

TIME

Russia wants to undermine
faith in the U.S. election.

Don't fall for it.

By Massimo Calabresi



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Hamilton mania: Jenna Parker, dressed as King George, chases Juliet Forrest in Pittsburgh on Sept. 17

Photograph by Andrew Spear for TIME

ON THE COVER: TIME photo-illustration; Putin: Mikhail Svetlov—Getty Images; sticker: Laura Beach—EyeEm/Getty Images



What you said about ...

ON-FIELD PROTESTS Readers expressed a range of strong opinions on Sean Gregory's Oct. 3 cover story about national-anthem protests sparked by Colin Kaepernick of the San Francisco 49ers. Some were angered by a perceived insult to those who fight for the country: "Why not [give the cover to] my friend, who lost his leg defending this country?" asked Green Lee Wallace of Knoxville, Tenn. Others questioned Kaepernick's approach. The national anthem doesn't stand for "bad cops, bad teachers and bad preachers," noted Dave Kunkler of Rushville, Ohio. And Patricia Miller of Johnson City, Tenn., wondered what the protests have actually accomplished. "If you aren't a part of the solution," she wrote, "you are part of the problem."

But many were impressed by Gregory's analysis of the recent spike in athlete activism. Robert Betz of Corydon, Ind., said the story had "enough in it to stimulate further discussion and, hopefully, action." Tim Ackert of Orlando compared Kaepernick's decision to that of Vietnam veterans who protested the war after serving there, and Navy veteran Jamie Mabe of Raleigh, N.C., extolled the protests as an example of free expression, citing the danger of "compulsory nationalism." While "the anthem always

chokes me up," she wrote, "when I see Colin Kaepernick take a knee during the national anthem, I am proud. That was exactly what I fought for."

'Hurrah to Colin Kaepernick for making a stand.'

CAROL LEVIN,
Guilford, Vt.



WHAT WAR LOOKS LIKE Photojournalists have played a critical role in informing the world about the war in Syria, which began in 2011. TIME asked nine Syrian photographers to pick the most meaningful moments they've captured. Taken together, they present a unique look at a country in chaos—including the everyday scenes, like this one shared by two boys in Douma. See them all at lightbox.time.com



BOLT NAMES NAMES Usain Bolt, the fastest human on earth, recently visited TIME's offices and weighed in on a much debated question: Who are the greatest athletes of all time? Watch Bolt list his picks for a theoretical sports Mount Rushmore at time.com/bolt-video. (Hint: a certain champion sprinter makes the cut.)



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‘The signature of the deal is simply the end of the conflict. Then the hard work starts.’

JUAN MANUEL SANTOS, President of Colombia, on signing a peace accord Sept. 26 to end a 52-year conflict with the rebel group Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia; citizens will vote on the agreement in an Oct. 2 referendum

‘OUR FATHERS AND OUR MOTHERS ARE KILLED, AND WE CAN’T SEE THEM ANYMORE.’

ZIANNA OLIPHANT, 9-year-old resident of Charlotte, N.C., lamenting the consequences of police violence against black people at a Sept. 26 city council meeting that took place six days after officers fatally shot Kevin Lamont Scott, sparking two nights of protests

‘Donald was one of the people who rooted for the housing crisis. He said, back in 2006, “Gee, I hope [the market] does collapse, because then I can go in and buy some and make some money.”’

HILLARY CLINTON

‘That’s called business, by the way.’

DONALD TRUMP

An exchange between the Democratic and Republican candidates during the first presidential debate



28

Number of North Korea-based websites; they focus on news, recipes, movies and more

‘For that to happen today, we had some help.’

DEE GORDON, Miami Marlins second baseman, describing his hitting a home run in the team’s first at-bat on Sept. 26, one day after the death of the team’s All-Star pitcher José Fernández; minutes before, the Marlins had paid tribute to Fernández

National Museum of African American History and Culture
The site opened on the National Mall



Washington Monument
The site closed “indefinitely” for repairs

\$5,000

Amount of money found in a Domino’s pizza box after a woman in San Jose, Calif.; for returning it, the company gave her free pizza for life



claw back

Verb. To forcibly retrieve something (often money) already given away

Usage: On Sept. 27, Wells Fargo announced it would claw back \$41 million in compensation from its CEO, John Stumpf, in the wake of a scandal over bank employees constructing phony accounts

The Brief

'ULTIMATELY, U.S. PLANS MAY DEPEND ON HOW FAR ASSAD PUSHES.' —PAGE 10



Peres' life and career spanned the history of modern Israel, from isolated upstart to regional power

MIDDLE EAST

Shimon Peres could change. Can the Israelis and the Palestinians?

By Karl Vick

THE LIFETIME OF SHIMON PERES, who died on Sept. 28 at age 93, spanned the lifetime of the state of Israel. Born in what is now Belarus, his family moved to Tel Aviv more than a decade before Israel was founded in 1948. He lived on a kibbutz when those communal settlements and a utopian, leftist ideology defined the nascent state. He was also an architect of the Israel Defense Forces, the institution that ultimately defined Israeli society. A hawk in the precarious early decades of the country's existence, Peres at first encouraged the establishment of Jewish enclaves on the West Bank, famously calling settlements "the roots and the eyes of Israel." Yet in 1994, he shared a Nobel Peace Prize with Palestinian leader Yasser

Arafat and Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin for negotiating the Oslo Accords, which aimed to finally resolve the contest for the land between the Jordan River and the Mediterranean Sea.

Rabin was assassinated by an Israeli extremist not long after, and Arafat died in 2004. Peres lived to see Israel continue to change, turning increasingly inward and pessimistic after the promise of Oslo crumbled amid the Palestinian suicide bombings and Israeli incursions that were the Second Intifada, which peaked in 2002. But Peres remained what he had become: Israel's most prominent dove. The country that in its earliest decades had fought for its life at regular intervals—at least seven wars since 1948—is now the most

powerful nation in the Middle East. Its military pre-eminence is guaranteed by the U.S., including military aid that will run to \$38 billion over the next 10 years. Peres argued over the past decade that Israel could afford to rise from a defensive crouch and take another chance on peace. Polls showed him to be in the minority, but to a world that persisted in viewing the conflict through the prism of talks, his continued prominence amounted to an article of faith, despite whatever grim new reality had taken hold on the ground.

You no longer have to travel to Israel to understand how much has changed since 1994. New York City is far enough. Israel's ambassador to the U.N. is Danny Danon, an impish provocateur and the author of a book arguing that Israel should simply annex most of the occupied West Bank. The country's new consul general in New York has a similar name—Dani Dayan—and credential: he formerly headed the organization representing the 400,000 settlers on the West Bank.

Both men were appointed by Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, who no longer has to pretend to hold any faith in the Oslo process he campaigned against. The phrase *Middle East conflict* now refers to Syria and ISIS, not Israel and Palestine. In U.S. politics, Israel is mentioned as a test of a reflex: How fast can a candidate, especially a Republican, express unqualified support?

It's possible that Peres' passing will help outsiders move past the frame of Oslo (already long dead to Jewish Israelis and Palestinians) to whatever comes next—though it's not at all clear what that might be. Israelis' extraordinary ingenuity in other fields—agronomy, technology—somehow has never been applied to its political situation, a point Peres not only argued but showcased late in his own extraordinary life.

"You always have to find some new ways. Old ways are too known," he told *TIME* in February. In his 10th decade, he was as good as his word, displaying a questing spirit and a ravenous appetite for knowledge, especially about the human mind. Never well-loved as a politician, he was embraced in Israel's largely ceremonial role of President: the idealism he espoused suited the position—and Israelis' vision of themselves.

The morning in 2011 when I visited him in his office, he talked about cucumber harvests, Mao Zedong and, finally, Netanyahu's dismissive remarks on the latest round of peace talks. "Leaders must go ahead even when moving ahead is controversial," Peres said. "You must be ahead of time, because if you want to represent the status quo, what do you need leaders for?"

It's a question that Israelis and Palestinians have been asking for more than 20 years. No answer yet. □



TICKER

Spike in U.S. homicide rate

The U.S. murder rate rose by 10.8% in 2015, the highest percentage increase since the early 1970s, according to the FBI.

Violent crime was also up 4%, but still at its third-lowest rate since 1970.

Russia linked to MH 17 Downing

A two-year investigation into the downing of a Malaysia Airlines jet over eastern Ukraine in 2014 concluded that the missile responsible was not just made in Russia, but also fired from a separatist area of Ukraine controlled by pro-Russian rebels.

Saudi women protest patriarchy

A petition signed by almost 15,000 women in Saudi Arabia calling for an end to male guardianship has been sent to the government. Under Saudi law, women need the consent of a male guardian, usually a family member, for major decisions like travel or health care.

Geysers spotted on moon of Jupiter

NASA's Hubble Space Telescope detected fresh evidence of "water plumes" on the surface of Europa, one of Jupiter's moons. The findings may signal geological activity on the moon, which is thought to have vast oceans beneath its surface.

ENGINEERING

The developing space race

India hit a fresh milestone in its space program on Sept. 26 with the launch of eight satellites into different orbits using a single rocket. It's one of several space expeditions by developing nations. —Tara John

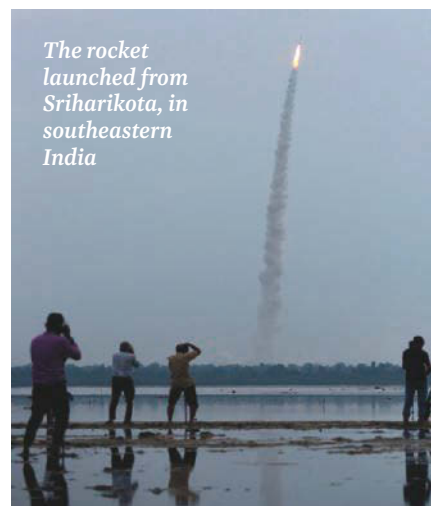
NIGERIA

Announced plans in March to send its first astronaut into space by 2030, to develop a space industry to rival the world's biggest.

The country has already launched five satellites into orbit.

BRAZIL

Parliament recently greenlighted the construction of Brazil's sixth satellite. It will be assembled in the country and is expected to be sent to China for launch around December 2018.



The rocket launched from Sriharikota, in southeastern India

PERU

The country launched its first observation satellite from French Guiana on Sept. 14. The satellite, which was built in France, will be used to monitor weather patterns and internal security.

ALGERIA

Three of the satellites launched by India were from Algeria. The satellites, one of which will help monitor disasters, are part of a \$1.5 billion space program launched in 2013.

DIGITS

4.9 ft.



Distance Australia has drifted (1.5 m) since its official GPS coordinates were last re-adjusted, in 1994



KING OF THE HILL Members of the Miami Marlins baseball team gather around the mound on Sept. 26 to honor their fallen teammate, star pitcher Jose Fernandez. The 24-year-old was killed alongside two friends in a high-speed boat crash off Miami Beach in the early hours of Sept. 25. After beating the New York Mets 7-3 in what was an emotional victory, the grieving Marlins laid their caps on the mound in tribute. *Photograph by Jasen Vinlove—USA Today Sports/Reuters*

SOUTH AMERICA

What's next after the peace deal in Colombia

A WAR THAT RAGED FOR OVER 50 years came to an end on Sept. 26 when the government and the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia, known as FARC, signed peace accords in Cartagena. What happens next is crucial to maintaining this moment of reconciliation:

BIG CHANGES Under the agreement, FARC is to relaunch as a political party, take part in a truth commission and hand over its guns. But the Colombian government must first pass an amnesty law to protect former guerrillas from arrest for their crimes.

President Juan Manuel Santos, left, and FARC leader "Timochenko" begin a new era



NEW LIVES Once disarmed, the fighters will reintegrate into society, guaranteed a minimum wage and social funding to build new communities. The militia group once funded by the illicit narcotics trade will also help the government destroy coca crops and clear land mines. But there are concerns some ex-guerrillas will join drug gangs or return to common crime.

FIRST THINGS FIRST Before any of this can happen, Colombians must approve the peace accord in an Oct. 2 referendum. It's expected to pass—but if it receives only a slim majority, opposition lawmakers in Congress may block the amnesty law, threatening efforts to disarm FARC and dealing the process a major blow. Peace has been declared, but the path ahead is far from clear. —T.J.

DATA

THE DEADLY COST OF AIR POLLUTION

In 2012, around 6.5 million deaths worldwide were linked to air pollution, which can cause lung cancer, heart disease and respiratory problems. The WHO has broken down that total by country for the first time. Here's how nations compare:



Ukraine
120 annual deaths (per 100,000 capita)
54,507 total deaths



China
76
1,032,833



Greece
45
5,008



U.S.
12
38,043



UAE
7
655



TICKER

Senate overturns Obama veto

The U.S. Senate voted 97-1 to overturn President Obama's veto of a bill that would allow survivors and families of victims of 9/11 to sue Saudi Arabia's government over the attacks. It was the first veto of Obama's presidency to be overridden by Congress.

Pontiff backs anti-gay-marriage rally

Pope Francis voiced his support of a Sept. 24 protest in Mexico City against President Enrique Peña Nieto's proposal to legalize same-sex marriage nationwide. The Pope said he is "in favor of the family and of life."

India considers water war

India's Prime Minister Narendra Modi threatened to scrap a treaty that governs use of rivers shared with Pakistan, as a dispute escalates over an attack on an Indian army base in Kashmir. Pakistan said any attempt to affect water flows would be an "act of war."

Teen concussion diagnoses soar

The rate of concussions diagnosed in Americans ages 10-19 rose 71% from 2010 to 2015, according to analysis of medical claims. That suggests increased awareness of the symptoms of potential brain injuries, especially in sports.

THE RISK REPORT

The U.S. has a weak hand in Syria—and Russia knows it

By Ian Bremmer

HOW FAST CAN A PEACE DEAL FALL APART?

On day one (Sept. 12), a U.S.-Russia-brokered cease-fire went into effect in Syria. By day four, Moscow and Washington were accusing each other of violations. On day five, a U.K.-based NGO was reporting that airstrikes were killing civilians. On day six, a U.S. airstrike killed Syrian soldiers. On day eight, a bomb attack on a U.N. aid convoy killed more than 20 relief workers and the U.N. was forced to suspend all relief efforts. Again, the U.S. and Russia traded charges of responsibility.

On day 12, Syrian fighter jets pounded the city of Aleppo, killing dozens and wounding hundreds. U.N. Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon, not known for plain speaking, denounced the use of bunker-busting bombs as an assault that "brings the violence to new depths of barbarity." Hundreds of thousands of civilians are trapped inside the city, parts of which remain under rebel control.

We shouldn't be surprised that a cease-fire couldn't last. It isn't even clear whether the Pentagon and State Department agreed on the wisdom of the deal, and whatever U.S. officials say about Syria's strategic importance, that country will remain much more important for Russia and Iran than for the U.S. Syrian President Bashar Assad is Russia's only true ally in the Middle East, if only because his survival depends on the Kremlin's good will and Syria

provides Russia with its primary Middle East relevance and its only Mediterranean naval base. The same goes for Shi'ite Iran—Syria is a longtime partner and client state in a Sunni Arab-dominated region.

The Obama Administration continues to insist that Assad must go. But it's too late for that, even if the latest bombing in Aleppo stiffens U.S. spines. No one in Washington has yet made a credible case that a post-Assad Syria can hold together or that Assad and ISIS can both be defeated. If Donald Trump wins the election, he'll probably cut a deal with Russia

No one in Washington has yet made a credible case that a post-Assad Syria can hold together

that recognizes Syria as a Russian problem. A Clinton White House would probably continue the Obama approach of criticism without much action, a recognition that the U.S. holds a losing hand.

Ultimately, U.S. plans may depend on how far Assad pushes. Will he settle for consolidating control of the western half of the country that's already within his grasp? Or will he push to recapture the entire country, a move that would come only at an unimaginably high human cost? One thing is clear: Russian planes in Syria's airspace and Iranian boots on Syrian ground give Moscow and Tehran a bigger say on Assad and a greater stake in Syria's future than Washington will ever have. And that's a reality that the next U.S. President would do well to accept. □



TECH
Big data breaches

Yahoo said on Sept. 22 that the personal data of at least 500 million users had been stolen from its networks in 2014, making it one of the most high-profile hacks in recent history. Here, a few others. —Tara John

LINKEDIN
167
MILLION

Estimated number of users affected by a 2012 hack that was originally thought to have exposed only 6.5 million passwords; the true total was revealed in May when hackers tried to sell more passwords online

HEARTLAND
130
MILLION

Estimated number of credit and debit cards compromised after the card-payment processor was hacked in 2008; the breach cost the firm at least \$140 million in settlements with credit-card companies

DROPBOX
68
MILLION

Estimated number of user names and passwords stolen from the cloud-storage company as part of a 2012 hack, though the scope of the breach did not become fully clear until this August



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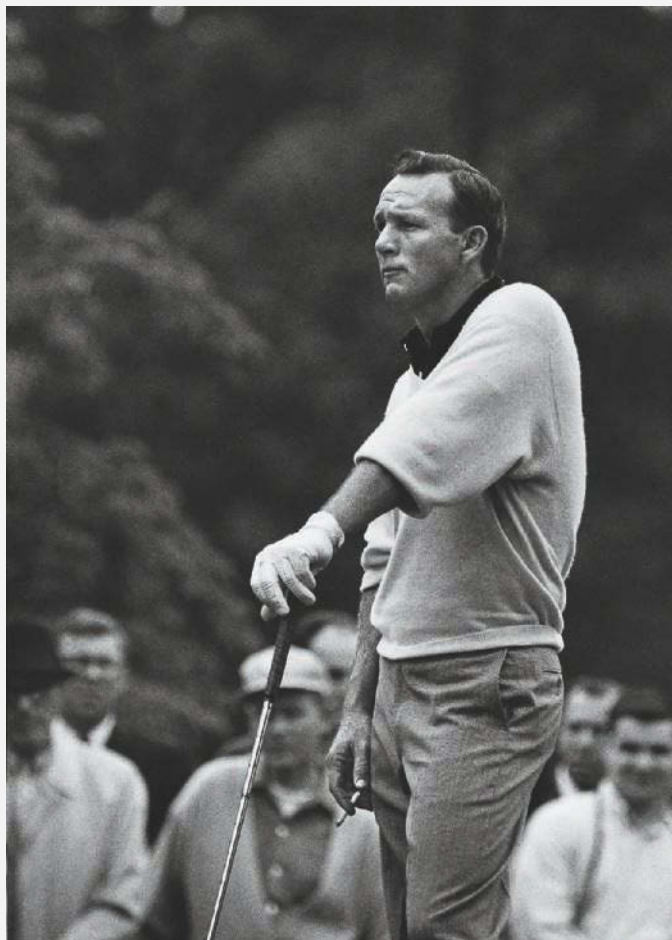
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Milestones



DIED
Arnold Palmer
American icon

AS A GLAMOROUS YOUNG MAN at the dawn of television, Arnold Palmer hoisted the rather cloistered game of golf onto his broad shoulders and carried it into a golden age with an irresistible swagger. His grip-and-rip swing married power with calamity to make every shot a heart-stopping drama. At the peak of his game, from 1958 to 1964, he was as good as anyone, ever. And when his career as a touring pro ended, he had 62 titles and seven major

championships, easily among the top 10 on both lists. But for all that, Palmer—who died Sept. 25 at 87—was bigger than golf. Much, much bigger.

A child of the Depression in little Latrobe, Pa., Palmer learned golf from his father, a country-club greenskeeper. No one knows where he learned magnetism. Fellow golfer Sam Snead, no slouch in the likability department, marveled that Palmer went to bed with charisma and woke up with even more.

With his dash and brio and Midas touch—Palmer co-founded the Golf Channel, built courses around the world

Palmer at the PGA's 1963 Thunderbird Classic Invitational in Rye, N.Y.

and even banked a bundle selling iced tea mixed with lemonade—he was the picture of America at the very moment when America took over the world. In the wake of World War II, Europe and Asia lay in ruins—50 million to 70 million dead, economies in ruins—and here came the USA, with a cocksure grin, a go-for-broke game and Popeye muscles on a slim-hipped frame.

In tandem with the pioneering sports agent Mark McCormack, Palmer parlayed his thrilling, sexy brand of golf into a global fame that would keep him among the world's highest-paid athletes well into his 80s. Over the years, Palmer endorsed products ranging from motor oil to rental cars, prescription medicines to polyester slacks. It turned out people would buy almost anything from someone they loved.

