AUGUST 29, 2016

TIME

Why we're losing the Internet to the culture of hate

By Joel Stein

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The Brief

News from the U.S. and around the world

The View

Ideas, opinion, innovations

The Features

Time Off

What to watch, read, see and do

Libyan fighters dodge snipers' bullets in Sirt, a city that has become a battleground in the war on ISIS

Photograph by Lorenzo Meloni—Magnum

ON THE COVER: *Illustration by Steve Brodner for TIME*

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The hate that rules online

THE SUMMER OF 2016, A SEASON OF UNCIVIL unrest, invites some soul-searching about how we talk in private and in public, to friends and strangers alike. Who foresaw a presidential campaign whose vernacular involves slurs we once punished our children for using? Depending on whom you ask, this descent into vitriol is either a triumph over political correctness or an affront to basic decency. But if it feels shocking in our public spaces, it has long coursed through our digital ones, especially precincts where anonymity ferments cruelty.

Columnist Joel Stein set out to explore the culture of Internet hate: the trolls who've created it, the people most hurt by it, and what if anything can be done to stop it. He encountered trolls who defended themselves as the last truth tellers, and those who would never describe themselves as trolls but don't hesitate to hurl abuse at people whose opinions annoy them. As part of his reporting, Joel polled the TIME staff, and the responses were chilling. Fifty-three percent said they had received a violent message as a result of their work. "I've had the usual online trolls call me horrible names and say I am biased and stupid and deserve to be raped," one respondent said. "I don't think men realize how normal that is for women on the Internet." An overwhelming majority said they had come to view online abuse as part of their job and sometimes avoid discussing certain subjects online because of fear about the response. "It's interesting how unfettered speech causes sensitive and vulnerable people to stop speaking," Joel says. "It's the equivalent of the Founding Fathers' concern that unfettered democracy would trample the rights of minorities."

Joel, who ended up confronting one of his Twitter critics in person, knows that he has set himself up for abuse by exploring this terrain. "I'm going to try to stay off Twitter for a while," he says. "And I'm hoping this story doesn't have a comments section. If it does, don't tell me about it."

Nancy Gibbs, EDITOR

DEFYING GRAVITY A new TIME video reveals the story behind Philippe Halsman's famous 1948 picture of Salvador Dalí, *Dalí Atomicus,* which revolutionized portrait photography. At a time when portraits were stilted, sit-down affairs, Halsman, inspired by one of Dalí's paintings, aimed to capture his subject's essence. He directed 26 attempts (and some deft cat-tossing) before settling on this image. Watch the video at **time.com/dali**

POT SCIENCE In this week's issue we look at veterans who think marijuana can help with PTSD. But now that the U.S. government is loosening rules about growing pot for medicinal research, other potential benefits may emerge. We talked to scientists about what they are most interested in testing, including whether pot could help battle cancerous tumors. Read more at **time.com/potscience**

SETTING THE RECORD STRAIGHT In "The Reckoning" (Aug. 22), we mischaracterized a phone conversation between Donald Trump and Reince Priebus, based on information from Republican officials. The Republican National Committee has acknowledged the possibility of redirecting its resources away from the presidential race, but a spokesperson says Priebus did not explicitly convey the possibility to Trump in that conversation.

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SAP Run Simple

'It's all gone again.'

JEANNIQUE BRANCHE, Baton Rouge, La., resident whose apartment was one of thousands of homes hit by floodwaters; she moved to the area, which rarely floods, after her home was destroyed during Hurricane Katrina

400

Lifespan, in years, of Greenland sharks found in the North Atlantic, making the species the longest-living vertebrate

20%

Percentage of millennials who lean Republican, according to a *USA Today*/Rock the Vote poll; half the respondents lean Democrat

1,210

Number of tickets issued by Taiwanese authorities to drivers playing *Pokémon Go*

'The black people of Milwaukee are tired ... of living under this oppression.'

KHALIF RAINEY, Milwaukee alderman, after violence erupted following the fatal shooting of an armed black man by a black police officer

'I'M NOT THE NEXT USAIN BOLT OR MICHAEL PHELPS. I'M THE FIRST SIMONE BILES.'

SIMONE BILES, Olympic gymnast, correcting a reflexive comparison to other all-time great Olympians, after winning gold in the women's all-around finals

'Come on, that show is not about music.'

ADELE, singer, on why she turned down an offer to perform at the 2017 Super Bowl halftime show, which has recently featured high-energy spectacles from Madonna and Beyoncé; the NFL said it had not made a formal ask

'I AM NOT SCARED OF BOKO HARAM—THEY ARE NOT MY GOD.'

AMINA ALI, one of 219 Nigerian schoolgirls abducted by the terrorist group in April 2014, speaking out for the first time since she and her 4-month-old child were the first of the victims to be rescued in May

Brian Williams
MSNBC gave him a show, after months of using him as a general anchor

GOOD WEEK
BAD WEEK

Larry Wilmore
Comedy Central canceled his show, after months of middling ratings

ILLUSTRATIONS BY BROWN BIRD DESIGN FOR TIME

SOURCES: BILLBOARD; CNN; OMNISPORTS; REUTERS; TIMES-PICAYUNE

The Brief

'THE RISING BASELINE FOR HEAT IS COMPELLING EVIDENCE OF A GLOBAL PROBLEM.' —PAGE 13

Despite a rigorous schedule, Clinton hasn't held a traditional press conference since Dec. 4, 2015

REUTERS

ELECTION 2016

Hillary Clinton finds her zone of caution and control

By David Von Drehle

HILLARY CLINTON DIDN'T EXACTLY hide from questions this month, when a new batch of State Department emails went public, revealing efforts by a Clinton Foundation executive to secure attention from Clinton's State Department for a major donor. In fact, she answered a whole bunch.

Is it true that she doesn't use an alarm clock? No! That's just another "rumor," Clinton explained. "I usually wake up before my alarm clock goes off."

How does she keep going, given the pressure of a campaign? "I—knock on wood—am pretty lucky, because I have a lot of stamina and endurance," Clinton replied. Under further interrogation, she admitted to attempts at eating right, getting enough sleep and exercising. She copped to regularly learning things from the people her advance staff arranges for her to meet. And she confessed to having a daily list of tasks to complete. "I have such a long to-do list it's really depressing," Clinton answered.

Nowhere on that long list, however, is there an entry marked "Face the press" or "Answer hard questions." The Democratic nominee last held an old-style news conference back in December, more than 250 days ago. Since then, Clinton has preferred one-on-one interviews that give her plenty of time to prepare. Even better, from her perspective: faux scrutiny, like the alarm clock and exercise colloquy, which took place in the friendly confines of her newly launched podcast, paid for by her own campaign.

"Full disclosure: I'm not a

PHOTOGRAPH BY AARON P. BERNSTEIN

journalist, and I'm not impartial," podcast host Max Linsky acknowledged during Episode 1, before teeing up another softball. (Linsky did pry from Clinton an admission that she enjoys Cuban food when she visits Miami.)

Clinton has also perfected what you might call an aquarium style of ignoring shouted questions: she glides past crowds of reporters with a serene smile as though protected by thick glass and deep water. These encounters often happen outside the fundraising and endorsement-collecting events that constitute a substantial share of her days and nights. (At one of her recent donor shindigs, from which Clinton in a break from recent precedent bars reporters from hearing her remarks, her host had the made-for-comic-books name of Rich Richman.)

At an Aug. 15 campaign photo op with Vice President Joe Biden outside Biden's boyhood home in Scranton, Pa., Clinton floated up to the glass long enough for a reporter to call out a Trump question. "Nobody will love Scranton more than I will as President," she said, ignoring the query.

Like several other strategies that Clinton has employed in this campaign, her press dodging stems from a Hippocratic determination to, above all, do no harm. She puts a premium on avoiding mistakes. Now facing an opponent whose motto is ready-fire-aim, she's loath to give the media any reason to turn the spotlight away from Trump's self-destruction. Like a quarterback with a six-point lead, she takes a knee instead of risking a fumble.

And for now, as evidenced by her growing lead over Trump in the polls, the strategy is working. "We don't see it as caution. We see it as discipline," Clinton spokesman Nick Merrill explained. Questions like the ones about the Clinton Foundation are handled via official statements from the campaign, leaving the candidate to "convey an affirmative message," Merrill said. This she has done through more than 400 interviews, local and national, so far in 2016, he added.

Clinton has ample reason to be cautious, for she has none of her husband's knack for charming his way out of tight spots. Her extemporaneous joke about wiping her private email server—"what, like with a cloth?"—fell flat. Her claim to Fox's Chris Wallace that the FBI director pronounced her truthful was untrue. Her defense of that statement ("I may have short-circuited") didn't help.

They say the first rule of holes is, When you are in one, stop digging. So there is little reason to believe that Clinton will let a reporter hand her another shovel anytime soon. Still, Clinton's silence makes a mockery of her recent statement at a convention of journalists that "now more than ever we need you to keep holding leaders and candidates accountable." —*With reporting by* SAM FRIZELL *and* ZEKE J. MILLER

TICKER

Guantánamo sees biggest transfer

Fifteen Guantánamo Bay detainees were sent to the United Arab Emirates, the Pentagon said Aug. 15. The largest single release under the Obama Administration reduced the total number of detainees at the military prison to 61.

Netflix subject's case overturned

The 2007 murder conviction of a Wisconsin man featured in the Netflix documentary *Making a Murderer* was overturned by a federal judge on Aug. 12. Judge William Duffin criticized the way prosecutors obtained a confession from Brendan Dassey, then 16.

Russian bombers use Iran bases

Russia launched airstrikes in Syria from an Iranian air base for the first time, Russian officials confirmed Aug. 16. The U.S. State Department said the move was "unfortunate but not surprising." Both Russia and Iran are allies of the Syrian regime.

College edits dorm name

Vanderbilt University is to remove the word *Confederate* from the name of a dormitory on its Nashville campus. An anonymous $1.2 million gift allowed the college to return the original 1933 naming-rights donation.

DIGITS

295 ft.

Length of the world's longest cigar, rolled in honor of the 90th birthday of Cuba's Fidel Castro on Aug. 13

RELIGION

Europe lashes out at Muslim garb

Terrorism fears have led to crackdowns on garments worn by some Muslim women. In France, where full-face veils like the burqa are already banned, three seafront towns recently prohibited full-body swimsuits, or "burkinis." Other countries are pursuing their own bans:

GERMANY
Conservatives in Chancellor Angela Merkel's party want a ban on the full-face veil as a security measure, but on Aug. 11 her Interior Minister rejected demands.

BULGARIA
On June 15, Bulgaria's National Assembly approved the first reading of a law, tabled by the nationalistic Patriotic Front party, that bans veils that partially or fully cover the face.

DENMARK
Dansk Folkeparti's Kenneth Kristensen Berth cited security reasons in proposing a burqa ban on Aug. 10, the fourth time the populist party has proposed the ban in 12 years.

AUSTRIA
Far-right Freedom Party presidential candidate Norbert Hofer suggested on Aug. 13 that his party would outlaw the burqa if it came to power after October's elections.

DIGITS: YAMIL LAGE—AFP/GETTY IMAGES; U.K.: PAUL FAITH—AFP/GETTY IMAGES; ILLUSTRATION BY MARTIN GEE FOR TIME

HIGH JUMP A fan leaps into the air while watching Australian punk band Parkway Drive at the 24th Sziget Festival in Budapest's Shipyard Island on Aug. 16. One of the biggest cultural events in Europe, Hungary's weeklong Sziget hosts 400,000 visitors and stages more than 1,000 concerts, exhibitions, theatrical performances and circus shows. Sia, Rihanna and David Guetta were among the performers. *Photograph by Balázs Mohai—EPA*

U.K.

Why Brexit could take longer than expected

BRITAIN MAY BE FORCED TO PUSH BACK ITS withdrawal from the E.U. by as much as a year, according to media reports. The government is said to be unready to negotiate the terms of Brexit and may now delay the formal notification for the two-year process until the end of 2017, despite Prime Minister Theresa May's signals that it would happen early next year. Here's why:

TRADE WOES The government departments overseeing Brexit and global trade face a daunting series of tasks: not just legally disentangling the U.K. from the E.U. but creating a new free-trade agreement with the E.U. from scratch and re-establishing links with 163 other nations of the World Trade Organization. Tens of thousands of tariffs, quotas, subsidies and other arrangements stand to be renegotiated.

EXPERT SHORTAGE The U.K. currently employs as few as 25 trade negotiators, compared with an estimated 600 in the E.U.'s trade department. The government says it will hire 300 experts by the end of 2016, but that may not be enough. International-trade lawyer Miriam González Durántez has warned that the U.K. would need at least 500 to complete the marathon task.

TRIGGER WARNING Trade talks cannot begin until Britain formally triggers Article 50 of the E.U. treaty, making Brexit official, and pressure is growing for May to name a date. Delays could run into French and German elections due to happen next year, complicating the process yet further. —DAN STEWART/LONDON

‹ May has repeatedly said, "Brexit means Brexit." But when?

DATA

WORKING HOURS

Israel is due to pass a bill giving workers six Sundays off annually to ease a Sunday to mid-Friday workweek that is above the OECD average of 36.8 hours. Here's how Israel compares with some other OECD nations:

TICKER

Fed might hike interest rates

Minutes from a Federal Reserve meeting released Aug. 17 revealed that committee members see the economy as steadily improving and that a long-expected rate hike could "soon be warranted."

Video said to show Chibok girls

A video released by Nigerian militant group Boko Haram on Aug. 15 appears to show dozens of schoolgirls who were kidnapped in 2014 in the town of Chibok. In the clip, a masked man says that about 40 abductees are now married and that "some" died in airstrikes.

Pennsylvania AG resigns

Pennsylvania attorney general Kathleen Kane resigned on Aug. 16 after a jury found her guilty of nine criminal charges, including perjury and conspiracy. She was accused of lying about leaking grand-jury documents to get back at a political foe.

Australia to shut detention center

Australia agreed to close an offshore detention center for asylum seekers on Manus Island, Papua New Guinea. The news came amid allegations of detainee abuse at a separate center on the island of Nauru.

POLICE

Why body-cam footage stays unseen

By Josh Sanburn

ON AUG. 13, A POLICE BODY camera in Milwaukee captured the fatal shooting of Sylville Smith, 23, a black man who officials say was fleeing police while armed—something they say is clear in the video. In the immediate aftermath, the public had to take their word for it.

The decision not to release body-camera footage may seem odd, especially at a time when trust is so low between cops and some of the communities they serve. But sometimes, it's not entirely up to law enforcement. Judges may block a video's release because it could affect potential trials of officers involved. Prosecutors may lobby against it because it could taint a potential jury pool. And in some instances, independent investigative agencies make the final decision, as in Wisconsin, where the state's department of justice is investigating Smith's death and will decide whether to release the video.

Roughly one-third of U.S. police departments use body cameras

Officials consider other factors as well, such as the video's angle or whether the camera was turned on in the middle of an incident, which may affect the completeness or accuracy of the video account. They also must keep in mind privacy concerns of bystanders who may have inadvertently ended up in the shot. "Releasing the footage can help the public in terms of increasing transparency," says Kami Chavis, a Wake Forest University law professor who studies police accountability. "The key is developing a comprehensive policy, because you have to balance all of those competing interests."

One city Chavis points to as a potential model is Washington, D.C., where the final decision doesn't rest with the police or prosecutors. Instead, it's made on a case-by-case basis by the mayor, who is presumably better equipped to decide whether releasing a video is in the public interest. Most officer-involved shootings, Chavis says, would likely meet that standard.

2016 ELECTION

Donald Trump's new team

After weeks of sliding poll numbers, the GOP presidential nominee shook up his struggling campaign for the second time in as many months. *—Zeke J. Miller and Alex Altman*

STEPHEN BANNON
The Trump campaign's new CEO is the impresario of Breitbart News, a hard-right outlet that champions the nominee, opposes illegal immigration and challenges GOP leaders.

KELLYANNE CONWAY
A veteran pollster and longtime Trump friend, Conway ascends to the title of campaign manager, a role that had gone unfilled since June. Her task will be to impose message discipline.

PAUL MANAFORT
The veteran GOP lobbyist and campaign chairman will lose some power in the shuffle, as others take over operational responsibility. He has come under scrutiny for his past ties to a pro-Putin Ukrainian strongman.

Milestones

DIED
Khaled Omar Harrah, 31, Syrian rescue worker known for saving a 10-day-old "miracle baby" from a collapsed building in Aleppo in 2014. He was part of the Syrian Civil Defense force, which has saved more than 40,000 people in the country. Harrah's team says he was killed in an airstrike.

