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TIME

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▲ *A home in Spanish Trails Senior Village, in Zephyrhills, Fla., on Jan. 31*

Photograph by Christopher Morris—VII for TIME

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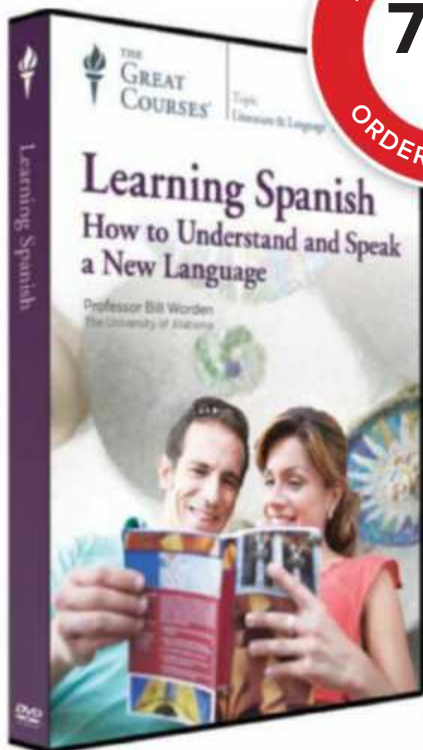
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21. Reflexive Verbs
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23. Talking about the Past: *¿Desde Cuando...?*
24. Formal Commands and Unequal Comparisons
25. Informal Commands
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When a President can't be taken at his word

IN APRIL 1966, THE STREETS OF AMERICA WERE crime-ridden, Southeast Asia was threatened by “godless communists,” and some radical theologians were weighing the heretical question that TIME asked on its cover: Is God dead? It was “a summons to reflect on the meaning of existence,” and while the story was as much about the state of the church as the health of the deity, it nonetheless inspired angry sermons, heartfelt letters and a lively debate at a time when 97% of Americans told pollsters they believed in God.

Half a century later, I suspect that about as many would say they believe in Truth, and yet we find ourselves having an intense debate over its role and power in the face of a President who treats it like a toy. The old adage that “a lie gets halfway around the world before Truth has a chance to get its pants on” was true even before the invention of Twitter. But it has been given new relevance by an early-rising Chief Executive and his smartphone.

LIKE MANY NEWSROOMS, we at TIME have wrestled with when to say someone is lying. We can point out, as we often do, when a President gets his facts wrong. We can measure distortions, read between lines, ask the follow-up question. But there's a limit to what we can deduce about motive or intent, the interior wiring of the whopper, as opposed to its explosive impact. Even the nature of coverage becomes complicated: social scientists have shown that repetition of a false statement, even in the course of disputing it, often increases the number of people who believe it.

For Donald Trump, shamelessness is not just a strength, it's a strategy, as Michael Scherer explores in his cover story. Whether it's the size of his inaugural crowds or voter fraud or NATO funding or the claim that he was wiretapped, Trump says a great many things that are demonstrably false. But indicting Trump as a serial liar risks missing a more disturbing question: What does he actually believe? Does it count as lying if he believes what he says? After a visibly awkward meeting, he tweets, “Despite what you have heard from the FAKE NEWS, I had a GREAT meeting with German Chancellor Angela Merkel.” Where is the line between lie, spin and delusion? Or, as his adviser Kellyanne Conway memorably put it, between facts

and alternative facts, the conclusions that he wants the audience to reach vs. the conclusions warranted by the evidence at hand?

During the 2016 campaign, 70% of the Trump statements reviewed by PolitiFact were false, 4% were entirely true, 11% mostly true. Voters were not deceived: nearly two-thirds said that Trump was not trustworthy, including nearly a third of the people who voted for him anyway. Dishonesty in a candidate, far from being disqualifying, became a badge of “disruption.”

Now that he is the President, however, he speaks on behalf of the country, and his words have a vastly different weight. The prospect of a hastily tweeted insult provoking a nuclear-armed rival gives new urgency to the helpful suggestion “Delete your account.” For a leader who condemns the media so viciously, Trump consumes it voraciously, and what he takes in has become a matter of global significance, most recently when he accused President Obama of outsourcing illegal surveillance to British intelligence. If he believes accusations leveled by a pundit on Fox News, whom the network's own anchors dismiss as uninformed, it reveals a great deal about the sources and standards of evidence the President lives by.

Trust is a transaction between leaders and those they lead. Throughout our history, the deeply held beliefs of various Presidents have taken the nation into war, delayed the pursuit of peace, alienated allies, appeased enemies. At other times, presidential beliefs have conquered the continent, freed the slaves, taken us to the moon because the President firmly believed we could get there. As citizens, it is vital that we be able to believe our President; it is also vital that we know what he believes, and why. This President has made both a severe challenge.



April 8, 1966



April 3, 2017

Nancy Gibbs, EDITOR



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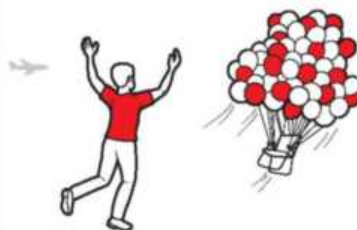
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'I HAVE
ONE
CLIENT.
IT'S THE
LAW.'

NEIL GORSUCH, Supreme Court Justice nominee, promising to keep politics and other outside influences from entering into his judgments, during a March 21 confirmation hearing



\$26,500

Amount in fines a man was sentenced to pay on March 17, having pleaded guilty to tying more than 100 helium balloons to a lawn chair in July 2015, which floated about 2.5 miles over Calgary, Canada, into the path of commercial aircraft

'Do you want
to have a
handshake?'

ANGELA MERKEL, German Chancellor, speaking to President Trump during a March 17 photo op for the pair's first meeting, to which Trump did not respond in what looked like a public breach of protocol; the White House said the President did not hear her

'FORTY OR
SO LIVE
VIEWERS,
AND NO ONE
THOUGHT
TO CALL
AUTHORITIES.'

ANTHONY GUGLIELMI, Chicago police spokesman, describing the March 18 sexual assault of a 15-year-old girl by as many as six males that was broadcast on Facebook Live; as of March 21, investigations were ongoing

T. rex
The dinosaur is one of Monopoly's three new tokens

GOOD WEEK
BAD WEEK

Rex T.
Secretary of State Tillerson told the lone reporter let on his plane in Asia, "I didn't want this job."

'I TOOK A
TRAGIC,
HORRIFIC
EXPERIENCE
AND DID
NOT LET IT
DIMINISH ME.'

KIM KARDASHIAN WEST, reality star, talking for the first time about the Oct. 3 robbery in her Paris hotel room, during which she said she feared for her life as the assailants stole about \$10 million in jewelry; in mid-January, 10 people were charged for the crimes

3/29/17

Date when Britain expects to **begin** the "Brexit" **process** of formally separating from the European Union



**\$170
million**

Amount that the film *Beauty and the Beast* grossed during its opening weekend, setting a **new box-office record** for top domestic opening of all time for a film rated PG

'I have no information that
supports those tweets.'

JAMES COMEY, FBI Director, refuting President Donald Trump's tweeted claims that President Obama had wiretapped Trump Tower

The Brief

'THE STALEMATE IS BECOMING MORE EXPENSIVE FOR BOTH RUSSIA AND UKRAINE.' —PAGE 16



Investigators suspect that last year's lost EgyptAir flight was downed by explosives

AVIATION

Why the U.S. is cracking down on gadgets in airplane cabins

By Zeke J. Miller

AIRLINE SECURITY REQUIRES constant vigilance as terrorists' tactics evolve with consumer technology. In 2010 an al-Qaeda affiliate in Yemen tried to slip a bomb hidden inside a printer cartridge onto a cargo flight bound for the U.S. Last year a Somali airliner was nearly brought down when a suicide bomber detonated a device concealed in his laptop.

To keep pace with the evolving threat, the U.S. government is cracking down on gadgets in the cabin. The Department of Homeland Security (DHS) announced on March 21 that it would require passengers on direct flights to the U.S. from 10 airports in the Middle East and North Africa to stow devices larger than a smartphone in their checked baggage. The new restrictions cover everything from

laptops and iPads to cameras and handheld gaming devices.

Trump Administration officials say they know of no specific credible threat against U.S.-bound airliners. But they are wary of the growing sophistication of terrorist groups that "continue to target commercial aviation and are aggressively pursuing innovative methods," a senior Administration official said. According to a U.S. counterterrorism official, authorities are paying particular attention to Ibrahim al-Asiri, the chief bombmaker for al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula, the group thought to be responsible for the 2010 printer-cartridge plot. Other groups in the region have copied his tactics. The bomb smuggled onto the Somali airliner in 2016 was claimed

by al-Shabab, another al-Qaeda-linked group. Egyptian officials revealed in December that traces of explosives were found on the bodies of passengers aboard an EgyptAir flight that went down last May en route from Paris to Cairo.

Security experts say forcing passengers to check personal gadgets will limit the sorts of materials and triggering devices would-be bombers might use to mask an explosive. While carry-on bags are screened by conventional X-ray machines, checked baggage goes through more-thorough explosive-detection systems. In addition, says Jeffrey Price, an aviation-security expert, it's harder for a terrorist to detonate explosives in the cargo hold, which would require a timer or a trigger device based on barometric pressure.

For now, domestic flights are unaffected by the new restrictions, and it is not likely that officials will take away passengers' smartphones next. Security experts say smaller gadgets pose less of a threat because they can't conceal as much explosive material. It's for this reason that passengers are restricted to carrying no more than 3.4 oz. of liquids, creams or gels into the cabin. "This is a world in which size matters," says Bennet Waters, a counterterrorism expert and former DHS official. "The bigger the device, the more you can get in there."

While officials say the security concern is real, critics suggest the Trump Administration has imposed the new policy in service to other motivations. U.S. legacy airlines have been complaining for years about encroachment from foreign flag carriers like Etihad and Emirates on long-haul routes to the U.S. Meanwhile, the lingering controversy over President Trump's stalled ban on travelers from six Muslim-majority countries has made civil libertarians suspicious. Hina Shamsi, director of the ACLU's National Security Project, argues that the new crackdown on gadgets is driven by prejudice, because the 10 airports covered are in predominantly Muslim countries. "Given the Administration's already poor track record," Shamsi says, "this policy sends a signal of discriminatory targeting."

When the U.S. changes its airline-security standards, foreign partners typically do the same. But among the allies with whom the U.S. has shared the intelligence behind the gadget crackdown, only the U.K. has so far followed suit. Canada says it is still studying the move, while German authorities said they aren't currently considering similar measures. It may be a sign that Trump's crackdown on Muslim immigration has made it harder for allies to trust his Administration's assessment of global security threats. —*With reporting by* KATIE REILLY/
NEW YORK and MAYA RHODAN/WASHINGTON

TICKER

Malibu becomes a sanctuary city

Malibu's city council voted 3-2 to approve a measure prohibiting the use of the California city's funds and resources to help the federal government enforce immigration laws, thus declaring Malibu a sanctuary city. The move was inspired by Malibu resident and actor Martin Sheen.

Ghanaian youths die under waterfall

At least 19 people, including 13 high school students, died after a storm caused trees to fall on them while they were swimming at the Kintampo waterfalls, a popular tourist site in Ghana's Brong-Ahafo region.

More grandparents than ever in the U.S.

Grandparents make up a larger proportion of the U.S. population than ever before, according to new Census Bureau data, accounting for 37% of adults ages 30 and older in 2014.

Long-lost van Gogh paintings on view

Two van Gogh paintings stolen from the Van Gogh Museum in Amsterdam in 2002 have been put back on display without their original frames. Italian police discovered the artworks behind a false wall in a fugitive's villa last September.

ROUNDUP

A new race to the moon

A group of European engineers called PTScientists has announced plans to make the first unmanned, private moon landing sometime in 2018 on SpaceX's Falcon 9 rocket. Here are other initiatives to return to the moon:



NASA

NASA is studying the possibility of accelerating the development of its Space Launch System—a giant rocket being built to transport people to Mars—to take a crew of astronauts around the moon on its first flight as early as 2018.



BLUE ORIGIN

Jeff Bezos wants an Amazon-like delivery service in order to enable "future human settlement" on the surface. His space company, Blue Origin, hopes to deliver gear for habitats and lunar experiments by mid-2020.

ROSCOSMOS

Russia's space agency said last year it is looking to build a manned moon station based on Cold War-era research. No deadline has been set for the 12-person base.

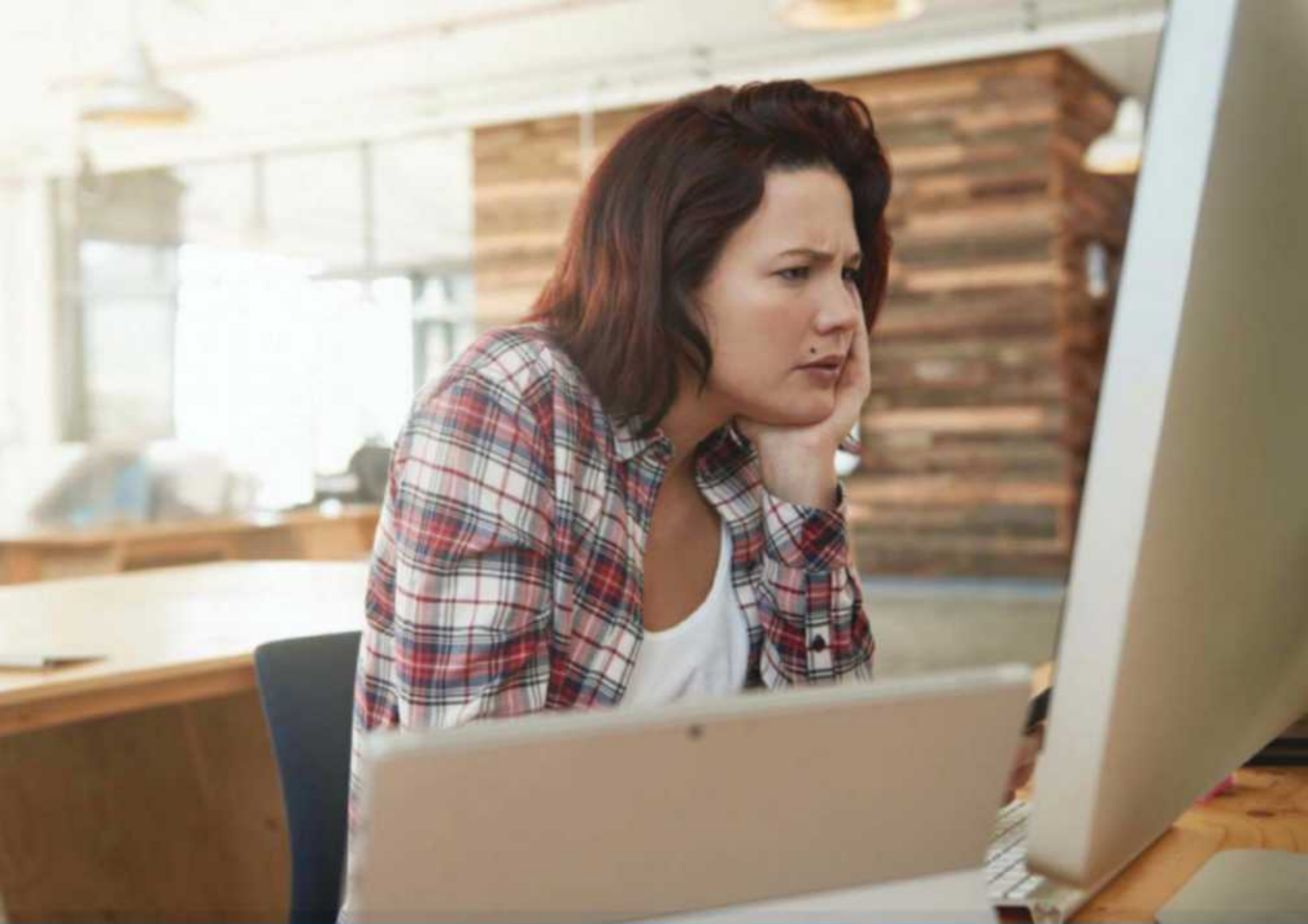


DIGITS

59.60

Weight, in carats, of the Pink Star, expected to become the most expensive diamond ever auctioned when it goes up for sale in Hong Kong on April 4; it is predicted to fetch about \$60 million





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TERROR IN LONDON A man is assisted after an assailant staged what authorities called a two-pronged attack on March 22. Declaring a “terrorist incident,” police said a vehicle mowed people down on Westminster Bridge, which leads to Parliament, where an officer was fatally stabbed and the attacker was shot to death. At least two other people were killed and 20 injured. Attacks last year in Nice and Berlin also used vehicles as weapons. *Photograph by Toby Melville—Reuters*

SPOTLIGHT

Martin Schulz, Germany’s Bernie Sanders

MARTIN SCHULZ, THE FORMER EUROPEAN Parliament President, is set to challenge Germany’s Chancellor Angela Merkel in national elections for the country’s top job on Sept. 24. As he gears up for the contest, the 61-year-old is being compared to U.S. Senator and former Democratic presidential hopeful Bernie Sanders. Here’s why.