People loved him because, in a world of sullen superstars, Palmer radiated joy and delight in the treasures of his life. Asked once if he wished he could trade just a bit of his popularity for a few more major championships, he answered brightly, “No way, Jose.” He had a wonderful time being Arnold Palmer and squeezed every drop of juice from the experience.

Honored with both the Presidential Medal of Freedom and the Congressional Gold Medal, Arnold Palmer was a commoner who grew up to be the king. That kind of life force is infectious. It was hard to look at him—and now hard to remember him—without smiling. —DAVID VON DREHLE

ANNOUNCED

The birth of the first child to **share genetic material with three biological parents**. A team of scientists were able to insert the nucleus from one of the mother's eggs into a donor egg, likely removing a disorder, Leigh syndrome, which killed two of her other children. The child, whose parents are Jordanian, is now 5 months old.

DIED

➤ **Bill Nunn**, 63, actor best known for playing Radio Raheem in Spike Lee's *Do the Right Thing*. Nunn appeared in other Lee films like *School Daze* and *Mo' Better Blues*, as well as *Sister Act* and the 2002 version of *Spider-Man*.

➤ **Stanley Dural Jr.**, 68, better known as Buckwheat Zydeco, whose Grammy- and Emmy-winning band played music from the Louisiana bayou for 30-plus years. He collaborated with Willie Nelson, U2 and others.

➤ **Herschell Gordon Lewis**, 90, director known as the godfather of gore for horror films like *Blood Feast*, *Two Thousand Maniacs!* and *Color Me Blood Red*.

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HBO
22

FX
18

NETFLIX 9

PBS 8

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A&E 4

ADULT SWIM 4

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CARTOON NETWORK 4

CBS 3

AMC 2

CNN 2

CW 2

NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC CHANNEL 2

SHOWTIME 2

USA 2

**“FX HAS BUILT ITSELF INTO THE
MOST EXCITING NETWORK ON TELEVISION”**

-ENTERTAINMENT WEEKLY

FX
NETWORKS

States try to save retirement while Washington waits

By Penelope Wang

AN AMBITIOUS EFFORT TO CLOSE ONE of the biggest gaps in the American system of retirement saving is under way in California. Governor Jerry Brown, a Democrat, is expected to sign into law a program that will provide retirement-savings coverage to the estimated 7.5 million small-business employees in the state who lack workplace plans. The California Secure Choice program will require small-business employers to auto-enroll their workers in an IRA.

The move by the most populous state in the country adds critical mass to a state-level movement to improve retirement security for workers who lack employer plans. “It will be a watershed moment,” says Sarah Mysiewicz Gill, a senior legislative representative at AARP. “States keep an eye on California’s innovation, and this will spur more to go ahead with their own savings plans.”

Some 30 states are considering or developing savings programs to cover their small-business employees, according to the Georgetown Center for Retirement Initiatives. Washington and Oregon are set to launch programs in 2017, while Connecticut, Illinois, Massachusetts, New Jersey and Maryland have enacted legislation to set up plans.

Backers of the initiative include retiree advocates, financial-services companies that manage retirement plans and state officials who want to get ahead of the potential expense of supporting an impoverished aging population. But many small-businesses organizations, which fear the costs and complexity of new regulations, have resisted the notion of a mandate.

ACCESS TO AN EMPLOYER PLAN is the single most critical factor in retirement security, studies show. Without a nudge from an employer and the convenience of payroll deduction, most people simply never get around to putting away money for retirement. In recent years, many companies have boosted 401(k)



52%

Percentage of U.S. households ages 55 and up that have no retirement savings in defined-contribution plans or IRAs

22%

Percentage of U.S. households ages 55 to 64 with no retirement savings that own a home that is paid off

\$21,000

Median net worth of U.S. households ages 55 to 64 with no retirement savings

participation by automatically enrolling new employees and pointing them toward an age-appropriate investment.

Some 90% of workers with an employer plan are saving for retirement vs. just 20% of those without one, according to the Employee Benefit Research Institute. “Having 401(k) auto-enrollment and default contributions is essential in overcoming inertia and making savings happen,” says Harvard public-policy professor Brigitte Madrian, an expert on behavioral finance.

But at any given time, only about half of U.S. private-sector workers participate in a 401(k) or other employer plan, typically those employed by large

or midsize companies, the Boston College Center for Retirement Research reports. The other some 55 million employees work for small businesses, which typically do not provide a retirement benefit, or freelance or are self-employed.

Granted, most Americans, even those with 401(k)s, are falling short in their retirement savings. Take the millions of boomers heading into retirement or already there. Half of all households headed by those 55 and older have no retirement savings, a recent GAO study found. Among those who do have some savings, the median amount was just \$148,000 for households ages 65

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³ National Average APYs based on specific product types of top 50 U.S. banks (ranked by total deposits) provided by Informa Research Services, Inc. as of 9/1/16. CD Rates: Average APYs are based on certificate of deposit accounts of \$25,000. High Yield Savings Rates: Average APYs are based on high yield savings accounts of \$10,000. Although the information provided by Informa Research Services, Inc. has been obtained from the various institutions, accuracy cannot be guaranteed.

* FDIC Insurance up to \$250,000 per depositor, per insured bank, for each ownership category.

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to 74, which is worth \$649 a month in annuity income.

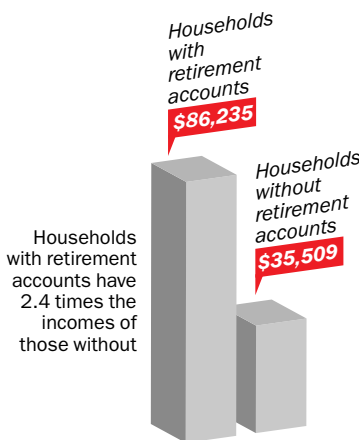
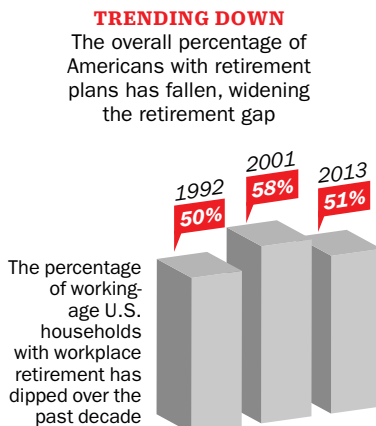
Struggling retirees are likely to end up tapping local safety-net programs, which is why many states are attempting to build their own plans. But a state-by-state approach to retirement saving has drawbacks. A patchwork of plans would lack economies of scale, which would make it difficult to keep fees low and deliver higher returns to savers. “I’m delighted that states are taking the initiative,” says economist Alicia Munnell, director of the Boston College Center for Retirement Research. “But it’s silly to have 50 different retirement plans instead of a national auto-IRA plan.”

States don’t have much choice, Munnell notes, since a national plan has been stalled in D.C. for years. A federal auto-IRA, which would require employers without workplace plans to enroll workers in an IRA, was first proposed in 2006 with bipartisan congressional backing. Yet the measures failed to pass. An auto-IRA plan was included in President Barack Obama’s State of the Union speeches in 2015 and this year but never got traction. Obama instead launched the myRA, a federal starter-IRA plan that workers can choose voluntarily.

Still, the growing momentum of state savings plans may spur Washington to finally take action. “There’s surprisingly broad agreement in Congress that we need to pass a new retirement bill,” says Melissa Kahn, a retirement-policy strategist with investment firm State Street Global Advisors. “We’ve reached a tipping point, with more boomers retiring without enough savings, a lower return environment and the push from the states.”

Indeed, the Senate Finance Committee unanimously approved legislation recently that would allow small employers to band together to create so-called open multiple employer plans, which would give their 401(k)s greater economies of scale. “Helping small businesses is a goal shared by both political parties,” says Jamie Kalamarides, senior vice president at Prudential Retirement.

It’s far from clear whether the bill will be passed in Congress’s lame-duck session. And even if that happens, broader reforms are needed, retirement experts



SOURCES: GOVERNMENT ACCOUNTABILITY OFFICE; NATIONAL INSTITUTE ON RETIREMENT SECURITY

say. The last major federal retirement legislation, the Pension Protection Act, was passed a decade ago. That bill gave the O.K. for 401(k) plans to use auto-enrollment, auto-escalation of contributions and broadly diversified portfolios as default investments. But it has not helped workers who lack 401(k)s. “Today more people are working for smaller employers or startups, many of them are younger and earning lower incomes, and the big issue is helping them save even small amounts,” says Diane Oakley, executive director of the National Institute on Retirement Security.

A flurry of proposals to set up new national savings plans have emerged

this year. One of the most comprehensive was offered by the Bipartisan Policy Center, which is led by former Republican and Democratic Senators as well as economists and academics. The recommendations include a proposal that would encourage employers that do not offer a retirement benefit to connect their workers with an outside firm that offers retirement accounts.

Financial-services companies, employers and benefit experts are also proposing retirement reforms. A plan devised by State Street Global Advisors would mandate employers to auto-enroll workers into a 401(k). To cushion this requirement, small-business owners would receive tax incentives and options to sign up with open multiple employer plans that would ease reporting requirements. The Brookings Institution, the American Academy of Actuaries and the ERISA Industry Committee, a group representing the benefit plans of the U.S.’s largest employers, have also suggested retirement-plan changes.

BUT REAL PROGRESS on comprehensive reforms will wait until after a new President takes office. Whoever wins will also face the challenge of fixing Social Security, which remains the most important source of income for retirees. About 25% of Americans 65 or older rely on the program for at least 90% of their income. The trust-fund reserves are projected to run out of money in 2034, according to the latest annual report from Social Security’s board of trustees. After that, Social Security can continue to pay about 75% of its scheduled benefits.

All the more reason to hope state savings plans move forward and push Washington to act. “Historically in the U.S. we don’t make major policy moves without states first experimenting on their own,” says New School economics professor Teresa Ghilarducci, who notes that before Social Security was enacted in the 1930s, some 30 states set up old-age pensions. More recently, health care reform in Massachusetts set the stage for the Affordable Care Act. Perhaps states will end up leading the way in retirement saving too.

Wang is an editor at large at Money magazine



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LightBox

Visiting hours

Mexicans connect with loved ones through a border fence in Tijuana on Sept. 25. On weekends at a park in San Diego, the U.S. Border Patrol allows families separated by the border—barricaded to pedestrians for 352 of its nearly 2,000 miles—to talk and touch fingertips.

Photograph by
John Moore—Getty Images

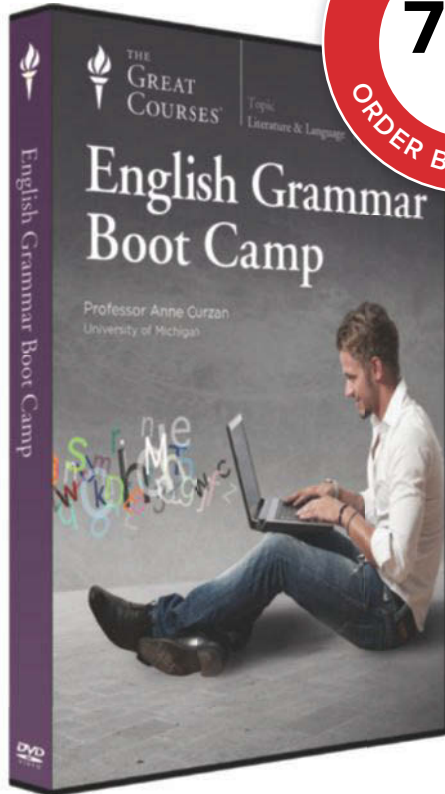
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The View

'SCIENTISTS HAVE ESTABLISHED A CLEAR LINK BETWEEN SPENDING TIME ON EMAIL AND FEELING STRESS.' —PAGE 23



Jolie is filing for sole custody of her and Pitt's six children (seen here in 2011, sans Shiloh)

PARENTING

The growing case for shared parenting after divorce

By Belinda Luscombe

THERE ARE MANY WAYS IN WHICH celebrities are not like us, from the clothes they wear to the jets they fly. And when Angelina Jolie, one of the world's most famous women, filed for divorce from Brad Pitt, one of the world's most famous men, she did something else few unfamous women do: she filed for full physical custody of their six kids. Essentially, she wants to bar Pitt from living with Maddox, Pax, Zahara, Shiloh, Vivienne and Knox for any stretch of time.

Jolie, through her lawyer, argued that sole physical custody was best for the "health" of her family. Whether or not she's right—without knowing the details, it's impossible to judge—the case is reigniting a debate over what's best for kids after divorce.

For decades, there was a widely

held belief they should have one home with the primary caretaker, often the mother. But that status quo is changing. Absent some mitigating factor, such as an abusive mom or a mentally ill dad, many experts now agree that kids are happier and healthier when they can "maintain and build on meaningful relationships with both of their parents," says Michael Lamb, who teaches psychology at the University of Cambridge. More often than not, that requires living under the same roof as each parent for significant periods of time—which is possible only under joint, not sole, custody.

These claims are supported by reams of data, but the reasoning behind them is mostly commonsense: when it comes to parenting, two minds are better than one. "One might be

better for a particular age or a particular kid or a certain type of problem,” explains Linda Nielsen, a psychology professor at Wake Forest University, who has studied custody arrangements. Dads, for example, are more likely to engage kids in physical play, which helps kids learn how to handle their bodies (no hitting!) and their emotions on and off the field. Moms, meanwhile, are more likely to reason with and socialize kids, which helps them understand how their actions affect others. And even if parents don’t occupy traditional gender roles—or are in a same-sex relationship—depriving a kid of one of them can have devastating long-term effects. A 2007 study found that kids who lived with each of their parents at least 35% of the time were less depressed and had fewer health problems and stress-related illnesses than those who lived with just one parent.

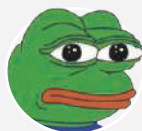
Of course, it’s possible for kids who live with one parent to spend time with the other. Jolie, for example, wants to give Pitt visitation rights to Maddox and Co. But experts say that kind of arrangement can cause “Disney parent” or “Uncle Dad” syndrome, wherein one parent is seen more as a relative to play with than as an authority figure; as a result, he or she is less able to parent in a way that has long-term developmental benefits.

So if psychologists have more or less ruled in favor of joint physical custody, why isn’t it more common? (The most recent figures from Pew Research found that only 22% of U.S. dads who don’t live with their kids see them more than once a week.) Some cite judicial bias, arguing that because mothers have historically been the primary caregiver, they have an advantage over fathers in custody hearings. Others suggest this is the way many dads want it. Parents also have to be able to communicate frequently and cordially for the arrangement to be beneficial, which not all divorcing couples can manage to do.

Nonetheless, shared parenting postdivorce is becoming increasingly common. Consider the rise of nesting, in which exes live in the same housing complex so their kids don’t have to move, and activist groups like Leading Women for Shared Parenting. In the past year alone, Missouri and Utah have both passed laws making joint physical custody the default ruling in family courts (similar bills have failed in Iowa, New Hampshire and Florida). California, where Jolie filed, favors equal custody only when both parents agree to it, and its family-court rulings tend to be “a bit more pro-female than other states,” says Jeffery Leving, an Illinois family lawyer who often represents fathers and has tried cases there.

No matter how that case works out, it’s worth exploring the larger questions it raises—especially considering whose welfare is at stake. □

SPOTLIGHT



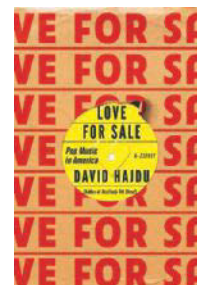
A new ‘hate symbol’

In an effort to expose and combat hate speech, the Anti-Defamation League periodically designates “hate symbols,” or icons—some of which appear to be inoffensive—that now have nefarious meanings. The latest addition: **Pepe the Frog, a beloved Internet meme** (originally created by artist Matt Furie for a 2005 comic) that’s often shared alongside speech bubbles that read, “Feels good, man.” That’s obviously not hate speech. But in recent months, the ADL says “racists and haters” have posted images of Pepe with a Hitler-like mustache or wearing a Klan hood, hence the official designation.

BOOK IN BRIEF

Pop music is smarter than it appears

POP MUSIC IS OFTEN DISMISSED AS light, frivolous and artistically bankrupt. But in his new book *Love for Sale*, music critic David Hajdu argues that it’s one of the most meaningful forms of expression in American culture. Consider songs like “Rock Around the Clock” by Bill Haley and His Comets and “Rapper’s Delight” by the Sugarhill Gang, which were able to unite listeners across race and class divides. Or the Shirelles’ “Will You Love Me Tomorrow,” which reflected shifting social standards regarding sex. Or Lesley Gore’s “You Don’t Own Me,” which primed a generation of feminists for social change. Or flamboyant performers like David Bowie and Lady Gaga, who have helped gay youths feel more comfortable in their own skin. By nature, pop music must appeal to millions of mainstream listeners. But, as Hajdu writes, it “has a long tradition of inciting its audience to defy traditions.”



—SARAH BEGLEY

CHARTOON

Historical tabloid headlines



JOHN ATKINSON, WRONG HANDS

BIG IDEA

Floating dorms

In major cities around the world, student housing is getting more expensive—and less available. One fix: ditch the traditional house altogether. Danish startup Urban Rigger teamed up with architect Bjarke Ingels to design a series of floating dorms, all made from recycled shipping containers. The first, which opened in Copenhagen in September, contains 15 studio apartments, each with its own bedroom, kitchen and bathroom; rent is \$600 a month, considerably less than other local offerings. Next up: a 24-unit complex in Sweden. Ingels has said the approach could eventually be applied to refugee housing. —*Julia Zorthian*



VIEWPOINT

Why we're addicted to email—and how to fix it

By **Jocelyn K. Gleib**

IN TODAY'S DIGITAL WORLD, WE'RE OFTEN expected to be on email at all times. Recent studies show that office workers spend almost a third of their workday reading and responding to messages. This constant connectivity can be harmful: scientists have established a clear link between spending time on email and feeling stress.

So why do we do it? Many of us are addicted: checking email activates a primal impulse in our brains to seek out what behavioral psychologists call "random rewards." Imagine email as a slot machine. Most of the time when we "pull the lever" to check our messages, we get something bothersome—a complaint from a client, a request from our boss. But every once in a while we get something exciting—a note from a friend or (if we're really lucky) a video

of goats jumping on things. It's those random rewards, mixed in with all the mind-numbing updates, that we find so addictive. Moreover, the mere fact that someone took the time to write us an email activates a deep-seated social behavior: the desire to reciprocate like with like, which can create unrealistic expectations for how much we can take on.

But striving for inbox zero is, of course, a Sisyphean effort at best. Just when you think the task is complete—*ping!*—a new message rolls in. What can we do about it? With email—as with everything else in life—we must learn to say no to some opportunities, in order to say yes to our priorities.

Gleib is the author of Unsubscribe: How to Kill Email Anxiety, Avoid Distractions, and Get Real Work Done

**DATA
THIS
JUST
IN**

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

1

AMERICANS PREFER PLAYLISTS TO ALBUMS

A report published by the Music Business Association found that playlists account for 31% of music-listening time across demographics, while albums make up only 22%. Singles, at 46% of listening time, were the most popular form of music.

2

PIGEONS MAY BE ABLE TO 'SPELL'

For a study published in *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, researchers trained four pigeons to recognize dozens of words. The birds then picked out the correct spellings from a series (which included nonwords) by pecking them, marking the first time nonprimates have been able to identify letter formations.

