SEPTEMBER 24, 2018

TIME

I have a master's degree, 16 years of experience, work two extra jobs and donate blood plasma to pay the bills. I'm a teacher in America

by KATIE REILLY

Hope Brown
Woodford County H.S.
Versailles, Ky.

TIME
VOL. 192, NO. 12 | 2018

4 | From the Editor
5 | For the Record

The Brief

News from the U.S. and around the world

9 | Trump's **negative effect** on Senate races

12 | Why the U.S. **distrusts** the International Criminal Court

13 | Farewell to **Burt Reynolds**

14 | More time to sue over child **sex abuse**

16 | TIME with … former President **Jimmy Carter**

18 | **Kabul journalists** face fire

The View

Ideas, opinion, innovations

21 | Taking **first accusers** seriously in sexual-harassment cases

23 | Ian Bremmer on the odd coupling of **Russia and China**

23 | The problem with **philanthropy**

25 | James Stavridis says America must **reassure its allies**

Features

Teachers Strike Back
Facing stagnant wages and shrinking pensions, America's public school teachers have had enough
By Katie Reilly **26**
Plus: Teachers get political
By Molly Ball **32**

The New Face of Europe
Italy's far-right Matteo Salvini wants to remake the E.U.
By Vivienne Walt **34**

Future Cures
Stem cells are changing the way scientists treat disease
By Alice Park **40**

A Women's Road Trip
With shared passions and goals, women across America create new communities
By Lucy Feldman **50**

Time Off

What to watch, read, see and do

55 | The ***Fortnite*** phenomenon

60 | Movies: ***The Land of Steady Habits, The Angel*** and ***A Simple Favor***

62 | **Debut novels** by Wayétu Moore and Olivia Laing

67 | **Carrie Underwood** takes a turn

68 | 7 Questions for cellist **Yo-Yo Ma**

At Columbia University, Dr. Job de Jong oversees 300 "mini-brains" grown from stem cells

Photograph by Cole Wilson for TIME

TIME (ISSN 0040-781X) is published weekly, except for two skipped weeks in January and one skipped week in March, May, July, August, September and December due to combined issues by Time Inc., a wholly owned subsidiary of Meredith Corporation. **PRINCIPAL OFFICE:** 225 Liberty Street, New York, NY 10281-1008. Periodicals postage paid at New York, N.Y., and additional mailing offices. **POSTMASTER:** Send all UAA to CFS (See DMM 507.1.5.2); **Non-Postal and Military Facilities:** send address corrections to TIME Magazine, P.O. Box 62120, Tampa, FL 33662-2120. Canada Post Publications Mail Agreement No. 40110178. Return undeliverable Canadian addresses to: Postal Station A, P.O. Box 4322, Toronto, Ontario M5W 3G9. GST No. 888381621RT0001. U.S. Subscriptions: $49 for one year. **SUBSCRIBERS:** If the Postal Service alerts us that your magazine is undeliverable, we have no further obligation unless we receive a corrected address within two years. Your bank may provide updates to the card information we have on file. You may opt out of this service at any time. **CUSTOMER SERVICE AND SUBSCRIPTIONS:** For 24/7 service, visit ***time.com/customerservice.*** You can also call 1-800-843-TIME; write to TIME, P.O. Box 62120, Tampa, FL, 33662-2120; or email ***privacy@time.customersvc.com.*** **MAILING LIST:** We make a portion of our mailing list available to reputable firms. If you would prefer that we not include your name, please call or write us. **PRINTED IN THE U.S.** ◆◆◆◆◆◆◆

RULES
OF
MODERN
INVESTING®

#1

ASK YOUR BROKER QUESTIONS.

#2

ASK YOUR BROKER MORE QUESTIONS.

#3

IF YOU DON'T LIKE THEIR ANSWERS, ASK AGAIN AT SCHWAB.

Visit **Schwab.com/Questions** to learn more

charles SCHWAB

2016 2018 2017

Own your tomorrow.

"Highest in Investor Satisfaction with Full Service Brokerage Firms, Three Years In a Row."

Wealth Management at Charles Schwab
PLANNING | PORTFOLIO MANAGEMENT | INCOME STRATEGIES | BANKING

Teaching lessons

I WAS RAISED TO BELIEVE THAT THERE ARE NO HIGHER professional callings than health care and teaching, no duties more sacred than the welfare and education of our kids. And yet, as TIME's Katie Reilly reports in this week's cover story, more than half of all states are spending less per student than before the Great Recession, and annual pay for America's public-school teachers has barely budged in three decades. In 2017, teachers made nearly 20% less than comparable college-educated professionals.

The education of future generations is not solely the job of teachers, however. All of us have a part to play, including those of us in the media. A few weeks ago, TIME's Katy Steinmetz took a deep look at a critical educational challenge that is particularly close to home: news literacy. We can blame Facebook, Twitter and web profiteers in Macedonia all we want for the proliferation of false information online, but at some level the responsibility comes down to each of us having the baseline ability to discern fact from fiction. "Having a well-informed citizenry," Katy wrote, "may be, in the big picture, as important to survival as having clean air and water." (You can read her story at TIME.com/fake-news.) That work needs to begin early. According to an extensive recent report from PEN America, students need to be taught news literacy before middle school in order to be "inoculated" from disinformation.

At TIME, we've been focused on this issue for more than two decades through a publication called TIME for Kids, which is distributed to some 1.8 million students around the country. The editors and writers at TIME for Kids work closely with their counterparts at TIME and TIME.com, as well as with educators, to help make the world comprehensible to students in ways they can trust. This year, we are stepping up our focus on news literacy, offering special features and teachers' guides to help kids better discern what's real and what's not across the media landscape. As TIME for Kids editorial director Andrea Delbanco notes, "Historically, kids were just left out of the conversation. Now they are exposed to dozens of media messages every day. They need context more than ever."

You can support this effort by visiting DonorsChoose.org and searching "TIME for Kids" to help a teacher join the fight against misinformation.

Edward Felsenthal,
EDITOR-IN-CHIEF
@EFELSENTHAL

On the Cover

This week's issue has three covers, each featuring a different teacher:

Hope Brown, 52, a history teacher at Woodford County High School in Versailles, Ky. Photograph by Maddie McGarvey for TIME

Rosa Jimenez, 36, a high school social-studies teacher at the UCLA Community School in Los Angeles. Photograph by Alex Welsh for TIME

NaShonda Cooke, 43, a special-education teacher at Carroll Magnet Middle School in Raleigh, N.C. Photograph by Jared Soares for TIME

CLEANING UP An idea that was named one of TIME's Best Inventions of 2015 is still making waves—now literally. The Ocean Cleanup, a nonprofit organization, recently deployed the world's first ocean-plastic cleaning system in an area of the Pacific between California and Hawaii where an estimated 80,000 tons of plastic has amassed. Its 23-year-old Dutch inventor, Boyan Slat, says that if it works as planned, the approximately 2,000-ft.-long floating barrier could halve the area's waste by 2025. Read TIME's new interview with Slat, and watch a video on how his invention works, at **time.com/ocean-cleanup**

THE OCEAN CLEANUP

TALK TO US

SEND AN EMAIL:
letters@time.com
Please do not send attachments

FOLLOW US:
facebook.com/time
@time (Twitter and Instagram)

Letters should include the writer's full name, address and home telephone and may be edited for purposes of clarity and space

Back Issues Contact us at help.single@customersvc.com or call 1-800-274-6800. **Reprints and Permissions** Information is available at time.com/reprints. To request custom reprints, visit timereprints.com. **Advertising** For advertising rates and our editorial calendar, visit timemediakit.com. **Syndication** For international licensing and syndication requests, visit timeinc.com/syndication.

Please recycle this magazine and remove inserts or samples beforhand

‘Donald Trump … is a symptom, not the cause.’

BARACK OBAMA, 44th U.S. President, in a Sept. 7 speech at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, calling out the President by name for the first time since leaving office

$3 million

Amount Jocelyn Bell Burnell earned as part of a Special Breakthrough Prize in Fundamental Physics, which she plans to use to fund scholarships for underrepresented groups in the field; her work earned a 1974 Nobel Prize, but the award went to her supervisor as she was a graduate student at the time

2045

Year by which California vows to rely 100% on renewable energy, per a bill Governor Jerry Brown signed Sept. 10

ILLUSTRATIONS BY BROWN BIRD DESIGN FOR TIME

‘I’M SORRY IT HAD TO END LIKE THIS.’

NAOMI OSAKA, tennis player, after the U.S. Open; she won the women’s singles title in a match marred by controversial penalty calls against her opponent, Serena Williams

‘We have wrapped a suicide vest around the British Constitution.’

BORIS JOHNSON, former British Foreign Secretary, lamenting U.K. Prime Minister Theresa May’s leadership, in a Sept. 9 column

‘This is about the closest I’ll ever have in my life to an “I am Spartacus” moment.’

CORY BOOKER, U.S. Senator (D., N.J.), threatening to violate Senate procedure in order to make public a Brett Kavanaugh memo during the Supreme Court nominee’s hearing; it turned out that the memo, which showed Kavanaugh’s opposition to racial profiling, had already been cleared for release

$3

Cost to have a snack delivered by drone at King’s Walk golf course in Grand Forks, N.D., if this month’s trial period goes according to plan

‘From the state with 84% of the U.S. fresh water but none for its residents to drink, I am Miss Michigan.’

EMILY SIOMA, University of Michigan grad, at the Miss America 2019 competition; the title went to Miss New York Nia Imani Franklin

Alex Jones
Apple and Twitter banned the conspiracy theorist behind Infowars from their platforms

Indiana Jones
A fedora worn by Harrison Ford in *Raiders of the Lost Ark* could fetch over $260,000 at auction

SOURCES: ASSOCIATED PRESS; GRAND FORKS HERALD; NEW YORK TIMES; NPR; SUNDAY MAIL

CHEVY. THE ONLY BRAND TO EARN J.D. POWER DEPENDABILITY AWARDS ACROSS CARS, TRUCKS AND SUVS. THREE YEARS IN A ROW.

2018 EQUINOX

2018 SILVERADO

Current awards based on 2013, 2014 and 2015 model year vehicles.

Over 35,000 owners were asked by J.D. Power to rate the dependability of their vehicles after three years of ownership. The result? Confirmation that when it comes to Chevrolet cars, trucks and SUVs, peace of mind comes standard.

2018 "MOST DEPENDABLE COMPACT SUV, MIDSIZE SUV, MIDSIZE CAR AND LARGE LIGHT DUTY PICKUP"
2017 "MOST DEPENDABLE SMALL CAR, LARGE SUV, LARGE HEAVY DUTY PICKUP AND MIDSIZE SPORTY CAR"
2016 "MOST DEPENDABLE MIDSIZE CAR, COMPACT SUV, LARGE HEAVY DUTY PICKUP AND MIDSIZE SPORTY CAR"

For J.D. Power 2018 award information, visit jdpower.com/awards.

2018 TRAVERSE

2018 MALIBU

FIND NEW ROADS™

CHEVROLET

THE BREAKDOWN

Wednesdays at 4:00 PM ET

THE BIGGEST STORIES — EXPLAINED.

STREAMING LIVE ACROSS FOUR ICONIC SITES

Sports Illustrated Money TIME FORTUNE

PRESENTED BY SYMETRA®
RETIREMENT | BENEFITS | LIFE

The Brief

TRUMP ON THE TRAIL
The President greets supporters at an Aug. 30 campaign rally in Evansville, Ind.

INSIDE

VENEZUELA RESPONDS TO REPORTS OF A PLAN TO OVERTHROW ITS PRESIDENT

THE U.S. ISSUES A NEW WARNING TO THE INTERNATIONAL CRIMINAL COURT

CHILD SEX-ABUSE CASES RAISE QUESTIONS ABOUT STATUTE-OF-LIMITATION LAWS

PHOTOGRAPH BY EVAN VUCCI

POLITICS

GOP Senate fears a Trump slump

By Philip Elliott

AS AIR FORCE ONE SPED FROM BILLINGS, MONT., to Fargo, N.D., on Sept. 7, President Donald Trump dipped into the press cabin to casually announce that he was prepared to slap another quarter-trillion dollars in tariffs on Chinese goods. "There's another $267 billion ready to go on short notice, if I want," Trump declared.

Back on the ground, Republican strategists were soon beside themselves. The GOP is fighting to pick up Senate seats in both Montana and North Dakota, key contests that will help determine whether the party maintains control of the chamber after November's elections. Some $20 million in Montana exports to China are already caught up in Trump's ongoing trade war, and $31 million worth of North Dakota's Chinese exports are at risk, according to a U.S. Chamber of Commerce analysis. The White House never clarified exactly what Trump meant by his Air Force One remark, but any escalation of the trade war could hurt the GOP's odds in those agricultural states.

The threat captured a dilemma Republicans face as they march toward Election Day. On the one hand, they need Trump on the road, tapping his popularity with the base to drive enthusiasm and turnout in November. On the other, the President's reflexive need to make himself the center of attention and his tendency to say anything at any time can hurt candidates from his party. And you never know how he's going to behave. Says one Republican official: "You can't trust the President on anything."

GOP Senate candidates like North Dakota's Kevin Cramer are relying on Trump to help drive turnout

The result: it's no longer just the House that could tip into Democratic hands this November; polls in the states now suggest that the Senate is in play too.

It shouldn't be. On paper, the Senate contests this year heavily favor the GOP. For starters, Republicans are defending just nine seats, compared with the Democrats' 24, plus an additional two for independents who caucus with them. And 10 seats held by Democrats seeking re-election are in states Trump won in 2016, half of them by double digits.

But on the ground, things don't look so good for the GOP. Of those 10 seats, Republicans are in striking distance of winning just two—and even those races are within the margin of error. At the same time, three of the nine Republican-held seats—in Nevada, Arizona and Tennessee—could be pickup opportunities for Democrats. And now Republicans in Washington are sounding the alarm that a fourth, the one held by Senator Ted Cruz of Texas, could be snatched up by the charismatic Democrat Beto O'Rourke. Buying ads in Texas' 20 media markets to try to save Cruz could be pricey.

The polls showing these races narrowing also point to the possible source of the problem for Republicans: Trump is increasingly losing ground with college-educated voters, especially female ones. In some recent polls, his approval rating has fallen into the high 30s from the high 40s he bragged about at the start of September.

DEMOCRATS AREN'T ORDERING CHAMPAGNE YET, despite positive polling numbers. Party strategists recognize that they need to do everything right if they are to run the table and win difficult Senate races in costly states like Florida and conservative ones like Missouri. And Trump's unpredictability can upend Democrats' plans as much as Republicans: there is simply no telling what the mercurial Trump may get up to between now and November. For their part, many GOP officials are confident that a strong economy will lift their candidates to victory in the Senate.

But Trump has done himself and his party few favors as the fall campaign heats up. A harsh op-ed in the New York *Times,* credited to an unnamed senior Administration official, and the latest book by journalist Bob Woodward both paint a picture of chaos inside the Trump orbit and a President increasingly isolated from his top aides. All the while, special counsel Robert Mueller's investigators are stacking up guilty pleas and convictions.

And while Trump's imprimatur was valuable to Republican candidates in the primaries, it is looking like less of an advantage in November. Party strategists lament that Trump's biggest edge comes in places with low numbers of college-educated voters—and those places often are not the metropolitan areas where Trump likes to host free-wheeling, train-of-thought rallies to rant against his Attorney General, the Department of Justice and what he calls "the fake-news media." He likes to mock predictions that a "blue wave" looms this November, instead promising that a "red wave" of Republican victories is coming. GOP strategists worry that by doing so, Trump is depressing enthusiasm among Republicans who may believe the President is correct and their votes aren't needed.

Whatever the effect of Trump's campaigning, there will be more of it, as the President plans to spend more time on the road, believing he can boost the fortunes of fellow Republicans. During the six weeks leading to Election Day, the White House has scheduled at least 40 days on the trail. Which means one way or another, Trump will likely be a deciding factor in who wins control of the Senate in November. □

PREVIOUS PAGE: AP/SHUTTERSTOCK; THESE PAGES: CRAMER: TOM WILLIAMS—CQ ROLL CALL/GETTY IMAGES; MADURO: JUAN BARRETO—AFP/GETTY IMAGES

Venezuelan President Nicolás Maduro attends a military ceremony in Caracas on Aug. 4

THE BULLETIN

Venezuela condemns U.S. over claims of a plot to overthrow Maduro

VENEZUELA'S EMBATTLED AUTHORITARian government lashed out at the U.S. for "unacceptable and unjustifiable" interference on Sept. 9, after the New York *Times* reported that Trump Administration officials had met with Venezuelan military officers to discuss overthrowing President Nicolás Maduro. Although the report said nothing was agreed to at the meetings, the Maduro regime could nevertheless be bolstered by rumors of U.S. meddling.

FIERY RHETORIC U.S.-Venezuela relations, never warm, worsened in 2013, when Maduro took over the late Hugo Chávez's socialist experiment and steered the nation into an economic and humanitarian crisis. After years of escalating U.S. sanctions on Maduro's officials and businesses, President Trump suggested in August 2017 that a "military option" was on the table; Venezuelan rebels then allegedly reached out to U.S. officials to discuss the idea. Maduro has since cracked down on dissent, and dozens of military officers have been arrested.

OLD FOES Many say the report benefits Maduro, who has long blamed his country's troubles on a U.S.-led international conspiracy reminiscent of the Cold War. In the 1960s and '70s, fearing the spread of communism to its southern neighbors, the U.S. helped to overthrow left-wing governments across Latin America, including in Venezuela. Washington often helped install violent right-wing dictatorships in their place.

DOUBLING DOWN Venezuela is increasingly isolated, as 13 Latin American and Caribbean countries recalled their ambassadors after Maduro's widely discredited re-election in May. But political-risk analyst Diego Moya Ocampos says the military is unlikely to act "unless civilian protests reach a scale that can't be contained, or there is a credible threat of the use of force from outside Venezuela." With authorities using torture and arbitrary detention to stamp out opposition, and international pressure failing to dent Maduro's resolve to stay in power, Venezuela's dictatorship will prove hard to dislodge. —CIARA NUGENT

NEWS TICKER

Brazil far-right candidate stabbed

Jair Bolsonaro, the far-right candidate in Brazil's Oct. 7 presidential elections, **is in intensive care after being stabbed in the abdomen** during a Sept. 6 campaign rally. Bolsonaro's injuries mean he is unlikely to recover fully before the election.

Former Trump aide given 14 days in prison

George Papadopoulos, a former Trump campaign adviser, was sentenced on Sept. 7 to 14 days in federal prison for **lying to the FBI about his communications with Russians during the 2016 campaign.** He was the first Trump aide to be sentenced in the special-counsel investigation.

Putin contests U.K. take on poisoning

Russian President Vladimir Putin said Sept. 12 that two Russian men **suspected of using the nerve agent Novichok to poison ex-spy Sergei Skripal** in the U.K. in March were civilians—not intelligence agents, as British authorities believe. The U.K. has accused Moscow, which denies involvement in the attack, of "obfuscation and lies."

NEWS TICKER

Dallas police officer shoots neighbor

Dallas police officer Amber Guyger fatally shot Botham Shem Jean, a black man, inside his home on Sept. 6. She **claimed she mistook the apartment for her own and has been charged with manslaughter.** The case has raised questions about whether the officer, who is white, received preferential treatment.

Japan may lift commercial-whaling ban

Japan has **proposed an end to a 1986 ban on commercial whaling,** saying the whale population is healthy enough for hunting to resume. Critics disagree. Japan kills 333 whales a year in the name of scientific research, though much of the meat is sold for human consumption.

FEMA funds went to border crackdown

The Trump Administration diverted nearly $10 million from the Federal Emergency Management Agency to U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement to help pay **for detention and removal operations,** Senator Jeff Merkley revealed on Sept. 11. Officials said the move would not affect disaster-relief funds.

GOOD QUESTION

Why does the U.S. oppose the International Criminal Court?

ON SEPT. 10, U.S. NATIONAL SECURITY adviser John Bolton launched a broadside against the International Criminal Court (ICC), the body mandated by most of the international community to prosecute genocide, war crimes and crimes against humanity. In a speech to the conservative Federalist Society, Bolton announced that Washington would "use any means necessary" to push back against the organization's influence.

The ICC was established in 2002 in response to human-rights abuses in countries such as Rwanda and the former Yugoslavia. Supported by 123 nations, it was intended to act as a "court of last resort," to step in when nations' legal systems fail. Since then it has succeeded in convicting several war criminals, even as critics have slammed its slow bureaucracy and its toothlessness in prosecuting crimes outside Africa.

Bolton, however, has gone beyond those points. Apparently provoked by the court's preparation to probe U.S. personnel for alleged torture of detainees in Afghanistan, he warned that Washington was ready to take steps, including banning judges of the "illegitimate court" from the country and sanctioning their funds in the U.S. financial system.

In common with several countries, the U.S. sees the court as a challenge to its constitutional authority. The U.S. joined Israel, China and Saudi Arabia in refusing to ratify the ICC's founding document in 2002, citing its "unacceptable consequences for our national sovereignty." A key person working on that decision was Bolton, then an Under Secretary of State in the George W. Bush Administration.

In the years that followed, he spearheaded the signing of approximately 100 bilateral deals to prevent countries around the world from handing Americans over to the ICC. None of those deals have ever been tested; no American has been indicted by the court. But murmurs of an investigation into war crimes in Afghanistan threatened to change that. Although the U.S. is not a member of the ICC, Afghanistan is. As a result, crimes committed on its territory can legally be brought to the court, no matter the nationality of the perpetrator. "What we saw from Mr. Bolton on Sept. 10 was a pre-emptive strike to intimidate the ICC," the director of the international justice program at Human Rights Watch, Richard Dicker, tells TIME.

Washington's resistance to the ICC is not new, but the threats coming from a senior Administration official are. That has supporters of the ICC worried that the U.S. is sending the wrong message on war crimes—not to mention that the country's refusal to cooperate could hinder other investigations too. "The first casualty here," Dicker says, "is any prospect of the U.S. credibly asserting itself as a champion for justice."

But it seems Bolton has a different casualty in mind. "The ICC," he said in his speech, "is already dead to us." —BILLY PERRIGO

RESTAURANTS

When fast food invades

Starbucks opened its first store in Italy on Sept. 7, but its upscale look couldn't stop skepticism in the land of espresso. Here, other chains with rough international debuts. —*Abigail Abrams*

MCDONALD'S
Romans protested when the golden arches first appeared in the Piazza di Spagna in 1986, but by 2017, McDonald's had opened over 560 branches across Italy. The chain has stores on six of the seven continents.

TACO BELL
The Mexican-themed chain has many global locations but has repeatedly failed in Mexico. When it first tried to open in Mexico City in 1992, locals were confused by its food names; a 2007 attempt didn't work out either.

CHICK-FIL-A
When the fast-food company said in July that it planned to open its first franchisee-owned store outside the U.S., in Toronto, the news sparked online backlash among critics of its ties to conservative causes.

DIED
Pittsburgh rapper **Mac Miller,** at 26 on Sept. 7. He connected with fans through lyrics about substance abuse and depression.

REOPENED
New York City's **Cortlandt Street subway station,** which was destroyed in the Sept. 11, 2001, attacks, on Sept. 8. It was one of the last parts of the World Trade Center to reopen.

CONVENED
A 2019 **meeting of key bishops from around the world** to discuss protecting children from sexual abuse, by Pope Francis, on Sept. 12.