EVERYMAN Schulz’s Social Democratic Party (SPD) has been in coalition with Merkel’s Christian Democratic Union (CDU) since 2013. Now the SPD hopes his everyman roots—he dropped out of high school and overcame alcoholism before entering public life—and his status as a relative outsider in German politics—he spent over a decade at the European Parliament—will draw enough support for the party to govern without the CDU.

PROGRESSIVE Popular with younger German voters and the SPD’s working class base, Schulz has vowed to close the gender pay gap in Germany and legalize gay marriage. A committed Europhile, he has attacked the right-wing populists who have been gaining ground across the continent, calling the anti-E.U. and anti-immigration Alternative for Germany party a “disgrace.”

MAKING WAVES With Schulz in the ring, the SPD has seen a surge in support, overtaking the CDU in one recent poll. But it is still too early to say whether the wave will crest or continue to rise. Although she has faced criticism for her open-door policy on refugees, Merkel has seen off a string of high-profile challenges since she first became Chancellor in 2005.

—TARA JOHN



◀ *His party’s poll bump and 13,000 new members have been dubbed the “Schulz effect”*

DATA

WHERE U.S. IMMIGRANTS WORK

Immigrants made up 17% of the U.S.’s 161 million-member workforce in 2014, according to Pew analysis of government data. Here, top workplaces by share of immigrant workers:



45%
Private households



35%
Textile, apparel, leather manufacturing



33%
Agriculture



32%
Accommodation



29%
Food manufacturing



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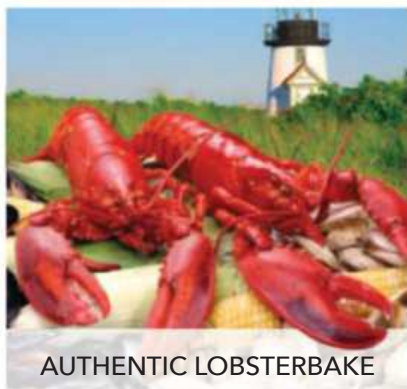
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TICKER

No charges in U.S. inmate-shower case

No one will be charged in the 2012 death of Darren Rainey, a mentally ill inmate who died in a Florida prison after being confined in a hot shower for two hours. A prosecutor's report found no evidence of wrongdoing by the guards involved.

Paris attacker had consumed drugs

Blood-test results showed that Ziyed Ben Belgacem, a suspected Islamic extremist who took a soldier hostage at Paris' Orly Airport before being shot dead on March 18, had consumed cocaine, cannabis and alcohol before the attack.

Waiter fired over residency question

A waiter was fired for asking patrons at a restaurant in Huntington Beach, Calif., for "proof of residency" when they ordered a drink. The restaurant said it would donate 10% of that weekend's sales to charity as an apology.

Norway is world's happiest country

Norway has been declared the happiest country in the world in a U.N. ranking. Denmark, Iceland, Switzerland and Finland all made the top five, while the U.S. fell one spot from last year, to 14th place.

THE RISK REPORT

Kiev and the Kremlin face narrowing options in Ukraine

By Ian Bremmer

IN UKRAINE, THINGS HAVE TAKEN ANOTHER turn for the worse. In January, Ukrainian army veterans began an unofficial blockade of rail traffic into the country's breakaway eastern provinces to protest their government's willingness to do business with the pro-Russian separatists holding power there. On March 15, Ukraine's President Petro Poroshenko, anxious to regain control of the situation and to keep the confidence of his supporters, made the blockade official. Separatists remain defiant. Russia is reportedly recognizing travel documents from the breakaway provinces for entry into Russia, and we're getting closer to the moment when Moscow will move to formalize trade and economic links with the separatist territories.

In other words, the Ukrainian stalemate has deepened. Ukraine has fallen behind Western neighbors like Poland and Hungary over the past 25 years. A higher standard of living depends on closer engagement with Europe, but peace and security still demand stable relations with Moscow. This puts Poroshenko in a bind. The conflict with Russia has killed about 10,000 people, and Poroshenko knows that many Ukrainians would denounce any move to shift the rest of the country toward Europe by simply accepting the independence of Ukraine's breakaway provinces as a surrender to Russia.

Russia wants to ensure that Ukraine remains within its orbit, because the loss of Ukraine to the West would be the final indignity in a chain of post-Cold War humiliations. Still, Russia can't invade the rest of Ukraine, because major Russian losses might well undermine Russian President Vladimir Putin's support at home. The cost of occupying Ukraine, a nation of about 42 million people, is also far beyond Russia's means. Instead, Putin has kept Ukraine

We're getting closer to the moment when Moscow will move to formalize trade and economic links with the separatist territories

unstable to force its government to give the breakaway provinces—and, by extension, the Kremlin—a veto over Ukraine's national foreign and trade policies.

Many elected Western officials want to defend Ukraine from Russian manipulation, but they don't want

to bear the costs of defending a country their citizens don't care about.

The stalemate is also becoming more expensive for both Russia and Ukraine. The blockade could shave another 1.3 percentage points off Ukraine's beleaguered economy. On the Russian side, poor prospects for oil prices will force the Kremlin to think hard about the wisdom of investing large sums in Ukraine's breakaway provinces for the indefinite future.

Something's got to give, but it has never been less clear what that might be. □

ANIMALS

A rise in rhino poaching?

A Czech Republic zoo has started sawing off the horns from its herd of rare rhinoceroses in an effort to thwart rhino poachers, who have made headlines for several high-profile incidents. —Kate Samuelson

FRANCE

In March, poachers broke into Thoiry Zoo, near Paris, overnight and killed a 4-year-old white rhino, then hacked off his horn. Police are investigating the incident.



SOUTH AFRICA

On Feb. 20, an armed gang broke into a rhino orphanage in KwaZulu-Natal and removed two rhinos' horns in front of staff members. One rhino was killed and the other had to be euthanized.

KENYA

During the summer of 2013, seven rhinos were killed by poachers in a series of coordinated attacks within the space of one week in national parks and wildlife sanctuaries across Kenya.



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IMMIGRATION

Sheriffs may join President Trump's deportation force

DAVID CLARKE, THE COWBOY-HAT-wearing sheriff of Milwaukee County, Wisconsin, made a request to federal officials on March 9, asking U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) to empower his officers to round up undocumented immigrants in his jurisdiction.

Clarke wanted Milwaukee County to join an ICE program called 287(g). Named after a provision in a 1996 immigration law, the voluntary arrangement lets the feds deputize state and local officers to perform some of the duties of federal agents, such as screen for undocumented immigrants in local jails and patrol the streets to identify unauthorized residents for removal. Between 2006 and 2015, more than 402,000 immigrants were identified for removal through the program.

Under sheriffs like North Carolina's Jim Pendergraph and Arizona's Joe Arpaio, 287(g) became synonymous with sweeping raids and drew allegations of racial profiling. Its use dwindled during Barack Obama's presidency, as the number of participating jurisdictions

dropped from 72 in 2011 to 37 as of March. "I thought that we were close to closing the chapter of the ugly history of the 287(g) program," says Chris Newman of the National Day Laborer Organizing Network.

President Trump's immigration crackdown may be breathing new life into the program. In a January directive, Trump ordered more partnerships with local authorities to deport unauthorized immigrants. Department of Homeland Security Secretary John Kelly called 287(g) a "highly successful force multiplier." Milwaukee's Clarke is part of a coterie of sheriffs who are newly applying to join the program. Bill Waybourn, the sheriff of Tarrant County, Texas, wants deputies in his jail to be empowered to detain undocumented immigrants. Sheriff P.J. Tanner of Beaufort County, South Carolina, wants some of his officers to be allowed to arrest and detain undocumented immigrants.

Many other law-enforcement leaders are not keen on the program. In March, 63 police chiefs and sheriffs signed a letter saying their officers wouldn't act as immigration enforcement. Several told TIME that doing so goes against their mission to prevent crime and serve the community. —MAYA RHODAN



More than 100 immigrants deported from the U.S. returned to Guatemala in early February

Milestones



Breslin in 1983

DIED

Jimmy Breslin American voice

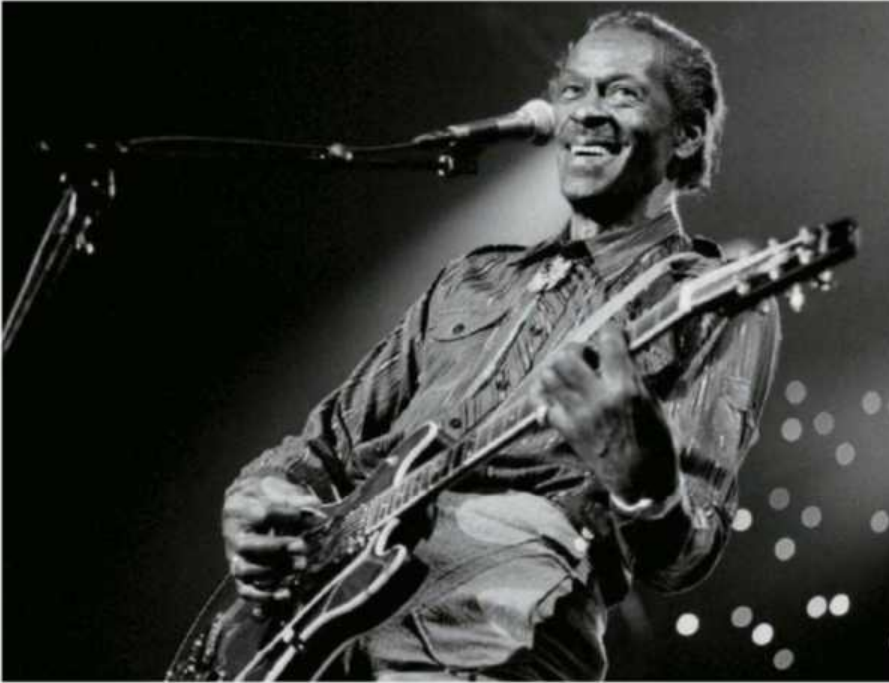
By Gil Troy

JIMMY BRESLIN AND Donald Trump were both born in Queens. But while Trump represents the New York City borough as grasping, aggressive and grating, Breslin, who died March 19 at 88, represented it as authentic, ethnic and expansive.

Of course, Trump had a cushier background than Breslin. And today's Queens is not the Queens into which either Breslin or Trump was born. Over both of their lifetimes, it became a regular United Nations.

Breslin embraced the change, defending these immigrants when necessary, as with his book *The Short Sweet Dream of Eduardo Gutiérrez*, investigating the construction accident that killed a Mexican immigrant. Breslin knew what the President still needs to learn: that these are the people who can help make America "great"—just as Jimmy Breslin's words and passion did.

Troy is a history professor at McGill University and the author of *The Age of Clinton: America in the 1990s*



Berry was widely regarded as one of the greatest guitarists of all time

DIED

Chuck Berry Rock 'n' roll icon

By Cliff Richard

I WAS IN MY EARLY TEENS WHEN I first heard “Rock Around the Clock” by Bill Haley and His Comets, “Heartbreak Hotel” by Elvis and “School Day” by Chuck Berry. America was pounding us in the U.K. with a new sound and new faces, and we were loving it!

I’ve always felt that I was fortunate to have been born into a genuine era of change in music—we seemed to jump from Frank Sinatra to Elvis and Chuck overnight—and even

though Elvis, as a solo singer, was my initial inspiration, Chuck was *the* man with the guitar and the lyrics that gave life and meaning to the new wave that will always be referred to as rock ‘n’ roll.

Since those heady days, there have been a number of guitar-playing singers, and I would bet all of them would pay homage to Chuck. (To those of you under the age of 30 or even 40 and who play in a band: Chuck Berry is essential listening.)

There was no one like Elvis. But there was *definitely* no one like Chuck Berry.

Richard is an award-winning British musician and philanthropist

DIED

Derek Walcott Titan of poetry

WHEN DEREK WALCOTT won the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1992, *TIME* called him the “Bard of the Island Life.” It was an apt description, marrying his devotion to his native St. Lucia with his passion for English, the colonizing tongue that both agitated and animated him.

Over time, Walcott’s short poems (“A Far Cry From Africa,” “The Sea Is History”) became iconic, as did his epic, book-length poems (*Omeros*, *Tiepolo’s Hound*). He even made time for impressive work as a playwright and watercolorist.

Although he trotted the globe, his life and work remained tethered to his Caribbean home—and the rhythm, beauty and power of what he called “that grey vault,” the sea.

—SARAH BEGLEY



DIED

Martin McGuinness, Northern Ireland’s former Deputy First Minister, at 66. Once an Irish Republican Army leader, he helped negotiate the Good Friday Agreement in 1998, paving the way to peace after decades of violence.

➤ **Robert Silvers**, founding and longtime editor of the *New York Review of Books*, at 87.

➤ **Chuck Barris**, creator and host of numerous hit TV game shows, including *The Gong Show* and *The Dating Game*, at 87.



PROMOTED

Geisha Williams, as the head of PG&E, making her the first female CEO in the energy company’s history as well as the first Latina CEO of a *Fortune* 500 company in the U.S.

QUIT

Uber’s president **Jeff Jones**, less than seven months after he joined. Jones told Reuters that the “beliefs and approach to leadership” that guided his career were “inconsistent” with his experience at the ride-sharing company.

MERGED

U.K. telecom giant Vodafone’s India unit with rival Idea Cellular in a \$23 billion deal to create the country’s largest cell phone carrier.





LightBox

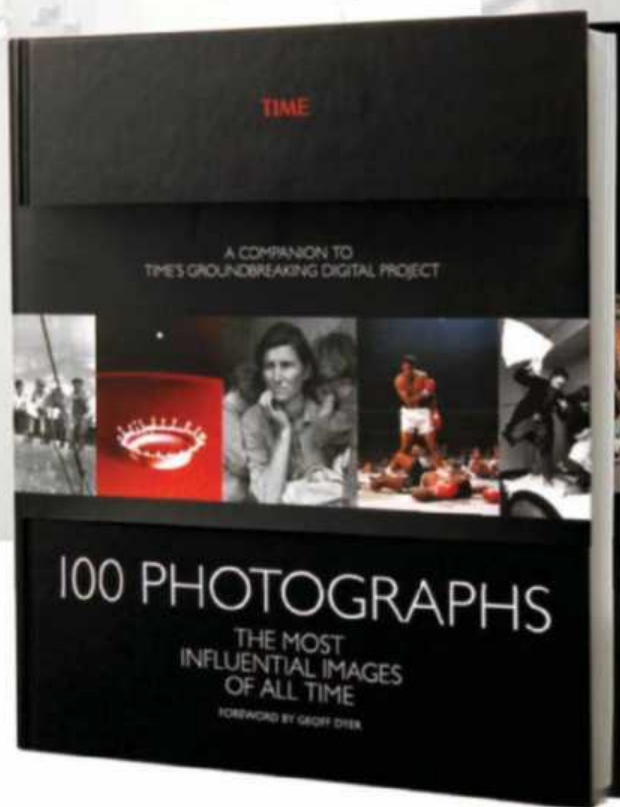
White House *willkommen*

German Chancellor Angela Merkel and Ivanka Trump chat at a meeting on workforce development with President Trump and business leaders at the White House on March 17. Although a Trump Administration official said Merkel's office had reached out to the President's daughter to set up the session, critics focused on Ivanka's lack of official status. Three days later word surfaced that she will have an office in the West Wing.

Photograph by Brendan Smialowski—AFP/Getty Images

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The View

'WE DO NOT HAVE A REFUGEE TERRORIST PROBLEM. IT SIMPLY DOESN'T EXIST.' —PAGE 31



Olympian Duggan is among the U.S. women's hockey players leading a charge for fairer treatment

SPORTS

How female athletes can help advance the fight for fair pay

By Sean Gregory

THE WOMEN ON THE U.S. NATIONAL hockey team can recall even the smaller slights as vividly as a high stick to the face. There was the time the players weren't invited to the public unveiling of the Team USA jerseys for the 2014 Winter Olympics; the inside collar of those jerseys commemorated men's Olympic champions but not the 1998 gold-medal-winning women's team. But it's a much deeper disrespect—how much the women make for doing the same job as their male counterparts—that has turned the hockey rink into the latest battleground in the nation's ongoing fight over equality in the workplace.

In March, the team announced plans to boycott the world championship—which the U.S. is hosting in Plymouth, Mich., beginning on

March 31—unless the players get fairer compensation and increased support. In the past they've received \$1,000 per month from USA Hockey—and only in the six months before the Olympics. Many players hold second and even third jobs to make ends meet—a situation that has some of the world's most talented players questioning their careers.