3

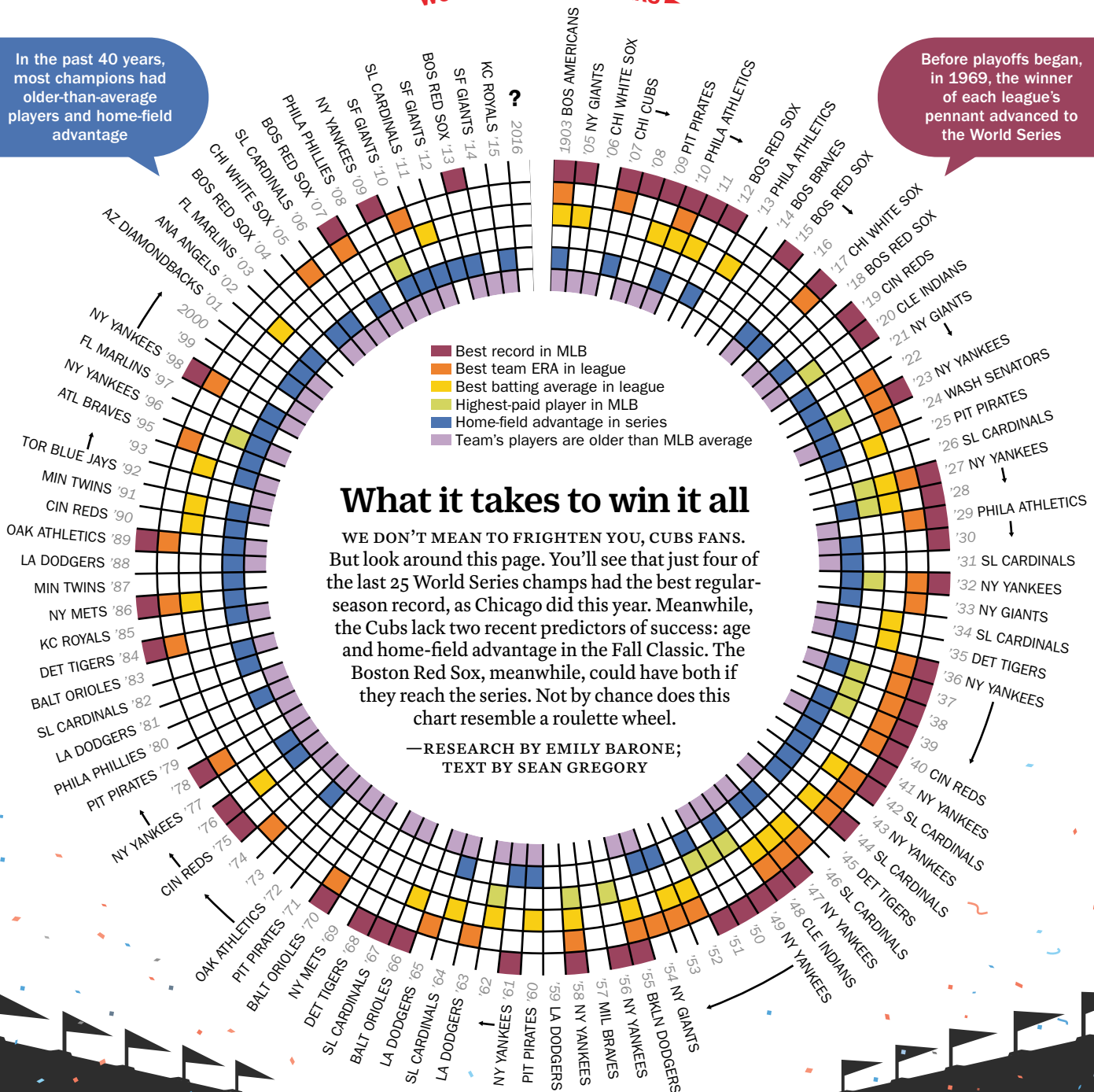
KIDS WHO GROW UP ON FARMS MAY HAVE FEWER ALLERGIES

A study published in *Thorax*, analyzing data from more than 10,000 people in 14 countries, found that adults who had grown up on farms were 57% less likely to have allergic nasal symptoms and 54% less likely to have asthma or hay fever than those from urban settings. —*J.Z.*

WORLD SERIES WINNERS

In the past 40 years, most champions had older-than-average players and home-field advantage

Before playoffs began, in 1969, the winner of each league's pennant advanced to the World Series



What it takes to win it all

WE DON'T MEAN TO FRIGHTEN YOU, CUBS FANS. But look around this page. You'll see that just four of the last 25 World Series champs had the best regular-season record, as Chicago did this year. Meanwhile, the Cubs lack two recent predictors of success: age and home-field advantage in the Fall Classic. The Boston Red Sox, meanwhile, could have both if they reach the series. Not by chance does this chart resemble a roulette wheel.

—RESEARCH BY EMILY BARONE; TEXT BY SEAN GREGORY

LONGEST ACTIVE WORLD SERIES TITLE DROUGHTS
By years since last win (teams in white have never won)

The Cubs, Indians, Rangers and Nationals all have a chance to end their streaks this year—each has locked in a playoff spot



NOTES: ALL DATA BASED ON REGULAR-SEASON STATISTICS. THERE WAS NO WORLD SERIES IN 1904 OR 1994. SALARY DATA NOT AVAILABLE FROM BEFORE 1911. TEAM AGE IS AN AVERAGE OF EACH BATTER'S AGE, WEIGHTED BY HOW FREQUENTLY THAT BATTER PLAYS. HOME-FIELD ADVANTAGE GOES TO THE TEAM THAT HOSTED FOUR OF THE SEVEN SERIES GAMES; IF THE SERIES ENDED BEFORE THE SEVENTH GAME, HOME-FIELD ADVANTAGE GOES TO THE TEAM THAT HOSTED THE FIRST GAME.
SOURCES: BASEBALL-REFERENCE.COM; MLB.COM; BASEBALL-ALMANAC.COM; ESPN.COM; SOCIETY FOR AMERICAN BASEBALL RESEARCH. SALARY DATA FROM THE HAUPERT BASEBALL SALARY DATABASE COMPILED BY MICHAEL HAUPERT, UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN-LA CROSSE.

THERE IS SOMETHING TERRIBLY WRONG WITH THE HOME SECURITY INDUSTRY

Maybe you've been broken into before, or maybe you haven't. But if you ever decide to protect your home against unfortunate events like that, you're in for a shock. We don't want to scare you off of protecting your home, because honestly, it's really important that you do it. But we feel responsible for sharing these facts with you: Most alarm companies take advantage of people who want to feel safe. They offer you a "free" outdated alarm, but then require you to sign a long-term contract full of nasty fine print. It's pretty sickening really... but this isn't going to be all bad news.

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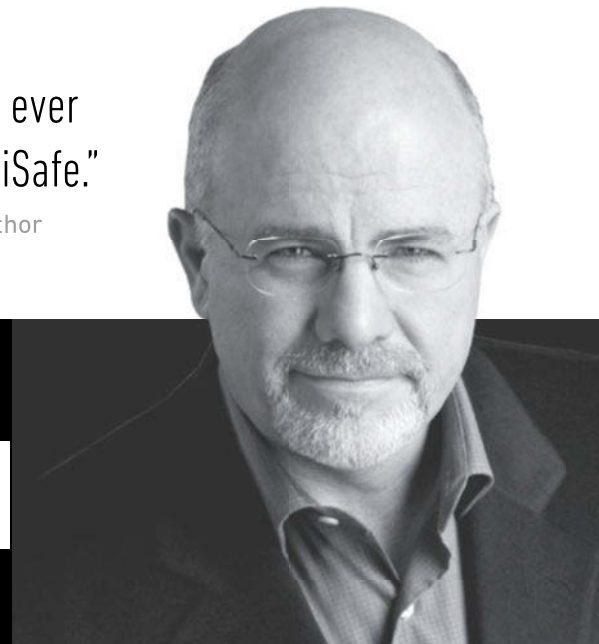


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The debate stage reveals character, preparation and the candidate who is still a child

By Joe Klein

I PREPARED FOR THE FIRST CLINTON-TRUMP DEBATE BY watching *Citizen Soldier*, a riveting documentary about the Oklahoma Army National Guard in combat in Afghanistan—and by not watching any of the pregame commentary by the talking heads. I wanted to see the debate with those young men in my mind: mechanics, oil-field technicians, cops and even a marketing executive, who chose to serve their country in a combat hellhole. I did it because the most important quality of a Commander in Chief is the sobriety to make life-and-death decisions, rather than the ability to bluster and zing.

I had doubts about both candidates in that regard. Hillary Clinton had, after all, sent the Oklahomans into Afghanistan by supporting President Obama’s expansion of the war—which I also mistakenly backed—and the sight of these young men in the film chasing shadows and getting blown up by ghosts was devastating. Not a single enemy combatant is seen up close during the course of the film, but two soldiers are killed, including a beloved lieutenant leading from the front.

Clinton also was wrong about Iraq and, worse, about Libya, where she instigated a mission that had no Phase IV—the military term for occupation and stabilization operations after the battle is won. But then, there isn’t a politician, pundit, soldier or spook who hasn’t been wrong at some point about this endless, vexing campaign against radical Islamist terrorist groups. The question of whether she was prepared to lead the next phase of the conflict wasn’t answered in the debate, but Clinton certainly showed that she understood the subtlety of these issues. “Words matter,” she said after Donald Trump implied that national security was a financial transaction, that if our allies—NATO and the Japanese and the Koreans—didn’t pony up, he would leave them to their own devices, which might mean the development of nuclear weapons. Then she assured our allies that we wouldn’t abandon them. She did not say, “Unlike Trump, I won’t abandon you.” The pledge was too serious for politics. It was a fine moment.

In fact, her most impressive moments came when she wasn’t talking, when she was on split screen listening to him. She didn’t waver; she listened with a perfect combination of attention and ironic bemusement, with just the slightest hint of “What a jerk” flickering at the corners of her eyes and her mouth. This, too, is a crucial quality in a Commander in Chief. There are more than a few world leaders, friend and foe, who don’t deserve to be taken seriously but have to be.

TRUMP, BY CONTRAST, huffed and puffed and sniffled and sighed and groaned and mugged and drank water and

INTERRUPTING POLS

55



Number of times **Donald Trump** interrupted Hillary Clinton or moderator Lester Holt, according to TIME’s count. The first? A response to Holt, pressing on how the candidates would “bring back jobs.”

11



Number of times **Clinton** interrupted Trump or Holt. The Secretary’s first interjection came in response to Trump’s charge that she had no experience creating jobs. “Well, I’ve been a Senator, Donald,” she said.

interrupted, rudely, repeatedly. He made not one solid, specific proposal during the course of the 90 minutes. Others have pointed out his myriad missed opportunities, but the greatest of those was the chance to appear as a solid, controlled Commander in Chief.

He came to the stage as the Republican nominee armed with an important argument—that we had rushed into too many wars, that we had acted imprudently and, in particular, that the war in Iraq was a terrible mistake. He could have said, “Yeah, look, in an early conversation with Howard Stern, I took a casual, hypothetical position in favor of the war—a lot of people did—but the more I thought about it, the more I realized what a disaster this would be.” But Trump simply doesn’t have the grace or soul or muscles to admit a mistake. Instead, he suggested that finding a way to avoid paying federal taxes was “smart.” He said that rooting for the housing crash was merely a matter of business, rather than utter amorality. On the moral spectrum of selflessness, he is at the very opposite end from the Oklahoma soldiers.

He talked about Rosie O’Donnell. He threatened to talk about Bill Clinton’s infidelities. He talked about Sean Hannity. He talked about himself, relentlessly. He claimed that he had persuaded our European NATO allies to take terrorism more seriously, as if the attacks in Paris, Brussels, Germany and Turkey had nothing to do with it. He seemed a child.

I DON’T KNOW how many votes were changed by Trump’s dismal performance. But Clinton didn’t lose any votes with hers. And the format of the next debate, the Oct. 9 town meeting, has traditionally favored the candidate who can successfully engage the citizens asking the questions. Clinton has been holding such meetings for years. It may turn out that her listening tours, oft ridiculed by the press, were the most important debate prep of her life. □

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HACKING

WHAT'S BEHIND RUSSIA'S EFFORT TO INFLUENCE THE U.S. ELECTION

BY MASSIMO
CALABRESI

THE

THE LEADERS OF THE U.S. GOVERNMENT, including the President and his top national-security advisers, face an unprecedented dilemma. Since the spring, U.S. intelligence and law-enforcement agencies have seen mounting evidence of an active Russian influence operation targeting the 2016 presidential election. It is very unlikely the Russians could sway the actual vote count, because our election infrastructure is decentralized and voting machines are not accessible from the Internet. But they can sow disruption and instability up to, and on, Election Day, more than a dozen senior U.S. officials tell TIME, undermining faith in the result and in democracy itself.

The question, debated at multiple meetings at the White House, is how aggressively to respond to the Russian operation. Publicly naming and shaming the Russians and describing what the

intelligence community knows about their activities would help Americans understand and respond prudently to any disruptions that might take place between now and the close of the polls. Senior Justice Department officials have argued in favor of calling out the Russians, and that position has been echoed forcefully outside of government by lawmakers and former top national-security officials from both political parties.

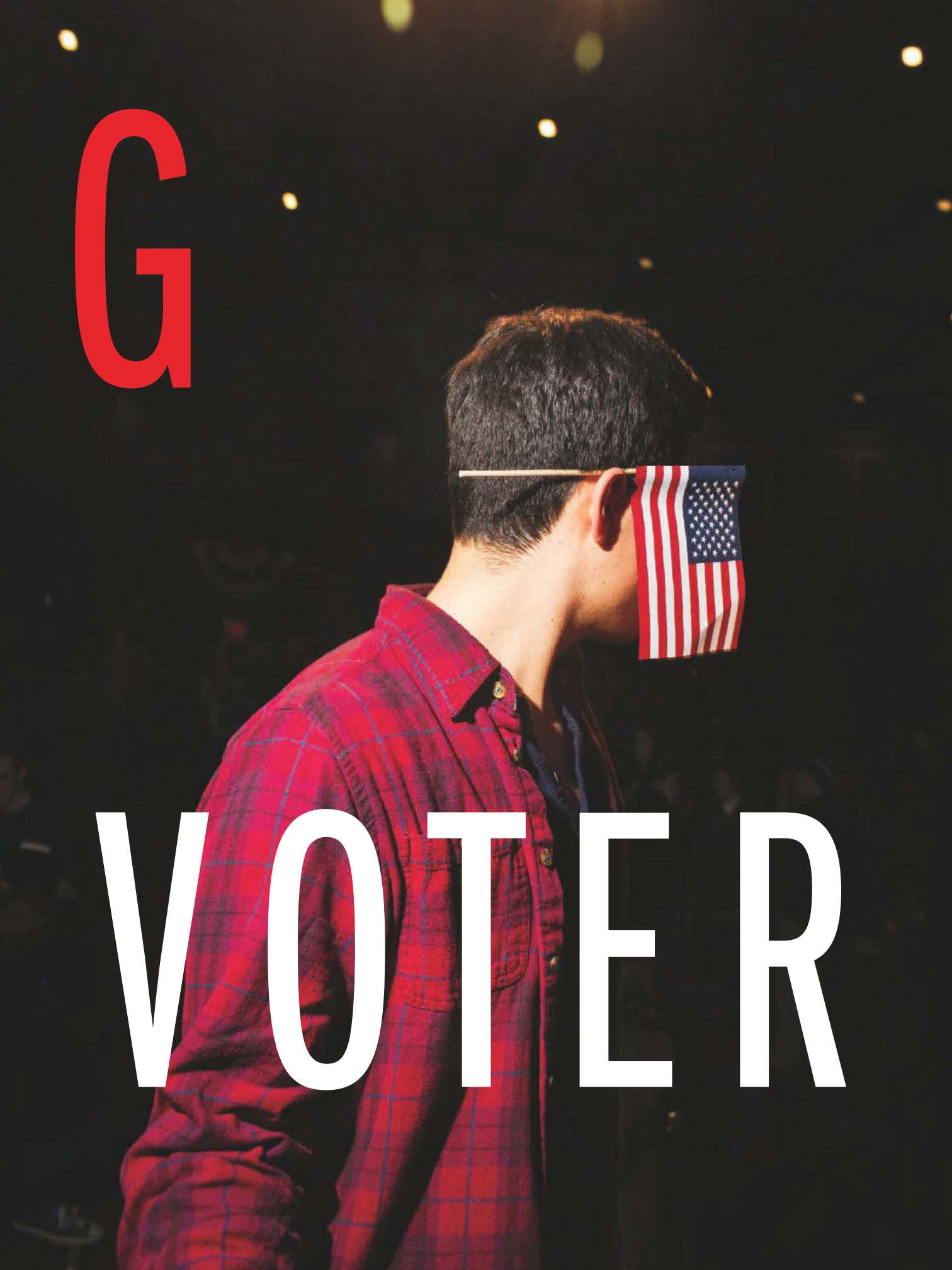
Unfortunately, it's not that simple. The President and several of his closest national-security advisers are concerned about the danger of a confrontation in the new and ungoverned world of cyberspace, and they argue that while the U.S. has powerful offensive and defensive capabilities there, an escalating confrontation carries significant risks. National Security Council officials warn that our critical infrastructure—including

the electricity grid, transportation sector and energy networks—is vulnerable to first strikes; others say attacks on private companies, stock exchanges and the media could affect the economy. Senior intelligence officials even worry about Russia exposing U.S. espionage operations in retaliation. And while U.S. officials have “high confidence” that Russia is behind what they describe as a major influence operation, senior U.S. officials tell TIME, their evidence would not yet stand up in court.

And so with five weeks to go, the White House is, for now, letting events unfold. On one side, U.S. law-enforcement agencies are scrambling to uncover the extent of the Russian operation, counter it and harden the country's election infrastructure. On the other, a murky network of Russian hackers and their associates is stepping up the pace of leaks of stolen documents

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designed to affect public opinion and give the impression that the election is vulnerable, including emails from the computers of the Democratic National Committee (DNC). Meanwhile, the FBI alerted all 50 states to the danger in mid-August, and the states have delivered evidence of a “significant” number of new intrusions into their election systems that the bureau and their colleagues at the Department of Homeland Security “are still trying to understand,” a department official tells TIME.

All of which makes Donald Trump’s repeated insertion of himself into the U.S.-Russia story all the more startling. Trump has praised Putin during the campaign, and at the first presidential debate, on Sept. 26, he said it wasn’t clear the Russians were behind the DNC hack. But the U.S. intelligence community has “high confidence” that Russian intelligence services were in fact responsible, multiple intelligence and national security officials tell TIME. Trump was informed of that assessment during a recent classified intelligence briefing, a U.S. official familiar with the matter tells TIME. “I do not comment on information I receive in intelligence briefings, however, nobody knows with definitive certainty that this was in fact Russia,” Trump told TIME in a statement. “It may be, but it may also be China, another country or individual.”

RUSSIA’S INTERFERENCE in the U.S. election is an extraordinary escalation of an already worrying trend. Over the past 2½ years, Russia has executed a westward march of election meddling through cyberspace, starting in the states of the former Soviet Union and moving toward the North Atlantic. “On a regular basis they try to influence elections in Europe,” President Obama told NBC News on July 26. With Russia establishing beachheads in the U.S. at least since April, officials worry that in the final weeks of the campaign the Russian cybercapability could be used to fiddle with voter rolls, election-reporting systems and the media, resulting in confusion that could cast a shadow over both the next President and the democratic process.

Obama’s decision not to call out the Russian espionage operation has so far left the effort to educate Americans about it to lawmakers and national-security experts.

On Sept. 22, the ranking Democrats on the Senate and House Intelligence Committees, California’s Senator Dianne Feinstein and Representative Adam Schiff, released an unusually blunt statement. “Based on briefings we have received, we have concluded that the Russian intelligence agencies are making a serious and concerted effort to influence the U.S. election,” they said. “At the least, this effort is intended to sow doubt about the security of our election.” Orders for Russian intelligence agencies to conduct electoral-influence operations, they added, could come only from very senior levels of government. “We call on [Russian] President [Vladimir] Putin to immediately order a halt to this activity.” The statement, though not endorsed publicly by the Administration, was cleared with the CIA.

To understand why Putin would want to undercut the legitimacy of the U.S. election, it helps to step back from the long and ugly presidential campaign and remember why we’re voting in the first place. Elections are the ultimate source of authority in our democracy. Because Republicans and Democrats have agreed for decades that spreading democracy is good for everyone, America has pushed for free and fair elections around the world. And many nations have embraced them: peasants in the Balkans put on their Sunday best to go to the polls, and burqa-clad women in Afghanistan brave terrorist attacks to stand in line for hours to cast their ballots.

Not surprisingly, quasi-authoritarian rulers in the former Soviet Union, latter-day communists in China and medieval theocrats in the Middle East, among many others, see America’s sometimes aggressive evangelism about the benefits of liberal democracy as a direct threat to their own claims to authority. Putin has taken particular umbrage, accusing the U.S.—and former Secretary of State

**THE REALIZATION
THAT WE FACE A MAJOR
CYBERINFLUENCE
OPERATION HAS LIT A FIRE
UNDER NATIONAL-
SECURITY OFFICIALS**



Hillary Clinton in particular—of meddling in Russia’s presidential election in 2012. He has publicly questioned the validity of past U.S. presidential elections, saying, on June 17, of the Electoral College, “You call that democracy?” Now, experts say, Putin is expanding his anti-American campaign into cyberspace. “More than any attempt to get one candidate or another elected, this [Russian influence operation] is about discrediting the entire idea of a free and fair election,” says Dmitri Alperovitch, co-founder and chief technology officer of CrowdStrike, the cybersecurity company that did the analysis of the DNC hack.