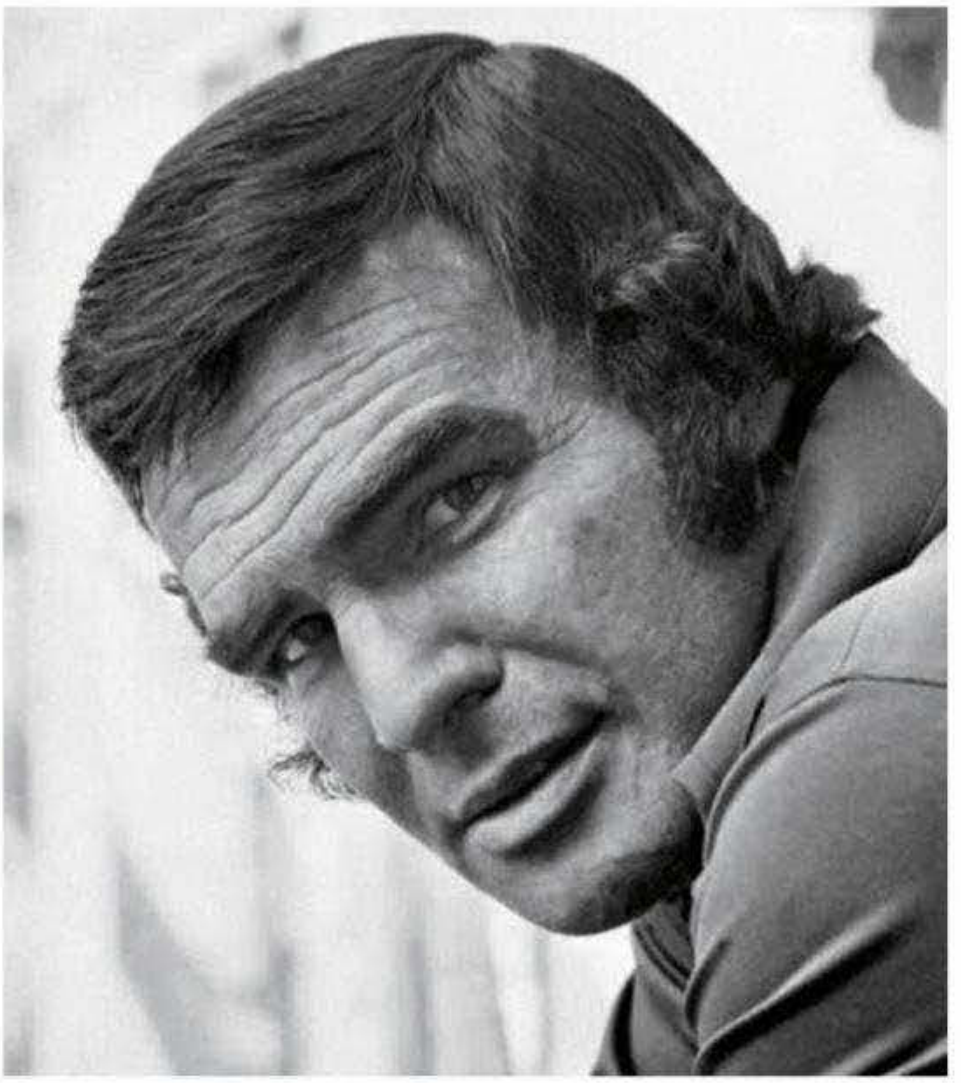
OVERTURNED
India's ban on sexual activity between same-sex couples, by the country's Supreme Court, in a historic Sept. 6 ruling.

HELD
A **military parade,** by North Korea, to celebrate its founding 70 years ago. The parade, held Sept. 9, did not feature the long-range missiles at the center of negotiations over denuclearization.

NAMED
Leana Wen, an ER doctor and Baltimore's health commissioner, as the next president of Planned Parenthood, on Sept. 12.

ATTACKED
The Iranian and U.S. consulates in Basra, Iraq, by protesters, amid tightening U.S. sanctions on Iran. The U.S. has blamed Tehran for failing to prevent the violence.

STARBUCKS: STEFANO RELLANDINI—REUTERS; REYNOLDS: TERRY DISNEY—HULTON ARCHIVE/EXPRESS/GETTY IMAGES; MA: STEPHANIE LECOCQ—EPA-EFE/SHUTTERSTOCK



Reynolds in 1972, the year his career exploded: the performer was inseparable from the personality

DIED

Burt Reynolds
Sexy-funny star

IF YOU WENT TO THE MOVIES IN THE DECADE THAT FOLLOWED 1972, you couldn't avoid Burt Reynolds: his role in that year's thriller *Deliverance* jump-started a seemingly unstoppable career.

Reynolds, who died at age 82 on Sept. 6, was the affable anchor of action films and comedies—*The Longest Yard* (1974), *Smokey and the Bandit* (1977)—that weren't always taken seriously by critics. But he was marvelous in them, a charismatic, low-key gentleman rogue. He riffed on that persona in TV talk-show appearances of the day; when he showed up on Johnny Carson's show in a slightly absurd maroon suit with white piping, it was to let the audience know he knew just how ridiculous it was.

But he looked amazing in anything and nothing: in 1972 he posed naked on a bearskin rug for *Cosmopolitan,* the drooping cigarette clenched between his teeth drawing more attention to his slow-burning smile than to anything else. Reynolds later expressed regrets about the centerfold, saying it may have hurt his acting career. He eventually did earn an Oscar nomination in 1998, for his role in *Boogie Nights,* but no accolade could have made Reynolds any more charming. He had a sense of humor about everything, most of all himself. A naked man with his cigarette at half-mast has nothing to hide. —STEPHANIE ZACHAREK

ANNOUNCED

Jack Ma's move
Online-shopping tycoon to retire

IT'S A RAGS-TO-RICHES story that encapsulates a resurgent China. When Jack Ma started an online-trading company from his apartment in 1999, he'd been rejected from 30 jobs and was eking out a living as a teacher.

Today Ma, 54, is China's third richest man. The firm he founded, Alibaba, is worth over $400 billion. Its online-shopping platforms hawk everything from sneakers and laptops to pygmy hedgehogs, dispatching 55 million packages a day, and subsidiaries have expanded to cloud services and mobile payments

On Sept. 10, Ma revealed he would step down as Alibaba's executive chairman next year. Daniel Zhang, 46, the firm's current CEO, will then take charge. Zhang shares Ma's gift for fusing commerce with entertainment. He's credited with turning China's Nov. 11 Singles Day into the world's largest shopping event, clocking $25 billion in sales last year.

Ma leaves a complicated legacy. Critics say he did little to remove fake goods from his platforms; he also failed to call out state repression. But he now plans to dedicate his time to philanthropy, meaning his tale may yet have a happy ending. —CHARLIE CAMPBELL

The new battle over old child sex crimes

By Haley Sweetland Edwards

FRANK FINNEGAN WAS 7 YEARS OLD WHEN HE WAS FIRST molested by a local priest. As a child, he didn't know how to prevent the repeated assaults, which went on for almost two years, or how to go about reporting the crime. So, like most child sex-abuse victims, he kept quiet. It wasn't until he was in his late 40s, preparing to send his own children off into the world, that the memories of the trauma became impossible to ignore. "It's like there was finally room in my brain," says Finnegan, who now works as a truck driver. So he contacted a lawyer, braced himself and filed suit.

But Finnegan was too late. In Pennsylvania, where he grew up and raised his own family, victims of child sex abuse have only until they turn 30 to bring a civil case. (They have until they turn 50 to pursue criminal charges, but that didn't help Finnegan, whose abuser was long dead.) As a result, Finnegan's case was thrown out—not on the merits, but because of the time it took to come to terms with the trauma. There was no avenue to appeal. No one would be held accountable for what happened to Finnegan, now 57. "It's not right," he says. "Why is this legal?"

'This is plain and simple about doing the right thing.'

MARK ROZZI, a Pennsylvania lawmaker whose bill creates a two-year look-back window

It may not be, in some states, for much longer. Many state lawmakers have opened the door in recent years to belated criminal prosecution, and now several are moving to allow civil suits in decades-old cases. Fifteen states took up bills this year that would change statute-of-limitation laws, making it easier for victims of child sex abuse to seek justice. Two states—Michigan and Hawaii—passed such legislation.

The movement to roll back time limits for child sex-abuse lawsuits has been fueled by recent headlines. The sexual abuse of young women by former USA Gymnastics doctor Larry Nassar, allegations of abuse by staff and teachers at top private schools, and the Pennsylvania grand-jury report that described a systemic cover-up of child sex abuse by the Catholic Church are all feeding the fury. From late August to early September, state attorneys general in Illinois, Missouri, Nebraska, New Mexico and New York demanded records from Catholic dioceses as part of new investigations into child sexual abuse.

But the fact that the perpetrators often operate under the cover of large institutions means passing new legislation isn't easy. Powerful constituencies—including the Catholic Church, the Boy Scouts of America and the insurance industry, among others—have all lined up to fight bills that could help the many victims of decades-old crimes find justice.

CURRENT STATE LAWS governing child sex-abuse cases are all over the map. In Alabama, the age cutoff for victims to file a civil suit is 21. In New York, which has the second largest Catholic population in the U.S., it's 23. Delaware has no age limit at all. Each of the bills before the 15 state legislatures this year is different, too, according to Child USA, a research and advocacy group. In Michigan, lawmakers passed a narrow bill in May extending from 19 to 28 the age at which victims may file civil suits. In New York, lawmakers failed to pass a bill that would have extended the age at which victims could file criminal charges to 28 and civil suits to 50. Governor Andrew Cuomo has vowed to push for the bill next term. Pennsylvania, which is nearing the end of its legislative session, is considering a bill that would give child victims until age 50 to file civil suits.

A key provision in both the New York and Pennsylvania bills, and the focus of much of the fight nationwide, is what's known as the "look-back window." It creates a short period of time, usually one to three years, in which people like Finnegan who have aged out of the statute-of-limitation cutoffs can retroactively file suit. Over the past few years, an intense lobbying battle over these windows has erupted in state capitols.

STATES TAKE ACTION

15
Number of states that introduced statute-of-limitation bills in 2018

5
Number of state attorneys general demanding new documents from local Catholic dioceses

29
Maximum age for a victim of child sex abuse to bring a civil suit in Pennsylvania

Protesters gather outside the Apostolic Nunciature in Washington on Aug. 30

BRENDAN SMIALOWSKI—AFP/GETTY IMAGES

The New York State Catholic Conference, which represents Catholic bishops in the state, spent $1.81 million from 2012 to the beginning of 2018 lobbying the New York legislature, which is considering a bill with a one-year look-back window, according to an investigation by the Buffalo *News*. The Catholic Conference in Pennsylvania spent $3 million from 2014 to June of this year, according to state records.

In some states, including Georgia and Michigan, lobbyists have made the case that look-back windows are inherently unfair because victims' memories become less reliable over time. In addition, many of the clergy or scout leaders they're accusing of abuse are long dead. The point of statute-of-limitation laws is to protect the accused from spurious claims made after memory or evidence may no longer be considered reliable. But there is evidence to suggest victims, like Finnegan, take decades to come to terms with their abuse. A 2014 study from Germany, which included 1,050 subjects, found that men and women were 52 years old, on average, when they first reported child sex abuse. There's no comparable U.S. study.

Other opponents of look-back windows have made an overtly financial case, arguing that such provisions would result in nothing more than a payday for trial lawyers. In New York, Timothy Dolan, Cardinal and Archbishop of New York and the former president of the United States Conference of Catholic Bishops, has suggested that measures allowing retroactive lawsuits would crush the church with expensive litigation. During a visit to the state capitol in March, Dolan described the look-back window as "toxic" and "strangling."

Church officials see Minnesota and Delaware, two states that have passed laws with look-back windows, as cautionary tales. Both states saw an uptick in lawsuits alleging child sex abuse, including hundreds against Catholic clergy, after the window opened—roughly 850 in Minnesota and more than 100 in Delaware. Dioceses in both states, facing the prospect of paying steep settlements to victims, claimed they had no choice but to file for bankruptcy. Victims' lawyers argue that Catholic dioceses around the country have filed for bankruptcy as a legal tool to shield church assets from settlements.

Top lobbyists for the church and insurance industry in Pennsylvania make another argument: look-back windows violate the state constitution. "It's not constitutional to require us, as insurers, to cover risk that we didn't know we'd have," Sam Marshall, the CEO of the Insurance Federation of Pennsylvania, told TIME. Church attorney Matt Haverstick says the point should end the discussion: "You just can't pass a law violating the constitution," he said.

None of the major groups opposing look-back windows has been as active as the Catholic Church. That may be because it is in a uniquely vulnerable position. The recent grand jury investigation in Pennsylvania—along with similar investigations in the state in 2005 and 2011—has revealed that the church keeps extensive, secret archives of all past allegations against clergy members. These documents can be subpoenaed in criminal and civil cases.

PENNSYLVANIA MAY BECOME something of a bellwether as it considers these questions this month. In 2016, the state house passed a bill with overwhelming support that expanded the statute of limitations for filing new cases until victims turned 50 and created a two-year look-back window. Earlier this year, the state senate responded with a different bill that extended the age at which victims can file civil suits but omitted the look-back window.

Pennsylvania state representative Mark Rozzi, who sponsored the house version, says he won't support a bill that doesn't include a look-back window. "This is plain and simple about doing the right thing," he said. But Rozzi, who has unsuccessfully pushed a version of his bill since 2013, knows well how difficult the political fight will be. "When my bill passed the house last time, they hired 39 lobbyists to lobby 50 senators," he says of the church. Amy Hill, a spokesperson for the Pennsylvania Catholic Conference, would not comment on its lobbying efforts. "We are devastated and outraged by the revelations of terrible sexual-abuse crimes committed in the Catholic Church," she wrote in a statement to TIME. "The time to discuss legislation will come later."

Advocates for victims of child sex abuse say the time is now. Just as 41 states eliminated at least some felonies from their statute-of-limitation laws for criminal allegations after a 2002 Boston *Globe* investigation revealed widespread church abuse, the current revelations are driving changes in civil cases too. Rozzi, who was raped by a priest when he was 13, says the state is at a tipping point. "People are fed up with the hypocrisy," he says. "Either you're protecting your bank account or you're protecting kids who got abused. It's not a tough choice." Finnegan is less upbeat. "It's all about money. Where are the dollars coming from?" he asks. "The church with all their lobbyists and law firms? Or people like us?" ◻

Former President **Jimmy Carter** is still building his legacy, one home at a time

By Molly Ball/Mishawaka, Ind.

AT 93, JIMMY CARTER'S GAIT IS A LITTLE STIFF, his back a bit stooped. He doesn't swing a hammer like he once did, preferring to work a table saw. But one week each year, the 39th President of the United States and his wife still travel somewhere in the world to build homes with their own hands for Habitat for Humanity, the global housing charity. And so, on a Thursday in late August, the Carters were on a job site in Mishawaka, Ind., wearing blue hard hats and measuring out lengths of wood for a new patio.

Home is a powerful thing to Carter, the only modern President to return there after leaving the White House. The couple still lives in the two-bedroom ranch house in Plains, Ga., that they built in 1961, and their everyday lives bear little resemblance to the jet-setting and buck-raking of his post-presidential peers. They still cook their own meals and attend their local Baptist church, where Carter teaches Sunday school. You'll never find Carter giving a speech to an investment bank for hundreds of thousands of dollars.

It's a bright, crisp morning in this suburb of South Bend, where a formerly vacant lot is being transformed into 23 vinyl-sided houses. The one the Carters are working on will soon belong to Cleora Taylor, a 36-year-old single mother of four, who'll pay it off with a no-interest mortgage. "We happen to be Christians, and this gives us a chance to put our religious beliefs into practical projects," Carter says in his soft country drawl. "That's a very difficult thing for wealthy people to do, like we are—to cross the great barrier between us and people who have never had a decent place to live."

Carter's humility might seem a rebuke to those who put more stock in material success or public glory. But he insists he doesn't judge people with different priorities. "We live the way we want to live," he says. "That's what we prefer." What does annoy him is the worsening inequality he sees in America, which he blames on partisan gerrymandering, voter suppression and the Supreme Court's "stupid" 2010 campaign-finance decision, *Citizens United*. "That injected large amounts of money into the political system," he says, and it "has made our country more of an oligarchy depending on wealth than it is a democracy depending on individual citizens' votes."

The Carters have been building for Habitat for 35 years now. He says they'll keep doing it as long as they can. Carter beat cancer in 2015, and his wife Rosalynn, 91, has walked with a cane since she had surgery earlier this year. The building projects have taken them to 14 countries and 21 states, from Mississippi to Manila and many points between. In 2018, it seems particularly resonant that they've come to rural Indiana, in the middle of the American heartland that's been so scrutinized since Donald Trump's election. They're here as a personal favor to local architect LeRoy Troyer, 80, who's been supervising their building work around the world for the past 33 years. The Carters call him "boss."

The former President's focus on housing also fits the moment. Some experts believe soaring home prices could again trigger a market meltdown like the 2008 financial crisis, in which housing-price inflation played a prominent role. More than 38 million American households spend at least 30% of their income on housing, with nearly 19 million spending half or more, making it hard to afford other necessities; it's both a cause and a consequence of inequality, condemning people to poverty and trapping them there. The situation may seem most acute in big cities, but it's no less a problem in Middle America: poverty has doubled in Indiana since 2001, and in this Indiana county there are more than 14,000 households spending more than 30% of their gross income on rent.

ON THE JOB SITE, Carter wears a red bandanna around his neck and a silver horseshoe belt buckle with the initials J.C. Both Carters are known as taskmasters, exacting and rigorous. "You want him on your build because he's so damn smart," says country-music star Garth Brooks, who, with his wife Trisha Yearwood, is on his 11th year building alongside the Carters. "You might've just roofed a house, but if he sees you take a two-second break, he'll say, 'Do you need something to do?'" says Yearwood.

Carter's rectitude and high-mindedness present a stark contrast to the current President, with his gilded penthouse and payoffs to alleged mistresses. Trump never fully divested from his billion-dollar business empire; Carter, when he became President, put his family peanut farm in Plains into a blind trust to prevent accusations of conflict of interest. But Carter downplays their differences as merely partisan. "I'm a Democrat, so I don't agree with a lot of the policies that President Trump has espoused," he says. "I pray that he'll be a successful President. And I have confidence that President Trump, or any other President, they want to do the best they can. But quite often his interpretation of what's best in a situation is not the same as mine."

The flags at the Habitat site are at half-staff in memory of recently deceased Senator John McCain, whom Carter describes as a personal hero. They

CARTER QUICK FACTS

Nobel laureate
Carter was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 2002 for his post-presidential work for international peace.

Polymath author
The subjects of the former President's 32 books include memoirs, policy—and woodworking.

Man of faith
Carter, an evangelical Christian, gave this year's commencement address at Liberty University.

MATT MCCLAIN—THE WASHINGTON POST/GETTY IMAGES

both graduated from the U.S. Naval Academy, 12 years apart, and learned a strict code. "They have a standard there that the preeminent measurement of a person's ethical and moral standards is whether or not they tell the truth," Carter says. As for whether Trump meets that standard, Carter says tersely: "I don't think the current President has that extraordinary commitment to telling the truth that I just described."

The Carters take their lunch in the mess tent with everyone else. By the time they get there, only the vegan meals are left, so they each grab a veggie wrap and amble over to a blue-tarped table, where they sit with the other volunteers. Carter looks around at all these well-intentioned people giving their time and toil to others, and sees evidence we're not as divided as we sometimes seem. "I think Americans are inherently oriented toward equality and harmony," he says. "We'll change. I have great confidence in the future of my country."

And then Carter goes back to his table saw, Rosalynn working at a table next to him, painting finials for porch posts. "People ask me what I want to be remembered for, and I generally say peace and human rights," he says. "I think it's a basic right of a human being to have a home that's decent in which to raise children, and to have an adequate amount of health care and to have an adequate amount of education to take advantage of whatever talent God may have given them."

'I have great confidence in the future of my country.'

JIMMY CARTER

It's a simple creed. But when put into practice with this level of dedication, it can seem like a radical one. Taylor, the future homeowner who's put in hundreds of hours of "sweat equity" to earn her place here, looks at the former President with awe. Home, for her, will mean no more rent hikes, no more squeezing into her grandmother's decrepit house and a chance for her four children—including a daughter with severe autism—to have a stable foundation. "He's heaven-sent," Taylor says of Carter. "It's God working through him. He's created something that's going to go on forever. I truly believe that's why he's still around. And I'm going to have a front porch because of him." Thanks to Jimmy Carter, one more person will know the meaning of home. ◻


2
AT LEAST THREE

LightBox

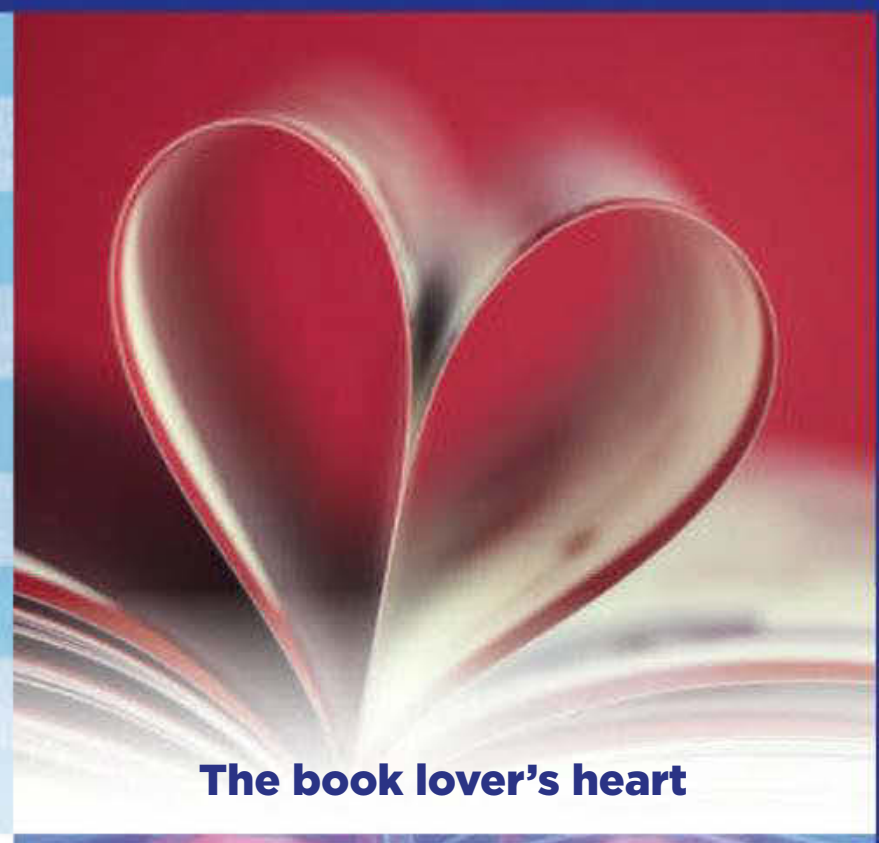
Press under pressure

Journalists attend a meeting in the TOLOnews newsroom in Kabul on Sept. 7, two days after two of their colleagues were killed while covering a bombing in the Afghan capital. Reporter Samim Faramarz and cameraman Ramiz Ahmadi had rushed to the scene of a suicide bombing at a gymnasium when a car bomb exploded nearby. The blasts killed some 22 people. Terrorists sometimes detonate bombs back to back to target those who rush to respond; nine other journalists in Kabul died in a similar follow-on attack in April. With at least a dozen killed in 2018, Afghanistan has been the world's deadliest country for journalists this year.

