JANUARY 29, 2018

TIME

THE AVENGERS

FIRST THEY MARCHED. NOW THEY'RE RUNNING BY CHARLOTTE ALTER

See where they took a seat to make a stand.

In Greensboro, North Carolina, four students from North Carolina A&T State University assumed a rightful place at the F.W. Woolworth's "whites only" lunch counter in 1960 and launched a wave of peaceful protests that reignited the Civil Rights Movement. The Woolworth's site, now the International Civil Rights Center & Museum, is one of dozens of inspiring landmarks on the U.S. Civil Rights Trail. Walk in the footsteps of the brave men, women and children who changed the course of history. Learn the stories and discover where they happened at **CivilRightsTrail.com.**

What happened here changed the world.

U.S. CIVIL RIGHTS TRAIL

TIME
VOL. 191, NO. 3 | 2018

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

The shadow of NASA's P-3 turboprop plane above western Antarctica in November

Photograph by Paolo Pellegrin for TIME

ON THE COVER: *Photo-illustration by Sean McCabe for TIME; photographs courtesy of the subjects or shot for TIME*

MAGNUM PHOTOS

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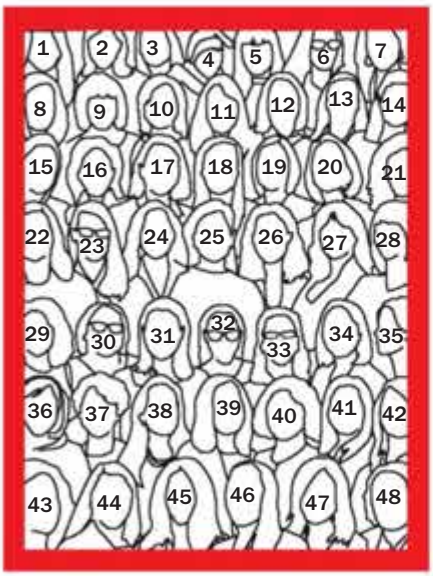
What you said about ...

YEAR ONE As fans of Edel Rodriguez's TIME covers celebrated his Jan. 22 illustration, marking Donald Trump's first year in the White House, some of the President's critics joked that the image "should have shown Trump's *pants* on fire and *my* head on fire," as Maria Stevens of Hypoluxo, Fla., put it. But others felt it was a misfire. "You beltway pundits have no clue how the rest of America feels" about Trump, tweeted @MadamAsuka, in response to the story. And Gary Wulf of Pointblank, Texas, felt such coverage ought to "put aside all the 'Trump Noise'" and focus on wins—and that widespread failure to do so weakens what can be expected of a President. "I shudder to think who comes next," he wrote.

> 'Trump likes to brag about how many times he has been on TIME's cover. I wonder if he will count this one!'
>
> **NADA BARNETT**, Black Mountain, N.C.

THE OPTIMISTS Readers continue to respond to the Bill Gates–edited Optimists issue of Jan. 15. Bill McRae of Windsor, Ontario, said it was his favorite issue in 70 years, and Jan Davidson of Sugar Land, Texas, showed it to her grandsons as a way of sparking social consciousness in the next generation. When it comes to making the world better, she wrote, "this is perhaps the most important role I can play—that, and speaking out." But some thought Warren Buffett's hopes for the American economy "oversimplified" things, as Rick Whitson of Salt Lake City put it. For example, Subhash Bhagwat of Urbana, Ill., noted that household earnings have "benefited minimally from the economic growth" that Buffett describes. Still, after Tim Ackert of Orlando read the issue back-to-back with the one that followed ("Year One") he felt it could use a few more readers. "It's a shame," he wrote, that what Buffett and Gates do "does not seem to inspire our current set of leaders."

> 'Thanks for the hope that the world will heal.'
>
> **MARY MINEHAN**, South Egremont, Mass.



THE AVENGERS
Each of the women on this week's cover either ran for office in 2017 or is running in 2018, in races at every level of government from U.S. Congress to local school board. They are:

First row ***(from left):*** **1. Wendy Gooditis** of Virginia; **2. Lizzie Pannill Fletcher** of Texas; **3. Dawn Adams** of Virginia; **4. Anne Stava-Murray** of Illinois; **5. Sarah Coats** of Kansas; **6. Noelia Corzo** of California; **7. Val Montgomery** of Illinois

Second row ***(from left):*** **8. Theresa Greenfield** of Iowa; **9. Kathy Manning** of North Carolina; **10. Michele Oberholtzer** of Michigan; **11. Kelly Fowler** of Virginia; **12. Megan Kilgore** of Ohio; **13. Greta Neubauer** of Wisconsin; **14. Katrina Callsen** of Virginia

Third row ***(from left):*** **15. Debbie Mucarsel-Powell** of Florida; **16. Tanzie Youngblood** of New Jersey; **17. Mary Barzee Flores** of Florida; **18. Gina Ortiz Jones** of Texas; **19. Kathy Tran** of Virginia; **20. Jenny Durkan** of Washington; **21. Shireen Ghorbani** of Utah

Fourth row ***(from left):*** **22. Amanda Webster** of Connecticut; **23. Mindy Kimmel** of Minnesota; **24. Abigail Spanberger** of Virginia; **25. Hala Ayala** of Virginia; **26. Lauren Baer** of Florida; **27. Rachel Fingles** of Pennsylvania; **28. Laura Moser** of Texas

Fifth row ***(from left):*** **29. Leah Phifer** of Minnesota; **30. Ashley Bennett** of New Jersey; **31. Erin Zwiener** of Texas; **32. Lauren Underwood** of Illinois; **33. Cheryl Turpin** of Virginia; **34. Dr. Mai Khanh Tran** of California; **35. Maria Taylor** of Michigan

Sixth row ***(from left):*** **36. Bushra Amiwala** of Illinois; **37. Chrissy Houlahan** of Pennsylvania; **38. Mikie Sherrill** of New Jersey; **39. Kim Schrier** of Washington; **40. Lina Hidalgo** of Texas; **41. Wendy Carrillo** of California; **42. Katie Hill** of California

Seventh row ***(from left):*** **43. Sara Campbell-Szymanski** of Pennsylvania; **44. Angela Becker** of Kansas; **45. Danica Roem** of Virginia; **46. Andrea Jenkins** of Minnesota; **47. Anna Eskamani** of Florida; **48. Jennifer Carroll Foy** of Virginia

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'I should get in the backseat and close my mouth for a while.'

MATT DAMON, actor, apologizing on NBC's *Today* show for his initial reaction to the Harvey Weinstein sexual-harassment scandal, which was perceived as insensitive because he argued there is a "spectrum of behavior"

'161 million

Approximate number of years since the *Caihong,* **a hummingbird-like dinosaur with rainbow feathers, roamed the land now known as China,** according to a new study in the journal *Nature Communications*

11%

Increase since 2006 in **average number of children born to American women,** after decades of declining fertility, according to a new Pew study

'EVEN THOUGH I'M NOW AN INTERNET SENSATION, I SHOULDN'T BE PROUD.'

WANG FUMAN, 8-year-old from China's Yunnan province who became the face of needy Chinese children when a viral photo showed how his hair froze after he trekked 2.8 miles to school in 16°F weather

'BALLISTIC MISSILE THREAT INBOUND TO HAWAII. SEEK IMMEDIATE SHELTER. THIS IS NOT A DRILL.'

HAWAII EMERGENCY MANAGEMENT AGENCY, in a Jan. 13 cell-phone alert; a "false alarm" notification went out 38 minutes later

Mars
An experiment by Villanova students suggests that hops—a key ingredient in beer—would grow well in Martian soil

GOOD WEEK
BAD WEEK

Venus
Venus Williams was eliminated on the first day of the Australian Open

'Hey, listen, the world is falling apart, what's a lip?'

JANE FONDA, actor, reassuring *Howard Stern Show* listeners that she was "going to be fine," after revealing that she recently had a cancerous growth removed from her lip

'Now we are an authority without any authority.'

MAHMOUD ABBAS, Palestinian Authority President, refusing to negotiate with President Trump after he recognized Jerusalem as Israel's capital

$18.5 million

Amount of **prize money that will be doled out over the course of the British Royal Ascot races**—the most in the equestrian tournament's history

ILLUSTRATIONS BY BROWN BIRD DESIGN FOR TIME

SOURCES: CNN; NEW YORK TIMES

The Brief

'PAKISTAN CAN BECOME A SOURCE OF EITHER REGIONAL STABILITY OR EXTREME POLITICAL INSTABILITY.' —PAGE 12

An electronic sign on Oahu after a text alert erroneously warned of a missile attack

NATIONAL SECURITY

Panic station: Hawaii's false alert exposes weak U.S. alert systems

By W.J. Hennigan

THREE DAYS AFTER HAWAII'S FALSE ballistic-missile alert triggered panic across the islands, causing people to run for cover and family members to issue tearful goodbyes, the Japanese public broadcaster NHK texted out a news alert instructing citizens to seek shelter from an incoming North Korean attack. It too was false.

The incidents brought home more than the perilous state of affairs between the U.S., its allies and North Korea amid rising tensions with the rogue nuclear power. They also exposed how U.S. civil-defense measures designed to limit public panic during crises have deteriorated since the Cold War. And they showed how governments everywhere have yet to adapt to the challenges that smartphones can pose to public safety in the digital age.

The Hawaiian error was particularly scary. At 8:07 a.m. on Jan. 13, cell phones across the state blared the loud warning sounds usually reserved for imminent life-threatening events, like flash floods. In an accompanying text message, the Hawaii Emergency Management Agency warned that an inbound ballistic missile required citizens to shelter immediately. The alert, the agency said, was "not a drill."

It was a full 38 minutes—the time it would take an actual ballistic missile launched from North Korea to reach Hawaii—before a follow-up message reported that the initial alert was a mistake. The nerve-racking error was later blamed on a state employee who

REUTERS

clicked the wrong option from a computer menu. The agency apologized and announced safeguards to prevent a recurrence.

But with the range of North Korea's nuclear-missile arsenal now apparently reaching the East Coast of the U.S., a new national approach to government public-safety messaging may be in order. Americans who grew up during the Cold War learned to adjust to life under constant nuclear threat. The instructions for what to do during an attack were not necessarily reassuring—remember Bert the Turtle from "Duck and Cover"?—but they aimed to limit life-threatening panic during moments of crisis.

Since the fall of the Soviet Union, the U.S. federal government has largely abandoned the massive civil-defense programs that were designed to limit panic. Instead, the Federal Emergency Management Agency and other departments have focused on the fallout from potential terrorist attacks. "After the Berlin Wall fell, we were in a mind-set that basically we don't have to worry about these things anymore," Representative Mac Thornberry of Texas, chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, told a small group of reporters this month. North Korea's sprint to nuclear status has changed that. Pyongyang has carried out complex missile flights and unleashed six underground nuclear-weapons tests in recent months. "It's not far-fetched that one of those missiles may be headed for not only to Hawaii but the mainland," says Thornberry, "so we need to be serious, not panicky, about that possibility."

The effort to provide better information is already unfolding outside the federal government. The threat posed by Pyongyang has jolted nations like Japan, states like Hawaii and even municipal governments along the U.S. Pacific Coast to reassess their civil-defense processes. Last summer, a group of researchers launched a nonprofit to examine ways it can reignite the public discourse on the threat of nuclear attack. Over the next two years, Reinventing Civil Defense at the Stevens Institute of Technology in New Jersey will study how to inform the public in the digital age and deliver programs on subjects like "how messaging and training changes risk awareness and perception over the long term."

It's not clear how much the recent scares have alerted Washington to the need for change. The Federal Communications Commission has launched an investigation of the Hawaiian false alarm in order, it says, to ensure "public confidence in the alerting system." Right now, in Hawaii, there is damage control to do. "Children going down manholes, stores closing their doors to those seeking shelter and cars driving at high speeds cannot happen again," Hawaii Governor David Ige said on Jan. 15. ◻

TICKER

Chelsea Manning to run for Senate

Chelsea Manning, the former soldier who was jailed in 2013 for leaking classified documents, and then released early by President Barack Obama, intends to run for the U.S. Senate in Maryland as a Democrat. Manning, 30, will likely challenge two-term Senator Ben Cardin in the primary.

Rohingya to be sent back to Myanmar

Rohingya Muslims who fled from Myanmar to Bangladesh to escape what the U.N. has described as a program of government "ethnic cleansing" will be returned to Myanmar within two years, per an agreement the two countries reached on Jan. 16.

California cops free 13 chained siblings

Police in California rescued 13 siblings ranging from 2 to 29 years old from a "horrific" house in Riverside County where they had been starved and some had been chained to furniture. The parents were jailed on $9 million bail each.

Japanese city on alert for poison fish

Officials in Gamagori, Japan, activated the city's emergency warning system, broadcast over citywide speakers, to prevent residents from eating parts of potentially deadly blowfish that were mistakenly placed on market shelves.

WORLD

Sri Lanka's booze ban for women

On Jan. 16, Sri Lanka's government reimposed a ban that prevents women from buying alcohol, just days after it was lifted for the first time in nearly four decades. Here's more. —*Tara John*

THE HARD STUFF

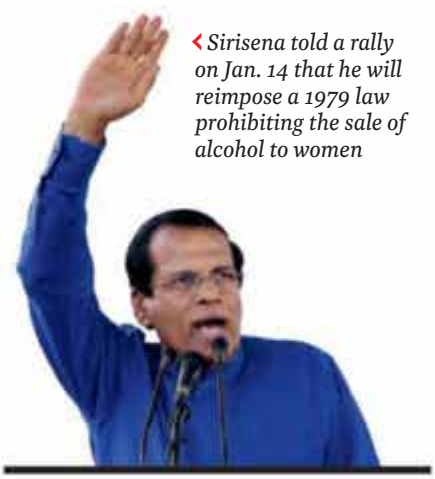
Alcohol consumption is a sensitive issue in the Buddhist-majority country, and laws on its sale have long been restrictive; vendors are also forbidden from selling spirits to police and members of the armed forces in uniform. Even so, the Finance Ministry revoked the 1979 ban on female drinkers on Jan. 10, in an effort to strike sexist bills from the books.

BITTER TASTE

Although the ban had not been strictly enforced, removing it proved controversial. Nationalists and leading monks criticized the decision, arguing that it would destroy Sri Lankan family values. By Jan. 14, President Maithripala Sirisena—a supporter of temperance—bowed to religious conservatives and ordered the ban's reinstatement.

HALF MEASURE

The controversy comes as the President attempts to tackle deepening gender inequality. Female labor-force participation in Sri Lanka fell to 36% in 2016, from 41% in 2010, due to discrimination and attitudes toward child-rearing. Critics say the U-turn proves that Sirisena is not taking the issue seriously, and reinforces the toxic notion that women can't make their own decisions.