No one knows that better than Arizona secretary of state Michele Reagan. One day in June she was in her backyard in Phoenix when she got a call from her chief of staff. “Are you sitting down?” he asked. The FBI had been monitoring a corner of the so-called dark web, the network of hidden sites used by criminals to buy and sell drugs, pedophilic pornography and stolen identities. A group of hackers known collectively as Fancy Bear, which the U.S. government believes is controlled by Russian military intelligence, was trying to sell a user name and password

Dmitri Alperovitch is a co-founder of CrowdStrike, which uncovered Fancy Bear's hacks of Democratic campaign committees last summer



capacity than anybody both offensively and defensively,” Obama said.

PUTIN'S HISTORY of using influence operations against opponents begins, appropriately enough, with himself. As he was rising quickly through the Kremlin ranks in 1999, one of his main opponents, Prosecutor General Yuri Skuratov, was caught on tape having sex with two women in a hotel room in what Skuratov later claimed was a Putin-run espionage operation traditionally known as a “honey trap.” Putin, who had risen from a Soviet-era KGB operative to head the country’s intelligence services, denied he was behind it but said on TV that his agents had confirmed that the man in the grainy video was Skuratov. Putin went on to win the presidency the next year. Skuratov, who ran against him, got less than 1% of the popular vote.

With the expansion of the Internet in the decade that followed, the Russians adopted cyberweapons as a standard tool of political meddling. Nowhere has their tactic of spreading chaos around a vote been clearer than in Ukraine, where three days before the presidential election on May 25, 2014, the computer systems of the Central Electoral Commission went dark. “The servers wouldn’t turn on. The links to the local election authorities were cut off,” says Victor Zhora, director of the cybersecurity firm Infosafe, which had been hired to defend the system. “Literally, nothing worked.”

As Zhora and his team worked successfully to restore the system in time for the vote, they became convinced that the collective behind the hack, known as CyberBerkut, was a front for Russian security services. The malware that crashed the system was not available on the market and had been built from scratch. And the effect of the attack supported Russia’s strategic goal of undermining the validity of the election. The hackers could have manipulated the outcome of the vote, Zhora says, but “their main goal was to take out the system itself, to destroy the data, to wipe out the hard drives before the elections started.” Moreover, the CyberBerkut efforts appeared to be coordinated with Russian state propaganda. Zhora and his team stopped a subsequent effort by CyberBerkut to post false voting results

that belonged to someone in an Arizona county election official’s office, which holds the personal data of almost 4 million people. “My first reaction was, Well, this is like the worst thing that you want to hear,” Reagan recalls.

Reagan and the FBI scrambled to figure out how the Russians had gotten into Arizona’s system and what needed to be done to secure it. It turned out that an election official in rural Gila County, pop. 54,000, had opened a Word document on her desktop computer that contained malicious software. Fortunately, while Fancy Bear had penetrated a local computer system, it hadn’t accessed the statewide registration database. Others weren’t so lucky. Fancy Bear’s electronic fingerprints were found on the hack into the DNC computers. In Illinois, the feds found that Fancy Bear had stolen 85,000 voter records from that state’s registration systems in mid-July. Later that month, the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee (DCCC) revealed that it, too, had been hacked by Fancy Bear.

With other states now reporting intrusions of unknown origin, the government wants to reassure the public that the vote

count itself is safe. “We have confidence in the overall integrity of our electoral systems,” Homeland Security chief Jeh Johnson said on Sept. 16. “It is diverse, subject to local control, and has many checks and balances built in.” Each of the U.S.’s more than 9,000 polling places uses machines not connected to the Internet, precincts count and report their results independently, and most have paper or electronic backups in case a recount is needed.

The Administration has a message for Russia too. The U.S. has privately warned that any effort to sway the election would be unacceptable, intelligence and other Administration officials tell TIME. Secretary of State John Kerry delivered the message to his counterpart, Russian Foreign Minister Sergei Lavrov, in Laos on July 27. During a 90-minute meeting with Putin on the sidelines of the G-20 meeting on Sept. 6, Obama pulled Putin aside and discussed the cyberconcerns one-on-one, with no aides present, a White House official tells TIME. In a press conference later, the President called for restraint on all sides in the use of cyberweapons and issued a veiled threat about America’s cyberpowers. “Frankly, we’ve got more

on the election commission's website that would have showed a far-right militant ahead in the polls. But a screenshot of the fake web page appeared anyway on Russia's main state-run news network as the vote was still going on.

Russia has also meddled in the elections of major U.S. allies that have imposed sanctions on Russia for its invasion of Ukraine, and many of the Russian cyberoperations have benefited populist, anti-immigrant parties that oppose Western European unity in the face of rising Russian aggression. In August, a spear-phishing e-mail attack targeted German party officials, including some members of Chancellor Angela Merkel's Christian Democrats. The emails contained malware that bore the signatures of Fancy Bear, according to Germany's top cyberdefense official, Arne Schönbohm, who warned on Sept. 9 that the attack could be an attempt to manipulate parliamentary elections next year. Merkel had previously ordered German intelligence agencies to look into Russia's peddling of a false story about a Russian girl raped by migrants in Germany—a story that has helped fuel the rise of the right-wing opposition party AfD. That party beat Merkel's Christian Democrats in a regional ballot in the Chancellor's home district in September.

Farther west, in France, a Russian bank with close ties to the Kremlin lent the far-right party of Marine Le Pen some 9 million euros in November 2014, helping it prepare for regional elections a year later, when it received its best results ever. Russia also tried a more subtle information operation designed to fuel the anti-immigrant and national-security fears that have contributed to Le Pen's rise. In April 2015, the programming of the French broadcaster TV5Monde was blocked by unknown hackers, and for 18 hours the channel's websites transmitted only the image of the signature black flag of ISIS. French intelligence officials and the British signals-intelligence agency, the GCHQ, found it was not ISIS but in fact Fancy Bear that was behind the hack, according to a Sept. 25 article by the London *Sunday Times* and U.S. officials.

Britain, too, has been targeted. The *Times* article quoted David Anderson, an independent watchdog appointed under

British law, as saying the GCHQ had blocked a Russian attempt to disrupt the May 7, 2015, general election there. The *Times* said Fancy Bear planned to target government servers and major TV broadcasters. But not all stations were to be hit. In the fall of 2014, the pro-Moscow RT network, which is funded by the Kremlin, launched a 24-hour news network in the U.K. aimed at British viewers. The message, Russia experts say, is that Western democracy is not so hot. "It's a cynical message: No one is democratic," says Peter Kreko, an expert on the European right and a visiting professor at Indiana University.

The most pessimistic Kremlin watchers worry how far Putin will go with the combination of psychological manipulation and cyberwarfare. They view the pattern of Russia's electoral meddling in the context of Putin's recent embrace of what is known as the Gerasimov doctrine, a nontraditional approach to military conflict named after the chief of the Russian general staff, Valery Gerasimov, that relies heavily on cyberwar and influence operations. "A perfectly thriving state can, in a matter of months and even days, be transformed into an arena of fierce armed conflict," Gerasimov posited in a now famous 2013 manifesto, through "political, economic, informational, humanitarian and other nonmilitary measures applied in coordination with the protest potential of the population."

That is how Putin stoked a separatist rebellion in eastern Ukraine in 2014. But the current and former senior intelligence and national-security officials interviewed for this story agree that the principal benefit Putin gains from his Western European and U.S. meddling is the leg up it gives him with his own political and diplomatic challenges at home. "In the long run, if people start to question the integrity

of our election system," says one senior U.S. intelligence official, "potentially to Russia that's a plus. But I would argue more strongly that this is as much about domestic constituents and his public," the official says. The more chaos in Europe and the U.S., the better.

PUTIN HAS SHOWN little sign of stopping, even when meddling is discovered. In April, the DNC suspected it had been hacked and called in the cyberforensics firm CrowdStrike, which was co-founded in 2011 by Alperovitch and employs a number of former government cybersecurity experts. CrowdStrike was familiar with Fancy Bear: it had previously found the group's hacks in Canada, Japan and the former Soviet republic of Georgia. It identifies the group based on the Russians' unique cybertradecraft, including nonpublic code in its malware, its infrastructure of servers around the world and the techniques that it uses to move and hide within the systems it penetrates. After inspecting the DNC computers, Alperovitch concluded that the hack was indeed executed by the Russians. And while CrowdStrike usually keeps its findings secret, the DNC told the company it was outraged that the Russians were trying to interfere with our political system, and "they wanted us to come forward," Alperovitch says.

Twelve hours after the DNC break-in was revealed in June, a hacker who insisted he was Romanian and who called himself Guccifer 2.0 popped up online and tried to discredit CrowdStrike's attribution to Russian military intelligence. Guccifer 2.0 started leaking information from the DNC hack in blog posts and on Twitter, but his professed identity wasn't very convincing. When reporters reached out to him online, for example, the responses he sent in Romanian were riddled with errors. U.S. government officials privately confirm that they believe Fancy Bear and Russian military intelligence are behind the DNC and DCCC hacks.

The pace of leaks has accelerated as the election approaches, revealing a murky network of actors. Around the time of the DNC hack, a website called DCleaks.net was established by a group identifying themselves as "hacktivists." By June the group began posting hacked documents, including emails from retired General Philip Breedlove, the former

THE PACE OF LEAKS HAS ACCELERATED AS THE ELECTION APPROACHES, REVEALING A MURKY NETWORK OF ACTORS

commander of NATO and U.S. forces in Europe, asking former Secretary of State Colin Powell how to persuade Obama to more forcefully oppose Russian meddling in Ukraine.

Initially, there was no evidence of a connection between DCleaks and Russian hackers, and even now it is not clear who is behind the site. In late June, however, Guccifer 2.0 contacted the website the Smoking Gun and provided it with a link to material from the DNC hack that DCleaks was preparing to publish. In recent weeks, DCleaks has published new emails belonging to Powell, which included damaging remarks about Clinton, even though the overall gist of his emails was supportive. And recently, the site published what purported to be a copy of Michelle Obama's passport.

The leaks tend to favor isolationist policies over ones aimed at confronting Russia. The Breedlove leaks showed an embarrassing and unsuccessful effort to build U.S.-led pushback against Russia in Ukraine. The DNC documents, which made their way to WikiLeaks through unknown channels, weakened Putin's old foe, Clinton, on the eve of the Democratic National Convention. And DCleaks claimed that its ability to obtain the First Lady's passport demonstrated U.S. vulnerability to terrorism.

Putin has done what he can to maintain deniability. Asked by Bloomberg TV on Sept. 2 whether Russia was behind the DNC hack, he said, "I don't know anything about that." But he seemed admiring, if not proud, of Fancy Bear's work. "They work so much like fine jewelers, so delicately, that they can leave their tracks, or someone else's tracks, at just the right place and just the right time in order to camouflage their work and make it look like the work of some other hackers from somewhere else, some other country."

In fact, it might take a real jewel thief—or an army of them—to rig the U.S. presidential election. Because they are not connected to the Internet and are controlled by thousands of independent precincts, U.S. voting machines are largely safe from meddling, says Merle King, executive director of Kennesaw State University's Center for Elections Systems. The feds have pushed out patches for known vulnerabilities in state computers and offered security scans. America's

IN TRUMP, PUTIN HAS FOUND AN ALMOST PERFECT, IF UNWITTING, ALLY FOR HIS INFLUENCE OPERATION

cyber and counterespionage forces will be looking "to see if there's anything coming from overseas or even domestically that looks like an effort to target election offices," says George W. Bush's Homeland Security chief, Michael Chertoff. The FBI has opened a formal investigation into the DNC, DCCC, Arizona and Illinois hacks

But with the election fast approaching, some experts in and out of government say the Administration is moving too slowly to publicize the Russian influence operation and explain it to Americans. A bipartisan group of former national-security officials that included Chertoff and others called on Obama in July to name the perpetrators of the DNC hack. Alperovitch says the U.S. is misreading the battlefield in cyberspace. "The U.S. government for the last 20 years was so focused on how to achieve kinetic effects in cyberspace, how to produce what they call cyberbombs, because that's what we're used to," he says. "But the Russians understand that the real power of this domain is in influence operations, psychological warfare, changing people's perceptions of what's truly going on."

FOR MUCH OF THE SUMMER, Trump made casting doubt on the validity of the U.S. electoral system a prominent feature of his campaign. "I'm afraid the election's gonna be rigged," Trump said in Ohio on Aug. 1. "I have to be honest." Trump backers who sign up to be "Trump Election Observers" are told the campaign will "stop crooked Hillary from rigging this election."

Asked at the first debate whether they would support the outcome of the vote, both candidates said they would. But Trump has a record of doing the opposite. As results came in on election night in 2012, he falsely tweeted that the Republican had won the popular vote and urged an uprising. "The phoney

Electoral College made a laughingstock out of our nation," Trump tweeted. "The world is laughing at us. More votes equals a loss ... revolution! This election is a total sham and a travesty. We are not a democracy!"

Clinton has said Putin is trying to get Trump elected; there is no evidence of that. Trump does have some ties to Russia. Trump's former campaign manager worked for Putin's proxy in Ukraine until the pro-Western uprising there, and Trump, his family and a foreign policy adviser have done tens of millions of dollars of business in Russia. The exact amount is unclear, and Trump has declined to disclose details of his Russian business partners.

The links worry even rock-ribbed Republicans. Chertoff led the Senate Whitewater investigation of Bill and Hillary Clinton's obscure Arkansas land deal in the mid-'90s and has been critical of the Democratic presidential candidate. But he is alarmed by Trump's talk of a rigged election. "This business about talking about rigged elections is very dangerous," Chertoff says.

On the ground in Arizona, Michele Reagan, a Republican, has been working to make the vote safe. She took the entire state voter database offline for 10 days after learning of the Fancy Bear hack to ensure the system was secure. In conversations with the FBI and her own cybersecurity team she has learned phrases like *SQL injection* and *dual-factor authentication*. "Yes, we believe we're safe," she now says.

That doesn't mean she isn't worried about Russian attempts to undermine the credibility of the vote. "We know there's these bad actors out there that are coming in from other countries and they're trying to scare us," she says. "This isn't about stealing information or altering information. The entire conversation I believe needs to be shifted to what this is really doing to the confidence of the American electorate." Does she have a message for Americans on how to respond to Putin's effort? "Our job is to try to encourage people to get involved and to be connected in government, to go out and vote." — *With reporting by SIMON SHUSTER/BERLIN and TESSA BERENSON, HALEY SWEETLAND EDWARDS and MAYA RHODAN/WASHINGTON* □

HOW REAL ARE THE RISKS OF A RIGGED ELECTION?

BY HALEY SWEETLAND EDWARDS

WHEN DONALD TRUMP began telling crowds this summer that if he loses the race for the White House, it will be because Democrats “cheated,” he was doing more than hedging his bets. He was tapping into a powerful theme of this election cycle: that the voting system is rigged.

“She can’t beat what’s happening here,” Trump told a crowd in Altoona, Pa., in August, referring to Hillary Clinton. “The only way they can beat it, in my opinion, and I mean this 100%, is if in certain sections of the state they cheat, O.K.?” In Wilmington, N.C., he went on to suggest that some people might vote “15 times for Hillary” and pledged to his supporters, via email, to “do everything we are legally allowed to do to stop crooked Hillary from rigging this election.”

That kind of in-person voter fraud has little historical precedent, and there is no reason to expect such fraud in 2016. According to a 2014 study by Loyola Law School professor Justin Levitt in which he collected all alleged and prosecuted cases of in-person voter fraud over 14 years, there were only 31 credible incidents out of 1 billion ballots cast. Insofar as elections have been skewed by human involvement—as opposed to say, weather—it’s almost always because of incompetence or lack of resources, like confusing

ballots or voting machines being delivered to the wrong location. But that doesn’t mean Trump’s argument doesn’t resonate: in September, 36% of voters said they were “not confident” their ballots would be accurately counted this year, according to a national poll. That’s up from about 28% in 2004.

Some of the insecurity Americans are feeling is no doubt fueled by the wave of cybersecurity attacks on a variety of Democratic political organizations, which investigators have linked to Russian intelligence agencies. The Clinton campaign has suggested that if she loses in November, it could be at least in part because of the meddling of foreign powers. And that perception—that the electoral system is somehow up for grabs—is the most dangerous of all, even if both candidates announced at the first presidential debate that they planned to accept the will of the voters in November. Voting, after all, is an act of civic faith. If we no longer believe in the veracity of the results, our democratic process falls apart.

To soothe nerves in the meantime, here is a look at six ways that outside forces could try to rig the election, none of which are likely to change the outcome of a national race.

1. HACKING VOTING MACHINES

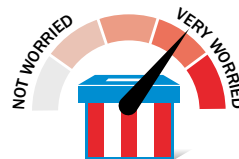
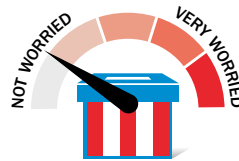
To reprogram the average voting machine, all you need is some cheap equipment and 10 minutes alone with the thing. “They’re ridiculously easy to get into,” says Billy Rios, founder of the cybersecurity firm WhiteScope. One problem is their age. Forty-two states have voting machines in circulation that are more than a decade old and run on software no more sophisticated than that of an “old, stripped-down PC,” says Lawrence Norden, an election expert at the Brennan Center for Justice. Another problem is that most voting machines are equipped with virtually no cybersecurity protections whatsoever. “Your PlayStation console has better protections,” says Rios.

But none of that is a reason to panic, says Merle King, executive director of the Center for Election Systems at Kennesaw State University. The likelihood of someone hacking into enough voting machines to change the outcome of the national election is “very, very low,” he

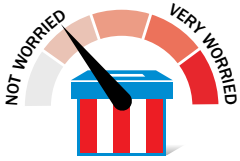
says. One reason is that voting machines are not connected to the Internet, so in order to hack a machine, someone would have to have physical contact with it. That’s not impossible to imagine in a specific district—what if a criminal broke into a warehouse where the machines are stored?—but if your goal

is to rig the national election, it creates a significant logistical challenge. Even if a team of hackers were able to pull off that kind of attack, there are other safeguards in place. For example, many electronic voting machines print out a paper copy of each vote cast, so if a machine has been reprogrammed to count more votes for one candidate than another, those discrepancies can be identified and corrected by doing an audit of the paper receipts.

The bigger worry for election officials is the handful of states—including Louisiana, Georgia, South Carolina, Tennessee, Delaware, New Jersey and parts of Pennsylvania, Indiana, Mississippi and Texas—that still use old, defunct electronic machines that don’t produce paper receipts. But even then, the threat to the outcome of the national election is relatively small, says Connecticut secretary of state Denise Merrill. Only about 30% of voters, according to 2012 turnout numbers, will go to polling places that use electronic voting machines this November. The rest will use paper ballots, which are counted either by hand or with an optical scanning machine—methods that, while hardly flawless, are less susceptible to cyberhacks. Call it one of the great ironies of the modern age: the most foolproof defense against high-tech election shenanigans is an ancient technology—paper.



2. STEALING FROM CAMPAIGNS AND CANDIDATES

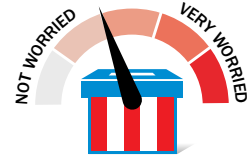
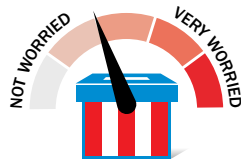


3. CHANGING VOTER REGISTRATION DATA

When federal cybersecurity officials confirmed that in July a group of hackers linked to Russian intelligence had broken into voter-registration databases in Arizona and Illinois, the news shook federal election officials. “That’s definitely not something you want to hear,” says Brian Newby, executive director of the Election Assistance Commission (EAC) and a former election commissioner in Johnson County, Kansas. In the wake of the attacks, the EAC met with the Department of Homeland Security (DHS), the Justice Department, the FBI and other federal bodies to discuss next steps. DHS offered to do security sweeps of state and local networks to ward off future attacks. In the meantime, Newby made clear that even if hackers were to get access to voter rolls, states are prepared. In a worst-case scenario, wherein some cyber ne’er-do-well succeeded in destroying or changing the information in a state’s voter-registration database, the show would go on, he says. Current laws would allow all voters to cast provisional ballots, which would then be checked against a hard copy of the state’s voter rolls. If a voter was registered, his ballot would be counted as normal. Such an attack would significantly slow the process of reporting the results, Newby says, but it would not change the outcome of the election. “Election officials are all about contingency plans,” he says.

