first Kong was a feat of stop-motion animation. **Footage of puppets**—no bigger than 2 ft. tall and constructed from ball-and-socket joints and rabbit fur—was combined with live-action shots using techniques like double exposure and matte painting, with one minute of film taking as long as 150 hours to produce.



KING KONG, 2005

Peter Jackson’s 24-ft. ape relied heavily on motion capture with a healthy dose of CG animation. Actor Andy Serkis traveled to Rwanda to **study the behavior of gorillas**, then performed Kong’s scenes in a special suit with dozens of optical markers—132 alone on his face—that recorded his gestures and expressions.



KING KONG VS. GODZILLA, 1962

Through a process called suitmation, developed by special-effects innovator Eiji Tsuburaya for the first *Godzilla* movie, Kong was revived by a **man in a rubber gorilla suit** moving through small-scale models that made him appear larger. The actors who played both monsters drew inspiration from professional wrestlers.



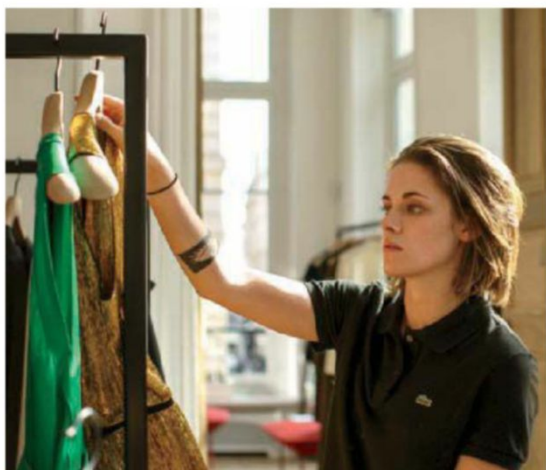
KONG: SKULL ISLAND, 2017

The new Kong is a throwback to the 1933 version, visually referencing that movie’s classic monster look. Though motion-capture sessions contributed to his visage, the 100-ft. monster came to life through computer animation. The biggest challenge: his fur. Animators spent a year designing his **19 million digital hairs**.

KING KONG, 1976

This ambitious remake went big with a 40-ft. mechanical Kong, covered in horse hair and controlled by hydraulics. But its construction was plagued with cost overruns and on-set mishaps, and the robotic ape was used in less than one minute of the final cut. The rest of the footage relied on an **actor in a gorilla suit who used a series of masks** to convey different emotions, and mechanical hands big enough to hold actor Jessica Lange.





Fashionably spooky: Stewart navigates the ateliers of Paris while investigating a ghostly presence

MOVIES

Kristen Stewart sets *Personal Shopper* ablaze

KRISTEN STEWART WON A CESAR—THE FRENCH equivalent of an Oscar—for her role opposite Juliette Binoche in Olivier Assayas' 2014 *Clouds of Sils Maria*. The Assayas-Stewart partnership blossoms further with *Personal Shopper*, a shivery-gorgeous story about grief, ghosts and beautiful clothes. Stewart's character, Maureen, is an American living in Paris, doing a seemingly cool job that she hates: running errands for a very busy, very snooty French actress. She desperately wants to communicate with her twin brother, who has recently died. That quest puts her in contact with something that appears to be a real ghost. Even if it's not, this angry specter-apparent is as spooky as anything in Robert Wise's 1963 classic chiller *The Haunting*. Assayas, the last guy you'd expect to be a special-effects whiz, turns out to be a subtle genius in this department.

Stewart is both laid-back and ablaze here. Her eyes can be as alert as a tiger's, but more often they assay the world with the cool, lazy blink of a lizard. At one point, in an act of sultry defiance, she secretly tries on one of her boss's costly dresses, trussing her tomboy-flapper figure in a faux-bondage harness draped with a floating layer of black chiffon. Soft and strong, she's garçon and femme, boy and woman, at once. You wouldn't call her gamine—that's too cute, too in-between, and Stewart is definitive. She knows exactly who she is: her allure is that she always keeps us guessing.

—S.Z.