Photograph by Omar Sobhani—Reuters

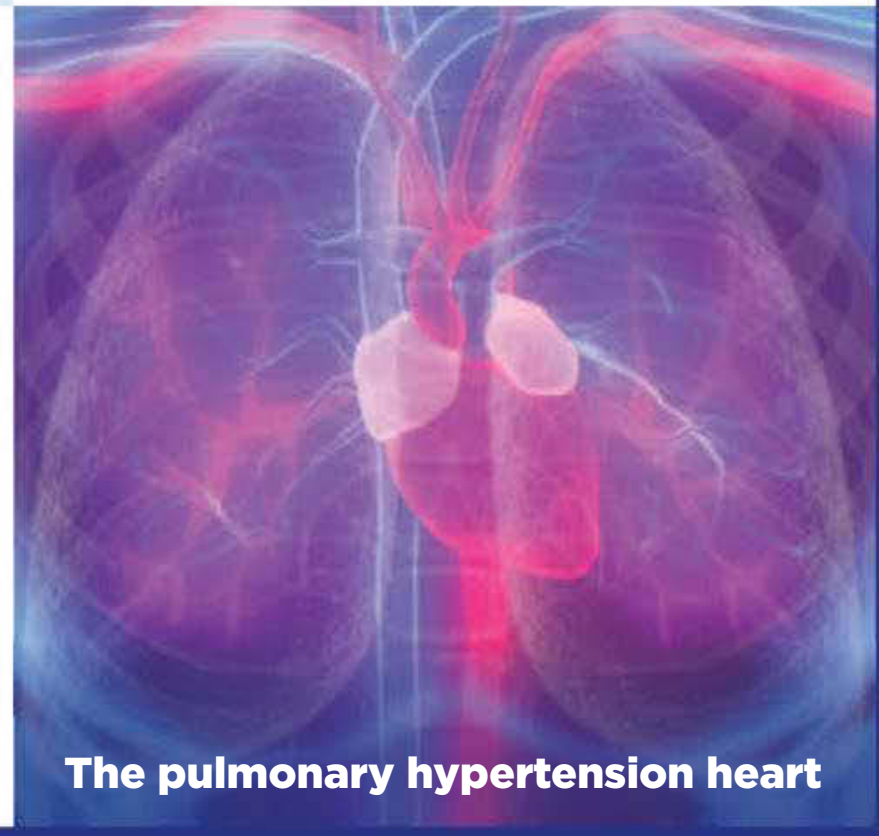
▸For more of our best photography, visit time.com/lightbox

The food lover's heart



The book lover's heart

The lover's heart



The pulmonary hypertension heart

Pulmonary hypertension puts unbearable stress on the heart.

Often misdiagnosed - as asthma, for example - Pulmonary Hypertension **(PH)** can cause death from heart failure. There is no cure. But at the Pulmonary Hypertension Association, we're giving hope to PH patients and caregivers. Learn how you can help at **www.PHAssociation.org**

PHA Pulmonary Hypertension Association

We're putting our heart into finding a cure.

SOCIETY

SAFETY, NOT NUMBERS

By Jill Filipovic

It took 12 women to push one man from his perch. Leslie Moonves, the chairman and CEO of CBS, departed the company after a total of a dozen sexual-harassment and assault allegations were leveled against him—six over a month ago, then six more on Sept. 9 after weeks of discussions but little action on ousting one of TV's titans.

INSIDE

WHY RUSSIA AND CHINA WON'T BE FRIENDS FOREVER

THE U.S. PRESIDENT REACHES A NEW LOW IN THE EYES OF THE WORLD

THE CASE AGAINST SUPERRICH PHILANTHROPISTS

This is how these cases seem to go: One person speaks out, or maybe two or three talk to a reporter. Only after the initial accusations are made public do the floodgates open. This cascading effect—that it's tough to get anyone to speak out first, but it appears almost inevitable that more voices will then follow—illuminates some of the remaining challenges of combatting sexual harassment across our culture.

We now seem to expect that a harasser will have a long list of victims, regardless of whether he (or she) is famous. But there are consequences to that assumption. It inevitably makes it harder for a single accuser to have her claims heard. When part of validating a claim is seeing who else has had a similar experience, a dearth of other voices becomes a strike against the veracity of the accuser's story—regardless of fairness.

This, in turn, perpetuates harassment. When multiple accusations becomes the standard, a harasser has more leeway to harass—in some of the highest-profile #MeToo cases, that meant years or even decades of abuse. Had a single substantiated story been enough to level serious consequences, less havoc would have been wreaked on women's lives and livelihoods. There is, after all, always a first victim.

WORKPLACES ARE INCREASINGLY mandating sexual-harassment training and publishing clearer reporting guidelines. Several states and municipalities are moving to formalize new requirements. The most expansive may be in New York State, where employers will soon have to inform workers of how they can report harassment. By next month, employers will need to have a policy on the books and annually train all employees in prevention. Already, the state has barred employers from mandating that sexual-harassment claims be resolved in arbitration, among further reforms.

These efforts are commendable (if a headache for employers). But as the requirements develop, we risk setting our false assumptions in stone.

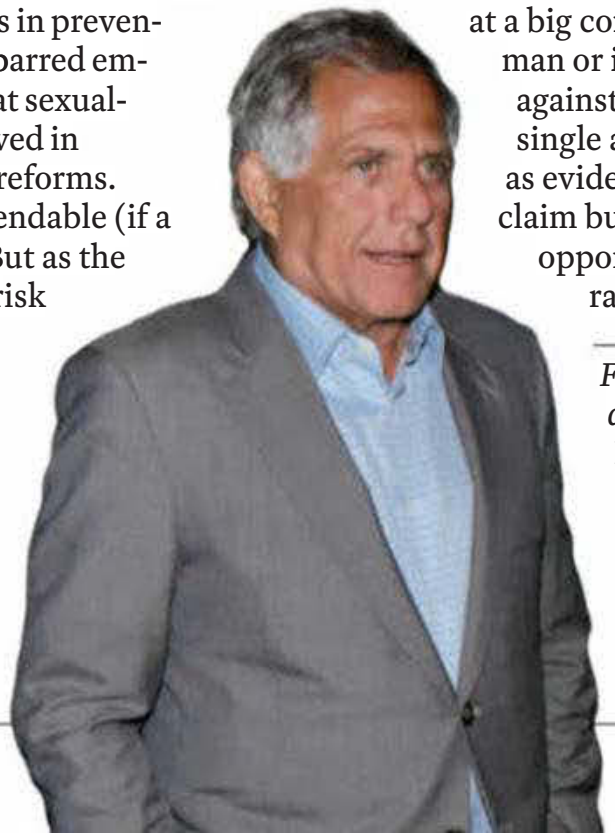
Another example: contrary to past thinking, sexual harassment is more about power than desire. And a man doesn't have to be Les Moonves or Harvey Weinstein or a reality-TV star/realty magnate to have power over others. He could be the manager of a store, the owner of a restaurant, a partner at a law firm, a fellow worker who feels that by virtue of his gender, race, education or marginal seniority he has authority over those around him. As they build their new structures, then, companies must create paths to reporting that don't presume the accuser and the accused are on equal standing.

But changing a place's culture is, frankly, hard to legislate and often ephemeral. So companies must scout for what they've overlooked in the past. Are there significant numbers of women in senior roles? Are there people who may not be harassers but who bully subordinates? People whose behavior is written off as "Bob just being Bob"?

It is not enough to assume that progress will win out, even after change takes place. Yes, we're in a moment when women (and many men) are collectively appalled at how high assailants were allowed to rise. And feminist shifts have let us more clearly see harassment in that context—and not as a personal quirk ("that's just how Harvey is") or a natural outcome ("that's just how men are"). Yet well into the #MeToo era, some of the CBS board reportedly knew that a woman had gone to the police to file a criminal sexual-assault complaint against Moonves, and they still didn't take public action until an article in the *New Yorker* embarrassed them into it. (Moonves has denied the allegations.) If this is how a moneyed, PR-conscious company behaves, imagine how negligently others act.

This is why multiple accusations cannot be a standard in the new world we build. One report of harassment should have spurred CBS into action. It's critical that, be it at a big company against a famous man or in a small workplace against a middle manager, a single accusation isn't treated as evidence of an inadequate claim but rather as one of many opportunities to curtail harassment as it begins.

Filipovic is a lawyer and the author of The H-Spot: The Feminist Pursuit of Happiness



Moonves had led CBS Corp. for 15 years before stepping down

MOONVES: GETTY IMAGES

SHORT READS

Highlights from stories on **time.com/ideas**

When tolerance is intolerant

"We are quick to demand tolerance but loath to extend it to others," writes Senator Orrin Hatch. He argues people should recommit to pluralism, which "recognizes that **there is not just one way to achieve the good life but multiple**—and it does its best to accommodate for each."

The costs of paranoia

Psychologist Michele Gelfand, author of the new book *Rule Makers, Rule Breakers,* writes that **societies have historically responded to threats by sacrificing liberty for social cohesion.** The trouble today, Gelfand says, is that America is doing the same in response to manufactured or exaggerated concerns.

After being banished

"I'm not a criminal or a radical," writes NBA player Enes Kanter, who says he was barred by the Turkish government from going to his home nation after he denounced its President—which he will keep doing. **"I need to speak out, or my country will suffer in silence."**

THE RISK REPORT

China may meet Russia for war games, but that doesn't make them allies

By Ian Bremmer

ON SEPT. 11, AN estimated 300,000 Russian soldiers—one-third of the country's armed forces—began joint military exercises with Chinese forces in eastern Siberia. Called Vostok-18, Russia's war games with China have been labeled a rehearsal for a "large-scale conflict" by NATO and will put the Pentagon on edge. Should Americans and Europeans fear that Russia and China are moving closer together?

To be fair, this is less a joint exercise than a massive Russian drill with Chinese participation. Vostok-18 reportedly features 1,000 aircraft and 36,000 tanks, but only 3,200 of the troops and 900 of the tanks are from China. And Mongolia and Turkey were also invited to take part. Even so, this will be the first time the People's Liberation Army has taken part in the quadrennial Russian military exercise, which this year is the largest since before the fall of the Berlin Wall.

Russia and China share more than just a 2,600-mile border. The most obvious commonality is a desire to prevent Washington from curbing both countries' growing influence within their respective neighborhoods and beyond. Their dominance of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, a Central Asian security forum made up of eight member states, helps them push back against the U.S. presence in Asia. But the Vostok exercises bring them shoulder to shoulder for an impressive show of strength. Pooling their military might reinforce the message that Washington's criticism of their behavior inside and outside their own borders is unwelcome.

Russia and China also have a natural commercial partnership in energy. Russia is among the world's leading exporters of oil and natural gas. China consumes vast amounts of these commodities. At a moment when the U.S. has slapped Russia with sanctions and China with tariffs, the Vostok exercises signal to Washington that the harder these two countries are pushed, the more they are incentivized to work together.

Yet Russia and China remain incompatible partners, and over time they're more likely to compete than cooperate. First, each country wants to establish pre-eminence in Central Asia. China has invested heavily in infrastructure, transport and energy in former Soviet republics like Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan via its Belt and Road Initiative, and Russia doesn't have the economic clout to compete. As a result, China dominates a region that Russia considers its security underbelly.

While China is willing to play a role in a show of force led by Russia, its future depends more on good relations with the U.S. and E.U.

And while China wants to buy the energy Russia sells, it has many more willing suppliers than Russia has buyers. That means China can drive a hard bargain on price that limits the volumes Russia is willing to offer. This imbalance means their foreign policy interests often diverge. When, for example, tensions rise between Iran and the U.S., China would benefit from an outcome that keeps energy prices low. Russia would prefer a scenario where they rise.

There's a limit, too, to China's desire to embrace Russia. China's future security and prosperity depend more on the strength of its economy than its military—and Russia is only its 11th largest foreign trade partner, behind Japan, Germany and even the Netherlands. The Chinese-Russian commercial relationship is the main factor limiting Russia's importance to China, even at a time when U.S. tariffs have set Chinese teeth on edge.

So while China is willing to play a featured role in a Russian-choreographed show of force, its future depends more on good relations with the U.S. and E.U. than with Russia. That hasn't changed. ◻

QUICK TALK

Anand Giridharadas

The author of the new book Winners Take All: The Elite Charade of Changing the World *discusses the problems with philanthropy.*

What is the central argument of your book? That we live in a time of extraordinary generosity by the winners, but also a time in which those winners use generosity to protect the system that continues to cause many of our biggest problems and shut most Americans out.

How do those winners think? I found there was a spectrum. On one end, people you run into in finance in New York are aware, privately over a whiskey, that a lot of what they do is incompatible with an economy that works for most people. On the other end, typified by Silicon Valley, people are committed genuinely to changing the world but wish they would be left alone—and end up being blind to the fact that they are the new barons of America.

How do we fix our problems, like inequality? The solutions are not a big mystery for taxation, health, education, work. You can look to other countries. But I'm not sure rich people can be persuaded to change the system, even though there is a sizable minority of the winners who understand that they live in a system that's not defensible. It is we the people who need to take [the act of] change back from these pretenders. —*Joey Lautrup*

WE WILL NOT TAKE THIS SITTING DOWN.

UNLESS IT'S FOR TREATS.

It's time to take a stand for homeless pets. It's time to adopt change. Every day, more than 4,100 dogs and cats are killed in shelters across the country — but **with Best Friends Animal Society leading the way, and your support, we can help our nation's shelters and Save Them All**.

save-them-all.org

Best Friends | SAVE THEM ALL

The world grows wary of the White House

By James Stavridis

THE CONTINUING MELTDOWN IN WASHington, D.C., has profound and challenging domestic implications. But far more dangerously, the obvious chaos throughout the Executive branch—emanating from the President himself—is weakening our allies' faith in America's ability to lead.

The thinking of the President, recently immortalized as "crazytown" in a quote ascribed to White House chief of staff John Kelly in Bob Woodward's meticulously researched book, *Fear,* is at present a mystery to the world at large. The book's release and the near simultaneous appearance of an anonymous op-ed by a "senior official in the Trump Administration" in the New York *Times,* which described a serious "resistance" in the Administration, have perplexed our allies, partners and friends—and emboldened our opponents. Disparaging comments about the President attributed to Secretary of Defense James Mattis and Kelly are stunning—and despite their denials, the comments appear well-sourced and of a kind with those attributed to former Secretary of State Rex Tillerson.

All of this creates the impression abroad of an Executive branch in near free fall. One observer with deep diplomatic and intelligence experience in Washington said to me recently, "I've heard of rats departing a sinking ship, but I've never seen them drilling holes themselves in the hull." Over several trips to Asia in the past four months, I was repeatedly asked if our President would serve his entire term and often—with an embarrassed half-smile—if he was "stable."

In all of the years I have spent as a senior policymaker, and more recently as the dean of a widely known graduate school of international relations, I have never seen our prestige as a nation at such a nadir. It will take all the best efforts of the President's international team, as well as the rest of us in contact with global interlocutors, to provide reassurance and ask for patience to our network of allies, partners and friends—and to prevent irreversible damage.

AT THE CENTER of the concern, of course, is President Donald Trump. In nearly two years as the "leader of the free world," an increasingly ironic phrase, Trump has managed to personally alienate virtually every key U.S. ally. He has been dismissive and disdainful of important NATO leaders. In the Pacific, U.S. policy has been uneven, beginning with the mistaken withdrawal from the Trans-Pacific Partnership, which would have constructed the largest free-trade zone in history and excluded our key competitor, China. The Middle East has been a relative bright spot for the Administration, which is popular in both Israel and Saudi Arabia (and in the Gulf broadly) for its tough stance on Iran. But even here, partners are beginning to worry about the President's domestic woes and longevity.

This makes the November midterms a critical metric for foreign observers. A big reversal in the House of Representatives will further undermine the President's credibility abroad and may magnify the Watergate-like parallels. Foreign leaders will be even less likely to believe the Administration has the longevity and credibility to lead global policy initiatives—from Syria to Iran to North Korea. While some international leaders would view the House's flipping as "democracy working," on balance they would see it as a storm warning of more chaotic behavior ahead. More revelations are likely, as more aides depart and seek to salvage their reputations by heaping opprobrium on the President and those remaining behind. This unvirtuous cycle will damage America's reputation further in the eyes of the world.

Senior officials must do all they can to convince our allies—and opponents—that the U.S. is steady and capable. This will require much personal contact with counterparts at every level, from the Vice President through the Cabinet—including senior generals, who should execute exercises that emphasize interoperability and solidarity.

The message should be that, despite the tweets and roiling waters of "crazytown," U.S. policy actions have remained relatively consistent. We are still attacking the Islamic State aggressively, confronting China in the South China Sea, supporting Taiwan and South Korea in Asia, working closely with Colombia as their peace process unfolds, and deploying troops to the Arabian Gulf in support of Saudi Arabia and the Gulf states, among further examples. Directing skeptics back to the National Security Strategy from 2017, a fairly clear and indeed traditional statement of U.S. policy, will be helpful.

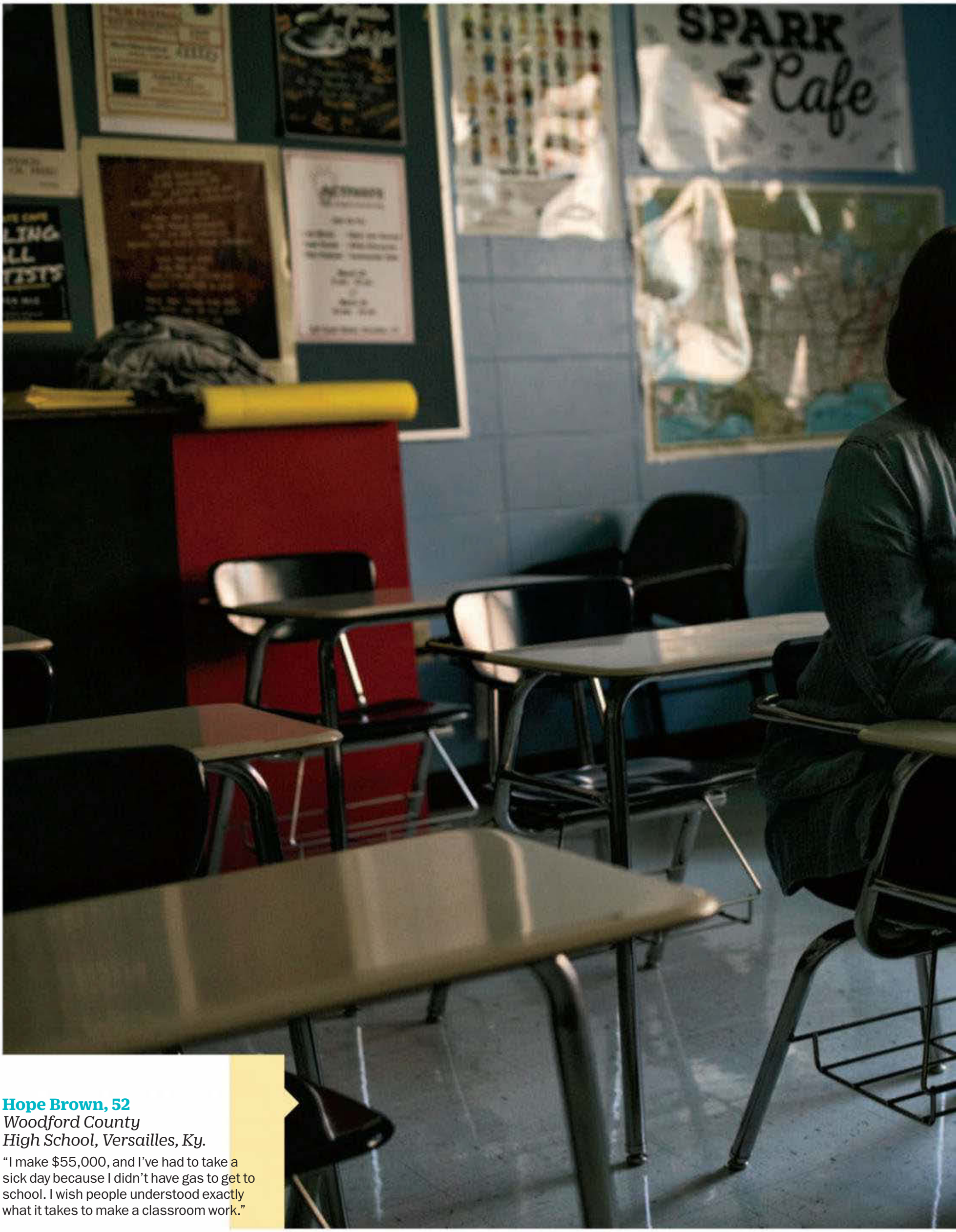
But in the end, such damage control can only help to a point. The top government leaders below the President know what needs to be done to keep the country safe. The question is whether Trump will allow them to bring order, at least in foreign policy, to the chaos coming from the Oval Office.

In all of the years I have spent as a senior policymaker, I have never seen our prestige as a nation at such a nadir

President Trump departs the White House on Aug. 31

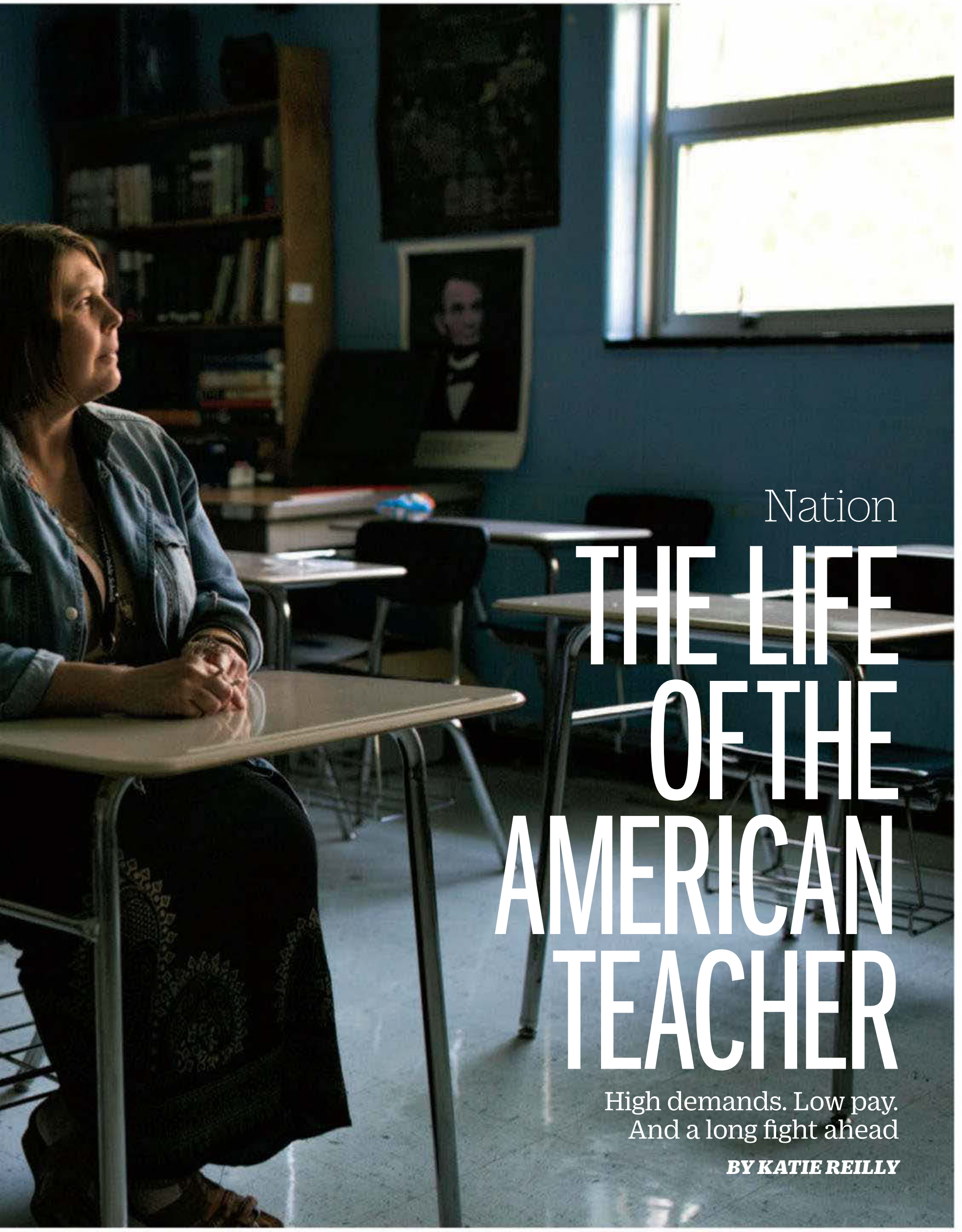
CHRIS WATTIE—REUTERS

Admiral Stavridis (ret.) was the 16th Supreme Allied Commander at NATO and is an operating executive at the Carlyle Group



Hope Brown, 52
Woodford County High School, Versailles, Ky.
"I make $55,000, and I've had to take a sick day because I didn't have gas to get to school. I wish people understood exactly what it takes to make a classroom work."