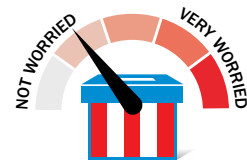
4. LIMITING POLLING PLACES

When election officials in Maricopa County, Arizona, decided to reduce the number of polling places from more than 200 to 60, they said it would save money by creating fewer but larger “vote centers.” The plan backfired: during the March 2016 primary, thousands of voters, in a county with a large Latino population, found themselves in lines up to five hours long. Many simply gave up without casting a ballot. Lawyers representing Democratic Party officials, and the campaigns of Clinton and Bernie Sanders, called foul, arguing that the county’s decision resulted in the disenfranchisement of mostly minority voters. In September, Maricopa County settled part of the case and agreed to have more polling places available in November. But the dustup underscores the ongoing battle over access to the physical infrastructure of voting on Election Day. For years, Democrats and Republicans have battled over where polling places should open and when access should be granted—decisions that can have a big effect on the groups of people who turn out to vote. In response to these challenges, some states, including New Jersey and Virginia, have passed laws designed to allocate resources per registered voter. In recent weeks, Democrats have been going county by county in Florida, Georgia, North Carolina and other states lobbying officials to add polling places and early voting days—moves that could have a big impact if the election is close.



5. NEW VOTER RESTRICTIONS

Since 2010, 20 states have passed new voting requirements that restrict early voting, limit day-of registration and require voters to either prove citizenship or present certain forms of identification to vote. In 2016 alone, 14 states will have new voting requirements in place, according to the Brennan Center. Democratic and civil rights lawyers are in the process of challenging many of these laws on a state-by-state level, on the grounds that the new rules intentionally target poor and minority voters. Some judges have agreed. In July, a federal appeals court overturned a new North Carolina voter-ID law on the grounds that it specifically discriminated against African Americans. Lawyers are hoping to use that precedent to challenge related measures in Virginia, Texas, Alabama, South Carolina and Indiana, to name just a few.



6. PLAYING DIRTY

In September, some Virginia voters received letters warning that they were not properly registered—even when they were—and in January, Iowa voters received official-looking citations suggesting they would commit a “voting violation” if they failed to show up to caucus. Both are variations of the darker arts that partisans have used for years to slant the vote. This year the FBI is keeping an eye out for more nefarious ways to keep certain populations from the polls—including everything from calling in a bomb threat to hacking into a news site and posting fake election results. In August, Trump appeared to encourage supporters to take it upon themselves to guard against voter fraud.

The hackers who breached several Democratic political organizations this year have already succeeded in affecting the 2016 electoral process. After leaked emails seemed to suggest that top Democratic Party officials favored Hillary Clinton over her erstwhile rival, Senator Bernie Sanders, his supporters cried foul, staged protests and pushed the ouster of the chairwoman of the DNC. Meanwhile, Clinton’s other rivals, including Trump and third-party candidates Jill Stein and Gary Johnson, used the emails to attack the Democratic front runner in campaign materials and stump speeches. While it’s hard to say whether this particular scandal will affect the outcome of the election in November, Democratic officials are bracing for the next round of leaks, courtesy of hackers that federal officials have linked to Russian intelligence.

PARTY OF TWO

- ▶ **MERCER ALLIES**
- ▶ **CANDIDATES THE FAMILY SUPPORTS**
- ▶ **CANDIDATES THE FAMILY OPPOSES**

ROBERT MERCER

REBEKAH MERCER

DAVID BOSSIE

The longtime head of a Mercer-funded conservative advocacy group, Citizens United, became Trump's deputy campaign manager

KELLYANNE CONWAY

A former strategist at the Mercer family's pro-Cruz super PAC, she now manages Trump's campaign

DONALD TRUMP

Robert Mercer put \$2 million into a pro-Trump super PAC in July

TED CRUZ

Robert Mercer gave \$13.5 million to the family's pro-Cruz super PAC

STEVE BANNON

The boss of the Mercer-backed right-wing website Breitbart News is now Trump's campaign CEO



ART ROBINSON

Robert Mercer has shelled out \$3.4 million to fund the Oregon scientist's research and political campaigns

JOHN BOLTON

The former U.N. envoy's super PAC has received \$2.5 million from Robert Mercer since 2015

KOCH BROTHERS

In 2014, Robert Mercer gave \$2.5 million to the Koch political network, more than any donor except Charles Koch

JOHN MCCAIN

After a Senate panel he serves on probed accounting practices at Robert Mercer's hedge fund, Mercer sent \$200,000 to a group backing McCain's 2016 GOP opponent

PETER DEFAZIO

Mercer has spent nearly \$1.8 million to try to defeat the House Democrat, who champions a tax designed to curb "flash trades"

Campaign 2016

SILENT PARTNERS

A RECLUSIVE HEDGE-FUND BOSS AND HIS DAUGHTER HAVE EMERGED AS POWERFUL PLAYERS IN DONALD TRUMP'S CAMPAIGN, NOT TO MENTION THE FIGHT FOR THE GOP'S FUTURE. WHAT IS IT THEY WANT?

BY ALEX ALTMAN

WHEN DONALD TRUMP ACCEPTED THE Republican nomination in Cleveland, some of the most powerful people in the party had a ticket to watch from Suite 245 in Quicken Loans Arena. Invited to the cushy skybox were financiers, real estate developers, a supermarket magnate and an ambassador. Hardly anyone knew it at the time, but the list also included a pair of political insiders who would soon take control of the Trump campaign: Kellyanne Conway, a consultant who had spent the GOP primary toiling for his top rival, and Steve Bannon, the boss of Breitbart News. Both were guests of a woman named Rebekah Mercer.

Bannon and Conway are hardly the only Republicans who rely on Mercer as a benefactor. To help pay for the convention, the family foundation Mercer runs wrote a \$500,000 check—pocket change compared with the tens of millions of dollars it has showered on a sprawling web of conservative foundations, political networks and research institutions. That's not counting the family's reputed

eight-figure investment in Breitbart, the house organ of the right-wing populist movement that fueled Trump's ascent, and in Cambridge Analytica, a controversial data firm hired by a growing number of GOP candidates. Rebekah's father Robert Mercer, a New York hedge-fund executive, has forked over more than \$20 million in the 2016 election, which makes him the single largest Republican donor this cycle. Before the Mercers backed Trump, they bankrolled Texas Senator Ted Cruz through a family super PAC that employed Conway.

But the full scope of the Mercers' clout wouldn't be clear until a few weeks later, when Rebekah Mercer's entourage took control of Trump's campaign. Shortly after an August discussion with Mercer, Trump ousted his top operative, Paul Manafort, and installed Conway and Bannon as his new campaign manager and CEO. The younger Mercer assumed day-to-day control of the family's new pro-Trump super PAC, replacing GOP activist and family ally David Bossie, who became

Conway's deputy. "They've bought their way in," says a Trump ally. "The people in charge are all Mercer people."

Over the course of the 2016 presidential contest, the Mercers have become two of the most pivotal and least understood behind-the-scenes players in American politics. Robert Mercer is a reclusive figure who has never spoken publicly about his political beliefs. Daughter Rebekah, a former Wall Street trader who runs an online gourmet-cookie company with her sisters, is described as the activist investor behind the family's vast political concerns. Together they form a link between Trump's campaign and super PAC, armed with the cash and clout to shape everything from his staff to his data operation to his super PAC strategy. "It's hard to think of anybody like them," says Larry Noble of the non-partisan Campaign Legal Center.

Or to imagine this influence fading. Whether by molding Trump's policies as President or battling for control of the shattered party he leaves behind,

the Mercers are now outsize stakeholders in the future of the Grand Old Party. Which raises a question few Republicans are able to answer: What do the Mercers really want?

ONE POSSIBLE MOTIVE is money. The theory dates back to September 2010, when attack ads began to blanket the airwaves in the southwest Oregon House district represented by Democrat Peter DeFazio. They were paid for by a group called Concerned Taxpayers of America, one of the very first super PACs. Nearly \$600,000 poured into the contest. The source of the onslaught was a mystery. “We were like, wow,” DeFazio recalls. “Where is all this money coming from?”

It turned out the “concerned taxpayers” numbered just two. One of the group’s donors was a construction baron from Baltimore, who was using the super PAC to funnel cash into a House race on Maryland’s Eastern Shore. The other was Robert Mercer, the sole donor behind the bid to defeat DeFazio, who has represented the district since 1987. The Congressman had never heard of Mercer. But he had suspected that taxes might explain the spending binge.

DeFazio had just proposed a transaction tax that would impact the bottom line of Mercer’s hedge fund, Renaissance Technologies. “It’s anathema to Mercer,” DeFazio says now, “because it would squeeze out the flash traders.” If this was the reason, it makes sense that Mercer has bankrolled Republicans challenging Hillary Clinton, who proposed a new tax on some profits from lightning-quick trading that critics call unfair. Certainly Mercer has nursed the grudge against DeFazio: the Long Island hedge-fund boss has financed challenges to the Oregon Democrat for four election cycles running. “DeFazio pissed him off,” says a Republican consultant who has worked with Mercer.

Colleagues from both parties know the danger of wandering into Mercer’s crosshairs. In 2014, Arizona Senator John McCain was the ranking Republican on a Senate panel that investigated Renaissance for its use of so-called basket options. The accounting maneuver converts short-term capital gains into long-term profits, which are subject to lower tax rates, and the Senators alleged Renaissance had used the gambit to skirt nearly

\$7 billion in taxes. (Renaissance, which has spent more than \$3 million on Washington lobbying since 2010, says the practice was lawful.)

As the IRS investigated the firm, Mercer gave half a million dollars to a conservative organization that was suing the agency. (It’s unclear if the donation supported the lawsuit.) Last summer, with McCain locked in a tough primary fight, the financier cut a \$200,000 check to a group supporting McCain’s right-wing challenger. “We issued a scathing report about this guy evading taxes—his firm. I’m sure there’s no connection,” McCain quipped.

BUT THE THEORY that the Mercers are simply driven by self-interest leaves out other important clues. One of the biggest is on the North Shore of Long Island, some 60 miles east of Wall Street, in a sleepy hamlet called East Setauket. This is the home of Renaissance Technologies, one of the most profitable hedge funds in history. Founded by Jim Simons, a math whiz and former NSA code breaker, it has more than \$30 billion under management. Simons was a pioneer in the field of quantitative trading, building intricate algorithms that predict market swings.

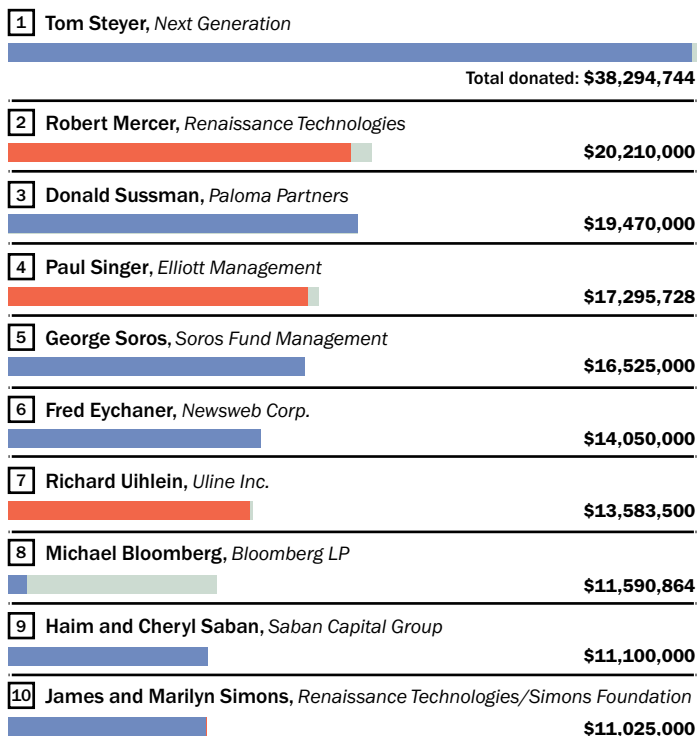
Guided by its models, Renaissance executes entirely computerized trades, often holding positions for mere seconds. Its flagship fund, Medallion, averaged 72% annual returns, before fees, from 1994 to 2014. Yet Renaissance is as famous for its secrecy as for its success. It’s been compared to “the Firm” of John Grisham’s novel, a secluded and lucrative operation that imposes nondisclosure and noncompete clauses on employees to preserve the mystique of its algorithms. The firm shuns Wall Street traders, instead recruiting pure quants like math and physics Ph.D.s.

Which is why they scooped up Mercer in 1993. Until then, the New Mexico native had only ever wanted to be a programmer. He started writing code as a teen, before he even owned a computer. While studying math and physics at the state’s flagship university, he took a part-time job at Kirtland Air Force Base, where he devised a computer shortcut—only to watch superiors run more complicated computations instead. “I took this as an indication that one of the most important goals of government-financed research is not so much to get answers as it is to consume the computer budget,” he once said, “which has left me ever since with a jaundiced view of government-financed research.”

Heavy hitters

Super PACs have already spent more than \$641 million on the 2016 elections. Here are the 10 biggest donors:

- Donations
- To conservatives
- To liberals
- To others



SOURCE: CENTER FOR RESPONSIVE POLITICS

PREVIOUS PAGES: REUTERS; REDUX; PATRICKMCMILLAN.COM; SIPA; ZUMA; (2); AP; (3); GETTY IMAGES; (11); OPPOSITE PAGE: GETTY IMAGES

After earning a Ph.D. in computer science from the University of Illinois, Mercer spent two decades at IBM Research. There he won renown as part of a team that revolutionized computerized language translation. In their breakthrough experiment, Mercer and his colleagues fed reams of Canadian parliamentary transcripts into computers and taught the machines to detect correlations between English and French. Without their work, “Google Translate would not have been possible,” says Gertjan van Noord, a professor at the University of Groningen in the Netherlands, who presented Mercer with a 2014 lifetime-achievement award from the Association for Computational Linguistics.

Renaissance thought this technical innovation could inform its own market forecasts. At the time, Mercer and his wife were laboring to put their children through college. (Rebekah and her older sister Jennifer went to Stanford; their younger sister Heather graduated from Duke, from which she won a \$2 million gender-discrimination lawsuit in 2000 after the aspiring female placekicker was cut from the men’s football team.) Mercer made the jump to Renaissance along with IBM colleagues and threw himself into his new career. “Bob and I both lived at our offices for the first year” at Renaissance, fellow IBM recruit Peter Brown said in 2013. “Because everything is hush-hush, we lost all contact with the outside world.” Mercer and Brown spearheaded an effort to refine Renaissance’s equity-trading models. Both men rose quickly, and they were named co-CEOs in 2010. According to *Institutional Investor*’s ranking of best-paid hedge-fund managers, Mercer netted \$135 million in 2015.

The first thing friends will tell you about Robert Leroy Mercer, now 70, is that he’s not much of a talker. “I’m happy going through my life without saying anything to anybody,” he told the *Wall Street Journal* in a rare 2010 interview. Accepting an award four years later, he noted his prepared remarks were “more than I typically talk in a month.” Yet there was one subject he often held forth about in the company cafeteria. “Bob may not be much of an extrovert, but he talked a lot about politics,” says Nick Patterson, an MIT and Harvard geneticist who recruited Mercer



‘They think Washington is filled with career politicians who have no intention of honoring their promises.’

BRENT BOZELL,
a Mercer friend and conservative activist

to Renaissance in the 1990s. “I would say [he’s] ultraconservative. He really did not like Bill or Hillary Clinton.”

MERCER’S PATTERN of political spending can be perplexing. What makes one sponsor a website like Breitbart, which crusades against global trade agreements and immigration reform, while writing huge checks to free-market groups that favor both? Why does a renowned scientist give millions to climate skeptics? How can he spend \$13.5 million to seed a super PAC supporting a 100-proof conservative like Cruz, only to throw his allegiance to Trump, who treats ideology as an inconvenience? “It’s the conundrum of the year,” says GOP strategist Rick Tyler, a former Cruz aide.

People who know or have worked with Mercer portray him as a strong-willed thinker who mixes conservative doctrine—limited government, a robust national defense—with some fringier ideas. Like many libertarians, Mercer questions the sturdiness of the U.S. monetary system and seeks a return to the gold standard. He has bankrolled a conservative activist who crusades against Agenda 21, a U.N. plan to encourage sustainable development that conspiracy theorists call a secret plot to abridge private-property rights. And he has sponsored an annual conference on disaster preparedness run by an Arizona physician who suggested government authorities may have had a role in the 2015 San Bernardino, Calif., massacre.

Mercer isn’t afraid of risk. He’s been known to plunk down \$100,000 to enter a single poker tournament. He owns a 203-ft. yacht called *Sea Owl*, outfitted with intricate frescoes, a four-story mural carved from Peruvian mahogany and a chandelier of Venetian glass. In

the basement of the Owl’s Nest, Mercer’s mansion abutting Long Island Sound, he installed a \$2.7 million model railway—then sued the builder, claiming he’d been overcharged. He’s also a man of exacting standards: in 2013 he settled a lawsuit brought by Owl’s Nest staffers who claimed Mercer had docked their pay for infractions like failing to refill shampoo bottles, level picture frames or close doors.

“You wouldn’t find him unusual unless you started talking mathematics or something,” says Arthur Robinson, an Oregon biochemist whose scientific research and political aspirations Mercer has spent several million dollars supporting. “You learn to recognize genius when you see it.” At first he knew Mercer only as a fellow scientist who subscribed to his newsletter and donated to his lab. But in 2011, when Robinson began stockpiling thousands of human urine samples on his sheep ranch—part of a project he says will revolutionize diagnostic medicine—Mercer chipped in \$965,000 for cryogenic storage and vials. With Mercer’s support, Robinson has run for DeFazio’s House seat four times, including this year. Yet he says he can only speculate about his benefactor’s beliefs. “We’ve had lunch or dinner two or three times, and I don’t think a word of politics passed over the table,” he says. “We talk about science.”

Robinson recalls writing a research paper that tried to calculate the costs of shuttering a California nuclear power station. It claimed the lost energy could have desalinated enough seawater to help ease the state’s drought. After publishing his findings, he got a note from Mercer, a fellow advocate of nuclear energy, who had run the numbers and spotted a mistake in the math. “And of course,” Robinson says, “he was right.”

THE MERCERS STAND OUT among well-heeled donors for their habit of targeting Republican stalwarts. In 2014, Robert Mercer shelled out \$300,000 to a super PAC opposing Tennessee Senator Lamar Alexander and \$1.1 million to a group vying to replace Mississippi Republican Thad Cochran with a Tea Party challenger. Breitbart has aggressively attacked GOP congressional leaders, including Senate Republican boss Mitch McConnell, House Speaker Paul Ryan

and Ryan's predecessor John Boehner, for choosing compromise over confrontation. One Senate candidate, who benefited from a six-figure Mercer super PAC donation, recalls being pressed about whether the candidate would defer to the wishes of Senate leadership or serve as a check on its power. "They think Washington is filled with career politicians who have no intention of honoring their promises," says Brent Bozell, a veteran conservative activist whose organization, the Media Research Center, received nearly \$9 million in Mercer grants from 2012 to 2014.

This populist bent can create friction. At one 2013 gathering of the Club for Growth, MSNBC host and former Republican Congressman Joe Scarborough was invited to deliver remarks. Scarborough had recently slammed Cruz, calling the conservative insurgent a "carnival barker." According to a source present at the meeting, when Scarborough finished speaking, Rebekah Mercer angrily confronted him about the criticism.

And so the family set to building a political operation of its own. One of the cornerstones is the investment in Cambridge, a London-based tech firm with an audacious marketing pitch. Most data shops target voters based on information culled from consumer behavior and public records. Cambridge approaches the matter as a question of psychology, building so-called psychographic profiles peppered with revelations that voters may not even know about themselves. The Mercers' investment in Cambridge may be a play for a share of the booming market in political analytics, especially among Republicans, who have long trailed the Democrats in tech mastery. When the family ponies up cash for a candidate, the politician often hires Cambridge to do the data mining for the coming campaign. Among its clients in 2016 are Cruz and now Trump, who previously dismissed the use of big data in politics as "overrated."

Another Mercer staple is creating race-specific super PACs, like the one designed to oust DeFazio. Since 2010, Mercer has contributed \$100,000 or more to at least 29 different super PACs. Sometimes Bob Mercer is the group's only donor or by far its largest; in other cases the family installs a loyal treasurer and political strategist to oversee its investment. To accommodate the Mercers,

Cruz allies created a series of interlocking super PACs, one per megadonor, which afforded each a tighter grip on how the cash was spent. "Mercer is the guy that invented the modern-day super PAC," says Scott Reed, who managed Bob Dole's 1996 presidential campaign. "He controlled the money. It was brilliant."

