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▲ A scene from the Women's March on Washington on Jan. 21, one day after Trump's Inauguration

Photograph by Dina Litovsky—Redux for TIME

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The straight story

ON THE EVENING OF JAN. 20, *TIME* White House correspondent Zeke J. Miller incorrectly reported that the bust of Martin Luther King Jr. had been removed from the Oval Office. Zeke immediately issued a correction and, in the hours that followed, followed up with multiple emails and tweets taking responsibility for his mistake, and apologized in person, via email and on Twitter. During further conversations over the weekend, he asked a White House adviser to pass along his apology to the President as well.

The President and White House aides have cited this mistake as an example of “deliberately false reporting.” It was no such thing. We regret that the error occurred, and believe it is important to share some detail about how it happened.

Zeke was in the Oval Office that night as part of the press pool on hand to document one of President Trump’s first official acts. He wrote a brief report, naming the aides who were there and noting that a bust of Winston Churchill was present in a new spot. Asked later by other reporters about the bust of Martin Luther King, Zeke said he had looked for it and not seen it. As a result, a pool report by another reporter sent out at 7:31 p.m., based partly on Zeke’s observations, included this: “More decorating details: Apart from the return of the Churchill bust, the MLK bust was no longer on display.”

“I should not have allowed unconfirmed information to end up in a pool report,” Zeke says. Within minutes, when inquiries began to come in about the missing bust, Zeke reviewed videos and wire photos, and tried to find a member of the White House staff who

could answer whether the bust had been moved. He found an aide who went into the office to check, and then texted Zeke at 8:10 p.m. saying the bust was there.

Two minutes later, Zeke emailed a correction to a large list of White House reporters: “The MLK bust remains in the Oval Office in addition to the Churchill bust per a WH aide. It was apparently obscured by a door and an agent earlier. My sincerest apologies.” He tweeted a correction as well. A *TIME.com* story that included the error was corrected, and for the next several hours, Zeke worked to alert colleagues to the mistake. He sent out several emails to reporters and eight tweets, including, at 8:41 p.m., “Tweeting again: wh aide confirms the MLK bust is still there. I looked for it in the oval 2x & didn’t see it. My apologies to my colleagues.” At 8:46 p.m., press secretary Sean Spicer retweeted that message with the words “Apology accepted.” To that, Zeke replied, “This is on me, not my colleagues. I’ve been doing everything I can to fix my error. My apologies.”

“I did all I could to correct the record,” Zeke says, “and I apologize to my colleagues, the President and anyone misinformed by my mistake.”

No news organization ever wants to make an error, but we all have procedures for handling them when we do. Zeke moved quickly to correct the record, and we stand behind him for taking responsibility for the mistake. He and our other reporters will continue to cover the new Administration thoroughly, fairly and fearlessly.



Nancy Gibbs, EDITOR

BEHIND THE PHOTO Police in East Liverpool, Ohio, put a new face on the opioid crisis by releasing a photo of a 4-year-old boy sitting in a car with unconscious adults who had overdosed on heroin. Now, in a new video, LightBox brings you the full story behind that viral image. Watch at time.com/lightbox

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THE WRITE STUFF Think you remember how to write in cursive? In a new quiz from *TIME* Labs—“penned” in honor of National Handwriting Day—use the interactive chalkboard to see how your own handwriting stacks up. Test yourself at time.com/handwriting-quiz

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'A nation without borders is not a nation.'

PRESIDENT TRUMP, announcing that the White House would work alongside the Department of Homeland Security to build a wall between the U.S. and Mexico; Trump spoke six days before a scheduled meeting with Mexican President Enrique Peña Nieto

alternative facts

Noun. A euphemism for lies.

Usage: On Jan. 22, Trump counselor Kellyanne Conway characterized White House press secretary Sean Spicer's falsehoods about attendance at the Inauguration as "alternative facts"

'ACT NORMAL, OR GO AWAY.'

MARK RUTTE, Dutch Prime Minister, telling immigrants to assimilate, in a blunt campaign ad ahead of a March 15 election, in which he faces a challenge from far-right populist Geert Wilders

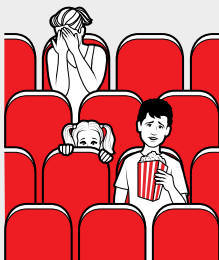
Venus

The Williams sister became the oldest Australian Open women's semifinalist, at age 36

GOOD WEEK
BAD WEEK

Mars

The U.S. confectioner is investigating how thousands of Skittles spilled onto a highway



23%

The percentage more **gun violence found in PG-13 movies** than in R-rated ones, according to new research in *Pediatrics*



\$1 million

The reward offered by the Michigan department of natural resources, which is seeking a way to **prevent invasive Asian carp** from entering the Great Lakes

'It makes my head spin even more than it's spinning.'

DAMIEN CHAZELLE, director, responding to the news that his film *La La Land* received 14 Oscar nominations, tying the record set by *All About Eve* and *Titanic*

'YOU'VE GOT MOBILE-HOME FRAMES THAT LOOK LIKE SPAGHETTI NOODLES.'

JEFF LANE, county commissioner in Adel, Ga., surveying the damage in the wake of Jan. 21 storms that also tore through Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana and Texas, killing at least 18

'I have thought an awful lot about blowing up the White House.'

MADONNA, singer, voicing her postelection frustration during the Women's March on Washington; after the comment generated controversy, she clarified that she had been speaking "in metaphor"



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The Brief

'A U.K. OUTSIDE THE E.U. WILL NEED AS MANY FRIENDS AND COMMERCIAL PARTNERS AS IT CAN GET' — PAGE 12



President Trump prepares to sign a Jan. 23 memo withdrawing the U.S. from the Trans-Pacific Partnership

WHITE HOUSE

How President Trump is trampling precedent

By Philip Elliott and Zeke J. Miller

THE OLD WASHINGTON ADAGE OF “Watch what we do, not what we say” is hard to apply to someone as serially outrageous as Donald Trump. But for all his untethered pronouncements about voter fraud and crowd size and media bias, it was President Trump’s brisk succession of executive actions that probably defined the opening of his presidency.

Small-government conservatives have deplored the use and overuse of Executive Orders since the Clinton era, but Trump has figured out at least this much about the office he now holds: if you want to do anything quickly in Washington, you have to do it yourself.

And so he set about building a wall, restarting pipelines, killing trade deals and targeting so-called

sanctuary cities and Obamacare.

Overall, the momentum was the message. Trump met with CEOs to talk about jobs and with Detroit automakers to talk about onshoring factories and touted upcoming visits from the leaders of the U.K., Israel and Mexico. And perhaps nothing signaled that Washington had a new boss like his decision on Jan. 23 to remove the U.S. from the Trans-Pacific Partnership, a 12-nation free-trade pact that the U.S. had championed through years of negotiation.

Here is a more detailed rundown:

HEALTH CARE

On Jan. 20, Trump signed an Executive Order that takes aim at the Affordable Care Act by directing federal agencies to begin preparing

to unwind the law. That move comes as complaints about rising premiums and out-of-pocket deductibles have put the law under more intense scrutiny. But if Republicans on Capitol Hill are keen to repeal the law in its entirety, they aren't anywhere close to agreement about what, if anything, to replace it with. That may take years.

IMMIGRATION

On Jan. 25, Trump signed an Executive Order shifting federal funds to pay for the construction of a border wall, which he predicted would begin within "months." There's still no sign that Trump can coax Mexico into footing the bill eventually, though he has scheduled a Jan. 31 meeting with President Enrique Peña Nieto. Trump has also directed the Department of Homeland Security to find ways to cut off federal grants to cities that harbor immigrants in the country illegally, as he promised during the campaign, and to speed up deportations of people in the U.S. without legal status. But his aides have signaled that a plan for dealing with young people who are in the U.S. illegally is low on his agenda. He is also set to sign a temporary ban on most refugee resettlement in the U.S. and a block on any new visas for citizens of some Muslim-majority nations like Syria and Iraq.

TRADE, ENERGY, ECONOMICS

With cameras clicking, Trump signed documents effectively killing a massive Pacific trade deal—a key campaign promise—and rebooted plans for a pair of oil and gas pipelines that his predecessor shelved amid environmentalists' opposition. He met with the Big Three automakers to press them on domestic manufacturing, as well as union chiefs and workers. Trump again advised companies against moving production overseas, warning that he could institute a border tax.

(Republicans at the Capitol have other ideas.) Trump reiterated his pledge to renegotiate NAFTA after he meets with Peña Nieto and Canadian Prime Minister Justin Trudeau.

ABORTION

Like previous Republican Presidents, Trump reinstated the so-called Mexico City policy, which prevents foreign-aid groups that receive U.S. assistance from promoting, let alone providing, abortions. He also promised to announce on Feb. 2 his nominee to the Supreme Court, who he has vowed will support overturning *Roe v. Wade*. And Kellyanne Conway, a key aide, is set to meet with antiabortion demonstrators when they march on Washington on Jan. 27.



Mexican President Peña Nieto will visit Washington to talk trade and immigration

leader to visit the White House. And he appears to be backing off a campaign promise to move the U.S. embassy in Israel from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem, a gambit that could further upend troubled Middle East peace talks. Yet in other ways he veered sharply off the course set by President Obama. The White House declined to condemn new Israeli settlements on the West Bank, a frequent target of his predecessor. A spokesman said the U.S. was now open to teaming up with Russia in the fight against ISIS. The Trump Administration vowed to stop China from accessing islands in the international waters of the South China Sea, a move that inflamed Beijing. And Trump is reportedly considering a directive to reauthorize "black site" prisons overseas where enemy combatants were tortured during the George W. Bush Administration and won't rule out bringing back such aggressive interrogation tactics as waterboarding.



TICKER

Israel to build 2,500 settlement homes

Israel approved the construction of 2,500 new homes in Jewish settlements in the West Bank four days after President Trump took office. The new U.S. Administration has signaled it will not oppose settlements on contested land as previous Administrations have.

Russia, Turkey, Iran back Syria truce

Russia, Turkey and Iran agreed to back and monitor a fragile cease-fire between the Syrian regime and rebels. During the peace talks, held in Astana, Kazakhstan, heavy fighting between rebel groups erupted in northwest Syria.

Court rejects Sister Wives appeal

The U.S. Supreme Court rejected a challenge to Utah's antipolygamy law from the Brown family, featured on the TLC show *Sister Wives*. In 2011, Kody Brown and his four wives fled Utah after a county prosecutor opened an investigation into them.

Mount Everest may be missing an inch

Scientists are planning to measure Mount Everest to see whether it has shrunk after recent earthquakes in Nepal. The world's highest mountain stands at 29,029 ft., but scientists fear its height may have been reduced by up to an inch.



BLADES OF GLORY Ashley Wagner competes in an exhibition event during the 2017 U.S. Figure Skating Championships at the Sprint Center in Kansas City, Mo., on Jan. 22. Wagner, 25, earned a silver medal and hopes to do even better in March when the U.S. team heads to Helsinki for the world championships (though she'll be competing against her gold-medalist teammate Karen Chen). *Photograph by Jamie Squire—Getty Images*

WORLD

Will Turkey vote to give Erdogan even more power?

TURKEY'S PRESIDENT RECEP TAYYIP ERDOGAN already enjoys almost unchecked power, after surviving an attempted military coup in July 2016 and carrying out a vast clampdown on his opponents. Now the Turkish public is set to vote in a constitutional referendum that would hand Erdogan even more control over the state:

NEW POWERS On Jan. 21 a bitterly divided Turkish parliament approved the last of 18 amendments, which would replace Turkey's parliamentary system of government with a presidential system. That would eliminate the office of the Prime Minister, limit parliament's powers and hand the executive more control over the judiciary.

FIGHTING WORDS Erdogan's supporters say the changes are

needed in order to reinstate stability. The opposition rejects them as a brazen power grab. The parliamentary debate was so heated that lawmakers came to blows. The vote, likely to be held in March or April, could give rise to even hotter emotions.

VOTER INTENTIONS The question now is whether a divided population will vote in favor of the new system; some opinion polls show a narrow majority opposed to it. Much will depend on whether Erdogan can mobilize his conservative and mostly religious base—and whether his opponents are able to freely campaign against the proposal. At least 11 opposition lawmakers are in prison, and critical media are being silenced. The new system's harshest critics say the end of Turkish democracy is at hand. The referendum gives the public a chance to prove them wrong. —JARED MALSIN /ISTANBUL



◀ *President Erdogan has already consolidated power by arresting thousands in a postcoup crackdown*

DATA

EXPENSIVE HOMES, LOW WAGES

These are some of the world's most expensive cities to live, according to the 2017 Demographia International survey, which ranks 406 metropolitan housing markets in nine countries using a ratio of median house price to median income:

Hong Kong



\$5,422,000
(Median price)
\$300,000
(Median income)

Sydney



\$1,077,000
\$88,000

Vancouver



\$830,100
\$70,500

San Jose, Calif.



\$1,000,000
\$104,100

Bournemouth and Dorset, U.K.



\$330,900
\$37,300



TICKER

Usain Bolt stripped of Olympic medal

Usain Bolt was stripped of one of his nine Olympic gold medals after Nesta Carter, a teammate in the 4-x-100-m relay at the Beijing Games, tested positive for a banned stimulant. Olympic authorities retested 454 samples from the 2008 Games.

Cancer risk from burnt food

Researchers in the U.K. found more evidence that regularly eating browned or burnt foods, such as toast or fries, could increase cancer risk. People are advised to cook food at lower temperatures and aim for a golden color instead of blackened.

German race gets a new contender

Martin Schulz, former president of the European Parliament, is likely to face Chancellor Angela Merkel as the Social Democrat candidate in Germany's Sept. 24 election, after party leader Sigmar Gabriel said he will step down. Polls still favor Merkel to win.

China's birth rate on the rise

China's birth rate rose last year to its highest point since 2000, following the relaxation of the country's one-child policy in 2015. There were 17.86 million births in China last year, a 7.9% increase from 2015.

THE RISK REPORT

Britain's Theresa May is all-in on Brexit with lousy cards

By Ian Bremmer

ON BREXIT, PRIME MINISTER THERESA MAY has played a horrible hand as well as anyone could. She has managed to maintain unity within her Conservative Party and worked hard to overcome suspicions that she isn't committed to leaving the E.U. Setting out her objectives in a Jan. 17 speech, she made clear that Britain will reassert control of its borders and will not accept the E.U.'s judicial authority. From that starting point, her government will then work to get the best deal possible for Britain's economy. After being criticized for playing her cards too close to her chest, she now has solid backing at least from those on her side of the bargaining table. The Jan. 24 Supreme Court ruling on Parliament's role in the process is unlikely to delay the formal triggering of Brexit in the spring.

In addition, May has won conciliatory signals from Germany, by far the most important player on the other side. In a January speech at Davos, Finance Minister Wolfgang Schäuble pledged to do all he can to secure a deal that works for both the U.K. and the E.U. This will give May room to build a strategy.

May also understands that a U.K. outside the E.U. will need as many friends and

commercial partners as it can get. That's the subtext behind her visit to see President Trump on Jan. 27. It's the first step toward a future trade deal that can be finalized quickly after Britain finally leaves the E.U.

But it's still a bad hand she's playing, and darker days will come. As two years of hard bargaining begins, rivals within her party will make her pay for every concession toward compromise, and her position will become more precarious if, as expected, Britain's

As two years of bargaining begins, rivals within her party will make her pay for every concession

economy weakens. May won her job without an election, and her mandate remains in question.

Nor should the goodwill across the table be overestimated. German flexibility is important, but Chancellor Angela Merkel is los-

ing clout within Europe, and others on the E.U. side will work hard to ensure that Britain doesn't get a deal that makes exit look appealing for other member states like France or Italy. May can't cut a deal with Trump, or anyone else, until negotiations with the E.U. end, likely in 2019. It's reasonable to wonder whether May can survive that long.

That said, it's also an open question whether the E.U. itself will exist in its current form in two years' time. In modern-day Europe, almost nobody is flush with aces. □

QUICK TALK

Adama Barrow

The newly elected President of Gambia was due to take power in early January after defeating longtime dictator Yahya Jammeh in a December election. Jammeh, however, refused to step down until Jan. 21, when a coalition of West African nations threatened military action to force him out. TIME spoke with Barrow hours after his predecessor fled the country:

What does the action against Jammeh mean for Africa? It is a very good warning to all of the dictators. If you lose an election, you have to go gracefully, or you will be disgraced.

Over 13,000 Gambians went to Europe last year as refugees. How do you per-

suaude others not to join them? They left Gambia as they could not live in a country bereft of investment or security. We will create jobs with responsible governance. It's now one Gambia, one nation and one people ... and with that, I believe things will change.

Will you prosecute Jammeh, who is accused of stealing millions of dollars from the country? We will set up a truth and reconciliation commission and will act against him once the commission makes a judgment.

The U.S. gives Gambia at least \$3 million a year in foreign aid. Do you worry that aid will dry up under President Trump? They have rule of law, and aid is part of U.S. foreign policy. I don't think Trump will affect aid to Gambia.

—TARA JOHN



Milestones



Moore, seen here in 1971, won six Emmys and a Tony over her acting career

DIED Mary Tyler Moore Television icon

PLAYING MARY RICHARDS on *The Mary Tyler Moore Show*, which ran from 1970 to 1977, the star (who died Jan. 25) often seemed to be one of the only wholly sane people working at a Minneapolis local news station, burdened with co-workers either inept or misanthropic. Though she didn't create the situations, she made the comedy, with an easy grin and a razor wit indicating that the men who surrounded her were easily deflated.

