

Did Donald Trump Perjure Himself or Just Lie?

New York **Week**

10.07.2016



HERS TO LOSE

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SHOULD WIN
AND MAY NOT

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Newsweek

10.07.2016 / VOL. 167 / NO. 13



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The Democratic nominee should take the White House in November, but even if she wins, Trumpism may haunt her. *by Matthew Cooper*

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Charles and David Koch are so over Donald Trump, and they're focusing their vast, well-funded political operation on conquering the next generation of conservatives. *by Emily Cadei*

COVER CREDIT: PHOTOGRAPH BY MARCO GROB/TRUNK ARCHIVE

Newsweek (ISSN0028-9604) is published weekly except one week in January, July, August and October. Newsweek is published by Newsweek LLC, 7 Hanover Square, 5th Floor, New York, NY 10004. Periodical postage is paid at New York, NY and additional mailing offices. POSTMASTER: Send change of address to Newsweek, 7 Hanover Square, 5th Floor, New York, NY 10004.

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PUBLISHED BY
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BIG SHOTS

USA

Blunt Force

Charlotte, North Carolina—The shooting death of Keith Scott, a 43-year-old black man, sparked days of protests in North Carolina's largest city, with his family disputing police statements that he was armed with a gun when he was killed by a black officer. Under pressure from critics, the police department released several minutes of video of the incident several days after the shooting, but it was not clear from the footage whether Scott was holding a gun. Police said they approached him in his parked car after noticing he was smoking marijuana and was armed.



JASON MICZEK



SYRIA

War of Attrition

Aleppo, Syria—Syrians await treatment on September 24 at a makeshift hospital after airstrikes. Following the collapse of a weeklong cease-fire, Syrian and Russian forces stepped up their assault on the rebel-held section of Aleppo, pounding the city with airstrikes that residents said killed hundreds of people. Syria Civil Defense, a rescue organization also known as the White Helmets, said three of its facilities were “deliberately targeted” from the air. At an emergency meeting of the U.N. Security Council, Britain accused Russia of backing Syria in its perpetration of war crimes.



KARAM AL-MASRI





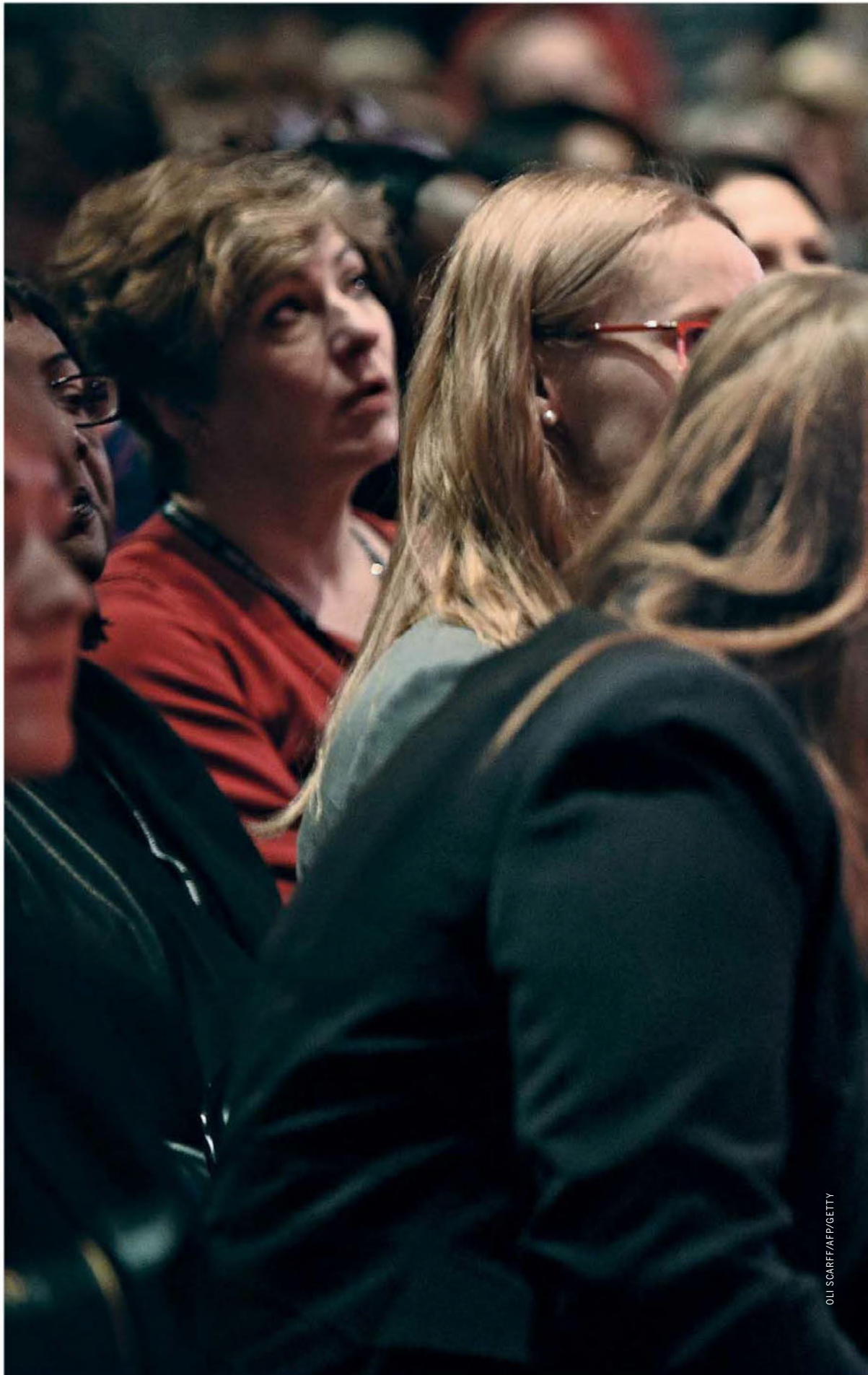
ENGLAND

Look Left

Liverpool, England—
Left-wing firebrand
Jeremy Corbyn was
re-elected leader of
Britain's opposition
Labour Party on Sep-
tember 24 at a party
conference marked
by deep divisions.
Moderate members
had challenged
Corbyn after Britain's
Brexit referendum,
in which the party's
leaders were seen as
largely ineffective
and a large chunk of
its supporters voted
to leave the European
Union. Centrists view
Corbyn's socialist
policies, such as
renationalization,
as hindering the
party's recovery from
a crushing electoral
defeat in 2010.



OLI SCARFF







COLOMBIA

Coming Clean

El Diamante, Colombia—A member of the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia, or FARC, pauses during a soccer match on September 25 at the guerrilla group's 10th conference, where a recent peace accord was ratified. Around 200 delegates from FARC units gathered at the remote site in Colombia's Yari Plains and voted unanimously to back the deal, which seeks to end five decades of conflict with the state in which 220,000 people have been killed. The agreement goes to a referendum in October and calls for most of the rebels to be disarmed and reintegrated into society rather than prosecuted.



MARIO TAMA



P A G E O N E

TERRORISM

POLITICS

SYRIA

LIBERTARIANS

ISRAEL

REFUGEES

THE SCOOP

LIES, DAMN LIES AND TRUMP

The Republican nominee can't run from his testimony under oath. But he should

DONALD TRUMP committed perjury. Or he looked into the faces of the Republican faithful and knowingly lied. There is no third option.

It has become an accepted reality of this presidential campaign that Trump spins a near-endless series of falsehoods. For months, the media has struggled with this unprecedented situation—a candidate who, unlike other politicians who stretch the truth, simply creates his own reality. Trumps regularly peddles “facts” that aren’t true, describes events that never happened or denies engaging in actions that everyone saw him do. He utters his falsehoods so fast that before reporters have the chance to correct one, he has tossed out five or six more.

This time, it is different. Trump can’t skip past his perfidy here. There are two records—one, a previously undisclosed deposition of the Republican nominee testifying under oath; the second, a video transcript of a Republican presidential debate. In them, Trump tells contradictory versions of the same story, with the clashing

accounts tailored to provide what he wanted people to believe when he was speaking.

This fib matters far more than whether Trump was honest about why he abandoned his birther movement or the corollary fib that Hillary Clinton started the racist story that President Barack Obama was born in Kenya. In the lie we are examining here, Trump either committed a felony or proved himself willing to deceive his followers whenever it suits him.

Trump told the public version of this story last year, during the second Republican presidential debate. Trump had been boasting for weeks at his rallies that he knew the political system better than anyone, because he had essentially bought off politicians for decades by giving them campaign contributions when he wanted something. He also proclaimed that only he—as an outsider who had participated in such corruption of American democracy at a high level—could clean it up. During the September 2015 debate, one of Trump’s rivals, former Florida Governor

BY
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MAX WHITTAKER/BLOOMBERG/GETTY

HE SAID, HE SAID:
At a Republican primary debate in September 2015, Bush accused Trump of trying to buy his support for a casino deal in Florida. Trump denied it.



HITTING A WALL: Trump's vow to make Mexico pay for a border wall is a crowd-pleaser at his rallies, but he said he didn't raise the subject when he met Mexico's president.

Jeb Bush, verified Trump's claim, saying the billionaire had tried to buy him off with favors and contributions when he was Florida's governor.

"The one guy that had some special interests that I know of that tried to get me to change my views on something—that was generous and gave me money—was Donald Trump," Bush said. "He wanted casino gambling in Florida."

Trump interrupted Bush:

TRUMP: I didn't—

BUSH: Yes, you did.

TRUMP: Totally false.

BUSH: You wanted it, and you didn't get it, because I was opposed to—

TRUMP: I would have gotten it.

BUSH: Casino gambling before—

TRUMP: I promise, I would have gotten it.

BUSH: During and after. I'm not going to be bought by anybody.

TRUMP: I promise, if I wanted it, I would have gotten it.

BUSH: No way. Believe me.

TRUMP: I know my people.

BUSH: Not even possible.

TRUMP: I know my people.

If Trump was telling the truth that night, so be it. But if he was lying, what was his purpose? His "If I wanted it, I would have gotten it," line may be a hint. Contrary to his many vague stories

on the campaign trail about being a cash-doling political puppet master, this story has a name, a specific goal and ends in failure. If Bush was telling the truth, then Trump would have had to admit he lost a round and, as he assured the audience, that would not have happened. When he wants something, he gets it.

But that wasn't the point he needed to make in 2007. The deposition was part of a lawsuit he'd filed against Richard Fields, whom Trump had hired to manage the expansion of his casino business into Florida. In the suit, Trump claimed that Fields had quit and taken all of the information he obtained while working for Trump to another company. Under oath, Trump said he *did* want to get into casino gambling in Florida but didn't because Fields cheated him.

A lawyer asked Trump, "Did you yourself do anything to obtain any of the details with respect to the Florida gaming environment, what approvals were needed and so forth?"

TRUMP: A little bit.

LAWYER: What did you do?

TRUMP: I actually spoke with Governor-elect Bush; I had a big fundraiser for Governor-elect Bush...and I think it was his most successful fundraiser, the most successful that he had had up until that point, that was in Trump Tower in New York on Fifth Avenue.

LAWYER: When was that?

TRUMP: Sometime prior to his election.

LAWYER: You knew that Governor Bush, Jeb Bush at that time, was opposed to expansion of gaming in Florida, didn't you?

TRUMP: I thought that he could be convinced otherwise.

LAWYER: But you didn't change his mind about his anti-gaming stance, did you?

TRUMP: Well, I never really had that much of an opportunity because Fields resigned, telling me you could never get what we wanted done, only to do it for another company.

One of these stories is a lie—a detailed, self-serving fabrication. But unlike the mountain of other lies he has told, this time the character trait that leads to Trump's mendacity is on full display: He makes things up when he doesn't want to admit he lost.

Assume the story he told at the debate is the lie. Even though Bush's story reinforced what Trump was saying at rallies—he had played the “cash for outcomes” political game for years—he could not admit he had tried to do the same in Florida because he could not bring himself to say that he had lost. Instead, he looked America in the eye and lied. And then he felt compelled to stack on another boast: His people are so wonderful that they would have gotten casino gambling in Florida, regardless of Bush's opposition—if Trump had wanted it.

Now consider the other option, that Trump committed perjury in the 2007 testimony. There, he admitted pushing for casino gambling in Florida but said he would have gotten what he wanted if Fields hadn't tricked him. The rationale for the perjurious testimony is simple—Trump wants money from a man who stopped working for him and, once again, the story lets him deny he is anything less than perfect.

No question, these two stories must be investigated if there is ever a President Trump. In their impeachment of President Bill Clinton for lying under oath about an extramarital affair, Republicans established the standard that failing to tell the truth while testifying—even in the most understandable of circumstances—rises to the level of high crimes and misdemeanors. Surely, perjury for pecuniary purposes or to inflate one's self-image cannot be ignored.

Finally, the lie here matters because it shows how shameless Trump is and how reckless. He told this lie even though he knew he was standing next to a credible witness—Bush—who could

contradict him, and he gambled that no one would discover his sworn testimony.

Trump's penchant for this type of baldfaced lying could undermine American foreign policy—when he meets with a foreign official, will he try to deceive the world about what happened? That question already came into play in early September when Trump flew to Mexico to talk with that country's president in a bizarre publicity stunt. He came out of the meeting and declared the two had never discussed his signature issue—that he would compel the Mexican government to pay for a wall along America's southern border. Before an hour passed, a Mexican official declared that Trump's statement was false, and that President Enrique Peña Nieto had told the Republican nominee that his

TRUMP EITHER COMMITTED A FELONY OR PROVED HIMSELF WILLING TO DECEIVE HIS FOLLOWERS WHENEVER IT SUITS HIM.

country would never pony up the cash for the wall. Either Trump lied or Peña Nieto did. The government of Mexico—one of America's most important trading partners and allies—knows whether a President Trump will be trustworthy or will lie out of convenience, on matters large or small. Shouldn't the American public know the same before it votes in November?

Trump must be called upon to answer the troubling questions raised by the episode regarding Bush and gambling in Florida: Is the Republican nominee a perjurer or just a liar? If he refuses to answer—just as he has refused to address almost every other question about his character and background—Trump supporters must carefully consider whether they want to vote for a man who at best has treated them like fools over the past year and at worst committed a crime. ■



LIBERTY KNELL?

The Libertarian Party has a strong ticket, but can it sell small government to people who love big benefits?

BILL WELD was big in American politics in the 1990s. With his red hair, ruddy complexion and 6-foot-4 frame, he stood out from the crowd of mostly blow-dried politicians. A celebrated Boston prosecutor and then a top official in Ronald Reagan's Justice Department in the 1980s, the Republican was elected governor of very Democratic Massachusetts in 1990, and re-elected with 71 percent of the vote. Fun and approachable, he once took a fully clothed dive into the Charles River to show how clean it had become. He wanted to run for president, but his socially liberal positions on abortion and gay rights made him an outlier in the GOP. "I looked at it hard in '96," Weld tells *Newsweek*. But after analyzing which moderate states he might have won in the primaries, he realized, "I was still way short."

Twenty years later, Weld, now 71, is back as the vice presidential nominee of the Libertarian Party, running with former New Mexico Governor Gary Johnson. The party, which usually is seen as a cranky afterthought in presidential races, took a big step toward making a difference in American politics this time by picking two former two-term Republican governors of blue states. The Johnson-Weld ticket is polling around 10 percent, well above the typical 1 percent the party managed to scrape up since its founding in 1971, but was shy of qualifying for the first presidential debate, which required at least 15 percent support in a number of polls. (Making that debate stage is seen as an

essential springboard for independent candidates—such as Ross Perot, who won 19 percent of the vote in the 1992 election.) Still, Johnson and Weld have a shot at helping determine who next sits in the Oval Office, if only as spoilers. So far, despite their Republican backgrounds, the Libertarian candidates have drawn more from Democrat Hillary Clinton than from Republican Donald Trump. But how far can a movement vowing to radically reduce government get in a country founded on individual freedom but with a citizenry that loves its student loans, Medicare and other government largesse?

Like any political movement, the Libertarian Party has its wings and rivalries. There are those who venerate Ayn Rand, the mid-20th-century novelist and philosopher who extolled individual virtue and excoriated "moochers"—anyone who wanted government help—in thick best-selling novels including *Atlas Shrugged* and *The Fountainhead*. It's a sign of how passionate some Libertarians can get that Matt Welch, the editor-at-large of *Reason*, a magazine promoting "free markets and free minds," had to face down a Facebook group demanding he read *Atlas Shrugged*. He didn't. (Weld hasn't read it either.) Others join the party because of its defense of Second Amendment rights to keep and bear arms or its support of decriminalizing drugs. It also has homeschoolers, who don't want government dictating education; raw milkers, who oppose mandatory pasteuriza-

BY
MATTHEW COOPER
@mattzcoop





GIVE ME PLACARDS, OR GIVE ME DEATH: Despite having two Republican former governors on the ticket, the Libertarian slate is drawing more voters from Clinton than from Trump.

tion; and people outraged by the National Security Agency's massive data collection.