DIED
Fyvush Finkel, 93, actor who started in Yiddish theater before his Emmy-winning performance on the TV show *Picket Fences.* In recent years, he appeared in *Boston Public* and *A Serious Man.*

DIED
Kenny Baker, 81, who played R2-D2 in six *Star Wars* movies. The 3-ft. 8-in. actor said the filmmakers convinced him his stature made him perfect for the role: "You're small enough to get into [the R2-D2 suit], and you're strong enough to be able to move it."

McLaughlin in 1988, in a rare moment of on-air calm

DIED

John McLaughlin
Pugilist of political punditry

IN THE TELEVISION AGE, SUNDAYS HAVE LONG BEEN RESERVED for worship, sports and political chat shows. But it took a politics-mad showman named John McLaughlin, who died at 89 on Aug. 16, to throw all three in a blender and splash it in America's face.

Launched on New Year's Day 1982, *The McLaughlin Group* was an indelible, bizarre, easily parodied (most memorably by Dana Carvey on *Saturday Night Live*) short-attention-span shoutfest aired weekly on PBS and other stations. McLaughlin pressed his four panelists for punchy commentary on national and foreign affairs, usually calling first on fellow ex–Nixon aide Pat Buchanan, who would yak uninterrupted until he had properly antagonized *Newsweek*'s Eleanor Clift. Off they'd go, with McLaughlin sure to get the last word. President Reagan called it a "political version of *Animal House.*"

The show's ecclesiastic pomp came honestly: McLaughlin had been a Jesuit priest before turning to politics, and before abandoning his collar he rankled the Society of Jesus with public pronouncements, including a 1974 boast that historians would judge Nixon "the greatest moral leader of the last third of this century."

In recent decades, the once revolutionary *Group* grew musty compared with its Sunday peers with spry panelists and slick graphics. Yet host and panel endured until Aug. 12, when illness prompted the first McLaughlin-free show in its 34-year run. That episode was relaxed and sedate—and it felt entirely *Wrong!* —JACK DICKEY

RECORDED

July 2016, the hottest month ever

JULY TYPICALLY ranks as the hottest month of the year, but heat waves in several locations around the globe, along with human-influenced climate change, helped make last month the hottest month ever recorded. Average global temperatures reached nearly 62°F, beating the record set last year by a slim 0.1°F margin, according to the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration. Temperatures reached much higher in many locations around the world, including Kuwait, where the heat topped 129°F.

The July record left scientists with little question that 2016 will be the hottest year since record keeping began, given that every month since October 2015 has set a new monthly high. They warned that suffocating temperatures may become the new normal if global warming continues unchecked—and that although attributing any one weather event to climate change is impossible, the rising baseline for heat is compelling evidence of a global problem.

—JUSTIN WORLAND

Cracks in the Obamacare crystal ball

By Haley Sweetland Edwards

On Nov. 1, uninsured Americans can begin enrolling in Obamacare for 2017

HEALTH INSURANCE COMPANIES make money by predicting the future. To set rates, quants with complex computer algorithms try to estimate not just the health of the people who will sign up for their plans but also the chances that those people will later get sick or injured or otherwise run up big medical bills. If they do their math right, the insurers make money. If they miscalculate, you get something like the crisis roiling the Obamacare marketplace today.

The insurance giant Aetna announced in mid-August that it has lost roughly $430 million so far on the federal health care exchanges, the marketplaces where uninsured individuals and small businesses can find coverage. That loss might have been sustained, it argued in a July letter, if the Justice Department had approved an upcoming corporate merger. But when the merger hit regulatory roadblocks, the company announced it would sharply reduce its participation in the exchanges next year. Aetna's not alone. Humana and Blue Cross Blue Shield have also cited losses when announcing pullbacks from the exchanges. UnitedHealthcare, which estimates it has hemorrhaged $1 billion since 2015, says it plans to leave all but "a handful" of exchanges next year.

"I think we're seeing a fish-or-cut-bait moment for insurers," says Edmund Haislmaier, a health-policy expert at the conservative Heritage Foundation. "They now have a couple years of data, and they're seeing that the market is not particularly good for them." Some experts have argued that the exodus presages Obamacare's imminent collapse.

But like the algorithms that make the insurance business hum, the real story is more complicated. When large, national insurers pull out of markets, smaller, regional insurance companies can be expected, at least in the short term, to take up the slack. So while Aetna's departure from 11 of the 15 public exchanges where it currently operates will lead to fewer choices for some customers—particularly in Arizona and the Carolinas—many others won't see much of a difference. Since the exchanges were launched in January 2014, more than 11 million Americans have been insured through the marketplaces.

That's not to say Obamacare doesn't face strong headwinds. After setting premiums too low three years ago, many insurers have been consistently losing money on the individual exchanges, where the average consumer is sicker—and therefore more costly to cover—than the general population. If younger or healthier people sign up during the next enrollment period, beginning Nov. 1, the market will stabilize. But the future is hazy. "If the market continues to grow, insurers will be more interested in it," says Gary Claxton, a vice president at the Kaiser Family Foundation. "If it doesn't, their skepticism might increase. But it's too early to tell."

Insurance companies also have to grapple with predicting the political climate. The Affordable Care Act was supposed to help mitigate insurers' losses, but none of the law's three "risk-sharing" provisions have worked as planned. In 2014, for example, congressional Republicans derailed funding for the law's risk corridors, which were designed to allow the government to cover some insurers' losses through 2016. Other provisions need to be tweaked in order to work, says Timothy Jost, a health care expert at Washington and Lee University School of Law. That sort of legislative massaging is unlikely to come from a Congress that has voted to repeal all or some of the bill more than five dozen times.

3.1
Average number of insurers on the exchanges, per county, in 2016, down from 3.4 in 2015

34
Number of states where UnitedHealthcare currently participates on the exchanges; it will leave all but "a handful"

4
Number of states where Aetna will participate on the exchanges next year, down from 15 currently

All of this has left prognosticators stumped. While the public exchanges are challenging at the moment, most big insurers, Aetna included, have positioned themselves to re-enter the market as early as 2018. "There are going to be people who say Aetna leaving is proof that Obamacare is a disaster, but I think it's proof that it's difficult to create an insurance market," says Katherine Hempstead of the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation. "These things take time, and I believe time is on our side." □

JOE RAEDLE—GETTY IMAGES

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A small boat powers through floodwaters in a neighborhood of Hammond, La., on Aug. 13

Photograph by Max Becherer—AP

NATION

A 'thousand-year storm' hits Louisiana

IN THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER CITY OF Baton Rouge, La., and the surrounding region, it has been an untempered summer, a season heartbreakingly free of half measures. Three police officers were shot dead in July, days after police had killed a man named Alton Sterling outside a convenience store. Then, on Aug. 12, the rains came. The air had been full of moisture—meteorologists call it "precipitable water"—so all it took was a modest front to make the skies burst. Over a two-day-plus session of thunderstorms, rainfall exceeded 2 ft. in some spots, more than the area's rivers could bear. Record water levels were measured at the Amite and the Comite, the Tickfaw and the Tangipahoa. Water swamped the levees that had been built to protect against more modest flooding than what resulted from this so-called thousand-year storm.

But epic floods have hit the South with alarming frequency in recent months. Tangipahoa Parish, for instance, had just rebuilt after one hit in March. The floods also reminded some Louisianans of Hurricane Katrina's devastation, prompting a new round of worries about natural disasters and man-made climate change.

As of Aug. 16, more than 30,000 people had been evacuated from their homes, and at least 11 had died. Governor John Bel Edwards said he expects 30 of the state's 64 parishes to be declared disaster areas, with standing water presenting a possible Zika-related public-health menace on top of all the property destruction. Edwards also called on volunteers to help locals clean mud from their homes. "Not everyone can do this on their own." —JACK DICKEY

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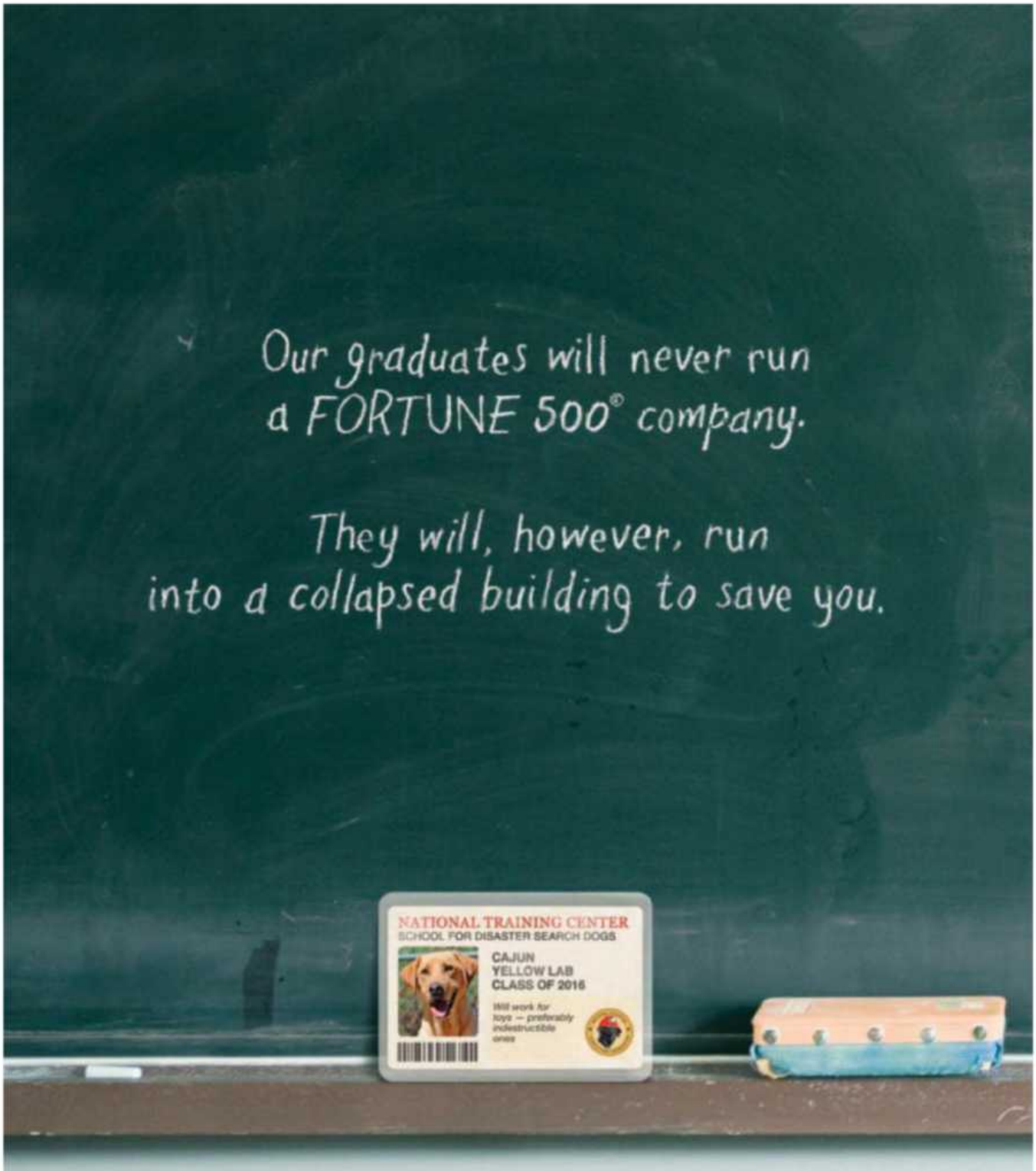

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The View

'THESE ARE ISSUES THAT DON'T GET FIXED AT THE VOTING BOOTH, AT LEAST NOT WITHOUT A FIGHT.' —PAGE 21

Now that the Supreme Court has eight Justices, some conservative activists are fighting to keep it that way

GETTY IMAGES

LAW

Unpacking the court: Is eight enough?

By Massimo Calabresi

AS THE SENATE PREPARES TO END ITS summer recess on Sept. 6, one question looms larger than most: What will happen to Judge Merrick Garland? It has, after all, been more than five months since President Obama put forward his nominee to replace Supreme Court Justice Antonin Scalia, who died suddenly on Feb. 13. Republicans have refused to act on the nomination, leaving the U.S.'s most powerful judicial body one vote short of its nine-member bench. Thus far, that has caused the court to split 4-4 on decisions regarding illegal immigration, the sovereignty of Native American tribal courts and more.

Now leaders in both parties say the impasse could extend into the next President's term. For conservatives, the attrition is strategic. Though Garland was considered a moderate pick compared to other candidates, his confirmation would mark the first reliably liberal majority on the court in 45 years. With cases on abortion, the death penalty and other hot-button social issues potentially before the court in coming years, it makes sense that Republican Senate majority leader Mitch McConnell is in no rush. He has said publicly that he won't hold a vote on a nominee until after the election. Even then, he says, he won't guarantee it.

As Hillary Clinton continues to lead in the polls, some conservative activists are hoping that delay endures. "Nothing should be ruled out," says Curt Levey, president of the conservative Committee for Justice, "given that we're really facing legal Armageddon." Says one Senate

PHOTOGRAPH BY DREW ANGERER

Democratic staffer: "We're in a new era where a 4-4 court for an extended period of time is a reality because of Republican intransigence."

The Constitution does not require nine Justices on the Supreme Court. In the 19th century, the number Congress set shifted from five to seven to 10, before an 1869 law fixed it at nine. In 1937 President Franklin Roosevelt, frustrated by court conservatives who were blocking elements of the New Deal, proposed boosting the number of Justices to as high as 15. Congress and the public reacted badly to the "court packing" proposal, and after a series of liberal rulings in favor of some New Deal programs, FDR gave up on the plan.

But recent fights over lower courts have signaled a willingness to break judiciary taboos. Democrats blocked 10 of George W. Bush's nominees to appellate courts during his first term, including to the D.C. Circuit Court, which often decides important cases involving U.S. government powers. In 2007, Republican Senator Chuck Grassley led a successful effort to shrink the size of the D.C. circuit from 12 to 11 judges, and later helped block Obama's nominees to three open seats on that court. Democrats responded by barring filibusters for all judicial nominees except those tapped for the Supreme Court.

The most aggressive actors on the right are ready to escalate the war of attrition there too. If one of the current liberal Justices were to die or retire and Scalia's seat remained unfilled, the thinking goes, the court would shrink to 4-3—and GOP appointees would once again have the majority. But other conservative court watchers, including some in the Senate, who acknowledge a discussion of a 4-3 strategy, say it was dismissed as politically unrealistic. A permanent change to the size of the court would require an act of Congress, signed by the President, superseding the 1869 act. And few think the public would react much better to a covert "court unpacking" than it did to FDR's overt attempt to pack it during the Depression. Political pressure could return the court to nine members as early as next spring.

But inaction is the norm in D.C., and Republicans point out that Democrats might hold the court at 4-4 if faced with a Trump presidency. Senators in both parties have long since abandoned the idea that the courts should be free from politicization, switching positions on whether qualified nominees should be blocked depending on who's doing the nominating. Little wonder, then, that the court is near historic lows in popular opinion, with only 42% of Americans approving of it and 48% disapproving in a recent Rand poll. Those aren't Congress-level numbers yet, but they will only get worse if, for the next election cycle at least, a nine-member Supreme Court becomes another casualty of Washington's increasing partisanship. ◻

VERBATIM

'Privacy, in my point of view, is a civil liberty that our Founding Fathers thought of a long time ago and concluded ... was an essential part of what it was to be an American.'

TIM COOK, Apple CEO, on why privacy is one of the tech titan's core values

BOOK IN BRIEF

The search for the perfect chair

FOR THOUSANDS OF YEARS, HUMANS have sought to develop the ideal seat, from the Song dynasty yokeback (one of the earliest uses of lumbar support) to the modern ergonomic desk chair. In his new book, *Now I Sit Me Down: From Klismos to Plastic Chair: A Natural History,* architect Witold Rybczynski argues that the search will never end—because humans aren't built to sit. "We are good at walking and running, and we are happy lying down," he writes. "It is the in-between position that is the problem." Some seats are more helpful than others: the rocking chair famously helped alleviate President Kennedy's back issues, and the invention of the dentist chair made it easier to treat cavities. In the future, Rybczynski writes, humans may well invent a chaiselike seat designed around browsing a smartphone. The only constant with chairs, he concludes, is that they will keep evolving.