The show's depiction of a woman, happily unmarried and invested in her job, resonates still; after getting her start as a housewife on *The Dick Van Dyke Show*, Moore found a story in step with its changing times and yet ahead of anything else on TV. Her relationship with Ed Asner's Lou Grant was warmly cordial even as Lou was unambiguously the boss. The role was a social victory, and an artistic one. The smile that could turn the world on was also imbued, wonderfully, with ambition and grit.

—DANIEL D'ADDARIO

HIT

A new record, by the **Dow Jones** industrial average, which traded above 20,000 for the first time ever on Jan. 25. President Trump's adviser Kellyanne Conway credited the rally to "the Trump effect."

DIED

Kansas City Royals pitcher **Yordano "Ace" Ventura**, 25, in a car accident in the Dominican Republic. The young baseball star pitched in two World Series.

> **William A. Hilliard**, 89, the *Oregonian* newspaper's first black reporter and editor. In 1993, Hilliard became the American Society of Newspaper Editors' first black president.

> **Charlie Liteky**, 85, an Army chaplain in

Vietnam who received the Medal of Honor but returned it in 1986 in protest over U.S. policies in Central America.

> **Mark Baumer**, 33, a writer and activist who was struck by an SUV while walking across the U.S. barefoot to

raise awareness about climate change.

SUSPENDED

Writer **Katie Rich**, from *Saturday Night Live*, after tweeting a widely criticized joke about President Trump's 10-year-old son Barron.

A photograph showing a winter scene with many bare, thin trees and bushes. Several pieces of clothing, including a grey jacket, a purple jacket, and a yellow jacket, are hanging from the branches, appearing frozen. The ground is covered in snow and ice, with some debris visible. In the background, a city skyline is visible through the haze.

LightBox

Stranded in Serbia

Frozen clothes belonging to migrants and refugees hang on trees behind the main train station in Belgrade on Jan. 15. After borders tightened along the Balkan route to Western Europe, more than 1,000 men and boys have lived in limbo amid dire conditions in a crumbling warehouse complex. Relying on supplies from aid groups, they shower outdoors and build fires inside to stay warm.

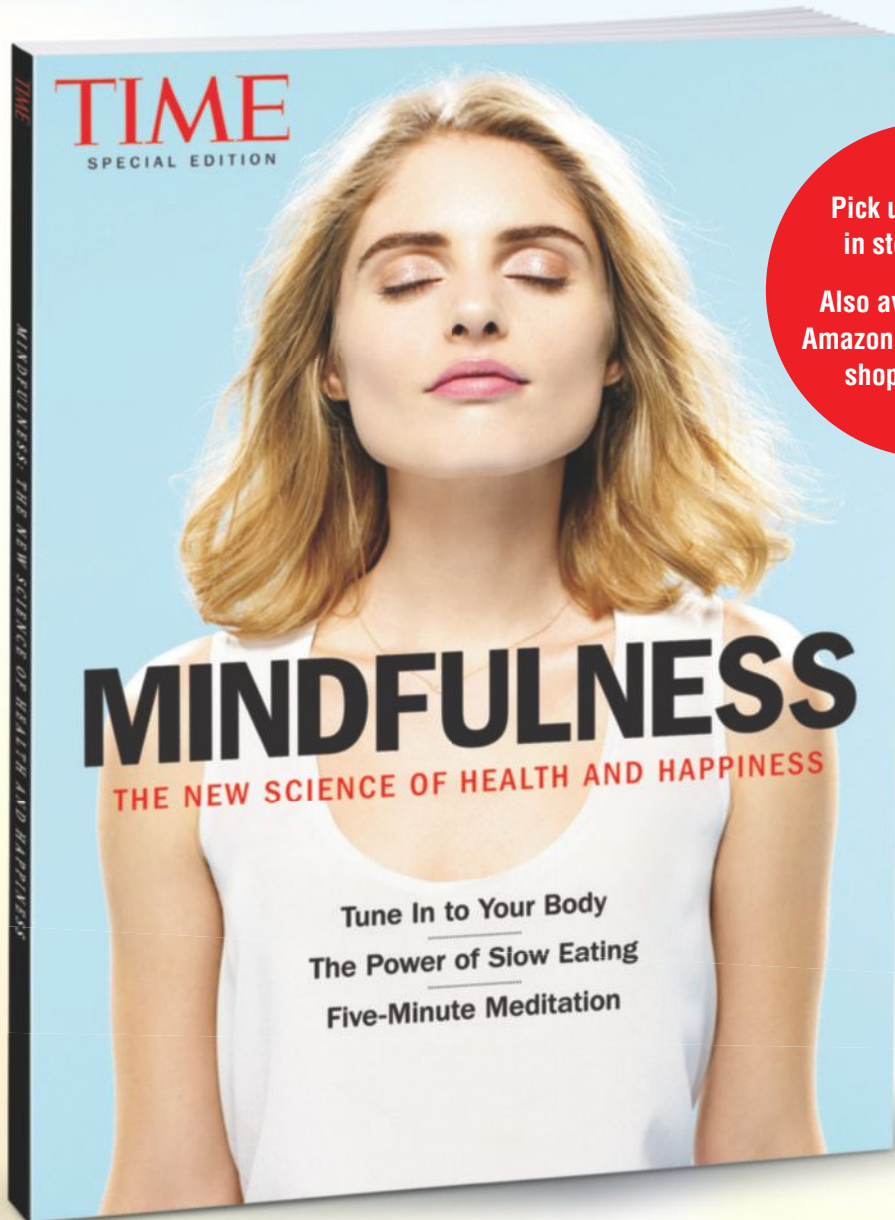
Photograph by Alessandro Penso

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TIME

The View

'HISTORY HAS SHOWN THAT NEARLY EVERY U.S. PRESIDENT HAS A TOUGH FIRST 100 DAYS.' —PAGE 21

HEALTH

The truth about whole wheat and 'whole-grain' bread

By Alice Park

ANY DOCTOR WORTH THEIR white coat will tell you that eating a diet rich in whole grains is one of the best ways to get fiber, antioxidants and other nutrients that can help fight weight gain, cancer, diabetes and heart disease. But as it is, only 8% of U.S. adults eat the three servings a day recommended by the federal government.

Complicating things is the fact that finding foods that live up to their whole-grain and high-fiber promises can be tough. Grocery-store shelves are bulging with breads, cereals, crackers and even pizza dough bearing claims that they're "made with whole grains," and the market for such foods is expected to grow nearly 7% per year, to an estimated \$46.2 billion by 2022. The problem is that many of those products aren't the wholesome foods brimming with 100% grains that they appear to be, thanks to few standards for guiding whole-grain claims. "The term *whole grain* is now largely meaningless," says Dr. David Ludwig, director of the Optimal Weight for Life program at Boston Children's Hospital.

According to the U.S. Food and Drug Administration (FDA), a whole-grain food must contain all the components of a grain kernel—the brain, the germ and the innermost core of the kernel—in the same proportion found in the kernel, regardless of whether the grain is finely



Many whole-grain breads are not as healthy as they seem

ground or paired with unhealthy ingredients.

The Center for Science in the Public Interest (CSPI), a nonprofit nutrition-advocacy group, has petitioned the FDA to address misleading information about whole-grain foods to make them clearer for consumers. In the

meantime, if you want to make the healthiest shopping choices, heed the following advice from leading health experts and learn to decipher ingredient labels. Keep an eye out for these five factors.

1. "MADE WITH WHOLE GRAINS" IS A RED FLAG
"This sounds like the

bread or cereal is made only with whole grains when, in fact, it usually is made with very little whole grains,” says Bonnie Liebman, director of nutrition at CSPI. This just means a food contains *some* whole grains; most of the product could be made up of refined flours, which can contribute to weight gain and high blood-sugar levels. On the other hand, if a food says it’s made of “100% whole grains,” that’s a good sign. If you don’t see that claim, look at the ingredient list, where foods are listed in descending order by weight. If whole grains are listed first, great. But if the next two or three are refined flours, it’s probably not a very healthy choice.

2. EVEN SUPERFINE FLOURS CAN BE CALLED “WHOLE GRAIN”

As long as all three parts of a grain are present in the right proportions, foods can bear the term *whole grain*—even if those grains have been pulverized into a flour. But studies suggest that the body responds differently to grains that are highly refined (as white and even some whole-wheat flours are) than to whole grains where the kernel is relatively intact. Researchers believe that the digestive system absorbs finely milled grains more quickly, and since grains are carbohydrates, that sends blood-sugar levels spiking, which may contribute to weight gain and even diabetes. Whole kernel grains take longer to digest and may help in avoiding these unhealthy states.

3. FIBER-CONTENT CLAIMS CAN BE MISLEADING

Truly whole grains can be a good source of fiber, which regulates digestion and affects how full you feel. That’s why paying attention to fiber content can be a good indicator of how healthy a given food is. But there’s a catch here too: many grain-based foods are bulked up with added fiber, in the form of cellulose or inulin, which may not have the same health benefits as the naturally occurring kind present in grains when they’re intact.

4. MULTIGRAIN IS A VERY TRICKY WORD

We’re wired to think more is better, so anything containing multiple grains must be a healthy choice, right? Maybe not. *Multigrain* says nothing about whether grains are whole or refined—and any food containing even a sprinkling of more than one grain can use the term, regardless of how nutritious (or not) those grains may be.

5. NOT ALL WHOLE GRAINS ARE HEALTHY

Just because something contains whole grains doesn’t mean it’s a health food. Cereals and snack bars, for example, can be made with whole grains—but can also be loaded with sugar, salt and artificial ingredients.

VERBATIM

‘Barron Trump deserves the chance every child does—to be a kid.’

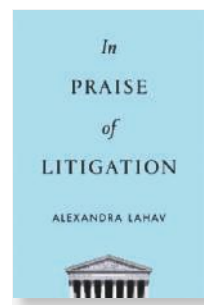
CHELSEA CLINTON, former First Daughter, defending President Trump’s 10-year-old son against online bullying before clarifying that “standing up for every kid also means opposing POTUS policies that hurt kids”



BOOK IN BRIEF

How lawsuits help democracy

WHEN MOST PEOPLE THINK OF THE defining tenets of modern democracy, lawsuits probably don’t come to mind. But in her new book *In Praise of Litigation*, Alexandra Lahav argues that they should—because they are the best way for citizens to protect their rights. Consider *Casale v. Kelly*, in which homeless people arrested for loitering and begging in New York sued the city, arguing their First Amendment rights had been violated. (Police eventually stopped the arrests after a federal judge held the City of New York in contempt.) Or the 1971 Supreme Court case allowing the press to publish the Pentagon Papers, which demonstrated that the government was not above the law. “Bad things happen,” Lahav writes, “and those who believe they have been wronged want and deserve an explanation, a remedy and a way to prevent the same thing from happening in the future to them or to others.”



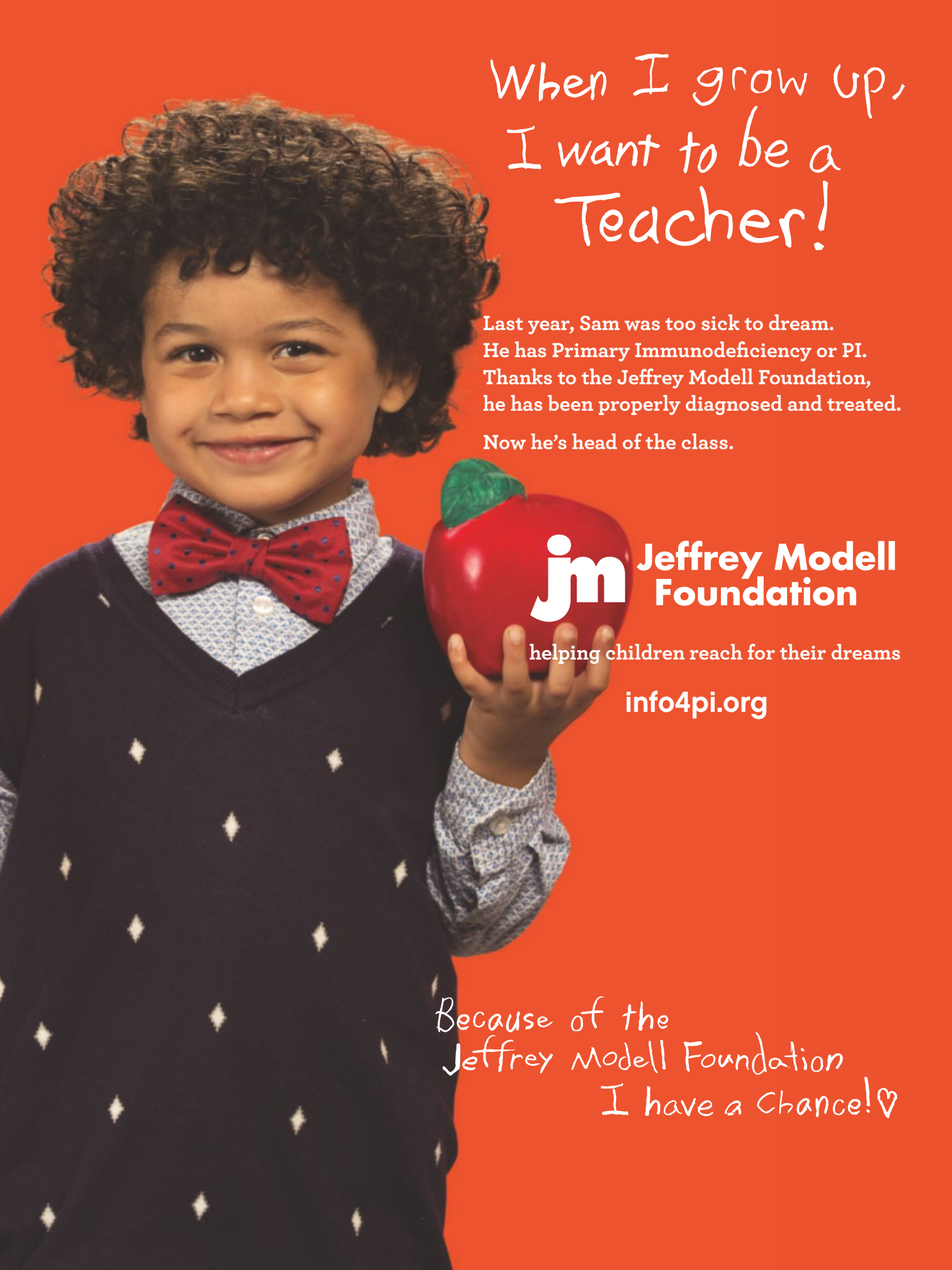
—SARAH BEGLEY

CHARTOON

Fun with portmanteaus



JOHN ATKINSON, WRONG HANDS



When I grow up,
I want to be a
Teacher!

Last year, Sam was too sick to dream.
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€307

€376

BIG IDEA

A laser that prevents bike accidents

Even when bikes have headlights, it can be tough for drivers or pedestrians to see cyclists coming, especially at night. But lasers are harder to ignore. That's the idea behind Laserlight by Blaze, a bike attachment that projects a green bike icon onto the ground nearly 20 feet in front of its user. Unlike headlights, the laser creation can be seen well from all angles, alerting drivers, pedestrians and even other cyclists. Although the \$200 Laserlight has been commercially available in the U.K. for several years, it's about to get major U.S. exposure: New York City's bike-share program Citi Bike just announced it will pilot the device on 250 bikes. —Julia Zorthian



HISTORY

The perils of snap judging a U.S. President

FOR NEARLY A CENTURY, U.S. PRESIDENTS have entered office with their eyes on an early goalpost: What can be done during the first 100 days? It's a tradition that dates to 1933, when Franklin D. Roosevelt used a rush of early action to attempt to address the Great Depression, and it's continuing now with President Donald Trump. But Margaret O'Mara, a professor who teaches history at the University of Washington in Seattle, argues that the idea of snap judging a President based on what happens during his first three months in office has never made much sense.

This was even true in 1933. For one thing, most of what FDR did during that period didn't really affect citizens until later, and some would be undone by the Supreme Court; had FDR been judged solely on his

own 100-day metric, he'd be regarded as a disappointment. Moreover, FDR set this benchmark during an unprecedented crisis, which created an opening for political action. Expecting others to meet it is unrealistic, O'Mara says, given that no other President has encountered the world FDR did.

In practice, history has shown that nearly every U.S. President has a tough first 100 days as he tries to find his footing as the leader of the free world—a job that is messy and complicated, even for the most qualified candidates. So while it may be tempting to focus on what Trump does between now and April 29, O'Mara suggests that observers keep in mind the long-term effects of his actions. The former, she says, is a “lovely political idea.” But the latter is what matters.

—LILY ROTHMAN



DATA THIS JUST IN

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

1

ACUPUNCTURE MAY HELP BABIES WHO CRY A LOT

A study in the journal *Acupuncture in Medicine* analyzed 147 babies with colic who cried for more than three hours a day at least three days per week; it found that those who received acupuncture treatment over two weeks had a greater reduction in crying than those who did not.