QUICK TALK

Lisa Kudrow

The actor, writer and producer, 53, stars opposite Anna Kendrick and Craig Robinson in Table 19, a comedy about a group of misfit wedding guests who may not have been all that welcome.

Have you ever sat at the misfit table?

After doing this movie, I realized I've always been at Table 19. I just never knew it. I've always been far from the band and near the exit and the bathroom, and just thought, Hey, lucky me!

Some of your most famous characters lack self-awareness.

Is that fun to play? That's the funniest thing. People who have no idea how they're coming off. They think they're pulling something off and they're not at all. And maybe that's me. Maybe that's just one of my fears.

A lot of fans would like to see more from your old characters—especially Phoebe from *Friends*. Are there any you'd revisit? Valerie Cherish [from *The Comeback*], always. But Phoebe, I don't know. The problem with a *Friends* reunion is that that whole show was about these adults—but not really—and their relationships at that stage. I don't know how it would be if they're all in a completely different stage.

Did you ever imagine, when your satirical fake-reality-TV show *The Comeback* began in 2005, how ubiquitous reality TV would become? And become a staple of our culture? That's the part I thought was alarming. It's not just accepted but embraced as the new normal way to behave. I don't understand the world. And it makes me feel old. Now I feel like the world is a reality show.

Do you secretly enjoy watching any reality-TV shows? Not even secretly—I watch a lot of it! I'm just fascinated. On *The Bachelor*, “I don't think they're here for the right reasons” is code for, “They just want to be on TV.” But you all do!

—ELIZA BERMAN

ON MY RADAR

SCHITT'S CREEK

“It's hilarious! Oh my God, they're all so good. Catherine O'Hara is unbelievable. Eugene Levy and [his son] Dan Levy—so talented.”









Stand-up finds a home on Netflix

By Ashley Hoffman

WHEN *THE LEATHER SPECIAL* HIT NETFLIX MARCH 7, AMY SCHUMER became the latest comic powerhouse to release a set on the streaming service. Netflix is now a showcase for both emerging and established stars. More specials, from comedic heavyweights Chris Rock, Sarah Silverman and Jerry Seinfeld, are set for release later this year. Here are some of the best shows available today:



COMIC	AMY SCHUMER <i>The Leather Special</i> (March 7)	AZIZ ANSARI <i>Live at Madison Square Garden</i> (March 6, 2015)	ALI WONG <i>Baby Cobra</i> (May 5, 2016)	HANNIBAL BURESS <i>Comedy Camisado</i> (Feb. 5, 2016)	JOHN MULANEY <i>The Comeback Kid</i> (Nov. 13, 2015)	LOUIS CK <i>Live at the Comedy Store</i> (Aug. 15, 2016)
TRADEMARK APPROACH	The wildly popular comedian has built an empire with a hit sketch-TV show, hugely successful tours and a burgeoning film career. A year after her HBO special, Schumer doubles down on her style with more of her signature material, including frank musings about sex, womanhood and identity.	Bounding across the stage, the <i>Parks and Recreation</i> scene-stealer—who's since earned accolades as the creator and star of Netflix's <i>Master of None</i> —laces his observational humor with sharp insights about dating, sexual harassment and our obsession with smartphones.	The actor and <i>Fresh Off the Boat</i> writer roars through her scabrous breakout set, and it's clear that she relishes every line. Her main targets: feminism (she's more into lying down than leaning in), her husband and racial stereotypes.	Toggling between random slices of life and winding hypotheticals, the skeptic delivers jokes about subjects ranging from absurd rules for checking IDs to his rising fame: the comedian's viral 2014 bit spurred national media coverage of sexual-assault allegations against Bill Cosby.	The former <i>Saturday Night Live</i> writer—he's perhaps best known for creating the bizarre club kid Stefon with former cast member Bill Hader—plays life's randomness for laughs in a razor-sharp show that's filled to the brim with pop-culture references. (<i>The Fugitive</i> 's one-armed man gets a shout-out.)	The comedy auteur revolutionized the stand-up special when he sold his work directly to fans for \$5 in 2011. In this set, he wrings belly laughs out of his dark reality, diving deep into intellectual black holes about exceptionalism, racism vs. sexism and why life is just eating until you die.
YOU'LL LAUGH IF	You're ready for a raucous party full of gross-out humor, tempered by occasional moments where Schumer shows her heart.	You like your political commentary to be delivered with breakneck enthusiasm and infectious energy by one of the comedy world's most versatile voices.	You enjoy running jokes about pregnancy—Wong was not far from giving birth when she filmed this special—and her passion for doing nothing.	You love wisecracks that elevate low-stakes slights to high-stakes drama. Buress goes long on everything from customer-service injustices to deviled eggs.	You dig drawn-out tales that build to big payoffs, like the one about how his father prepared him for a lifetime of endless disappointment.	You like it when he files meandering complaints on the pain of his existence and the insufferable characters he encounters—all delivered, of course, with a maniacal grin.
SEE ALSO	 JEN KIRKMAN <i>I'm Gonna Die Alone (And I Feel Fine)</i> (2015)	 WYATT CENAC <i>Brooklyn</i> (2014)	 CHELSEA PERETTI <i>One of the Greats</i> (2014)	 TODD BARRY <i>The Crowd Work Tour</i> (2013)	 ZACH GALIFIANAKIS <i>Live at the Purple Onion</i> (2005)	 RICHARD PRYOR <i>Live in Concert</i> (1979)