The party is also split between pragmatists and hard-liners. Johnson and Weld are in the former camp, and they took a beating at the Libertarian Party convention in May. Some members were outraged by their support of the Civil Rights Act (an unwarranted intrusion on a merchant's rights to decide whom they'll hire and serve!), and some even whined about their support for driver's licenses (Big Brother dictating who can get behind the wheel!). One would-be party nominee went so far as to strip naked in front of the convention to demonstrate his commitment to freedom. For the most part, though, Johnson and Weld bucked what might be thought of as the privatize-the-sidewalks crowd, supporting not only civil rights laws but even what many Libertarians see as heresy: some limited forms of gun control.

As a messenger for the Libertarian cause, Johnson has strengths and weaknesses, the former being that, like Weld, he doesn't seem like a typical politician. At 63, he is still a tremendous athlete, having climbed the highest peaks on every continent, including Mount Everest. He'd be the first president with a girlfriend instead of a wife. (He gave her Rand's *Atlas Shrugged* on their first date.) He not only pushes marijuana legalization,

but also is a toker, although he says he's abstaining during the election and would refrain from smoking pot if he gets into the White House. But he can seem like a stoner. He didn't know Aleppo is the besieged city in Syria and recently chirped that people shouldn't worry about global warming since we're all gonna die when the sun explodes—something scientists don't expect to happen for 5 billion years.

Many say the ticket might have more support, including among anti-Trump Republicans, if it had been reversed. "If Bill Weld were at the top of the ticket, it would be very easy for me to vote for Bill Weld for president," Mitt Romney, a fellow former Massachusetts governor, said this spring.

If Weld and Johnson do well in the November 8 election, can the Libertarian Party keep growing? The question is as old as the republic's 240-year struggle between small and big government. The essential fight between Thomas Jefferson and Alexander Hamilton (that

guy from the musical) was over the reach of government, with the former advocating for less central power and Hamilton contending that a great nation needs a strong government. The argument also played out through Andrew Jackson's opposition to a central bank in the 19th century, during Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal in the 20th and as the Homeland Security state was put into place in

ONE WOULD-BE NOMINEE STRIPPED NAKED IN FRONT OF THE CONVENTION TO DEMONSTRATE HIS COMMITMENT TO FREEDOM.

the 21st. The problem for Libertarians, whether it's the Johnson-Weld ticket or the no-driver's-license crowd, is that government gets bigger every year, even under a Republican Congress. Cutting it down would be a Sisyphean task for a Johnson-Weld administration. As Hamilton says to Jefferson in the musical that celebrates the first advocate of big government: "Thomas, that was a real nice declaration. Welcome to the present. We're running a real nation." ■

A HOMELESS WORLD

With a huge chunk of mankind on the move, 193 countries have finally struck a deal on migrants and refugees

FROM THE Middle East to the heart of Europe, countries are struggling to deal with a massive surge of desperate people crossing their borders, some fleeing for their lives, others escaping poverty and in search of jobs.

The number of people forced to flee their homes is staggering. According to the United Nations refugee agency (UNHCR), there are 65.3 million people forcibly displaced, including 21.3 million registered refugees who have fled their home countries to escape conflict or persecution. “In addition to the refugees, there are 244 million international migrants—probably an underestimate—and if you add to them the 750 million domestic migrants, you have 1 billion people; that is 1 billion in our 7 billion world,” says William Lacy Swing, director general of the International Organization of Migration (IOM). “One out of every seven people on the planet is in a migratory status.”

The U.N. and the United States convened two international summits in September to deal with what Swing calls the “mega-trend in the 21st century...more people on the move than at any other time in recorded history.”

While the U.N.’s record on resolving conflicts has not been impressive in recent years (think Syria, Iraq, Afghanistan, Yemen, South Sudan and more), it has generally been an important force in taking care of refugees—a task shared by agencies including the UNHCR, the



BY
PAMELA FALK
[@PamelaFalk](https://twitter.com/PamelaFalk)

children's nonprofit UNICEF and the Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs.

But from the beaches of Lesbos to refugee camps in Kenya, Turkey and Jordan, the U.N. agencies are now overwhelmed. At the same time, there is a backlash against the newcomers in the United States and Europe, the latter of which in the midst of an economic downturn has found its basic services severely taxed.

Immigration and refugees have been a major issue in the U.S. presidential election, with Republican candidate Donald Trump vowing to build a wall along the southern border with Mexico to stop immigrants from entering the country illegally and to deny entry to Syrian refugees and other Muslims. "The migration narrative right now is highly toxic," says Swing. "It is the cruel irony that people fleeing terror are then accused of being terrorists themselves."

Convincing 193 nations to agree on how best to handle the twin problems of migrants and refugees was not easy—while refugees already have legal protection and rights under international conventions, there is no such consensus on economic migrants, and many richer countries are resistant to changing that.

The key negotiators of the U.N.'s New York Declaration on Migrants and Refugees were Jordanian Ambassador Dina Kawar—concerned with millions of refugees pouring into Lebanon, Turkey and Jordan from Syria, Iraq, Afghanistan and Africa—and Irish Ambassador David Donoghue, whose primary focus is the influx of people to the European Union.

Donoghue concedes there was less commitment in the final U.N. agreement than he had hoped. "Inevitably, in a negotiation like this, among 193 member states, you're not going to be able to stay at the high point of moral fervor," he

says. "You're going to have to acknowledge that some member states have concerns, and it got diluted a little bit."

Among the main breakthroughs, the negotiators say, was that they were able to reach agreement on bringing migrants, not just refugees, into the U.N.'s purview.

The 22-page outcome document, which forms the basis for this new agreement, is composed of 12 pages plus two annexes—one for refugees and one for migrants—and sets out a two-year time-

ONE OUT OF EVERY SEVEN PEOPLE ON THE PLANET IS IN A MIGRATORY STATUS.

table to negotiate specific actions. "Negotiations would begin in early 2017 and would run up until an intergovernmental conference in 2018," Donoghue says, "but we've already done a fair amount of the groundwork for that global compact on migration because the annex we're talking about sets out a number of key elements."

Among those elements: programs for countries to absorb migrants and protections for them; provisions to educate migrant children; and burden sharing when it comes to existing migrant populations. What's more, the document makes a case that migrants can have a positive effect on society.

That language was resisted by some countries, Donoghue says (he declined to say which), but others were determined to include it. "Let

CRIMINAL?
Migrants including Mahmoud Abd El Latif were handcuffed in their hospital beds after being rescued from a boat carrying 600 people that sank in the Mediterranean near Egypt in September.

EMAN HELAL/AP



244

MILLION

INTERNATIONAL
MIGRANTS IN
THE WORLD

65.3

MILLION

PEOPLE
FORCED FROM
THEIR HOME,
INCLUDING
REFUGEES AND
INTERNALLY
DISPLACED
PEOPLE

4.8

MILLION

REFUGEES
WHO HAVE
FLED SYRIA

54

PERCENT

PROPORTION
OF REFUGEES
WHO COME
FROM THREE
COUNTRIES:
SYRIA, AFGHAN-
ISTAN AND
SOMALIA



me put it this way: The champions of migration in the broader sense, over many years at the U.N., have included Bangladesh, Mexico, Sweden and a number of others.

“Migration up till now has never been addressed at the U.N. because it was seen as an issue for national sovereignty,” he adds.

The agreement also focuses attention on refugees and reminds nations that they cannot, under international law, send people back to a country if they fear persecution and stresses that refugees should be given work and their children educated. It also urges countries to take back nationals if they do not meet the requirements of asylum.

Another contentious issue was how to handle with internally displaced persons. “IDPs deal with sovereignty,” says Leonard Doyle, spokesman for the IOM, “a very tough nut to crack when dealing with the U.N. system because, by definition, they happen within a nation’s territory.”

The attitude from some countries’ representatives, he says, was the equivalent of “Don’t even think about parking in that spot,” so the document simply noted that other development goals of the U.N. recognize the need to care for IDPs and mentioned the need for “reflection” in order to protect IDPs and prevent the root causes of the problem.

Which countries changed what during the negotiations reflects the deep divides on the subject. Kwar and Donoghue say the discussions

were intense: Every single word was debated, and some things were just off-limits.

When the negotiations began, there were plans to have concrete proposals to resettle refugees and share the burden of new ones around the globe, since 86 percent of refugees are in the developing world. Many migration and refugee advocates wanted specific pledges to resettle one-tenth of refugees, but that met resistance from several countries, including Russia. The final agreement simply has a vague commitment to “cooperation.”

Human rights language was also watered down. “You’re always going to have a tension in a negotiation like that between the global north, which has a strong view of human rights,” Donoghue says, and countries that have issues with human rights abuses.

The U.S. wasn’t very pleased, the organizers say, that some of the commitments would be diluted and at first planned a summit on refugees on the same day as the U.N. summit. After much back and forth, the U.S. moved the date of its meeting back a day, so that the conferences complemented each other. The U.S. would bring together countries that agreed in advance to make a contribution to one of the areas of reform.

The U.S.-led Leaders’ Summit on Refugees was co-hosted by Canada, Ethiopia, Germany, Jordan, Mexico, Sweden and the United States. According to the White House, 52 countries and international organizations attended and pledged to increase their current financial contributions to U.N. appeals and international humanitarian organizations by \$4.5 billion over the past year, double the number of refugees they resettle or admit legally in 2016 to 360,000, improve access to education for 1 million refugee children globally and give legal aid to 1 million refugees globally.

The fate of children was a particular concern

300

THOUSAND

SOMALI REFUGEES LIVING IN DADAAB, KENYA, THE WORLD’S LARGEST REFUGEE CAMP, WHICH THE COUNTRY HAS VOWED TO CLOSE

2.5

MILLION

REFUGEES IN TURKEY, THE COUNTRY HOSTING THE MOST

300,450

ARRIVALS

REFUGEES WHO CAME TO THE EU BY SEA IN 2016. MORE THAN 3,500 DIED ON THE JOURNEY

1

MILLION

REFUGEES FROM SOUTH SUDAN, MOST NOW IN UGANDA, ETHIOPIA AND SUDAN





COMPROMISE: “Inevitably, in a negotiation like this, among 193 member states, you’re not going to be able to stay at the high point of moral fervor,” Irish Ambassador David Donoghue says of the U.N. accord.

at the two summits, and while the United States likes to be seen as a leader on refugee issues, human rights groups criticized the country over its position in one area: the detention of child migrants, many of them unaccompanied children fleeing violence in Central America.

An early draft of the U.N. document said detention of minors, either because they’re unaccompanied or based on their parents’ migration status, is *never* in the best interests of the children. That was changed to *seldom* by the U.S., to the chagrin of 35 nongovernmental organizations, including Oxfam America, Human Rights Watch and Amnesty International USA.

“The starting point,” says Wendy Young, executive director of Kids in Need of Defense, “is that detention is not in the best interests of children.”

Young, who co-hosted a “shadow summit” on children on the sidelines of the U.N. summit, says the U.S. has made some progress in handling children, but it still considers those coming

—
“IT IS THE CRUEL IRONY THAT PEOPLE FLEEING TERROR ARE THEN ACCUSED OF BEING TERRORISTS.”
—

from Central America as migrants rather than refugees, and it needs to acknowledge that “the violence in Central America is generating a forcible displacement situation.” While she praises President Barack Obama for calling the refugee summit, she says: “While you are talking the talk, you also have to walk the walk.”

“We have a refugee crisis happening on our own back doorstep,” she says, and the U.S. has been responding with “mixed signals.” **N**

BOMB, SCHMOMB

After a blast injured 31 people in Manhattan, New Yorkers seemed to respond with a collective “meh.” Are they resilient? Or just worn out?

ON A WARM Saturday night in September, around 8:15, Kenneth Goldsmith, a poet and faculty member at the University of Pennsylvania, left his Manhattan apartment on 26th Street and Sixth Avenue and headed to a grocery store a few blocks north. “The street was normal,” he says. “I saw some firetrucks down on Sixth Avenue and thought, Well, it’s New York.” When he got home, he turned on the television and heard the news: While he was grocery shopping, on September 17, a bomb had been detonated three blocks south of his apartment building, injuring approximately 31 people. Soon, to his surprise, friends around the world began texting him, asking him if he was safe. “There [weren’t] guys running around with Kalashnikovs,” says Goldsmith. “It did not feel dangerous at all. It’s not Paris. It’s not 9/11.”

Federal prosecutors have charged New Jersey resident Ahmad Khan Rahami with planting the bomb and another unexploded device blocks away. (Yet another bomb went off in Seaside Park, New Jersey, that day, and people discovered more explosive devices at an Elizabeth, New Jersey, train station the following night, which the FBI tied to Rahami.) But like Goldsmith, New Yorkers seemed to respond with a collective “meh.” “I heard the explosion, then went to the deli,” someone who was near



BY
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the bombing called in to a local news station. A man in the background of one newscast that night was wearing a shirt with a phrase that seemed to sum up the mood: "I'm bored."

The public cares, security and mental health analysts say, but it is learning to adapt to the mounting threat. Across the globe, 32,685 people died in 2014 from what governments call terror attacks, according to the Institute for Economics and Peace, a think tank with offices in Sydney, New York City and Mexico City. That's nine times more people than were killed in 2000. "There is a grudging acceptance that we are going to see more of these attempts, that they're not going to be out of the norm," says John Horgan, a psychology professor at Georgia State University and author of the book *The Psychology of Terrorism*. "So the issue is, do we allow ourselves to cower in fear and view this as something that will destroy our way of life, or do we just get on with it? I think most New Yorkers would simply see this as just another issue to deal with."

French Prime Minister Manuel Valls expressed a similar view in July after a ramming attack with a truck killed 86 in Nice: "Times have changed, and France is going to have to live with terrorism," he said. His words prompted criticism, but Horgan says adapting to the ongoing threat of attacks is an important psychological coping mechanism, one that New Yorkers have mastered since 9/11. "The human body is not designed to exist in that heightened state of arousal, so we habituate," says Horgan. "We come back to normal very, very quickly. It may not feel like that, but that is something that we are programmed to do."

The more measured response by New Yorkers could also have been because no one was killed in the Chelsea attack. Though there have been numerous terrorist plots and incidents in New York City since 9/11, only one New Yorker has died as a result over the past 15 years. "I think that perhaps we're not overreacting to something which is really not an existential threat to us on a day-to-day basis," says William Braniff, executive director of the National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism at the University of Maryland.

Even where the attacks are more deadly and the threat more urgent, security and mental health analysts say people have proved to be resilient. There have been attacks in Israel for decades, but a 2011 study published in the journal *Perspectives on Terrorism* found that

Palestinian attacks during the second intifada (2000-2005), "did not result in major, lasting changes in Israeli behavior...because the Israeli public grew accustomed to chronic terrorism and possessed a high level of social resilience."


That ability to recover quickly is still there. Over the past year, the Israeli government says there has been one attack per day on average, and yet Israelis carry on as normally as they can. "They cannot be thwarted," the Israeli journalist Yossi Melman wrote in *The Jerusalem Post* in March, referring to the recent spate of politically motivated stabbings, shootings and ramming in Israel. "In this reality, it is impossible to initiate steps, but only to react. The reality is one of accepting the situation."

Perhaps no country better demonstrates the human capacity for resilience than Iraq, a country with more acts of terrorism than any other and where mental health resources are sparse. A 2009 World Health Organization report said just 16.56 percent of Iraqis surveyed showed a lifetime prevalence of mental disorders. By contrast, the U.S. figure is 47.4 percent. The authors concluded the finding could "be understood as a very costly psychological adaptation of the population...due to the massive exposure to trauma combined with low access to treatment."

In other words, there could be a profound downside to adapting too well. Max Taylor, a forensic and legal psychologist who has studied terrorism and a visiting professor of security and

"DO WE ALLOW OURSELVES TO COWER IN FEAR? OR DO WE JUST GET ON WITH IT?"

crime sciences at University College London, says we have become numb, desensitized to horrors that, "50, 20 years ago, even, would have been seen as intolerable, extreme violence."

Which is perhaps why, in a world where the Islamic State group (ISIS) is regularly beheading people and blasting snuff films proved onto social media, Goldsmith, the poet, returned home that September night and did what he normally does with his family. He didn't dwell on the bombing, the injured or what could have been. Instead, he sipped dry sake and cooked dinner—a pot of *oyakodon*—then retired to his living room and watched the Mets play the Minnesota Twins. They won 3-2. 

23 SKIDOO: The bomb that exploded on 23rd Street in Manhattan was one of several devices authorities believe the suspect planted in New York and New Jersey.

WILLIAM EDWARDS/AFP/GETTY





ROUGH LANDINGS

Thousands of Ethiopian Jews are waiting to emigrate to Israel—but earlier migrants warn of growing discrimination

FOR FIVE years, Avishai Baruch served proudly as an officer in the Israeli military. Since leaving active duty in 2003, he has been a willing reservist, ready to be called up whenever necessary. But following comments from Israeli Police Commissioner Roni Alsheich—who said at a conference of the Israeli Bar Association in August that it was “natural” to suspect members of Israel’s 140,000-strong Ethiopian community of criminality—Baruch says he will now refuse to serve if he’s called up. He will be joined by about 340 of his fellow Ethiopian reservists, according to a Hebrew-language petition he shared

with *Newsweek*. “We have just had enough,” says Baruch, an Ethiopian-born filmmaker who lives in the central Israeli city of Ramla. “If the Israeli government wants to ask us to do reserve duty, we refuse to do that. If you give us our rights, we will do the obligation.”

