DOUBLE ISSUE OCTOBER 24, 2016

TIME

Total Meltdown.

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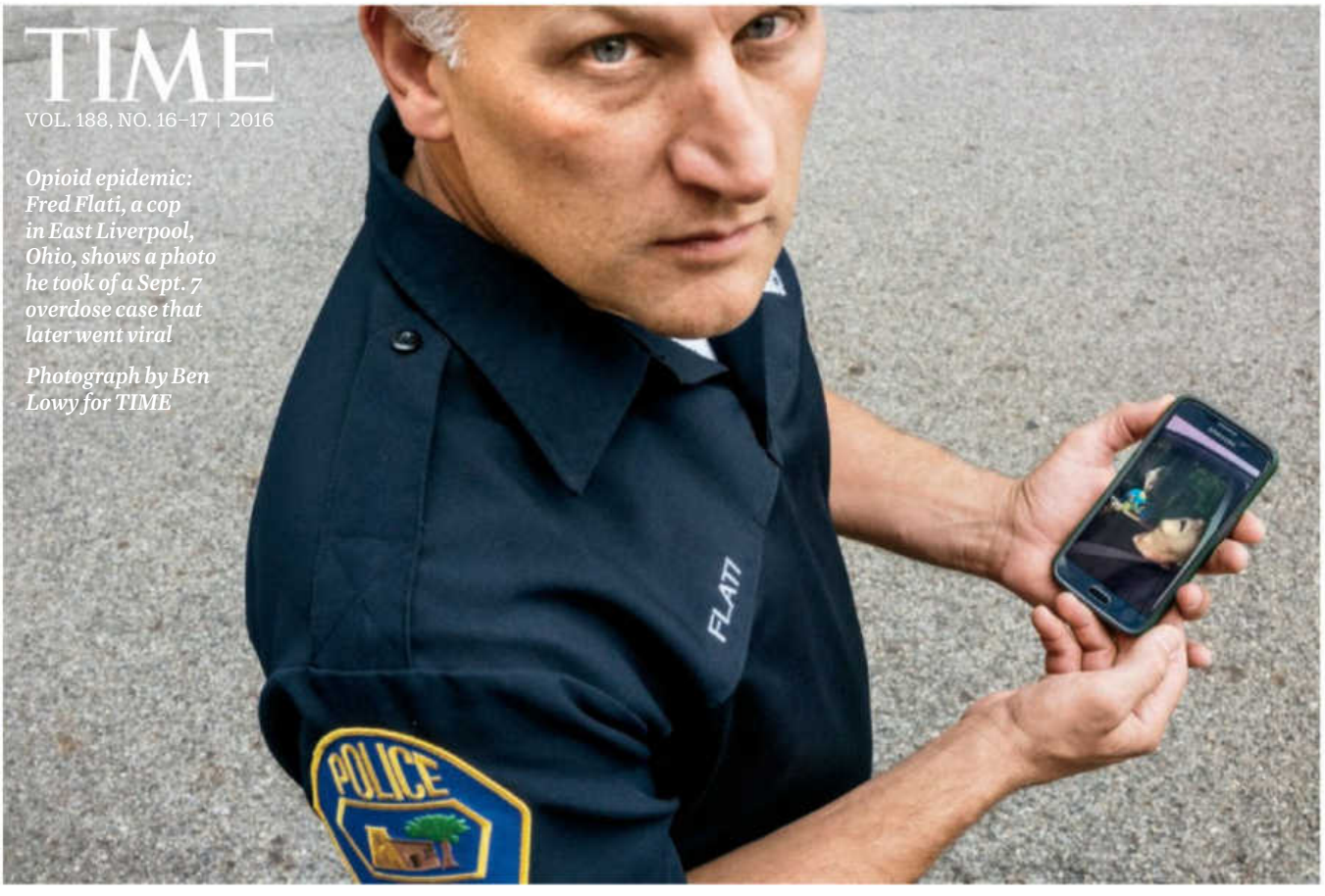
TIME
VOL. 188, NO. 16–17 | 2016



Opioid epidemic: Fred Flati, a cop in East Liverpool, Ohio, shows a photo he took of a Sept. 7 overdose case that later went viral

Photograph by Ben Lowy for TIME

The Brief

News from the U.S. and around the world

The View

Ideas, opinion, innovations

The Features

The Issues
A voter's guide to the domestic and foreign policy challenges that America's next President must address. Featuring commentary from Barack Obama on closing the wage gap; John Legend on combatting institutional racism; Melinda Gates on paid leave for child and elder care; Vivek Murthy on the opioid crisis; Nicholas Rasmussen on terrorism; and Hillary Clinton on American exceptionalism **28**

Time Off

What to watch, read, see and do

Aug. 22, 2016

Oct. 24, 2016

ON THE COVER:
Illustration by Edel Rodriguez for TIME

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What you said about ...

SYRIA'S FIRST RESPONDERS Jared Malsin's Oct. 17 cover story was a "wonderful" portrait of the "humanitarian efforts" of the White Helmets in Syria, wrote Paul Williams of New Windsor, N.Y., and Bob Rosenberger of Spring Hill, Fla., agreed: "The article should have been available when the Nobel Committee was deciding the peace prize." Many were especially moved by the Quran verse on our cover, with some readers pointing out that a similar verse appears in earlier Jewish rabbinic texts as well. Jehan Jaleel, a Muslim reader from South Plainfield, N.J., applauded TIME's use of the verse for highlighting "the true teachings of Islam—how believers are called on to aid in the preservation of human life and to have the sincerest of love, compassion and care for all people."

> 'May the White Helmets of Syria, and TIME, continue their good works.'
>
> **ARI HAHN,** Cedarhurst, N.Y.

TRUTH AND DARE TIME's Oct. 17 exploration of the question of truth in this year's presidential-election season struck a chord with readers like Pam Taylor of Zeeland, Mich., who felt it should have been the cover story. "This is such an important, time sensitive issue, that [the article] deserved to be front and center," she wrote. David Wallach of McMurray, Pa., agreed but lamented that writers Charlotte Alter and Michael Scherer might well be "preaching to the choir." Still others felt focusing on falsehoods that are believed by some of Donald Trump's supporters was unfair. "Hillary Clinton is also guilty of being dishonest," wrote Lee Kushner of Angelus Oaks, Calif., a self-described Democrat, "and yet this is not brought forth."

> 'Superb article. The writers have summed up precisely what this election has become.'
>
> **C.M. NOAKES,** Roswell, Ga.

BEHIND THE LENS In a new video series from TIME's photo department, some of the world's best photographers reflect on what it's like to capture iconic images. First up: Elliott Erwitt, who snapped the shot above in New York City in 1974. For more, visit **time.com/lightbox**

GIRL POWER Second Lady Dr. Jill Biden recently traveled to Malawi, where she met with women like Memory Banda, 19, above, who pushed to raise the legal age of marriage, allowing girls to stay in school. Read her report at **time.com/biden-malawi**

SOUND OF JUSTICE Linguists have studied recordings of Supreme Court Justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg to show how accents can adapt to surroundings. Hear them at **time.com/rbg**

BONUS *TIME* MOTTO

Subscribe to TIME's free Motto newsletter and get **weekly advice from prominent thinkers and provocative storytellers.** For more, visit **time.com/email**

SETTING THE RECORD STRAIGHT

In our Oct. 17 article on Next Generation Leaders, we inaccurately described the person Molly Crabapple is working with on her next book. He is a journalist who uses Marwan Hisham as his pseudonym, and he is based in Turkey.

TALK TO US

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BEHIND THE LENS: ELLIOTT ERWITT—MAGNUM PHOTOS; GIRL POWER: MARLA AUFMUTH—TED; SOUND OF JUSTICE: MARK WILSON—GETTY IMAGES

power through your workout

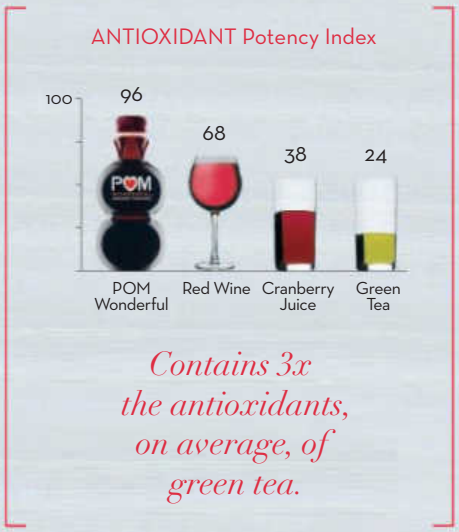
Find out how the polyphenols found in pomegranate juice may help fuel your exercise goals. Exciting research examined the potential impact of 100% pomegranate juice on post-workout muscle strength.

MAKE POM YOUR WORKOUT PARTNER. Certain types of polyphenol antioxidants, like those found in pomegranate juice, may help increase nitric oxide bioavailability by protecting it from breaking down in the body. Nitric oxide helps your body get the oxygen and nutrients it needs during exercise.

POM Wonderful 100% Pomegranate Juice is known for its polyphenol antioxidants. An in vitro study at UCLA found that each serving has more antioxidant capacity, on average, than red wine and green tea. Every athlete should stock the fridge with POM.

DRINK POM AND CARRY ON, AND ON, AND ON. A 2011 study conducted at UT at Austin on 17 athletic men found preliminary but promising results for muscle strength. Those who drank two servings (about 8oz each) of pomegranate juice per day for about two weeks maintained more of their post-exercise arm strength versus the placebo group. The men followed their normal diet and weight-training routine. On the eighth day, the men completed specific strength exercises at maximum capacity, and drank an additional serving of pomegranate juice immediately after exercising. A similar trend was seen in the knee though it did not reach statistical significance.

In a preliminary 2014 UT study on 45 recreationally active young men, the post-exercise arm and leg strength was significantly higher in men drinking 8oz of pomegranate juice daily compared to the placebo group.



Contains 3x the antioxidants, on average, of green tea.

On day four of the eight-day trial, they completed a defined exercise regimen, and isometric muscle strength in the arm and leg was measured over the following four days.

Although the research reported is promising, additional clinical research is needed to establish causation and the potential impact of pomegranate polyphenols on exercise.

And if all that isn't enough, POM Wonderful 100% Pomegranate Juice **is a good source of potassium,** an electrolyte key to muscle function—which makes POM the new top banana. Begin your daily workout with a bottle of POM today.

Pick up POM in the produce section of your store or order now from AmazonFresh.

‘I WANTED TO TAKE THE MASK OFF.’

HARRISON BROWNE, 23-year-old player for the National Women’s Hockey League’s Buffalo Beauts, explaining why he is coming out as transgender; he is believed to be the first openly transgender athlete on a U.S. professional hockey team

2,624.6

Weight, in pounds, of a **giant pumpkin harvested by a Belgian grower,** setting a new record for world’s largest

‘He owes our country an apology.’

HILLARY CLINTON, Democratic presidential nominee, criticizing Trump for what she characterized as repeated sexist, racist and Islamophobic statements leading up to the Oct. 9 debate

‘THE PLACE HAS BEEN TURNED INTO A LAKE OF BLOOD.’

MURAD TAWFIQ, rescuer, describing Sana‘a, the capital of Yemen, after Saudi-led airstrikes hit a funeral hall on Oct. 8, killing at least 100 people and wounding more than 500

Ken Bone
The Illinois energy worker became a viral star after the debate

GOOD WEEK
BAD WEEK

Ken Bone
The college basketball coach had to repeatedly clarify he is not, in fact, the viral star

‘You’d be in jail.’

DONALD TRUMP, Republican presidential nominee, to Clinton in the debate, after saying that if elected, he would assign a special prosecutor to investigate and imprison his opponent; the assertion drew comparisons to a dictatorship

$2.3 million

The fine Comcast will pay for billing subscribers for services and equipment they didn’t order, **the largest civil penalty** assigned to a cable operator by the FCC

13

Number of American Music Award **nominations received by Drake,** breaking Michael Jackson’s 32-year-old record for most AMA nominations in a single year

‘I just finally thought, “Darn it, let’s do it. I’m tired of putting it off.”’

TIMOTHY DOLAN, Cardinal and Archbishop of New York, unveiling a compensation program for victims of sex abuse by clergy members; some critics say his timing suggests an attempt to stymie lobbying efforts for legislation that would allow more victims to sue the archdiocese

SOURCES: GREAT PUMPKIN COMMONWEALTH; NEW YORK TIMES; VICE

ILLUSTRATIONS BY BROWN BIRD DESIGN FOR TIME; GETTY IMAGES (2)

The Brief

'A PRESIDENTIAL PLEDGE TO GO TO MARS IS EXCITING, BUT IT'S NOT ALL OBAMA'S CALL.' —PAGE 9

NATIONAL SECURITY

U.S.-Russia tensions reach dangerous new level

By Massimo Calabresi

Russian President Vladimir Putin wants to make his country a global player once more

EVERY DAY AMERICAN PILOTS fly scores of sorties against terrorist targets in Syria. And on every mission, the pilots watch their instruments for signs that one of the Syrian government's thousands of surface-to-air missiles, including Russian batteries possibly manned by Russian military advisers, is preparing to blow them out of the sky.

The pilots aren't the only ones worrying. The dangerous consequences of an accidental U.S.-Russian confrontation in Syria are front of mind for senior American officials right now—over the past two weeks, relations with Moscow have taken a sharp and accelerating turn for the worse around the world. Russia has deployed nuclear-capable forces to the Mediterranean and to the Baltic exclave of Kaliningrad, a Russian province separated since 1945 from the motherland by Poland and Lithuania, two NATO allies. The U.S. has publicly accused Russia of meddling in the upcoming U.S. presidential election and the White House is threatening unspecified retaliation. Relations are now at their lowest since the end of the Cold War, and Washington and Moscow are worrying about how much worse things can get.

The recent unraveling began with a moment of hope. On Sept. 9, after seven months of arduous diplomacy, Secretary of State John Kerry and Russian Foreign Minister Sergei Lavrov announced a cease-fire in the 5½-year Syrian civil war. But the deal was strained from the start. Russia insisted on creating a Joint Implementation Center (JIC) where American and Russian officers would sit together and share targeting data on ISIS and al-Qaeda. Kerry agreed, but the Pentagon didn't trust Moscow. President Barack Obama and his senior national-security team had to overrule repeated Pentagon objections to the deal, according to a senior Administration official. The Pentagon saluted and readied for its role in the JIC, but its displeasure leaked to the media.

Five days after the deal went into effect, the

GETTY IMAGES

PHOTOGRAPH BY MIKHAIL SVETLOV

U.S. accidentally bombed Syrian government forces in the east of the country, killing at least 60 Syrian troops. The U.S. apologized for the error, but Russia said the U.S. was intentionally undermining the cease-fire. Two days later, Syrian air forces—and likely Russian ones too, according to Washington—attacked a U.N. aid convoy to the besieged and beleaguered city of Aleppo, killing at least 20 people.

On Oct. 3, with the Syrian and Russian slaughter of civilians in Aleppo accelerating, the U.S. declared the bilateral diplomatic effort with Russia dead. The same day, Russian President Vladimir Putin announced he was suspending a 16-year-old nuclear agreement with the U.S., and over the following week he shelved two more. On Oct. 5, Russia sent two warships armed with nuclear-capable Kalibr cruise missiles to the Mediterranean, and three days after that, Russia deployed its nuclear-capable ballistic missile system Iskander to Kaliningrad. On Oct. 7, Russia said it might reopen spy and military bases in Cuba and Vietnam.

> 'Putin is writing off the past 15 years of [relations]. Everything's back on the table.'
>
> **TOM GRAHAM**, top Russia adviser to George W. Bush

At the same time, Russian meddling in the U.S. election accelerated, with new leaks of emails stolen by agents of Russian military intelligence emerging almost daily via WikiLeaks and other sources. On Oct. 7, the U.S. intelligence chief announced that Russia was to blame for the leaks, and on Oct. 11 the White House threatened a "proportional" response. Washington believes Putin wanted the Syrian cease-fire, and the direct military cooperation with the U.S. that he demanded, as a way to signal Russia's return as a global player. Now he is taking back multiple concessions made during his reign. "Putin is writing off the past 15 years of U.S.-Russian relations," says Tom Graham, former President George W. Bush's top Russia aide. "Everything's back on the table."

The State Department is trying to restart diplomacy through other channels: on Oct. 12, the U.S. announced upcoming multilateral Syria talks that include Russia. The most important remaining contact, however, may be the line of communication the two sides keep open to prevent accidental conflict between U.S. and Russian forces in Syria. Amid the chaos, that could be a flash point for a wider confrontation. "They haven't crossed the point of no return," says Graham, but "who knows where it stops once you're shooting at each other?" —*With reporting by* SIMON SHUSTER/BERLIN *and* MARK THOMPSON/WASHINGTON

TICKER

Ethiopia declares a six-month state of emergency

The Oct. 9 proclamation, from Prime Minister Hailemariam Desalegn, followed waves of violent antigovernment protests from the country's two largest ethnic groups (the Oromos and the Amharas), who claim they are being politically repressed by the ruling Tigrayans.

Chicago averts a teachers' strike

The Chicago Teachers Union and the nation's third largest school district reached a tentative agreement Oct. 10, after more than a year of negotiations over budgets and pensions.

Hungarians fear a media clampdown

The abrupt Oct. 8 closure of Hungary's largest independent newspaper prompted fears of government censorship. Although the paper's publisher says it was shuttered because of financial losses, opposition parties blamed Prime Minister Viktor Orban.

WHO urges countries to tax sugary drinks

The World Health Organization's Oct. 11 recommendation came in a lengthy report about the need to reduce consumption of drinks like soda in order to fight obesity, diabetes and tooth decay.

RELIGION

America's new Cardinals

Pope Francis recently named 17 new Cardinals, including three Americans, who will serve as his primary advisers after their Nov. 19 induction. Like Francis, the trio come from the church's progressive wing, having spoken for immigrants, women and LGBT Catholics, and their appointment signals a shift toward (relative) liberalism among the U.S. Catholic leadership. —*Tara John*

BLASE CUPICH
The Chicago Archbishop supports gun-control laws and called for more outreach to the Catholic LGBT community, which feels alienated from the church. Like the Pope, he has pushed other Archbishops to be a voice for migrants and is open to the possibility of divorced or remarried Catholics' receiving Communion.

