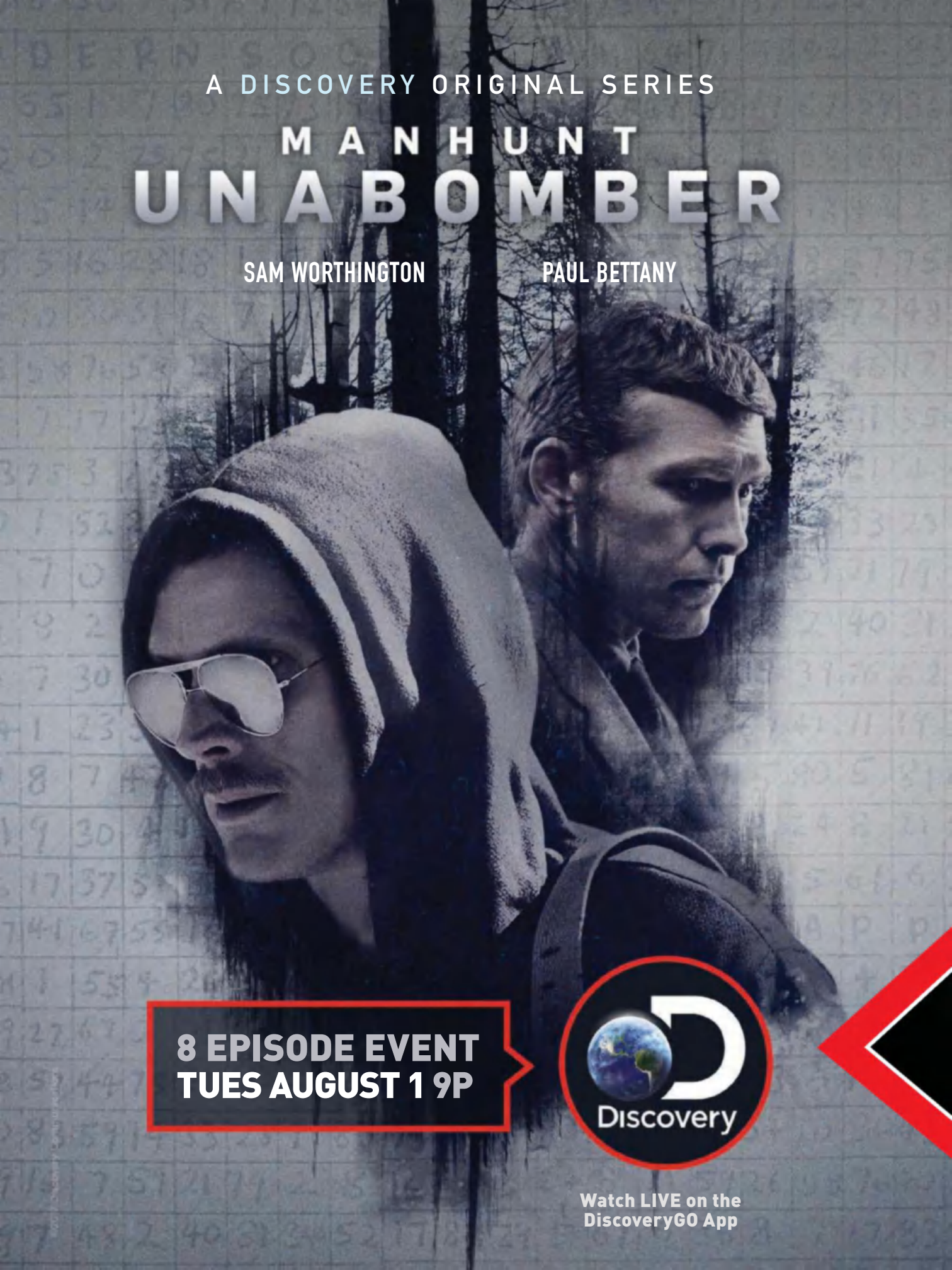
JULY 31, 2017

TIME

THE SECRET PLAN TO STOP PUTIN'S ELECTION PLOT

BY MASSIMO CALABRESI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SPECIAL REPORT

RON BROWN'S TRAGIC FLIGHT

ODYSSEY OF A Mad Genius

Suspected Unabomber Theodore J. Kaczynski

TIME
VOL. 190, NO. 5 | 2017

The Brief

News from the U.S. and around the world

The View

Ideas, opinion, innovations

The Features

Time Off

What to watch, read, see and do

Members of Royal Ulster Rifles wait to evacuate Dunkirk from an improvised pier of lorries at low tide on June 1, 1940

Photograph by March of Time/ The LIFE Picture Collection/ Getty Images; colorization by Sanna Dullaway for TIME

ON THE COVER: *Illustration by Ben Wiseman for TIME*

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What you said about ...

DONALD TRUMP JR.'S EMAILS David Von Drehle's July 24 cover story about Donald Trump Jr.'s involvement in the ongoing Russia scandal drew praise from comedian James Corden, who tweeted that the cover design, which displayed the text of Trump's emails, was "utterly brilliant." But Peter Boam of Roseville, Calif., disagreed, arguing that the design—which he said made the businessman look like "a mobster headed to arraignment"—was unfair given the lack of proof of a crime. Meanwhile, Nora Baladerian of Los Angeles was struck by the "contrast in values" represented by the cover story about the scandal and the back page of the issue, which featured Nobel Peace Prize winner Malala Yousafzai.

> 'Aww, Junior's first @TIME cover, Donald must be so proud.'
>
> **GEORGE TAKEI**, on Twitter

VIRAL ANGER Readers such as Judy Aims of Harrisburg, Pa., said they could relate to Susanna Schrobsdorff's July 10–17 story about how some social scientists liken the way anger spreads to a contagious virus. "The first thing I do after making the coffee every morning is to pick up my phone and get my daily dose of outrage," Aims wrote. Katherine Malzacher-Maxwell of Ventura, Calif., wrote that she believes "biased" media "just gets people more angry" and a greater effort needs to be made to "show both sides." But other readers, like Thomas Dean Ebert of White Marsh, Va., argued that Americans *should* be angry when they read about what's going on in the world. Samm Hurst, an anthropologist at the University of California, San Diego, wrote on Facebook that the anger won't go away soon, but said she hoped people will use it constructively "by translating it into community service and public service."

> 'Good to know I'm not alone! Bad to know I'm not alone!'
>
> **LOUISE S. SHIELDS**, Henderson, Nev.

Back in TIME

News of Dunkirk: June 10, 1940

The real Dunkirk, the World War II milestone on which Christopher Nolan's new film *(page 48)* is based, was painted in harrowing detail in the pages of TIME. See the full story at **time.com/vault**

"Crossing the water to Dover, Ramsgate, Sheerness was a prolongation of the stupefying nightmare. For besides the German airmadas aloft, German motorboats raced alongside firing torpedoes. Each successive boatload that came in safely seemed so precious and triumphant that British morale soared out of the jaws of death. Millions of relatives at piers and stations, watching for their own men, joined in the pitiful paean of thanks for those who were restored. Soldiers saluted [Royal Navy] sailors and said, 'Thanks, mate, well done.' French (and Belgian) survivors grinned, 'Merci.' A giant job well done it was ..."

FRAMING MOSUL TIME's photo team asked several photographers who covered the long battle to recapture Iraq's second largest city from Islamic State militants to pick an image from their time there that particularly affected them. Loulou d'Aki shared this picture of a lion, one of two animals left at an abandoned zoo, as "yet another symbol of what the country had been but was no more." See the rest at **time.com/mosul-photos**

MOSUL: LOULOU D'AKI—AGENCE VU

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2016 "MOST DEPENDABLE MIDSIZE CAR, COMPACT SUV, LARGE HEAVY DUTY PICKUP AND MIDSIZE SPORTY CAR"

The Chevrolet Sonic, Chevrolet Tahoe, Chevrolet Silverado HD and Chevrolet Camaro received the highest numerical scores in their respective segments in the J.D. Power 2017 U.S. Vehicle Dependability Study, based on responses from 35,186 U.S. original owners of 2014 model-year vehicles after three years of ownership about problems experienced in the past 12 months, surveyed in October–December 2016. The Chevrolet Malibu, Chevrolet Equinox, Chevrolet Silverado HD and Chevrolet Camaro received the highest numerical scores in their respective segments in the J.D. Power 2016 U.S. Vehicle Dependability Study, based on responses from 33,560 U.S. original owners of 2013 model-year vehicles after three years of ownership about problems experienced in the past 12 months, surveyed in October–December 2016. Your experiences may vary. Visit jdpower.com.

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‘IT’S DISBELIEF THAT I CAN REACH SUCH HEIGHTS.’

ROGER FEDERER, 35-year-old tennis star, reacting to his record eighth Wimbledon men’s singles title after becoming on July 16 the oldest man to win the tournament’s championship in the Open era

6

Number of years for which a $5.25 million self-powered boat plans to travel around the world; converted from an open-sea sailing racing vessel by the group Energy Observer, the boat will rely on solar panels, wind turbines and a hydrogen fuel-cell system

Coca
Production of the plant used to make cocaine is up an unprecedented 50% in Colombia

GOOD WEEK
BAD WEEK

Cannabis
Nevada faced a shortage of newly legalized marijuana

‘THEIR STORIES HAVE NOT OFTEN BEEN TOLD.’

BETSY DEVOS, U.S. Secretary of Education, defending college students accused of sexual assault on campus, following meetings with both them and victims, as well as higher-education officials; DeVos, who will evaluate the government’s policies on the matter, also said, “We can’t go back to the days when allegations were swept under the rug.”

9

Number of years Australian Senator Scott Ludlam served before recently realizing **he wasn’t qualified to serve in the first place,** because he’s a dual citizen of New Zealand; he’d been elected three times

57Ab

Name of the newfound star that University of Cambridge’s Institute of Astronomy believes to be **the smallest ever discovered;** it’s approximately 2,000 to 3,000 times dimmer than Earth’s sun

‘We’ll first rip the heads off of these traitors.’

RECEP TAYYIP ERDOGAN, President of Turkey, condemning terrorists and plotters at a July 15 rally marking the one-year anniversary of an unsuccessful military coup against his government; more than 240 were killed and 2,000 were injured in the 2016 attempt

‘They are a death sentence, plain and simple.’

ANDREW MCCABE, acting FBI Director, describing prescriptions for medically unnecessary opioids in a scam that led to the charging of 412 health care workers—including 56 physicians—with related crimes that collectively defrauded the government of $1.3 billion

‘THERE’S NO SEPARATION OF POWERS, NO FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION.’

ISABEL SANTANDER, a 67-year-old retired auditor, explaining why she joined in a symbolic vote against President Nicolás Maduro’s plan to create a legislative body to rewrite the country’s constitution; opposition leaders say more than 7 million citizens participated in the July 16 referendum

ILLUSTRATIONS BY BROWN BIRD DESIGN FOR TIME

SOURCES: AP; ASTRONOMY & ASTROPHYSICS; BBC; CNN; LOS ANGELES TIMES


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The Brief

'IT'S A PRIVILEGE OF THE WEALTHY TO HAVE TIME TO COOK. AND IT SHOULDN'T BE.' —PAGE 18

McConnell's failure on health care increases the trouble ahead for the Republican agenda

CONGRESS

RIP, repeal and replace? The GOP faces a new crossroads

By Philip Elliott and Haley Sweetland Edwards

EVEN THE SHREWDEST TACTICIANS sometimes misplay their hand. Mitch McConnell's error came to light in mid-July, when the Senate majority leader, having vowed to deliver on the Republican promise to repeal the Affordable Care Act, found himself abandoned by his own team. With only two votes to spare, the Senate master gambled that he could force through a bill, written in private by only male Senators, that was widely disliked by voters.

In the end McConnell was blindsided. The third and fourth defections, from Senators Mike Lee of Utah and Jerry Moran of Kansas, came without so much as a courtesy call. The Kentuckian swiftly pivoted, announcing the GOP would vote to repeal most of the health care law with a two-year delay, buying Congress time to come up with a workable replacement. This time three female colleagues balked, once again denying McConnell the votes he needed to even begin debate on the plan.

Now the door on the GOP's seven-year effort to repeal Obamacare appears to be closing. Republicans were left wondering how McConnell played his cards so poorly, how long he is safe in his job and, indeed, whether anyone is capable of leading a party that has so far squandered six months of political dominance in Washington.

The collapse also poses a more immediate question: What happens now, not just for health care reform but for the rest of the Republican agenda? A failure that revealed rifts among the party's rank and file, congressional leadership and the President will have

GETTY IMAGES

PHOTOGRAPH BY MARK WILSON

ripple effects on efforts to rewrite the tax code, revamp regulations and fund much-hyped bridges, roads and airports.

McConnell's first option is to try again, for the third time in a month, to shape a health care proposal that can attract enough support from the moderate and conservative wings of his caucus to pass the chamber. But the gap between the two factions is vast and appears to be growing. Senator Ted Cruz of Texas cheered the right with a proposal that would scrap many key elements of Obamacare, including regulations preventing insurers from selling bare-bones coverage on the cheap. Moderates oppose the idea, pointing to an insurance-industry report that estimates that a plan like Cruz's would hike premiums for those likely to need insurance.

Senators Lindsey Graham of South Carolina and Bill Cassidy of Louisiana have pushed a plan to preserve some of Obamacare's taxes, table proposed changes to Medicaid and distribute $45 billion in federal aid to states to address the opioid epidemic. In an effort to win conservative support, Graham and Cassidy borrowed Cruz's idea to allow insurers to sell skimpy coverage, while providing state-based safeguards for the sickest patients. The result is a plan that is likely too moderate for conservatives and too conservative for moderates.

A third option—most painful for the GOP—is to work with Democrats to devise narrower fixes to Obamacare. The mere suggestion earned the ire of conservatives, and compromise could be a political liability for Senators who spent years promising repeal to constituents. But it's possible that Republican leaders, starved for a win, could scrape together enough support from Democrats to pass a plan to bolster faltering insurers, slow the exodus from certain marketplaces and lower premiums. Senate Democratic leader Chuck Schumer says the GOP's struggles have earned his party a seat at the bargaining table.

It's an open question whether Democrats would decide, before the midterm elections, that they have an incentive to strike any sort of compromise. But they might agree to a plan that would prop up two pillars of Obamacare: the requirement that all Americans buy health insurance and the promise that government will provide subsidies for lower-income citizens. The idea, championed by former Obama administration officials Ezekiel Emanuel and Kathleen Sebelius but so far no one in Congress, is to stabilize markets while Congress considers moves to slow rising health care costs.

How the White House reacts to what congressional Republicans choose to do next is another unknown. Like McConnell, Trump was caught off guard, having just wrapped a dinnertime strategy session with GOP Senators when news broke of the health care bill's demise. The President was defiant in the face of failure, saying the next best thing to do would be to let costs continue to climb and blame Democrats. "Let Obamacare fail," he tweeted. A President who once said health care would be "so easy" learned a hard lesson about Washington: it's tough to take away entitlement programs.

Meanwhile, the daunting task of tax reform looms, and it's not getting easier. Powerful factions in the GOP will fiercely protect their cherished carve-outs in the tax code. And a party that's still without a significant legislative achievement knows the pressure is building. "If we are stalled out" on health care, says a senior White House official, "it will up the ante on tax reform." After the latest Republican gamble gone wrong, it might not be wise to bet on their next hand. —*With reporting by* ZEKE J. MILLER/WASHINGTON

ON THE TABLE

THE SEBELIUS/EMANUEL PLAN
Increase subsidies for insurers to shore up markets and prevent a further rise in premiums.
Possible hurdle: It doesn't even pretend to repeal Obamacare.

THE CASSIDY/GRAHAM PLAN
Preserve elements of Obamacare, but delegate federal money and decision-making to the states.
Possible hurdle: It retains most of the bill's taxes on the wealthy, a nonstarter for conservatives.

THE CRUZ PLAN
Allow insurers to begin providing cheap, bare-bones coverage.
Possible hurdle: The insurance industry says it would raise coverage costs for older, sicker Americans.

TICKER

Australian woman killed by U.S. cop

Australian Prime Minister Malcolm Turnbull said he is "demanding answers" after a Sydney native was fatally shot by a Minneapolis police officer for undisclosed reasons. Justine Damond, 40, was killed by a single gunshot after police responded to a 911 call she placed to report a possible assault.

Six activists jailed in Turkey

Six human-rights activists, including Amnesty International's local director, were jailed, pending trial by a Turkish court for alleged links to a terrorist group. The government of President Recep Tayyip Erdogan has detained 50,000 people since a failed coup in July 2016.

R. Kelly denies he held women in 'cult'

The R&B singer R. Kelly denied claims in a BuzzFeed report that he has been holding aspiring female musicians against their will in an abusive "cult." His lawyer said he would "pursue his accusers and clear his name."

Frozen pair found 75 years later

The frozen remains of a couple who disappeared 75 years ago were discovered on a Swiss glacier. Marceline and Francine Dumoulin went to feed their cows in 1942 and never returned.

KOVIND: EPA; SEKULOW, CLINTON: AP (2)

STRETCHING THEIR LEGS The Italian team competes during the women's technical synchronized-swimming final at the world swimming championships on July 18 in Budapest. Italy came in fifth, while Russia took the gold. The biennial FINA World Championships brings athletes from across the globe to compete in a range of aquatic sports. *Photograph by Laurence Griffiths—Getty Images*

SPOTLIGHT

The low-caste farmer's son taking high office in India

RAM NATH KOVIND, A VETERAN POLITICIAN FROM Prime Minister Narendra Modi's Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), is set to become India's next President. Results on July 20 were expected to confirm his victory, thanks to the BJP's strength in India's Parliament and state legislatures, which make up the electoral college for the largely ceremonial post. Here's what to know about him:

CASTE CARD Kovind is a Dalit, from the lowest rung of the Hindu caste hierarchy. Historically oppressed by higher-caste Hindus, Dalits account for more than 16% of the population and are now viewed as a valuable bank of voters by the country's leading political parties. Kovind's election would make him India's second Dalit President, after K.R. Narayanan in the late 1990s.

RED MEAT Hindu nationalist mobs have launched attacks on Muslim and Dalit communities in recent months over the issue of cow worship. Many Hindus view the cow as sacred, but many Dalits eat beef. Although Modi has condemned the attacks, critics say the BJP has not done enough to rein in its hard-line base. Kovind's election could help the BJP woo Dalits in upcoming state elections.

EYE ON 2019 Kovind's presidency could also help Modi in his bid for re-election in 2019. Announcing Kovind's candidacy, Modi highlighted the "humble background" of this son of a farmer and said his would be a voice for the "downtrodden." This fits in with the BJP's efforts to court poorer voters in rural India as GDP growth slows, young Indians struggle to find employment and Modi's appetite for meaningful economic reforms is under scrutiny.

—NIKHIL KUMAR/NEW DELHI

‹ Ram Nath Kovind was due to be named the 14th President of India on July 20

FACTS VS. ALT FACTS

CLAIM

The President's attorney **Jay Sekulow** asked how the June 2016 meeting between Donald Trump Jr. and the Russians could be nefarious if it was "allowed" by the U.S. Secret Service.

REALITY

The Secret Service says it did not provide protection to Trump Jr. at the time of the meeting and did not screen his visitors.

CLAIM

President Trump tweeted that the Washington *Post*/ABC News poll was the "most inaccurate poll around election time," after it found his approval rating had fallen to 36% in July.

REALITY

It wasn't the most inaccurate. The same poll, with a margin of error of 2.5 points, found **Hillary Clinton** leading Trump 47% to 43% just before the election. Clinton won the popular vote with 48% vs. Trump's 46%.

TICKER

Some student debts could be wiped out

Tens of thousands of people in the U.S. who are behind on paying off their private student loans could see their debts erased. The National Collegiate Student Loan Trusts has been unable to prove legal ownership of at least $5 billion in defaulted loans.

Abuse of German choirboys rampant

At least 547 members of a Catholic choir for boys in Regensburg, Germany, were physically or sexually abused by church members over 70 years, according to an investigation. Georg Ratzinger, brother of former Pope Benedict XVI, ran the choir from 1964 to 1994 but denies being aware of any sexual abuse.

Iran sentences U.S. student for "spying"

A U.S. grad student was sentenced to 10 years in prison in Iran after he was accused of "spying under the cover of research." Princeton scholar Xiyue Wang was arrested while researching his dissertation in 2016.

Miniskirt gets Saudi woman arrested

A woman shown wearing a crop top and miniskirt in a video shot in a conservative town in Saudi Arabia was arrested and questioned by police for violating the kingdom's strict dress code. The video had prompted great debate on social media.

CRIME

Acid attacks have become a brutal new trend in the U.K.

By Tara John/London

IN THE LATE SUMMER OF 2015, SAMIR Hussain was walking out of a movie near his hometown in London's outer suburbs when two men approached him. Charged words escalated into a fistfight, and suddenly one of them doused the 29-year-old in a liquid that he says felt "too heavy to be water."