Jocelyne Lamoureux-Davidson, a two-time Olympic silver medalist and five-time world champ, plans to have a child after the 2018 Olympics. Although Lamoureux-Davidson, at 27, is still in her prime, she says a family would stretch her pay even thinner and could force her to give up a sport she's been playing since she was a young girl brawling with her older brothers on a frozen pond in Grand

Forks, N.D. “Women shouldn’t have to choose between their passion and having a family,” she says. “They should be able to do both.”

Across all fields, median earnings for full-time female workers in the U.S. are 80% of what men make—and sports stars are no exception. Last year five members of the U.S. women’s soccer team, the defending World Cup champions, filed a wage-discrimination suit against the sport’s national governing body, arguing that the players receive about a quarter of the compensation their male counterparts make despite being more successful on the field and a draw on TV.

Such fights have been waged by tennis stars for decades. After Billie Jean King threatened to sit out the 1973 U.S. Open, the men’s and women’s winner for the first time each took home the same \$25,000 bonus. Wimbledon became the last of the sport’s four Grand Slams to offer equal prize money in 2007, after pointed lobbying from Venus Williams. “How did we get equal prize money?” says Stacey Allaster, former president and CEO of the Women’s Tennis Association. “Ultimately it’s the athletes’ voice, the athletes’ power.” Even so, some lower-level tournaments continue to offer more money to the men’s draw.

The pay gap for tennis stars may not be the most urgent wage divide in the nation, but by using their perch to fight for a larger principle, female athletes have the potential to shift the national debate. “These athletes are role models,” says Bobbi Thomason, a senior fellow at the Wharton School of the University of Pennsylvania. “They pave the way for women in the workplace to fight for what’s fair.”

The women on the U.S. hockey team aren’t demanding the seven-figure contracts of their counterparts on the men’s team, who play professionally in the National Hockey League. They simply want a fairer deal from USA Hockey, one that recognizes the equal work they put into their jobs and the results on the ice: back-to-back silver medals and a consistent rank as one of the world’s top teams. The players also want equal investment in girls’ hockey programs and more marketing and promotion to grow the women’s game.

With the boycott threat as leverage, the players made progress during a marathon negotiating session with USA Hockey on March 20. If they do get a fairer deal, they say it will be the result of not only their specific case but also a social climate that has changed significantly since King spoke out at the U.S. Open. “The women that are standing up for themselves are making history,” says Meghan Duggan, a member of the team since 2007, drawing a line from her team’s fight to recent protest efforts like the Women’s March. “And it’s a good time to be on this side of history.” □

VERBATIM
‘We have a very healthy marriage, and we got there by doing therapy when we needed it.’

KRISTEN BELL, actor, on the importance of working through marital issues; she married actor Dax Shepard in 2013



BOOK IN BRIEF

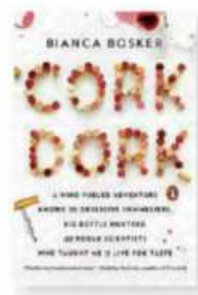
In defense of ‘bad’ wine

WINE AFICIONADOS TEND TO SCOFF AT cheap, mass-produced bottles—in part because the wine inside is often augmented with various powders, oils, salts and concentrates to make it more palatable to the average drinker. But in her new book, *Cork Dork*, Bianca Bosker points out that such chemical manipulation has always been part of winemaking.

For centuries, even the finest winemakers have added ingredients like egg whites or sulfur dioxide to improve a wine’s flavor and prevent it from spoiling.

The fact that mass producers use more manipulation doesn’t make their wine bad, Bosker argues; it raises the bar for all wines. What sommeliers consider “bad” wine, she explains, is “really wine that [tastes] good, at least to large numbers of wine drinkers.” In 2015, for example, Americans spent almost \$2 billion on just five brands of mass-market wines: Barefoot, Sutter Home, Woodbridge, Franzia and Yellow Tail.

—SARAH BEGLEY



CHARTOON

Click-bait costume drama



JOHN ATKINSON, WRONG HANDS

BIG IDEA

A Lego-like tape

As a kid, Anine Kirsten loved building blocks, like Legos, but she was frustrated that she could stack them only “on flat surfaces or at a 90-degree angle,” says the Cape Town-based designer. So she invented Nimuno Loops, which enable users to turn any surface into a base for blocks from Lego, Mega Bloks, Kre-O and more. And they’re not just for kiddie play. Kirsten says the Loops can help grownups accomplish more-utilitarian tasks, like building storage hooks along a wall. Kirsten and her partner, Max Basler, have already surged past their Kickstarter funding goal of \$8,000—some 36,000 backers have pledged more than \$1.3 million—and the Loops, she says, should hit stores worldwide by August. Next up: glow-in-the-dark and rainbow versions. —Julia Zorthian



HISTORY

The surprising history of cherry blossoms

THE CALENDAR, IF LITTLE ELSE, SAYS spring is here. Although many flock to see cherry blossoms, that reliable harbinger of the season, history shows these buds are more than just pretty flowers.

For centuries people in Japan have celebrated gathering under cherry trees when they’re fully flowered. Because the buds tend to bloom all at once and wither quickly, they became a symbol of “something that’s evanescent and fleeting”—something that, echoing Buddhist principle, must be enjoyed before it’s too late, says Bruce L. Batten, a historian of Japan.

That idea made cherry blossoms appealing as military symbols; personnel were told it was an honor to “die like beautiful falling cherry petals” during the era of imperial expansion in Japan, which stretched from the 19th century through World War II, says Emiko Ohnuki-Tierney,

author of *Kamikaze, Cherry Blossoms, and Nationalisms: The Militarization of Aesthetics in Japanese History*. Many cherry trees were planted during that period, and their image on army and navy insignias helped cement the association between Japan and the cherry blossom. At the same time, cherry trees were planted to console the souls of soldiers. Eventually they became a symbol of peace, not war.

Today cherry trees can be seen as a sign of something else. Because there is a record of the celebration of their blossoming, they have become indicators of climate change as shorter winters nudge the peak bloom to earlier and earlier dates. “That is unambiguous evidence,” Batten says, “that things are getting warmer.”

—OLIVIA B. WAXMAN

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

DATA THIS JUST IN

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

1

SLEEPING WELL FEELS LIKE WINNING THE LOTTERY

A study in *Sleep* of more than 30,000 people found that those who improved their sleep quality had levels of mental-health improvement after four years similar to those of lottery winners of roughly \$250,000 after two years.

2

FEWER BABIES ARE BEING BORN WITH HIV IN THE U.S.

A report in *JAMA Pediatrics* found that HIV transmission from mother to child has decreased in the U.S., from 216 babies born with HIV in 2002 to 69 babies in 2013. Researchers attribute the decrease in part to higher rates of HIV testing.

3

COMMON PAIN MEDS MAY INCREASE RISK OF HEART PROBLEMS

A study in the *European Heart Journal—Cardiovascular Pharmacotherapy* of nearly 30,000 people who had experienced cardiac arrest found that those who used nonsteroidal anti-inflammatory drugs such as ibuprofen and diclofenac in the 30 days before the cardiac arrest raised the risk of heart attack by 31%. —J.Z.

How to eat well—and still feel full

By Alexandra Sifferlin

BY NOW YOU KNOW THE BASICS OF A healthy diet: lots of fruits and vegetables, some nuts, healthy dairy and a little fish and lean meat. But that doesn't mean you always abide by those rules—or that they're easy to follow.

Most food choices are guided by hunger—which can lead people to make in-the-moment decisions that don't line up with their longer-term nutrition goals. In fact, research suggests that one of the strongest predictors of whether a diet will be successful is how hungry a person feels while he or she is on it.

That's why forward-thinking doctors have shifted their focus away from nutrients like fat and even carbs and instead

recommend foods according to their full nutrition profile. What they've found is that many of the most filling foods are also the healthiest.

To pick 100 of the healthiest, TIME editors combed through government nutri-

tion databases to identify some of the most satisfying, hunger-quelling foods that are also enjoyable to eat and easy to find at the grocery store. We focused on overall nutrition rather than calorie count. Nearly all the foods on the resulting list are high in protein or fiber (or both), which isn't surprising when you consider that those are the two nutrients that play the biggest role in how filling a given food is.

Science aside, the most satisfying foods you can eat are the ones that taste delicious and are simple to prepare at home. Fill your plates with foods like these and you'll take the guesswork (and calorie counting) out of healthy eating.

Adapted from the TIME special-edition book, 100 Healthiest Foods to Satisfy Your Hunger. Available on Amazon and in bookstores. The whole list is online at time.com/100-healthy.



Eggs

Eat the whole thing, yolk included. Pairing eggs with greens helps you absorb more of the vegetables' nutrients.

WHY THEY'RE GOOD FOR YOU Yolks make the fat-soluble nutrients in eggs easier to digest, and they don't elevate cholesterol as doctors previously thought.

NUTRITION Eggs contain all nine essential amino acids.



Edamame

One of the best ways to enjoy edamame is steamed, with a light sprinkling of salt.

WHY THEY'RE GOOD FOR YOU

Edamame, which are young soybeans, are high in filling protein and fiber.

NUTRITION They're good sources of enzymes and nutrients that fight inflammation, which can fuel many kinds of disease.



Blackberries

Nature often gives nutrition cues with colors. Blackberries' deep purple hue means they're high in antioxidants.

WHY THEY'RE GOOD FOR YOU Blackberries are rich in vitamin C, which is thought to have a role in cancer prevention.

NUTRITION Compared with other berries, they're especially high in fiber and low in sugar.



Figs

Figs, which are members of the mulberry family, are slightly sweet and also high in fiber.

WHY THEY'RE GOOD FOR YOU

Figs are an unlikely source of vitamin B6, which may play a role in energy, hormone balance and mood.

NUTRITION These fruits are high in vitamin C, as well as bone-building calcium.



Grass-fed steak

Grilled steak is a tasty way to load up on iron and protein, but try not to burn it: charred steak can contain carcinogens.

WHY IT'S GOOD FOR YOU Meat from grass-fed cows has less saturated fat and more heart-healthy omega-3 fatty acids.

NUTRITION Beef is high in protein, with 22 grams for a 3-oz. serving.



Quinoa pasta

Unlike other gluten-free varieties, quinoa pasta doesn't get mushy when cooked, and it's ready in a fraction of the time.

WHY IT'S GOOD FOR YOU Quinoa pasta has even more fiber than wheat versions.

NUTRITION It may help lower inflammation and improve allergy symptoms.



Romaine lettuce

Often dismissed as a nutrient-free, water-filled green, romaine is now embraced as the ideal base for a salad.

WHY IT'S GOOD FOR YOU It is very high in vitamin A, which supports vision and immunity.

NUTRITION Romaine is also high in folate, which is critical during pregnancy and supports the healthy division of cells.



Whole-grain bread

Labels can be misleading. Make sure whole grains top the ingredient list.

WHY IT'S GOOD FOR YOU It's high in resistant starch, which keeps you full longer than the carbohydrates in white bread.

NUTRITION It's digested more slowly than processed grains, which makes it more filling and helps avoid blood-sugar spikes.



Potatoes

Roasting them with the skin on is a good way to preserve their fiber and nutrients.

WHY THEY'RE GOOD FOR YOU Potatoes are often criticized as carb-heavy, but as long as they're not fried, spuds are actually healthy and filling.

NUTRITION Eat potatoes with fibrous beans or lentils to prevent spikes in blood sugar.



Acorn squash

This nutty, sweet vegetable pairs well with just about any protein. It also makes a nice creamed vegan soup.

WHY IT'S GOOD FOR YOU Like romaine, acorn squash is high in vitamin A.

NUTRITION One cup of cooked acorn squash contains about 9 grams of filling fiber, which supports digestion.



Almonds

By the handful, they're a healthy on-the-go snack. You can also try almond butter with slices of fresh fruit.

WHY THEY'RE GOOD FOR YOU They are high in healthy monounsaturated fats that can help keep cholesterol at healthy levels.

NUTRITION Just half a cup contains 15 grams of protein.



Corn

The tasty natural sugars in corn make it an easy sell, whether boiled or grilled.

WHY IT'S GOOD FOR YOU Corn has a high water content, which makes it a more filling vegetable with fewer calories.

NUTRITION It's also high in lutein and zeaxanthin, phytochemicals that aid in healthy vision.

A 'fractious' feminist decries the ruthless thought police stifling free speech on campus

By Camille Paglia

HISTORY MOVES IN CYCLES. THE PLAGUE OF POLITICAL correctness and assaults on free speech that erupted in the 1980s and were beaten back in the 1990s have returned with a vengeance. In the U.S., the universities as well as the mainstream media are currently patrolled by well-meaning but ruthless thought police, as dogmatic in their views as agents of the Spanish Inquisition. We are plunged once again into an ethical chaos where intolerance masquerades as tolerance and where individual liberty is crushed by the tyranny of the group.

The premier principles of my new book, *Free Women, Free Men*, are free thought and free speech—open, mobile and unconstrained by either liberal or conservative ideology. The liberal-vs.-conservative dichotomy, dating from the split between left and right following the French Revolution, is hopelessly outmoded for our far more complex era of expansive technology and global politics. A bitter polarization of liberal and conservative has become so extreme and strident in both the Americas and Europe that it sometimes resembles mental illness, severed from the common-sense realities of everyday life.

My dissident brand of feminism is grounded in my own childhood experience as a fractious rebel against the suffocating conformism of the 1950s, when Americans, exhausted by two decades of economic instability and war, reverted to a Victorian cult of domesticity that limited young girls' aspirations and confined them (in my jaundiced view) to a simpering, saccharine femininity.

IN 1991, New York *Newsday* published my op-ed on date rape, which remains the most controversial thing I have ever written. In it, I argued that women today (then as now) were misusing the freedom that my generation had fought for, and won, by not accepting personal risk. I wrote at the time that young feminists are deluded: they come from a protected, white middle-class world and expect everything to be safe. Women infantilize themselves when they cede responsibility for sexual encounters to men or to after-the-fact grievance committees, parental proxies unworthy of true feminists. My baby-boom generation demanded and won an end to such parietal rules, and it is tragic indeed how so many of today's young women seem to long for a return of those hovering paternalistic safeguards.

SYNDICATED IN REGIONAL NEWSPAPERS from coast to coast in haphazard truncated form, the op-ed caused a huge backlash. There was a coordinated campaign, evidently emanating from feminist groups in the Midwest, to harass the president of my university with demands for my firing. That article, often reprinted in freshman-composition course packs at state universities, caused me endless trouble

DISSIDENT FEMINISM



In her new book, Paglia cites certain icons as feminist role models: “Barbra Streisand has never received due credit for her pioneering role in shattering female convention and laying the groundwork for second-wave feminism.”

throughout the 1990s. It led to picketing and protests at my outside campus lectures and to my own walk-offs (to avoid fisticuffs) from Austrian and British TV talk shows and even from the stage of Queen Elizabeth Hall in London.

I still stand by every word of my date-rape manifesto. As a career college teacher, I want our coddling, authoritarian universities to end all involvement with or surveillance of students' social lives and personal interactions, verbal or otherwise. If a crime is committed, it should be reported to the police. Otherwise, college administrations should mind their own business and focus on facilitating and funding education in the classroom.

THE FREE SPEECH MOVEMENT, led by a fiery Italian American, Mario Savio, erupted at the University of California, Berkeley, in 1964, the year I entered college. It was a cardinal moment for my generation. The antiestablishment stance of the Free Speech Movement represented the authentic populist revolution of the 1960s, which resisted encroachments of authority by a repressive elite. The freedom to hate must be as protected as the freedom to love. It is only when hate crosses over into action that the law may properly intervene. How is it possible that today's academic left has supported rather than protested campus speech codes as well as the grotesque surveillance and over-regulation of student life? American colleges have abandoned their educational mission and become government colonies, ruled by officious bureaucrats enforcing federal dictates. This despotic imperialism has no place in a modern democracy. An enlightened feminism, animated by a courageous code of personal responsibility, can only be built upon a wary alliance of strong women and strong men.

Paglia is a feminist and the author of the new book Free Women, Free Men (Pantheon), from which this was adapted. Copyright © 2017 by Camille Paglia

The View A Letter to the President

Dear President Trump,

REPRESENTING THE U.S. IN THE OLYMPIC GAMES WAS the greatest honor of my life. I will never forget walking into the opening ceremony behind our American flag that I revere, surrounded by my teammates, each drawn from different sports, many of different faiths and various ethnicities. Yet in that diversity was America itself: united by love for our country.

My story is a quintessentially small-town American story. In my hometown, Maplewood, N.J., the question was always which sport I would play instead of why a girl would play one. My point isn't really about sport, it's about opportunity. The opportunity to strive for and believe in one's own destiny. That is what made America's story so distinct from any that preceded it, and mine and every other American's as well.

I love America because of the simultaneous idea that we are both exceptional and flawed—as individuals and as a nation—and that it is our collective responsibility as a people to honor each other's potential. That is why I am writing you this letter.