—SARAH BEGLEY

CHARTOON

Abridged classics

JOHN ATKINSON, WRONG HANDS

BIG IDEA

The flat-pack house

Imagine ordering a custom house for less than $225,000 and getting it delivered like mail. That's the idea behind BriteSpace, a new offering from San Francisco–based Avava Systems that aims to push the boundaries of micro-housing. After customers order a unit, ranging from 264 sq. ft. to 480 sq. ft., it arrives in flat-pack boxes, the way Ikea furniture does—though they'll need expert builders either from a local construction company or Avava to assemble it. (The latter option is available only in the Bay Area.) The goal, says CEO Benjamin Kimmich, is to create more housing opportunities in places where it's harder to deliver traditional pre-fabricated homes on giant flatbed trailers, like backyards and rural areas. *—Julia Zorthian*

VIEWPOINT

Why more Americans are becoming activists

By Sarah Jaffe

THE MOVEMENTS THAT HAVE SHAKEN America in recent years—the Tea Party, Occupy Wall Street, Fight for $15, Black Lives Matter—are often assumed to be discrete, separate phenomena. But in fact they have fed one another and overlapped, as more people rediscover the fine art of direct action.

This new wave of activism began in 2008. Although Americans have long experienced inequality, the financial crisis—which caused people to lose their jobs, evaporated retirement savings and evicted families from their homes—raised its profile. Faith in elites, particularly politicians, fell, and cynicism about our economic and political systems hardened. This anger and sense that the system is rigged primed people to notice other injustices. Among them: the police killings of black men, low minimum wages, the role of money in elections.

These are issues that don't get fixed at the voting booth, at least not without a fight. So more and more, people are taking to the streets and raising their voices to pressure politicians to act—in Manhattan, where they occupied City Hall Park for fairer policing practices; in North Carolina, where they challenged attacks on voting rights; and in Chicago, where teachers went on strike for better labor conditions. These activists may have different causes. But in a sense, they're acting together, honoring America's long history of making trouble to make change.

Jaffe is the author of Necessary Trouble: Americans in Revolt

DATA

THIS JUST IN

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

1

WORKING LESS MIGHT MAKE YOU MORE PRODUCTIVE

An analysis of worldwide gross domestic products from consulting firm Expert Market reveals that seven of the countries with the highest GDP per capita—including Norway, Switzerland and Germany—are also among the 10 countries with the fewest hours worked.

2

SOCIAL MEDIA ISN'T REALLY THAT SOCIAL

One study published as part of a report in the journal *New Media & Society* found that users spend only 3.5% of their time on social media interacting with others by commenting or chatting; the rest is spent browsing.

3

U.S. WOMEN ARE HAVING FEWER BABIES THAN EVER

New CDC data reveals that fewer than 60 babies were born per 1,000 women ages 15 to 44 during the first quarter of this year, a record low. Factors in the decline likely include the prevalence of birth control, women delaying birth by choice and people not feeling financially stable enough to have children. *—J.Z.*

COOK: GETTY IMAGES; HOUSE: SASHA MORAVEC

However you say *tomato*, 'tis the season to eat them

By Alexandra Sifferlin

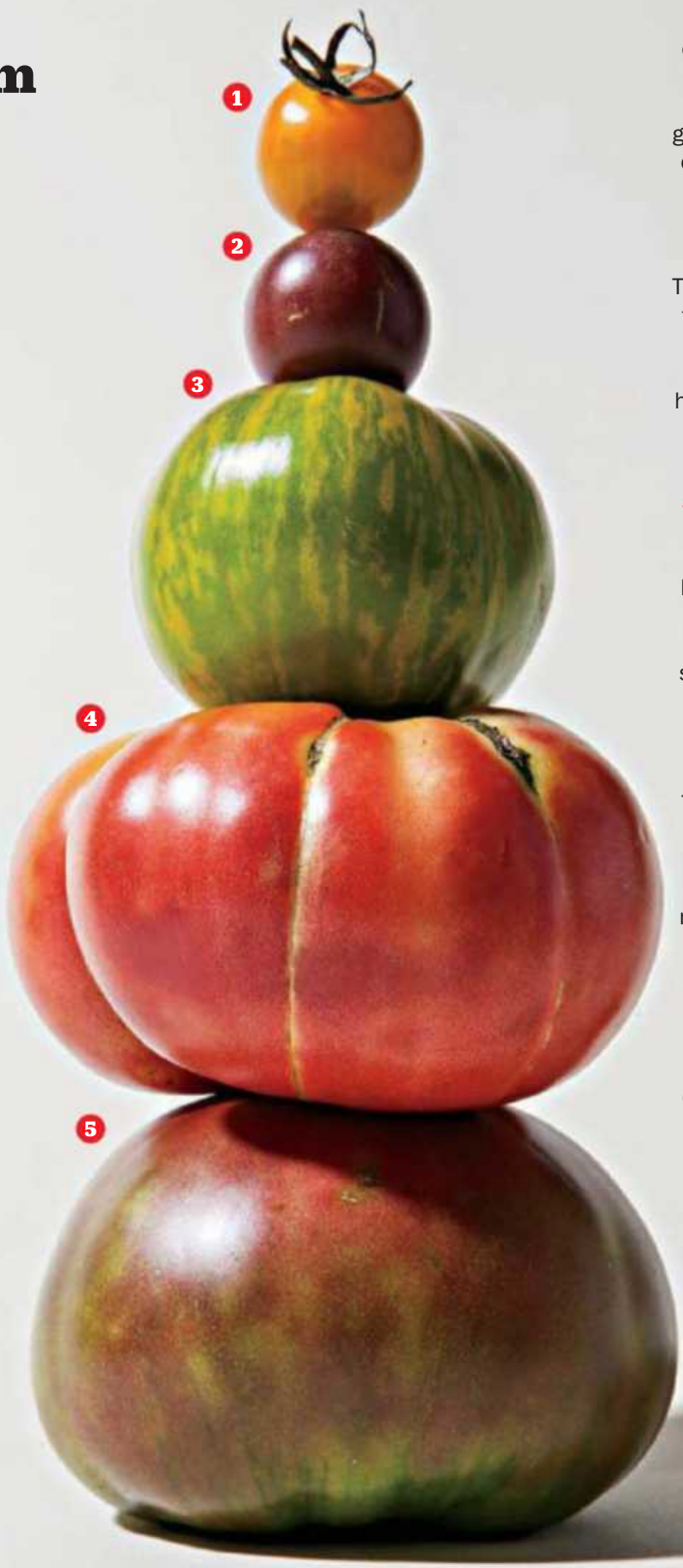
CONSIDER THE TOMATO: EASY TO grow, healthy to eat, tasty in just about any recipe and pleasant to look at. And come late summer, in steady supply. Though you can find a stalwart plum variety in produce bins during the coldest winter months, August is the tomato's season to shine. Farmers' markets and grocery stores are bursting with lesser-known but arguably more-flavorful varieties, including punch-colored cherries and big-mac heirlooms.

"Heirlooms ripened on the vine are the tastiest of all tomatoes," says Amy Goldman Fowler, author of *The Heirloom Tomato*. "I think their beauty is more than skin-deep." Heirloom seeds have been around for at least 50 years, often passed down from generation to generation. You may hear *cherry* or *heirloom* used to describe a tomato at hand, but classifications are niche, and growers have fun giving catchy names to varieties: Mortgage Lifters. Beefsteaks. Oxhearts. Early Girls.

And all of them come with health benefits. Tomatoes are a good source of the antioxidant lycopene, which is thought to help lower a person's risk for heart problems and cancer. Tomatoes also contain healthy doses of vitamins A and C. For the best fruit (they're fruits, not vegetables), choose tomatoes with shiny, firm skin and a little give, and store them at room temperature away from direct sunlight. Keep them out of the fridge, since cold temperatures can affect texture and flavor.

"They satisfy something more than just taste," says Fowler. "Tomatoes feed your soul."

Eat up! ◻



1. SUN GOLD
Sweeter than its red peers, this cherry is packed with flavor and hardy enough to grow in hot or cold climates, across several months.

2. PURPLE BUMBLE BEE
This type of cherry tomato has light striping and a firm skin that helps it withstand cool nights and hot days.

3. GREEN ZEBRA
The name says it all: this wild-looking heirloom variety is known for its colorful skin, with stripes of green and a yellow blush.

4. BRANDYWINE
The heavyweight of the heirloom family can clock in at a pound or more and comes in unlikely hues, including pink and black.

5. CHEROKEE PURPLE
Craig LeHoullier, author of *Epic Tomatoes*, has called this heirloom "ugly," but it is known for its rich flavor.

PHOTOGRAPH BY MICHAEL BUCHER FOR TIME


Sweet drizzled Mini-Wheats
with bits made with real fruit?
Dreamy.
Kellogg's
Mini Wheats
HARVEST
Delights
Blueberry
with vanilla drizzle
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My 4-point plan for surviving our summer of discontent with Russia

By Admiral James Stavridis

IN THESE LAZY DAYS OF LATE AUGUST, WE NEED TO BEAR in mind that a reckoning is coming with the Russian Federation. It is easy to feel the slow burn in Moscow as an Olympics unfolds without the Russian athletes, who are justifiably barred from taking part. Russia is also frustrated by the ongoing sanctions that were imposed following its invasion of Ukraine and annexation of Crimea. And it faces increasing costs of its operations in Syria in support of Bashar Assad's regime, which continue to sour relations with the West.

There are indications that Vladimir Putin is preparing to shake up the game as he has done during summer vacations of the past. Previous August surprises included the invasions of Ukraine in 2014 and Georgia in 2008; this year he continues to seek a "grand bargain" with the West. On offer is negotiating a mutually acceptable endgame in Syria; directing Russian firepower more strongly against ISIS; creating an international accommodation on Ukraine; recognizing Russian sovereignty in Crimea; freezing the expansion of NATO; and, above all, lifting economic sanctions on Russia.

Can the U.S. and Russia shake hands on a "grand bargain"?

AS ALWAYS, when trying to understand Russia, we must go back to its literature. Dostoyevsky is often quoted as saying, "Much unhappiness has come into the world because of bewilderment and things left unsaid." We are in danger of approaching that point with Putin, and now is the time for the West to think about a unified and strategic approach to our future relations with his country.

First, we must reassure and solidify the bonds with our NATO allies. This means engaging constantly with the understandably nervous Eastern Europeans, principally Poland and the Baltic nations, but also our allies along the Black Sea. We can do this most effectively through exercises and military operations, including rotational stationing of ground forces, warship deployments and defensive air patrols to counter Russian incursions.

Second, we must maintain control of the sanctions regime. It is by far the most important point of leverage with Russia, and the work of Angela Merkel thus far holding the E.U. together has been impressive. We need to actively support the Chancellor as she battles on the European front, especially given the uncertainties engendered by the recent vote for Brexit.

Third, the U.S. should continue to leverage the international community in condemning Russia when it clearly steps beyond the limits of international law. This includes highlighting everything from the penalties applied to Russian doping ahead of the Olympics to the illegal cyberattacks of sensitive political processes in the U.S. to the ongoing fomenting of violence in Ukraine.

FOURTH AND MOST IMPORTANT, we must keep open our communication pathways, which are increasingly in danger of shutting down. It is in no one's interest to stumble backward into another full-blown Cold War. Cooperation is possible with Russia on several, distinct issues. Certainly, Russia and the West share a common hope of stabilizing Afghanistan, and our cooperation there is not insignificant. We have in the past shared a reasonable level of intelligence in resisting terrorism, piracy and narcotics and could do so again.

A grand bargain will not be achieved in a sweeping package that comes together at a single point in time. While attractive to contemplate, such a sudden strategic outcome is a chimera. Our best hope lies in saying we will confront where we must but cooperate where we can. Such an approach will afford us the best hope of steering through this summer of discontent and finding a meaningful modus vivendi with Russia. As General Kutuzov said in Tolstoy's *War and Peace,* "There is nothing stronger than those two, patience and time, they will do it all." We will need both to deal with Russia, along with a plan.

Stavridis is a former NATO commander, a retired four-star Navy admiral and the author of The Accidental Admiral

STAVRIDIS: JEFFREY REED—PLANET PIX/ZUMA; PUTIN AND OBAMA: CHIP SOMODEVILLA—GETTY IMAGES

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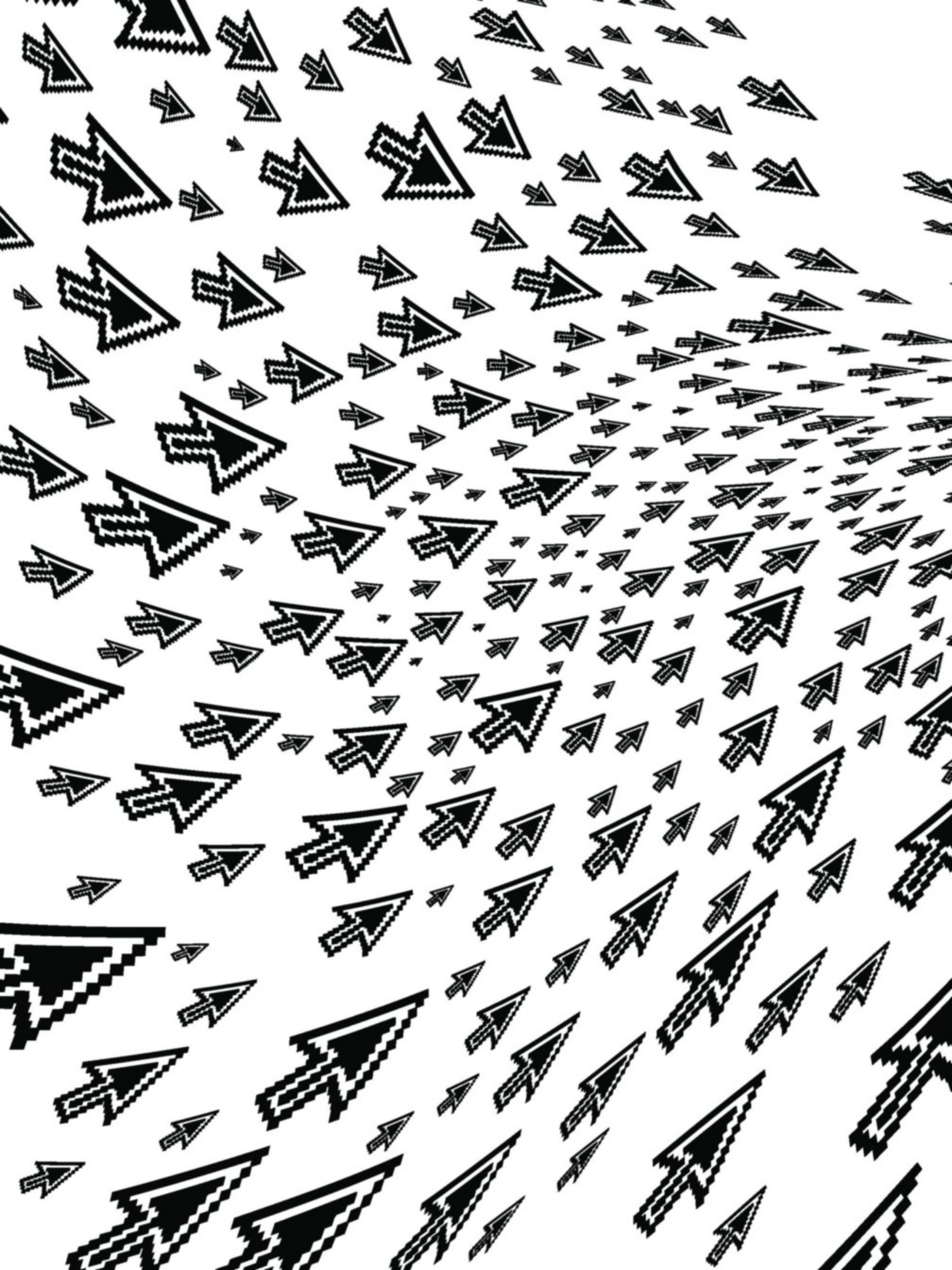


TYRANNY OF THE MOB

Trolls are turning the web into a cesspool of aggression and violence. What watching them is doing to the rest of us may be even more harmful

By Joel Stein

THIS STORY IS NOT A GOOD IDEA. NOT FOR SOCIETY and certainly not for me. Because what trolls feed on is attention. And this little bit—these several thousand words—is like leaving bears a pan of baklava.

It would be smarter to be cautious, because the Internet's personality has changed. Once it was a geek with lofty ideals about the free flow of information. Now the web is a sociopath with Asperger's. If you need help improving your upload speeds it's eager to help with technical details, but if you tell it you're struggling with depression it will try to goad you into killing yourself. Psychologists call this the online disinhibition effect, in which factors like anonymity, invisibility, a lack of authority and not communicating in real time strip away the mores society spent millennia building. And it's seeping from our smartphones into every aspect of our lives.

The people who relish this online freedom are called trolls, a term that originally came from a fishing method online thieves use to find victims. It quickly morphed to refer to the monsters who hide in darkness and threaten people. Internet trolls have a manifesto of sorts, which states they are doing it for the "lulz," or laughs. What trolls do for the lulz ranges from clever pranks to harassment to violent threats. There's also doxxing—publishing personal data, such as Social Security numbers and bank accounts—and

swatting, calling in an emergency to a victim's house so the SWAT team busts in. When victims do not experience lulz, trolls tell them they have no sense of humor. Trolls are turning social media and comment boards into a giant locker room in a teen movie, with towel-snapping racial epithets and misogyny.