2

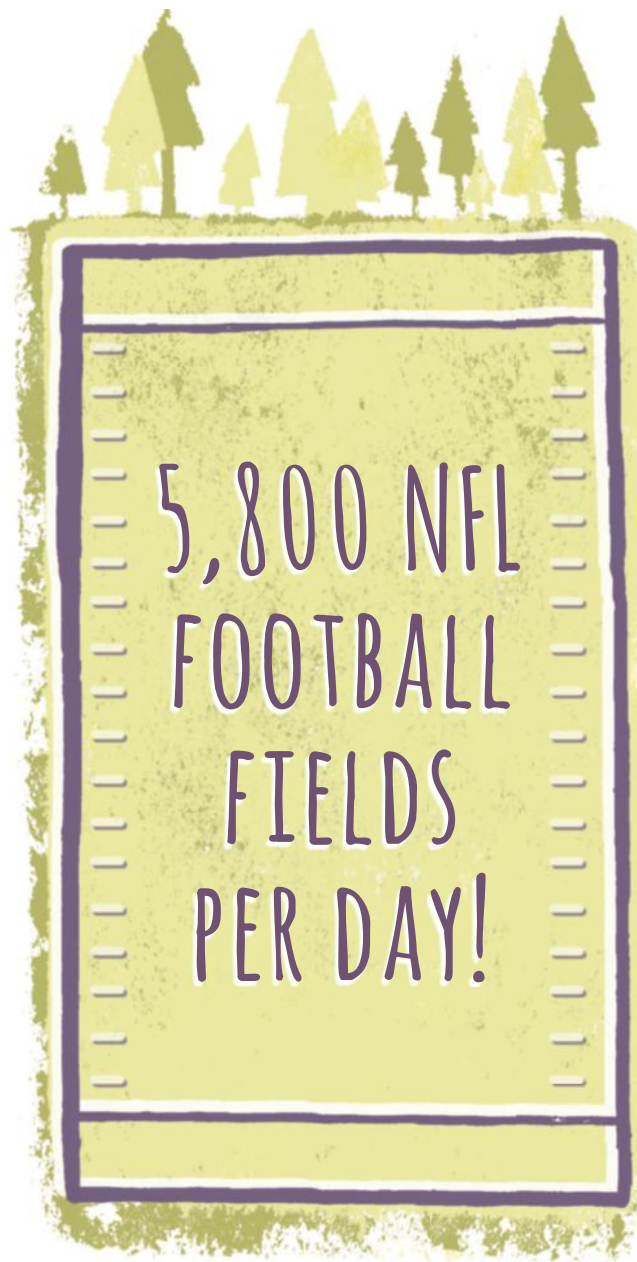
CELL PHONES MIGHT BE HURTING YOUR WORKOUT

A study in *Performance Enhancement & Health* found that participants' balance and stability fell 45% if they texted during a workout and 19% if they talked on their cell phones, compared with those not using a device.

3

SITTING TOO MUCH COULD MAKE YOUR CELLS AGE FASTER

A report in the *American Journal of Epidemiology* found that for elderly women who exercised less than 40 minutes per day, those who spent 10 or more hours sedentary had cells that aged eight years more on average than those who were less sedentary. Women who met exercise recommendations did not have the same association. —J.Z.



Did you know that U.S. forests, which provide wood for making paper and many other products, grew by 5,800 NFL football fields per day between 2007 and 2012!

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Source: USDA Forest Service, 2014

Two Sides is a global initiative promoting the responsible use of print and paper which, when sourced from certified or sustainably managed forests, is a uniquely powerful and natural communications medium.

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The ideological challenge at the core of Donald Trump's radical presidency

By Joe Klein

IN ADDITION TO A LOADED SLOGAN—"AMERICA FIRST"—and a questionable demeanor, it is now apparent that President Donald J. Trump actually has a governing ideology. His Inaugural Address, the strongest and most coherent speech he's ever delivered, was a clear statement of that philosophy. It may change the shape of domestic politics. It may overturn the international order that has existed for 70 years. It certainly deserves more than the "divisive" dismissal it received from liberals—and more than the puerile crowd-size diversion that its perpetrator stumbled into during the days after he delivered it.

Here's the crucial paragraph: "For many decades, we've enriched foreign industry at the expense of American industry; subsidized the armies of other countries, while allowing for the very sad depletion of our military. We've defended other nations' borders while refusing to defend our own; and spent trillions of dollars overseas while America's infrastructure has fallen into disrepair and decay."

The amazing thing about this litany is that most of the policies Trump criticizes had been peripheral to our recent political battles, at least until he came along. Indeed, the only one that had raised any heat—the "depletion" of the military—is a political fiction. The others, though, have been core assumptions of the leadership in both parties. And Trump is right. It may be time to test them and see if they still apply.

The two most important ones are subsidizing foreign industry and protecting other nations' borders. The first is about free trade; the second, about overseas alliances. Both are more complicated questions than they've been made to appear by those of us in the establishment commentariat.

THE TRADITIONAL ARGUMENT against free trade is myopic and simple: American jobs are going to Mexico and China. The traditional counterargument is more abstract: the price of children's clothing at Walmart is much lower now that shirts are made in south China instead of South Carolina. Free trade, it is convincingly argued, has been a financial net plus for the U.S. But there has been a spiritual cost in a demoralized middle class, which leads to an existential question: Is the self-esteem inherent in manufacturing jobs long considered obsolete—think of those grand old steel mills—more important than the lower prices that the global market provides? Have we tilted too far toward market efficiency and too far away from social cohesion? Is there a middle ground? Trump's insistence on changing the equation brings a long-neglected issue to the center of our political

TRUMP'S INAUGURAL SPEECH

Free trade

"One by one, the factories shuttered and left our shores ... The wealth of our middle class has been ripped from their homes and then redistributed all across the world."

International alliances

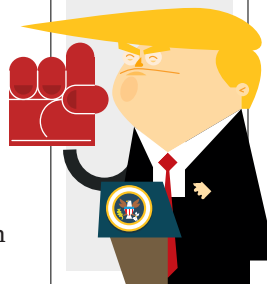
"We will seek friendship and goodwill with the nations of the world, but we do so with the understanding that it is the right of all nations to put their own interests first."

debate. He may be wrong, but the alienation that seems like a by-product of globalization needs to be addressed. A happier people may be worth the cost of higher prices.

The second policy question, on overseas alliances, also rests on shaky ground. No one can gainsay the brilliance of the international architecture that Harry Truman and his Wise Men created, but it rested on two assumptions that may be out of date: the threat of communism and the scourge of European nationalism that created the carnage of the 20th century. There was a real fear of German militarism; even the Germans seemed to fear it. That the U.S. would protect Germany and the rest of Europe seemed an elegant solution—and it was, so long as the threat came from Russia. But the threat now is the tide of immigrants coming from the Middle East. It is fair to ask: Shouldn't the Europeans spend more on their own defense? Shouldn't they take a more active role in solving the Syrian crisis? Shouldn't their militaries be protecting their borders? America's inability to conduct land wars against militant Islam is manifest. (And perhaps the Europeans should do more to protect themselves against Russian jingoism as well.)

THESE ARE CRUCIAL QUESTIONS, without clear answers. It is good that Trump has raised them. It is unfortunate, however, that he is such a defective messenger. His deficiencies were never more apparent than in his grotesque performance at the CIA on the day after the Inauguration. If his vision is to repair the country and stop trying to police the world, what are we to make of this ridiculous statement: "We should have kept the [Iraqi] oil. But, O.K., maybe you'll have another chance"? And how many American brigades will you need to protect those oil fields, Mr. President?

There is a chance for a badly needed conversation about American priorities now, but only if we're led by a President who understands what his own priorities should be. □



NATION

THE OTHERS

JANICE POSNIKOFF,
ROCKVILLE, MD.:

*"We're sending
the clear message
that absolutely,
absolutely he's
not the popular
President and we're
going to fight every
inch of the way."*

SIDE

CHEYENNE, 17,
CALVERT COUNTY,
MARYLAND:

*"I feel like a lot of
rights that we have
are in danger. We're
scared, and this
is the only thing
we can think of
to at least try to
do to help make
things better."*

**PERHAPS
THE LARGEST
PROTEST IN U.S.
HISTORY WAS
BROUGHT TO YOU
BY PRESIDENT
DONALD TRUMP**

BY KARL VICK





WE COULD TALK ALL DAY ABOUT NUMBERS. Were 250,000 people on hand to see Donald Trump take the oath, or more like the 1.5 million he says he saw? The women, men and children (but mostly women) who a day later filled the streets of cities across the nation—did they total a million? Two million? More than three? Does it matter? The numbers that count were tallied on Nov. 8, the votes that lifted Trump onto that majestic semicircle on the Capitol's west terrace and into the rarified air sniffed by fewer than four dozen men since the dawn of the Republic. But the job of President of the United States arrives with aching expectations, a collective yearning for wise leadership that, fortunately for the novice, can be managed only through the rituals that have governed the postelection behavior of every winning candidate in living memory. The protocol is not written down. It exists in behaviors—humility, respect, a high-minded posture of restraint that reminds us that civic life is service in pursuit not just of office but of something larger than ourselves. The 10 weeks that run through November, across the Christmas holidays and into the new year is literally a grace period, designed to reliably deliver on Jan. 20 a sense of equilibrium. Instead of where we find ourselves now.

There is no precedent in U.S. history for the show of collective outrage that answered Trump's Inauguration. But then, there is no precedent for Trump, either: impetuous, thin-skinned and, for his trouble, entering office facing a grassroots opposition that heated up faster than a cup of ramen.

The face of that Democratic opposition—some call it the resistance—is female, which is to say it's a face that as a private citizen Trump liked to judge on a scale of 1 to 10, and as a candidate measured by worthiness of his sexual attention. The billionaire made the 2016 presidential campaign about women even before Hillary Clinton won the Democratic nomination, sliming the Republican primary field by insulting the looks of its only female candidate (“Look at that face!”) and then moving on to Ted Cruz's wife. So it was that the Women's March—marches, really, as demonstrations were logged in more than 600 U.S. locations—became the occasion for recovering, in the space of just a few hours, spirits that since election night had spiraled into deep troughs of despair, dread and worse.

Terror is the word that came to Margo Kelly, on a National Mall so crowded with kindred souls, it was difficult to move. “It's a matter of remaining plugged in and acting on that terror, getting off the couch,” says Kelly, a physician, of what brought her all the way from Portland, Ore., with her ninth-grade daughter, Beatrice. “If there's any silver lining, it's that this is a call to action.”

In a time of unexpected loss, there's an instinct to keep busy. How many dishes are washed and lawns mowed after a death in the family? Who isn't happy for the distraction? But if the grave is eternal, a presidential term lasts just four years. There are midterm elections in 2018. The entire House of Representatives will have to stand—and a third of the Senate. There's work to be done—the collective Republican majority hovers near a seven-decade high—and the question hanging over the Mall after the buses headed back home was: Where do we go from here?

Isaac Newton got there first. For every action, there is an equal and opposition reaction, “directed,” the physicist noted, “to contrary parts.” Parts don't come much more contrary than Trump and feminists, and the battle now joined was surely coming sooner or later. That it happened in the first 24 hours of his term says something about the urgency.

Protest organizers actually calculated that framing the march as pro-women rather than anti-Trump would work wonders. Feminism remains an epithet in parts of society, evoking the scolding tone of former Secretary of State Madeleine Albright, who answered the indifference of many young women toward Clinton by recalling that “there's a special place in hell for women who don't help each other.” That didn't help. Beyond Clinton's own limitations, there was the millennials' preference for ad hoc individual action over membership in any organization.

But the embrace of the term by the likes of Beyoncé and Emma Watson in recent years has eroded much of the stigma. After the election, as interest in the Women's March swelled online, it became clear that a pro-women's-rights event that also convened an array of marginalized populations was getting far more traction than protests billed as just anti-Trump. By the look of the demonstrations, the *Access*

‘People are moved by the sense of possibility, a sense of hope.’

—Cornell Williams Brooks, NAACP

**MEAGHAN
DELMONICO,
MILLBURN, N.J.:**

"I have a 6-year-old son, and I'm a widow. It's extremely important to me to show him what it means to be a man in this type of an environment. More so than ever, I want him to believe in love over fear."



Hollywood tape also became a uniquely unifying factor. What Trump dismissed as “locker-room banter”—“I moved on her like a bitch... Grab them by the pussy. You can do anything”—gave Jan. 21 its palette (pink), its signature attire (the pussy hat) and its rules of engagement.

“Keep your tiny hands off my rights.” “Can’t build wall, hands too small.” “We want a leader, not a creepy tweeter.” “We shall overcomb.” The signs were as bawdily exuberant as the crowds, which inevitably skewed activist but included many who had never demonstrated before, and who experienced in the gatherings both a stirring well of fellow feeling and sudden momentum. People who were at Woodstock said, Yeah, it was great, but the real thrill was stopping for gas three states away and finding that everyone else at the pump was going to the same place.

‘Part of organizing is that we’re not all going to be marching in the same rhythm.’

—Erika Andiola, *Our Revolution*

There was some of that on the New Jersey Turnpike on Friday night, where almost everyone in the Walt Whitman service plaza was female (a cashier said it had been like that all day). On the Mall, the Smithsonian’s men’s room was commandeered, but there were enough men present for a call and response: “Our bodies, our choice”/“Your bodies, your choice.” Many said it was the best they’ve felt since Election Day.

Across the country, the low estimate for turnout on Jan. 21 was 3.2 million, according to researchers at the University of Connecticut and University of Denver—leaving aside the demonstrations on every other continent, including, thanks to an expedition tour, Antarctica. Even if its locus was the urban centers where Democratic activism operates most comfortably, the tally raised the question of whether this was a protest or a movement. There were a couple of those in 2016. Bernie Sanders’ surprise following exploded from the young and the left. Trump’s filled auditoriums in states both blue and red,

and carried him to the most powerful position on earth.

The problem, of course, is how to sustain an insurgency from the highest office in the land. Barack Obama faced the same dilemma upon entering the office in 2009, trying without success to permanently mobilize supporters through something called Organizing for America. No luck. They’d done their work getting him there. It was his turn. It’s much easier to storm the gates from outside, which is why Jan. 21 looms large.

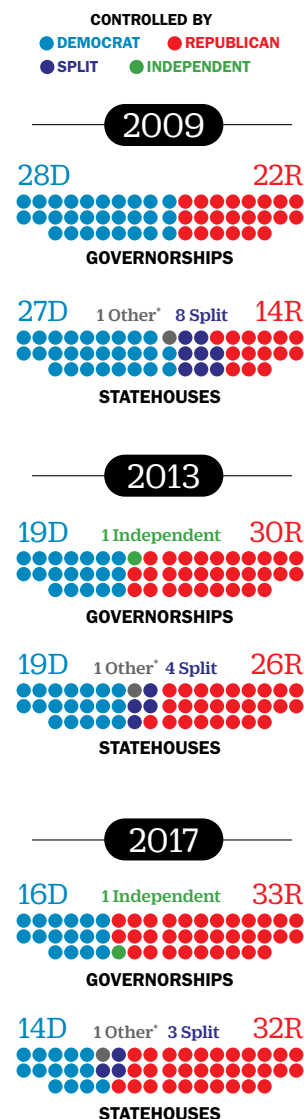
THE DAY PRODUCED physical evidence of a grassroots opposition with every bit as much potential as the Tea Party, the diffuse, small-government uprising that started small but soon bedeviled both Obama and the GOP establishment, and ultimately cleared the way for Trump. On

the surface, the two insurrections share similarities. Like the Women’s March, the Tea Party movement was deliberately leaderless. But that didn’t stop its members from quickly arriving at a clear understanding of the movement’s goals. By April 2009, it had coalesced around a set of simple policies: limited government, lower taxes, upholding the Constitution. By that summer, it had seized upon another bogeyman: Obama’s health care bill. The anger that boiled over at congressional town halls during the August recess were a vivid illustration of the movement’s budding power.

The Women’s March, even in its striking success, offered more in the way of catharsis than clarity. Its full statement of principles runs more than 1,000 words and includes issues ranging from reproductive rights to gender justice, from the minimum wage to immigration reform, from clean water to criminal profiling to arming police with military-grade weaponry. It’s hard to distill a complicated platform into concrete change when your

STATES SHIFT RIGHT

In 2008, Democrats rode anti-GOP sentiment and Barack Obama’s popularity to power in a majority of statehouses and governorships. They’ve been losing ground ever since. Today, the GOP controls roughly two-thirds of statehouses.



NOTES: IN 2009, ARIZONA’S DEMOCRATIC GOVERNOR, JANET NAPOLITANO, WAS SUCCEEDED BY A REPUBLICAN AFTER SHE WAS APPOINTED TO RUN THE DEPARTMENT OF HOMELAND SECURITY. CURRENTLY, NEW YORK AND WASHINGTON STATE SENATES HAVE DEMOCRATIC MAJORITIES BUT ARE CONTROLLED BY COALITIONS THAT GIVE REPUBLICANS FUNCTIONAL CONTROL. IN ALASKA, REPUBLICANS HAVE A MAJORITY IN BOTH CHAMBERS BUT THE HOUSE IS CONTROLLED BY A COALITION THAT GIVES DEMOCRATS FUNCTIONAL CONTROL. CONNECTICUT IS SPLIT, BUT THE DEMOCRATIC LT. GOV. HAS THE TIEBREAKING VOTE IN THE SENATE. *NEBRASKA HAS A UNICAMERAL, NONPARTISAN LEGISLATURE.

SOURCES: THE NATIONAL GOVERNORS ASSOCIATION; THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF STATE LEGISLATURES

Trump can thank the arts for his wealth

By Karen Finley

organizing principle—“intersectional feminism,” a jargony mouthful—opposes elevating any one person’s goals over another’s.

Even so, there was no shortage of intramural dissent. Some female black activists noted that 53% of white women voted for Trump (versus the 94% of black women for Hillary). Transgender activists complained that the vagina is not an apt symbol for those who identify as women but might not have one. In San Diego, the protest organization was so ad hoc that two marches surprised each other on the street. Neither group could agree whether they had come out to transform, upset about the election, into connective tissue among disparate progressive sects or just be angry out in public.

But these are good problems to have. Populations once not only marginalized but in some cases barely identified are fighting to hold ground gained only over the past few years. Millennials are paying attention. Clinton’s nomination, despite how it ended, had much the same empowering effect on women that President Obama’s had on African Americans. The two San Diego marches ended up merging and taking turns at the mike.

