

TIME



BEYOND HE *or* SHE

How a new generation
is redefining the
meaning of gender

By Katy Steinmetz

Marie, 26,
identifies as
queer and gender
nonconforming

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▲ *Tyler, 26, uses they/them pronouns and identifies as agender*

ON THE COVER AND ABOVE:
Photographs by Jody Rogac for TIME



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What you said about ...

DONALD TRUMP'S WAR ON WASHINGTON

The March 20 issue, with its cover story on the President by Massimo Calabresi, marked the third time Trump's image has been on the cover this year—a fact that led Julie Bellanca of Boulder, Colo.,

to say it's time to find creative ways to convey the problems of the presidency beyond "images of the man himself." Meanwhile, Bo Lange of Escanaba, Mich., argued that while the picture was "cute" it "doesn't cut" because "Trump constructs, not destructs."

But Tim Ackert of Orlando disagreed, describing the image—a portrayal of Trump that reminded him of a "petulant teenager"—as a "picture of a thousand words" and thanking journalists for "keeping the issues on the table in front of us."

NEXT GENERATION LEADERS Though Kaisa Pyoraniemi of Turku, Finland, appreciated the "optimistic" March 13 profile of "thoughtful and intelligent" *Daily Show* host Trevor Noah, Noah's comment that the "older generation has a 'me, me, me' attitude when it comes to issues like the environment" offended some readers. Among them:

88-year-old self-described "rabid environmentalist" Penny Bailey of Freeport, Ill. Marita Carlson of Merced, Calif., pointed out that the "environmental movement as we know it today did not begin with Mr. Noah's generation." Indeed, as Judith Buczek, 73, of Camano Island, Wash., who became a wildlife-rehabilitation volunteer after retiring from medicine, noted, "old does not mean inactive, it does not mean ignorant, it does not mean indifferent."

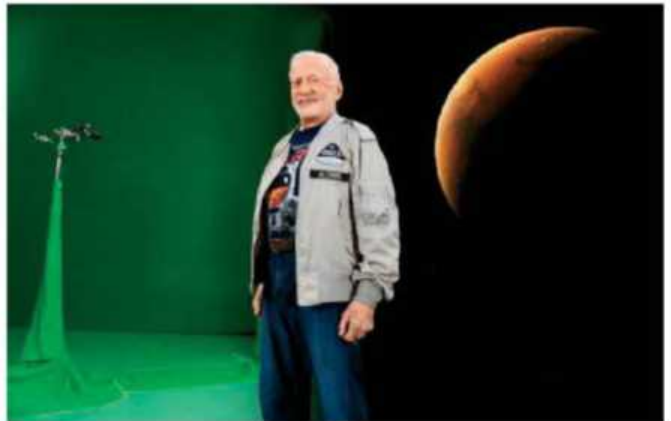
'We care about the future ... not only for our children and grand-children but for yours as well.'

MARIE HARTMAN, Branch, Mich.

'Is Trump causing D.C. to crumble, or is he keeping it from collapsing?'

DONALD WIGAL, New York City

VIRTUAL REALITY The latest experience presented by LIFE VR, Time Inc.'s virtual-reality brand, in collaboration with tech company 8i, is a photorealistic journey to Mars with astronaut Buzz Aldrin. In *Buzz Aldrin: Cycling Pathways to Mars*—which the Apollo 11 astronaut and TIME editor at large Jeffrey Kluger debuted at SXSW in Austin—Aldrin reveals his vision for a permanent human settlement on the Red Planet. Find out more at time.com/lifevr



Subscribe to TIME's free politics newsletter and get **exclusive news and insights from Washington**, sent straight to your inbox. For more, visit time.com/politicsemail

BEST COMPANIES TO WORK FOR Every year for 20 years, *Fortune* has asked workers to anonymously assess their workplaces in categories like quality of leadership and support for employees' personal lives. See this year's results, compiled with Great Place to Work, at fortune.com/best-companies

- | | | |
|--|--|--|
| <p>1. Google
The tech giant takes the top spot as the overall best place to work for the eighth time in 11 years.</p> | <p>2. Wegmans Food Markets
The century-old grocery chain, where employees feel cared for, moved up from fourth place.</p> | <p>3. The Boston Consulting Group
The firm was lauded for supporting workers in a high-pressure industry.</p> |
|--|--|--|

SETTING THE RECORD STRAIGHT ▶ In "Moscow Cozies Up to the Right" (March 20), we mistakenly said that Alexander Torshin attended an April 2016 speech by then candidate Donald Trump at the Center for the National Interest. He did not. In "Celebrity Squabbles for the Ages" (March 13), we incorrectly stated the year in which Olivia de Havilland snubbed her sister Joan Fontaine after winning an Oscar. It was 1947, not 1942. Fontaine won in 1942, when both she and de Havilland received Best Actress nominations.

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‘We must consider if *viri probati* is a possibility.’

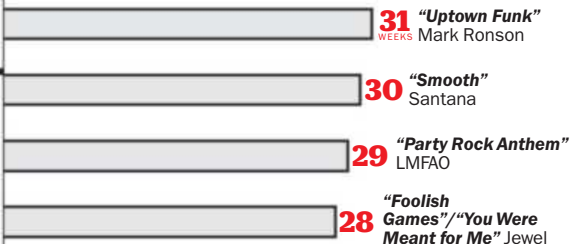
POPE FRANCIS, vowing to consider ordaining married men (the Latin translates to “proven men”) who are already actively involved with the Roman Catholic Church to address priest shortages

4.3 million

Fewer tourists expected to visit the U.S. this year (vs. 2016) because of recent travel bans and nativist political rhetoric, per data from Oxford Economics partner Tourism Economics



The song “Closer” by DJ duo the Chainsmokers remained in the Top 10 of the *Billboard* Hot 100 for a 32nd week, tying the record set by LeAnn Rimes’ “How Do I Live” in 1997. Here, the songs they beat:



2,000

Estimated extra steps that *Pokémon Go* players walk daily compared with people who don’t play the game



‘We don’t know that yet.’

SCOTT PRUITT, administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency, denying that carbon dioxide is the “primary contributor” to global warming, despite ample evidence to the contrary

\$38,435,451

Taxes paid on over \$150 million in income by President Trump in 2005, according to a 1040 form, which does not show sources of income, leaked to investigative reporter David Cay Johnston; Trump broke precedent by not releasing his returns as a candidate

\$500

Approximate amount a San Diego man stole from a Girl Scout cookie stand before being caught in a nearby motel

‘THE TRUTH WILL BE KNOWN.’

PARK GEUN-HYE, former South Korean President, further denying wrongdoing two days after the nation’s Constitutional Court removed her from office for colluding with a friend to extort money and abuse political power

‘She was in a hippity-hoppity mood.’

ROBERT KELLY, political-science professor, describing his 4-year-old daughter who, in what became one of the year’s most beloved viral videos, danced into his office during a live TV interview; her 8-month-old brother waddled in next as Kelly’s wife scrambled to corral them, all on air

The Brief

“FORCED TRANSPARENCY” IS INCREASINGLY A WEAPON AVAILABLE TO ALL. —PAGE 14



Joined by his Cabinet, Trump signed an Executive Order on March 13 that reorganizes the Executive Branch

POLITICS

Why President Trump is struggling to staff his government

By Philip Elliott

WHEN A NOR'EASTER BARRELED toward Washington in mid-March, Donald Trump suggested to German Chancellor Angela Merkel that she postpone her upcoming visit to the White House. The inclement weather also bought the President's understaffed Administration a bit more time to prepare for a Merkel drop-by. Almost two months into the job, Trump still has no assistant secretary for European affairs or envoy to the E.U. at the State Department, he lacks undersecretaries for international issues at the Commerce and Treasury departments, and he is still looking for a policy chief at the Pentagon.

The President has moved slowly to assemble his Administration. Trump often excoriates Senate Democrats for holding up more than two dozen

appointees awaiting confirmation, including three Cabinet Secretaries. But Trump has yet to nominate 505 of the 553 key Executive Branch positions, according to a tally maintained by the *Washington Post* and the Partnership for Public Service. Those roles range from the patent chief at Commerce to a science adviser at the White House. At the State Department, where four top career diplomats have departed, just six of 119 jobs requiring Senate confirmation had been announced by the time Secretary Rex Tillerson left for his first major swing through Asia, on March 14. When the Administration asked for the resignation of all Obama-era U.S. attorneys on March 10, it added another 46 jobs to the long list of open positions.

The personnel shortage is more of a

governing philosophy than a glitch. One of Trump's goals is to slash the size of the federal bureaucracy, which he is accomplishing in part through attrition among civil servants whom the Administration doesn't trust. Some government agencies are "no longer relevant," press secretary Sean Spicer told reporters on March 13. At offices like the Environmental Protection Agency, Trump has chosen chiefs who have opposed the core functions of the department they now lead. The President's plan to scale back what his chief strategist Steve Bannon calls the "administrative state" will be "quite controversial, particularly when we get into things like the EPA," Bannon told TIME in an interview. "But the President believes very strongly you cannot unleash the real animal spirits of the American economy just in tax cuts."

Where the Trump team is plugging holes, the White House is relying on political loyalists. Sam Clovis, a conservative radio host who advised Trump's campaign in Iowa, was asked to help guide the Department of Agriculture until the President's pick for Secretary can be confirmed. Curtis Ellis, a columnist who wrote for websites that peddled the false conspiracy theory that Barack Obama was born in Kenya, was named a top aide at the Labor Department, which is also awaiting a Secretary to be confirmed. And Matt Mowers, a GOP political hand who helped steer the Trump campaign's get-out-the-vote operation, found himself with a seat on the storied (but now largely empty) seventh floor of the State Department.

Trump, who still nurses grudges against his Republican critics, has been especially keen to stack his White House with allies. Some West Wing staffers have unusual résumés as a result. Former Breitbart News editor Sebastian Gorka has a gig with the National Security Council. Omarosa Manigault, one of the original villains on *The Apprentice*, is promoting White House outreach. And former Trump golf-club caddie Dan Scavino Jr. manages the President's social-media footprint.

The late-winter storm that delayed Merkel's visit wound up largely skirting the capital. But it did provide another reminder of just how slowly Trump is staffing up. The President has yet to tap someone to run the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, which tracks weather systems from its perch at Commerce. Nor has he nominated someone to lead the Federal Emergency Management Agency, which leads the response to natural disasters from the Department of Homeland Security. Or a permanent chief for the Office of Personnel Management, the government's HR department, which told thousands of federal workers that they wouldn't be getting a snow day after all. — *With reporting by ZEKE J. MILLER/* WASHINGTON



TICKER

Somali pirates hijack oil tanker

Somali pirates hijacked an oil tanker with eight Sri Lankan crew on board, marking the first time they have successfully taken a commercial ship since 2012. The vessel, which was en route from Djibouti to Somalia's capital, sent a distress signal before disappearing from the tracking system.

Scotland may vote on leaving U.K.

Scotland's First Minister Nicola Sturgeon has called for a new independence referendum within the next two years, seeking a re-run of the 2014 vote as the U.K. prepares to exit the E.U.

Texan files anti-masturbation bill

Texas Democratic lawmaker Jessica Farrar has introduced a satirical bill called the Man's Right to Know Act that would fine men for masturbating "outside of a health or medical facility," parodying the language in antiabortion legislation to draw attention to it.

Hosni Mubarak to be released

A prosecutor has ordered the release of Hosni Mubarak, the former Egyptian leader who has spent much of the past six years in a military hospital after his nearly 30-year reign ended with his ouster and arrest in 2011.



FACTS VS. ALTERNATIVE FACTS

CLAIM:

"They may have been phony in the past, but it's very real now," press secretary Sean Spicer said on March 10 of Trump's views on the Labor Department's latest jobs report.

REALITY:

The Labor Department's methodology has not changed since Trump called jobs reports "phony" as a candidate.

CLAIM:

Asked about Trump's claim that Obama wiretapped him, adviser Kellyanne Conway said on March 12 there are many ways to surveil, including "microwaves that turn into cameras."

REALITY:

There is no evidence that Obama watched Trump through microwaves. Spicer later said the comment was a joke.



CLAIM:

"This is something that was done to a large extent because of ... the policies of this new Administration," Trump said on March 6 of an ExxonMobil announcement about an expansion that would create jobs.

REALITY:

The decision to expand was made in 2013, well before Trump's presidency.



DIGITS

93

Days it took surfer Chris Bertish to travel across the Atlantic on a paddleboard, an unprecedented feat





TEEING UP A STORM Men played golf with a tennis ball in Times Square as a late nor'easter swept through New York City on March 14. Winter storm Stella paralyzed much of the Northeast and mid-Atlantic regions but fell short of the predicted snowfall accumulations in major cities along the coast. It caused at least 200,000 homes to lose power, sparked more than 6,000 flight cancellations and disrupted rail traffic. *Photograph by Mark Lennihan—AP*

WORLD

Turkey's controversial referendum

AS TURKEY PREPARES FOR AN APRIL 16 referendum on a constitutional overhaul that would hand more power to President Recep Tayyip Erdogan, Turkish expatriates are pushing back. Germany and the Netherlands—home to sizable Turkish minorities—have blocked pro-Erdogan rallies, triggering a sharp response from the Turkish leader. Here's what's driving the controversy.

LOCKING HORNS The row began on March 2, when German authorities decided to call off a speech due to be given by Turkish Justice Minister Bekir Bozdog. Weeks later, the Netherlands barred Turkish ministers from attending a rally in Rotterdam, sparking condemnation from Erdogan, who accused the two countries of Nazi-like behavior.

UNDERDOG RISING For his domestic audience, the confrontation casts Erdogan in one of his favorite roles: that of the underdog. His spokesman slammed the Netherlands for “succumbing to anti-Islam racists,” as the government sought to stir nationalist sentiments ahead of the referendum.

POWER PLAY With recent polls showing a narrowly contested campaign, the rhetoric reflects the high-stakes battle over the referendum. A yes vote will scrap the current parliamentary system of government and replace it with one dominated by a powerful presidency, bolstering Erdogan's already considerable authority. For his critics, the vote is their last chance to avoid an expanded clampdown on dissent that began following a failed military coup attempt in July 2016. —JARED MALINSIN



◀ *Erdogan is engaged in a war of words with Germany and the Netherlands*



WINNING WOMEN

There are more women in national parliaments around the world than ever before, according to an Inter-Parliamentary Union report. The global average rose from 22.6% in 2015 to 23.3% in 2016. Here, a sample of countries with the highest percentage of female lawmakers:

1. **Cuba**
48.9%
2. **Iceland**
47.6%
3. **Nicaragua**
45.7%
4. **Sweden**
43.6%
5. **Senegal**
42.7%
6. **Finland**
42%
7. **Ecuador**
41.6%
8. **Norway**
39.6%

A state election in India reinforces Narendra Modi's grip on power

By Nikhil Kumar/Varanasi

BIG SEEMS TOO SMALL A WORD TO DESCRIBE THE NORTHERN Indian state of Uttar Pradesh (UP). Spread over an area roughly the size of Britain, UP is home to about 220 million people—more than the populations of Germany, France and Italy together. With scale comes political heft. Nine out of India's 15 Prime Ministers landed in New Delhi via UP, including the incumbent, Narendra Modi, whose parliamentary constituency, Varanasi, is in the state. UP also sends 80 members to the powerful lower house of the national parliament, way more than any other Indian territory. It is the political engine room of the world's largest democracy.

Thus, when UP began voting in state polls last month, just over halfway through Modi's five-year term, all of India sat up and paid attention. And so did many outside India, given the country's growing influence on the world stage.

Modi, 66, a charismatic politician with the power of oratory, and his Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) nearly swept UP in the 2014 general elections, taking all but nine parliamentary seats en route to becoming Prime Minister.

His own story is compelling: a tea seller's son who rose to be chief minister of Gujarat, one of India's fastest-growing states, and then winner of the nation's highest office. But could the Modi magic that propelled the BJP to the biggest national victory for any party in 30 years still sway voters? Or was India tiring of the Prime Minister's constant sloganeering about economic development, even as the nation of 1.3 billion people struggled to produce enough jobs for its youth?

Economists have also raised doubts about Modi's competence as a policymaker, following a surprise decision in November to scrap high-value currency notes that sparked pain across India's cash-based economy. The government's justification was as confused as its execution, with a shortage of replacement notes triggering long queues at banks and ATMs.