JOSEPH TOBIN
The Indianapolis Archbishop openly opposed Indiana Governor Mike Pence's efforts to bar Syrian refugees from being resettled in the state in 2015. He also defended American nuns after the Vatican, under then Pope Benedict XVI, launched an investigation against them in 2010, partly because of their support of LGBT equality.

KEVIN FARRELL
While in Texas, the former bishop of Dallas—he was promoted in September to head of the Vatican's new office on laity, family and life issues—banned guns in city churches, advocated for immigrants and said gays and lesbians should be treated with compassion, even though he thinks the church will never accept same-sex marriage.

DIGITS

550 MILLION

Time, in hours spent every day globally by girls ages 5 to 14 on household chores like caring for family members or cleaning, according to a report from UNICEF; boys, by comparison, spend 440 million hours

SOUTH AFRICA FEE MELEE A police officer holds his gun on protesters huddled in Johannesburg's Braamfontein district on Oct. 10. Their demonstration was part of the Fees Must Fall movement, started by students to protest rising tuition fees at South African universities. The government says hikes should affect only those who can afford them, but protesters counter that poor black students will be hit hardest. *Photograph by John Wessels—AFP/Getty Images*

MIDDLE EAST

Yemen's tragic civil war reaches a new level of violence

THE CONFLICT IN YEMEN—NOW a year and a half old—is called with reason the "forgotten war." But an air strike on a funeral hall in Sana'a that killed at least 140 people on Oct. 8 is drawing renewed attention to the trauma of the Arab world's poorest country.

WHO'S TO BLAME The attack was blamed on a U.S.-backed international military coalition led by Saudi Arabia—and it's far from the first attack on bystanders. In August the U.N. said the conflict had killed an estimated 10,000 civilians since the intervention began.

PROXY WAR Yemen began as a civil war, but Saudi Arabia and its main rival, Iran, have backed opposing sides, using the fighting there as part of their increasingly dangerous competition for regional supremacy.

The strike on the wedding hall was the deadliest since the war began in March 2015

U.S. RESPONSE The attack may force Washington to reconsider its support for the Saudi campaign in Yemen, but even so, there is no sign the killing is anywhere near over. —JARED MALSIN

DATA

THE COST OF STIFLING THE INTERNET

When 19 governments shut down portions of the Internet in their countries over the past year, it cost the global economy $2.4 billion, says the Brookings Institution. A sampling:

–$968,080,702
India

–$465,280,632
Saudi Arabia

–$320,456,034
Morocco

–$116,038,230
Brazil

–$69,769,394
Pakistan

–$8,539,355
Ethiopia

CUPICH: SCOTT OLSON—GETTY IMAGES; TOBIN: THE ARCHDIOCESE OF INDIANAPOLIS; FARRELL: THE CATHOLIC DIOCESE OF DALLAS; MIDDLE EAST: HANI MOHAMMED—AP

TICKER

Samsung kills Galaxy Note 7

The decision came on Oct. 11, a day after the company halted global sales of the devices amid reports that some were spontaneously catching fire; attempts to rectify the issue were undermined when replacement devices also malfunctioned.

Report links forest fires to climate change

Man-made climate change has played a role in doubling the area burned by forest fires in the Western U.S. over the past three decades, according to a new study. It has also lengthened the fire season.

Hong Kong lawmakers defy China

Three of Hong Kong's newly elected pro-democracy lawmakers were barred from the legislature on Oct. 12 for intentionally modifying their oaths of office in defiance of Beijing. They will have to be sworn in again later.

McDonald's benches Ronald McDonald

The decision, which is temporary, came amid a series of reports (many unsubstantiated) about creepy clown sightings in the U.S., which made the fast-food titan wary of prominently using its clown mascot.

THE RISK REPORT

The harsh reality of Brexit sets in

By Ian Bremmer

THE MORNING AFTER BRITONS VOTED TO leave the E.U., there was considerable apprehension across the U.K. Even some who had voted for Brexit did so with confidence that choosing Leave was merely a protest vote and that Remain would carry the day. Obviously they were wrong, but there was considerable relief when the immediate economic fallout from the vote appeared less damaging than feared. International markets came to understand that negotiations over the terms of exit and Britain's future relations with the E.U. would take at least two years, and probably longer. Many hoped that their fears about Brexit had been exaggerated.

In the weeks following the vote, speculation centered on how Britain might cut a deal that would preserve its access to the European single market. Yet newly minted Prime Minister Theresa May understands what the optimists refuse to see—that no Conservative Party leader can survive by publicly considering a deal that leaves British borders open to the free movement of E.U. citizens or Britain subject to E.U. laws. At a party conference this month in Birmingham, May made clear that she understands what her constituents expect: to reclaim control of borders and laws. All else is secondary. Brexit means Brexit.

Perhaps the lack of an immediate crisis has created a complacent sense that the loss of E.U. market access won't badly damage Britain's economy. Or perhaps May's government can still strike the sort of trade deal that the E.U. has negotiated over many years with Canada. Yet Canada's agreement only partly covers services, which account for more than 75% of the U.K.'s economy, and a similar deal for the U.K. would not allow British financial-services firms the E.U. market access they've enjoyed in the past. It would also make it much more difficult for U.K.-based banks to get so-called passporting rights within the E.U. These are losses that would have serious long-term impacts on Britain's future.

> Markets look set to punish the U.K. Investors don't like bad news, and they hate uncertainty

Markets look set to punish the U.K. Investors don't like bad news, and they hate uncertainty. May says Britain will formally begin exit negotiations in March 2017. But substantive talks are unlikely to take place until after next fall, when Germany holds national elections. European leaders will make the negotiations as lengthy and painful as possible to discourage any notion among voters in other E.U. member countries that exit is easy. May, who has no mandate from the broader British public, will have to keep things quiet on her side, because rumors of key concessions will undermine her strength at home and the flexibility of her bargaining position.

In the meantime, Britain and all who invest in its future can expect a very rocky ride. ◻

ANIMALS

Under the influence

A flock of starlings recently made headlines by mysteriously flying into trucks and cars on an Austrian motorway, causing miles-long traffic jams. Turns out it was because they were drunk—specifically, on fermented berries. Here are other animals known to enjoy natural highs.

—Tara John

WALLABIES
In 2009, a group was found snacking on opium poppies in Australia, legally grown to make medicine. Lara Giddings, who was attorney general of Tasmania, told a parliamentary hearing that the wallabies would get "high as a kite" and hop in circles.

JAGUARS
The large Amazonian feline has been documented eating the hallucinogenic yagé vine—used to make the psychoactive drug ayahuasca—and behaving like a kitten on catnip.

BIG-HORN SHEEP
Some have been spotted acting ill or loony after eating psychoactive lichen in the Canadian Rockies—and even straying from their herd to get more, which is highly unusual behavior.

GETTY IMAGES (3)

SCIENCE

Obama says NASA will put a human on Mars 'by the 2030s.' Can it?

FEW THINGS MAKE A POST-1950S PRESIDENT APPEAR AS visionary as talking about going to Mars. At one point or another, almost all Presidents seem to do it. On Oct. 11, Obama joined the chorus, promising a public-private partnership to send humans to the Red Planet by the 2030s. That's stirring stuff—provided there's anything to it. Which there may well be. Or not.

Let's start with the public-private part, an ostensible sea change in the space program the President has been touting ever since private companies began making uncrewed cargo runs to the International Space Station in 2012. As early as next year, they will begin carrying astronauts too.

Private companies, however, have always been the space program's manufacturing backbone. Even in its glory years throughout the '60s and '70s, NASA never built any of its spacecraft, instead contracting the work out across the aerospace industry. What was different then was that those contracts were essentially work made to order, like planning the house you want and hiring an architect to build it for you. Now it's more like buying into a development: private companies build products on their own, then compete to sell them to NASA.

That does cut costs, which are always a challenge with space travel. But a portion of the multibillion-dollar contract NASA signed with SpaceX and Orbital Sciences for cargo runs to the space station included money for research and development, blurring the public-private divide.

Then there's the deadline: "by the 2030s." Across government, 15 years away is a safe target for ambitious programs that may or may not happen. It's close enough that it suggests accountability but far enough that it's possible to promise almost anything. Notice, too, that aiming merely for anytime in the 2030s allows for a large margin of error, especially when contrasted with President John F. Kennedy's 1961 lunar challenge: the U.S. would have boots on the moon "before the end of this decade." In other words: we get there by Dec. 31, 1969, or we fail. We didn't fail.

Of course, the entire moon program spanned four presidencies and seven Congresses. They argued about funding and deadlines, and they faced significant setbacks.

The same holds true now. A presidential pledge to go to Mars is exciting, even if the timing is vague. But it's not all Obama's or the next President's call. It will be up to the whole brawling, partisan, often dysfunctional lot in Washington to see it through. The exploration of a world—the red one—depends on it.

—JEFFREY KLUGER

1,000+

Number of companies across the country now working on private space initiatives

Someday, Obama wrote in an op-ed for CNN, American astronauts will go to space "not just to visit, but to stay—and in doing so, to make our lives better here on Earth"

MARS: GETTY IMAGES/PICTURE PRESS: OBAMA: RICH FURY—INVISION/AP RM

Milestones

WON

Nobel Peace Prize, by Colombian President Juan Manuel Santos, for his "resolute" efforts to bring the country's more than 50-year-long civil war to an end. Santos said he would donate the almost $1 million in prize money to the victims of the conflict. The status of Colombia's peace effort is in limbo after voters narrowly rejected on Oct. 2 a treaty to end the war.

› **Nobel Prize for Economic Sciences,** by Oliver Hart and Bengt Holmström, for their contributions to contract theory, the study of how people and companies make legal agreements.

RETIRED

David Ortiz, 40, after 14 seasons with the Boston Red Sox. Affectionately known as Big Papi, he was a 10-time All-Star and was on three World Series champion rosters.

DIED

Andrzej Wajda, 90, acclaimed Polish filmmaker. The director of *Katyn* won an honorary Oscar for lifetime achievement in 2000. He has been hailed as a "symbol of courage and hope for millions of people in postwar Europe."

› **Reginald Brack Jr.,** 79, a former top executive at Time Inc. who is credited with helping usher the company into a multimedia era. He joined Time Inc. in 1962 as an advertising salesman at TIME magazine and was named chief executive officer of the company in 1990.

LightBox

Wind-wrecked

A family stands in the remains of their destroyed home in Roche-à-Bateau, southwestern Haiti, on Oct. 8. More than 1,000 people were reported killed by Hurricane Matthew, the worst storm to hit the island in more than 50 years.

Photograph by Andrew McConnell—Panos

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

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.

There is a better way to protect your home—get a SimpliSafe home security system. Our founder, a Harvard engineer, studied the alarm industry and found all kinds of problems with it. He designed SimpliSafe to fix them, so you can be safe, without having to spend a fortune or sign any contracts. SimpliSafe is wireless, you can order it online, and it's easy to install yourself—anyone can do it. It fits any home, apartment, or business. And it's more affordable, more reliable, and stronger than just about anything else out there.

Most companies say "trust us" and then ask you to sign on the dotted line. We're asking you to let us prove that a SimpliSafe home security system is the smarter choice. Try SimpliSafe for 60 days. We think you'll love it. But if you don't, that's okay too. Return it to us for a full refund, no questions asked.

SimpliSafe

"Protecting your family is important, but don't ever sign a contract. Do it the right way with SimpliSafe."

Dave Ramsey, financial expert & *New York Times* bestselling author

Try it risk-free today at

SimpliSafe.com/time

The View

'MORE OFTEN THAN NOT, WE TEND TO STRESS OVER IMAGINED THREATS, NOT REAL ONES.' —PAGE 15

ECONOMY

The financial world's rotten culture is still a threat—to all of us

By Rana Foroohar

SOMETIMES IT TAKES A GROUP of economists to confirm reality. Last year, a team of German academics released a study on the effects of major financial crises on politics, examining 800 elections over 140 years in 20 advanced economies. They found that after such crises, right-wing populist parties and politicians typically increase their vote share by about 30%. (The same isn't true in the wake of more mild recessions.) If that sounds familiar, it's because we are living through a season of the very same: persistent economic malaise since the 2008 crisis—punctuated by scandal after scandal—has laid bare the ways in which elites collude to create a system that mostly benefits elites.

Since 2010, there have been major scandals at banks on nearly every continent for every reason: malfeasance, incompetence, complacency. Wells Fargo CEO John Stumpf resigned on Oct. 12 after revelations that his bank faked 2 million accounts in order to charge customers more in fees. Meanwhile, the Panama Papers leak earlier this year confirmed what many already assumed: that world leaders, celebrities and billionaires are adept at shielding their wealth from fair taxation. In the U.S., Republican presidential candidate Donald Trump has even tried to make a virtue of his tax avoidance. No wonder surveys

PICTURE-ALLIANCE/DPA/AP

Anti-austerity protesters started the fire, burning fake money in the shadow of the Deutsche Bank towers in Frankfurt in March 2015

PHOTOGRAPH BY FREDRIK VON ERICHSEN

show that the trust gap between the 1% and the 99% has never been greater.

In all of these cases, elites enabled by a fundamentally flawed global finance culture fly over the nation-state system. That voters in countries around the world want to punish leaders at the polls for all of this isn't surprising. But the effects on civil society are more corrosive than one election return. If nothing changes, the building blocks of developed countries are at risk.

Take the trouble at Deutsche Bank, which recently saw its share price plunge after the threat of a $14 billion fine for dicey derivatives trades. The case is a reminder of how Europe managed its debt crisis in the interest of banks, rather than citizens. German banks were encouraged by the government, which is entangled with the financial system in a way that makes the Wall Street–Washington conniving look puritanical by comparison, to lend to weak governments and companies all over Europe before 2008. As in the U.S. when things went bad, banks got bailed out and taxpayers took the hit. "Sick banks, some still owned by governments, are all over Europe," says Stanford professor Anat Admati, co-author of *The Bankers' New Clothes: What's Wrong With Banking and What to Do About It*. "They refuse to let them die but rather do backdoor bailouts [claiming they are in the interest of preserving E.U. unity, rather than bank solvency] that perpetuate the situation."

Cases like this foster the message that institutions and rich individuals can float above the system—and that has serious ramifications. Italy, for example, has the largest "unofficial economy" (read: level of tax evasion) in Europe. Studies show that the black market in Italy makes up around 27% of the nation's total economy. Greece, Spain and Portugal aren't far behind. Citizens of countries like these tend to lose faith in the system and stop doing their civic duty, like paying taxes, filing for business permits, obeying the rule of law in general. This only widens the gap between haves and have-nots.

In this sense, Trump may be a canary in the coal mine for the U.S. This election cycle has brought the public-approval rating of government to new lows. The GOP nominee has gone from obscuring how little he pays in tax to arguing that it qualifies him to fix the system. (When you look at the way in which Trump avoided paying taxes, you see a business model similar to Deutsche's: loads of tax-code-incentivized debt, which can be written off in ways that favor the investor while leaving others on the hook.) If his argument works, it is likely to make things worse, not better.

People will never love paying taxes. But when they stop trusting the system altogether, the foundations of a country begin to crumble. ◻

VERBATIM

'I think it's dumb and disrespectful.'

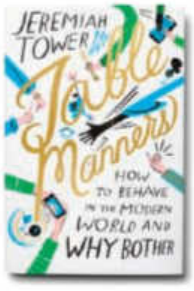
RUTH BADER GINSBURG, Supreme Court Justice, criticizing San Francisco 49ers quarterback Colin Kaepernick for refusing to stand during the national anthem, though she supports his right to protest

GINSBURG: AP

BOOK IN BRIEF

Why table manners still matter

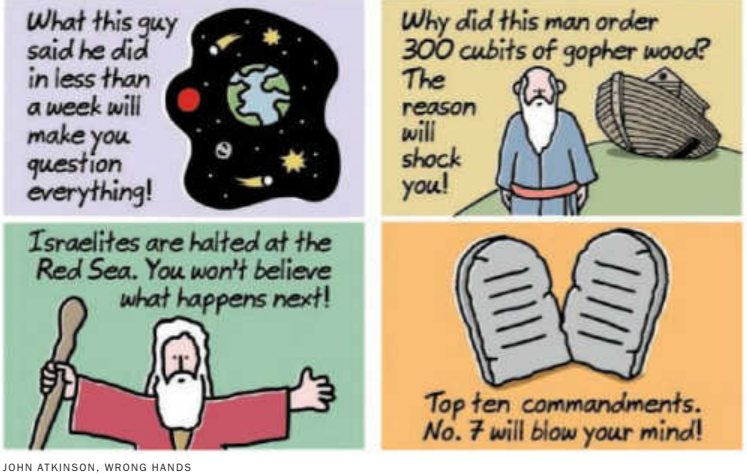
TABLE MANNERS ARE OFTEN VIEWED as an out-of-date, classist set of rules that have no place in the 21st century. But in his new book, *Table Manners: How to Behave in the Modern World and Why Bother*, chef Jeremiah Tower argues that knowing how to comport yourself over a meal can still help you get ahead. In some cultures, for example, it's considered improper to gesture while you eat. Although the rule itself might seem arbitrary, obeying it signals to your dining companion that you respect his culture, an invaluable skill in business dealings. Similarly, knowing how to properly set red and white wineglasses (both on the right side, with the red wineglass closer to the center of the table) could be an easy way to impress a boss who's a wine buff. "I have found that when people approve of your table manners they think you know how to do everything else properly as well," Tower writes. "That is how you enlist them to your side."



—SARAH BEGLEY

CHARTOON

Old Testament click bait



JOHN ATKINSON, WRONG HANDS

BIG IDEA

A glow-in-the-dark bike path

To keep themselves and pedestrians safe, bikers need to see where they're going—especially at night. But powering lights for a path can be complicated and expensive. One solution: this new 328-ft. (100-m) stretch in northern Poland, built by TPA Sp. z o.o. Its surface is embedded with special synthetic luminophores that absorb energy from sunlight and can glow for up to 10 hours afterward. The idea, explains Dr. Igor Ruttmar, who was in part inspired by stars in his daughter's bedroom, is to "make the night sky down on the earth." Although the technology is still nascent (it's unclear how well the luminophores will hold up in winter), Ruttmar says it could apply to a range of surfaces, like landing pads for small aircraft. *—Julia Zorthian*

BIG IDEA: TPA

VIEWPOINT

How thinking like a kid can spur creativity

By Peter Himmelman

IT'S COMMON FOR ADULTS TO FEEL LIKE we're drowning in judgment—"You're not famous enough," "You're not smart enough," "You're not thin enough." The weight of these appraisals, from others and from ourselves, can prevent us from looking at the world as a child might, as a place of wonder and new possibilities. This, in turn, keeps us from accessing the state of mind that stands at the root of creativity: playfulness.