Alsheich’s comments—for which he has since apologized—brought into public view what many Ethiopian Israelis already feel is an institutional racism directed at their community. They complain of police brutality, a lack of good jobs and discrimination from employers. Even Ethiopian-born model Tahounia Rubel, who won

BY
CONOR GAFFEY
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+
FLAGGING ENTHUSIASM: Three Ethiopian Jews hold the Israeli flag at a protest against police brutality in Tel Aviv in 2015. Clashes broke out at the demonstration between protestors and police, leaving 40 people injured.

Israel's version of the *Big Brother* reality-TV show by public vote in 2013, recently described the country as "one of the most racist in the world."

The broad discrimination Ethiopians say they face in Israel and the government's concerns about their integration are set to become matters of greater importance in the coming years. In August, the Israeli government passed a budget allocating funds to pay for processing the return of 1,300 of the 9,000 Jews in Ethiopia identified as eligible for emigration, or *aliyah*, by 2018. The arrival of thousands of more Ethiopians is likely to exacerbate the current tensions, and members of the Ethiopian minority say the Israeli government must improve conditions for Ethiopian Jews in Israel to avoid further conflict.

Ethiopian Jews began moving to Israel in significant numbers after a 1973 ruling by the then chief Sephardic rabbi, Ovadia Yosef, who said they were truly Jewish and so subject to Israel's Law of Return—legislation that qualifies any Jew to settle in the country. Historians still debate the precise origins of Ethiopia's Jewish community but agree that it developed largely in isolation until the 20th century. The ancestors of the present-day Ethiopian Jews are thought to have converted under duress to Christianity in the 19th and 20th centuries. Jews in Ethiopia are collectively referred to as Falash Mura, an Amharic term meaning *outsiders*. The name is considered derogatory by the community—it prefers to be known as Beta Israel, or House of Israel.

In the two decades that followed the 1973 ruling, the Israeli military, assisted by American intelligence agents, carried out several rescue operations, flying thousands of Jews out of Ethiopia and neighboring Sudan. The process climaxed in May 1991—as the Ethiopian government collapsed, Israeli planes airlifted more than 14,500 Jews out of the country in under 36 hours, a mission they called Operation Solomon. Following sporadic waves of immigration over the past 25 years, there now are some 140,000 Ethiopian-born Jews in Israel.

Ethiopian Jews arrived in a country already divided along ethnic and social lines. Israel was founded on the Zionist dream of giving the world's Jews a homeland. But the project was mainly led by European Jews, and every prime minister since the country's establishment in 1948 has been Ashkenazi, or a Jew whose family came from central or Eastern Europe. Many Sephardic and Mizrahi Jews, who came from



Spain and the Middle East, respectively, have long said they face discrimination. Ethiopians often say they are treated even worse.

In the early 1990s, for example, it was revealed that Israel's national blood bank was routinely destroying blood donated by Ethiopian immigrants for fear it was contaminated by HIV. (Israeli officials claimed the incidence of the infection was about 50 times higher among Ethiopian immigrants than in the wider Israeli population, a charge Ethiopian Israelis denied.) A 2012 Israeli TV program accused the country's health ministry of administering a long-acting

"IF THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT WANTS TO ASK US TO DO RESERVE DUTY, WE REFUSE."

contraceptive to women awaiting emigration to the country and after they had arrived. The health ministry later confirmed the practice but denied allegations that the policy was aimed at limiting the growth of the Ethiopian population in Israel.

More recently, thousands of Ethiopian Jews took part in sometimes violent protests in May 2015 after a police officer was filmed beating Damas Pakada, an Israeli soldier of Ethiopian descent. The police force suspended the officer—identified only as Sergeant Major Y. in the Israeli press—involved in the incident. In June 2015, then-Israeli Attorney General Yehuda Weinstein ruled that the officer should not be charged, on the basis that Pakada had initiated the exchange. Weinstein said racism was not the motive for the beating and closed the investigation.

Ethiopian Israelis are among the poorest people in Israel. When entering the workforce, they earn up to 40 percent less than Arab-Israeli citizens, who tend to have a lower household income than Jewish Israelis. Immigrants coming to Israel from Ethiopia often arrive with little formal education, and a 2012 report by the Israeli Ministry of Immigrant Absorption found that 41 percent



of Ethiopian adults who had moved to Israel since 2002 were jobless, the highest unemployment rate among Israel's immigrant populations.

"Some people [in Israel] have this notion that anyone who comes from a different country—especially a [developing] country—is incompetent, especially when we have dark-colored skin," says Fentahun Assefa-Dawit, executive director of Tebeka, a legal aid organization supporting Ethiopian Israelis. "There are a lot of people, unfortunately, who are either ignorant or racist."

Back in Africa, however, Ethiopian Jews who still want to return to their ancestral homeland remain unfazed. "There is racism [in Israel], but my relatives tell me it is not a big problem," says Gezahegn Derebe, a 21-year-old student living in the northern city of Gondar. "There are some people who think Ethiopians are not good enough, and some of them believe white Jews are better than black Jews, but it is not the whole country."

The Israeli government says it is taking steps to make the transition easier for Ethiopian Jews. A Ministry of Immigrant Absorption spokeswoman tells *Newsweek* that it launched a program in 2014 aimed at better integrating Ethiopian immigrants, including providing financial aid for students and greater access to mental health care. "The ministry continues to put the absorption of the Ethiopian *olim* [Jews who have made aliyah] in Israel at top priority and will continue to reassess and improve their integration as needed," the spokeswoman says.

While members of Israel's Ethiopian community complain of unfairness, its most senior representative in the country's ruling government coalition says Ethiopian Jews are well-integrated and even flourishing within Israeli society. Avraham Neguise, the sole Ethiopian-born lawmaker in the Israeli parliament, emigrated to Israel in 1985 and says his success is evidence of the opportunities available to his fellow countrymen.

Before becoming a lawmaker—Neguise is a member of Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu's right-wing Likud Party—he obtained three university degrees in Israel, founded an advocacy group for Ethiopian immigrants and in 2006 established his own small political party Atid Ehad, or One Future, to represent the interests

of Israel's Ethiopian community, before joining Likud in 2012. "There are also others who are now lawyers and officers in the police," says Neguise, 58. "We are marching in the right direction."

One of Neguise's main priorities as a parliamentarian has been speeding up the return of the remaining Jews in Ethiopia. But the plan has been delayed by debates among Israel's religious authorities as to whether Ethiopian Jews should be eligible under the Law of Return.

In 2013, the Israeli government declared Ethiopian aliyah to be closed, saying all those with legitimate Jewish heritage had emigrated. But in November 2015, thanks in part to lobbying by Neguise and others, Israel relented and approved the resettlement of 9,000 more Ethiopian Jews. Nevertheless, the resettlement process has not begun, and Neguise believes there is a bias against Ethiopian Jews in the aliyah process. He says that the Israeli authorities deem

"SOME OF THEM BELIEVE WHITE JEWS ARE BETTER THAN BLACK JEWS."

Ethiopians ineligible to enter the country under the Law of Return when they cannot "prove their Jewishness" on their mother's side. (According to Orthodox religious law, Jewishness is passed down through the mother.)

But Neguise says Israel permits other Jewish communities to move to the country when they are able to prove their Jewishness on their father's side. He criticizes what he calls the Israeli government's "discriminatory policy" because 85 percent of the thousands of Ethiopian Jews waiting to emigrate to Israel in the Ethiopian cities of Addis Ababa and Gondar have "parents, sons and daughters, brothers and sisters" in Israel. Neither the Israeli prime minister's office nor the Ministry of Immigrant Absorption responded when asked by *Newsweek* to explain the delay in the resettlement process of Ethiopian Jews.

Should the Israeli government go ahead with absorbing more than 1,000 Ethiopian Jews over the next two years, prospective returnees like Derebe will likely come to the country with fresh hope. But Israel may not turn out to meet their expectations. As Baruch, the reservist puts it, "Now they are in a struggle to make aliyah, and after that there will be another struggle to live in Israel." ■

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SPY TALK

THE GENERAL AND HIS NUCLEAR LABYRINTH

Trump's casual nuclear brinksmanship is a spooky echo from the 1950s

AUTUMN ARRIVED late in Washington this year, along with a morbid acceptance that Donald Trump may well get his hands on the nuclear football. Nothing else Trump has said—about Muslims, women, protesters, immigrants and so on—has chilled the political, military and media establishment more than his glib pronouncements on nuclear weapons. If we're not going to use them, Trump told MSNBC's Chris Matthews in a typical remark last March, "then why are we making them?" He said he might drop one on the Islamic State group, known as ISIS, or Europe. "You want to be unpredictable," he said.

Whether he knew it or not, though, Trump was expressing standard U.S. policy since the dawn of the Cold War. But it's one thing for President Barack Obama or his mostly even-keeled predecessors to have the nuclear codes. It's another thing to hand them to a man whose grandiose and impulsive personality "is certainly extreme by any standard, and particularly rare for a presidential candidate," as the psychologist Dan McAdams, a student of presidential minds, wrote in the *The Atlantic*. "He could be a daring and ruthlessly aggressive decision maker who... never thinks twice about the collateral damage he will leave behind."

The frightening alchemy of Trump's personality and his casual remarks about using nukes is reminiscent of General Douglas MacArthur, who in 1952 threatened to ride a similar yearning to

make America great again into the White House. A darling of right-wing Republicans, MacArthur was a towering hero in both world wars, but President Harry Truman in 1951 had relieved him of command in the depths of the Korean War. The proximate cause was his open insinuation that "defeatists" in Washington, D.C., were keeping him from attacking China with airstrikes—and nuclear weapons, if need be—to break the stalemate. Truman, fearing such a move would precipitate World War III, fired him.

MacArthur, unchastened and abetted by Republicans, came home to a welcome fit for a Roman general. "Church bells pealed beneath the *Bataan*"—MacArthur's plane—"as the aircraft crossed the country," author H.W. Brands recounts in a timely new book, *The General vs. the President: MacArthur and Truman at the Brink of Nuclear War*. "Half a million men, women and children swarmed the slopes around the Washington Monument and spilled out across the national mall." In his triumphalist address to a joint session of Congress, MacArthur sprang the cheering members from their seats with lines like, "You cannot appease or otherwise surrender to Communism in Asia without simultaneously undermining our efforts to halt its advance in Europe." In a speech elsewhere, the general darkly hinted that Truman and his advisers had fallen prey to "Marxian philosophy."

Such sentiments resonate today as America

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MUSHROOM WITH A VIEW: MacArthur's desire to resolve the Korean War by nuking China shows how dangerous brinkmanship can be in a nuclear world.

pushes through the second decade of a seemingly endless struggle with Islamic terrorism, not to mention challenges from a newly pugnacious China and Russia. Many Americans, and not just Trump's uninformed devotees, yearn for tidy, simple and quick endings. They have forgotten, or may never have learned, how a far smarter and worldly man than Trump brought us to the brink of a nuclear World War III.

Trump shares MacArthur's affinity for ethnic stereotypes. For Trump, it's Mexicans and Muslims. For MacArthur, who spent the bulk of his career in the Far East, it was Asians. Diplomats in Washington "knew nothing of the Asian mind," he often complained. He advised veteran diplomat Averell Harriman that Americans "hate to die...whereas with Orientals, life begins with death." Despite such stereotypical thinking, he airily dismissed Chinese warnings that they were prepared to take heavy casualties to repulse an American thrust to their border. And they did, throwing MacArthur's troops back south, which is why he proposed taking the war into China itself.

Who knows what the world would look like today had Truman not stood up to MacArthur? Or if MacArthur had captured the White House? The general's 1952 bid for the presidency collapsed at the Republican convention in Chicago. Shorn of his four-starred uniform, his hair gone gray, he delivered a speech whose usual applause lines about total victory fell flat. MacArthur's bid

to harness the anti-Communist fervor failed. The delegates had another war hero to turn to, Dwight D. Eisenhower, the master commander of Allied forces for the invasion of Nazi-occupied France. "Ike" was the aloof MacArthur's antithesis. He "had the common touch," Brands writes. "His grin could light up a room or an arena...." And he promised to "go to Korea" and end the war. He swamped Democratic candidate Adlai Stevenson. In 1953, a change of Kremlin leadership led to a negotiated Korean settlement.

Years later, Eisenhower would claim he "discretely" threatened the Soviets and Chinese with nuclear war if they didn't force North Korea to sign an armistice. Truman, too, had prepared a nuclear strike. But whatever the merit of Eisenhower's claim, both presidents benefitted from their patience and quiet diplomacy.

This year, there was no Eisenhower to extinguish the nativist mobs stirred up by Trump, whose ignorance and impulsiveness make MacArthur look like Mahatma Gandhi. And in their pining to "make America great again," it's not clear that the Republican challenger and his glib minions understand things have changed since 1952, when MacArthur assured Congress

TRUMP SAYS HE MIGHT DROP A BOMB ON ISIS, OR EUROPE.

that America's military power was "big enough to handle the situation in the Far East without serious detriment" to the defense of Europe.

Truman and his advisers thought the egomaniacal MacArthur had become unmoored. Six decades later, only the most die-hard anti-Communists would say that a wider war in China was a good idea. Today, a far stronger China and an opportunistic Russia aren't folding in the face of American threats. If a Commander-in-Chief Trump pushes the world to the nuclear brink, even his most slavish aides may regret what they've wrought and beg a real general to take charge. ■

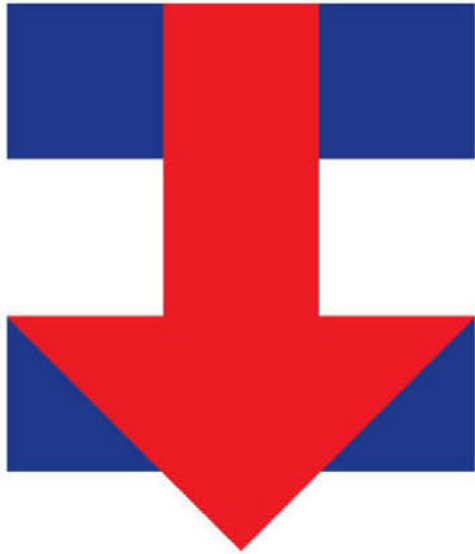


HILLARY'S TO LOSE

The Democratic nominee should take the White House in November, but even if she wins, Trumpism may haunt her



→ BY MATTHEW COOPER



COMEDIAN **BILL MAHER** captured the anxiety of Democrats about the presidential election when he returned to his weekly HBO show in mid-September after a summer hiatus. “When I left five weeks ago, Hillary had a huge lead,” said the host of *Real Time*. “What the fuck happened? They say the race is tightening. My asshole is tightening.”

That graphic response is understandable for many voters. Hillary Clinton no longer has a huge lead—in fact, she’s trailing in some swing states—although her numbers seem to be creeping back up nationally. Liberals who had been dismissing Donald Trump as a blow-dried bloviator now see an electable bloviator—something his Republican competitors came to understand as the mogul won primary after primary. Now the question is, Can Trump really get 270 electoral votes?

The answer is yes, just as it always is for any nominee of one of the two major parties, but Clinton still holds advantages that make this race hers to lose. Democrats know that, which is why the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee, the party’s vehicle for promoting House candidates, has been sending out a flurry of alarmist fundraising notes, like the one with the subject line “Kiss All Hope Goodbye,” and the text “TRUMP +3 in Ohio, 538 says if he wins Ohio he’s got 67% odds to be PRESIDENT.” (FiveThirtyEight, the website edited by Nate Silver, is known for its prescient analysis of elections and takes its name from the total number of electoral votes. Its odds of Trump winning rose from as low as 10.4 percent on August 14 to 43.1 by September 21.)

Clinton knows the debates are crucial, which is why she spent weeks prepping with briefing books when she was on the road, as well as with practice sessions back home in New York’s Westchester County. After swimming in political vitriol for four decades, she had to know this wasn’t going to be easy. That’s just how presidential elections are in a country where voters are split almost evenly between the two main parties. With swing voters as rare as centrists in Congress, landslides like that of Ronald Reagan’s—who defeated



WELL-SCHOOLED: Despite some slippage in national polls, Clinton’s lead in the electoral college seems insurmountable.

Walter Mondale in 1984 by more than 18 percent—just aren’t happening anymore. Margins in presidential elections have not been nearly as big since then: In 2000, George W. Bush squeezed past Al Gore in the electoral college but lost the popular vote by 0.5 percent; in 2004, his margin over John Kerry was just 2.4 percent. Amidst the economic hellscape of the 2008 election, Barack Obama won by a strong but hardly Reaganesque 7.2 percent over John McCain, and that dropped to 3.9 percent when he beat Mitt Romney in 2012. Just by being the Republican nominee, Trump is a plausible winner, not the easily beatable fool Democrats once assumed he would be.

TRUNK ARCHIVE; PREVIOUS SPREAD: LEIGH VOGEL/WIREIMAGE/GETTY



Climbing the Blue Wall

DESPITE ALL THAT, Clinton still has clear advantages, the first being that Trump is scrambling to consolidate the Republican vote, which is astounding this late in the campaign. His challenge here is exemplified by George H.W. Bush, a former president, former chairman of the Republican National Committee and son of a Republican senator, who said he's not voting for Trump. For him to support the Democratic nominee, the wife of the man who drove him from office in 1992, shows how profoundly Trump has offended many Republicans, including Romney, the party's last nominee, who is in the "Never Trump" camp. Bush's sons, Jeb and George W., haven't gone so far as to say they'll vote for Clinton, but they've let it be known that they're not backing Trump. Dozens of Republican administration appointees, including Iraq War architect Paul Wolfowitz and former Treasury Secretary Hank Paulson, are also balking at voting for Trump. In August, only about 75 percent of Republicans, in various polls, said they are supporting the reality star, far below the high 80s typical for the nominee of either party. Recent polls show some signs that Republicans are coming home, but it's

bad for the GOP nominee to still be worrying about corralling his party's voters.