“It’s messy, and that’s the beauty of it,” says Erika Andiola, political director of Our Revolution, the successor organization to Sanders’ presidential campaign, which boasts hundreds of affiliated chapters. “Part of organizing is that we’re not all going to be marching in the same rhythm.” Our Revolution boosted turnout to the marches by targeted emails on the list compiled during the Sanders campaign, which through the primaries was as vibrant a movement as Trump’s. Andiola claims that local groups that had been seeing 15 or 20 people have been seeing 100 and 200 since Nov. 8. Such are the advantages, to activists, of defeat.

“If people come out of an election and everyone’s despairing, everyone’s in a collective civic funk, we don’t get anything done,” says Cornell William Brooks, president of the NAACP. “Simply reminding people of how bad things are and what you lost, nobody’s moved by that. People are moved by the sense of possibility, a sense of hope that can be realized with small efforts. Small and sustained efforts.”

That was the incongruous message that

As part of upcoming budget cuts, Donald Trump reportedly plans to eliminate the National Endowment for the Arts and the National Endowment for the Humanities and privatize the Corporation for Public Broadcasting. This would have devastating consequences for our society; for our cultural diversity; and for the many economies that are connected to promoting cultural heritage, innovation and production, both domestically and abroad. So we might ask how the arts have personally enriched the President.

Let’s start just days ago, when Melania Trump presented a signature teal Tiffany & Co. box to Michelle Obama. The jewelry company is known for its items of the highest craftsmanship. And where does that come from? Artisans. Louis Comfort Tiffany, son of one of the company’s founders, is best known for his stained-glass windows and lamps. Those windows and lamps, not to mention priceless jewelry, are in museums—museums that receive public funding. Tiffany & Co. is located on Fifth Avenue—the same avenue that features Trump Tower as well as Museum Mile, where the Guggenheim and the Met live. Trump’s buildings neighbor Jazz at Lincoln Center. As President Trump knows, location, location, location is everything. So shall we eliminate the funding of these landmarks that make his holdings infinitely more valuable—or valuable at all?

Trump’s son-in-law owns real estate in New York City’s East Village, a thriving and profitable spot for him, thanks to the years of sweat of artists and generations of multicultural workers and nonprofit institutions in theater, art, dance, music and literature.

All across America, through the promotion of the arts, neighborhoods create job growth and development.

Ivanka Trump and her husband collect art. Many of these artists’ works are in public museums; many likely started out exhibiting in emerging galleries. These artists then generate value as part of an art market whose value (and collectors) depend on support for innovation and experimentation.

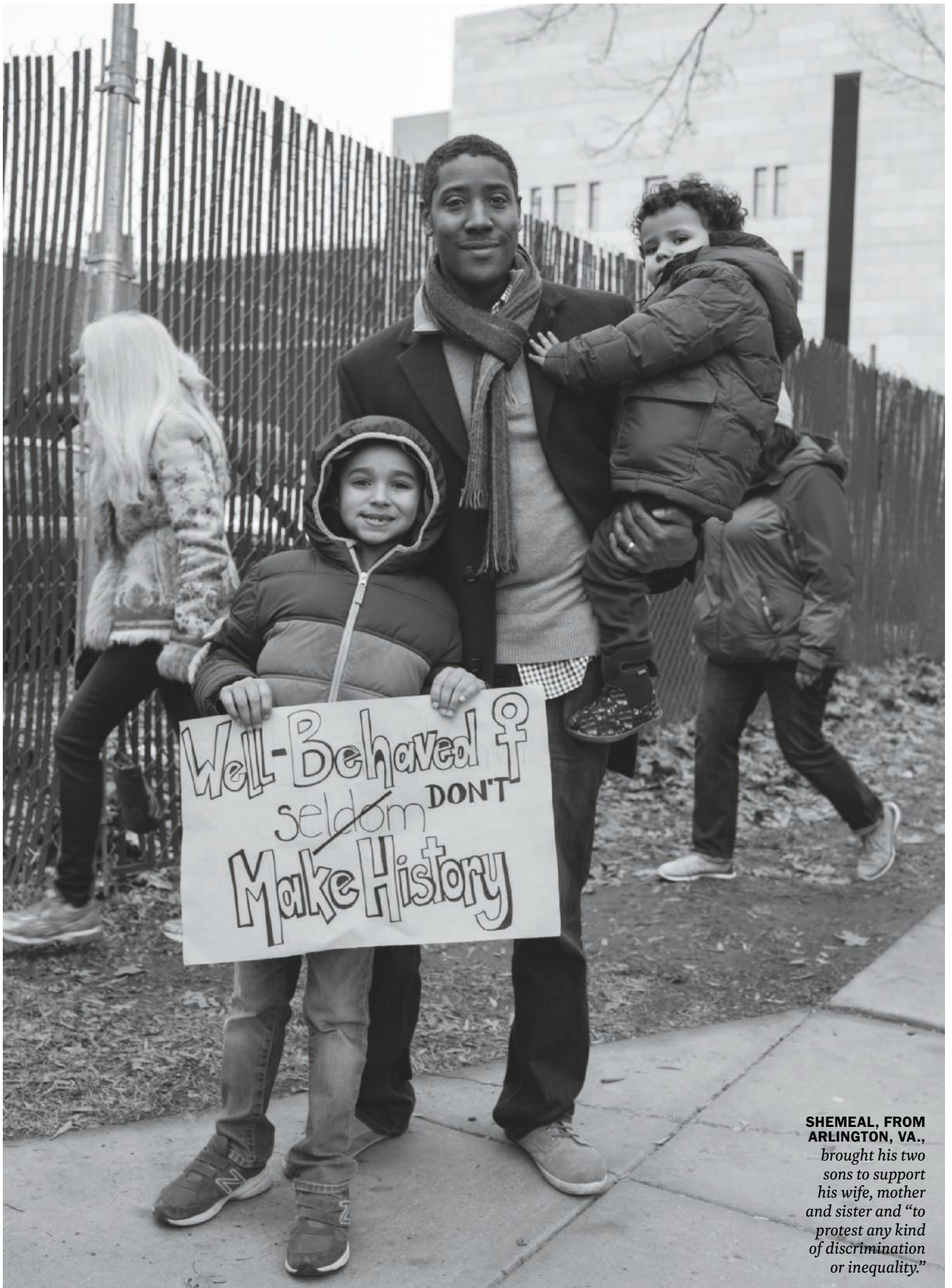
Let’s not stop there. Reality television didn’t happen in a vacuum: it got its start with *An American Family*, a PBS documentary series from 1973. *The Apprentice* owes its success to original programming by the Corporation for Public Broadcasting and to the cinema vérité style used by filmmakers and video artists who were supported by publicly funded programs.

And there’s the First Lady. Melania Trump came to this country working as a fashion model. The Fashion Institute of Technology not only has a museum, but also trains the very people who create the pieces of clothing she buys off the rack or has custom-designed. Shall we eliminate public support of designers? Fashion Week brings income and jobs to America.

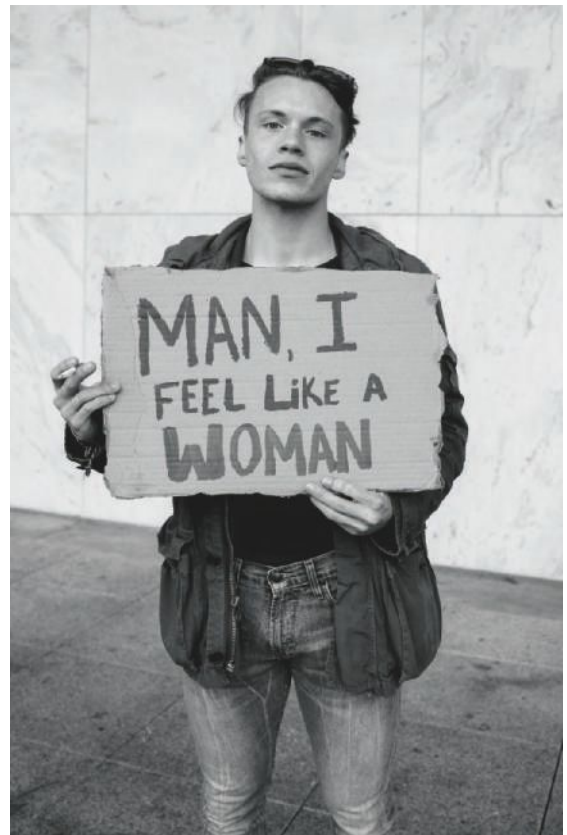
Melania Trump seems to be trying to channel Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis as a role model. Besides dressing the part, Mrs. Trump would need to be a champion for the arts and an advocate for cultural and historic preservation. One of Mrs. Onassis’ triumphs was her role in fighting to preserve the Grand Central Terminal in New York City from demolition. Adjacent to the GCT is the now Grand Hyatt New York—Trump’s first big development in Manhattan in 1980, just five years after Mrs. Onassis began her mission to save the terminal. I hope that Mrs. Trump could take on supporting and expanding the NEA.

To have a National Endowment for the Arts is to sanction creativity, to provide space to support the poetic and to give meaning to struggle, hope and life. Whether it’s transcribing Great Negro Spirituals, protecting indigenous Native languages, attending outdoor jazz concerts, preserving quilting by the Amish and the Gee’s Bend women, singing the Delta blues, weaving narratives of neglected LGBTQ history, creating plays of the immigrant experience or collaborating across state lines, we are a country of expression. Art is the bridge when walls of fear keep us insulated and reactive. A society loses meaning, purpose and direction without it.

Finley, a performance artist and a professor at New York University, was a plaintiff in the National Endowment for the Arts v. Finley, after the NEA vetoed her grant in 1990



SHEMEAL, FROM ARLINGTON, VA., brought his two sons to support his wife, mother and sister and “to protest any kind of discrimination or inequality.”



Carlisa Johnson, left, is a fashion blogger from Atlanta; Benjamin Barnes, right, is a student and activist from Lexington, Ky.



Casey Camp-Horinek, left, is an elder of the Ponca tribe of Oklahoma; Dana Mosa-Basha, right, is a recent college graduate

How the abortion debate rocked progressivism

By Mary Eberstadt

Put aside for a moment the Inauguration of President Donald Trump. Together, the Women's March on Jan. 21 and the March for Life on Jan. 27 highlight a reality that isn't going away: forty-four years after *Roe v. Wade*, the politics of abortion in America is more polarized and divisive than ever. Why?

Consider the about-face by the Women's March. No event in our time has been heralded as more diverse and inclusive of women everywhere—until an antiabortion group called New Wave Feminists took the marchers at their word and tried to join ranks. They got the boot. “The Women's March's platform is pro-choice, and that has been our stance from day one,” the excluders explained.

Which means that now, in 2017, support for abortion has become so central and nonnegotiable to today's feminism and progressivism that some women's groups aren't allowed to officially join a women's march that's supposed to be for all women. And that's just one instance of the extremes now dictated by new absolutism.

Consider the legacy of President Barack Obama. For two terms, his Administration gave teeth to the Democratic Party's support of abortion rights. It made a priority of using existing regulations to penalize demonstrators outside abortion clinics. The contraception mandate arguably covering abortifacient drugs gave rise to hundreds of lawsuits, including by indigent nuns: witness the Little Sisters of the Poor, who became part of the Supreme Court case *Burwell v. Hobby Lobby Stores*. Capping off his record, on one of his last days in office, Obama finalized a rule that banned states from withholding Title X federal money from health clinics that provide abortion.

Like-minded absolutism has led groups like the ACLU to sue Catholic hospitals and otherwise work against charitable Christian organizations. Emergency pregnancy centers run by anti-abortion groups—where women can get free medical advice and other help, as well as more prosaic aid like diapers and baby

furniture—have also become targets of progressives. The ACLU has sued the U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops over its work on the southern border. The Catholic Church is instrumental in alleviating humanitarian need there, but these days defending abortion trumps helping refugees.

This is a sea change for progressivism. Until the 1990s or so, nationally respected Democrats like Sargent Shriver and Robert Casey of Pennsylvania enjoyed good standing in the party without having to recant their pro-life stances. Other progressive leaders, both before and after *Roe*, could also oppose abortion, and did—among them Jesse Jackson (who later switched). Civil libertarian Nat Hentoff, who died in January, argued for a connection between civil liberties and the unborn. Reaching further back, many suffragists and early feminists also believed that abortion does women and children wrong—with Dorothy Day and Charlotte Lozier among them. If these champions for women were alive today, they would have been barred as formal partners in the Women's March too.

Similarly, even yesterday's champions of abortion rights weren't nearly as uncompromisingly dogmatic as they've become. During the 2008 campaign, the recent Democratic standard bearer, Hillary Clinton, could call for making abortion “safe, legal and rare.” Such careful rhetoric was in keeping with reality. Yet by 2016, with its declaration of newly “unequivocal” support, the Democratic Party platform was agreed by all sides to be the most “progressive” in history—more supportive of abortion rights than ever before.

Until just a few years ago, progressives had a choice between their opinions on abortion and their opinions about everything else. Now they don't. Will this choiceless stance prove acceptable to all people of the left, beyond coastal elites? Will today's abortion-rights absolutism help the Democratic Party that progressivism calls home—or cleave it? Tomorrow's elections may hinge in part on answers to just those questions.

came out of a huge turnout—possibly the largest in U.S. history: go home and think small. While holding the White House for the past eight years, Democrats lost big at the state level. With control of only 14 state legislatures (to the GOP's 32), and 16 governors, the consensus preached at every rally is that the party needs to rebuild from the ground up. “I'm sure I'm not the only one thinking, Maybe I could run for political office,” said Gari Ann Dunn, who traveled to D.C. from Cincinnati, where she will look into local leadership positions when she returns home.

THE MARCHERS were way out in front of the Democratic Party in other ways. Though several Senators addressed the Washington crowd, six of the seven candidates vying to become the party's next chair skipped the rallies to attend a high-dollar donor event in Florida organized by Clinton ally David Brock. That reflects the continuing tension between the centrist elite and the populist leftist wings of the party, played out in the primary battle between Sanders and Clinton. The contest will produce more bloodletting and infighting, but at this point, it's a healthy competition in an opposition that takes many forms. The ACLU, which greeted Trump's election with the promise, “We'll see you in court,” saw a record \$38 million spike in contributions since Nov. 9, and is hiring some 100 new staffers, mostly litigators. At Yale Law School, a seminar convened to prepare legal challenges to the Trump Administration.

In California, Governor Jerry Brown vows to do the same, while former attorney general Eric Holder leads an effort to address the structural advantages enjoyed by Republicans, who by holding state legislatures get to draw safer and safer congressional districts after each census. Meanwhile, former Hill aides who saw the rise of the Tea Party firsthand now volunteer for the Indivisible team, which has assembled an online primer on how to lobby Congress, much of it gleaned from the Tea Party's success. It's been downloaded more than 500,000 times. The Sunday morning after the Washington march, Emily's List held a training workshop for 500 women on how to support female candidates, and had requests from 400 more. Four in 10 were under age 35, says executive director Jessica O'Connell.

*Eberstadt is the author of several books, including *It's Dangerous to Believe: Religious Freedom and Its Enemies* and *How the West Really Lost God: A New Theory of Secularization**



"The election has been a tipping point," she says.

March organizers, a diverse group of women operating by consensus, prepared a discrete plan of 10 follow-on actions, starting with a mail-in postcard to Congress. Meanwhile, on Facebook, a link circulating a few days later read: "It starts with the House." Winning back control is a very heavy lift; the Democrats are down 47 seats, and young people and minorities are notorious for their low turnouts in midterm elections.

But in January, the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee, which raises funds for House races, added 500,000 addresses to its master email list of 3 million. As for the Democratic leaders in the House and the Senate, after witnessing eight years of GOP obstruction, they were already inclined to use whatever available procedural levers could impede Trump's agenda—threatening, for instance, to hold up indefinitely any Supreme Court nomination deemed insufficiently "mainstream." After Jan. 21, they understand the mantra of their activist, fundraising, networking base comes down to one word: *resist*.

And don't discount Trump as a motivator. The billionaire entered the White House with the lowest Gallup approval

Protesters around the world, like those in Paris on Jan. 21, rallied in solidarity with the Women's March on Washington

rating—45%—since such things were measured, and in his first hours in office appeared determined to take the number lower still. The day after the Inauguration found him in the lobby of the CIA, where he'd come to patch up the rift over his hostile tweets toward the intelligence community ("Are we living in Nazi Germany?") over its finding that Russia worked to help elect him. He stood in front of the memorial to the agency's fallen but mentioned their sacrifice only fleetingly, going on instead about his own intelligence, his vigor, an error by a TIME reporter and, most of all, a network's disappointing crowd estimates for his Inauguration.

That evening he sent his press secretary to bark out a series of falsehoods on the same sore point—later termed "alternative facts" by adviser Kellyanne Conway, a turn of phrase that may cling to Trump's White House as "this is the operative statement" did to Richard Nixon's. Team Trump seemed to right the ship on their first full business day, Monday, signing a flurry of Executive

Orders and corralling union leaders in a display of unity. But by day's end, it was thrown into shadow when the President again claimed that 3 million to 5 million votes were fraudulently cast—an other false statement, and an exceedingly strange one to make from the West Wing.