SCHUMER, ANSARI, WONG, BURESS, MULANEY: NETFLIX; CK: PAUL KOESTNER—PIG NEWTON; KIRKMAN, CENAC, PERETTI, MURPHY, GALIFIANAKIS, PRYOR: GETTY IMAGES



MUSIC

A global hit machine scores again

THE ENGLISH SINGER-SONGWRITER Ed Sheeran occupies a funny place in the pop ecosystem. His best-known songs are for the most part folk-inflected, delicate creations in the tradition of Bob Dylan and Eric Clapton, but he has written hits for One Direction, toured with pop monoliths like Taylor Swift and routinely tops charts. His last release, 2014's *x*, was the most-streamed album in the world that year. Like his fellow British tunesmith Adele, he's built an empire within the contemporary pop machine on the basis of old-fashioned songcraft and simple sonic palettes, though he's less of a purist than she is. Sheeran raps on some of his songs, and the past few years have seen him team up with drum-and-bass outfit Rudimental as well as gloomy R&B sybarite the Weeknd for collaborations. Not bad for a guy with a guitar who just turned 26.

Sheeran's new album is called ÷ (pronounced Divide), and it finds him enjoying the freedom to experiment from his perch at the top. Lead single "Shape of You," which gave Sheeran his first No. 1 on the *Billboard* Hot 100, is a slinky earworm with more erotic charge than that of his first two albums put together: "I'm in love with your body," he purrs

HITMAKER

Sheeran's Grammy-winning single "Thinking Out Loud" became the first song to be played 500 million times on Spotify



over a Caribbean-lite beat. "Castle on the Hill," released concurrently, doesn't even sound like the same artist; it's a nostalgic pop-rock anthem with buoyant drums that sees him opining wistfully about his misspent youth. If this strategy reads as overly slick—one radio smash for the kids, another for their parents—it still proves his range.

He pulls off that same trick elsewhere on ÷, shifting from sentimentality to swagger on a hairpin curve. Album standout "New Man" is a withering, finely detailed takedown of an ex's slick new boyfriend, and Sheeran indulges himself with a thoroughly ridiculous Gaelic rap song, "Galway Girl." But at times the production is so heavy it can bury the songs. He finds the sweet spot on ballads like the heartbroken "Happier," which features some of his sharpest and most elegant songwriting yet as it swells to a dramatic finish. There, he doesn't sound like a pop star—just a guy with a guitar. —SAM LANSKY

TIME PICKS

BOOKS

In *The Idiot* (March 14), Elif Batuman pays homage to the classic Dostoyevsky text by the same name in her own novel about a daughter of Turkish immigrants who falls for an older Hungarian math student at Harvard because of the great emails he writes.



MUSIC

Married indie rockers Alaina Moore and Patrick Riley of *Tennis* take a sailboat trip off Mexico's coast on *Yours Conditionally* (March 10), an album filled with dreamy songs about gender and identity.