Another big plus for Clinton is the electoral college map. It gives her an edge, as it did for Obama. RealClear Politics, which aggregates multiple polls and analyses, estimates Clinton already

MANY VOTERS SEEMED PREPARED TO FORGIVE HIS VAST IGNORANCE AND MALICE AS LONG AS TRUMP WAS ON THE SIDE OF THE LITTLE GUY.

has 201 electoral votes in her pocket, while Trump has 164. This blue wall—states that have leaned strongly Democratic since 1992—is a big part of why Democrats have won the popular vote in five of the last six national elections, and it puts Trump in a precarious position. To make it close, he must carry all the states Romney won, and that won't be easy. Demographic changes, especially the spike in the Hispanic population, make Clinton competitive in Romney states like Arizona and Georgia, which were once thought far out of her reach. Trump can't win without those two states, and Clinton has pulled even in North Carolina, which Romney won. It's the ninth most populous state, with 15 electoral votes, and Trump doesn't have a lot of options for getting those votes elsewhere: The Hispanic surge should help Clinton take Virginia and Colorado, which used to be toss-up states.

This electoral college advantage means Trump has to pull an inside straight, according to Karl Rove, the architect of George W. Bush's presidential victories. The mogul has to steal at least two of the three largest swing states that went for Obama in his two elections—Ohio, Florida and Pennsylvania. And then he still needs to pick up smaller states like New Hampshire, whose four electoral votes have gone Democratic since 2004.

Digging His Hate Hole

CLINTON HAS another big advantage: an expertly staffed, cash-rich, high-tech operation built to get Democratic voters to the polls. Compared with the Republicans, her campaign has thousands more volunteers in the field using the best smartphone software to target voters. A Clinton canvasser may arrive at your door knowing your voting history, contributions and other data, and after he or she talks to you for a few minutes, the “Vote Hillary” emails and leaflets you receive (and even the ads you might see on Facebook) will likely be tailor-made for you. The Trump campaign is laughably behind in this regard—it has no army and maintains just a couple of offices in Florida, for example, where Clinton has 57.

Trump is relying on the Republican Party to do his field work, such as door-to-door canvassing. But that’s no match for the Clinton operation, combined with the Democratic Party and the shoe-leather work of pro-Clinton groups such as unions. As Bloomberg Politics recently pointed out, the Trump campaign’s reliance on state Republican parties could mean it’s not reaching the right voters. A third of the voters in this election are expected to cast their ballots early, beginning in mid-September, and while the Republican Party naturally makes turning out straight-ticket Republicans its highest priority, Trump has different requirements and appeals to a different group. His campaign really needs to be canvassing independents too, since they were a big part of his primary wins, and he needs to do this quickly, before all those early ballots are cast. “There is no Trump campaign [here], really,” one Republican consultant working in Ohio, a crucial swing state, tells *Newsweek*. “She has all the infrastructure.”

Trump’s campaign hasn’t even figured out how to exploit the tantalizing opportunities presented by his raucous rallies. It should be getting the demographic data and contact info of all the attendees, so it can make sure they rally themselves to vote come Election Day. Instead, there’s been little follow-through once the TV lights are turned off and the cheering has stopped.

Clinton also has a huge money advantage. Her campaign and support groups have raised \$516 million, versus just \$201 million raised by Trump and his backers. (Trump has put \$54 million of his money into his campaign, which is a lot, but it also suggests he’s hardly worth the \$10 billion he claims. He’s also taken a lot of that back in rent paid to his building, contracts given to his kids, the salaries of Trump Organization staff detailed to the campaign, etc.) At the end of August, Clinton had \$194 million in cash on hand, even after spending five times more on TV ads than Trump that month. By contrast, Trump had \$103 million cash on hand. His campaign had counted on Las Vegas billionaire Sheldon Adelson to donate about \$100 million to pro-Trump groups, but in mid-September the casino magnate announced he was giving only \$5 million. And the famed Koch brothers have shut out Trump, which may be the bigger blow, since their affiliated groups have not only cash but also some of the best turnout operations on the Republican side.

Another thing Clinton has going for her is Trump’s seemingly limitless capacity to offend. Women vote at higher rates than men and have a much more negative view of Trump than they do of Clinton. It could be a devastating blow to his campaign if he acts out in the debates or offers even a whiff of the sexist talk that swirled around him in the early Republican primaries. Recall that the first words Trump spoke at any presidential debate were in response to Fox moderator Megyn Kelly asking him about calling women pigs, to which he replied, “Only Rosie O’Donnell.” The reality TV star was also flummoxed when Carly Fiorina pushed back against his ugly comment about her “face.” This kind of misogyny suggests Clinton could bait Trump merely by repeating his numerous demeaning comments about women.

Trump has also shown an ability to drive his poll numbers sharply down

with his insults and Twitter feuds. Back in June, Trump was under fire for his defunct Trump University allegedly taking advantage of students, and he took a thumping in the polls after he chided Judge Gonzalo Curiel, who presides over a California case against Trump University, saying the jurist couldn’t be impartial because of his Mexican heritage. This was a misstep far different from when the mogul couldn’t identify the nuclear triad or mused casually about defaulting on the national debt, or even his other fits of bigotry, like calling Senator Elizabeth Warren of

THE WEST VIRGINIAN SAID HE HATED TRUMP THE LIAR, BUT HE SAVED HIS GREATEST IRE FOR THE FORMER FIRST LADY, CALLING HER A “LYING, CONNIVING, PSYCHOPATHIC BITCH.”

Massachusetts “Pocahontas” because of her claims of Native American ancestry. Many voters seemed prepared to forgive vast ignorance and malice as long as Trump was mouthing on behalf of the little guy, but his attack on Curiel sounded far more like self-pity than concern for the economic plight of all Americans.

After a strong, sharply crafted Democratic convention at the end of July, Trump dug himself even deeper into this hate hole by starting a fight with the Khan family, American Muslims whose son, Humayun, an Army captain, died in Afghanistan and is buried in Arlington National Cemetery. With the Republican candidate for president dissing a Gold Star family, it was no wonder that his negatives rose.

And it was no wonder that Trump turned to a new campaign team.

Bernie's Spiteful Kids

DESPITE THESE many advantages, Clinton can still blow it. Trump has a solid chance of winning because of both her weaknesses and his strengths. It's hard to make an argument for change, when polls show Americans are yearning for it, if you're a representative of the status quo. Clinton is having trouble holding some parts of the Obama coalition central to his victories in 2008 and 2012. Named the "coalition of the ascendant" by author Ronald

governor of Massachusetts, Bill Weld. But analyses show Johnson seems to be hurting Clinton more. In several polls, Clinton's nationwide lead over Trump shrinks by a couple of percentage points when voters are asked about a three-way race that includes Johnson. The four-



FLIGHT RISK: Despite Trump's long-running vilification of Mexican immigrants, Clinton's support among Hispanic voters is wobbly.

Brownstein, it's heavy on minorities, young people and educated professionals, especially women. Clinton is running into trouble with younger voters, which makes some sense because she struggled to dispatch Bernie Sanders, who consistently won 18- to 29-year-old voters during the Democratic primaries. After that bitter contest, Sanders is stumping for Clinton, but that hasn't staunched the bleeding. Two third-party candidates are siphoning off young voters from Clinton: Libertarian Gary Johnson and the Green Party's Jill Stein. Johnson's candidacy is also drawing Republicans, of course—he was expected initially to hurt Trump more than Clinton. Johnson is, after all, a former Republican governor running with a fellow former Republican

way matchup yields a similar result, and nobody thinks Stein is pulling her (meager) support from Trump.

Another way Clinton could lose is if her strong Hispanic support weakens even a bit. Overall, Hispanics are a huge boon to her campaign, as they were for Obama. But in some states, her margin of Hispanic support over Trump is slipping, and she's drawing fewer Hispanics

than Obama, who won that demographic 71 to 29 over Mitt Romney. The RealClearPolitics average of recent polls has Clinton earning the support of 63 percent of Hispanics and Trump with 25 percent. With Hispanics accounting for about 12 percent of eligible voters in the U.S., that kind of difference between what Obama got and what Clinton can expect could shave a full percentage point off Clinton's national tally and might even tip some states with high percentages of Hispanics. Despite Trump's proposals to slash immigration and to deport undocumented aliens, the would-be builder of a border wall is doing surprisingly well with Hispanics—perhaps because some don't believe his rhetoric. Some 40 percent don't think he would follow through on his deportation plan.

White Makes Might

CLINTON ALSO HAS a white working-class problem. It's a manageable woe if that demographic, largely Trump supporters, votes at normal levels, but it would swamp her if the group comes out strong (and angry) on Election Day, and some polling suggests Trump voters are more motivated than Clinton's folks. Look at Florida, which might once again be the pivotal state in a presidential election. Obama won it twice, and it should be prime ground for Clinton, but Trump's strength with white voters has him tied in the Sunshine State, even though it is 20 percent Hispanic and 17 percent African-American. If Trump can beat Clinton there, it's reasonable to think that an even whiter swing state, such as Ohio (14 percent African-American and 3 percent Hispanic), would likely turn red.

Think of states that contain a lot of lower-income whites—say, Kentucky or West Virginia—and how they've been completely removed from the Democratic column, and you'll understand Clinton's dilemma. Her standing with lower-income whites is so poor, it's prevented her from campaigning in Arkansas, even though she resided in the state for 18 years and was its first lady, her husband was elected to statewide office seven times in addition to president twice, and her name (along with her husband's) is on the airport in the capital, Little Rock.

I recently drove almost 2,000 miles through rural Maryland, Ohio, Kentucky, Indiana and West Virginia—states and regions that have huge concentrations of non-college whites. The evidence of Trump's strength and Clinton's weakness was everywhere. While Trump signs were everywhere, only a couple of Clinton signs were visible driving through Louisville and Cincinnati. When I stopped for the night on the West Virginia side of the Ohio River, the hotelier who greeted me went on an unsolicited rant about the election. He said he hated Trump the liar, but he saved his greatest ire for the former first lady, calling her a “lying, conniving, psychopathic bitch.” It's anecdotal but revealing of what is perhaps Clinton's greatest liability in this election: the decades-long vilification of her by conservatives, her own furtive behavior and the pervasive distrust that has engendered. An NBC News/*Wall Street Journal* poll in mid-September found a plurality of voters think Trump is more trustworthy than Clinton. Still, the same poll showed her winning by 5 percent in a head-to-head matchup—a sign that some of those who distrust her will vote for her nevertheless.

Scandal du Jour

THE OTHER PROBLEM for Clinton is the seemingly endless spreadsheet of “scandals,” most of which have little or nothing to them. A prime example is the ongoing furor over her use of a private server while serving as secretary of state. As *Newsweek's* Kurt Eichenwald has explained in copious detail, her handling (and mishandling) of emails was not much different from that

of other former Cabinet members. But the headlines have hurt her, as have the accusations of pay-for-play at the Clin-



WASTED YOUTH: The primary exposed Clinton's tepid support among young voters, and not even a Sanders endorsement has helped.

ton Foundation, another faux scandal that helped drive down her numbers in August and September. Irony will put a gun to its head if Clinton loses because of a charity that helped save millions of lives—and to a man whose charity may be best known for being used to settle a lawsuit against him. How conservatives turned the Clinton Foundation from applause line to albatross is not unlike what other Democratic nominees have endured. In 2004, John Kerry proudly talked about volunteering to serve in Vietnam. Republicans took what seemed like a killer narrative—Yalie enlists in the Navy out of duty and then leads veteran opposition to the war—and “swift-boated” the Massachusetts senator, turning his service aboard ships patrolling Vietnamese rivers,

known as swift boats, into a character flaw instead of an asset.

Something similar happened with Clinton. A conservative group's lawsuit led to the release of emails that suggested donors to the foundation received favors from the secretary of state. That's not what happened, but the charges played into the pre-existing notion that she's not trustworthy. When the former secretary of state had a health scare during a 9/11 event and was infuriatingly slow to admit that she had pneumonia, her numbers declined further because they added to the impression that she was hiding yet another scandal. When she snobbishly relegated "half" of Trump supporters into a now infamous "basket of deplorables" at a fundraiser in September, her numbers took another hit.

Roll all that up, and the fanciful talk in early August of a landslide—of her being competitive even in South Carolina, one of the reddest states—has been replaced by fretting that she won't be able to hold Ohio and Nevada. And if that happens, Trump may need to start forwarding his mail to D.C.

I Come to Barry Trump

THERE'S SOMETHING else in this campaign that haunts Clinton and no small number of Democrats and Republicans: the possibility that Trumpism isn't going away,

even if Trump loses. At its core, Trumpism is about not only slashing illegal immigration but making a dramatic cut in legal immigration too (an idea that's little noted by the press). Combine that with a retreat from foreign commitments (see the mogul's take-it-or-leave-it attitude toward NATO) and hyper-protectionism, and you've got an ideology that didn't just spring out of Trump's formidable brow. This is a movement fueled by the huge migration of those working-class whites into the GOP, and they were in the tent long before Trump threatened to burn it down. His galvanizing effect on all those angry at globalization kept the movement growing. It's aligned with the Brexit campaign in the United Kingdom and the rise of anti-immigration parties in Germany and elsewhere in Europe. It's homegrown, extreme isolationism.

Here, history is instructive: Reading newspapers from the fall of 1964 should humble anyone who writes and thinks about politics. Amid the *Mad Men*-style ads for furs and cigarettes, there is extensive coverage of the presidential race between Republican Barry Goldwater and Democrat Lyndon Baines Johnson. The press predicted Johnson would crush Goldwater, and he did. What it didn't realize is that Goldwater would have an important influence on the GOP for decades. The repudiation of Goldwater by voters led reporters to predict that conservatism was dead—just as many

Republican and Democrats now believe that a Trump defeat will end Trumpism. *Newsweek* made no mention back then of Ronald Reagan, the star of the 30-minute Goldwater ad that made him a conservative icon and propelled him to the governorship of California two years later. *Time* magazine predicted that "the future of conservatism lay with moderate men." In fact, conservatives would continue to gather strength in the

EVEN REPUBLICAN STRATEGIST KARL ROVE HAS SAID TRUMP NEEDS TO HOLD AN INSIDE STRAIGHT TO TAKE THE WHITE HOUSE.

Republican Party, while liberal Rockefeller Republicans became an endangered and then extinct species.

Trump is not Goldwater, of course. Goldwater was drafted by conservatives like the recently deceased Phyllis Schlafly, who would go on to lead the opposition to the Equal Rights Amendment and was made famous by her best-selling attack on liberal Republicanism, *A Choice Not an Echo*, and William Buckley, the influential author and magazine editor. The Arizona senator was a serious man with serious ideas, and getting crushed by LBJ didn't change that. It's not that we live in a Goldwater world, but his ideas about cutting domestic spending and regulation while funding a military buildup influenced his protégé Reagan, who is now the godhead of conservatives.

Even if there is no President Trump, he could loom large over the Clinton presidency. All those angry working-class white voters will still be screaming for more jobs, fewer immigrants and the overthrow of the political class at whose head, if she doesn't choke, may be a former Goldwater Girl, President Hillary Clinton. ■



BRENDAN SMIALOWSKI/AFP/GETTY

O BROTHERS,



BY EMILY CADEI

WHERE ART THOU?



Charles and David Koch are so over Donald Trump, and they're focusing their vast, well-funded political operation on conquering the next generation of conservatives



M

IDMORNING

on a Monday is not peak time for door-to-door politicking, and in the leafy Philadelphia suburb of King of Prussia, most doors are locked and windows shuttered. But for members of the Koch army, the campaigning never stops.

Local field director Jeremy Baker and brothers Chris and Ed Saterstad are one of several teams out in Montgomery County and neighboring Bucks County on this sunny September day. Each of them is equipped with an iPad mini, strapped to their wrist, and they refer to them constantly—to review their digital “walk books” and determine the doors on which to knock, to bring up the script they read to the people who open those doors, and to tabulate the responses they get. All this creates ever more data points for the vast trove of voter information the Kochs are building. For *Newsweek*’s benefit, the three 20-something men are walking through this Upper Merion neighborhood. Usually, they run.

“Field teams are at close to 3,000 doors a week, between staff and volunteers,” boasts Beth Anne Mumford, Pennsylvania state director for Americans for Prosperity (AFP), a conservative grass-roots advocacy group funded by the billionaire industrialists Charles and David Koch and their allies. Koch Industries is the second-largest private company in the country, according to *Forbes*, a \$100 billion conglomerate of oil refiners, fertilizer makers, paper products producers and equipment manufacturers. The brothers also are a virtual ATM for a vast network of conservative organizations reshaping American politics.

As they have for many years, the Kochs are once again pouring money into a few Senate races in 2016, bolstering their GOP allies. But this time around, they have refused to bankroll the party’s presidential nominee.