Sirisena told a rally on Jan. 14 that he will reimpose a 1979 law prohibiting the sale of alcohol to women

DIGITS

$5.4 MILLION

Value of jewelry recovered on Jan. 11 by police in Paris, after armed robbers dropped a bag holding all their loot, which was stolen from the Ritz Hotel

PARKING SUSPENDED A car is seen lodged in the second story of a dental office in Santa Ana, Calif., on Jan. 14 after it hit a central divider at high speed and went airborne. The two occupants of the vehicle survived the crash, and the driver later admitted to using narcotics, according to the Santa Ana police department. Fire officials removed the vehicle from the building later that day. *Photograph by Captain Stephen Horner—AP/Shutterstock*

SRI LANKA: THARAKA BASNAYAKA—GETTY IMAGES; CAPE TOWN: WALDO SWIEGERS—BLOOMBERG/GETTY IMAGES

DATA

CELL-PHONE SPEEDS

Norway had the fastest mobile Internet speed in the world in December, according to the Speedtest Global Index. Here's where a selection of countries ranked:

1.	4.	29.	45.	106.	123.
Norway	Singapore	China	U.S.	Indonesia	Iraq

ENVIRONMENT

Cape Town is almost out of water

After three years of unprecedented drought, the South African city of Cape Town has less than 90 days' worth of water in its reservoirs, putting it on track to be the first major city in the world to run out of water—on April 21, to be exact.

DRY SEASON City planners have long pointed out that Cape Town's water capacity hasn't kept up with population growth, which has nearly doubled over the past 20 years. But now the record drought has left the city's reservoirs dangerously short of water. The city is attempting to solve the crisis by calling for households to limit water usage to 23 gallons per person per day, but only 39% of Capetonians are meeting it.

DAY ZERO Cape Town says it will be forced to turn the taps off for all but essential services once capacity drops to 13.5% (reservoirs usually can't be drained completely, because silt and debris make up the last 10% of reserves). The most recent projected date, based on reservoir capacity and daily consumption, is April 21.

TAPS OFF Capetonians are now figuring out how to survive if the water supply is halted. Residents will be allowed to collect 6.6 gallons a day from municipal water points protected by armed guards, but the closure of hotels and restaurants will have a knock-on effect on the city's economy, which will be intensified if schools are forced to close and parents are unable to work.

—ARYN BAKER/CAPE TOWN

The city's reservoirs are low on water

House Speaker Paul Ryan has the worst job in Washington—for now

By Philip Elliott and Nash Jenkins

NOTHING ABOUT THE PAST YEAR HAS BEEN EASY FOR HOUSE Speaker Paul Ryan. His Republican conference is fractured. The Democrats are emboldened. And President Trump has regularly scrambled the GOP agenda with offhand comments and surprise tweets. But with the government set to run out of money on Jan. 19, the new year was shaping up to be even more complicated for the Wisconsin native—if not worse.

The deadline was the fourth time since September that Republicans had struggled to keep the government open despite controlling Congress and the White House. This time the stumbling block was what to do about the so-called Dreamers, a group of some 800,000 immigrants who were brought to the U.S. illegally as children. Democrats demanded some form of protection for them in exchange for any support for the GOP's government-funding measures. Those Democratic votes appeared necessary, because the powerful right-wing bloc in Ryan's caucus opposed any package that adds to the deficit—which put it at odds with the centrists and defense hawks in the party.

> 'He's got the toughest job in America.'
>
> **ROGER MARSHALL**, a freshman Republican Congressman from Kansas, on the Speaker's challenge as he fights to avoid a government shutdown

Ryan was left scrambling for a creative solution. At one point, his team tried to cobble together a coalition in support of another one-month stop-gap measure. That proposal would delay new taxes on high-value insurance policies, a provision popular with unions and Democrats. It would similarly put off taxes on medical devices, a fix favored by Wall Street and Republicans. And it would fund recently lapsed programs that provide health coverage to poor children, a move supported by many members of both parties.

But that compromise package had tepid support among House defense hawks, who want more money for the military. And the deficit hawks on Ryan's right liked it even less: they want less government money for everyone. Complicating matters further for Ryan: he has to ensure that any deal he produces can clear the Senate, where Democratic votes will also be needed. Standing outside the House chamber, Representative Roger Marshall, a first-term Republican from western Kansas, marveled at the mess. "He's got the toughest job in America," Marshall said.

IF THE GOVERNMENT does shut down—in January or a month later—the GOP will make an ignominious kind of history: never before have the Republicans controlled all the levers of power in Washington and let the lights go out on their watch. The costs would be real—not just for the party but for the country. New applications for business loans, mortgages, Social Security benefits and passports would be put on hold. Hundreds of thousands of workers would be furloughed. National parks would close. Private-sector lending would likely slow. The damage could undo the record gains on Wall Street. The last government shutdown, in the fall of 2013, put a dent of at least $20 billion in the U.S. economy, according to estimates by Moody's Analytics and Standard & Poor's.

Democrats who have cast votes to sidestep shutdowns in the past are less willing to do so again. The government would have closed its doors just before Christmas had 69 House Democrats not crossed party lines to bail out Ryan. Many did so with the expectation that the move would buy Democrats power in future negotiations. "They needed us to manage their caucus for them," says Drew Hammill, minority leader Nancy Pelosi's deputy chief of staff. "What it takes is a strong leader to get this done."

Trump has not provided consistent leadership on immigration, Republicans ruefully admit. He ended the Obama-era Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals program that protected Dreamers and has switched from reinstating the program to blaming Democrats for its possible dissolution. Trump's alleged slur against immigrants from Haiti and African nations in a Jan. 11 White House meeting didn't help. "This has turned into an s-show," Republican Senator Lindsey Graham said during a congressional hearing on Jan. 16.

There is one upside in all this for Ryan. Friends say he never really wanted to be Speaker. And the way things are going, he won't be for long. Even if he keeps the government open, any spending deal he strikes could hurt his party's already grim hopes of holding the House this fall. —*With reporting by* MOLLY BALL/WASHINGTON

Ryan's Republicans remain a party of warring factions

ZACH GIBSON—GETTY IMAGES

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TICKER

Trump gets top marks in health test

As part of a medical exam given by White House physician Ronny Jackson, President Trump received a perfect score in a 10-minute cognitive-function test. Jackson said the President's health was "excellent" overall and that he had no concerns about Trump's neurological functioning.

Weber and Testino accused by models

Current and former male models accused famed photographers Bruce Weber and Mario Testino of unwanted advances and coercion, charges both challenged. Condé Nast said it would not commission new work from the pair "for the foreseeable future."

Extra $1.7B payout to be made by BP

British oil firm BP announced on Jan. 16 that it expected to make an additional, unexpectedly high payout of $1.7 billion in the fourth quarter for claims related to the Deepwater Horizon disaster of 2010, the worst oil spill in American history.

E.U. declares war on plastic waste

The E.U. pledged to make every piece of plastic packaging found in member states reusable or recyclable by 2030 as part of its first Europe-wide strategy to combat plastic waste.

THE RISK REPORT

Trump turns his back on Pakistan, giving China an opportunity

By Ian Bremmer

AFTER ONE YEAR IN THE WHITE HOUSE, President Trump has insulted a wide variety of countries and their governments. But as a debate rages over which form of profanity he used to describe Haiti and sub-Saharan Africa, let's return to the President's very first tweet of 2018. "The United States has foolishly given Pakistan more than 33 billion dollars in aid over the last 15 years, and they have given us nothing but lies & deceit," he wrote.

The U.S. and Pakistan have been through a lot together. In the 1970s, Pakistan's ability to help drive the Soviets out of Afghanistan brought it closer to the U.S. as Washington distanced itself from socialist-minded India. The Cold War's end made Pakistan less important for Washington, and the country's nuclear tests complicated the relationship. But after the Sept. 11 terrorist attacks, President George W. Bush and Pakistan's strongman Pervez Musharraf formed an uneasy alliance against the Taliban, which brought new waves of U.S. financial aid. In 2004, the U.S. named Pakistan a "major non-NATO ally," giving it access to military hardware and technology.

Yet despite the flow of cash, Pakistan's military and security services still appear more interested in battling India than in eliminating threats from Muslim militants. The alliance has been in decline since Osama bin Laden was tracked down and killed in the heart of Abbottabad, a short walk from Pakistan's elite military academy. Trump now wants better relations with India, thanks to both his personal affinity for India's Prime Minister Narendra Modi and his desire to find allies to help contain the expansion of China's influence.

But it's in Pakistan that declining U.S. influence in the world is most immediately obvious. China is already moving into the vacuum that the U.S. has left behind, spying a means to counterbalance India, gain access to an Indian Ocean port and score a strategic win against Trump. Chinese direct investment in Pakistan topped $837 million from July to November 2017, compared with just $42.6 million from the U.S.

> It's in Pakistan that declining U.S. influence in the world is most immediately obvious

Pakistan still matters for the U.S. The war in next-door Afghanistan is not getting better. Counterterrorism coordination will only become more important as ISIS fighters from Syria and Iraq scatter around the world. Pakistan has nuclear weapons, and its scientists have in the past sold nuclear material to U.S. enemies. This country can become a source of either regional stability or extreme political instability. The U.S. may never get exactly what it pays for in Pakistan, but China will be only too glad to double down on its own investment if Trump decides to cash out entirely on this inconstant ally. □

FOOD

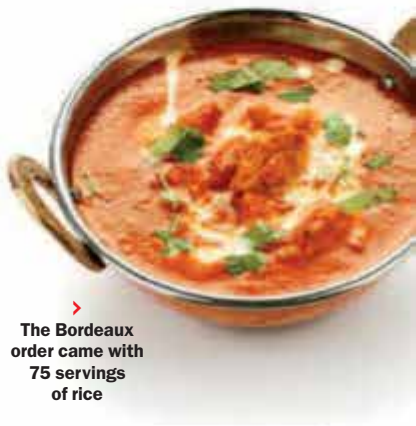
Long-distance deliveries

On Jan. 13, an Indian restaurant in Hampshire, England, chartered a private plane to deliver curry to 50 expats who were 500 miles away in Bordeaux, France. Here, other epic food journeys. —*Kate Samuelson*

4,000 MILES
An Indian restaurant in Birmingham, England, flew $2,757 worth of freeze-dried curries, including 100 popadams, to U.N. troops in the Democratic Republic of Congo in 2014.

7,000 MILES
Corné Krige, a former captain of the South African rugby team Fedsure Stormers, made headlines in 2001 when he ordered a pizza from Cape Town to be delivered to his hotel room in Sydney.

11,701 MILES
An order of vegetable biryani and pilau rice set a world record for long-distance curry delivery in 2008 when it arrived at an office in Manchester, England, having been sent from Christchurch, New Zealand.



The Bordeaux order came with 75 servings of rice

GETTY IMAGES

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Milestones

DIED
Keith Jackson, ABC sportscaster known for his enthusiastic college football play-by-play and signature phrases ("Whoa, Nelly!"), at 89.

ATTENDED
A public **soccer game, by women in Saudi Arabia,** for the first time, a reform championed by Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman.

ARRESTED
Ex-CIA officer Jerry Chun Shing Lee, on suspicion of retaining classified information that led to the deaths of U.S. informants in China.

CONFRONTED
Longtime U.S. gymnastics-team doctor **Larry Nassar, by scores of his accusers,** as part of his sentencing. He pleaded guilty to seven counts of criminal sexual conduct last year.

ANNOUNCED
That the **two Koreas will march together in the opening ceremony of the Winter Olympics** in PyeongChang, South Korea, in February.

BORN
A **daughter, via a surrogate, to Kim Kardashian West and Kanye West,** who shared the news in a blog post.

Burrows in her Time & Life Building office, mid-1980s

DIED

Barbara Baker Burrows

LIFE's visionary

PHOTOJOURNALISTS BECOME CELEBRITIES BY CREATING images that shape the way we see the world. Photo editors, away from the limelight, shape the way those images are presented—and Barbara Baker Burrows, who died of corticobasal degeneration, a rare brain disease, on Jan. 10 at 73, chose the pictures that told some of the century's biggest stories.

After joining LIFE magazine's staff in 1966, Bobbi earned a reputation for never closing a story until it had exactly the right image, and for often finding it too. But her half-century at Time Inc. was distinguished by more than her encyclopedic knowledge of photography. She turned colleagues into family, sometimes literally (LIFE photographer Larry Burrows was her father-in-law), and the trust she developed with photographers was a crucial ingredient in her work. She once said she pinched herself sometimes, because working at LIFE felt like a dream. But that extended family knew that couldn't be the case: her magic worked because there was, at its heart, something very real. —LILY ROTHMAN

DIED

Dolores O'Riordan

Voice of distinction

By Colin Parry

MUSIC, LIKE BOOKS, IMMORtalizes people. Ever since I lost my son Tim in an Irish Republican Army bombing in Warrington, England, I have strived to keep him alive in any way I can. After the death of Dolores O'Riordan at age 46 was announced on Jan. 15, my wife told me that O'Riordan's band, the Cranberries, had recorded a song, "Zombie," about the events in Warrington. I'd never heard it—I suppose I am in the wrong generation. So watching a recording of it was a moving experience. O'Riordan sang "Zombie" with intensity, as if she felt the song very deeply. Her voice was alluring, hypnotic. It was a brave song to sing in 1994. That it came from a distinctive Irish voice matters; that O'Riordan wrote this song as an Irish woman in an Irish band to mark the pain and futility of the attack, immortalizing Tim in some form, matters greatly.

Warrington was a watershed moment in the Troubles, and I think "Zombie," for those who heard it, synthesized the argument against further pain and suffering. I deeply regret never having met O'Riordan; I would have dearly loved to ask her what moved her to write the song.

Parry's son Tim was killed in an IRA bomb attack in Warrington, England, in 1993. He co-founded the Tim Parry Johnathan Ball F n ion for Peace in 1995.

BURROWS: TOBEY SANFORD; O'RIORDAN: DAVID WOLFF PATRICK—REDFERNS/GETTY IMAGES

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‘It’s a miracle we escaped’

That’s how one passenger put it to the Associated Press after a Pegasus Airlines jet carrying 168 people, including a six-member crew, skidded off the runway in Trabzon, northern Turkey, on Jan. 14. The jet, seen here the next day, came to rest on a muddy embankment along the Black Sea. Everyone was safely evacuated from the plane, and officials have launched an investigation into why it left the runway.