At various times, the initiative was billed either as a crusade against “black money”—illicit, untaxed wealth—that would force the rich to declare their hoards of dirty cash or a way to spur India's digital transformation by weaning it off its dependence on paper currency. But neither objective has yet been realized. Also, growth has suffered—the latest International Monetary Fund forecasts point to a 6.6% expansion this year, down one percentage point and placing India behind China, owing largely to Modi's move.

YET THE BJP chose him to be the face of what was a contest to choose a regional government, making the UP ballot a referendum on his leadership. “Modi is their most effective campaigner,” says Sanjay Kumar, an election analyst and director of the Delhi-based Centre for the Study of Developing Societies. “They made him central to this election, which to some looked risky at the time.”



Modi's supporters in New Delhi celebrate his big victory in crucial Uttar Pradesh

The gamble paid off—and how. On the day before the final round of voting, on March 8, questions about Modi's performance in office cut little ice with Virender Prasad, who sells Hindu idols in Modi's eastern UP constituency of Varanasi. One of Hinduism's most sacred places, this ancient city was picked by Modi as his springboard when he ran for Prime Minister in 2014. Prasad has been a fan ever since. “It is easy to criticize him. But how much can he do in three years?” As tourists and Hindu pilgrims streamed past his shop near the banks of the holy river Ganges, Prasad focused not on Modi's achievements but his intentions: “At least he is trying to do something for the country.”

Prasad wasn't the only one to keep the faith. The monthlong elections resulted in a landslide for the BJP; it won its biggest majority ever in the mammoth state—and the biggest for any party since the 1980s: 312 of 403 contested seats in the state assembly. “No one anticipated this scale of victory,” says Kumar. UP's voters had



who traveled through UP as it went to the polls. “Across UP, the language was never about the BJP. It was about Modi.”

THAT’S BAD NEWS for Congress, now in opposition and flailing under the leadership of Rahul Gandhi, the son, grandson and great grandson of former Indian Prime Ministers. In UP, Congress joined forces with a local party that had been in power in the state since 2012, hoping for a repeat of the result in Bihar state in 2015, when the BJP was trounced by a coalition of regional leaders. Congress played a bit part in the Bihar coalition as a junior partner.

This time, the alliance failed as Modi’s appeal helped the BJP cut across UP’s fiendishly complex patchwork of Hindu caste and community allegiances. For more than a decade, UP has been ruled by local parties that succeeded by mobilizing different Hindu caste groups, along with members of its roughly 40 million-strong Muslim community. Modi’s personal popularity gave the BJP a much broader appeal. Says Joshi: “Modi as a brand—aspirational and seen by voters as sincere—was very clear. The opposition did not have a competing brand that was as strong.”

Modi wasn’t the only factor. The BJP, which has its roots in India’s Hindu right-wing movement and did not field a single Muslim candidate in UP, also propagated the divisive message that the other parties favored Muslims over Hindu voters. At one public rally, for example, the Prime Minister said that “if there is electricity during [the Islamic fasting month of] Ramzan, it should be there on [the Hindu festival of] Diwali as well,” according to a translation of his speech by the *Indian Express* newspaper. “They suggested

that the Hindus were at the receiving end of the policies [of the other parties],” says Kumar.

“Election comments don’t change the agenda of the government,” says Nalin Kohli, a BJP spokesman, rejecting the assertion that the party tried to divide voters along religious lines. “Our message and agenda was and is the same as 2014, which is development for all, regardless of caste and religion. This result establishes support for our agenda and the credibility of Narendra Modi as a leader. This is the message from the voters of India.”

The outcome puts Modi in a strong position to win re-election in 2019, so much so that one of the BJP’s regional opponents was moved to tweet: “In a nutshell there is no leader today with a pan-India acceptability who can take on Modi & BJP in 2019. At this rate we might as well forget 2019 and start planning/hoping for 2024.”

MODI’S 2014 VICTORY did not herald the economic reforms to create jobs for the roughly 12 million Indians who enter the workforce every year. Labor laws, for example, are still among the most restrictive in the world, stymieing growth as companies seek flexibility in hiring and firing workers. Progress includes the approval of a new tax law to replace the byzantine system of state and local taxes with a simple, more commerce-friendly alternative. But India remains a notoriously tough place to do business. Seeking to enforce a disputed contract in India’s commercial capital Mumbai? Clear your calendar: it takes an average of nearly four years, according to the World Bank.

Now, as the cash ban hits the country’s growth rate, the BJP’s overwhelming victory once again turns the spotlight on Modi and his promises—and when he will deliver. “Eventually, there has to be more than the image of the good guy and the guy who has sincere intentions,” says Joshi.

“This was not a vote for or against one policy. This was a vote for Modi. And such a huge majority brings huge expectations,” adds Kumar. “It actually poses a different kind of challenge for the BJP. People expect the government to deliver. There are no more excuses.” □

tuned out the doubters; what mattered to them, says Kumar, “was the image of Modi and huge expectations that this is the man who will deliver.”

It was a stunning rerun of 2014—with a twist. Then, as growth slowed and the Congress Party–led government got bogged down in corruption scandals, middle-class voters hungry for change looked to Modi as an energetic, can-do leader who would finally unlock India’s potential by reforming its creaking economic architecture. Three years on, as some Indians grumble about his record of reforms and as the cash ban hits many citizens, Modi has recast himself as a populist moral crusader taking on wealthy elites. In a country with yawning income inequalities and a history of corruption by those at the top, Modi and his aides repackaged him as a messiah for the forgotten poor.

The messaging worked. “The government narrative that the [cash ban] was aimed at rich people with black money won over many voters even if they had suffered because of the ban,” says Bhanu Joshi of the Centre for Policy Research,



TICKER

U.S. sends drones to South Korea

The U.S. military has started deploying attack drones to South Korea, stepping up its presence in the tense region. On March 6, North Korea fired four missiles that landed off the coast of Japan—a move that sparked global concern.

250 skulls found in Mexican grave

More than 250 skulls were found in what appeared to be a mass burial ground on the outskirts of the eastern Mexican state of Veracruz. The newly discovered burial pits appeared to contain the victims of drug cartels killed years ago, according to the state prosecutor.

E.U. employers can ban religious symbols

Companies can ban employees from wearing religious symbols under certain conditions, the European Court of Justice ruled in a case brought after two women were fired for wearing headscarves. Several rights groups criticized the decision.

U.S. indicts Russian spies, hackers

The U.S. charged two Russian intelligence officers and two hackers with 47 counts of conspiracy, computer fraud and other crimes in the breach of 500 million Yahoo accounts from 2014 through 2016.

THE RISK REPORT

The real cost of ‘forced transparency’

By Ian Bremmer

THE WAR ON SECRECY KEEPS ESCALATING. In the latest case, WikiLeaks claims to have uncovered documents—which it has labeled Vault 7—that show how U.S. intelligence agencies can evade encryption to access smartphones and core devices on the “Internet of things.” Assuming the documents are authentic, they also purportedly reveal how U.S. intelligence agencies have compromised operating systems supplied by leading U.S. tech firms without any cooperation from the firms themselves. It’s the latest example of “forced transparency,” or the revelation of secrets that can quickly undermine a powerful person, an organization or even a government.

The leak will boost the cyber capabilities of governments the U.S. doesn’t want to help. It probably doesn’t reveal much that China and Russia (and Israel) don’t already know. But Iran and North Korea may treat this story as news they can use. The same goes for terrorists, hackers and online criminals.

There are other political implications. The reveal will likely affect the Trump Administration’s negotiations with the E.U. on data privacy and cross-border data flows. U.S. tech firms will pay a price in foreign markets as the security of their devices becomes more publicly suspect. Already-tense relations between the White House and Silicon Valley will get worse. And foreign governments will be much more hesitant about sharing

information with intelligence agencies that seem forever in the crosshairs of the world’s most talented hackers.

Although WikiLeaks seems to have special animus for U.S. intelligence agencies, the growing problem of forced transparency can impact other governments as well. The release of the Panama Papers, which revealed illicit financial dealings of some of the world’s most powerful people, inflicted much more damage on those operating in democracies than in less-accountable authoritarian systems. (See: Sergei Roldugin, who claims to have made some \$100 million

Ethicists have wondered if governance without secrecy is possible. We are closer than ever to finding out

by selling musical instruments to wealthy businessmen, and remains a friend of Vladimir Putin’s.) And the Chinese government has worked hard to ensure that stories that incriminate its most powerful people do not

appear in Chinese media. Yet officials in these governments must worry about forced transparency, even if, for now, it’s primarily their business interests that are at stake.

Finally, hacking has become a lucrative industry. Teams of hackers now sell services that are affordable even for the governments of smaller countries. Forced transparency is increasingly a weapon available to all. For years, ethicists have wondered if governance without secrecy is possible. We are now closer than ever to finding out. □

WORLD

Unpresidential palaces

Brazil’s President Michel Temer told local media on March 11 that bad energy drove him out of the Alvorada Palace. Here, other leaders who have shunned their official homes. —Tara John



THE PHILIPPINES

President Rodrigo Duterte chose not to stay in Manila’s Malacañang Palace because it is supposedly haunted, opting instead for a house across the river called Bahay Pagbabago.

URUGUAY

Former President José Mujica refused to move into the lavish presidential mansion in 2010. The onetime leftist guerrilla lived at his wife’s farmhouse during his five-year term.

MALAWI

Former President Bakili Muluzi, who came into power in 1994, refused to stay in the “obscene opulence” of the \$100 million official residence, built by former autocrat Hastings Banda.

Milestones

DIED

Amy Krouse Rosenthal, prolific children's-book author and short-film maker, at 51. In early March, Rosenthal penned an emotional New York *Times* Modern Love column about life after her imminent death, titled "You May Want to Marry My Husband."

► **Howard Hodgkin**, Turner Prize-winning British artist known for his abstract paintings and prints, at 84. Hodgkin, whose creations were often inspired by the colors and warmth of India, worked up until his death, with two exhibitions of his work due to open this year.

► **Carol Field**, food writer, at 76. Her 1985 cookbook, *The Italian Baker*, introduced America to breads like ciabatta and focaccia.

OFFERED

A conditional place to study at a U.K. university, to Nobel Peace Prize winner **Malala Yousafzai**. The 19-year-old human-rights activist, who was speaking at a conference in Birmingham, England, did not reveal which university had offered her a place, but an Oxford University student newspaper said she had won a spot to study philosophy, politics and economics at Lady Margaret Hall, the first Oxford college for women.

INSTALLED

A **memorial sculpture** in the Belgian capital of Brussels, to remember those who lost their lives in recent terrorist attacks in Europe and Africa. The metal sculpture, titled *Wounded But Still Standing in Front of the Inconceivable*, was designed by Belgian artist Jean-Henri Compère.



Man-made famines are behind the largest humanitarian crisis since 1945

WORLD

What man, and climate change, has wrought

IN SOUTH SUDAN IN MID-MARCH, rebel forces kidnapped eight locals working for U.S. charity Samaritan's Purse. But instead of demanding a traditional ransom, a military spokesperson said on March 13, they asked for food deliveries. That's how bad things have become in parts of the nation, where the world's first famine since 2011 was declared last month. On March 10, U.N. humanitarian chief Stephen O'Brien warned that more than 20 million people face starvation in Yemen, Somalia, South Sudan and Nigeria, in what he says is the largest humanitarian crisis since 1945.

The concurrent famines have a common, disturbing theme: they are man-made, precipitated by conflict and perpetuated by political jockeying. In South Sudan, civil war has kept farmers from their fields for three years. According to the U.N., 4.9 million people are in urgent need of food and other assistance, but the corrupt government is charging aid agencies up to \$10,000 in visa fees per foreign aid worker.

In northern Nigeria, the terrorist group Boko Haram has displaced more than 2 million people, many of whom are now in camps where there is not enough water for drinking and bathing, let alone planting crops. The Nigerian military has succeeded in pushing the insurgents back, but the threat of terrorist attacks and army operations keeps people cut off from emergency food supplies. The U.N. reports that 7.1 million people are "severely food insecure" in parts of the north as well as in neighboring Cameroon, Chad and Niger.

A multiyear drought threatens an estimated 19 million people in Yemen, where a two-year insurgency and naval embargo make aid distribution all but impossible. And Somalia is beset by continuing attacks by the Islamic militant group al-Shabab and the lingering effects of the country's last famine, in 2011.

Humanitarian groups also blame the crisis on an unusually intense El Niño weather pattern, which further threatens another 32 million people across southern Africa. They say it is an early sign of how climate change will impact the region. In an era when we have the technology and resources to stop people from starving to death, failing to plan is another way to cause a man-made famine. —ARYN BAKER

POLITICS

How the health care debate reveals the GOP's divisions

By Sam Frizell

FOR A NATIONAL HEALTH CARE PLAN, the GOP replacement for Obamacare has never looked particularly healthy. Moderate Republicans don't like the American Health Care Act (AHCA) because it would balloon the ranks of the uninsured. Conservatives say it doesn't go far enough to roll back federal subsidies and regulations. And that was all before the Congressional Budget Office (CBO), the closest Capitol Hill gets to having an actual scientific panel, delivered a blunt diagnosis on March 13, with hard numbers about who would be helped and hurt under the new bill.

It would shave \$337 billion off the federal deficit over the next decade, while lowering average premiums for some after 2020 in comparison to

current law. But other elements of the prognosis were jarring, including the estimate that 24 million more people would be uninsured by 2026. Many of the neediest Americans,

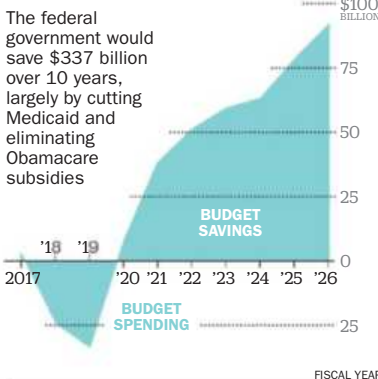
'We know that some are going to lose their coverage. There's no way we can avoid that.'

SENATOR ORRIN HATCH, Utah Republican

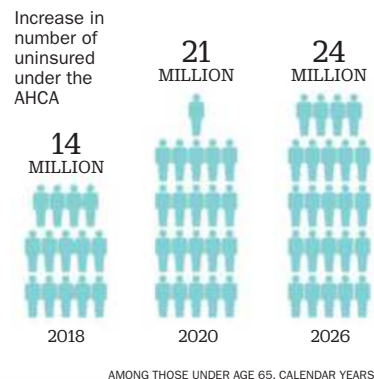
particularly the elderly, would suffer dramatically increased out-of-pocket costs. For some lawmakers, the drawbacks swamp the benefits. It's "cause for alarm," said Republican Senator Susan Collins of Maine.

The question now is whether House Speaker Paul Ryan and President Trump, two politicians with sharply different visions for the Republican Party, can join forces to rescue the proposal. Ryan praised the CBO score as evidence of the bill's intent to shrink government and increase market competition and freedom for people to choose. Trump, who pledged during his campaign that

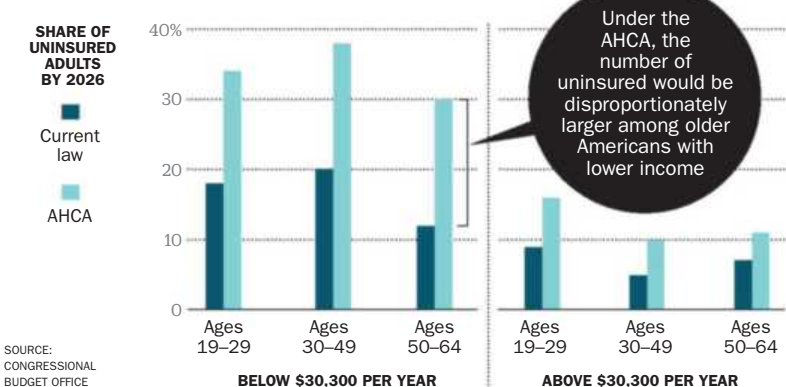
The health care bill is projected to save money



It will also greatly expand the number of uninsured...



... mostly among older people with lower income



"everybody" would have coverage if he became President, sent out advisers to spin the forecast as misleading fiction.

No one has figured out how to integrate the two visions into the same piece of legislation. Republicans can argue about efficiencies in the market, but the bottom line remains: health care is too costly for many Americans to afford on their own. And prices continue to rise. Cut the amount you spend and you cut the number of people who can get treatment outside of an emergency room. Set the political rhetoric aside and the debate over the AHCA is a debate over who gets help to pay for insurance and how much the government should shell out.