They've been steadily upping their game. In 2011, trolls descended on Facebook memorial pages of recently deceased users to mock their deaths. In 2012, after feminist Anita Sarkeesian started a Kickstarter campaign to fund a series of YouTube videos chronicling misogyny in video games, she received bomb threats at speaking engagements, doxxing threats, rape threats and an unwanted starring role in a video game called *Beat Up Anita Sarkeesian*. In June of this year, Jonathan Weisman, the deputy Washington editor of the New York *Times,* quit Twitter, on which he had nearly 35,000 followers, after a barrage of anti-Semitic messages. At the end of July, feminist writer Jessica Valenti said she was leaving social media after receiving a rape threat against her daughter, who is 5 years old.

A Pew Research Center survey published two years ago found that 70% of 18-to-24-year-olds who use the Internet had experienced harassment, and 26% of women that age said they'd been stalked online. This is exactly what trolls want. A 2014 study published in the psychology journal *Personality and Individual Differences* found that the approximately 5% of Internet users who self-identified as trolls scored extremely high in the dark tetrad of personality traits: narcissism, psychopathy, Machiavellianism and, especially, sadism.

But maybe that's just people who call themselves trolls. And maybe they do only a small percentage of the actual trolling. "Trolls are portrayed as aberrational and antithetical to how normal people converse with each other. And that could not be further from the truth," says Whitney Phillips, a literature professor at Mercer University and the author of *Why We Can't Have Nice Things: Mapping the Relationship Between Online Trolling and Mainstream Culture*. "These are mostly normal people who do things that seem fun at the time that have huge implications. You want to say this is the bad guys, but it's a problem of us."

A lot of people enjoy the kind of trolling that illuminates the gullibility of the powerful and their willingness to respond. One of the best is Congressman Steve Smith, a Tea Party Republican representing Georgia's 15th District, which doesn't exist. For nearly three years Smith has spewed over-the-top conservative blather on Twitter, luring Senator Claire McCaskill, Christiane Amanpour and Rosie O'Donnell into arguments. Surprisingly, the guy behind the GOP-mocking prank, Jeffrey Marty, isn't a liberal but a Donald Trump supporter angry at the Republican elite, furious at Hillary Clinton and unhappy with Black Lives Matter. A 40-year-old dad and lawyer who lives outside Tampa, he says he has become addicted to the attention. "I was totally ruined when I started this. My ex-wife and I had just separated. She decided to start a new, more exciting life without me," he says. Then his best friend, who he used to do pranks with as a kid, killed himself. Now he's got an illness that's keeping him home.

Marty says his trolling has been empowering. "Let's say I wrote a letter to the New York *Times* saying I didn't like your article about Trump. They throw it in the shredder. On Twitter I communicate directly with the writers. It's a breakdown of all the institutions," he says. "I really do think this stuff matters in the election. I have 1.5 million views of my tweets every 28 days. It's a much bigger audience than I would have gotten if I called people up and said, 'Did you ever consider Trump for President?'"

'They started sending me threats that they were going to cut off my head and stuff they do to "*N* words." It's not done to express an opinion, it's done to scare you.'
—Leslie Jones, *Ghostbusters* co-star

'Finally we have a platform that's democratizing and we can make ourselves heard, and then you're harassed for advocating for yourself, and that shuts you down again.'
—Lindy West, journalist

TROLLING IS, overtly, a political fight. Liberals do indeed troll—sex-advice columnist Dan Savage used his followers to make Googling former Pennsylvania Senator Rick Santorum's last name a blunt lesson in the hygienic challenges of anal sex; the hunter who killed Cecil the lion got it really bad.

But trolling has become the main tool of the alt-right, an Internet-grown reactionary movement that works for men's rights and against immigration and may have used the computer from *Weird Science* to fabricate Donald Trump. Not only does Trump share their attitudes, but he's got mad trolling skills: he doxxed Republican primary opponent Senator Lindsey Graham by giving out his cell-phone number on TV and indirectly got his Twitter followers to attack GOP political strategist Cheri Jacobus so severely that her lawyers sent him a cease-and-desist order.

The alt-right's favorite insult is to call men who don't hate feminism "cucks," as in "cuckold." Republicans who don't like Trump are "cuckservatives." Men who don't see how feminists are secretly controlling them haven't "taken the red pill," a reference to the truth-revealing drug in *The Matrix*. They derisively call their adversaries "social-justice warriors" and believe that liberal interest groups purposely exploit their weakness to gain pity, which allows them to control the levers of power. Trolling is the alt-right's version of political activism, and its ranks view any attempt to take it away as a denial of democracy.

In this new culture war, the battle isn't just over homosexuality, abortion, rap lyrics, drugs or how to

JONES: JON KOPALOFF—FILMMAGIC/GETTY IMAGES; WEST: D DIPASUPIL—FILMMAGIC/GETTY IMAGES; WEEV: JULIO CORTEZ—AP; YIANNOPOULOS: STEPHEN VOSS—REDUX

greet people at Christmastime. It's expanded to anything and everything: video games, clothing ads, even remaking a mediocre comedy from the 1980s. In July, trolls who had long been furious that the 2016 reboot of *Ghostbusters* starred four women instead of men harassed the film's black co-star Leslie Jones so badly on Twitter with racist and sexist threats—including a widely copied photo of her at the film's premiere that someone splattered semen on—that she considered quitting the service. "I was in my apartment by myself, and I felt trapped," Jones says. "When you're reading all these gay and racial slurs, it was like, I can't fight y'all. I didn't know what to do. Do you call the police? Then they got my email, and they started sending me threats that they were going to cut off my head and stuff they do to '*N* words.' It's not done to express an opinion, it's done to scare you."

Because of Jones' harassment, alt-right leader Milo Yiannopoulos was permanently banned from Twitter. (He is also an editor at Breitbart News, the conservative website whose executive chairman, Stephen Bannon, was hired Aug. 17 to run the Trump campaign.) The service said Yiannopoulos, a critic of the new *Ghostbusters* who called Jones a "black dude" in a tweet, marshaled many of his more than 300,000 followers to harass her. He not only denies this but says being responsible for your fans is a ridiculous standard. He also thinks Jones is faking hurt for political purposes. "She is one of the stars of a Hollywood blockbuster," he says. "It takes a certain personality to get there. It's a politically aware, highly intelligent star using this to get ahead. I think it's very sad that feminism has turned very successful women into professional victims."

A gay, 31-year-old Brit with frosted hair, Yiannopoulos has been speaking at college campuses on his Dangerous Faggot tour. He says trolling is a direct response to being told by the left what not to say and what kinds of video games not to play. "Human nature has a need for mischief. We want to thumb our nose at authority and be individuals," he says. "Trump might not win this election. I might not turn into the media figure I want to. But the space we're making for others to be bolder in their speech is some of the most important work being done today. The trolls are the only people telling the truth."

The alt-right was galvanized by Gamergate, a 2014 controversy in which trolls tried to drive critics of misogyny in video games away from their virtual man cave. "In the mid-2000s, Internet culture felt very separate from pop culture," says Katie Notopoulos, who reports on the web as an editor at BuzzFeed and co-host of the Internet Explorer podcast. "This small group of people are trying to stand their ground that the Internet is dark and scary, and they're trying to scare people off. There's such a culture of viciously making fun of each other on their message boards that they have this very thick skin. They're all trained up."

'The space we're making for others to be bolder in their speech is some of the most important work being done today. The trolls are the only people telling the truth.'
—**Milo Yiannopoulos**, banned from Twitter this year after trolling Leslie Jones

'Eternally your servant in the escalation of entropy and eschaton.'
—**Andrew Auernheimer**, troll who goes by the name Weev online

Andrew Auernheimer, who calls himself Weev online, is probably the biggest troll in history. He served just over a year in prison for identity fraud and conspiracy. When he was released in 2014, he left the U.S., mostly bouncing around Eastern Europe and the Middle East. Since then he has worked to post anti–Planned Parenthood videos and flooded thousands of university printers in America with instructions to print swastikas—a symbol tattooed on his chest. When I asked if I could fly out and interview him, he agreed, though he warned that he "might not be coming ashore for a while, but we can probably pass close enough to land to have you meet us somewhere in the Adriatic or Ionian." His email signature: "Eternally your servant in the escalation of entropy and eschaton."

While we planned my trip to "a pretty remote location," he told me that he no longer does interviews for free and that his rate was two bitcoins (about $1,100) per hour. That's when one of us started trolling the other, though I'm not sure which:

From: Joel Stein
To: Andrew Auernheimer
I totally understand your position. But TIME, and all the major media outlets, won't pay people who we interview. There's a bunch of reasons for that, but I'm sure you know them.
Thanks anyway,
Joel

From: Andrew Auernheimer
To: Joel Stein
I find it hilarious that after your people have stolen years of my life at gunpoint and bulldozed my home, you still expect me to work for free in your interests. You people belong in a f-cking oven.

From: Joel Stein
To: Andrew Auernheimer
For a guy who doesn't want to be interviewed for free, you're giving me a lot of good quotes!

In a later blog post about our emails, Weev clarified that TIME is "trying to destroy white civilization" and that we should "open up your Jew wallets and dump out some of the f-cking geld you've stolen from us goys, because what other incentive could I possibly have to work with your poisonous publication?" I found it comforting that the rate for a neo-Nazi to compromise his ideology is just two bitcoins.

EXPRESSING SOCIALLY UNACCEPTABLE VIEWS like Weev's is becoming more socially acceptable. Sure, just like there are tiny, weird bookstores where you can buy neo-Nazi pamphlets, there are also tiny,

weird white-supremacist sites on the web. But some of the contributors on those sites now go to places like 8chan or 4chan, which have a more diverse crowd of meme creators, gamers, anime lovers and porn enthusiasts. Once accepted there, they move on to Reddit, the ninth most visited site in the U.S., on which users can post links to online articles and comment on them anonymously. Reddit believes in unalloyed free speech; the site only eliminated the comment boards "jailbait," "creepshots" and "beatingwomen" for legal reasons.

But last summer, Reddit banned five more discussion groups for being distasteful. The one with the largest user base, more than 150,000 subscribers, was "fatpeoplehate." It was a particularly active community that reveled in finding photos of overweight people looking happy, almost all women, and adding mean captions. Reddit users would then post these images all over the targets' Facebook pages along with anywhere else on the Internet they could. "What you see on Reddit that is visible is at least 10 times worse behind the scenes," says Dan McComas, a former Reddit employee. "Imagine two users posting about incest and taking that conversation to their private messages, and that's where the really terrible things happen. That's where we saw child porn and abuse and had to do all of our work with law enforcement."

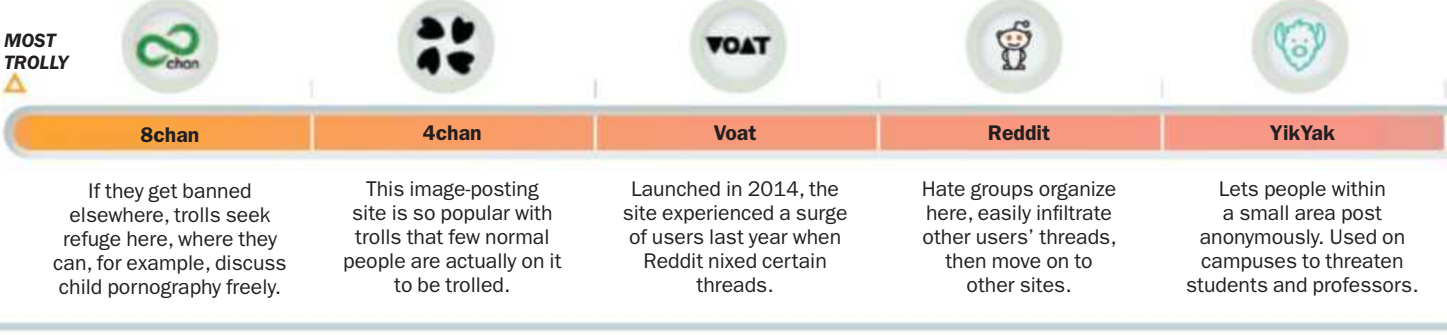
Jessica Moreno, McComas' wife, pushed for getting rid of "fatpeoplehate" when she was the company's head of community. This was not a popular decision with users who really dislike people with a high body mass index. She and her husband had their home address posted online along with suggestions on how to attack them. Eventually they had a police watch on their house. They've since moved. Moreno has blurred their house on Google maps and expunged nearly all photos of herself online.

During her time at Reddit, some users who were part of a group that mails secret Santa gifts to one another complained to Moreno that they didn't want to participate because the person assigned to them made racist or sexist comments on the site. Since these people posted their real names, addresses, ages, jobs and other details for the gifting program, Moreno learned a good deal about them. "The idea of the basement dweller drinking Mountain Dew and eating Doritos isn't accurate," she says. "They would be a doctor, a lawyer, an inspirational speaker, a kindergarten teacher. They'd send lovely gifts and be a normal person." These are real people you might know, Moreno says. There's no real-life indicator. "It's more complex than just being good or bad. It's not all men either; women do take part in it." The couple quit their jobs and started Imzy, a cruelty-free Reddit. They believe that saving a community is nearly impossible once mores have been established, and that sites like Reddit are permanently lost to the trolls.

When sites are overrun by trolls, they drown out the voices of women, ethnic and religious minorities, gays—anyone who might feel vulnerable. Young people in these groups assume trolling is a normal part of life online and therefore self-censor. An anonymous poll of the writers at TIME found that 80% had avoided discussing a particular topic because they feared the online response. The same percentage consider online harassment a regular part of their jobs. Nearly half the women on staff have considered quitting journalism because of hatred they've faced online, although none of the men had. Their comments included "I've been raged at with religious slurs, had people track down my parents and call them at home, had my body parts inquired about." Another wrote, "I've had the usual online trolls call me horrible names and say I am biased and stupid and deserve to be raped. I don't think men realize how normal that is for women on the Internet."

WHERE TROLLS THRIVE

Online communities have a mixed track record of curbing trolls. Here's a closer look at which sites attract the most.



The alt-right argues that if you can't handle opprobrium, you should just turn off your computer. But that's arguing against self-expression, something antithetical to the original values of the Internet. "The question is: How do you stop people from being a--holes not to their face?" says Sam Altman, a venture capitalist who invested early in Reddit and ran the company for eight days in 2014 after one of its many PR crises. "This is exactly what happened when people talked badly about public figures. Now everyone on the Internet is a public figure. The problem is that not everyone can deal with that." Altman declared on June 15 that he would quit Twitter and his 171,000 followers, saying, "I feel worse after using Twitter … my brain gets polluted here."

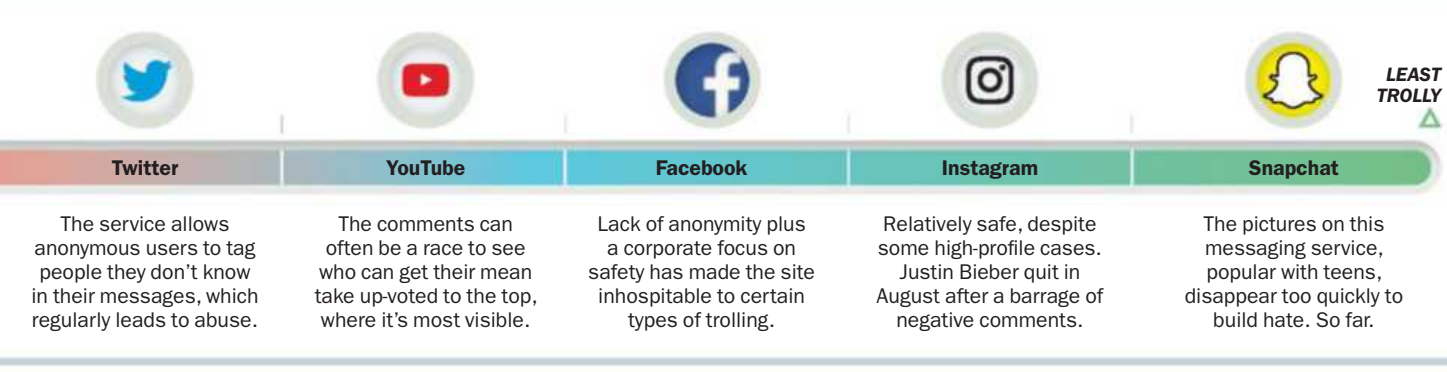
Twitter's head of trust and safety, Del Harvey, struggles with how to allow criticism but curb abuse. "Categorically to say that all content you don't like receiving is harassment would be such a broad brush it wouldn't leave us much content," she says. Harvey is not her real name, which she gave up long ago when she became a professional troll, posing as underage girls (and occasionally boys) to entrap pedophiles as an administrator for the website Perverted-Justice and later for NBC's *To Catch a Predator*. Citing the role of Twitter during the Arab Spring, she says that anonymity has given voice to the oppressed, but that women and minorities are more vulnerable to attacks by the anonymous.