It was sulfuric acid, which sears and blisters the skin on contact. "I could just about open one of my eyes, and I could see him smiling at me," Hussain tells TIME of his attacker. "It was sinister." Now Hussain wears a mask to help heal the scars that cover three-quarters of his face. He will bear the marks for the rest of his life.

The horrific attack is just one in what has become a disturbing trend in the U.K., especially in the capital city, London. According to the Metropolitan Police, assaults using corrosive materials spiked by more than 70% (to 454) in 2016, having risen steadily over the past three years. This year alone, more than 119 attacks have been recorded so far. On July 13, five people were doused with acid within the space of 90 minutes in separate attacks across northeastern London.

The trend is being driven not by a common motive but by imitation. Sulfuric acid in drain cleaners, bleaches and corrosive alkalies in battery fluid can be bought for as little as $1 in discount stores across the country. "People see other people doing it, so they will naturally pick it up," says detective chief inspector Mike West, the Metropolitan Police's lead for corrosive-based crime.

The lack of a pattern in the types of victims makes it difficult for police to respond to the increase in crimes. In South Asia, acid attackers disproportionately target women, but "here, two-thirds of victims are men," says Jaf Shah, executive director of Acid Survivors Trust International. Some people suggest that severe restrictions on the sale and possession of guns and knives have inspired criminals to turn to alternative weaponry.

> 'People see other people doing it, so they will naturally pick it up.'
>
> **MIKE WEST**, Metropolitan Police lead for corrosive-based crime

The British public is beginning to awaken to the trend. A national petition calling for tougher laws on the sale of corrosive materials has received nearly 500,000 signatures. The government says it is considering life sentences for perpetrators of acid attacks. "Life sentences must not be reserved for acid-attack survivors," Interior Minister Amber Rudd wrote on July 16.

All of this comes too late for Hussain, who is still struggling to come to terms with the trauma of his attack. He just hopes the new political consensus will produce practical results. "Nobody should go through something like this," he says. □

CARTOON BANS

Winnie the Pooh and Homer too

Chinese censors temporarily restricted images and mentions of Winnie the Pooh on social-media platforms WeChat and Weibo after some users compared the honey-loving bear to President Xi Jinping. *—Kate Samuelson*

KENYA
The Kenya Film Classification Board in June prohibited showings of a number of animated programs, including ***The Legend of Korra, Hey Arnold!*** and ***Adventure Time,*** claiming they glorified "homosexual behavior."

RUSSIA
An episode of ***The Simpsons*** in which Homer Simpson plays *Pokémon Go* during a religious service was banned by a Russian TV network in May after the Orthodox Church complained that it was offensive.

U.S.
Martin Handford's ***Where's Waldo?*** was banned in U.S. libraries in the 1990s after someone complained about an illustration of a woman partially exposing her left breast in one of the busy beach scenes.

Milestones

Romero with stars of Day of the Dead *in 1985*

DIED

George Romero
Zombie master

By Max Brooks

THERE WERE ZOMBIES BEFORE George Romero, who died on July 16 at age 77, but in the same way that there were space movies before George Lucas. Romero pioneered the modern disaster epic; before him, horror movies were little more than boobs and blood. His movies proved that scary films can both entertain and say something about the human condition.

In *Night of the Living Dead* and *Dawn of the Dead,* he hinted at the global nature of the zombie plague through the prism of TV. You saw news broadcasts of leaders in Washington trying to get a grip on the crisis. Those were the most interesting scenes, because they left me with so many questions. I wanted to know what was happening in the rest of the world, and that influenced me to write *World War Z*.

I met Romero for the first time at San Diego Comic-Con in 2007. I was terrified. They say you should never meet your heroes, but he was so warm, kind and open. It meant the world to me when he said he enjoyed my book.

Brooks is the best-selling author of *World War Z* and *The Zombie Survival Guide*

DIED

Liu Xiaobo
Chinese democrat

LIU XIAOBO DIED A PRISONER after a life spent seeking human rights and political reforms for his 1.3 billion compatriots.

The academic and activist, who died on July 13 at age 61, first came to prominence in 1989 after helping lead the Tiananmen Square uprising, then averting bloodshed by convincing occupying students to withdraw. He was jailed for 21 months.

But Liu was not to be quieted. He continued his activism and wrote books and poetry that were largely banned in his homeland. After he helped write Charter 08, a petition calling for legislative democracy and a new constitution, the authorities had had enough. He was given an 11-year jail sentence in 2009 that he would not live to complete.

The Nobel Peace Prize he won the following year elevated his cause to the world, but it brought him no respite from Chinese authorities. When he was diagnosed with liver cancer in May, he was not permitted to leave the country to seek treatment. His voice was finally silenced on July 13, but his life speaks volumes.

—CHARLIE CAMPBELL/BEIJING

DIED

› **Irina Ratushinskaya,** Soviet poet and dissident, who spent nearly four years in a labor camp, where she wrote clandestine poems on bars of soap using matchsticks, at 63.

› **Maryam Mirzakhani,** first and only woman to win the Fields Medal, the math equivalent of the Nobel Prize, at 40. Mirzakhani, who specialized in theoretical mathematics, was also the only Iranian to win the award.

› **Meechy Monroe,** YouTube personality who used video tutorials to encourage black women to embrace their natural hair, at 32.

WON

The U.S. Women's Open, by South Korea's Park Sung-hyun, by two shots. It was the 23-year-old's first Ladies Professional Golf Association title.

PASSED

By Netflix, **100 million subscribers** worldwide. The streaming service is now valued at more than $78 billion after share prices surged to a record high following the news.

WINNIE THE POOH: DISNEY; ROMERO: LAUREL/KOBAL/REX/SHUTTERSTOCK; LIU: REUTERS

BUSINESS

Meal kits won't start a cooking revolution—yet

By Alexandra Sifferlin

THE MEAL-KIT BUSINESS MAY BE heading for a food fight. On one side: retail giant (and Whole Foods acquirer) Amazon, which recently started selling boxes of premeasured ingredients and easy-to-follow cooking instructions to a select group of customers. On the other: smaller companies that were already doing this, including HelloFresh, Plated and Blue Apron, which went public on June 29.

But no matter which side emerges victorious, the meal-kit industry is still rife with issues.

Numerous studies show that when people cook their own meals with fresh ingredients, they're more likely to make healthier food, which can lower their risk of chronic diseases like diabetes and obesity. That's why services like Blue Apron have attracted so much attention: they promise nothing short of a cooking revolution, one that could touch every household in America. (Time Inc., which owns TIME, offers the FreshRealm meal-kit service through two of its other brands, *Real Simple* and *Cooking Light*.)

But several years in, results are mixed. While meal kits are estimated to be a $2.2 billion global business, that figure is well under 1% of the $1.3 trillion food market, and far less than the $14 billion market for preprepared foods. Meanwhile, only a third of all Americans cook every day—and less than half cook a few times per week, per a recent Harris poll. "In an ideal world, people would be taught the value of cooking at an early age," says Mark Bittman, author of *How to Cook Everything*, who helped launch meal-kit startup Purple Carrot. But they're far likelier to see ads for junk food.

There's also the issue of cost. On average, meal kits, including Amazon's, set patrons back between $8 and $12 per serving. While that may be a bargain for urban dwellers with disposable income, it's burden for others: 56% of users who give up meal kits cite cost as their main reason, according to Darren Seifer, who analyzes the food and beverage industry for the market-research firm NPD Group.

Convenience is a sticking point, as well. Even with preportioned ingredients, meal-kit meals can be labor intensive; some recipes require more than an hour. "It's a privilege of the wealthy to have time to cook," says Nina Ichikawa, a policy director at the Berkeley Food Institute. "And it shouldn't be."

That said, there is evidence to suggest the meal-kit movement is gaining momentum. The number of American homes that have tried meal kits is now 5%, up from 3% from last year. And now that Amazon has expressed interest, it could expand the market in general. At least, that's how Blue Apron CEO Matthew Salzberg spun it before news about Amazon meal kits sent his company's stock price plummeting. If Amazon can bring more "online dollars into the offline grocery world," he said, "that is good for us, and good for other players in online grocery." □

HEALTH

The latest word on fake sugar

Artificial sweeteners don't appear to help people lose weight as promised, but instead may actually cause weight gain and other health-related problems, according to a large new study published in the *Canadian Medical Association Journal*. Scientists don't know definitively why this might happen, but there are a few working theories. —*A.S.*

1

People who consume the most artificial sweeteners may also eat more processed food overall, which is linked to a higher risk for obesity or heart-related problems.

2

Sweeteners may interfere with a person's microbiome, a collection of gut bacteria crucial for the absorption of nutrients.

3

Regularly eating or drinking sugar substitutes may cause people to crave sweeter foods more often, thanks to how the brain's "sweetness receptors" respond to artificial sugars.

MEAL KITS: ILLUSTRATION BY TOMI UM FOR TIME; SUGAR: GETTY IMAGES (3)

Can Tunisia remain a beacon of democracy for the Arab world?

By Ian Bremmer

IN TUNISIA, CHANGE CAME GRADUALLY AND THEN suddenly. When a police officer confiscated the goods of an unlicensed vegetable seller in December 2010, the merchant drenched himself in gasoline and set himself alight. During the 18 days it took Mohammed Bouazizi to die, his story spread across the Arab world. Public anger grew, and protests swelled. On Jan. 4, 2011, Bouazizi died. Ten days later, the 23-year dictatorship of President Zine el-Abidine Ben Ali was brought to its knees. The Arab Spring advanced to Egypt and Libya, toppling and threatening autocrats across the region.

The aftershocks continue six and a half years later. Libya remains divided, Syria is mired in civil war, and the Egyptian and Saudi governments have taken a hard line on political Islam. Tunisia, meanwhile, has become the Arab world's one true free-market democracy. Crucially, its revolution didn't end with a factional war. Many political movements were included in the country's new national unity government. International donors stepped in to help. Tunisian democracy activists won a Nobel Peace Prize.

NOW, THINGS ARE GETTING TOUGHER. A series of high-profile terrorist attacks have hurt tourism, an important part of Tunisia's economy, and growth has stalled. Lack of faith in the future has created a grim trend: a number of Tunisians have followed Bouazizi's example and set themselves on fire, a bitter legacy for the Arab Spring's most compelling success story. Given all this, can Tunisia remain an outpost of stability and an ally against Islamist militants? That's the main question I had for Prime Minister Youssef Chahed when we met in Washington on July 10.

The former minister of local affairs, just 41, was appointed a year ago after his predecessor, Habib Essid, was ousted partly for his failure to manage the economy. Slow growth is still a key part of Tunisia's story. Before the uprising, its economic growth was on track to reach 5.4% in 2011. Today, it's around 1%. "We spent five years trying to build democratic institutions, and we succeeded in that," he said. "Our high level of unemployment, at about 15%, is the challenge now."

Another challenge at least as pressing is the country's security situation. Since a trio of major attacks in 2015, Tunisia has been under a state of emergency, and Chahed says its unstable ISIS-infected next-door neighbor has made matters worse. "We have 500 km of border with Libya … [my government's] principal priority is the war against terrorism and the situation in Libya."

Yet it's difficult to see how Tunisia will tackle either of these without continued financial assistance from the U.S. and other major powers—and the country got a nasty shock when President Donald Trump's proposed budget slashed bilateral aid to Tunisia by 67%. Chahed was in Washington to try to persuade the White House that his country remains an ally worthy of U.S. support. "I tried to explain to our friends in the U.S. that Tunisia is really at the front line of the fight against terrorism, the fight against ISIS … We have realized concrete gains against those groups, and any discontinuation [of support] at this moment will send the wrong message to terrorists," Chahed said. If the Trump Administration won't support Tunisia's democracy, he suggests, maybe it will recognize the country's value as a natural regional ally against ISIS and al-Qaeda.

NAME
Youssef Chahed

AGE
41

FAST FACT
He is the grandson of feminist activist Radhia Haddad, Tunisia's first female deputy

KEY QUOTE
Pledged to create a "government of youths" with more female ministers

MARKUS SCHREIBER—AP

THE NEED FOR BACKING has taken on new urgency. Qatar, a crucial financial supporter, finds itself isolated by Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates and Egypt. The IMF has been a patient backer of Tunisia, but unless deficits are brought under control, the Fund may begin to fear it's throwing good money after bad. Traditional ally France has so far done little to help its former colonial outpost, although maybe President Emmanuel Macron will offer more. Tunisia's achievements should not be overlooked by the world, Chahed says. "We had a fair and free election in 2014," he says. "Political parties, freedom of speech, freedom of religion and freedom of economic initiative. All of this exists in Tunisia now."

In the end, however, it may be the neighbors who matter most. "Qatar, Saudi Arabia, we have very good relations with both and all those countries," Chahed says. Tunisia's neutrality allows it to play the role of peacemaker and protects it from fallout from the fights of other governments, he explains. But you wonder just how sorry the autocrats of the Arab world would be if the region's most promising democracy were to fall on hard times. ◻

LightBox

Like a red rag ...

A group of mozos, or runners, shield their heads as a bull enters the ring in Pamplona, Spain, on July 13. Seven people were gored during this year's running of the bulls, but there were no deaths. Fifteen people have been fatally gored at the festival since 1924, when record keeping began.

Photograph by Jesus Diges—EPA

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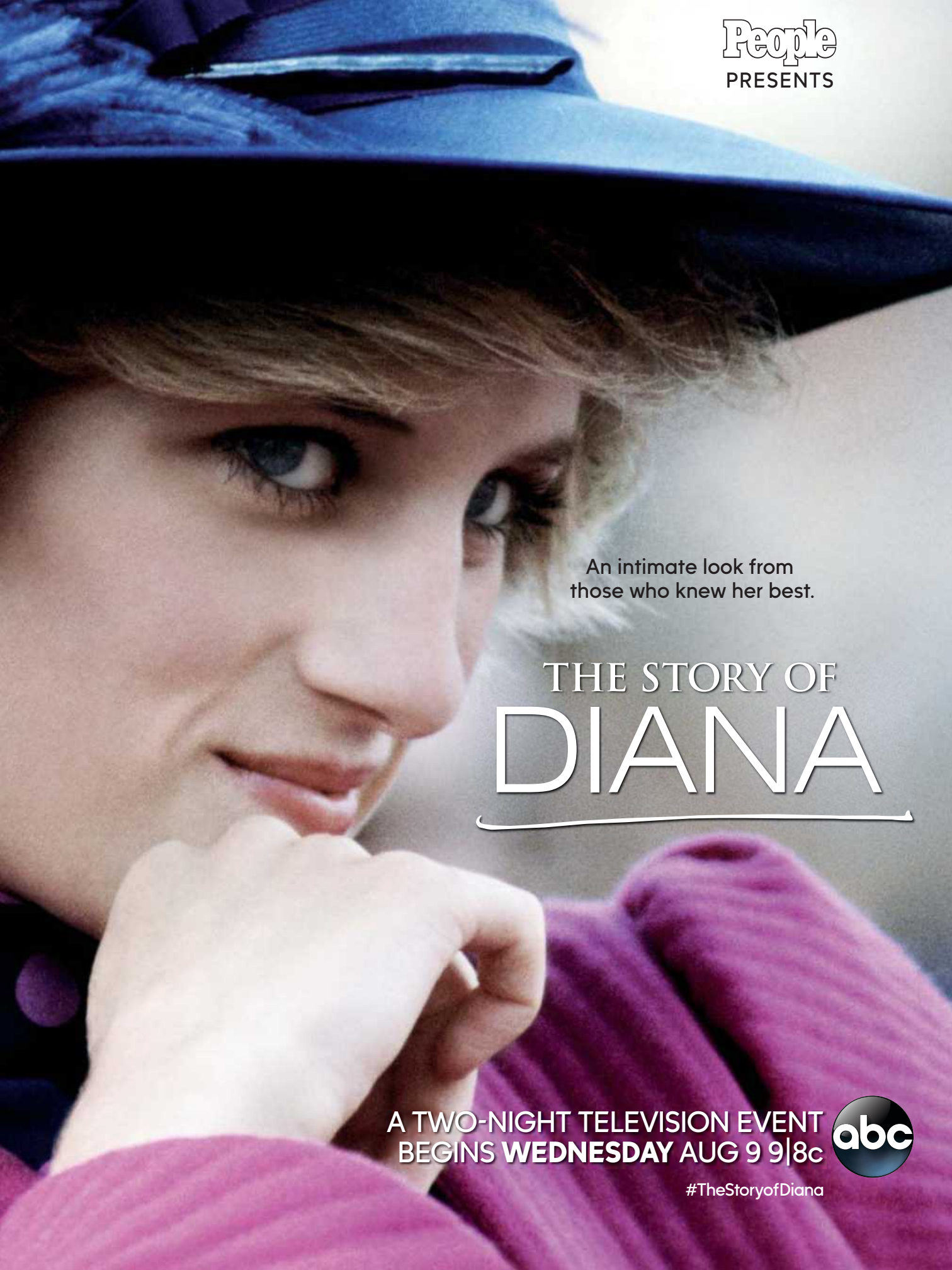

People
PRESENTS
An intimate look from
those who knew her best.
THE STORY OF
DIANA
A TWO-NIGHT TELEVISION EVENT
BEGINS WEDNESDAY AUG 9 9|8c
abc
#TheStoryofDiana

The View

'THOSE BORN INTO THE LOWEST-INCOME FAMILIES HAVE A 50% LIKELIHOOD OF STAYING THERE FOR LIFE.' —PAGE 30

Marin Cilic broke down in tears during his loss to Roger Federer in the July 16 Wimbledon men's final

SPORTS

Why there is crying in baseball, and tennis, and golf, and soccer …

By Sean Gregory

AS MARIN CILIC BURIED HIS FACE IN a towel and started sobbing in the middle of the Wimbledon men's final on July 16, few knew what he was going through better than a man watching the meltdown on TV nearly 4,500 miles away in Florida.

Mackey Sasser never played competitive tennis. But he did spend nine seasons as a major league baseball catcher, and it was during one of them, with the New York Mets in 1990, that Sasser developed a mental hiccup that would haunt him for decades: all of a sudden, he could no longer throw the ball back to the pitcher cleanly. He would cock his arm once, twice, three times and more, before finally letting it go. As fans taunted him by counting out "1 … 2 … 3," Sasser says, he would cry behind his mask. "I was very fortunate," he says. "There was something covering my face."

Cilic wasn't as lucky. The world saw his midmatch breakdown, which he attributed to realizing that he had climbed to the top of the mountain only to discover he couldn't reach the summit (partly because of a blister that he said hampered his movement). "It was just that feeling that I wasn't able to give the best," Cilic said after the match, which he lost in straight sets to Roger Federer.

We're accustomed to steely resolve under extreme pressure from our favorite athletes. So a loss of emotional control surprises some fans—and brings out the worst in others. "Get a grip, Cilic," the provocative TV host Piers Morgan tweeted. "You don't sob like

AP

PHOTOGRAPH BY ALASTAIR GRANT

a baby because you're losing. That's pathetic."

As Sasser well knows, however, there is indeed crying in baseball—and every other sport—even if the pros work hard to conceal it. Mary Decker Slaney famously sobbed on the track at the 1984 Olympics; she was the favorite going into the 3,000-m race but fell after tangling her feet with another runner's. "I worked my whole life for something that was gone in an instant," Decker Slaney told the Associated Press three decades later. "I'm not ashamed of crying."

Given how much athletes crave success, the outsize commitment they make to winning, and how devastating it can be to fail, it's a wonder there isn't more on-field gushing after defeats. "Emotions start to control the athletes," says Patrick Cohn, a sports psychologist who works with both youth and professional athletes, "rather than athletes controlling their emotions."

To experts who help athletes deal with stress, Cilic's collapse appeared to be an example of catastrophizing—essentially blowing things out of proportion in a way that forfeits control. Sure, Cilic was hurt. But as long as he was healthy enough to continue, he could have convinced himself he had a fighting chance. "It's much better to minimize obstacles and deal with them in a way that's calmer and more optimistic than losing control emotionally," says John Murray, a sports psychologist whose clients include pro tennis players.

But experts also say the rising stakes of pro sports have made it harder for athletes to keep a handle on their emotions, even as it's become more important. "There's more money involved, so there's more pressure," says Murray. In North America alone, the pro and amateur sports marketplace is expected to grow to $75.7 billion by 2020, according to PwC, up from $52 billion at the start of the decade—a 46% jump. Not surprisingly, the demand for mental coaching is soaring. Many elite individual athletes and most pro and big-time college teams have sports psychologists on their payrolls.

The weight of expectation is particularly heavy at the top. After his loss, Cilic made a point of saying he had disappointed the coterie of family, coaches and trainers who spent months helping him prepare. Such thinking is common in sports. "Eight out of 10 athletes we work with have social-approval concerns," says Cohn. "Their big source of pressure comes from their interpretation of what others think of their game."