It’s no secret the Koch brothers don’t dig Donald Trump and have made it clear, despite repeated entreaties, that they will not be unleashing their formidable political network on his behalf. Mark Holden, the general counsel for Koch Industries,

**THEY HAVE
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told Politico in May that the brothers would support only a candidate who “did not engage in personal attacks and mudslinging.” Not only does Trump not fit that bill, but he also mocks some of the central tenets of their free-market, libertarian-leaning philosophy, most notably on trade and entitlements.

Some activists within the Kochs’ network of advocacy groups, however, do not appear to have gotten the memo. “We’re Muslim, me and my family, but we’re voting for Trump, because I just have a gut feeling,” Mary Khalaf recently told me at the annual conference held by AFP. “My gut just says, ‘This is the person.’” Khalaf, who runs what she calls a “wellness house” in Ogden, Utah, to help those suffering from stress or mental illness, caucused for Trump

**David
Koch**





FROM LEFT: NICHOLAS KAMM/AFP/GETTY; DANIEL BRENNER/COLUMBIA DAILY TRIBUNE/AP; PREVIOUS SPREAD: CARLO ALLEGRI/AP; BO RADER/WICHITA EAGLE/CT/GETTY

in Utah during the GOP primary and then started volunteering with AFP after visiting its booth at the Republican convention in July.

She's not an outlier. *Newsweek* spoke to more than a half-dozen AFP conference attendees, and not one expressed strong opposition to Trump. And these are the Koch network die-hards—volunteers who took buses from places like North Carolina down to Orlando, Florida, to hear speakers extol the cause of “advancing freedom.” The Kochs and their allies have not explicitly condemned Trump, nor have they directed their supporters to vote against him. Still, his popularity among rank-and-file conservatives is a vexing problem for the Koch boys and their crusade to shrink government. And it's not just his abrasive style that has them worried.

As Trump has laid bare during this campaign, “the ideology of the extreme free market”—slashing the social safety net, getting government out of health

CONSERVATIVE VALUE JUDGMENTS: The Koch brothers are withholding support for Trump in this election, but that hasn't stopped many of their foot-soldiers from backing the billionaire.

care and the like—is “not actually the core interests of rank-and-file conservatives,” says Vanessa Williamson, a Brookings Institution fellow who has spent years studying the Tea Party and other conservative movements. At the grass-roots level, conservatives are apt to defend their government-funded Medicare and in the same breath lament Obamacare's “socialism.” Abstract small government principles don't excite them nearly as much as demagoguery on immigration. And they don't see any contradiction in attending an event underwritten by the Koch brothers and then rushing home to plant a *yuge* Trump sign in their front yard.

Members of the Koch network acknowledge the challenge. “One thing that the last 15 months has taught us: Just when you think you've won an issue



+
THE ONE-PERCENT SOLUTION: AFP is changing tactics, going for a more truly grass-roots campaign to steer the political debate and control the Republican Party.

within the base, you realize no issue is really ever won,” AFP President Tim Phillips says with a wry smile. On free trade, which has come under attack from not just Trump but also liberals like Democratic presidential primary candidate Bernie Sanders, “we were complacent,” he says. The mindset, as he describes it, was, “Oh, this stuff isn’t going to work.... This was a battle that was won over two or three decades. We’re fine.” Entitlement reform is another area where there’s been backsliding, Phillips says. “We thought it was settled orthodoxy; suddenly, it’s not anymore!”

But if the leaders of the Koch-backed entities are panicking about Trump’s ascent, they’re doing a damn good job of tucking it in. They’re playing the long game. Phillips seems confident that his

organization will engage and train conservatives in a way that can “build a deeper reservoir of support for core issues,” like trade, entitlements and tax cuts. That, in a sentence, is the whole ethos behind AFP and the rest of the Koch outreach efforts. And it puts them in a strong position to steer the Republican Party after the election, even if Trump wins.

NO ONE ESCAPES FROM TRUMP ISLAND

IN HIS APPROACH to politics, Donald Trump in many ways represents the inverse of the Koch brothers. The Kochs and their allies have sought to cloak their identities with layers of organizational subterfuge; Trump has built an entire presidential campaign around his personal brand. The brothers shy from bravado and media exposure (a Koch representative declined a *Newsweek* request for an interview);

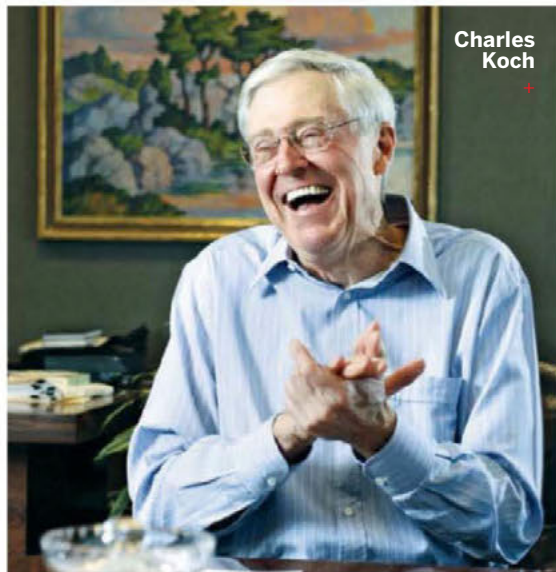
FROM LEFT: SETH WENG/AP; BO RADER/WICHITA EAGLE/MCT/GETTY



Trump thrives on it. And where the Kochs have built an extensive operation at the state and local levels, recruiting volunteers in 35 states and building alliances across the country, Trump is an island, with little infrastructure, few like-minded political allies and nothing in the way of a doctrine that might live on once this campaign is decided.

Trump's field operations are so absurdly bad, in fact, that in most battleground states he's relying on the Republican Party's staff and infrastructure to do all the basic outreach. Regardless, the real estate tycoon has been remarkably successful, but the Trump model is not easy to replicate, as would-be followers have learned. Frank Bruni detailed in *The New York Times* in August that not one Trump supporter running in a Republican primary this year won. The first member of Congress endorsed by Trump, North Carolina Republican Renee Ellmers, got thumped in her June primary.

Contrast that with the Koch network. Led by AFP, it has canvassers on the ground year-round in nearly three-dozen states, knocking on the doors of carefully targeted households. Those targets are dictated by a massive data operation built up in recent years under the aegis of Freedom Partners, the main funnel for money from Koch charities and affiliated donors to advocacy groups such as AFP. In 2014, the most recent year for which reports are available, the 501(c)6 nonprofit group made \$88 million in grants to the group, its sister organizations and other Koch allies, such as the U.S. Chamber



“THE EXTREME FREE MARKET”—SLASHING THE SOCIAL SAFETY NET, GETTING GOVERNMENT OUT OF HEALTH CARE—IS “NOT ACTUALLY THE CORE INTERESTS OF RANK-AND-FILE CONSERVATIVES.”

of Commerce, the National Rifle Association Institute and the anti-tax Club for Growth. In 2015, the network created its Grassroots Leadership Academy, a boot camp on activism and Koch governing philosophy, run by another AFP affiliate, the Americans for Prosperity Foundation.

In Florida, home to one of AFP's largest chapters, the group now counts 14 field offices, nearly double what it had in 2014, and more than 200,000 volunteers (although an AFP representative says that includes everything from door knockers to people who've signed a petition on its website). “Our activist count has swelled since 2014, and a lot of that is because we didn't just focus on federal issues. We really engaged on the state level, on the county level, on things that mattered to folks, things that they could touch and smell and taste,” says Chris Hudson, the AFP state director.

Indeed, that “all politics is local” mentality is a big part of its strategy to remake government. “I'm already more focused on the 2017 legislative session than I have even stopped to think about this federal election,” says Hudson. That may be a nice way of saying the Koch brothers are willing to concede this battle to Trump, because they're confident they'll win the war for conservative hearts, minds and ballots.

YOUR GRASS ROOTS ARE SHOWING

FOR DECADES, Charles and David Koch intervened in politics from the top down—doling out millions to foundations, think tanks and politicians that espoused their small-government philosophy. During election years, they poured money into groups that ran “issue ads”—typically thinly veiled attacks against Democratic candidates. It gave

“THE KOCHS AND THEIR DARK MONEY EMPIRE ARE FLOODING THE AIRWAVES WITH MISLEADING AND FALSE ADVERTISEMENTS” TO PUSH THEIR “CROOKED OLIGARCHY AGENDA.”

them sizable influence among the elites, shaping the beliefs of conservative leaders and commentators, but not much cred among the masses. In a 2010 *New Yorker* article, Jane Mayer documented the Kochs' history of funding so-called grass-tops organizations—groups designed to look like they were fueled by grass-roots activists when they were actually fronts for corporate interests.

The Kochs have gone to great lengths over the years to conceal the nature of their vast political operations, which has riled critics. One of the most relentless of those, Senate Democratic Leader Harry Reid, went after the brothers early last month yet again, complaining that “the Kochs and their dark money empire are flooding the airwaves with misleading and false advertisements” to push their “crooked oligarchy agenda.” The “dark money” epithet refers to the fact that the Koch network is made up almost entirely of 501(c)3 and 501(c)4 nonprofit organizations that can accept unlimited funds and do not have to disclose their donors. So when most people see ads funded by groups such as AFP, they don't realize that a coterie of wealthy donors and corporate behemoths with billions of dollars to gain or lose from policy decisions was behind it.

Making things even more complicated, the Kochs have constructed a maze of nonprofits and trust funds with many different purposes and focuses, some which are not real organizations but essentially just conduits for cash, says Robert Maguire, an investigator with the Center for Responsive Politics, a political spending watchdog. Millions of dollars

WHAT YOU THINK YOU THINK: The Koch organization is now tailoring its message almost house by house, no longer carpet-bombing preprogrammed quotes from Reagan four times a week.

are funneled between them. “There is no other network of politically active nonprofit groups and super PACs that is as convoluted and concentrated as the Koch network,” he says. “It was very clearly constructed by lawyers to make everything the network is doing as difficult as possible to track.”

Maguire says AFP started out as just another Koch-funded purveyor of attack ads. Before 2008, he says, AFP “was this little organization with like seven million dollars.” By 2014, the group spent nearly \$100 million, much of it on the midterm elections. AFP's growth was soon followed by the emergence of sister groups like the Libre Initiative, which is focused on Latinos; Generation Opportunity, targeting millennials; and Concerned Veterans for America, for former service members. “At first, these were just sort of other vessels to put money into, and then they would run ads,” says Maguire, with no staff or physical footprint to speak of, just post office box addresses. But since 2014, they've shifted emphasis and started hiring employees, writing policy papers and building communities on social media. On Twitter, “it's no longer just the standard preprogrammed Reagan quotes four times a week,” he says. Instead, it's “here's a picture of our volunteers in San Antonio knocking on doors.”

That, he says, is a major shift in strategy: win big by going small.

IT'S THEIR PARTY, AND THEY'LL BLOW IT UP IF THEY WANT TO

WILL IT WORK? The Koch network has enjoyed some sizable victories at the state and local level. “We've had more progress on ‘right to work’ in the last five years than in the previous five decades,” Phillips boasts. “We've seen a dozen and a half states do dramatic tax cuts.” But it's unclear if the grass-roots operations are really what's behind those gains, or





YOUNG AT HEARTS (AND MIND): Its base may skew old, but AFP and the other Koch political organizations are focusing on the next generation of voters, and the 2024 election.

if it has more to do with conservatives' success in getting like-minded politicians elected as state legislators and governors. Since 2008, Democrats have lost nearly 1,000 legislative seats and a dozen governors' mansions around the country.

Incoming Florida House Speaker Richard Corcoran says AFP's activists in that state reinforced his colleagues' stand against the expansion of Medicaid in 2015 and against spending on corporate tax incentives this past spring. Corcoran says his members were "being pounded" by editorial boards, special interests and even other Republicans, but they weathered the onslaught with the help of AFP mailing and policy literature defending their stands.

Florida Chamber of Commerce President Mark Wilson, however, says the Koch grass-roots influence in the state is exaggerated. The chamber is one of the state's largest political players, with scores of lobbyists on retainer, and Wilson says the state's legislators "don't really care about what AFP has to say," and regard it as "a heavily funded group that's not from Florida."

But that's not to say things won't change. Wilson knows the Koch network leaders are focusing on 2020 and 2024, not this election. That gives the network time to further build up its ground game and data operations, using its local interactions to identify who cares about what issues and to mobilize people.

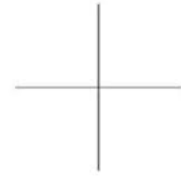
The Koch-funded technology firm i360 manages all that data and produces those apps AFP canvassers rely on when they're knocking on doors. Its database is a vault of voting records, consumer data, census information and social media profiles on more than 250 million adults, i360 says, 190 million of whom are registered to vote. In today's high-tech politics, this kind of granular data is crucial for conducting those targeted campaigns that win elections.

"They've been very transparent about what they're trying to do, and I think a lot of people don't believe them," Wilson muses. "They want to replace political parties." ■





NEW WORLD



STARTUPS

ANIMALS

INNOVATION

SOCIAL

TECHNOLOGY

OCEANS

GOOD SCIENCE

DOWN WITH THE FAT CATS

Hunting for food will keep your house pet lean and mean

MODEL CAT: "Cats need more exercise and mental stimulation," says Mikel Delgado, a cat behavior consultant.

MANY CENTURIES have passed since humans invited cats into their homes. But while these creatures can be great company for a late-night TV binge, feline brains are still hardwired to express their wild nature—especially when it comes to the next meal. The luckiest house cats reside in homes where they can stalk rodents, but that’s not always the case for felines living with fastidious humans. The menu is more likely to be a can of Salmon Surprise, and food is always plentiful.

As a result, house cats may become lazy and fat. According to the Association for Pet Obesity Prevention, 58 percent of cats in the U.S. are obese or overweight. Researchers say this can be solved by food puzzles. The concept isn’t new—they’ve been used for years in zoos and laboratories, and they’re also favored by dog owners.

There are a variety of puzzles on the market that won’t release food without nimble paws and a bit of kitty persistence. Some are stationary; they may have wells, cups or tunnels that the cat has to manipulate. Others are mobile, such as the Eggsercizer—when a cat moves an egg-shaped

puzzle around, dry food falls out through little holes. A thrifty owner can also make a puzzle by poking holes in a yogurt container and putting some dry food inside.

A group of animal behavior experts has produced a report on the benefits of food puzzles “to support feline physical health and emotional well-being.” The findings, published in the *Journal of Feline Medicine and Surgery*, suggest cats are happier and healthier if you make them work for their food. In 24 case studies of dysfunctional cats, all appeared to benefit from food puzzles. Some were aggressive or hyperactive. Others meowed incessantly or sprayed outside the litter box. Some were just overweight.

“What we have is a very predatory animal that would naturally hunt every day to survive,” says Mikel Delgado, a cat behavior consultant and co-author of the paper. “Some people recommend keeping cats indoors for safety reasons to prevent other problems. The problem with that is, if we don’t keep them occupied, then we are really restricting their life experience.”

BY
JESSICA FIRGER
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ILKER GURER/GALLERY STOCK



DEEP SECRETS

Some 85 percent of the world's seafloor hasn't been mapped. Scientists plan to change that

THE UNKNOWN hit the *USS San Francisco* like a torpedo. On January 8, 2005, the nuclear submarine was barreling along at 38 miles per hour, 525 feet beneath the surface. Such vessels often travel in virtual blindness, forgoing radar and its telltale pings; the crew relied on seafloor charts to navigate. But the maps were incomplete.

About 360 miles southeast of Guam, the sub slammed into an unmapped underwater mountain. The collision sent sailors crashing into walls and flying across rooms. Nearly 100 of 137 crew members aboard were injured, and one died from a massive head wound. Commander Kevin Mooney was discharged and reprimanded by Navy higher-ups for “an ill-advised voyage plan” because one map noted that there was a potential navigational hazard several miles from the site of impact, but the lack of precise charts undoubtedly played a major role in the accident.

Welcome to life on a little-known planet. To date, more than 85 percent of the seafloor has not been mapped using modern methods. Since 70 percent of the Earth is covered in oceans, this means that we quite literally don't know our own planet. “We know the surface of Mars better than we do the seafloor,” says Martin Jakobsson, a researcher at Stockholm University.

A group of scientists and mariners is trying to change that. In June, the General Bathymetric Chart of the Oceans (GEBCO), an organization that is affiliated with the United Nations,

convened in Monaco and hammered out an ambitious plan to map most of the world's seafloor by 2030.

Monaco was a fitting location to unveil such a grand scheme. In this small principality, just over 110 years ago, Prince Albert I founded GEBCO with the eventual goal of charting the Earth's oceans. At the opening of this year's meeting, the royal's great-great-grandson, Prince Albert II, opened the gathering to a standing ovation, telling the crowd that he supports their mission both personally and as a head of state. “Much will depend on the actions you take,” he said.

Meeting participants pointed out that an in-depth knowledge of the seafloor isn't important just for navigation. It's also vital to understanding where tsunamis are likely to travel (since they are guided by the ocean bottom) and the history of our climate (since glaciers leave marks on the seafloor that give clues about past temperatures). And such explorations will also reveal new life forms, which could hold the key to treating disease; drugs derived from undersea animals have been used to treat cancer, alleviate pain and help wounds heal.

The scientists face a tough challenge. The hurdles are many: a lack of funding and properly equipped ships; the sheer size of the ocean, as well as the remoteness and intractability of parts of it; and a reticence of companies and governments to share mapping data they've collected.