But even those in the alt-right who claim they are "unf-ckwithable" aren't really. At some point, everyone, no matter how desensitized by their online experience, is liable to get freaked out by a big enough or cruel enough threat. Still, people have vastly different levels of sensitivity. A white male journalist who covers the Middle East might blow off death threats, but a teenage blogger might not be prepared to be told to kill herself because of her "disgusting acne."

Which are exactly the kinds of messages Em Ford, 27, was receiving en masse last year on her YouTube tutorials on how to cover pimples with makeup. Men claimed to be furious about her physical "trickery," forcing her to block hundreds of users each week. This year, Ford made a documentary for the BBC called *Troll Hunters* in which she interviewed online abusers and victims, including a soccer referee who had rape threats posted next to photos of his young daughter on her way home from school. What Ford learned was that the trolls didn't really hate their victims. "It's not about the target. If they get blocked, they say, 'That's cool,' and move on to the next person," she says. Trolls don't hate people as much as they love the game of hating people.

Troll culture might be affecting the way nontrolls treat one another. A yet-to-be-published study by University of California, Irvine, professor Zeev Kain showed that when people were exposed to reports of good deeds on Facebook, they were 10% more likely to report doing good deeds that day. But the opposite is likely occurring as well. "One can see discourse norms shifting online, and they're probably linked to behavior norms," says Susan Benesch, founder of the Dangerous Speech Project and faculty associate at Harvard's Internet and Society center. "When people think it's increasingly O.K. to describe a group of people as subhuman or vermin, those same people are likely to think that it's O.K. to hurt those people."

AS MORE TROLLING OCCURS, many victims are finding laws insufficient and local police untrained. "Where we run into the problem is the social-media platforms are very hesitant to step on someone's First Amendment rights," says Mike Bires, a senior police officer in Southern California who co-founded LawEnforcement.social, a tool for cops to fight online crime and use social media to work with their communities. "If they feel like someone's life is in danger, Twitter and Snapchat are very receptive. But when it comes to someone harassing you online, getting the social-media companies to act can be very frustrating." Until police are fully caught up, he recommends that victims go to the officer who runs the force's social-media department.



One counter-trolling strategy now being employed on social media is to flood the victims of abuse with kindness. That's how many Twitter users have tried to blunt racist and body-shaming attacks on U.S. women's gymnastics star Gabby Douglas and Mexican gymnast Alexa Moreno during the Summer Olympics in Rio. In 2005, after Emily May cofounded Hollaback!, which posts photos of men who harass women on the street in order to shame them (some might call this trolling), she got a torrent of misogynistic messages. "At first, I thought it was funny. We were making enough impact that these losers were spending their time calling us 'cunts' and 'whores' and 'carpet munchers,'" she says. "Long-term exposure to it, though, I found myself not being so active on Twitter and being cautious about what I was saying online. It's still harassment in public space. It's just the Internet instead of the street." This summer May created Heartmob, an app to let people report trolling and receive messages of support from others.

Though everyone knows not to feed the trolls, that can be challenging to the type of people used to expressing their opinions. Writer Lindy West has written about her abortion, hatred of rape jokes and her body image—all of which generated a flood of angry messages. When her father Paul died, a troll quickly started a fake Twitter account called PawWestDonezo, ("donezo" is slang for "done") with a photo of her dad and the bio "embarrassed father of an idiot." West reacted by writing about it. Then she heard from her troll, who apologized, explaining that he wasn't happy with his life and was angry at her for being so pleased with hers.

West says that even though she's been toughened by all the abuse, she is thinking of writing for TV, where she's more insulated from online feedback. "I feel genuine fear a lot. Someone threw a rock through my car window the other day, and my immediate thought was it's someone from the Internet," she says. "Finally we have a platform that's democratizing and we can make ourselves heard, and then you're harassed for advocating for yourself, and that shuts you down again."

I'VE BEEN A COLUMNIST long enough that I got calloused to abuse via threats sent over the U.S. mail. I'm a straight white male, so the trolling is pretty tame, my vulnerabilities less obvious. My only repeat troll is Megan Koester, who has been attacking me on Twitter for a little over two years. Mostly, she just tells me how bad my writing is, always calling me "disgraced former journalist Joel Stein." Last year, while I was at a restaurant opening, she tweeted that she was there too and that she wanted to take "my one-sided feud with him to the next level." She followed this immediately with a tweet that said, "Meet me outside Clifton's in 15 minutes. I wanna kick your ass." Which shook me a tiny bit. A month later, she tweeted that I should meet her outside a supermarket I often go to: "I'm gonna buy some Ahi poke with EBT and then kick your ass."

I sent a tweet to Koester asking if I could buy her lunch, figuring she'd say no or, far worse, say yes and bring a switchblade or brass knuckles, since I have no knowledge of feuding outside of *West Side Story*. Her email back agreeing to meet me was warm and funny. Though she also sent me the script of a short movie she had written *(see excerpt, left)*.

I saw Koester standing outside the restaurant. She was tiny—5 ft. 2 in., with dark hair, wearing black jeans and a *Spy* magazine T-shirt. She ordered a seitan sandwich, and after I asked the waiter about his life, she looked at me in horror. "Are you a people person?" she asked. As a 32-year-old freelance writer for Vice.com who has never had a full-time job, she lives on a combination of sporadic paychecks and food stamps. My career success seemed, quite correctly, unjust. And I was constantly bragging about it in my column and on Twitter. "You just extruded smarminess that I found off-putting. It's clear I'm just projecting. The things I hate about you are the things I hate about myself," she said.

As a lesbian feminist stand-up comic with more than 26,000 Twitter followers, Koester has been trolled more than I have. One guy was so furious that she made fun of a 1970s celebrity at an autograph session that he tweeted he was going to rape her and wanted her to die afterward. "So you'd think I'd have some sympathy," she said about trolling me. "But I never felt bad. I found that column so vile that I thought you didn't deserve sympathy."

When I suggested we order wine, she told me she's a recently recovered alcoholic who was drunk at the restaurant opening when she threatened to beat me up. I asked why she didn't actually walk up to me that afternoon and, even if she didn't punch me, at least tell me off. She looked at me like I was an idiot. "Why would I do that?" she said. "The Internet is the realm of the coward. These are people who are all sound and no fury."

Maybe. But maybe, in the information age, sound is as destructive as fury.

I AM NOT AFRAID OF JOEL STEIN AND I WILL KICK HIS ASS
By Megan Koester

EXT. GELSON'S SUPERMARKET, THE ONE ON HYPERION—DAWN
An empty parking lot. Megan stands in the middle, staring at Joel Stein. It's a standoff.

MEGAN
I am going to kick your ass.

JOEL
Understood. I deserve this.

Joel Stein gets on his knees and places his arms behind his head, ready to receive his fate. Megan cracks her knuckles and approaches his debased, pitiful form.
THE END.

'The Internet is the realm of the coward. These are people who are all sound and no fury.'
—Megan Koester, comedian and the author's troll

KIM NEWMONEY

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Post-Traumatic Marijuana

Some military veterans are embracing the drug as scientists scramble to study its effects

By Mark Thompson

JOSE MARTINEZ KNOWS TRAUMA. AS A U.S. ARMY infantryman in Afghanistan, he lost both legs, his right arm and his left index finger to a land mine in 2012. Recovery was challenging. "In my eyes, I had pretty much failed when I stepped on a bomb and lost three limbs," he says. "I was going insane because I did not understand why I was still alive." Then, last December, he broke his maimed left arm, his lone remaining limb, when his car flipped over after hitting black ice in the high desert near his Apple Valley, Calif., home. It's no surprise, then, that he also knows posttraumatic stress disorder. Doctors plied him with pills after both calamities. "I started taking so many prescription pills," he recalls, "I was numb to the world."

Over time, he ended up replacing those pills—up to 150 a day, he says—with marijuana. While Martinez says he smoked pot occasionally before enlisting in the Army in 2010, he obeyed the military's prohibition against it before that bomb blast near Kandahar. He says marijuana has stayed his pain and tamed his demons. "My brain's telling me to freak out because I'm missing my limbs, but when I'm on cannabis, it tells me to calm down, you're O.K., you're fine," Martinez says. Not only does it soothe the phantom pain of his missing limbs, but it also eases a racing and apprehensive mind riven with PTSD. "It relaxes me and helps me sleep at night," he says. "I'm so supervigilant, and it really calms my anxiety, which can shoot up when I'm around a lot of people I don't know."

Army veteran Jose Martinez smokes marijuana in his California home; he says it eases the PTSD and pain from his 2012 trauma in Afghanistan

PHOTOGRAPHS BY BALAZS GARDI FOR TIME

Back home, Martinez, 28, is once again a frontline soldier, now in a new battle—to prove that the ancient herb can help veterans like him who suffer from PTSD, a signature wound of the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq. But marijuana's checkered legal, medical and social history make it a controversial treatment. The federal government estimates that as many as 500,000 of the 2.7 million troops who served in those countries may have some kind of PTSD. Advocates like Martinez argue, on the basis of their experience, that marijuana is good for more than getting high.

Research has shown that pot can be useful in the treatment of pain, making it a potentially suitable alternative to opioids for some—though the research on medical marijuana and PTSD is wanting. That's because the Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA) has listed marijuana as a Schedule I substance—dangerous, with no medical benefit—for nearly 50 years, a stance it reaffirmed Aug. 11, although it also opened the door to more research. Before that, in April, the government approved the first clinical study designed to determine if weed works to ease the anxiety, depression and sleeplessness that war can incite. If the answer ends up being yes, the benefits could go well beyond the battlefield. According to official estimates, which are considered by many experts to be conservative, about 1 in 15 Americans will suffer from PTSD at some point during their life. For some, the trauma will be sparked by man-made events such as combat, car crashes, violent attacks including rape or other abuse. For others, the trauma will be the result of disasters including fires, flooding, earthquakes, etc.

For all, the lasting effects can be debilitating, and a growing number of people are banking on the idea that marijuana may help. Compounds in marijuana, either individually or combined with others, affect cannabinoid receptors in the brain and elsewhere, influencing the user's physiology and mental state. Marijuana's mind-altering qualities were known when it was used as medicine in ancient China, and in fact, it was considered an accepted medicine by U.S. doctors until 1942, when the nonprofit U.S. Pharmacopeia removed it from its list of drugs deemed effective. Before that, marijuana-based prescription medicine was sold in the U.S. in the early 20th century; a 1937 law let the government levy a tax of $1 an ounce on medical marijuana.

Marijuana's classification as a Schedule I drug in the 1970s ensured it would be nearly impossible for scientists to study it, and much of the research on its place in medicine halted. President Nixon viewed drugs as part of a broader plot against America. "That's why the communists and the left-wingers are pushing the stuff," he said in a 1971 Oval Office meeting with top advisers John Ehrlichman and H.R. "Bob" Haldeman. "They're trying to destroy us."

Some in the government disagreed. In 1972 a Nixon-appointed commission reported that marijuana was misunderstood and should be rescheduled. Nixon maintained that like other Schedule I drugs, marijuana had no accepted medical use but a high potential for abuse, and he ignored the findings. "Marijuana, in its natural form, is one of the safest therapeutically active substances known to man," Francis Young, an administrative law judge with the DEA, wrote in 1988. "By any measure of rational analysis marijuana can be safely used within a supervised routine of medical care." In recent years, selective breeding has bolstered the potency of marijuana well beyond its Vietnam-era levels, especially when it is added to foods and eaten rather than smoked.

In April, the DEA approved the first-ever study of the use of the marijuana plant itself, not individual extracts, as a therapeutic drug. Marijuana consists of more than 300 chemicals, and backers say it may be the interaction among them, and not any single ingredient, that generates its mellowing effect. It took the Multidisciplinary Association for Psychedelic Studies, a Santa Cruz, Calif., nonprofit that advocates for increased therapeutic use of psychotropic substances, more than five years to win the required approvals for the study from three federal agencies: the Food and Drug Administration (in 2011), the Public Health Service (2014) and the DEA (in April). Colorado—one of the first states to legalize marijuana—is funding the $2.2 million investigation.

The randomized, blind and placebo-controlled study will chart the impact of several strains of marijuana bred to contain varying amounts (from zero to 12%) of psychoactive tetrahydrocannabinol (THC) and cannabidiol. This summer, with U.S. government–grown marijuana from the National Institute of Drug Abuse's farm, run by the University of Mississippi, 76 veterans with treatment-resistant PTSD living near the research sites in Baltimore and Phoenix will begin enrolling in the three-year study.

THERE IS ALREADY PROMISING RESEARCH about pot's growing place in medicine. Animal studies suggest that it can ease anxiety, depression and pain. But marijuana can also trigger problems among some users. A recent report on marijuana use by 2,276 veterans from 1992 to 2011 concluded that avoiding pot may be important for people with PTSD. "We definitely found a correlation between those who used marijuana, and used it more often, and PTSD-symptom severity," says Samuel Wilkinson, a psychiatrist at the Yale School of Medicine and the lead author of the study, published last September in the *Journal of Clinical Psychiatry*. "There's just no evidence that marijuana is beneficial for PTSD, and there's some preliminary evidence—like from my study—that suggests it may be harming people."

Pot's footprint

Marijuana's therapeutic value has been tough to assess because of its long-illicit status. But more research is happening as states relax bans on its use.

25
Number of states that have legalized medical marijuana

76
Number of vets in the first DEA-approved study of marijuana and PTSD

$2.2 MILLION
Cost of that study

In other words, the science is mixed. "The belief that marijuana can be used to treat PTSD is limited to anecdotal reports from individuals with PTSD who say that the drug helps with their symptoms," Marcel Bonn-Miller, a University of Pennsylvania psychologist, co-wrote in the Department of Veterans Affairs' official statement on the topic. He included a lengthy list of problems researchers have uncovered among regular users, including addiction, bronchitis and psychosis. "There have been no randomized controlled trials, a necessary 'gold standard' for determining efficacy," Bonn-Miller added in the statement.

He aims to change that. That's because Bonn-Miller, who also works for the VA, is a principal investigator in the groundbreaking study. "A lot of veterans have gravitated toward cannabis," he says. "That's not a rigorous trial, but it shows that this is an important area to investigate." Participants in the study will smoke up to 1.8 grams of marijuana daily, ideally through a pipe provided to them. ("It's kind of hard to estimate what 'a joint' means," the scientist in Bonn-Miller notes.)

Part of the push to use marijuana for PTSD owes to the fact that no existing therapy works for all PTSD patients. In cognitive-behavior and exposure therapies, counselors try to change how sufferers perceive their trauma and the reaction it causes, in hopes of reducing or eliminating symptoms. In group therapy, PTSD patients get together to discuss their fears in hopes of ridding them of their power. And there's a medicine chestful of drugs—often selective serotonin reuptake inhibitors, a kind of antidepressant—that can ameliorate the sadness and worry that often accompany PTSD.

Backers argue that marijuana should simply be one more thing in a therapist's tool kit. "Those of us who use it on a daily basis want nothing more than the research to be done," says Aaron Newsom, a Marine who returned home to California from Afghanistan in 2005 with PTSD. After assorted pharmaceuticals failed to calm it, he says, he finally found relief with marijuana. That pushed him to help found the Santa Cruz Veterans Alliance, dedicated to sharing marijuana with fellow vets. "It is a safer and healthier alternative to most of the pharmaceuticals they pass out at the VA," he says.

CONGRESS IS NOW CONSIDERING lifting the ban on VA doctors' discussing marijuana treatment options with their patients. This coincides with another challenge faced by PTSD sufferers: "Lethal opioid overdoses among VA patients are almost twice the national average," said Representative Earl Blumenauer, an Oregon Democrat who championed the change, on the House floor in May. "This is at a time when the overwhelming number of veterans say to me that marijuana has reduced PTSD symptoms and their dependency on addictive opioids."

While it's nearly impossible to die from a marijuana overdose, prescription-opioid overdoses contributed to 14,000 deaths in the U.S. in 2014. A recent study found that opioid deaths fell by an average of 25% in states where medical marijuana use had been legalized. By comparison, alcohol abuse killed an estimated 88,000 people annually in the U.S. from 2006 to 2010.