When a child is engaged in play, she is taking material from her inner reality, or dream-world, and placing it into what we might call the real world. Very young children don't think about the consequences or how they might be perceived; they just play. Studies have shown that when we fully immerse ourselves in joyous doing—as opposed to anxious mulling—we can become more creative.

How can we, as adults, adopt this mindset? Before undertaking a daunting task, spend a few minutes writing a detailed description of what your idea could be in its most beneficial form; that way, you're primed to think positively, as kids do. Then set a timer and begin one small piece of the task, which forces you to act rather than ruminate. To be sure, you may have to assess the kinds of risks that children do not. But more often than not, we tend to stress over imagined threats, not real ones. The more we're aware of that trap, the easier it is to avoid.

Himmelman is the founder of Big Muse and the author of Let Me Out: Unlock Your Creative Mind and Bring Your Ideas to Life

DATA

THIS JUST IN

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

1

BIRTH CONTROL MAY BE LINKED TO DEPRESSION

A study in *JAMA Psychiatry* found that women using hormonal birth control had an increased risk of receiving treatment for depression. Those on progestin-only pills or IUDs were 34% and 40% more likely, respectively, to begin using antidepressants than women not on birth control.

2

HUMAN LIFE SPAN MIGHT BE CAPPED

A study in *Nature* suggests that the oldest ages reported each year will continue to hover around 115 years and that it may not be possible for anyone to live past 125, because of the wide range of genetic processes that lead to decline.

3

PARENTING IS MORE STRESSFUL FOR MOMS THAN DADS

A study in *American Sociological Review* found that moms were more stressed, fatigued and unhappy than dads during time with children, likely because that time included more chores and management activities (vs. dads, who had more "fun"). *—J.Z.*

FRONTIERS

This new surgery could change pregnancy forever

By Alexandra Sifferlin

IT'S NOT WIDELY KNOWN, BUT EACH year, hundreds of women in the U.S. are born without the ability to carry a child—because they don't have uteruses. Now, thanks to a groundbreaking series of experimental surgeries, doctors are hoping to change these women's fate. In late September, four American women received womb transplants from living donors at Baylor University Medical Center at Dallas, TIME reported exclusively. The surgeries marked the first time living-donor womb transplants were performed in the U.S.

Uterus transplants from live donors have a precedent for success. In Sweden, where the surgery was pioneered, five of the nine women who received womb transplants have given birth to healthy babies, and one woman is pregnant with her second.

> 'You cannot discount the desire of a woman to ... bear her own child.'
>
> DR. GIULIANO TESTA, lead surgeon for the recent Baylor University transplants

Among the four women treated at Baylor, three of the transplanted wombs were removed after tests determined the organs were not receiving normal blood flow—an unfortunate but common occurrence in experimental organ transplants. The fourth, however, has shown no signs of trouble so far, and if that continues, the recipient could begin trying to get pregnant via in vitro fertilization within the year. (Since the ovaries are not connected to the uterus during surgery, IVF is required for pregnancy.)

Dr. Giuliano Testa, the lead surgeon at Baylor, acknowledges that these results, while disappointing, still show tremendous progress. "It's something we've learned a lot from, and we have a patient who is doing well," he says. "This is the beginning of hopefully a great history for medicine."

Testa continues, "You cannot discount the desire of a woman to have a normal pregnancy, bear her own child and deliver." The four women, who, requesting privacy, have not been identified, all wanted to have children but were born without uteruses due to a rare condition called Mayer-Rokitansky-Küster-Hauser (MRKH) syndrome.

Surgeons perform a uterus transplant at Baylor University Medical Center on Sept. 14

The women received their transplants from so-called altruistic donors, meaning the women who donated their uteruses did so only to offer a stranger a chance at trying to get pregnant. None are related to the recipients, and the donors and recipients do not know each other. About 50 women ultimately volunteered to donate a womb, making room for even more surgeries in the future. "I am totally amazed by that," says Testa. "These women are phenomenal."

20
The number of uterus transplants that have been performed worldwide. Five have resulted in healthy births.

10 HOURS
The approximate amount of time it takes to remove a donor's uterus and transplant it into a recipient.

$150,000 TO $500,000+
The estimated cost of a uterus transplant in the U.S. The procedure is not yet covered by health insurance.

THIS IS THE SECOND TIME uterus transplants have been done in the U.S. For the first, in February, the organ was from a deceased donor. Less than two weeks after the operation, the recipient, Lindsey McFarland, 27, acquired an infection and the transplant had to be removed. The Cleveland Clinic, which performed the surgery, has since put its program on pause.

Uterus transplants aren't cheap. They're estimated to cost between $150,000 and more than $500,000, and since they are experimental, they are not usually covered by insurance; in the cases so far in the U.S., the hospitals have footed the bill, since their doctors are essentially performing research on these willing recipients. Baylor plans to perform six more womb transplants before the end of 2016.

The Baylor team says that it is assessing the results of the first four surgeries before moving forward with the next six, and that even in the first four, there were course corrections and tweaks with every new procedure. "This is the way we advance," says Testa. "I am going to make this work. I believe from an ethical and clinical and research point of view, we have our heart in the right place." □

BAYLOR UNIVERSITY MEDICAL CENTER AT DALLAS

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Why the Russian hacks of Hillary Clinton's campaign should reassure us all

By Joe Klein

IN THE MIDST OF OUR BOUNTIFUL OCTOBER HARVEST OF Trump grotesqueries, the Russians and Julian Assange organized a WikiLeaks dump of private emails from the Clinton campaign. These revealed a shocking and scandalous fact about the former Secretary of State: she is a politician. Indeed, the documents represent one of the most reassuring moments of this calamitous campaign. The overwhelming impression is of the candidate's and her staff's competence and sanity—and something more: a refreshing sense of reality about the vagaries of politics.

The headline revelation came from one of Clinton's paid speeches. Clinton said it was necessary for politicians to have a "public and private position" on many issues. Gotcha! And even though Clinton had difficulty defending herself on this in the second debate, she's absolutely right. In one of his rare moments of candor earlier this year, Donald Trump agreed. He said his ludicrous tax-cut plan was an opening position that would be compromised—he might even back higher taxes—when negotiations began with Congress. This was deemed disastrous by conservative ideologues, and Trump quickly retreated from it. But he was, momentarily, speaking the truth.

Here's how Clinton put it in that 2013 speech, and be prepared, I'm going to quote her at length: "Politics is like sausage being made. It is unsavory, and it always has been that way, but we usually end up where we need to be. But if everybody's watching … all of the backroom discussions and the deals … then people get a little nervous, to say the least. So, you need both a public and a private position. And finally, I think—I believe in evidence-based decisionmaking. I want to know what the facts are." Clinton is speaking an essential, uncontroversial truth about how things work in a democracy. And yet, for much of the public—and too much of our media—her sentiments are perceived as shifty, further evidence that she can't be trusted, as if a willingness to compromise were a sign of weakness, not a necessary strength.

AS FOR THE REST OF THE EMAILS, there are the occasional screw-ups and embarrassing moments of candor, but—as with the WikiLeaks dump of the State Department's diplomatic cables—the most striking thing about them is the careful, intelligent way in which the Clinton staff goes about the business of politics. There is substantive consternation about how to deal with Bernie Sanders and Elizabeth Warren on Wall Street, a careful massaging of where to come down on Warren's proposal for a new Glass-Steagall law to regulate banking. Clinton and her advisers believe that Sanders is being too simplistic, that they have an equally tough but more nuanced position—as indeed they did—and they worry about how to communicate that difference. Watching the deliberations unfold, I found myself thinking, Boy, Assange has done a public service. It's good to know how policy develops in a political campaign.

Another so-called embarrassment is the contretemps between Chelsea Clinton and her father's former top aide, Doug Band, who writes that she's acting like a "spoiled brat." Band left the Clinton fold and formed a private "consulting" firm called Teneo Holdings. Bill Clinton agreed to be a member of its advisory board, a very questionable position for a former President to take. Chelsea finds out in England that at least one Teneo employee is lobbying Members of Parliament "on behalf of President Clinton" to take positions favorable to Teneo clients "without my father's knowledge … which would horrify my father." Bill Clinton soon cuts off his relationship with Band, a wise move. (Too bad Chelsea wasn't vetting the recently revealed, too-close-for-comfort emails between the State Department and the Clinton Foundation after the Haiti earthquake.)

SOME ON THE LEFT will find Clinton's attempts to flatter and find common ground with her Wall Street audiences offensive—her willingness to take money for these speeches was a big mistake—but if you look at the content of the talks, Clinton is essentially warning the bankers about the public's belief that they have behaved badly, while calling for more "transparency" and reform, a message her audiences may not have wanted to hear.

Here's a final outrage: Clinton told executives at Xerox that she wanted a "moderate" Democratic Party. Indeed, she wanted "two sensible, moderate, pragmatic political parties." Wow. How crazy is that? □

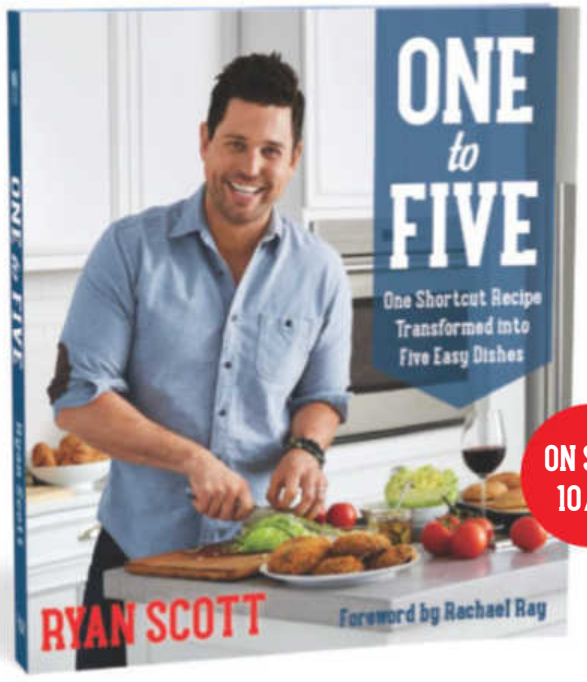
RESPONSES TO THE HACKS

John Podesta, Clinton's campaign chairman
"This definitely is the first campaign that I've been involved with in which I've had to tangle with Russian intelligence agencies."

Donald Trump
"I love WikiLeaks."

PODESTA: TOM WILLIAMS—CQ ROLL CALL/GETTY IMAGES; TRUMP: CARLO ALLEGRI—REUTERS

Chef Ryan Scott's shortcut solutions to master simple, crowd-pleasing dishes.



ON SALE 10/25

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—RACHAEL RAY

"For any busy or novice cook, Ryan takes away all the excuses for why you can't make a delicious meal."

—CARLA HALL

"Ryan is one of the most creative, knowledgeable and humorous chefs I know."

—SUNNY ANDERSON

"Ryan is a riot and a darn good chef! His amazing book *One to Five* is so fun, so simple, and so Ryan."

—KATHIE LEE GIFFORD & HODA KOTB

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4 CHICKEN-AND-CORNBREAD TAMALE PIE

5 CHICKEN AND BUTTERNUT SQUASH ENCHILADAS WITH RED SAUCE

Recipes from **ONE to FIVE: One Shortcut Recipe Transformed into Five Easy Dishes** by Ryan Scott.

‘Enough! Donald Trump should not be President. He should withdraw.’

—**CONDOLEEZZA RICE**,
former Secretary of State

‘IT’S NOT PLEASANT FOR ME TO RENOUNCE THE NOMINEE OF MY PARTY. HE WON THE NOMINATION FAIR AND SQUARE.’

—**JOHN MCCAIN**, 2008 GOP presidential nominee

TRU GOES T

‘DISLOYAL R’S ARE FAR MORE DIFFICULT THAN CROOKED HILLARY. THEY COME AT YOU FROM ALL SIDES. THEY DON’T KNOW HOW TO WIN—I WILL TEACH THEM!’

—**DONALD TRUMP**,
GOP presidential nominee

Trump rallies supporters in a Detroit suburb on Sept. 30, before a fresh crisis prompted the GOP and its nominee to turn on each other

PHOTOGRAPH BY JONATHAN ERNST


‘The state of the GOP is confused. I don’t think the state of the people is that confused.’
—BEN CARSON, former GOP presidential candidate
‘Republicans, when there’s a large, loud noise, are sort of like deer who scatter.’
—NEWT GINGRICH, former House Speaker
UMP
TO WAR
BY ALEX ALTMAN AND PHILIP ELLIOTT
‘YOU ALL NEED TO DO WHAT’S BEST FOR YOU AND YOUR DISTRICT.’
—PAUL RYAN, House Speaker

THE CALL TO GATHER WENT OUT SUNDAY MORNING, arriving on cell phones before many of the pastors had left their congregations. These 23 men and three women, all members of Donald Trump's evangelical advisory council, had long ago signed on to pray for his vision for the nation. But now a scandalous recording from *Access Hollywood* was threatening to blow up the prayer circle. From California to Florida, members of the group joined a late-afternoon emergency conference call on Oct. 9 to ponder the ugly spectacle of a 59-year-old man boasting about trying to seduce a married woman, forcing himself on others and getting away with it all because he was "a star." It had to be an awkward moment for the faithful: Trump was bragging about sexual assault. "Grab them by the p-ssy," the Republican nominee for President, now 70, was heard saying. "You can do anything."

Seeking guidance in Scripture, they found a Bible abounding in useful scoundrels. One participant on the call noted that Jesus had befriended tax collectors and sinners. Another invoked the Old Testament figure Nehemiah, who served a pagan king, Cyrus of Persia, but leveraged the relationship to accomplish the holy mission of rebuilding the ancient walls of Jerusalem. Even an imperfect ruler might be the means to a righteous end.

And so the panel overwhelmingly stuck with the sinner, according to four people on the call. It was Hillary Clinton, not Trump, who worried them. "Can anybody say she is morally superior to Donald Trump? I don't think so," said Dallas megachurch pastor Robert Jeffress, days later. "This election is not about Donald Trump's past, it is about America's future."

This cold calculation induced cringes among many of their fellow church leaders. The editors of *Christianity Today,* a leading voice of evangelicals founded by Billy Graham, weighed whether it would profit the movement to gain the world at the cost of its soul. "Trump has been, his whole adult life, an idolater," the magazine intoned, "and a singularly unrepentant one."

'IT IS SO NICE THAT THE SHACKLES HAVE BEEN TAKEN OFF ME.'

—DONALD TRUMP, in an Oct. 11 tweet

As the 2016 campaign moved into its final weeks, Trump had put the whole country on the rack alongside the Christian conservatives, stretching the sinews of American politics to the breaking point. While some voters were tugged toward the wincing sophistry of the conference call, a larger number pulled disgustedly into the ranks of #nevertrump. The candidate himself was consumed by petty grudges. The furor over the leaked recording seemed to liberate him. Free of the "shackles"—his own tweeted word—Trump reduced his campaign to a primal grunt.

It sounded, at times, like the last gasp of the angry white man. Trump threatened to throw his opponent in jail, bragged of avoiding income taxes and peddled an empty conspiracy theory about undocumented immigrants' being given voter-registration cards. He insisted he was right to stoke the racial tensions of New York City during the Central Park jogger drama in the 1990s, refusing to accept the DNA proof that he had the case wrong. He promoted a fiction that Muslim friends of the San Bernardino, Calif., terrorists knew their plans but failed to alert authorities, and he injected a crude Russian propaganda effort into one of his rallies without a care about its inaccuracy. Another tape (it wasn't easy keeping track) caught him agreeing as a radio shock jock labeled his daughter Ivanka "a piece of ass." Having congratulated himself for keeping the first presidential debate slightly above the muck, in Round 2 he plunged into the wallow, deflecting attention from his own vulgarity by saddling Clinton with the alleged sexual sins of her husband and trying to seat Bill Clinton's accusers in the front row.

Trump once said on the campaign trail that he would approve of torture as President, "even if it doesn't work." With four weeks left to Election Day, he seemed to be testing the proposition on the public. Unshackled, he flirted with unhinged and erased the emollient line between a campaign aimed at the base and one intended to debase.

While his followers reveled, his more reluctant allies squirmed. Speaker of the House Paul Ryan, Washington's highest-ranking Republican, came within a whisker of withdrawing his endorsement of the party's nominee, urged on by his wife, who marched for women's rights while a student at Wellesley. Trump's running mate, Indiana Governor Mike Pence, considered quitting the ticket. Then, attempting a straddle, Pence released a stinging rebuke of Trump's *Access* excesses before resuming his role as chief cheerleader. "I don't find myself thinking a whole lot about party right now," he said on Oct. 11.

But others could no longer stay silent. "Enough!" insisted former Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice, calling on Trump to withdraw. "Offensive and

despicable," declared Utah Governor Gary Herbert. "I cannot and will not vote for Donald Trump," said Governor Robert Bentley of Alabama.

The Trump campaign, party insiders admit, could do irreparable damage to a generation of prospects by rendering them enablers. Rivals for the nomination, like Texas Senator Ted Cruz, had cozied up to him until they realized it was too late. Elected officials had hesitated to oppose him lest they rouse his army of pitchfork populists. Many of the leaders of the religious right repeatedly blessed a candidate who bats 0 for 3 on the biblical injunction to do justice, love mercy and walk humbly. Barring a last-minute surprise, Trump is on track to lose his race. The question now is whether he'll destroy the party's congressional majorities as well.

"It's us against the world," declared a digital ad from the Trump campaign on the morning after the debate. But it wasn't clear whether his main foe in the final month would be Clinton or Republican officials. After his incendiary debate performance, he turned on Ryan and company with a gas can and lighter in hand. "Disloyal R's are far more difficult than Crooked Hillary," Trump tweeted of the fleeing Republicans. "They come at you from all sides. They don't know how to win—I will teach them!" Almost immediately, his fans took up the chorus: Trump loyalists circulated a rumor that Establishment Republicans were behind the leak to the Washington *Post* of the disastrous tape. When protesters gathered outside the party's white brick headquarters on Capitol Hill, the organizer turned out to be Trump's Virginia campaign chairman. One sign waved at the RNC offices read, BETTER TO GRAB A P-SSY THAN TO BE ONE.