Watching Cilic bawl from his La-Z-Boy in Florida, Sasser remembered his own struggles on the field and knew deeper issues were at play. "A lot of people thought he was a wimp," Sasser says. "He's not a wimp." The lesson of Cilic's tears, for both athletes and fans, is the need to work the mind as intensely as the body. ◻

VERBATIM

'I wanted to be represented, as simple as that. I just wanted an emoji of me.'

RAYOUF ALHUMEDHI, a 16-year-old Saudi living in Vienna, reacting to the news that Apple will add an iOS emoji of a girl wearing a headscarf, after she proposed one last September

BOOK IN BRIEF

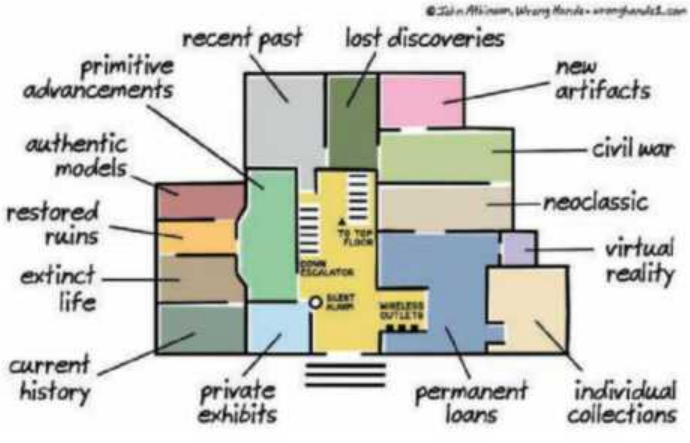
The risky business of angel investing

BUYING INTO THE NEXT FACEBOOK OR Netflix before it goes public may seem beyond the reach of all but those with the deepest pockets. But as Jason Calacanis explains in his new book, *Angel,* anyone can become an angel investor—as long as they're prepared to lose it all. (It's "the highest-risk investing in the world," he warns.) There are ways to mitigate risk, though. To start, Calacanis suggests joining an angel syndicate like SeedInvest, FundersClub or AngelList (which he uses), where you can contribute as little as $1,000 as part of a group funding effort. As for picking the right company? Calacanis says to look for other notable investors, at least two founders (as insurance against one of them quitting) and proof that the company can keep itself going for 18 months after receiving its funds. If you choose correctly, as Calacanis did with Uber, the reward can be enormous. "Someone has to write these early checks," he writes. "Why not you?"

—SARAH BEGLEY

CHARTOON

At the oxymoron museum



JOHN ATKINSON, WRONG HANDS

For more on these stories, visit **time.com/ideas**

SNAPSHOT

A sneaker for every state

If you had to create a shoe to represent your state, what would it look like? That's the question Adidas and the fashion-news site Refinery29 put to several female artists earlier this year. Their canvas: the white version of Adidas' new UltraBOOST X running shoes. The final designs, which drew inspiration from local flags, flora, fauna and even food, were recently sold in an online auction to raise money for Women Win, a charity that promotes female empowerment through sports. Here, a few highlights, all crafted by artist Jen Mussari. —*Julia Zorthian*

Waving wheat adorns the Oklahoma shoe

Horses gallop over North Dakota's shoe

Kentucky's shoe nods to the Derby rose garlands

New Jersey's shoe features pepperoni pizza

HISTORY

The citified origins of summer vacation

THERE ARE FEW THINGS U.S. STUDENTS love more than summer vacation, that traditionally three-month break from school during June, July and August. But why does it even exist?

A common theory holds that summer vacation was created for farm kids who needed to work. That's only marginally true: students at rural schools did get time off for harvests, but those breaks fell in the spring and the fall.

In fact, summer vacation was born in the city. Calls for a break began in the mid-19th century, when many urban schools met year-round. Warnings about "overstudy" led reformers like Horace Mann to argue that time off would be good for kids' behavior and mental health, says Kenneth M. Gold, author of *School's In: The History of Summer Education in American Public Schools.* Doctors agreed: John C. Warren, a Harvard professor of anatomy and surgery, once remarked that "too steady an application to literary pursuits" led to a "debilitated body." And in an era before AC, experts worried that poorly ventilated school buildings compounded the risks.

Debate raged for decades. But as railroads made nature more accessible for city dwellers, wealthier parents increasingly took matters into their own hands and took their kids out of school. Eventually, the vacationers won out, and the break became official.

Nowadays, reformers have changed their tune: they argue that eliminating long summer vacations could shrink achievement gaps between students. It's an idea backed up by data—but one at which their forebears might shudder. —OLIVIA B. WAXMAN

For more on these stories, visit **time.com/history**

DATA

THIS JUST IN

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

1

PEOPLE DON'T PUT ON ENOUGH SUNBLOCK

A study presented at the British Association of Dermatologists' annual conference found that people miss 9.5% of their face on average when they apply sunblock, usually skimping around their eyes. Most basal-cell carcinomas, the most common form of skin cancer, are found on the face and neck.

2

COFFEE HELPS PEOPLE LIVE LONGER

While previous studies looked predominantly at white participants, a study in *Annals of Internal Medicine* found that African Americans, Japanese Americans, Latinos and whites who drank coffee every day were 12% to 18% less likely to die than non–coffee drinkers during 16 years of follow-up.

3

A SENSE OF PURPOSE CAN HELP YOU SLEEP

A new study in *Sleep Science and Practice* found that people who reported having a strong sense of purpose were 63% less likely to have sleep apnea and 52% less likely to have restless-leg syndrome than those who scored lower on the purpose scale. —*J.Z.*

VERBATIM: APPLE; SNAPSHOT: ADIDAS (4)

Cauliflower is the new It vegetable

By Mahita Gajanan

CAULIFLOWER USED TO BE BORING. When chef Eric Ripert was growing up in France, it was something to buy only when "there was nothing else on the shelf."

Now the once humble veggie can be found roasted and served like a steak at the Mexican restaurant La Condesa in Austin or sliced into a sandwich along with eggplant at Bocado in Atlanta. At Le Bernardin in New York City, Ripert thinly carves it and serves it raw as a garnish atop crab cakes.

Driven by carbo-averse consumers' desire for a healthy alternative to white rice and gluten-filled grains, demand for cauliflower has grown steadily in recent years. Grocery stores are stocking inventive offerings from cauliflower pizza crust to cauliflower tots. Hottest of all is cauliflower "rice," a grainy substance made by pulsing cauliflower florets in a food processor and lightly cooking the pieces in oil.

Last summer Whole Foods introduced a house-branded cauliflower rice to its freezer section. It now ranks at No. 4 in the chain's top 10 frozen vegetables. Cauliflower rice is so popular that Trader Joe's recently began enforcing a two-bag limit per customer. Packed with vitamins C, K and B6, cauliflower rice contains about one-tenth the calories and carbs of white or brown rice.

Cauliflower is the latest vegetable with newfound stature. Gina Nucci of Mann Packing points to the recent popularity of beets as an example of "trying to bring back what's old." And, of course, lowly kale has become a food-world superstar. Nucci sees kohlrabi as the next under-appreciated veggie destined for greatness in Aisle 2.

Ripert, who created his own recipe for cauliflower couscous, is placing his bets on leeks.

"The next vegetable is something we use now probably, that we forgot about but will come back," he says.

ALL-PURPOSE
The versatility of cauliflower has boosted its use: it can be mashed, buttered or fried, among other variations

LOW-CARB CRAZE
Rice made from cauliflower has one-tenth the carbs of regular rice

TOP CHEF
Eric Ripert has a recipe for cauliflower couscous and is also using the vegetable in his restaurant

FAKE STEAK
At abcV, a vegetarian restaurant in New York City, cauliflower comes roasted whole, served with a steak knife

EXPANDED ACRES
Green Giant has dramatically increased the amount harvested each week to meet demand

Picking veggies

Current favorites and up-and-comers

BEETS
Gina Nucci of Mann Packing says beets are an example of "trying to bring back what's old"

KALE
The popularity of kale has made it the standard-bearer for reclaimed vegetables

LEEKS
Chef Ripert is betting on leeks as the next trendy vegetable

KOHLRABI
Nucci is putting her money on kohlrabi, a weird-looking, versatile member of the cabbage family

BEETS, LEEKS: GETTY IMAGES; CAULIFLOWER, KALE, KOHLRABI: DANNY KIM FOR TIME

I crunched the numbers on the U.S. government. Here's what I learned

By Steve Ballmer

I'M A NUMBERS GUY. THEY'RE HOW I UNDERSTAND THE WORLD—what's good and what's bad, what's working and what isn't. After I stepped down as CEO of Microsoft and began getting more involved in philanthropy and civic advocacy with my wife, Connie, I realized that I had very little sense of the numbers behind the U.S. government. When I went searching for enlightening statistics, I found they were scattered or unavailable or incomprehensible—if I could even locate them.

That's what led to USAFacts: a platform, launched in April, that offers a look at the government by the numbers—about revenue, spending and outcomes—to create a common set of facts that can serve as a foundation for the type of informed debate that is essential to our democracy. So, to start those conversations, here are five areas where the numbers might surprise you—they certainly surprised me.

Ballmer is the former CEO of Microsoft, the owner of the Los Angeles Clippers and a co-creator of USAFacts with his wife, Connie

1 MOST GOVERNMENT WORKERS AREN'T "BUREAUCRATS"

Government employees are often portrayed as behind-closed-doors bureaucrats. But 9 out of 10 of them are not. They're people involved in direct services, whom we come in contact with daily: they're hospital workers, transportation staff, parks-and-recreation employees. The preponderance of the 23 million public employees—across federal, state and local government—are directly serving the people. **Nearly half work in education.** And roughly 10% are active-duty military or involved in police protection.

2 WEALTHY PEOPLE GET MORE HELP PAYING FOR THEIR HOMES

Housing is a way in which people save money. Housing stabilizes people's lives. And, yes, housing is expensive—so much so that one might think the government would provide the most assistance to families that don't have stable housing, which limits their opportunity to pursue the American Dream. And yet, **96% of one of America's largest housing-related subsidies—the mortgage interest deduction—benefits the richest 20% of households** instead of helping our least fortunate afford homes.

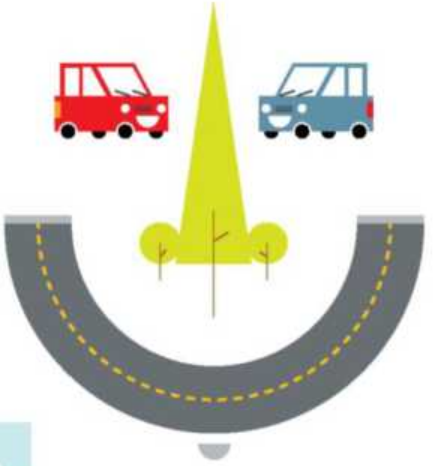
3 AMERICAN HOUSES ARE BURNING DOWN LESS OFTEN

From 1980 to 2014 our population increased by 42%, from 227 million to 321 million. And yet **house fires are down about 50%, from 734,000 to 367,000.** This is driven by some combination of the better way things get built now vs. then and the quality of fire departments. But I had no clue that house fires are way rarer today than when I was growing up.

4 OUR ROADS ARE IMPROVING

From what I've read, I assumed that for all we spend on infrastructure, we still have lots of roads, bridges and facilities that are outdated and in disrepair. Yet in 2014, just 3.3% of the nation's interstate highways were in unsatisfactory condition, and the percentage of bridges that are structurally deficient has declined from 24.1% in 1990 to 9.6% in 2015. Though whether the quality is good enough remains a legitimate question.

Also, in 2014, we spent $228 billion on transportation and transportation safety. Whether the spending number is too high, too low or just right is an essential question. But we should look to the outcomes: **traffic fatalities declined from 51,091 in 1980 to 32,675 in 2014,** even though the number of licensed drivers increased from 145 million to 214 million.



5 POVERTY STILL TRAPS FAR TOO MANY KIDS

And black children are hit hardest: **those born into the lowest-income families have a 50% likelihood of staying there for life.** That's too little of a shot at being able to get ahead, and as a nation we can do better.

ILLUSTRATIONS BY MARTIN GEE FOR TIME

JUSTICE

The lasting legacy of a life devoted to loving the sinner

By David Von Drehle

SOMETIMES CALLED "THE ANGEL OF DEATH ROW," Scharlette Holdman was not everyone's idea of angelic. She had a salty tongue and a wicked sense of humor and a temper that once moved her to heave a typewriter at a door. She had a rebellious streak so wide that it really wasn't even a streak. Opposing authority was more like the core of her being—especially the authority of those granted the power to kill.

After more than four decades of defending some of the most notorious—and some of the most faceless—killers in America, Holdman died on July 12, a fighter to the end. Although 70 is not particularly old, it might have surprised some people to know that she made it as long as she did. In the early years of her often thankless battle, she faced down the combined resources of the state of Florida on not much more than cigarettes, caffeine, alcohol and nerves.

As the director of a tiny nonprofit, Holdman made herself an expert in one of the most complex corners of criminal law. She could forecast when each of the hundreds of prisoners facing death in Florida would need emergency legal representation, and then scour the state, begging and wheedling, for a volunteer. If the often reluctant lawyer turned out to know little or nothing about criminal appeals, Holdman would connect them with one of the small band of brilliant young attorneys who shared the fight with her.

To hear Florida's politicians and prosecutors tell it, this "Mistress of Delay" was a mighty force thwarting the will of the people. In fact, she was a single mom living on $600 a month, pulling unused copy paper from wastebaskets for use in last-minute briefs written during bleary all-nighters. The ragtag nature of this life-and-death litigation, and the near executions of men who turned out to have strong grounds for appeal when Holdman finally found them a lawyer, went on for years. Eventually it scandalized the Florida Bar Association enough that the legal community put its muscle behind a publicly funded agency to coordinate capital appeals.

HOLDMAN'S SINCERITY was apparent even to people who found her devotion to saving the likes of Khalid Shaikh Mohammed, Jared Loughner and Eric Rudolph misguided. She traced her activism to her childhood in segregated Memphis, where rent-collecting trips with her landlord father taught her two important lessons, neither one intended. The first had to do with the brutal oppressiveness of poverty. The second was how to talk to poor and vulnerable people—not as specimens to be studied, not as patients to be cured, not as problems to be managed, but as, simply, people.

She drew on these lessons to perfect the art of mitigation, the key to modern death-penalty-defense work. Since restoring capital punishment in 1976, the Supreme Court has required that every death sentence weigh the specific qualities of the individual defendant, taking into account the accused killer's motives, background, mental capacity, circumstances—the whole life story. Because many violent criminals have been raised in circumstances of abuse and neglect, in badly broken families scarred by mental illness and addiction, it's not always easy to dig out those details. As Holdman once put it, "The fact that someone tells you that story in their living room is a long, long way from getting them to tell you that story in a public courtroom."

Holdman, who died on July 12, was known as "the Angel of Death Row"

SAMANTHA KENNEDY

This became Holdman's forte, and as she moved to California and then Louisiana she trained and inspired hundreds of people across the country to do the same work. At the time of her death, she was the executive director of the Center for Capital Assistance in New Orleans.

Many people were baffled by Holdman's devotion: How could she grow so close to the guilty? But if a civilized society is going to include death as a punishment and yet remain civilized, the process must be made rigorous and the decisions difficult. No one made those decisions more difficult than Scharlette Holdman. ◻

THE SECRET HISTORY OF ELECTION 2016

THE WHITE HOUSE WAS PREPARED TO CALL OUT THE MILITARY TO GUARD THE VOTE FROM A RUSSIAN HACK BY MASSIMO CALABRESI

RIVERSIDE COUNTY DISTRICT ATTORNEY Michael Hestrin was at his desk on June 7, 2016, when the calls started coming in. It was the day of the California presidential primary, and upset voters wanted the county's top prosecutor to know that they had been prevented from casting their ballots. "There were people calling our office and filing complaints that they had tried to vote and that their registration had been changed unbeknownst to them," says Hestrin. Soon there were more than 20 reports of trouble, and Hestrin, a 19-year veteran of the office and a graduate of Stanford Law School, dispatched investigators to county polling places to see what was going on.

At first what they found was reassuring. Everyone who had been blocked from voting had been offered a provisional ballot, and most had cast their votes that way. But as the investigators dug deeper, things looked less innocuous. In the days after the vote, more people started coming forward to say they'd also had problems with their voter registration on primary day. In at least half a dozen cases, Hestrin and his investigators concluded, the changes had been made by hackers who had used private information, like Social Security or driver's-license numbers, to access the central voter-registration database for the entire state of California.

There the trail went cold. The California secretary of state's office told Hestrin's investigators that the state's system hadn't recorded the Internet addresses of the computers that had made the changes, so there was no way to learn the identity of the hackers. Hestrin could go no further, but that wasn't the end of it. The lingering mystery of the voter-registration changes bred doubt among members of

ILLUSTRATION BY BROBEL DESIGN FOR TIME

both parties. Local Republicans publicly alleged that Democrats were ignoring the issue and privately accused them of trying to suppress the GOP vote. Democrats thought Republicans were making up an excuse for their losses at the county polls. "That was a big concern," says Hestrin, an elected Republican. "People should still have faith in our election systems."

It was only months later that it dawned on investigators in D.C. that undermining voters' faith may have been the point of the Riverside County hack all along. In the months following the California primaries, the feds discovered that Russian hackers had broken into more than 20 state and local election systems and attempted to alter voter registration in several of them. Looking back at the events in Riverside County, cybersecurity officials at the White House wondered whether it had been a test run by the Russians. "It looked like a cyberattacker testing what kind of chaos they could unleash on Election Day," says one former federal cybersecurity official who looked into the case. "There was no forensic evidence, so we may never know for sure, but the intelligence told us the Russians were bragging about doing just that."

It is easy to forget, in the constant flurry of news, that the abiding goal of the Russian operation against the 2016 presidential election was, in the words of the U.S. intelligence community, "to undermine public faith in the U.S. democratic process." What unfolded from early spring 2016 through the close of polls on Nov. 8 in states and counties across America was an aggressive attack on the credibility of our elections and a largely unseen and futile attempt by the federal government to counter it. The FBI, the Department of Homeland Security (DHS) and U.S. intelligence services worked to identify the hackers and determine how widespread their malicious influence operation was. The feds struggled to help states protect their ballot machines and voter-registration rolls, only to become suspected of election meddling themselves amid mounting partisanship. In the end, realizing there was little they could do to stop what they feared might be a final Russian attack on the vote, the feds worked up an extraordinary plan to limit the damage on Election Day and in the days after.

The previously undisclosed 15-page plan, produced by President Obama's cybersecurity officials and obtained by TIME, shows just how worried Washington was. It deferred to states in most cases of a cyberincident on Election Day. But in a severe attack "likely to result in demonstrable impact to election infrastructure," it provided for "enhanced procedures" in response. The plan allowed for the deployment of "armed federal law enforcement agents" to polling places if hackers managed to halt voting. In a crisis, it also foresaw the deployment of "Active and Reserve military forces" and members of the National Guard "upon a request from a federal agency and the direction of the Secretary of Defense or the President." For three days after the election, a special interagency effort would be tasked with addressing "any postelection cyberincidents," including "planted stories calling into question the results."

On Nov. 1, the White House went so far as to war-game an Election Day attack. Over the course of five hours, the National Security Council ran a fictionalized sequence of events to rehearse how federal agencies would communicate and respond in a real attack. Some of the scenarios dealt with actual vote meddling, while others focused on disinformation efforts to undermine the election. As the nightmare scenarios unfolded—from voters turned away to violence at polling places—the team went over what actions each agency would take and what the legal constraints were on what they could do.

As it happened, Nov. 8 came and went with no final, spectacular attack on the integrity of the election. But the Russian effort may nonetheless be working, helped wittingly or otherwise by Donald Trump. Most Americans believe that their own votes will be correctly counted, but their faith that elections are honest is collapsing. In 2009, 59% of Americans had confidence in the honesty of elections, while 40% did not, according to Gallup. By 2015, those numbers had flipped, and just before the November vote, amid Trump's repeated talk of rigged elections and the widespread coverage of Russian hacking, Gallup found that only 30% of Americans had confidence in the honesty of our elections, while 69% did not.

WHILE INSIDE, THE HACKERS TRIED TO ALTER AND DELETE INFORMATION IN THE VOTER ROLLS

The diminished faith may deepen. Recent revelations and testimony have shown that the Russian operation targeting state and local voting systems was broader and more intrusive than previously thought. They have also shown that our election systems remain vulnerable to different kinds of attack designed to undermine not the vote count itself but America's faith in the result. Which is why the story of how officials scrambled to secure the 2016 vote only to become mired in partisan suspicion is important. Because the question of U.S. vulnerability to election meddling is less about the past votes than it is about the next ones.