I AM THE PICTURE of the American Dream—a public-school kid, with loving parents who told me that with hard work and perseverance, I could be whatever I wanted to be. By believing in myself and refusing to take no for an answer, I have broken barriers and shattered stereotypes. I was the first Muslim woman to represent the U.S. in the Olympics wearing hijab. I was blessed to win an Olympic medal alongside my team at the Rio Games. I was a black Muslim woman in a little-known sport, fencing. And on the world's biggest stage, I defied labels and showed the world that being Muslim was also being American.

And yet when I listen to you, I feel that the story you tell paints another picture entirely. You seem to see refugees fleeing terror as terror's root, rather than its victims. You seem to see our nation's contributions to refugee resettlement as “bad deals,” rather than shining examples of what America has always done and stood for. You seem to see the hijab I wear as a signal of threat and cause for fear. You've said, “I think Islam hates us.” That is not only wrong, it provokes fear and hatred, and as we have seen, it also provokes violence against Muslims and our places of worship. Surely that was not your intention—I do not want to believe that. Yet I feel that you and your Administration see me and people like me not as fellow Americans but as “others.”

Your attempts to ban Syrian refugees and travelers from multiple Muslim-majority countries have implications that are felt far beyond the countries listed. I am referring to implications not only in the courthouse but in line at Starbucks. Not on the nightly news but in the night terrors of children who wonder if their home and parents are safe. Is this what you intended when you took your oath to uphold the Constitution of the United States?

The climate of fear and hatred, fueled and perpetuated by your campaign, is gaining momentum through your actions in office. Since your election, I have been profiled at the airport, accused of looking “suspicious,” and been told, on the streets of New York, to “go back to your country!” This isn't the America that I know, and it isn't the America that the world looks to for inspiration and leadership.



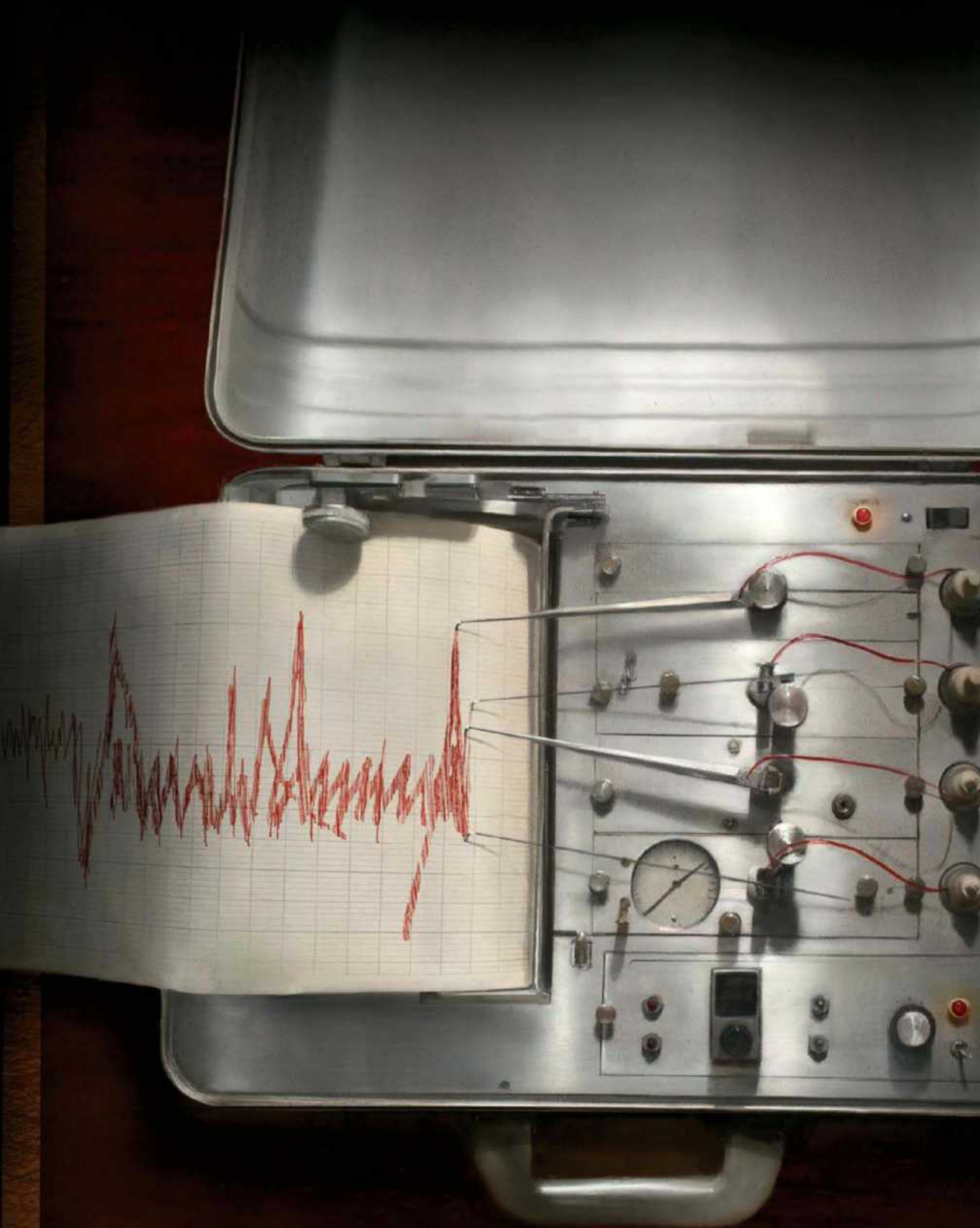
Muhammad is an American fencer and Olympic medalist

THERE ARE 3 MILLION American Muslims. They teach our children, treat our sick, fight our wars and, despite your attacks, continue to stand proudly on the front lines of keeping all Americans safe. My faith calls on me to help the less fortunate and speak out against injustice. President Trump—look at the math: we do not have a refugee terrorist problem. It simply doesn't exist. But I do fear a not-so-subtle campaign of terror now being waged on our American ideals of justice and equality.

The Olympic movement chose its symbol of interlocking rings of different colors to demonstrate humanity's unity. Sport has always been an equalizer and a symbol of peace, even in the ancient Games when wars would cease for the competitions. Indeed, as much pride as I take in being one of America's firsts, what I most love about my Olympic experience is that my success was born out of my opportunity, freedom and liberty as an American.

Overcoming obstacles was my challenge as an athlete. It is now my challenge as a citizen. I once represented you. Now you represent me. I urge you to do so with the humility, thoughtfulness and kindness befitting your sacred office. As an African-American Muslim woman patriot, I am commanded by my religion to remain hopeful, to believe in our ability to fight bigotry with love and draw our strength from diversity. That is what makes America great. Time and again.

*Sincerely,
Ibtihaj Muhammad*





Nation

CAN TRUMP HANDLE THE TRUTH?

A President
who peddles
falsehoods
and dabbles
in conspiracy
confronts
the challenge
of governing
in reality

BY
MICHAEL
SCHERER

Generations of American children have learned the apocryphal tale of young George Washington, bravely admitting to his father that he chopped down the cherry tree. The story sprang from a culture that wanted even its fables to serve the ideal of truth. By that standard, the House Intelligence Committee hearing on March 20 should have been a massive humiliation for the President, who followed Washington 228 years later. It is rare for such hearings to be unclassified—and thus televised—but FBI Director James Comey found the largest possible audience for his rebuke of the sitting President.



He had given Donald Trump nearly three weeks to walk back his incendiary tweets accusing President Obama of “wire tapping” Trump Tower during the campaign. If such surveillance had been done through legal channels, the FBI would have known; if done illegally, it was a scandal of historic proportions and the FBI should be digging into it. Either way, Trump’s accusation implicated the integrity of Comey’s bureau, which is why the former prosecutor felt compelled to push back as the cameras rolled. “I have no information that supports those tweets,” Comey said. “We have looked carefully inside the FBI. The Department of Justice has asked me to share with you that the answer is the same.”

The statement was concise, direct and damning. The President of the United States had been marked as a fabulist by one of the top officials in government charged with finding the truth. And yet, for the man being called out, the rebuke was nothing of the sort.

“I’m a very instinctual person, but my instinct turns out to be right,” Trump told *TIME* two days later, in a 20-minute phone interview from the Oval Office. The testimony, in other words, had not fazed him at all. He was still convinced he would be proved right. “I have articles saying it happened.”

That is not exactly true. The *New York Times* reported on Jan. 20 that wiretapped data had been used in an investigation of Trump’s advisers, but not that Obama had targeted Trump for wiretapping, as Trump had claimed. But he had new ammunition: House Intelligence Committee chairman Devin Nunes had just announced that he had seen intelligence reports showing the President-elect and his team were “at least monitored” as part of “legally collected” information. Nunes suggested the monitoring was most likely the result of “incidental collection,” which occurs when a target of an intelligence operation, like a foreign ambassador, talks with another U.S. person. But Nunes never claimed that Obama wiretapped Trump.

And yet for Trump, who proceeded to read at length over the phone from a Politico article on Nunes’ statement, such distinctions did not matter. “That means I’m right,” he said. He also argued that the punctuation in his original tweet meant he did not mean wiretapping in the literal sense. “When I said ‘wire tapping,’ it was in quotes,” he said.

What did he mean? Trump argued that his claims about scandalous wiretaps by Obama had to be viewed within the context of other assertions he had made in the past, which had later come true.



He had predicted, for instance, that the sexting of former Representative Anthony Weiner would become a problem for Hillary Clinton's campaign, which it did, when the FBI found emails to Clinton on his computer. He had claimed that he would win the White House, when few believed him, which he did. He claimed that Britain would vote to exit the European Union—"I took a lot of heat when I said Brexit was going to pass." He described Brussels as a "hellhole" before a major terrorist attack there. "I happen to be a person that knows how life works," he said.

He also claimed credit for things he had said that were factually incorrect at the time, but for which he later found evidence. At a February rally, in a discussion about problems caused by new migrants in Europe, he said, "Look at what's happening last night in Sweden." Nothing had happened the prior night in Sweden, prompting diplomatic protests from Stockholm. But days later, there was a riot in a predominantly immigrant suburb in response to a local arrest. Which, to the President's way of thinking, made him a truth-teller. "I was right about that," he said.

Truth, in other words, takes time to ripen: he also said his unsubstantiated claim that at least

Both FBI Director Comey, left, and NSA chief Rogers said they could find no evidence for Trump's claims that Obama had bugged Trump's phone calls

3 million undocumented immigrants had voted illegally in the 2016 election would be proved right eventually, though he hinted to *TIME* that he no longer stood by all parts of that claim. "When I say that, I mean mostly they register wrong. In other words, for the votes, they register incorrectly, and/or illegally," the President said. "I'm forming a committee on it."

The more the conversation continued, the more the binary distinctions between truth and falsehood blurred, the telltale sign of a veteran and strategic misleader who knows enough to leave himself an escape route when he tosses a bomb. Rather than assert things outright, he often couches provocative statements as "beliefs," or attributes them to unnamed "very smart people." During the campaign, he claimed falsely that Texas Senator Ted Cruz's father had consorted with the assassin who killed John F. Kennedy. Now as President, Trump argued that he had done nothing wrong by spreading the fiction, since it had been printed in the *National Enquirer*, a tabloid famous for its unconventional editorial standards.

"Why do you say that I have to apologize?" he asked. "I am just quoting the newspaper." He appeared to do it again, when he repeated the accusation of a Fox News contributor, Andrew Napolitano, who claimed his network was told by three former intelligence officials that Obama had asked the British to surveil Trump's campaign. Fox News repudiated the claim, the pundit vanished from the airwaves, the British called the accusation "ridiculous," and the head of the U.S. National Security Agency said it would not have happened under his watch. And yet Trump did not back down. "I have a lot of respect for Judge Napolitano," he said. "I don't know where he has gone with it since then."

Trump has in this way brought to the Oval Office an entirely different set of assumptions about the proper behavior of a public official, and introduced to the country entirely new rules for public debate. In some ways, it is not surprising. For years, we have known Trump colored outside the lines of what was actually real because he told us. As a businessman, Trump wrote in praise of strategic falsehood, or "truthful hyperbole," as he preferred to call it. Sometimes his whoppers were clumsy, the apparent result of being ill informed or promiscuous in his sources. Sometimes he exaggerated to get a rise out of his audience. But often Trump's untruths give every sign of being deliberate and thought through. Trump recently bragged about a drop in the Labor Department jobless rate—after calling the same statistic "phony" when it signaled improvement under Obama. Trump explained the contradiction through his spokesman with a quip: "They may have been phony in the past, but it's very real now."

RUSSIA AND THE TRUMP CAMPAIGN

On March 20, FBI Director James Comey confirmed that as part of the federal probe into Moscow's operation against the 2016 U.S. election, FBI agents are "investigating the nature of any links between individuals associated with the Trump campaign and the Russian government, and whether there was any coordination between the campaign and Russia's efforts." He declined to elaborate. What we know, so far, from the public record:

TRUMP'S PEOPLE



MIKE FLYNN
NATIONAL SECURITY
ADVISER

Flynn was fired on Feb. 13 after **misleading the Vice President** about his conversations with Russian ambassador Sergey Kislyak. Routine intercepts of Kislyak's calls overheard Flynn **discussing U.S. sanctions on Russia** while President Obama was still in office. According to documents released by the House Oversight Committee, Flynn was also **paid over \$33,000 to speak at a gala for Russia's state-run broadcaster RT**. The U.S. intelligence community says RT's English-language arm serves as a propaganda outlet in the West.



PAUL MANAFORT
CAMPAIGN
CHAIRMAN

Manafort was Trump's campaign chairman during the pivotal conclusion of the Republican primaries and the start of the general election. He was pushed out of the campaign over concerns about **his consultancy work on behalf of ousted Ukrainian strongman Viktor Yanukovych**—who was backed by the Kremlin. White House press secretary Sean Spicer sought to play down Manafort's ties to Trump, saying he "played a very limited role for a very limited amount of time." Manafort has denied any wrongdoing.



JEFF SESSIONS
ATTORNEY
GENERAL

In his confirmation hearings, Sessions told former Senate colleagues that he "did not have communications with the Russians" during Trump's campaign. But on March 1, the Washington Post revealed that Sessions had **met twice with Moscow's envoy Kislyak** while serving as one of Trump's top 2016 advisers. Amid calls for his resignation, Sessions **recused himself from any probe** into Russia's election meddling. Sessions said he did not mean to mislead.



ROGER STONE
ADVISER

The veteran GOP consultant and longtime Trump confidant **admitted to communicating with Guccifer 2.0**, a hacking group that claimed responsibility for leaking a stolen trove of Democratic National Committee documents in the 2016 campaign. Stone called his contacts with the group "completely innocuous" and **denies having any connections to Russia**. Stone recommended that Trump hire Manafort, his former lobbying partner, to help secure the GOP nomination.



CARTER PAGE
CAMPAIGN
ADVISER

In March 2016, Trump identified Page, a former investment banker who **has done business in Russia**, as a campaign adviser. The following July, Page **gave a speech in Moscow in which he criticized U.S. foreign policy** to Russia. White House advisers have cast him as a peripheral figure in Trump's orbit. In a March 8 letter to Senate investigators, Page said he "spent many hours in [Trump] campaign headquarters" in 2016. He has denied any wrongdoing and says he is the victim of a smear campaign.

THE RUSSIANS



SERGEY KISLYAK
AMBASSADOR

A **well-known figure in Washington**, Kislyak regularly interacts with politicians of both parties. Asked at a November event about allegations of Russia's election meddling, he said, "It is our job to understand, to know people, both on the side of the Republicans and Democrats."



VLADIMIR PUTIN
PRESIDENT

U.S. law enforcement and intelligence services concluded that Putin **ordered an escalating campaign of influence operations targeting the 2016 U.S. election**. The goals, according to a January consensus assessment by the intelligence community, were to **undermine U.S. democracy, weaken Hillary Clinton and, if possible, help Trump win the White House**. The campaign included hacking, fake news and other propaganda.

Through it all, he has presented himself as the last honest man, and among his fervent supporters, he hits notes that harmonize with the facts of their lives as they deeply feel them. To beat a polygraph, it's said you should make some part of your brain believe what you are saying. Friends of Trump report that the President would pass with flying colors. He tells them privately that he believes the things he tweets in public. Despite the luxury and ease of his own life, he seems genuine in his belief that the system is rigged, and that life is a zero-sum game: no one wins without someone else losing. Reality, for the reality-show mogul, is something to be invented episode by episode.

AND WHAT REALITY is Trump creating? He entered national politics in 2011 peddling the incredible theory that Obama might have been born in Africa—and therefore constitutionally barred from the presidency. In those days Trump was widely dismissed as a reckless self-promoter, though he clung to his story for five years, using it to get television bookings and newspaper coverage, before surrendering it with a shrug. Looking back, it's striking to see a future President testing the waters by charging the elected incumbent with fraud and illegitimacy without introducing a shred of evidence.