"He could have put out this fire since the campaign ended, and instead he's poured gasoline on it," says activist Van Jones, with a note of appreciation. "Everything he's done has only served to grow this movement." Turns out it's easier without a candidate. Jones estimates the energy arrayed against Trump at five times what existed for Hillary. But then it's a truism of politics that it's easier to attack than to build up, and easier still in the era of social media. "Trump will keep the momentum up," Jones says. "We are going to lose every major battle over the next six to 18 months. We're going to get beat. But now the beatings are going to be galvanizing instead of demoralizing." It is the gift of Trump, and it keeps on giving. —*With reporting by* JOSH SANBURN/NEW YORK CITY; CHARLOTTE ALTER, ALEX ALTMAN, ELIZABETH DIAS, SAM FRIZELL, MAYA RHODAN and SUSANNA SCHROBSDORFF/WASHINGTON; and KATY STEINMETZ/SAN DIEGO

SURGERY CENTER of OKLAHOMA



*Anesthesiologists
Steven Lantier
and Keith Smith
founded a cash-
based medical
center in Oklahoma
City that posts its
prices online*

PHOTOGRAPH BY
DAN FARNUM FOR TIME

WHY THE DOCTOR TAKES ONLY CASH

Fixed-price clinics offer a glimpse at the post-Obamacare world

BY HALEY SWEETLAND EDWARDS/OKLAHOMA CITY

WHEN ART VILLA FOUND OUT, AFTER ONE TOO many boating accidents, that he needed a total knee replacement, he began asking around to see how much it would cost. The hospital near his home in Helena, Mont., would charge \$40,000 for the procedure, he says. But that didn't include the anesthesiologist's fee, physical therapy or a stay at a rehabilitation center afterward. A 2015 Blue Cross Blue Shield study found that one hospital in Dallas billed \$16,772 for a knee replacement while another in the same area charged \$61,585.

It was in the midst of this confounding research that Villa, who's 68, heard about the Surgery Center of Oklahoma, whose business model is different from that of most hospitals. There, the all-inclusive price for every operation is listed on the website. A rotator-cuff repair for the shoulder costs \$8,260. A surgical procedure for carpal tunnel syndrome is \$2,750. Setting and casting a basic broken leg: \$1,925.

The catch is that the whole facility is cash-based. It doesn't take insurance of any kind. Not Aetna. Not Cigna. Not Medicare or Medicaid. Patients or their employers pay whatever price is listed online, period. There are no negotiated rates, no third-party reimbursements and almost no paperwork. "We say, 'Here's the price. Here's what you're getting. Here's your bill,'" says Keith Smith, who co-founded the Surgery Center in 1997 with fellow anesthesiologist Steven Lantier. "It's as simple as that."

To Villa, the model seemed refreshingly subversive. The Surgery Center would charge \$19,000 for his whole-knee replacement, a discount of nearly 50% on what Villa expected to be charged at his local hospital. And that price would include everything from airfare to the organization's only facility, in Oklahoma City, to medications and physical therapy. If unforeseen complications arose during or after the procedure, the Surgery Center would cover those costs. Villa wouldn't see another bill.

Sometimes called direct pay, and closely related to concierge care, this sort of business model was once seen as the perquisite of rich folks and medical tourists from foreign lands. But nowadays many of the people seeking cash-based care are middle-class Americans with high-deductible insurance plans. For a patient with an \$11,000 family deductible, for example, it might make more sense to seek out a cash-based center like the Premier Medical Imaging facility in Minneapolis, which offers a basic MRI for \$499, than to cough up the several thousand dollars that the same procedure generally costs at a traditional hospital. Cash payments don't count toward a patient's deductible, but for some it's worth the gamble.

Self-insured companies, like the trucking and storage firm where Villa is the chief administrative officer, are also fueling the trend. Because such companies pay their employees' medical bills out of their operating budget, it's in their interest to steer

everybody to the cheapest option. Villa, for example, says his decision to go to the Surgery Center saved his company money, since his \$19,000 bill is less than it would have been charged, even with a negotiated discount, by a traditional hospital. The Oklahoma state public employees' insurance fund, which covers 183,000 people, recently did similar math. In 2015 it announced a new rule: If patients go to a traditional hospital, they pay their deductible and co-payment. If they go to a cash-based provider that meets the fund's criteria, including the Surgery Center of Oklahoma, they pay nothing at all.

While no organization keeps track of how many cash-based medical centers have cropped up nationwide in recent years, Smith and Lantier say they've witnessed an explosion. In Oklahoma City alone there are roughly three dozen centers that are all or partly cash based, specializing in everything from radiology to oncology. Texas has two dozen such facilities, and in Torrance, Calif., the Ocean Surgery Center posts many of its prices online. Thousands of cash-based primary-care practices have also sprung up across the country.

This trend may accelerate nationally. With the Affordable Care Act on the chopping block, many experts expect the free-market model to take off. While congressional Republicans have yet to produce a viable replacement for the Obama Administration's health care law, almost any change is likely to result in more Americans' choosing high-deductible insurance plans, which would help fuel the cash-based marketplace for years to come.

A FEW DAYS after Villa's knee-replacement operation was completed on Jan. 17, his daughter captured a video of the happy patient, in headphones, "boogying down the hallway," as he put it, of the Marriott Residence Inn in Oklahoma City, where he stayed for a week and a half to recover. After the surgery a physical therapist and a nurse visited Villa in his hotel room, bearing gifts: an ice machine, pain medication, a thermometer and detailed, hands-on instructions for his recovery, all of which were included in his original bill. "I've really never experienced this quality of care," Villa says.

There is good reason to think Villa's experience could be the shape of things to

FREE-MARKET HEALTH CARE 101

In a shift in how health care is bought and sold, a growing number of medical centers are refusing to accept insurance and instead attracting patients by publicly posting their prices—which are sometimes lower than what patients pay through insurance

How direct pay works, by type of coverage



INSURANCE

Traditionally

Insurers negotiate discounted rates with the medical providers in their network. Providers charge different amounts to different insurers for the same procedures, but these rates are not publicly available.

With direct pay

The idea is that health insurance would begin to look more like auto insurance: insurers estimate the cost of a procedure and send a check to the patient, who compares prices and chooses a provider.



SELF-FUNDED EMPLOYER

Traditionally

Employers generally hire a preferred provider organization (PPO), which then negotiates discounted rates with medical providers on the employer's behalf. Employers pay claims out of their operating budgets.

With direct pay

Employers would partner with medical providers on the basis of their publicly available prices and then pay them directly. Employers would still pay medical bills out of their operating budgets.



MEDICARE AND MEDICAID

Traditionally

The government determines how much to reimburse medical providers for all procedures, on the basis of recommendations from the American Medical Association. Rates are often modest, leading some doctors to refuse to accept such coverage.

With direct pay

If most medical providers posted their prices, some argue, the government could set reimbursement rates based on the average regional price of a procedure.



OUT OF POCKET

Traditionally

Patients pay medical providers directly. In the past, uninsured patients' bills were based on the artificially inflated prices providers used to begin negotiations with insurers. Some traditional providers are now quietly offering cash-only prices that are lower than insurers' negotiated rates.

With direct pay

Patients still pay providers directly, but since price lists are posted publicly, regional providers compete on price, quality and reputation.

come. Since taking office, President Donald Trump has signed an Executive Order instructing the Department of Health and Human Services to begin weakening Obamacare, while standing by his previous promise that any replacement plan will allow Americans with pre-existing conditions to access affordable insurance.

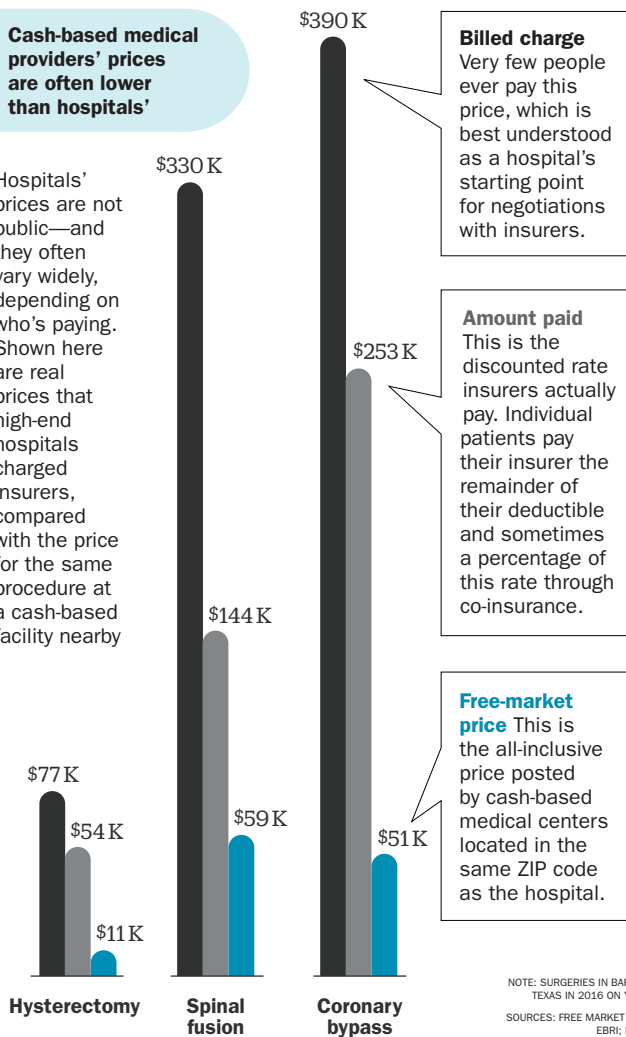
To meet these goals, Republican leaders have been targeting a series of reforms that President Obama opposed. They will likely allow insurers to sell across state lines, resulting in the sale of more plans with limited coverage of basic health care or prescription drugs. They will also likely scrap the prohibition on bare-bones, high-deductible "catastrophic" plans and eliminate deductible limits entirely. If the final draft includes all or any combination of those provisions, the result will

be many more Americans' signing up for low-premium, high-deductible plans—precisely the type of insurance that has driven the rise of cash-based medicine over the past six years.

But even without a new Republican system, cash-based care has been growing under Obamacare, which required insurers to provide more-comprehensive coverage and to offer plans to anyone who wanted one. Insurers made up for having to cover a more expensive patient population by getting customers to contribute more out of pocket with higher deductibles, co-payments and co-insurance. While Obamacare imposed limits on how high deductibles could be—\$7,150 for an individual and \$14,300 for a family—the out-of-pocket contributions rose for many Americans, turning more patients

Cash-based medical providers' prices are often lower than hospitals'

Hospitals' prices are not public—and they often vary widely, depending on who's paying. Shown here are real prices that high-end hospitals charged insurers, compared with the price for the same procedure at a cash-based facility nearby



Turning to cash

54%

of self-employed physicians spend at least 10 hours a week on paperwork

1 in 10

physicians don't discuss the cost of treatment with patients because they don't know the cost

3%

2012

6%

2016

Physicians accepting only cash

"Finding an average price doesn't require complicated math," Smith says. "It's arithmetic." Since posting the price list eight years ago, they've adjusted it twice, both times to lower rates.

ONE PROBLEM with a free-market, cash-based system of health care is that it promises to work really well for people like Villa, whose companies stand to save money by avoiding traditional hospitals, but less well for others. Without safeguards, it threatens to marginalize the poorest and sickest among us, who could not possibly afford, say, a \$19,000 knee replacement without help from an employer, the government or a charity. While Americans tend to accept certain inequities as a reality of capitalism—there are always going to be people who succeed and those who fall behind—we are less comfortable with them when it comes to health care. We don't like the idea of families going bankrupt after a cancer diagnosis or losing coverage after a parent loses a job. In poll after poll Americans of both political parties say they support provisions ensuring that people with pre-existing conditions can access health care.

Twila Brase, president of the conservative Citizens' Council for Health Freedom and one of the most energetic advocates of free-market-based health care, acknowledges the problem. For a direct-pay system to work, she says, providers must be willing to give away care. "Charity has always been part of the medical practice," she says. (Smith and Lantier say they perform charitable operations, although to avoid being inundated with requests, they don't report details.) Another way to make a free-market-based system work is to increase government safeguards: expand Medicare and Medicaid, compel states to create "high-risk" pools to underwrite coverage for those with pre-existing conditions, or require insurance companies to cover everyone. Which explains in part why replacing Obamacare is so vexing for the GOP: all that sounds a lot like Obamacare.

Villa, meanwhile, remains a convert. When he returns to work, he says, he's considering helping his company create financial incentives to steer employees to the Surgery Center of Oklahoma. "Even with airfare and hotel stays," he says, "the savings could be huge."

into price hounds. If you're paying cash for that mole removal anyway, why not find the cheapest dermatologist in town? The Surgery Center of Oklahoma, among the first in the country to post its prices online in 2008, saw an uptick in business after Obamacare. "I guess it's ironic that Obamacare created this market for us," Smith says, with a laugh.

In the health care world, the Surgery Center of Oklahoma's business model is considered radical, in part because the industry, as it's structured now, doesn't lend itself to price transparency. Providers charge different insurance companies different amounts for the same procedures, and in many cases, insurers' contracts explicitly bar hospitals from publicly disclosing their reimbursement rates. That many regions of the U.S. are

now dominated by one hospital chain also creates a monopoly problem: if an insurer wants to offer plans in that area, it's got to accept the hospital's rates. Some providers say it's not possible to set prices in the first place, since medical procedures aren't normal consumer products.

In arriving at their price list, Smith and Lantier did an end run around the whole system. They asked their fellow doctors how much compensation was expected per procedure, factored in necessary expenses like surgical equipment and medical implants, then tacked on a 10% to 15% profit margin. Since their surgery center does not employ the army of administrators that is often required to haggle with insurers and follow up on Medicare reimbursements, their overhead is smaller. The whole operation is 41 people.

World

HOLLYWOOD

A MOVIE-CRAZY CHINA IS REMAKING THE GLOBAL FILM



GOOD EAST

INDUSTRY IN ITS IMAGE BY HANNAH BEECH/HENGDIAN



Actors on the set of a costume drama at Hengdian World Studios. China's box-office revenue is poised to surpass Hollywood's in the next few years

PHOTOGRAPH BY LIZ HINGLEY FOR TIME



THE LINE WAS TRITE, BUT FAN BINGBING delivered it with conviction. Looping arms with kung fu legend Jackie Chan, she craned her neck and widened her eyes into a lemur-like gaze. “You’re not all here for us, are you?” she asked, with manufactured surprise, of the hordes gathered at a PR event for the action flick *Skiptrace*. In truth, they weren’t. Far more than Jackie—as Chan is universally known, with an antic exclamation point after his first name—they were there for her.

Fan, 35, is China’s biggest celebrity, having ruled the screen since her teenage years. Her work ethic makes the ubiquitous Jennifer Lawrence look like a slacker. Last summer, Fan starred in two blockbusters, one of which was *Skiptrace*, also featuring Jackie and directed by Hollywood-turned-Beijing transplant Renny Harlin. Another Fan vehicle, *L.O.R.D.: Legend of Ravaging Dynasties*, has made over \$55 million since opening in September. There are also the cover-girl obligations for L’Oréal, Louis Vuitton and Cartier, among other luxury brands eager to associate themselves with Fan’s face in China’s market. Fan ranks as the world’s fifth best-paid actress, according to *Forbes*, nestled between Jennifer Aniston and Charlize Theron. She is so adored at home that plastic surgeons specialize in giving clients the Fan Bingbing look: outsize eyes peering out of a V-shaped face, like a cartoon princess ready for her selfie.

▲
Fan Bingbing before attending the opening night of the 19th Shanghai International Film Festival in June

Sure, barely anyone outside China has ever heard of the Chinese actor—but that doesn’t really matter. Fan’s megawattage proves that celluloid success no longer depends on making it big in Hollywood. She has dipped a slender ankle—the Chinese aesthetic’s ideal ankle is one so delicate, it can be encircled by thumb and forefinger—into Hollywood. But so far she has been confined to the background. In *X-Men: Days of Future Past*, Fan portrayed a teleporting mutant named Blink. The name was apt—critics joked that if you blinked, you might miss her speak in her Hollywood debut; she also played an unnamed nurse in *Iron Man 3*—though you’d see her only in the extra scenes added specifically for the China market. “The reason I was cast is simple,” Fan tells TIME. “[Hollywood] considered the Chinese market, wanted to add Asian faces and found me.” Still, she isn’t content to remain Asian arm candy. “In 10 years’ time,” she laughs, “I’m sure I will be the heroine of *X-Men*.”

FAN ISN’T KIDDING. China’s ascent is the economic story of the 21st century, and the entertainment industry is no exception. An average of 22 new screens were

unveiled in China in 2015—each day. That year, the Chinese box office surged by almost 50% over 2014, and Hollywood is counting on an expanding Chinese middle class to make up for vanishing audiences at home. Over the next couple of years, the Chinese box office may well surpass that of North America as the world’s biggest, even if last year’s China numbers fell—as has box-office revenue in Hollywood—amid a general economic slowdown in the country. Still, even Hollywood movies that bomb in the West can be redeemed by Chinese interest. Last summer’s *World of Warcraft*, which cost \$160 million to make, managed less than \$25 million at the U.S. box office on its opening weekend. But the video-game adaptation scored \$156 million in its first five days in Chinese theaters, on the back of intense gaming interest in China.

Money is also flowing the other way. Looking to offload cash abroad as the yuan has devalued, Chinese companies have snapped up Hollywood studios, theaters and production companies. Last year Dalian Wanda Group, the Chinese real estate and entertainment conglomerate, announced it was buying Legendary Entertainment studio—producer of blockbusters like *Jurassic World*—for \$3.5 billion, adding to an entertainment portfolio that includes AMC Entertainment, the U.S. theater-chain giant, and Odeon & UCI, the biggest in Europe. In the fall,



Wang Jianlin, Wanda's founder and China's richest man, struck a deal with Sony Pictures to finance films and also agreed to a \$1 billion acquisition of Dick Clark Productions, which produces the Golden Globes and American Music Awards.

Chinese e-commerce king Alibaba and online gaming giant Tencent, already among the world's biggest tech companies, have hunted for content in Hollywood, investing in small studios and bankrolling films like the latest *Mission: Impossible* and the summer's *Star Trek Beyond* and *Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtles: Out of the Shadows*. In October, Alibaba announced it was partnering with Steven Spielberg, Hollywood's top-grossing director, to produce, distribute and finance films globally—and in China. Even the state-owned broadcaster from Hunan province, Chairman Mao Zedong's birthplace, has poured money into Lionsgate, the studio behind the *Hunger Games* series.