The result has been a messy process showcasing the splits the GOP tries to paper over. While the White House promises more and better coverage, many conservatives continue to question whether the government should require coverage at all. "You want to try to force-

feed people? I don't," said Republican Senator Jim Inhofe of Oklahoma. These disagreements have muddied the bill, Republicans say privately. "We ended up with a technocratic crap sandwich," one lawmaker griped.

As it stumbles through the House, the plan looks to be on the legislative equivalent of life support. Senate Republicans have made it clear that it won't pass the upper chamber without major revisions. The President, in his signature style, continues to promise that better days are ahead. "It will get better. Much better. Hopefully it will get very good," Trump told a group he had gathered at the White House to hear stories about their struggles with health care costs.

That's still a far cry from his campaign pledge. "We know that some are going to lose their coverage," said Republican Senator Orrin Hatch of Utah. "There's no way we can avoid that." Just don't expect Trump to say that anytime soon. □

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PERSONAL FINANCE

What to do if you can't file your taxes on time

By Ellen Stark

WITH A MONTH TO GO UNTIL TAX DAY, MISSING THE FILING DEADLINE may seem like a distant danger. What's more, this year you have three extra days. Because April 15 falls on a Saturday and Monday, April 17, is a holiday in Washington, D.C., the 2017 filing deadline is April 18.

Still, many Americans go right down to the wire—and past it. In 2016 a quarter of tax returns came in during the first three weeks of April. This year 1040s are trickling in more slowly, possibly because many early filers faced refund delays: until mid-February, the IRS was holding back many of those checks as part of a program to combat the growing problem of tax-identity theft.

Procrastination notwithstanding, finishing on time is a challenge. Tax-filing early birds tend to have simple returns and refunds on the way; taxpayers with more complex returns and a looming tax bill typically bring up the rear. The IRS estimates that filers using a 1040 rather than the simpler 1040A or 1040EZ spend 15 hours on their taxes, including seven hours on record keeping.

As tax day draws near and your odds of filing on time grow slimmer, here's what to do.



Buy yourself more time

Get an automatic six-month extension by filing a Form 4868 by mail or electronically. You can submit one online for free via the IRS's Free File program (irs.gov/freefile) even if you earn too much to qualify for free tax help (income of \$64,000 or less).

"There's a stigma around getting an extension, but there shouldn't be," says Martinsville, N.J., CPA Gail Rosen. "It's better to get one than to file and amend later." Not only will you have more time to get the details right, but this simple step will save you from a costly failure-to-file penalty of 5% of your unpaid taxes per month, up to a max of 25%.



Be sure to search out missing reports and take steps to get them in hand

By March, employers, brokerages, banks and lenders should have mailed W-2s, 1099s, 1098s and other forms. "If you haven't gotten them by now, it's time to contact the issuer and request a new copy," says Cari Weston, director of tax practice and ethics for the American Institute of Certified Public Accountants. You can probably fetch bank and brokerage forms online, and with your employer ID number on hand you may be able to download an errant W-2.



Don't move ahead with faulty or missing documents

The reporting forms for partnership income, for example, are routinely late. "Take the extension if you need a W-2 or 1099 corrected," says Mark Luscombe, principal federal tax analyst for Wolters Kluwer Tax & Accounting.

You could skip an extension if you're sure of a refund—penalties are based on what you owe—but file for one anyway. If the IRS never hears from you, notes Lisa Greene-Lewis, a CPA with TurboTax, the agency may send you a notice of taxes due based on what it thinks you should pay.



Know what can't wait

Even with an extension, you must pay what you owe by April 18 to avoid interest (currently 4%) and a late-payment penalty of 0.5% of your unpaid taxes per month, up to a max of 25%. If you're short on funds, send what you can. Once you do file, you can apply for an online payment agreement from the IRS as long as you owe \$50,000 or less. If you can pay within 120 days, you automatically qualify for a no-fee, short-term plan.

Also, this is your last chance to make key tax-saving moves. You have until April 18—not the Oct. 16 extension deadline—to put up to \$5,500 in an individual retirement account for 2016 (\$6,500 if you're 50 or older). If you had a high-deductible health plan in 2016, you have until April 18 to top off a tax-free health savings account. Singles can put in \$3,350; families \$6,750.

Small-business owners, though, can fund a 2016 SEP-IRA right up to the extension deadline, so grab that option if you need more time to fully fund your 2016 plan.

Finally, by late March or early April, you're running short on time for finding an accountant to take on your return. Again, better to file for an extension. "You don't want to be in a rush finding a preparer," says Weston, "and you don't want a preparer to rush your return."

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LightBox

An ouster in South Korea

Crowds celebrate in Seoul on March 11 after the Constitutional Court voted unanimously to remove President Park Geun-hye from office over a corruption and bribery scandal. A snap election must occur within 60 days of the ruling.

Photograph by Jeon Heon-Kyun—EPA

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The View

'WASHINGTON CONSENSUS: THE CORPORATE TAX CODE IS BROKEN, INEFFECTIVE AND NEEDS TO BE FIXED.' —PAGE 28



EPA chief Scott Pruitt, seen at a January confirmation hearing, has disputed the key cause of global warming

ENVIRONMENT

Why Republicans are embracing climate change

By Justin Worland

THROUGHOUT PRESIDENT OBAMA'S eight years in the White House, congressional Republicans rarely sounded the alarm over climate change. Even for those worried about it, there was no incentive to join with a Democratic Administration bullish on environmental issues. If the cause was already being championed, what, the political calculus went, was gained by defying their own party?

As with so much else in Washington, the election of President Trump has upended that thinking. The President has called climate change a "hoax" and issued Executive Orders to roll back Obama-era green initiatives. To run the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), he installed former Oklahoma attorney general Scott Pruitt, who said this month that he

doesn't believe carbon emissions drive climate change—a stark rejection of international scientific consensus. Now, in response to these scrambled battle lines and emboldened by their total control of government, a small but growing number of Republicans have begun standing up for science.

The latest break with party orthodoxy came on March 15, when 17 Republicans, whose districts stretch from the Florida coast to Nebraska's plains, introduced a resolution acknowledging the reality of man-made climate change and calling for private and public solutions to counter its effects.

"It's the right thing to do," says Pennsylvania Representative Ryan Costello. "We need Republicans to be vocal about this issue—particularly since the Republicans

control the House, Senate and the Administration.”

The resolution follows a wave of GOP climate efforts. Last month a group of party elder statesmen led by former Secretary of State James Baker unveiled a plan for a tax on carbon pollution that was praised by environmentalists. On Capitol Hill, a handful of Republican Senators have joined with Democrats to stall an effort to overturn a Bureau of Land Management rule targeting methane-gas emissions. And a bipartisan climate-solutions group, known informally as the Noah’s Ark caucus, added nine Republicans this year, more than doubling the GOP total, to 15. When Florida Representative Carlos Curbelo co-founded the caucus in February 2016, it took months to persuade the first few Republicans to join.

For the environmental lobby, which has whip-lash after trading the friendly Obama Administration for the hostile Trump White House, even small gestures are welcome. “The symbolic value is huge,” says the Environmental Defense Fund’s Elizabeth Thompson. “We’re in an era where a lot of forces are conspiring against the expression of this position.”

But the practical effect of these moves on environmental policy is far less clear. The Trump Administration is expected to undo the Clean Power Plan, Obama’s chief regulation targeting carbon emissions, and encourage further development of fossil-fuel resources. And even the Republicans calling for action on climate change mostly shrugged off the carbon-tax proposal. “Environmentalists immediately move to talking about carbon tax, and that’s just a nonstarter,” says Costello.

There are other places where the parties may find common ground. Funding infrastructure improvements that promote clean energy and creating financial incentives for energy efficiency are ideas with bipartisan support. But it will take far more expansive efforts for the U.S. to meet its international commitments to reduce greenhouse-gas emissions—let alone counteract the larger threats posed by a warming planet.

While the current Administration may not take those concerns seriously, a large portion of the American public does. In a Gallup poll released on March 14, a majority of respondents said they believe global warming is occurring and is caused by human activity. Forty-five percent, meanwhile, said they worry “a great deal” about it—a record high and a big jump from just last year.

And more Republicans are paying attention. “There’s energy out there to be harnessed,” says South Carolina Representative Mark Sanford, who signed the climate resolution. “If that energy was around more than just health care and immigration and included climate change, that could be something that breaks this issue free.” □

VERBATIM
‘The only bipartisan thing left in America is the fight against cancer.’

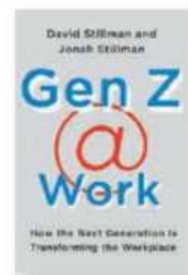
JOE BIDEN, former Vice President, imploring tech innovators to help accelerate cancer research, during a speech at South by Southwest in Austin



BOOK IN BRIEF

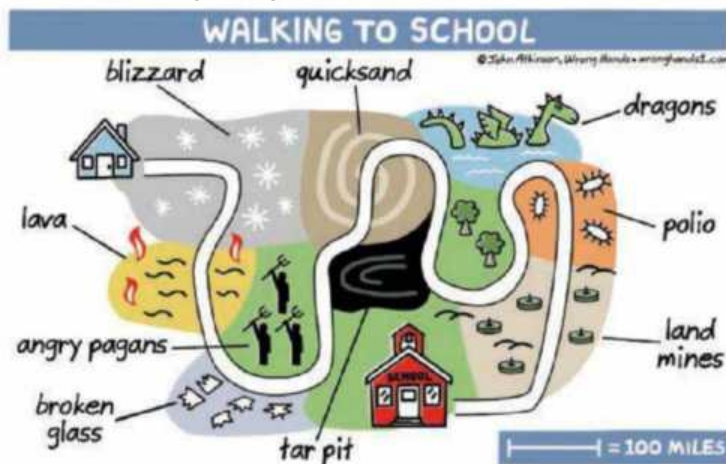
How to work with Generation Z

MUCH INK HAS BEEN SPILLED ABOUT millennials in the workplace. But how should employers approach the generation following them? In *Gen Z @ Work*, David Stillman and his son Jonah surveyed this new wave of workers—specifically, those born between 1995 and 2012—to reveal several key take-aways. Unlike millennials, they write, Gen Z-ers have been living with the Internet since birth, and 91% of them say that a company’s technological sophistication would affect their decision to work there. They also have a more DIY attitude about job skills, thanks to their love of YouTube how-tos. And because of their FOMO (fear of missing out), the Stillmans write, they want to have “a lot in the hopper at all times”—in fact, 75% of the subjects surveyed say they’re interested in jobs where they could serve multiple roles at once. It’s critical for employers to understand these changes and adapt accordingly now, the authors conclude, as more and more Gen Z-ers start to break into the workforce. —SARAH BEGLEY



CHARTOON

‘Back in my day’



JOHN ATKINSON, WRONG HANDS

BIDEN: JIM BENNETT—GETTY IMAGES

BIG IDEA

The bee drone

How much technology would it take to replace a bee? That's the question industrial-design student Anna Haldewang aims to answer with Plan Bee, a hand-size drone that detects flowers with an ultraviolet camera, then uses a suction mechanism to suck pollen from one plant and blow it into another. For now, the product prototype—which won't hit the market for at least two years—is meant to help people understand how bees pollinate, says Haldewang, adding that she has no plans to “take over the bee population.” But similar technology may soon be necessary on a larger scale, as pesticides and climate change threaten the future of bee colonies around the world—and, by extension, the crops they pollinate. —Julia Zorthian



HISTORY

The political history of St. Patrick's Day green

IF THERE'S ONE THING PEOPLE ASSOCIATE with St. Patrick's Day—and by extension, Ireland itself—it's the color green. And with good reason: the Emerald Isle is famous for its verdant landscapes, and there's a bright green bar on its national flag.

But green wasn't always synonymous with Irish pride. During the 16th century, experts believe, the national color was blue; when Henry VIII identified as King of Ireland, that was the color of his flag. (In fact, the Irish presidency is still represented by a blue flag with a harp.)

That started to change during the Great Irish Rebellion in the 17th century, during which displaced Catholic landowners and bishops rebelled against Protestant settlers and their English allies. One of the rebel leaders, Owen Roe O'Neill, used a green flag with a harp to represent his Catholic

confederation. Although he was ultimately defeated, O'Neill's flag helped turn the color green into a national “symbol of endurance,” says Timothy McMahon, vice president of the American Conference for Irish Studies.

The color popped up again during an effort in the 1790s to bring republican politics to Ireland, inspired by the American and French revolutions. One police report described the uniform of the Society of United Irishmen, a group that promoted this idea, as a dark green coat, green and white striped trousers, and a felt hat with a green cockade. Though the striped pants may have been a passing fad, the Irish love of green—buoyed by poems and ballads, most famously “The Wearing of the Green”—has endured ever since. —OLIVIA B. WAXMAN

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


**DATA
THIS
JUST IN**

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

1

**STRAWBERRIES
TOP LIST OF 'DIRTY'
PRODUCE**

Strawberries topped the Environmental Working Group's annual “Dirty Dozen,” which ranks the produce with the most pesticide residue. (Spinach placed second.) On the opposite end of the spectrum: sweet corn and avocados, which were dubbed the least pesticide-contaminated.

2

**'PINK NOISE'
COULD HELP OLDER
PEOPLE'S MEMORIES**

A study in *Frontiers in Human Neuroscience* found that 13 people over age 60 who took memory tests before and after sleeping performed three times as well on average when they dozed while listening to pink noise, a mix of high and low frequencies.

3

**MOST AMERICAN
KIDS FALL FOR
FAKE NEWS**

A survey from Common Sense Media found that less than 45% of Americans ages 10 to 18 said they could accurately suss out fake news in their social-media feeds, and nearly a third of respondents said they had shared inaccurate news before realizing it. —J.Z.

Will the BAT be the tax that changes everything?

By Haley Sweetland Edwards

THERE ARE LOTS OF REASONS FOR California Representative Devin Nunes to be excited about his job these days. As chairman of the House Intelligence Committee, he is leading a classified investigation into Russian interference in U.S. elections, and as a member of President Trump's transition team, he played a key role in staffing the new Administration. But if you talk to the 43-year-old Congressman, it soon becomes clear that nothing gets him going quite like a wonky hunk of tax policy that means nothing to most Americans: the destination-based cash-flow tax with border adjustment—or BAT, for short.

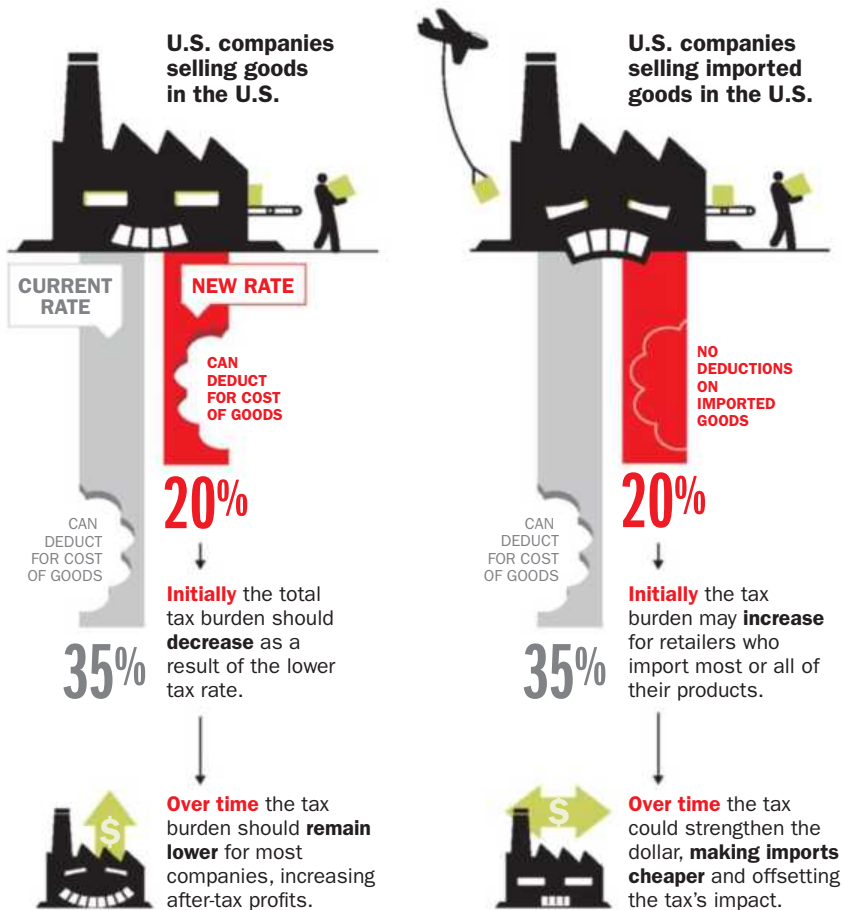
"It changes absolutely everything," Nunes told TIME recently, from his ground-floor office across the street from Capitol Hill. "It moves us to a fundamentally new system."