RUSSIA'S DANGEROUS NEW GAME

ABOUT THREE WEEKS AFTER THE Riverside County hack, a Russian agent signed on to the voter-registration website of one of Illinois's 109 election jurisdictions, each of which has its own voting system. But instead of entering his personal information in one of the fields for names and addresses, the hacker uploaded a string of malicious prewritten code, executing a classic hack known as SQL injection. With that, the hacker opened a back door to all 15 million files on past and current voters in the state since 2006. And for nearly three weeks, no one knew he was there.

Such intrusions weren't entirely new. Russia had been probing U.S. state and local electoral systems for years. In 2008, Moscow hacked the campaigns of both Obama and John McCain. Then, in 2014, the Russians became more brazen. "Previously, when you discovered the Russians somewhere, they disappeared like ghosts—poof!" says Michael Daniel, former White House cybersecurity coordinator. "After 2014, you'd find them in networks, and they'd stay, almost like they were taunting us. They became much

more aggressive."

Election 2016 was a step well beyond that. After the Illinois hack and a similar one at about the same time in Arizona, "we realized we were playing a different game," Daniel says. The Russians weren't just stealing information for the purposes of collecting intelligence as they had been in previous election cycles. Instead, Daniel's team concluded, they were showing a possible intent to meddle with the vote.

Illinois discovered the intrusion on July 12, when the hackers triggered an alarm by trying to download the whole file of 15 million voters. Illinois officials took the system offline and found that about 90,000 files had been stolen, more than 75,000 of which included personal data like driver's-license numbers and the last four digits of the voters' Social Security numbers. When Illinois reported the news to the FBI in late July, the bureau dispatched a tactical Cyber Action Team to the state capital, Springfield, where the computers are kept.

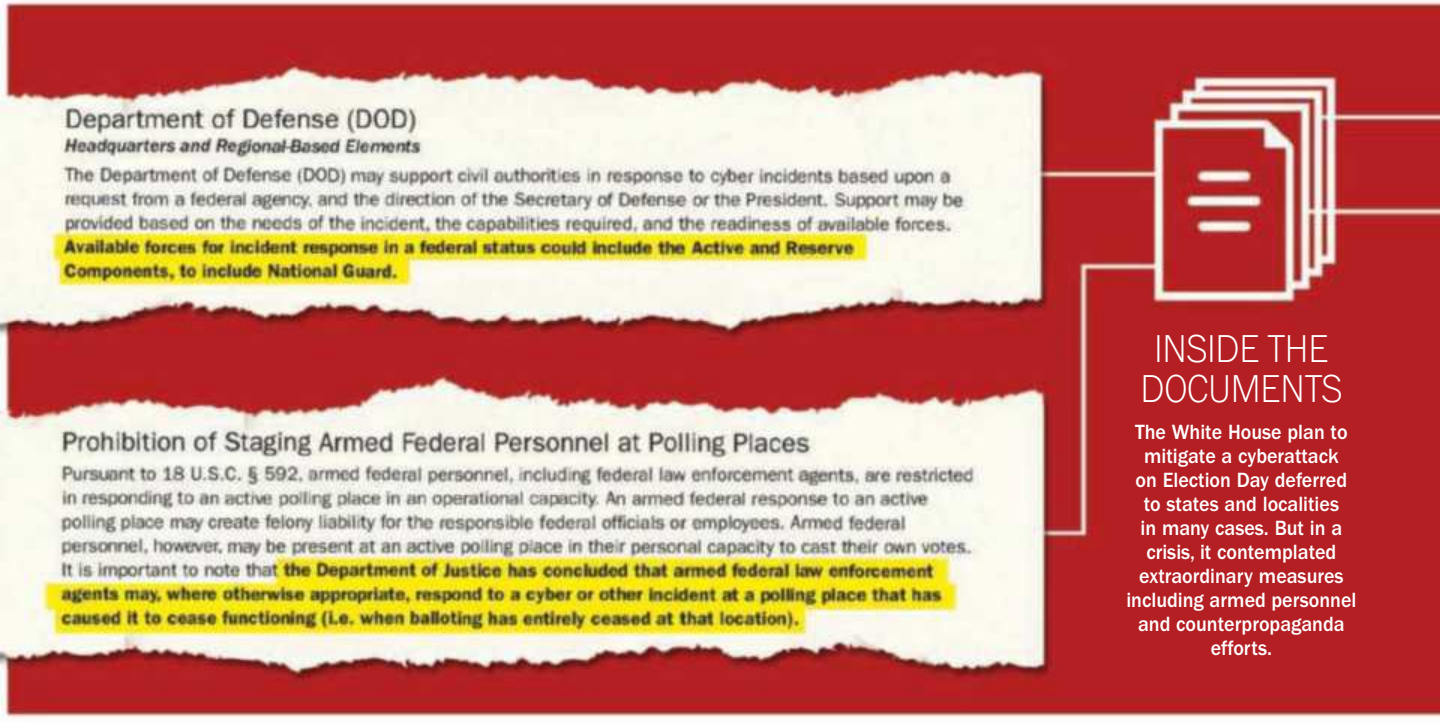
Fortunately for the feds, Illinois officials had kept a full backup of all the data on the system from before the SQL attack, so the FBI was able to track what the hackers had done. Bureau agents found that while they were inside, the hackers had attempted to alter and delete information in the voter rolls. In particular, they had tried to change voters' names and addresses. As far as they could tell, none of the efforts had been successful. Most important, Illinois had recorded the IP addresses of the attackers. Those digital fingerprints and the techniques the hackers had used, combined with the intelligence reporting on Russian plans, convinced the feds that the attackers were a group, known as Fancy Bear, that operates as an arm of Russian military intelligence (GRU).

At first, says a former senior White House official, that revelation "was terrifying." For a week or so starting in late July, the feds faced the prospect that Russia might be planning to physically hack into the voting machines and fiddle with the vote count. The urgent need: to figure out if Moscow could actually swing the election. As it turned out, the White House had on staff one of the country's leading experts in voting-machine manipulation, professor Ed Felten of Princeton, who was serving as deputy to the

ICY EXCHANGE
In a "candid, blunt and businesslike" meeting at a G-20 summit in Hangzhou, China, last September, President Obama warned Vladimir Putin against "Wild West" hacking wars.

TÊTE-À-TÊTE
President Trump met with Putin not once but twice at the G-20 summit in Hamburg in July. The undisclosed second conversation took place during a dinner and without any other U.S. officials present.

OBAMA: ALEXEI DRUZHININ—TASS/GETTY IMAGES; TRUMP: EVAN VUCCI—AP



INSIDE THE DOCUMENTS

The White House plan to mitigate a cyberattack on Election Day deferred to states and localities in many cases. But in a crisis, it contemplated extraordinary measures including armed personnel and counterpropaganda efforts.

U.S. chief technology officer. Felten had famously been the first academic to obtain a Diebold voting machine and publish a public study showing it could be compromised.

With colleagues from the National Institute of Standards and Technology who had written the standards for electronic-voter-machine security, Felten and Daniel concluded that hacking voting machines was technically possible. "In many places in the U.S., there are touchscreen voting machines, which are vulnerable to manipulation by someone who gets access ahead of time," Felten says. The cyberteam began worrying that Russia might try to compromise a poll worker and gain access to touchscreen machines before the election. But doing that in a way that could alter the outcome of the election was very hard. First, the attackers would have to know which districts could affect the outcome. Then they'd have to change just enough votes to ensure victory without switching so many that it would draw attention.

That didn't mean all was well. The whole point of the election wasn't just to count ballots; it was for the U.S. to reach consensus that the democratic will of the people had been freely and fairly expressed. Hacking the consensus was much easier. "We concluded that Russia could erode the confidence of millions of voters and undermine our ability to conduct free and fair elections," says Anthony Ferrante, former director for cyberincident response at the National Security Council, who ran the frontline efforts to combat the Russian operation.

Since May, U.S. spy hunters had seen evidence that Russia's military intelligence might try to damage the expected winner, Hillary Clinton. The intel was incomplete but pointed in the same direction: an initial report of a bragging GRU official that month was followed by other intelligence reports indicating a widespread willingness to interfere. In the wake of the Illinois intrusion and on the basis of the intelligence it had received, the White House team by mid-August believed there were three main ways Russian President Vladimir Putin could undermine the integrity of the vote.

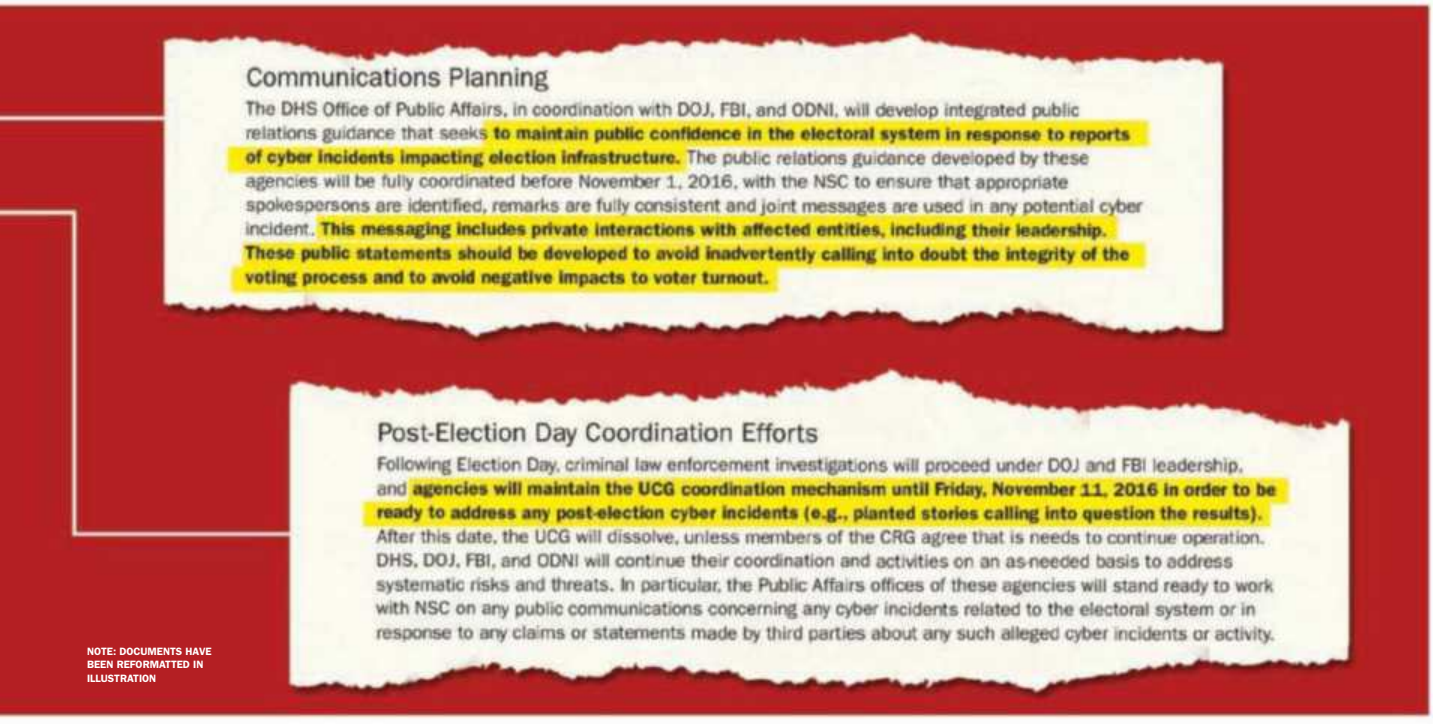
The first and most disruptive thing Russia might do: subtly alter the voter rolls. Deleting records would draw too much attention, but running a program against registration files that would, for instance, flip the second letter in every voter's address could go unnoticed. Then, on Election Day, every voter in a swing county would have to vote by provisional ballot, giving the impression of chaos and allowing a propagandist who wanted to call into question the vote to do so after the fact.

SOME STATES WERE MORE CONCERNED ABOUT FEDERAL OVERREACH THAN FOREIGN MEDDLING

Another possibility involved the propaganda value of fiddling with a voting machine. Says Daniel: "We worried, Could [a hacker] document an intrusion into a [single] voting machine and then say, 'Here's the YouTube video. We did this a hundred thousand times across the United States,' even though they had never done anything like that?" That would sow doubt about every machine in the country and would also undermine the final vote's credibility.

Lastly, the Russians could interfere with the election reporting system. The actual vote tally is decentralized and extremely slow: local officials count and validate their results, and state secretaries, election boards or other state officials sign off on the total tabulations, and only then is the official vote certified. That decentralization is the system's strength. But on election night, nearly all reporting across television, the Internet and news wires relied on the Associated Press. Altering the data reported by the AP, or just taking down the AP system with a sustained attack, could cause chaos.

Knowing all this, Ferrante began working up an emergency plan for what to do on Election Day, and the day after, if the Russians attacked the vote. Drawing on election experts at the Justice Department, the FBI and DHS, Ferrante



Communications Planning

The DHS Office of Public Affairs, in coordination with DOJ, FBI, and ODNI, will develop integrated public relations guidance that seeks **to maintain public confidence in the electoral system in response to reports of cyber incidents impacting election infrastructure.** The public relations guidance developed by these agencies will be fully coordinated before November 1, 2016, with the NSC to ensure that appropriate spokespersons are identified, remarks are fully consistent and joint messages are used in any potential cyber incident. **This messaging includes private interactions with affected entities, including their leadership. These public statements should be developed to avoid inadvertently calling into doubt the integrity of the voting process and to avoid negative impacts to voter turnout.**

Post-Election Day Coordination Efforts

Following Election Day, criminal law enforcement investigations will proceed under DOJ and FBI leadership, and **agencies will maintain the UCG coordination mechanism until Friday, November 11, 2016 in order to be ready to address any post-election cyber incidents (e.g., planted stories calling into question the results).** After this date, the UCG will dissolve, unless members of the CRG agree that is needs to continue operation. DHS, DOJ, FBI, and ODNI will continue their coordination and activities on an as-needed basis to address systematic risks and threats. In particular, the Public Affairs offices of these agencies will stand ready to work with NSC on any public communications concerning any cyber incidents related to the electoral system or in response to any claims or statements made by third parties about any such alleged cyber incidents or activity.

NOTE: DOCUMENTS HAVE BEEN REFORMATTED IN ILLUSTRATION

scrambled to figure out what powers the federal government had, legally, to push back.

But it turned out the credibility of the vote would come into question well before Election Day. And rather than the Russians, it would be the government of the U.S. that would become suspected, by some Americans at least, of subverting the vote.

THE ENEMY WITHIN

FROM THE FIRST REPORT OF RUSSIAN hacking in mid-June, Donald Trump denied Moscow's involvement, improbably accusing the Democratic National Committee of hacking itself "as a way to distract from the many issues facing their deeply flawed candidate and failed party leader." As the story accelerated with the dump of stolen emails right before the Democratic National Convention, Trump doubled down on his counterclaims. On Aug. 1 in Columbus, Ohio, he said, "I'm afraid the election is going to be rigged."

Which may partly explain why the atmosphere was so tense when Secretary of Homeland Security Jeh Johnson convened a conference call on Aug. 15 with representatives of election officials from every state across the country. On Aug. 3, Johnson, an Obama appointee, had said he was considering declaring elections part of the U.S. critical infrastructure, along with things like the banking and electrical systems. That designation would give the federal government access to state-level voter information and would open regular lines of communication with local election officials. On the Aug. 15 call, Johnson said DHS stood ready to help the states by conducting vulnerability scans, providing what he said was "actionable information" about threats and delivering cybertools to help protect election systems from intrusion. But some of the states were less concerned about outsiders than they were about federal overreach, according to Johnson and several participants in the call. States didn't know what being declared critical infrastructure meant and were suspicious for partisan reasons: Were Democratic officials in Washington preparing to take control of the nation's polling places? The call grew contentious as participants felt the feds were encroaching on the constitutional role of states to run elections. "We secretaries of state were faced with an issue where there were perhaps foreign actors trying to get into our databases," says Arizona secretary of state Michele Reagan, a Republican and one of the first victims of the Russian hack. "And their answer was, 'Let's just take over the election infrastructure, which goes against the Constitution and our state law.'"

The atmosphere of mistrust of the feds was hampering the White House's ability to respond to the Russian attack too. Obama was already worried about the possibility of an escalating cyberwar with Moscow if he retaliated for the ongoing Russian hack, senior White House officials privately said at the time. With Trump fueling antigovernment suspicion, Obama was even less inclined to take strong measures against Moscow, in part because of the danger of seeming political. Coming out hard against Russia, which was widely believed to favor Trump, Obama thought, would make it look as if the White House were trying to help get Clinton elected. "It was pervasive in the discussions," says a former senior White House official, "because some state officials were questioning whether some of our actions were advancing the interests of the Democratic Party."

Even as they were trying to communicate the dangers, the feds were seeing more evidence of just how expansive the Russian intrusions were. Three days after the Johnson call, on Aug. 18, the FBI sent out a flash alert to all the states including the digital fingerprints of the hackers they had gathered in Illinois and Arizona. By mid-August, Daniel's group had concluded that the GRU had infiltrated the electoral systems of Florida and New Mexico. In Tennessee, hackers had reached into the state's campaign-finance system. Soon the number of states probed by the Russians had crossed half of all states, and it was clear the Russians had tried to hack everyone; the only question was how successful they had been.

The emerging picture wasn't pretty. "In some cases we saw them try to get in and they failed," says Daniel. "In some cases we saw them get a little way in and then get stuck. And in other cases they

got a little bit further and were doing these kinds of testing." What was most frightening was that they knew they were seeing only Russia's clumsiest efforts. Moscow's state-sponsored hackers are among the most skilled cyberactors in the world. The feds had to assume there were other intrusions they weren't seeing. The fact that they didn't see intrusions in some states, says one official, "just means we didn't find them."

THE PLAN AND THE LAST STAND

PARALYZED BY POLITICS AT HOME, Obama tried to blunt the threat directly abroad. In a now famous one-on-one meeting with Putin in early September in Hangzhou, China, Obama told him to "cut it out" or face unspecified consequences. The confrontation was memorialized in a photo of the two men staring icily at each other.

For a while it looked as if the warning might work. "The intelligence community basically told us that [they were] not seeing [the Russians] continuing to go down that road," says a former senior White House official. And in the U.S., DHS scanned voting systems remotely across the country and found and patched vulnerabilities. Some states also accepted visits by DHS cybersecurity teams that checked for vulnerabilities in person. But relations between the states and the feds remained chilly.

Then, in October, the attacks resumed. The GRU launched an operation against a software company, VR Systems, that provided election software and devices to at least eight states, according to a report by the Intercept. The intruders used the information to craft a convincing-looking email that served a spear-phishing campaign against the electoral officials across the country.

With just weeks to go until the vote, the White House cybersecurity team realized there was little it could do to stop a Russian attempt to undermine the credibility of the vote on Election Day, so it shifted into damage-control mode. In late October, the White House distributed its 15-page plan to deal with an Election Day attack to the top cybersecurity officials across the federal government. Daniel says he briefed Obama's chief of staff, Denis McDonough, on the plan; it is not clear if President Obama himself was informed of it or any of its details. It started by saying that "in almost all potential cases of malicious cyberactivity impacting election infrastructure" the feds would defer to state and local governments. But it also authorized robust federal action as well. If there were a "significant cyberincident" that would result in a "demonstrable impact to election infrastructure," DHS, FBI and the office of the Director of National Intelligence would "activate enhanced procedures and allocate their resources."

The Justice Department's election-crimes unit and civil rights divisions were on standby, as were parts of DHS and the Secret Service. The FBI could dispatch any of its Cyber Task Forces from their 56 field offices to "facilitate joint information sharing, incident response, law enforcement and intelligence actions." Four FBI Cyber Action Teams were on standby "if cyberinvestigative techniques are needed to rapidly respond to a call for assistance," but the plan indicated that they could not "self-deploy" without FBI higher-ups' approval. Several Obama Administration officials said the plan and the powers it envisioned tapping in a crisis were similar to those available in cases of natural disasters.

Heavier forces waited in the wings. The White House plan included the possibility of deploying active and reserve components of the military. "The Department of Defense may support civil authorities in response to cyberincidents based upon a request from a federal agency, and the direction of the Secretary of Defense or the President," the plan said. Two people familiar with it say the idea was to make the Pentagon's cyberexperts available to mitigate and investigate an attack.

At 6 a.m. on Election Day 2016, Ferrante opened the door to the "second Situation Room," a carbon copy of the President's secure West Wing conference room a stone's throw away in the Eisenhower Executive Office Building. On a secure video teleconference system, the team dialed into the FBI and DHS command posts that were running the Election Day response. They were joined by election-crimes coordinators from the Justice Department and cyberintelligence agents in the office of the Director of National Intelligence. Russia experts at CIA, NSA and other intelligence-community agencies were standing by on the classified Joint Worldwide Intelligence Communications System (JWICS) email system.