MOVIES

Jim Broadbent and Charlotte Rampling star as long-lost lovers who reunite late in life in *The Sense of an Ending* (March 10), based on the novel by Julian Barnes.

TELEVISION

Gillian Jacobs and Paul Rust return as the unlikely couple in Los Angeles in Judd Apatow's Netflix series *Love* (March 10), about a self-destructive girl and her geeky beau.



Gina Prince-Bythewood, filmmaker

The writer-director of the new show *Shots Fired* takes on race, police shootings and the lack of Hollywood movies about powerful women of color

“EVERY PROJECT I DO STARTS WITH AN IMAGE,” SAYS filmmaker Gina Prince-Bythewood. “For this script, the first image that came to me was a black woman standing in front of a house, looking in as another woman mothers her child—and she’s got a gun in her hand.”

Prince-Bythewood’s new limited series, *Shots Fired*, premieres on March 22 on Fox. In the first episode, a black police officer shoots and kills a white teenager in a fictional North Carolina town, spurring an investigation that raises profound questions about race, justice and a divided

America. Prince-Bythewood says Fox reached out to her in the wake of the Ferguson, Mo., protests about writing a series on police shootings in the Black Lives Matter era. For an independent filmmaker, a forum that big was too valuable to pass up. “It’s not enough to preach to the choir,” she says. “You have to speak to everybody.”

Prince-Bythewood, 47 and a California native, is one of only a

few directors who makes films about flawed but empowered women of color, starting with her acclaimed feature debut, *Love & Basketball*, and more recently with *Beyond the Lights*. “I grew up an athlete, so the women in my world were strong and fierce and ambitious, and that was a good thing,” she says. “A lot of girls are taught the opposite: aggression is bad.”

IN THE NEW SHOW, Justice Department investigator Ashe (*Love & Basketball* star Sanaa Lathan) and lawyer Preston (Stephan James) look into the shooting—but they soon learn that the police department seems to be covering up the death of a black teen murdered a few weeks earlier. Prince-Bythewood, who wrote the series with her husband Reggie Rock Bythewood, believed that focusing on two murders—one white, the other black—would allow them to show the different ways in which law enforcement and media treat victims based on their race. “We have two black boys, and these shootings affect us every time—we think of our kids,” she says. “We wanted to show a character audiences could empathize with.”

The writers and actors did extensive research, including meeting with Wanda Johnson, the mother of Oscar Grant, an unarmed black man who was fatally shot in Oakland, Calif., and Ray Kelly, the former New York City police commissioner who

IRONS IN THE FIRE

Prince-Bythewood directed the pilot for the new Marvel series *Cloak & Dagger*

Her next film will be an adaptation of Roxane Gay’s novel *An Untamed State*, starring Gugu Mbatha-Raw

defended the controversial stop-and-frisk policy. Perhaps their most fruitful meeting was with Eric Holder, a former U.S. Attorney General and a sort of blueprint for the character of Preston. Holder spoke about the emotional and moral impact of being a black man who, for a long time, put away black men for a living. “He’s unafraid to address what was going on in the country racially,” says Prince-Bythewood.

For Ashe, Prince-Bythewood drew from stories of real policewomen, including a former L.A. cop who spent her first year on the job patrolling with an older white man who refused to speak to her because of her race and gender. Ashe also has anger-management issues and is fighting for the custody of her daughter—tropes more typical of male officers on shows like *Law & Order: SVU* and *Luther*.

PRINCE-BYTHEWOOD’S own tenacity helps her to thrive in Hollywood, but she still has to fight for her movies about black women to get made. “Otherwise, we remain invisible,” she says. Even once her movies hit theaters, they’re often marketed to a limited audience. When *Beyond the Lights*, a romantic drama about a recording artist who falls in love with a police officer, was released to widespread critical acclaim in 2014, she objected to Netflix’s categorizing it with other black films instead of with romances. “I want people of color to be in every genre: westerns, sci-fi, love stories. Why shouldn’t *Beyond the Lights* be marketed like *The Notebook*?” she says. “As an artist, you hope to create something everyone can identify with.”