Trump supporters gather outside party headquarters on Oct. 10 to protest the GOP's alleged abandonment of its nominee

And there was no reason to think that the GOP was done tearing itself apart. Purging the party of moderates has long been the dream of alt-right provocateurs like the gang at Breitbart News. With Breitbart chairman Stephen Bannon now in league with the rampaging Trump, the revolt may only be beginning. Election Day "could be the start of the real civil war," warns Kevin Sheridan, a GOP consultant and former adviser to Ryan. "Not the end of it."

A veteran party official who has watched the party go from conservative to crazy during Trump's rise says the saddest part of the conflict is how predictable it was. "We have been warning the party that this was the likely outcome. You can't fix what is at the core of a person's character," says the official, who opposed Trump from the beginning. "This is who he is. And now it's who we as Republicans are, because we went along with it."

THE DAY AFTER the nastiest presidential debate in modern memory, Trump traveled to Wilkes-Barre, Pa., for one of his trademark rallies. At events like this, Trump's excesses are celebrated or forgiven, and his provocations are championed as bravery. In the year of the first female major-party nominee, T-shirts are emblazoned with vulgar words for the female anatomy. Vendors hawk

PREVIOUS PAGES: REUTERS; THIS PAGE: CAROLYN KASTER—AP

HILLARY FOR PRISON buttons. The rhetoric is even more acidic. "She's a murderer, she's a liar. You name it, she's done it," says Neil McNamara, who drove from New York to join the thousands thronging the arena. Trump is happy to indulge their fever. "'Lock her up' is right!" Trump hollered from his podium as the crowd chanted a favorite refrain.

Trump's stump speech is a sort of jazz riff, and one of his favorite themes involves reciting the lyrics of an old soul anthem, "The Snake," a parable about the dangers of showing too much compassion to strangers. To the delight of his Wilkes-Barre audience, he wove it into this rally. "Oh shut up, silly woman," Trump quoted. "You knew damn well I was a snake before you took me in." Trump uses the tune to illustrate the dangers of welcoming Syrian refugees. But it can also be read as a rebuke to the GOP for letting Trump into the tent.

He hid nothing of himself as he stormed through the primaries; the man on the *Access* tape was entirely consistent with the crude and bullying Trump of last autumn and spring. He had long been a proud womanizer whose affairs have often made tabloid headlines—he frequently leaked the details himself—and he had no problem boasting about his manhood at a presidential debate. Could anyone truly be surprised that he privately bragged about groping strangers and trying to bed married women, and explained it away as "locker-room talk"?

Which is why the statements of outrage from fleeing Republicans struck Trump allies as entirely disingenuous. The tape was catalytic not because it showed a new Trump but because it made clear that the old Trump is the only Trump this election is going to see. (Trump's initial response to the tape's release was not a full-throated apology but a hedged "I apologize if anyone was offended.") The *Access* tape snuffed the wan but cherished hopes of GOP mainstreamers that a more sober and responsible version of the candidate would emerge in the final act of the tragedy.

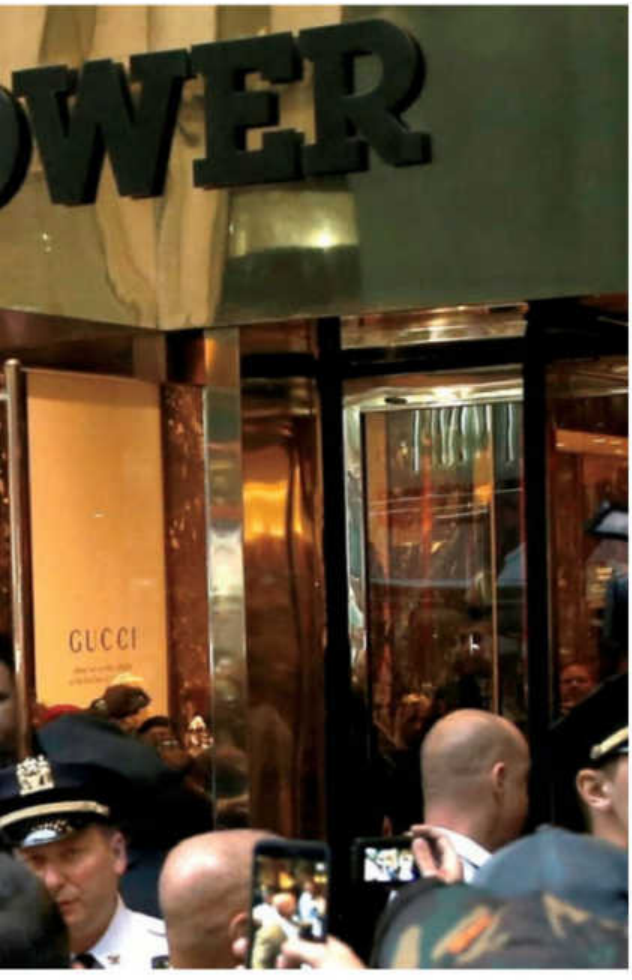
In this gerrymandered age, most elected Republicans hail from districts where victory is possible without the support of Muslims or Mexicans or African Americans or any of the other ethnic and cultural groups named by Trump as part of the nation's problem. But the GOP cannot survive without white married women, who are reliable members of their coalition. Tagged by Democrats with waging a "war on women," endangered Republicans heard in Trump's lewd rhetoric an existential threat. Of all the candidate's combustible comments, "clearly this one crossed a certain kind of a line," says Debbie Walsh, director of the Center for American Women and Politics at Rutgers University. "It smacked of a predatory aggressiveness."

Certainly party leaders knew Trump had gone too far. On an Oct. 10 conference call, Ryan told House Republicans they were free to cut themselves loose from the nominee. GOP caucus campaign chief Greg Walden told lobbyists the same day that Trump could be a drag in every race around the country. They were in uncharted waters, he told the group, and it was every candidate for himself or herself. "You gotta do what's best for you," explained an aide to one Republican Congressman who withdrew his Trump endorsement. "Every member is going to have to make their own decision."

The embattled candidate greets supporters outside Trump Tower in New York City on Oct. 8, a day after the vulgar videotape surfaced

So few truly competitive seats remain that there may not be enough for Democrats to retake the House in a single election cycle. And as of September, Republicans had some $65 million at the ready to defend vulnerable incumbents. But the Senate is another story. There, the Democrats need to flip just four of the 24 seats the GOP is defending this year if Clinton wins. In most of those contests, Democrats are pouring money into advertisements yoking the local Republican to Trump. The GOP's Senate campaign arm urged its candidates to stay calm and wait a week until polls could measure the depth of Trump's fall. But there is a danger in that wait-and-see approach, one party strategist noted: with early balloting under way in many states, voters are already sealing their decisions.

At the same time, the party must deal with the



MIKE SEGAR—REUTERS

anger in Trump's ranks. Ryan got an earful on his conference call from the congressional faction that wanted a full-throated defense of Trump. "Democrats, when attacked, become musk ox. They all rally together and stand there looking stubbornly out, refusing to move," says former House Speaker Newt Gingrich, a close ally of Trump's. "Republicans, when there's a large, loud noise, are sort of like deer who scatter. There are just different party cultures."

Trump left no easy way out. Party boss Reince Priebus continued to nurse his uneasy alliance with the nominee, aware that the party's fundraising and turnout operation both hinge on enthusiasm for the top of the ticket. Not that Trump was cooperating. According to one senior Trump adviser, enthusiasm is no longer a part of his strategy. He has largely given up on broadening the electorate. "We have no problems going deeper into the mud," the adviser said. "A low-turnout election is better for us."

For the Clinton campaign, the danger was premature gloating. The former Secretary of State, Senator and First Lady remains a wooden candidate whom many Americans say they don't trust. Hackers, believed by U.S. intelligence experts to be linked to Vladimir Putin, have tapped the email accounts of top Clinton aides, and there's no telling when the flow of stolen documents and embarrassing revelations will dry up. Indeed, were it not for the Trump meltdown, Clinton would have endured a rough week of her own. As the nation gawked at Trump's crass words, Clinton's own private admissions were laid bare by WikiLeaks' release of a top adviser's correspondence. Among the disclosures were partial transcripts of past paid speeches, which suggested that her public agenda deviated from her private opinions and revealed her dream of "a hemispheric common market, with open trade and open borders." Her senior advisers have no choice but to bet that more—and maybe worse—is on its way.

And they know that Clinton is frequently her own worst enemy. Her penchant for secrecy fueled the scandal of her private email server and led her to hide a pneumonia diagnosis, only to stagger on camera while leaving a 9/11 memorial service. "Never underestimate Hillary Clinton's ability to make this harder than it has to be," one top Clinton aide says of the boss. She never takes the easy route. "If the path is from New York to Washington, D.C., it's even odds that her trip will go through Utah."

Democrats remain haunted by Trump's unique resilience. In roughly a year's time, he had attacked women, Muslims, minorities, POWs and the disabled, and, like the familiar old clown toy, bounced back each time he fell. "We've lived through too many incidents where things should have been extinction-level events for his campaign and did not materialize that way," another top Clinton official muses. Even after the video exposed Trump's crass comments, polls remain stubbornly close in several must-win states.

'THIS HAS BEEN TRAUMATIC FOR THE REPUBLIC.'

—**RUSSELL MOORE**, evangelical leader

AS HIS CHANCES NARROWED, Trump holed up inside his apartment on the 66th floor of his Manhattan tower. He spent much of the weekend alone, watching the tape loop on cable news and working the phones to solicit advice. Among the billionaire's tight inner circle, some of the most influential figures are insurgents who have spent years more focused on tearing apart what is left of the Republican Party than on getting the GOP back to the White House.

One of them is Bannon, the Trump campaign's CEO. The former Goldman Sachs banker and conservative filmmaker has waged a long, often lonely crusade against Republican leaders through his online news outlet Breitbart. Ryan has been a recurring target. "Long game is him gone by spring," Bannon wrote last December to a Breitbart staffer, according to an email obtained by the newspaper *The Hill*.

It didn't happen, but not for lack of trying: Breitbart campaigned relentlessly against Ryan, propping up his primary challenger. In one stunt that Breitbart covered breathlessly, Ryan's challenger gathered a group of women whose children had been victims of criminals who were in the U.S.

illegally to protest outside Ryan's Wisconsin home, demanding he tear down the property's fence if he would not support Trump's border wall.

Bannon found a home with Trump through Robert and Rebekah Mercer, a father-daughter donor duo who have funneled tens of millions of dollars toward conservative causes, including efforts to defeat Establishment Republicans. After Trump's tape went public, the Mercers were among the only voices to express no interest in his transgressions."We are completely indifferent to Mr. Trump's locker-room braggadocio," the family said in a statement to the Washington *Post*. "America is finally fed up and disgusted with its political elite. Trump is channeling this disgust … We have a country to save and there is only one person can save it." Trump is a powerful instrument for the Mercers' shared campaign to create a purer Republican Party, even if he loses in a wipeout in November. Such a result might only hasten the transformation. "A Clinton presidency will drive the country further to the right," explains Gingrich, architect of the last Republican revolution a generation ago."It will make us angrier, more alienated."

Trump is already laying the exculpatory groundwork for defeat. "Without the media, Hillary Clinton couldn't be elected dogcatcher," Trump told his Pennsylvania audience. For months he has claimed that the political system, along with national institutions that have gone unquestioned for decades—from the Bureau of Labor Statistics to the FBI—are rigged against him. That includes Republican leaders. "I wouldn't want to be in a foxhole with a lot of these people," he told Fox News' Bill O'Reilly on Oct. 11, "especially Ryan."

It all points to a Republican civil war that is, if anything, just getting under way. "The fight you're seeing now is a preview of what you're going to see on steroids after the election," says Alex Conant, a Republican strategist and former adviser to Marco Rubio. "The real debate is about what the Republican Party represents and what its values are." Bill Weld, the former Republican governor of Massachusetts who is now campaigning against Trump from his perch as the vice-presidential nominee on the Libertarian Party ticket, is even more direct. "There's going to be a schism," he says. Already Trump has torn apart the conservative movement. A generation of rising stars, such as Ryan and Rubio, may find their futures tainted by Trump—from their failure to enlist in his army, or perhaps from their failure to take up arms against him. Or both.

Religious conservatives, who for decades defined themselves as "values voters," will now have to explain why they lined up behind a thrice-married playboy who once said he had never asked God for forgiveness. Samuel Rodriguez Jr., president of the National Hispanic Christian Leadership Conference, says Trump has exposed the disconnect between evangelicals' words and their political deeds. Russell Moore, the president of the Southern Baptist Convention's public-policy arm, says church leaders lost credibility when they cast their lot with Trump. "This has been traumatic for the Republic, and traumatic for the church," says Moore, one of the top evangelicals to oppose Trump from the beginning. "It is going to take years and years and years to recover and rebuild."

'There's going to be a schism.'

—**BILL WELD**, former Massachusetts GOP governor and the Libertarian vice-presidential nominee

Perhaps most notable is how Trump's antics have overshadowed the real arguments he brought to the table. With his tart tongue, Trump has exposed something real: a populist fury at the decades of bipartisan consensus for a more globalized world; frustration over 15 years of slow economic growth; impatience with an immigration system that depends, because of bureaucratic dysfunction, on ignoring or not enforcing written laws; a rejection of the government's apparent helplessness in the face of conundrums like homegrown terrorism.

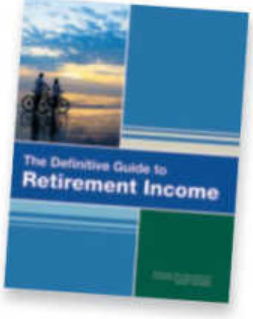
Win or lose, Trump's rise has forced the Republican Party to rethink its identity in a way that hasn't been done since the civil rights era. The GOP's introspection after Mitt Romney's 2012 loss will seem quaint by comparison. A report commissioned then by party bosses, dubbed the Autopsy, called for a gentler, more inclusive Republican Party that could expand its appeal beyond its aging white base. The suggestions were sensible. They were also dead on arrival long before Trump hit the scene.

Will a post-Trump GOP now turn back toward conservative orthodoxy? Or, egged on by alt-right news outlets and talk radio, fully embrace a new brand of populist nationalism? Trump is unlikely to recede from the spotlight. This campaign has cemented him as a star. GOP insiders from all points on the party's ideological spectrum predict he may use his notoriety to launch a branded news outlet for his fervent fans.

Certainly those believers show no signs of abandoning him. After the tape's release, crowds clogged the sidewalk outside his apartment, hoping to catch a glimpse of their under-fire candidate. As the cable networks continued the second day of wall-to-wall coverage, Trump put down the remote control and decided to face his supporters. Shortly before 5 p.m. he walked from the marbled lobby to greet the throng. The crowd went wild, shouting his name and waving signs. For five minutes Trump worked the crowd, smiling and thanking supporters. Then the Republican nominee hoisted his right fist into the air, clapped his hands and disappeared back inside his tower. —*With reporting by* ELIZABETH DIAS, TESSA BERENSON *and* SAM FRIZELL/WASHINGTON; CHARLOTTE ALTER/NEW YORK *and* ZEKE J. MILLER/WILKES-BARRE, PA.

To Investors Who Want to Retire Comfortably

The Big Switch—Saving to Spending



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ELECTION 2016

Let's talk about the issues

THE CLASH OF THE TITANS SHOULDN'T DISTRACT FROM WHAT'S AT STAKE: THE FUTURE OF OUR COUNTRY

ILLUSTRATION BY HARRY CAMPBELL FOR TIME


POLICE
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In the year of character, issues still matter

BY NANCY GIBBS

ISSUES IN A PRESIDENTIAL-ELECTION year are often like the fat books that we're glad to own but don't plan to read. Voters say they crave substance, a campaign focused less on the cartoon-character smackdown and more on the small-print spreadsheets of serious policy positions. Candidates offer "platforms," a metaphor reinforcing the myth that their proposals are the structural foundation on which their presidency will be built. And most voters say that policy matters more than personality when they cast their ballots.

But watch what we do, not what we say. The least substantive campaign in modern history has drawn the most massive audience. A Pew survey in July found that more than three-quarters of voters found the race interesting, the highest level in two decades, even as 65% said it has not focused on policy debates. It's not that issues no longer matter, just that the drama of this campaign has been so much more memorable than the ideas.

A new TIME/SurveyMonkey poll finds that by a 2-to-1 ratio, voters think Hillary Clinton has done a better job explaining her policy positions. As she likes to say, "I have this old-fashioned idea. When you run for President, you ought to tell people what you want to do as their President." Her website offers a policy encyclopedia that runs to 112,735 words and counting: debt-free college, tax clawbacks for companies that outsource jobs, half a billion solar panels installed in her first term, roadway sensors that warn drivers when there's an icy patch ahead.

"She's got people that sit in cubicles writing policy all day," Donald Trump told TIME in June. "Nothing's ever going to happen. It's just a waste of paper." He is arguing the much larger issue: that the system is so broken that the first priority of the next President should be to burn the whole enterprise down. And then what? Trump's platform is an inkblot, inviting voters to see whatever they want in the smudgy contours of his fiscal plans and foreign policy. The seminal focus of the Trump campaign—his promise to build a beautiful wall, a glorious wall, on the southern border—brings roars from his crowds, even if he has failed to make clear how long it will stretch or what it will cost. The Issue isn't the issue; the attitude is. He will stick it to Mexico. He will make America great. He sells his candidacy the way he advised his sales force for Trump University: "You don't sell products, benefits or solutions," the training manual read. "You sell feelings."

The drama of this campaign has been more memorable than the ideas. But whoever wins eventually has to govern

TRUMP'S SUCCESS during the primary season exposed just how profoundly Republican leaders misunderstood the mood of rank-and-file voters. A formerly pro-abortion-rights, thrice-married, Big Government, neoisolationist candidate could depart from Republican orthodoxy because base voters agreed with him that immigrants pose a threat and crime is out of control and global markets are rigged against the working man. His voters' unwavering faith, despite each new outrage, is the very opposite of traditional small-government conservatism. He is selling a historic vision of central, singular government: "I alone can fix it." Or as he put it during

the primaries, "Folks, I'm a conservative. But at this point, who cares?"