Martinez says marijuana has calmed his fears and anxiety, allowing him to become "the person I used to be"

Rigorous scientific studies of marijuana's impact on PTSD should bolster arguments for or against its use, helping clear some of the 1960s haze from the debate. But skeptics say politicians and other advocates, pressured by true-believing marijuana boosters, have approved its use in 25 states—including Arizona, Connecticut, Delaware, Hawaii, Maine, Michigan, Nevada, New Mexico, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania and Washington—without adequate vetting. While doctors cannot legally prescribe marijuana in any state (they can only recommend it), its use, recreational as well as for PTSD, is happening across the nation regardless of local laws.

The military has a love-hate relationship with marijuana. Soldiers on the front lines have long smoked weed to help them get through the nightmare of war, likely peaking at more than 50% use in Vietnam. But the military's subsequent zero-tolerance policy sharply curtailed its use by troops in Afghanistan and Iraq. It would mark a surprising reversal for cannabis if, having been driven off the battlefield, it returned in joints, pipes and bongs for those suffering from PTSD after their service in those countries.

Some aren't waiting for science to confirm how they feel. After the bombing that changed his life, but before toking up, Jose Martinez feared the outside world. "I was scared of people looking at me, and everybody was staring at me," he remembers. "They looked at me like I was some type of animal, and I was feeling that and not really seeing what my life was about." He credits marijuana with reintroducing him to the human race. "Smoking marijuana," he says, "has slowly made me become the person I used to be." ◻

World

LIBYA TURNS THE TIDE

Militias finally take on ISIS in the chaos of North Africa

By Jared Malsin

PHOTOGRAPHS BY LORENZO MELONI

A Libyan spotter identifies ISIS targets on the western front line in Sirt

A sniper with the Libyan militia works with his spotter during a battle in Sirt

IN FEBRUARY 2011, THE PEOPLE OF Libya responded to a wave of revolt spreading through the Arab world. After Tunisians and Egyptians forced their own autocratic leaders from power, Libyans marched to the streets to take on Muammar Gaddafi, the brutal dictator who had ruled Libya for decades. The regime responded with force, and revolution quickly turned to civil war. With the help of NATO airpower, Libya's rebels were able to topple Gaddafi, who was killed in October 2011—allowing Libya to launch a fragile experiment with democracy.

That experiment has yielded chaos. The civil war devastated Libya's already weak institutions, and a patchwork of militias began battling over the spoils. By 2014, the country was split between two rival governments—opening the door for ISIS to move in. The jihadists established a foothold in Libya's power vacuum in 2014, eventually taking control of the coastal city of Sirt, Gaddafi's birthplace, in 2015. Experts feared that even with ISIS losing ground in its home territories in Syria and Iraq, it would still be able to thrive in the turmoil of Libya. It was in the Sirt area that ISIS kidnapped Egyptian Coptic Christian workers, whose murders were shown in a lurid execution video released by the group in February 2015.

That's why the reports that Libyan militias captured ISIS headquarters in Sirt on Aug. 10 are so important. The offensive, led by militias from the nearby city of Misratah, represents a victory over ISIS and, hopefully, takes Libya a step back from the brink of collapse. If they succeed in retaking the

PHOTOGRAPHS BY LORENZO MELONI—MAGNUM

Libyan fighters unearth a mass grave left behind by ISIS forces in Sirt. The battle to dislodge ISIS from Libya—where the group began moving in during 2014—has been long and bloody

whole city, the militias could effectively eliminate ISIS's most important colony.

But the victory will come at a cost. Over the summer, the militias were forced to fight through a nightmarish series of ISIS minefields and snipers' nests. ISIS gunmen managed to inflict dozens of casualties during each new push by the Misratah side. "They are like ghosts," one Libyan sniper said of the ISIS fighters, speaking to the photographer Lorenzo Meloni, who visited the front lines in Sirt in July. "After an entire day of fighting, of strong fighting, it's hard to even find the bodies of Daesh fighters," he says, using the Arabic acronym by which the group is known in the Middle East.

Meloni has returned to photograph Libya every year since the 2011 uprising, witnessing the hope and despair that have come in Gaddafi's wake. Libya is split between two rival governments, the U.N.-supported Government of National Accord, based in Tripoli, and a rival administration based in the eastern part of the country, where a renegade general named Khalifa Haftar commands his own armed factions. The Misratah militias are aligned with the U.N.-backed government.

Sirt is also the newest front in the U.S.-led war against ISIS. At the request of the Libyan unity government in Tripoli, the U.S. launched five airstrikes on ISIS forces in Sirt on Aug. 1, taking out two tanks, two other military vehicles and a "fighting position," according to the Pentagon, in its first military action against ISIS outside Syria and Iraq. Ten days later, the militias were able to move in.

The Misratah brigades include some battle-tested fighters, veterans of the revolution against Gaddafi, but others are very young, and many lack formal training. When Meloni went to photograph the front lines in July, he found the militias taking heavy casualties from booby traps and snipers. The ISIS fighters rigged trip wires and triggers attached to doors and windows, making the fighters' every step a potentially lethal one. "Even on the front line, when there is strong fighting, you hear a lot of fire outgoing and very few incoming," says Meloni.

A Libyan fighter runs from a land-mine explosion that injured three of his comrades

"That means Daesh is fighting in very small groups, just with very good snipers, and they move quite quickly from a place to another."

Just as they've done in Syria and Iraq, ISIS fighters in Libya make their opponents pay for every yard of ground they take. "It's a hardened enemy," says Frederic Wehrey, an analyst at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, who also visited the battlefield in July. "It's just very vicious, house-to-house fighting, block by block, snipers, alleys. It's slow." If it holds, the militia's advance represents an important victory in the battle against ISIS. U.S. airpower may have helped, but it is the Libyan fighters who are doing the fighting—and the dying. ◻

Fantastic Four

A quartet of stars made Rio a celebration

By Alice Park and Sean Gregory/Rio de Janeiro

PRESSURE? EVERY OLYMPIAN FEELS that. Try being 19, in your first Olympics and one routine away from the biggest prize in your sport: a gold medal that only 14 women have ever won, yet one everyone in the arena expects you to take home as surely as you got out of bed that morning. Knowing the lead was hers to lose, Simone Biles stepped onto the platform at the Rio Olympic Arena on Aug. 11 for the floor exercise, the final event in the women's gymnastics individual all-around and the only one that stood between her and gold.

"I told her to do it for herself and do it from joy," says Aimee Boorman, who has coached Biles since she was 8. "I didn't even want her to think about what she had to do. I just wanted it to flow." And it did. Biles, the first woman to win three consecutive world titles, whipped off a display of soaring, spectacular tumbling—including a maneuver so distinctive, it bears her name—and won gold by an almost unheard-of margin. And then,

Michael Phelps on his way to gold in the final swim race of the Rio Olympics on Aug. 13—and the last of his career

PHOTOGRAPH BY FRANÇOIS-XAVIER MARIT

finally, the giggly teenager from Spring, Texas, allowed the pressure to melt and the tears to pour out. "Every emotion hit me at once, so I was just kind of a train wreck," Biles said.

Hours later and a 15-minute walk away, another Olympian was chasing history. Michael Phelps was competing in his fifth Games, not his first, but the pressure on him was no less. The phenom who made the U.S. swim team in 2000 at 15, emerged as a force in 2004, crushed all comers in 2008 and then nearly wilted under the superhuman expectations in 2012 was hell-bent on writing a storybook ending to the most decorated Olympic career of all time. And so in what he told everyone would be his final Games, Phelps, 31, threw off his 10-ton weight and blitzed past rivals in the 200-m individual medley by practically the same margin as Biles' for her gold, which in his case wasn't two points but nearly two seconds. With it, Phelps became the first swimmer to win the same event in four straight Games—setting yet another record at an Olympics full of them.

A good number of those marks were claimed by Phelps' fellow Marylander Katie Ledecky, who racked up four gold medals and a silver through steely determination and unparalleled range. And another was set by a man, like Phelps, who was committed to making his curtain call as impressive as the acts that came before it.

When Jamaica's Usain Bolt won the 100 m on Aug. 14 for an unprecedented third consecutive Olympics, he did more than burnish his title as the world's fastest man. Bolt's joyous gallop to victory confirmed that the 2016 Rio Olympics would be remembered as an ebullient celebration of greatness, 16 days filled with joy, drama and hope. For all the worry over what would go wrong in Rio, the spectacular achievements of these four athletes in the face of unimaginable expectations—and the countless triumphs of many hundreds of others—compelled us with all that went right.

LEDECKY MAY NOT have been a familiar name before the 2012 Olympics, but she was well known by the men on the U.S. swim team. At the squad's training camp ahead of London, Ledecky, then only 15, was nipping at some of the men's times—and eager to beat them. "I talked to the coach, and he was like, 'Yeah, sometimes this girl—I need to separate them, so the environment wouldn't get as competitive,'" says Bruce Gemmell, who started training Ledecky after London.

Ledecky and Biles are a reminder that such moments could come again—if we're lucky

Four years later, Ledecky is still the youngest member of the U.S. swim team and is even more ferocious in the pool. In Rio, she laid waste to her own world record in the 400-m freestyle and broke another one (hers again) in the 800-m freestyle. As if that weren't enough, she won the sprintlike 200-m freestyle too. "It's just unbelievable that someone can swim the sprint and distance events and be dominant all the way through," says Dara Torres, a 12-time Olympic medalist. "I've never seen that before. I've never *heard* of that before."

Should anyone break Phelps' Olympic record of 23 gold medals (and it's a huge if, given that the haul is more than some 100 entire nations have ever won), Ledecky is a fair bet. Phelps says as much himself. "What she is doing in the sport is ridiculous, it's insane," he said. "She just gets in the water and pretty much gives the world record a scare."

Phelps set out to do the same thing in Rio. He spun out after London, where that 10-ton weight proved too much, and racked up a DUI arrest in 2014 before entering rehab. These Games, his first as a father, would be his chance to make it

From left: Simone Biles, Usain Bolt and Katie Ledecky all made history in Rio

right, to end his career in the manner it deserved. And so the greatest swimmer of our time—likely the greatest of all time—swam as if he had nothing to lose. He demolished younger rivals in the 200-m butterfly and that medley, and led the U.S. to three relay golds with a visceral sense of joy that wasn't there in his four previous Olympics. Even the one race he didn't win was a victory of sorts. After Singapore's Joseph Schooling out-touched Phelps for gold in the 100-m butterfly, a 2008 photo of them together, when Schooling was 13, went viral. "I wanted to be like him," Schooling says. "I don't think I would be at this point without Michael."

Phelps relished that everything came full circle in Rio. "I was a little kid with a dream, which turned into a couple of medals and a pretty good couple years of swimming," he said. "I had a blast."

"BOLT! BOLT! BOLT!" The chants were deafening inside the packed Olympic Stadium before the world's greatest sprinter defended his crown. During his warm-up, while his opponents were lingering at the start line, Bolt jogged down the track, turned around and held his arms up, a royal bathing in the adulation.

Meanwhile, Bolt's chief rival, American Justin Gatlin, was met with lusty boos. Sure, Gatlin still was paying the price for a decade-old doping violation, which led to a four-year suspension in the prime of his career. But these fans knew that Gatlin, who fell just 0.01 seconds shy of dethroning Bolt at the 2015 world championships, had a real shot. And they didn't want anyone, especially this man, spoiling a coronation.

And then the gun went off, and Bolt erased all doubt. He lagged early. "I kind of felt dead at the start," Bolt said. But he quickly found the gear that only he has, bounding past Gatlin to claim his third consecutive gold in the fastest 10 seconds in sports—and set one more record in Rio. And then, for the third Olympics in a row, a victorious Bolt worked the crowd better than a politician on a parade line. He hoisted a stuffed Olympic mascot, mugged for selfies and crouched low and flexed in his trademark lightning-bolt pose. A track meet had given way to a rock concert.

Pressure? Bolt has always performed best on the biggest stages. And none are bigger than the Olympics, where his 100-m win made it seven straight golds, in seven races, over three Games. There won't be a fourth. Like Phelps, Bolt insists that Rio will be his last Olympics. The void he leaves will be hard for anyone to fill. "Hopefully, younger athletes can understand that the sport is looking for people who are full of energy," Bolt says. "That's what gets them going, the hype. They like to be a part of the competition. Not just watching it."

In Rio, Bolt and Phelps gave us the chance to be part of something we may never see again. More than a respite from the doping scandals, judging controversies, economic crises and political corruption looming in the background, they turned these Olympics into the party that organizers had promised it would be (well, that and the actual party at the electric beach volleyball venue in Copacabana).

Ledecky and Biles, meanwhile, are a reminder that such moments could come again—if we're lucky. Before Biles took the floor for that final step on her way to the individual gold, she hugged her teammate Aly Raisman. Few gymnasts make it back to the Olympics; the sport is too demanding and the window for success too small. Yet Raisman and teammate Gabby Douglas both competed in their second Olympics in Rio. Raisman completed the routine of her life and won silver in the floor exercise, crying tears of joy as eight years of pent-up emotion poured out.

Biles said later that it took all she had to stop from crying then too. But she stuffed it inside—handling the pressure with the ease of Rio's all-time greats. ◻

PREVIOUS PAGES: AFP/GETTY IMAGES; BOLT: CAMERON SPENCER—GETTY IMAGES; BILES: MARK REIS—COLORADO SPRINGS GAZETTE/TNS/ABACAPRESS; LEDECKY: GABRIEL BOUYS—AFP/GETTY IMAGES

THE WORLD'S BEST WHISKY:

YOU'LL NEVER GUESS WHERE IT'S MADE

Photo by Pan Yao Ping

When Kavalan was named the world's best single-malt whisky in 2015 and then the best single-cask whisky in 2016 by the World Whiskies Awards (WWA), the question on people's lips was: "Whisky made from where?"

The world's best-known whiskies are associated with the British Isles, the cold rugged highlands and centuries of tradition. Taiwan, meanwhile, experiences 98-degree temperatures, intense humidity in high summer and before 2006, not a single drop of whisky had been made there.

As it turns out, this subtropical heat means the Taiwanese distillery can mature its whisky in about four years – a fraction of the 10 years needed for the best scotch.

It wasn't the first time Kavalan caused an upset. In 2010 when Kavalan was just four years old, the Times of London organized a blind tasting in Scotland to celebrate Scottish poet Robbie Burns. To the shock of everyone there, the "Far Eastern outsider" came from nowhere to beat its rival scotches and English whiskies.

Now after 180 gold medals, including the big-ticket WWA awards, Kavalan CEO Yu-Ting Lee can laugh when he says: "When we started out, people thought we'd lost our minds."

Today Taiwan is one of the world's top five countries for whisky consumption per capita. But in the 1990s, the demand had only just started.

Kavalan's story starts when Mr. Lee and his father, Mr. TT Lee, acquired a sprawling site in Yilan in northeastern Taiwan, known for its lush green mountains and pure air. They wanted another flagship business that the son could drive forward from inception.

Mr. TT Lee had already established one of the nation's biggest brands in bottled drinks, the King Car conglomerate, along with household name Mr. Brown Coffee.

The Lees set to work researching drinkmaking. Beer's popularity in Taiwan was rising; brandy's had never really taken off; but whisky, a personal favorite of Mr. TT Lee since his 20s, was showing the strongest potential.

While the world's whiskymakers struggled to keep up with rising global demand, the Lees' team was sitting on a hunch that Taiwan's sweltering climate held the key to fast whisky maturation.

In the early 2000s, the team began researching production methods across the U.K. Renowned Scottish drinks consultant Jim Swan and U.K.-trained master blender Ian Chang were quickly enlisted.

Nine months later, Kavalan Distillery was operational. And in March 2006, the first ever drop of Taiwan-made whisky was poured – a first in the subtropics.

From the outset, the Kavalan formula has been an insistence on quality and efficiency. The whiskymaker uses the double-distillation method and extracts only the purest newly distilled "make," producing the finest-tasting whisky. Special enzymes achieve the mango, green apple and cherry of Kavalan's signature notes.

The Yuan Shan site experiences chilly winters that aid oxidation, and its soft spring water lends Kavalan its singularly creamy mouthfeel, says master blender Ian Chang.

The formula seems to work. Ian Buxton listed Kavalan in his "101 Whiskies to Try Before You Die," and Jim Murray in "The Whisky Bible" wrote of Kavalan's Fino Sherry Cask: "Good whisky is, without question, a work of art; great whisky is a tone poem. And here, I beg to insist, is proof."

Meanwhile, sales are soaring in France, the U.K., Belgium, Italy, the Netherlands, Portugal, the U.S., Russia, South Africa and Australia.

Four huge copper stills, handmade by Scottish stillmaker Forsyths, are now making their way to Kavalan to help double annual capacity to 10 million bottles by the year's end.