That was a fitting warm-up for Trump's official entry into the 2016 campaign. The Mexican government, he alleged, is deliberately dumping its hoodlums in the U.S. Later that year, he answered the Paris terrorist attacks by claiming, without substantiation, that he had seen "thousands and thousands of people" celebrating in New Jersey as the Twin Towers smoldered on 9/11 on television. (No footage is known to exist.)

Trump's alternative reality is dark, divisive and pessimistic, and it tends to position him and his supporters as heroic victims of injustice. Despite this—or maybe because of it—his reckless assertions are weapons that often work. He commandeers the traditional news cycle and makes visceral connections with voters. By taking on Obama over his birth certificate, Trump charmed a right-wing constituency and ratcheted himself to the level of White House—ready. By scorning good manners to attack border crossers and Muslims, Trump showed solidarity with the politically incorrect and advertised his iconoclasm. By flouting fact-checkers and making journalists his enemy, he is driving home the theme that his turbulent presidency is a struggle to the death with a despised Washington elite.

Trump has discovered something about epistemology in the 21st century. The truth may be real, but falsehood often works better. It is for this same reason that Russia deployed paid Internet trolls

in the 2016 campaign, according to U.S. investigators, repeatedly promoting lies on U.S. social networks to muddy the debate. In the radical democracy of social media, even the retweets of outraged truth squadders has the effect of rebroadcasting false messages. Controversy elevates message. And it keeps the President on offense.

If the fable of President Trump is ever written, young Donald might say to his father: *I'm not gonna lie to you, Dad. The tree has been chopped—smart people say maybe by illegal immigrants or Muslims. There are some bad hombres. Anyway, it's gone, and I'm gonna build something truly terrific on this parcel.*

"These big falsehoods are different," explains Bill Adair, who created PolitiFact, the fact-checking journalistic site that won a Pulitzer Prize. "They are like a neutron bomb. They just take over the discussion and obliterate a lot of other things that we should be discussing."

SINCE WINNING the White House, Trump has employed this weapon at specific times, often when he is losing control of the national story line. He pulled the trigger on Nov. 27, a day after Clinton's vanquished campaign agreed to join in a recount of votes in Wisconsin. Over the course of that day, Trump sent out 11 tweets, averaging 18,440 retweets, expressing his outrage over the situation. But the two most widely read and shared, by wide margins, were the false ones.

His incorrect claim that he had won the popular vote "if you deduct the millions of people who voted illegally" was retweeted more than 53,000 times. His unsupported allegation of "serious voter fraud" in three states that he lost was forwarded more than 31,000 times. The virtual world far prefers the outrageous, the new, the controversial to the normal routine of reason and verification. And so does the world of news. Television and print reporters rushed to examine the President-elect's sensational statements, thus spreading them further. In the dog-eat-dog world of Donald Trump, Clinton had taken the first swing, and he was justified in fighting back with the full force of the Internet.

TIME reviewed the 298 tweets Trump has sent since being elected President as of March 21. Fifteen included clear falsehoods, like the wiretap claims. The false messages were retweeted an average of 28,550 times. Those that were not clearly false were retweeted on average 23,945 times. The viral effect of falsehood being repeated on the news was many times more pronounced. According to a search through the Internet Archive, a nonprofit library database, the false tweets were quoted on television an average of 31 times, more than twice as often as other tweets.

**'Why do you
say that I
have to
apologize?
I am just
quoting the
newspaper.'**

PRESIDENT TRUMP,
referring to the
National Enquirer

For Trump's allies, this is a measure of strategic brilliance, not defective character. "He understands how to make something an issue and elevate the discussion by saying things that are contrary, perhaps even unproved," explains Roger Stone, a former adviser to Trump, who has his own penchant for spreading false conspiracy theories. "He has the ability to change the subject to what he wants to talk about."

The night before his wiretap maneuver had been a trying one for Trump's young White House, according to aides. It was a Friday, and the President was frustrated that his widely praised address to Congress on Tuesday had been overtaken by darker news. Revelations of previously denied contacts between Attorney General Jeff Sessions and a Russian official had led Sessions to recuse himself from any probe of Russian election interference. The LexisNexis database registered 509 stories or news transcripts referring to some aspect of the story.

Aides later said Trump latched on to an online article by a conservative talk-show host, who assembled previously published media reports into a speculative indictment of Obama. Whether Trump was persuaded by the theory or simply looking for something explosive to change the story line, he knew he had found dynamite. "There is one page in the Trump White House crisis-management playbook," argued Obama's former White House spokesman Josh Earnest two days later. "And that is simply to tweet or say something outrageous to distract from a scandal." It worked. His tweet replaced the Russian story at the top of the news, generating 514 stories that Sunday.

Trump is by no means the first to use diversion and distortion as a political weapon. During the 2016 Brexit debate in Great Britain, critics of the E.U. exaggerated the cost of E.U. membership to average Britons by roughly 100%. The ensuing argument over the correct amount served to focus resentment that citizens were paying anything at all.

Democrats have been caught playing the game. Former Senate leader Harry Reid floated the false claim that Mitt Romney did not pay taxes, without any evidence. And in both the 2008 and 2012 campaigns, the Obama campaign suggested that Republican nominees John McCain and Mitt Romney opposed abortion even in cases of rape and incest. They did not, but the misdirection tilted the abortion debate toward an issue favorable to most Democrats.

Trump took this occasional tool and made it a favorite weapon. "The President has a history of being a negotiator," explains Christopher Ruddy, a longtime friend of Trump's, who continues to meet with him in Florida. "If I look back, I think he is always in a state of negotiation with everybody, all the time. He takes an exaggerated position to create

a new middle ground. He moves the goalposts to force other people to move."

And he is able to withstand tremendous derision over his untruthfulness. A man who has cheerfully discussed intimate details of his private life on the air with Howard Stern, a man who mugs and poses at professional-wrestling bouts, a man who encouraged the coverage of his own affair in the New York tabloids is not overburdened by a sense of shame. This has proved to be an advantage over politicians who fear the embarrassment of being caught in a lie.

That fear has been documented by political scientists. During the 2012 election season, two researchers randomly divided 1,169 state legislators from nine states into three groups. One group received letters warning that they were being monitored for falsehood by PolitiFact, and that any false statements would soil their reputations and risk defeat. The second group was sent letters saying their statements were being monitored—but with no explicit warning of consequences. The third group wasn't contacted at all.

Group A—the ones who were warned of consequences—proved to be more cautious about the truth. They had their accuracy questioned at less than half the rate of the other groups. "Politicians typically care not just how the public cares about them but about how elites care about them," explained Dartmouth's Brendan Nyhan, one of the authors of the study. "Trump doesn't care." Indeed, even exit polls on Election Day found that 65% of voters—including 28% of his own voters—said that he isn't "honest and trustworthy." Yet that hasn't stopped his rise.

'He has the ability to change the subject to what he wants to talk about.'

ROGER STONE, former Trump adviser

THE QUESTION NOW IS THIS: Can this same strategy work for a President of the United States? The credibility Trump toys with is no longer just his own. For generations, the world has looked to American leadership in times of crises, one grounded in an historic fidelity to basic facts and a sobriety of rhetoric. What does it mean if the President now needs to use that credibility to rally support in a new confrontation with North Korea? Will the world have time or patience to consider which words he has put air quotes around?

The conservative editorial page of the *Wall Street Journal* had raised the question on the same morning Trump called TIME, with a biting condemnation of Trump's falsehoods. The article compared the President to a drunk, clinging "to an empty gin bottle" of fabrication. Trump had read the piece, and he did not approve. "The country's not buying it. It is fake media," he said of the *Journal*. "The country believes me. Hey, I went to Kentucky two nights ago. We had 25,000 people."

It is true that Trump has many supporters. One



possibility is that this shift in behavior at the top will lead to an increased skepticism among the voters and politicians on whom Trump depends. Reams of social science long ago established that partisans tend to unconsciously overlook falsehoods that come from their own team, while being outraged by the errors of their enemies. But Trump's excesses are exasperating even his fellow Republicans. Senate majority leader Mitch McConnell has stepped up his warnings about Trump's tweeting, telling one conservative outlet that it "takes attention away" from his party's accomplishments. Trump isn't moved. "Mitch is a wonderful man," the President told TIME. "Mitch will speak for himself."

But other Republican members of Congress have become more bold in voicing their concerns. "There's a lot of distractions," agrees Senator Jerry Moran of Kansas, whose state gave Trump 56% of its votes. "I just would say that truth is foundational. It's important in public life, and all of us need to do what we can to tell it the way the facts are." Representative Carlos Curbelo of Florida agrees: "The White House and the President have to understand that there's a cost to all of this. This country needs a government that it can trust."

Ultimately, democracy needs facts to allow for public debate and provide a check on abuses of power. "Truth has a despotic character," philosopher Hannah Arendt wrote in a 1968 essay on the subject. "It is therefore hated by tyrants who rightly fear the competition of a coercive force they cannot monopolize." Although Trump is a tyrant only in the minds of his most fevered critics, he

▲
*Trump leaves
 a "Repeal
 Obamacare" rally
 in Louisville, Ky.,
 on March 20, the
 same day top U.S.
 officials refuted his
 claim that he was
 wiretapped*

often talks like one. "Any negative polls are fake news," he tweeted in his third week on the job. The Gallup daily tracking poll of Trump's approval fell below 40% after the release of his Obamacare replacement bill.

With time, Trump may find he has committed himself to a strategy that will deteriorate with reuse, because with each passing month the American people will be gathering their own data on his habits and tactics, and what they yield. They will decide whether it's true, as Trump has promised, that health care costs are lower and everyone has wonderful insurance. They will fact-check his pledge of millions of new manufacturing jobs. They will see whether their incomes rise and their taxes fall, whether Mexico pays for a giant wall. "In the end, Presidents aren't allowed to get away with excuses," explains Bill Galston, a presidential scholar who worked in the Clinton White House. "They pay a price for the promises they make." This is a truth that no one yet has been able to tweet away.

Before he got off the phone, I tried one more time to get Trump to answer a question about the risk to his reputation caused by false and ever changing utterances. Once again, he would not accept the premise. "Hey, look," he said. "I can't be doing so badly, because I'm President and you're not." As a factual matter, the last part of this statement is indisputably true. And with that, he graciously said goodbye and went back to running the affairs of the most powerful country in the world. —*With reporting by SAM FRIZELL, ZEKE J. MILLER, PRATHEEK REBALA and CHRIS WILSON/* WASHINGTON





*A pedestrian passes
portraits of the late
Kim Il Sung, left,
and Kim Jong Il
in Pyongyang
on Feb. 17*



World

North Korea: How to Stop Kim Jong Un

Over the past year, North Korean leader Kim Jong Un has accelerated his country's rush toward nuclear weapons and intercontinental missiles, presenting President Donald Trump with an impending crisis. **TIME** asked six experts how we got here, why the problem is so urgent and so hard—and what China and the U.S. can do now to solve it

Ambassador **Wendy Sherman**
and diplomat **Evans Revere**

Ambassador **Chris Hill**

Former National Intelligence
Council chair **Gregory F. Treverton**

Former National Security Council
Asia director **Victor Cha**

Former Assistant Secretary of State
Kurt Campbell



North Korea conducts a ballistic rocket-launching drill in an undated photo released on March 7

Why we've fallen short and why that's no longer an option

By Wendy Sherman and Evans Revere

NORTH KOREA'S ISOLATED dictators have long believed that nuclear weapons will ensure regime survival against U.S. military power, enabling it to unite the Korean Peninsula on its terms. Successive U.S. Administrations have tried various strategies to thwart the dangerous trajectory of the regime. Some have made progress, only to be set back by North Korean perfidy, by changes in policy direction and by cautious partners and allies in the region who wanted a different approach. We now know that for much of this time Pyongyang was working to preserve and even expand its nuclear program. North Korea has several nuclear weapons and is perfecting the missiles

that are designed to deliver them. The North Korea challenge is, as President Obama reportedly told then President-elect Donald Trump, the most dangerous and difficult security challenge he will face.

In exchange for a "freeze" in North Korea's programs, the U.S. has tried diplomatic inducements, including normalization of relations, security guarantees, economic and food aid, and more. Nothing has produced lasting results. North Korea agreed to several freezes of its nuclear-weapons program but still found ways to violate the deals, and when caught refused international monitoring and verification. U.S. Administrations have tried sanctions but have

faced a China reluctant to enforce them and an inadequate international response. During the Clinton Administration, a negotiated plan to stop North Korea's program showed some success but ultimately was unsustainable. U.S. Administrations have considered military action but have pulled back, assessing the risk of catastrophic war as too great.

The main reason we are where we are today is because North Korea has walked away from every denuclearization agreement ever reached. The regime clearly wants nuclear weapons more than any inducement. And it has not

**THE REGIME
WANTS NUCLEAR
WEAPONS MORE
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INDUCEMENTS WE
HAVE OFFERED**

changed its behavior in the face of sanctions.

But no U.S. Administration, working with regional leaders and the international community, has ever arrayed all its tools and advantages simultaneously and overwhelmingly to end North Korea's nuclear-weapons program, forcing the regime to choose between nuclear weapons and regime survival. Compelling Pyongyang to make that stark choice offers the best way forward. A successful U.S. strategy will entail risk, but a growing North Korean nuclear threat and the possibility that miscalculation could lead to war means that we must do all that we can, and soon, to deal with the challenge of Pyongyang.

Sherman was Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs from 2011 to 2015. Revere was CEO of the Korea Society from 2007 to 2010

Avoiding the temptation to do nothing

By Chris Hill

There are, no doubt, problems and even crises in the world that go away on their own. The North Korean nuclear issue is not one of them. The growing number of tests in recent years, including two nuclear explosions in 2016 alone, suggests that North Korea has made development, deployment and the capability to deliver nuclear weapons a national aspiration. With its accelerating intercontinental ballistic missile program, it has made clear that it seeks a capacity to strike targets far from the Korean Peninsula, namely the continental U.S.

Yet after decades of this, it is tempting just to do nothing. After all, Pakistan developed and tested nuclear weapons with little international reaction. So did India. And Israel. Why can't North Korea do the same? The answer lies in the essence of the North Korean state. North Korea has little interest in being a member of the international community, in having allies or in collective security. It dumbs down to a series of bargaining transactions, and sneers at international standards of behavior.

Some argue that North Korea wants nuclear weapons for regime security, an analysis that would suggest that North Korea is simply warning predatory states to stay away or else. In fact, North Korea's contempt for its neighbors suggests that it would hold them hostage with its nuclear weapons. North Korea famously threatened to reduce South Korea's capital city to a "sea of fire." Such a threat takes on new meaning when a country holds nuclear weapons.

While South Korea and Japan are protected by their alliances with the U.S. and its nuclear umbrella, how long would that situation hold? If North Korea invaded South Korea (again), would the U.S. come to its defense if North Korea could threaten the U.S. with a nuclear strike? Would the South Korean people believe in a certain U.S. response? Would proliferation stop with South Korea and Japan? What about Taiwan? The Non-Proliferation Treaty would quickly be reduced to tatters, and so would the sense of security in the region.

And if North Korea fields a deliverable nuclear weapon that could reach the U.S. in the next few years, would President Trump want to face the American people with the explanation that he weighed the options and decided that doing nothing was best?

A career foreign-service officer, Hill was ambassador to South Korea from 2004 to 2005 and Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs from 2005 to 2009

'North Korea is behaving very badly. They have been "playing" the United States for years. China has done little to help!'

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP, TWEETING ON MARCH 17

The dangers of a preemptive strike

By Gregory F. Treverton

MORE THAN ONE AMERICAN President has been tempted by some form of preemptive attack on North Korea. However, the rub with preemption is that for the limited purpose of taking out the country's nuclear program, it isn't likely to work, and for the grander goal of decapitating the regime, success could create more problems than it solves.

Military options against the North's nuclear arsenal suffer from two problems: they might not succeed, and Pyongyang has devastating retaliatory options. Intelligence on the North's nuclear program is pretty good but hardly perfect. Since the beginning, the country has hidden key facilities, and as its missiles become more mobile, they are harder to target. Airstrikes on nuclear facilities, coupled with cyberattacks and perhaps commando raids, could do some damage, but since the program is now entirely indigenous, it could be repaired soon enough.

And it is hard to imagine Kim Jong Un doing nothing while the U.S. and its allies pounded his nuclear program. Seoul lies within artillery range of the North. Kim could retaliate even without using nuclear weapons. That would mean any attack on nuclear facilities would have to be accompanied

by attacks on other installations threatening the South. In other words, the war would widen even before Kim retaliated.

The other set of preemptive options, ones designed to overturn the regime, suffer their own set of imponderables. If Kim were killed, would the regime come apart or rally around the family? War gaming suggests a dangerous stew of violence, refugees and a race to control those nuclear weapons would ensue. In that stew, the gaming suggests, allies, not to mention China, would be as much of a problem as opposition from residual North Korean forces.