PHOTOGRAPH BY MADDIE MCGARVEY FOR TIME



Nation

THE LIFE OF THE AMERICAN TEACHER

High demands. Low pay. And a long fight ahead

BY KATIE REILLY

Hope Brown can make $60 donating plasma from her blood cells twice in one week, and a little more if she sells some of her clothes at a consignment store. It's usually just enough to cover an electric bill or a car payment. This financial juggling is now a part of her everyday life—something she never expected almost two decades ago when she earned a master's degree in secondary education and became a high school history teacher. Brown often works from 5 a.m. to 4 p.m. at her school in Versailles, Ky., then goes to a second job manning the metal detectors and wrangling rowdy guests at Lexington's Rupp Arena. With her husband, she also runs a historical tour company for extra money.

"I truly love teaching," says the 52-year-old. "But we are not paid for the work that we do."

That has become the rallying cry of many of America's public-school teachers, who have staged walkouts and marches on six state capitols this year. From Arizona to Oklahoma, in states blue, red and purple, teachers have risen up to demand increases in salaries, benefits and funding for public education. Their outrage has struck a chord, reviving a national debate over the role and value of teachers and the future of public education.

For many teachers, this year's uprising is decades in the making. The country's roughly 3.2 million full-time public-school teachers (kindergarten through high school) are experiencing some of the worst wage stagnation of any profession, earning less on average, in inflation-adjusted dollars, than they did in 1990, according to Department of Education (DOE) data.

Meanwhile, the pay gap between teachers and other comparably educated professionals is now the largest on record. In 1994, public-school teachers in the U.S. earned 1.8% less per week than comparable workers, according to the Economic Policy Institute (EPI), a left-leaning think tank. By last year, they made 18.7% less. The situation is particularly grim in states such as Oklahoma, where teachers' inflation-adjusted salaries actually decreased by about $8,000 in the last decade, to an average of $45,245 in 2016, according to DOE data. In Arizona, teachers' average inflation-adjusted annual wages are down $5,000.

The decline in education funding is not limited to salaries. Twenty-nine states were still spending less per student in 2015, adjusted for inflation, than they did before the Great Recession, according to the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities, leaving many public schools dilapidated, overcrowded and reliant on outdated textbooks and threadbare supplies.

To many teachers, these trends are a result of a decades-long and bipartisan war on public education, born of frustration with teachers' unions, a desire to standardize curricula and a professed commitment to fiscal austerity. This has led to a widespread expansion of charter schools, which are publicly funded but privately operated, and actions such as a move in the Wisconsin legislature in 2011 to strip teachers' pensions and roll back collective bargaining rights. This year, Colorado lawmakers voted to raise teachers' retirement age and cut benefits.

As states tightened the reins on teacher benefits, many also enacted new benchmarks for student achievement, with corresponding standardized tests, curricula changes and evaluations of teacher performance. The loss of control over their classrooms combined with the direct hit to their pocketbooks was too much for many teachers to bear.

'I LOVE TEACHING. BUT WE ARE NOT PAID FOR THE WORK THAT WE DO.'

HOPE BROWN, Kentucky

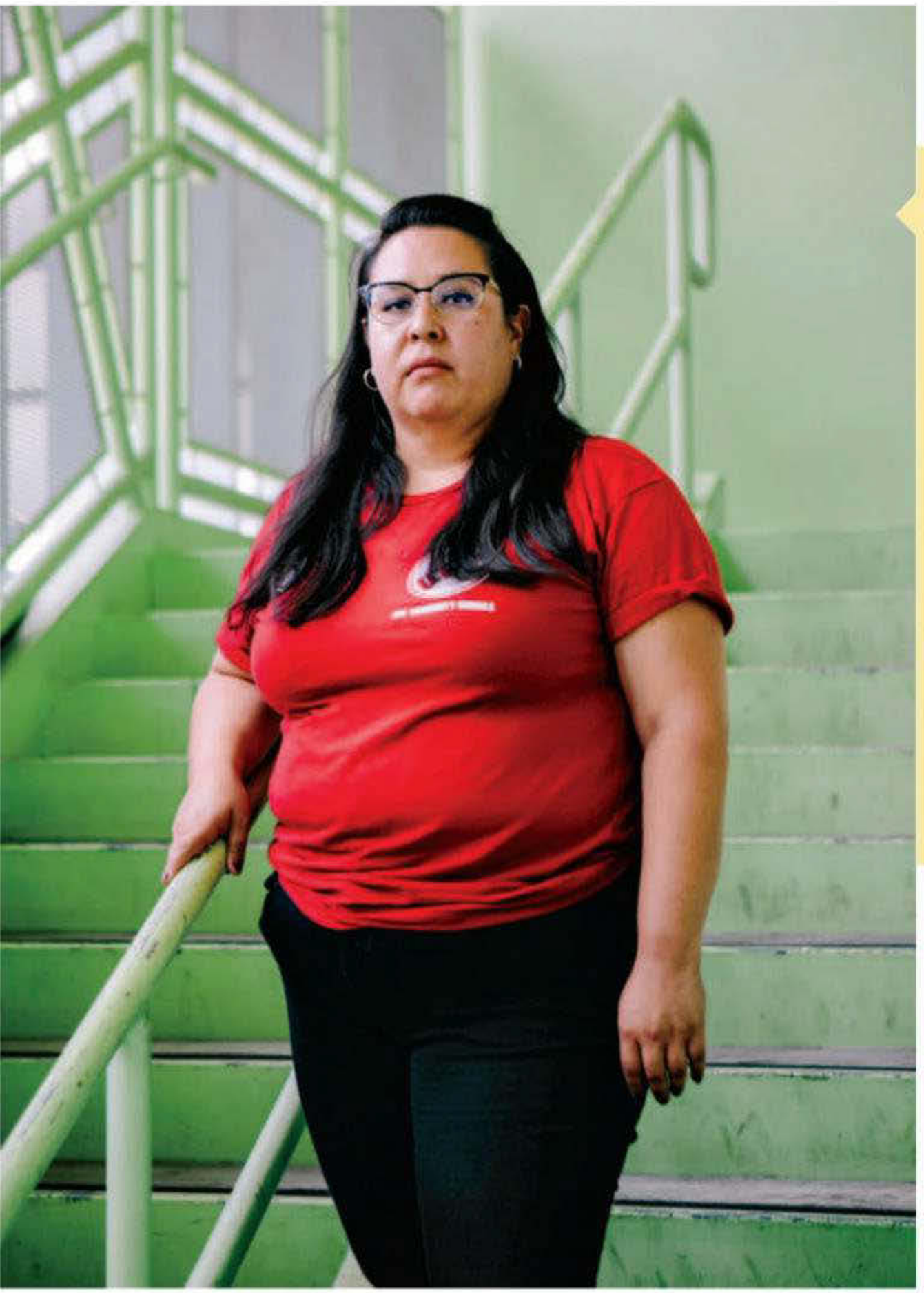
The wave began in West Virginia, where in February and March some 20,000 teachers walked out across the state. Educators there—who made an average of $45,701 in 2016, according to the DOE—refused to enter their classrooms until the state met their demands to fully fund insurance benefits and increase salaries. Instead, they marched on the capitol, passed out bag lunches for low-income students who normally rely on free school meals and watched as public support flooded their way. After nine school days, lawmakers caved and approved a 5% wage increase. Weeks later, the specter of a similar strike led Oklahoma lawmakers to pass the state's first major tax increase in nearly 30 years to fund raises for teachers who still walked out for more funding. Teachers in Kentucky and Arizona—both GOP-leaning states—followed their lead.

But teachers faced opposition at times from state and federal leaders. In April, Secretary of Education Betsy DeVos criticized striking teachers, suggesting they were failing to serve their students and urging them to "keep adult disagreements" out of the classroom.

And when school was out for the summer, the teachers' momentum was blunted. In June, the Supreme Court ruled that public-sector unions can't mandate fees from nonmembers—a decision that experts estimate could cost influential teachers' unions money and clout. And in August, the Arizona supreme court blocked a ballot initiative that would have added $690 million annually to state education funding.

Teachers are out to regain the upper hand. Some have already gone on strike in Washington State, and others are threatening to do so in Los Angeles and Virginia. And they promise to turn out in force for November's midterm elections, where hundreds of teachers are running for office on platforms that promise more support for public schools. They have also sought to remind the public that they are on the front lines of America's frayed social safety net, dealing with children affected

PREVIOUS PAGES: ECONOMIC HARDSHIP REPORTING PROJECT; JIMENEZ: ALEX WELSH FOR TIME



Rosa Jimenez, 36
UCLA Community School, Los Angeles

"I just started my 12th year of teaching, and I've never been a teacher while schools were fully funded. I'm a single mother, making about $73,000 a year, and we're just getting by. My 10-year-old and I live in a one-bedroom apartment that costs almost $1,100 a month. We still share a bed. I got an email just before the start of the school year that I'm going to share my classroom. More and more, we're asked to do this amazing curriculum, but not provided with the resources to do that. I usually end up spending up to $1,000 every year on supplies for my classroom. And I have my own child who needs school supplies. I've found it difficult to keep more than $1,000, maybe $1,500, in the bank for an emergency. It's me and my child, but it's larger than me. There need to be changes if people want to learn and live in this city in the next five years."

by the opioid crisis, living in poverty and fearful of the next school shooting.

Recent polling suggests teachers have the public on their side. Nearly 60% of people in a Ipsos/*USA Today* survey released Sept. 12 think teachers are underpaid, while a majority of both Republicans and Democrats believe they have the right to strike.

"We have to organize even harder and even broader," says Los Angeles teacher Rosa Jimenez. "People are fired up."

WHEN ELAINE HUTCHISON'S mother started teaching in Oklahoma in 1970, she made about $7,000 a year. In 2018 dollars, that's roughly $45,000—nearly the same salary Hutchison, Oklahoma's 2013 Teacher of the Year, now makes after a quarter-century on the job. Hutchison, 48, is a fourth-generation educator whose daughter also plans to become a teacher. She says she never got into teaching for the money, but, "I do want to be paid what I'm worth."

Since the first U.S. public-school system was established in Massachusetts in 1647, many localities have struggled to pay teachers and searched for people willing to do the job for less. In the mid-1800s, California superintendent of public instruction John Swett lamented that the work of teachers was not "as well-paid as the brain labor of the lawyer, the physician, the clergyman, the editor."

"They ought not to be expected to break mental bread to the children of others and feed their own with stones," Swett wrote in 1865, foreshadowing arguments still made by teachers today.

Teaching has long been dominated by women, and experts say the roots of its relatively low pay lie in sexism. "The 'hidden subsidy of public education' is the fact that teachers for many years were necessarily working at suppressed wage levels because they really had no options other than teaching," says Susan Moore Johnson, a professor of education at Harvard and an expert in teacher policy.

In 1960, teaching was more lucrative than other comparable careers for

women, according to the EPI, but that was because of limited opportunity, not high pay. As women were admitted to other professions in wider numbers, choosing teaching carried a cost. For example registered nurses—another career historically dominated by women—make far more than teachers today, earning an average annual wage of $73,550 in 2017, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics. Nursing shortages in some parts of the U.S. have led to signing bonuses, free housing, tuition reimbursement and other perks, while teacher shortages have contributed to some states increasing class sizes, shortening school weeks and enacting emergency certification for people who aren't trained as educators.

Nationwide, the estimated average public-school teacher's salary is now $58,950, according to the National Center for Education Statistics—a respectable income in many locales, but actual wages vary widely by state, and often do not track with costs of living. When compared to professions with similar education levels, teacher pay tends to pale. In 2016, for instance, the average teacher's starting salary was $38,617—20% lower than that of other professions requiring a college degree.

'WE HAVE TO ORGANIZE EVEN HARDER AND EVEN BROADER.'

ROSA JIMENEZ, California

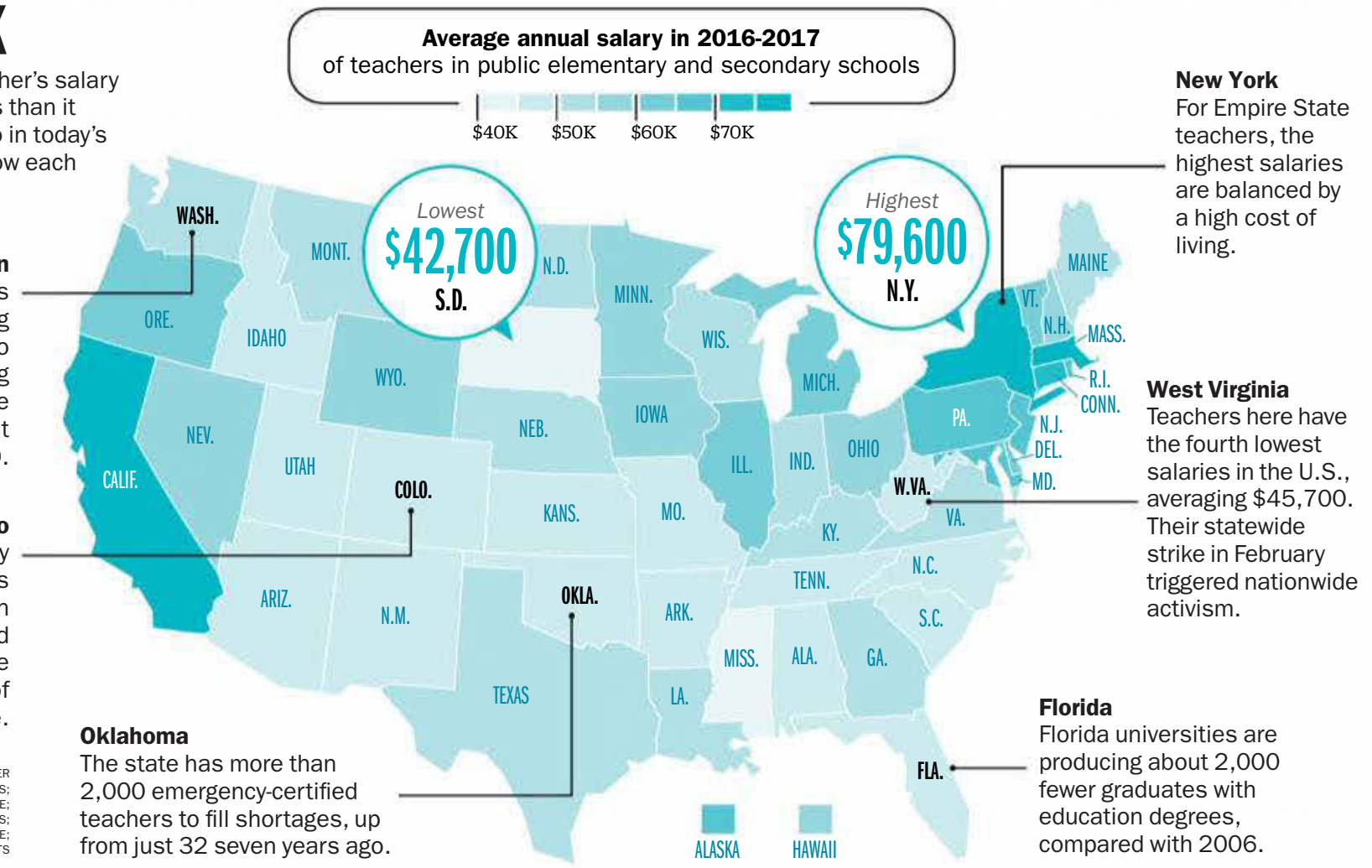
The public response to the teachers' protests shows signs of a shift in the perception of the profession. Even in conservative states, many voters backed tax increases to support public education, and called on lawmakers to stop cutting school budgets. State funding for public schools fell off a cliff 10 years ago, when recession-wracked states slashed education budgets and cut taxes. The uprising in West Virginia seemed to mark a turning point in public support for refilling the coffers.

But like most stories, the fight over teacher pay has many shades of gray. Generous retirement and health-benefits packages negotiated by teachers' unions in flusher times are a drain on many states. Those who believe most teachers are fairly paid point to those benefits, along with their summer break, to make their case.

Teachers, however, say those apparent perks often disappear upon inspection. Many regularly work over the summer, planning curricula, taking continuing education and professional development courses, and running summer programs at their schools, making it a year-round job. Indeed, teachers—about 40% of whom are not covered by Social Security because of states'

HELD BACK

The average teacher's salary in the U.S. is less than it was 30 years ago in today's dollars. Here's how each state stacks up:



Washington
Several districts delayed opening this month due to strikes, including Tacoma, where salaries start at $45,500.

Colorado
Teachers today earn 21% less than they did in 1990 (adjusted for inflation), the largest drop of any state.

Oklahoma
The state has more than 2,000 emergency-certified teachers to fill shortages, up from just 32 seven years ago.

New York
For Empire State teachers, the highest salaries are balanced by a high cost of living.

West Virginia
Teachers here have the fourth lowest salaries in the U.S., averaging $45,700. Their statewide strike in February triggered nationwide activism.

Florida
Florida universities are producing about 2,000 fewer graduates with education degrees, compared with 2006.

SOURCES: NATIONAL CENTER FOR EDUCATION STATISTICS; ECONOMIC POLICY INSTITUTE; TACOMA PUBLIC SCHOOLS; OKLAHOMA DOE; NEWS REPORTS

JARED SOARES FOR TIME/ECONOMIC HARDSHIP REPORTING PROJECT

HERE'S HOW MUCH LOWER TEACHERS' WAGES ARE, COMPARED WITH THOSE OF OTHER COLLEGE GRADUATES

Worst ← –36% ARIZ. –36% N.C. –35% OKLA. | **–24% U.S. AVERAGE** | –5% ALASKA –5% R.I. –3% WYO → *Best*

NaShonda Cooke, 43
Carroll Leadership in Technology Magnet Middle School, Raleigh, N.C.

"I have been teaching for almost 20 years, but I make about $69,000 a year and I still depend on my mom sometimes. I've been running around with a crack in my windshield for three months because I can't afford the more than $200 deductible on my car insurance. I'm terrified that I won't have anything to put toward my oldest daughter's college education. My youngest daughter has high-functioning autism, and I make sure they go to their doctor and dentist appointments, but myself, if I can put it off, I put it off. It's not about wanting a pay raise or extra income, it's just about wanting a livable wage. Our energy bills, taking care of our children, all of our utilities, rent—everything else is increasing, and the pay is remaining the same or even decreasing in some instances. I have thought about leaving teaching before, but that would almost be like willingly cutting off a limb for me. I just can't do it. It's my calling."

reliance on pension plans—must stay in the same state to collect their pensions. Studies have shown that the majority of new teachers don't stay in the same district long enough to qualify for pensions. Even for those who do stand to gain, it can be hard to find reassurance in distant retirement benefits when salaries haven't kept pace with the cost of living.

"Utility companies do not care that you had a great day with one of your students. They don't care that you're coaching the soccer team. They want you to pay for the services that they provide you," says NaShonda Cooke, a teacher and single mother of two in Raleigh, N.C. "I can't tell you how many letters I got this summer that said FINAL NOTICE." Cooke, who makes about $69,000, often skips doctor's appointments to save the co-pay and worries about paying for her eldest daughter's college education. "It's not about wanting a pay raise or extra income," she says. "It's just about wanting a livable wage."

Stagnant wages are one reason teachers believe school districts across the country are facing hiring crises. This year in Oklahoma, a record number of teachers were given emergency teaching certifications, despite no traditional training. In Arizona, school districts began recruiting overseas to fill their shortfall. Last year, U.S. public schools hired 2,800 foreign teachers on special visas, up from 1,500 in 2012, according to federal data.

The pipeline, meanwhile, is drying up. Between 2008 and 2016, the number of new educators completing preparatory programs fell by 23%, according to the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education. And once teachers make it to the classroom, attrition is high: at least 17% leave the profession within the first five years, a 2015 study found.

Hutchison says her daughter has plans to continue the family teaching tradition, but it's becoming a harder path for a middle-class kid. Hutchison's siblings—

POLITICS

Education is a top issue in the midterms

BY MOLLY BALL

After leading West Virginia's teacher strike, state senator Richard Ojeda, a populist Democrat, is a contender in a congressional district President Trump won by 50 points

OKLAHOMA ISN'T ANYBODY'S IDEA of a swing state—by any measure, it's one of the most Republican places in the country. But a poll in July put the Democratic nominee for governor, Drew Edmondson, up by a point over his Republican opponent, 40-39. Edmondson thinks he knows why: "The policies of the last eight years have driven us into a billion-dollar deficit and created a terrible situation in our schools," he tells TIME. "That's what drove me into this race in the first place."

All across America, public anger over education funding has scrambled the political map for November. The activism that started with this spring's sudden wave of teacher strikes and walkouts didn't ebb when the picket lines did. It got channeled into political action. The outcry has created competitive races—and spurred primary upsets—in some unexpected places. And with scores of teachers now running for office themselves, it's changed the face of the midterm elections.

Edmondson, a former Oklahoma attorney general who worked for a year before law school as a high school teacher in Muskogee, spent the summer on an education-themed tour of the state. The dismal conditions highlighted by the teacher walkout helped make the outgoing governor, Republican Mary Fallin, the most unpopular in the country, with an approval rating recently measured at just 19%. In the GOP primary to succeed her, voters chose a political newcomer, Kevin Stitt, who criticized his establishment rivals over their records on education. And in Oklahoma's state legislative primaries earlier this year, voters ejected eight of the 12 Republican incumbents on the ballot who had voted against education funding.