Perhaps Trump voters don't mind the apostasy because so little of the Republican agenda has come to pass: Obamacare was not repealed, taxes were not slashed, *Roe v. Wade* was not overturned. Which is partly how Trump can make the case that *he* is the only issue that matters. His strength, his gut, his wealth, his political incorrectness, which extends far beyond his rhetoric. As a politician, he is incorrect in every way, with his tax returns secret, his Twitter stream radioactive, his treatment of facts appalling.

Which is why, for all the protein in her policy menu, Clinton too is not really running on her expertise, except to the extent that having any contrasts sharply with Trump. At heart her pitch is about personality as well, or more precisely temperament and fitness for office: that he's a scary, sexist, racist rookie with no desire to even learn what he doesn't know, while she is skilled, schooled and pragmatic enough to both take positions and change them, as she has on the Trans-Pacific Partnership and the minimum wage and other issues that united Bernie Sanders voters behind yet another barn burner.

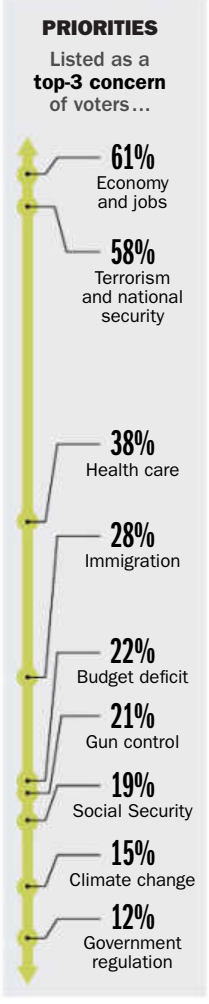
CHARACTER HAS ALWAYS mattered, as it should, since no one can predict what new challenge, what unforeseen crisis, a President will have to confront. But when have we ever seen a race like this one, with one candidate so deeply devoted to policy detail and the other so allergic to it? Whoever wins in November will eventually have to govern. The issues this country faces, from decrepit bridges and failing schools to cyberthreats and spiraling debt, will require muscular action, not magical thinking.

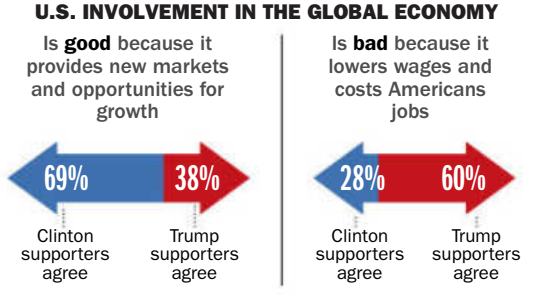
In the pages that follow, we explore those challenges, including contributions from President Obama, Clinton and top thinkers in both parties. Trump's campaign said he would write as well, but the piece never arrived. Perhaps that's fitting. A vote for him is a vote for Trump. He makes it up as he goes. ◻

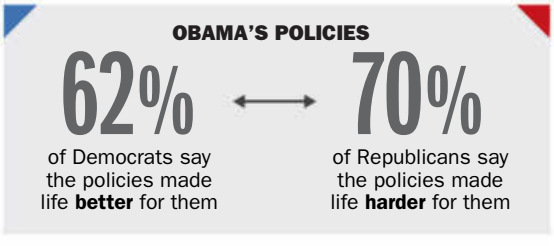
MORE THAN A FEELING

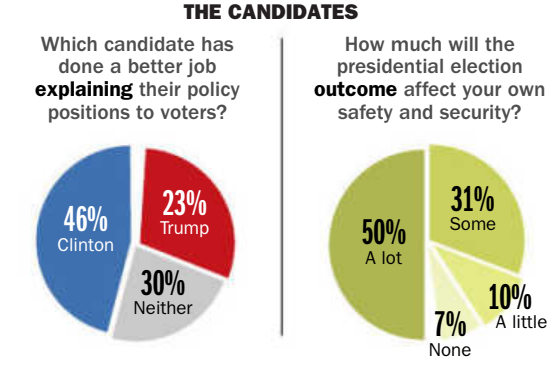
TIME/SURVEYMONKEY

In the end, elections are about elevating the popular. This year, though, the process has been an exercise in frustration and dismay. In a TIME/SurveyMonkey poll, fewer than 1 in 10 registered voters said they felt satisfied by the campaign, while nearly half called themselves disappointed or scared. One reason: the ideological divisions among voters run deep.









THE TIME/SURVEY MONKEY POLL OF 5,478 REGISTERED VOTERS TAKEN ON SEPT. 28 AND 29 HAS A BOOTSTRAP CONFIDENCE INTERVAL OF ±2 PERCENTAGE POINTS FOR THE FULL POLLING SAMPLE. YOU CAN READ MORE ABOUT THE METHODOLOGY AT TIME.COM/ISSUESPOLL

Beating ISIS—and saving Iraq

BY MARK THOMPSON

ISIS'S CROWN JEWEL in Iraq for more than two years is all but guaranteed to fall soon to a major military offensive led by Iraqi security forces and bolstered by U.S. advisers and airpower. Retaking Mosul, a city of 1 million that has been a keystone to ISIS's claims as a caliphate, isn't going to be the problem for the new U.S. President. It's the morning after the Iraqi flag begins flying anew over Iraq's second largest city that's the real challenge. The U.S. has never lacked the firepower to win the war. But it doesn't seem to have the strategy, or the willpower, to win the peace.

The U.S. took Mosul once, kicking out Saddam Hussein's forces in 2003, before the U.S.-trained Iraq army fled the city when ISIS invaded in 2014. Centuries of rivalries among the Shi'ites, Sunnis and Kurds complicate any prospects for stability. "There are many long-standing disputes over territory, resources and governmental power," says retired Army general David Petraeus, who calmed Mosul as commander of the 101st Airborne Division shortly after the U.S. invasion. "We can anticipate endless arguments."

Unfortunately, there is no secret post-Obama U.S. plan to restore a semblance of stability to lands regained from the shrinking caliphate. "Everybody thinks there is something on the shelf—some State Department flyaway team or some magic formula—but there isn't," says James Jeffrey, a veteran diplomat who served as Washington's man in Baghdad from 2010 to 2012. In fact, most plans are still lacking. Iraq doesn't have a strategy to secure and govern Mosul once it falls. The central government is signing up Shi'ite militia forces, linked to Iran, that have abused civilians, seized land and fought with their putative Kurdish allies. Plans for hundreds of thousands of refugees fleeing Mosul are scant, as is a blueprint for how power will be shared among the three factions once ISIS is kicked out.

Neither Hillary Clinton nor Donald Trump has issued a detailed plan for handling ISIS. Clinton's approach echoes President Obama's go-slow strategy, though she wants a no-fly zone over Syria to protect civilians. Trump has pledged to "bomb the sh-t" out of ISIS's oil operations to choke off revenue but says he wants to keep his war plans secret to keep ISIS, and American voters, guessing.

At the top of the must-do list after Iraq and the U.S. drive ISIS from Mosul is making sure the Shi'ites, Sunnis and Kurds share in the nation's power and resources, a vexing problem that has thwarted progress ever since the U.S. invaded. Anthony Zinni, a retired four-star Marine general who oversaw the region as head of U.S. Central Command, says the tight hold on power by the Shi'ites was more to blame for the rise of ISIS in Iraq than the U.S. troop pullout in 2011. "The big question," Zinni says, "is can Iraq ever be a truly inclusive country again?" Only if power is truly shared, he continues, may success be possible.

But while the U.S. can push for such comity, it can't order it to happen. The next President may be forced to tell Baghdad to shape up or see the U.S.

YURI KOZYREV—NOOR FOR TIME; ILLUSTRATION BY ALEX FINE FOR TIME

An Iraq military outpost south of Mosul near Makhmour, where Iraqi forces have a training and operations base

walk away from the table. "Most Americans now accept, even if they will not admit, that the U.S. does not have the capacity to restore stability to a region that we did so much to destabilize," says military scholar and retired Army officer Andrew Bacevich.

Power sharing alone, while required, won't be sufficient. And if the State Department lacks a secret plan for the mission, at least one Army officer is pondering how to do better this time. "We need to find the right levers to achieve a sustainable peace," says Major Jonathan Bate, a veteran of three tours in Afghanistan who now lectures in economics at West Point. The U.S., he believes, pumped too much money into too-big projects in Afghanistan and Iraq. He likens it to a 21st century Marshall Plan that did little to change the lives of those living amid the ruins.

"We tried the top-down approach, spending $60 billion in Iraq and $114 billion in Afghanistan, and it fell apart," Bate says. "We built schools and hospitals and massive electric plants, but the people might not see those benefits for years, when they need income and security now." The emphasis should be on items that clearly and quickly make life better, like food, clothing, shelter, school supplies and first-aid kits, he says. There's evidence that such investments do more than bigger projects to dampen violence.

THE IRAN PARADOX

BY ADMIRAL JAMES STAVRIDIS

Roughly 2,500 years ago, the first great Persian Empire, led by Cyrus the Great, was founded. Over the next several centuries, it grew to dominate a significant portion of the world's extant population and stretched from western India to the Mediterranean Sea. The inheritors of that imperial Persian tradition are today's Shi'ite Iranians, and their present-day ambitions for the Middle East—to deepen their influence across the area—will roil the already tense region deeply over the next few years.

While Iran's path to nuclear armament has been temporarily stalled by a diplomatic agreement, the sanctions relief it negotiated as a result is pouring billions of dollars into its economy. A major part of that money will be used to increase Iranian control over Lebanon, Syria, Iraq, Yemen, Afghanistan and other fragile regional nations. They will put increasing pressure on our principal ally, Israel, and continue to collide with our Sunni allies, notably Saudi Arabia and the Gulf states. The Iranians will also increase their ability to use asymmetric weapons such as cyber and terrorism to influence public opinion and increase their freedom to maneuver. And over time, the Iranian relationship with Vladimir Putin's Russia will deepen.

The next President of the United States must take a proactive approach to the Iranian challenge. Simply hoping that our allies and friends in the region will be able to resist Iran on their own, or with minimal levels of assistance, will lead to Iranian domination of the region. We should first and foremost provide military assistance, training and technology to both Israel and our Sunni Arab partners in the region—much of which can be self-funded by the nations there. Second, we need to use our own assets in the cybersphere to defend ourselves (and our allies) more effectively and also prepare to respond offensively to deter Iranian adventurism in cyberspace. Third, our intelligence community must aggressively focus on understanding Iranian moves and advising U.S. leaders on how to counter them. And fourth, somewhat counterintuitively, we also need to keep an open dialogue with Iran—to include commercial, academic and diplomatic engagement.

The paradox of Iran is that over time, by interacting with the Iranians, we have the best chance of bringing their young and dynamic population into a more responsible global position, against the desires of the aging theocracy. In the meantime, we will need a robust military and cyber deterrent posture alongside our allies in this turbulent region. That combination of deterrence and dialogue is our best hope for improving relations over time.

Stavridis is dean of the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University and a former Supreme Allied Commander at NATO. He is a regular contributor to TIME.

Of course, a new U.S. Administration could also double down to try to end the five-year-old Syrian civil war, which has helped fuel ISIS's rise. "The cost of stabilizing Mosul and [Syrian ISIS stronghold] Raqqa at this point exceeds what just about any American is now willing to pay, so some version of containment is what we're going to be living with in Syria for a long time," says Stephen Biddle, a former professor at the Army War College who is now at the Council on Foreign Relations. "Unless Trump wins, in which case all bets are off."

Senator John McCain, the Arizona Republican who chairs the Armed Services Committee, wants a more muscular approach too. While the U.S. and Iraq tend to the Iraqi half of ISIS's self-declared caliphate, the U.S. military must do more in Syria, he argues. It should create safe zones for Syrian civilians and shoot down President Bashar Assad's aircraft, which have been bombing civilians in rebel-held neighborhoods around Aleppo, the country's largest city. Russian warplanes, McCain adds, should face the same fate.

But there is no silver bullet to kill the caliphate outright, and its death throes could last for decades. "The U.S. government hasn't leveled with the American people and told them this is going to be like the Cold War," says Daniel Bolger, a retired Army lieutenant general who commanded in Iraq and Afghanistan and teaches military history at North Carolina State University. "It's going to run for 50, 60 or 100 years."

That's one reason Bate has been working to figure out how to bring security to war-torn lands. "My little brother is deployed to Iraq now," he says. And while he and his wife have no kids yet, they're thinking of starting a family. "My concern," he adds, "is how do we make sure my kids don't end up there too." □

NATIONAL SECURITY

Battling lone-wolf terrorists at home

BY NICHOLAS RASMUSSEN

THE ARRAY OF terrorist actors is broader, wider and deeper than it has been at any time since Sept. 11, 2001. While I have great confidence in the U.S. counterterrorism architecture built in the past 15 years and the professionals we have trained, this is certainly a sobering state of affairs.

In the current environment, terrorist threats to the homeland typically take two forms. On one end of the spectrum, Americans face complex plots driven by known terrorist groups—including ISIS—that can take months or years to materialize. In my view, the U.S. is well postured to defend against these kinds of attacks.

On the other end of the spectrum, we face a growing number of potential attacks by what we call homegrown violent extremists. These individuals are frequently lone actors who are inspired by, but have no significant connection to, groups such as ISIS and al-Qaeda. They are harder to detect and more challenging to disrupt. ISIS leaders believe they can advance their cause by motivating these individuals to carry out attacks around the globe, even if such attacks do not generate as much death and destruction as 9/11.

We are making significant progress in both shrinking the territory ISIS controls in Iraq and Syria, and denying it access

GLOBAL PERSPECTIVES

TIME's foreign correspondents on how the world sees the U.S. election

BEIJING
Donald Trump bashes China. So why does the *Global Times*, a Communist party-linked Chinese daily, contend that many Chinese prefer Trump? "Just like some American voters, the Chinese public likes the idea of a new face in politics who is not a traditional politician," says Wang Yiwei, a professor of international politics at Renmin University. Besides, Hillary Clinton has long stood up to the Chinese government. "She is always criticizing China," says Wang, "for human rights or something else." —*Hannah Beech*

LONDON
There is Trumpism in Britain: T-shirts bearing his face and "Make Britain Great Again" baseball caps were worn openly at September's conference of the right-wing U.K. Independence Party. But while most Britons are repelled by Trump, Clinton's candidacy seems less than historic to a nation already on its second female Prime Minister. The overwhelming feeling in Britain is amusement at how its U.S. cousin's political system has come so spectacularly unglued. —*Dan Stewart*

ISTANBUL
People across the Middle East are perplexed, fearful and repulsed by Trump, who has at times called for a ban on Muslims entering the U.S. But what also stings is Trump's praise for Middle Eastern dictators: he lauded Saddam Hussein and called Egypt's autocratic President Abdul Fattah al-Sisi "a fantastic guy." Clinton has her own fraught history with the region, including her vote for the Iraq War. But Trump's apparent hostility to Arabs and Muslims has led many to regard Clinton as a lesser evil. —*Jared Malsin*

to additional manpower. However, as the so-called caliphate crumbles, we expect that militants will stream out of the region and may create new security threats in areas where they resettle. As a result, we believe there will be a lag between the time when we achieve territorial success and when we ultimately succeed in constraining ISIS's ability to attack overseas.

Whatever challenge we face, our strongest defense is a whole-of-government approach where federal agencies expand their sharing of intelligence with state and local authorities, who are the first line of defense against attacks in the U.S. And given the agility that terrorists have shown, we are looking to move beyond a primarily name-based watch-listing system to a biometric one that would use things like facial recognition, fingerprints, iris scans and DNA.

But ultimately our greatest hope for enduring security against terrorism rests in our ability to counter the appeal of groups like ISIS and dissuade individuals from joining them in the first place. We have seen a steady expansion of preventive strategies and more active awareness efforts across the U.S., with the goal of giving communities the information and tools they need to see violent extremism in their midst and do something about it before it manifests itself. The more informed and resilient the community, the less likely its members are to join a terrorist group or carry out an attack, and the more decisive America's advantage over our terrorist adversaries becomes.

Rasmussen heads the U.S. National Counterterrorism Center

BERLIN

The U.S. elections would be over if Germans had a vote. One survey found that 90% of them support Clinton while only 3% back Trump. But there is worry that Germany itself could be ripe for disruption from a Trumpian populist. Referring to this threat as a rising "behemoth of nationalism," Foreign Minister Frank-Walter Steinmeier had this advice for his countrymen: "This firebomb can, indeed it must, be snuffed out in the voting booth." But Germans won't get to vote. —*Simon Shuster*

CAPE TOWN

South Africa has a recent history of outlandish characters seeking political office, so for South Africans the outright insanity of the U.S. election has come as something of a relief. "For us the U.S. elections are awesome," says radio DJ and social commentator Darren Simpson. "Sitting here in South Africa, you think things are a complete mess. But now we realize that things are a mess in most parts of the world, and now in the most powerful country of the world, things are an even bigger mess." —*Aryn Baker*

EVEN PRESIDENT TRUMP COULDN'T TURN RUSSIA INTO A FRIEND OF THE U.S.

BY MASHA GESSEN

There have been a lot of column inches devoted to the danger of Donald Trump, if elected, becoming a puppet of Russian President Vladimir Putin. The Kremlin itself has peddled this vision of the future in its propaganda, both domestically and in Ukraine. In this scenario, President Trump lifts U.S. sanctions on Russia and recognizes the annexation of Crimea, and the U.S. all but drops out of NATO. It's a frightening prospect: two world-class bullies becoming best buddies across the ocean.

But that is not going to happen—it'll be worse. Why? First, Russia is effectively in a state of war with the U.S. Its military doctrine, adopted in December 2014, identifies NATO as Russia's enemy No. 1. Russian propaganda makes clear that by NATO, they mean the U.S. Turn on Russian TV day or night and you will hear that America is waging war against Russia. Ukraine and Syria are mere proxies, where Russians are fighting imagined U.S. aggression.

This anti-American act will not be dropped if a friendly politician comes to power in the U.S. Putin's authority rests on an ongoing mobilization of Russian society, and the vision of America as an all-powerful enemy is the basis of this mobilization. There is no substitute.