Japanese, Middle Eastern and European companies have long spent big in Hollywood. But China is different. "We have both big pockets and a big stomach," says Li Ruigang, head of China Media Capital (CMC), a private-equity firm that has partnered with Warner Bros., DreamWorks and Imax, among others. "China has money to spend on Hollywood and this incredible market at home. The China-Hollywood connection will sustain itself for a very long time."

Jackie Chan and Fan Bingbing do press for *Skiptrace* at the Jackie Chan Museum in Shanghai in June

China's box-office weight has already affected the kind of films Hollywood makes. Pleasing Chinese audiences—and a Chinese central government hyper-allergic to criticism—is now part of the Hollywood formula. Remember 2015's *The Martian*, in which the Chinese space agency unexpectedly saves the day? *Transformers 4*—which shattered Chinese box-office records in 2014 with \$320 million in revenues, more than the film made in North America—was partly set in Hong Kong and studded with Chinese product placements. The sci-fi action franchise showed the Chinese Communist Party standing up to invading robots while American authorities floundered. (To be fair, renegade Texans still rescued the human race.) *Rogue One: A Star Wars Story* features two Chinese actors, director-actor Jiang Wen and Hong Kong martial artist Donnie Yen. "When China was not the market, you just followed the American way," says Jackie, who was awarded an honorary Oscar last November and ranks No. 2 on *Forbes'* list of the world's best-paid actors. "But these days, they ask me, 'Do you think the China audience will like it?' All the writers, producers—they think about China.

Now China is the center of everything."

The increasing significance of the China market, though, means geopolitical thrillers about Beijing's adventures in the South China Sea and its cyberhacking of foreign governments (or taboo topics like Tibetan independence) likely won't get U.S. studio backing anytime soon. Critics wondered why in the recent Marvel movie *Doctor Strange*, a comic-book character who is a Tibetan mystic was changed to a Celtic woman played by Tilda Swinton. (The film, which secured a November release in China alongside its North American debut, grossed nearly \$45 million in its opening weekend in China without having to submit to cuts by local censors.) There's a reason Russians are still cinema's go-to antagonists, a quarter-century after the Cold War ended—and it's not just because of Vladimir Putin. "The role of Hollywood film villain is empty," says Rob Cain, a film consultant who has worked in China for years. "There's no way the Chinese are going to be the replacement for Soviet bad guys because nobody wants to risk the China relationship."

Congress, at least, is growing concerned about Beijing's influence in Hollywood. Last fall, 18 representatives from both sides of the political aisle, including the chairman of the House Intelligence Committee, called for greater scrutiny of certain Chinese investments in the U.S., like Wanda's play for Legendary.

“Should the definition of national security be broadened to address concerns about propaganda and control of the media and ‘soft power’ institutions?” the lawmakers asked in a letter to the U.S. Government Accountability Office, noting “growing concerns about China’s efforts to censor topics and exert propaganda controls on American media.”

THE IRONY is that U.S. film executives are flocking east just as the noose is tightening on free expression there. President Xi Jinping has presided over the harshest crackdown on intellectual life in decades, with hundreds of dissenters jailed. Amid a push to make the ruling Communist Party more relevant to youngsters intoxicated by reality TV and illegally downloaded Hollywood films, Xi has decried artists who “are salacious, indulge in kitsch, are of low taste and have gradually turned their work into cash cows or into ecstasy pills for sensual stimulation.”

It’s not just politically sensitive subjects that are circumscribed. Over the past year, state censors bound by prudish socialist mores have banned time travel, one-night stands and even Fan’s cleavage from Chinese TV. In August, the national media regulator warned local news programs not to “express overt admiration for Western lifestyles”—generally the sort of lifestyles glorified by Hollywood. A new Chinese film law that was recently adopted warned in draft form that movies need to be more “centered on the people, guided by core socialist values”—values that surely don’t include R-rated films.

Because China wants to protect its growing film industry—as it coddles other economic sectors behind trade barriers—a quota system essentially limits the number of big-budget imported feature films to 34 a year. The quota appears to have been relaxed last year amid the box-office slowdown, but it’s unlikely that Hollywood will be given too much latitude. In the past, major foreign studios were generally allowed to keep only one-quarter of Chinese box-office revenues. In December, U.S. Senate minority leader-elect Charles Schumer sent a letter, copied to then President-elect Donald Trump, expressing concern about Chinese investment in the U.S. even as “U.S. companies continue to face steep barriers to market access in China.”

To evade such restrictions, Hollywood has turned to co-productions—done with a Chinese partner—which aren’t subject to the quota. Co-productions require a certain amount of Chinese financing, scenes shot in China and Chinese actors. But China’s new film law forbids local movie companies from partnering with foreign filmmakers intent on “damaging China’s national dignity, honor and interests, or harming social stability or hurting national feelings”—quite an expansive list of no-nos. And while these ventures may be “East meets West,” the results tend to please only East. Take *The Flowers of War*, a \$100 million epic about the Nanking Massacre directed by Zhang Yimou, probably China’s best-known director abroad. The 2012 drama, which starred Christian Bale saving innocent Chinese from marauding Japanese soldiers, flopped outside China, taking in only \$311,000 at the U.S. box office. The most successful co-production so far was *Kung Fu Panda 3*, which pulled in \$519 million worldwide last year. (Jackie voiced characters in both the English and Mandarin versions of the film.) But politically safe animated features starring China’s national animal, coupled with Hollywood actors and a Western script, are as rare as pandas themselves. “Co-productions aren’t a sustainable model,” says Li of CMC, which financed *Kung Fu Panda 3*, “because you can’t tailor to both sides.”

Much was riding on *The Great Wall*, a tentpole co-production also directed by Zhang. The film cost roughly \$150 million to make, the most expensive feature ever shot in China. The plot follows a 17th century Western mercenary, played by Matt Damon, who defends China from space aliens. It did \$65 million on its opening weekend in China last month, pallid compared with previous local blockbuster debuts. *The Great Wall* is slated for a February release in the U.S., where already controversy has preceded it. Taiwanese-American actor Constance Wu, who stars on the sitcom *Fresh Off the Boat*, tweeted a protest of the “racist myth that [only a] white man can save the world.” (Other Asian-American actors have also lodged “whitewashing” complaints about Swinton’s turn in *Doctor Strange*.)

Its mashed-up story line notwithstanding, *The Great Wall* is far more



American than Chinese. Even the Chinese actors speak English. But its financing is mostly Chinese, and the ambitions of its overlords are global. *The Great Wall* was co-produced by Universal Pictures, Wanda’s Legendary and the upstart Le Vision Pictures. Le Vision is the film division of LeEco, a Chinese tech venture that began as a video-streaming service—like Netflix but years earlier than the U.S. firm—and now has ambitions to make everything from smartphones to driverless electric cars. In September, LeEco announced it had hired Adam Goodman, the former head of Paramount Pictures, to direct its Hollywood operations. But LeEco’s expansion—in so many directions at once—appears to have burned out fast. After announcing in July that it would buy



▲
Filming a period spy movie at Hengdian World Studios, the second largest outdoor film studio on earth

Vizio, the No. 2 TV maker in the U.S., for \$2 billion, the Chinese tech firm has suffered a cash crunch.

Financial woes, though, haven't stopped Le Vision head Zhang Zhao, a onetime philosophy major who now runs a major Chinese entertainment company, from demanding Hollywood's respect. "I went to the U.S. 20 years ago and worked as a delivery boy, learned English and worked hard to get where I am," he says from his bare-bones office in Beijing. "The Hollywood people who come here, how much can they speak Chinese? How

much have they changed their mind-set? Hollywood needs to treat us like an equal partner, not just a market."

THAT'S WHAT RENNY HARLIN seems to be doing. When he was a kid in small-town Finland, his ambition to one day become a Hollywood director seemed as far-fetched as a blockbuster plotline. Now, with a slew of Hollywood films to his credit (*Die Hard 2*, *A Nightmare on Elm Street 4*, *Cliffhanger*), Harlin is again indulging in unlikely dreams. In 2015, after more than two decades without a hit film, he moved full time to Beijing, where he lives with a mutt rescued from a Chinese dog-meat farm. Fleeing Hollywood has paid off. *Skiptrace*, a \$30 million action comedy starring Fan,

Jackie and Johnny Knoxville, has grossed more than \$130 million in China. (The film scored only a limited release in the U.S.) Up next for Harlin is *Legend of the Ancient Sword*, which is based on a Chinese video game. That project is being financed by Alibaba Pictures, the film arm of the tech company that has surpassed Walmart as the world's biggest retailer.

The last film Harlin shot in California was *Die Hard 2* in 1989. "Nothing's made in Hollywood anymore," he says. "It's way too expensive." So Harlin, like other Hollywood directors, hopscotched the world, filming in Bulgaria, Georgia and Thailand, among other countries. Still, *Skiptrace* marked the first time he employed an all-local crew rather than the imported Hollywood expertise that drives costs

up. It wasn't easy. Film budgets in China often run just five pages long. Hollywood's are encyclopedic, down to every last prop and catered meal, to reassure financiers wary of costly gambles. While Hollywood crews are protected by union rules that limit shoots to five-day workweeks and no more than six hours without a meal break or overtime pay, Chinese labor is contracted out for a month in which personnel are used to working 16-to-20-hour days without a single day off. "Hollywood thinks there's only one way to do things—its way," Harlin says. "Making a movie in China, I realized that flexibility, even though it has its challenges, is liberating."

So far the biggest beneficiaries of China's cinema boom have been local film companies, which seem to proliferate with every month. Chinese tech companies, real estate firms, venture-capital outfits, state investment funds—they all want to profit from a growing middle class looking for ways to fill its leisure time. (Not all are succeeding—Alibaba Pictures reported a \$69 million loss in the first half of 2016.) As China's film industry has expanded, Hollywood's share of the Chinese box office has decreased from 49% in 2012 to 32% today. It's only natural that the world's most populous nation will develop a flourishing movie industry that can reflect its traditions, legends and values. India has Bollywood; shouldn't China have Chollywood? The two highest-grossing movies in Chinese film history, last year's rom-com *The Mermaid* (\$554 million) and 2015's live-action animation *Monster Hunt* (\$385 million), were both 100% Chinese. Last February, Chinese audiences broke the global weekly box-office record by purchasing \$557 million in tickets. Every film showing in China that record-breaking week was a local production. No Hollywood magic needed.

China's film industry could wind up like its tech sector, which has thrived behind the Great Firewall. Apple prospered in part because of a Chinese obsession with the iPhone. But the California company enjoyed rare market access in China, and it is now being challenged by local competitors. With Google, Facebook, Twitter and Instagram all blocked from China, whether for protectionist or political reasons, homegrown firms like Alibaba or Tencent have prospered.

Like Fan Bingbing, Chinese digital firms haven't required the world to succeed. China was enough.

HOWEVER, CHINA'S LEADERS, and its cash-rich companies, want more than just domestic success. After all, Bollywood has exported its schlocky, singing productions across the developing world. Tiny South Korea has managed to capture part of the global TV market with its gauzy costume dramas. Shouldn't the inheritor of a proud civilization that spans thousands of years be able to project its own soft power? Even as President Xi has restricted artistic freedom at home, he has urged China to export its values and promote a "global creative industry." Wanda's Wang, a former soldier in the People's Liberation Army and member of the Chinese Communist Party, has said he wants to use his U.S. theaters to showcase Chinese films.

But Western audiences aren't going to pay to see communist propaganda or overly sanitized Chinese rom-coms, no matter how comfortable the seats may be at revamped AMC theaters. Chinese-made movies, long a negligible force in the global box office, have actually done even worse in the West over the past few years, compared with an earlier era when the offerings tended to be lushly shot martial-art epics or political art-house films like *Raise the Red Lantern* that were banned in China. Even Chinese audiences are tiring of anodyne or jingoistic fare. Despite favorably timed releases that allowed them to avoid competition with foreign blockbusters, a string of big-budget, patriotic-themed films have flopped. "Everybody in the industry knows the rules," says Fan. "All the films that can be shown in China must demonstrate their socialist value."

Film analyst Cain explains how censorship and other official directives can drain the creative spirit. "The government gets

in the way at every step in China," he says. "Your overriding concern is 'Am I going to be O.K.?' You're serving a taskmaster that trumps the audience. That doesn't tend to make for great films." Even CMC's Li, one of China's biggest film investors, acknowledges the dilemma. "Chinese money can buy a lot of things," he says. "But it cannot buy creativity. You cannot buy people's minds and dreams."

Still, a dream factory is flourishing in the hills of China's eastern Zhejiang province, where farmers in conical hats still bend over rice paddies. The town of Hengdian here was home to the world's largest outdoor film studio—at least until Wanda's \$8 billion venture was unveiled last October in the eastern port city of Qingdao. At Hengdian, 30 shoots take place each day in an expanse bigger than the Paramount and Universal studios put together. The Chinese studio, which includes a full-scale mock-up of Beijing's Forbidden City, was founded by Xu Rendong, a onetime farmer who transitioned in the mid-'90s from pharmaceuticals and electronics to moviemaking, even though he had never watched a single Hollywood blockbuster. "I want to sell Chinese culture to the world," says Xu Yong'an, Xu's son, who now runs Hengdian Group.

The Hengdian studio operates with the kind of industry and hustle that has made China's economy the second largest in the world. Between shoots, stars and extras alike sit on the pavement to wolf down rice lunch boxes. Extras are lucky to make \$10 a day. Frostbite stalks in the winter, and mosquitoes plague the summer months. Still, tens of thousands of Chinese flock to Hengdian each year for their shot at stardom or simple survival. Fan, who started out working at Hengdian shooting imperial dramas, compares her trajectory with that of her parents, whose artistic careers were cut short by the Cultural Revolution, the decade-long upheaval that still haunts China today. Fan's father had no choice but to warble communist songs for the army, while her mother's dancing career was thwarted when a troupe leader discovered her family's capitalist past. "The most unfortunate thing is their dreams were suppressed," she says. "For me, nothing is impossible, nothing is beyond consideration." Now that's a real Hollywood ending. □

**IN 2015 AN
AVERAGE OF
22 NEW MOVIE
SCREENS OPENED
IN CHINA—EACH
DAY**

Time Off

'WHAT'S A GIRL TO DO WHEN SHE FALLS FOR AN UNDERWORLD-DWELLING SUPERPOWERED BOUNTY HUNTER?' —PAGE 54



Sugar, sugar: Archie (Apa), Veronica (Mendes), Jughead (Sprouse) and Betty (Reinhart) reborn on the CW

TELEVISION

Archie and the gang come back to a much darker world

By Daniel D'Addario

COMIC BOOKS TEND TO HAVE A VIVID color palette. But the people tasked with adapting them for the screen are, ever more frequently, choosing darkness. Marvel's Avengers are currently at war with one another; on Netflix, *Luke Cage* and *Jessica Jones* tell stories of disaffection and trauma; and the most recent *Superman* film depicted the *Übermensch*'s death.

What about Archie Andrews? The teen star of the *Archie* comics series, known over the past 75 years for its sunny lack of guile, comes to TV with the CW's new soap *Riverdale*. While the familiar characters are there—including sweet-natured Betty and spoiled Veronica—this show wears new, gloomy affectations proudly. *Riverdale* is a signal of where entertainment has drifted: coming up

with a dark story to tell is easy. Finding something to say is the hard part.

Riverdale's Archie (K.J. Apa) has a mournful mien—he's not a character so much as a set of reference points about teen angst, down to the fact that he's an aspiring rock singer of the indie variety. And forget choosing between Betty and Veronica (Lili Reinhart and Camila Mendes), the comics' perpetual dilemma. This Archie is licking his wounds over a halted affair with his music teacher (Sarah Habel), a coupling she repeatedly warns could get her fired or arrested. As the series wears on, that may become inevitable: their final tryst took place near the scene of the mysterious murder of a local teen. And so key evidence becomes one more shared secret.

The story, which hinges on murder



Apa stars as Archie, a football phenom who really wants to be an indie rocker

while branching out into vigilante justice and fortunes lost, alternates between playing out its plot and slyly commenting on it. (It's worth noting that the *Archie* stories have grown darker and more libertine in recent years, but hardly to this degree.) Is the show's voice-over, taken from a roman à clef written by the pained artist Jughead (Cole Sprouse), meant to be ludicrously overwrought or an earnest expression of pain? Why not both? We hear his poetics as the camera pans over the town, a sort of Rust Belt paradise lost, shot in the neo-noir style of *Blue Velvet*. The town's institutions—the drive-in theater, a 24-hour diner—survive, just covered with a layer of grime.

The students of Riverdale, meanwhile, are no one's throwback. They have a 2010s media savvy overlain with an odd courtliness, making stagy pronouncements as though they're aware they're on television. Betty describes Toni Morrison "as, you know, my literary hero," while Veronica is a Truman Capote fan: "I'm *Breakfast at Tiffany's*, but this place is strictly *In Cold Blood*." Its hard to believe either character is familiar with the novelists they cite, if only because they skip so quickly to the next cultural reference.

THIS AIRLESSNESS IS, itself, nothing new for TV. In the 2000s, both *The O.C.* and *Gossip Girl* depicted teenagers as mini-cosmopolitans. But those shows' high schoolers were still governed by hormones, and they brought their moodiness to bear on story lines that were, by comparison to *Riverdale*, sweetly innocent. In the face of a murder of one of their classmates—whose waterlogged corpse we see, complete with a bullet wound to the head—the *Riverdale* teens default to shrugging irony. The departed's bereaved sister Cheryl (Madelaine Petsch) devotes her energies to running cheerleading tryouts, at which Betty and Veronica attempt to make the squad with a fake-Sapphic act. "Check your sell-by date, ladies," Cheryl announces. "Faux-lesbian

kissing hasn't been taboo since 1994." The show depicts two lead characters in a clinch, then tells viewers they're silly to care.