—ELIANA DOCKTERMAN



MATT PEYTON—AP



As usual, you saw that coming.

There are a lot of things that are easy to see coming, like man buns and homemade kombucha going out of style, but some things are a little harder to detect. Like that pedestrian unexpectedly jaywalking. That's why **Toyota Safety Sense™ P**,¹ including a Pre-Collision System² with Pedestrian Detection,³ comes standard on the new 2017 Corolla.

The New 2017
COROLLA
Toyota Safety Sense™ Standard

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If You Paid for the Antibiotic Cipro in California You Could Get Money from a Class Action Settlement

A partial Settlement has been reached in a class action lawsuit involving the antibiotic drug Cipro. The lawsuit claims that Bayer Corporation, Barr Laboratories, Inc., Hoechst Marion Roussel, Inc., Watson Pharmaceuticals, Inc., and The Rugby Group, Inc. (the "Defendants") violated antitrust and consumer protection laws by agreeing not to compete with each other and keeping lower cost generic versions of Cipro off the market. The Defendants deny this. No one is claiming that Cipro is unsafe or ineffective.

WHAT DOES THE SETTLEMENT PROVIDE?

Barr Laboratories, Inc. has agreed to pay \$225 million into a Settlement Fund (the "Fund"). After deducting attorneys' fees, costs, and other fees and expenses, the Fund will be distributed to Class members who file valid claims. Payments will be based on the number of valid claims filed and how much you paid for Cipro. It is estimated that consumers will receive at least \$25 each. The Settlement Agreement, available at the website www.CiproSettlement.com, contains more details. The Settlement Agreement involves only Barr Laboratories, Inc. The Other Defendants previously settled.

WHO IS INCLUDED?

Generally you are included if you paid a pharmacy, doctor's office, or hospital for some or all of a Cipro prescription in California between January 8, 1997 and December 31, 2005.

Excluded from the Class are all persons who obtained Cipro through MediCal Prescription Drug Program, anyone who purchased Cipro in order to resell it, governmental entities, the Defendants and their related entities, all purchasers of Cipro who paid a flat co-payment and who would have paid the same co-payment for a generic substitute under the terms of their health insurance policy, and all persons or parties that have excluded themselves from the Class.

HOW TO GET A PAYMENT

Class Members must submit a Claim Form to get a payment. If you previously submitted a Claim Form, visit the website www.CiproSettlement.com for information regarding whether you need to file anything else in order to receive a share of this settlement. If you have not yet filed a Claim Form, instructions on how to complete and submit a Claim Form are available at www.CiproSettlement.com or by calling 1-866-404-0135. The deadline to submit a Claim Form is **May 31, 2017**.

YOUR OTHER RIGHTS AND OPTIONS

If you are a Class Member, your right to exclude yourself from the Class (to opt out) expired in 2004, when the Class was certified and the original notice was disseminated. You may comment on or object to the proposed Settlement. To do so, you must act by **April 5, 2017**. Details on how to comment or object are at www.CiproSettlement.com.

The Court will hold a hearing on **April 21, 2017** to consider whether to finally approve the Settlement and whether to approve Class Counsel's application for attorneys' fees of up to one third of the Settlement Fund, plus expenses, and service awards for the Class Representatives.

FOR MORE INFORMATION AND A CLAIM FORM

Visit: www.CiproSettlement.com
Call 1-866-404-0135

Hamid's
The Reluctant
Fundamentalist
was adapted for
a film starring
Riz Ahmed



FICTION

Love in the time of refugees

By Sarah Begley

THE LOVE STORY AT THE CENTER OF MOHSIN HAMID'S *Exit West* begins with a familiar premise: boy meets girl, boy dines with girl, boy goes to bed with girl, romance ensues. But this boy, Saeed, and this girl, Nadia, happen to live in an unnamed country on the verge of civil war.

As in the real world, the refugees in this book flee to Western nations, often stopping over in countries with marginal economies. Unlike in the real world, they reach each destination through enchanted doors that magically and painfully transport them. "It was said in those days that the passage was both like dying and being born," Hamid writes, "and indeed Nadia experienced a kind of extinguishing as she entered the blackness and a gasping struggle as she fought to exit it."