Photograph by DHA-Depo Photos/AP

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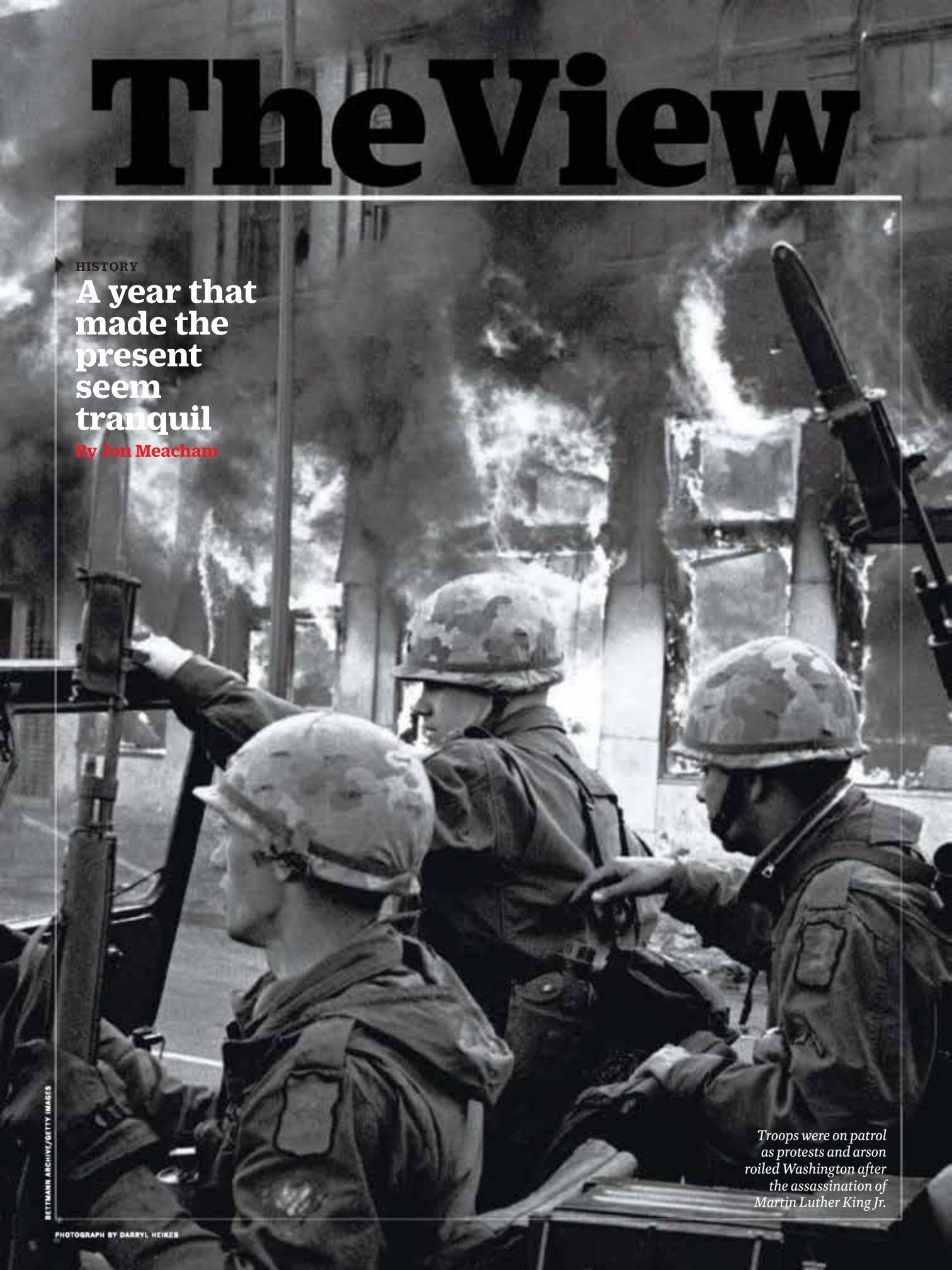
The View

HISTORY

A year that made the present seem tranquil

By Jon Meacham



Troops were on patrol as protests and arson roiled Washington after the assassination of Martin Luther King Jr.

BETTMANN ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES

PHOTOGRAPH BY DARRYL HEIKES

NO ONE IN THE LOOP—INCLUDING, ALMOST surely, the man himself—was sure he would really do it. On March 31, 1968, Lyndon B. Johnson was scheduled to address the nation about the Vietnam War at 9 p.m. He had drafted a short section for the end of the speech announcing that he would not seek re-election in November. The President had talked about it with family and a few advisers, but the circle of trust was small after more than four years of tumult and war. As political a man who ever drew breath, Johnson kept his options open through the afternoon hours. At one point, the President stopped in his aide Marvin Watson's office to talk about the race with Terry Sanford, the former North Carolina governor who had agreed to manage the 1968 campaign. "After spending all day at the White House," recalled Johnson adviser John P. Roche, "Terry Sanford left for the airport still under the impression that he was the campaign manager." Only a few hours later, on television, Johnson withdrew, solemnly drawling, "I shall not seek, and I will not accept, the nomination of my party for another term as your President." Roche couldn't believe it. "I had already put an LBJ '68 bumper sticker on my car," he said, "and I was wearing an LBJ '68 button. We were left with 15,000 of the goddamn things."

The watershed of 1968 was that kind of year: one of surprises and reversals, of blasted hopes and rising fears, of scuttled plans and unexpected new realities. We have embarked on the 50th anniversary of a year that stands with 1776, 1861 and 1941 as points in time when everything in American history changed. As with the Declaration of Independence, the firing on Fort Sumter and the attack on Pearl Harbor, the events of '68 were intensely dramatic and lastingly consequential. From the assassination of Martin Luther King Jr. in April and of Robert F. Kennedy in June to the violence at the Democratic National Convention in August to the election of Richard Nixon in November, we live even now in the long shadow of the cascading crises of that year.

History shouldn't be a cultural Zoloft, alleviating the pervasive depression of a time as dispiriting as our own in 2018. The past can, however, give us a sense of proportion—a framework in which to assess where our discontent ranks in terms of what has come before. And in that light, there's an element of reassurance in looking back on 1968 from the perspective of half a century. A book by British journalists on America in 1968 was titled, aptly, *An American Melodrama;* the year was also, inescapably, a time of American tragedy. For all the unhappiness and madness of the present, for all the tribal conflicts of the Age of Trump, we are not—at this hour, anyway—engaged in a consuming war, and political violence is largely restricted to argumentative agitation. Tet, we should remember, was worse than any single tweet.

46
U.S. TROOPS PER DAY
Rate of American combat deaths in Vietnam in 1968

AS 1968 BEGAN, the war in Vietnam was going badly and was about to get worse. More than half a million U.S. troops were there, and combat deaths occurred at a rate of about 46 U.S. troops a day, for a total of 16,899 that year. It was a terrible, tragic time. The promises of JFK's New Frontier and LBJ's Great Society seemed irretrievably lost in the humid jungles and sharp elephant grass of Southeast Asia. Johnson's decision in March to stand down from re-election was the result of the apparent insuperability of the war. From the first phase of his presidency, in the wake of John F. Kennedy's assassination in November 1963, Johnson had worried that Vietnam posed a tragic trap, and his worst anxieties had come true.

Four days after his March 31 speech, Johnson received word that King had been shot to death on a motel balcony in Memphis, where the civil rights leader was headquartered as he supported a strike of sanitation workers. King was not yet 40 years old. Thrust into history by the antisegregation Montgomery bus boycott in 1955, a movement set off by Rosa Parks' refusal to surrender her seat to a white passenger, King had been crucial in the formation and promulgation of the civil rights

LBJ: CORBIS/GETTY IMAGES; PROTEST: ROBERT ABBOTT SENGSTACKE—GETTY IMAGES; MLK: HENRY GROSKINSKY—THE LIFE PICTURE COLLECTION/GETTY IMAGES; RFK: BILL EPPRIDGE—THE LIFE PICTURE COLLECTION/GETTY IMAGES

Clockwise from top left: Johnson and Defense Secretary Robert McNamara react to the Tet offensive in February; protesters march after King's assassination in Memphis in April; RFK in June in Los Angeles; the Lorraine Motel, where King was shot

crusade's commitment to nonviolence. By framing the struggle against Jim Crow and for equal opportunity as a fulfillment of Thomas Jefferson's promises in the Declaration, the African-American Southern Baptist minister had become, in the phrase of historian Taylor Branch, a "new founding father."

On the road in Indianapolis, Robert F. Kennedy, who was seeking the Democratic presidential nomination, learned about King's murder from R.W. Apple Jr. of the New York *Times*. Wearing an overcoat that had belonged to his brother Jack, RFK broke the news to an inner-city crowd. "What we need in the United States," he said, "is not division; what we need in the United States is not hatred; what we need in the United States is not violence and lawlessness; but is love and wisdom and compassion toward one another, and a feeling of justice toward those who still suffer within our country, whether they be white or whether they be black."

A noble moment, but the fates were not yet satisfied. In April, Jacqueline Kennedy had shared her premonition of disaster. "Do you know what I think will happen to Bobby?" she asked Arthur Schlesinger Jr. "The same thing that happened to Jack … There is so much hatred in this country." She was proved correct in June, when Robert F. Kennedy was gunned down in the Ambassador Hotel in Los Angeles after winning the California primary. Back in the ballroom, a woman screamed, "No, God, no. It's happened again."

The fear that the world was out of balance in a fundamental way helped Nixon, who had only narrowly lost to John F. Kennedy eight years earlier, prevail, also narrowly, in November against Hubert Humphrey. The dynamics of the '68 campaign resonate still: Nixon—advised, among others, by Roger Ailes, who would go on to found Fox News—campaigned on a cultural populism, arguing that elites were undercutting American greatness and implying that minorities were too.

EVEN MORE RELEVANT to our current politics was the presence, and ultimate performance, of a third-party candidate in 1968, George C. Wallace of Alabama. A cigar-chewing segregationist and populist, Wallace campaigned as a champion of the common white man. "You just watch him in the years ahead," an Alabama political observer told Wallace biographer Marshall Frady in 1967. "He can use all the other issues—law and order, running your own schools, protecting property rights—and never mention race. But people will still know he's tellin' 'em, 'A nigger's trying to get your job, trying to move into your neighborhood.' What Wallace is doing is talking to them in a kind of shorthand, a kind of code." And it worked. In November, Wallace carried 13.5% of the popular vote nationally and won five states: Alabama, Louisiana, Georgia, Arkansas and Mississippi, giving him 46 electoral votes. It was not a bad starting point for a subsequent populist candidate who would tell voters that walls and tariffs would bring back the America they thought they had once known.

As battered and beleaguered as he felt, Johnson, that old New Dealer, never gave up hope. After his last speech, delivered in December 1972 at a civil rights conference at his presidential library—he would be dead within six weeks—he urged activists to fight on. "Let's try to get our folks reasoning together and reasoning with the Congress, with the Cabinet!" the former President said. "Reason with the leadership and with the President! … And you don't need to start off by saying he's terrible—because he doesn't think he's terrible. Start talking about how you believe that he wants to do what's right and how you believe this is right and you'll be surprised how many men who want to do what's right will try to help you." Perhaps, half a century on, in our own troubled time, we can appropriate that benediction as the resonant lesson of a brutal age. □

China takes the pole position in the electric-car race

By Justin Worland

Vehicle frames await testing in leading car-maker BYD's lab in Shenzhen, China

FROM A CURSORY LOOK AT THE RECENT NEWS FROM Tesla, a casual observer could be forgiven for thinking that the dream of transitioning the world to electric vehicles has stalled. The Tesla brand is more closely associated with electric vehicles than any other, and in the past year the company has struggled to deliver the $35,000 Model 3. CEO and founder Elon Musk described the internal delays related to producing Tesla's battery and an outside supplier's falling behind as "production hell," while customers vented on social media and the company declared a record third-quarter loss of more than $600 million.

As Tesla scrambles to maintain its position as the world's foremost electric-vehicle brand, traditional automakers in the U.S. and Europe have invested billions of dollars to advance the technology. And a slew of Chinese companies are churning out hundreds of thousands of electric vehicles a year.

"The story is not just about Tesla anymore," says John Gartner, an analyst at Navigant Research. "There's an ecosystem."

The battle will determine which country dominates the global market for electric vehicles, which are forecast to be a third of all passenger vehicles on the road by 2040, up from less than 1% today, according to Bloomberg New Energy Finance. Currently, China has the upper hand.

"It's clearly the case that China will lead the world in EV development," William C. Ford Jr., the executive chairman of Ford Motor Co., said in Shanghai in December, according to the New York *Times*.

5,000
Number of Model 3s Tesla says it will build weekly by midyear; the company had earlier said it would hit that target last year

700K
Number of electric cars sold in China in 2017, according to preliminary figures

54%
Percentage of global car sales expected to be electric by 2040

In some ways, Tesla's "production hell" helps explain why China is better situated to develop the electric vehicle of the future. Despite top design, engineering and marketing talent, Tesla has struggled with basic manufacturing. Automated processes have failed on the factory floor, and the company has struggled to secure the supply chain to operate on the scale it needs to produce a mass-market electric vehicle. Musk has taken responsibility for the delays while also downplaying their significance. "In the grand scheme of things, this is a relatively small shift," he told investors in October.

CHINA HAS INVESTED heavily in policies to develop its electric-vehicle industry. It has offered subsidies to buyers to the tune of $15,000 per vehicle, threatened to block automakers that don't make electric vehicles from selling traditional cars and funded electric-vehicle infrastructure like charging stations across the country's highway network. Earlier this month, China simply halted production of more than 500 models of heavily polluting cars. China is expected to spend some $60 billion in electric-vehicle subsidies in the half decade preceding 2020, according to a *Financial Times* analysis.

That focus has helped foster a slew of Chinese automakers like BYD Auto, Great Wall Motor and Lifan Auto. Chinese automakers are expected to produce more than 4.5 million electric vehicles annually in 2020, compared with about a million from Tesla, according to data from the International Energy Agency.

To date, Chinese electric vehicles have largely remained a product for the developing world, while Tesla has thrived in the European market. But Chinese automakers recently ramped up efforts to expand their global reach, and at least one company—GAC Motor—plans to sell cars in the U.S. as soon as next year.

"Sometimes people are under the impression that China is either dragging their feet or somehow behind the U.S. in terms of sustainable-energy promotion," Musk said at a conference last summer. "But they are by far the most aggressive on earth." □

QILAI SHEN—BLOOMBERG/GETTY IMAGES

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President Trump has had a year of major accomplishments

By Rand Paul

IT HAS BEEN SAID THAT RONALD REAGAN observed that "the person who agrees with you 80% of the time is a friend and an ally—not a 20% traitor." I try to take this approach as well, and though I have disagreements with GOP leaders in the White House and Congress, I try to focus on the areas of agreement whenever possible.

I do not always align with President Trump—and I have voiced my opposition at times, including voting against some of his nominees and initiatives. But I will tell you, he has had some great success through his first year, and I look forward to what 2018 will bring. Let us review the major accomplishments of the President and the GOP in control of Congress.

For starters, the Trump Administration has assembled one of the most conservative and effective Cabinets in decades. From my friend and Office of Management and Budget Director Mick Mulvaney to Environmental Protection Agency Administrator Scott Pruitt to Housing and Urban Development Secretary Ben Carson, this is a team grounded in conservative principles and ideals.