This is an odd cultural moment to try to adapt a property known for its Technicolor optimism—if old taboos are falling away, then this story needs something new against which to rebel. *Riverdale*, for all its virtuosic control of tone and its stars' mastery of sangfroid, hasn't found it. As a result, when the show does get earnest—as when Betty and Veronica boil a star athlete in a hot tub after tiring of his mockery of sexually active Riverdale girls—it's hard to know how seriously to take it. Is there a message here, if occluded, about the phenomenon of "slut shaming"? Or does the show just want to show Betty and Veronica in swimsuits?

Little matter: the show pushes forward into a future defined more by amusements than by the possibilities of story. Take Josie and the Pussycats, Archie's musician pals, who have moved from the fun-loving girl group they were on the page to a marketing machine. The group wears cat ears, Josie (Ashleigh Murray) tells us, because they're "building a brand, creating a signature look." When they perform at a pep rally, it's flat and passionless. The joys and subversions of artistry have fallen away, and brand management—combining the appearance of sex and self-awareness, but none of the real thing—is a poor substitute. But if, like *Riverdale*, you hit all the notes, it can be hard to tell the difference.



^ TWILIGHT OF THE TEEN IDOLS

Luke Perry (*Beverly Hills, 90210*) and Molly Ringwald (*Pretty in Pink*) are set to play Archie's parents on *Riverdale*

RIVERDALE airs on the CW on Thursdays at 9 p.m. E.T.

Everything new is old again

A raft of classic action films are becoming TV shows. Here's how they've (kind of) changed. —*Eliana Dockterman*

BIG SCREEN



LETHAL WEAPON

Premise: Suicidal cop teams up with level-headed veteran

Then: Action-y
Now: Comedy-y

Mustache and mullet > Mustache and goatee

Wife killed in car accident > Pregnant wife killed in car accident

"I'm too old for this sh-t." > "I'm too old for this ..."



TRAINING DAY

Premise: Rookie cop trains under corrupt graybeard

Then: Black mentor, white mentee
Now: White mentor, black mentee

Dramatic dialogue > Pithy banter

Takes place over 24 hours > Takes place over however many hours CBS will allow



TAKEN

Premise: Family tragedy turns man into a revenge machine

Then: Kidnapped daughter
Now: Murdered sister

Retired CIA > CIA recruit

Clean-shaven > Scruffy

He will find them, and he will kill them > He will find them, and he will kill them



SNATCH

Premise: Crazy London criminals chase priceless prize

Then: Completely fictional
Now: Based on a real heist

Going after a diamond > Going after gold

Incomprehensible dialogue > Comprehensible dialogue

Stars a former *Fight Club*-er > Stars a former wizard

SMALL SCREEN



FOX



CBS



NBC



CRACKLE

QUICK TALK

Adam Lambert

The singer and American Idol alum, 34, is about to tour North America as the front man of Queen with original band members Roger Taylor and Brian May.

Do you feel pressure to fill Freddie Mercury's shoes when performing with Queen?

At some point every night I talk to the audience about it, like, "I know. I'm not Freddie." I'm not trying to replace him. It's more a celebration of the legacy of the band—that's the heart of the show.

What's different about playing a Queen show as opposed to touring your own solo material?

A handful of the songs in the set are absolutely ridiculous—high camp. Because the audience already loves the song, I know I can push it as far as I want. It's the most liberating thing.

You're working on your next studio album. What's the sound?

It's a lot bluesier and earthier. I want to get back to live instruments. I like guitar and bass. I want to do it more for me. If people are into it, cool.

You were the first openly gay recording artist to hit No. 1 on the album chart. Have things gotten better for LGBTQ performers?

The kids coming up right now are less hung up on stereotypical gender roles. It's funny, because I look at kids rocking some nail polish or a little glitter and I'm like, "Do you guys think this is new? I've been doing this for years."

There are more male pop stars now. How else have things changed?

A lot of the big male pop artists that are successful right now, in my opinion, seem to have to fit a certain type of behavior. It's very homogenized; a lot of them act and talk and dress the same. I think the idea is, "Do you feel like you could either be his best friend, or is he somebody you'd want to sleep with?" Those are the two types. —SAM LANSKY

ON MY RADAR

LA LA LAND

'It was super-cute. It's a love letter to Hollywood and to a bygone genre, and it does it very well.'



He is the champion

Interrogation footage of Weier (below) and Geyser form the core of HBO's new documentary



TRUE CRIME

A bogeyman who drove kids to attempt murder

By Melissa Chan

THE CRIME WAS GRISLY. IN 2014, MORGAN Geyser and Anissa Weier lured a friend into the woods on the edge of Waukesha, Wis., and stabbed her 19 times. All three girls were 12. More disturbing yet was the motive: the pair told police the attack, which their victim survived, was intended to placate a fictional Internet bogeyman known as Slender Man.

The case, which is headed to trial in adult court, is the subject of HBO's new documentary *Beware the Slenderman* (Jan. 23). (The girls pleaded not guilty on grounds of mental illness.) Even amid a true-crime renaissance—NPR's *Serial* podcast, *Making a Murderer* on Netflix—*Slenderman* finds fresh ground. Extensive interrogation footage of Geyser and Weier shows them at turns immature and vulnerable, at others disturbingly detached. And director Irene Taylor Brodsky tries to rise above mere prurience by weaving in issues of mental health and child incarceration. She has sympathy for the two girls. "It was obvious this was a zeitgeist example of how we are adapting" to digital life, she says, while adding that Geyser and Weier "were clearly in a very distressed and disturbing state."

FROM MEME TO ATTEMPTED MURDER

ORIGIN

Slender Man is usually depicted as a **tall, faceless figure who wears a dark suit and has tentacles for arms**. He was created in 2009 by Internet user Eric Knudsen, who was participating in an online Photoshop contest.

OLD MYTHS

Slender Man's victims are often portrayed as being plagued by a

"**Slender sickness**"—**paranoia, nosebleeds, and nightmares**—before being taken to the woods to be murdered. It's a new take on an ancient, cross-cultural tradition of bogeymen, fictional characters used to scare kids into behaving. Like "sack men" depicted in India, Latin America and across Eastern Europe, he kidnaps and murders children.

NEW URBAN LEGEND

Slender Man stories proliferated in various online forums, becoming

the subject of **video games, wiki pages and numerous Slenderblogs**. A series of YouTube videos that follow the myth in *Blair Witch*-style shorts have racked up more than 90 million views.

FIRST CONTACT

Geyser and Weier first learned of Slender Man on CreepyPasta, a horror-story website. The 12-year-olds later told authorities **they believed he would hurt their families unless they sacrificed a friend**. They begin plotting their attack over the course of several months.

ATTACK AND TRIAL

In June 2014, Geyser and Weier lured a friend into the woods by playing a game of hide-and-seek and stabbed her 19 times. Their victim, also 12 years old, survived. The **two girls were charged as adults for attempted first-degree intentional homicide**; their trial will take place in Wisconsin.



Slender Man recalls "sack man" folklore

WEIER: MICHAEL SEARS—AP; SLENDER MAN: GETTY IMAGES; I AM MICHAEL: REQUIRED VIEWING

DRAMA

I Am Michael maps painful betrayal

IN THE LATE 2000S, MICHAEL Glatze—a former advocate for gay rights and co-founder of *Young Gay America*, a magazine for LGBT youth—announced that he had embraced Christianity and was no longer gay. He also denounced homosexuality as evil. Justin Kelly's *I Am Michael*—adapted from a 2011 *New York Times* Magazine article by Benoit Denizet-Lewis—tells some version of Glatze's story, to the extent that anyone can get at the spiritual truth of it.

James Franco plays Michael: when we first meet him, he's an editor of *XY*, a San Francisco-based magazine for gay men. He and his live-in boyfriend, Bennett (played, with a perfect balance of charm and levelheadedness, by Zachary Quinto), enjoy what looks like a perfect relationship. It's so perfect that they joyously invite a third party into it, Tyler—played by Charlie Carver, whose performance is at first boyishly breezy, only to become heartrending.

But Michael, suffering after having lost his mother, becomes obsessed with questions about life after death. He and Bennett drift apart. He dabbles with Mormonism and Buddhism before turning to evangelical Christianity,



In I Am Michael, Franco and Quinto play lovers whose relationship is torn apart by a radical shift in religious beliefs

eventually becoming engaged to a sweet young woman (Emma Roberts) he meets at a Bible school. The old Michael counseled young people, “What God would punish you for finding love?” The reborn one announces on his blog, “I was a heterosexual person with a homosexual problem. I took care of that problem.” He urges others to do the same.

Kelly and his actors seem anxious not to judge Glatze, but they can't downplay the cutting nature of his betrayal. (In real life, Glatze has since offered apologies for any harm he might have caused and

retreated from ex-gay activism.) Franco's performance, particularly as he portrays the post-“conversion” Michael, is hard to read: the character drifts through the later scenes as if he'd been body-snatched. And, in some ways, he was.

When you become a spokesperson for any group, who really owns you in the end? *I Am Michael* suggests that there's no solid answer to that question. But the damage you can do to someone else by demanding that *they* change is a sin that isn't so easily forgiven.

—STEPHANIE ZACHAREK

All the news that's fit to film

I Am Michael was inspired by the 2011 *New York Times* Magazine article “My Ex-Gay Friend” by Benoit Denizet-Lewis. It's not the only movie that originated as a magazine article.



AMERICAN GANGSTER

Mark Jacobson's 2000 article in *New York* magazine about 1970s heroin kingpin Frank Lucas became Ridley Scott's 2007 biopic, starring Denzel Washington. It was nominated for three Golden Globes.



THE INSIDER

Michael Mann directed this 1999 adaptation of Marie Brenner's *Vanity Fair* story “The Man Who Knew Too Much,” about a tobacco whistle-blower. The film went on to be nominated for seven Oscars.



DOG DAY AFTERNOON

Inspired by P.F. Kluge and Thomas Moore's 1972 *LIFE* magazine article, about a Brooklyn bank robbery, Sidney Lumet's Oscar-winning film captured the antiestablishment mentality of the early 1970s.



A Dog's Purpose
defies W.C.
Fields' dictum
to "never work
with children or
animals"

MOVIES

Humans give meaning to *A Dog's Purpose*

MOVIES ABOUT DOGS ARE ALWAYS EXCRUCIATING for dog lovers. Even if nothing terrible happens, the anxiety that something *might*—ticking away minute by paw-scrabbling minute—is torture.

Nothing truly terrible happens in Lasse Hallström's mostly warm and fuzzy *A Dog's Purpose*, with the exception of a sequence in which a police dog commits an act of bravery that costs her her life. But even though Hallström (*Chocolat*, *The Cider House Rules*) seems to have taken care to make sure *A Dog's Purpose*, based on W. Bruce Cameron's novel, isn't too harrowing for the tenderhearted, a behind-the-scenes drama has threatened to mar the pleasures of the film: after TMZ posted a disturbing tape showing an apparently terrified dog actor, a German shepherd named Hercules, being forced to perform a stunt, PETA called for a boycott.

It all starts charmingly enough. A golden retriever named Bailey—his cheerful, red rubber ball of a voice, heard in voice-over, provided by Josh Gad—becomes the best friend of Ethan (played as a boy by Bryce Gheisar and as a teenager by K.J. Apa) and lives a long, happy life. Then he dies, but there's no need to bring tissues: before we know it, he's reborn as the German shepherd pup who'll eventually become that heroic police dog. As the reincarnation merry-go-round whirls on, he restarts life as a beloved corgi who also lives to a blissful old age. After that, he reappears as a Saint Bernard—Australian shepherd mix who, after a young

adulthood of being chained miserably in a yard (excruciating minutes alert!), finds his way to the ultimate happiness.

There—that wasn't so bad, was it? But all that reincarnating is hard work, and watching it unfold is a slog too. The best thing about *A Dog's Purpose* are the two humans who show up near the end. Peggy Lipton—the undercover-cop dream girl from *The Mod Squad*—appears, resplendently, as one man's long-lost love. The life she's lived in the interim has made her what she is, though she carries it as lightly as a moonbeam. Dennis Quaid is a taciturn farmer whose dreams were shattered long ago, and if that sounds like a cliché, reserve judgment until you see Quaid's face: his character has lost sight of the sun but also yearns for it, and it's those dual sine waves that have kept him going—you see it in the curve of his frown, but also in that of his eventual smile.

If the world had its priorities straight, there'd be a whole romantic movie built around Quaid and Lipton. We also wouldn't have to worry about on-set animal abuse. As the film's producers investigate the circumstances of that leaked video, at least there's also evidence of canine joy in *A Dog's Purpose*, in the form of movie-star mutts chasing their tails and fetching semideflated footballs. That part looks like fun—and when fun is involved, a dog's face doesn't lie. —s.z.

TIME PICKS

MUSIC

Atlanta rap trio Migos returns with sophomore album **Culture** (Jan. 27). Its 12 verbally athletic tracks include stars DJ Khaled and 2 Chainz.



BOOKS

With her biography **The Original Black Elite: Daniel Murray and the Story of a Forgotten Era** (Jan. 31), historian Elizabeth Dowling Taylor brings insight to the rise and fall of America's first educated black people.

DIGITAL SERIES

Comedians John Early and Kate Berlant sharply satirize Hollywood, shredding outrageous showbiz archetypes even as they quest for fame themselves, in Vimeo miniseries **555** (Jan. 31).

MOVIES

Directed by Peter Kunhardt, HBO's **Becoming Warren Buffett** (Jan. 30) tells the story of the Oracle of Omaha, with the billionaire's views on finance's failings shown in interviews.





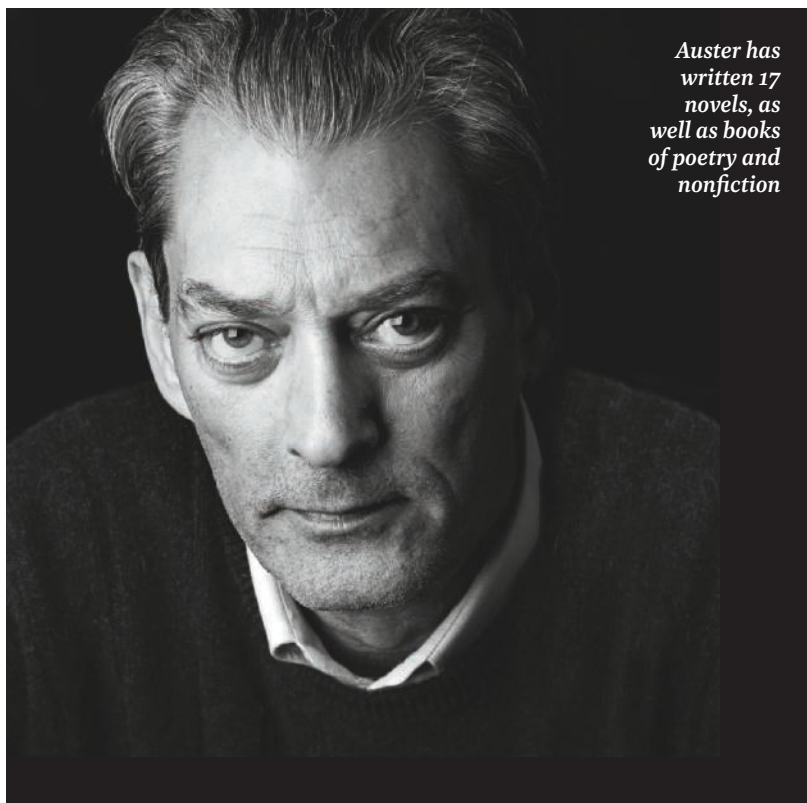
Kettle
Cooked



BBQ FLAVOR SO RICH *and* SMOKY
you can almost HEAR IT SIZZLE.

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Auster has written 17 novels, as well as books of poetry and nonfiction

FICTION

Four roads diverge in a wood

CERTAIN BOOKS LEAVE READERS FEELING THEY KNOW EVERY MINUTE detail of a character's inner life, as if they were lifelong companions and daily confidants. Paul Auster's massive new novel, *4 3 2 1*, is such a book.

The concept behind the 866-page tome boils down to one life, lived four ways. By the end of the first chapter a boy named Archie Ferguson has been born to a New Jersey couple in 1947. Subsequent chapters cycle through four versions of how his life plays out: he grows up in different New Jersey towns, attends different schools and embarks on different adventures and misadventures. It's like an epic game of MASH: Will Ferguson grow up in Montclair or Manhattan? Excel in baseball or basketball? Date girls or love boys too? Live or die?

Coincidence abounds both within and across narratives. One version of Ferguson interrogates the possibility of alternative realities: "He had accumulated enough memories to know that the world around him was continually being shaped by the world within him, just as everyone else's experience of the world was shaped by his own memories, and while all people were bound together by the common space they shared, their journeys through time were all different, which meant that each person lived in a slightly different world from everyone else."