Nunes is one of the most vocal champions of the central, mind-bending provision of the House Republican plan to overhaul the corporate tax code. It would lower the corporate tax rate to 20%, from 35%, eliminate levies on all U.S. exports and impose a 20% tax on imports. It's a mix that is expected to raise an estimated \$1 trillion in federal revenue over a decade, according to the Tax Foundation, making it the linchpin for passing any comprehensive tax-reform bill this term. "It's a really, really big deal," Nunes says of the proposal that House Republicans hope Trump will formally embrace in the coming weeks.

But the tax has also earned really, really big enemies, igniting something of a conservative civil war in Washington, with House Republican leadership lining up in favor and deep-pocketed activists and lobbyists vehemently opposed. The BAT, opponents say, would force big-box stores out of business, drive up the cost of everything from baby formula to avocados and potentially spark a devastating trade war. "I think we need

MONEY FLOW The new GOP corporate tax proposal could benefit exports and hurt importers in the short term. But the lasting effect may be a stronger dollar—which would even out the gains between winners and losers

Effects of **new tax rate** on ...



to be realistic about what a huge risk this is for our economy," says David French, the top lobbyist for the National Retail Federation.

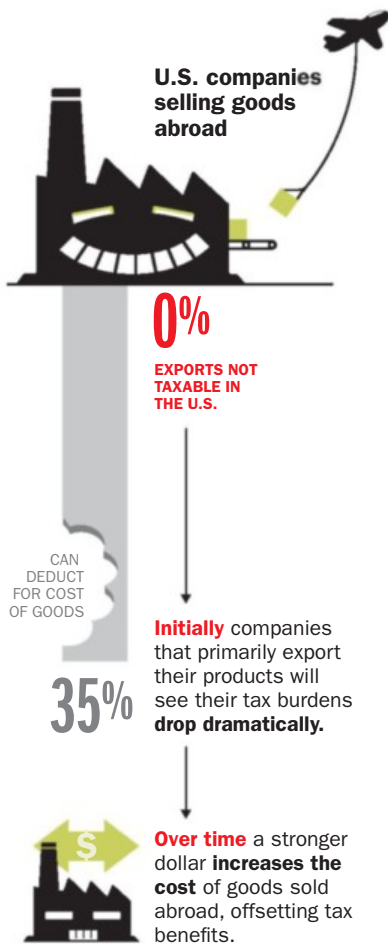
It's a fight both Nunes and House Speaker Paul Ryan are eager to have, though they admit that the complexity of the plan makes it difficult. "The longer it takes to explain," warned Senator Tim Scott, a Republican from South Carolina, "the harder it is to implement."

But proponents of the plan—which Trump hinted at in his address to Congress—say it is bold and revolutionary at a time when the country is clamoring for big changes that would curtail corporate taxes and encourage more U.S. manufacturing. The BAT is not just a new tax rate, after all. It would

burn down the current tax code and replace it with something entirely new. "This is the most dramatic change to business taxation ever proposed in the United States, period," said former John McCain economics adviser Douglas Holtz-Eakin, who supports the plan.

WHEN IT COMES TO the state of the tax code, there's a surprising amount of consensus in Washington: liberals, conservatives and every President from Bill Clinton to Donald Trump agree that the corporate tax is broken, ineffective and needs to be fixed.

The problem, in a nutshell, is that the 35% corporate tax rate is among the highest in the developed world. But because of loopholes, it produces



less federal revenue, as a percentage of GDP, than most other countries'. The current system also creates an incentive for companies to perform feats of legal acrobatics, like relocating corporate headquarters and shuffling intellectual property to far-flung foreign locales, to shield their balance sheets from the IRS.

That's where the BAT comes in. In theory, this little tax will fix those big problems. Instead of taxing corporate profits, the BAT taxes corporate cash flow. That means it doesn't matter where a company's headquarters are located or where its intellectual property is housed. All that matters is where it sells its products. If it sells its products in America, it pays 20% on what it makes. If it sells its products abroad, it pays no

U.S. corporate tax at all. (Foreign taxes would still apply.)

The BAT also simplifies the laundry list of deductions and carve-outs buried in the current tax code. Under the BAT, companies would be allowed to deduct from their taxable income U.S.-based labor costs and expense capital, like machinery, immediately upon purchase. But they would no longer be able to deduct net interest, asset depreciation or the cost of any imported goods.

THIS IS HOW it would work: if a company makes a T-shirt in Oklahoma and sells it in California, it deducts its capital and labor expenses, and then pays a 20% tax on what it made from that T-shirt. If a company imports a T-shirt from China and sells it in California, then it doesn't get to deduct the cost of the T-shirt, but it still pays 20% on what it makes selling it. If a company makes a T-shirt in Oklahoma and sells it in France, it pays no U.S. corporate tax on its sales at all. Nada. Zero. Zilch.

On paper, it's pretty clear to see why companies that are primarily exporters, like Boeing and Dow Chemical, stand to gain from the tax—and why companies that are primarily importers, such as Walmart and Target, are nervous.

Americans for Affordable Products, a coalition of big-box stores, mom-and-pop outlets and other opponents of the BAT, say retailers won't be able to simply shift their supply chains stateside. There aren't enough U.S. factories—or independent contractors on Etsy—to keep up with demand. Instead, those retailers would pay the 20% tax on imports while passing on the cost to consumers in higher prices, resulting in what the National Retail Federation estimates will be a \$1,700 hit to American households in the first year the tax is enacted.

But such calculations tell only part of the story, say economists from both ends of the ideological spectrum. Since the tax has the effect of essentially subsidizing exports and penalizing imports, textbook economic models predict it should have the effect of strengthening the value of the U.S. dollar by as much as 25%. That, in turn, would make imports cheaper and exports more expensive. So the effect on store prices over time could

be entirely offset. Consumer prices may rise in the short term, but then bounce back to normal. "It comes down to supply and demand," said Larry Lindsey, former director of the National Economic Council, under George W. Bush.

Or that's the theory, at least. Reuven Avi-Yonah, a law professor at the University of Michigan who has studied the tax extensively, says that in the real world, it's difficult to predict foreign exchange rates and to foresee how they will affect the global economy. "It's misguided to think that it'll behave rationally," he says.

That's to say nothing, he added, of the potential legal complications of the new tax. If our trade partners interpret the BAT as an opening volley in a trade war, U.S. exporters could very well see themselves on the losing side of international sanctions. John Connaughton, a University of North Carolina at Charlotte professor of financial economics, predicts that other countries will file legal challenges "out the wazoo" at the World Trade Organization, demanding that it declare the BAT a violation of international trade laws.

In a normal year, with less mercurial politics and a more predictable White House, the BAT would be dead in the water. There are too many short-term losers, too much opposition from powerful industry actors and too little consensus among Republicans. The last big overhaul was in 1986, when Nunes was in middle school. Even then, a version of the BAT was on the table, but it wasn't taken seriously on the Hill, in part because it was considered politically unfeasible.

But it's worth noting that this isn't a normal year. Trump, voicing the id of a populist base, has already made confetti of long-held Republican orthodoxy, embraced incendiary rhetoric and promised policies that have traditional business-side Republicans running for the hills. The idea that he could be the first President in over three decades to embrace a revolutionary policy with big risks and big rewards is not out of the question. "There have been a lot of dark times over the years," Nunes says, describing his battle to get the Republican caucus to seriously consider the BAT. "I'd say we're closer now than ever." □

LOOKING FORWARD

Why a rate hike is an indicator of a healthy economy

By Bill Saporito

FORGET ABOUT YOUR BRACKETS IN the March Madness pool. The surest bet this month has been that the Federal Reserve would raise interest rates at next meeting. And it did, boosting the federal funds target rate to 1% from 0.75% on March 15.

It's now a lock, as the bookies say, that rates will continue to climb this year. The bookies in this case are the futures traders who have pegged the chances of another rate increase at 88%. Federal Reserve Chair Janet Yellen nearly screamed it out in a recent speech: "We currently judge that it will be appropriate to gradually increase the federal funds rate if the economic data continue to come in about as we expect."

AFTER EIGHT YEARS of limbo-low interest rates, why the rush to raise, which triggers higher rates in just about everything else financial? And why would a guy who is heavily invested in the rate-sensitive real estate business when he's not President want to preside over such a move?

Because at this point a rate rise is an indicator of a healthy economy. For the Fed's purposes, that means we're close to full employment and prices are under control. "This is the patient at the hospital front desk being released," says Tom Siomades, head of Hartford Funds Investment Consulting Group.

The hospital bill has to be paid, though: as interest rates float upward, you will be seeing rising costs for mortgages, car loans and credit-card debt—which is currently north of 16%. Home mortgages, which are tied to the 10-year Treasury note, have been rising steadily to a recent 4.38% average nationally. That will make owning a home more expensive, one of the reasons home sales are heating up as buyers try to lock in rates. For downsizers looking to cash in, it's become a good time to make the move. For first-time home buyers, on



the other hand, the math is getting a little tougher.

Among the clear winners will be savers, who have been suffering for years. Whether they are retirees, people nearing retirement or those who are just parking cash for later on, the rate increase will boost the paltry yields on CDs and money-market accounts. According to Crane Data, the average rate paid by the top 100 money funds is 0.5%, but it's expected to jump to 0.75%. That certainly may not seem significant, but when you consider that these accounts hold some \$2.6 trillion, the move means an additional \$675 million in interest flowing from banks into savers' pockets on an annualized basis.

And according to Morningstar, investors seeking less risk shifted \$412 billion into fixed-income instruments, even as bond prices fell, which happens as interest rates rise. It's a bit counterintuitive that people are going into bonds, but by pushing more into short-duration bonds, asset managers can reinvest in higher-yielding notes fairly quickly as rates rise.

That's happening even as the post-election Trump bump sent the S&P up about 10%. It raises the question of whether the stock market, goosed by the President's proposed fiscal and regulatory policies, may soon suffer some jitters. "Investors are really high on the

fumes that everything Trump promises is going to come through," says Bernard Baumohl, chief global economist at the Economic Outlook Group. "If it doesn't, you could see a capitulation." By promising lower taxes, relaxed regulations and a muscular \$1 trillion infrastructure program, the Trump Administration has stoked expectations to what Goldman Sachs CEO Lloyd Blankfein calls a "growthier" environment. But uncertainty over whether the President can actually execute those plans—consider the hurdles the White House is facing as it tries to replace Obamacare—could cause the market to pause.

IN RAISING RATES, the Fed is declaring that the recovery from the Great Recession—and what a wimpy one it turned out to be—is finally history. At the same time, once it has raised rates, the Fed can then resort to its traditional toolbox—a rate cut—if the economy gets wonky again.

More broadly, the news is good for retirement savers. We have economic growth, income growth and job growth, and inflation is behaving as the Fed desires, reaching its 2% target. It means that America is getting back to normal. The one caveat to consider is that in Washington, D.C., normal left town a long time ago and doesn't figure to be back anytime soon. □

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NINETY TWO

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U.S. security hinges on getting Foggy Bottom back in the game

By **Admiral James Stavridis**

IN MILITARY PARLANCE, A “MISSING MAN” FORMATION IS a poignant aerial tribute to a fallen comrade. A group of jets come flying toward the crowd, and suddenly one of them shears off into the sunset, leaving a symbolic empty spot in the formation. It is a sad reminder of the value of those we lose.

Today’s State Department is in danger of becoming a missing man in the interagency formation. We need to move quickly to shore up this absolutely vital element of our national security. Storm clouds are gathering: a new Secretary with no diplomatic experience being obviously marginalized by the White House; massive budget-cut proposals; empty positions across the department, from top to bottom; little to no visible consultation on key diplomatic issues, from a one-China policy to a two-state solution in the Middle East; a growing tendency of global leaders to go to the White House instead of State; and a plethora of reports that Foggy Bottom is in the grips of low morale and true malaise. How dangerous is this state of affairs, and how can we correct it before it gets worse?

In terms of danger, I cannot think of a higher risk for the U.S. than to have widely perceived weakness emanating from the State Department. Our security is based on three key elements of engagement with the world, often called the three D’s: defense, diplomacy and development. Defense, where hard power is housed, is the largest and best funded by far, with nearly \$600 billion, more than 10 times the budget of State. Our soft power is dependent on the twin elements of diplomacy from State and development from the Agency for International Development (foreign aid and assistance comes in at less than \$25 billion).

AS A FOUR-STAR COMBATANT COMMANDER and senior defense leader for almost a decade, I watched the interplay of hard and soft power in peace and crisis. The ability to wield them together is crucial. When we have done so, the outcomes have been far better than when either is used alone: ending the furious wars in the Balkans in the 1990s and the virulent insurgency in Colombia, a vital ally of the U.S.

Where we have tried to use solutions that are hard-power-based, notably in Iraq after the fall of Saddam Hussein in 2003 and in Afghanistan when the Taliban threatened to overwhelm the fragile government in 2009, we have been far less successful. To build working alliances and coalitions, an effective State Department is essential.

First, Secretary Rex Tillerson must be given carte blanche to build his senior team. All Administrations have to balance obligations from the campaign with the desires

SOFT POWER, HARD TIMES

Head count

At least six top officials left the State Department after Trump’s Inauguration; in total, over two dozen critical roles remain unfilled.

Money woes

Tillerson (*below*) did not publicly oppose a suggested 37% cut to State’s over \$50 billion budget, but the White House reportedly will initially cut less because he privately objected.



of Cabinet officials, but the Trump team has been slow in filling top jobs everywhere. Given the press of international affairs and low morale, State should move to the front of the line.

Second, State should raise the public profile of the Secretary. Tillerson, with his superb background, could be a huge force for good. But there has been scant public engagement by the Secretary, taking a highly credible voice off the table. The world needs to see the Secretary in action, and that means taking a press pool abroad and giving occasional press conferences.

Third, budget cuts to State must be avoided, even if the Department of Defense has to bear them. As General James Mattis famously remarked in congressional testimony several years ago, cutting the budget at State only means buying more ammunition for Defense—a vastly less cost-effective expense. A huge cut to foreign aid—a tiny percentage of the overall budget—is likewise a mistake.

Fourth, the leaders of State, Defense, USAID and Homeland Security should hold a strategic summit to begin laying out a coherent, interagency security strategy, including intelligent integration of Homeland Security organizations (like the Coast Guard).

Finally, the President must make clear that he puts full faith in his Secretary of State. That means visibly seeking his counsel, bringing him to significant international meetings (like the upcoming NATO summit) and referring to him when discussing international events. At the moment, such White House attention is missing, and global leaders are losing confidence.

There is still time to reverse what journalist David Ignatius called an “agonizingly slow start,” but the road to irrelevance is before us. Let’s hope the White House gets in formation.