Why is this important? So much of government in recent years has consisted of executive agency overreach and overregulation. But the Cabinet is pushing back and freeing our economy and citizens from this burden. I applaud their first year's efforts.

Supreme Court Justice Neil Gorsuch is another huge bright spot—a great pick by President Trump, and a team effort to ensure his place on the court. This is combined with a record pace and similar success in appointing and confirming lower court judges. This matters. Our country's course will be set for the better, and our Constitution more strongly guarded, if his future nominations are in the mold of his first.

On the legislative front, President Trump kept his promise to make America more energy-independent, which has revived the coal industry in Kentucky and beyond. The war on coal has ended. We will soon be drilling offshore and in the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge. Combine all this with the announcement that the U.S. will withdraw from the Paris Agreement, and this Administration has clearly charted a new course for America's energy supply and energy workers.

Working together, we have also passed a tax cut that will create jobs, killed the Obamacare mandate and pushed for expansion of Association Health Plans to give cheaper, better health care to millions of Americans.

During my time in the U.S. Senate, I have called for cutting foreign aid to those who burn the American flag and chant, "Death to America." The out-of-touch politicians in Washington just laughed, and no President of either party offered support. President Trump has changed that, and he cut aid to Pakistan for a frustrating lack of cooperation in combating terrorism. I look forward to further cuts and welcome this prioritization of the needs of our own nation. I am also encouraged to have the President's support for redirecting savings to fixing crumbling infrastructure at home. We should be repairing roads and bridges in towns such as Louisville, not Karachi.

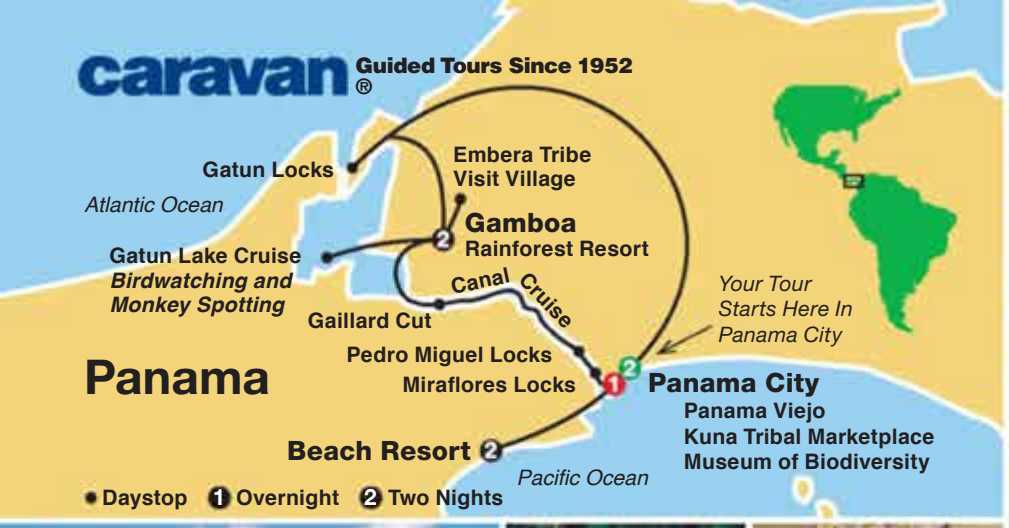
Our economy is beginning to move again, and the reaction to the tax cuts has been amazing. Companies across the spectrum have given raises and bonuses, increased investments and largely done what we expected—turn the tax cut into an engine for growth. And this is just year one.

I look forward to working for more freedom, greater economic growth and an "America first" policy as we move into year two.

Trump hands a pen to the author, after using it to sign an Executive Order on health insurance on Oct. 12

MANDEL NGAN—AFP/GETTY IMAGES

Paul is the junior Senator from Kentucky in the U.S. Congress



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ANDIDATES

By Charlotte Alter

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ERIN ZWIENER RETURNED TO TEXAS TO settle down. At 32, she had published a children's book, won *Jeopardy!* three times and ridden roughly 1,400 miles from the Mexico border up the Continental Divide on a mule. In 2016, she moved with her husband to a small house in a rural enclave southwest of Austin with simpler plans: write another book, tend her horses, paint her new home blue.

One day last February, she changed those plans. Zwiener was surfing Facebook after finalizing color samples for her living room—sea foam, navy, cornflower—when she saw a picture of her state representative, Jason Isaac, smiling at a local chamber of commerce gala. "Glad you're having a good time," she commented. "What's your position on SB4?" After a tense back-and-forth about the Lone Star State's controversial immigration law, Isaac accused her of "trolling" and blocked her. That's when she decided to run for his seat. Zwiener never got around to painting her living room. She's trying to turn her Texas district blue instead.

Zwiener is part of a grassroots movement that could change America. Call it payback, call it a revolution, call it the Pink Wave, inspired by marchers in their magenta hats, and the activism that followed. There is an unprecedented surge of first-time female candidates, overwhelmingly Democratic, running for offices big and small, from the U.S. Senate and state legislatures to local school boards. At least 79 women are exploring runs for governor in 2018, potentially doubling a record for female candidates set in 1994, according to the Center for American Women and Politics at Rutgers University. The number of Democratic women likely challenging incumbents in the U.S. House of Representatives is up nearly 350% from 41 women in 2016. Roughly 900 women contacted Emily's List, which recruits and trains pro-choice Democratic women, about running for office from 2015 to 2016; since President Trump's election, more than 26,000 women have reached out about launching a campaign. The group had to knock down a wall in its Washington office to make room for more staff.

It's not just candidates. Experienced female political operatives are striking out on their own, creating new organizations independent from the party apparatus to raise money, marshal volunteers and assist candidates with everything from fundraising to figuring out how to balance child care with campaigns.

It's too early to tell how the movement will change Washington. But outside the Beltway, a transformation has already begun. In dozens of interviews with TIME, progressive women described undergoing a metamorphosis. In 2016, they were ordinary voters. In 2017, they became activists, spurred by the bitter defeat of the first major female presidential candidate at the hands of a self-described pussy grabber. Now, in 2018, these doctors and mothers and teachers and executives are jumping into the arena and bringing new energy to a Democratic Party sorely in need of fresh faces. About four times as many Democratic women are running for House seats as Republican women, according to the Center for American Women and Politics; in the Senate, the ratio is 2 to 1.

But not all women vote Democratic—not by a long shot. White women helped lift Trump to the presidency, voting for him 53% to 43%, according to exit polls. Among white women without a college education, the gulf was even larger: 62% to 34%. November's midterm elections will be a crucial first test of whether the new crop of female candidates and the well-oiled advocacy groups behind them can overcome that deficit. In the balance: control of the House and Senate, which is likely to come down to a few races where female voters could prove decisive. "Women candidates help energize women voters," says Democratic pollster Celinda Lake. "And in close races, you win with women voters."

Democratic women have reason to be hopeful. For starters, the movement is driven not just by revulsion for Trump but also by some of the same forces that helped elect him: frustration at a nonresponsive government of career politicians who seem to care more about donors than the needs of ordinary families. It also helps that the GOP's embrace of accused sexual predators like Trump and Alabama's Roy Moore has alienated some conservative women and motivated liberal ones. (In December, Trump's approval rating sank to 24% among women, according to a Monmouth University poll.) Although a majority of white women in Alabama voted for Moore even after he was accused of preying on teenage girls, many others who typically vote Republican stayed home in disgust. That trend, coupled with a massive turnout of black women, helped Democratic candidate Doug Jones spring an upset. Republican strategist Katie Packer Beeson calls Trump and Moore a

> 'I always thought this was for other people, and I was not qualified. There was this wake-up call of, Why not me?'
>
> **CHRISSY HOULAHAN**, an Air Force veteran running for a seat in Pennsylvania's Sixth Congressional District; currently no women represent Pennsylvania in Congress

Erin Zwiener decided to run for the Texas state legislature after her local representative dismissed her questions

COURTESY OF ERIN ZWIENER

"one-two punch" that has "disillusioned many Republican women and caused them to ask themselves whether or not there is a place for them in the 2018 GOP."

Now thousands of progressive women are hoping to help Democrats win in November. But their goals are bigger and broader than simply shifting the balance of power in Congress. They're hoping that a wave of women pouring into public office will elevate issues that draw support from women in both parties and reshape how women think about their role in American politics.

Like all political transformations, this one sprang from dozens of small private choices. For years, the hardest thing about getting women elected has been getting women to decide to run. But sometime over the past year, while lying awake at night or comforting a crying friend or in hushed conversations with their spouse, each of these women came to the same conclusion. They could no longer pin their hopes on icons like Hillary Clinton or Elizabeth Warren to represent half the American population. Instead, they would step up and do it themselves. "I always thought this was for other people, and I was not qualified," says Chrissy Houlahan, an Air Force veteran and business executive who is running to represent Pennsylvania's Sixth Congressional District, where the incumbent Republican won by 14 points in 2016 but Clinton won narrowly. "There was this wake-up call of, Why not me?"

"WOMEN," ALEXANDRE DUMAS wrote in *Queen Margot,* "are never so strong as after their defeat." So when a former female Secretary of State lost to a male business mogul who bragged about the size of his penis in a debate, it led to a nationwide reckoning with the politics of gender. Furious women have marched by the millions, tangled congressional phone lines for weeks and released a torrent of sexual-misconduct allegations that continue to reverberate through Hollywood, Washington and Silicon Valley.

On election night, Zwiener watched the returns with two lesbian friends; by the following morning, she was helping them plan to hastily marry, fearing the Trump Administration would target LGBTQ couples. The morning after the election, in Glen Allen, Va., university consultant Abigail Spanberger's oldest daughter bounded down the stairs as if it were Christmas morning and asked if there was a female President yet. In Yorba Linda, Calif., pediatrician Mai Khanh Tran dragged herself out of bed and put on her white coat. One of her first patients of the day was a 4-year-old with a brain tumor whose mother, a nail-salon worker, could afford health insurance only because of the Affordable Care Act. "We cried together," Tran recalls. "And it dawned on me that we needed to get beyond the tears and speak up and fight." Now she's running for Congress to replace Representative Ed Royce, a California Republican who recently announced his retirement.

Like citizens enlisting in a sudden war, ordinary women turned into hardcore activists. Houlahan, 50, organized a bus that took 53 people from southeastern Pennsylvania to the Women's March in Washington. Spanberger, 38, dressed her three young daughters in bright yellow T-shirts so they could find each other if they got separated among the throngs on the National Mall. Kim Schrier, a 49-year-old pediatrician, dispatched her husband to ferry protesters to and from the local bus stations while she walked with her 8-year-old son in the Seattle Women's March. For women old and young, the marches—which drew some 4 million participants, likely the largest single-day protest in U.S. history—were a transformative event. Weeks later, Spanberger recalls, she heard something unusual on her baby monitor. Her 2-year-old was chanting, "Love not hate makes America great!" from her crib.

Skeptics wondered if the people who marched would go home and sink back into their ordinary lives. Instead, they began to lobby their local representatives.

Lauren Underwood, a registered nurse with a heart condition, decided to run for the House of Representatives in Illinois after her Congressman broke a pledge on the health care bill

As the GOP-controlled Congress sought to repeal Obamacare, rage against Trump was redirected at Republican members of Congress. Celinda Lake surveyed 28,000 activists who contacted Congress last year through a calling service on their cell phones: 86% of them were women.

For some of those women, the idea of male Representatives trying to strip health care from millions of families spurred the transformation from activist into candidate. "It was a clear picture of how important it was for us to be there," says Mikie Sherrill, a former Navy helicopter pilot and federal prosecutor who is challenging Republican Representative Rodney Frelinghuysen for his seat in northern New Jersey. Schrier, the pediatrician, was among a group of doctors who met with Republican Representative Dave Reichert's staff to explain how the health care bill would harm patients in his district. When Reichert voted for an early version of it in committee anyway, Schrier decided to run for his seat. Gina Ortiz Jones, a former Air Force intelligence officer who is challenging Republican Representative Will Hurd in Texas' overwhelmingly Hispanic 23rd Congressional District (which Clinton won), puts it this way: "I'm sure a lot of people are saying, 'Look, I can do at least as sh-tty of a job as that guy.'"

Many are campaigning in the face of obstacles. Two months pregnant and fighting morning sickness, Zwiener canvassed on college campuses for hours at a time with nothing in her stomach but Pedialyte. Tran cut down her patient hours and explained to her 5-year-old why she had to miss her ballet recitals. Jennifer Carroll Foy gave birth to premature twins on the campaign trail, then won a seat in the Virginia house of delegates.

When one woman runs, others often follow. Lauren Underwood, a registered nurse who worked as an adviser in the Obama Administration's Department of Health and Human Services, decided to challenge her Representative, Illinois Republican Randy Hultgren, after he promised not to vote for a health care bill that excludes pre-existing conditions, then voted for the GOP plan anyway. Underwood, who has a pre-existing condition called supraventricular tachycardia, which keeps her heart from maintaining a normal rhythm, then went a step further. She encouraged a high school acquaintance, Anne Stava-Murray, to launch a bid for the Illinois house of representatives. Stava-Murray, a 32-year-old mother of two, had met 45-year-old Val Montgomery at the Women's March in Naperville, Ill. They started a local Women's March group together, and ultimately Stava-Murray persuaded Montgomery to run for a neighboring seat in the Illinois house. One woman's campaign turned into three. "Women have been running Naperville forever, but we haven't necessarily held elected office. Now we have this idea that we can lead," says Underwood. "It's like this ripple effect."

WHEN ERIN ZWIENER decided to run for office, she had no idea where to start. She knew about horses and mules, not fundraising and media strategy. Going it alone, she might have given up early, daunted by the logistics. But she wasn't. A new network of women-led grassroots groups are giving Zwiener and others like her the tools to hire staff, raise money and get their campaigns off the ground.

Many of the women who built this new progressive infrastructure are the same ones who spent 2016 trying to stop Trump. Eighteen months ago, Amanda Litman was running the Clinton campaign's email outreach. Now she's recruiting liberal millennials to run for state and local offices through Run for Something, an organization she co-founded. Catherine Vaughan, a former field organizer for Clinton in Ohio, co-founded Flippable, which aims to turn state legislatures blue by targeting vulnerable seats. Nina Turner, a top adviser for Senator Bernie Sanders' campaign in 2016, now runs Our Revolution, which supports Sanders-style progressives. Jess Morales

Rocketto, who spent 2016 sending the Clinton campaign's text messages to supporters, helped build GroundGame, a tech platform to help organize volunteers, donors and voters and manage data. "This loss was a true 'f-ck you' to women," Litman says. "You just can't turn that off."