A similar dynamic is playing out in Kansas and Arizona, two red states where cuts to education spending have made Republicans unpopular. Arizona Governor Doug Ducey, who is seeking re-election, saw his popularity plummet when teachers went on strike in April and May for better pay. In Kansas, Republican gubernatorial nominee Kris Kobach is known nationally for his controversial views on immigration and voting rights, but his Democratic opponent spends most of her time focusing on Kobach's support for his predecessor's education cuts. "Kansas is in the toss-up column, and education is a big reason why," says Jennifer Duffy, who analyzes gubernatorial races for the nonpartisan Cook Political Report. Because education is largely states' purview, it is frequently a top issue in gubernatorial races, but Duffy says the intensity and the geography are different this year.

IT'S NOT JUST governors' races. The wave of wildcat teacher strikes (as those undertaken without union consent are known) began in West Virginia, where a chief instigator was Richard Ojeda, a first-term state senator and populist Democrat. Now running for Congress, he's considered a contender in a district Donald Trump won by 50 points. Republicans are getting mileage out of the issue too: in a GOP primary in Kentucky, a high school math teacher came out of nowhere in May to defeat the state house majority leader, who had proposed a bill to cut teacher pensions. According to *Education Week,* 159 teachers have filed to run for state legislatures, 29 of them Republicans. Some 300 members of the American Federation of Teachers are running for office at some level—almost triple the number of the past two cycles, the union says.

To be sure, states like Oklahoma are still long shots for Democrats. But it's the GOP that has the most to fear from voters motivated by education. The most politically energized demographic in the Trump era is college-educated suburban women—precisely the voters who tend to care the most about public education. In Oklahoma, Edmondson says he hears about the issue from parents at every campaign event. "They see this every day," he says. "It is resonating with them, and they are ready for change." ◻

OJEDA: ANDREW SPEAR—THE NEW YORK TIMES/REDUX; THAI: GEORGE ETHEREDGE FOR TIME

Binh Thai, 41
University Neighborhood Middle School in New York City

"In New York, the unions are strong. I just got a salary bump to $114,509 because I took on a new role as a peer collaborator teacher. But I've been teaching for 17 years, and I've still been working two or three jobs since 2003 just to be able to afford to live in New York City. I'm 41 and I have always had to live with roommates. I'm the son of an immigrant. Sending money home and making sure I can support my mom as well as support our family back in Vietnam—that's a bit of a challenge. I can tell you that my first two years of teaching were very conflict-laden. My mom did not immigrate to the U.S. for me to become a teacher. I can understand her motivation, having come from a third-world country and having a family that's still struggling. I have two master's degrees. With my education and my background, I can certainly make more than I'm making as a teacher. But just the draw of teaching and the energy that it brings ultimately made me stay."

'I CAN'T TELL YOU HOW MANY LETTERS I GOT ... THAT SAID "FINAL NOTICE."'

NASHONDA COOKE, North Carolina

an attorney, engineer and physical therapist—all earned graduate degrees, but now she makes half of what they do. "My younger brother who's an engineer—his bonus is more than my salary," she says.

AS THE NEW SCHOOL YEAR gets under way, many are picking up where the spring protests left off. In L.A., teachers voted in August to authorize a strike if negotiations continue to stall over issues including teacher pay and class sizes. In Washington, teachers in several districts are already on strike, calling for pay raises to come out of newly allocated education funding. In Virginia, teachers are floating the possibility of a statewide walkout.

Brown, the Kentucky teacher, says the fight needs to happen now or never. If budget cuts and school privatization efforts continue, she warns, teaching will cease to be a viable career for educated, engaged and ambitious people. She talks about what she does not as a job but as a calling. "I'm not necessarily a religious person, but I do believe I was put here to be a teacher," she says. "I just want to be able to financially do that."

But to Brown, it's not only about what she and her fellow teachers are worth, because they're not in the classroom alone. If the public is on their side, they say, it's ultimately because of the kids.

—With reporting by HALEY SWEETLAND EDWARDS/NEW YORK

PHOTOGRAPH BY MARCO P. VALLI

The Most Feared Man in Europe

MATTEO SALVINI, ITALY'S HARD-LINE INTERIOR MINISTER, WANTS TO REMAKE THE E.U. FOR NATIONALISTS

BY VIVIENNE WALT/ROME

AS EVENING FELL ON THE TOWN OF ALZANO LOMbardo in northern Italy one Sunday in early September, about 2,000 people crowded into a marquee tent. Anticipation grew as the announcer blared through a loudspeaker over the music, *"Il capitano sta arrivando!"*—The captain is coming!

Il capitano was Italy's Matteo Salvini—the far-right Interior Minister whose rocketing rise over just six months has jolted Europe's establishment and threatens to finally upturn a political system that has reeled under a populist surge for the past three years. When Salvini finally burst onto the stage after dark in jeans and his trademark green sneakers, the crowd was spellbound. For nearly two hours, a beer in one hand, he told the audience he would seize back control of their lives from the European Union's faceless bureaucrats. "Italians first!" he shouted, to loud cheers.

If Salvini has his way, his campaign to reshape Europe might have only just begun. In a rare, far-ranging interview with TIME in Rome on Sept. 4, Salvini laid out a plan that would not just shake the E.U. to its foundations but also might remake it from the inside out. "Changing Europe is a big goal," he says. "But I think it is at our fingertips."

The Italian election in March delivered a humbling defeat to the country's traditional parties and put Salvini in the position of kingmaker—he chose to ally his far-right party, the League, with the first-place finisher, anti-establishment Five Star Movement. The populist coalition represents a new era in this country's famously fractious politics. Salvini grabbed the powerful job of Interior Minister, and is now responsible for Italy's policing, national security and immigration policies. He is not Italy's head of government—that job is held by the Five Star Movement's Giuseppe Conte—but he doesn't need to be. The parade of foreign dignitaries lining up to meet Salvini leaves little doubt about who calls the shots. Salvini is now seen as the closest

Salvini, photographed in January, has taken pages from Donald Trump's populist playbook

thing Italy has to a chief executive.

The right-wing leader's ambitions extend far beyond his country, however—and that's what is sending jitters through Europe. Many see him as the leader most capable of piecing together a large group of populist, nationalist parties in Europe, one that crosses national boundaries in the name of nationalism. On Sept. 7, former White House chief strategist and proto-nationalist godfather Stephen Bannon met Salvini in Rome to discuss creating a hard-line coalition across Europe for crucial E.U. elections next May, capable of crushing the neoliberal and centrist parties that have led Brussels for decades.

Bannon told TIME by phone on Sept. 8, after meeting Salvini in Rome, that his new Brussels-based organization, called "The Movement," aims to capture enough seats for right-wing populists in the European Parliament in next year's elections to allow them—at the very least—to block any further efforts at E.U. integration; he calls it "command by negation." To Salvini, it's more elemental. "We are working to re-establish the European spirit that has been betrayed by those who govern this union," he says. Slipping into the first-person pronoun, he adds: "It is clear I have to change the European dynamics."

The populist wave in Europe has been building steadily over the past several years. Some believed it had crested with Britain's vote to leave the E.U. in June 2016, especially after the globalist, pro-E.U. Emmanuel Macron defeated far-right leader Marine Le Pen last year to become President of France. But Europe's right-wing nationalists have not vanished into obscurity. In Hungary, Denmark, Poland and more, they have quietly slipped into parliaments or won significant numbers of votes. In Germany, the far-right Alternative for Germany (AfD) became the official opposition party. Austria's Freedom Party is now part of a coalition government. Even one of Europe's most liberal countries, Sweden, isn't immune—the far-right Sweden Democrats won a record 17.6% of votes on Sept. 9. In each case, the message is the same: stronger borders, drastically fewer migrants and a desire to take back control from the elites.

These politicians are not—for now—advocating following the U.K. out of the E.U.'s door. In fact, for Europe's leaders, they are arguing for something perhaps more hazardous to integrated Europe—a radical ideological remake, including reining in open markets and open borders, and snatching back control from Brussels over key decisions like public spending. If they succeed, they will remake a continent. Few voices are louder in the movement than that of Matteo Salvini. "I choose to change things from within," Salvini says. "That is more difficult and longer and more complicated. But it is a more concrete solution."

TWO DAYS AFTER his packed Alzano Lombardo rally, Salvini sinks into an armchair in his office inside the ornate Viminale Palace, which houses the Interior Ministry buildings in Rome. Tall, with a round face and scraggly beard, his boyish looks make him seem younger than his 45 years. He wears a red rubber wristband for his beloved AC Milan soccer team. But the green sneakers and beer are gone, replaced with the dark suit and crisp shirt of a politician in command.

When Salvini took over the party, then titled the Northern League, in 2013, it was virtually extinct and mired in financial corruption. Its popularity was confined to only a tiny minority of northern pro-autonomy supporters. As Europe began dealing with an unprecedented influx of migrants from the Middle East and Africa, Salvini sensed an opportunity, broadening the League's message to encompass a trenchant nationalism (and in the process dropping the *Northern* from its name). He seized on Italians' frustrations over their debt-laden economy, sluggish growth and a more than one-third youth unemployment rate, and minted a new slogan with Trumpian echoes: "Italians first."

His message was impeccably timed. Years of government ineptitude had left both the mainstream right-wing, under Silvio Berlusconi, and the center-left, under Matteo Renzi, struggling for credibility. The rebels stormed into the vacuum. Although the bigger Five Star Movement finished first in elections in March, the League captured an unprecedented 17.4% share of the vote. In the six months since, polls suggest the party's support has grown to almost a third of the electorate.

The driving force behind the League's explosive growth has been immigration, still a hot-button issue in Europe after the collapse of Syria precipitated the biggest exodus since WW II. Ahead of the March election, Salvini put it at the center of his campaign. He made the wildly impracticable promise to deport 500,000 undocumented immigrants from Italy—roughly the total that have landed on Italian shores since 2015. The message for migrants lining up on the other side of the Mediterranean, Salvini said, was *la pacchia è finita* ("the party's over"). That resonated with many Italians in the wake of the crisis. "We don't have jobs for Italians, so it is difficult to give jobs to these people," says Simona Pergreffi, a League senator from Bergamo, who then makes clear her racial

Salvini after a Sept. 4 summit on Libya, often the last stop in Africa for migrants hoping to reach Italy

PREVIOUS PAGES: CESURA; THESE PAGES: SIMONA GRANATI—CORBIS/GETTY IMAGES

objection: "Not to mention, they want to impose their religion," she says.

As is often the case with migration, the perception doesn't reflect the reality. The flow of migrants across the Mediterranean has ebbed significantly since the peak of the crisis; from 1 million in 2015 to just 89,000 so far this year. A little over 18,000 arrived by sea to Italy, an 80% drop since the same period in 2017. In that context, experts say Salvini's obsessional focus on migration doesn't make a lot of sense. "He is a one-trick pony," says Daniel Gros, director of the Centre for European Policy Studies in Brussels. "Yet the hysteria has increased."

As Italy's Interior Minister, Salvini now wants to suspend asylum procedures completely until the E.U. agrees on fair distribution of refugees, an issue that has deadlocked leaders in Brussels for years. He has incensed E.U. leaders by blocking NGO rescue boats from Italian ports—in August, he blocked a German-registered charity boat, the *Aquarius,* from disembarking 629 migrants it had rescued at sea; the vessel finally rerouted to Spain. Macron called Salvini's action "nauseating." Weeks later, Salvini refused to allow 144 migrants, mostly Africans, to disembark from an Italian coast-guard vessel in the Sicilian port of Catania. Only after a few days of furor did he allow women and children to leave the boat.

Salvini welcomes the outrage. Under E.U. law, migrants are obliged to settle in the first E.U. country in which they land. Salvini says that is particularly unfair for Italy, the closest point in Europe to the migrant-smuggling centers in strife-riven Libya. He says he regards the blockade as a major success, even though it violated international maritime law, as well as migration conventions to which Italy is a signatory. "If it happens again, we will behave in exactly the same way," he says.

EUROPE'S BATTLE LINES are now sharply drawn: Macron and Germany's Angela Merkel on one side; Salvini and his allies on the other. In early September, the Italian hosted Hungary's far-right Prime Minister Viktor Orban in his hometown of Milan. There, Orban called Salvini his "comrade in destiny," in which the two would command one of the "two camps in Europe"—their anti-immigration side, and the liberal, global-minded one, led by their nemesis Macron. The French President returned fire: "If they want to see me as their main opponent," he said, "they are right to do so."

Few would argue that the E.U's immigration policies are working as they should. But there are strong raw racial overtones in Salvini's promise to wall off Italy from migrants—the majority of whom are now from Africa. "History will entrust us with the role of saving European values," he tells TIME, listing among those values, "the Judeo-Christian roots, the right to work, the right to life." He also links migrants to crime—a charge his detractors say is a racist lie. Again, he brushes off the criticism. "If I can reduce the number of these crimes, and the presence of illegal immigrants, they can call me racist all they want."

If all this sounds familiar, it is probably because Salvini has drawn some crucial inspiration from another disruptive Western leader: President Donald Trump. In 2016, Salvini flew to Philadelphia to see Trump during the presidential campaign, gushing over the candidate and snapping a photo with him. Salvini tells TIME that both before and after the March elections, he met Bannon to discuss his options. The former White House policy adviser, now apparently out of favor with Trump, urged Salvini to form a coalition with the Five Star Movement to show that populism was "the new organizing principle" in Europe.

That new "organizing principle" could, if it came to pass, result in changes that might sound familiar in the age of Trump. Salvini, for example, favors dropping Russian sanctions, which the E.U. imposed after President Vladimir Putin

annexed Crimea in 2014. Salvini signed a "co-operation agreement" with Putin's United Russia Party before the March elections. "I only have an idea of having a good partnership between Russia and Europe," Salvini says, echoing the U.S. President's oft-repeated statement that better U.S.-Russia relations would be a "good thing." He finds the allegations of Russian interference in elections in the U.S. and Europe "ridiculous," he adds. "Like Trump, I would say that fake news is distributed 24 hours a day."

Also like Trump, Salvini often bypasses major media in favor of social media—although Facebook, and not Twitter, is his preferred means of communication. During the controversy over the migrant boats Salvini eschewed talking to the press, and instead posted a tough anti-immigration message on Facebook to his 3 million followers. It reached a total of 8 million people, he says. "That is far bigger than traditional media."

But there are some events Salvini cannot control. On the day TIME met him in his office in Rome, the large-screen TV screens behind him splashed the headline CHAOS IN LIBYA, as rival factions battled in the country's capital, Tripoli. With Italy as Libya's closest neighbor and economic partner, Salvini darted anxious looks at the screen, concerned that the fighting would send thousands more across the sea to Italy's coast. When I ask Salvini if it had been a mistake for NATO to order bombing strikes against slain Libyan dictator Muammar Gaddafi in 2011, he exclaims, *"Certamenti si!*... Exporting this Western model of democracy in countries that don't want it or are not ready creates disasters," he says. At one point, an aide shows Salvini a report blaming him for Libya's upheaval because he has shut Italy's doors to migrants. Salvini shakes his head. "What the f-ck do I have to do with the chaos in Libya?" he mutters.

IN TRUTH, not a whole lot. But the chaos in Libya and Syria, and the deep poverty elsewhere in the Middle East and Africa, has in many ways been the making of Salvini. It has propelled him and other like-minded nationalists into positions of authority across Europe. Now, they have set their sights on something potentially far more radical than even the

Supporters of the then Northern League rally against an immigrant "invasion" in Milan in October 2014

Brexiteers have managed: the remaking of the E.U. from within, drastically changing it after decades. Closing the borders to migrants is just the start. Far-right leaders like Salvini chafe against other dictates from Brussels, like central financial regulations, and a 3% public-deficit limit. "We have had three hours of meetings on the Italian economy," he says, referring to a cabinet meeting immediately before the interview, "always with the shadow of Brussels in the background, the European constraints, the European rules, the European numbers."

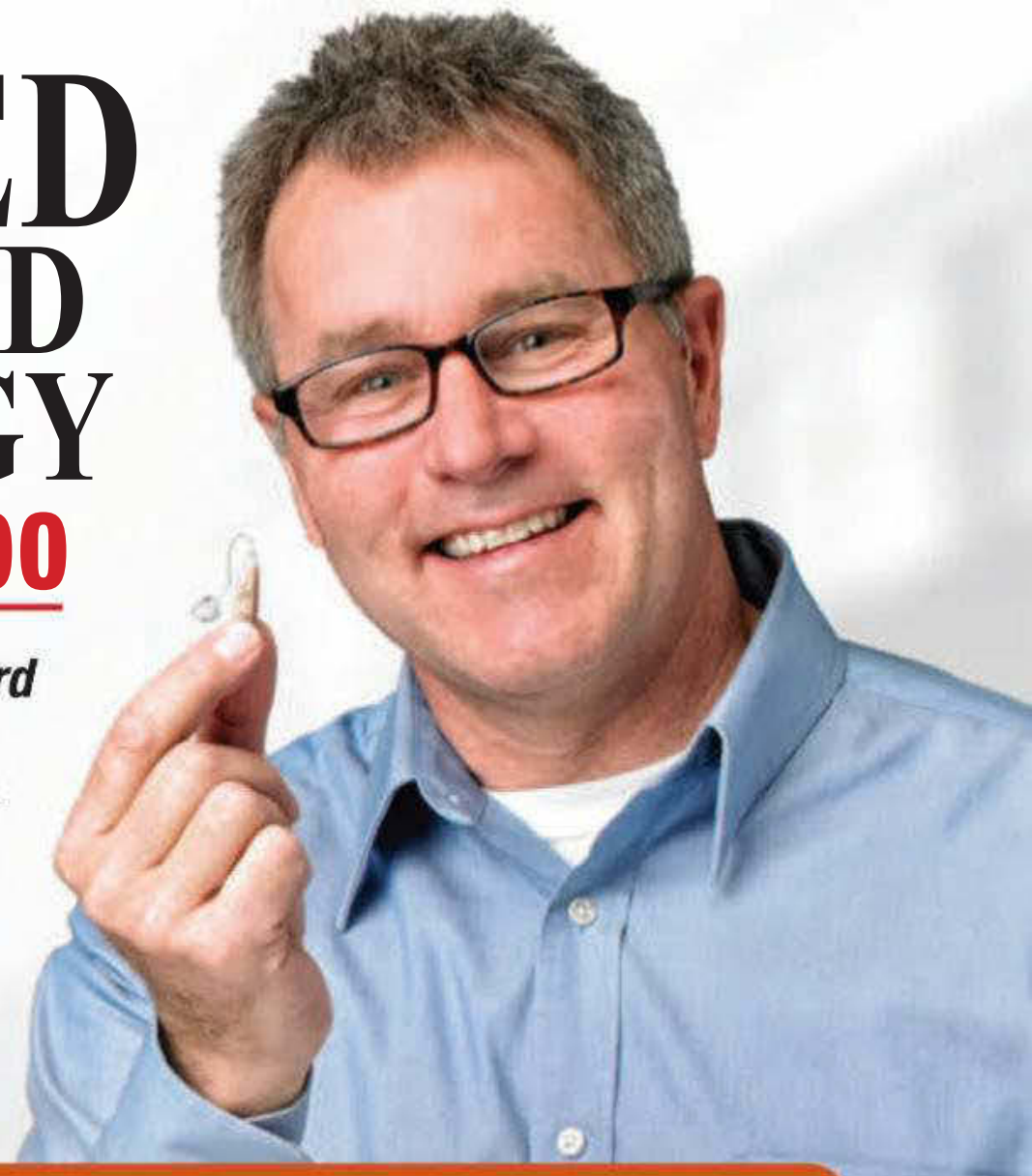
Elections next year for the E.U. parliament, which decides the direction of the political and social bloc, will test whether Salvini, Orban and other nationalists can build a coalition to rival the Merkel-Macron axis. The latter shows signs of fracturing; the German Chancellor is already being forced to make concessions to right-wing coalition partners. What was a battle for votes looks like a tie. Now, the battle of ideas has begun—and those who shout the loudest may be in the best position to win. "History goes in cycles," Salvini says. "This is more than a confrontation between right and left. It is the confrontation between the elite and the people."

Outside the Alzano Lombardo rally on Sept. 2, Salvini's supporters were all ears. "All our problems began with the E.U.," says Francesca Bertocchi, 55, a furniture sales rep, as she sat waiting for Salvini to arrive. "He is the only one who says things that give us hope for the future." —*With reporting by* BRIAN BENNETT/WASHINGTON *and* ALESSANDRO RICCI/ROME ◻

MARCO P. VALLI—CESURA

ADVANCED HEARING AID TECHNOLOGY

For Less Than $200



"I was amazed! Sounds I hadn't heard in years came back to me!"

— Don W., Sherman, TX

How can a hearing aid that costs less than $200 be every bit as good as one that sells for $2,250 or more?

The answer: Although tremendous strides have been made in Advanced Hearing Aid Technology, those cost reductions have not been passed on to you. Until now...

MDHearingAid® uses the same kind of Advanced Hearing Aid Technology incorporated into hearing aids that cost thousands more at a small fraction of the price.

Over 300,000 satisfied **MDHearingAid** customers agree: High-quality, FDA-registered hearing aids don't have to cost a fortune. The fact is, you don't need to spend thousands for a hearing aid. **MDHearingAid** is a medical-grade hearing aid offering sophistication and high performance, and works right out of the box with no time-consuming "adjustment" appointments. You can contact a licensed hearing specialist conveniently online or by phone — even after your purchase at no cost. No other company provides such extensive support. Now that you know...why pay more?

Can a Hearing Aid Delay or Prevent Alzheimer's and Dementia?

A study by the National Institute on Aging suggests older individuals with hearing loss are significantly more likely to develop Alzheimer's and dementia over time than those who retain their hearing. They suggest that an intervention — such as a hearing aid — could delay or prevent this by improving hearing!

TAKE ADVANTAGE OF OUR

45-DAY RISK-FREE TRIAL!

Hearing is believing and we invite you to try this nearly invisible hearing aid with no annoying whistling or background noise for yourself. If you are not completely satisfied with your MDHearingAid, return it within 45 days for a **FULL REFUND.**

Nearly Invisible

BUY A PAIR AND SAVE.

BATTERIES INCLUDED!

READY TO USE RIGHT OUT OF THE BOX!

For the Lowest Price Call

1-800-933-4171

www.GetMDHearingAid200.com

Use Code **HY94**

and get **FREE** Batteries for 1 Year

Plus **FREE** Shipping

Proudly assembled in America!