As things stand, neither diplomacy nor sanctions seem likely to derail the North's nuclear program. So regime change looks more and more attractive. But better that it come from within. Given Kim's reckless habits—drinking and driving are two of his favorite pastimes—a self-inflicted biological solution is more than possible. So is the chance that an insider will finally get angry enough to take him out, never mind the consequences.

Treverton, the former chair of the U.S. National Intelligence Council, is executive adviser to SM&A Corporation

China needs to get serious

By Victor Cha

For decades, China has played a smoke-and-mirrors game on North Korea that traps the U.S. in doomed negotiations that spare Beijing a near-term crisis on its border, but kicks the can down the road on the larger problem. China's gambit has undercut U.S. goals in three key areas.

First, U.S. economic sanctions against North Korea have proved ineffective as long as China continued to fund the regime through back channels, and allowed its companies and banks to deal with North Korea. Second, China has long been a free rider in negotiations, with little at stake in their short-term success or failure. In the past deals, the U.S. and its allies have compensated Pyongyang with heavy fuel oil and energy substitutes in exchange for a freeze on North Korea's missile testing; China, meanwhile, maintained normal bilateral economic relations with Pyongyang, absolving it of any direct stake in the denuclearization project. Third, China has largely ignored the international counterproliferation financing regime, which is designed to sanction North Korean entities that are funneling cash to its weapons of mass destruction programs.

China's economic ties to the North should be the leverage that forces change, not the reason it never comes. First, Washington should make clear to Beijing that it will not re-enter a negotiation as long as China insists on maintaining at least 80% to 85% of North Korea's trade. Second, the U.S. should get China to step up and pay directly for the denuclearization of North Korea. China's payments designed to prop up Pyongyang must be tied directly to nuclear inspections, and ultimately to denuclearization and not to China's economic interests. If China pays for denuclearization, it will take North Korea's violations more seriously than it does now. Lastly, China must clamp down on domestic Chinese entities doing business with North Korea. Just as with human-rights abusers, the U.S. should "name and shame" Chinese nationals—like the four named by the Justice Department in September 2016—who conspire to evade U.S. economic sanctions and facilitate dollar transactions for a sanctioned entity in North Korea. If China is serious about addressing the threat, then it should extradite cases like these.

Cha was director for Asian affairs at the National Security Council from 2004 to 2007, and is now director of Asian studies at Georgetown University

'The policy of strategic patience has ended. We are exploring a new range of diplomatic, security and economic measures. All options are on the table.'

SECRETARY OF STATE REX TILLERSON, SPEAKING IN SEOUL ON MARCH 17

Trump's new wrinkle brings promise and risk

By Kurt Campbell

A LONG RECOGNIZED DIPLOMATIC truism is settling in for President Donald Trump: North Korea is the land of lousy options. Which may explain why he and his team have mostly followed a predictable playbook, announcing their intention to strengthen military deterrence with close allies, buttress U.S. defense assets in Asia and stiffen sanctions against the North Korean regime.

The one new wrinkle appears to be that the Administration will seek to forcefully hold China responsible for North Korean provocations. Some senior U.S. officials are threatening to severely penalize any Chinese banks doing business with North Korea and to imitate the kinds of economic approaches and international coalitions successfully brought to bear on Iran under the Obama Administration. Although Beijing continues its calls for regional negotiations, the Trump team correctly counters that two decades of multilateral diplomacy have failed to contain the North. They now argue that China must do more to keep Kim Jong Un underfoot or at least at heel. Coupled with calls for key Europeans to also step up, an early entry for the Trump

Doctrine may very well be: it's up to you guys now.

But Chinese assertiveness, North Korean provocations, Japanese anxieties and South Korean political turmoil are swirling dangerously across Northeast Asia. Normally, uneasiness there would prompt key Asian players to look to the U.S. for steadiness.

But Trump's questioning of the traditional American leadership role in Asia—champion of free trade, supporter of allies and keeper of the peace—has further unnerved Asian capitals. The Trump gambit to get China to do more may well lead to Beijing blinking first in a standoff with Washington over the Korean Peninsula. Yet a more dominant Chinese role in Korea carries with it other risks. American leadership is still seen as vital to the stability and prosperity of the entire region, the cockpit of the global economy. This is why even with lousy options, they all look better with the U.S. deeply engaged in the dangerously evolving Korean equation.

Campbell was Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific affairs from 2009 to 2013



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Society

The Home of the Future





**Luckily for a nation of undersavers, a trailer park turns out to be
a superb place to grow old in** By Karl Vick/Zephyrhills, Fla.

*Spanish Trails is among more than 700
Florida trailer parks owned by their residents*

PHOTOGRAPHS BY CHRISTOPHER MORRIS FOR TIME

For feeling good while getting around, it's pretty hard to beat the mild glide of a golf cart.

But the residents of Sleepy Hollow Mobile Estates wake each day determined to try.

"Good morning!"

"It's a great one, isn't it?"

"It's a great one."

Every soul Larry Myott encounters on a scoot around Lazy Loop, the narrow main drag of the 154-home trailer park, has a hand raised in welcome and a hello as warm and clear as the sky overhead. On the January morning I rode shotgun, the chipper well-wishers included the guy who, the night before, lost the election for the park's highest elected office ... and lost it to Myott. It is as if the entire enclave—the pool, the smooth black pathways, the clubhouse, all devoted to the exclusive use of residents at least 55 years of age—glides on a thin film of some invisible and frictionless fluid. Maybe cooking oil. Possibly BS.

"Oh, it's bullsh-t," says Myott, who at 73 has given the matter some thought. Resolute good cheer is a conscious choice, he believes, grounded in the reality that physically looms in front of the residents: a miniature lighthouse at the park entrance, its base paved with bricks bearing the names of neighbors who have died (11 last year). Forget it's there and the road outside takes you past a hospital, a nursing home ("with memory care"), a hospice and, off First Avenue, a cemetery.

Life, in other words, is to be embraced while it still hugs back. Not everything has to be absolutely perfect.

"Nobody says, 'I'm going to retire to Florida and live in a trailer park,'" says Bill Gorman, who manages business affairs for Sleepy Hollow and 10 other parks. "They say, 'I'm going to move to Florida and play golf, go to the beach, enjoy life.'" The trailer? The trailer is what makes everything else possible. Even if you've never saved for retirement, equity in a "stick house" (as trailer folk call ordinary

homes) means you can sell it and pick up a mobile home for a fraction of the price. Peggy and Don Shriner paid \$6,000 for a fixer-upper 16 years ago and now spend half the year in Sleepy Hollow, one of 150 trailer parks for seniors in just the eastern half of Pasco County, a formerly rural section of central Florida that lately is playing the role once performed by California: showcase for the future.

How will we live in our golden years? As well as we can, for as long as we can, which at the bare minimum means avoiding institutional care—nursing homes, assisted living, hospitals—as long as possible. The goal is what gerontologists call "aging in place," and in a world that still holds a few happy surprises, one of the happiest is that trailer-park life turns out to be a superior way to achieve it.

Neighbors are close and look after one another. Asphalt paths invite strolling. The cribbage tournaments, bingo and pot-luck dinners that cram page after page of the park newsletter shift loneliness from a default of old age to a conscious decision.

"And no stairs!" exults Hank Vandergeld, 70, chalking his cue stick at the Sleepy Hollow clubhouse, a modest affair in a modest park populated by retirees who insist they could not be happier to be there. "Save your money," says Vandergeld. "When you're 55-plus, you can come live in one of these places."

"That's the trouble," he adds, after sinking the eight ball, which makes him laugh. "People don't save."

They do not. The queasy-making economic reality of most U.S. households is almost too dire to face. Social Security is good for only so much. Pensions are nearly a thing of the past. And left to themselves to provide for their retirement, most Americans have proved unequal to the task. One in three has not put aside a thin dime toward retirement, according to a



2016 survey. Nearly 6 in 10 have saved less than \$10,000.

But all is not lost. About 60% of U.S. households own a home. And the sale of a home opens the door to the possibility of trailer-park life. If that possibility happens not to be one a lot of people have in mind for themselves, what is aging except acceptance of the less-than-foreseen? In a series of accommodations to the inevitable, a mobile home may be just one, albeit the kind that actually keeps a roof over your head. And by the accounts of those already living, quite happily, in the parks, they may turn out to have more going on than is readily apparent to outsiders, sort of like aging.

6.4% SHARE OF U.S. HOMES THAT ARE MOBILE HOMES

44K NUMBER OF MOBILE-HOME PARKS IN THE U.S.

56% SHARE OF AMERICANS WITH LESS THAN \$10,000 IN RETIREMENT SAVINGS



Patrick Broderick, 78, stays afloat at Betmar Acres, where residents own the 1,663 lots, one of which is his

"It's coming, one way or the other," says Dan Soliman, housing specialist at the AARP Foundation, where experts spend a great deal of time looking hard at the collective reality that individuals may be loath to face. Some 10,000 baby boomers turn 65 every day, a "silver tsunami" of demography that will be followed, before anyone knows it, by millennials, whose prospects are even tougher. "We can either ride this wave and have a lot of fun," says Soliman, "or crash onto the rocks."

SOMEHOW THE ADVANTAGES of senior trailer parks have remained obvious almost exclusively to their residents. It is a success story without official ambassadors, all but unstudied by academics. "Honestly, I think it's because very few people in the academy, especially in business schools, are familiar with parks," says Charles M. Becker, an economics professor at Duke University whose own point of entry was some of his wife's relatives. Their story, by the numbers: sold home for \$180,000, bought a used double-wide for \$24,000, put \$5,000 into fixing it up "and walked away with a pile of cash." Some of the windfall they wisely set aside (an annuity is wise, Becker says) for utilities, taxes and payments on the

piece of land the trailer would sit on. But the bottom line shines bright and clear through the gloom.

"You can't buy \$30,000 worth of house in a stick-built house without being afraid of the neighborhood you live in," Becker observes. "Trailer parks can be thought of as gated communities for people who aren't so wealthy."

It's certainly a whole new way of thinking about them. The old way everybody already knows. Trailer parks are "the last acceptable prejudice in America," says Andrea Levere, who studies issues of financial security and class as president of the Corporation for Enterprise Development. There may be some basis for the stigma in many of the nation's 44,000 parks. They tend to be operated not by the residents (like the seniors of Sleepy Hollow) but by landlords exploiting the traditional model. The park owners rent tiny patches of land to the people who own the homes perched on it and charge pretty much whatever they like. Landlords have the upper hand because mobile homes tend to be mobile in name only; moving one can cost from \$5,000 to many times that. The typical mobile home arrives on wheels and stays put forever, poor people paying the rich.

"It's like owning a Waffle House where the customers are chained to the booths," in the words of Frank Rolfe, who co-owns more than 250 parks across the U.S., while also operating Mobile Home University. The "school," which conducts occasional seminars in hotel conference rooms, advises people looking to invest in parks. Rolfe boasts that mobile-home parks provide the steadiest income stream of any form of commercial real estate, and the highest rate of return. And trends are running their way.

"As America gets poorer, mobile-home parks are the only form of housing devoted to this demographic," Rolfe points out. What's more, the stigma actually works to the advantage of investors. Because local authorities seldom approve new parks, supply remains constant even as demand grows and grows. In the past half-decade, Wall Street has caught the scent. A former Goldman Sachs associate and a Harvard graduate started buying parks, riffing about methamphetamine and SWAT teams. In 2013, private-equity giant Carlyle Group "made a play." Explaining

his decision to invest, billionaire Sam Zell declared, “We like the oligopoly nature of our business.”

This is where the old folks come in. With a bit of ready cash—in Florida, usually between \$20,000 and \$40,000 per lot—park residents can throw in together and buy the park they live in. And if the cash is not ready, loans are available, either from banks or from nonprofit Resident Owned Communities USA, based in New Hampshire. The reasons to do this are excellent. In most states, a mobile home is taxed as a vehicle, and loses value the same way a car does. It becomes a “home,” however, once its owner buys the land it stands on. And at that point, its value can appreciate.

The transformation is instant and almost magical, like slipping a shoe on Cinderella. Trailer parks immediately go from being nominal clusters of transients to being communities of owners deeply invested in where they live. The legal mechanics are the same as when tenants buy their apartment building, forming a co-op or condominium. Residents then hold their fate in their hands and assess themselves only what fees are necessary for upkeep. In Florida parks, the monthly fee runs \$100 to \$150 a month. Today more than 700 of the state’s 5,000 mobile-home parks are resident-owned, almost all of them by seniors.

After the housing market crash of 2008, when the bursting bubble reduced the value of some traditional homes by half or more, mobile homes in resident-owned parks held far more of their value, dropping by only about 30%. Think about that. Manufactured homes, the “tin cans” or “wobbly boxes” of yore, proved sturdier in the marketplace than homes built with concrete blocks or pressure-treated pine. It made sense only to those who live in them. “It’s not the house that held up the value,” says Brian Heidman, who retired from a career in real estate to a resident-owned park. “It’s the community.”

SIZE DOESN’T really matter. Nor does income. I spent time at three Zephyrhills senior parks—one rich, one huge, one not very rich at all. Same story everywhere.

In Sleepy Hollow, Peggy Shriner, 75, glances out her window each morning at 8:30, by which time her neighbor, who



is in her 80s, usually raises her blinds. The morning the blinds stayed down, Shriner went over. Turns out the neighbor had forgotten to raise her blinds, but her daughter, six hours away, was deeply thankful for Shriner’s checking in. “We take care of each other,” Shriner explains in the clubhouse, where the afternoon activity is portrait photographs. The park publishes a member guide, not that people don’t know everyone already and whom to inquire after.

“You O.K., Linda?” Shriner asks a woman stepping outside a screen door. Recently widowed, Linda pauses for a beat in the doorway, registering what she’s being asked. Her answering nod communicates both affirmation—yes, I’m O.K.—

Residents of Betmar Acres play shuffleboard on Jan. 26; the park’s monthly newsletter has 11 pages of activities, including “shuffle lunch”

‘Trailer parks can be thought of as gated communities for people who aren’t so wealthy.’

CHARLES M. BECKER, Duke University

10K NUMBER OF BABY BOOMERS RETIRING EACH DAY

\$64K AVERAGE SALE PRICE OF A NEW MANUFACTURED HOME IN 2013

\$325K AVERAGE SALE PRICE OF A NEW SINGLE-FAMILY HOME IN 2013



and appreciation at being looked after.

Park living reminds Beth Palmer of her years in Africa; she was a missionary in a village of 300 in Sierra Leone. “You’d walk outside, and there was your neighbor,” she says. “You had that comfort of someone always being there.” For snowbirds, the comparison is with their summer lives in Michigan or Pennsylvania. “Dropping by? Not in Ohio!” says Barb Stein, who has been coming to Sleepy Hollow since the 1980s. “But here people are constantly dropping by.”

There may be an element of social leveling at work in trailer parks—the welcome kind. Not everyone comes from the same background, but there is a unity in what they now share. Mobile homes

have been built at a higher grade since a federal standard was imposed in the late 1970s, and the 8.5 million units the Census Bureau counts as mobile homes (also called “manufactured housing”) run the gamut, from single-wide “park models” to \$200,000 modular ranches.

But any will answer the senior urge to downsize an empty nest and to stretch a fixed income. A 2014 Harvard report found a third of the nation’s “older adult” population, or nearly 20 million households, spend over 30% of their income on housing (the threshold for “overburdened”). In 9.6 million of those households, spending on housing reaches more than 50% of income.

At Sleepy Hollow residents take a certain pride in frugality—it’s possible to spend less than \$1,000 a month—and joke about the airs put on at other parks. You hear about Betmar Acres, with its Spanish moss, two swimming pools, new courts for pickleball (a game played at close quarters across a net) and 1,700 homes.

“It’s big enough that you don’t get to know everybody, so everybody doesn’t know your business,” says Judi Gearsbeck, on a park tour that, at every turn, puts the lie to her statement. “Here comes pretty much the man-boy of the park,” she announces as a fit man in shorts strides past Memory Lane, Betmar’s memorial to deceased residents. “He’s not quite 60.”

Calvin Hall, 59, pauses to brightly explain that he and his husband first bought a lake house in Floral City 15 years ago. But their apprehension about the isolation of living so remotely proved greater than their apprehensions about living in a mobile home (“It was the stigma”) and coming out as a same-sex couple. There was acceptance all around. “I would live here year-round,” Hall says.

Gearsbeck resumes the tour, pointing out the park’s one and only overgrown property, her own corner lot, and the swimming pool a couple put in “for their dogs.” She slows to hail a man on an adult tricycle (“Pete recognizes everyone by their voice, because he doesn’t see very well”) and makes her first ever visit to the park’s library. Behind the counter is a familiar face. “Rita has a sister,” Gearsbeck notes. “Sometimes she’ll wander. I found her one day in the park.”