Second, Trump is similar to Putin in a key way: he dreams of the sort of popularity that can be secured only by conjuring enemies and waging wars. If elected, he will rattle sabers all the way, and he will quickly realize that he has the ultimate saber at his disposal: a nuclear one. Here Putin, who regularly reminds his audiences that he has the nuclear option, will be his role model—and his opponent. We will quickly come to the brink of nuclear war.

The Russian military doctrine reserves the right of nuclear strike in case of aggression—including non-nuclear aggression—against Russia or its allies. The term *allies* is not defined by any treaty. In other words, Russia simply reserves the right of first strike.

U.S. policy toward Putin under President Obama is best described as strategic nonengagement. First the U.S. tried to empower nominal Russian President Dmitri Medvedev. Later, with the invasion of Ukraine, the U.S. imposed sanctions on Russia and has since tried to limit engagement over Syria. It would be a stretch to call these policies successful, but they might be the best strategy against an unhinged bully. Confrontation will certainly be more dangerous for the U.S., Russia and the world.

Gessen is a Russian-American journalist and the author of The Man Without a Face: The Unlikely Rise of Vladimir Putin

ILLUSTRATIONS BY ALEX FINE FOR TIME

INCOME INEQUALITY

Shrinking the gap is key for democracy

BY BARACK OBAMA

ONE OF THE REASONS I ran for President was because, for decades, the economy had been changing, and Washington hadn't done enough to make it work for working Americans. Everywhere I went, it seemed like our economy's basic bargain—if you work hard, you can get ahead—had frayed.

The good news is, policy proves we can make a difference. In 2015, the typical household saw its income rise by $2,800. That's a 5% gain—the fastest rate on record. And 3.5 million Americans climbed out of poverty—the most in one year since the 1960s. Changes to tax policy under my Administration helped ensure the 1% pay a fairer share. But they also increased the share of income going to everyone else by more than the tax changes of any other Administration since at least 1960. Along with the coverage provisions of the Affordable Care Act, these tax changes will boost incomes next year for families in the bottom one-fifth by the equivalent of over a decade of average income gains. But it will take more than eight years to reverse trends going back decades.

Here's the problem with inequality: As the gap between the wealthy and everyone else widens, so does the distance between rungs on the ladder. The consequences of starting at the bottom become more serious. Research shows that in countries with more inequality, growth is more fragile and recessions are more frequent, potentially because the middle class has less to spend. When people feel like the game is rigged, distrust grows. But we are not powerless to push back on inequality—as long as we make the right choices and set the right priorities.

First, we have to accelerate economic growth. Investing more in infrastructure, reforming our business tax system and expanding trade while ensuring a level playing field would boost demand, productivity and competitiveness. Second, we must ensure that every American can share in that growth. That means strengthening collective bargaining, raising the minimum wage, securing benefits like paid leave and giving more tax cuts to working families—and paying for them by asking the wealthy to pay their fair share. With increasing corporate consolidation, it also means doing more to encourage true competition in the marketplace and offering more choices to consumers. Third, we must prepare every child and worker with education that lasts a lifetime—from pre-K to affordable higher education to job-driven training.

Eight years after the worst economic crisis of our lifetimes, more Americans are working and more have health insurance; incomes are rising, and poverty is falling. Almost every economic trend line is heading in the right direction. The choices we make now will determine whether or not that continues. And I'm as optimistic as ever that our best days are ahead.

Obama is the 44th President of the United States

5 ISSUES THAT DESERVE MORE LOVE—OR HATE

BY NATE HOPPER

SHIPPING
Ninety percent of all we use—shirts, phones, disposable coffee cups and the beans therein—have traveled around the world on ships burning one of the dirtiest fuels by the ton. According to Edward Humes, author of *Door to Door,* 160 of these ships create the same amount of smog and particulate pollution as all the cars in the world. The fleet is 6,000 large.

CHARTER SCHOOLS
A recent Brookings Institute study of Massachusetts lottery charter programs found that urban schools cut the racial achievement gap by a third in a year and, as is the trend in cities nationwide, raised the test scores and college-attendance rates of disadvantaged students (though only them).

GERRYMANDERING
In 2012, Democrats received 1.4 million more votes than Republicans for the House of Representatives. Yet the GOP won control of the House by a wide margin, in part because districts tend to be drawn up not to benefit communities with shared needs, but to ensure that the party designing the districts will have its power overrepresented.

THE WILDERNESS
Since 1993, 1.3 million sq. mi. of wilderness—10% of what's left on earth—has disappeared, mostly plundered by lumbering or oil and gas exploration. Scientists recently found that in less than a century, there could be no wilderness left—nowhere for untouched evolution or natural carbon storage, or human escape.

PUBLIC-SECTOR JOBS
Government jobs are being cut. As of 2013, over half of workers left—in infrastructure, police, transit—were ages 45 to 64. Meanwhile, a 2013 poll found that not even 6% of college-age millennials planned to enter the sector right after college. Together, critical functions for everyday life may soon be even more undermanned.

ILLUSTRATION BY ALEX FINE FOR TIME

A tale of two tax plans

BY EMILY BARONE

A new report from the Tax Policy Center projects how the candidates' tax plans would play out. The findings, which factor in proposed tax rates and breaks, show sharply diverging results.

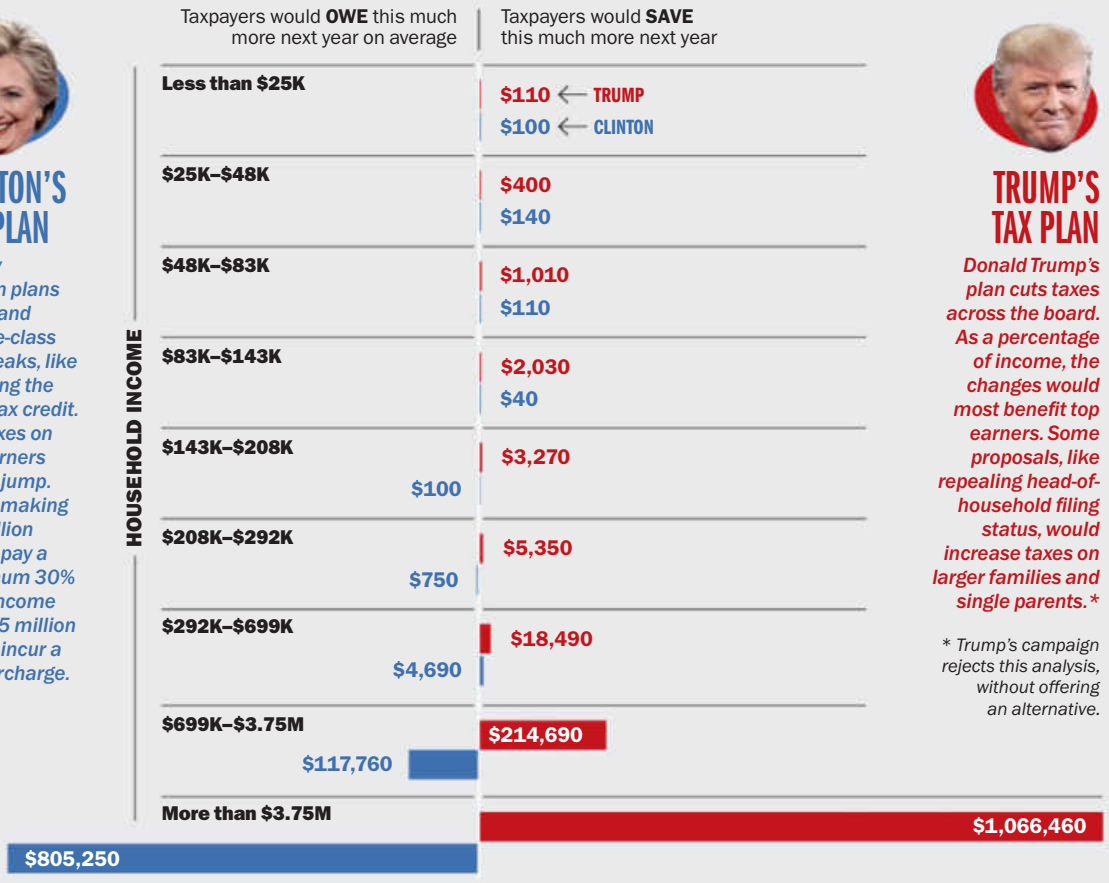
CLINTON'S TAX PLAN

Hillary Clinton plans to expand middle-class tax breaks, like doubling the child tax credit. But taxes on top earners would jump. Those making $1 million would pay a minimum 30% rate; income over $5 million would incur a 4% surcharge.

TRUMP'S TAX PLAN

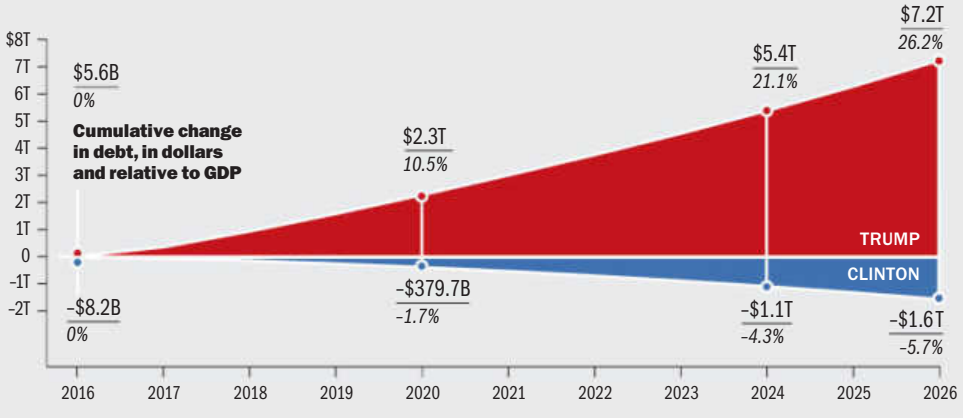
*Donald Trump's plan cuts taxes across the board. As a percentage of income, the changes would most benefit top earners. Some proposals, like repealing head-of-household filing status, would increase taxes on larger families and single parents.**

** Trump's campaign rejects this analysis, without offering an alternative.*



THE FALLOUT

Nearly every year, tax revenue fails to cover national expenses. This has fueled the national debt to $14 trillion, or 76% of GDP. Looking at the tax proposals alone (and not accounting for spending plans), Trump's plan would increase the debt in the coming decade. Clinton's would shrink it.



NOTE: THE TAX POLICY CENTER MADE MANY ASSUMPTIONS ABOUT THE UNSPECIFIED DETAILS OF TRUMP'S PLAN AFTER REQUESTS FOR INFORMATION WERE NOT ANSWERED BY HIS CAMPAIGN.

CLINTON, TRUMP: DREW ANGERER—GETTY IMAGES

CHILD CARE

The terrible, horrible, no good, very bad child-care problem

BY ELIZABETH DIAS

MEREDITH AND PAUL TWEED did their best to plan for parenting. They had successfully timed the birth of their first son, now 5, for the beginning of summer, since Meredith's job as a university instructor did not offer paid maternity leave. When fall came, the Longwood, Fla., couple found an in-home child-care provider who charged $500 a month, half the cost of the nearby day-care center. But two years later, their monthly tab doubled when their second child was born. So they sold their town house and moved in with her parents for a year to save money. Meredith left teaching for an administration job with more earning potential. They bought a fixer-upper and canceled their

PHOTOGRAPHS BY SARA NAOMI LEWKOWICZ FOR TIME

For Nathaniel, 5, who is on the autism spectrum, the space under 3-year-old brother Parker's mattress is comforting

cable—and they decided to have no more children. Child care was just too expensive.

Now, every month, the Tweeds spend $1,100 out of pocket for care for their kids while they work, just $28 less than they spend on their mortgage. Despite dual incomes, their child care costs nearly 17% of their $72,000 take-home income—more than twice as much as a year of tuition and fees at Florida State University. If the basic cost were not overwhelming enough, their older son Nathaniel was diagnosed as being on the autism spectrum. He needs specialist care that costs an additional $25 an hour, too much given his therapies and their health bills and car payments. They decided to postpone their student loans for the year and face higher interest rates later. "We can't afford to do all these things all at the same time," Meredith says. "Everything with a need comes first."

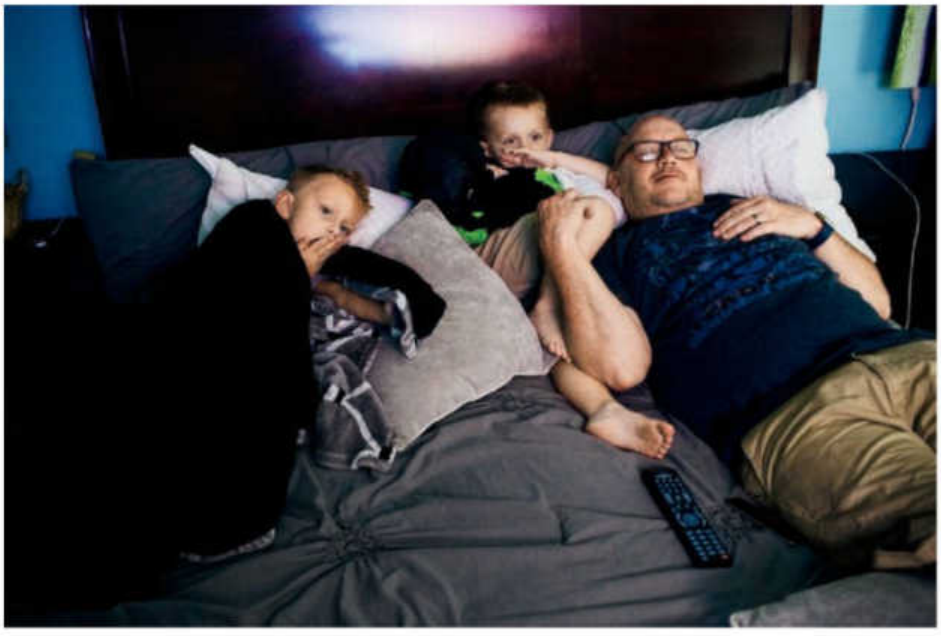
Across the U.S., families are struggling with this everyday need. Nearly two-thirds of mothers with children under age 6 work, and families with a working mother spend nearly twice as much on child care as they did 30 years ago, according to the U.S. Census. In 33 states and Washington, D.C., it costs more to put an infant in day care than it does to pay in-state college tuition and fees at a four-year public school. It isn't much cheaper for a 4-year-old. In every state, a month of child care for two kids costs more than the median rent. The U.S. remains the only nation in the 35-member Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development that does not guarantee paid maternity leave, forcing many parents to forgo income. According to one study by the liberal Center for American Progress, parents give up $28.9 billion a year in wages to care for their children because of a lack of affordable child care and paid family and medical leave.

The Tweeds lived with Meredith's parents for a year to save money when child-care expenses grew burdensome; now they're on their own and the family enjoys most meals at home—with cooking duties evenly split between Meredith and Paul—to cut costs

As a result, the politics of child care is undergoing a rapid transformation, moving quickly to the front of the debate for both Republicans and Democrats. Americans support free child-care and pre-K programs by more than 2 to 1, according to Gallup, and red and blue states alike are beginning to experiment with solutions. On the presidential campaign trail, both Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump have game-changing plans to get the government to subsidize more of the cost, with prescriptions ranging from tax breaks to federal paid leave to universal pre-K education.

That doesn't mean Congress is likely to pass a new law anytime soon. Both proposals are expected to cost hundreds of billions of dollars over the next decade. But some change is likely coming. "The debate has fundamentally altered," says Neera Tanden, president of the Center for American Progress and a Clinton supporter. "I'm more optimistic than I've ever been on this topic."

THIS ISN'T THE FIRST TIME lawmakers have tried to respond to the needs of the changing workforce. When women flooded the domestic labor pool during World War II, the federal government heavily and nearly universally subsidized day-care centers, which cost parents less than $10 in today's dollars for 12 hours of child care. That disappeared once the war ended. Congress approved a similar program during the feminist boom of the early 1970s, but President Richard Nixon vetoed it. The biggest lasting advance came in 1993 when President Bill Clinton signed the Family and Medical Leave Act, which guarantees em-



ployees of larger businesses 12 weeks of unpaid leave for medical circumstances like childbirth or an ill family member. Small-government conservatives have often opposed child care as another entitlement, and much of the political capital on education has been spent on the high cost of college.

But this suite of family issues has been a pillar of progressive policies. Hillary Clinton has long advocated for leave reforms and early-childhood programs. On the campaign trail, she has proposed capping a family's child-care expenses at 10% of its income, guaranteeing 12 weeks of paid leave if a worker has a new child or ill family member, offering universal preschool for 4-year-olds, expanding the child tax credit's value for young children, and raising pay for child-care workers. Her efforts follow President Barack Obama's proposal for universal preschool three years ago and his repeated calls for a tax credit of up to $3,000 per child per year, which would triple the maximum child-care credit for middle-class families.

The rise of Trump has helped elevate the issue. With his daughter Ivanka by his side in September, Trump announced that he would promote six weeks of paid leave for birth and adoptive mothers, a tax credit for child care and a new Dependent Care Savings Account whose balance could roll over year over year, even accounting for unborn children. Soon after, Ivanka met with Republican Congresswomen, including the highest-ranking female GOP leader in the House, Cathy McMorris Rodgers, to discuss child care, equal pay and workplace flexibility.

It is an unusual move for a politician whose party platform does not even mention the topic, but Republican interest elsewhere is growing. Florida Senator Marco Rubio put forth a family-leave plan and a child tax credit in the primaries. In August, the conservative-leaning American Action Forum proposed a targeted benefit, modeled on the earned-income tax credit, that would provide up to 12 weeks of paid leave for workers who make under $28,000 a year. The conservative Independent Women's Forum—from whose board Trump's campaign manager Kellyanne Conway took a leave of absence to join his campaign—has been holding briefings for Republican members on Capitol Hill and is releasing child-care and paid-leave messaging kits this fall. "I think universal paid leave is a terrible idea, but I recognize that most women are working not because they have some intellectual itch to satisfy. It is because they have bills to pay," says Sabrina Schaeffer, the group's executive director. "We need to really take that seriously and come up with alternatives."