Zwiener didn't know how to ask for money or marshal volunteers. She had only recently moved back to Texas, didn't have deep pockets or rich friends and hadn't worn a blazer since she was part of Model U.N. in high school. But Litman's strategy is to run every race, including the long shots that Democratic campaign committees—long the gateway into party politics—have tended to discard as a waste of resources. So Run for Something paired Zwiener with a mentor who walked her through setting up a fundraising platform. Zwiener was endorsed by Our Revolution Texas, which pledged to mobilize members to canvass and phone-bank for her campaign. And neighbors with the local chapter of the grassroots organization Indivisible held house parties for Zwiener to meet constituents and find donors.

Founded shortly after the election, Indivisible is one of the groups widely credited with organizing progressives to turn up and protest wherever Republicans held town halls to discuss the health care bill. The outpouring of anger mirrored the tactics of the Tea Party, which announced itself as a force in U.S. politics in part through its own angry demonstrations at President Obama's health care bill. "The women are in my grill no matter where I go," Republican Representative Dave Brat of Virginia complained early last year after he was criticized for refusing to hold a town hall. Spanberger is running for Brat's seat.

Indivisible says it now has at least two local chapters in every congressional district and more than 6,000 groups nationwide. Theda Skocpol, a professor of government and sociology at Harvard University, who co-wrote a book about the Tea Party and is now studying Indivisible, says the anti-Trump progressive uprising already has more local groups than the Tea Party did at its height. At its strongest, she says, the Tea Party had roughly 900 local groups and some 250,000 core activists. "Almost all the [Indivisible] chapters I've seen are generating peo-

10 RACES TO WATCH

Most of the energy in 2018 is on the Democratic side. Here are some of the first-time candidates who are entering the arena:

HALEY STEVENS
U.S. Congress, Michigan-11
The 34-year-old was chief of staff on Obama's auto task force. She's running to fill GOP Rep. David Trott's seat after he retires from this southeastern Michigan district.

GINA ORTIZ JONES
U.S. Congress, Texas-23
She's running a tough primary against four other candidates, in a majority-Hispanic border district that voted for both Clinton and GOP Rep. Will Hurd.

LINA HIDALGO
Judge, Harris County, Texas
A Colombian emigré, the 26-year-old Hidalgo is running for the office that handles emergencies for the flood-stricken Houston area.

KIM SCHRIER
U.S. Congress, Washington-8
Schrier tried to coax GOP Rep. Dave Reichert to vote against the health care repeal. Now he's retiring and she's running for his seat in a district that voted for Clinton.

TANZIE YOUNGBLOOD
U.S. Congress, New Jersey-2
The retired schoolteacher is up against a powerful local political machine for the Democratic nomination in a Trump-leaning district.

MIKIE SHERRILL
U.S. Congress, New Jersey-11
The former federal prosecutor who once flew Navy helicopters is challenging 12-term GOP incumbent and Appropriations Chair Rep. Rodney Frelinghuysen.

ABIGAIL SPANBERGER
U.S. Congress, Virginia-7
The former CIA operations officer was one of six Democratic women vying for GOP Rep. Dave Brat's seat in a conservative district. Several have since dropped out.

CHRISSY HOULAHAN
U.S. Congress, Pennsylvania-6
This former Air Force captain, businesswoman and chemistry teacher is challenging GOP Rep. Ryan Costello in a district that went for Clinton in 2016.

LAUREN BAER
U.S. Congress, Florida-18
A former State Department adviser and foreign policy expert, Baer is challenging GOP Rep. Brian Mast in this southeastern Florida district.

STEPHANIE SMITH
House of Delegates, Maryland
After a career in environmental law and city planning, Smith is running for Maryland's house of delegates.

UNDERWOOD: MARZENA ABRAHAMIK FOR TIME; STEVENS: COURTESY OF HALEY STEVENS; JONES: COURTESY OF GINA ORTIZ JONES; HIDALGO: COURTESY OF LINA HIDALGO; SCHRIER: COURTESY OF KIM SCHRIER; YOUNGBLOOD: COURTESY OF TANZIE YOUNGBLOOD; SHERRILL: COURTESY OF MIKIE SHERRILL; SPANBERGER: COURTESY OF ABIGAIL SPANBERGER; HOULAHAN: COURTESY OF CHRISSY HOULAHAN; BAER: JUSTINE COOPER; SMITH: CALVIN SMITH

Mai Khanh Tran fled Saigon at age 9, worked through Harvard as a janitor and started her own pediatrics practice. Now she's running for California's 39th Congressional District

ILONA SZWARC FOR TIME

ple who are planning to run for office," Skocpol says. "I think it's at least as great and probably greater than the Tea Party popular upsurge."

In her research, Skocpol found that Indivisible groups are roughly 70% female. That's not unusual: an informal poll of volunteers with the group Swing Left, which directs money and volunteers from safe districts to nearby battlegrounds, found that 68% were women. Sister District, which pairs volunteers from liberal areas with contests in conservative districts, was founded by an all-women team. "Who do you think has been organizing things in America?" Skocpol says. "It's women."

While Democratic stalwarts like Emily's List and the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee focus largely on national-level races, the new generation of progressive startups often target the less glamorous down-ballot contests that the party has ignored at its peril. "We're willing to fail," says Litman. "Most of the old guard is not incentivized to take risks."

Female donors are doing their part as well. Democratic fundraising platform ActBlue raised $523 million for candidates over the course of 2017—more than double the amount that came in during 2015—and 62% of the donors were women. Women have donated $91 million to Democratic candidates and progressive causes going into 2018, up from $51 million last cycle, according to the Center for Responsive Politics, a number that doesn't include donations to presidential candidates or presidential PACs.

The smattering of off-year elections last November prove that the formula can work. Support from female voters helped lift Democrat Ralph Northam to victory in the Virginia governor's race. Northam won women by 22 points just a year after Clinton won the same group by 17. Of the 15 seats Democrats picked up in the Virginia house of delegates, 11 were won by women. (One of them was Danica Roem, who became the first openly transgender woman elected and seated to a state legislature.) Overall, Flippable won 16 of the 20 races it targeted in Virginia, Washington State and Florida. And in a special state senate election on Jan. 16, Democrat Patty Schachtner won a rural Wisconsin district that had voted Republican for almost two decades.

To candidates and organizers, those victories are a harbinger. "It was an army of women taking on an army of out-of-touch men," says Lina Hidalgo, 26, who is running for Harris County judge in Texas to improve flood management in the Houston area. "And that's what we'll see here next year."

> 'I'm sure a lot of people are saying, "Look, I can do at least as sh-tty of a job as that guy."'
>
> **GINA ORTIZ JONES**, a Texas Democrat running for a seat in the House of Representatives

THE MOVEMENT IS about more than the midterms. It's about how our national priorities would change if more women had a hand in shaping them. A 2016 study in *Political Science Research and Methods* found that women are more likely to sponsor bills about issues affecting women and families. "Just imagine if Congress was 51% women," Senator Kirsten Gillibrand, a New York Democrat, said in a speech at the Women's Convention in October. "Do you think we'd be fighting for access to birth control?"

Nations with a higher proportion of female representation may provide a glimpse of how the political landscape could change. After the proportion of women serving in Iceland's Parliament rose to 48% in 2016, the government passed a law requiring companies to prove that men and women receive equal pay. In Sweden, where the gender split in both the ministry and Parliament is almost equal, all parents are entitled to nearly 16 months of paid family leave. Finland, whose Parliament is 42% female, has heavily subsidized child care

THE NEW GRASS-ROOTS LEFT

A fresh crop of progressive startups are led and fueled by women.

INDIVISIBLE
Borrowing from the tactics of the Tea Party, this organization, founded by two married former Capitol Hill staffers, has a group organizing in every congressional district, and roughly 70% of the members are women. Next up: Indivisible 435, which aims to turn the vast network of activists into canvassers and fundraisers.

RUN FOR SOMETHING
Founded by former Clinton staffer Amanda Litman and longtime political consultant Ross Morales Rocketto, Run for Something trains progressive millennial candidates to run for state and local offices. Of the 72 candidates it endorsed in 2017, 51% were women.

WOMEN'S MARCH
After some 4 million people took to the streets in likely the largest single-day protest in U.S. history, the Women's March kept organizing. A year later, it's kicking off a national voter-registration drive to prepare for the midterms.

FLIPPABLE
Co-founded by former Clinton organizer Catherine Vaughan, Flippable targets specific races to turn state legislatures blue. This year it aims to flip legislative chambers in states like Colorado, Maine and Minnesota.

SISTER DISTRICT
Founded by an all-woman team, Sister District directs blue-district volunteers and funds toward races in red districts.

SWING LEFT
Using an algorithm, Swing Left helps Democrats in blue districts work on battleground races. Sixty-eight percent of its activists are women, per an internal survey.

and a high-performing public education system. According to the World Economic Forum's rankings of gender equality, the U.S. is ranked 49th, behind Nicaragua, Cuba and Belarus.

Of course, electing more women in Congress would not necessarily lead to an instant federal paid-family-leave plan or national child care, especially given that extreme partisanship makes broad consensus difficult and neither party wants to raise taxes widely. But female lawmakers of both parties tend to elevate issues that men ignore. In the current session of Congress alone, Senator Deb Fischer, a Nebraska Republican, sponsored a proposal to help businesses finance paid family leave. Senator Patty Murray, a Democrat from Washington State, introduced a bill to expand access to affordable child care.

Women also tend to reach across the aisle to pass this type of legislation. Republican Senator Susan Collins of Maine and Democratic Senator Tammy Baldwin of Wisconsin sponsored a bill to establish a national strategy to support family caregivers. It was co-sponsored by six female Senators from both parties (along with several men) and passed the Senate unanimously in early January. "Women in the Senate who have caucused together say frequently that they're able to talk to each other, reach understandings, are more able to find compromises," says Norman Ornstein, a resident scholar at the conservative American Enterprise Institute.

But women have a long way to go to get to parity in American politics. They hold less than 20% of seats in Congress, just 25% of those in state legislatures and only six of the nation's 50 governorships. Even in a year with a surge in female candidates, not only is a matriarchy unlikely, but significant Democratic gains are far from assured. The vast majority of first-time candidates challenging incumbents lose.

Some, like Sherrill in New Jersey and Spanberger in Virginia, have raised plenty of money. Others, like Underwood in Illinois and Tran in California, have had to get used to asking for donations. Jones has a tough primary race against a well-connected Democratic opponent. Zwiener has generated enthusiasm from students on the Texas State University campus in her district, but one local newspaper editor had barely heard of her.

Nor is it yet clear whether Trump outrage alone will be enough to buoy unknown Democrats, especially when 401(k)s are healthy and unemployment is low. "Which party can better explain what it did over the last two years?" says Republican consultant Joe Brettell. Even if everything breaks right, the gains women make in 2018 may disappoint the devoted. In 1992, a then record number of women—251—ran for office after Anita Hill testified in front of an all-white, all-male Senate panel that then Judge Clarence Thomas had sexually harassed her. Observers dubbed it the Year of the Woman. But in the end, women won 47 seats in the House and five in the Senate—significant numbers, yet still far less than what they'd hoped for.

Most of this year's Democratic women have concluded that the key to victory in their races is to drive up turnout among liberals and swing voters. Zwiener is focusing on registering college kids and other underrepresented voters instead of trying to persuade her conservative neighbors to cross the aisle. Young people—who tend to vote for Democrats but often don't show up for the midterms—had a 34% turnout rate in Virginia's election, a figure that was a third higher than the last governor's race and double the turnout in 2009, according to a research group at Tufts University.

Litman calls this a "reverse coattails" strategy: investing in compelling down-ballot candidates creates more voter contact, which brings more people to the polls. Elliott Woolridge is a 25-year-old student at Texas State University who took one of the hundreds of flyers Zwiener passed out to students on a sunny day shortly after Thanksgiving. Woolridge has only ever voted for Obama, but that's about to change. "My voice didn't get heard," he says of sitting out the 2016 election. He plans to vote in the midterms "just so I can feel like I did something."

That is the same sense of history and urgency that propels the candidates. "A lot of the women I talk to who are mothers were thinking, What will I tell my kids in 30 years?" says Vaughan, the founder of Flippable. "Will they be able to say that they did something?"

They will be able to say they did. ◻

Environment

THE GREAT CRACK-UP

A POLAR FLYOVER REVEALS THE RAVAGES OF CLIMATE CHANGE

BY JEFFREY KLUGER | PHOTOGRAPHS BY PAOLO PELLEGRIN FOR TIME

A crevasse measuring a few thousand feet fills the photographer's frame from an altitude of 1,500 ft., during a November flyover

IT'S HARD TO WRECK A CONTINENT YOU CAN BARELY get your hands on. Human beings typically do our worst environmental damage in the places we live and work—clear-cutting forests, strip-mining mountains. Antarctica, however, was more or less out of reach. No more.

Climate change has become our species' great destructive equalizer, leaving no part of the planet safe from the harm we do. In March 2017, the sea ice around both poles reached a record low for that time of year. In July, a 1 trillion–ton iceberg, roughly the size of Delaware, calved off of the Larsen C ice shelf in western Antarctica. The damage to the ice is being done not just from above, as the planet's air warms, but from below, as its oceans do too.

While the disappearance of Arctic sea ice is enough of an environmental calamity, it's the ice that covers Antarctica that is a bigger real menace. As it melts and sloughs off the land, it raises sea levels worldwide. According to one 2017 study, if greenhouse-gas emissions continue at their current rate, low-lying areas around the world could by deluged by up to 4 ft. of sea-level increase before the end of the century. A more-recent study suggests that increased snowfall on the eastern end of Antarctica—another result of climate change—may offset that a bit, restoring some of what's lost, but the snow is likely only to slow sea-level rise, not stop it.

NASA has long employed satellites to monitor weather and climate from space; from 2003 to 2010, the ICESat satellite circled the Earth in a north-south orbit, keeping an eye on the poles. But ICESat got no lower than 364 miles above ground, and ICESat-2, set to launch this year, will fly similarly high. The most detailed work requires getting a lot closer.

NASA's IceBridge mission fills that gap. Established in 2009, IceBridge is an annual series of flights over both polar regions, surveying the state of the ice with a suite of instruments including laser altimeters, radars, magnetometers and gravimeters. Over the course of eight- to 12-hour expeditions covering up to 2,500 air miles out and back, the flights maintain an average cruising altitude of just 1,500 ft.—and sometimes much lower.

"Over some mountain ranges we get pretty low, maybe 100 ft. or less," says Nathan Kurtz, the project scientist—NASA-speak for "boss"—of the IceBridge mission. "We leave those decisions to the pilots."

In November, during a nine-day expedition over the west Antarctic peninsula, photojournalist Paolo Pellegrin rode along on the four-engine P-3B airplane that conducted the surveys. Having spent much of his career covering unrest and suffering in the Arab world, Pellegrin this time turned his attention to a far slower, seemingly less deadly kind of conflict, but one that is doing its own kind of violence on a global scale.