THE FINAL WHITE HOUSE PLAN INCLUDED THE POSSIBILITY OF DEPLOYING THE MILITARY

Over the course of the day, reports came in that made the group think it might be seeing a repeat of Riverside County, or worse. In Colorado, the election voter database went down for 30 minutes. In Utah, lines formed in what had become an unlikely battleground thanks to the independent candidacy of Evan McMullin. At one point, sensitive intelligence came in that needed to be run to ground. But ultimately the level of disruption was no greater than in any normal national election, and all in all, the vote went off smoothly. As the polls closed, and the election was called for Donald Trump, some on the White House cyber-team celebrated the fact that there had been no disruptive attack.

FROM BAD TO WORSE

ON NOV. 25, AMID TALK OF POSSIBLE challenges to the vote in Wisconsin, Pennsylvania and Michigan, the Obama White House released a statement saying, "We stand behind our election results, which accurately reflect the will of the American people [and] believe our elections were free and fair from a cybersecurity perspective." But even as the calls for recounts faded, doubts about the security of the election system spread.

A senior intelligence official tells TIME that while the cybersecurity officials at the FBI, DHS and the White House may have been scrambling to secure the vote throughout the fall, the counterintelligence operation at the bureau aimed at uncovering whether the Russian operation was trying to aid Trump only really began in earnest once

the election was over. Given the focus of FBI cyber and counterintelligence officials on Hillary Clinton's emails, this looks like a spectacular blunder in retrospect. The Russia counterintelligence probe "never got any intelligence legs until after the election," the senior official says, "because I don't think anybody believed Trump would win, so nobody really put a lot of stock into the Russian attempts [to help him]."

At the same time, some division remained over who the real threat was to America's electoral system remained. Georgia was the only state that didn't accept some form of assistance from the federal assistance, according to officials familiar with the matter. But as the Georgians looked for intruders themselves, they found a DHS employee scanning their system on Nov. 15. DHS looked into the matter and said it was an employee of the federal training facility in Glynco, Ga., confirming that job applicants in fact had licenses to be armed guards, which are on the same system as the voter data. The DHS inspector general, John Roth, looked into the matter and concluded in June that DHS employees did not conduct any unauthorized scans of the Georgia election system.

If some state officials remain angry about the perceived threat of federal overreach, many also appear to be in denial about the extent of the risk from overseas. The Russians succeeded in compromising more than 20 state systems, according to Jeanette Manfra, a senior Homeland Security official. But calls by TIME to the offices of election officials in every state revealed only two, Arizona's and Illinois's, that know or are willing to admit that they were hacked. And when TIME asked Illinois to confirm that the Russian intruder had tried to alter data fields, state officials at first denied that had happened, but after checking with their technical team, confirmed that it had.

Partisan suspicion now runs in both directions. On May 11, President Trump announced the creation of an election-integrity commission. Nominally it was supposed to "study vulnerabilities in voting systems," but it got off to a rocky start, requesting vast amounts of personal information on voters from every state. That led Vanita Gupta, head of the civil rights division in the Obama Justice Department to allege that the true goal of the Trump panel is to "lay the groundwork for voter suppression" by making it more difficult for typically pro-Democrat minorities to vote.

In fact, Trump's commission asks only for voter information that states can legally provide. But it is arousing the same kind of partisan suspicions that Obama's efforts to work with the states did last fall. In Arizona, secretary of state Reagan says she has declined to hand over the personal information Trump's panel wants. As a result, she says, her competitor in next year's Republican primary is attacking her for not supporting Trump. "I can remember when all the states were like, 'Heck no, we're not supporting the federal government's election intrusions.'"

The result may be that safeguarding future elections is only going to get harder. Meanwhile, House Republicans are trying to defund the $8 million Congress provides annually to the Election Assistance Commission (EAC), which guides states in running safe and reliable elections. Republicans say that the agency is ineffective and unnecessary and that its work can be done instead by the famously weak Federal Election Commission. Democrats argue that gutting the tiny agency is reckless, especially right now. Democratic Senator Amy Klobuchar has introduced a bill that would refund the EAC and provide $325 million to the states to improve election infrastructure, expand voting opportunities and strengthen cyberprotections. The bill has no support among Republicans.

In Riverside County, election security remains front and center. Next month the county will hold votes for water district boards of directors and in November will have general elections on community services, libraries and schools. The county registrar, Rebecca Spencer, says she has been working with a local state assemblywoman to get emails and texts sent when a voter changes any part of online voter information. DA Hestrin sponsored the bill that will make that happen, but worries about continuing voter doubts. "People's faith in the system is a fragile thing," he says. "Once people lose faith that the elections are fair and honest, then our entire system of government is in jeopardy."

—With reporting by JACK BREWSTER *and* EMMA TALKOFF/WASHINGTON

STATE AND LOCAL ELECTION SYSTEMS INFLUENCED BY RUSSIAN HACKING

39

Showed forensic evidence of **scanning**

MORE THAN **20**

Were **compromised**

FEWER THAN **12**

Showed evidence of attempts to **delete or alter** voter-roll information

FEWER THAN **12**

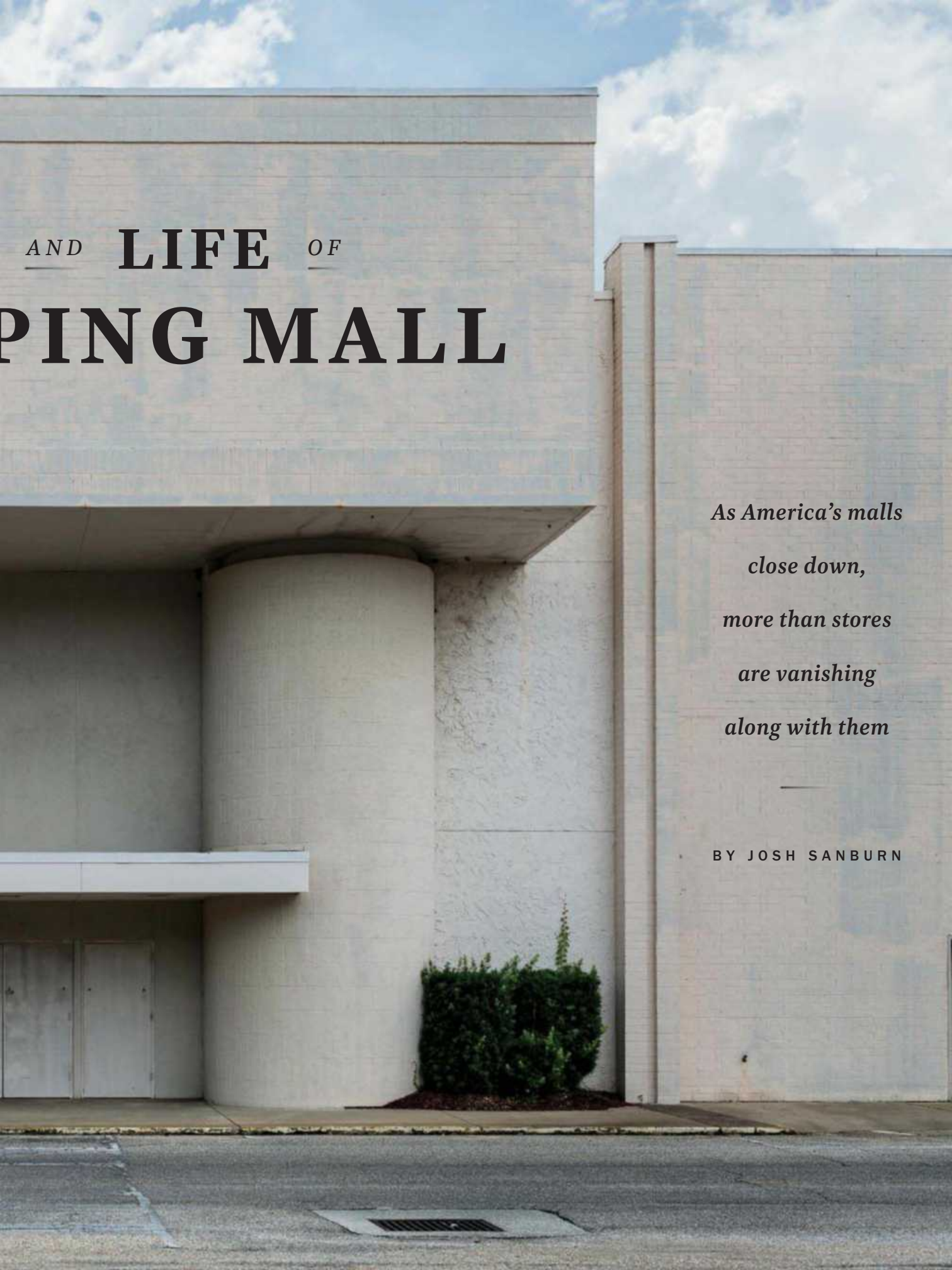
Showed evidence of attempts to **download** voter-roll information

SOURCES: CURRENT AND FORMER SENIOR CYBERSECURITY OFFICIALS

THE DEATH
THE SHOPI

A shuttered storefront at the Springdale Mall in Mobile, Ala.

PHOTOGRAPH BY BRIAN ULRICH FOR TIME



AND LIFE OF
PING MALL

As America's malls close down, more than stores are vanishing along with them

BY JOSH SANBURN

THE SCHUYLKILL MALL IN FRACKVILLE, PA., IS OPEN FOR BUSINESS, BUT YOU have to look hard to know it. The stores that have shuttered—Sears, Kmart, Spencer Gifts, Hallmark Cards—far outnumber the dozen businesses that remain. The customer-service office is cordoned off by a metal gate. The plants underneath the skylight droop toward a ring of yellow caution tape, and the piped-in music echoes off barren walls. The mall used to have a dance club. Now it's a dialysis center.

A decade ago, the Schuylkill Mall and its 90 stores, restaurants and knick-knack kiosks was a nexus of daily life in this part of Pennsylvania coal country, where teenagers met to flirt as warm-up-suited seniors walked laps around them. Crowds thronged to the annual Easter egg hunt and Lithuanian Days festival, a nod to the region's ancestral ties. "I had to say *excuse me* a million times to get to work," says Jane Krick, a waitress at Suglia's Pizzeria & Restaurant, the last full-service restaurant standing. "It was full of people. Now we get a million phone calls a day asking, Are you still open?"

It won't be for long. In early May, management gave the remaining tenants 60 to 90 days to close up shop. Tenants expect the property to be demolished. The wrecking ball will put the mall in good company around the nation. By 2022, analysts estimate that 1 out of every 4 malls in the U.S. could be out of business, victims of changing tastes, a widening wealth gap and the embrace of online shopping for everything from socks to swing sets.

This year alone, more than 8,600 stores could close, according to industry estimates, many of them the brand-name anchor outlets that real estate developers once stumbled over themselves to court. Already there have been 5,300 retail closings this year, including Sears, Macy's, JCPenney and Kmart stores. Sears Holdings—which owns Kmart—said in March that there's "substantial doubt" it can stay in business altogether, and will close 300 stores this year. In April, Payless Inc. announced it would close 400 of its shoe stores as part of its bankruptcy plan—on top of a separate 400 it had already scheduled to close. The mall staple RadioShack has filed for Chapter 11 twice in two years. So far this year, nine national retail chains have filed for bankruptcy.

Local jobs are a major casualty of what analysts are calling, with only a hint of hyperbole, the retail apocalypse. Since 2002, department stores have lost 448,000 jobs, a 25% decline, while the number of store closures this year is on pace to surpass the worst depths of the Great Recession. The growth of online retailers, meanwhile, has failed to offset those losses, with the e-commerce sector adding just 178,000 jobs over the past 15 years. Some of those jobs can be found in the massive distribution centers Amazon has opened across the country, often not too far from malls the company helped shutter. One of them is in Breinigsville, Pa., 45 miles from Schuylkill.

But those are workplaces, not

1956

Southdale Center, considered the nation's first enclosed mall, opens in Edina, Minn.

1974

Paramus Park in New Jersey is credited with opening the first mall food court

1982

The coming-of-age movie *Fast Times at Ridgemont High* sets much of its action in a California mall

1984

Tesco, the U.K.-based grocer, conducts the first online sale to a consumer, via the pre-Internet technology Videotex

1987

Pop star Tiffany embarks on her "Shopping Mall Tour," which vaulted her to the top of the charts

1991

The TV game show *Shop 'Til You Drop,* set inside a shopping mall, first airs; it runs on and off until 2005

The interior of the Santa Rosa Mall in Mary Esther, Fla., which has struggled to maintain foot traffic as stores have closed over the years

gathering places. The mall is both. And in the 61 years since the first enclosed one opened in suburban Minneapolis, the shopping mall has been where a huge swath of middle-class America went for far more than shopping. It was the home of first jobs and blind dates, the place for family photos and ear piercings, where goths and grandmothers could somehow walk through the same doors and find something they all liked. Sure, the food was lousy for you and the oceans of parking lots encouraged car-heavy development, something now scorned by contemporary planners. But for better or worse, the mall has been America's public square for the last 60 years.

So what happens when it disappears?

THINK OF YOUR MALL. Or think of the one you went to as a kid. Think of the perfume clouds in the department stores. The floating Muzak. The fountains splashing below the skylights. The cinnamon wafting from the food court. As far back as ancient Greece, societies have congregated around a central marketplace. In medieval Europe, they were outside cathedrals. For half of the 20th century and almost 20 years into the new one, much of America has found their agora on the terrazzo between Orange Julius and Sbarro, Waldenbooks and the Gap, Sunglass Hut and Hot Topic.

That mall was an ecosystem unto itself, a combination of community and commercialism peddling everything you needed and everything you didn't: Magic Eye posters, wind catchers, Air Jordans, slap bracelets. The giant department stores that held its flanks—Saks, the Bon-Ton, Bloomingdale's, Elder-Beerman—were miniature malls unto themselves, with their own escalators and sections and scents.

This was an experience replicated around the country from a single archetype: Southdale Center in Edina, Minn. Opened in 1956, it was the brainchild of Austrian architect Victor Gruen, a socialist appalled by American sprawl he described as "avenues of horror."

Gruen's response was America's first modern mall, something he envisioned as a hub for dense suburban developments that would include apartment buildings, hospitals and office space. The building was fully enclosed, the storefronts faced in, and large anchor stores were placed at separate ends to attract customers and promote foot traffic to the smaller

1992

The Mall of America, with an amusement park and initially 4.2 million sq. ft. of retail, opens in Bloomington, Minn.

Mid-1990s

An estimated 140 malls a year were being built around the U.S.

1995

Amazon sells its first book; the online auction hub eBay opens for business

1997

Netflix launches as a home-delivery movie service; in 2016 it reported nearly $9 billion in revenue

2003

Annual U.S. online retail sales surpass $100 billion for the first time, more than 25% above the previous year

2005

Retailers create Cyber Monday to promote online sales ahead of the holidays

SANTA ROSA MALL: BRIAN ULRICH FOR TIME; SOUTHDALE, TIFFANY, MALL OF AMERICA, NETFLIX: GETTY IMAGES; FAST TIMES: EVERETT COLLECTION; BOOK: AMAZON

shops in between. In the middle was a European-style central court with sculptures, an open-air café and an aviary. "Southdale set the tone for most malls after that," says Thomas Fisher, a professor of architecture at the University of Minnesota.

It didn't take long for thousands of acres of farmland to be converted into massive centers for buying stuff, surrounded by blacktop—"pyramids to the boom years," the writer Joan Didion called them. Their construction was helped along by the Interstate Highway System and enormous commercial investments aided by changing tax laws. The white flight from cities during the 1960s and '70s assured a customer base (and further isolated those left behind in city centers).

By the 1980s and into the '90s, malls had vanquished Main Street and colonized pop culture. They became grist for board games (Mall Madness), TV game shows *(Shop 'Til You Drop)* and concert tours. (Tiffany's 1987 mall road show helped the teen star reach No. 1 on the pop charts; Britney Spears replicated the strategy a decade later.) *Fast Times at Ridgemont High,* the seminal 1982 film about high school life, set much of its angsty action inside Los Angeles' Sherman Oaks Galleria. Seven years later, the time-traveling slackers in *Bill and Ted's Excellent Adventure* brought Joan of Arc, Abraham Lincoln, Genghis Khan and other historical icons to hang out at their local mall. Because where else would you go in suburban California in 1989?

Malls had become "the new Main Streets of America," as William Kowinski wrote in his 1985 book *The Malling of America.* Indeed, legal cases throughout the decade tested the argument that malls should not be seen as private spaces because so much public life happened there. (The courts didn't always agree.)

By 1992, the New York *Times* could count 48 malls within a 90-minute drive of Times Square. That same year, the Mall of America opened its doors in Bloomington, Minn., with an amusement park at the center of 5.6 million sq. ft. of retail that eventually grew into more than 500 stores. All told, 1,500 malls were built in the U.S. between 1956 and 2005, and their rate of growth often outpaced that of the population.

Like all booms, this one couldn't last. The decline began slowly, in the mid-2000s. The rise of online shopping and the blow of the Great Recession led to a drop in sales and foot traffic at big-brand retailers like JCPenney and Macy's that anchored many of the country's malls. Between 2010 and '13, mall visits during the holiday season, the busiest shopping time of the year, dropped by 50%.

SOME OF THE GREAT mall die-off is what economists refer to as a market correction. "We are over-retailed," says Ronald Friedman, a partner at Marcum LLP, which researches consumer trends. There is an estimated 26 sq. ft. of retail for every person in the U.S., compared with about 2.5 sq. ft. per capita in Europe. Roughly 60% of Macy's stores slated to close are within 10 miles of another Macy's.

A growing number of Americans, however, don't see the need to go to any Macy's at all. Our digital lives are frictionless and ruthlessly efficient, with retail and romance available at a click. Malls were designed for leisure, abundance, ambling. You parked and planned to spend some time. Today, much of that time has been given over to busier lives and second jobs and apps that let you swipe right instead of haunt the food court. Malls, says Harvard business professor Leonard Schlesinger, "were built for patterns of social interaction that increasingly don't exist."

Younger Americans "look at malls in an antiquated way," says Dan Bell, a filmmaker who produces the *Dead Mall Series* on YouTube, an eerie record of the nation's fading commercial temples. "They see it as, 'That was my parents' thing, and it's not my thing.'"

Bell's videos of abandoned and dying malls have received millions of views online, eliciting hundreds of messages a week from the same kids and teenagers who wouldn't set foot inside a traditional mall. "When you go into a dead mall, it's like shock and awe at the same time," he says. "I think that's really appealing for a lot of young people. It's like watching the *Titanic* sink."

There are still about 1,100 malls in the U.S. today, but a quarter of them are at risk of closing over the next five years, according to estimates from Credit Suisse. Other analysts predict the number will be even higher. Some ailing malls have already moved on to a second life. Austin Community College in Texas purchased Highland Mall in 2012 and converted part of it into a tech-driven learning lab and library. In Nashville, Vanderbilt University Medical Center moved into the second floor of the 100 Oaks Mall a few miles from downtown. The Southland Christian Church in Lexington, Ky., bought

2007

For the first time since the 1950s, no new malls were built in the U.S.

2010–13

Mall visits decline by 50% as online shopping becomes increasingly popular

2012

Annual global online business-to-consumer sales top $1 trillion for the first time

2016

Cyber Monday brings in $3.45 billion in sales, the biggest single day for U.S. e-commerce and a 12% jump from 2015

2017

Sears and Kmart announce closure of more than 300 stores, halving the number open in 2012. Amazon's stock price hits $1,024 per share, a 5,689% increase since its IPO in 1997

their nearby mall and transformed part of it into an auditorium.

Not all malls are failing, of course, and the ones that are thriving tend to share certain characteristics. Chief among them: luxury. From the 375-store Galleria in Houston to the Shops at Crystals in Las Vegas to the Bal Harbour Shops near Miami, complexes filled with runway brands such as Gucci and Louis Vuitton are reporting healthy revenues. As a greater percentage of America's wealth is concentrated in a smaller share of its population, these elite malls partly avoid competition with Amazon by catering to those who don't need to scour for deals.

Others have found success by updating what the best malls have always done: give people a reason to come beyond filling shopping bags. The Grove in Los Angeles has a mini main street and trolley running down its center, meant to evoke an urban boulevard, and hosts a summer concert series. The Palisades Center in West Nyack, N.Y., has a bowling alley, a comedy club and an indoor rope-climbing course. And at a moment when Instagramming one's meal has become standard practice, malls in cities from Utah to Louisiana are pouring hundreds of thousands of dollars into upscaling their food courts. At Pennsylvania's King of Prussia Mall, the country's second largest, Auntie Anne's now vies with stands hawking avocado toast and sushi burritos.