MDHearingAid®

DOCTOR DESIGNED | AUDIOLOGIST TESTED | FDA REGISTERED

BBB ACCREDITED BUSINESS A+

Frontiers of Medicine

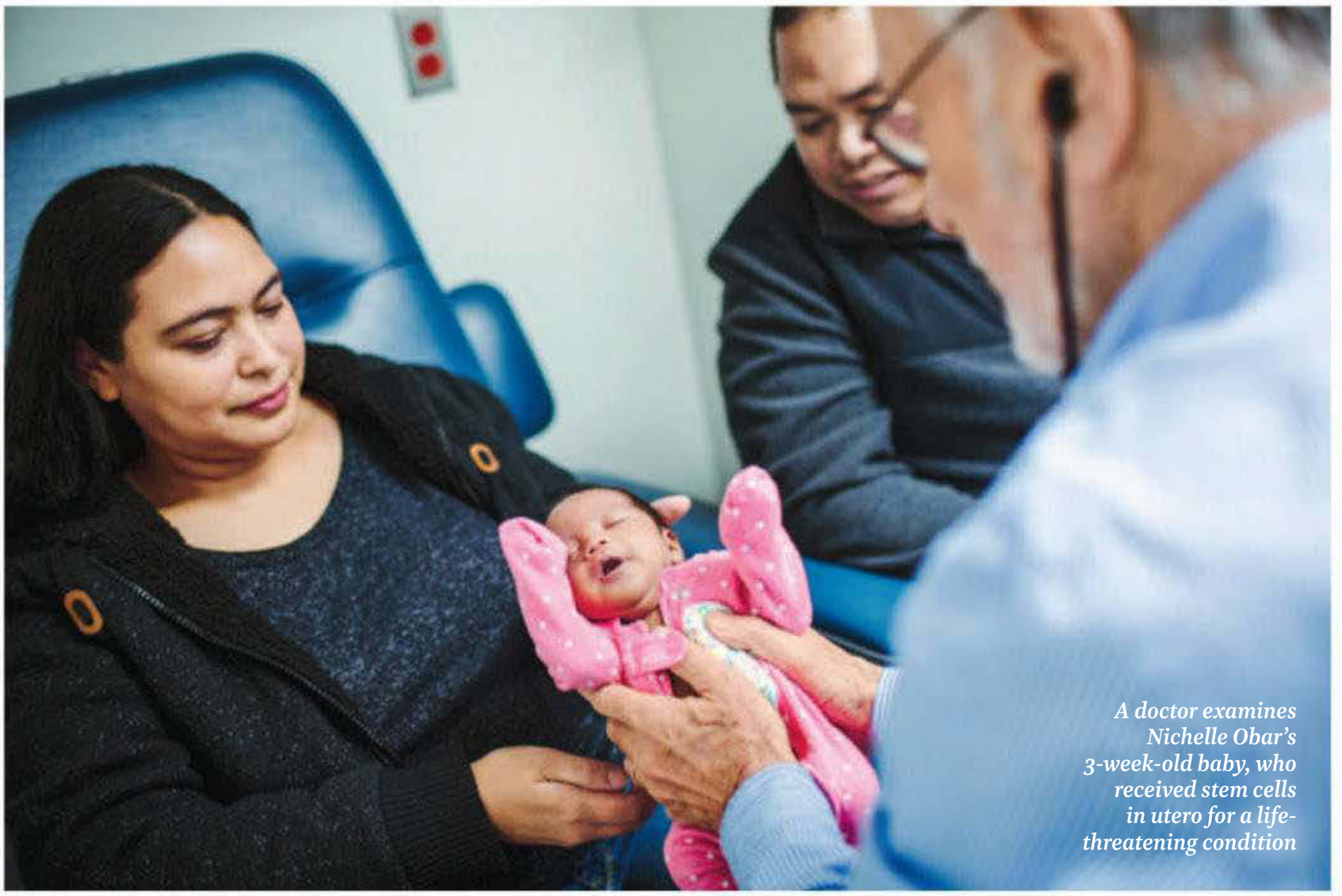
The Future of Cures

SCIENTISTS ARE DEVELOPING NEW WAYS TO TREAT DISEASE WITH CELLS, NOT DRUGS

BY ALICE PARK

PHOTOGRAPH BY COLE WILSON FOR TIME

Dr. Job de Jong feeds some of his 300 "mini-brains," grown from stem cells at Columbia University, on Sept. 4



A doctor examines Nichelle Obar's 3-week-old baby, who received stem cells in utero for a life-threatening condition

BRYAN MELTZ

WHEN NICHELLE OBAR LEARNED SHE WAS PREGNANT WITH HER SECOND CHILD LAST YEAR, SHE NEVER EXPECTED THAT HER PREGNANCY, OR HER BABY, WOULD MAKE HISTORY.

But when the 40-year-old food-and-beverage coordinator from Hawaii and her fiancé Christopher Constantino went to their 18-week ultrasound, they learned something was wrong. The heart was larger than it should have been, and there was evidence that fluid was starting to build up around the organ as well. Both were signs that the fetus was working extra hard to pump blood to its fast-growing body and that its heart was starting to fail.

Obar's doctor knew what could be causing it. Obar and Constantino are both carriers of a genetic blood disorder called alpha thalassemia, which can lead to dangerously low levels of red blood cells. Red blood cells carry hemoglobin, which binds to oxygen and transports it from the lungs to feed other cells—so fewer red blood cells means low levels of oxygen in cells throughout the body. Neither parent is affected by the condition, but depending on how their genes combined, their children could be.

When Obar was pregnant with their first child, Gabriel, the couple was told that if he had the disease, his prognosis would be grim. "The information we got was that most babies don't survive, and if they do survive to birth, they might not live for too long," Obar says. Gabriel was lucky. The DNA he inherited from his mom and dad did not endow his cells with enough of the mutation to make him sick.

But soon after that 18-week ultrasound, their second baby, a girl, was officially diagnosed with alpha thalassemia. "We were pretty devastated," Obar says. They did not have many options: their daughter would need blood transfusions in utero just to improve her chances of being born, and even if she survived to birth, she might need regular transfusions for the rest of her life, relying on a healthy donor's blood to make up for the low oxygen in her own.

Their genetic counselor did have one other suggestion, but it was a long shot. She had just learned about a study at the University of California, San Francisco (UCSF), testing a daring new way to potentially treat alpha thalassemia: a stem-cell transplant given to the baby in utero.

In utero stem-cell transplants had been tried before for the blood disorder but with limited success. Blood stem cells, which develop into all of the different types of blood cells, are extracted from a donor's bone marrow, processed in a lab and injected directly into the umbilical vein connecting the fetus to the mother's placenta. Ideally, the donor's healthy stem cells then start dividing and take over for the fetus' defective blood cells. But removing bone marrow can be risky in pregnant women, so past trials involving alpha thalassemia used stem cells from fathers, which were often rejected. This new trial challenged the ethical question: Was it worth the risk to the mother in order to possibly save the fetus? There was also a chance the transplant could harm Obar's daughter more than it helped. But on the basis

AARP
Real Possibilities

TAKE ON SAVING FOR SOMEDAY TODAY

You do more than just dream about the perfect future, you work hard to make sure it comes true. Which is why AARP is here. From finding daily deals to creating a monthly budget, we can help you have the future you've always dreamed of.

Learn how at **TakeOnToday.aarp**

of new studies suggesting that a developing fetus would tolerate a mother's transplanted cells better than a father's, Dr. Tippi Mackenzie, a professor of surgery at UCSF and the leader of the study, believed it was worth a shot.

Obar had concerns, but if the cells worked as they were expected to, it could give her daughter a chance at life, hopefully even a normal life free of her disease. She and Constantino decided to try it. Their daughter would be the first fetus in the world to receive stem cells from her mother in a carefully monitored clinical trial.

WHILE BLOOD STEM CELLS from bone marrow have long been a cornerstone of treating blood cancers like leukemia and lymphoma, Mackenzie's trial extracting the cells from a pregnant woman to treat a developing fetus in utero is just one of several innovative uses of stem cells to treat a growing list of diseases with cells instead of drugs. And promising studies are inching more of these stem-cell-based treatments closer to finally being tested in people.

With stem cells like those found in bone marrow, scientists are taking advantage of what the body does naturally: generate itself anew. Many of the adult body's organs and tissues, including fat cells and blood, are equipped with their own stash of stem cells whose sole job is to regenerate cells and tissues when older ones are damaged or die off and which can be harvested for research and growth outside the body.

Some organs are not endowed with these large stem-cell reservoirs, however, most notably the brain and heart muscle. So more than two decades ago, scientists found another source of these flexible cells—in embryos that were donated for research from in vitro fertilization clinics. They learned how to grow these cells in the lab into any cells in the body. That opened the possibility that conditions like heart disease, diabetes or even psychiatric disorders might eventually be treated by replacing damaged tissues or organs with healthy ones, which could provide cures and treatments that didn't require drugs or surgery.

But using cells obtained from human embryos raised serious ethical questions; because extracting the embryonic stem cells required terminating what some felt was a living human being, for years federal law prevented scientists from using government funds to conduct research on these cells.

'We figured out what nature's toolbox is for making the heart in the embryo.'

DR. DEEPAK SRIVASTAVA, Gladstone Institutes

Beginning in 2006, scientists found a detour around this ethical roadblock. A Japanese team led by Shinya Yamanaka from Kyoto University showed it's possible to take a skin cell from any person, erase its life history as a skin cell and return it to the clean slate it had in the embryo—turning it essentially into an embryonic stem cell without the morally complicated provenance. Called induced pluripotent stem (iPS) cells, these malleable cells can be coaxed in a lab dish, with the right cocktail of factors, into becoming heart muscle, brain nerves or insulin-pumping pancreatic cells.

In the quest to try these treatments on patients, there have been false starts. In 2009, the FDA approved the first embryonic-stem-cell clinical trial, which involved transplanting nerve cells made from stem cells into paralyzed people to restore the function of spinal nerves. In initial tests with mice, however, the transplanted cells started to form concerning clumps, which were not tumors but raised enough alarms about the safety of the therapy that the FDA put the study on hold; after resuming the trial, the company conducting the research eventually decided to stop it.

Now, with more years of study and experience, scientists are preparing to test whether stem cells that transform into heart muscle could replace dead tissue after a heart attack, for example, or whether pancreatic cells that can't produce enough insulin might be replaced with new cells that can do the job in people with Type 1 diabetes. Researchers even hope to one day treat brain disorders like Parkinson's with new neurons made from stem cells that can replace the damaged motor nerves in the brain that lead to uncontrollable tremors.

"With stem cells we can now get to the root cause of a disease and start looking for cures rather than [treatment] patches," says Dr. Deepak Srivastava, director of the Roddenberry Stem Cell Center at the Gladstone Institutes and a professor at UCSF.

Not only can stem cells lead to new treatments for diseases where they can replace ailing cells, but they can also provide a critical new way to study conditions that have remained black boxes because scientists simply didn't have the luxury of studying live cells. Now labs across the country are incubating so-called mini-brains, made up of tens of thousands of brain cells grown from iPS cells, to serve as models for studying psychiatric disorders from autism to schizophrenia. Such knowledge could lead to new treatments in a field where therapies haven't been as widely successful as doctors hoped.

Putting the entire universe of stem-cell research together, from iPS cells to the new use of blood stem cells that Obar's daughter received from her mother, Mackenzie says, "it's an unbelievably exciting time to be in medicine, with all of these things exploding around us."

WEDNESDAY IS FEEDING DAY for Dr. Job de Jong's 300 mini-brains. It takes de Jong, a postdoctoral fellow in the division of molecular therapeutics at Columbia University, a couple of hours to painstakingly suck out the few microliters of waste each ball of brain tissue has generated over the past week with a pipette, being careful not to disturb the cells themselves, and replace the fluid with a pinkish-orange liquid diet of growth factors, nutrients, glucose and protein-building amino acids.

The cells, barely visible at the bottom of tiny wells in the neuropsychiatry lab's version of an ice-cube tray, are somewhere between a poppy seed and a peppercorn in size. Made from iPS cells, they could provide the first window into understanding what goes wrong when psychiatric disorders strike.

Treatment for psychiatric illnesses still lags behind advances in other diseases, mainly because it's been nearly impossible to access the living brain for

FreeStyle Libre
FLASH GLUCOSE MONITORING SYSTEM

YOU CAN DO IT WITHOUT FINGERSTICKS*

Discover the FreeStyle Libre system

The FreeStyle Libre system is an FDA-approved continuous glucose monitoring (CGM) system that lets you accurately[1] check your glucose with a painless[2] one-second scan instead of a fingerstick.* Ask your doctor about getting a prescription for the FreeStyle Libre system today.

You can learn more at FreeStyleLibre.us.

life. to the fullest.™
Abbott

*Fingersticks are required for treatment decisions when you see Check Blood Glucose symbol, when symptoms do not match system readings, when you suspect readings may be inaccurate, or when you experience symptoms that may be due to high or low blood glucose.

REFERENCES: 1. FreeStyle Libre User's Manual. **2.** Data on File. Abbott Diabetes Care.

INDICATIONS AND IMPORTANT SAFETY INFORMATION

The FreeStyle Libre Flash Glucose Monitoring system is a continuous glucose monitoring (CGM) device indicated for replacing blood glucose testing and detecting trends and tracking patterns aiding in the detection of episodes of hyperglycemia and hypoglycemia, facilitating both acute and long-term therapy adjustments in persons (age 18 and older) with diabetes. The system is intended for single patient use and requires a prescription.

CONTRAINDICATIONS: Remove the sensor before MRI, CT scan, X-ray, or diathermy treatment.

WARNINGS/LIMITATIONS: Do not ignore symptoms that may be due to low or high blood glucose, hypoglycemic unawareness, or dehydration. Check sensor glucose readings with a blood glucose meter when Check Blood Glucose symbol appears, when symptoms do not match system readings, or when readings are suspected to be inaccurate. The FreeStyle Libre system does not have alarms unless the sensor is scanned, and the system contains small parts that may be dangerous if swallowed. The FreeStyle Libre system is not approved for pregnant women, persons on dialysis, or critically-ill population. Sensor placement is not approved for sites other than the back of the arm and standard precautions for transmission of blood borne pathogens should be taken. The built-in blood glucose meter is not for use on dehydrated, hypotensive, in shock, hyperglycemic-hyperosmolar state, with or without ketosis, neonates, critically-ill patients, or for diagnosis or screening of diabetes. Review all product information before use or contact Abbott Toll Free (855-632-8658) or visit www.freestylelibre.us for detailed indications for use and safety information.

testing. As a substitute, neuroscientists relied on mouse brains, or slides of human brain tissue obtained after people with mental illnesses had died, as their primary source of data. Now Dr. Sander Markx, director of the precision-medicine initiative at Columbia who oversees de Jong's work on the mini-brains, is hoping it could lead to a pioneering study in using stem cells to find and test new treatments for psychiatric disorders for the first time.

So far, the mini-brains contain the same 20,000 genes that any human cell's DNA contains and produce all of the relevant proteins that any brain cell would. (Because they lack all the structures of a whole brain, however, Markx and de Jong prefer to call them "organoids.") The balls of brain tissue he is nurturing came from iPS cells generated from people in the Amish community. Some are from healthy people, others from those affected by a rare genetic brain disorder that involves autism-spectrum symptoms, intellectual disability and epileptic seizures. The stem cells were developed into the brain organoids to study how that genetic aberration affects normal brain development. "Now we have this opportunity to study the processes of how [brain cells] grow and develop and observe them in the lab," de Jong says. He and his team are investigating how closely the organoids replicate actual disease processes in people and are hoping to eventually use the mini-brain cells to screen for promising drugs that may undo the effects of the mutation.

Scientists are also making headway in regenerating tissues and parts of organs to simply replace ones affected by disease. People with cancer whose windpipes or urethras have been destroyed by tumors, for example, can grow new ones from their own cells, reducing the risk of rejection from a transplant.

One early trial to treat macular degeneration, completed in 2014, is already showing promising results in patients. The trial involved growing embryonic stem cells obtained from IVF embryos into retinal pigment epithelial cells, the same cells that start to degrade in people with the disease, eventually robbing them of their sight. The cells were then introduced into the eyes of patients to replace their failing retinas. After nearly two years, more than half of the small number of people who were legally blind at the start of the study have reported some improvement in their vision.

Treatments are also beginning to take advantage of iPS technology to make adult stem cells act as if they're embryonic—sidestepping the ethical concerns that cling to the real kind.

The process is especially critical for healing the human heart. Adult heart muscle no longer divides, or it divides so infrequently that when heart tissue is damaged—as in a heart attack—it doesn't regenerate. Instead it turns into scar tissue, hampering the heart's ability to pump blood. But Srivastava of the Gladstone Institutes has found that in a developing fetus, heart-muscle cells are actively dividing in order to form the heart, and he isolated four genes that are turned on during that period and then switched off at birth to stop heart cells from continuing to divide. Reactivating those genes in healthy adult heart cells made them divide again. And turning on embryonic genes even in scarred heart tissue converted those cells into new muscle as well. "We figured out what nature's toolbox is for making the heart in the embryo," he says, "and we redeployed the same cues in the adult to reprogram support cells to becoming new heart muscle."

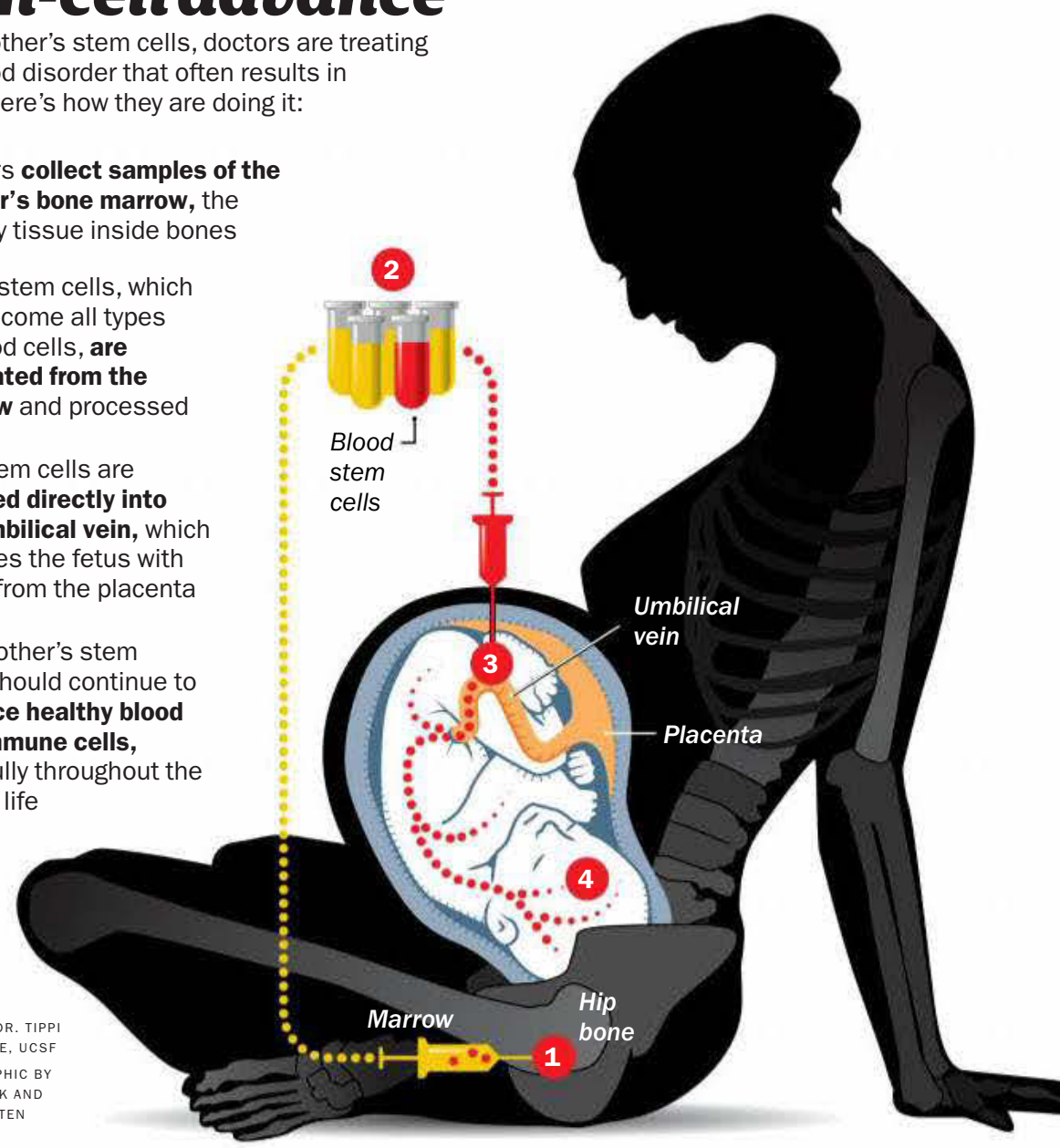
Srivastava says the strategy may be useful not only for producing new heart muscle but for growing other types of cells too. In late 2016 he co-founded Tenaya Therapeutics to refine the technique, and the company is now preparing a treatment to test in patients.

Such stem-cell-based biotech companies are popping up throughout the country to address different types of

Stem-cell advance

Using a mother's stem cells, doctors are treating a fetal blood disorder that often results in stillbirth. Here's how they are doing it:

1. Doctors **collect samples of the mother's bone marrow,** the spongy tissue inside bones
2. Blood stem cells, which can become all types of blood cells, **are separated from the marrow** and processed
3. The stem cells are **injected directly into the umbilical vein,** which supplies the fetus with blood from the placenta
4. The mother's stem cells should continue to **produce healthy blood and immune cells,** hopefully throughout the child's life



SOURCE: DR. TIPPI MACKENZIE, UCSF

TIME GRAPHIC BY ALICE PARK AND LON TWEETEN

THE FIRST SURVIVOR OF ALZHEIMER'S DISEASE IS OUT THERE.

They're out there, and they're going to hold on to everything the disease steals away. And the Alzheimer's Association is going to make it happen by funding research, advancing public policy and spurring scientific breakthroughs.

And by providing local support to those living with the disease and their caregivers, we're easing the burden for all those facing it until we accomplish our goal.

But we won't get there without you.
Visit alz.org to join the fight.

alzheimer's association®

diseases. At Semma Therapeutics, based in Cambridge, Mass., Douglas Melton, a co-director of the Harvard Stem Cell Institute, is pursuing ways to generate a population of insulin-pumping pancreatic cells from people affected by Type 1 diabetes, like his two children. His latest studies showed that the cells, made from iPS cells, can detect and respond to changing levels of sugar and effectively dial up and down how much insulin they produce. But with Type 1 diabetes, replacing these cells with new ones from stem cells doesn't solve the entire problem, since the immune system seems to be attacking the pancreatic cells. So he and his colleagues at Semma developed a way to protect the newly formed insulin-making pancreatic cells from destruction by encasing them in a membrane that can slip past the immune system. Melton hopes to test that delivery system, and his insulin-making cells made from stem cells, in the next two years. "Insulin was discovered in 1920, and I like the idea that at the 100-year mark we may be done injecting insulin," he says.

As with any emerging technology, the opportunities that stem cells represent have also been shadowed by the potential for exploitation. A report published in the *New England Journal of Medicine* in 2017 described a study in which retinal cells created from stem cells extracted from patients' own fat cells were transplanted to treat macular degeneration; it was shut down after three people in the trial were left with severe vision loss following the treatment. A review of the trial revealed that the volunteers paid the company running the study for the experimental treatment, which is unusual for clinical trials. The review also exposed irregularities in how the people were recruited and informed about the study, and raised questions about exactly what types of cells the people received.

"Whatever we take forward to test clinically, we'd have to make sure the therapy we are using is safe," says Srivastava.

Neurobiologist Bin Xu and Drs. Markx and de Jong, from left, inspect the mini-brains on Sept. 4

OBAR'S FEARS about being the first pregnant woman to use her own stem cells in a study to treat her baby's alpha thalassemia in utero were quickly assuaged when she watched the blood transfusions take place. "I watched on a video the stem-cell machine and saw the white dots that were the stem cells swirling in the needle that was going into me," she says. Her daughter received five transfusions via an injection into the umbilical vein through Obar's abdomen. "I was just blown away by how it looked," she says. "It was pretty cool."