Stavridis is dean of the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University and a former Supreme Allied Commander at NATO

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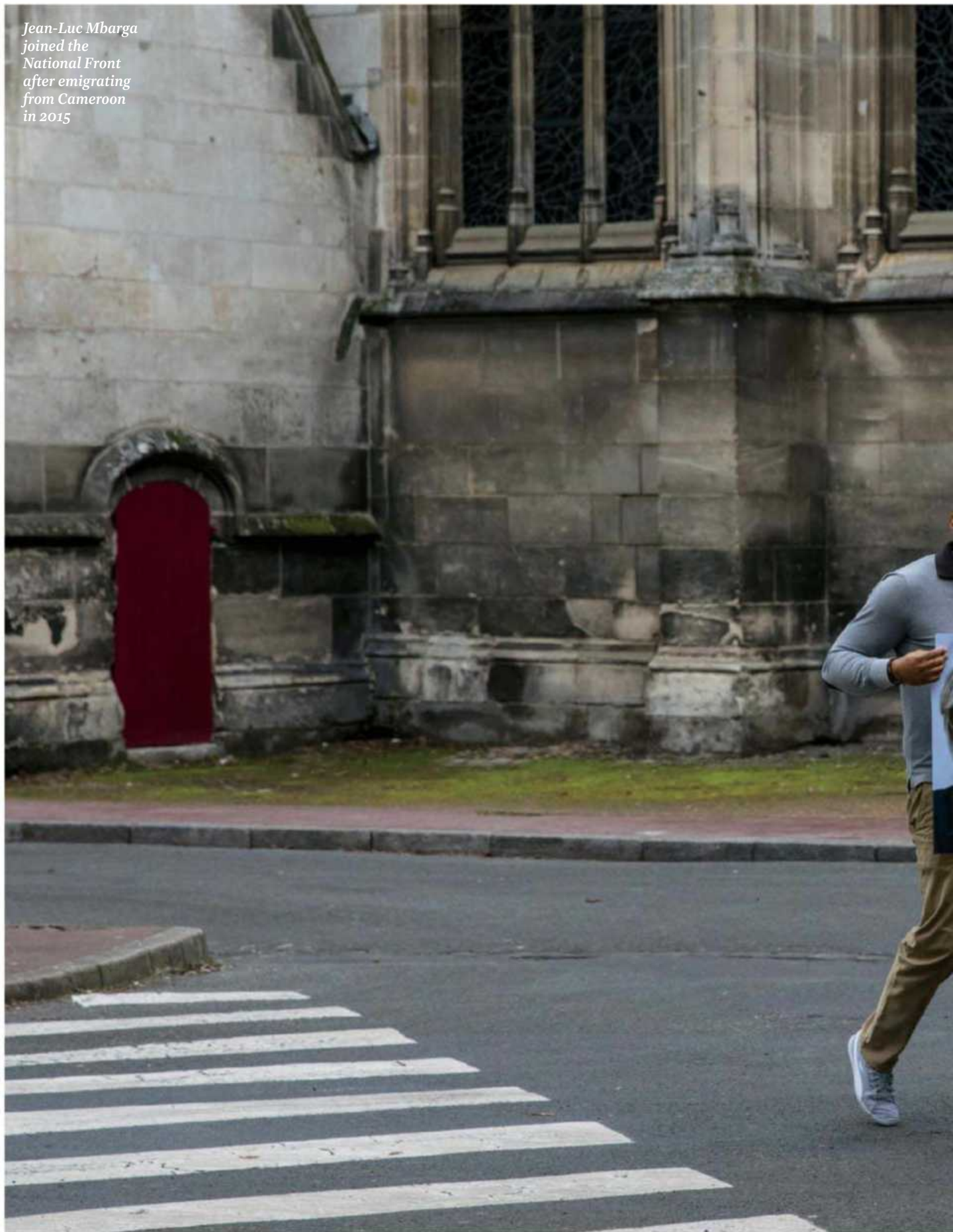
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*As of 12/31/2016.

*Jean-Luc Mbarga
joined the
National Front
after emigrating
from Cameroon
in 2015*





World

The Power of Le Pen

Win or lose, France's populist has already shaken up her country

By Vivienne Walt/Amiens, France



PATRICE SINOQUET LOVES THE UNITED States of America. In this bleak corner of northern France, he stands out in his Harley-Davidson jacket, his arms tattooed with Old Glory and a Route 66 sign. But Sinoquet's fondness for the U.S. took a jolt earlier this year, when his Michigan-based employer, Whirlpool Corp., announced that it was shutting its factory here and moving production to Poland. Workers there earn significantly less than their French counterparts and have less robust benefits and protections, yet Poland conveniently sits within the European Union's borderless, tariff-free zone.

"This is the story today in France," says Sinoquet, 54, who started working at the plant at age 20 and met his wife and many of his friends on the assembly line. "Since 2000, we workers have been thrown out like Kleenex," he adds, sitting in the reception area of the factory. "And since 2008, there have been no jobs. Here in France there is no work, no enterprises."

Sinoquet's grim assessment is echoed across France's old industrial heartland, an area that spans some 200 miles near the Belgian border. Much as voters in the rusting factory towns of Ohio, Pennsylva-

^
Sinoquet outside Whirlpool's factory in Amiens. The plant is moving to Poland, where labor is cheaper

nia and Michigan helped Donald Trump defeat the Establishment in the U.S. last year, the French living in these neglected "departments" threaten to torpedo the dual-party establishment that has governed France for generations, and send a shock through the rest of Europe too.

As the French get ready to pick their next President in two rounds of voting in April and May, millions of voters exasperated by the failures of those two parties seem willing to back an insurgent to run the country. The candidacy of far-right National Front leader Marine Le Pen has been nourished by a groundswell of support in hard-hit towns across France. Now, with just weeks to go before voting begins, Le Pen is a favorite to clinch the first round against a raft of seasoned insiders, and could yet seize the presidency itself in the final round on May 7.

Le Pen wants France to have much looser E.U. ties or to withdraw completely from the union, and to reimpose

border controls. She also wants priority for French job seekers and to bring back a national French currency, like the franc. Her unalloyed nationalism includes banning headscarves and yarmulkes in public and burkinis on beaches.

Until now, many supporters of left- and right-wing mainstream parties have vowed to vote against her in the final round, in order to shut her out, as they did with her father Jean-Marie Le Pen in 2002 and with her during regional elections in 2015. But a series of mishaps and scandals has made that promise undependable this time around. Polls show her losing the second round. But those examining poll numbers warn that dismissing a Le Pen presidency could prove foolhardy; just ask those who believed that a Trump victory could never happen.

Like Trump's victory, a win by Le Pen would have a seismic impact far beyond the country's borders. A Frexit and ditching the euro would be a grievous blow to an E.U. reeling from Brexit, severely weakening it. Deutsche Bank warned in late February that the impact of a President Le Pen's Frexit push could be "beyond a 'Lehman's moment,'" referring to the



Stéphanie Tricotet, with her son Donovan, supports Le Pen's anti-immigration policies

collapse of Lehman Brothers investment bank in 2008, which heralded the deepest global recession since the 1930s.

Those living amid the shuttered factories around this part of northern France have heard all the doomsday predictions before. But to many, they sound unconvincing, an attempt to divert them from their intended vote. “Left, right, left, right, the parties have endured for 40 years. People are sick of both,” says Philippe Théveniaud, regional head of the French Confederation of Christian Workers, or CFTC, which represents the Whirlpool workers in Amiens. Explaining Le Pen’s rising popularity here, he says, “This is what is remaining.”

Seizing on the disaffection, Le Pen has lumped together the mainstream parties in her speeches as one hopeless enterprise that voters ought to shun. “Her message is simple: ‘Left and right are the same corrupt establishment,’” says Nonna Mayer, a political science professor at Sciences Po Institute in Paris. “They say to people, ‘The others have failed. You have no choice but to try us.’”

That argument sounds logical to many voters after years of economic paralysis.

France, the world’s sixth-biggest economy, has sputtered along for years with virtually no growth. Average unemployment rates have hovered around 10% for several years, and in this corner of France, known as the Somme, they are higher. The question now is whether disaffection with the status quo is strong enough to convince voters to place their bets on a high-risk choice.

WHEN TIME LAST TRAVELED around this area, in 2014, it was with Le Pen herself. France was struggling in a recession, and she offered what sounded like an outlandish prediction. “The National Front will be in power within 10 years,” she told me then, adding that her party had already become “the center of gravity in French politics. On both right and left, they are taking our ideas.” Nearly three years on, Le Pen, now 48, has been proved right in one of those predictions: she is now at the center of France’s political churn.

Through months of campaigning, the arguments from her rivals, left and right, have essentially boiled down to one question: Who can best halt Le Pen’s rise?

No one knows, so far. In a country famous for breeding a small, cloistered political class, French politics has been dully predictable for decades, with power trading back and forth between the Socialist Party and conservatives. But this campaign has upended many precedents, beginning in December, when the deeply unpopular President François Hollande announced he would not seek a second five-year term—the first French leader in decades to decline to run for re-election. Since then, almost every certainty about who the next French President will be has crumbled in a near incessant saga of scandal and voter anger—in some ways echoing last year’s U.S. campaign that obliterated every Republican front runner, until only Trump was left standing.

First, former President Nicolas Sarkozy, a conservative Republican, and his socialist rival, former Prime Minister Manuel Valls—widely assumed to be the top contenders—were both trounced in party primaries, leaving Republican

François Fillon, Sarkozy's former Prime Minister, as the odds-on front runner. But Fillon's ratings have slid badly since allegations in January that, during his time in office, he paid his wife, adult daughter and adult son nearly \$1 million of government money for jobs they never performed; he denies it. On March 14, a judge formally charged him with misusing public funds.

Le Pen's chief rival is instead another relative outsider: Emmanuel Macron, Hollande's former Economy Minister, who at 39 is waging his first-ever election campaign. Macron too is attempting to rip up years of political tradition, with a new political movement, *En Marche!* (roughly, *On the Move!*). He told *TIME* last year that France's political system, with its lavish benefits and watertight labor protections, was "sclerotic" and "no longer sustainable." But Macron is an unlikely insurgent. A liberal economist and former Rothschild & Co. banker, he is heavily pro-E.U. and favors global trade deals. Fluent in English, his frequent references to French history and philosophy have irked Le Pen, who has lashed out at him as a disconnected elitist in thrall to globalization.

The weeks of scandal have lifted Le Pen's campaign (even though she too is being investigated, for misuse of E.U. funds, an allegation she denies). She has stormed across the country, pounding the theme that politicians have subsumed the needs of their French citizens to the dictates of Brussels, where the E.U. is headquartered. She alone, she says, can defend "the France of the people" and return the country to them.

Her timing could hardly be better. A deep unease has washed across France amid the momentous events of the past two years: the terrorist attacks in Paris and Nice, which killed a total of 231 people, and the influx of some 1.3 million migrants into Europe. Both have been deeply unsettling in this nation of 67 million, many traditionally Catholic. In areas already hard-hit economically, both terrorism and the migrant crisis have shaken loose strong fears of being overwhelmed by outside forces, feeding into years of the Front's anti-immigrant talk.

Still, locals insist the support for Le Pen is not confined to unemployed people or white racists, as they say their detractors

have suggested. The Le Pen supporters *TIME* encountered in the Somme included a store owner who had emigrated from Ivory Coast and a computer technician from Cameroon. Both said they liked her fierce patriotism—a message Le Pen has made the theme of every speech.

"We are for local, against global!" Le Pen thundered onstage to thousands of cheering supporters when she formally launched her campaign in Lyon on Feb. 5. Spotlighted alone on a pitch-dark stage, she told the crowd that "economic globalization" and "Islamic fundamentalism" were "working to make our nation disappear." She was framed against her campaign slogan, "*au nom du peuple*"—in the name of the people. Le Pen's "France first" strategy, with its threats to companies that offshore French jobs, will sound strikingly familiar to Americans—and that is no accident. Le Pen, alone among French politicians, hailed Trump's victory as a triumph for her own ideas, and a sign that her own improbable presidential campaign might prevail.

Within moments of Trump's victory being declared on Nov. 9, Le Pen's closest aide and strategist, the Front's vice president Florian Philippot, tweeted: "Their world is collapsing. Ours is being built." The following week, Le Pen told me in an email exchange that just as Americans had chosen Trump, so too would French voters "take their destiny into their own hands" and vote for her. (Le Pen dropped by Trump Tower in New York City in January but did not see the President.)

AROUND AMIENS, the message of taking back control has hit home. For generations, the area's left-wing residents have elected communist mayors and socialist parliamentarians. Its firebrand unions have engaged in some of France's fiercest battles in recent times, as multinational companies shift production to cheaper countries. In 2014, a year after Good-

'MY GRANDFATHER WAS A COMMUNIST. ME, I WILL VOTE FOR LE PEN.'

Jean-Pierre Gourdet, 45

year announced it was shutting down its Amiens tire factory after nearly 50 years, laying off 1,173 workers, union activists burned barricades, fought pitched battles with police and kidnapped two executives. Today weeds push through the fences of the abandoned plant. The desolation is a familiar sight to old-timers. "This was a deeply industrial area, with thousands of workers, who have lost everything," says Jean-Paul Grumetz, a local historian, as he walks me around deserted redbrick factories in Flixecourt, a village 14 miles west of Amiens, once home to a thriving textile industry. "This is our Detroit."

And, as in Michigan, which voted Republican in the 2016 presidential election for the first time since 1988, political opinions here have drifted rightward as disillusion has hardened. "My grandfather was a communist. Me, I will vote for Le Pen," says Jean-Pierre Gourdet, 45, a quality team leader at the Whirlpool factory, where his father and grandfather also worked; he and his father both met their wives in the factory. Gourdet says his far-right views mark a sharp break with family tradition. He explains that his grandfather lived before the E.U.'s passport-free labor market shifted thousands of French jobs to Eastern Europe. Now, he says, he is drawn to Le Pen "because she says, 'France first, others afterward.'"

Whirlpool's Jan. 24 announcement that it would shut its French factory handed Le Pen a potent campaign weapon. Only 290 Whirlpool workers will lose their jobs (though more subcontracted workers will likely follow), and the factory is set to remain open until June of next year. But for Le Pen, the decision to move production to Poland is living proof of her key message: the E.U. is killing French jobs.

Le Pen supporters in Amiens have seized the moment. In late February, they gathered outside the Whirlpool gates as shifts changed, pressing workers to join their cause and inviting them to have lunch with Le Pen's deputy Philippot, who was driving up from Paris the following day. Several workers stopped to talk, expressing curiosity and taking the Front's leaflets, which read, **BRING DOWN UNEMPLOYMENT: IT'S POSSIBLE!** The flip side laid out Le Pen's plan for "economic patriotism," including now familiar promises: closing France's borders, ditching the euro



and giving priority to French companies.

“The National Front is the only party that gives people hope in these elections,” says Éric Richermoz, 24, handing out leaflets outside the factory. Richermoz, who recently graduated from business school and speaks flawless English, looked in his suit and tie like he might be one of Whirlpool’s young managers. In fact he is a National Front candidate for the National Assembly in elections in June. He says the Front enjoys growing support inside factories like Whirlpool’s. “We don’t think that finding workers that are cheaper and cheaper, with worse working conditions, is a good thing for the people of the world,” he says.

That same message dominated lunch the next day, in the small town of Oresmaux, a half-hour drive south. No Whirlpool workers were among the 200 or so guests, but the speeches all trumpeted their cause. SUPPORT WHIRLPOOL read the banner hanging across the stage. Underneath, next to a large photo of Le Pen, a poster read, PATRIOTS WITH MARINE.

For Philippot, it was a perfect moment to sharpen Le Pen’s campaign message. The Front’s dapper deputy, 35, is cred-

^
Le Pen’s strategist Philippot meets a Dutch television crew in Oresmaux in northern France on Feb. 17

ited with transforming the party from a marginal, extremist institution five years ago to a credible election force able to recruit among disaffected socialists and Republicans. Educated at the same elite Paris institution that has churned out several Presidents (including Hollande and Macron), lawmakers and CEOs, Philippot has overseen key campaign decisions, including having Le Pen distance herself from her father Jean-Marie, whose virulently anti-Semitic and homophobic remarks in the past made him toxic to most voters. She expelled her father, and cast herself as the common person’s champion. Le Pen’s campaign posters now read simply MARINE 2017, with no reference to her last name.

Hopping onstage in a well-cut suit and tie, Philippot whips up the crowd into a frenzy over Whirlpool’s audacity in leaving France. “If Whirlpool takes the responsibility to go to Poland, then everything coming out of that factory, back to

the French market, will be taxed heavily,” he said to loud cheers from the lunch tables. He tells them not to believe those who fear Le Pen as President. “Those who are trying to scare you are the same people who lied about Brexit, who lied about Donald Trump,” he says. And somewhat mirroring Trump’s attacks on Hillary Clinton for her links to Goldman Sachs, Philippot tears into Macron for his years as a Rothschild banker. “Mr. Macron is a candidate of the banks, a candidate of big finance,” he tells them. “The election will be a referendum for or against France.”

Such fiery talk looks likely to clinch the first-round election for Le Pen. When I ask Philippot how Le Pen can win the decisive second round and become President of France, he says the key is reassuring voters that Le Pen will not wreck their country, or Europe. “We need to tell people not to listen to those who say there will be some apocalypse if Marine Le Pen is President,” he says. “You have to make the choice of the heart. That is for patriotism of France.” No matter who wins, that choice will likely be for an outsider to run France—yet another European country entering unknown political terrain. □

Health

Simple drugs stopped this child from getting HIV from her mother.

Yet 400 babies are born every day with the disease.

What will it take to protect them all?

By Alice Park

IN THE FALL OF 2010, MASONIA TRAYLOR's life changed overnight. Then 23, she was living with her new boyfriend in Atlanta and working as a pharmacy technician at a nearby drugstore. She took good care of herself, always went for an annual checkup, and ever since she graduated from high school, she had made it a practice to get tested for HIV and other sexually transmitted diseases. Every year, her tests would come back negative. Until one didn't.