WORKING FAMILIES WANT MORE HELP

BEING THERE

50%

Percentage of full-time working moms who "wish they could be doing more" to be involved with their kids' education. The percentage is lower among part-time working moms (32%) than among those who aren't employed (40%)

PARENTAL LEAVE

74%

Percentage of registered voters—83% of Democrats and 71% of Republicans—who support mandating paid parental leave

SOURCES: PEW; FORTUNE-MORNING CONSULT

AGREEING ON THE PROBLEM IS ONE THING, but deciding how to pay for it is another. The Department of Health and Human Services considers 10% of family income the appropriate cap for affordable child care, but only families in two states are able to stay under that threshold. Child-care costs also vary greatly by region, adding different burdens to states. In Nevada, infant care in a center costs $9,800 a year—35% of the median income for a single parent, according to Child Care Aware of America. In Massachusetts, care for an infant and a 4-year-old is nearly $30,000 a year, or 110% of the median income for a single parent.

If the costs are a drain for the middle class, they

are often an impossibility for the poor. The typical cost of a full-time nanny tops $28,000, which for a minimum-wage worker is 188% of income, according to analysis from New America and Care.com. South Dakota, where the average income is the sixth lowest in the nation, has the highest share of families where all parents work, but it ranks near the bottom in care availability. It does not help that child-care workers are among the lowest paid in the country.

States and cities have been stepping in to fill the gaps, though only five states have partial paid-leave programs. California expanded its six-week paid-leave program in April to ensure that low-wage workers receive 70% of their income, while higher-wage workers get 60%. San Francisco will begin to offer six weeks of full paid time off for new parents in 2017. New York will offer 12 weeks' paid leave, capped at two-thirds of the state's average weekly pay. Washington, D.C., where the cost of child care is more expensive than in the 50 states according to Child Care Aware, has proposed the most generous paid family-leave program in the country—16 weeks funded through a 1% payroll tax on employers.

Other parts of the country have opted for more targeted programs. The Texas state legislature approved Republican governor Greg Abbott's $118 million investment in high-quality pre-K last year. In June, Philadelphia passed a new soda tax to raise millions of dollars to expand early-childhood education programs. Chicago launched a $17 million Pay for Success program in 2014 to expand early-childhood education via private-investment social-impact bonds, whereby the city would pay back investors if goals, like kindergarten readiness, are achieved. Salt Lake County did something like that in 2013 to expand a high-quality preschool program, and Georgia recently launched a similar program for early-child health home visits. "There is much more creativity and initiative on the state level. This is bipartisan," says Mark Shriver, president of Save the Children Action Network. "What you don't have is the federal commitment."

For voters in November, the issue will go beyond the top of the ticket. In Dayton, Ohio, there's a proposal on the ballot to raise the income tax by 0.25% to fund a citywide universal pre-K. In nearby Cincinnati, the school board has for the first time put a tax on the ballot that would include expansion of pre-K programs for low-income children. An Oregon measure would raise the state's corporate earning tax to expand state services including early-childhood education funding. A coalition of groups—including Child Care Aware of America and unions like the American Federation for Teachers and the Service Employees International Union—have planned town halls and rallies in states and cities to discuss key child-care and early-education issues before voters head to the polls.

During a quiet moment at home, the family stops to observe a grasshopper on the move outside

DETAILS FOR TRUMP'S AND CLINTON'S proposals remain murky. Clinton has yet to articulate exactly how she would pay for the benefits. It is also unclear whether Trump's plan applies to fathers or same-sex couples or how he plans to have a savings account for unborn children. Critics are concerned that Trump's plan would increase incentives to hire men over women if it offers maternity but not paternity leave. Critics have also charged that a tax credit focuses too much of the benefit on affluent families, not those with low incomes who already pay no income taxes. Meredith Tweed is skeptical that a tax credit would help her pay her immediate bills. "The tax credit in the long run—" she says of paycheck-to-paycheck families, "they can't even pay to get there."

In the meantime, the Tweeds, like so many

other families, look for ways to get by. Meredith is part of an invite-only Facebook group that has grown to 14,000 mothers who brainstorm about everything from how to pay for child care to how to handle diaper rashes. Her parents both still work, and while they rarely can help with child care, they pay for extras like gymnastics classes. Her son Nathaniel was able to join Early Steps, a state-run early-intervention program for children with developmental delays, which allowed him to attend a free preschool for children with special needs. Eventually, he was mainstreamed for kindergarten. "In essence, I benefited from preschool, a universal sort of preschool," Meredith says. "That intervention, and that system, really provided so much for our family." ◻

SOCIETY NEEDS TO CARE FOR ALL OUR CAREGIVERS

BY MELINDA GATES

Americans are famous for working hard. Sometimes, though, life needs to take priority over work, and the U.S. is notoriously lacking in policies that support employees who need to take time off when it does.

We are the only developed country in the world that doesn't provide paid leave for new parents, but childbirth is just one of many reasons Americans might need to take leave. More than 25 million American workers care for an aging friend or relative. Our own health isn't always perfect either, no matter what age we are. But if fulfilling our obligations to ourselves and our loved ones requires an extended absence from work, we're often on our own.

We save up vacation days to stay home with a new baby. We lean on friends and neighbors to check in on ailing family members. We plead with employers for understanding when we get sick. But when these makeshift solutions don't work, people are sometimes forced to quit their jobs, use up their savings and go into debt.

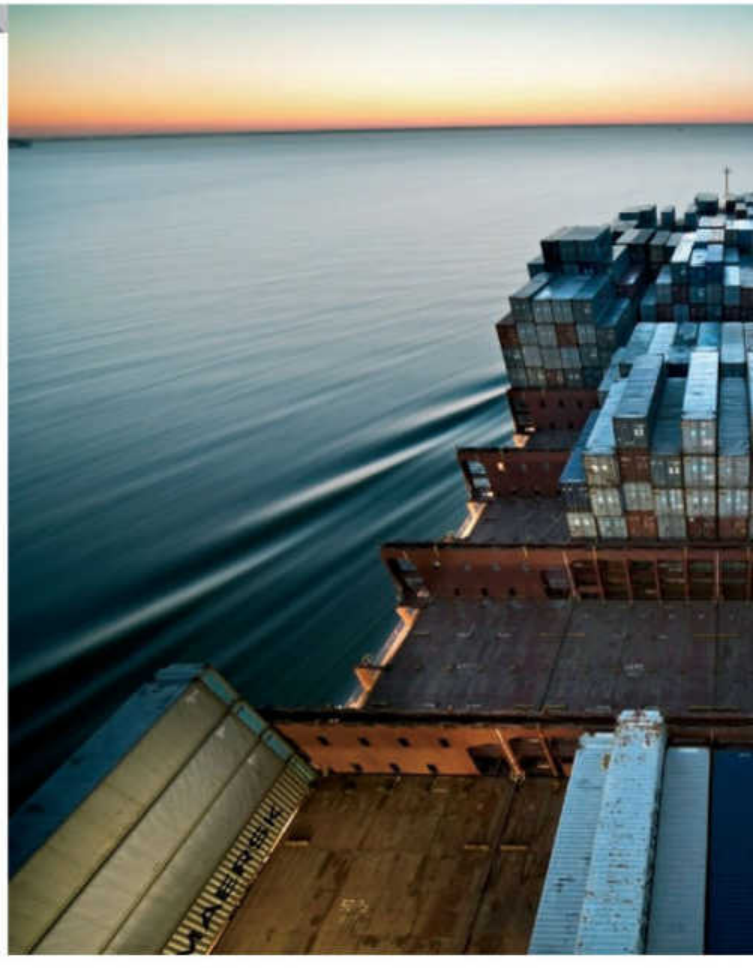
Fortunately, business and government leaders are finally starting to pay attention to this problem. More employers are choosing to provide paid parental leave—increasingly for mothers and fathers. Some businesses, like Discovery Communications, are also starting to offer paid leave to employees caring for family members. These companies are finding that giving employees these benefits makes them more attractive places to work and can help the bottom line. For example, since Accenture improved its parental-leave policy last year, the number of mothers who come back to work has gone up by 30%.

This year both presidential candidates have talked about their support for paid leave. There are some differences in the details of their proposals, and I encourage you to read up on them. My own view is that we need a comprehensive policy for men and women that covers the range of scenarios that actually apply in modern life: a sick relative, a new baby or an individual's own illness. No matter what happens, though, I'm thankful that we're finally at the point where the question is not "Should we give Americans the ability to care for themselves and their families?" but rather "How are we going to do it?"

Gates is a co-chair of the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation

Has the world reached peak trade?

BY RANA FOROOHAR



Digital globalization may yet offer a new paradigm for global trade

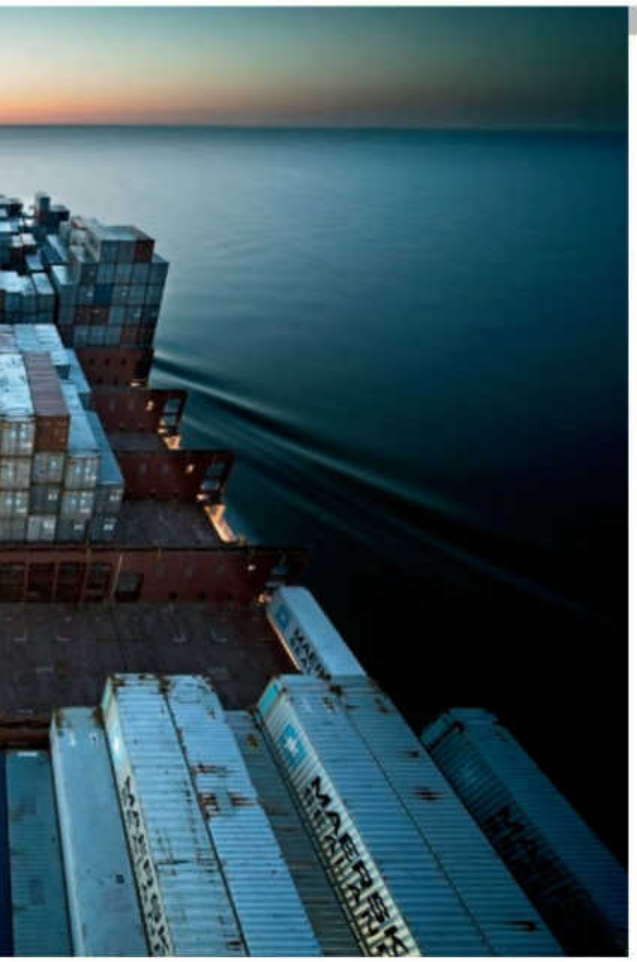
JAKOB WAGNER

GLOBALIZATION IS USUALLY DEFINED as the free movement of people, goods and capital. It's been the most important economic force of modernity. Until the financial crisis of 2008, global trade grew twice as fast as the global economy itself. Yet, thanks to both economics and politics, globalization as we have known it is changing fast.

Statistics tell the story: According to the World Trade Organization, average global trade flows grew around 10% a year from 1949 to 2008. But those numbers slumped to 1.3% from 2009 to 2015 and show no signs of picking up, even as the global economy has partially recovered from recession. Meanwhile, flows of financial capital have become balkanized—which is to say that after decades of coming closer together, global markets and banking systems are pulling apart. While cross-border goods, services and financial flows represented 53% of the world economy in 2007, they are a mere 39% now. And there is a drastic political pushback against the free flow of people across national borders—globalization at its most human.

The question is: Have we reached peak trade? "If you think about globalization in traditional terms, in terms of old-line trade in goods, for example, then yes," says McKinsey Global Institute research director Susan Lund. "But if you think of it in terms of the flow of digital data and ideas, then no—it's actually increasing." Indeed, the cross-border flow of digital data—e-commerce, web searches, online video, machine-to-machine interactions—has grown 45 times larger since 2005 and is projected to grow much faster than the global economy over the next few years. The real questions are whether that activity will buoy the global economy as much as trade in physical goods once did, and whether a more inclusive kind of globalization could help counter protectionism, nationalism and xenophobia.

There's no doubt globalization has increased wealth at both global and national levels. According to the U.S. Council of Economic Advisers, the reduction of trade barriers alone raised U.S. GDP by 7.3% from the end of World War II through 2014. But free trade can also widen the wealth divide within countries, in part by creating concentrated groups of economic losers. Free trade has made goods and services cheaper for Americans—think of all the inexpensive



Chinese-made goods at Walmart—but it hasn't always helped their job prospects. From 1990 to 2008, the areas most exposed to foreign competition saw almost no net new jobs created. That's one reason the new generation of Americans is on track to be poorer than their parents.

Conventional economic wisdom argues that these forces should simply push Western workers into more productive areas of the economy like white-collar work and services. But many studies—including an influential one by economists David Autor, David Dorn and Gordon Hanson—have shown that's not always the case. The gains of free trade do not always outweigh the losses. Their study shows that sagging wages in U.S. labor markets exposed to Chinese competition reduced adult earnings by $213 per year.

The realization that the tide of globalization doesn't raise all boats has fed into the anti-free-trade movement. And companies themselves are backing away from globalization. For several years, there's been a growing trend in business toward so-called vertical integration, in which companies put high-end jobs—in research and development or product design—closer to lower-end factory and logistics jobs. The aim is to better satisfy consumers who, for example, want product selection in stores to change every few weeks rather than once every three to six months. Firms like American Apparel, Zara, L Brands and many others now create multiple product hubs in regions, rather than building complex global supply chains based on where each element of a product can be sourced most cheaply. This "localization" is now being touted by companies from GE to Caterpillar and IBM.

And what about the free flow of people? Thanks in large part to the Syrian crisis, global flows of migrants, particularly asylum seekers to OECD countries, have increased dramatically over the past few years. They haven't been welcomed with open arms. Intense political pressure against migration threatens to topple Chancellor Angela Merkel in Germany and has become a defining issue in the U.S. election. According to the latest OECD migration-outlook report, more people than ever before in the developed world hold anti-immigration views.

There is one reason to be optimistic about the future of globalization—at least, the new information-based kind. McKinsey data project that the companies responsible for the jump in flows of digital goods, services and information will include a much higher proportion of small businesses than in the past. An estimated 86% of tech-based startups surveyed by McKinsey now do some cross-border business—impossible before the Internet, when globalization was dominated by behemoths. That means that more of the wealth generated by globalization could trickle down to the 80% of the population that hasn't benefited as much as it should have.

If those individuals feel they are being empowered by open borders and freer trade, it could help swing the political pendulum back toward globalization in some form. Despite its flaws, it has been an economic force that has lifted more people out of poverty than anything else the world has ever known. ◻

PERCEPTIONS OF TRADE DEPEND ON EDUCATION LEVEL

NEW OPPORTUNITIES

69%

Percentage of people with a college degree or higher who think U.S. involvement in the global economy is "good" because it provides access to new markets and growth. Only 41% of those with a high school diploma or less hold the same view.

LOSING JOBS AND WAGES

55%

Percentage of those with a high school diploma or less who agree that U.S. involvement in a global economy is "bad" because it lowers wages and eliminates jobs in the U.S. Just 28% of those with a college degree feel the same.

STAYING COMPETITIVE

48%

Percentage of Clinton supporters who think the U.S. is making progress overall, compared with 4% of Trump supporters. 72% of Trump supporters think the U.S. is falling behind, vs. 23% of Clinton supporters.

SOURCE: TIME/SURVEYMONKEY POLL

Rebuilding our foundations

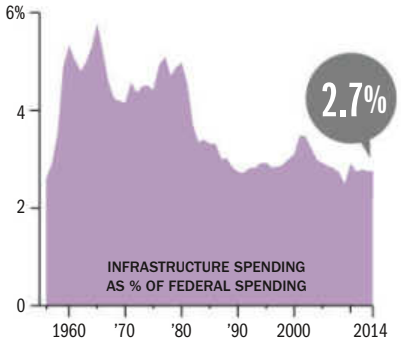
BY EMILY BARONE

While most politicians speak favorably about infrastructure projects, funding them is a different story. That's why cash-strapped cities and states are struggling to maintain the bridges, tunnels and roads that

MORE DIRE

INFRASTRUCTURE SPENDING

Transportation and water projects accounted for 2.7% of total federal spending in recent years—less than half of its peak of almost 6% in 1965



The U.S. ranked

19TH

in transport infrastructure spending as a percentage of GDP in 2014 among 28 advanced countries

CANDIDATES' PLANS

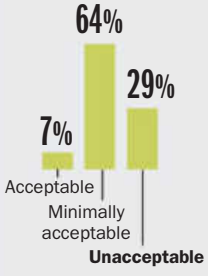
Hillary Clinton is proposing to spend $275 billion over five years to rebuild and modernize infrastructure, funded through business tax reform. She also plans to establish a national infrastructure bank to provide loans, loan guarantees and other forms of credit for public-works projects.

Donald Trump has repeatedly said that infrastructure is a problem, though he has provided few details on how to address it. In an August interview with Fox Business, he said he would spend "at least double" the amount in Clinton's plan. Funding would come from issuing bonds, he added.

CLINTON, TRUMP: DREW ANGERER—GETTY IMAGES

LEVEES

Many levees originally designed to protect farmland are now used to protect residential areas that are home to some 14 million people. The risk of flooding is a concern as water levels rise. Nearly 85% of the nation's levees are locally owned and operated.



About 1 in 3 of the nation's levees is in "unacceptable condition," which means that one or more inspection points would prevent the system from working.

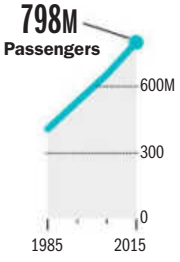
THE FIX

State and local governments will need to fund the majority of levee repairs, which, altogether, could exceed

$100 BILLION

AIRPORTS

The country's air-traffic control primarily relies on a 1960s radar system, rather than more modern satellite technology. This limits efficiency into and out of airports.



In addition to upgrading air-traffic control, airports need to make **improvements to handle the influx of travelers.** To cope, Boeing is planning to roll out a massive airliner that can fold its wings in order to fit at smaller gates.

THE FIX

The FAA has been rolling out a new air-traffic control system since 2007. The project, which will continue over the next 10 years, will cost an estimated

$32 BILLION

DRINKING WATER

The drinking-water crisis in Flint, Mich., raised awareness of America's aging pipelines. About 90% of the country depends on public water systems. While the conditions of many of these systems are unknown, it's likely that many will deteriorate in the coming decades.