Auster's long sentences and meandering plots amount to a detailed landscape where readers with a penchant for what-ifs can spend more time with an endearing young man, his spirited crush, his charming mother, and the circle of father figures, teachers and friends who love him. All this lovability is in service of a particular metafictional end point, it turns out—and for readers who like taking the scenic route, getting taken for a ride will be worth it. —SARAH BEGLEY

YOUNG ADULT

Heartthrobs and hellscapes

WHAT'S A GIRL TO DO WHEN she falls for an underworld-dwelling, superpowered bounty hunter tasked with wrangling sinful souls to a prison in the earth's core? The answer is in Jeff Giles' new YA saga, *The Edge of Everything*, a novel as enjoyable for teens as it may be for older readers who gobbled up the likes of *The Hunger Games* or *Twilight*. The book opens on Zoe Bissell, a plucky 17-year-old Montanan who's recently lost her dad and her beloved elderly neighbors in a string of freak accidents. As more catastrophe looms, lover boy "X" shows up on the scene and saves Zoe and her little brother from an evildoer, capturing the teen girl's heart in the process. Zoe emerges as a badass heroine with a heart of gold who can navigate the boundaries of good and evil while maintaining a sense of humor: "Do not *even* make fun of my star-crossed supernatural love," she chastises a friend. With imagination and verve, Giles delivers the goods required by the genre, creating a swoonworthy love interest with a sense of justice and old-fashioned charm. —S.B.



FRANCHISE ALERT

The Edge of Everything is the first in a planned series for Giles, a former editor for *Entertainment Weekly* (a Time Inc. publication)



Suspended to start the season, Brady will make his seventh Super Bowl appearance—an NFL record

CONTROVERSY

Tom Brady's payback play

By Sean Gregory

BE WARY OF A PATRIOT scorned. Suspended by the NFL for the season's first four games over his role in the Deflategate affair, Tom Brady has delivered his payback one touchdown at a time. (Brady has denied tampering with footballs in the 2015 AFC title game.) This season the star quarterback threw 28 TD passes, against just two interceptions, and led New England to a league-best 14-2 record. "I saw a little more edge," says former NFL quarterback Trent Dilfer. "This year he's been, 'I'm

so good, I'm going to make this one hurt.'"

Now, after steamrolling through the playoffs, Brady has the Patriots on the brink of the ultimate comeuppance. A win in Super Bowl LI, on Feb. 5 in Houston, would give Brady, 39, his fifth title—a record for a starting QB. He's currently tied at four with his idol Joe Montana and Pittsburgh Steelers great Terry Bradshaw. "I already think he's the greatest quarterback of all time," says Kurt Warner, a 2017

NFL Hall of Fame nominee. "Nobody has done it better in those big moments, and for longer."

The high-scoring Atlanta Falcons are the final obstacle. Luckily for Brady, New England's defense gave up the fewest points in the league this season. Should the Patriots prevail, it would set up a delicious moment: NFL commissioner Roger Goodell, who fought Brady in court over Deflategate, awarding the team the league's most coveted prize. Revenge has never tasted so sweet. □

CHEAT SHEET

Three to watch

A superstar receiver, a former NFL long shot and a dominant defender will help decide whether New England fortifies its dynasty or Atlanta wins its first Super Bowl.



JULIO JONES

A first-team All-Pro, the Falcons phenom is Matt Ryan's favorite target. In October, Jones became just the sixth NFL player to have 300 or more receiving yards in a game.



CHRIS HOGAN

A 180-yd., two-touchdown outing in the AFC title game announced the ex-Penn State lacrosse star, who played just a single season of college football, as a Patriots weapon.



VIC BEASLEY

While Atlanta's offense deservedly earns the accolades, Beasley anchors a young, physical D: the linebacker led the NFL with 15.5 sacks this season and will be key to pressuring Brady.

DIGITS

37.5

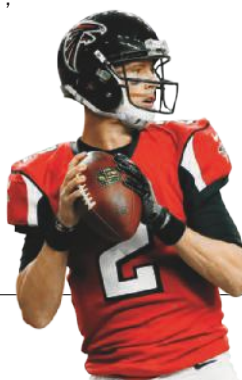
Points per game averaged by Atlanta and New England in this year's playoffs, the most for a pair of conference champs since the 1970 AFL-NFL merger

SOURCE: ESPN

SCORECARD

Atlanta's Patriot way

One useful lesson that Atlanta Falcons general manager Thomas Dimitroff, the director of college scouting for the Patriots from 2003 to 2007, learned from former boss Bill Belichick: what to look for in a franchise quarterback. In 2008, with the Falcons reeling after QB Michael Vick was sent to prison for dogfighting, Dimitroff used the No. 3 overall pick to draft a college quarterback cut like Brady: Matt Ryan, known as Matty Ice for his cool under fire. Ryan immediately became the team's starter, and the Falcons reached the NFC title game in his fifth season before faltering the past three years. But 2016 marked a resurgence: Ryan threw for almost 5,000 yards and is the leading candidate for league MVP. New England taught Dimitroff well. Maybe too well. —S.G.



HOW TO MAKE LIFE EASIER

Simple moves can lead to a less stressed-out you

By Mandy Oaklander

STRESS IS A MODERN MENTAL BOGEY-man that keeps half of U.S. adults up at night, according to a recent survey from the American Psychological Association. And many people don't do anything to try to fight it.

That's bad news because stress takes a measurable physical toll on the body: it's linked to a higher risk of heart attack and stroke, plus a general sense of mal-

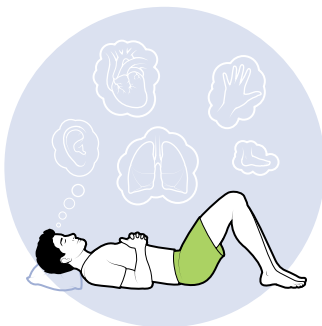
aise. But there's fresh evidence that simple mindfulness practices—and no, that doesn't have to mean sitting cross-legged in meditation—can help ease anxiety.

In a new study to be published in the journal *Psychiatry Research*, people with anxiety who took an eight-week course in which they learned several calming techniques displayed quantifiable changes in their bodies' stress

signals and stress hormones compared with those who took a stress-education course that didn't include those techniques.

In recent years, a growing pile of research has emerged to support this kind of training, called mindfulness-based stress reduction. Studies have found that the consistent practice of paying attention to the present moment without judging it makes people better able to adapt to change and respond to stress.

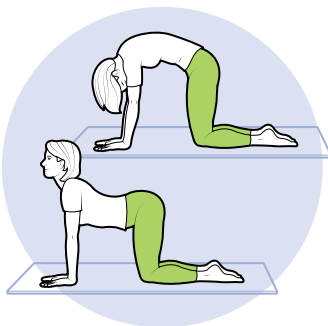
The four strategies outlined below—all of which were taught to the participants in the new study—can help you build resilience to stress too.



CONDUCT A BODY SCAN

For many of us, work can be so mentally taxing that it's possible to forget that we have an entire body attached to our head. The body-scan meditation is a chance to help you tune in to the tiny tingles, throbs and thrums that we often don't even notice. It can last anywhere from one to 20 minutes, and it's easy to do while lying in bed.

Here's how to do it: lie down or sit still in a chair with your eyes closed, and begin to **take inventory of the sensations in each part of your body**, starting at your toes and traveling up from there. Jon Kabat-Zinn, a leader of modern mindfulness research and professor emeritus of medicine at the University of Massachusetts Medical School, says it's a good way for people to release tension they don't even realize they're experiencing.



TRY GENTLE YOGA

Mindfulness isn't all closed eyes and a statue-still seat. Stretching, too, can be meditation. "Mindful movement is also a way to pay attention," says Dr. Elizabeth Hoge, lead author of the new study and an associate professor of psychiatry at Georgetown University Medical Center. "What does it feel like when you raise your arm? Where in your body do you feel it?" The point isn't to contort into a pretzel, Kabat-Zinn instructs, but to better understand the body's limits and potential. **Cycle through slow, gentle poses**, like cradling a knee to your chest while lying on your back, or a simple cat-cow (pictured) on all fours. Before you start, set aside a few minutes to calm down and focus on your breath. And once you're done, spend a few moments lying flat on your back with your muscles relaxed.



DO A BREATHING EXERCISE

Simply breathing while paying attention to the breath is the heart of any mindfulness practice. What's more, it can be practiced almost anywhere, from a baby-filled plane to a busy subway platform to your desk. The goal isn't to clear the mind—that's basically impossible anyway—but to **let thoughts pass like clouds without getting sucked into what they might mean**. "Rather than identifying with a thought or getting caught up in it, the participant notices the thought and then says goodbye to it," says Hoge. "That way, people can have a little bit more freedom in how to respond to internal stimuli like their thoughts." To cultivate awareness of the breath, find a relaxed seat and notice—without thinking about it or trying to change it—how you naturally inhale and exhale. Build up to a 15-to-20-minute practice.



TAKE A WALKING MEDITATION

The most popular kind of exercise in the U.S. and many other parts of the world—walking—is also a good framework for practicing mindfulness. (Ideally, this should be done without the pressure of having to get anywhere on a particular schedule.) Find a quiet place inside or outdoors to take your stroll—a mall, a park, your neighborhood. While you walk, **focus on each small, slow step**: the lifting of one foot, the heel-first transfer of weight, the shift to the other. Every time your foot hits the ground, bring your attention to your breath and the sensations in your body. Many people find walking meditation more manageable than, say, sitting still in the dark, and it can also alleviate pain in the process. Try to practice mindful walking, at any pace, for 10 to 30 minutes.

ILLUSTRATIONS BY BROWN BIRD DESIGN FOR TIME

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

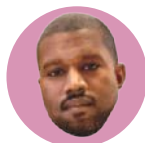


CRUNCHY WHEAT. FROSTED SWEET.
FEED YOUR INNER KID





The Internet was delighted and baffled by the inexplicably **giant coat Tom Brady wore on the sidelines of the AFC championship game** between the New England Patriots and the Pittsburgh Steelers.



‘What better time than now to take seriously Kanye West as a cultural icon?’

JEFFREY MCCUNE, associate professor at Washington University, on his new undergraduate course, “Politics of Kanye West.”



A female **zebra shark in an Australian aquarium may have reproduced asexually**, giving birth to three sharks after being separated from her mate for over three years.



After two years of only white acting nominees at the Oscars, **the 2017 nominations recognized seven actors of color**, including *Fences*’ Denzel Washington and Viola Davis.



Wayne’s World returns to select theaters nationwide in February to celebrate the cult classic’s 25th anniversary.



**LOVE IT
LEAVE IT**

TIME’S WEEKLY TAKE ON

WHAT POPPED IN CULTURE



A Wisconsin **highway was coated with hundreds of thousands of red Skittles** after a box of the candy spilled from a flatbed truck.



The chef at a South Wales restaurant **threw chili powder in the face of a customer who complained** that the meat in his meal was “tough and rubbery.”

Amy Adams’ stirring performance in *Arrival* somehow **didn’t earn her a Best Actress Oscar nomination**.



J.K. Rowling took to Twitter to **shut down rumors that Emma Watson, Rupert Grint and Daniel Radcliffe would return** for a film adaptation of her play *Harry Potter and the Cursed Child*.



The menu of a high-end Singapore bar includes a **\$16 cocktail featuring crunchy black ants** imported from Thailand.

BRADY: TWITTER; WAYNE’S WORLD: EVERETT; COCKTAIL: MASHABLE; RED SKITTLES: FACEBOOK; FENCES: ARRIVAL; PARAMOUNT; OSCAR: WEST; SHARK: CHILL; ROWLING: WATSON; GRINT: RADCLIFFE; SKITTLES BAG: GETTY IMAGES



My son doesn't care about the Super Bowl. So I brought in a ringer

By Joel Stein

MANY PARENTS TELL DISAPPOINTED SONS THEY CAN'T play football because of concerns about concussions, injuries and the possibility of a career with the Cleveland Browns.

Not me. While I'm watching the Falcons and the Patriots face off in the Super Bowl, I will be dreaming of my 7-year-old son Laszlo playing on the gridiron, only partly so he could explain to me what a gridiron is. But also so he'd take some risks, toughen up and gain confidence and other things I imagine football gives you. I actually have no idea, since football scared the crap out of me as a kid. But from what I saw from other guys in high school, it did that stuff. Though I'm not sure, since I didn't know them—because football players scared the crap out of me.

Still, if I had played football, I'm positive that I would have learned sportsmanship, teamwork, girl-hitting-on, beer-can crushing and changing clothes around other men without having to use one hand to put on underwear because the other hand is securing a towel around my waist. Instead of being a journalist, I would be a guy yelling at journalists for being lying elitists, which pays better than being a journalist.

LASZLO, HOWEVER, is not interested in football. Partly because he has no idea what football is, since I never watch it. So to sell him on the idea, I asked his first cousin Declan Barry, who is also 7, to persuade Laszlo to play. Declan is a defensive lineman for the Schuylers County Tribe, who is enthusiastic about everything, even eating apples. This summer, when I nervously asked him where the seeds and stem had gone, he explained that he ate apples "New York-style!"

For his initial argument, Declan explained to Laszlo that in football you get to run a lot, like in soccer. This was not effective, since Laszlo quit soccer last year, though technically he stopped playing at his first game two years ago, when he decided not to play soccer so much as stand on a field where soccer was being played. So Laszlo shook his head at the idea of burning calories for no reason. "I'd rather do ceramics than run all day," Laszlo said. Sticking to this failed line of reasoning, Declan added, "You get to throw the ball instead of kicking the ball." To which Laszlo said, "It sounds the same."

Then Laszlo interrupted Declan, stating the one thing that it turns out he knew about football, most likely by listening to public radio in the backseat of the car. "I don't want to get hurt. Even though they use those giant armors, I still don't want to," Laszlo said.



"People never get hurt. Barely," Declan said before pivoting. "It's teamwork. You like teamwork, right?"

"No," Laszlo said. Which was true. If he had to huddle and listen to a guy bark numbers about how he had to apply his glaze, he would probably never fire a single pot in a kiln.

Then Declan made what I found to be a *Rudy*-level speech about how he gained confidence by conquering his fears and playing tackle football. As I was wiping a tear away from my cheek, I saw Laszlo's face change. He seemed interested. "Why does it make you proud?" he asked.

"When you win games, you're like, 'Woo-hoo!'" Declan explained. He lost Laszlo with not just the "hoo" but also the "woo." Then Laszlo said, "I just don't feel like this is my thing."

Declan did not give up. "You do get cheerleaders. A lot of people cheer for you. Like, cheerleaders." Laszlo still wasn't sold. Out of arguments, Declan told me to take him off speakerphone. "You may have to trick him," Declan said. "Say you don't want him to play, and then convince him to go to a soccer field that's really a football field, and then throw him a football and he'll like it."

ALTHOUGH I LIKED the enthusiasm, I didn't think this would work on Laszlo, because of the soccer field and the ball and the being outside. Trying to get my son to avoid the mistakes I made while saddling him with my genes and my failure to expose him to any sports events besides the Tour de France was unfair. He was silent and sad during our conversation with Declan, as if he were letting me down by being himself. So we're going to go to a Super Bowl party, cheer hard for Lady Gaga and try to learn confidence and bravery in our way: by cheering for Lady Gaga at a Super Bowl party. □

Sybrina Fulton and Tracy Martin Five years after their son's death, Trayvon Martin's parents reflect on grief, faith and their commitment to justice

Why did you write your new book, *Rest in Power*?

FULTON: We wanted to tell our side of the story. We hope by us telling our story and how we moved forward and how we got back up, that it will lift somebody else, it will encourage another family that has gone through the loss of a child.

MARTIN: It solidifies what we are doing as parents, advocating against senseless gun violence and the loss of children.

You've devoted so much of your time these past five years fighting to advance your cause, channeling grief to birth a movement. Do you still grieve?

FULTON: It feels like it just happened. People won't be able to see the hole in my heart, but hopefully they will see that I am still healing through helping others. The bigger picture is Trayvon was unarmed, and he was a 17-year-old and he didn't deserve to die in that manner. We missed out on the rest of his life. When you lose a child, it is a different type of pain, a different type of hurt. You never get over it.

You have a deep faith in God and trust in Scripture. How has your faith changed since Trayvon's death?

MARTIN: There is only one way to come out of that dark place, and that is through the power of prayer. I've heard people say we were a chosen family. I don't believe that. I just believe that God doesn't make any mistakes.

You have other children. How have you changed as a parent?

FULTON: We are a lot closer. We are a lot more cautious. You never think that you are going to bury your child.

MARTIN: You do find yourself becoming more assertive as far as being more engaged in the things that they do. Being a bit nosier.

How hopeful are you about where America is as a nation when it comes to race?

FULTON: All we have is faith and

hope and trust. It is a very dark cloud on black and brown young men and women and children.

MARTIN: This country will never move forward if you decide to leave a nation of people behind. We've tried putting our hands up, we've tried turning around, we tried kneeling down, we've tried walking away, we tried putting our hands on the dashboard—and still we end up on the short end of the stick.

Could President Obama have made more of a difference?

FULTON: He's done all that he can do.

What path do you see forward for your work under President Trump?

MARTIN: No matter who is the President, we continue our work. It is shocking to hear the comments made about civil rights activists such as John Lewis. Just to hear the comments of the President of the United States ... he has taken us back to the '40s.

What do you say to people who say they need a gun to protect themselves?

MARTIN: It is a right to have a firearm to protect yourself. But it is not your right to be irresponsible. At the end of the day, it is not the gun that kills you, it is the irresponsible person that does.

You've created the Circle of Mothers and the Circle of Fathers to empower parents who have lost a child, especially to gun violence, to racial violence. How do you talk with them?

FULTON: We don't always tell them that justice is coming because we did not receive justice. We tell them to try to hold on to their faith and to be strong.

How do you plan to honor Trayvon's upcoming birthday and then the fifth anniversary of his death?

FULTON: We do not celebrate the anniversary of his death, we only celebrate his birth. His birthday is Feb. 5, which is Super Bowl Sunday. We do the Trayvon Martin Foundation Peace Walk and Peace Talk.

MARTIN: We continue to fight for that iconic hoodie, and we continue to fight for his name. That is what we will do for a lifetime. —ELIZABETH DIAS



ADRIAN FREEMAN



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LEGACY

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