NOT LONG AFTER CRUZ dropped out of the race in May, Rebekah Mercer sat down for a meeting with Trump's daughter Ivanka and his son-in-law Jared Kushner. Tall, with black horn-rimmed glasses, Mercer is described by associates as a non-nonsense operator. "It's impossible to pull the wool over her eyes," says Bozell. "Woe to the person who might have tried." Now she wanted to take the measure of the Trumps. And she evidently liked what she heard. The Mercer family, which had recast the remnants of its pro-Cruz super PAC into an anti-Clinton group, turned their focus to supporting Trump. Some aides to the GOP nominee—who had no real high-dollar fundraising operation until this summer—welcomed the support of conservative kingpins who seemed ready to open their wallets. Others were more wary. "We viewed them as a boarding party," says a Trump ally.

A gesture of loyalty lifted their stock at Trump Tower. When Cruz declined to endorse his former rival during a speech at the Republican Convention in late July, the Mercers issued a rare statement. "We need 'all hands on deck' to ensure that Mr. Trump prevails," they wrote. "Unfortunately, Senator Cruz has chosen to remain in his bunk below, a decision both regrettable and revealing."

As Trump's poll numbers sagged in August, Rebekah Mercer huddled with the candidate at a Hamptons fundraiser to discuss possible replacements for Manafort, his embattled campaign

chief. Days later Trump made the move. Trump may market himself as impervious to donors' affections, but the deep-pocketed father-daughter duo had gone from strangers to players in mere months. When Cruz finally endorsed Trump on Sept. 23, observers credited the Mercers with helping to coax the conversion.

Yet among Republicans, there is still scarce agreement about what Bob and Rebekah Mercer are after. Some observers speculate that the pair, who through a spokesman declined to comment for this story, are driven by a thirst for power or access. "They want to be players," says one Republican consultant. Others say they're spurred by party loyalty, or ideology, or antipathy to Clinton. One suggests the Mercers' real interest was making money on Cambridge. Still another theorizes the alliance with the candidate and Bannon signals interest in backing a prospective Trump-branded television network, which some GOP observers believe is in the offing if the candidate loses. Trump's own explanation is simpler. "Rebekah and her father Robert are tremendous people," he said in a statement to TIME on Sept. 27. "Their greatest desire is to make America great again. Our country is lucky to have their support."

Whatever their motivations, the Mercers are in important ways the shape of things to come. In an increasingly atomized GOP, wealthy donors are building their own bespoke political machines, outfitted with everything from data shops to voter files. And they're wiping away the boundaries between campaigns and their backers. "It's hard to look at what the Mercers are doing and say it's what the Supreme Court envisioned" in its *Citizens United* ruling, says the Campaign Legal Center's Noble.

Yet this sweeping influence comes as no surprise to their targets. When he learned the identity of the mystery donor placing TV ads in his district, back in 2010, DeFazio made his way to a gray townhouse behind a power plant at the edge of Capitol Hill. Here was the address on file for Concerned Taxpayers of America, the Mercers' first super PAC. It had been registered by the group's treasurer, a Republican consultant named Jason Miller. Today he is Donald Trump's senior spokesman. —With reporting by PRATHEEK REBALA/WASHINGTON



'Mercer is the guy that invented the modern-day super PAC.'

SCOTT REED,
veteran Republican consultant

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THE KILLING SEASON INSIDE PHILIPPINE PRESIDENT RODRIGO DUTERTE'S WAR ON DRUGS

BY RISHI IYENGAR/MANILA

AROUND 11 P.M. ON JULY 25, RESTITUTO Castro received an anonymous text message asking him to leave his house in northern Manila and go to the corner of the MacArthur Highway. Just hours earlier, the new Philippine President, 71-year-old Rodrigo Duterte, had given his first State of the Nation address, in which he vowed to destroy the country's illegal drug trade by any means necessary. "We will not stop until the last drug lord ... and the last pusher have surrendered or are put either behind bars or below the ground, if they so wish," he said.

Castro, 46 and a father of four, was neither a drug lord nor a pusher. He never bought *shabu*—a local name for methamphetamine—for himself. Too poor to become a proper user—*shabu* starts at \$31 a gram—he purchased the drug on behalf of his friends in exchange for a hit or two. "He always had a hard time saying no to his friends," says his wife Merlyn. But even dabbling with meth didn't sit well with his life as a family man and his work as a chauffeur for a nearby hotel, so Castro promised to stop cadging recreational hits before he became dependent. According to his cousin, Castro told them his next drug run would be his last.

So it was. A single bullet to the back of his head that night made Castro one of the first of the 3,000-plus Filipinos killed so far in Duterte's brutal war on drugs. According to figures provided to TIME by the Philippine national police, 1,239 people had been killed in police operations as of Sept. 26, nearly three months since Duterte took office. The rest were likely killed by vigilantes who may have been inspired by Duterte's words—deaths the authorities say they are investigating. "We shouldn't jump the gun and say that they're automatically extrajudicial killings, such that extrajudicial means it has the badge of the government," says Kris Ablan, assistant secretary at the Presidential Communications Office.

Nobody can claim to be surprised. The carnage is exactly what Duterte promised. "All of you who are into drugs, you sons of bitches, I will really kill you," he said before his election. While he was

A woman clutches the body of her husband after he was gunned down in Manila. Beside him is a cardboard sign saying DRUG PUSHER

PHOTOGRAPH BY DONDI TAWATAO

President-elect, Duterte offered medals and cash rewards for citizens who shot dealers dead. “Do your duty, and if in the process you kill 1,000 persons because you were doing your duty, I will protect you,” he told police officers on July 1, the day after his inauguration. “If you know of any addicts, go ahead and kill them yourself, as getting their parents to do it would be too painful,” he was quoted as saying to another crowd that day.

Executing people for nonviolent drug-related offenses, inside or outside the law, is common in this part of the world. The only countries other than Iran and Saudi Arabia known to have executed drug traffickers since 2010 are all in Asia: China, Malaysia, Vietnam, Singapore and Indonesia. Yet the wanton ferocity of Duterte’s war eclipses those of his regional neighbors. The U.S.—by far Manila’s most important ally—might prefer that Duterte shift his focus to an encroaching China or the Philippine economy. But the new President, who made his reputation as a tough-on-crime mayor, seems unlikely to be swayed: “This fight against drugs will continue to the last day of my term.”

That day is six years away.

WHEN DUTERTE made the eradication of crime the cornerstone of his campaign—pledging to kill “100,000 criminals”—he earned an emphatic victory, bagging 38% of the vote in a five-candidate race. “People really feel insecure and unsafe,” says Camilo Montesa of the Manila office of the Geneva-based Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue, an NGO dedicated to conflict resolution. Law and order is just one of many chronic national ailments, including poverty, corruption and civil rights abuses. But Duterte’s singular focus on drugs has struck a chord—with reason. The U.S. State Department cites 2011 U.N. figures for methamphetamine use, the latest available, that show the Philippines “as having the highest abuse rate in East Asia at 2.1% of the adult population ages 16 to 64.” Duterte once even vowed to kill his own children if he caught them using drugs.

That’s how he talks. On the campaign trail, Duterte joked that he “should have been first” in the 1989 rape of an Australian missionary in Davao, where he spent 22 years as mayor, and publicly

branded his daughter a “drama queen” after she revealed that she had been raped. The statements were seen as salty speech, not evidence of an ungoverned mind. His boast of the “1,700” suspected criminals killed by death squads when he was mayor—correcting, on live television, allegations that the number was 700—created no uproar. He compares the killings under him to police violence in the U.S. “They’re shooting blacks there,” he said during a press briefing. “What’s the difference between America and the Philippines? Nothing.”

Duterte’s choicest insult—“son of a bitch”—has been deployed against the Pope (for clogging Manila traffic during a visit in January), the U.S. ambassador to the Philippines (whom he also derided as “gay”) and, most recently, President Obama, for wanting to broach the drug war with Duterte. Obama responded by canceling a planned meeting between the two leaders at the Sept. 6–8 summit of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations in the Laotian capital of Vientiane.

Duterte quickly expressed “regret” at his “strong comments,” though he later insisted he had not directed the vulgar phrase specifically at Obama. And in a reflection of how critical Manila is to the U.S.’s geopolitical influence in Asia, Obama still met Duterte briefly before the summit dinner and later downplayed the Philippine leader’s coarse language.

As an American colony for nearly five decades until 1946, the Philippines has always had a complex relationship with the U.S. While 92% of Filipinos reported a favorable attitude toward the U.S. in a recent Pew poll, anti-Americanism surfaces from time to time. In the early 1990s, Manila shut down U.S. bases in the country, and it wasn’t until 2014, during the administration of Benigno Aquino III,

**NOBODY CAN
CLAIM TO BE
SURPRISED. THE
CARNAGE IS
EXACTLY WHAT
DUTERTE
PROMISED**

Duterte’s predecessor, that the two governments signed the Enhanced Defense Cooperation Agreement, which rebooted the U.S. military presence. “Both need each other,” says Carl Thayer, an expert on Southeast Asia at the University of New South Wales. “The U.S. can’t stand up to China in the South China Sea if the Philippines is kicking one of the legs out from the stool that’s defending its sovereignty. And Duterte, likewise, can’t really stand up to China unless the U.S. is backing him.” But on Sept. 13, Duterte said the Philippines would forgo joint patrols with the U.S. in the South China Sea and called on his military—which he urged to focus on terrorism and drugs—to buy hardware from China and Russia.

A week after Duterte took office, a poll conducted by the Philippine research firm Pulse Asia showed that an astonishing 91% of Filipinos had a “high degree of trust” in him. Among them are people like Ray Antonio Nadiera, a 33-year-old maintenance worker in the country’s second largest city, Cebu, who says that by the time Duterte’s campaign is over, “all the addicts will be straightened out.” In Manila’s Pasig Line district, resident Jaime Co says, “The people killed are the dirt of society. What Duterte’s doing, his war on illegal drugs, is right. It’s good.”

Still, some are appalled at the forces that have been unleashed. “We’re on a slippery slope toward tyranny,” says Philippine Senator Leila de Lima. “Whether it’s state-sanctioned or not, I would say at the very least all of these killings are state-inspired.” As Duterte’s top critic, de Lima has been consistently targeted by the President and his supporters. She was recently ousted from the helm of an inquiry into the killings, and a separate probe into her alleged protection of drug lords has also been launched. But de Lima’s worries are echoed by the human-rights community. In June, two U.N. representatives condemned Duterte’s “incitement to violence,” not only against criminals but also against journalists. Duterte’s response was “F-ck you, U.N.” He more recently directed the same profanity at the European Union, while raising his middle finger during a speech. He called U.N. Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon, with whom he declined a meeting at the Laos summit, a “devil.”

Duterte’s authoritarian leanings have



▲
Duterte makes a fist-bump gesture while posing with troops on Aug. 24 at an army camp east of Manila

become increasingly pronounced. In August he threatened to declare martial law if the judiciary obstructed the anti-drug campaign. In September—using a terrorist attack in Davao as justification—he declared a “state of lawlessness” in the country, which he then ratcheted up to a “state of national emergency,” a status that could give the military policing powers.

“This is going to damage democracy and the rule of law as we know it,” says a Philippines-based human-rights campaigner, who requested anonymity out of safety concerns. “This notion that you can solve all your problems just by killing people will only have a detrimental effect in the long run.” Global advocacy groups like Human Rights Watch and Amnesty International have also denounced the slaughter and called on Duterte to change both his rhetoric and his policies. He’s unlikely to listen. “I don’t care about human rights, believe me,” Duterte has said. “There is no due process in my mouth.”

AT 2 A.M. on a recent Saturday in Manila’s south, Jenny, a young woman, stands in a crowd of about 50 people surrounding her neighbor’s house. Gunshots were heard just over an hour ago, and the police have

emerged to announce that the occupant, a man named John Paul, has been killed. “It’s like a death penalty is handed out without due process—Duterte gave free rein to the police,” she says. “They say if suspects fight back, they can kill them, but people are getting killed without a fight.”

The police say any killings by them have been in self-defense. And they applaud Duterte, who has promised to “die” for them as long as they do their “duty.” “This is the first time that the President or the administration are really focused on eradicating illegal drugs,” says a senior police official who asked not to be identified. “The support of the President makes it very encouraging for the law enforcer.”

The urban poor pay the highest price. In these impoverished communities, children play beside open sewers, families often share one room, and, for a few people, *shabu* is an escape—both psychologically and financially. “A lot of the people involved in the drug market have no

other opportunity for income, so a lot of that money also goes to support families in communities,” says Clarke Jones, a researcher at the Australian National University who studies the Philippine prison system and the drug trade within it.

Rightly fearing for their lives, Filipinos are surrendering in droves. More than 700,000 people have turned themselves in to the authorities for drug-related offenses since Duterte took office, according to police data. Rehabilitation is an option for only a few thousand, owing to the scarcity of government-approved centers. Other than the grave, that leaves prison, which even by Philippine standards is a special kind of hell. On a recent visit to Manila’s Las Piñas City Jail, *TIME* estimated that about 50 men were sharing a 10-by-10-ft. cell—a nationally ubiquitous scenario thanks to more than 19,000 arrests over the past 12 weeks. Many had been there for more than a month.

The President is unapologetic about his grim campaign and its fallout. “Rich or poor, I do not give a sh-t,” Duterte said at a recent press conference. “My order is to destroy.” —*With reporting by KIMBERLY DELA CRUZ and RAMON ROYANDOYAN/MANILA* □





Juliet Forrest (in blue dress) celebrates her eighth birthday with a *Hamilton* party. Her friend Jenna Parker (in crown) came as King George

Culture

Hamilton Nation

**IT CONQUERED BROADWAY.
NEXT STOP, THE WORLD**

BY ELIZA BERMAN

ON A WARM JULY AFTERNOON, RON CHAN and Cat Farris stood on a sandy Oregon beach to exchange wedding vows. She wore a crown of eucalyptus leaves, while he sported sunglasses and a well-groomed faux-hawk. “I don’t have a dollar to my name/ An acre of land, a troop to command, a dollop of fame,” she sang. He rapped in return: “There’s a million things I haven’t done, and I want to do them with you.” Both were riffing on the words of Alexander Hamilton—or at least the version of him invented by Lin-Manuel Miranda for the musical *Hamilton*, which they had never seen.

Eight-year-old Juliet Forrest wore a colonial-style dress to her recent *Hamilton*-themed birthday party in Pittsburgh. Her friends wore tricorn hats, and one, Jenna Parker, came dressed as King George. There was a water-balloon “duel” and the signing of a “Kids’ Constitution.” In lieu of gifts, guests brought \$10 bills—the Hamilton, baby—for a children’s charity co-founded by Hamilton’s wife Eliza in 1806.

Having already set sales and awards benchmarks for a Broadway show—\$111 million in ticket sales in just over 13 months, 16 Tony Award nominations (and 11 wins), a Pulitzer Prize for Drama—*Hamilton* has leaped off the stage and become a full-blown cultural phenomenon. In addition to inspiring nuptials and second-grade parties, its songs fuel grueling SoulCycle sessions in Manhattan, its characters are rendered in thousands of pieces of fan art on Tumblr, and its well-researched lyrics are used in history classes for grade schoolers and high schoolers across the nation. More than a year into its Broadway run, the musical shows no sign of

flagging, with tickets sold out into 2017.

It's a rare example of theater penetrating deeply into mainstream culture. "Hamilton Trash"—as some high school fans call themselves—spread the gospel by referencing the show in elaborate senior-prom proposals and college-admission essays. In the adult world, *Hamilton* turned up in WikiLeaks Democratic National Committee emails, Hillary Clinton's nomination speech and Sarah Jessica Parker's Met Gala outfit. Not to mention the Treasury Department's decision to keep Hamilton on the \$10 bill after promising the spot to a woman. (Post-uproar, Harriet Tubman will appear on the \$20 bill.)

A second production will open on Oct. 19 in Chicago, its first six months of shows selling faster than you can say "Federalist papers." A touring production plans to launch in March in San Francisco before hitting nearly 20 other U.S. cities, and the show will go global next fall when another offshoot is set to open on London's West End. "I've been doing this job for over 20 years, and there's never been another show remotely comparable in terms of advance excitement, demand, tickets, general enthusiasm," says Chicago *Tribune* chief theater critic Chris Jones. "When tickets went on sale here, it was front page of our paper. Frankly, it's just nuts—unfathomable almost."

How does a bastard, orphan, son of a whore and a Scotsman, dropped in the middle of a forgotten/ Spot in the Caribbean by Providence, impoverished, in squalor/ Grow up to be a hero and a scholar?

So begins the opening song of *Hamilton*, which tells the story of the creator of the American financial system through a genre-bending blend of rap, R&B, boogie-woogie and traditional show-tune fare. A similar question could be asked of the musical: How did a chapter of U.S. history you more than likely slept through become a pop-culture phenomenon to rival *Star Wars*?

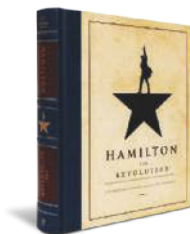
The answer isn't fully revealed in a compilation of the show's successes, though they are legion. Since opening off-Broadway in February 2015 and transitioning to Broadway six months later, *Hamilton* has had the highest first-year gross of any show of the past 15 years, including *The Book of Mormon* and *The Producers*. Its interwoven tales of love (Alex-

HAMILTON HYPE

The musical has inspired a host of offshoots, products and even namesakes



HANDMADE COSTUMES At this year's Comic-Con, fans of the show turned up in full regalia. Some had spent weeks tailoring their garb.



HAMILTON: THE REVOLUTION

The show's companion book has been in the top 20 of the hardcover nonfiction list since its April release.



ALEXANDER CAMELTON Chicago's Lincoln Park Zoo named one of its newest residents, a 4-month-old Bactrian camel, after the Founding Father.

ander and Eliza), sisterly devotion (Eliza and Angelica) and rivalry (Alexander and Aaron Burr) consistently sell out all 1,321 of the theater's seats, with a thriving secondary market where tickets can exceed \$1,000 a pop. Even with most of the original cast now departed, sales remain brisk.

In October 2015, the cast recording debuted at No. 12 on the *Billboard* charts—the highest starting position for a Broadway show in 50 years—and in November it became the first to top the rap charts. Fans supplement the music with *Hamilton: The Revolution*, a \$50 hardcover book that includes the annotated libretto, behind-the-scenes photos and the musical's origin

story. It's been on the *New York Times* hardcover nonfiction best-seller list since its April release, alongside its paperback cousin *Alexander Hamilton*, the decade-old, 800-page Ron Chernow biography that inspired the show.

A FEW ANECDOTAL observations about the *Hamilton*-obsessed: They're on a first-name basis with cast members, even though they've likely never met. Upon hearing that I share his beloved wife's name, they sing it back to me, lingering on the swooning middle syllable a touch longer, as the ensemble does in the show's closing number. Many listen to the cast recording daily. Some Twitter-stalk its stars and use the voices of Phillipa Soo (Eliza Schuyler Hamilton) and Renée Elise Goldsberry (Angelica Schuyler) as their ringtones. More than once, they have described levitating out of their seats during the show.

Newlyweds and professional illustrators Chan and Farris, 33 and 35, respectively, meet several of these criteria. She got hooked first; he required convincing. "I think this probably happens to everyone when they first hear the pitch for *Hamilton*, because it's a very goofy pitch," Chan says. "It sounds like it would be lame, like, 'Oh, let's show these kids how cool history can be!'" But on a road trip to the Vancouver Comic Arts Festival in May, Chan was trapped in a car full of fans. After a 12-hour round trip—and at least four complete listens—he came around: "The story is fantastically told, the music is really great. Lin is a huge hip-hop nerd, and it's not just trying to be hip."

Then Chan was struck by an idea: Farris might just melt right into the Pacific if he rapped his vows Miranda-style. Turns out she was planning the exact same thing. In "Helpless," a bubbly, Beyoncé-inspired tune about love at first sight, Hamilton begins rapping about his devotion to Eliza: "All I have's my honor, a tolerance for pain/ A couple of college credits and my top-notch brain." Farris personalized the lines: "All I have's my honor/ Modest web-comic fame/ A single sleepy greyhound/ And my top-notch mane." She vowed to be what Eliza was to Alexander: "Best of wives, best of women."

With the exception of shows like *Rent* or *The Book of Mormon*, Broadway musicals can seem far removed from

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HOLLYWOOD STUNT DRIVER.”