"Clearly there's a shake-up going on," Steven M. Lowy, co-CEO of Westfield, which operates dozens of malls around the world, told the Associated Press. "We understand the need to change and adapt."

It also turns out that not everyone wants to spend their leisure time inside. Many of the new, millennial-focused malls are indoor/outdoor complexes designed as one cog of a suburban town center that includes apartments and office space—not unlike what Gruen envisioned more than a half-century ago. Easton Town Center outside of Columbus, Ohio, for example, includes 300 shops spread across a mix of enclosed mall and an open-air, car-free street grid. The development has become a magnet for millennials who are leaving downtowns for the suburbs but still want to live in a dense, walkable community.

Still, analysts say that only about 150 of these malls have figured out how to make it work. "Everybody else," says Harvard's Schlesinger, "is figuring out how to play catch-up."

Malls like the Grove in Los Angeles, an open-air complex that hosts concerts as well as high-end shops and restaurants, have managed to thrive as hundreds of others have closed

TWO HOURS NORTH of King of Prussia, "Up, Up and Away" is floating through the Schuylkill Mall as FYE, the CD and DVD retailer, prepares to close in five days. (EVERYTHING ON SALE! 30% TO 90% OFF!) Allen Reinert, an assistant manager, has 15 more minutes on his shift before he leaves the following day for Salem, Ore., where he's going to work at another, hopefully better-off FYE.

"It's tough," says Reinert, 27, who's worked for FYE off and on since he was 16. "This used to be a safe space where young people weren't getting into trouble. But kids don't hang out here on the weekend. Because there's nothing here."

He's not joking. "It's like something out of a horror movie," says Maribeth Gantt, 37, a mother of four who visited the mall recently. "I got nervous when I walked in, like I'm waiting for a guy to jump out at me."

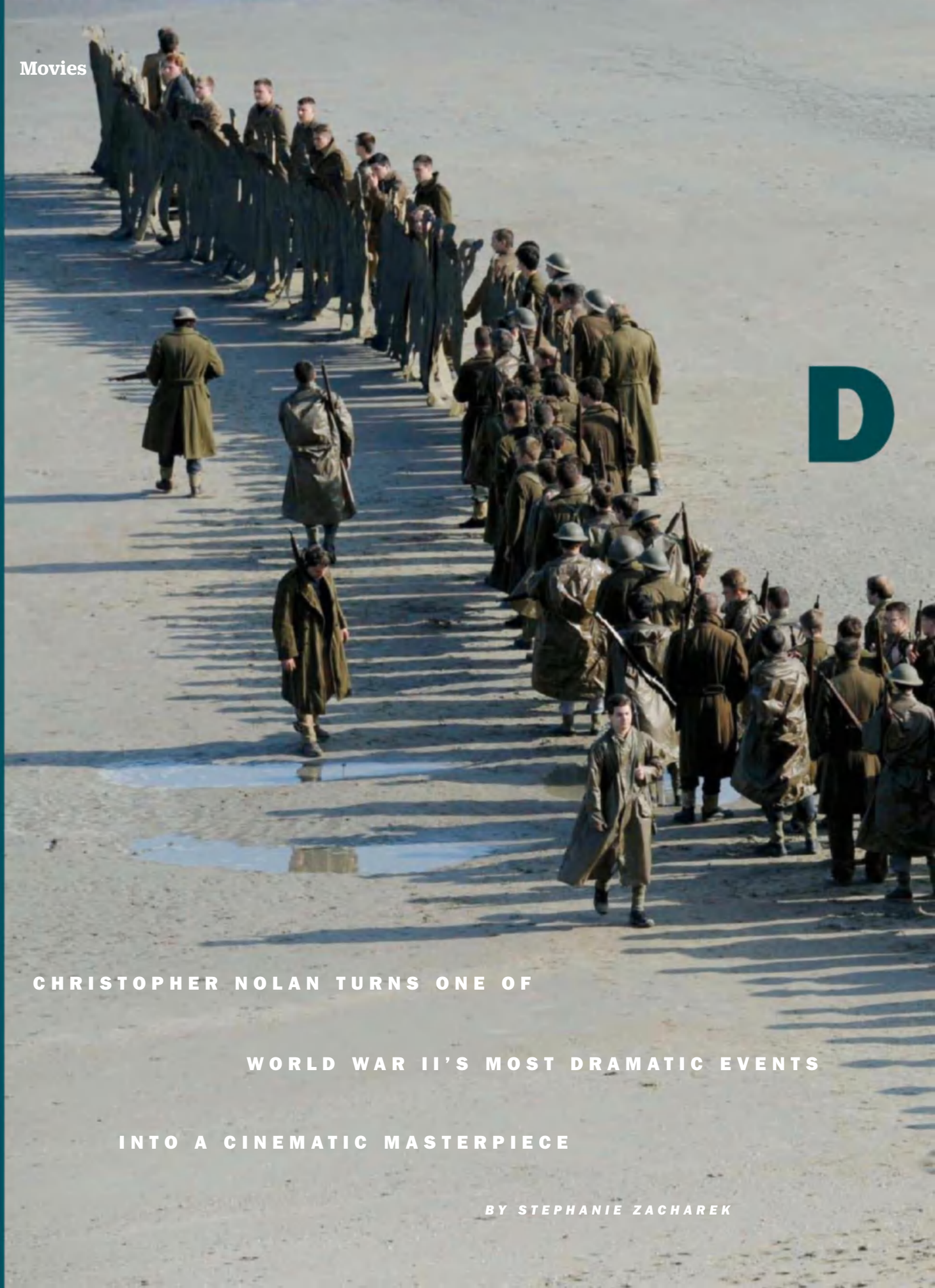
Gantt can recall going to Schuylkill with her grandparents in the 1980s, when the building was humming. "It's sad. I remember being a kid, and you go to the mall. My kids never say, 'Let's go to the mall.'"

Neither does the man who invented it. Late in life, Victor Gruen, the Southdale architect, became disillusioned with his creation, which never lived up to his vision. "I would like to take this opportunity to disclaim paternity once and for all," he said in 1978. "I refuse to pay alimony for those bastard developments."

He had a point. Very few malls turned into engines of smart development, with people working, learning and living in addition to shopping. The locations tended to promote sprawl, not reduce it. And as a private space devoted to consumption, it placed disposable income at the center of things.

But for all its flaws, the mall did manage to bring people together in ways that, in the era of personal devices, even Gruen might appreciate: the grandmothers and goths, the flirting teens, the mall walkers and mall rats. They're all online now, face-to-screen, interacting in ways impersonal and impulsive. It's a different sort of marketplace, unsurpassed in its efficiency and with its own code and culture, but without the skylights, the sweet smells, the splashing fountains, the ethereal Muzak—all of which are still around, but you have to look hard to know it. ◻

SEARS: KRISTOFFER TRIPPLAAR—SIPA/AP; GROVE: TIFFANY ROSE—GETTY IMAGES FOR CARUSO



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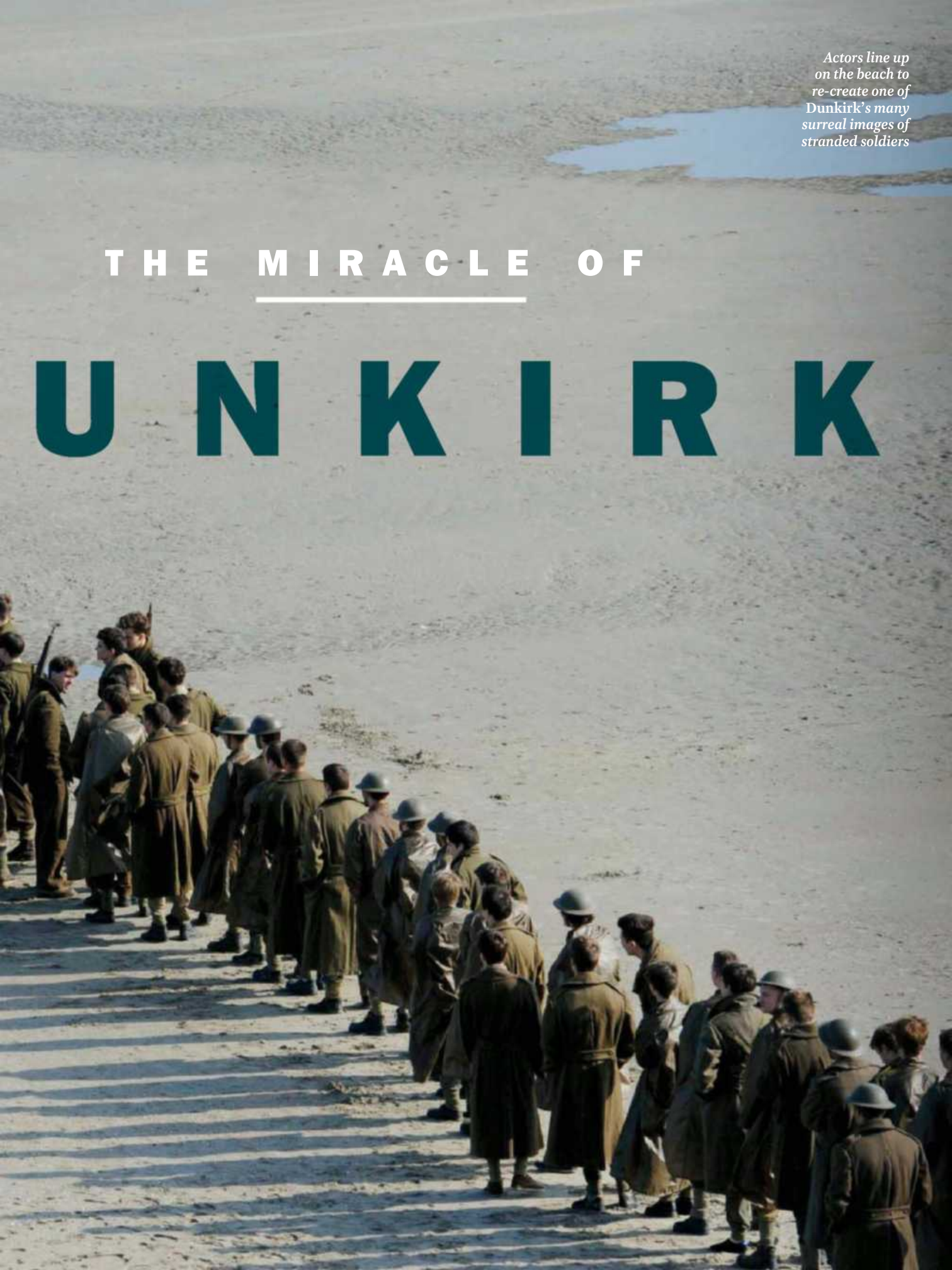
CHRISTOPHER NOLAN TURNS ONE OF WORLD WAR II'S MOST DRAMATIC EVENTS INTO A CINEMATIC MASTERPIECE

BY STEPHANIE ZACHAREK



Actors line up on the beach to re-create one of Dunkirk*'s many surreal images of stranded soldiers*

THE MIRACLE OF DUNKIRK

MOST DAYS WE APPEAR TO LIVE IN A WORLD gone mad, a time and place in which ignorance of history is treated as a kind of virtuous purity. But sometimes, cosmically, the right movie arrives at just the right time: and right now Christopher Nolan's *Dunkirk* feels like a salve. Its visual and sound effects are elaborate and impressive. This is a grand spectacle, not an empty one, a rare example of the Hollywood blockbuster dollar well spent. *Dunkirk* is extraordinary not just because it's ambitious and beautifully executed, but because Nolan, who both wrote and directed it, has put so much care into its emotional details—and has asked so much of, and trusted, his actors. As great filmmakers before him—Lewis Milestone, Sam Fuller, Brian De Palma—knew, you can't tell a story of war without faces. Faces carry history. They're genetic maps, but they're vessels of spiritual memory too. *Dunkirk,* set against events that happened over 75 years ago, is like a message from a lost world. If the setting feels unfamiliar to you, don't worry, trust the faces.

Dunkirk, in theaters July 21, is a fictional story set amid the real events of late May and early June 1940. The capitulation of Belgium left Allied troops trapped between German forces and the French coast. The U.S., still in the grip of isolationism, would not enter the Second World War until the following year. Driven back by the enemy, Allied soldiers became stranded on the beaches of Dunkirk. Against all odds, some 338,000 were rescued. The backbone of Operation Dynamo, as the mission was called, was a flotilla of about 700 small fishing and pleasure boats, many captained by their owners—private British citizens who made the treacherous English Channel crossing to assist military vessels in bringing the troops home. That rescue came to be known as the Miracle of Dunkirk.

Director Nolan, on location in Dunkirk, France, returns to earth and to history after forays into comic books and outer space

Any historical event can take on a sheen of nostalgic sentimentality with the passage of time, particularly when it's dramatized on the big screen. History demands a degree of shaping to make sense on film. But if the Dunkirk evacuation is a sturdy, made-for-the-movies heroic narrative, it's also one that's both humble and humbling. This is a story of regular people who took action without hesitation, joining forces, at great personal risk, to form an invincible whole. These were big men in little boats.

***DUNKIRK* IS ALSO** the story of the soldiers they rescued, young men who weren't prepared for the war they'd entered, and not just because of their youth. Their training was constructed around the lessons Great Britain learned in World War I, when bayonets and trenches dominated. Meanwhile, the German enemy was aggressively and effectively trained. The men Nolan shows us in *Dunkirk* have already been forced to retreat—they're exhausted from a battle we never even see—and in the early minutes of the film they're lined up on the beach in impossibly large numbers. A screen title tells us that they're "hoping for deliverance." Another title amends that with "for a miracle."

One of those men is Tommy, an English soldier who, in the movie's opening, narrowly escapes being killed by his own countrymen, men so desperate they'll shoot at anything that moves. (Tommy is played by Fionn Whitehead, a new young actor who gives a superb, nearly wordless performance.) He makes his way to the beach, where he sees those throngs of exhausted, forsaken soldiers. Although the French have been fighting side by side with the English, there are far too few transports for so many men. Only the English soldiers will be evacuated; the French will be left behind. On that beach, Tommy sees another soldier crouched in the sand near a half-buried body. The exchange between them is a kind of mind-reading, a language of quizzical glances and shrugs. The other soldier (Aneurin Barnard) will come to be called Gibson.

Later, the two men run across the beach together, each clinging to the handles of a stretcher bearing a wounded man. At this point the music, by Hans Zimmer, is a virtual cricket field of violins, the most anxious of all instruments. Nolan and his cinematographer, Hoyte van Hoytema, shoot the men and their stretcher from the back, from the side, from the front on the diagonal—the sequence is jangly and kinetic, almost like an experimental mini-film about teamwork and animal survival.

Tommy, Gibson and their stretcher will eventually make their way to, and across, the Mole, a long jetty stretching out into the water. In real life, as in the movie, it was the somewhat fragile-looking concrete and wood finger from which most of the men were rescued. But if the soldiers' story, at this point, represents what's happening on land, there are other stories unfolding in the air and on the water, and Nolan connects them all with nearly invisible stitches. Mr. Dawson (Mark Rylance, in one of the finest performances we're likely to see this year) sets out on his small, fine beauty of a boat, the *Moonstone,* the minute he hears help is needed. His son Peter (Tom Glynn-Carney, looking, with

his blond forelock, like an English Troy Donahue) is with him, and a neighbor, George (Barry Keoghan, whose eager, earnest face practically tears a gash in the movie), hops aboard at the last minute, uninvited but welcome enough.

Rylance has the demeanor, the carriage and even the wardrobe of a man who stands by what's right. When he boards his boat, he's wearing a full tweed suit, complete with waistcoat. But his sense of what's right has nothing to do with propriety. It comes, simply, from the heart. In one of the film's quietest, most astonishing moments, he confirms to his son, with nothing more than a glance, that telling a lie can sometimes be the right thing to do.

OF COURSE, *Dunkirk* is an action movie. Nolan calls it a "ride," the kind of cringe-inducing language encouraged by marketing departments. But he clearly knows it's more than that. The picture is intense and harrowing in places. Those with fears of claustrophobia and drowning should steel themselves. The movie is also at times assaultively loud, a feature that meshes with eyewitness accounts. Yet it's so carefully paced and shaped that it never feels like punishment. It is also only 106 minutes long—its very economy is an act of boldness. Instead of shrinking from this world, you reach toward it. This is a picture that needs to be seen big, in Imax if you can. (That recommendation comes from a person who normally prefers dentistry to Imax.)

It also comes, by the way, from a person who has gotten little enjoyment from most of Nolan's movies, with the exception of the observant, deeply affectionate 2015 documentary short *Quay,* about experimental animators Stephen and Timothy Quay. Nolan is perhaps best known for his trilogy of Batman films, particularly *The Dark Knight* (2008), which characterizes the Gotham superhero as a reclusive, reluctant loner with a bruised soul. But the movie's alleged darkness is of the calculated sort. Like most of Nolan's pictures—especially the elaborate puzzle movie *Inception* (2010), a densely plotted dazzler that adds up to nothing—it's heavy on flashy technique that strives to convince us it's great filmmaking.

Dunkirk, grand and ambitious as it is, is different from any other Nolan movie. It's different from any other war movie, period. Steven Spielberg's *Saving Private Ryan* (1998) is often hailed as a great war picture, and its Normandy-invasion sequence is brutally effective. But its intensity practically burns the rest of the story away. Nolan sustains *Dunkirk*'s dramatic tension from start to finish. This is a supreme achievement made from small strokes, a kind of Seurat painting constructed with dark, glittering bits of history. Nolan filmed largely on location, at Dunkirk Beach. (In certain scenes, a calm lake in the Netherlands stood in for the bulldoggishly choppy English Channel.) The flying scenes, taut and thrilling, feature real vintage Spitfires. When the small boats arrive,

How Dunkirk's *unique visual style was achieved:*

1. THE INTENSITY

Cinematographer Hoyte van Hoytema captured the relentless action by training his lens over the soldiers' shoulders and minimizing overhead shots that allow for reflection between action takes. "Every shot you just have to ask yourself," he says, "what it would feel like."

PREVIOUS PAGE, NOLAN: AP; DUNKIRK: MELINDA SUE GORDON—WARNER BROS.

2. LAND, AIR AND SEA

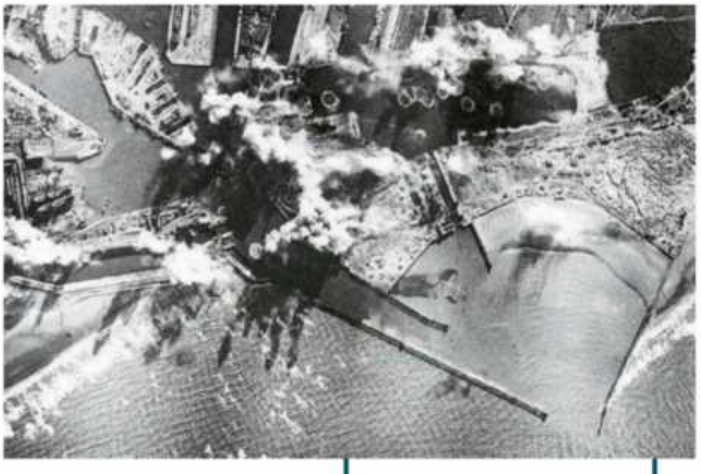
Van Hoytema interwove the perspectives of myriad soldiers by shooting from all three vantage points. He attached cameras to the sides of planes in flight and shot handheld cameras aboard boats, using motion to create an undulating sense of anxiety.

many of them are the actual Dunkirk Little Ships, venerable, elderly, lovingly preserved boats that were part of the rescue in 1940. They have names like *Elvin* and *Caronia, Endeavour* and *Mary Jane*. In one terrifying scene, soldiers traveling safely and happily on a large transport ship, eating jam on bread and drinking mugs of tea as they look forward to reaching their home shores, suddenly and brutally face death by drowning. One man struggles underwater, and the moment would be like any other terror-at-sea image except for a staggering, barely glimpsed detail: he does not let go of his tin mug.

Dunkirk is about suffering and bravery, about individuals who care less about themselves than about a greater good. To them, isolationism would be an affront. One of the movie's most heroic faces is one we barely see: Tom Hardy plays RAF pilot Farrier. He spends most of the movie with an aviator helmet clamped on his head and a mask drawn across his mouth. The intensity of his performance is built almost completely with gestures. He waves or nods to his colleagues as they skim by in their Spitfires, and even when they seem too far away to read his meaning, you're sure that they do. He casts an apprehensive glance at his busted fuel gauge. (He makes chalk marks on the dashboard to keep track of how much juice he has left.) Somehow his eyes, even though we can't always see them clearly, betray worry for his colleagues but little for himself. We can read his mind, even though it's protected by layers of leather and shearling. And his ultimate act is a doozy—no less than what we expect from this man we hardly know.