While Pellegrin captured the bright, striking scenes out the plane's windows, the IceBridge scientists went about their investigative work. No single mission is likely to produce breakthrough results. Rather, IceBridge flights yield cumulative data—sometimes granular

From left: a calved iceberg flows through frozen seawater known as pancake ice; a 100-ft.-tall iceberg in open sea

This massive chunk of free-floating sea ice is about 100 ft. thick from waterline to top—or roughly the height of a 10-story building

findings that can add to the overall picture of polar melt. That calls for a lot of different methods and tools.

The thinning of the ice, for example, is measured with the help of both the laser altimeter, which detects small changes in the elevation of the ice and snow cover; and a shallow radar, which probes beneath the surface. The radar also helps distinguish between ice and snow—a critical distinction. Surface thickness can be lost as ice melts away, but more than restored in the next snowfall. That, however, doesn't mean the problem is solved.

"Snow is only a third of the density of ice," Kurtz says. "We have to measure both and then do the conversion to see what the actual overall mass is."

The magnetometer and gravimeter go where radar and laser can't penetrate, beneath the ocean and down to the bedrock. The magnetometer, as its name suggests, measures the magnetic properties—and thus the composition—of rocks beneath the sea floor, which provides clues to how the ice, rock and water interact. The gravimeter measures the tiny differences in gravitational tugging caused by materials of different density in the bedrock, another indicator of composition.

Other onboard instruments include a sensor that measures the temperature of the ice—the critical metric that determines if and when it will start to melt—and a digital mapping system that captures dozens of images of the Antarctic terrain. They can then be assembled into a vast mosaic providing a look at the entire region.

"We did a wealth of imagery of the Larsen C ice shelf as we obtained the first closeup images of the massive iceberg that broke off in July," Kurtz says.

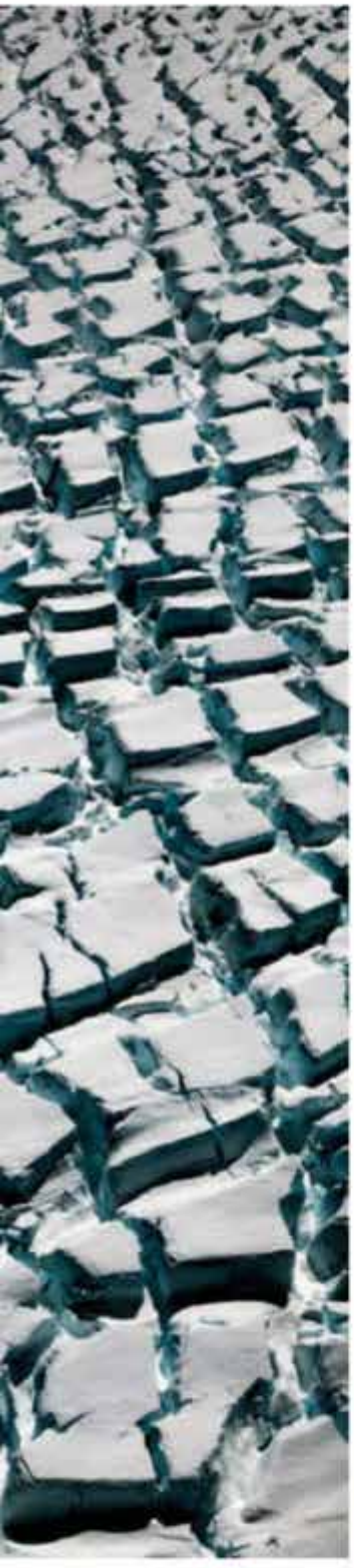
Christopher Shuman, a research professor at the University of Maryland, Baltimore County's Joint Center for Earth Systems Technology, had been using another NASA satellite, Landsat, to monitor the giant iceberg. He took advantage of imagery captured by IceBridge to get a different perspective.

"We could see the deformation of the berg as the winds and tides moved it back and forth," he says. "This gives us some insight on the forces acting on this floating ice." Complete analysis of all this data will take at least another six months.

The pictures captured on the trip are making a much more immediate impression. This is especially so not for the ones captured by the digital mapping system, but the ones from a camera governed by a photographer's eye. The images Pellegrin has brought home are stark, scary, beautiful and otherworldly—almost literally. It is perhaps apt that NASA is studying Antarctica the same way it often studies distant worlds—from above, with a flying collection of multisensory instruments. And it is perhaps apt too that so many of the pictures could pass for ones of the barren moon; of broken Mars; of the great, cracked ice-cover of Jupiter's moon Europa.

Our living world fared a great deal better than those poor dead ones. The pictures Pellegrin brought home may serve as a reminder to care for the Earth in a way that better protects our profound good fortune. □

From left: fast-moving ice becomes heavily fractured; the color of ice reveals its age—snow cover makes old floes lighter



World

Baidu's Brain

Robin Li is helping China win the 21st century

By Charlie Campbell/Beijing

WHEN ROBIN LI LOOKS BACK AT THE QUESTION NOW, HE can laugh. But things were different in 1992, when the Baidu CEO was a tongue-tied Chinese student applying for a computer-graphics graduate program in the U.S. The interviewing professor asked him, "Do you have computers in China?" It left the young man stunned. "I was very embarrassed," says Li, 49, breaking into a grin from the penthouse office of his Beijing headquarters. "I thought, One day I'll demonstrate that China has a really powerful computer industry."

Eight years later, he did. In 2000, Li founded Baidu, a search engine that today is second only to Google in popularity, and whose 80% market share in China makes it the world's fourth most popular website. The company, whose name derives from a 13th century Chinese poem, has grown into a $60 billion behemoth rivaled in China only by social-media-focused conglomerate Tencent and Jack Ma's online shopping empire Alibaba. Baidu Maps directs every Chinese motorist, Baidu search results enlighten every student. Nobody is asking Robin Li if computers exist in China anymore.

In fact, what was once a land of cheap knockoffs now has Silicon Valley losing sleep. China has nurtured a third of the world's 262 tech "unicorns," or private $1 billion startups, according to a recent report by the global consulting firm McKinsey. Alibaba's 2014 stock floating remains the biggest IPO in history, valued at $25 billion. China is the world's largest e-commerce market,

PHOTOGRAPHS BY TONY LAW FOR TIME

accounting for almost half of all global transactions by value, up from less than 1% just over a decade ago. Its big cities are verging on a cashless society, where even steamed buns or rickshaw rides can be purchased with a flash of a smartphone QR code. It's a far cry from when former U.S. Vice President Joe Biden scoffed that the Middle Kingdom didn't innovate.

China has now set its sights on the next tech frontier: artificial intelligence. On July 20, China's State Council issued a Next Generation Artificial Intelligence Development Plan to become the "premier global AI innovation center" by 2030, when it predicts China's core AI industry will be worth $148 billion, with AI-related fields at $1.48 trillion. China already rivals the world's leading developed nations by spending 2.1% of its $11.2 trillion GDP on research and development. At November's Artificial Intelligence and Global Security Summit in Washington, Eric Schmidt, then executive chairman of Google parent Alphabet, predicted China's AI prowess will overtake the U.S. within a decade. "By 2030, they will dominate the industries of AI," he said. Russian President Vladimir Putin recently said that whoever masters AI will become "ruler of the world."

Russian President Vladimir Putin recently said that whoever masters AI will become 'ruler of the world.' No one in China takes this challenge more seriously than Robin Li

No one in China takes this challenge more seriously than Robin Li. Some $1.2 billion of his firm's $9 billion revenue over the first three-quarters of 2017 was put back into R&D, according to published accounts—much of it into AI. He believes Baidu can dominate the global market for AI by harnessing China's greatest advantage: scale. At a basic level, AI systems replicate human learning based on empirical data: whether driving patterns, financial behavior or the true intention behind a slurred voice command. The more data, the better trained the algorithm—giving a company that serves the world's most populous nation an obvious leg up. "[China is] a very large and uniform market," Li says. "Everyone speaks the same language; they all obey the same law."

Therein lies the contradiction at the heart of China's efforts to forge the future: the country has the world's most severe restrictions on Internet freedom, according to advocacy group Freedom House. China employs a highly sophisticated censorship apparatus, dubbed the Great Firewall, to snuff out any content deemed critical or inappropriate. Google, Facebook and Twitter, as well as news portals like the New York *Times,* Bloomberg and TIME, are banned. Manned by an army of 2 million online censors, the Great Firewall gives outsiders the impression of deathly silence within.

But in fact, business thrives inside the firewall's confines—on its guardians' terms, of course—and the restrictions have not appeared to stymie progress. "It turns out you don't need to know the truth of what happened in Tiananmen Square to develop a great smartphone app," says Kaiser Kuo, formerly Baidu's head of international communications and a co-host of *Sinica,* an authoritative podcast on China. "There is a deep hubris in the West about this." The central government in Beijing has a fearsome capacity to get things done and is willing to back its policy priorities with hard cash. The benefits for companies willing or able to go along with its whims are clear. The question for Baidu—and for Li—is how far it is willing to go.

A TRIP IN BAIDU'S SELF-DRIVING CAR IS not yet a comfortable ride. When TIME took a test drive around the Baidu campus, potential obstacles like trash cans or parked cars caused the vehicle to regularly jolt to a halt. The car is far from road-ready: there's a clumsy spinning radar on the roof and a trunk full of whirring gadgetry. Still, Baidu's driverless-car platform, Apollo, has been adopted by 130 independent manufacturers, testament to what Baidu has achieved in the field. The company has launched voice-recognition software, DuerOS, which it says recognizes Mandarin Chinese more reliably than a human being does. Its AI-driven facial-recognition software is so advanced, it is being used to reunite missing children with their parents by digitally aging and matching photographs. On Jan. 8, Baidu was ready to unveil Apollo 2.0, which enables autonomous driving on simple urban roads, at the Consumer Electronics Show in Las Vegas. Baidu's message at the event said it all: "AI is changing the world, at China speed."

"Our vision is that humans can interact with all devices using human language," says Li. "The difference between humans and animals is that humans can use tools. Over the past 100,000 years, whatever tools you invent you have to learn how to use. In the future, you won't need to do that—tools will learn how to understand human language, human intentions. That's the future."

It's a future that Li could hardly have imagined growing up in Yangquan, a city of about 1 million people in China's hardscrabble central province of Shanxi, known for farming and mining. Li's high school had only five Apple II computers for 1,800 pupils, so the teachers prioritized their usage for the dozen kids with the best math scores. Li enjoyed math but "immediately fell in love with computers," he says. "I thought they were magical."

After studying information management at Peking University, Li obtained a computer-science degree at the State University of New York at Buffalo. He initially worked for the *Wall Street Journal* as a software engineer, before joining search-engine pioneer Infoseek. Then Li made the decision to return to China to found his own company, in a hotel room opposite the Peking University campus. "I hired a professor and five students about to graduate to work on the first version of the Baidu search engine," he says.

Baidu went from strength to strength, unperturbed even by the entry of Google to the Chinese market in 2005. Baidu had over 40% of Chinese search traffic at that time, compared with its rival's

30%. By the time Google withdrew from China in 2010, citing what it believed was government hacking of Gmail, Baidu had 75% of Chinese search traffic, while Google had shrunk to just in the teens.

Li says the company used government meddling as an excuse. "Google left because Baidu was gaining market share," he says. "The China market is very competitive and things can change very quickly, so you really need to make decisions very quickly, and the problem is that U.S. companies' decisionmaking is not made here in China." Lee Kai-Fu, head of Google in China at the time, says the decision to retreat was "difficult." "You really have to make the decision to fork your product into two different products. That's very painful—especially for Silicon Valley entrepreneurs."

China's 1.4 billion people are a tantalizing prospect for American business minds, but the obstacles are significant. Chief among them is compliance with local regulations, including censorship. Skype, for example, was removed from Chinese app stores in mid-November for failing to abide by new regulations. Last year, China rolled out a controversial new cybersecurity law that, among many stipulations, requires foreign companies doing business in the country to store related data locally. This means, say critics, courts beholden to the Communist Party can easily subpoena it. Even so, that hasn't dissuaded every U.S. company; on Jan. 10, Apple agreed to outsource local iCloud services to a Chinese firm.

Baidu also plays by the government's rules by, for example, censoring searches of the 1989 Tiananmen Square protests and deadly crackdown. Li is unapologetic. "If certain things are deemed illegal, then it's illegal, and we should block it," he says. "That's our way of doing business here." But lately even Baidu has fallen foul of Chinese officialdom. In 2015, the Chinese government hijacked Baidu Analytics JavaScript to inject malicious code into hosting platform GitHub, according to independent analysts, sparking an almighty public-relations ruckus. In May 2016, Chinese regulators limited the lucrative health care advertisements that Baidu could carry following the death of a student after undergoing experimental cancer treatment he found on the site. The treatment took place at a state hospital, and many felt Baidu was made a scapegoat for China's broken health care system.

Baidu began testing its Apollo self-driving cars on public roads late last year

Then, on Aug. 11, China's cyberspace administration said it was investigating Baidu—as well as fellow tech titans Tencent and Sina Weibo—for alleged cybersecurity violations relating to social-media posts on its platforms. Previously unfettered chat services like WhatsApp have also found themselves proscribed. Is Li worried that Chinese cyberspace is getting smaller? "As an Internet company, we always don't want anything regulated so we can do things freely," he says carefully. "But I also recognize that that's not practical and not even good for the country."

It's unlikely that Li would have gotten to where he is today by challenging the Communist Party. For the moment at least, both are united in their goal of harnessing the potential of AI. But the technology brings awesome risks as well as rewards. Tesla boss Elon Musk says uncontrollable AI represents a "fundamental" threat to humanity, while renowned physicist Stephen Hawking fears it could "spell the end of the human race."

Li disagrees, saying, "Humans will always have the capabilities to make the world a safe place. Think about nuclear weapons: they can kill a lot of people, they killed a lot of people, but we can actually control this type of weaponry. And the real function of nuclear weapons was to end the Second World War. They did not start the Third World War."

Not yet, at least. But fears over AI are not all about a dystopian future. The technology is already automating tasks that provided incomes to people. Driverless technology will most quickly be adopted for long-distance haulage, potentially putting up to 16 million Chinese truckers out of work. For Li, the problem is unavoidable. "When technology changes the world, then a lot of jobs are lost," he says, comparing it to the advent of the steam engine. "You cannot change that. What you can do is continue to innovate and create more new jobs for people."