In Hamid's previous novels, including *Moth Smoke* (2000), *The Reluctant Fundamentalist* (2007) and *How to Get Filthy Rich in Rising Asia* (2013), the personal is the geopolitical. *Exit West* is no different. Nadia and Saeed worry about protecting themselves from anti-migrant vigilantes, but they also worry about charging their mobile phones, and revel in the pleasure of soft towels after months without a proper shower. *Exit West* stands apart, however, because its timing feels so urgent: while Americans debate who should be welcomed at the country's gates and who should be turned away, caricatures abound in the public discourse. But here are two people whose love story nevertheless feels universal. In stoic prose and with profound insight, Hamid offers a plea for readers to view Nadia and Saeed as a couple like any other. Their society eventually finds a peaceable way to operate those doors; maybe ours can too. □



CLOSE TO HOME

Hamid never names his protagonists' city, but clues suggest it's based on his native Lahore, Pakistan

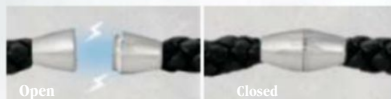
MY DEAR SON, MAY GOD ALWAYS PROTECT YOU AND GIVE YOU STRENGTH

✦ Hand-crafted in Braided
Genuine Leather and
Solid Stainless Steel

✦ Etched Diamond-shaped
Cross Set with a Genuine
Black Sapphire



Finely etched on the reverse side with: *My Dear Son,
May God always protect you and give you strength.*



Unique stainless steel **MAGNETIC** clasp makes it
easy to open and close the bracelet.

A Distinctive Expression of Faith

Your son is the source of countless moments of joy and pride. And with the love of family and the guiding presence of faith, you know he will continue to grow strong. Now, your son can carry a powerful reminder that God is always there to protect and provide strength, with a distinctive new jewelry exclusive.

Genuine Leather, Solid Stainless Steel and Genuine Black Sapphire

A meaningful expression of faith and your love, the *"Protection and Strength for My Son" Bracelet* is superbly crafted in an original jewelry design. It features a handsome braided genuine leather bracelet. At the center, a cylinder in durable solid stainless steel reveals a diamond-shaped cross set with a

rare genuine black sapphire. The reverse side of the cylinder is finely etched with the uplifting sentiment, *"My Dear Son, May God always protect you and give you strength."* Sized 8½" to fit most wrists, it has a unique stainless steel magnetic clasp, making the bracelet easy to put on or take off.

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This custom-crafted bracelet is a remarkable value at \$79*, payable in 4 convenient installments of just \$19.75 and is backed by our unconditional 120-day guarantee. It arrives in a jewelry pouch and gift box along with a Certificate of Authenticity. To reserve yours, send no money now; just mail the Priority Reservation. This limited-time offer is only available from The Bradford Exchange. So don't delay... Order today!

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Mrs. Mr. Ms. _____

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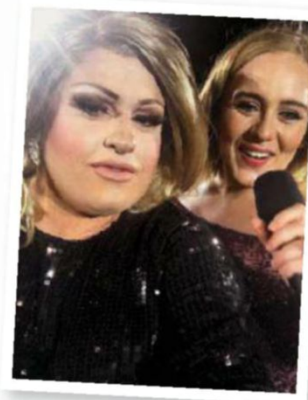
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A 5-year-old girl from Oklahoma became the **youngest person ever to qualify for the Scripps National Spelling Bee** after correctly spelling *jnana*, a Sanskrit word for “knowledge,” at a regional competition.



Singer-songwriter **Lorde** released “*Green Light*,” her first single in over **two years**, which friend and fan Taylor Swift declared a “magnificent bop for the ages.”



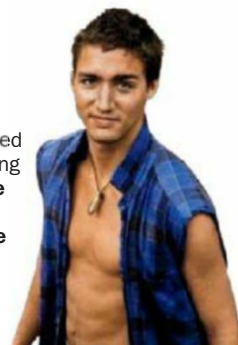
Even Adele was impressed by Adele drag impersonator **Feminem**, whom the pop star invited to join her onstage at a show in Perth, Australia.

‘I was doing Vegas when they were in rompers.’