BY
DOUGLAS MAIN
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NOSE JOB: Nearly 100 of the 137 crew members aboard the USS San Francisco were injured and one died when it ran into an unmapped underwater mountain southeast of Guam in 2005.

Larry Mayer, an oceanographer at the University of New Hampshire who has been on more than 90 mapping cruises, says the goal could be accomplished for around \$3 billion, equivalent to the cost of a single mission to Mars. Nobody has come up with that kind of money yet (are you reading this, Elon Musk?), but many projects are nevertheless going forward, and organizations like Japan's Nippon Foundation (which helped support the meeting) are funding efforts. Mayer's group maps along the East Coast of the United States and the Arctic, for example. He supplies his data to the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA), which makes the information available to the public.

Robert Ballard, an explorer whose teams found the wrecks of the *Titanic* and the *Bismarck*, makes much of his work even more open-source. He operates a vessel known as the *E/V Nautilus*, which maps and conducts biological field work off the Pacific Coast. The ship broadcasts online much of what it's doing, and part of its mission

“WE KNOW THE SURFACE OF MARS BETTER THAN WE DO THE SEAFLOOR.”

involves finding experts at a moment's notice to inform the ship's crew about what they happen to be squinting at on the seafloor, be it an odd sponge or a shipwreck. The public can watch much of this action online at NautilusLive.org.

Governments and militaries, as well as companies involved in offshore petroleum and undersea cables, have done a fair amount of mapping that they don't share with the outside world. During and after the meeting, however, GEBCO participants have made inroads into gaining access to this vast trove of information, Mayer says. For example, one cable company known as Quintillion has agreed to release its data to NOAA. Many more negotiations are moving

forward, though they can't be revealed yet for fear of quashing the talks, he adds.

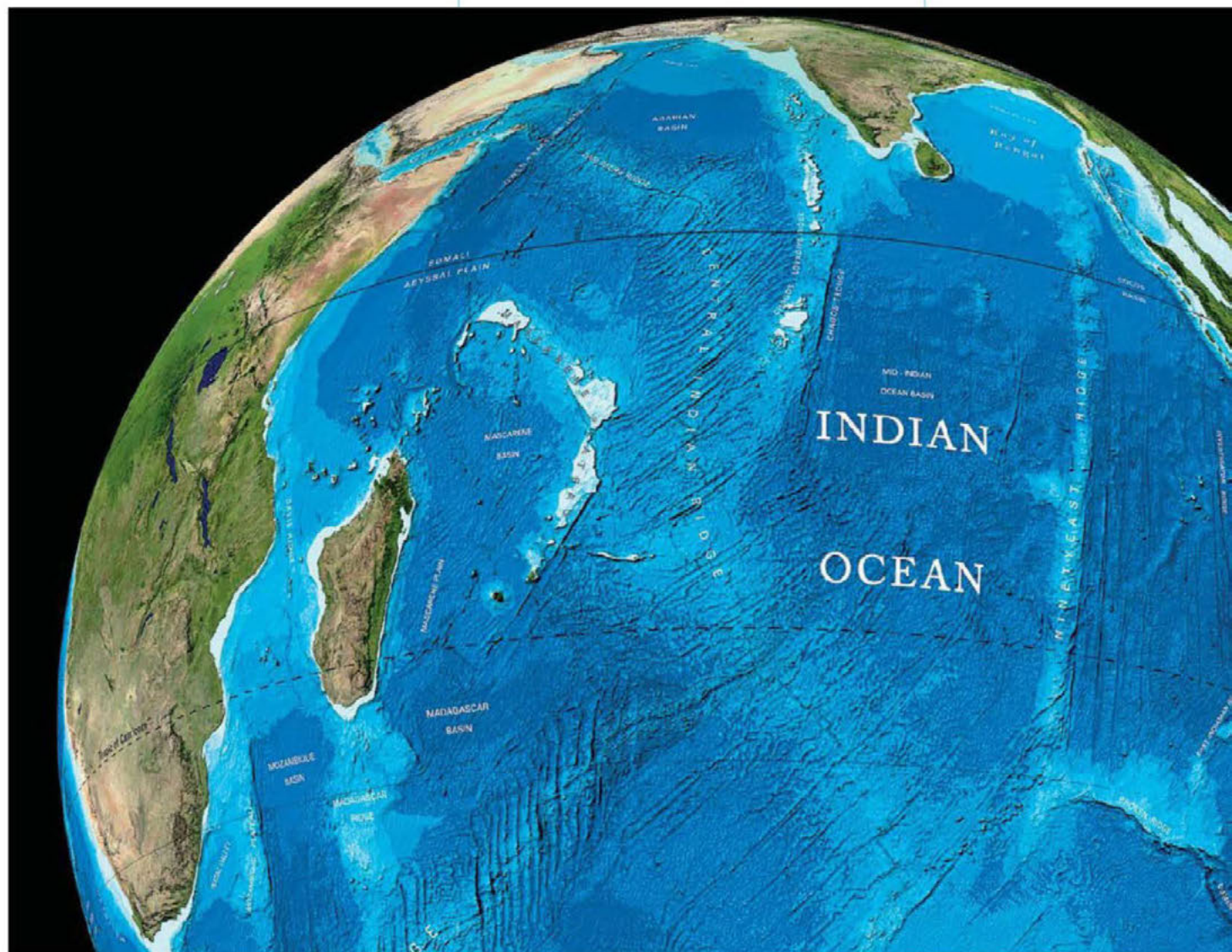
Contractors like Fugro, which specializes in seafloor mapping, do much of the work. However, the companies that pay them own the data, and as it usually gives them a competitive advantage (as in the case of oil drillers), they are understandably unlikely to open their charts. To help the effort, Fugro President Edward Saade says the company plans to start mapping the seafloor while its ships are en route to and from jobs and to share this information with researchers.

In the past year and a half, the company—the biggest of its kind—has mapped nearly 390,000 square miles of seafloor, an area the size of Egypt. That's about 1/300th of the world's total deep seafloor area, Saade says. These kinds of numbers suggest that the whole seafloor really can be

mapped, given the right commitment, he adds.

When Malaysia Airlines Flight 370 went missing over the Pacific, it showed not only how little we know about the seafloor but also how much can be accomplished in a short amount of time. In the area the plane is thought to have crashed, the maps were nearly nonexistent. As with much of the ocean, the only charts were based on satellite measurements. These so-called altimetry readings measure the strength of gravity at the sea surface and can reveal large underwater peaks known as seamounts. But their resolution is at the scale of 1.5 kilometers or more—nearly a mile (meaning one measurement is taken every 1,500 meters). The representation of the seafloor that you can see on Google Earth, for example, is made with these limited satellite readings, and many people can be confused into thinking that

THE GREAT UNKNOWN: GEB-CO, the General Bathymetric Chart of the Oceans, aims to map most of the world's seafloor by 2030.





our maps are more accurate than they are. John Hall, a retired researcher with the Geological Survey of Israel, estimates that only 10 percent of the world's seamounts have been found.

Fugro was tasked with mapping this area, working with the Australian government and international partners. Over the course of several months, Fugro mapped an area larger than the state of Pennsylvania. (But it still didn't find the plane.)

There are also a growing number of crowdsourcing projects that will help reach the 2030 goal. Lieutenant Anthony Klemm, an officer aboard the NOAA research vessel *Thomas Jefferson*, started a pilot project that allows mariners to seamlessly share their mapping information. It works with software made by a company called Rose Point Navigation Systems, and allows mariners to simply click a box and share their info (anonymously, if desired), transmitting it to a database housed on a government server that's open to the researchers and the public.

Currently, the most efficient way to map involves the use of multibeam sonar, which sends pulses of sound that bounce off the seafloor and back. Autonomous underwater vehicles can also be used, though they are less efficient. At the meeting, Mayer floated the idea of an unmanned barge, equipped with multibeam sonar, that could roam the seas while continuously mapping, which would cost about one-third as much as a manned vessel.

"We've got the tools," says Bjorn Jalving, with Kongsberg Maritime, a company that makes mapping tools. "Now we just need to work out how to best use them."

However, like the barge, some of the technologies or devices that could lead to success probably don't exist yet. Enter the XPrize Foundation, which is probably best known for holding contests to encourage private exploration of space. The organization has created a \$7 million contest to "incentivize a new era of ocean exploration," says Jyotika Virmani, with the group. The competition will unfold in two rounds over the next three years, in which teams must create a mostly autonomous device that can map the seafloor and identify certain objects. The prize will be divided: The winning team gets \$4 million, while three other teams each get \$1 million for accomplishing various goals.

One of the fiercest debates at the meeting revolved around resolution. How precise do the charts need to be? "We are lost in terms of where we are," said Shin Tani, chairman of the GEBCO Guiding Committee and a former vice admiral in the Japan Coast Guard. Some people want a



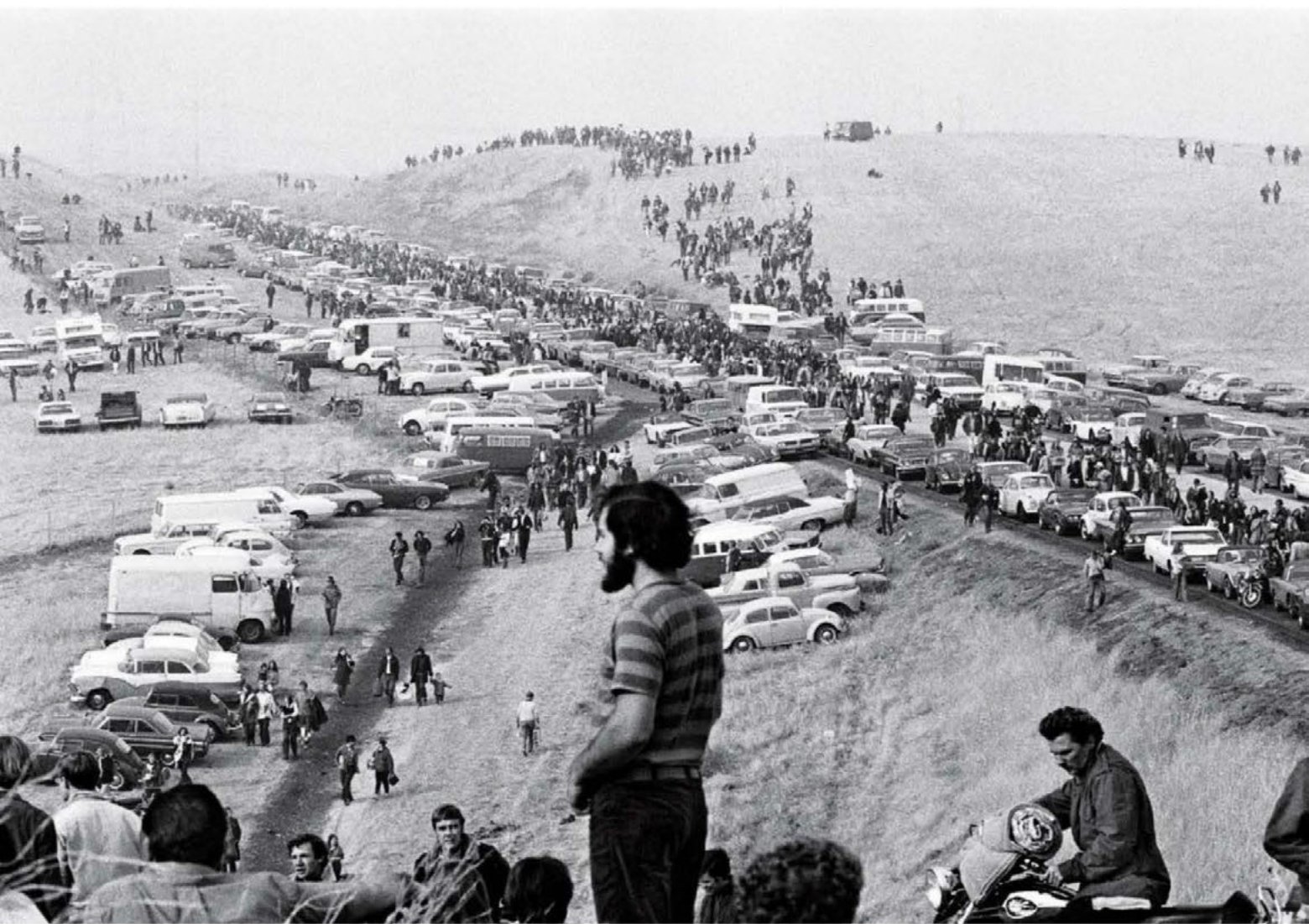
resolution of 1 meter, some 10 meters, some 50 meters or more. Generally, the consensus seems to be that even having a single measurement every 100 meters or so would be a vast improvement over what we currently have. Gaps could then be filled in by further missions or autonomous underwater vehicles—perhaps something the XPrize contest could help provide.

Another debate that simmered beneath the surface was over the possibility—or inevitability, depending on who you ask—of seafloor mining. David Heydon, who founded the underwater mining company Nautilus Minerals and who is deputy chairman of DeepGreen Resources, made the case that humans should start mining the oceans

THE GOAL OF MAPPING THE OCEAN FLOOR COULD BE ACCOMPLISHED FOR AROUND \$3 BILLION, EQUIVALENT TO THE COST OF A SINGLE MISSION TO MARS.

for minerals that are plentiful in some places, like copper, manganese, phosphorous, even diamonds and rare earth metals. Humans live on the 30 percent of the Earth that they mine, and there could be environmental benefits to going into the ocean, he says. However, environmental lawyer Kristina Gjerde, an adviser to the International Union for the Conservation of Nature, countered that much more research should be done before mining goes forward, since we know very little about the creatures that live there.

One thing they can both agree upon, however, is that more exploration is vital. As Gjerde says, "We still don't know the most basic information about the seafloor and its ecology." ■



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**CAN'T ALWAYS GET
WHAT YOU WANT:**
The Stones hoped
Altamont would
be like Woodstock;
instead they got a
little slice of hell,
thanks to the Hell's
Angels.



DOWNTIME

FILM

CIVIL RIGHTS

ART

DRINKING

MUSIC

FASCISM

JUST A SHOT AWAY

Cops killings, homegrown terrorists and the Stones about to tour? The '60s are back, and they're really pissed off

THE '60S ARE turning 50. Not the 1960s, but the era we call the '60s, whose highest highs and lowest lows were nearly all in the second half of that decade and the first half of the one that followed: the founding of the Black Panthers (1966), the Summer of Love (1967), Nixon (1968), Woodstock (1969), Watergate (1973).

We were a teenage nation then, lolling on the lawns of Golden Gate Park, puffing on grass, protesting Vietnam. Now we have grown thick around the middle and gray around the temples, our indignation reserved mostly for our property taxes. The days of acid, and of rage, seem so very long ago. Eldridge Cleaver, the ferocious Black Panther who advocated the rape of white women as a revolutionary act, died a Republican. The Yippie leader Jerry Rubin went to Wall Street. Bob Dylan made an ad for Victoria's Secret. It's all right, ma. I'm only investing in renewable fuels.

But just as they seemed ready for a valedictory round of "Send in the Clowns," the '60s

have returned with surprising vigor, eager to make one last point before shuffling off the stage, the uncle whose rambling stories have started to make sense.

When Colin Kaepernick, a backup quarterback for the San Francisco 49ers, began refusing in mid-August to stand for "The Star-Spangled Banner," citing racial prejudice in the United States, The Ringer, a website that covers the culture of sports, declared, "1968 Has Been Rebooted."

Last winter in Chicago, crowds turned out to protest the unjustified shooting of Laquan McDonald, a black teen, by the police. Bobby Rush, a congressman who had once been a Black Panther, concluded as he observed the scene that it was "1969 all over again."

Complained the conservative *American Conservative*: "Everywhere today, it would seem, there is the stench of the 1960s."

"1971 All Over Again," said Slate about the current presidential campaign.

BY
ALEXANDER
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Washington Monthly: “Is It Almost 1972, Again?”

For a nation built on relentless progress, it’s remarkable that we look back so often—and that so much of the retrospection is focused on a narrow band of time whose facts are not in wide dispute. Sometimes, the retrospection seems closer to re-enactment, with kids smoking in Haight-Ashbury again. The revolution is back, this time with its own emoji.

The ’60s were about awakening; one of the great compliments an individual can confer on social media today is that someone is “woke.” The term comes from black users of Twitter, implying an understanding of the nation’s racial conundrums. This also is an analog to the ’60s, whose moral force came from the civil rights movement, culture and politics coming together as a black man, Jimi Hendrix, played a furious version of “The Star-Spangled Banner” at Woodstock. Back then, as Bryan Burrough wrote in last year’s indispensable *Days of Rage: America’s Radical Underground, the FBI, and the Forgotten Age of Revolutionary Violence*, many were awakened by television images of Southern racism; today, one is made woke by Twitter evidence of police brutality. They had black-and-white footage of Bull Connor’s dogs let loose in Birmingham, Alabama; we have cellphone video of Eric Garner struggling to breathe, the Facebook Live stream showing Philando Castile shot dead in his car.