That will require the Chinese government to remain open to the world, he suggests, and not withdraw as the U.S. appears to have done under President Trump. The White House's proposals to limit immigration "damage the innovation environment of the U.S.," Li says, urging China to take a different tack. "We should create a better environment for foreigners to open up here, to innovate here, to set up companies." But for that to happen, and for Baidu to truly dominate AI, Li may have to confront China's own ideological tightening. For now, however, Li is focused on his mission: "to make the complex world simpler." Or, perhaps, to pull down barriers faster than others can throw them up. ◻

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'REIGNING SUPREME EVEN AFTER SHE DISAPPEARS IS STONE AS THE AUTHOR WHO PLAYS THE BIG BAD WOLF.' —PAGE 50

Blige and Mulligan in Rees' not-to-be-missed indie Mudbound

STEVE DIETL—NETFLIX

MOVIES

In the dead of winter, Hollywood finds a rich harvest

By Stephanie Zacharek

WHEN IT COMES TO SMALLER, independent films—including labors of love, pictures whose makers have fought for years to bring to life—January could go down as a mini golden age of cinema. The range of extraordinary new films you can see right now in theaters, or even on Netflix, is unusually vast. Unlike last year at this time, when the two awards front runners leading the conversation were *Moonlight* and *La La Land,* with little in between, the field this year is wide open and multitextured. What's more, many of these films address—in either subtle or direct ways, and nearly always with a dose of humor—the social and cultural issues that have come to preoccupy so many of us in this flash-point era of anxiety and uncertainty.

Many of these titles opened in limited release in the fall, when you could catch them only in a few markets; now, in the fallow season of January, when studios often dump their least promising films, the fall's best films are finally at the multiplex. Yet these aren't eat-your-spinach movies—drab, dutiful pictures that you know you ought to see but find every excuse to avoid. Dramatically rich, gracefully crafted and either profoundly or joyously moving, these are all movies worthy not just of awards but of your hard-earned free time.

Guillermo del Toro's romantic fantasy *The Shape of Water* was born of the director's lifelong love of misunderstood movie creatures. "Since childhood I've been faithful to monsters," he said as he accepted

Hawkins in The Shape of Water, *a sensuous fairy tale for adults*

the Golden Globe for Best Director earlier this month. "I've been saved and absolved by them." That goes for this movie's lead character too: Sally Hawkins gives a lustrous, affecting performance as a young woman who is unable to speak, who makes a living as a cleaning lady at a top-secret government facility in 1960s Baltimore. It's there that she meets the man who will become the love of her life—except he's not exactly a man, but an elegant aquatic being, sort of an amphibious Fred Astaire, played with shimmery grace by del Toro regular (and former contortionist) Doug Jones. *The Shape of Water* isn't exactly kids' stuff: parents who are wondering if it's O.K. to take their children should know that it features an interspecies sex scene. The particulars are handled discreetly, and if you're ready to explain the fanciful mechanics at work here, then go for it. But grownups are probably the ones most in need of this sort of fairy tale. *The Shape of Water* is erotic and tender, a story of two outsiders who find their way to each other even in a restrictive, unforgiving world.

Luca Guadagnino's *Call Me by Your Name* is a different sort of romantic idyll, a bittersweet first-love story in which a precocious 17-year-old (played by the dazzling Timothée Chalamet) falls in love with the rakish, freewheeling interloper (Armie Hammer, in a performance of dashing, charismatic complexity) who comes to spend the summer at his family's Italian villa circa the mid-1980s. Working from André Aciman's gorgeously detailed novel—the script was adapted by veteran filmmaker James Ivory—Guadagnino performs a kind of leisurely hypnotism: this love story is a meeting of spiritual ardor and tender physicality. And the movie's final shot, a languorous take that maps the totality of what it means to love and to let go, is one of the year's most striking cinematic moments. Be sure to remain seated through the final credits, or you'll miss a significant part of this film's subtle, seductive magic.

There is love, but little romance, in Dee Rees' extraordinary *Mudbound*. This intimate epic, now streaming on Netflix, follows two American families, one black and one white, working the land in the Mississippi Delta in the 1940s. Adapted from Hillary Jordan's 2008 novel and featuring a superb ensemble cast including Mary J. Blige, Jason Mitchell and Carey Mulligan, *Mudbound* offers a thumbnail picture of midcentury American racism and injustice. Perceptively shot by cinematographer Rachel Morrison, it's one of the most gorgeous films of the year, a portrait of hardscrabble lives that are bound tight with the unforgiving beauty of the land they call home. This is a deeply thoughtful and at times harrowing picture, one that's unjustly at risk of being overlooked for big awards this year. It's also a reminder of how slowly things change in this country.

IT'S DIFFICULT to make movies about American class divisions that don't devolve into ponderous civics lessons. Sean Baker's *The Florida Project*—set in and around a purple budget motel on the outskirts of Orlando, home to families who pay by week and live hand to mouth—has too much energy, and too much heart, for that. Newcomer Brooklynn Prince plays 6-year-old Moonee, who lives at that motel with her loving but rough-around-the-edges mom (Bria Vinaite). Moonee is both a troublemaker and an effervescent sprite: her hijinks cause headaches for the motel's

A duo of star turns

Indie films have brought big opportunities for both of these actors

SHE, MARGOT

Though *I, Tonya*'s Margot Robbie made her big splash in *The Wolf of Wall Street,* she has also appeared in indies like *Z for Zachariah* and *Suite Française.*

SAOIRSE SUPREME

Lady Bird's Saoirse Ronan, at only 23, has a long résumé of indie films to her credit, including *Brooklyn, Atonement, The Grand Budapest Hotel* and *Hanna.*

THE SHAPE OF WATER: 20TH CENTURY FOX; I, TONYA: NEON; LADY BIRD: A24; 12 STRONG: WARNER BROS.

beleaguered manager (played, wonderfully, by Willem Dafoe), but in the end, his fierce protectiveness of her is a mirror of what we feel for her too. We've all seen stories about families making the most of what little they have, but Baker's lightness of touch makes this one special. Radiant and unsentimental, it's a classic American story that feels buoyant but cuts deep.

Craig Gillespie's *I, Tonya* is a classic American story of another sort. This account of real-life champion skater Tonya Harding's rise to fame and fall from grace is both funny and piercing, mordantly honest in the way it deals with one young woman's dreams of earning the world's adoration and respect. Margot Robbie is terrific as Harding, tough on the outside but as fragile as a wisp of tulle beneath. Gillespie traces her story from her beginnings as a talented tyke to a fierce competitor hampered by low self-esteem and insecurity—and he revisits the Tonya Harding–Nancy Kerrigan scandal with a point of view that's sure to make you rethink your perception of what really happened. Most significant, the movie's frankness in the way it deals with domestic violence is a rare thing in current American movies. This is a daring picture, one that faces uncomfortable truths head-on.

If you haven't yet seen *Lady Bird,* Greta Gerwig's exuberant yet delicately textured film about a young woman (a resplendent Saoirse Ronan) growing up in—and yearning to escape—early 2000s Sacramento, why wait? Every supporting performance here is lovely, from Lois Smith and Stephen McKinley Henderson as a wonderfully benevolent Catholic-school nun and priest to Beanie Feldstein's turn as Lady Bird's sunnily equanimous best friend Julie. And as Lady Bird's complicated, seemingly intractable mother Marion, Laurie Metcalf gives one of the finest, prickliest performances of the season. The picture is poised to be an Oscar front runner, but that's not the chief reason to see it: *Lady Bird* is so generous in spirit—even within its forthrightness about class issues, not to mention complex mother-daughter relationships—that it's likely to make you feel better about everything. In a season like this, everyone can use a little of that. ◻

Hemsworth on horseback

MOVIES

12 Strong isn't quite strong enough

THE MOST THRILLING ELEMENTS OF NICOLAI Fuglsig's based-on-real-events war drama *12 Strong* are, in ascending order, Chris Hemsworth, Michael Peña, Michael Shannon and horses. If you have an affinity for any or all of those things, the movie is at least tolerable.

But it's hard to shake the feeling that *12 Strong*—based on Doug Stanton's 2009 book *Horse Soldiers,* about U.S. Special Forces troops who traveled to Afghanistan shortly after 9/11 to confront Taliban forces—should add up to more than it does. Hemsworth, stalwart as always, plays Captain Mitch Nelson, who leads a group of men—among them Shannon's Hal Spencer and Peña's Sam Diller—to one of the world's most unforgiving landscapes to fight an enemy about whom they know very little. The big surprise is that they'll have to do so on horseback, joining a loosely knit alliance of local anti-Taliban warriors. (Their leader, Abdul Rashid Dostum, is played by *Homeland*'s Navid Negahban.)

In the best scene, Hemsworth instructs his men, equine neophytes, in the fine art of mounting a horse and making it go forward. Otherwise, the finest moments of *12 Strong* belong to either the characteristically intense Shannon or the ever-likable Peña, or both. In the end, the feat these characters pull off is rousing, but *12 Strong* never gathers the momentum it needs. The horses are still something to look at, though. If only they had a better movie in which to prance, run and whinny. —S.Z.

FROM WARLORD TO POLITICIAN
In 2014, Dostum, the anti-Taliban general played in the movie by Negahban, became the Vice President of Afghanistan, a position he still holds.

Hedlund and Stone, both drawn to the dark corners of their Utah idyll

TELEVISION

Mosaic's old-school star power outdoes its tech

THE DIRECTOR STEVEN SODERBERGH IS THE most restlessly creative force in Hollywood. But despite the successes of his classically built big-screen entertainments such as *Traffic* and last year's *Logan Lucky,* he keeps chasing difficult work—like the experimental drama *Bubble* or the black-and-white noir *The Good German.*

His new HBO series, *Mosaic,* presents the auteur in full, with all that that implies. The show began its life last year as an interactive app, allowing viewers to see the investigation into the disappearance of posh Park City, Utah, children's-book author Olivia Lake (Sharon Stone) from various perspectives. It's an attempt to push forward the medium of television, but one that demands more than what most viewers might be willing to give.

The HBO series—with one cut-together version of the story—is creepily effective, though. Building in intensity, *Mosaic* thrives on perversity, with its suspects outdoing one another in nastiness. Reigning supreme even after she disappears is Stone as the author who plays the big bad wolf. In a splashy role that recalls her *Casino* 1990s, Stone asks a bartender (Garrett Hedlund) to "pour me something tall and muscular." Her willingness to ride so close to parody—and her ability to carry it off—is as much of a special effect as *Mosaic* needs.

—DANIEL D'ADDARIO

MOSAIC *airs on HBO Jan. 22–26 at 8 p.m. E.T.*

ON MY RADAR

MARGOT ROBBIE IN *I, TONYA*

"She's a real movie star. She's something that we see so rarely. And I think she's got the grit and the determination and the chops to really do it."

QUICK TALK

Sharon Stone

The movie star, 59, comes to multiple small screens in Mosaic, *an HBO series directed by Steven Soderbergh (debuting on Jan. 22) that began its life as an interactive app.*

What made you decide to come onboard this show? When Steven Soderbergh writes something for you, once you get done screaming and get back up off the floor, I think it's time to say yes! I really got it with him.

Did Soderbergh inspire you to work all the harder? I'm really a good soldier. If I have a good general, I'm just great. If I have a really crappy leader, as I think we've seen in some of my films, not as great! Because there's nothing to intuit. When I have a great director and great material, I know what I'm doing.

Was the shoot—moving quickly to produce content for the Mosaic app—demanding? Oh, good Lord, yes! When I was first making the deal, they said, You don't get a trailer and you don't get a chair. I'm like, The trailer's one thing, but I need a f-cking chair! I've been in the business 40 years, people. Let's get with it!

Your character is a children's-book author, which presents an interesting contrast with her frankness about her desire. Well, isn't that how women are? I don't think that for so long we've been able to see women as women are. It's as though women are supposed to compartmentalize themselves, and we're not supposed to understand that women are complex people. I think we grasp at this point that that's a bit passé.

Has recent conversation about sexual abuse and assault made you think differently about your experiences in Hollywood? More, it's made me able to sit with my friends and laugh until we cry and cry until we laugh. It's taken the secrecy away, all the shame and confusion and humiliation away. People can sit down with their loved ones and tell their stories and get love and get it out and get rid of it and see themselves clear and clean. —D.D.

MOSAIC: HBO; STONE: GETTY IMAGES

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The Swedish sister duo First Aid Kit

MUSIC

First Aid Kit nod to rock's past

SWEDES HAVE BEEN QUIETLY responsible for shaping the sound of pop in the U.S. for decades, from the glory days of Abba in the 1970s to the contemporary songwriter Max Martin, who has penned hits for Britney Spears and Taylor Swift. The history of roots music in America, meanwhile, is mostly homegrown. One noteworthy exception: First Aid Kit, a Swedish act that beautifully captures the spirit of Americana.

On their fourth album, *Ruins,* out Jan. 19, sister duo Johanna and Klara Söderberg pull from rock, country and folk influences, blending the warmth of Fleetwood Mac with Leonard Cohen's aching lyrics and the rockabilly stomp of the Dixie Chicks. To those who still long for the sound of Simon & Garfunkel and Joni Mitchell, *Ruins* brings them into the present, integrating waltzing melodies and a few honky-tonk chords into sweetly sung tunes that sound lush and timeless.

The sisters began playing together as young teens, busking on Stockholm streets in the 2000s before going viral with a cover of the folk-rock group Fleet Foxes' track "Tiger Mountain Peasant Song." On *Ruins,* their voices are as gorgeous as they were on that breakout song, whether on uptempo tunes like the rollicking "It's a Shame" or "To Live a Life," with tender guitar plucks and simple lyrics. "I hold on to whatever I can until it's gone," they sing on "Distant Star." "I carry on, for none of us will be here for too long." It's a refrain relevant to any, and every, era.

HALLELUJAH In 2017 First Aid Kit played two tribute shows to Leonard Cohen to sold-out crowds in their native Stockholm.

With *Ruins*—which was written in Los Angeles and recorded in Portland, Ore., with musicians including members of veteran rock acts R.E.M. and Wilco—First Aid Kit hews closer to a modern interpretation of a classic sound than most of the output of their stateside contemporaries. It makes sense: Sweden has a famously excellent arts-education system, which helps make music one of its biggest cultural products. But when their Americana sounds this good, there's no harm in having it imported.

—RAISA BRUNER

MUSIC

For Tune-Yards, the personal is political

THE OAKLAND, CALIF.–based artist Merrill Garbus has earned acclaim as the frontwoman of the musical project Tune-Yards, developing an eclectic, percussive sound that incorporates everything from Afrobeat to the ukulele. On their fourth album, *I Can Feel You Creep Into My Private Life,* out Jan. 19, Garbus and her longtime collaborator Nate Brenner dig deeper into contradictions: the music is upbeat, with dance-driven rhythms anchoring every song. But the lyrics reflect the turbulent political landscape of the moment, as on the dark, thumping "Colonizer," where Garbus sings, "I turn on my white woman's voice to contextualize acts of my white women friends." On one of the album's highlights, "ABC 123," she sings, "My country served me horror coke/ My natural freedom up in smoke" before proclaiming, "We'll unite before the very next election." It may not be subtle, but it's certainly audacious—and in an era of anodyne EDM, Tune-Yards proves that dance music can still have teeth.

—MIKE AYERS

BEAT DRIVEN While writing the new album, Garbus immersed herself in dance-music culture, deejaying weekly at the Hatch, a bar in Oakland.