The casting of *Dunkirk* is near perfect. From Hardy to Keoghan, from Rylance to Harry Styles, the pop star who plays one of the young soldiers, the picture is filled with great English faces. But to call them characteristically English faces is wrong. Remember, they're supposed to be the faces of men who lived more than 75 years ago. Today the face of England—like that of France or any other European country—is much more racially mixed. Love of country comes with no color or birthplace attached. Nolan doesn't address that idea directly—the story of *Dunkirk* is almost exclusively about white men, something that can't be changed after the fact. But his approach opens out to it implicitly. Late in the film, a British commander played by a stalwart Kenneth Branagh, knowing that nearly all of his own men have been rescued, makes an executive pronouncement: He will not leave stranded French soldiers behind. His England, even then, was part of a greater whole, and that made him no less English.

If you see *Dunkirk* for no other reason, see it for its vision of the faces of men who took action, without having any idea of what the world would become. All they knew was that they wanted the best for it. ◻



CHRISTOPHER NOLAN'S GREAT WAR

BY ELIZA BERMAN

Nolan, 46, has built a career making smart films that are also blockbusters. His 10th feature, Dunkirk, *is the British-American director's most ambitious yet. He spoke to* TIME *about how and why he made this film now*

3. HISTORICAL RESEARCH

Nolan and van Hoytema pored over photos like these as well as newsreel footage and firsthand accounts. But they avoided direct replication. "If you come up with a language that is not self-conscious and that feels pure," says van Hoytema, "you enter a scene and just believe it."

Over the past decade, you've made movies that take place in the DC Comics universe, within the human subconscious and out in space. Why come back to earth, to history?
Dunkirk is one of the great untold stories in modern cinema. Having made a trip on a small boat across the Channel about 25 years ago, the roughness of the water, the sheer physical challenge of making that crossing—but without anyone dropping bombs, without traveling into a war zone—cemented in my mind an extraordinarily high level of admiration for the people who in 1940 just got on those little boats and came over to help the soldiers.

Growing up in Britain, what was your perception of the events at Dunkirk?
In Britain, you grow up with this story. It's really part of the national DNA. It's in your bones as a British person. You receive the story first in its more mythic, somewhat oversimplified terms. The more you find out about the reality of the evacuation, the more you find out about the messy historical truth of the thing.

Do you think there's a particular reason why the story hasn't been told in film?
Yes, I do. What I realize in retrospect is this is a British film—it has no Americans in it—but it needs the Hollywood studio machine to be able to make something technically on the scale that's necessary to do this story justice. I've always seen Dunkirk as a universal story, something that anybody could relate to. But the reason why it hasn't been made before is it requires such massive resources.

DUNKIRK: MELINDA SUE GORDON—WARNER BROS.; ARCHIVAL: AP (2), GETTY IMAGES

How did you approach research?
We tried to not slavishly re-create photographs that we'd seen. We tried to look at enough material and absorb it so it was in the back of our minds. Then we tried to construct our own visual language for how to portray these things, to give the audience a sense of the paradoxical geometry of this event. You have lines of men queuing out to the sea, lines leading to nowhere. We tried to use symmetry and organization to express the almost bureaucratic nature of some of the horror of what was going on.

How did that influence how you filmed?
There are very few "God shots." Everything is about trying to have the camera there on the beach with the soldiers. In the aerial sequences, the camera is always in the cockpit or mounted to the plane, always somewhere where it would need to be to photograph that kind of combat. And on the small yacht crossing the Channel to come to the rescue of the men, we almost never take the camera off the boat. Everything is shot from the point of view of the characters.

Why did you make this movie now?
This tale is about the idea of home. It's about the desperate frustration of not being able to get to where you need to be. We live an era where the idea of too many people piling onto one boat to try and cross difficult waters safely isn't something that people can dismiss as a story from 1940 anymore. We live in an era where the virtue of individuality is very much overstated. The idea of communal responsibility and communal heroism and what can be achieved through community is unfashionable. *Dunkirk* is a very emotional story for me because it represents what's being lost.

'THAT WAS THE CHOICE: SURRENDER OR ANNIHILATION.'

You've made the distinction that you view this as a survival film, not a war film. Why?
Dunkirk is not really a battle—it's an evacuation, a retreat. It's a fight for survival, and it immediately drew me to the language of suspense, and the thriller, rather than all-out combat. It really was a question of, Can they pull off this miraculous feat before having to either surrender or be annihilated by the Germans? That was the choice: surrender or annihilation.

In a lot of movies that take place during wartime, we're used to seeing emotional scenes like the mother waiting at home. But here, I didn't even know the names of the primary characters.
Films have a sophisticated level of grammar that's developed over the hundred years of cinema to be able to tell the audience everything and have them know much more than the characters. I wanted to take a step back and say, "What would you know if you were actually stuck on that beach?" The more I read firsthand accounts, the more apparent it became that part of the terror, part of the real sense of fear and isolation and vulnerability of these men, was not knowing what was happening. Not knowing, lining up on the beach out to sea, if somebody was going to come and get them or not.

While the movie has some famous actors, many of the soldiers are pretty unfamiliar to audiences—especially Fionn Whitehead, who plays the soldier we spend the most time watching.
Fionn Whitehead had really done nothing before. He was 18 years old. That was exactly what we were looking for. Too often in Hollywood movies, there's a sort of implicit pact between the audience and filmmakers that they can cast a 35-year-old as a fresh-faced recruit and we'll be O.K. with that. One of the most striking things when you spoke to veterans of this conflict is they were just children when they went over there.

There's a lot of intensity: boats flooding and capsizing, oil ablaze in the ocean,

bombs landing on the beach. How much did you rely on special effects?
Obviously we used visual effects when necessary to remove rigs, to make things safe, and make it look like there are more planes than there were. But of any of the films I've worked on, this was the most in-camera [meaning shot on film, not added as an effect later] film we've been able to achieve. There's a very uncomfortable matchup between computer-generated imagery and the World War II period. It tends to not sit well.

What makes *Dunkirk* different from your previous films?
I would say *Dunkirk* is my most experimental structure since *Memento*. I tried to give the audience an experience that will wash over them. They'll sit back and—I won't say enjoy the ride, because this is a very intense ride—but experience the film. I never want the audience to watch the film in an overly cerebral way. It's not meant to be a puzzle. It's meant to be an experience.

This is the shortest movie you've made since your 1998 feature debut, *Following*. Why did *Dunkirk* demand less time to tell?
I wanted to tell the story primarily in visual terms and not through the usual theatrical devices of people discussing backstory. I wanted to throw the audience straight into this very intense, snowballing series of events that in my films you normally only find in the third act. I felt the intensity of the experience would be such that there would be a saturation point where people couldn't sit through anymore. For that reason it felt important that it be as short as possible.

Seeing this movie in Imax is almost overwhelming. How much are people missing if they watch it from their couch?
I like to make films that justify the price of admission. The type of film that is most vital right now is a cinema of experience—a film in which you really feel that you are being taken away someplace different.

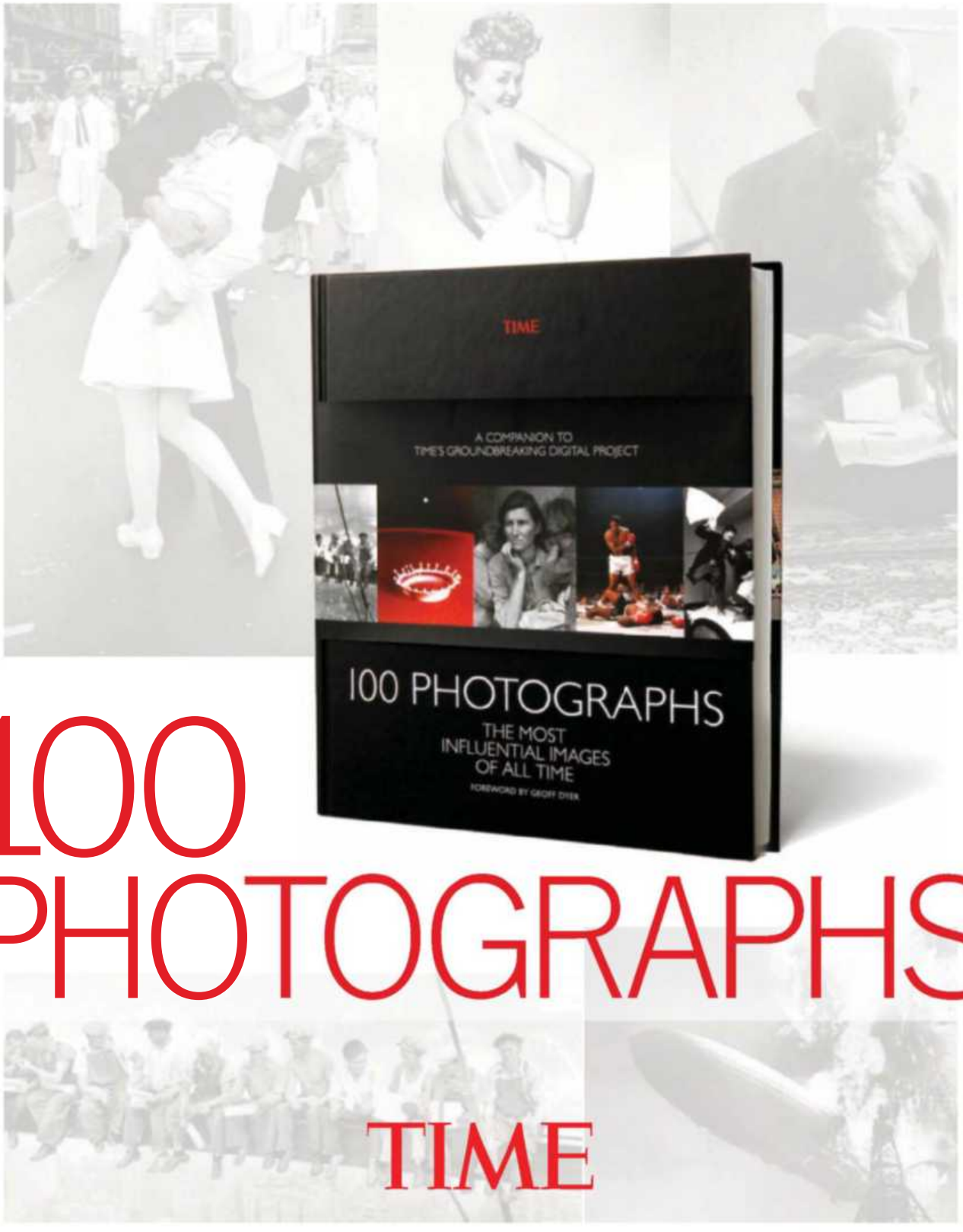
You are a serious filmmaker whose movies are also blockbusters. Why has that become a rarity lately?
It's a very different world than when I made *Batman Begins*, where I felt I was really able to express something about what I felt. Right now individual voices in mainstream filmmaking are a little bit buried by the concept of the existing franchise, which has become a very robust economic model for the studios. But I think that will change. I think that the studios have always valued freshness and new voices. Hollywood has always valued the unexpected—even if Wall Street doesn't. ◻

4. THE SYMMETRY

In aiming to capture what Nolan calls "the bureaucratic nature" of the horror, van Hoytema says they avoided overly precise visuals. "You don't want to see it as it's observed by an intellectual, pretentious filmmaker," he explains.

WARNER BROS.

OWN A MOMENT IN TIME.



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'BATEMAN'S SKILL FOR COMPLICATING THE GOOD-SON ACT CAN GO TO PLACES THAT ARE NASTY, VENAL AND REAL.' —PAGE 61

Painting the town: Latifah, Hall, Pinkett Smith and Haddish

MOVIES

Buoyant, breezy and brassy, *Girls Trip* never trips up

By Stephanie Zacharek

IN THE PAST YEAR OR SO, WE'VE seen so many women-behaving-badly comedies—*Rough Night* and *Snatched* are two of the most recent—that you'd think women had only just discovered the pleasures of heading out with friends, with hair teased high and necklines plunging low, for a debauched night on the town. But these movies have been disappointments, and their novelty has worn thin. Past a certain point, it's no fun watching women drink to the limits of consciousness or puke their guts out. In trying to prove they can be as wild as the guys, the women in these movies mostly just settle into a tired pattern of self-humiliation. The alleged payoff of these pictures—generally telegraphed by the obligatory moment in which a bunch of girls link arms and stride into the club in a sassy slo-mo strut—is really just a cheap junk tiara.

You could be forgiven for thinking Malcolm D. Lee's *Girls Trip* is just another entry in this exhausted genre. And no matter what, consider yourself forewarned that the movie's gags, and its language, reach a sailors-on-leave level of crudeness. Yet *Girls Trip* succeeds where the others have failed. It's hard to say whether that's thanks to Lee's characteristically breezy, no-sweat direction (he's the writer-director behind the *Best Man* comedies as well as the director of the jubilant blaxploitation parody *Undercover Brother*) or to the movie's buoyant and superbly matched cast. Most likely it's a secret cocktail combo of both. *Girls Trip* is just fun, a movie that—even

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within the context of its broad, exaggerated humor—never seems to be trying too hard.

You've seen the setup before, probably only a few weeks ago if you've darkened the doors of a movie theater. Four best friends from college, now edging toward middle age, reunite after falling out of touch. Regina Hall's Ryan Pierce, a successful writer and aspiring heir-to-Oprah TV star, has been invited to work her magic at the Essence Festival in New Orleans, and she decides that this might be a good time to get the old gang, known as the Flossy Posse, together. Sasha (Queen Latifah), formerly a successful journalist, now runs a gossip site—work that doesn't make her particularly happy. Lisa (Jada Pinkett Smith) is the divorced mom who lives for her children and has fallen into premature frumpiness. Dina (the glorious Tiffany Haddish) marks time at an office job, but she really just lives to have a good time. Of the four she's the one with the dirtiest mouth and the one most likely to take wild chances. Her wardrobe is a menagerie of neon animal prints, and she favors hoop earrings the size of cruise-ship portholes.

'Women are just as lascivious and sexual as men, and they want to let loose and have fun.'

MALCOLM D. LEE, director of *Girls Trip*, in *Entertainment Weekly*

Even though Ryan has a reputation to uphold, the women waste no time in getting up to no good, hitting the clubs in their tightest dresses and highest Loubs. (Timid Lisa is the one who needs the predictable makeover: her defense of her dowdy skirt, ostensibly hand-embroidered by Guatemalan artisans, is one of the movie's funniest bits.) *Girls Trip* contains the most outrageous depiction of public urination I've ever seen—but I mean that as a recommendation, not a deterrent. There's the obligatory ridiculous white girl (played by Kate Walsh). But face it—white girls *are* pretty funny. And yet, in the end, the movie is generous toward her, as it is to all its characters.

These women learn life lessons, sure. One of them gives a loser guy the gate, and another scales a long-overdue career overhaul. Through it all, they laugh, scream and mime unbelievably dirty sex acts. But the overall mood is one of joy and catharsis rather than self-inflicted debasement. This is a girls'-night-out comedy that doesn't leave you feeling depleted and insulted. *Girls Trip* has tall shoes to fill, and it never stumbles. ☐

Slate in Landline: *the way we were, before smartphones*

MOVIES

Landline is a message from a lost world: the 1990s

THERE'S NO SUCH THING AS THE PERFECT FAMILY. BUT when you're a teenager, any family seems better than the one you've got. That's the territory mined by writer-director Gillian Robespierre and co-writer Elisabeth Holm in *Landline,* set in New York City in the mid-1990s, when people still used pay phones and bought music at Tower Records. This was also before smartphones gave us a handy excuse to stop looking each other in the eye. Although where there's a will, there's a way: perpetually irritable teenager Ali (Abby Quinn) can't stand her mother, hardworking, distracted Pat (Edie Falco). She also grows to despise her father Alan (John Turturro), an advertising copywriter who'd rather be a playwright, when she discovers a cache of love poems that suggest he's having an affair. She confides in her older sister Dana (Jenny Slate), who's suffering from some relationship trauma of her own and temporarily moves back to the family apartment to sort things out. Ali's prickliness drives the two young women apart, but they broker an uneasy peace when they weigh a tough question: Should they tell Pat about Alan's infidelity?

Robespierre directed the tender and extraordinary 2014 comedy *Obvious Child* (also co-written with Holm, also starring Slate), and while this picture doesn't have the same quiet-earthquake impact, it's just as emotionally open and just as funny. At one point Ali storms out of the house angrily, and Pat, in that deadpan-comic tone parents use when they send their kids out to face wolves (or just the world), worries aloud that she'll probably get mugged. Alan assures her that that won't happen: "She's too scary." You laugh, but it hurts a little too. It's clear Ali is no fun to live with, and Robespierre and Holm redirect our sympathies from one family member to another gracefully. The actors are all terrific: as Ali, Quinn has a radiant wildcat sweetness—there's fragility behind all that hissing. And Slate, with her marvelous, helium-tinged voice, is a pure pleasure to watch. At one point she responds to a friend's outrageous dating tale with a classic spit-take. Somehow she makes it both elegant and hilarious. —STEPHANIE ZACHAREK

LEE: GETTY IMAGES; LANDLINE: MAGNOLIA; SPIDER-MAN: SONY; RIHANNA, VALERIAN: UNIVERSAL

MOVIES

Valerian's half-crazed space race

FAB FRENCH NUTBALL DIRECTOR Luc Besson will try anything. But that doesn't mean he can get away with everything. In his gonzo science-fiction extravaganza *Valerian and the City of a Thousand Planets*—adapted from the graphic-novel series *Valérian et Laureline* by Pierre Christin and illustrator Jean-Claude Mézières—he reaches for the stars and comes away with a messy, if occasionally entertaining, cosmic dustheap.

Dane DeHaan and Cara Delevingne star as hipster space spies Valerian and Laureline, sent to undertake a brave mission: saving the sprawling space station Alpha from enemy forces. Alpha isn't a ship but rather an intergalactic republic. As with most intergalactic republics, there's always some power-mad individual seeking control. In this case, that megalomaniac might be Clive Owen's Commander Arün Filitt, though it's hard to tell exactly what Filitt wants, no matter how convincingly he scowls and glowers. Valerian and Laureline dash aimlessly through the movie's needlessly complicated plot. Although, as with so many of Besson's mad creations (among them *Lucy* and *The Fifth Element*), the plot is beside the point. Besson loads the picture with enough loopy visual splendor to keep us pleasurably distracted for long stretches. The opening montage, a thumbnail history of how Alpha came to be, is a particularly absurd delight: a parade of increasingly bizarre-looking creatures from far-flung planets arrive to shake hands with Alpha's welcoming human founders, even though the appendages they proffer bear little or no resemblance to actual hands.

RIHANNA REDUX In *Valerian,* the pop star plays a shape-shifter whose seemingly endless array of personae includes a Sally Bowles–style cabaret performer.

DeHaan and Delevingne drift through the film looking disengaged and distracted. Their chief acting tool is a kind of implied eye rolling. The main reason to see *Valerian* is for Rihanna's small but show-stealing role as a soft-spoken blue blob named Bubble, an enslaved alien who can assume any number of enticing human forms. In her whopper of a performance number, she morphs from flirty latex-clad nurse to naughty Lolita schoolgirl to '70s roller-disco princess. She's off the charts and out of this world. —S.Z.

Lost in space: DeHaan and Delevingne, intergalactic

In Spider-Man: Homecoming, *Tom Holland takes Spidey back to high school*

Spider-Man, ranked

The latest one is a thrill—and a hit. But how does it stack up against the rest?

6

***THE AMAZING SPIDER-MAN 2* (2014)**
Peter Parker (Andrew Garfield) unfortunately promised to leave his girlfriend Gwen Stacy (Emma Stone) alone, robbing the movie of its best asset.

5

***SPIDER-MAN 3* (2007)**
Director Sam Raimi's *Spider-Man* movies were full of angst and tears. The final installment went from weepy to surreal with its musical interludes. But the film's heart wins out.

4

***THE AMAZING SPIDER-MAN* (2012)**
This reboot forced the audience to watch Uncle Ben die all over again. But then-real-life couple Garfield and Stone's chemistry buoyed the action.

3

***SPIDER-MAN: HOMECOMING* (2017)**
The newest entry is a joyous return to Spider-Man's adolescence that smartly skips over Spidey's origin story, favoring the character's lighter side.

2

***SPIDER-MAN* (2002)**
This *Spider-Man,* equal parts muscle and malaise, helped launch the modern superhero era. It offered up one of the best villains ever: Willem Dafoe's cackling Green Goblin.

1

***SPIDER-MAN 2* (2004)**
Raimi's second movie focused on the human behind the mask. Tobey Maguire, Kirsten Dunst and James Franco shone as graduates with growing pains. Novelist Michael Chabon helped write their whip-smart dialogue.
—Eliana Dockterman

Bomer, playing a genius producer with a hand in everything, watches over his stars

TELEVISION

Amazon tries to complete F. Scott Fitzgerald's unfinished novel

By Daniel D'Addario

THE LAST TYCOON, AN UNFINISHED novel by F. Scott Fitzgerald published in 1941, a year after his death, is a nervy piece of work. The draft jitters with desperation, as if Fitzgerald were trying to craft, sentence by sentence and aphorism by aphorism, a hit. The perspective shifts almost at random and the plot, about a movie executive with barely hidden vices, skitters away from its author's control. It's plainly unfinished but full of neuroses and passion. That is to say, full of life.