CHER, after being asked whether Britney Spears or Jennifer Lopez had given her advice about her Las Vegas residency



Photos of a young Justin Trudeau surfaced on the Internet, leading to yet **another wave of swooning over the Canadian Prime Minister.**



**LOVE IT
LEAVE IT**

TIME'S WEEKLY TAKE ON

WHAT POPPED IN CULTURE



Matt Damon's action movie *The Great Wall* is reportedly **set to lose \$75 million at the box office**, a major blow for the biggest U.S.-China production ever.



Jimmy Buffett is opening a retirement village in Daytona Beach, Fla., for “those looking to live the Margaritaville lifestyle as they grow older.”

At Paris Fashion Week, Japanese design house Comme des Garçons' **collection appeared to be influenced by laundry lint.**



Rod Stewart apologized after a **video in which he pretends to behead a man in the desert**, which some found reminiscent of ISIS propaganda killings, was posted to his wife's Instagram.



A movie theater in Alabama **will not screen Disney's upcoming *Beauty and the Beast* remake** because it features a gay character.

SPELLING BEE: AP; ADELE: INSTAGRAM; TRUDEAU: TWITTER; BEAUTY AND THE BEAST: DISNEY; THE GREAT WALL: UNIVERSAL; CHER, LORDE, BUFFETT: COMME DES GARÇONS (2); STEWART: GETTY IMAGES



Dear *Evan Hansen*, thanks for finding us. We've been waiting for a musical like you

By **Susanna Schrobsdorff**

DEAR EVAN HANSEN IS A HEART-SCORCHING MUSICAL about a teen boy so bound up by anxiety and loneliness that he makes mistakes he can't fix and gets stuck in the quicksand of social-media adulation. But eventually, he finds a way to leave self-loathing behind. It's also about parents reaching for their kids as they disappear into their phones and laptops. And it's about the struggle to connect in an era when it seems as if we're all awash in emotional hyperbole online and off.

Sounds like a fun time, right? In fact, the play, which has become a huge hit on Broadway since it opened there in December, is cathartic and real and often so funny it's hard to believe that the catalytic event is the suicide of a kid we barely meet. The songs were written by Benj Pasek and Justin Paul, the pair who just won an Oscar for their work on *La La Land*. This music reaches a generation that can seem jaded or desensitized having come of age with access to the entire world's pain and tribulations in the palm of their hand.

Ask one of the many teenagers in the audience if the play seems authentic and they can barely get the words out. They say things like, "I'm in shock, it's so good." And often, right behind them, is a parent who's also feeling undone. I lost it in the first act when the two stellar actors who play mothers of teens sing about feeling totally unqualified for the job of being a parent. "Does anybody have a map?" they cry. "Anybody maybe happen to know how the hell to do this?"

That struggle feels like a hallmark of this particular moment in history. How do you learn to raise the first generation for whom the virtual world is just as important as their physical lives? There's no precedent. How do you navigate it as a kid? No one knows how it'll all work out. But one thing is clear, this complicates the traditional parent-teen disconnect. We parents will never understand what it's like to grow up with two selves, one that must be constantly tended online and another that might be very different.

TAKE TERESA HALL, who brought her daughter Avery from the Dallas area to New York City for her sweet-16 birthday. "I have two teenagers. You ask them every day, Are you O.K.? They always say, I'm good, I'm good, I'm good. But you never know. You don't want to push them, you want them to open up on their own terms. But they don't usually come to you."

In a show about feeling isolated, moments when characters are able to bridge that gulf that hit hard. At one point, Evan Hansen (played by the spectacularly talented Ben Platt) and his mother Heidi Hansen (Rachel Bay Jones) are at last able



to embrace each other. We see a mother trying to comfort a son who's now too big to fit in her arms, and a son who finally allows her to get close.

"**THAT PART WITH** Evan and his mom when she was saying she'll always be there," says Avery. "That's when I got teary." Seeing the parents' pain seemed to resonate with teens as much as with parents. And Rachel Bay Jones is able to unleash the kind of deep frustration and fear and vulnerability that most parents can't post about on Facebook, or talk about with their friends.