FIRST AID KIT: GETTY IMAGES


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TREND

Hygge? Lykke? Lagom? Huh? The language of life advice

By Lucy Feldman

IF YOU HAVEN'T YET LEARNED THE DEFINITION OF *HYGGE,* don't sweat—the world will have moved on twice before you do. Thanks to concepts like *hygge, lykke* and *lagom,* bookstore browsing has become an exercise in translation, with more and more covers boasting foreign catchphrases as prescriptions for a new and happier lifestyle.

Following the outsize success of *The Life-Changing Magic of Tidying Up,* Japanese author Marie Kondo's decluttering book that has sold 8 million copies worldwide, publishers are scouring the globe for similar hits. Drawing material from the Nordic countries, there's a host of titles on *hygge* (the art of cozy living), *lagom* (the pursuit of balance) and now *lykke* (joy) as well as an end-of-life tidying manifesto on *dostadning,* or "death cleaning." Publishers are chasing their tails for repeat Kondo performances in an industry that is rarely able to predict hits, but readers seem happy to buy in for now.

Kondo stirred an unexpected fervor with her pocket-size guide to the KonMari method, a way of unburdening your life by streamlining your possessions. Since the U.S. release in 2014, the professional organizer has followed up with two more, *Spark Joy: An Illustrated Master Class on the Art of Organizing and Tidying Up* and *The Life-Changing Manga of Tidying Up. Hygge* (sounds like "HOO-gah"), a concept from Denmark often described as "conscious coziness"—think candles, hot drinks and fluffy socks—arrived in stores next.

Dozens of *hygge* books, from coffee-table tomes on dressing in warm knits to comfort-food cookbooks and fiction, written by Danes and non-Danes alike, have come out in the U.S. over the past two years. Many in the media have declared *hygge* the next KonMari. But wait. There's also *lagom* ("LA-gom") and *dostadning* ("DUH-sted-ning"), both from Sweden, and *lykke* ("LOO-kah"), another Danish contribution. Kondo's own publisher, Ten Speed Press, has *The Hygge Life: Embracing the Nordic Art of Coziness Through Recipes, Entertaining, Decorating, Simple Rituals, and Family Traditions* and *Live Lagom: Balanced Living, the Swedish Way*.

"A really sticky concept from overseas can capture the imagination," says Cassie Jones, an executive editor at HarperCollins who edits Meik Wiking, the Danish author of two such books. It can also spark dollar signs in the eyes of publishers. A colleague of Jones' discovered a book on *hygge* that was taking off in the U.K. in the fall of 2016—Wiking's *The Little Book of Hygge: Danish Secrets to Happy Living*—and acquired it for the U.S. company. The book didn't seem unlike Kondo's in its potential appeal, but that's not a comparison an editor would openly make, Jones says—in the publishing world, it's taboo to claim you've found the next fill-in-the-blank smash. But, she adds, "you could say, 'We're appealing to the same idea of being intrigued by how another culture solves a problem.'"

The Little Book of Hygge has risen to the top of the joyful-cozy book stack: it has been published in 33 territories and, since its January 2017 release, has sold about 95,000 copies in the U.S., according to NPD BookScan. HarperCollins happily acquired a second book from Wiking, *The Little Book of Lykke: Secrets of the World's Happiest People,* which touts the Danish word for happiness but covers happiness practices worldwide. Published stateside in December, that book has sold only about 5,000 copies so far, according to NPD BookScan, but it has been released in 25 other territories.

RESEARCH ON HAPPINESS has gained steam since the U.N. made it an official agenda item in 2011, and books on the pursuit, including Gretchen Rubin's

The Happiness Project, have a history of hits. Wiking is the founder and CEO of the Happiness Research Institute, a think tank in Copenhagen where suddenly pedestrians come knocking, expecting to find "rooms full of puppies." (No such luck.)

Hygge books boomed because they capitalized on global curiosity about, if not envy of, the happiest country on earth, Wiking says, referring to Denmark. (It has consistently ranked in one of the top slots in the annual World Happiness Report since the survey was launched in 2012.) Wiking spoke to TIME as he rode his bike to his Copenhagen gym, having just finished 12 consecutive interviews with Canadian radio stations. Plus, *hygge* gave a name to a common guilty pleasure, along with permission to pursue it: couch potatoism. Go ahead, curl up under a pile of feathery blankets, sip hot cocoa and ignore the outside world. It's *hygge.*

Wiking's *lykke* book aims to strike at the heart of the same readership, stretching beyond Denmark for tips. Try *shinrin-yoku,* or "forest bathing," a practice from Japan that includes mindfully experiencing the beauty of breathing cool, damp air, listening to leaves rustle and watching sunlight peek through treetops. Or follow the French health recommendation of eating meals in the company of others. "Denmark doesn't have a monopoly on happiness," Wiking says. But he's quick to add, "More and more books will come out of Nordic countries in terms of explaining ways of life in that region. Those countries are doing something right."

Indeed, we can thank neighboring Sweden for *lagom* and *dostadning,* and the guides therein. *Lagom* roughly translates to the Goldilocks rule: "not too little, not too much," or balance in all things. Niki Brantmark, a British interior-design blogger who has lived in Sweden for 13 years, sat down to write about the concept last January. Her book *Lagom: The Swedish Art of Living a Balanced, Happy Life* was published in the U.K. in September. "Scandinavia is quite a hot topic at the moment," says Brantmark, who admits a connection between the home-decoration aspects of *lagom*—fill your space with just the things you need and enjoy, and nothing more—and KonMari. *Lagom* seemed poised to dethrone *hygge,* but it didn't quite pluck the same heartstring in the U.S. While compatible with U.S. culture when defined as "working out a *lagom* amount, wearing clothes of a *lagom* fit," as Brantmark does, *lagom* also extends to personal status. Standing out is anathema in Sweden; excess is as American as it gets.

AND THEN THERE'S *dostadning.* A new book this January, *The Gentle Art of Swedish Death Cleaning*, by artist Margareta Magnusson, unpacks the term, which is a somewhat less violent act than it sounds. To death-clean, a process that the writer "somewhere between 80 and 100 years old" is currently undertaking herself, is to prepare for the end of one's life by ridding oneself of unneeded possessions—a merciful act for your next of kin if you're old, and a satisfying personal experience no matter your age or stage of life. It bears some resemblance to KonMari. While some authors resist comparison—Brantmark was sent a copy of Wiking's *hygge* book but says it's quite different—Kondo acknowledges a symbiosis with death cleaning, and with *hygge*, *lykke* and *lagom.* "Each of those concepts encourages people to re-examine what matters in life and begin a way of life that is truly satisfying," she says.

Jones, Wiking's editor, saw firsthand the potential for real impact when a friend of hers became one of the first certified KonMari consultants in the U.S., officially sanctioned to go to New York City apartments to help people tidy their space. She's not in the market for books with "happiness" in the title, she says, but there's still room to play with more foreign concepts. Wiking hasn't yet committed to another book, but he's not ruling it out. "The Fins, they have a word for sitting at home in your underwear drinking by yourself. It's one word, I can't remember it," he says. "But whether that will make a good book, I'm not sure." (Attention writers: It's *kalsarikannit.*)

In the meantime, readers less interested in mastering new vocabulary words can pick up a December release, *The French Art of Not Giving a Sh*t.* □

C'mon, get happy

These titles define the foreign-lifestyle-manual trend. Here's what they advise:

THE LIFE-CHANGING MAGIC OF TIDYING UP The first step to a happier, more meaningful existence is organizing your home, one category at a time.

THE LITTLE BOOK OF HYGGE: DANISH SECRETS TO HAPPY LIVING Improve each day by injecting coziness with candlelit dinners and snuggly movie nights.

THE LITTLE BOOK OF LYKKE: SECRETS OF THE WORLD'S HAPPIEST PEOPLE Test out best practices for fulfillment from around the globe.

LAGOM: THE SWEDISH ART OF LIVING A BALANCED, HAPPY LIFE Everything in moderation means less stress and more time for friends and hobbies.

THE GENTLE ART OF SWEDISH DEATH CLEANING Before you depart, do yourself (and your family) a favor by passing along your possessions.

ILLUSTRATIONS BY TOMI UM FOR TIME

Van Jones The TV pundit and former Obama green-jobs adviser talks the first year of Trump, civility in politics and big goals for his new CNN series

How has President Trump done in his first year? Badly, if you would like the country to find common ground and solve problems together. He gave rich business interests a big tax break, and he gave his working-class, populist base NFL players to be mad at.

The night Trump was elected, you said you were afraid. Are you still? It's hard to get past what happened in Charlottesville, where an American citizen was murdered, was assassinated by a white supremacist using ISIS tactics of driving a car through a crowd, and the President didn't denounce that in a forthright way. Overall Trump's behavior has been to let hateful, bigoted voices feel emboldened.

The President doesn't seem to be paying a price. Why? Polling numbers are bad. He has paid a price. The country usually rallies to the side of a President when the economy is doing reasonably well. He has offended and divided people in a way that folks can't rally with him even when we are enjoying some peace and prosperity.

How do you sustain citizen activism? As complicated as any particular news day is, the year is simple. It's a thumbs-up or thumbs-down vote on Trump in November—it will be the first truly national referendum on Trump and Trumpism.

What will it take for us to do big things as a country again? We need a bipartisanship from below. There are some issues that are really devastating people at the local level. Criminal justice is one of them. The addiction crisis is another. None of our kids are being prepared for the jobs of tomorrow in high tech and clean tech. Those are real issues that both conservatives and liberals can find their way to.

What do Democrats get wrong about Republicans? A strain of elitism has been allowed to fester among progressives so that it's perfectly O.K. to assume that someone who is conservative is either ignorant or bigoted. Nobody challenges that. Some of the smartest people I know, some of the best-intentioned people I know are conservative Republicans. Republicans have let a certain kind of tolerance for bigotry in their party. Both parties have blind spots when it comes to not being for all Americans and not respecting all Americans.

This year is the 50th anniversary of the assassination of Martin Luther King Jr. What would his lesson for 2018 be? We have to listen to the people at the bottom and on the margins better. Washington, D.C., is perpetually shocked by these movements that keep buffeting the Establishment. The Tea Party. Occupy Wall Street. Black Lives Matter. Trump and [Bernie] Sanders and #MeToo. These movements keep erupting out of the country and battering D.C. because people are hurt. People are scared. The system isn't responding adequately yet. There will be other populist waves, and that's why I want to have this show. I want an hour now and again where the passion of the people are given the front-row seat and the opportunity to be seen and heard from.

Are we just talking past each other? I am a progressive. Everyone knows that. I'm also a parent. I'm also an American. I'm a son of a veteran. Democracies can fail. Frankly, democracies usually fail. If everyone keeps jumping up and down on their own side of their boat, they can break it. I want to see if we can find some way to have a better set of disagreements. Can we have a better set of debates, a more meaningful set of debates, and actually get somewhere? —PHILIP ELLIOTT

> 'Can we have a better set of debates, a more meaningful set of debates, and actually get somewhere?'

MATT WINKELMEYER—GETTY IMAGES

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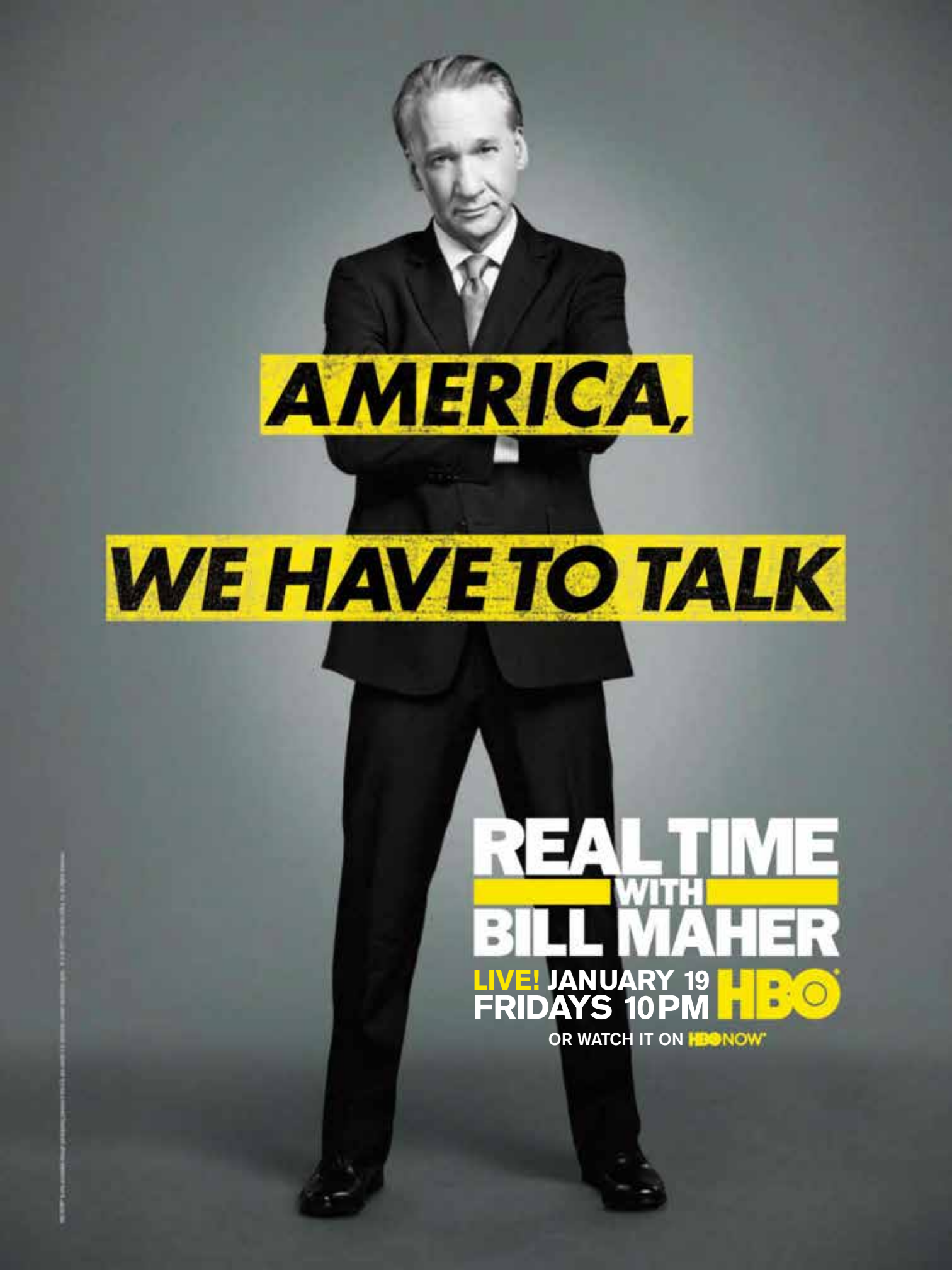
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