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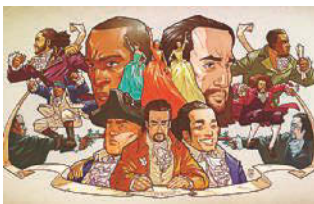
Let's
Go
Places

current events and culture. But steeped in hip-hop, Miranda bridged that gap and pushed boundaries further. He cast people of color to play white historical figures, stressed women's contributions to the founding of America and reminded us that many urgent issues of Hamilton's time, like immigration, remain so today.

Hamilton is also the first musical to leverage the full potential of social media. Miranda and the cast actively engage with fans on Twitter and Instagram, and they recruited the biggest influencers a show could hope for. President Obama has seen it twice and invited Miranda to the White House. He and Michelle Obama introduced the company's televised performance at the Tonys in June. Beyoncé told Jonathan Groff, who played King George, that she's going to steal his moves. And rappers such as Common, Busta Rhymes and Talib Kweli have given it a hip-hop seal of approval in interviews.

EVEN WHEN the lights dim on *Hamilton*, its core ideas will live on in schools. For teachers of history and social studies, *Hamilton* is manna from the curriculum gods, and the show has officially partnered with the nonprofit Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History and others to send students from select disadvantaged high schools to see the musical at a drastically reduced price, and develop accompanying study materials. "Finally, a medium to talk about history that is interesting to people under 18," says Brian Collier, a member of the graduate faculty at the University of Notre Dame's Institute for Educational Initiatives. In a teaching-methods course this summer, he had master's-degree candidates develop lesson plans using the musical—which he sees, in the best sense of the term, as a "gateway drug"—to teach academic skills.

Brendan Bell, a Collier student who teaches U.S. history, government and economics at Cristo Rey High School in Sacramento, sees the songs as the draw. "One thing that really speaks to my students is music, especially hip-hop," he says. "They're very perceptive to the messages within lyrics. They already bring up societal and institutional issues about peace, racism and civil rights, so I anticipate that they'll react [to *Hamilton*] with a lot of energy." This fall, Bell will teach his classes a *Hamilton*-themed lesson



FAN ART A *Hamilton*-inspired work by Ron Chan. This one hangs backstage at Broadway's Richard Rodgers Theatre.



CHILDREN OF THE REVOLUTION A onesie with the *Hamilton* refrain "Young, scrappy and hungry" is among the merchandise that fans have created.



AWARD-SHOW TRIBUTE At the BET Awards in June, co-hosts Tracee Ellis Ross and Anthony Anderson opened the show with a *Hamilton* parody.

asking two central questions: "What is the American Dream?" and "What is the immigrant experience like across our history?" "Many of their families come from Mexico," Bell explains. "Just being able to relate the experience then to the experience now, how people perceive immigrants and the opportunities they have in public life—it's very empowering."

Deynika Joree attended a performance of *Hamilton* in April as part of the Gilder Lehrman Institute's educational program. For Joree, whose parents emigrated from Guyana, *Hamilton* was a revelation. "When I first heard about the show, I expected all these white actors and actresses, but when I started to realize the entire cast is completely diverse, people

from all different backgrounds—brown, black, Hispanic—I was just like, "This is good," says the senior at Thomas A. Edison Career and Technical Education High School in Queens. "Lin said that the reason he did that is to show America as it is now, and that was a really big thing for me."

JULIET FORREST, the 8-year-old birthday girl, was still coming off her *Frozen* obsession when her mother played "Helpless" while they drove to church. "For the next three or four car trips it was, 'Mom, could you put on "Helpless?"'" says Christine Forrest. "From then on she just wanted to hear more, and at this point that's all we listen to anymore." The Forrests were fortunate to see the show during Miranda's final week of performances in July. They traveled to New York City on a whim and nabbed tickets outside the theater minutes after the curtain rose. Juliet recalls the excitement: "My knee was hurt that day, but when my dad told us to run in, I sprinted to get inside!" (She concedes that it was tough to sit still for all two hours and 30 minutes.)

On the family's next trip to New York, they'll make a pilgrimage to Eliza's grave at Trinity Church in lower Manhattan. (Alexander is also buried there, but for Juliet, Eliza is the main attraction.) Most gratifying to her teacher parents, they'll continue the conversations they've begun about immigration and what it's like to arrive in America with nothing but a dream.

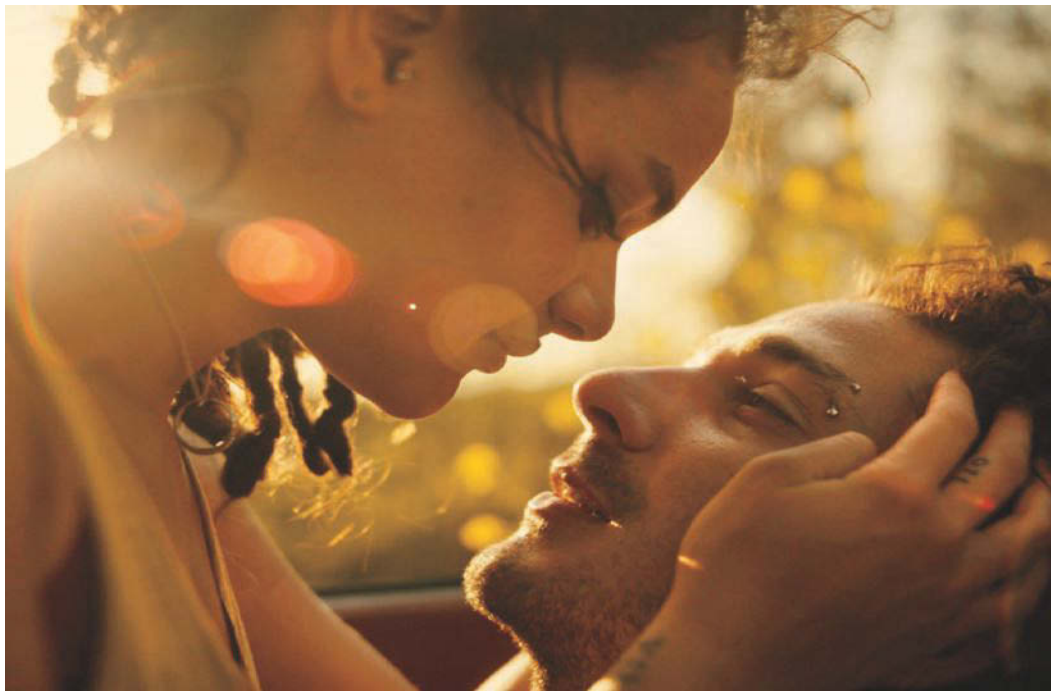
Hamilton has more records to break and more hearts to win over. But whether it runs on Broadway and beyond for another five years or 20 is beside the point. Hamilton himself died before age 50, and the musical isn't really about him, at its core. It's about a kid from a Puerto Rican family who grew up in New York City and went on to win the Pulitzer Prize for Drama. And now it's also about an 8-year-old Disneyphile in Pittsburgh, a couple of comic-book artists in the Pacific Northwest and a handful of teenagers at a technical high school about as far from Broadway as you can get in the same city.

"Coming up as a kid from Queens, I'm a girl and I'm brown, so in our heads we're like, We're never going to get out. We're never going to do anything big," Joree says. "But maybe there's a chance that we could go out and do bigger things." □

FROM TOP: COURTESY OF RON CHAN; COURTESY OF MONI BLACKWELL; NEMIN WINTER—GETTY IMAGES FOR BET

Time Off

'A SHOW DEPICTING THE CREATION OF SYNTHETIC HUMANS RISES OR FALLS ON THE QUALITY OF ITS BOTS.' —PAGE 61



The romance between Star (Sasha Lane) and Jake (Shia LaBeouf) hits *American Honey*'s sweetest note

MOVIES

The kids of *American Honey* hit the road with a sweet-and-sour hustle

By Stephanie Zacharek

ANDREA ARNOLD'S *AMERICAN Honey*—a fictional story drawn from real life, about marginalized teenagers who sell magazine subscriptions door to door—pinpoints issues that every American needs to think about: our country is so fractured that prosperous citizens can spend their whole lives tucked away in well-manicured neighborhoods, while just a few miles off, a little kid is opening the door to an empty fridge.

But there's a fine line between dramatizing human circumstances in a way that leaves us shaken or joyful, or both, and making a carefully calibrated sociology project. *American Honey*, its good intentions aside, tilts toward the latter. Star (Sasha Lane) is a teenager living somewhere in the Midwest, a young woman who re-

sorts to dumpster diving to feed the two small children in her care (and they're not even hers). She's dazzled when a pack of those magazine-selling teens comes through her town—they live a life of freedom she can barely imagine—and the charisma of their best salesman, Jake (a shambling, seductive Shia LaBeouf), doesn't hurt. So she takes off with them, hitting the road in their van: in the daytime, they fan out through fancy neighborhoods and sometimes through distressed ones, hawking a product that they know no one wants. At night, they pile into cheap hotel rooms paid for by their exploitative boss, Krystal (a magnetic, take-no-prisoners Riley Keough), whose management style is as hard and precise as the tight little rings of liner around her eyes.

They also party, hard. And they fall in love: the attraction between Jake and Star, who's gentle and generous but nobody's fool, is immediate, and their love story is the movie's most potent ingredient.

Arnold, who is English (and who has made some astute, beautiful pictures, like the 2009 *Fish Tank*), wrote *American Honey* after traveling through the U.S., alone, on a number of road trips. Meticulously shot by Arnold's regular cinematographer, Robbie Ryan, the film folds in lots of documentary-style details, from moths clinging to drifty cotton curtains to shacks masquerading as homes with moldy ceilings and dishes piled high in the sink. Arnold, who cast the movie largely with unknowns, also has a knack for finding great faces: Lane's Star, with her soulful eyes and a pout like a stubborn cherub, is the movie's center—you can't help feeling for her.

Yet there's something belligerent about Arnold's approach, in the way she shows us flies buzzing around a dirty counter or a precocious little girl, living in seemingly hopeless circumstances, who has committed to memory the lyrics of the punk song "I Kill Children" by Dead Kennedys.

Over and over, *American Honey* calls attention to how observant it is, rather than just being observant. It's as if Arnold assumes that we *wouldn't* be able to care about kids trying to change their lives by fighting for scraps dropped from the capitalist table. *American Honey* trusts more in our heartlessness than in our compassion. Even if—maybe especially if—that's a tragically accurate assumption, bullying us into caring isn't going to help. □

MOVIES

Burton loses the plot in *Peregrine*

IN A WORLD THAT NOW SEEMS LIKE fantasy but which was once very real, Tim Burton was one of our most imaginative and uncompromising filmmakers—one who could wrest vivid, dreamy details into a cogent story. Burton still has his imagination, as his adaptation of Ransom Riggs' young-adult novel *Miss Peregrine's Home for Peculiar Children* proves. The picture is laced with gorgeous, haunting touches: two young teens, feeling their way toward romance, drift to the bottom of the sea for an innocent rendezvous aboard a sunken ocean liner—its dining room, draped in mossy rust, is still populated by skeletons sitting primly at their fully set tables, waiting for a meal that will never arrive. Burton revels in his trademark gruesome wit too: a radiant little girl looks perfectly normal from the front—but at the back of her head lurks a second mouth, rimmed with menacing, pointy teeth.

Miss Peregrine's Home for Peculiar Children—a mystical fantasy in which

a pipe-smoking headmistress, played by the always alluring Eva Green, cares for a group of specially "gifted" children who survive eternally by reliving a single day in 1943—is in many ways the perfect repository for Burton's own gloriously peculiar gifts. It's far less garish than some of his recent monstrosities, like *Alice in Wonderland* and *Dark Shadows*. And he's alive to the charms of his performers, including the gangly, winsome Asa Butterfield (best known for Martin Scorsese's *Hugo*) and the young

English actor Ella Purnell, as a lighter-than-air miss kept earthbound only by her strappy lead shoes.

But what's happened to Burton's gift for storytelling? In the movie's second half, it's impossible to follow the story's gnarled-vine logic. The picture's elegance devolves into chaos, a mess of noisy, cluttered action sequences, as if Burton didn't trust us to sit still through something

quieter, moodier and more controlled. *Miss Peregrine's Home for Peculiar Children* could have been a return to form for Burton, but he loses his sense of direction halfway through. If only he could find his way back to his wild bread-crumbs trail, the one that guided him so ably for years. —s.z.

'If you go back before films, fairy tales were these horrible, graphic stories.'

TIM BURTON, telling *Variety* about his attraction to folktales and to Riggs' novel



Miss Peregrine's spooky brood populate Burton's new film



Russell as the stalwart rig-crew chief

MOVIES

Deepwater Horizon brings life to oil tragedy

PETER BERG, DIRECTOR OF PICTURES LIKE 2013's tough-as-a-callus military drama *Lone Survivor*, isn't known for his subtlety. But then, in telling the story of the Deepwater Horizon—the oil-drilling rig that exploded in 2010 in the Gulf of Mexico off the Louisiana coast, killing 11 workers and triggering the worst oil spill in U.S. history—subtlety is the last thing you want. The picture is effective and harrowing, not least because it features faces we've come to trust—like Mark Wahlberg, as chief electronics technician Mike Williams, and Kurt Russell, as the rig's crew chief, Jimmy Harrell, or “Mr. Jimmy,” as the crew calls him—contorted in terror and coated with what looks like an unholy blend of oil, mud and soot, often streaked with blood.

Berg succeeds in balancing *Deepwater Horizon's* unnervingly believable special effects with the human element: when the rig first erupts in flames, it's as if some grim beast were gnashing at it with fiery teeth. Yet we never lose sight of the fact that men's lives are at stake, particularly in an early sequence when workers in a glass-windowed chamber scramble as the oil first leaks, then bursts, into the rig's interior—they become trapped in a vitrine of terror. The picture is clear in stating that all these men, people who have taken jobs most of us would never wish to do, were victims not just of human error but also of greed and hubris. Enter John Malkovich in a classic, mustache-twirling turn as Donald Vidrine, the BP executive who urged the crew to move forward even after diagnostic tests indicated it was unsafe to do so. Malkovich sure isn't subtle, either, but that's the point: his job is to get your blood boiling, and boy, he's good at it. —S.Z.

The real-life Mike Williams, who survived the disaster, says not enough changed in the oil industry to prevent another catastrophe: 'I won't say it won't happen again, because it probably will.'



QUICK TALK

Mark Wahlberg

The actor and producer, 45, appears on the A&E reality show *Wahlburgers*, about the gourmet burger chain Mark founded with his brothers Donnie and Paul. In *Deepwater Horizon*, out Sept. 30, he stars as rig worker Mike Williams.

Why did you want to make a film about this incident? Every time I remembered reading something about the Deepwater Horizon, it [was about] the natural disaster. For whatever reason—maybe it was my own fault, maybe there was a lack of media attention—I never registered the fact that 11 people lost their lives. That's what captivated me.

You got some pushback from the real people depicted in the film. They were all completely against the idea of us making the movie. I just assumed that people knew what our intentions were. Once I had an opportunity to talk to everybody, I understood pretty quickly that everybody was very upset that their loved ones had been pushed under the rug and forgotten. Now here comes liberal Hollywood ready to make a movie about an environmental disaster, and [they thought] you're going to see me jumping to save seagulls and marine life. Obviously what happened environmentally was horrible, but I don't think it necessarily equates to the loss of human life.

Is this a story about heroism?

Men and women who go out there and do jobs that are not glamorous are fascinating to me. Being faced with the remarkable things that they did in order to survive and help others survive was incredible. I find that very inspiring—very heroic.

BP comes out looking pretty bad in the film. What about America's relationship with oil still has to change?

If they took the extra time and spent the extra money, they would have saved a considerable amount considering how much it cost them with the cleanup. But that's easy to say on a Monday morning. —SAM LANSKY

TIME PICKS

BOOKS

The godfather of modern conservatism, William F. Buckley Jr. excelled as a eulogist. **A Torch Kept Lit** (Oct. 4) gathers his memorials of icons like Ronald Reagan and Martin Luther King Jr.



MUSIC

On **Banks'** superb sophomore album, *The Altar*, dropping Sept. 30, singer-songwriter Jillian Banks pairs lyrics about empowerment, lust and disillusionment with synth-heavy, dark R&B production.

MOVIES

In *Denial*, out Sept. 30, Rachel Weisz shines as Deborah Lipstadt, the real-life professor who was sued for libel by a Holocaust denier and had to prove in court that the Holocaust actually occurred.

TELEVISION

ABC's latest twist-heavy drama, *Conviction* (Oct. 3), stars *Agent Carter's* Hayley Atwell as a lawyer who exonerates wrongfully convicted criminals.



BOOKS

The Beach Boy and the Boss: darkness on the edge of two memoirs

By Isaac Guzmán

THE BIG REVELATION IN BRUCE SPRINGSTEEN'S NEW memoir, *Born to Run*, is that the Boss gets bummed out. Big time. Which may finally help fans understand the bleak menagerie of killers and black-sheep brothers who populate the 1982 album *Nebraska*. While Springsteen's bouts of depression and anxiety come as a surprise to many of his followers, Brian Wilson's struggle with schizo-affective disorder has been well documented, most recently in the haunting 2014 biopic *Love & Mercy*. Now the Beach Boy tells his story in the disarmingly personal *I Am Brian Wilson*. Together, the Rock and Roll Hall of Famers present an unusually candid description of mental illness and its role in an artist's life. The books have plenty of fun stuff too, with many pages about the power and beauty of pop music, but their afflictions are constant threads throughout, a nagging reminder that fame, talent and money provide little shelter from this psychological storm.

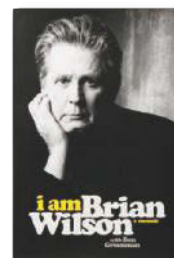
With a few relatively short gaps, Springsteen, 67, has worked consistently throughout his career despite 35 years of on-and-off struggles with mental health. For his part, Wilson, 74, has been sidelined for years at a time, especially when under the care of the now disgraced Eugene Landy, who mitigated hallucinations, drug abuse and self-induced seclusion with a different kind of prison under the therapist's complete control.

Springsteen's first major bout of depression struck around 1981, after *Born to Run*, *Darkness on the Edge of Town* and *The River* had become huge hits. He channeled anxiety and fear—due partly to the alcohol-fueled abuse of a “one-man minefield,” his father—into relentless perfectionism over his career. But once it was all in place, even finding a house suitable for a newly minted rock star filled him with dread. “At the end of the day, I was simply a guy who was rarely comfortable in his own skin, whatever skin that might be,” he writes. “The idea of home itself, like much else, filled me with distrust and a bucket load of grief.”

He comforted himself with drives back to his “Rosebud” hometown, Freehold, N.J., but wouldn't leave the car, lest he break the reverie. “You can hammer pain and trauma into a righteous sword and use it in defense,” he writes. “But *nobody* gets a do-over. Nobody gets to go back and there's only one road out. Ahead, into the dark.”

After recording *Nebraska*, Springsteen hit new emotional lows on a road trip, watching dancers at a Texas fair. He felt unprecedented despair and remove and later grasped that the defenses he employed against his father now served to “seal my alienation, cut me off from life, control others and contain my emotions to a damaging degree. Now the bill collector is knocking, and his payment'll be in tears.”

Since then, Springsteen has combined psychotherapy

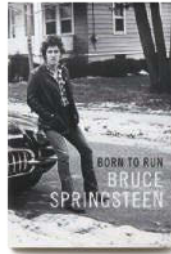


Wilson says he still hears self-destructive voices but reminds himself that they're only the symptoms of a disease



with antidepressants and sedatives to hold back the “black sludge.” Yet even after his 1985 marriage to Julianne Phillips, he had panic attacks and felt “emotionally stunted and secretly unavailable”—which is when his second wife, Patti Scialfa, became more than a backup singer.

When he was in his early 60s, his depression and anxiety redoubled to the point where he came to understand the appeal of suicide. This tailspin left him weeping



▲
Springsteen has battled bouts of depression that informed bleak albums like *Nebraska*



on the Jersey Shore after a paddleboard session. New meds helped, but the “thing” continues to come for him.

WHERE SPRINGSTEEN writes floridly of his trials, Wilson is disarmingly plainspoken. Co-writer Ben Greenman has translated Wilson’s childlike, tangential way of speaking onto the page, and Wilson is matter-of-fact about what ails him. Were his troubles spurred by a father even more abusive

than Springsteen’s, or was it his decade of escape into weed, cocaine and Bali Hai wine? “What did it matter when it started?” he writes. “What mattered is that for a while it wouldn’t end.”