Kavalan continues to challenge tightly held beliefs, one being quality equates to age. Now, Mr. Lee says: "In the future, perhaps when people think of fine whisky, they might think of Yilan." And with his track record, this dream may one day come true.

KAVALAN
SINGLE MALT
WHISKY
Pure Taiwan

Time Off

'THERE'S ALWAYS POETRY IN SCIENCE IF YOU STOP TO LISTEN AND LOOK FOR IT.' —PAGE 56

ESSAY

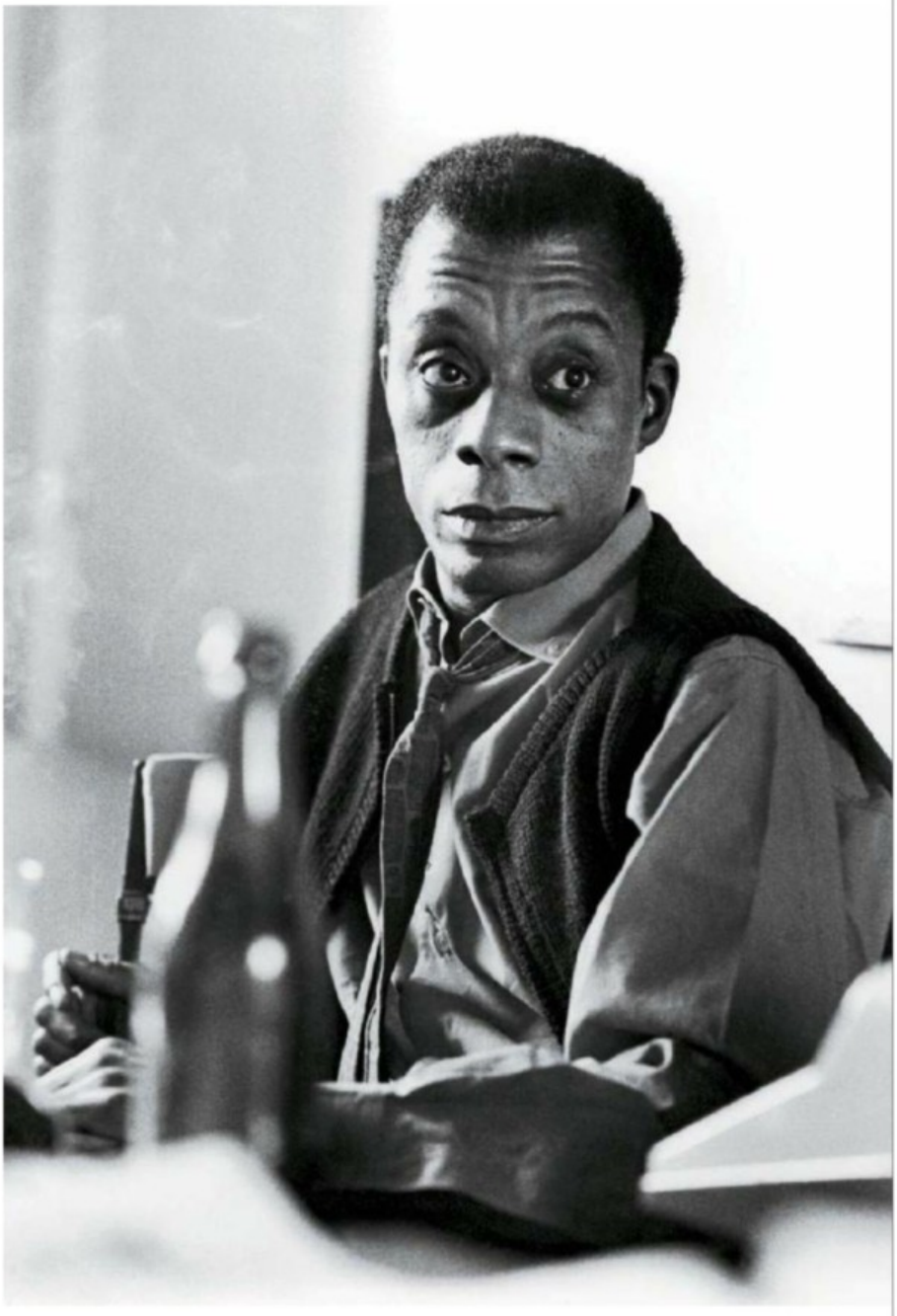
Black and white America look to James Baldwin to unpin us all from history

By Eddie S. Glaude Jr.

JAMES BALDWIN IS EVERYwhere. To account for the latest disasters around race in this country—grief over the death of another black person at the hands of police; the fact that we have vomited up the likes of Donald Trump—activists often reach for him. Baldwin circulates. His words inspire on social media; his phrases speak from T-shirts; his face covers a throw pillow on Etsy. But apart from his marketability—that people can use him as an avatar of supposed seriousness—what does Baldwin offer us in this moment? What does he force us, as Americans, to confront?

In Teju Cole's brilliant new book of essays, *Known and Strange Things,* he writes of a trip to Selma, Ala. This essay, like much of the book, reveals Cole's extraordinary talent and his capacious mind. But one immediately gets the sense that, for him, the American South is primarily a landscape of tragic memories. The distinctive sounds and smells of the region don't find their way to the page. No laughter. Just sadness, triggered by the Edmund Pettus Bridge and the violence exacted there.

Cole asks, "Long after history's active moment, do places retain some charge of what they



"I imagine that one of the reasons people cling to their hates so stubbornly is because they sense, once hate is gone, that they will be forced to deal with pain." —James Baldwin, in Notes of a Native Son

GETTY IMAGES

PHOTOGRAPH BY ROGER VIOLLET

witnessed, what they endured?" As he walks the streets of Selma, listening to John Coltrane's "Alabama," that past comes into full view. It could not be otherwise. "History," Cole writes, "won't let go of us. We're pinned to it."

The formulation exemplifies Cole's engagement with Baldwin—one of embrace and of distance. Throughout the book, Cole repeatedly returns to Baldwin's 1953 essay "A Stranger in the Village." He does so not to align himself with Baldwin's alienation in a remote Swiss village that had never seen "a negro." Instead, Cole invokes contrast: his anxieties are not Baldwin's. The reader learns that Cole is an American—a black American—of a different sort.

Cole writes of his visit to Leukerbad, Switzerland, where Baldwin finished his 1953 novel *Go Tell It on the Mountain:* "They've seen blacks now; I wasn't a remarkable sight." Unlike Baldwin, Cole does not feel that he resides on the outside of Western tradition looking in. It is his own. William Shakespeare is as much his as Wole Soyinka is. "I disagree not with [Baldwin's] particular sorrow but with the self-abnegation that pinned him to it," Cole writes.

In August 1965, Baldwin penned an essay for *Ebony* magazine titled "White Man's Guilt," a relentless indictment of white America. Of course, 1965 was a difficult year. Malcolm X was assassinated in February. In March, the world witnessed the brutality of Selma. And on Aug. 11, Watts exploded. The special issue of *Ebony*—black with a white face in profile, and a cover line announcing "The White Problem in America"—hit the stands as people took to the streets. The magazine signaled that something deep down had changed. In it, Baldwin demanded a wholesale confrontation with a history that white America desperately avoided.

But shattering the myths that secured white America's innocence would require discarding histories, convenient ones that justify the belief that white people matter more than others. "White Man's Guilt" draws on much of Baldwin's earlier thinking, but the tone of the essay is different. Rage seeps through the page. Loss shapes every sentence. Perhaps this reflects his grief over the murders of Medgar Evers and Malcolm X.

Jesmyn Ward, above, who edited *The Fire This Time,* won the National Book Award for her 2011 novel, *Salvage the Bones*

Over 50 essays constitute the new collection by Cole, above right, a Nigerian-American writer and art historian

Their deaths, along with the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., would frame one of his most powerful books, *No Name in the Street* (1972), where memories of loss remind us of the broken souls hidden beneath our cherished form of life. But who we are as creatures of history remained central for Baldwin. As he wrote in *Ebony,* "People who imagine that history flatters them are impaled on their history like a butterfly on a pin and become incapable of seeing or changing themselves, or the world."

There's that image again: we're pinned to a history—or, perhaps, a lie—that keeps us from creating a better world. Stuck right where we are.

"White Man's Guilt" ends with a reference to Henry James' novel *The Ambassadors.* We are urged to live and trust life: it "will teach you, in joy and sorrow, all you need to know." For Baldwin, black jazz musicians know this; the old wisdom of black life reflects this. But white people, at their peril, do

WARD: KIM WELSH; COLE: ALBERTO CRISTOFARI—REDUX; KUBO AND THE TWO STRINGS: FOCUS FEATURES

not know this and do not want to know this. They are "barricaded inside their history." As Baldwin stated, "Freedom [meant] the end of innocence."

Baldwin's turn to James is telling. According to Baldwin biographer David Leeming, the writers shared a theme: "the failure of Americans to see through to the reality of others." That blindness, that moral failing, especially with regard to black people, stood at the heart of the problems of this country, blocking the way to a more democratic future.

Perhaps the allure of Baldwin is that he takes us to the heart of what ails this country while insisting on the individuality of black people. We aren't reduced to one sociological category. Instead, in his hands, we are flesh and blood, with corporeal desires and profound sorrows. Vulnerable and powerful all at once. Baldwin's writing makes space for us to be exactly who we are, in all of our complexity, and who we desire to be in spite of what white folks think about us.

And, yet, history haunts.

BALDWIN'S WITNESS and the burdens of history, memory and identity in these troubling times shape Jesmyn Ward's new anthology, *The Fire This Time: A New Generation Speaks about Race*. For Ward, Baldwin's words, especially in *The Fire Next Time*, served as a balm in the aftermath of the death of Trayvon Martin (to whom the book is dedicated) and so many others. Reading Baldwin affirmed the full scope of her—of our—humanity.

For most of the authors, history funds the present and its excavation reveals how we are pinned in. But this isn't an abstract consideration. Throughout the book the reader confronts the stark facts of black life and the difficult task of actually living those facts: of what it means to walk the cobbled streets of a slave market that has been removed from view, to raise children knowing that they can be killed simply because they are black, to know the dangers of white rage and to tell its long history, as Carol Anderson writes; to keep track of those sources, like Grandma's love and the music, that made you who you are, as Kiese Laymon writes.

The book ends with Edwidge Danticat's letter to her daughters. It is an echo of Baldwin's letter to his nephew in *The Fire Next Time*. Danticat writes: "We realize the precarious nature of citizenship here: that we too are prey, and that those who have been in this country for generations—walking, living, loving in the same skin we're in—they too can suddenly become refugees."

Danticat's formulation reminded me of Teju Cole. These are different black Americans; their histories, intertwined as they are with my own, complicate any easy invocation of black identity in this country. They complicate James Baldwin. He would expect nothing less. Our times have changed in so many ways. Even so, as Danticat's letter shows, Baldwin's insight remains: that, as we fight our evils, we must confront, without flinching, the history of this country that continues to shape who we are and limit who we can be. In great pain and terror, we have to do this even as we bury our dead if we—and I mean all of us—are to be truly free. □

TIME PICKS

TELEVISION
The grim drama ***Gomorrah,*** premiering Aug. 24 on the Sundance Channel, explores the family dynamics of the Camorra, the infamous Neapolitan crime organization.

MUSIC
On her seventh album, *It Doesn't Have to Make Sense* (Aug. 26), singer **Ingrid Michaelson** showcases her writing on songs about navigating sorrow in the wake of her mother's death.

BOOKS
In her debut novel, ***Behold the Dreamers*** (Aug. 23), Imbolo Mbue tells the story of a Cameroonian immigrant working as a chauffeur for a banking executive before the financial crisis in 2007.

MOVIES
In the gorgeous stop-motion animated film ***Kubo and the Two Strings,*** a Japanese storyteller goes on a fantastical quest battling evil spirits.

Amy June Bates also illustrated the picture book First Pooch: The Obamas Pick a Pet

POETRY

Elegy with a side of applesauce

ADULTS TEND TO FRET about how kids will handle the death of a loved one. How much can they understand about permanence? What should they be told about the possibility of an afterlife? How will they move on?

The children's books that stand the test of time often deal with questions like these—classics from Frances Hodgson Burnett's *The Secret Garden* to Katherine Paterson's *Bridge to Terabithia* have shown kids finding everyday magic in the natural world as they grapple with death. Helen Frost calls to mind that timeless milieu with *Applesauce Weather,* a novel in verse (with charming illustrations by Amy June Bates) that explores the common ground children and adults can find in the wake of loss.

Applesauce Weather is made up of poems from alternating perspectives: Arthur, who has recently lost his wife of many decades; Faith, 9, his great-niece; and Peter, 10, his great-nephew. It's the first harvest season since Aunt Lucy died, a poignant time of year for the family. When apples start to fall from the tree in Faith and Peter's yard—a tree Lucy planted herself as a young girl—the family gets together to make applesauce. The children and their parents aren't sure if Uncle Arthur will make the trip this year. But he decides to come, and he does his best to keep telling the tall tales his young relatives have come to expect, though it isn't quite the same for anyone.

Helen Frost is not as strict with meter as the more famous poet Robert Frost (no relation), but her verse has a simple musicality that seems designed for young readers to recite aloud. In an interlude called "Lucy's Song," the late great-aunt recounts the early history of the tree:

Each year it stretched its branches high
past my window, into the sky.
One year it gave us an apple to share—
the next year it gave us a pie.

Older readers who cried at the opening sequence of *Up* will find these recollections of Lucy and Arthur's courtship equally moving, and young readers will find them illuminating about that strange country, life-before-me. As it turns out, Peter's crush on the girl down the street isn't so different from Uncle Arthur's puppy-love phase with Aunt Lucy. This is the great lesson of *Applesauce Weather:* it presents a continuity between generations, showing kids how to value a life well lived, even as they anticipate the one about to unfold in front of them. That makes this pleasantly old-fashioned book an appealing resource for grieving kids and parents alike. —SARAH BEGLEY

BACK TO SCHOOL

Hundred Percent
by Karen Romano Young
Christine "Tink" Gouda is a sixth-grade everyman (or rather, everygirl) in this book about the classic conundrums of starting middle school and questioning everything about your identity—right down to your nickname.

A Most Magical Girl
by Karen Foxlee
When a Victorian girl goes to live with her aunts, she finds out not only that magic is real but that the witching world needs her help to save the magical community from crisis.

Fuzzy
by Tom Angleberger and Paul Dellinger
A young girl befriends the new kid in school—who happens to be a robot—and discovers the potentially sinister intentions of its creators, who are in cahoots with a devious vice principal.


WARNING
Some books contain topics children will LOVE. Side effects can include long CONVERSATIONS about horses, reading MULTIPLE horse books and in some rare cases, joining a rodeo. Keep in reach of children.
THOUSANDS OF BOOKS | READING GOALS | ACHIEVEMENT BADGES
kindle
THE LOVE OF READING
amazon

MOVIES

Hell or High Water floats on craggy Bridges

By Stephanie Zacharek

Foster, left, and Pine play the little guys who fight back

JEFF BRIDGES IS NOW AT THE POINT IN his long, polychrome career where he has perfected the art of playing the crusty old coot. It's not as easy as it looks. You can't just hand your audience a whiskery bouquet of squintin' and bellyachin' and call it a day. But Bridges knows just what he's doing, and with the splendid West Texas waltz of a drama, *Hell or High Water,* British director David Mackenzie has given him the perfect hook on which to hang his hat.

Bridges plays Marcus Hamilton, a Ranger in pursuit of a pair of small-time bank robbers, brothers Tanner and Toby Howard (Ben Foster and Chris Pine), who plan to save their family farm by stealing from the underhanded institution that's been weaseling it away from them for years. Toby is a divorced dad who just wants to secure a better life for his kids—he comes off as serene, even with a robber's mask pulled over his face, though we'll come to see that he's really a man held together with worry. Tanner—the mastermind behind the brothers' scheme, as it turns out—is a wily ex-con and something of a loose cannon. In the quasi-comical robbery that opens the movie, he takes umbrage when a feisty bank clerk tells the duo that they're making a stupid move. How dare she call him stupid! From the crude holes in his mask, his eyes gleam with the intensity of an angry insect. Through those two tiny windows, we learn everything about his sense of pride, and about how little he has left to lose.

Hell or High Water is rich with details like that. The plot is clever, and its intricacies are beautifully worked out. (The script is by actor-writer Taylor Sheridan, who also wrote *Sicario.*) Mostly, though, *Hell or High Water* works because Mackenzie and cinematographer Giles Nuttgens are so alive to the desolate bloom of the West Texas landscape, to the way its heat can seem devil red hot, dust yellow or completely colorless depending on the time of day and the direction of the wind.