For Obar, the possibility that the stem cells could become a permanent fix for her daughter's condition was worth the risks of being the pioneer. And the procedure does seem to be working. Before the birth, Obar's doctors warned her that her daughter might look blue when she took her first breaths and that she might seem weaker than other newborns. But not only did her daughter continue to survive the pregnancy, but she also let out a lusty cry when she was born that immediately put Obar's mind at ease. Now 7 months old, the baby, whom they named Elianna, is eating well and working on rolling over. There's still a chance she may show some developmental delays and cognitive effects from her condition in the future, but Obar and Constantino are hoping for the best.

Mackenzie gives Elianna another blood transfusion once a month, just to be safe, and plans to continue monitoring her carefully for a year to look for signs that Obar's blood cells are starting to populate her daughter. Depending on how well Elianna does, Mackenzie plans to enroll more expectant mothers whose babies are affected by the blood disorder in the study.

The scientific impact of Mackenzie's history-making stem-cell trial may be yet unknown, but the impact on the family is right there in the baby's name. "I wanted a name to signify the fighter she is and what she went through," says Obar. Throughout her pregnancy, none seemed quite right until she met the nurse who helped with her daughter's first in utero blood transfusion. The nurse's name was Elianna, which she learned means "God has answered." "It's perfect," Obar says. ☐

'Insulin was discovered in 1920, and I like that at the 100-year mark we may be done injecting insulin.'

DOUGLAS MELTON, Harvard Stem Cell Institute

COLE WILSON FOR TIME

Choosing a Medicare plan doesn't have to be complicated.

UnitedHealthcare® can help guide you through the confusion with helpful people, tools and plans — including the only Medicare plans with the AARP name. Find the Medicare plan for you at **UHCmedicare.com** or call UnitedHealthcare at **1-866-679-7759,** TTY **711.**

AARP | Medicare Plans from UnitedHealthcare

Y0066_180801_045548_M Accepted SPRJ43696_PSC2068062

Society

PLACES OF OUR OWN

A ROAD TRIP REVEALS THE TIES THAT BIND AMERICAN WOMEN

By Lucy Feldman

ON A DRIZZLY JULY AFTERNOON IN Ashburn, Va., four friends gathered on a living-room floor to discuss faith and inner strength as part of their monthly *halaqa,* an Islamic study group. "We live in a time where you can't really separate yourself from feeling that weight and responsibility to be an advocate for your community," says Nafisa Isa, the host. Isa, like her friends, has faced prejudice and aggression as a South Asian Muslim-American woman. In 2018, she worries.

We met Isa and her friends as part of the multimedia project *Women Across America: A TIME Road Trip,* where we traveled to seven cities over the summer to speak with women who have formed

PHOTOGRAPH BY BELLA NEWMAN FOR TIME

LOS ANGELES: L.A. CITY MUNICIPAL DANCE SQUAD

Actor Angela Trimbur *(bottom left)* founded a group to create a space for women to move freely without judgment. Forty-two percent of women in TIME's poll say they feel pressure to look attractive—this troupe aims to let that pressure go.

social groups and businesses in response to a range of different pressures. Finding strength in shared passions, struggles and goals, these women have formed new communities.

The worries Isa and her *halaqa* shared during our visit to Ashburn align with a finding in our national poll, also conducted this summer: the top concern for adult women across the U.S. right now is taking care of their families, and their families' safety.

The poll likewise found that American women feel significant pressure, increasing with age, to take care of those around them at home and at work (45% said so). That expectation, along with the pressure to look attractive (felt by 42%), which generally decreases with age, ranked higher than the pressure to prove their intelligence (34%) or excel at work (21%).

In Nashville, where singer-songwriters Caitlyn Smith, Heather Morgan and Maggie Chapman founded a concert series to showcase women in a city and industry that have long favored men, the women say all of the above apply. "I worry a lot about being a good mother," says Smith, who is expecting her second child this fall. "I worry a little about keeping the ball rolling and keeping relevant … Although I try and ignore it as much as I can, there's always a pressure of how I need to appear."

While data suggest that women put family and personal lives before work and career advancement, 66% said they think their daughters or friends' daughters will have more professional opportunities as adults than they did. In New York, TIME met two women working to advance that hope: Anu Duggal and Sutian Dong, partners behind the Female Founders Fund, a venture-capital firm that funds new tech-related companies created by women. They're part of a movement to reimagine an industry that offered only 2% of VC dollars to women entrepreneurs last year.

Like all the women we met on our cross-country journey, Dong and Duggal looked around and didn't see what they needed—so they built it themselves.

Read about all the incredible women we visited and watch exclusive video at time.com/womenacrossamerica

ASHBURN, VA.: *HALAQA*

During their meetings, Isa and her *halaqa* group cook, craft and try new things together. "We have these conversations about faith, personal growth, philosophy, theology, all the stuff that you would expect," Isa says. "But then we'll also paint unicorns." After traveling, the top thing women say they'd like to do but haven't is to learn a new hobby—29% say so.

ON WOMEN'S MINDS: A *TIME* POLL

48%
The percentage of women who say they do not identify as feminists—47% say they do, and 5% say they are anti-feminist

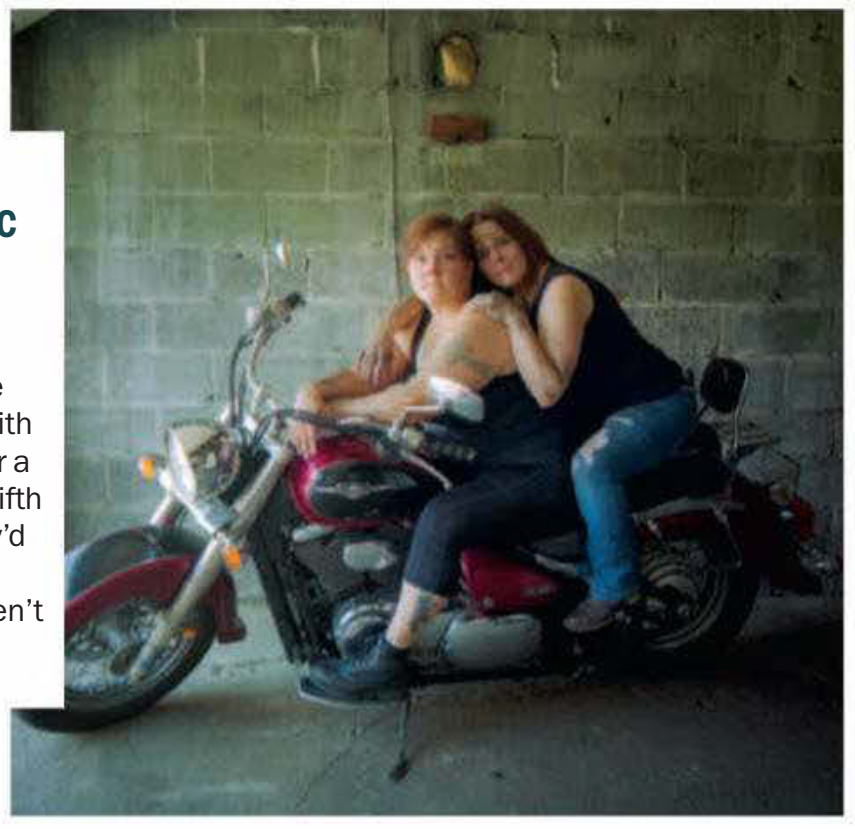
32%
The percentage of women who say they have successfully negotiated a pay raise or promotion

47%
The percentage of women who say affordable health care is the national issue that matters most to them today, with gun control next at 26%

POLL CONDUCTED AUG. 29–SEPT. 2, 2018 WITH SSRS AND FORD

PHILADELPHIA: GIRLS AUTO CLINIC

Patrice Banks opened an auto shop staffed with female mechanics *(pictured here)* for female customers—complete with an adjoining salon—after a career in engineering. A fifth of women polled say they'd like to change careers or start a business but haven't made the leap yet.



ASHBURN: MIRANDA BARNES FOR TIME; PHILADELPHIA: MICHAL CHELBIN FOR TIME

Green Dreams

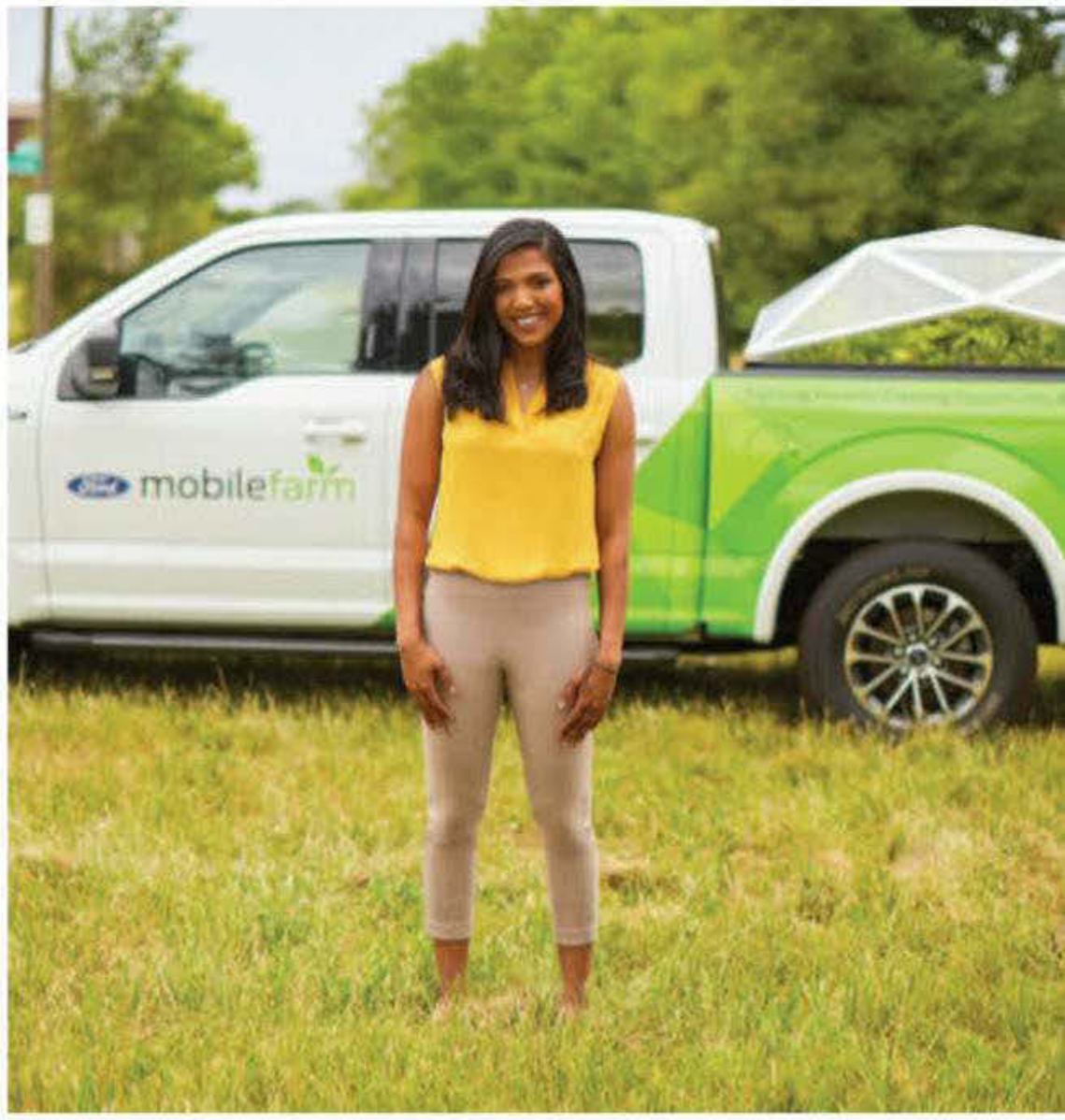
Engineer **Nihala Thanikkal** believes everyone deserves access to fresh, healthy produce, which is why she and her Ford colleagues transformed an F-150 truck into a mobile farm.

WHEN NIHALA THANIKKAL GRADUATED FROM MIT in 2016, she had her pick of engineering jobs. But instead, she chose to make an impact on a small community in Ghana by designing a harvesting tank. After a year abroad, she accepted a job offer from Ford in Dearborn, Mich. "What stood out to me was the company's mission—they give back to community," she says.

Thanikkal arrived in the U.S. at the age of nine months with her parents, who often sent money back to relatives in India. "The concept of giving back was ingrained in me at a young age," she says. Therefore, when Thanikkal received an email about "Thirty Under 30," a year-long community service program that allows Ford's millennial employees to use their job skills for the greater good, she applied immediately, and was accepted. (The mechanical engineer was one of 300 young employees from across the company who applied to the program in 2017.)

Hoping to attract civic-minded employees, Ford created "Thirty Under 30" in 2016. Each year, the 30 fellows who make the cut work in tandem with local nonprofits to develop strategies that combat issues of local and national significance, such as food insecurity and homelessness.

After completing a course in "design thinking"—a unique problem-solving approach with an emphasis on empathy—Thanikkal was assigned to a five-person team, which came up with the idea to outfit a Ford F-150 with a mini-farm. The resulting mobile garden is now used to educate schoolchildren in southeast Michigan about nutrition and agriculture. "When we did a demo at an afterschool program, the youngest kids pulled radishes out of the dirt and asked to try them," she recalls. "Since perceived tastes are known to be established by age 7, it's really important to reach children early."



"PARTICIPATING IN FORD'S 'THIRTY UNDER 30' PROGRAM OPENED MY EYES TO THE FACT THAT FOOD ACCESS IS A HUGE ISSUE IN OUR COUNTRY. IT GOT ME THINKING ABOUT WHY."

The second part of her team's project entailed creating a container farm. "Once we get the kids excited about fruits and vegetables, they need to have access to healthy food," Thanikkal explains. "In winter, a lot of food banks struggle to get produce donated. But the hydroponic container, now housed at a local nonprofit, allows them to grow herbs, lettuce and other vegetables year-round."

By finding a way to infuse the community with fresh produce, Thanikkal and her peers have helped provide healthy options to those in need. What's next for the Ford mobile farm? She believes the model has legs—or, in this case, wheels—to be replicated nationally.

See the mobile farm in action at fordthirtyunder30.com

A BOND YOU'RE NOT FAMILIAR WITH FROM A COMPANY YOU'VE NEVER HEARD OF?

It could be the smartest retirement investment you make.

FREE Bond Guide
Without cost
or obligation
Call (800) 316-1846

The Main Advantages of Municipal Bonds

Investors are attracted to municipal bonds for three reasons; safety of principal, regular predictable income and the tax-free benefits. Together, these three elements can make a compelling case for including tax-free municipal bonds in your portfolio.

Potential Safety of Principal

When investing in municipal bonds, investors are paid back the full face value of their investment at maturity or earlier if called, unless the bond defaults. This is important because many investors, particularly those nearing retirement or in retirement,are concerned about protecting their principal. In June of 2017, Moody's published research that showed that rated investment grade municipal bonds had an average cumulative 10-year default rate of just 0.09% between 1970 and 2016.* That means while there is some risk of principal loss, investing in rated investment-grade municipal bonds can be an important part of your portfolio.

Potential Regular Predictable Income

Municipal bonds typically pay interest every six months unless they get called or default. That means that you can count on a regular, predictable income stream. Because most bonds have call options, which means you get your principal back before the maturity date, subsequent municipal bonds you purchase can earn more or less interest than the called bond. According to Moody's 2017 research,* default rates are historically low for the rated investment-grade bonds favored by Hennion & Walsh.

Potential Tax-Free Income

Income from municipal bonds is not subject to federal income tax and, depending on where you live, may also be exempt from state and local taxes. Tax-free can be a big attraction for many investors.

About Hennion & Walsh

Since 1990 Hennion & Walsh has specialized in investment-grade tax-free municipal bonds.The company supervises over $3 billion in assets in over 16,000 accounts, providing individual investors with institutional quality service and personal attention.

Our FREE Gift To You

We're sure you'll want to know more about the benefits of tax-free Municipal Bonds. So our specialists have written a helpful Bond Guide for investors. It's free and comes with no obligation whatsoever.

HENNION & WALSH
It comes down to trust.®

Time Off

A NEW CRAZE
The multiplayer video game *Fortnite* has become a bona fide phenomenon

INSIDE

THE CHARACTERS IN NICOLE HOLOFCENER'S MOVIES SAY WHAT WE'RE ALL THINKING

A SHARP LITERARY DEBUT TAKES READERS TO THE EARLY YEARS OF LIBERIA

CARRIE UNDERWOOD FAILS TO DEVIATE FROM THE FORMULA ON HER NEW ALBUM

PHOTOGRAPH BY JOE GALL

VIDEO GAMES

Fortnite invades screens of all sizes

By Alex Fitzpatrick

JUST LIKE THERE'S OFTEN A SONG OF THE summer, there's usually a video game of the summer too. This year that game is undeniably *Fortnite Battle Royale,* an online free-for-all that every teen in America suddenly seems to be playing. It's not just kids, though—everyone from rapper Drake to Los Angeles Laker Josh Hart is a fan. That groundswell of support has propelled *Fortnite* from a simple video game into a cultural sensation, with hundreds of millions of fans worldwide who play the game, wear the gear and even learn the characters' victory dances.

"*Fortnite* is another in a long line of games like *World of Warcraft* or *Guitar Hero* or *Minecraft* that is changing everything underfoot," says Mat Piscatella, a video-game industry analyst with research firm NPD Group.

Fortnite's big draw is a madcap multiplayer mode that drops up to 100 players on an island in a last-person-standing showdown. Players scavenge for weapons, health packs and other supplies as they hope to get the drop on other combatants before they're taken down themselves—think *The Hunger Games,* only with AK-47s and sniper rifles. (*Fortnite* did not invent this so-called battle royale gameplay, but it has certainly popularized it.) One major twist: during each 20-minute-or-so round, a deadly storm envelops the island, gradually forcing gamers into ever tighter quarters. Meanwhile, players can build ramps, walls and other structures in the middle of a firefight; in the genre of shooter games, which can quickly grow stagnant, this is a refreshing curveball. Add a generally welcoming player community, simple arcade-style gameplay and charmingly cartoonish graphics, and it's easy to see why *Fortnite* is a hit.

"The spirit of the game opens itself up to a completely new style of player who probably would not have tried a battle royale before, because the expectation was they had to be serious and good," says Erin Wayne, a 32-year-old community manager from St. Louis who plays under the username Aureylian and streams her gaming sessions to hundreds of thousands of fans. "With *Fortnite,* I can be not good, and log in and play and have fun, and not have to feel that stigma."

The way that Wayne plays to an audience of fans hints at another source of *Fortnite*'s appeal and offers a glimpse into gaming's future: for as much fun as it is to play, it can be just as enjoyable to sit back and watch. That's especially true with top-ranked competitive players like Ninja and Sevennoss, who have earned legions of viewers for the same reasons tennis fans love to watch Serena Williams or Roger Federer. Many in the gaming world view such spectatorship as a major part of gaming's future, often in the form of e-sports leagues, which can make money through ticket sales and merchandise. But few games have the combination of accessibility, action and pacing to make them just as compelling to viewers as, say, Wimbledon.

Fortnite just might. It's already the most popular game on Twitch, an Amazon-owned service where millions of viewers tune in live to watch other people play video games against one another. Twitch senior vice president Michael Aragon says fans watch "billions of minutes" of *Fortnite* each month—numbers that any TV network (or advertiser) would love to have. *Fortnite* creator Epic Games, which is partially owned by Chinese mega-conglomerate Tencent, recently announced plans to spend $100 million to bankroll competitions. Meanwhile, Epic's industry rivals, like *Overwatch* maker Activision Blizzard, have founded e-sports leagues of their own.

'With Fortnite, I can be not good, and log in and play and have fun, and not have to feel that stigma.'

ERIN WAYNE, 32, COMMUNITY MANAGER

YET THIS GAMING BOOM has some worried. That's probably nothing new: since the days of *Tetris* and *Super Mario Bros.,* every big new game craze has led parents and others to worry that kids are spending too much time fighting the virtual hordes instead of getting exercise or doing homework. Those fears seem even more acute today, given that smartphones and other portable devices make gaming possible anywhere. (*Fortnite* is available on the go via iPhone, Android and Nintendo Switch, as well as on regular computers and gaming consoles.) Meanwhile, modern VR is offering unprecedentedly engrossing gaming experiences—even though there's no *Fortnite* VR just yet. In June, the World Health Organization for the first time designated "gaming disorder," or an unhealthy obsession with video games, as a unique mental-health condition.

"People who design [games] will say yes, in fact, the games are designed to be very addictive," says David Greenfield, founder of the Center for Internet and Technology Addiction and assistant clinical professor of psychiatry at the University of Connecticut School of Medicine. But he stresses that video games like *Fortnite* are fine in moderation so long as they are not causing kids—or anyone else—to ignore important elements of life. Others, meanwhile, say video games can teach teamwork, offer a sense of community and even give siblings a shared activity.

"My sons play together," says Jill Wilson-Renna, a 47-year-old mother of

A character poses in the "Archetype" skin from Season 5 of Fortnite

PREVIOUS PAGE: RED BULL/AP; ARCHETYPE, E3: EPIC GAMES

Gamers cheer during the Epic Games Fortnite *E3 tournament in Los Angeles on June 12*

four from Villas, N.J. What surprised Wilson-Renna was the day she realized her daughter was playing too: "She was staring at her phone, and she said, 'Shh, I'm playing *Fortnite,*'" Wilson-Renna says. Her kids coordinate their gameplay over voice chat. "My oldest son doesn't live with us, but he plays with his brother. I can hear them talking when I walk past my son's room." The game might have kids retreating deeper into their screens—but it also has the power to bring them together.

***FORTNITE* IS SHAKING UP** the gaming industry in another big way. While it's free to download on devices from the PlayStation 4 to the iPad, it's already made $1.2 billion, according to an estimate from industry tracker SuperData Research—mostly through the sale of so-called skins, or avatars that players can buy for a few dollars to appear as anything from a medieval knight to a giant gingerbread woman. While many players forgo skins or perhaps buy just a few, others, like Stian håve Trondheim, have spent more than $1,000 on them.

"I would never imagine I would spend so much on a free game," says Trondheim, 21, who discovered *Fortnite* when he returned from serving in the Norwegian army. "People say one hour is worth $1 if you play for fun. *Fortnite* has given me a lot of that."

As a business strategy, relying on people to spend money on a free game may seem counterintuitive. But giving away *Fortnite* has proven hugely lucrative. Taking away the pain of a $60 purchase makes it easier for *Fortnite* to spread by word of mouth, especially among kids who might otherwise need their parents' permission (or credit card) to get a new game. Meanwhile, many players express a desire to contribute to the game financially, as if it were a crowdfunded labor of love and not the product of a major gaming studio. But even if the 700-employee Epic Games isn't exactly small, its success with *Fortnite* could offer a model for independent studios to compete with big-name publishers, resulting in better diversity of games overall. (Epic, which has been largely tight-lipped about *Fortnite*'s success thus far, declined to make an executive available for this story.)

Gaming as a whole is a booming industry, with overall revenues breaking the $100 billion mark in 2018, by one estimate. But gamers are a fickle bunch, and what's popular in the summer is rarely the talk of the town by the holidays. Epic is working hard to keep *Fortnite* players around with new skins and frequent changes to the combat environment that keep the game feeling fresh. Still, its competitors, surely taking notice of the game's runaway success, have promised to bring *Fortnite*-style gameplay to their own popular titles, like *Battlefield* and *Call of Duty,* which have massive audiences of their own. What will be the last game standing?