There is also the conviction, then as now, that American life has fogged over with opalescent falsities, that we need the purifying burn of truth. In the ’60s, truth might have come from Timothy Leary and Abbie Hoffman or, if you leaned right, the stern soliloquies of Richard Nixon. Fifty years later, truth-telling is in vogue again, as any supporter of Bernie Sanders or Donald Trump will all too happily inform you. Accordingly, another popular social media injunction is to “keep it 100,” a call for intellectual honesty that evokes the words of John Lennon: “Just gimme some truth.”

In London, the Victoria and Albert Museum is holding an exhibit called “You Say You Want a Revolution? Records and Rebels 1966-1970.” One of the show’s curators said on a press tour of the Bay Area this past summer, “In the context of the extraordinary times that Europe

and U.S. are living through, 2016 is a fitting year to look at this period from today’s perspective. This could be a message of hope for our times.”

A message of hope, sure. And a warning.

THE SUMMER OF LOVE-HATE

It’s a common belief that the ’60s began nearly four years after the 1960s did, with the assassination of John F. Kennedy. Nearly everything we think of as associated with that era—Vietnam, the Summer of Love, Woodstock, Manson, Altamont, the Black Panthers—followed that infernal motorcade through Dealey Plaza.

When the ’60s ended is harder to say. It is also the more important question, since so many aspirations seemed to have died with the ’60s. Homer Simpson claims the ’60s ended in 1978, but this is not a commonly held opinion. Joan Didion wrote about the ’60s ending in 1971, when she moved to “a house on the sea” to escape the bad vibes of the Manson family murders, wafting through the canyons of Los Angeles. Watergate, which broke in 1972 and caused Nixon’s downfall, is frequently cited as the end of an era whose

ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, WHO ADVOCATED THE RAPE OF WHITE WOMEN AS A REVOLUTIONARY ACT, DIED A REPUBLICAN.

beginnings are rooted in Kennedy’s narrow victory over Nixon in 1960. The conservative commentator Hugh Hewitt wrote in *The Weekly Standard* that the ’60s ended on 9/11.

A more popular view is that the ’60s ended on December 6, 1969, at the Altamont Raceway Park in Northern California. You get there by heading due east out of San Francisco, over the Berkeley Hills, into the beginnings of farm country, where the trees are few and the grass is an unnatural shade of yellow. The Altamont Free Concert was supposed to be a West Coast counterpart to Woodstock. And it was, in all the worst ways. The famous farm in Bethel, New York, remains a site of pilgrimage for those who want to remember the best of the ’60s, the grooviest moments of a time that, under the forensic light of history, seems to have been rather frequently ungroovy. The Altamont Free Concert inspires no fond memories and, consequently, no visitors.





NOT FADE AWAY: Thanks to social media and the web, incidents like the death of Eric Garner during an NYPD arrest go viral instantly.

The racetrack shuttered eight years ago, without much notice. As I walked toward the site where the concert took place, ground squirrels and lizards skittered through the weeds growing between the many cracks of Altamont's hot pavement. A single charred car sits in the middle of the bowl, an apt metaphor for a generation that convinced itself that it was better to burn out than to fade away.

Already, the raceway has the feel of ancient

ruin: the tilted light poles like the columns of a toppled temple, the advertisements coated with dust, the ghostly stands occupied only by the stray crow. You could easily believe that the last time anyone convened here was that fall evening in '69, as Mick Jagger pranced with rising unease through his set, and Grace Slick, the lead singer of Jefferson Airplane, looked out at the chaotic scene before her and pleaded, "Let's not keep fucking up."

The Rolling Stones had wanted to play San Francisco, but the permitting process went awry, so the best they could do was a racetrack whose owner coveted the publicity so badly he offered up the venue for free. Promised the lighting designer Chip Monck, "This is going to be like a little Woodstock, you know?"

Altamont was nothing like Woodstock. Four people died there: a drowning, a car crash and, most notoriously, the killing of a black man, Meredith Hunter, by the Hell's Angels motorcycle gang, who were paid \$500 worth of beer to work security. There were three deaths at Woodstock (a heroin overdose, a burst appendix and a tractor accident), but those feel aberrant, while the footage of a Hell's Angel plunging his knife into Hunter's neck seems like the bloody inevitability toward which Altamont had been hurtling.

Altamont was doomed from the start. This was farm country in 1969, and though the Bay Area's swollen tech sector is today seeping eastward, it is mostly farm country still, with irrigation canals weaving blue ribbons through the land. It was on the California Aqueduct that death first visited Altamont: After giving a police officer the middle finger, a teenager from Buffalo, New York, named Leonard Kryszak jumped into the water. The flow was quick, and the water was cold. Kryszak stood no chance.

The one death everyone knows of is that of Hunter, during the Stones' set. His killing happened near the stage, which was so low the performers were essentially in the crowd. The Stones could plainly see something bad had happened, and yet they kept playing. It wasn't their show anymore. They were just providing the soundtrack to the Hell's Angels, whose violence was the most memorable performance of Altamont.

Although the death of Hunter is the gruesome pinnacle of Altamont, there is another moment that is even more revealing. As the Stones stepped off the helicopter that had taken them from San Francisco to Altamont, a fan rushed up to Jagger and punched him in the face. Jagger went down, then sprung back up, street-fighting man that he was, and the band continued walking to its trailer.

As horrific as it was, the Hunter killing could



be explained through the Hell's Angels racism and thuggishness, fueled by strong acid and cheap wine. But there was nothing to explain the assault on Jagger, other than the assertion of H. Rap Brown, the Black Panther leader, that violence is "as American as cherry pie." Jagger acknowledged the madness of the scene when, after the concert, a *Chronicle* reporter reached him at the Huntington Hotel in San Francisco.

"If Jesus had been there, he would have been crucified," Jagger said. "What happened?" he wondered. "What's gone wrong?"

The '60s have plenty of detractors, and those detractors have all the evidence they need in Altamont, a tombstone flower children carved for themselves. Yet "Altamont was not the end of anything," argues Joel Selvin in his fine new book, *Altamont: The Rolling Stones, the Hells Angels, and the Inside Story of Rock's Darkest Day*, which rivetingly re-creates the disaster in its awesome fullness. Selvin, a longtime critic for the *San Francisco Chronicle*, makes no excuses about Altamont, making clear that it was Woodstock's evil twin in every way imaginable. But he also refuses to feed the simplistic narrative of cultural demise. "It certainly wasn't the end of the '60s," he says, "in some definitive, apocalyptic way, as it is often portrayed."

'DEATH TO THE FASCIST INSECT'

When I met Selvin for a beer, I asked him when he thought the '60s ended, if not at Altamont. "Oh," he said quickly, "with the fall of Saigon"—in 1975.

We were sitting at Brennan's, a dim sports bar inside what used to be Berkeley's train station. There are far superior bars in Berkeley, with wine lists as long as congressional farm bills, but Selvin retains an affection for this place. He mentioned, as we spoke about Altamont, that he'd lunched there a couple of times with one of the most famous figures from the '60s: Patricia Hearst.

Hearst is the subject of another book about the death of the '60s published this past summer: Jeffrey Toobin's deliciously disconcerting *American Heiress*, about the 1974 kidnapping of Hearst, granddaughter of newspaper magnate William Randolph Hearst, by a hapless outfit that grandly called itself the Symbionese Liberation Army (SLA). Altamont showed the danger of excessive tolerance; the Hearst saga showed the danger of excessive conviction. Theodor Adorno said it was barbaric to write poetry after Auschwitz. Similarly, it was ridiculous, after Hearst, to write political manifestos in Berkeley and Morningside Heights.

Toobin has an eye for hypocrisy, which served him so well in his book on O.J. Simpson, *The Run of His Life*, and an acute nose for the

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DOGS OF WAR:
 Protests against
 police shootings
 have led to violent
 stand-offs that
 echo the civil rights
 battles in the South
 in the '60s.



bizarre. The SLA forced the Hearsts, who were much less wealthy than popular belief held, into funding a massive food distribution program (People in Need) that is surely one of the more transactional philanthropic efforts in American history, second only to the charitable giving of the Trump Foundation. The effort was aided by the Nation of Islam, while Ronald Reagan, then the governor of California, showed the extent of his compassion by joking, “It’s just too bad we can’t have an epidemic of botulism.”

From captivity, Hearst released dispatches that suggested an increasing identification with the SLA, which the Black Panthers and most other revolutionary organizations had denounced. She would have made a fine Twitter personality, fulminating against the Koch Brothers and Israel. Instead, she took up arms.

As Hearst morphed from prisoner to comrade, she proudly adopted the nom de guerre “Tania.” She wielded machine guns and robbed banks, vowing, in her dispatches from the underground, “death to the fascist insect that preys on the life of the people.” This, from a scion of *Citizen Kane*. Marx predicted that history would curdle from tragedy into farce, but he said nothing about the Summer of Love turning into a season of mayhem. And weren’t we a nation that was beyond history, anyway?

American Heiress is the story of Patricia Hearst, but also the story of a left seduced into bloodshed. In *Days of Rage*—the most authoritative account there is of violent 1970s avant-gardism in the U.S.—

Burrough wrote, “During an eighteen-month period in 1971 and 1972, the FBI reported more than 2,500 bombings on U.S. soil, nearly 5 a day.” Most of these were not fatal, yet the nation could only countenance these campaigns for so long. Children are permitted tantrums, but the tantrums have to end. The radicals had all the conviction of the Bolsheviks who stormed the Winter Palace; what they lacked was good marketing. Editorialized *The New York Times*: “Every building bombed, every person killed or wounded by bombs horrifies and makes more angry the great majority of the American people who abhor all political violence.”

Brown was right about violence as cherry pie, but man cannot subsist on pie alone. The left back then bombed itself into irrelevance; the right is doing it today, with the average Donald Trump rally some combination of World Wrestling Entertainment match and Ku Klux Klan rally, set to latter-day Kid Rock jams. Americans are not the

French: They recoil from extremism even faster than they recoil from soccer. The ’60s got what they deserved: Ronald Reagan and John Cougar Mellencamp. Today’s firebrands bring their fire-arms to college campuses, assassinate abortion doctors, assault protesters exercising their First Amendment rights. They too will get what they deserve, most likely in the form of Hillary Clinton.

YOU SAY YOU WANT A TRACTOR-MOWER

Hearst certainly did OK for herself—better than average homegrown terrorists, like most of her SLA comrades, who ended up riddled with bullets and charred in an inferno. She spent not even two years in prison, winning clemency from Jimmy Carter. Later, Bill Clinton granted her a pardon. “Rarely have the benefits of wealth, power, and

ALTAMONT IS A TOMBSTONE THE FLOWER CHILDREN CARVED FOR THEMSELVES.

renown been as clear as they were in the aftermath of Patricia’s conviction,” Toobin writes.

Last year, as Toobin was completing his book, the gossip page of the *New York Post* reported that Hearst was furious. A source told the *Post* that she called Toobin a “hack writer” and “an emotional rapist.” That’s not fair, since so much of Toobin’s work is Hearst’s own words and well-chronicled deeds. Like the Beatles’ Sexy Sadie, she broke the rules and laid it down for all to see.

Hearst was recently in the news for an altogether unrelated accomplishment: In 2015, her shih tzu, Rocket, won the toy dog category at the Westminster Kennel Club dog show. Having spent her young adulthood in the crucible of leftism that was the Bay Area, she moved to a place least likely to foment revolution, a corner of the republic where for decades—nay, centuries—the gilded classes have been soothed by the gentle breezes off the Long Island Sound: Connecticut. ■



A BRIEF, ILLUMINATING HISTORY OF BILL MURRAY AND ALCOHOL

Sage drinking tips from the world's greatest actor/golfer/party-crasher

LATE-PERIOD Bill Murray is known for a lot more than his acting, his quick wit and his dry sense of humor. He golfs. He crashes events. He steals fries. He is erroneously implicated in a scheme involving the purchase of a one-of-a-kind Wu-Tang Clan album. He is the uncle we all wish we had, but instead of downing one too many Bud Lights at the Labor Day barbecue, he passes out never-enough tequila shots at your favorite bar. On a recent weekend, it was 21 Greenpoint in Brooklyn, New York.

Yes, beginning at 7 p.m. on a Friday and Saturday night in early September, Murray stepped behind the bar to serve drinks devised by New York cocktail master Sean McClure. The occasion was the opening of 21 Greenpoint, a restaurant owned by his son Homer. "We want people to come and have fun," Homer told Eater. "People can walk in; just be nice. What my dad lacks in experience, he makes up for in tequila."

It wasn't the elder Murray's first time behind a bar. His most famous stint came in 2010, when he dished out drinks at Austin's Shangri-La during South by Southwest. He poured shots and chatted up patrons, after which he allegedly retreated to the corner to hang with RZA and GZA of the Wu-Tang Clan. There are surely many others instances of Murray bartending over the past 40 years that, sadly, were not documented or posted to social media.

In 2015, he appeared on *Jimmy Kimmel Live!* to

dispense some spontaneous-drink-pouring wisdom. In the clip, Murray spoke about "professional drinkers" and how they make sure to have a glass of water with every drink. It's important to stay hydrated, because that way you can keep partying, which is, as we've come to know so well since the dawn of smartphones and social media, is what Bill Murray is all about. "If you can drink a glass of water with every drink you drink, you become much more interesting later on in the evening," Murray told Kimmel. This isn't idle talk-show banter. These are words to live by. This is oral tradition, passed down from a true master.

Drinking is about entertainment for Murray. The drunker you are, the more entertaining you are, but you're not going to be entertaining unless you can ward off the fatigue that can come with downing 12 shots. As he told Kimmel, it's about staying hydrated. He told the same thing to *Dazed* a year earlier, specifically as it pertains to champagne, which is notorious for sneaking up on over-eager partygoers.

"I learned how to drink champagne a while ago. But the way I like to drink champagne is I like to make what we call a Montana Cooler, where you buy a case of champagne and you take all the bottles out, and you take all the cardboard out, and you put a garbage bag inside of it, then you put all the bottles back in and then you cover it with ice, and then you wrap it up and you close it. And that will keep it all cold for a weekend and you can drink every single bottle. And

BY
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the way I like to drink it [is] in a big pint glass with ice. I fill it with ice and I pour the champagne in it, because champagne can never be too cold. And the problem people have with champagne is they drink it and they crash with it, because the sugar content is so high and you get really dehydrated. But if you can get the ice in it, you can drink it supremely cold and at the same time you're getting the melting ice, so it's like a hydration level, and you can stay at this great level for a whole weekend. You don't want to crash. You want to keep that buzz, that bling, that smile."

This is next-level insight, and only one of the countless nuggets of drinking wisdom Murray has accrued over the years. In a 2013 interview with *Esquire*, he philosophized on vodka versus gin:

"Different vodkas have different effects. Some make you feel a little...poly-lingual. Some make you feel like you want to talk back to someone who's giving you a hard time. Some make you feel like lifting kettle bells. There's something about the taste of this vodka that takes the bad taste out of your mouth. I don't mean like a mouthwash, but if something bad is on your mind, this makes it go away. I have a quieter voice when I drink it. I drink gin, and once,

when drinking gin, I made a large man cry. Not with this. This makes you kind of sweet."

He went on to detail the pleasures of drinking vodka from the base of an ice luge, a fixture at his Christmas parties, and how he likes to keep half of his vodka in the freezer and half of it

“WHAT MY DAD LACKS IN EXPERIENCE, HE MAKES UP FOR IN TEQUILA.”

warm. “You know, the Danes drink that Aquavit warm,” he said. “They pour that stuff right in their mouths as they chew.”

There's also whiskey, which Murray is most famous for drinking in the 2003 film *Lost in Translation*, in which he plays an actor struggling to cope with a midlife crisis while in Japan shooting a commercial for the brown liquor.

Some of the film's most iconic scenes feature Murray's character shooting the commercials and debonairly brandishing a glass of Suntory whiskey as he mugs for the camera.

It's not that much of a stretch to credit the subsequent Japanese whiskey boom to Murray. Put this guy in the Hooch Hall of Fame.

Murray's tendency to hop behind the bar to dole out good times shouldn't be surprising, then. It goes beyond his partying chops, though. It fits perfectly with his personality. He is cool, but he also likes attention. You can see it on the golf course. You can see it when he nonchalantly walks onto late-night TV show sets wearing something flamboyant. You can see it in the hasty iPhone videos of whatever party he unexpectedly decides to crash. You can see it when he sings along to the Rolling Stones and Stevie Wonder and poses for pictures with pineapples, as he did while pouring drinks at 21 Greenpoint. Murray isn't enamored with celebrity; he likes to banter with the common folk, and there is no better perch from which to dispense rapid-fire witticisms to as many people as possible than from behind a bar with a bottle of tequila in hand, or maybe both hands.

And you know he'll be pouring waters as well. Remember, hydration is key. **■**

FILL THE BILL: Murray, who takes his drinking very seriously, recommends a glass of water between shots.

CHAD BUCHANAN/GETTY





IT CAN HAPPEN HERE

It Can't Happen Here, the fable of a fascist president, is coming just in time for the November election

IN BERKELEY Repertory Theatre's cavernous rehearsal space, in the midst of several dozen actors and tech people, two marching drummers are working on their timing. This is Berkeley, where marching to a different beat is almost required, but these extras are supposed to be leading an invisible procession celebrating the ascent of a major political candidate, the next president of the United States, in fact—an unconventional renegade with little respect for the politesse of traditional campaigning, or the democratic system.