"At first I felt like the test was a lie, that

the labs got mixed up," she says. "Then I started to feel guilt. I felt like I was being punished for not waiting to have sex until I was married."

It was October when her doctor told her she had tested positive for HIV. For the next several weeks, she tried to digest the news, sometimes crying uncontrollably, sometimes numb. But she also had treatment options to sort out, so by early November, she was back at her doctor's office. That's when the doctor delivered another shock: Traylor was pregnant.



*Masonia Traylor, with daughter Marissa, 5:
“I did everything I needed to do to make sure she got here HIV-negative. She needs to do what she has to do to stay that way.”*

Her first reaction was similar to the one she'd had with her HIV diagnosis: disbelief. Then her mind began reeling. The idea of bringing an HIV-positive baby into the world was unthinkable. "I wasn't sure if I was going to keep the baby or not," she says.

At her next appointments, her doctor walked her through the possibilities. Traylor learned that she could take drugs that were safe for her and the baby and would all but eliminate the risk of passing on her infection. As long as she agreed to take these anti-HIV medications throughout her pregnancy, and give her baby similar ones for a few weeks after birth, it was very unlikely the child would ever be HIV-positive. That's ultimately what Traylor chose to do, and her daughter Marissa is now 5—and HIV-free.

It's thanks to these medications—a cocktail built around the antiviral drug zidovudine, also called AZT—that rates of so-called perinatal transmission of HIV are so low in some parts of the world. In the U.S., fewer than 100 HIV-positive babies were diagnosed in 2015, representing a remarkable success story in the history of an epidemic that has killed 35 million.

In fact, newborns were the first group of people exposed to infected blood and successfully protected with drugs from contracting HIV. And today those drugs have brought mother-to-baby transmission rates to under 2% in the U.S.

Experts agree that major progress has been made. About 150,000 babies are diagnosed with HIV each year around the world, down from a peak of more than 600,000 per year in the 1990s. "The idea of eliminating mother-to-child transmission of HIV is officially on the table," says Dr. Deborah Cohan, a professor of obstetrics and gynecology and the director of the Perinatal HIV Clinic at the University of California, San Francisco (UCSF). The success is owed largely to the greater funding for and availability of HIV testing and antiviral drugs.

But do the math and it's clear that even among some groups in the U.S., and also elsewhere around the world, there are blemishes on the rosy picture. Globally, more than 400 babies are born every day with the virus, and the vast majority of them, if left untreated, will die before their fifth birthday.

The key to reducing that number isn't

simply making new scientific advances in medicine—the drugs that can prevent HIV transmission exist, and they work well. Instead, the challenge is one of access: getting women tested so that they know their HIV status in the first place, and then following up with them to make sure they're getting—and taking—those infection-blocking drugs.

A growing number of HIV experts agree that getting this right doesn't just hold promise for expectant moms and their babies. It could also help reduce the spread of the epidemic as a whole.

The model for preventing infection from mothers to newborns provides a test case on how to stem HIV transmission writ large. If women, properly treated, can end up with HIV levels so low that they can't infect the babies they share blood with in utero, then it stands to reason that adults who keep their viral levels down won't be able to transmit HIV either.

That has already proved true in study after study; when taking the right drugs, people with HIV almost never pass on the virus. Still, even between mothers and babies, who benefit the most from this understanding, there are significant barriers to ensuring that everything goes exactly according to that plan.

"I WASN'T SURE the medicine was going to work," Traylor says. "If my blood had HIV in it, I didn't understand how it would not transmit to the baby." It didn't matter that Traylor's doctor had assured her that treating her own infection meant her child could be HIV-free. She was skeptical. She also worried about what harm the drugs might do to the develop-

The key to reducing the number of babies with HIV isn't science—it's access

ing fetus. "I had to find some level of trust in the universe to be able to do it," she says of starting her HIV therapy.

Or some trust in the science. "We have the drugs to prevent mother-to-child transmission," says Dr. Katherine Luzuriaga, a professor of molecular medicine at the University of Massachusetts. "We know that anti-HIV treatment is remarkably effective in preventing transmission. The issue becomes one of implementation."

Central to that challenge are incorrect but stubbornly held judgments about the virus, like who gets it and why. Stigma is an especially persistent barrier to women seeking testing, not to mention filling prescriptions for and taking drug treatments. Traylor, who knew that getting an annual HIV test was a smart thing to do, never thought she would end up positive. She figured that was something that happened to other kinds of people.

When Traylor first brought her medications home, she peeled off the labels so that no one other than her boyfriend would see the drug names and Google them. She also never brought home any information or brochures on HIV from the doctor's office. "I had internalized the self-inflicted stigma," she says.

Traylor's behavior is far from unusual. At UCSF, pharmacists have put HIV pills in special unmarked blister packs so that they look like vitamins, and some women have poured their pills into bottles used to hold prenats. To the doctors treating these women, these acts of discretion seem like a minuscule trade-off for ensuring that their patients continue to swallow the medications they need daily—even if it may reinforce the shame and stigma that can come with an HIV diagnosis.

The cost of the drugs, which run into the tens of thousands of dollars on average per year, can also be a deterrent for infected moms. While HIV treatment during pregnancy is covered by Medicaid, that reimbursement isn't guaranteed for the mother after she delivers. The availability of coverage of antiviral drugs can vary greatly from state to state, and changes to the Affordable Care Act make the future even more uncertain.

THESE BARRIERS, and the number of babies born with HIV, are extremely frustrating for experts and doctors because

there is such clear evidence that it's possible for HIV-positive women to give birth to HIV-free babies.

In the more than two decades since AZT was first tested on pregnant women, groundbreaking trials have shown that the sooner a pregnant woman who is HIV-positive is treated, the better her chances of delivering a baby who isn't infected.

But even if expectant moms aren't diagnosed with HIV until their third trimester, transmission risk can still be lowered dramatically with late treatment. Even during labor there's still hope; it's now routine for any HIV-positive mother to get both pill and IV drug treatment to protect the baby from exposure during delivery, and often enough, it works.

In 2010, doctors found that even if nearly everything is stacked against an infant—even if the infant has already contracted the virus in utero—drugs can still drop the newborn's virus levels to vanishingly low levels.

When a pregnant woman who wasn't aware that she was HIV-positive arrived at the University of Mississippi to have her baby, pediatrician Dr. Hannah Gay decided on a risky treatment in order to prevent the baby—who had almost certainly contracted HIV in utero—from getting sick from the virus. Instead of waiting a few weeks to confirm the infection, Gay started the baby on an aggressive dose of three HIV drugs within hours of her birth. The idea was to ambush the virus with enough antiviral drugs that the HIV could not embed itself in the baby's body.

The intensive therapy brought the infant's viral load down so low that it became undetectable with a blood test. And even after the baby's mother stopped those antivirals a year and a half later, the most sophisticated tests still couldn't find traces of HIV for 27 months. It represents the longest HIV remission achieved with drugs on record.

"What came out of that Mississippi case is that starting therapy early can substantially, substantially reduce reservoirs of HIV in the body," says Dr. Deborah Persaud, a professor of pediatrics at the Johns Hopkins University School of Medicine, who was part of the baby's care team.

The case provided valuable information about how far doctors can push the limits of remission. It also came with a

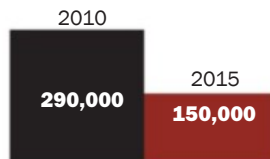


SAVING BABIES

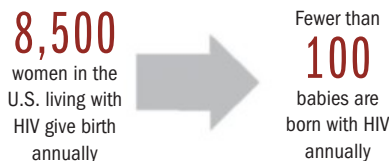
The majority of children living with HIV are infected during pregnancy, childbirth or breast-feeding. But new treatments and practices are lowering the risk of transmission

WORLDWIDE, THE NUMBER OF CHILDREN WITH HIV HAS FALLEN

New cases of infected children



IN THE U.S. AND OTHER HIGH-INCOME COUNTRIES, NEW HIV INFECTIONS IN CHILDREN ARE WAY DOWN



THE RATE OF DECLINE HAS BEEN SLOWER IN POORER COUNTRIES



73% of new childhood cases come from 21 countries in sub-Saharan Africa

1 in 4 pregnant women living with HIV in those countries does not have access to medications that can prevent fetal transmission

WITHOUT TREATMENT THE DEATH RATES OF BABIES BORN WITH HIV ARE VERY HIGH

50% will die before age 2
80% will die before age 5

Sources: UNAIDS; CDC; NIH

painful reminder: anti-HIV drugs only work, in the long term, when they're taken consistently. Shortly after the baby's seemingly miraculous remission, the infant and her mom stopped attending their doctor visits. When they returned several years later, the toddler's virus levels were up once again, putting her immune system at risk of crashing and leading to full-blown AIDS. The child has since started on drug treatment again, and today her virus levels are back below detectable levels.

Buoyed by that case, researchers are now refining the strategy that Gay used, testing specific doses and combinations of drugs to optimize their antiviral effect.

EARLY DETECTION and consistent treatment is the best-case scenario for doctors treating babies with HIV. It's what the World Health Organization recommends, and that's in line with the standards of care set by the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention too.

"This is an exciting time for the field," says Luzuriaga. "We don't quite have all the answers yet, but they are coming soon."

And when they do, experts hope that the object lessons learned in the U.S. can lead to bigger drops in mother-to-child transmission in the parts of the world where too many newborns are still infected in utero. Already, inspired by the Mississippi baby, more doctors around the world are starting to treat HIV-positive pregnant women as early as possible, including in the first trimester, even though they believe most infections to the developing baby occur later in pregnancy. And the more women like Traylor show that it's possible to protect newborns from HIV, the more public-health officials hope the stigma against the disease will crumble.

For her part, Traylor has come a long way from those early, shame-filled days. A few years after her diagnosis, she found out that a friend of hers had died of complications from HIV, which he'd kept a secret just like she had.

"He gave up and stopped taking his meds," she says. "I wonder if he knew I had it too, that he wasn't alone, maybe he wouldn't have given up."

Seeing her daughter now, Traylor knows she made the right choice. □



**‘It takes
practice.’**

TYLER FORD identifies as agender

**‘You build
up to
saying,
O.K., this
is me.’**

Society

infi- nite iden- tities

A growing number of young people are moving beyond the idea

that we live in a world where sexuality and gender come in only two forms

By Katy Steinmetz

PHOTOGRAPHS BY JODY ROGAC FOR TIME

im

In Park City, Utah, students are lining up at a local high school to get their locker assignments for the semester. Extracurricular clubs have set up tables to attract new members. It's only midday, but the Gay-Straight Alliance, a group with outposts at about a quarter of American secondary schools, already has 47 names on its sign-up sheet. Sitting behind piles of rainbow-colored paper cranes—a hot fundraising item—the group leaders are counting the different identity labels they've encountered. Sure, there's lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender. But there are more. Way more. "There are people who are pan," says 17-year-old club president Grace Mason, meaning *pansexual*. There's also aromantic, asexual, genderqueer, two-spirit and on and on.

Hyperindividual, you-do-you young people from across the U.S. are upending the convention that when it comes to gender and sexuality, there are only two options for each: male or female, gay or straight. These aspects of identity—the sense of being a man or a woman, for instance, and whom one is drawn to physically or romantically—are distinct. But they are related, and together, they're undergoing a sea change, as an increasing number of people say they aren't one or the other but perhaps neither or maybe both.

As many transgender people fight for equal status as men and women in society—with identities that feel just as static as anyone else's—others say their feelings about gender don't fit in either of those boxes and might change over time. "Some days I feel like my gender could be like what I was assigned at birth, but there are some days when I feel the opposite way," says Rowan Little, an 18-year-old high school senior in Kentucky who identifies as gender fluid and uses the pronoun *they*, rather than he or she. Young people are pointing to the middle in terms of sexual attraction too, with one survey finding that nearly a third of young Americans see themselves somewhere between 100% heterosexual and 100% homosexual.

Expressions of gender and sexuality that go

beyond this-or-that are nothing new, but they're increasingly moving from the margins to the mainstream. Facebook, with its more than 1 billion users, now has about 60 options for users' gender. By some counts, there are more than 200 regular or recurring LGBTQ (Q stands for "queer") characters on cable TV and streaming series. Influential celebrities, including Miley Cyrus, have come out as everything from flexible in their gender to "mostly straight." And companies are getting in on the movement too: a recent Bud Light commercial declared, tongue-in-cheek, that beer is for "people of all genders."

Some of the legal trappings that organize society around two categories of people are also starting to be challenged. A bill introduced in California in January would add a third gender option on identification documents like driver's licenses and birth certificates: male, female or nonbinary. And cities across the country are passing laws that require single-user bathrooms to be marked as gender-neutral or "all-gender." President Obama even established one at the White House, as his Administration instructed all federally funded schools to allow students to use facilities that correspond with their gender identity—guidance that President Trump's Administration rescinded (though he kept the bathroom).

This social change isn't happening without a fight. Politicians are debating the very meaning of words like *sex* in fights over so-called "bathroom bills." Several lawsuits are fleshing out the meaning of that word, too, as plaintiffs allege that sexual orientation and gender identity are covered under bans on sex discrimination.

The erosion of these binaries could, over time, have profound implications for the many systems that prop up the two-gender reality most people are accustomed to: not just in Facebook statuses, but in competitive sports, courts, the military, toy aisles, relationships.

According to a survey commissioned by the LGBTQ advocacy organization GLAAD, and shared exclusively with TIME, 20% of millennials identify as something other than strictly straight and cisgender (someone whose gender is in line with the sex they were assigned at birth), compared with 7% of boomers.

‘Gender doesn’t have to be defined in rigid terms.’

JACOB TOBIA identifies as genderqueer



These are people who may be sexually curious about members of their own gender, or who may reject the notion that they have a gender in the first place.

“In older generations, people were often told what feelings to have,” says Sara Oswalt, an associate health professor at the University of Texas at San Antonio. “The college students I’m working with today really say, ‘It’s okay for me to be me, whatever that is.’”

WHEN IT COMES to the array of lesser-known identities young people are

embracing, the big question is whether this is just kids experimenting or whether it reflects true variance that has long existed but went unexpressed in past generations. The answer may be both.

In the GLAAD survey, conducted by Harris Poll, more than three-quarters of the roughly 2,000 respondents said it feels like “more people than ever” have “nontraditional” sexual orientations and gender identities. But older Americans were more likely than younger people to say they were uncomfortable with those who “do not conform to traditional ideas

about gender” and that LGBTQ people who “blend in” deserve more respect.

Kyle Scotten, a 21-year-old from Texas who identifies as a gay man, says he did not come out until he went to college in part because attitudes were different even a few years ago. “I remember hearing the word *gay* being thrown around a lot when I was kid,” he says, “and it wasn’t really used as an endearing term.” Like many of his peers, Scotten has come to see sexuality as a spectrum: “I totally believe there are a 100, 200 shades in the middle.” And he tends to have an open mind even when he doesn’t understand the nuances his peers are talking about when it comes to their gender. “It makes sense to them, in their own head,” he says, “and that’s enough.”

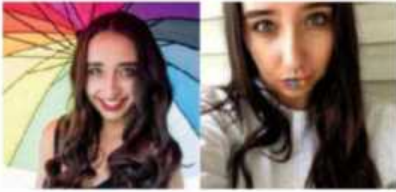
Some experts say that there is more natural variation than has been widely acknowledged and that terminology is more limited than the sum of human experience. “There’s something in between ‘born that way’ and choice,” says Stephanie Sanders, a senior scientist at Indiana University’s Kinsey Institute who studies human sexual behavior. “This is a much more nuanced thing ... Is it biology or nurture? I don’t know why we can’t let that debate go. We are always, at every point in time, the product of both.”

Many young people have, from a very early age, personally known people who are out. GLAAD’s survey found that millennials were, for example, about twice as likely as boomers to have someone in their circles who identifies as bisexual, asexual, queer or questioning.

Sophie Vanderburgh, a 19-year-old college freshman in Maine, recently realized that she’s attracted to women as well as men. Her older sibling came out as transgender two years ago, an experience that Vanderburgh says “made me a lot more sensitive to everything.” Well before that, she’d known several openly gay students at school; she’d even had a teacher when she was in fourth grade

NO-BINARY CODE

However they self-identify, young people tend to be more accepting of whatever identities they encounter



GRACE

17, Park City, Utah

Grace, who identifies as bisexual, believes that one's gender or sexuality can change over a lifetime. "There's no reason you have to say, 'Oh, I'm gay and there's no way I will be anything else for the rest of my life,'" says the high school senior. "Because there is the possibility that you might find out that you like something else."