"All bets are off, but I think *Fortnite* holds on because its audience loves *Fortnite,*" says Piscatella, the analyst. "Maybe there could be a mass transition to some other game. But man—*Fortnite* would have to screw something up real bad for that to happen." ◻

COURTESY PHOTO

The Port of Panjin in Liaoning Province

Capital Magnetism

Positive development trends make Liaoning Province ever more appealing to investors. By Zhang Xiaolong

Broadly speaking, the wave of economic transformation produced by reform and opening up in China over the past four decades has swept across the country from south to north. The development of certain regions, from Shenzhen in Guangdong Province to the Pudong New Area in Shanghai, has served as a powerful centrifugal force, exerting influence on surrounding areas and beyond, and grabbing headlines around the world via rapid economic progress in the process.

Now, it seems to be time for northeast China's Liaoning Province to assume the spotlight.

At the end of August, a three-day event for China's top 500 private enterprises was held in Shenyang, the province's capital. Representatives from *Fortune* Global 500 companies, as well as some of the most prestigious business figures in China, joined the discussion and debate.

Organized by the All-China Federation of Industry and Commerce, the event has been held nine times. In China, conventions of such significance usually take place in the country's capital, Beijing, but Shenyang's selection as the host city sends a signal that Liaoning is increasingly preferred by entrepreneurs and investors alike, becoming a magnet for capital.

Once a waning force

An important province in the country's northeast, Liaoning enjoys rich natural resources and distinct geographical advantages. It was one of the cradles of China's modern industry, earning a reputation as "the country's industrial base" and "the eldest son of the People's Republic" in the early years following the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949.

However, after the inception of reform and opening up in 1978, the old industrial centers in the three northeastern provinces of Liaoning, Jilin and Heilongjiang began to lag behind the rest of the country. One of the reasons behind this shift was that state-owned enterprises held an excessively large share of the local economy with the planned economy playing a predominant role. Rigid management systems greatly constrained economic development, and Liaoning was left unable to fully participate in domestic and international competition.

Since the beginning of the 21st century, the government has introduced a strategy to revitalize the northeast. Yet despite these measures, the economy of the region has remained sluggish as remnants of the planned economy continue to obstruct economic transition. Liaoning, once a major industrial powerhouse, fell out of the top 10 provinces in terms of GDP, and the weak economy in northeast China contributed to unbalanced national economic development.

In order to cure a chronic disease, treatment must be targeted and appropriate. That's why President Xi Jinping has paid particular attention to the development of the northeast. During an inspection tour of Jilin Province, another former industrial powerhouse, in July 2015, Xi said that the laggard region should work to improve its systems and mechanisms, accelerate economic restructuring, boost innovation and business start-ups and enhance people's well-being. And while attending a discussion with deputies to the National People's Congress (NPC), China's top legislature, from Liaoning at an annual session of the NPC in Beijing in March 2017, Xi stressed the importance of supply-side structural reform, the leading role of state-owned companies and improved conduct by officials.

Return to strength

Liaoning set about tackling one of its most daunting challenges by improving its business climate through reform. It was the first province in China to set up a specialized agency for this task, vowing to create the most business-friendly environment. Liaoning also focused on streamlining government departments to enhance efficiency.

Thanks to these improvements, it took only 11 months to set up a new production line at one of BMW Brilliance Automotive's Shenyang plants, from June 2017 to May 2018. Jochen Goller, president and CEO of BMW Group Region China, described BMW's 15 years of cooperation with Liaoning as having created miracles.

COURTESY PHOTO

A BMW Brilliance Automotive plant, a joint venture of BMW and China's Brilliance Auto, in Shenyang, Liaoning Province

Major economic indicators in the first half of this year were impressive. The general public budget revenue, the value added by leading industrial enterprises, and private investment all registered double-digit growth. The growth of fixed-asset investment ranked fifth nationwide. Investment by foreign companies and businesses from Hong Kong, Macao and Taiwan rose 44.9%, while provincial GDP in Liaoning climbed 5.6% year over year. These are signs that the province's economy has achieved a remarkable turnaround.

As China marks the 40th anniversary of its reform and opening up policy, Liaoning is enjoying unique advantages in furthering its development.

The central government has set up nearly 100 national strategic platforms for the northeast. The China (Liaoning) Pilot Free Trade Zone, the Shenyang-Dalian National Independent Innovation Demonstration Zone and the Dalian Cross-Border E-Commerce Comprehensive Pilot Zone have helped Liaoning open more widely to the world. Partnerships with Shanghai, Jiangsu and Beijing also enable Liaoning to become more deeply involved in the Belt and Road Initiative, the Yangtze River Economic Belt and the Beijing-Tianjin-Hebei integrated development program.

Liaoning has a clear vision for its future development as it aims to become a province that supports the national economy. It is also committed to turning itself into a base for advanced manufacturing, major technologies and equipment, raw materials, modern agriculture and research and development.

Above all this, people are the most valuable asset, and the people of Liaoning Province are well known for their straightforward character. They are able to endure great hardship while retaining their expectations for reviving the local economy and remaining confident about future development.

Today, Liaoning is becoming an ever more attractive destination for investment, having set three clear development goals: to lead the revitalization of the three traditional industrial provinces in China's northeast, to serve as a bridge for China to further its cooperation with Northeast Asia and to act as a new pole for the growth of the world's second-largest economy.

These are the objectives that Liaoning is poised to reach for the sake of its development, and they are also the barometers that will define its success. ■

Scan QR code to visit *Beijing Review*'s website
Comments to yanwei@bjreview.com

In a slump: Mendelsohn in The Land of Steady Habits

MOVIES

The Land of Steady Habits is where we all live

By Stephanie Zacharek

EVEN IF YOU DON'T BUY THE AUTEUR theory, you could easily gather all of writer-director Nicole Holofcener's films—like the prickly-funny 2001 *Lovely & Amazing* or the 2013 grownup romance *Enough Said*—beneath one unifying, if not constricting, umbrella. Her movies are always about people who have become unglued, who find that when they try to pull things together, the jagged parts can't be reassembled as they were before.

That's certainly true of Holofcener's latest, produced by Netflix, *The Land of Steady Habits*. Ben Mendelsohn plays the recently divorced Anders, who can't quite move on from life with his ex (Edie Falco) and bemoans the aimlessness of his 27-year-old son (Thomas Mann). There's the possibility of romance with Barbara (Connie Britton), whom he meets in a strip-club bathroom, of all places. But mostly, he dislikes everyone and everything, and he's so acidic that no one likes him much either. He's further shunned when the son of family friends (Charlie Tahan) offers him a toke of some seemingly harmless substance at a party, igniting a chain of events that prove tragic.

Holofcener reassures us that it's O.K. to laugh at human foibles—we have to, since so much of life is ridiculous and awful—but we'd better not consider ourselves exempt from them. Her dialogue always feels believably natural, like scraps from everyday life, and sometimes it cuts deep. When Anders and Barbara first go to bed, he can't quite perform, and she's as kind as possible in the awkward aftermath. Then he notes the title of a book on her bedside table, *Live Your Best Life Today,* and asks derisively why women are always reading stuff like this. After a pause that suggests she can hardly believe what she's hearing, Barbara strikes back—"Are you in *my* bed, making fun of *my* book?"—but the words that cap her outburst are what matter most: "You're mean."

We all make mistakes, and we all have the ability to wound when we're just trying to be clever: Holofcener makes allowances for all of that. But she always favors warmth over sarcasm. And as if she could read our minds, she puts in her characters' mouths words that we ourselves have sometimes failed to find the guts to say. ◻

MOVIES

An avenging *Angel* of wartime

The perils of espionage ground *The Angel,* a Netflix thriller about Ashraf Marwan (played by Dutch actor Marwan Kenzari), a real-life Egyptian agent who spied for Israel in the 1970s. After the death of Marwan's father-in-law, Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser, he becomes an aide to Nasser's successor Anwar Sadat. Marwan is torn between his personal relationships and what he believes is right: his advice to cooperate with the U.S. in order to avoid war with Israel proves unpopular, so Marwan decides to enter the conflict from a different side, by feeding Israel classified information. After a couple of false starts, the spy alerts Israel that Egypt plans to wage war on Yom Kippur. At the same time, he convinces Sadat that weakening Israel will make it more open to future negotiations.

Based on Uri Bar-Joseph's book *The Angel: The Egyptian Spy Who Saved Israel,* the film takes viewers through one of the most turbulent periods in Middle Eastern history and questions what would motivate a man like Marwan, who in real life died under mysterious circumstances, falling from a London balcony in 2007. The film suggests that by giving Israel a chance to prepare for war, Marwan set the stage for an eventual peace treaty.

—Mahita Gajanan

Kenzari appears next in Disney's Aladdin

Kendrick, left, monitors the slinky Lively's comings and goings

MOVIES

A silly *Favor* gets a boost from Blake Lively

By Louis Virtel

LAST YEAR'S SOAPY SMASH *BIG LITTLE LIES* TAUGHT VIEWERS THAT nothing is creepier than helicopter parents in tony school districts. *A Simple Favor,* a nutty millennial mystery directed by Paul Feig *(Bridesmaids, Ghostbusters),* adds a few more cracks to that perfect facade. Anna Kendrick plays mommy vlogger Stephanie Smothers, who's far from poised in her everyday life. Through a nervous smile, Stephanie makes friends with the chic, enigmatic Emily Nelson (Blake Lively), a gin-gargling mom who picks up her kid from school—on the occasions when she actually shows up—wearing flashy business suits that make her look like a hybrid of Scrooge McDuck and Britney Spears. Stephanie basks in the glow of Emily's affection until the day Emily mysteriously vanishes; her whereabouts, and the involvement of her husband Sean (*Crazy Rich Asians* star and newly minted heartthrob Henry Golding), are just the beginning.

If *A Simple Favor* gave us more of Kendrick's aw-shucks sarcasm and Lively's surprising acidity, this might've been a dynamic comedy in the vein of Feig's madcap *Spy,* which veered brilliantly between Melissa McCarthy's self-deprecation and Miranda Hart's cutting exasperation. But the movie aims to be a cheekier *Vertigo,* and even with a running time of almost two hours, it speeds too choppily through Stephanie's detective work, relying instead on inelegant exposition. Stephanie does run into a couple of fun cutups along Emily's paper trail, including Rupert Friend as a viperish fashion designer and the great Jean Smart boozing it up in an attic like a rejected suspect on HBO's other recent gossipy thriller, *Sharp Objects.* It all makes for one of the more twisted, circuitous and silly capers in recent memory.

But the biggest pleasure from *A Simple Favor* is watching Lively, who was so searing in the taut thriller *The Shallows* and elevated 2016's baffling *All I See Is You.* She's a slyly versatile performer, capable of landing a killer punch line. When Lively dead-eyes the ever apologetic Kendrick and threatens to "slap the sorry out of you," you laugh, sigh and practically feel the handprint on your own face. She's fearsome and great—even when the movie is only tolerably absurd. ◻

THE LAND OF STEADY HABITS, THE ANGEL: NETFLIX; A SIMPLE FAVOR: LIONSGATE

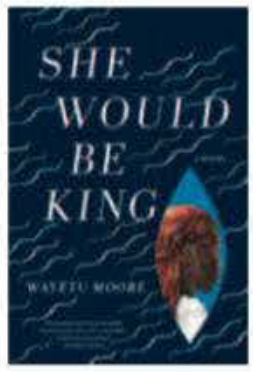
The next book from Moore, a graduate of Howard University and USC, will be a memoir

ASHLEIGH RAE

FICTION

A thrilling literary debut finds power in Africa

By Bethanne Patrick



READING WAYÉTU MOORE'S DEBUT NOVEL, *She Would Be King* (Graywolf Press), feels a lot like watching a superb athlete's performance. It's set during the early years of Liberia, when the country was the focus of a movement in the U.S. to return previously enslaved people to Africa. The three main characters—Gbessa (from the Liberian region's Vai people), Norman (a multiracial man from Jamaica) and June Dey (born on a Virginia plantation)—cover a great deal of turf literally and figuratively. Each has a sort of superhuman ability that echoes the torments of slavery: Gbessa can't die, even after years of deprivation. Norman can become invisible—even when he doesn't necessarily mean to do so. June Dey's body is impervious to the lash and the bullet and the knife.

When these three finally meet in Monrovia, Liberia's capital, there's no happy ending. Gbessa finds a job working for some of the founders of the first independent African republic, and discovers that lofty ideals and righteous anger don't necessarily translate into kindness

The author's One Moore Book is a nonprofit that aims to encourage reading in countries with low literacy rates by publishing books about underrepresented cultures

and equality. Meanwhile, her male compatriots encounter some of Liberia's European carpetbaggers (particularly the French) who are trying to foment tribe-on-tribe violence so the resulting confusion will allow them to spirit people away to slave ships.

Moore makes deft use of magical realism, and her plot and its details are compelling, from Gbessa's stark tribal childhood to June Dey's shanty birth to Norman's creepy father (who wants to send his son off for racial experiments in England). Pay close attention to the song Gbessa sings again and again for a clue about the first-person narrator's identity.

Moore, 33, was born in Liberia and brought to the U.S. by her parents during their country's first civil war, graduated from Howard University and has an M.F.A. from the University of Southern California; she now lives in Brooklyn. When she began writing her novel, she hadn't been back to Liberia since age 5; she says research for the book helped her reconnect with her home country. Her One Moore Book venture publishes stories that are meant to appeal to children in low-literacy countries. Like her remarkable protagonist Gbessa, the author has tapped into her own backstory—and emerged with literary superpowers. ◻

FICTION

A brief burst of life through new eyes

Already a best seller in her native England, Olivia Laing's debut novel documents an impending marriage and consternations of love amid the "fire and fascism" of the current era, written in the guise of the late post-punk writer Kathy Acker.

The events of *Crudo* move quickly. Acker grapples with the idea of lifelong commitment as she and her soon-to-be husband travel from Tuscany to the English countryside. Throughout the narrative, biographical fragments of the real Acker's life mix with reflections on a world teetering on disaster, all while keeping a sense of humor.

Laing, the acclaimed author of *The Trip to Echo Spring: On Writers and Drinking,* wrote the compact novella over seven weeks during the summer of 2017, documenting news and social-media flare-ups as they happened. Major events like the Trump Administration firings, Charlottesville and North Korean missile testing punctuate the lead-up to Acker's wedding, alongside the more insignificant and forgettable (remember that bodega startup?). Although *Crudo* is brief, it manages to capture the delirium and anxiety of carrying on through the turbulent period with searing clarity. *—Wilder Davies*

SEPTEMBER 24, 2018

TIME

I have 20 years of experience, but I can't afford to fix my car, see a doctor for headaches or save for my child's future.

I'm a teacher in America

by KATIE REILLY

NaShonda Cooke
Carroll Magnet M.S.
Raleigh, N.C.

SEPTEMBER 24, 2018

TIME

My child and I share a bed in a small apartment, I spend $1,000 on supplies and I've been laid off three times due to budget cuts. I'm a teacher in America

by KATIE REILLY

Rosa Jimenez
UCLA Community School
Los Angeles

The Next Great Italian Masterpiece

The Argento Byzantine Bracelet is an impeccable work of art with a price unmatched by any in its class.

Raffinato™
Italy

Da Vinci's Mona Lisa, David by Michelangelo, Madame Butterfly by Puccini. Italy has produced some of the world's greatest masterpieces. And, it's no secret it is the epicenter of the best metalworking on earth. Which is why we sought out one of the best artisans to ever melt precious metals to create yet another great Italian masterpiece. For over two decades, Fabio Aguti has pursued his passion for making jewelry of great beauty inspired by the Tuscan countryside. The ***Argento Bracelet*** is his latest masterpiece. ***And, you can own it for under $40!***

Each bracelet is meticulously made by hand from pure sterling silver and celebrates the traditional woven Byzantine design— an intricate array of woven links that forms a flexible and elegant drape. Passing the test of time and surpassing the definition of beauty, the ***Argento Byzantine Bracelet*** is perfect for the lady who appreciates fine art. And, priced for those who appreciate a fine value.

The difference between priceless & overpriced. While shopping for bracelets, I spotted a 7" woven sterling silver Byzantine bracelet with a big designer name for $250. Ridiculous. It wasn't Italian made. It wasn't near as nice. High-end design shouldn't carry a high price just because of a big name designer name up-charge.

No questions asked, 30-day money back guarantee. We want you glowing with satisfaction.

Masterpiece, not mass produced. Because each bracelet is handmade in Italy— taking months to create— we only have a select number available. Don't miss this opportunity to own a piece of impeccable Italian-made jewelry for a truly amazing price. Call today!

- ***Made in Arezzo, Italy***
- ***.925 sterling silver***
- ***7.5" bracelet; lobster clasp***

Argento Byzantine Bracelet

Stunningly well-priced at **$39** + S&P

The classic Byzantine chain pattern has stood the test of time for over 2,500 years

To show exquisite details, bracelet shown is not exact size.

★★★★★

"She loves it and wears it proudly. The quality is outstanding, and her friends recognize the classy and elegant look."
—M.B., Minneapolis, MN

Call today. There's never been a better time to let your elegance shine. 1-888-444-5949

Offer Code: RFJ212-01. You must use the offer code to get our special price.

Raffinato™ 14101 Southcross Drive W., Ste 155, Dept. RFJ212-01, Burnsville, Minnesota 55337 www.raffinatoitaly.com

A collection of impeccable design & craftsmanship from Italy.

ETHAN MILLER—GETTY IMAGES

Cry Pretty *is the* American Idol *winner's sixth studio album*

MUSIC

Carrie Underwood and the comforts of home

By Jamieson Cox

CARRIE UNDERWOOD BUILT ONE OF THE MOST CONSISTENT careers in country music on songs about other people. She named her last album *Storyteller* for a reason: she likes booming power ballads, rowdy revenge tales and slices of life from the American countryside. Her personal life has never been part of her appeal. ("I'm not a center-of-attention kind of person," she told the *Today* show earlier this year.) But Underwood's spent more time in the spotlight recently after suffering a devastating accident at home, one that left her with a broken wrist and serious facial injuries. "Even though I've had the best people helping me, I'm still healing and not looking quite the same," she wrote to fans in January. "When I am ready to get in front of a camera, I want you all to understand why I might look a bit different."

When Underwood revealed her sixth studio album, *Cry Pretty,* in April, it seemed like her spin on a classic pop-music trope: the "most personal album yet." The gusty lead single is textbook arena country shadowed by vague allusions to troubled times; Underwood co-produced the album and co-wrote nine of its 13 tracks, her highest degree of personal involvement to date. Yet like so many other albums that purport to contain some new level of vulnerability, *Cry Pretty* doesn't deviate much from the formula that's defined the rest of Underwood's discography. It's more interesting for how it sounds than for what it says.

Underwood co-produced *Cry Pretty* with David Garcia, a veteran of country and Christian music best known for working on Bebe Rexha and Florida Georgia Line's smash hit "Meant to Be." That song dominated country radio by fusing Nashville charisma and contemporary pop arrangement, and the most interesting songs on *Cry Pretty* try to strike the same balance. The experimentation is gentle in some spots—the delicate "Backsliding" is built on a sparse digital beat and fleshed out with chiming guitars—but Underwood is at her most compelling when she's pushed out of her comfort zone. She teases an intriguing sing-rap cadence on "That Song That We Used to Make Love To," and the sparkling "End Up With You" is a winning experiment with vocal processing and a dancehall rhythm.

***CRY PRETTY* IS STILL STUFFED** with plenty of fodder for traditionalists. "Southbound" is a feel-good party anthem begging to be licensed by a Gulf Coast state's tourism board, and "Drinking Alone" is a bluesy, darkly comic waltz about two sad sacks who bond over misery at the bar. Underwood also dips her toe into advocacy with social-consciousness ballads like "Love Wins" and "The Bullet," which mourns a victim of gun violence. These songs are simple and sturdy but too mushy and equivocal to have any real impact. And outside of the title track and the closer "Kingdom"—a celebration of domestic pleasures, even as life "ain't always pretty as a picture"—you're left with little sense of the woman behind these songs. *Cry Pretty* might boast a new coat of paint, but it ultimately suggests that Underwood has recovered her footing by returning to what feels comfortable. ☐

Yo-Yo Ma The legendary cellist on the purpose of his new global tour, why culture transcends borders and if he'd play for Donald Trump

The first music you ever performed was Bach, and now you're playing his cello suites on a solo tour and recently released an album of his compositions. Why do you keep returning to him? At each stage of your life, you go back and discover new things. The way I understand Bach now is with the analogy of a river. It's like you're touching a living stream of water that keeps flowing, and by touching it or listening to it or playing it, you are in touch with something much bigger than yourself. It changes from day to day, from season to season and from year to year.

A pillar of your tour is the concept of a "culture of us." What does that mean? Culture can no longer just be tribal. Because what we each do—which we think benefits us in the short term—actually impacts all of us in the long term. What can we do together that we can't do alone? I'm committing to going to these 36 communities and getting to know them, connecting with their most vulnerable citizens and the citizens who are helping one another. In Denver, we celebrated an initiative to give musical instruments to every child in the state. Now that's pretty cool.

Does being an immigrant influence your music? We're all immigrants, right? The First Nation people were immigrants. But what the immigrant perspective means is you know at least two places very well, which means you can actually put two places in your head at the same time. That's what builds imagination. I need only point out that Google and Apple have co-founders that are either immigrants or first generation. That immigrant imagination allows them to see further into possibilities that don't really exist yet.

Is there still a place for classical music in pop culture? Things will continue to exist if people care. The percentage of calcium in our diet is probably .00001%—but tell me we don't need calcium. I think we live under the false premise that what is quantifiable in terms of maximum percentage has got to be good. I view music the way a health-sciences person looks at DNA. Music is organized sound. It's like how the writer looks at the alphabet. Basically, is there room for more words in the world? Is there room for poetry? Is there room for novels? Is there room for rap?

'I VIEW MUSIC THE WAY A HEALTH-SCIENCES PERSON LOOKS AT DNA'

JUDITH JOCKEL—LAIF/REDUX

You've performed for many Presidents over the years. Would you perform for Donald Trump? The times I've performed for a President usually were state dinners. You had people from all sides of the aisle put their best selves forward. This is an incredibly important habit for all of us to practice because if you can't talk to one another, how can you work toward a common goal? If democracy is the result of discussion, how can you stop discussing?

Then would you play for Trump? Civil discourse is so important—it's the basis of what allows a civilization to function. It's not about winning. The cultural part is about understanding.

You've said this album is your last recording of Bach. Is this tour a victory lap? I don't have any plans for immediate demise. I'm not suffering from an illness that is fatal, other than being alive. I'm committed to thinking about cultural and social impact because that's what I feel we need in the world at this time: to make sure that culture has an equal seat at the table as politics and economics. Without that, politics and economics will fail. I don't think there's anything more important I can do, and I will devote the rest of my life to thinking in this way.

—RAISA BRUNER

YOU CAN'T CHOOSE YOUR BARISTA

But you can choose to switch to GEICO.

GEICO®

GEICO.COM 1-800-947-AUTO LOCAL OFFICE

AUTO CYCLE HOME RENTERS BOAT RV UMBRELLA

Make Futures a part of your present.

Trade over 50 futures products on your desktop or mobile device with thinkorswim®. With interactive in-platform education, access to former floor traders, and the ability to test-drive strategies risk-free, the time for futures trading is now.

TD Ameritrade®

Visit **tdameritrade.com/tradefutures** to learn more.