“Yeah, we’re looking into a home,” Rita says, with no air of complaint, “because

my husband is the same way. He doesn’t wander yet. I’m the only one who’s stable.” Rita crosses her fingers. “Let’s hope it holds.” Back in the golf cart, Gearsbeck confides that Rita “just went through a whole bout of cancer. So we stopped in with the sister, as we do.”

Failing health is simply a fact of life, and as with other challenges, from parenthood to combat, shared adversity tends to create a web that in moments of need can be leaned upon.

“You live in a normal community, and you don’t really know anybody,” says Heidman, in the clubhouse of Grand Horizons, the most upscale park in Zephyrhills. It feels like a subdivision, with homes selling for about \$150,000. There’s a parking area for the (smaller) motor homes that residents take on trips, but you can’t live in one here. Not even single-wides are allowed. Homes must be double-wides; several are made from three pieces, most at a factory an hour away, which residents typically visit to select the features they want.

A home takes three days to make and at least six weeks to install. Heidman took the \$1.4 million he got for his waterfront home in Bonita Springs and bought five lots, plus one for his own house. It has a fireplace, spa tub and walls made of Sheetrock, none of that Plasticine finish. There’s no escaping the spring in the floor that tells you it’s a trailer, but it’s a fair trade for what comes with it: neighbors he’s sure about from the background checks all residents must pass, and a full schedule of activities to fight boredom, which is what he dreads most about retirement.

“That’s it: Companionship. Fellowship. Whatever you want to call it,” says Heidman. “Safety,” adds Jim Leitzke, who is next to him in the clubhouse, which fills up as midday approaches with the smell of tacos. There’s a defibrillator on the wall. “When that ambulance pulls up,” Leitzke says, “there’s going to be someone around to look after my place while I’m gone.”

He knows because he’s done it for others. “We don’t all have both oars in the water, and we’re not all rowing in the same direction,” says Heidman. “But we are all aging. That’s the one thing we have in common. Of the five lots that I have sold in the past year, three of the buyers have been in the hospital. So we all are well aware that the grim reaper is very close to us. We’re all in it together.” □

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'SHE'S TRYING TO MERGE MOTHER AND PIMP, BENEFACTOR AND BOSS. BUNIONS ARE THE LEAST OF HER PROBLEMS.' —PAGE 55



James and Lathan search for the truth in a storm of racial politics

TELEVISION

Bad boys (and girls) return to Fox in *Shots Fired*

By Daniel D'Addario

A WHITE COP SHOOTS AND KILLS A black citizen. That story has played out so often and so vividly in real life recently that it might seem needless to dramatize it. Television has had no response over the past few years other than reaching into the past, as with last year's two series about the life and crimes of O.J. Simpson. But TV is often at its sharpest when pivoting swiftly off the news. And that's what makes Fox's new series *Shots Fired* so intriguing.

The show puts forward a tragedy that, on the surface at least, is the inverse of the sort Americans are familiar with from the news: a black police officer (Tristan Wilds) in small-town North Carolina shoots and kills a white motorist, sparking an outcry. The maelstrom intensifies

once footage surfaces of the officer declaring, in a loose and celebratory moment, that he has "a license to kill crackers." Sanaa Lathan and Stephan James play an investigator and a Department of Justice lawyer seeking to determine culpability. Both are black, and James' character, an ambitious tyro, is specifically chosen for the case because of his race to avoid further inflaming tensions.

So much for that. What *Shots Fired* gets right is how, in our current media and political climate, events as unambiguously tragic as the loss of life become Rorschach tests in which each spectator finds exactly the outcome that happens to cohere with what he or she already believed. The uncomplicated comes up for debate, and the muddled details of a complex

case give rise to unearned certitude. Various characters, from the state's conservative governor (Helen Hunt) to a preacher fluent in the language of the Black Lives Matter movement (Aisha Hinds), operate as though, by delivering their takes at increasing volume, they can turn a young man's death into a chance to further their careers.

It's a cynical show, but this cynicism feels earned. *Shots Fired*, created by film director Gina Prince-Bythewood (*Beyond the Lights*) and her husband Reggie Rock Bythewood, shares with *Empire* (which airs after it) a bold and audacious concept and a worn-down weariness that lets a bit of air out of the show's spectacle. For all the inherent drama of its premise and for all its addiction to plot twists, *Shots Fired* derives its power from its characters. Take the frustration Lathan barely allows herself to acknowledge when dealing with a local white officer (Stephen Moyer). Her jaw sets, her eyes narrow. Hers isn't a big performance—save moments dealing with her turbulent family life—but it carries loud and clear the psychic toll of having to grope for the truth in the midst of so many people who are so sure they already know it.

I'm naturally curious how the case will resolve itself, but *Shots Fired* is an achievement beyond its timely plot. Each episode finds a new avenue of inquiry, one that exposes another segment of society. It's rare to see such a cross-section of life on TV, but *Shots Fired*, with empathy, grit and outrage, pulls it off. That the program airs on a network that made its name early on with one-dimensional crime shows *Cops* and *America's Most Wanted* is a testament to how ambitious even broadcast television has become.

Shots Fired isn't the only show trying to do something similar. I'd include ABC's *American Crime*, whose majestic third season is taking on migrant labor, as well as last year's *The People v. O.J. Simpson* on FX. All use short runs (*Shots Fired* is slated for 10 installments) to take big and ambitious swings. And all seem to be less interested in "solving" a story—bringing about a satisfying ending—than in diagnosing, in minute and particular detail, the American condition at this moment. It didn't seem we needed a show about police violence, but with *Shots Fired* we may have ended up with the definitive one.

SHOTS FIRED airs on Fox on Wednesdays at 8 p.m. E.T.

'The truth is you wouldn't be here if I shot a black kid. No one would.'

TRISTAN WILDS, playing a black police officer under investigation for shooting a white college student, on *Shots Fired*

QUICK TALK

Julie Andrews

The actor is bringing her many talents to a new Netflix program for children, Julie's Greenroom. With a cast of Jim Henson puppets and a roster of celebrity guests, it aims to teach kids the virtues of the arts.

This is a moment in the U.S. when funding for arts education is in doubt. Why does arts education matter? The arts are the first thing that suffer these days, and yet they are truly the most vital thing I can imagine to make our lives better, to make a bridge between communities and countries and to be able to connect without any animosity.

What do you hope parents will get out of the series? One of the things we hope is that parents or grandparents will be interested enough to come and watch the program with their children. When you read something like *Winnie-the-Pooh* as an adult, there's a whole other level of sophisticated humor. That's what I'm hoping our show has. I'm hoping that the whole family will at some point want to sit down and share the experience with their children.

There are new Jim Henson puppets in this show, but do you have a favorite classic Muppet character? When I worked occasionally with the Muppets, I loved the mad drummer puppet, Animal, and Oscar the Grouch too. But of course Kermit. Kermit and I worked together many times, and Miss Piggy, needless to say.

I was watching a 1984 interview in which you said you exercised every day. Do you still? If I said, "I wish," would you understand?

Everyone knows Fräulein Maria's favorite things—raindrops on roses, etc. What are a few of Julie Andrews' favorite things? My favorite things really are the quiet moments with family, everything from simply pruning my roses to playing with my dogs.

—SARAH BEGLEY

ON MY RADAR

THE CROWN

"I'm amazed at how they managed to film that and make it as keen and clear as they do. It has been such a joy for me."



ANDREWS: DON ARNOLD; HARLOTS: LIAM DANIEL; HILLU

TELEVISION

Antiheroines are resplendent in *Harlots*

By Daniel D'Addario

IN 1763 LONDON, THE OPENING sequence of Hulu's new series *Harlots* informs us, 1 in 5 women is a sex worker. If anything, this figure seems low once the show plunges viewers into a world so relentlessly focused on the flesh trade that it's a wonder Georgian London had any other industries at all. Two rival madams, Samantha Morton's earthy Margaret Wells and Lesley Manville's pretentious Lydia Quigley, sit atop this world. And their rivalry provides the engine for a compelling drama.

The pair share little aside from enmity: Lydia teaches her working girls French and pockets their money, celebrating the finer things in life while profiting from the prurient. Margaret's style, by contrast, is more saloon than salon. Her trade tends toward the rougher-edged, with one glittering exception—her daughter Charlotte (*Downton Abbey*'s Jessica Brown Findlay), who is sought after by London's wealthy patrons. And yet as Margaret seeks to raise much-needed capital, she eventually finds herself forced to sell off the virginity of Charlotte's younger sister Lucy (Eloise Smyth).

It's a tragic decision, and one whose complexity Morton sells brilliantly. Many viewers first became acquainted with the actor through her intense, haunted performances in *Minority Report* and *In America*. Here, she has traded her androgynous alien qualities for an exhaustion at just how hard the life of a woman on Earth can be. She gives Lucy a pair of unflatteringly ornate yellow shoes to help entice potential buyers. When Lucy says they don't fit, Margaret retorts, "Make 'em." She's trying to merge mother and pimp, benefactor and boss. Bunions are the least of her problems.

Her astringency is a welcome check on *Harlots*' more questionable turns. The show is at once aware of the struggles its characters undergo and a bit drunk on how gloriously kitted-out their world is.



Brown Findlay heads further back in time than *Downton Abbey*'s 1910s, and tries on a less innocent role

(This is a lavish period drama, from the cast's towering wigs to their prime opera boxes.) There's a tendency to deliver thuddingly obvious moments of exposition amid all the finery. It feels like an unnecessary course correction to bring viewers ensorcelled by the costumes back to the realities of the sex trade.

But viewers have been primed to

STREAMWORTHY

Harlots joins several other erudite Hulu series focused on the lives of complicated women, including *The Mindy Project*, *Casual*, *Difficult People* and upcoming Margaret Atwood adaptation *The Handmaid's Tale* (April 26).

understand that prostitution is both a rough business and one that gives rise to interesting stories. After all, TV has done much the same with the mob, the drug trade and Madison Avenue. *Harlots* provides two intriguing antiheroines who get the great acting challenge of facing down existential threats. Both face a temperance movement, not to mention the possibility their charges will stop obeying orders. This is the most promising thread in *Harlots*, and what will likely keep you watching: the drama of losing sight of the line between survival and exploitation.

HARLOTS releases episodes Wednesdays on Hulu



Gyllenhaal and Ferguson in *Life*: fear is not an option, but floating is

MOVIES

In *Life*, the blob from Mars is small and very scary

By Stephanie Zacharek

CLAUSTROPHOBIA, PARANOIA, LONELINESS, fear of a hostile takeover by anyone or anything. Whatever your anxiety, Daniel Espinosa's polished space thriller *Life* is designed to tease it out. Jake Gyllenhaal's space doctor David is part of a six-person crew parked at a research station somewhere between Earth and Mars. He and his fellow space travelers—among them Rebecca Ferguson's cucumber-cool CDC rep Miranda and Ryan Reynolds' wisecracking fix-it guy Rory—have collected some nice red-soil samples from our neighboring planet. Now Hugh (Ariyon Bakare), the crew's botanist-geneticist, is dropping bits of liquid on them to see if he can summon any signs of life. As if that's ever been a good idea.

At first all he sees is a harmless-looking blob, a microscopic single-cell organism sporting a couple of whiskery flagella. Earth children, in contact with

the space station via satellite, name it Calvin. Before long it grows into an iridescent tadpole-orchid hybrid that grabs on to Hugh's gloved finger adorably. "Its curiosity outweighs its fear!" he exclaims. Meanwhile, those of us who have seen a sci-fi horror movie in the past 40 years—or, for that matter, ever—are shrinking in our seats. Or trying to climb atop them.

There probably isn't a single element of *Life* that you haven't seen before. And like so many movie creatures these days, our little protozoan turned predator

LIFE ON MARS?

NASA's 1976 Viking mission turned up only dust and rocks, but some scientists still hope for more. "Every new piece of information we get about the planet seems to point to greater and greater habitability," NASA astrobiologist Penny Boston told the *Washington Post* in 2016.

owes a debt to Swiss artist—and *Alien* critter creator—H.R. Giger. What matters more is how Espinosa (*Safe House*, *Child 44*) shuffles and recombines familiar elements, more often stoking slow-burning terror than goosing us with jump scares. (Although he does toss in a few of those.) Part of what makes *Life* so unsettling is how eerily calming much of it is. The station is a nest of corridors rendered in soothing pearl-gray tones. When the crew members slip into their little space pods for a night of shut-eye, the unknowability of the galaxy becomes a cozy whisper.

But when *Life* jolts awake, the tension is almost unbearable, right up to the brooding, cautionary ending. This is an effective and unsettling piece of filmmaking, partly because Gyllenhaal has one of the most sympathetic faces in movies today—it's haunted and haunting. His David is the super-principled guy who'll do anything to save everyone. But he also tells Miranda that he prefers floating in the sky to living on Earth: "I can't stand what we do to each other down there." For him, space is the place. But it's still no respite from a troubled world. □

LIFE: SONY; WILSON: 20TH CENTURY FOX; SONG TO SONG: BROAD GREEN PICTURES

MOVIES

Woody Harrelson turns a scowl upside down in *Wilson*

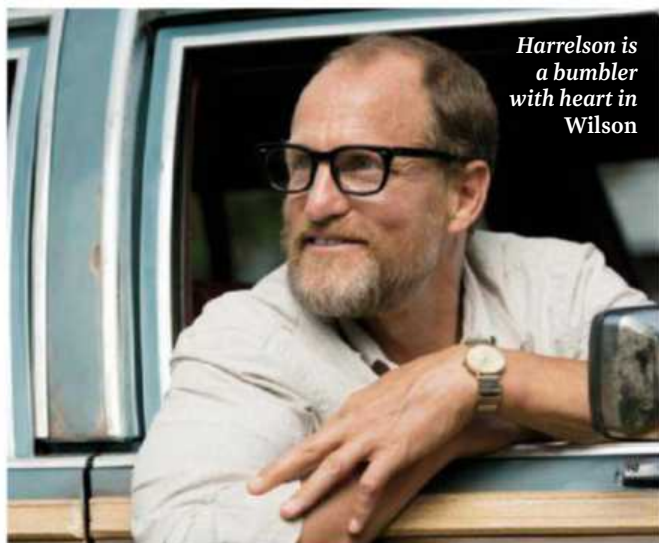
GRAPHIC NOVELIST DANIEL CLOWES SPECIALIZES IN A KIND of cockeyed pessimism, a somber-funny worldview that acknowledges how crummy and stupid people can be, only to swing around to a kind of grudging humanism. That's the principle at work in *Wilson*, directed by Craig Johnson (*The Skeleton Twins*) and adapted by Clowes from his 2010 novel. Woody Harrelson plays the title character, a loner who shares his cluttered apartment with just one other creature, a willful fox terrier named Pepper. Whenever Wilson opens his mouth, the wrong thing tumbles out—and no one wants to hear it.

But if Wilson is a royal pain, he's also piercingly lonely. When he reestablishes contact with his ex-wife Pippi (Laura Dern), a onetime drug addict who's struggling to straighten out, he learns that he has a daughter, Claire (Isabella Amara), now a teenager. Pippi gave her up for adoption as an infant. Dazzled by this newfound fatherhood, Wilson sets out to connect with Claire. But because this is Clowesland, almost nothing goes right.

Wilson is often wryly funny, though it too often gives in to glibness. (The marvelous character actor Margo Martindale appears in a small role, but the scene, built around her character's looks, only scores points off her.) In the end, it's hard not to feel for Wilson as Harrelson plays him. Heavy horn-rimmed glasses frame his perpetual scowl of consternation; he's like a bewildered thundercloud. But once in a while, when something goes right, he cracks a nutty gap-toothed smile and you see through to his soul. Hell may be other people, but they're all we've got. —s.z.

'It's something you hope for in a character, that you can just throw him into a situation and he surprises you.'

DANIEL CLOWES, in the *New Yorker*, on writing the *Wilson* screenplay



Harrelson is a bumbler with heart in *Wilson*



Director Malick shapes Mara, Fassbender and Gosling into an equilateral triangle of desire

MOVIES

Tiny dancers abound in *Song to Song*

IN CASTING ROMANTIC HEROINES, DIRECTOR Terrence Malick favors slender wraiths who are easily picked up and twirled around by their moony-eyed beaux. If this is your idea of romantic bliss, don't miss *Song to Song*, in which the wrenlike—and exceedingly twirlable—Rooney Mara plays Faye, an aspiring songwriter who's torn between two lovers and feeling like a fool. Michael Fassbender's Cook is a rich Austin music-biz playboy who might help her with her so-called career. (Not that we ever see her working. Once or twice she straps on a guitar, though she clearly has no idea how to play the thing—it dangles there like Flavor Flav's clock.) But Faye's real love is goofball swain BV (Ryan Gosling), a moderately successful singer-songwriter who happens to be a close friend of Cook's. Loving both of them is breaking all the rules, though it's easy to see why they're entranced by her. She's winsome, drifty, characteristically Malickian. Cate Blanchett, tall, cool and self-possessed, shows up for a scene or two, but apparently she's too hard to lift.