KYLE

21, San Antonio

Growing up in a small, conservative Texas town, Kyle worried about coming out as gay, but he says that teenagers today are more empowered and more aware because of social media. "We are able to see a bird's-eye view of all the different types of people that are in existence," he says. "That exposure opens people's eyes a little bit."



SOPHIE

19, Orono, Maine

As her senior year of high school drew to a close, Sophie realized that though she loved her boyfriend, she was physically drawn to women too. Now a college freshman, she identifies as bisexual and wishes people were more open-minded about sexuality as well as gender: "I don't understand why people are so attached to labels like *female* and *male*."

who was open about having a partner of the same sex: "I remember thinking, 'Oh that's interesting.' And then I moved on with my life."

The Internet and social media, which many young people do not remember life without, have only increased early exposure to different types of people. "A lot of things I'm politically correct on," says Vanderburgh, "I know because of Tumblr." Social media has also made it easier for young people to find themselves—and each other.

"It's really easy to tell someone who is alone and doesn't feel like there are other people like them that who they are is wrong," says Jacob Tobia, a 25-year-old writer-producer in Los Angeles who identifies as genderqueer. "But once someone realizes that they're not alone, it's really hard to take away that sense of personal empowerment."

A couple of years ago, Marie McGwier, 26, started selling *GENDER IS OVER! IF YOU WANT IT* shirts online. The tech worker based in New York has since shipped more than 2,400 of them for about \$20 apiece. (Proceeds go to charity.) "With younger people, I see a lot more of 'I have never had a gender'; 'Gender isn't me'; 'Gender just doesn't apply to me'; and 'Screw gender,'" says McGwier, who identifies as queer and gender nonconforming.

Before anyone can purchase one of the T-shirts, they're asked to send a message saying what the statement means to them. McGwier publishes the responses on Tumblr.

IN GLAAD'S SURVEY, it was more common for millennials to say they are not strictly straight (16%) than not cisgender (12%). And the gray areas of sexuality—as well as the notion of exploring them—can seem more familiar. Pioneering sex researcher Alfred Kinsey developed a scale for measuring sexual orientation back in the 1940s on which a "0" describes someone who is exclusively heterosexual and "6" exclusively homosexual. Other researchers have proposed more complex measuring systems, factoring in not only sexual behavior but also sexual fantasies and emotional preferences.

Back in Kinsey's day, many men felt

"They're not saying, 'Screw you.' It says, 'Your terms do not reflect my reality or the reality of my friends.'"

RITCH SAVIN-WILLIAMS, professor emeritus of psychology at Cornell University

more free to engage in same-sex behavior, even if they didn't talk about it, historians say. "The very rise of the homosexual as a distinct minority, that people who wanted to be straight-identified had to distinguish themselves from, had a policing effect," says Yale history professor George Chauncey.

Today, Ritch Savin-Williams, a professor emeritus of psychology at Cornell University, is researching the population he categorizes as "straight with a bit of gayness," as one of his interviewees put it. Savin-Williams estimates that about 15% of women and closer to 5% of men fall in this mostly straight category today. He also thinks the latter number will grow, as stigma lessens and "men realize that this is a sexual label that can apply to them as well."

With gender, the identity breakdown seems newer to many people—and in some ways tougher to unpack. There is one's anatomy but also other traits, from facial hair to chromosomes, that may not "match" those body parts. Then there is gender identity (sense of self), gender socialization (how people are expected to act) and gender expression (how a person dresses or styles their hair and so on). "While all these things exist and for a lot of people, they line up, in some people they don't," says Julia Serano, an author and transgender woman. "One of the



K.C.

28, Brooklyn

K.C. has a long answer when asked how they identify—“a white, able-bodied, queer, nonbinary trans person”—and says that it has taken years of work to overcome expectations of a society “that can’t really handle me.” K.C. adds that “as a child, I felt very in-between.”



ROWAN

18, Louisville, Ky.

Rowan, who identifies as gender fluid, says that watching politicians fight over which bathroom transgender people belong in is upsetting. “Essentially what they’re arguing about is, Should trans people be allowed to exist?” Rowan has worked on getting a nonbinary slot added to their school’s homecoming court, alongside king and queen.



MIGUEL

16, St. Joseph, Mo.

As with many young people, Miguel’s exploration of gender started with a Google search: “What does it mean to not identify as male or female?” Now that he’s out as gender fluid, he is sometimes bullied at school, but he also finds acceptance: “People in my generation, if they hear something new, they’re like, ‘Oh, O.K.’”

things the average person doesn’t really appreciate is just how holistic gender is.”

As it becomes more common to be nonconforming—and as slang spreads at lightning speed online—the list of labels people use has grown. In one large-scale survey released in 2016, respondents were asked to write in the term that best fits their gender, and researchers received more than 500 unique responses.

Even for those tuned in to such things, keeping track of it all can be overwhelming. About eight years ago Nick Teich, a 34-year-old transgender man, started the first summer camp in America for transgender youth. In recent years, he says, the organization has found more registrants checking the “other” box on their intake forms. “We have a growing number of kids who identify as genderqueer, nonbinary, gender variant. People put ‘demi-girl,’ ‘genderless,’ ‘no gender,’ ‘all genders,’ ‘pangender,’” he says. “We get things all the time, and I’m like, ‘What is this? I have to look this up.’”

While it’s still up for debate how many of those labels belong in textbooks or on official surveys, experts agree they’re important for people in the throes of self-discovery. “They’re not just saying, ‘Screw you,’” says Cornell’s Savin-Williams. “It says, ‘Your terms do not reflect my reality or the reality of my friends.’” The more expressive one is of their various layers, the

‘We have a growing number of kids who identify [in different ways]. People put “demi-girl,” “genderless,” “no gender.”’

NICK TEICH, director of transgender summer camp

more detailed the picture can get.

K.C. Clements, a 28-year-old living in Brooklyn, says, “I identify as a white, able-bodied, queer, nonbinary trans person,” Clements says. “It’s a mouthful.”

For those who grew up alienated by the options, finding a label that feels right can be freeing. “I was like, I don’t know who I am. I don’t know what I’m doing. I don’t know where I want to be. I don’t know what pronouns I want to use,” says Tyler Ford, a 26-year-old who grew up in Florida and has attracted a large social-media following. Ford, who goes by *they* and identifies as agender—meaning they feel they have no gender at all—was assigned female at birth, came out as a transgender man at age 20, tried hormones for a couple years and then stopped.

“After testosterone I was like, O.K., my body is more where I want it to be. People

can’t really pinpoint me anymore, and that is comforting to me,” says Ford. “I really like being neutral. I don’t like having to identify with either binary gender. I like being beyond.”

While Ford’s many supporters on social media idolize what they see as a person taking brave—and very public—steps toward self-determination, the trolls are never far behind. “Who would want to hear an experience of a woman who pretends she is a man?” ... “We are all just sick of your basic attention-seeking nonsense.” ... “F-CK OFF.”

Other critics don’t bother with the Internet’s cloak of anonymity. At a March hearing over a bathroom bill in Texas, which would require people to use bathrooms that match their birth certificates, one pastor called the notion that gender is determined by the brain “foolishness.” Another supporter of the bill dismissed less common identities as a trend, saying “We live in a time when the entertainment industry says it’s cool to question your gender identity.”

Cyrus, who has famously referred to herself as gender fluid and pansexual, says she’s accustomed to hearing such comments, but she rejects them. “It’s not a trend. It’s just that now it’s acceptable to discuss it. It’s acceptable to come out now. It was so scary before,” Cyrus tells TIME. The 24-year-old says that going

'Every different type of identity that exists should be supported.'

MARIE MCGWIER identifies as queer and gender nonconforming



long fought for equality with arguments that one's gender or sexual orientation does not change.

"The one thing I wouldn't want to lose sight of is that the generational gap on this issue translates into actual conflict, victimization and pain," says Eliza Byard, the executive director of GLSEN, an organization that supports LGBTQ students.

Those young people are at increased risk for violence and attempted suicide, especially when they lack family support. Over one-third of LGBTQ students report being physically harassed at school.

Still, the more people come out, the more others may ultimately be emboldened to think beyond whatever they may have been told about who they ought to be—and how they can express it.

BACK IN PARK CITY, high school senior Mason is taking a break from signing up new allies to the Gay-Straight Alliance. She's in the middle of telling the story about when she came out to her mother as bisexual at 16, and how her mother's reaction was to ask if it wouldn't just be easier if she would choose one or the other. Suddenly, she's interrupted by another student and her mother.

The pair stops at the table to ask for a copy of a sign Mason had laid out, designating the area as a "safe space" for people of all identities. The mom has a friend who recently came out as transgender, she explains, and wants to show support.

Mason hands her a sign politely, like she's heard that story a thousand times, and resumes telling her own.

"I told her, 'I know it's one of those things in life that could be easier, but I know who I am,'" Mason says. "And I'd rather be who I am and be authentically me than try to fit into one of those crappy little boxes. I have a great box that I have made for myself." □

public about her feelings, and providing support to LGBTQ youth through her nonprofit Happy Hippie Foundation, is what she's most proud of in her career.

Examples like Cyrus can help young people who feel they are constantly explaining themselves to doubters. "Let's say you're white and I said being white isn't a thing," says Miguel Johnson, a 16-year-old high school sophomore who grew up in the Kansas City area and identifies as gender fluid. "To me that's the same way people sound when they say your gender doesn't exist, your

sexuality doesn't exist." Johnson says he has been bullied at school, called an "it" and "creature."

Little, the high school student in Kentucky, has had plenty of practice arguing for the "existence" of their gender too, especially with older people. "It's just something they've never heard of and don't care to understand," Little says. "That's the usual form it takes."

Others who have identities they describe as fluid or changeable say the pushback even comes from some older gay and transgender people, who have

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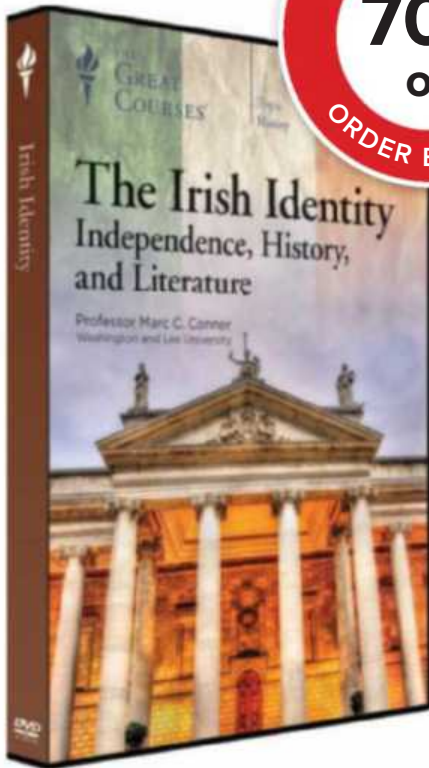
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Time Off

'WOULD IT KILL THEM TO JUST SIT DOWN WITH A NICE CUP OF TEA?' —PAGE 59



Le tourbillon: Belle (Watson) and Beast (Stevens) in the eye of Disney's lavish whirlwind

MOVIES

Beauty and the Beast is wonderfully out of step with the times

By **Stephanie Zacharek**

THE KEY TO BILL CONDON'S WON-DROUS live-action musical *Beauty and the Beast* is that it's not a movie of its time. It's not even a movie of 1991, the year Disney released the animated film that provides its framework. In its go-for-broke exuberance and wedding-cake lavishness, this new *Beauty* most resembles the musicals of the mid- to late-1960s, like Carol Reed's *Oliver!* and a new version of the Rodgers and Hammerstein made-for-TV *Cinderella*. Those projects came to life as the era of the great movie musical was waning, and they were worlds apart from era-defining pictures like *Bonnie and Clyde* and *The Graduate*. They were marvelous not in spite of the fact that they were out of step with the times, but because of it.

This *Beauty and the Beast* is out

of step, beautifully, in the same way. There's no need to worry that this version might crush the gentle charms of the 1991 picture, though. Condon more or less faithfully follows that movie's plot, and yet this *Beauty* is its own resplendent creature. Emma Watson stars as Belle, a bookish loner who longs to escape small-town France but who instead becomes a prisoner of the cursed neighborhood beastie. Beneath shaggy, olive-brown fur and a set of spiraling, sinister horns, the Beast is played by English actor Dan Stevens. Kevin Kline is Belle's father Maurice, an artist, a tinkerer and a man who will always be in love with his late wife, Belle's mother. Kline brings warmth and style to the role. And Luke Evans is the swaggering braggart Gaston, a brute who will have Belle at

any cost. Evans' performance is oversized, like his shoulders, but comes with a wink.

The original songs, by Alan Menken and the late Howard Ashman, remain, though the arrangements are now more like lush floral bouquets, laced with grand orchestral curlicues. (The film also features three new numbers by Menken and lyricist Tim Rice.) In fact, nearly everything about this *Beauty* is larger than life and loaded with feeling, like a brash interpretive dance expressing the passion and elation little girls (and some boys) must have felt upon seeing the earlier version. The production design is elaborate and trippy: the dark, sad part of the Beast's castle is a Goth-Rococo

reverie, a moody interior landscape of undulating carvings of stags and hunting dogs, serpents and gargoyles. The guest room that becomes Belle's—presided over by a singing armoire, whose soaring voice belongs to Audra McDonald—has been lifted straight from a Jean-Honoré Fragonard painting, a dream boudoir rendered in blue, gold and cream.

You could accuse *Beauty and the Beast* of being a little too generous in doling out sensory overload. But then, it did spring from a movie that featured a motherly singing teapot, a Maurice Chevalier-esque candelabra and a persnickety clock who does everything by the rules. (Here, they're voiced by Emma Thompson, Ewan McGregor

and Ian McKellen.) The grand musical number "Be Our Guest," in which all these characters—plus plates, silverware and more—bounce and jump and sing in majestically syncopated madness, is probably too much. But how about those napkins, undulating and writhing in the air like enthusiastic Martha Graham understudies? Somebody dreamed that up. The human mind is a miracle.

The human heart is too, and *Beauty and the Beast* doesn't fail us on that score. It's explicit about the unpredictability of love, the way it sneaks up on us unbidden. When Belle's Beast looks at her with anguished eyes, he speaks a wordless truth about this most adult of all romantic fairy tales. □

Disney's renaissance revival

Belle isn't the only icon getting the live-action treatment. Several staples of the studio's so-called renaissance years in the 1990s, and a few older classics like *Dumbo*, will be reinterpreted over the next few years. —Eliza Berman



THE LITTLE MERMAID

Hamilton creator Lin-Manuel Miranda will become part of Disney's world when he writes the music for the remake of the 1989 underwater fantasy, which has not yet named its cast or director, alongside returning composer Alan Menken.



ALADDIN

Disney issued a casting call for multitalented Middle Eastern actors to star in its Guy Ritchie-directed take on the 1992 musical. The remake will face no less scrutiny than the original for how it handles controversial cultural elements.



THE LION KING

After raking in nearly \$1 billion with last year's live-action remake of *The Jungle Book*, Jon Favreau will have another go with Disney, directing Atlanta's Donald Glover, above, as Simba. James Earl Jones will reprise his role as Mufasa.



MULAN

Whale Rider director Niki Caro will become the fourth woman to solo-direct a \$100 million movie when she helms Disney's take on the legend of a woman who becomes a warrior in ancient China, due November 2018.

QUICK TALK

Ewan McGregor

The Scottish actor and director, 45, stars in the sequel to the 1996 black comedy *Trainspotting*, the live-action remake of *Beauty and the Beast* and the third season of FX's critically acclaimed series *Fargo*.

What was it like to return to your *Trainspotting* character Renton after two decades? I was surprised he was still there, ready to go. The only time I've come back to characters was with the *Star Wars* trilogy, but this was a gap of 20 years. It seemed like Renton was inside there, ready to come out when we needed him. It was odd but wonderful.

The sequel is about a lot of things: friendship, betrayal, nostalgia.

What was the main draw for you?

It taps into something about being in your mid-40s. I'm starting to feel it myself, this feeling of looking back at your life and trying to look forward at the rest of your life. It's not just a film about nostalgia. It's much more a film about what's next. I was so moved by it. For me maybe more so than anyone else, because it's my face there that's gone back 20 years and forward 20 years.