No, not that guy. For this most unconventional of election years, the venerable rep company has adapted Sinclair Lewis's dystopian novel, *It Can't Happen Here*. Published in 1935, the book was written and revised in just four months by the best-selling author of *Main Street* and *Babbitt*, who had watched with alarm the rise of U.S. senator from Louisiana, Huey P. Long. The former governor known as the Kingfish was an ardent populist, a ruthless demagogue and aspiring presidential candidate who was outflanking FDR on the left—until he was assassinated shortly before the book's publication. Fortunately for Lewis, there were plenty of fascists on the rise in Europe, and it wasn't too hard for readers to squint and imagine a little Hitler in the White House.

Rep Artistic Director Tony Taccone says the group wanted to do something political this fall, but, as Lisa Peterson, the play's director, points out, "There aren't that many American plays writ-

ten about the electoral process, or set on Election Day, or having to do with politics in America."

It was February. "At the time, Mr. Trump was one of 16 members of the Republican Party seeking the nomination," says Taccone. "He hadn't won anything yet, but he created enough energy that 'it can't happen here' was being quoted in certain editorials, and what he was saying was overt populism."

A lot of the asides doled out by Senator Buzz Windrip, Lewis's dictator in waiting, sound strangely familiar. "Can you believe these so-called journalists?" he asks an imaginary crowd from behind the podium, and when actors playing security guards with clubs take a demonstrator offstage, he shouts, "We're bringing back the good old days!"

Taccone, who adapted the play with Bennett Cohen, swears that only two of Windrip's lines in the play came from Donald Trump. Some ideas just aren't that new, as in the script when the Communist auto mechanic says, "We got 1 percent of the country owning 42 percent of the wealth," and "The system is on the verge of collapse!"

At the heart of the story is Doremus Jessup, a newspaper editor from a small town in Vermont. "He was an equable and sympathetic boss," Lewis wrote, "an imaginative news detective; he was, even in this ironbound Republican state, independent in politics; and in his editorials against graft and injustice...he could slash like a dog whip."

BY
SEAN ELDER
[@seankelder](https://twitter.com/seankelder)



MAKE AMERICA THINK AGAIN: Lewis wrote his book because he was alarmed by the rise of fascism in Europe and potentially in the U.S. in the 1930s.

“Lewis clearly is Jessup,” says Taccone. “He’s the voice of the hero.” Acerbic and alcoholic, Lewis showed the country a striving, hypocritical side of itself that it couldn’t help but recognize. “I know of no other American novel that more accurately presents the real America,” the equally dyspeptic H.L. Mencken wrote of *Babbitt* in 1922. And while *It Can’t Happen Here* seems slapdash now, the book was a critical and commercial success. “What will happen when America has a dictator?” read the copy on the cover of the first edition, and a lot of people couldn’t wait to find out.

AN ARMY OF MINUTE MEN

It Can’t Happen Here was adapted once before, by Lewis and John C. Moffitt; that version was produced, in 17 states simultaneously, in 1936. “We read that play with a lot of anticipation, a lot of eagerness and thought, This is a really bad play,” says Taccone. So they went back to the source. The version that he and Cohen have fashioned moves along at a gut-churning pace as Jessup and his family witness the changes that come with a Windrip presidency. Those who disagree with him are jailed, the courts are overturned, and the nation (and Jessup’s family) soon divided as resistance to the American Caesar and his army of “Minute Men” is fomented. None of the new president’s actions should have surprised anyone; before the election, Windrip presents a detailed platform called “The Fifteen Points of Victory for

the Forgotten Men” that includes a government takeover of the banks and the unions, and he vows to deny the vote to women, blacks and Jews. On the upside, every family is promised \$5,000.

For all the parallels between Windrip’s rhetoric and Trump’s, there are dangers in doing anything topical. “Along the way, we kept saying, ‘What happens if he doesn’t get the nomination; can we still do the play?’” says Peterson. “We were already committed to doing a play about the American democratic system, the frailty of it, even if [Ohio Governor John] Kasich was the nominee.”

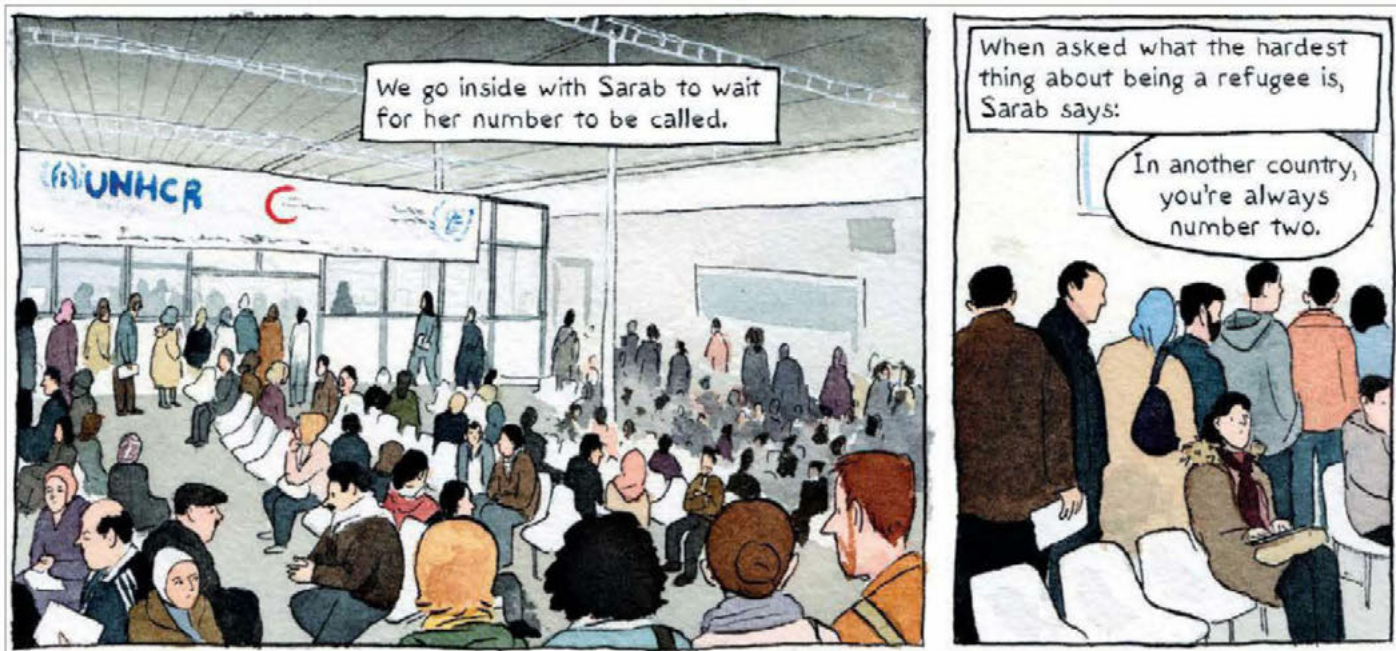
The other danger is that people might be sick of the subject, even tired of contemplating the perils of a Trump presidency. Taccone isn’t worried about his subscribers. “There’s an appetite here for history,” he says. (One of Berkeley Rep’s more popular recent productions was the 2014 musical *Party People*, about the Black Panthers and the Young Lords in the ’60s and ’70s.) “A lot of our audience is coming from the assumption that you should be informed about history. I feel extremely lucky. A lot of my colleagues around the country think their audiences don’t feel that way—they feel that art is something that is removed from history.” Hence the endless retreads of Molière and Chekhov at rep companies across the country.

“When it began to look like Trump was going to lose the election, I found myself thinking, I’m using that [conflicted feeling of relief and disappointment],” says Taccone. “If you look at history, right-wing people fail a lot before they finally take over. Hitler was in jail in 1924 with the Beer Hall

IT WASN’T TOO HARD FOR READERS TO SQUINT AND IMAGINE A LITTLE HITLER IN THE WHITE HOUSE.

Putsch; he spent about a year in jail.... He got out, and there were openings because the anger was still there. And the anger [in America] is not going away soon, as far as I can tell.”

Or as Jessup reflects in the book, “What I’ve got to keep remembering is that Windrip is only the lightest cork on the whirlpool.... With all the justified discontent there is against the smart politicians and the Plush Horses of Plutocracy—oh, if it hadn’t been one Windrip, it would have been another.... We had it coming, we Respectables.... But that isn’t going to make us like it!”



CAUTION: GRAPHIC CONTENT

Rolling Blackouts shows how the death of overseas news bureaus let governments get away with murder

AS THE Iraq War turned into an unmitigated, bloody disaster, another disaster was unfolding in newsrooms around the world: Ad sales plummeted, and print subscriptions dried up thanks to all the free content on the internet. While Marines and Iraqi civilians bled out in Mosul, newsrooms hemorrhaged red ink.

Massive layoffs commenced, and many small-town papers shut their doors. But some of the most devastating casualties of this media catastrophe were foreign bureaus. When Sarah Glidden went to Turkey, Iraq and Syria in 2010 for her 2016 book, *Rolling Blackouts*—the follow-up to her award-winning 2011 debut, *How to Understand Israel in 60 Days or Less*—these changes were already well underway.

Glidden is part of a growing movement of comics journalists—including Joe Sacco and Susie Cagle—who use illustration not only to comment on events but also to cover them. Comics journalism offers an intimacy and a strong point of view discouraged in traditional

newspaper reportage, photography or videography. And drawn images still have power in a world where violent photo-realist images have so saturated daily life that they often no longer shock. When you can watch videos of dead refugees, beheadings and police officers shooting children on demand, sometimes the only way to truly cause alarm is by turning these atrocities into cartoons.

Glidden fills an important void by making foreign conflicts accessible to people who might not subscribe to *Foreign Affairs* or *Washington Monthly*. There's a whimsical quality to her watercolor illustrations. Edges are round, and cheeks are rosy. The effect is friendly, welcoming and personal—nothing like the camo-and-sand anonymity in most reporting on the Middle East.

Like *How to Understand Israel in 60 Days or Less*, the book is part memoir, part history and part commentary. But *Rolling Blackouts* is more about journalism than about any specific conflict. In fact, on the very first page, the author

BY
COLETTE SHADE
 @MsShade

asks: “What is journalism?” It’s an important question, particularly since the industry is now constantly in crisis.

Glidden sets out on her trip alongside a group of friends who run a freelance journalism collective now known as The Seattle Globalist. Her friends track down stories while she depicts that process through her illustrations. Readers meet Iranian refugees in southern Turkey, Kurds in northern Iraq and Iraqi refugees in Syria. Along the way, we are briefed on the basics of journalism, including how to find and vet sources, how to pitch a story and ethics.

But the book also depicts—wittingly or unwittingly—serious structural problems in the way foreign reporting works today, post-bureau. In order to pay for her trip, Glidden raised money through a Kickstarter campaign. While it’s great that she met her fundraising goal, this strategy can’t spread through the entire industry. And the success of such campaigns is completely reliant upon personal connections and the popularity of a given endeavor. In the age of the foreign bureau, reporters were paid salaries to live in cities like Istanbul, Baghdad and Rome, where they would spend years—if not decades—building their knowledge about the region and expanding their network of sources. Reporters had the resources and stability to focus their efforts on big projects that were important for the public interest but didn’t necessarily turn a profit. During the Vietnam War, news reports from bureaus in Saigon informed Americans of atrocities and played a large role in turning public opinion against the war.

Keeping a permanent staff of salaried reporters and photographers in far-flung cities was always expensive and never particularly profitable. But in the wake of the media industry changes during the early 21st century, it was suicidal. Companies downsized or closed foreign bureaus, replacing or supplementing experienced staff reporters with stringers: plucky freelancers, often just starting their careers, piecing together a living by covering war zones.

The stringer lifestyle can lead to burnout, but it also poses more immediate, tangible risks. Bureaus generally provide fixers and other resources to help

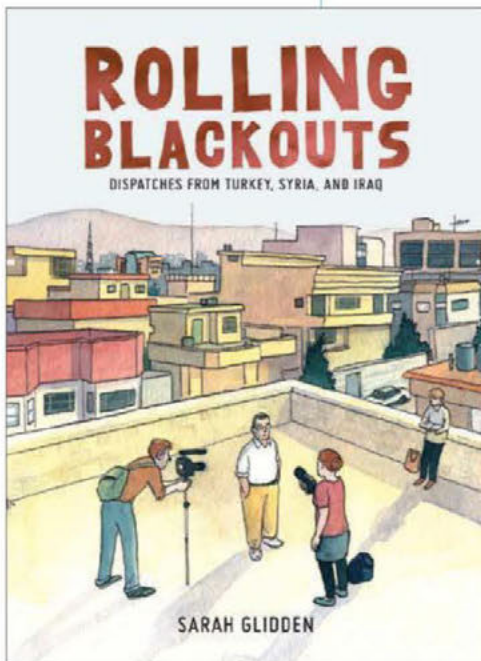
keep their regular employees safe. But those may not be provided for stringers. At the extreme end, this can lead to a grisly death, such as that of journalist James Foley, whom the Islamic State group (ISIS) beheaded in 2014. Foley was freelancing for GlobalPost and covering the war in Syria at the time of his capture.

Glidden and her friends weren’t reporting from active war zones, but one still worries what harm might befall them, for example, when they meet with a Syrian government official about the content of their reportage. Even if, say, their equipment were stolen, Glidden and her friends would have to shoulder the replacement cost.

One quasi-upside of the demise of old journalism is that new genres have flourished in the rubble—like comics journalism. New niche outlets—like The Seattle Globalist, Muftah and


STRIP SEARCH: Glidden is part of a growing movement of comic journalists who use illustration to cover events and comment on them.

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SOMETIMES THE ONLY WAY TO SHOCK IS BY TURNING ATROCITIES INTO CARTOONS.

Balkanist—can proliferate, at least if they can hit upon a steady revenue stream. But these new endeavors would be even better with reliable institutional support. As the overnight collapse of Al Jazeera America showed, these newcomers don’t provide the kind of safe haven that can nourish a decades-long foreign reporting career.

The United States is now in year 25 of a protracted, bloody and expensive series of Middle Eastern conflicts. But unlike in our last major internecine foreign conflict, the Fourth Estate isn’t keeping Americans updated on the latest atrocities. That task has fallen largely to independent journalists, like Glidden and her friends at The Seattle Globalist, who can do only so much on their own. Unfortunately, not even a successful Kickstarter campaign can stop an illegal war. 

REWIND

50
YEARS



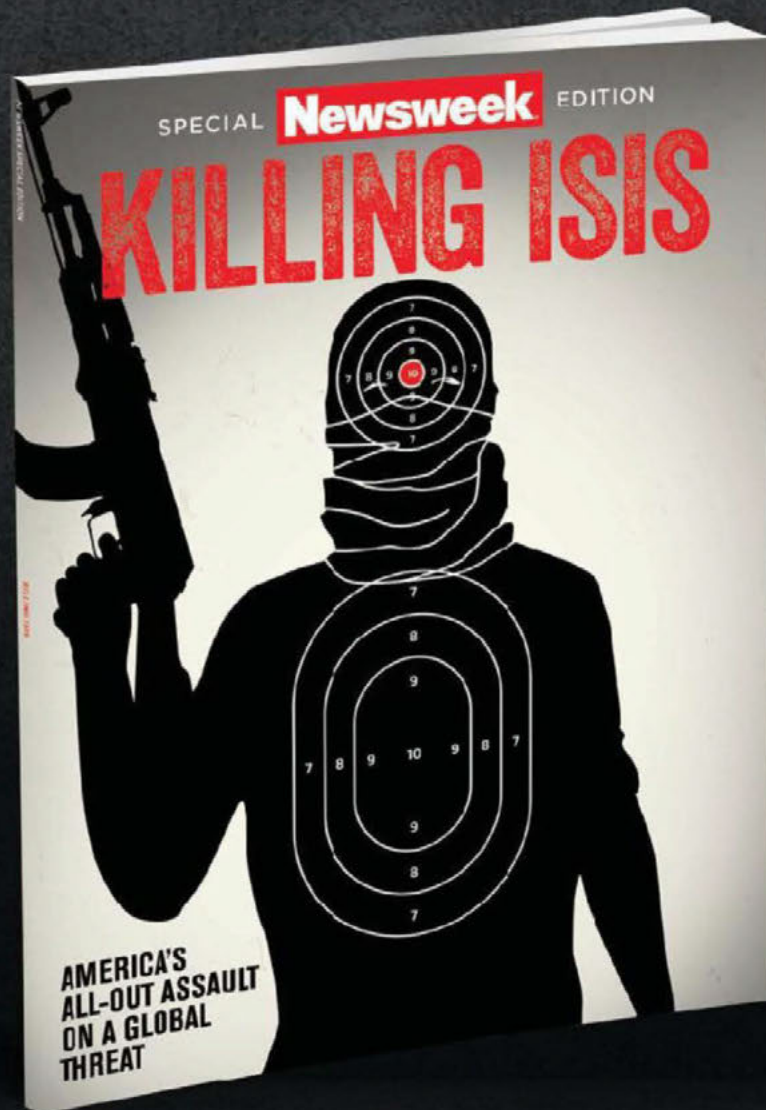
OCTOBER 10, 1966

QUOTING RICHARD NIXON IN
"NIXON AND THE GOP: COMEBACK?"

“I’m convinced that people look upon their political

leaders as celebrities,’ he explains aboard his plane. ‘They come as much to be entertained as to be informed.’”

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