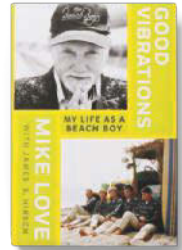
He recalls an early episode in 1964, when “I Get Around” became a No. 1 hit. Boarding a plane for a Houston gig, he was overwhelmed by alarm. Once he was airborne, “my thoughts swarmed and I blacked out. To me I blacked out. To everyone else it

looked like I was screaming and holding my head and falling down in the aisle.”

After that, Wilson stayed in the studio while the band toured. But around 1965, after taking LSD, he began to hear voices saying that they were going to kill him, that he was worthless. “I have heard those voices for a long time, maybe 50 years now,” he writes. “They’d sound like a real person’s voice, a person different from me who I couldn’t control, but inside my own head.” He quieted the voices with fervent studio work that produced *Pet Sounds* and the song “Good Vibrations.” But within a few years he was medicating himself into a stupor and rarely left his house.

In 1976, Landy helped Wilson recover, but he later wound up improperly medicating his client and crossing boundaries, which led to loss of his license. In the mid-’90s, Wilson found a new mix of medications that enabled him to get back in the studio and tour again. But the voices are still there. “It’s part of my brain that doesn’t change,” he writes, “so what has to change is the way I deal with it.”

Aside from being the frank reflections of legendary musicians, these books refute notions of the tortured genius. Neither found inspiration in his maladies. Instead, Springsteen and Wilson recognize that they have disorders that can be treated but never cured. That they both let us in on their ongoing ills speaks to our changing understanding of mental illness as well as the hard-won wisdom of two artists who were driven to the brink of the abyss yet found something better when they managed not to leap in. □



MIKE LOVE: BRIAN TOOK HIS T-BIRD AWAY

The story of the Beach Boys is like a California-blond version of *Amadeus*, with Brian Wilson as Mozart and Mike Love as Salieri—except that Salieri had talent. Love’s new memoir, *Good Vibrations: My Life as a Beach Boy*, seeks to prove his essential artistry and so recaps Wilson’s studio triumphs with detailed notes on how Love saved the day with an apt couplet or, in his finest moment, the lyrics to “Good Vibrations.” Love aches to be seen as a good guy with rough edges smoothed by Transcendental Meditation, but bitterness betrays him, from his toxic speech at the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame to a *Rolling Stone* interview earlier this year. He’s the guy who got the girls, co-wrote the Wilson-less No. 1 hit “Kokomo,” sued for millions in royalties and won rights to the Beach Boys name. Yet the notion that Wilson is a genius and he merely a journeyman gnaws deeply. Love’s most enduring scores are the ones this book is out to settle. —I.G.

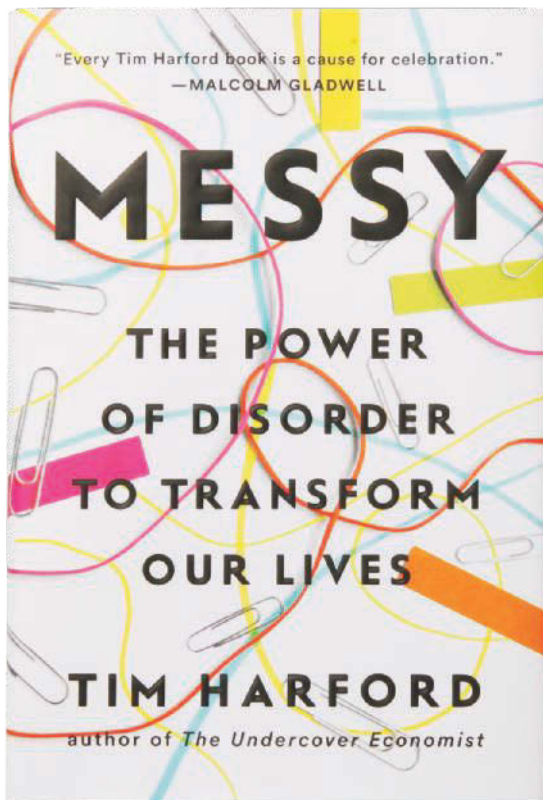
NONFICTION

A new chaos theory to live your best life

“LOTS OF PEOPLE TOLERATE mess,” a friend once observed while looking at my living room, strewn with clothes, dishes and junk mail. “You’re the only one I know who seems to have a positive preference for it.” So you can imagine my initial thrill at the title of Tim Harford’s *Messy: The Power of Disorder to Transform Our Lives*. Vindication, at last!

Well, sort of. *Messy* is neither a broadside at Marie Kondo and her cult of minimalism nor a case for the hidden virtues of hoarding. Harford, an acclaimed economics journalist, isn’t so much extolling squalor as questioning the notion that order is inherently preferable for creative endeavors. As a society, “we like tidiness to the point of fetishizing it,” he says. “We find clutter and irregularity disturbing and don’t notice when it is doing us good.”

In chapters organized by theme (“Incentives,” “Workplaces,” “Automation”) Harford explores the often unconventional—messy, you might say—habits of such figures as Jeff Bezos, General Erwin Rommel and Miles Davis. In each case, we see the subject defying norms of tidiness and organization in order to innovate and even revolutionize. Steve Jobs physically upended the offices of Apple to foster collaboration; Martin Luther King Jr. improvised some of his most iconic lines. Meanwhile, Harford delves into research that analyzes and explains the benefits of thinking outside the box



(emptied on the floor).

He also touches on the long history of our conviction that neater is better. Benjamin Franklin, successful by almost any measure, bemoaned his personal untidiness. He wrote in his autobiography, “My scheme of order gave me the most trouble.” Even to our freethinking Founding Father, there was no possibility that his chronic sloth might be bound up with his inventiveness. (Of course, none of the successes we read about occurred in conditions of absolute chaos; as Harford points out, a messy desk isn’t going to turn most people into Keith Jarrett.)

According to Harford, our reflexive reliance on the systematic is not merely shortsighted but dangerous, particularly given the rise of technologies that “supplant—

rather than support—human decisionmaking.” Then, too, unexamined devotion to a sclerotic political system can leave that system prone to disruption, as evinced by the presidential campaign.

Part of the societal problem with idiosyncrasies is that they are personal. They are hard for others to penetrate and map, and as such, they are not replicable. Just as efficiency and systems fail to account for human variables like feeling and inspiration, so too are they threatened by human variables. We’d be wise, then, if not to dwell in squalor, to at least make room for flexibility. As some might reason, it’s a highly organized argument for chaos.

—SADIE STEIN

Stein is a writer living in New York City

HISTORY

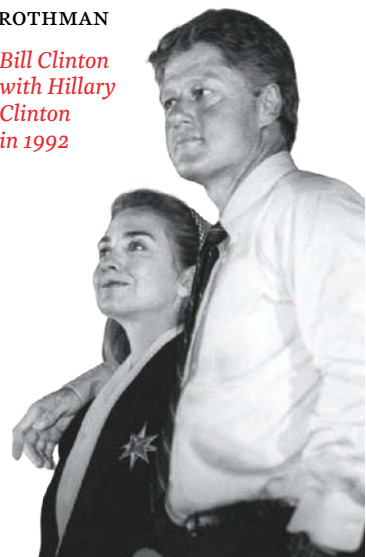
The 1990s are back

IT TOOK 134 INTERVIEWS and a decade for Russell L. Riley and his team at the University of Virginia to compile *Inside the Clinton White House: An Oral History*, a dense, valuable volume featuring everyone from Clinton secretary Betty Currie to Secretary of State Madeleine Albright (not included: the Clintons themselves).

The book reminds us that most presidential history—scandals included—is more complicated than it seems. Take the era of Monica Lewinsky (also not interviewed): the President buried himself in foreign policy because “he didn’t want to go home,” the diplomat Nancy Soderberg tells Riley. If you’re looking for Hillary Clinton grist, the focus is on her milieu as First Lady. She comes off as a decisive woman who inspires loyalty as well as fear—and whose own history can’t yet be told. —LILY

ROTHMAN

Bill Clinton with Hillary Clinton in 1992



James Marsden woos Wood, a synthetic “host” stuck in an unending loop



TELEVISION

HBO offers a West-ward expansion of the mind

By Daniel D’Addario

“YOU KNOW WHY THIS BEATS THE REAL WORLD?” ED HARRIS asks a man he’s about to shoot. “The real world is chaos. It’s an accident. But in here, every detail adds up to something.” Playing a marauding visitor to a futuristic theme park, Harris perfectly summarizes the appeal of *Westworld*, a tourist attraction for wealthy folks who want to role-play the days of Wild Bill Hickok. Harris isn’t gunning down a man, really—he’s killing one of the AI “hosts” created for his pleasure. And *Westworld*, the new HBO series set at the park, is as beautifully built as its subject matter. Its carefully chosen details add up to a pulp spectacular that’s more thoughtful than any other of this fall’s new dramas.

Dr. Robert Ford (Anthony Hopkins) is *Westworld*’s behind-the-scenes master of ceremonies, crafting “narratives” for his hundreds of synthetic pioneers. Visitors pay tens of thousands of dollars a day to watch—or interact with, whether kissing or killing—the machines, which Hopkins has impregnated with verbal and physical tics so inconspicuous that we don’t notice until the same scenarios are reenacted with new guests. *Westworld* entices clients with a surreal change of scenery, but keeps them coming back with a populace that’s beautifully “human.” As Ford puts it: “The guests don’t return for the obvious things we do, the garish things. They come back because of the subtleties. The details.”

After each guest leaves, the hosts’ memories are wiped clean by programmer Bernard Lowe (Jeffrey Wright, brilliantly conveying the moral ambiguity of the situation). It’s this detail that creates a problem when sweet-natured robot Dolores (Evan

Rachel Wood) and brothel madam Maeve (Thandie Newton) begin to recall traumas from the past that ought to have been deleted. Harris’ “Man in Black,” who’s been visiting the park for 30 years, feels certain he’s close to cracking its code, but there’s a chance his once docile hosts may just rise up and rebel before he gets there.

Unlike *Game of Thrones*—the obvious point of comparison as a lavish HBO fantasy, and a series whose success the network surely wants to repeat—*Westworld* isn’t based on a widely known property with a rich mythology. Its first season wrings 10 episodes from a cult 1973 sci-fi flick written and directed by Michael Crichton, which didn’t crack the 90-minute mark. Show creators Jonathan and Lisa Joy Nolan freely and confidently build out a narrative that considers, from its first moments, the meaning of human consciousness. Is a mind created by humans really a mind? Can it be mistreated?

It’s the finesse with which the show handles these heavy questions that will keep me coming back, but it’s also worth noting that the garish spectacle is rendered expertly. A show depicting the creation of synthetic humans rises or falls on the quality of its bots, and to watch Dolores undergo programming is to see Wood’s virtuosity at work. She shifts between affects and accents as Lowe grills her, but never loses some fundamental sweetness. Whether it’s her coding or an inexplicable soul within her machinery is the mystery *Westworld* fearlessly sets out to explore.

‘It’s the tiny things that make them seem real, that make the guests fall in love with them.’

JEFFREY WRIGHT as Bernard Lowe, a designer of artificial humans in *Westworld*

WESTWORLD airs Sundays at 9 p.m. E.T. on HBO



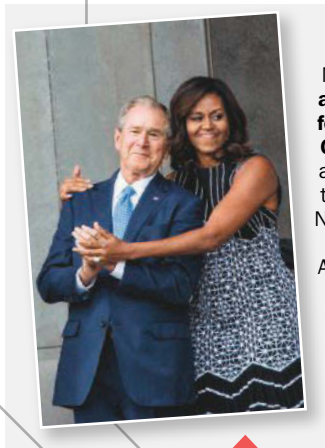
Daniel Radcliffe said **he would love to be cast in *Game of Thrones***—just to be killed off on the show.

The cast of *Will & Grace* reunited for a **10-minute episode** meant to encourage viewers to vote.



In honor of the 90th anniversary of A.A. Milne's first *Winnie-the-Pooh* book, current series author Brian Sibley is **introducing a new character in the *Hundred Acre Wood***: Pinguin.

Jeffrey Tambor confirmed that ***Arrested Development* will start filming its fifth season** in January.



Michelle Obama adorably **hugged former President George W. Bush** at the opening of the Smithsonian National Museum of African American History and Culture.

Guests at Nickelodeon's new resort in Punta Cana, Dominican Republic, can now stay in a **replica of *SpongeBob's* pineapple under the sea**.



TIME'S WEEKLY TAKE ON

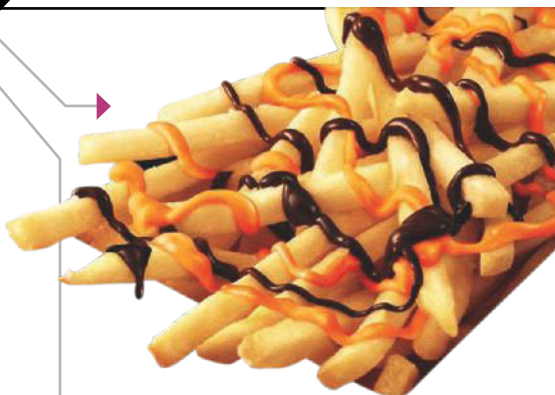
LOVE IT
LEAVE IT

WHAT POPPED IN CULTURE

A Japanese bullet train had to make an unexpected pit stop after a passenger discovered a **brown rat snake curled around the armrest of a seat**.



McDonald's Japan is now selling **french fries drizzled with pumpkin and chocolate sauces**.



Norwegian Airlines is **using the *Brangelina* split to sell flights** from Europe to L.A. "Brad is single," reads one ad.



Paqui's so-called world's spiciest chip, made with red-hot Carolina Reaper peppers, has **already made some taste testers weep**.



Judge Mary Berry (second from left) announced that she **will leave *The Great British Bake Off*** after it stops airing on the BBC, shocking fans of the hit U.K. show.

ARRESTED DEVELOPMENT: FOX; GAME OF THRONES: HBO; POOH: DUTTON YOUNG READERS; PINEAPPLE: NICKELODEON HOTELS & RESORTS PUNTA CANA; FRIES: MCDONALD'S; CHIP: PAQUI; NORWEGIAN AIRLINES: TWITTER; SNAKE: M. RADCLIFFE; OBAMA AND BUSH: GETTY IMAGES; WILL & GRACE: BERRY; PINGUIN: EVERETT



Double standards: available in his and hers

By **Susanna Schrobsdorff**

THERE'S THIS THING ABOUT MEN. THEY LIKE TO RANK things: Women. Guitarists of the 1970s. Pitchers of the 1990s. Theirs is a hierarchical world. When men first meet other men, they circle each other warily in conversation until they find something they can rank together.

I've been trading on this dumb stereotype for so long, it's embarrassing. But recently I was called out on it. "If I said anything remotely like that to you about something that women do all the time, you'd kill me," my friend said after I teased him about naming his third favorite band. "You have a double standard for men." I think I answered with something about how those not in power can make fun of those who are. But it didn't feel right. Doesn't that mind-set just perpetuate the idea that women need special accommodations?

I thought of that conversation when Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump, keeping with convention, released their medical reports. Trump revealed his weight, and the fact that he's overweight caused a bit of a flurry. Clinton's report did not have her weight. And no one (other than a few right-leaning sites) made a fuss about it. Maybe no one expected her to release it because she's a woman. You can't imagine a reporter yelling out, "What's your weight, Mrs. Clinton?" There'd be an uproar. You could argue that centuries of dealing with men like Trump judging women by their appearance entitles women to keep the few double standards that are in their favor. And it's absolutely true that if her weight were out there, it would cause the kind of embarrassment that it wouldn't for a man. But I long for the day when a woman can announce her weight no matter what it is.

GOING INTO THE FIRST presidential debate, all those contradictions were in play. It was like a giant gender showdown. On the one hand, you have a man who is a caricature of crude machismo. (Seriously, he released his testosterone levels.) Hostage to his own mid-20th century views of women, Trump can't help reverting to type. But Clinton too is chained to that view of women, scarred and defensive after decades of battling it. She has sometimes seemed paralyzed by the impossible task of being both feminine and not, of refuting every female stereotype while still living up to absurd expectations.

So it's not surprising that Trump walked into what is effectively a job interview confident that he didn't need to do intensive prep. Meanwhile, Clinton was mocked for over-preparing. Like it's weak or uncouth to work hard. It's a double standard, of course. Women have to be overqualified, or feel that they are, to even be on the same stage as a man. (There's even some research that indicates many men



will apply for a job even if they don't meet all the requirements, while many women won't apply for a gig unless they meet all the requirements and more.)

But a funny thing happened at the debate. All the clichés flipped. As the 90 minutes wore on, Trump unraveled. He got emotional. He shouted. He was defensive. He drooped and gulped glass after glass of water. The dozens of times he interrupted Clinton didn't seem like the normal alpha male establishing dominance by "maninterrupting" a woman. It looked instead like panic. And, yes, weakness.

SURE, PEOPLE TALLIED how often Trump talked over Clinton, and there were accusations of bullying. But in truth, she didn't need the sisterhood to defend her from the rusty old patriarchy. At the end, when Clinton noted that Trump once referred to a Latina Miss Universe, Alicia Machado, as "Miss Piggy" and "Miss Housekeeping," he just sputtered in frustration.

He made things worse the next day, when he again belittled Machado, saying she had "gained a massive amount of weight." Soon 1990s footage surfaced of a uniquely cruel spectacle in which Trump suggests svelte Machado is "160 or 170 pounds" and she is marched to a gym followed by an army of cameras.

And with that, Trump put himself in deep peril: Never disparage a woman's weight. You can joke about Chris Christie's size, you can talk about how skinny President Obama is, but you cannot critique a woman's weight. And you sure don't want to do it if you're a candidate trying to woo suburban women, or any woman.

Trump seems oblivious to all the criticism of his debate performance. "I know I did better than Hillary," he said. Yup, he ranked himself. □

Sarah Jessica Parker The Emmy-winning actor who made Carrie Bradshaw a cultural touchstone returns to TV with *Divorce*

Since *Sex and the City* ended in 2004, you've worked in movies and on fashion lines. Why return to TV?

I love the medium. Everyone wants a half hour on HBO, so we'd better be willing to work really hard, and it had better be exhausting.

Frances, your *Divorce* character, is not always sympathetic. Are audiences ready for a heroine who is complicated?

We used to go back and forth: "Should Carrie have an affair?" And I'm like, "Guys, Tony Soprano is a murderer!" Frances is real. She is a smart person. And we weren't with her for those 17 years of marriage. We're with her now—she's exhausted and she's made some bad choices. But those choices are going to be very familiar to some people.

Were you concerned that your two big TV characters are both defined in part by their relationships with men?

I see *Divorce* as a portrait of two people. *Divorce*, I learned, is that the very act of trying to get away from the other person requires that you do it with the other person you're trying to get away from. I always felt that Carrie's journey was toward love and home. It was how she chose to go about capturing love. Frances feels to me in a way more isolated, more alone, because she's made decisions in a very different way. Neither of them feel defined by the men with whom they are entangled. I'm a woman, so what is familiar to me you might see in a way that I might not recognize.

You're opening yourself up to celebrity life and the public eye again. Is that hard?

My life is speculated about, my marriage is constantly. I don't imagine that it will become so much more dense that that will become overwhelming to me. I've weathered the worst already. The work is important to me. I want it to be well-received. That matters to me. I care about trying to separate what matters and what doesn't. I read, but I don't read about myself.

Sometimes it's brought to my attention for reasons that are legitimate. I'm much more human than people think. I'm easily hurt, still, after all these years. I have developed a tougher skin, but I've worked really hard and the show is interesting and important and I'm proud of my work and that's all I can do. I can't control it beyond that. I'd like to control it, but I can't.

Kim Kardashian West recently took a selfie with you and declared you her "idol." How has public life changed since the 1990s? I've never taken a selfie. In my whole life. I don't always love cameras everywhere in phones. There are times it feels very intrusive and inappropriate, especially when I'm with my children.

'My life is speculated about, my marriage is constantly ... I've weathered the worst already.'

You were in a partnership with Mylan before its price increase on EpiPens hit the news. Did the flap lead you to reconsider other partnerships?


My greatest concern had been accessibility. And I had shared that concern with everybody up the chain of command. I thought there was an actual, working plan in process already. I'm enormously disappointed.

Questions about a potential third *Sex and the City* film tend to come up no matter what you're promoting. Is it frustrating?


I would be a fool to feel burdened by that, or frustrated or resentful. I wouldn't be sitting here talking to you about *Divorce* if it weren't for *Sex and the City*. The last movie came out in 2010. It was 13 years of my life, give or take—how better to have spent a career? And now it's time for me to do something else.

—DANIEL D'ADDARIO





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