In adapting it for the screen, Amazon has made a show that feels the opposite. The first season of *The Last Tycoon* unfolds slowly, taking time to nod at every aspect of the moviemaking industry and Los Angeles society in the 1930s. It's beautiful—and damned if you compare it to its source material.

Title aside, the show seems more influenced by *Mad Men* than by Fitzgerald's works. Monroe Stahr (Matt Bomer) is a sort of proto–Don Draper. Born to a scornful father, he changed his name and affected the mien of a successful man. Success as a producer followed. Women want to be with him, and men want to beat him—specifically, Kelsey Grammer's Pat Brady, a rival executive consumed by jealousy.

Bomer, the star of *White Collar,* is amiably blank. He convinces you that Monroe responds to various psychological torments, including being a widower, by adopting the pose of vacuousness. That he left me wanting vastly more is maybe the point—as that's how everyone who meets him seems to feel, including Pat's wife, Rose, played by an aching Rosemarie DeWitt. And as Pat's daughter Celia Brady, the ambitious young would-be producer who is the novel's real protagonist, Lily Collins has the sort of rising gumption any fan of Judy Garland will recognize. She resists the urge to put a topspin of millennial irony on the role. And she sells this show's devotion to an idea of the past as impossibly elegant.

The show will appeal to fans of Old Hollywood. It's as lavish a re-creation of the bygone La La Land as FX's *Feud: Bette and Joan.* Its side stories include the megastar (Jennifer Beals) with a secret, the bratty child star (Chloe Guidry) who is fed drugs to perform. Even thudding hints at what's to come for the characters land gently. We see portents of the future in large part by meeting chic Fritz Lang and Marlene Dietrich. *Tycoon* is as sweetly addictive as box-office candy.

And yet I wish there were more. *Tycoon,* like Amazon's less entertaining but equally glamour-glutted Zelda Fitzgerald drama *Z: The Beginning of Everything,* is a diverting series that uses history the way revelers at a Gatsby-themed party today use a strand of fake pearls. *Tycoon* tosses it on as a way to show that the past was different but also fun! Fitzgerald is often remembered beyond the classroom for the romantic drama of his life and times. But he wrote with crackling acuity about losing love and losing one's mind and, above all, about the curse of living in the past. Amazon's *The Last Tycoon* is about a man who's good at his job and—contrary to Fitzgerald's view of the human condition—the pleasure of retreating into historical fantasy. It's a missed opportunity. One that, after a gorgeous 10 hours, you may not remember.

THE LAST TYCOON *will stream on Amazon starting on July 28*

THE LAST TYCOON: AMAZON; OZARK: NETFLIX; LINNEY: GETTY IMAGES

TIME PICKS

MOVIES
Former *Daily Show* correspondent Jessica Williams steps into her first leading role: a playwright dating on Tinder and blooming in the rom-com ***The Incredible Jessica James*** (Netflix, July 27).

PODCASTS
On *A Piece of Work* (out now), *Broad City*'s **Abbi Jacobson** explores MOMA, discussing works by Jackson Pollock and Andy Warhol with curators and guests, including RuPaul, Questlove and Hannibal Buress.

MUSIC
Retro-pop singer **Lana Del Rey** returns in all her nostalgia-tinged glory with the breathily romantic *Lust for Life* (July 21), with assists from Stevie Nicks and the Weeknd.

BOOKS
In ***The Unwomanly Face of War*** (July 25), Nobel Prize winner Svetlana Alexievich stitches together interviews with women who fought with the Red Army during World War II.

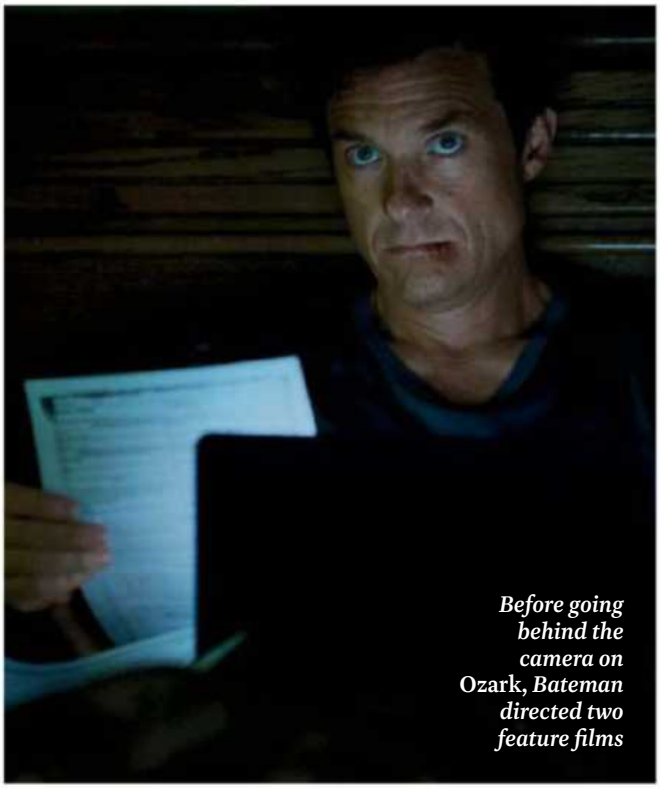
TELEVISION

Bateman's stab at high drama

JASON BATEMAN IS AMONG the most recognizable TV stars of our time. His dry turn as the harried, dutiful scion to a family of petty crooks on *Arrested Development,* burnished by endless viewings on Netflix, hasn't held him back from trying to become something more than just another comic actor.

More may not be more interesting. Bateman's skill for complicating the good-son act—he's played up the narcissistic side of his *Arrested* persona in films like *Horrible Bosses* and *Identity Thief*—can go to places that are nasty, venal and real. But they can also be painful to watch. His new series, *Ozark,* pushes his impulse toward alienation to its furthest limit. Bateman's portrayal of his character on the show is so nasty, you'll forget you ever liked him.

But is that much fun to watch, let alone binge? Netflix certainly hopes so. His Marty Byrde is a Chicagoland lawyer whose money laundering for the Mob places his family in mortal danger and forces them all—wife Wendy (Laura Linney) and two kids (Sofia Hublitz and Skylar Gaertner)—to take up residence in the Missouri region that gives the show its name. The greatest threat Marty and Wendy pose may be to each other. Like two betta fish, they seem liable to jaw each other to death as soon as they're left alone. "Why do you even want me here?" Wendy asks Marty. "Necessity. Not desire," he replies.



Before going behind the camera on Ozark, *Bateman directed two feature films*

To work, that sort of stagily written melodrama needs stakes about which we truly care. But Marty and Wendy are just greedy, heedless fools who want too much. Their new suburban neighbors are drawn in broad strokes in a too-easy lampoon of an entire social class. Wendy's condescension in particular feels over the top. Linney's natural inclination toward moral complication is more than the show deserves. She makes you believe that Wendy really believes she's better than her surroundings, despite her complicity in Marty's crimes. But she can't make you agree with her assessment.

WINNING LINNEY
Although she works consistently in movies, Linney is no stranger to TV. She's won four Emmys, including awards for her work on *Frasier* and *John Adams.*

Bateman directed some of *Ozark*'s episodes and executive-produced the series in what seems to be a bid at complete reinvention. Yet I took his work on *Arrested*—soon to be revived for a fifth season again on Netflix—far more seriously. It takes real chops, timing and a realistic perception of oneself to make someone laugh. To make a contemporary TV drama that's taken seriously enough to get funded for 10 episodes in an era hungry for content, you can pretty much leave the ideas behind. —D.D.

OZARK *is streaming on Netflix now*

NONFICTION

Her food, her self

IF YOU ARE WHAT YOU EAT, ELEANOR ROOSEVELT WAS LEFTOVERS ON TOAST. Culinary historian Laura Shapiro has memorialized one of the world's most celebrated cooks in *Julia Child: A Life* and dissected American food culture in two other works. In her latest, *What She Ate: Six Remarkable Women & the Food That Tells Their Stories,* she studies the eating habits and hang-ups of significant figures. Probing biographies, archives and her subjects' own writing, Shapiro argues that food and diet open revealing windows into character. "While extraordinary circumstances produce extraordinary women," she writes, "food makes them recognizable." —LUCY FELDMAN

ELEANOR ROOSEVELT

The cuisine in the Roosevelt White House was widely known as "the worst in the history of the presidency." A Depression-era mentality certainly contributed—Henrietta Nesbitt, the cook (the "most reviled" ever to serve) dreamed up a low-cost lunch standby: **leftovers, whether kidneys, curried eggs or shrimp and peas, on toast.** The First Lady herself had little skill or interest in the kitchen—the one dish she prepared with confidence, again and again throughout her marriage, was scrambled eggs, beaten and cooked in a chafing dish at the supper table. "It was the only version of homemaking she felt she was good at," Shapiro writes. "Everybody liked the eggs and the convivial atmosphere, and nobody questioned the casting."

EVA BRAUN

The first words Braun spoke to Adolf Hitler were "*Guten Appetit,*" uttered over a Bavarian sausage and beer she placed before him as a photographer's assistant. She was 17, he 40, and their affair began shortly thereafter. Hitler hid their relationship from the public through their 1945 suicides, which occurred the day after they married. But within the walls of the Berghof, a zone untouched by wartime famine, Braun cherished her position in the seat to his left at lunch. Meals like sauerbraten (a pot-roast dish), dumplings and spaghetti were often shared among officials and guests (Hitler, a sweet-toothed vegetarian, was served from a separate tray)—but aside from a **thirst for sparkling wine,** Braun consumed very little. "She found his dietary regimen disgusting and said so," Shapiro notes. Secretary Traudl Junge described Braun as "very proud of being slim and dainty."

HELEN GURLEY BROWN

In *Sex and the Single Girl* and as editor of *Cosmopolitan,* Brown never shied away from sharing the details of her life. But when it came to food, she could never quite make up her mind. At times she declared herself to be an expert cook—at others, a novice. She celebrated eating and then decried the guilt that followed. In truth, Brown was a career dieter. Her favorite nighttime sustenance: **a box of sugar-free Jell-O,** mixed into rubber with just a bit of water and finished with a dollop of light yogurt. "Food and comfort, food and safety, food and emotional support—it's the oldest relationship there is," Shapiro writes. "When she came back to her favorite Jell-O night after night, she was tasting perfect calm and sweet security."

FICTION

Do-gooders in gangland

RYAN GATTIS' NEW novel, *Safe,* pits two narrators against each other—both of them bad guys trying to be good. Ricky Mendoza Jr., a.k.a. Ghost, a former addict who cracks safes for the DEA, has decided to go rogue in a "ghetto Robin Hood" plot to steal from gangsters to pay off mortgages of those in need. (It's 2008, and the financial crisis looms.) This puts him at odds with Rudolfo "Rudy" Reyes, a.k.a. Glasses, a powerful gangster's right-hand man who hopes to inform on his boss and start life fresh.

At times, Gattis overexplains these men's motivations. He needn't—the pathos of their problems is inherently compelling. This macho, faster-than-a-speeding-bullet novel benefits from the extensive research Gattis has done on the L.A. gang scene—his previous novel, *All Involved,* was about the 1992 riots—and that deep knowledge informs electrifying plot twists. To navigate them, Ghost knows, he's "got to put a saddle on all the stuff that makes me be me and ride it. Strategy. Lying. Cleverness. All the gifts I ever had that made me a damn good junkie have got to be used for good now."

—SARAH BEGLEY

ILLUSTRATIONS BY CARRIE LAPOLLA FOR TIME

Jodie Whittaker will succeed Peter Capaldi to become the 13th Doctor Who and the **first woman to play the role in the show's 54-year history.**

Saturday Night Live and *Westworld* **led the 2017 Emmy nominations, each garnering 22 nods.**

Beyoncé **unveiled the names of her newborn twins Sir and Rumi Carter** in an elaborately staged Instagram photo shared on their 1-month birthday.

Pop star **Kesha released her second single after a four-year hiatus** caused in part by ongoing legal battles with her former producer.

'It's just fabric, people.'

—KIM KARDASHIAN WEST, shutting down critics who questioned the appropriateness of dressing her 4-year-old daughter North in a faux corset

LOVE IT / LEAVE IT

***TIME*'S WEEKLY TAKE ON WHAT POPPED IN CULTURE**

Singer Aaron Carter was arrested in Georgia **on suspicion of driving under the influence and marijuana possession.**

Vogue faced backlash for its August cover story, which **suggests that model Gigi Hadid and her boyfriend Zayn Malik's swapping clothes with each other amounts to "gender fluidity."** Critics called it a gross oversimplification of the concept.

For a true cheese overload, **Pizza Hut is testing mac-and-cheese-topped pizzas** in select U.K. locations.

A woman visiting Los Angeles' 14th Factory gallery **knocked over $200,000 worth of art while trying to take a selfie.**

Doctors found **27 contact lenses in the eye of a 67-year-old female patient** going under the knife for cataract surgery.

GALLERY: YOUTUBE; CARTER: AP; BEYONCÉ, PIZZA: INSTAGRAM; KESHA, WHITTAKER, EMMY, KARDASHIAN WEST, CONTACT LENSES: GETTY IMAGES

Mr. President, I demand you do your duty and insult me. Please?

By Joel Stein

A YEAR AGO MAINSTREAM JOURNALISTS WERE insignificant—usurped by bloggers, tweeters, podcasters and selfies of women doing yoga. But now we're getting into personal feuds with the President, a distinction once reserved for dictators, political rivals, union leaders and Donald Trump.

President Trump spends more time on journalism criticism than Columbia's graduate school. He's insulted journalists I haven't even heard of, and I'm a journalist. He has viciously taunted Glenn Beck, MSNBC's Mika Brzezinski, *The View*'s Joy Behar, Yahoo News' Matt Bai and Lisa Belkin, and New York *Times* writers Charles Blow, Frank Bruni, David Brooks and Michael Barbaro. These are just the *B*'s.

SO I FEEL DEEPLY INSIGNIFICANT, because Trump has not once threatened, mocked, discredited or belittled me, leaving me feeling like a washed-up celebrity in the front row of a Don Rickles show. It's not like I haven't tried to bait him. I've insulted him on Twitter, in my column, on radio shows and on cable-news programs. I've even tried on the phone and in person. The closest I came was when I told him I was surprised that he was offering to shake my hand despite his being a germophobe. "What am I going to catch from you?" he asked in a way that seemed like an insult at the time, but now that I've become more familiar with his history, I realize this was just his way of acknowledging that I'm white.

And Trump must be familiar with my writing. He likes TIME so much that someone in his orbit created a fake TIME cover of him to put on the walls of his golf club. I don't know exactly what articles run inside his fake version of TIME, but I'm guessing that if anything from real TIME runs in fake TIME, it's got to be my column.

A few months ago I asked Hope Hicks, the White House director of strategic communications, how I could provoke the President into retaliating, and she told me to just keep doing what I do. It has not worked. FAKE NEWS!

In desperation, I prostrated myself before successful Trump aggravators, begging for tips on how to be Trumpsulted™. I asked Kurt Andersen, who as co-founder and co-editor of *Spy* published the 'short-fingered vulgarian' insult and is co-writing a book with Alec Baldwin called *You Can't Spell America Without Me: The Really Tremendous Inside Story of My Fantastic First Year as President Donald J. Trump*. He's been Trumpsulted™ as a "third-rate writer and an unsuccessful one at that." To get that kind of presidential attention, Andersen suggested that I chronicle a fake affair with Melania Trump, naming dates when she was apart from her husband. I was going to try this on Twitter when I realized that my lovely wife, Cassandra, would see it and then make fun of me for insinuating that Melania would ever have any interest in me.

S.E. Cupp, a conservative host on HLN who has been Trumpsulted™ as a "totally biased loser who doesn't have a clue" and "one of the least talented people on television," said I was going to have a tough time. "It seems to help if you have a uterus," she explained. Also, I needed a more prominent weakness. "Can you become a celebrated POW? A disabled journalist? An overweight woman? Or a man of below-average height?" she asked. Cupp has the advantage of being considered a traitor, since she's a conservative. Trump sent her a housewarming gift when she moved into one of his buildings and asked her to introduce him at an event before she turned on him. All I had was our one possibly racist handshake.

BUT I WILL NOT GIVE UP. I will point out that his tiny hands apparently cannot pull his necktie above his knees. I will remind everyone that golfers—especially ones who don't drink—never drive carts on the green. I will bring up the fact that people with great stamina don't fall asleep in the middle of a rage tweet and type "covfefe." I will accuse him of mistaking Theodore Roosevelt's advice as "tweet loudly and carry a tiny glove." And I will most certainly remind the man who spends so much time selling heterosexual machismo that no straight man I've ever met cares about beauty pageants. The best guess I have for the winner of the last Miss USA pageant is "Miss USA."

Because when you have a President so threatened by facts and opinions that oppose his views that he tweets about the media more than his policies, it makes being a journalist more important than it's ever been in my career. It also makes it way more fun. ◻

ILLUSTRATION BY ALEX EBEN MEYER FOR TIME

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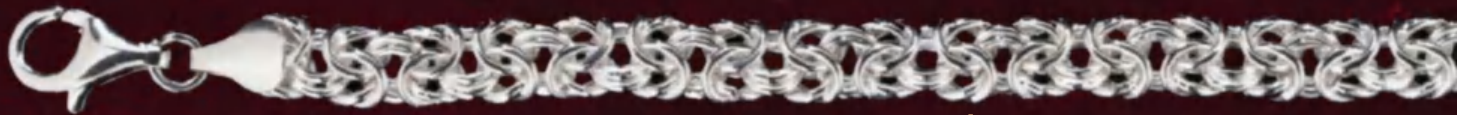

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Al Gore The Vice President turned climate-change activist talks about his new movie, disappointment with Donald Trump and escaping on his redneck yacht

Why release *An Inconvenient Sequel* now? Ten years after the first movie seemed like an appropriate time to check in on what's changed—and as it turned out, a lot has changed. The climate-related extreme weather events are unfortunately way more frequent and way more destructive, but solutions are available now. In a growing number of regions, the electricity from solar and wind is now cheaper than electricity from burning fossil fuels.

You met with President Trump after his election. Have you been disappointed by what you've seen since? I've certainly been disappointed. I really thought there was a chance he would come to his senses and keep the U.S. in the Paris Agreement. I was wrong. But I've been gratified that the entire rest of the world has redoubled its commitment, and within this country so many governors and mayors and business leaders have stepped up to say, "We're still in." If President Trump refuses to lead, the American people will.

Is the Paris Agreement Trump's most significant decision on the climate? In every area of policy that affects the climate, President Trump has surrounded himself with a rogues' gallery of climate deniers. And they appear to be intent on doing almost everything they can to destroy a sensible climate policy.

Trump defeated his opponent while losing the popular vote. You faced a similar circumstance. Do you think the U.S. should get rid of the Electoral College? Even after the 2000 election and the Supreme Court decision that determined the outcome, I continued to support the founders' design that included an Electoral College. But with changing circumstances, it would now be much better for our country to adopt a popular vote for determining the outcome of presidential elections.

Is there a lesser-known innovation to address climate change that you're most excited about? Converting my farm in Tennessee to a carbon-sequestering farm without any insecticides or pesticides or GMOs. It's a small farm and a small effort, but I see a lot of my neighbors and a lot of farmers around the world beginning to switch to these techniques.

What's the best way for one person to make a difference? The first thing is to learn about the issue. The second thing to do is to win the conversation about climate. The conversations about who we are as a people precede changes in laws and policies. Third, when you go into stores, when you participate in the marketplace, make choices in favor of the environment-friendly and climate-friendly options. And finally, be active in the political process. Don't be shy about your role in our democracy.

You're hopeful. How do you stay that way? Anybody that deals with the climate crisis and the solutions to the climate crisis inevitably has an internal dialogue between hope and despair. I guess after 40 years of working on this, it has become a little bit easier to put some of the events that unfold day to day and year to year in perspective.

Do you ever take a step back and say, "I need to take a day, a week, even a month to not think about this one problem"? I am not sure that I can say in all honesty that there has been a day where it didn't occupy my thoughts to some extent, but I like to get away with family and friends. I just took a whole week in Center Hill Lake near my farm in Tennessee. I have a houseboat—I call it my redneck yacht.

—JUSTIN WORLAND

'It would now be much better for our country to adopt a popular vote for determining the outcome of presidential elections.'

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CAROL MARINOVICH, *FORMER MAYOR, KANSAS CITY, KS*

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