Mackenzie isn't a newcomer; he has made a number of marvelous, somewhat underappreciated movies, like the dreamy plague romance (yes, there can be such a thing) *Perfect Sense* from 2011, starring Ewan McGregor and Eva Green. But *Hell or High Water* will be his breakthrough. It owes a debt to 1970s bank-robbery classics like *Dog Day Afternoon* but also carries some DNA threads of existential rubber-meets-road meditations like *Vanishing Point.* And as those movies did in their day, *Hell or High Water* captures the free-floating anxieties—and, even more crucially, the near boiling anger and frustration—of our own era. This is a classic story about the little guy who fights back, though its rough justice is tempered by a sense of decency. The bad guys may be charismatic, but not everything they do is excusable. Sometimes their actions are anguishing to watch.

> *Hell or High Water* captures the free-floating anxieties—and the near boiling anger and frustration—of our era

The performances here are uniformly and quietly terrific. Pine is particularly striking—his gait may appear laid-back and cool, but he lets us see the tension in every muscle. And then there's Bridges' Marcus, shaggy and worn but not yet played out. Marcus is on the cusp of retirement and unsure, as we are, how his constant stream of muttering and complaining will translate to life in the rocking chair. This is a man who wears his flaws boldly. He's borderline racist—actually, he probably goes right over the border—in the way he ribs his long-suffering half-Comanche partner, Alberto (Gil Birmingham). But when one of the brother-robbers' victims, a shy young clerk, apologizes for not knowing the make of their getaway car, Marcus teases helpful information out of her with a kind of craggy tenderness. And when the movie hits a tense turning point—one that's likely to shake you even if you thought you saw it coming—Marcus responds with a strangled, anguished cry that seems to emerge less from his gut than from the earth itself. For Bridges, the old-coot handbook is old hat. He'd rather write new pages, dashing them off one by one with a grunt, a scowl and a flourish. ◻

HELL OR HIGH WATER: CBS; TELLER: GETTY IMAGES; WAR DOGS: WARNER BROS.

QUICK TALK

Miles Teller

The actor, 29, stars in War Dogs, *a comedic drama about two real-life stoners from Miami, David Packouz and Efraim Diveroli, who exploited a loophole in government contracting practices to become arms dealers in 2007.*

When you read the script, did you gravitate toward the part of David? It's all in when these things come to you. I had just finished playing this boxer, Vinny Pazienza [in this fall's *Bleed for This*], and Vinny is a very larger-than-life character, so I was more interested in playing the straight character. It's nice to actually play a guy that you like.

Did you get to meet Packouz? Yeah. Anytime you can meet the person you're playing, it's interesting, whether or not you're using that as part of your prep. By the time I met David, we had already been filming for a bit. A lot of times people aren't the most honest about themselves. David has his version of it, and we took his experience and pumped up the entertainment.

Could you relate to the fake-it-till-you-make-it aspect of the story, given the line of work you're in? My buddy had a painting company I used to paint with every summer, and that was his thing: You don't know everything about this business, but you're going to pretend like you do, and after awhile you're going to become what you're pretending to be. With acting, you do that all the time.

David and Efraim do some bad things, but they're not presented as villains. In real life, a lot of the stuff these guys did was not illegal. The Bush Administration was trying to do one thing, and these guys had their intentions. There was an opportunity presented to them that they did not create. They don't make the statutes—they just figure out what they can do to make some money. —ELIZA BERMAN

Teller and Hill get in over their heads as arms dealers

MOVIES

Raucous *War Dogs* has bark and bite

ONE OF THE POCKET PLEASURES OF MOVIEGOING is reveling in the audacious behavior of people who do things we ourselves would never do. In Todd Phillips' *War Dogs*, Jonah Hill and Miles Teller play two regular dudes from Miami turned major-player arms dealers in the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. Hill's Efraim is the misbehaving yeshiva kid who parlays modest, youthful troublemaking into a shady multimillion-dollar career. Teller's David, Efraim's old classmate, is the dutiful, going-nowhere man-boy who's frustrated by his dead-end job as a masseur. He's an easy mark when Efraim strides back into his life, promising easy money just by making a few business deals with some nice little East European munitions manufacturers.

War Dogs is based on a true story, and even if you think you can't believe it, you sort of can. Efraim and David seem just ordinary enough, and just under-the-radar smart enough, to make their jaunty little schemes work. The movie has little of the sourness of Phillips' *Hangover* movies: even though Efraim is a coarse, conniving creep, Hill squeezes a few droplets of humanity into his character, while Teller's David is instantaneously likable. After sampling this movie's vicarious thrills—like a bumpy, tense truck ride through the Iraqi desert—count your blessings that of all the potential careers you might have considered, war profiteer has always lurked at the bottom of the list, if it appeared at all. —S.Z.

Three monks a-tweeting: Lo and Behold *explores our Internet fixation*

MOVIES

Werner Herzog ponders the poetry of the Internet

By Stephanie Zacharek

BEFORE THE INTERNET WAS JUST A PART OF EVERYDAY life—before it became a place to buy everything from books to jeans to roach killer, before it became a town hall where people could reconnect with old classmates and angry fanboys could vent their spleen, before it became a one-stop source for news, weather, sports and just about every useless factoid a person could care to look up—it was science. And there's always poetry in science if you stop to listen and look for it.

There's no documentary filmmaker better at stopping to listen and look than Werner Herzog, and with *Lo and Behold, Reveries of the Connected World,* he turns his ears and his gaze to the genesis and to possible future uses and meanings of what we used to so quaintly call the information superhighway. Herzog begins at the beginning, visiting the place where the Internet was born, a modest room at UCLA that still houses the blocky metal minicomputer from which the first online message was sent, in 1969. "This particular machine is so ugly on the inside, it is beautiful," says our tour guide, Internet pioneer Leonard Kleinrock, a sprightly gent with a thatch of curly gray hair. Then he adds, "It has a unique odor, a delicious old odor, from all the old parts."

Only a poet-scientist would care about how a piece of vintage computer equipment smells, and that's the kind of detail Herzog, a true wack-bird genius, is so good at teasing out. Always off-camera but still intensely present, Herzog seeks out scientists and technicians who are busy perfecting driverless cars, pondering who will take the blame, humans or machines, when the inevitable accidents occur. He visits a group of people so sensitive to wireless signals that for their health and sanity, they've exiled themselves on a patch of land in West Virginia where wireless transmissions are restricted. He drops in on a grief-stricken family who became the victims of a cruel Internet prank, and learns about robots that could be programmed to counter nuclear disasters. Everywhere he goes, Herzog asks questions—smart ones, out-there ones—and the result is part celebration, part cautionary yellow light: Even Kleinrock, near the end of the film, laments that "computers and in some sense the Internet are the worst enemy of deep critical thinking." And this is one of the guys who set the ball rolling.

Lo and Behold isn't as visually arresting as, say, *Cave of Forgotten Dreams,* Herzog's shimmering 3-D meditation on the prehistoric paintings of Chauvet, France. But as always, Herzog's willingness to tread deeply into a strange new forest makes him the perfect guide for the rest of us, no matter where we sit on the tech-literacy scale. Plus, some of us would happily listen to Herzog read a 300-page dot-matrix printout of antique computer code, just to relish his distinctive vocal purr, as earthy and elegant as a truffle in the wild. Herzog approaches Elon Musk to learn about the polymath entrepreneur's pie-in-the-sky plan to colonize Mars. Musk has barely finished before Herzog pipes up: "I would come along! I wouldn't have a problem. A one-way ticket." Musk, for once outweirded, sprinkles a droplet of cold water on Herzog's enthusiasm, saying he thinks earthlings need to be able to come back from Mars in case it's not to their liking. This is the saddest moment in the movie, not for Herzog but for us—because a documentary about colonial life on Mars, directed and narrated by pilgrim extraordinaire Werner Herzog, would be nothing short of heaven. ◻

DEEP-THOUGHT DOCS from director Herzog

My Best Fiend (1999) chronicles Herzog's long, tempestuous friendship with Klaus Kinski

Grizzly Man (2005) explores the life and grisly death of devoted bear activist Timothy Treadwell

Little Dieter Needs to Fly (1997) tells the harrowing story of Navy pilot and POW Dieter Dengler

LO AND BEHOLD: MAGNOLIA PICTURES; EVERETT (3)

Making my rounds filling propane tanks with the person who feeds me, I've learned a few things. Like how propane is a clean, reliable, and efficient energy source. It also fuels some great outdoor living (and I should know about outdoor living).

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Detroit is putting **small mailbox-like libraries** in front of public schools to encourage more kids to read.

Rihanna will receive **the prestigious Michael Jackson Video Vanguard Award** at MTV's upcoming Video Music Awards; previous honorees include Beyoncé, Madonna and Justin Timberlake.

Pennsylvania bride Jeni Stepien, who lost her father a decade ago, **was walked down the aisle** by the man who received his heart in a transplant.

Sanne Wevers won **the Netherlands' first-ever individual gymnastics gold medal** for her balance-beam routine.

President Obama's annual summer playlist **included a "nighttime" set.** Among the featured songs: "Lady" by D'Angelo and Janet Jackson's "I Get Lonely."

Downton Abbey's Michelle Dockery said she would **"wholeheartedly consider" returning** to the Crawley family—for a film.

LOVE IT / LEAVE IT

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

Oreo unveiled a Swedish Fish variety that combines the cookie's classic chocolate wafers with a gummy-candy-flavored red crème.

Comedy Central **canceled *The Nightly Show With Larry Wilmore*** just 12 weeks before Election Day, saying it had failed to "resonate" with the channel's audience.

A 19-year-old was **arrested and charged with reckless endangerment** after using suction cups to climb Trump Tower in New York City; he was pulled inside by police once he reached the 21st floor.

The Olympic diving pool had to be temporarily closed **after the water turned green** because of a chemical imbalance. Said one official: "Chemistry is not an exact science."

Square Enix **delayed the launch** of its hotly anticipated new game, *Final Fantasy XV,* by more than two months; it's now expected to be released on Nov. 29.

By Raisa Bruner, Cady Lang and Megan McCluskey

LIBRARY: DETROIT LITTLE LIBRARIES; STEPIEN: LAUREN DEMBY—LAUREN RENEE DESIGNS; DOWNTON ABBEY: PBS; TRUMP TOWER: AP; FINAL FANTASY: SQUARE ENIX; WILMORE: COMEDY CENTRAL; OLYMPIC POOL: AP; OREO: OBAMA, LP, RIHANNA, MOON MAN: GETTY IMAGES

Why older people shouldn't vote—and other ideas unpopular with my parents

By Joel Stein

OLD PEOPLE AREN'T GOOD AT VOTING. I DON'T SIMPLY mean that they don't vote like I do, or I would also say that old people are bad at watching TV, picking restaurants and gauging my interest in stories about their friends' children.

No, old people vote shortsightedly, choosing the least progressive outcome. In surveys in the U.S. and the U.K., people over 65—compared with people under 30—were nearly twice as likely to be against gay marriage; twice as likely to be pro-Brexit; half as likely to support legalization of marijuana; nearly five times less likely to want to spend money on education; 60% more likely to vote for Donald Trump; and nearly 50% more likely to say immigrants have a negative impact on society, despite the fact that they are being wheeled around by them. Whether these figures are accurate is irrelevant, since old people are so bad at Googling.

THEIR POOR CHOICES were always a problem, but it's become far more acute now that there are so many of them. The over-65 generation does not accurately represent our country, because they are overwhelmingly white and actually vote. So, unfortunately, we're going to have to bar them from voting.

When I ran this idea by my 76-year-old father, he partly agreed. "If a 90-year-old has what you can define as dementia, you can test for it," he said. I explained that I was thinking more of 76. I also explained that the problem wasn't that seniors forget things as much as they remember the world of 60 years ago and want to reproduce it. But one challenge of arguing with older people is that because of all the cable-news watching and Founding Father–book reading, they know more. My dad mentioned stare decisis, using Edmund Burke's argument that society is so complex that radical change often has horrible unintended negative consequences such as Napoleon, communism and that horrible rap music.

He also argued that experts are often wrong: In 1980, pundits thought a movie star shouldn't be President; during the Great Recession, economists were sure the Fed's expansionary monetary policy would lead to inflation. "We might think that the England they voted for isn't going to do very well in the world. But we don't know that," he said. And said. And said.

Looking for a counterargument, I called Jason Brennan, a Georgetown philosophy professor whose new book is titled *Against Democracy*. He said my antidemocratic idea was worth investigating as it might lead to a better result. We should pick the best people to vote and take emotion out of the process. "If you go back 300 years, there's this idea that kings are majestic and the rest of us are not," he said. "We didn't equalize it by taking kings down. We said everyone has majesty. I think that's silly. We should think of voting rights as plumbing licenses." This made sense to me, since I would not want a really old guy working on my sewer pipes.

WHEN I EXPLAINED this idea to my mom, she quickly moved through the five stages of grief over a Hypothetical Situation That Was Clearly Made Up for a Column and Will Never Happen. "Whoa! What?" she said, before proceeding to "Most of the older people I know are more progressive than the younger people I know" and then "That's very anti-American!" She then tried "Take it away from very young people" before finally landing on "That's so sad and depressing. It would feel like being sent to pasture." I'm not sure how sprightly she thinks she is, but walking around a meadow sounds like a way more active lifestyle than watching MSNBC and playing *Drop7* on her iPhone.

My mom had a point about her being politically active and progressive, since during my last visit she not only opened the door for a guy asking for signatures for a petition against building on New Jersey's majestic rivers but also invited him in, gave him a beer and wrote him a check for $40, which I thought was hilarious until she added, "Your wife gave him $20."

Admittedly, a law barring old people from voting might not make it past the Supreme Court, since some of the Justices are very, very old and the 26th Amendment is very clear. And I can't take something away from my mom that she enjoys so much, except that *Drop7* game, which would be ironic, since she spent so much of my teenage years telling me to stop playing video games and go outside. Though it might not be the worst thing if we switched the election date and announced it only on Snapchat. ◻

ILLUSTRATION BY MARTIN GEE FOR TIME

Joseph Stiglitz The Nobel-winning economist's provocative new book, *The Euro,* lays out why the European Union is mired in perpetual crisis

What's the fundamental problem with Europe's common currency? The diversity of Europe is its strength. But for a single currency to work, over a region with enormous economic and political diversity, is not easy. A single currency entails a fixed interest rate, which means countries can't manage their own currency to suit their own needs. You need a variety of institutions to help nations for which the policies aren't well suited. Europe introduced the euro without providing those structures.

Is the crisis political or economic? The two can't really be separated. The euro zone was driven by the neoliberal view that markets are always efficient. That in itself is political. There was no pressing economic need that the euro was required to solve, but leaders believed that it would foster growth. In the end, the politics of the euro zone weren't strong enough to create a fully integrated fiscal union with a common banking system, etc. That created a chicken-and-egg cycle, by which the structure of the euro zone ensured crisis—and made it impossible to address properly once it did.

Could German Chancellor Angela Merkel have done anything to prevent the debt crisis from happening? I think in 2010 she could have said, "Let's restructure Greek debt, create a common financial system and so forth. And let's acknowledge Germany's role in the current crisis." There was nothing insurmountable about the debt issues themselves. Could she have managed political opinion in Germany? That's a tougher question.

You are referring to the idea that Germans believe Greece and other indebted nations should be more fiscally prudent? There is a very strident view that the E.U. isn't a transfer union and that Germans shouldn't be responsible for the debt of other nations. And as politicians delayed action, things got worse, and those views were reinforced. So both the economics and the perception of the situation got worse. In the beginning of the crisis, the idea of a "Grexit" was unthinkable. Now there are plenty of people who want that.

If Europe's leaders had taken a different path, could Brexit have been avoided? It's hard to say, but given how close the vote was, that's possible. The crisis made Europe seem dysfunctional and, to the extent that the Germans were perceived as dictating to everyone else, unpleasant. Meanwhile, the poor economic health of Europe contributed to the migrant crisis. All the migrants wanted to flood into the few healthy countries—like Germany and the U.K. Given that migration was the proximate cause of Brexit, that's important.

Your book makes it sound like the euro zone was never really necessary to begin with. Is that fair? I was always empathetic to the idea of a stronger European project. But I didn't think that there was an economic need. It was a political issue, and as I discuss in my book, there are plenty of ways for countries to come together without having a single currency.

The euro-zone crisis, like the financial crisis of 2008, is in many ways a refutation of the neoliberal economic ideas that you've criticized for decades. Do you feel validated? I feel sorry for the number of people who've had to suffer because we didn't do the right thing earlier.

How will the experiment end? The current halfway—a single currency without the political institutions to support it—has not worked and is not likely to do so. There either has to be more Europe or less. Many would be saddened by the death of the euro. But it's not the end of the world. Currencies come and go. —RANA FOROOHAR

DONALD BOWERS—GETTY IMAGES

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