Was your version of Lumière in *Beauty and the Beast* inspired by the original?

I still haven't seen the cartoon, to be honest. I wasn't watching cartoons by '91. But it was fun to play, because he's a specific sort of suave, debonair character. Then to utilize the French accent that I thought would come naturally having lived with a French woman for 25 years—but of course didn't.

You play two characters in the third season of *Fargo*. What kind of acting challenge is that?

I've done it two times before. I had scenes with myself in a Michael Bay film called *The Island*, where I played a clone, and then in *Last Days in the Desert*, where I played the Devil and Jesus. On *Fargo*, my characters are different shapes, so we've got one actor who plays opposite me when I'm playing [each] brother. It's wonderful writing. It's got a lovely style. I think it's going to be *really* good. —E.B.

ON MY RADAR
GET OUT

"I've been working hard, and worrying about what's happening with Trump takes up a lot of time—but I really enjoyed *Get Out*. I thought it that was fun."



Renton (McGregor) and Begbie (Carlyle) are still run down and strung out

MOVIES

T2's beloved hooligans get older, but not wiser

NO ONE LIKES GETTING OLD, AND UNLESS YOU can laugh about it, you're doomed. In 1996 Danny Boyle made a brash, bratty film out of Irvine Welsh's novel *Trainspotting*, tracing the depraved high jinks of feckless heroin addicts in a depressed section of Edinburgh. The misadventures of Ewan McGregor's Renton, Jonny Lee Miller's Sick Boy and Ewen Bremner's Spud were funny and awful and exhilarating, in roughly equal measures.

Now, some 20 years later, Boyle's *T2 Trainspotting* picks up the threads of these three BFFs' stories as well as updates us on the résumé of rage-nutter Begbie (Robert Carlyle). The lives of all four come together once again, accompanied by the usual ribbing and brawls and, in some cases, all out murderous apoplexy. And once again, Boyle keeps the energy level at a sustained high. But even if you were crazy about the first movie, you might have limited patience for these antics: sometimes it's exhausting watching our hapless antiheroes pull off mass pickpocket schemes and debit-card flimflam. Would it kill them to just sit down with a nice cup of tea?

But *T2* squeaks by on the charm of its actors, all of whom still look pretty damn good—especially McGregor, who remains a charismatic wag. Yet it's Bremner's Spud, who's struggling to stay clean, that you're likely to feel the most for. It's not always so easy to choose life, and watching Spud figure it out is one of *T2*'s greatest pleasures.

—STEPHANIE ZACHAREK

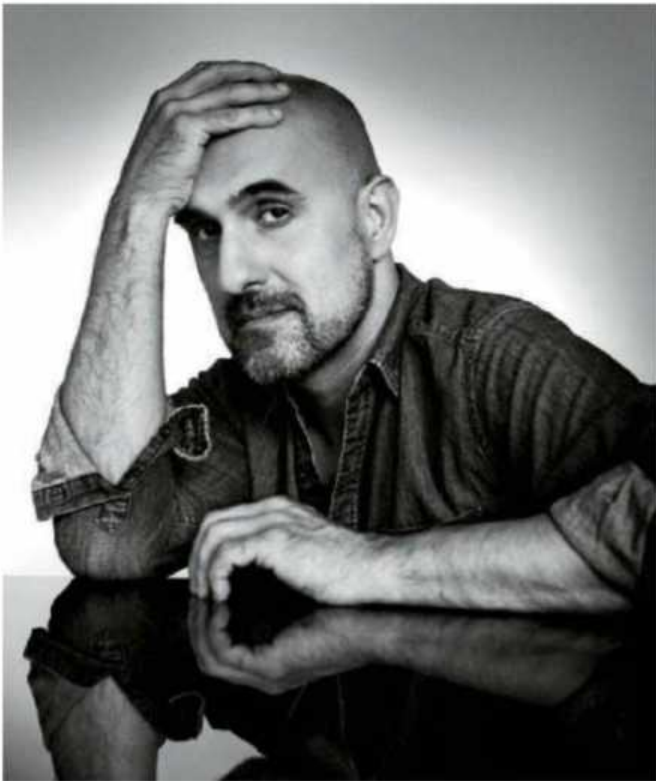
THE DECIDER

Show me a superhero

Netflix's latest Marvel hero, Iron Fist, joins a host of champions defending humanity on television. Whether you like your superheroes wisecracking or brooding, egotistical or humble, classic or avant-garde, this chart will help you find the right one. —Eliana Dockterman



FRAPPUCCINO: STARBUCKS; POWERLESS: NBC; GOTHAM: FOX; THE FLASH: SUPERHERO; THE CW; THE AMERICANS: LEGION: FX; LUKE CAGE: JESSICA JONES: IRON FIST: NETFLIX; RICHIE WARBUCKS: POWERPUFF GIRLS: EVERETT; COFFEE: BODEGA; PERRY: LEGIONS: HAL: HAMLET, BLACK SUIT, RED SUIT, BOLT, DOUGLAS: GETTY IMAGES; WATSON, SHERLOCK: PBS



▲
BLUE NOTE
Kunzru's new novel centers on a fake vintage recording by blues musician "Charlie Shaw"

FICTION
The thrill is here

ANY NOVEL SET IN THE MUSIC BIZ rightly aspires to stereophonic meaning, but the reverberations of Hari Kunzru's *White Tears* echo long after it's done. Part ghost story, part travelogue, *White Tears* is a drugged-out, spoiled-rotten treatise on race, class and poverty of the soul.

Kunzru, the author of four previous novels, has nailed a specifically American style of bourgeois appropriation through his main characters, Seth and Carter, 20-something white guys whose friendship is staked on a fetish for music. Carter is the alpha by virtue of his bank account—richer than Croesus but mortified about it. Seth, the sidekick and narrator, becomes consumed by the fallout of their forged recording of an invented black musician.

These kids are stupidly privileged, and they are not all right: even before they were born, they were complicit in sins of the past. *White Tears* time-bends through Jim Crow-era Mississippi and

riverbank chain gangs, around characters who are owed personal reparations for not only the fake (or is it real?) recording but for other past wrongs. "History is literally present in all that we do," wrote James Baldwin, whose traces are here in Kunzru's pages. Crackling literary allusion is spliced throughout *White Tears*, slyly evoking works by Thomas Mann (Carter's decidedly Aryan, vaguely incestuous family), Ralph Ellison (Seth's persistent inability to make others notice him becomes an actual shift in skin color) and others.

For all that and then some, *White Tears* is a book that everyone should be reading right now. Near the end, Seth passively absorbs cable-news coverage of a police shooting—"Why would they kill him ... His hands were up"—and an idea Kunzru floats chapters before booms back: radio pioneer Guglielmo Marconi's theory that sound never dies. We are always, all of us, living with the past.

—CLAIRE HOWORTH

MEMOIR
Rewriting the rules of womanhood

NEVER HAS TRYING TO "have it all" felt as visceral as it does in *New Yorker* writer Ariel Levy's memoir, *The Rules Do Not Apply*. A member of the first generation of women told they could do anything, Levy, now 42, spent her 20s and 30s consumed by wanderlust, evading the claustrophobia of monogamy and motherhood: "To become a mother, I feared, was to relinquish your status as the protagonist of your own life." As a result of her nomadic existence, she cheats on the woman she marries. But after watching a friend struggle to get pregnant, Levy realizes she could lose the opportunity to have a family she didn't know she wanted. "My life had been an ugly, roiling mess, but I was going to pull it all together at the last minute." Enamored with the idea of being a pregnant correspondent, she travels to Mongolia for work. But in short order, she loses baby, spouse and house. Levy confronts a harsh truth for women with control and choice: we lay claim to everything, but the universe is often indifferent to our demands.

—ELIANA DOCKTERMAN



▲
GLOBE-TROTTER
Levy profiled Mike Huckabee in Israel, runner Caster Semenya in South Africa and Silvio Berlusconi in Italy

TIME PICKS

BOOKS

A New York City couple defect to the country, where they experiment with an open marriage, in Sarah Dunn's novel **The Arrangement** (March 21), which meshes humor and hardship.



MUSIC

Depeche Mode's 14th studio album, *Spirit* (March 17), delivers the electronic band's trademark bass-heavy rhythms on outright calls to arms in songs like "Where's the Revolution."

ART

Museumgoers can participate in a virtual-reality experience using headsets to watch confrontational scenes in Jordan Wolfson's project *Real Violence* (March 17) at the newly opened **Whitney Biennial** in New York City.

MOVIES

A surprising French-German friendship begins after World War I in **Frantz** (March 17), a romantic period drama by François Ozon, the hit-or-miss filmmaker behind *Swimming Pool*.



A small Canadian town becomes an unlikely host in *Come From Away*

THEATER

A 9/11 musical with heart and nostalgia

By Richard Zoglin

STRANGE AS IT SEEMS, Gander, Newfoundland, was once a major air-travel hub, a refueling stop for transatlantic flights in the years before long-range jets made those stops unnecessary and turned the little Canadian town into a footnote in aviation history. Until 9/11, that is—when 38 airliners were forced to land in Gander, stranding nearly 7,000 passengers for days when U.S. airspace was closed.

Come From Away, a warm-spirited, often stirring musical about Gander's week of impromptu hospitality, is as appealingly homespun as the townsfolk who hang out at Tim Hortons. The show was created (book, music and lyrics) by Irene Sankoff and David Hein, a husband-wife songwriting team from Canada, who spent weeks in Gander interviewing people

who were there during that traumatic time. The show was first staged at the La Jolla Playhouse in 2015 and has traveled North America—including back to Gander—before coming in for a smooth landing on Broadway.

Directed with stripped-down ingenuity by Christopher Ashley, the show is a kind of choral docudrama, weaving together stories of both the townspeople and passengers, set to an Irish- and country-flavored score. To accommodate their new guests, the locals set up shelters in schools and other public buildings and ransack store shelves for toothpaste and tampons. One stranded passenger frets over the fate of her son, a New York City firefighter. A gay couple from L.A. see their relationship fray under the stress, while a middle-aged Londoner and

a Dallas divorcée strike up an improbable romance. People gripe, worry, drink, bond.

The show vividly recreates the sense of confusion, dislocation and near panic in the hours after the attacks as the passengers sit cooped up on their plane for hours without any word on the nature of the emergency. The irritation and fears mount. One passenger, a Muslim man from Egypt, sets off an early version of extreme vetting—and paranoid alarms. Yet compassion and community spirit prevail. "Thank you for shopping at Walmart," says a Ganderite. "Would you like to come back to my house for a shower?" It's hard not to see all this through the prism of President Trump's America, which makes the show touching and inspiring—but also a little nostalgic. □

MUSIC

Indie rock may be dislocated, but it's far from dead

By Maura Johnston

IN THE MID-'00S, WHEN A STRAIN OF ROCK KNOWN as indie seized America's hipper enclaves, the parameters of the genre were celebrated on the web by the blog Pitchfork and onstage by bands like Spoon, the Shins and Bright Eyes, the project of Conor Oberst. The Nebraska-born singer-songwriter retired the band in the early 2010s but still delivers elliptically confessional lyrics in a trembling voice. James Mercer, the last remaining original member of Albuquerque, N.M.-spawned band the Shins, has a winsome voice that especially shines amid crunchy melodies. Spoon, who hail from Austin, have a winking cool that makes their flinty songs delectably inscrutable, even when they incorporate big horns and crashing pianos.

This month, all three acts are releasing new albums. Oberst's *Salutations* (March 17) is a sequel to his sparse November release *Ruminations*, which featured acerbic lyrics over bare-bones instrumentation. Here he adds seven new tracks and shrouds those tales of anxiety and desperation in warmth, courtesy of a rotating cast of musicians anchored by New York country-rock outfit the Felice Brothers. This album might deal in subjects identical to its predecessor's, but the albums' titles reflect their contrasting vibes—*Ruminations* is about poring over images from the past, while *Salutations* brings them into the light.

The Shins' new album, *Heartworms* (March 10), works on a grander scale, with ornate sonic tableaux that bring to mind the supersize musical worlds of bands like Supertramp and Jellyfish. Mercer's whooping zeal gives power-pop nightmare fantasias like the song "Painting a Hole" extra urgency; "Cherry Hearts" finds Mercer protesting that he's "a practical guy," but the frantic keyboards point to the roiling feelings he has about someone whom he drunkenly smooched. More subdued tracks like the strummy "Mildenhall" provide a break from the sugar rush.

There's a distinctly more grownup vibe on Spoon's *Hot Thoughts* (March 17). The band gets sexy on tracks like the cavernous dance-floor exploration "Pink Up" and the punchy post-disco "Shotgun." Classic pop ideals still persist: the swaggering "First Caress" glides along on a piano line that recalls Billy Joel's charging keyboards on "My Life," while "Tear It Down" is loose-limbed, complete with a na-na-na-ing bridge. These are after-dark explorations undertaken in thrilling ways.



Oberst rose to popularity in the early aughts as the front man of Bright Eyes, a soul-baring indie-rock act



CONOR OBERST
SALUTATIONS

Poignant with
fleshed-out sounds



SPOON
HOT THOUGHTS

Slick and buoyed by
sharp hooks



THE SHINS
HEARTWORMS

Cozy synth-rock with
big production

Rock as a genre took a hard hit during the music industry's early-millennium meltdown, a by-product of Top 40's dismissal of the form. The disconnect between critical favorites like these three bands and less-cool chart stalwarts, and rock radio's increasing reliance on tried-and-true classic rockers, only grew.

But these three albums, all of which feature long-running acts expanding their sonic palettes and jolting their listeners' expectations, show how the genre's exile in the wilderness has made its individual practitioners much stronger. In the streaming era, indie rock may not be as cool as it used to be—but it's not dead yet. □

Anne-Marie Slaughter The CEO of the New America foundation and former State Department official on her new book about how networks are upending statecraft

You write in *The Chessboard and the Web* that national security today requires the use of networks, not just traditional rivalries and alliances, which you call “the chessboard.”

How does that square with the rise of nationalism? If Hillary Clinton had been elected, my book would have been aligned with government policy. Instead, the chessboard is resurgent. Trump’s Inaugural Address was a classic statement of chessboard politics.

You write, “The starting point here is not competition between states but the well-being of citizens globally,” which seems like the opposite of “America first.” Yet President Trump, with his millions of Twitter followers, seems to understand the power of networks. I think he deeply understands—or intuitively feels—the power of direct connections with voters. But like Barack Obama, he is finding there is a big difference between connecting with voters and creating actual networks that effectively let you get things done.

How is Syria an example? When you have crimes against humanity targeted at a village or tribe or a particular faith, that problem will spread. The survivors have connections in other countries, and they will move. Or they end up in refugee camps, which become nodes of dangerous connections. What happens to human beings is not unconnected to what happens to states.

Perhaps nationalism is a wish for a less complicated world? When you hear “Make America great again,” that nostalgia is not just for a time when America was more homogenous in terms of jobs, race and gender roles. It may also be a longing for the clear lines of the Cold War—dangerous, but clear.

But surely you’re not saying nations no longer matter? I don’t think states are going to be less important. But we are going to have to learn to “see in stereo,” as I call it. The world of the chessboard

is still there in our relations with Russia, China, Iran—places where we are still playing a straight power game. But we also need to be able to see how we can manage networks strategically for our national security. We have no choice. People are already exploiting networks to threaten us: terrorists, drug cartels, cybercriminals.

The chessboard seeks power over other nations. The web seeks power with other people, right? Interestingly, among the people who really get the networked world are the military out in the field. They are used to messy stuff. But we need to elevate that to the level of strategy. We have a manual for the strategy of conflict; my book is a manual for the strategy of connection—and not just in foreign policy. Webcraft is for everyone.

Who else gets it? At the State Department, the women and the young people get it, while the older men might look confused. Women because they never had “power over,” so they had to learn to develop networks; young people because it’s the world they’ve grown up in.

For years you were dean of the Wilson School at Princeton, where you were known for attracting an intellectually diverse faculty. Are you alarmed at the intolerance we’re seeing on campuses like Middlebury and Berkeley?

I was appalled by the Middlebury experience [where protesters attacked a faculty member]. The woman who was injured is a close friend. All of us have to stand up for the belief that we can have civil discourse. Look around at the rest of the world. Try living in a country where they stop talking and start shooting.

—DAVID VON DREHLE

‘Like Obama, Trump is finding there is a big difference between connecting with voters and creating actual networks.’



STEPHEN VOSS—REDUX

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