Avery's mother gets emotional hearing her daughter talk about the scene. "I'm surprised that [Avery] says that was the most touching part for her," says Teresa. "It means that she knows that I'm always here for her." As everyone crushes out of the theater past them, she wipes her eyes and jokes about starting to cry all over again.

Dear Evan Hansen has an outsize following online. Fans post about how it changed the way they see anxiety and depression in themselves and others. They draw portraits of the cast, make art with the lyrics and share photos holding cards with the song title "You Will Be Found." At least one person tattooed that phrase on their arm and shared it.

While that digital community is a beautiful thing, the intensity of *Evan Hansen* is in an old-school interactive experience in which you show up in person and sit very close to whomever you came with. If you're there with your child, you can sense the way he or she is reacting to what's happening on stage. Your kid will know when you hold your breath, or let a sob slip out. It's a visceral exchange, one that feels primal and rare. And like everything with kids, it's fleeting. Soon enough everyone's outside, turning on their phones and looking for their earbuds. □

Anne Hathaway The Oscar-winning actor and star of the forthcoming *Ocean's Eight* talks about her new role as a U.N. goodwill ambassador advocating for parental leave

How did you become an ambassador?

The United Nations reached out to me, and I was very interested. But it took us a while to figure out what my issue was going to be. Then life provided the answer: I got pregnant. A week after I had my son—I was still fired up on adrenaline—I had an epiphany: the mommy wars are bullsh-t. They distract from the larger problem of parental leave. It was an issue that had always been abstract to me. Now it was real.

What did you learn? America is the only high-income country that does not have paid maternity leave. We have 12 weeks unpaid, which means many people can't afford to take it. One in four American mothers has to return to work two weeks after they give birth because they are economically unable to stay at home. It just broke my heart.

The campaign is for parental leave, not just maternity leave. Why?

Studies show that when men are able to spend time with their children, everyone is happier—the parents, the child. The conversation in America has always been about maternity leave, and there's a healthier option.

Do you think of this issue as political?

No matter who you voted for, this affects you. If you're a parent, it affects you. If you were once a child, and we all were, this affects you.

What did you hear from parents?

I spoke to a mom who worked for a company that offered 12 weeks paid maternity leave. When it was time for her to go back, she felt very strongly that she wasn't ready. She went to her boss and asked for more time. Her boss said no. She considered whether she could afford to leave her job, but her job covered the family's health care. So she had to go back to work. She took her son to a day-care facility recommended by multiple moms she knew. She dropped her son off, and a few hours later he was dead. They think he suffocated. I don't mean to

fear monger: that's not a common story. But if she felt she needed more time, she should have had more time.

Some actors have been outspoken about the lack of resources for moms in Hollywood—having to fight for day care on set, for instance. What has your experience been so far?

I only have one experience so far, and it's a movie that stars eight women, four of whom are mothers—which is definitely not the norm. On *Ocean's Eight*, kids were welcome on the set. [Before we started] I got an email from Sandra Bullock saying, "Hey, listen, we're going to make this a really welcoming place for kids. I know you're a brand-new mom, so don't be afraid to bring your son. We love kids here." Change is going to come, but it's going to take people like her with the power to make change to demand it.

Do you worry that *Ocean's Eight* will become political like *Ghostbusters* did or maybe even attract harassment?

When I'm a second or a third lead in a film—usually the first and second leads are men—my character doesn't feel political. But when I'm No. 1 on the call sheet, it suddenly becomes a "woman's story" and it's a statement. That's the moment that we're in. In this movie there are eight women starring, so it may well attract that sort of attention.

Do you feel responsibility as a public figure to speak out politically?

A draft of my speech begins, "Oh, good, another celebrity telling you what to do with your life." But I think there are moments that demand a response not because you're a public figure but because you're a human being. For me the travel ban was one of those moments. I thought my son at some point is going to be curious where I was in that moment, and I didn't want to be absent.

—ELIANA DOCKTERMAN

'I got an email from Sandra Bullock saying, "Hey, listen, we're going to make this a really welcoming place for kids ... so don't be afraid to bring your son.'"



STEFANIE KERNAN—GETTY IMAGES



Kettle
Cooked



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