Song to Song features every stylistic trick in the Malick playbook: skies dotted with lustrous clouds, characters murmuring their deepest thoughts in voice-over ("I forget what I am. Whose I am."), birds and butterflies flitting around like silent, restless witnesses. *Song to Song* is slightly less pretentious than Malick's last film, the 2015 sigh of ennui *Knight of Cups*, though it features just as many miniature actresses. Malick alumnus Natalie Portman shows up here too, as a waitress turned trophy wife. She's so petite and darling, you just want to scoop her up. And sure enough, someone does. —s.z.

Becky G, actor

The Mexican-American star hasn't met a stage—online, on tour, on television—she hasn't dominated. Now she's taking on her biggest role yet as a teenage superhero in the diverse, big-screen *Power Rangers* adaptation

BECKY G JUST GOT HER DRIVER'S LICENSE—NOT THAT SHE has many opportunities to drive. “I will if it's an emergency or I need to get somewhere quickly,” says the 20-year-old. But her mom or other members of the family have chauffeured her around for more than a decade. That's how long Becky, born Rebbeca Marie Gomez, has been working as an entertainer. “Don't get me wrong,” she says. “I'm a grown woman and a boss lady. But I'm still growing up. Who wants to drive in L.A. traffic anyway?”

After starting with voice acting and commercial work when she was 9, the Los Angeles native developed a following for her YouTube covers of pop and hip-hop songs. By her mid-

teens, she had signed a deal with RCA Records and released singles like the Top 20 hit “Shower.” The young singer's pop confections have attracted big-name collaborators like Pitbull and Kesha. She has also opened for Katy Perry on tour, modeled for CoverGirl and appeared in episodes of *Empire* and *Nashville*.

NOW SHE IS one of the stars of *Power Rangers* (March 24), a big-budget, cinematic reimagining of the

television series that's long been a staple of Saturday-morning kids' TV. The original—in which otherwise normal teenagers find themselves piloting mechanical giants to fight enormous monsters—relied on goofy special effects and stunts to keep kids watching. But this new film, while still aimed a young audience, is an attempt to launch a new superhero franchise not based on a comic book, a difficult proposition in the age of Marvel's dominance.

Gomez plays Yellow Ranger Trini, who teams up with four friends to stop the evil Rita Repulsa (Elizabeth Banks) from destroying the world. She says she wanted to be in the film because this adaptation promised to be socially aware and diverse. The other Rangers include Chinese-Canadian actor Ludi Lin; English-born, half-Indian actor Naomi Scott; African-American actor RJ Cyler; and Australian actor Dacre Montgomery. “You've got all kinds of cultures, and in the character breakdown, there were no ethnicities,” Gomez says. “That's the whole point: anyone can be powerful. It's not the color of your skin. It's not the social group that you belong to in high school. That's why *Rangers* is so

'Anyone can be powerful. It's not the color of your skin. It's not the social group you belong to in high school.'

FRIENDS IN HIGH PLACES

The video for Becky's single “Becky From the Block” featured a cameo by Jennifer Lopez.



awesome—because those walls come tumbling down.”

For Gomez, whose grandparents emigrated from Mexico, issues of representation are crucial, especially at a time when immigration is a hotly contested issue. “Although it doesn't affect me firsthand because I am American,” she says, “it does affect me because I am proud to be Mexican. For people to be able to make me feel like I don't belong is terrible.” And despite her fame, she says, she's been discriminated against: “I have heard my family referred to as ‘you people’ before.” She describes a recent tense interaction at an airport that took on new gravity in the light of recent events.

It was also meaningful to Becky that her character questions her sexuality. The revelation takes place in a blink-and-you'll-miss-it moment. But if the movie becomes a hit, it's likely to be the kind of detail that becomes meaningful for a segment of its primarily young audience. “When I was doing that scene, it was the first time as an actress where I couldn't control my emotions,” she recalls. “I felt very connected to her, because this is something that a lot of people go through.”

IT'S NOT CERTAIN that *Power Rangers* will be successful enough to generate sequels.

So for now, Becky is going back to her first love, music. She's working on two albums, one in English and one in Spanish. She's clearer in her artistic vision than she's ever been before. “I almost feel like it's a rite of passage to get lost at some point,” she says, “so you can come back and realize who you really are.”

—SAM LANSKY

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Let's
Go
Places

TIME
PICKS

BOOKS

For a nonfiction story with a sci-fi feel, Pulitzer-winning author Annie Jacobsen tells the history of the U.S. military's exploration of ESP and psychic abilities via former officials in *Phenomena*, out March 28.

^
MUSIC

Australian-born dance-popster **Betty Who** turns out more songs you can bop to on her second studio album, *The Valley* (March 24). Bonus: There's an ode to Britney Spears.

PODCAST

The creators behind the habit-forming podcast *Serial* bring you the binge-worthy seven-part series *S-Town* (March 28), about a new twisty true-crime mystery.

v
TELEVISION

Thirteen glamorous drag queens compete for the title of America's Next Drag Superstar on the ninth season of VH1's ***RuPaul's Drag Race*** (March 24), featuring guest judge Lady Gaga.



FICTION

Hercules
wields a
shotgun

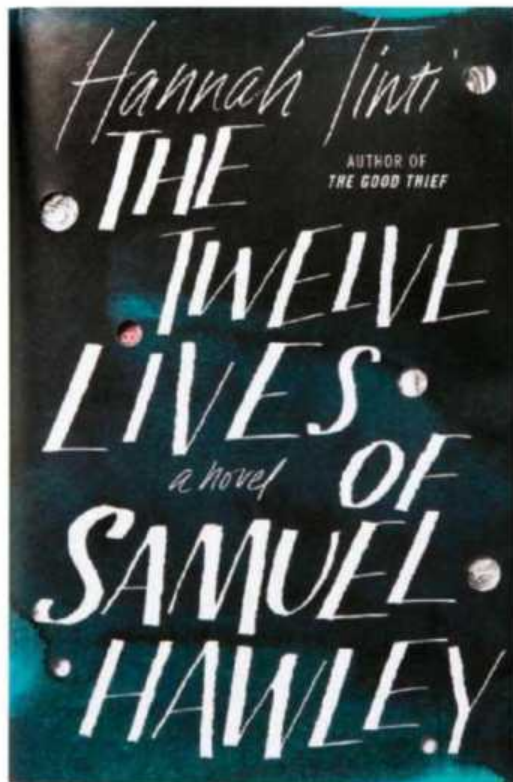
EVEN BEFORE THE OFFICIAL release of *The Twelve Lives of Samuel Hawley* in March, early readers deemed it worthy of excitement. The novel—at once a coming-of-age adventure, a love story and a literary thriller—has appeared on several most-anticipated books lists for 2017, has been blurbed by the likes of Ann Patchett and Richard Russo and was snapped up by Hollywood and optioned for television.

Author Hannah Tinti was already armed with literary credentials. She co-founded the magazine *One Story* in 2002. Her short-story collection *Animal Crackers* sold in 16 countries. And her 2008 debut novel, *The Good Thief*, anointed her a best-selling author and drew comparisons to Dickens.

Twelve Lives conjures even more storied roots: Tinti, the daughter of a librarian, says she turned to her bookshelf while writing and plucked a volume of ancient mythology. Samuel Hawley is a rugged, gun-toting single father (call Brad Pitt's agent) with 12 bullet scars, inspired by the 12 labors that Hercules performed as penance for murdering his family. "There are dark stories behind heroes, terrible things they have to do to accomplish their goals," Tinti explains.

By that definition, Hawley certainly qualifies as a hero. He blurs the lines between caregiver and criminal, raising his daughter Loo on the run, while keeping secret how

her mother died. Half of the chapters follow Loo, telling the story of a girl raised a little bit wild. The rest flash to Hawley's far darker past, plunging into scenes of

^
GUNSLINGER

Tinti learned to shoot pistols, revolvers and shotguns for research. The latter scared her the most: "The target just blew away."

crime and revenge.

Tinti drops familiar objects and people (a pair of lace gloves, a bearskin rug, a troubled old friend) into both father's and daughter's stories, showing how much we inherit from our parents and poking through the boundaries of time. "Our lives can repeat," she says. "I try to find moments where I can feel more connected."

Running through her body of work is a fascination with the tension between people's best and basest behavior, as in Hawley's struggle to reconcile his current and former selves. "What pushes people in one direction or another, to give in to that animalistic side?" Tinti ponders. "There's a teetering on the edge."

—LUCY FELDMAN



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A new Muppet on *Sesame Street*, named Julia, will be **the series' first character with autism**.



'We were worried that the BBC would never call us again.'

PROFESSOR ROBERT E. KELLY, speaking with the network about his adorable children interrupting a live interview on South Korea



A study published in *Scientific Reports* that **measured participants' responses to different curvatures of Mona Lisa's mouth** found the famed subject was almost unanimously perceived to be smiling.

Fraternal boy band **Hanson** is **launching a world tour**, 25 years after the "MMMBop" singers made their debut on the pop scene.



Real-life couple Emily Blunt and John Krasinski will **take their much gushed-over marriage to the big screen**, starring together in the thriller *A Quiet Place*.



TIME'S WEEKLY TAKE ON

**LOVE IT
LEAVE IT**

WHAT POPPED IN CULTURE



In response to **visitors' stealing inordinate amounts of toilet paper for home use**, operators of Beijing's UNESCO World Heritage Site Temple of Heaven have installed facial scanners on bath tissue dispensers.

Emma Watson plans to take legal action after **dozens of private photos of her at a clothes fitting appeared online** without her permission.



In a show of abundant gratitude, South African soccer player Mohammed Anas appeared to **thank both his wife and his girlfriend** in a postgame interview.



College students on spring break allegedly began a chant of "Build that wall!"—**while vacationing in Cancún, Mexico**.



Demeter Fragrance Library **rolled out a new perfume called Kitten Fur**, meant to mimic the smell of that spot "just behind a kitten's neck."

PERFUME: FACEBOOK; ANAS: TWITTER; SESAME STREET: AP; KELLY: BBC; MONA LISA: HANSON; BLUNT AND KRASINSKI: TOILET PAPER ROLL; BATH TISSUE DISPENSER: WATSON; SPRING BREAK: GETTY IMAGES



Hacking myself is the most surprisingly humiliating decision I've ever made

By **Joel Stein**

ONE DAY WE WILL ALL BE HACKED. BY “WE,” I MEAN THE famous and powerful, so it’s not something you really need to worry about. But I do. So, figuring the best defense is a good offense, I decided to hack myself in order to control the inevitable damage of being outed by Russians, North Koreans, WikiLeaks, Anonymous or that obese guy in New Jersey whom Donald Trump seems to know a lot about.

Unfortunately, I’ve had bad luck tempting someone to help me in this endeavor. Over the past three years, I’ve gotten two hackers I found online to agree, but after hours on the phone arranging how to do this, they suddenly stopped getting back to me without doing any hacking, which, sadly, has made me distrustful of hackers.

So I got my editor to assign hacking me to two young TIME reporters, to whom I gave my passwords, since they didn’t have any hacking skills. They, too, stopped emailing me. In fact, they were so uncomfortable with the assignment, assuming I’d written embarrassing things, that they didn’t want me to use their names in this column. “I’m concerned there will be something that will weigh on my conscience: an affair or giving to a creepy political cause or secrets hurting other people,” said Anonymous Hacker One. Eventually, they promised to come to me with anything they couldn’t deal with. “Unless we find something that is legally dubious—then I’ll go to your editor,” said Anonymous Hacker Two. I do not know what kind of vibe I am giving off, though I suspect it has something to do with that one day I wore mandals to the office.

I, meanwhile, was unconcerned. I live an honest, clean, transparent existence free of racism, sexism, homophobia and that thing where you demean little people, which needs a name. I abstain from doing awful things because I enjoy feeling morally superior. I also enjoy feeling intellectually superior, physically superior and aesthetically superior, all of which really gets in the way of being morally superior. But mostly I wasn’t worried because anything humiliating I’ve done I’ve already written a column about, including the mandals.

THE ADVICE HACKERS GIVE when looking for dirt in a pile of data is to search for words such as *pissed* or *angry*. They suggest figuring out to whom the most emails are sent, since that signals a trusted relationship. And to use Facebook to suss out relationships—ex-girlfriends, college acquaintances—to spot dubious interactions. Deleted photos are telling, as are erased emails. And they say to always, always look in the draft folder, which houses the truly horrible stuff people are too smart to send. The draft folder is each and every one of our personal



Nixon White House tapes.

Using this advice, my two hackers delivered an 18,000-word document of humiliations three weeks later. People who say that those with nothing to hide shouldn’t be afraid of being hacked are, it turns out, idiots like me. While I have nothing to hide from the world in my emails, I have a lot to hide from any given person I am talking about behind their back in email. Which is nearly the world.

Anonymous Hackers One and Two found very mean emails I’d written about a family member who I think is self-pitying. I called a good friend, who I don’t think is crazy, “crazy.” Some emails would be devastating if they were made public simply because of their lack of context, including, “Remember Barbie Kean and the trunk of your car?” And people would know that Mindy Kaling didn’t return my email. Twice.

BUT THE INFORMATION I’d feel most horrible about potentially being made public were other people’s secrets: people’s affairs, mutual friends who dislike each other, my son’s issues at school, complaints after parents’ visits, friends who voted for Trump, the fact that the radio host Mancow is a “highly unpleasant human being.” And my wife forwards me a lot of emails from friends who tell her horrible stuff about their boyfriends. She also mentions things she wouldn’t want to share publicly, about cosmetic procedures she’s had done or medical issues she’s dealing with. I am divulging this so that she, too, is now immunized against being hacked. You’re welcome, honey.

We had better figure out how to end hacking before our friends and family are able to search for their names in a data dump. Otherwise, we’re not going to have any friends or family left to email or text. Which means we’ll have no safe space to say cruel things, not even in drafts. And that’s a world that none of us want to live in.

Bruce Feiler The best-selling author who walked the Holy Land talks about *The First Love Story*, married priests and the Bible's ringing endorsement of sex

You write that we have lost the point of Adam and Eve: they were two people who loved each other through passion and pain. Should we all disobey God on our first dates to build an eternal relationship?

Adam and Eve are victims of the greatest character assassination the world has ever known. And when you go back to the story, you find the first commandment that God gives in the entire Bible is to Adam and Eve: Go forth and multiply. They are called by God to succeed. The story is not one of disobeying God. It's about obeying the larger message, which is making the relationship work.

Why has Eve shouldered the blame when Adam was right there, taking a bite from the same fruit? Because organized religion got ahold of the story—and by organized religion, I mean men. It has been weaponized essentially to keep down women. In the story, Eve is the first independent woman.

What did your reinvestigation of their creation reveal to you about gender? Genesis introduces the idea of gender fluidity: God creates this ungendered human in God's image. That suggests that the first creation has male and female inside them.

What about sex? The entire point of the story is fulfilling God's mission to be fruitful and multiply. The story needs them to succeed, and we need sex for that success to happen.

The Pope recently raised the possibility of allowing married men to serve as priests. What might they understand that celibate priests don't? Anybody who has struggled to make their own relationship work will be more empathetic to somebody who is struggling with an enormous pain point: how to tell a story with another person. Love is co-creation through co-narration. The "co-" is central to that.

Last year's two most acclaimed films, *Moonlight* and *La La Land*, subverted the other love story central to Western society: the Hollywood romance.

What should we reconsider about that tale? That being in love is not a choice we make once; it's a choice we make multiple times. In Adam and Eve, the first key moment is not when they meet. It's when Eve eats the fruit and decides to go back to Adam, and Adam chooses companionship over duty—that's the second choice. When they leave Eden, that's the third choice. After their son Cain kills their son Abel, that's the biggest choice: showing resilience to have another child and fulfill God's mandate. What's the most loving moment in *Hamilton*? After he's cheated, after their son has been killed in a duel. In "It's Quiet Uptown"—I've listened to that song maybe 500 times, and it wasn't until I went back after this book that I heard the last lyric, "Forgiveness, can you imagine?" It's an act of imagination, an act of commitment and ultimately an act of love to re-choose someone after a difficult time. That choice is much harder and more important than the first.

Religion today is often used as a barrier—against the threat of terrorism or as a reason to not provide someone a service.

What do you make of that? We all have to get over that thing our mom told us: "Don't talk about politics and religion in public." The majority of people have yearnings and big questions and want to believe, but also want to coexist with people with whom they disagree, with whom they may also be sharing a bed or a table or a child. Those of us who are open-minded have to claim the microphone.

Coding class or Bible study?

I have daughters who love math. It's harder to tell them that there's more wisdom in the ancient world than on the computer. So, Bible study.

—NATE HOPPER

'It's an act of imagination, an act of commitment and ultimately an act of love to re-choose someone after a difficult time.'



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Cooked



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