9,000 Olympic-size swimming pools of drinking water are lost daily from leaks

Water networks **generally last 75 to 120 years.** Most pipes were installed in the years after World War II, though some of the oldest systems, like Philadelphia's, date back to the Civil War.

THE FIX

The EPA estimated in 2011 that maintaining or replacing pipes, treatment plants, storage tanks and other assets over the next 20 years will cost

$384 BILLION

citizens count on. Federal funds are shrinking too. Take the federal Highway Trust Fund. It routinely runs dry because its primary funding—a tax on gasoline—hasn't kept up with inflation since 1994. Historically, major investments like the transcontinental railroad and interstate highways stemmed from obvious public need. But today's vital need is routine upkeep, which is easy to ignore—until something goes wrong.

LESS DIRE →

HIGHWAYS

A third of the nation's major roads are in poor or mediocre condition. City highways are the worst off. The resulting congestion costs drivers time and fuel. Commuters in the largest cities now spend 63 hours a year in traffic on average.

THE FIX

To improve roads, the FHA has recommended raising yearly investment by 87%, to

$170 BILLION

ELECTRIC GRID

Electricity is getting a makeover as smart meters, which better manage power, become common. But the grid is still vulnerable to physical and cyber attacks. A security-advisory firm found that half of the 1,000 utility substations it inspected last year were secured by only a padlock.

THE FIX

Upgrades and repairs to the grid between now and 2025 will cost

$934 BILLION

BRIDGES

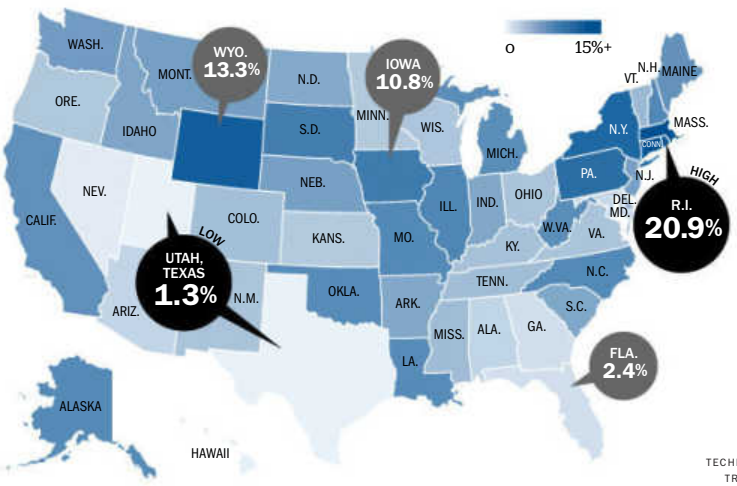
If all the country's deficient bridges were linked from end to end, they would run from Washington, D.C., to Denver. About 75% of them were built more than 50 years ago. Most were not designed for today's traffic loads.

THE FIX

The Federal Highway Administration estimated in 2010 that fixing all the nation's deficient bridges would cost

$106 BILLION

PERCENTAGE OF HIGHWAY BRIDGE AREA THAT IS STRUCTURALLY DEFICIENT



RAIL

Having enough track capacity for both passenger and freight is one of the biggest challenges facing U.S. rails, particularly in urban areas, where public-transit needs are greatest.

48 HOURS
Time it takes a load of freight to travel from L.A. to Chicago

30 HOURS
Time it takes that load to pass through Chicago

Chicago is one of the country's worst bottlenecks, with a quarter of all rail traffic moving in and out of the city. Construction is under way to address the problem. The project will cost $4.4 billion, but only $1.3 billion has been funded so far.

THE FIX

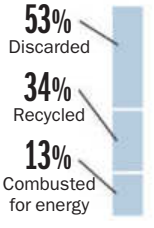
Investments to meet future demand on the busy rails between Boston and Washington, D.C., will cost

$10 BILLION

SOLID WASTE

The U.S. has made huge strides in recycling since the 1990s. Still, when it comes to reducing the 167 million tons of annual landfill waste, there's considerable room for improvement:

Where trash goes



Despite recycling materials like plastic and paper regularly, **Americans continue to toss the majority of their food waste** (which emits gases in landfills) **and electronics** (which leak toxic substances).

THE FIX

To keep up facilities through 2020, hazardous- and solid-waste site maintenance will run

$56 BILLION

SOURCES: OECD; CBO; GAO; ASCE; EPA; FAA; DOT; U.S. ARMY CORPS OF ENGINEERS; BOEING; WSJ; AMERICAN WATER WORKS ASSOCIATION; CENTER FOR NEIGHBORHOOD TECHNOLOGY; CIRCLE OF BLUE; NEW YORK TIMES; TEXAS A&M TRANSPORTATION INSTITUTE; TRANSPORTATION FOR AMERICA; WASHINGTON POST; CREATE PROGRAM; CATO INSTITUTE

HEALTH CARE

A new paradigm for opioid addiction: more drugs

BY ALICE PARK

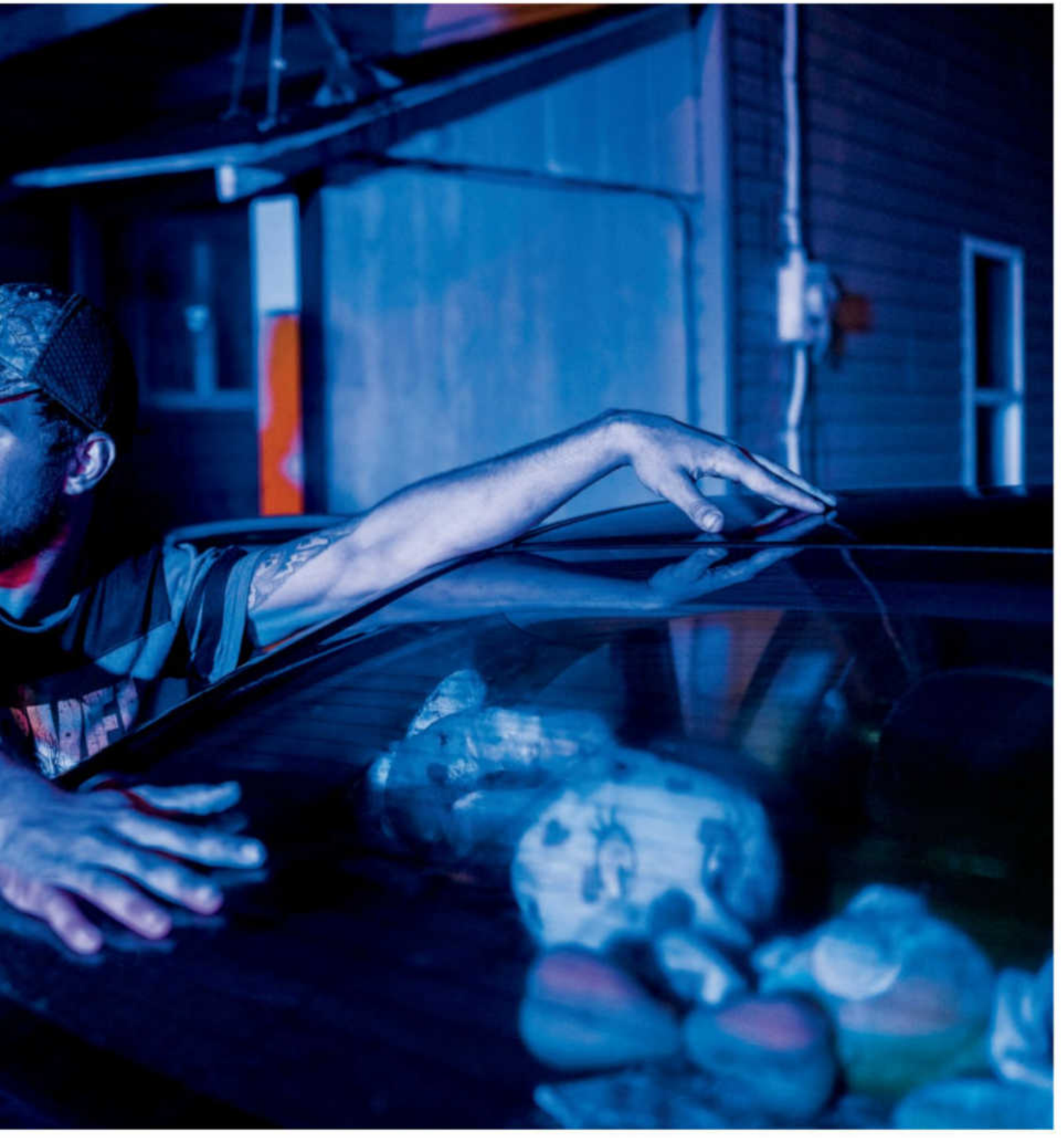
THE PHOTO WAS so startling that it almost seemed staged. In the driver's seat, the man's head is dropped back, his eyes closed, mouth agape, one hand draped on the steering wheel in front of him and the other in his lap. In the passenger seat, a woman is slumped toward him, the straps of her tank top off her shoulders. Both appear to be out cold.

In the backseat, a young boy, the woman's grandson, dressed in a blue T-shirt with a brightly colored dinosaur on it, looks blankly at the camera.

The photo, taken by Ohio police officer Fred Flati, went viral when his chief and the mayor posted it on the city's Facebook page. Flati said he decided to take the photo because it wasn't the first time he'd seen something like this, and he knew it wouldn't be the last. He is one of 18 officers in the East Liverpool police force, and in the past year, the opioid epidemic has ambushed his town and other small cities like it along the Ohio River.

"Some nights the entire shift is tied

PHOTOGRAPHS BY BEN LOWY FOR TIME



A police officer searches occupants of a car after they stopped on one of the most drug-trafficked streets in East Liverpool, Ohio

A SOCIAL SCOURGE ON SOCIAL MEDIA

Photo of OD'd caregivers posted by an Ohio city on Facebook

YouTube video of an OD'd Massachusetts mom with her toddler

A Tennessee couple filmed on Facebook Live after overdosing

up with just overdoses," says the police chief, John Lane. "If we have any other calls, they just have to wait. We just don't have enough people to be dealing with this problem."

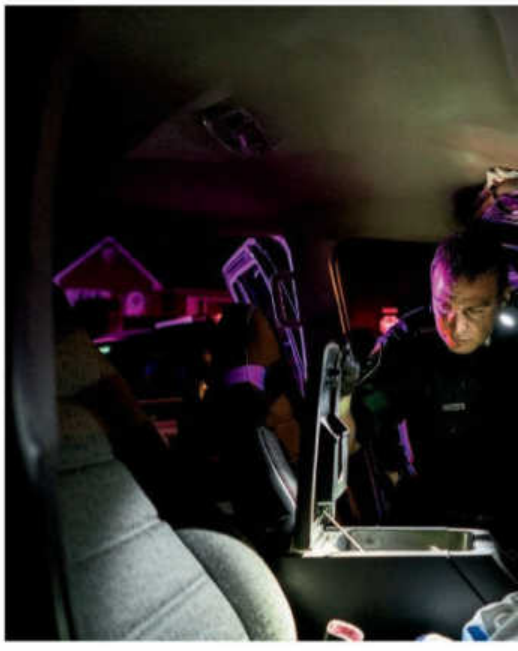
More people died of drug overdoses in 2014 in the U.S. than in any other year, and 60% of them were because of painkillers. Over the past 17 years, rates of opioid-overdose deaths have quadrupled, fueled by overprescription of painkillers and the proliferation of cheaper forms of heroin and synthetic opioids.

The Flati photo captured the depths to which the opioid epidemic has penetrated U.S. communities, and just as the officer hoped, it has sparked a difficult debate over what created the problem and what's making it worse. Policymakers are increasingly siding with doctors in embracing one way to rescue people with addiction from the overwhelming cravings of their habit. Suboxone mimics the narcotic effects of heroin and painkilling opiates without the addictive high. The medication can lower addicts' risk of overdose death by more than 50% and their risk of relapse by more than 50% as well. After four years on the medication, a third were not abusing opioids and no longer needed suboxone to maintain their sobriety.

Opponents, including those from leading national drug-rehabilitation programs, maintain that suboxone and its predecessor, methadone, which is used to treat heroin addiction, are also habit-forming. Chief Lane is among them. "We have people here abusing methadone and suboxone," he says. "They just trade one drug for another."

Such concerns have led to restrictive policies governing which physicians can prescribe suboxone and how many patients they can treat at any one time—far fewer than the more than 2 million people nationwide who abuse opioids and stand to benefit from the medication. Without treatment, addicts in search of their next hit turn instead to the black market, which is increasingly responding to the surging demand with dangerous counterfeit opioids that are contributing to even more deaths.

To break the cycle, the Obama Administration unveiled a bold $1.1 billion proposal that would encourage the use of medicine like suboxone to treat people



with addictions and allow nurse practitioners and physician assistants, as well as doctors, to receive the proper training to prescribe the drug.

The idea of using drugs to help addiction recovery has already caught on outside the U.S.; both in Switzerland and in England, health authorities actually dispense small amounts of heroin to addicts as a way to wean them off if they haven't been successful using methadone

OHIO: EAST LIVERPOOL POLICE DEPARTMENT; MASSACHUSETTS: LAWRENCE POLICE DEPARTMENT; TENNESSEE: FACEBOOK—COURTLAND GARNER

East Liverpool, Ohio, Oct. 7 and 8 *(clockwise from top left):* A police officer searches a car for drugs; Green Lane, site of much of the city's drug-related crime; an intoxicated man is searched for drug paraphernalia; drugs being processed for evidence

or suboxone. "We tend to look at addiction treatment in a black-and-white way," says Dr. Joji Suzuki, director of addiction psychiatry at Brigham and Women's Hospital. "These drug-based treatments are effective, but overall the medical culture has not embraced them."

The key is to think of these measures more as necessary medical treatments, similar to the way people take statins to lower cholesterol or insulin to keep their blood sugar in check. People with addiction may be dependent on the drugs to keep them clean, experts say, but they are not addicted to them, since addiction, as defined in the psychiatric manual, involves severe disruption of daily activities as the craving for the next high takes precedence over all else.

"People tend to confuse the difference between dependence and addiction," says Suzuki. "Physiologic dependence can

occur because you are taking medication on a regular basis, whether it's an opioid like [suboxone] or blood-pressure medications. The body becomes reliant on them. So are addicts who take buprenorphine [suboxone's chemical name] physiologically dependent on another drug? Absolutely. But addicted? Absolutely not."

Study after study supports the effectiveness of drug-based therapies for opiate addiction. People who take methadone and suboxone are better able to keep a job, avoid relapses and gradually reduce their need to continue using heroin or opioids.

That's key to recovery, because opioids can have lasting effects on the brain, often rewiring reward circuits and permanently altering the way people perceive satisfaction.

"Once the brain is changed by addiction, that mechanism of choice is damaged," says Dr. Sarah Wakefield, medical director of the substance-use-disorder initiative at Massachusetts General Hospital. "It's almost like a stroke in that part of the brain. Someone with addiction can no sooner choose not to be addicted than someone with diabetes can choose not to have diabetes."

Still, there remains considerable stigma around the idea of using drugs to treat drug addiction. People with addiction who are recovering with the help of medications like suboxone are stigmatized by members of popular rehab groups like Narcotics Anonymous, discouraging them from taking advantage of the social support that is so critical to journeying from addiction to sobriety.

Even the good intentions of doctors are stymied by such old-fashioned resistance. Once they are authorized, physicians are restricted in how many patients they can treat with suboxone. Initially, federal regulations required that each doctor could treat only 30 patients at a time with the drug because of still entrenched concerns about addicts' swapping addiction to heroin or painkillers for addiction to suboxone. That regulation has since been changed twice, and in 2016, the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services expanded the number to 275 patients per doctor and allowed nurse practitioners and physician assistants to prescribe the drug as well.

Still, many doctors don't prescribe suboxone. About 90% of the prescriptions for it are written by just 6,000 of the 32,000 doctors in the U.S. certified to administer the drug. The certification, issued by the Drug Enforcement Agency, involves eight hours of training on both medical and legal issues, including how the drug works to blunt the narcotic effects of opiates, which patients should use it and its status as a controlled substance.

Even if more physicians, public-health advocates and addiction-recovery groups embrace the idea of using drugs to treat addiction, no medication alone can be the answer to this epidemic. What it would do, however, is increase the options available to people with addiction—and reduce the stigma of looking for help.

The boy in the East Liverpool photo is now living in another state with a great-aunt and -uncle who have temporary custody; it's his third home in his 4 years. After his mother, who was also a drug user, left him when he was 8 days old, his great-grandparents were awarded custody, and when they could no longer care for him,

A homeless addict trying to get clean in East Liverpool, Ohio, says her addiction has exhausted the patience and resources of family and friends who tried to help

his grandmother. Now she is serving 180 days in jail and her partner is serving 360 days for child endangerment, public intoxication and driving under the influence.

While incarcerated, neither will receive treatment for drug abuse; cities like East Liverpool don't have the resources or the training to provide it. "When they get out, they will probably go right back to what they were doing, is my guess," says Lane. "That's the problem." But if perceptions about addiction treatments change, it doesn't have to be. ◻

ILLUSTRATION BY ALEX FINE FOR TIME

OUR ADDICTION CRISIS CAN BE SOLVED—WITH HARD WORK

BY VIVEK MURTHY

The prescription-opioid epidemic is one of the most urgent public-health challenges of our time. Since 1999, overdose deaths have quadrupled, which parallels the quantity of opioids prescribed. The majority of prescription opioids that are being misused are coming not from people buying them off the street but from legally written prescriptions. In 2012, enough prescriptions were written for every American adult to have a bottle of pills. The addiction to prescription opioids is also leading to increased use of heroin and the spread of HIV and hepatitis C.

Despite these grim statistics, there are many reasons to be hopeful. Communities across the country are taking steps to turn the tide. In Seattle I met with police officers who are part of a bike unit and have recently started carrying naloxone—a lifesaving antidote to opioid overdose. They told me that the day before I arrived they had saved their 10th life by administering naloxone.

We know what strategies work and what we need to do to end this epidemic: we need to expand treatment. Of the 2 million people in America with an opioid-use disorder, just a small percentage can get the treatment they need. We need to close that gap.

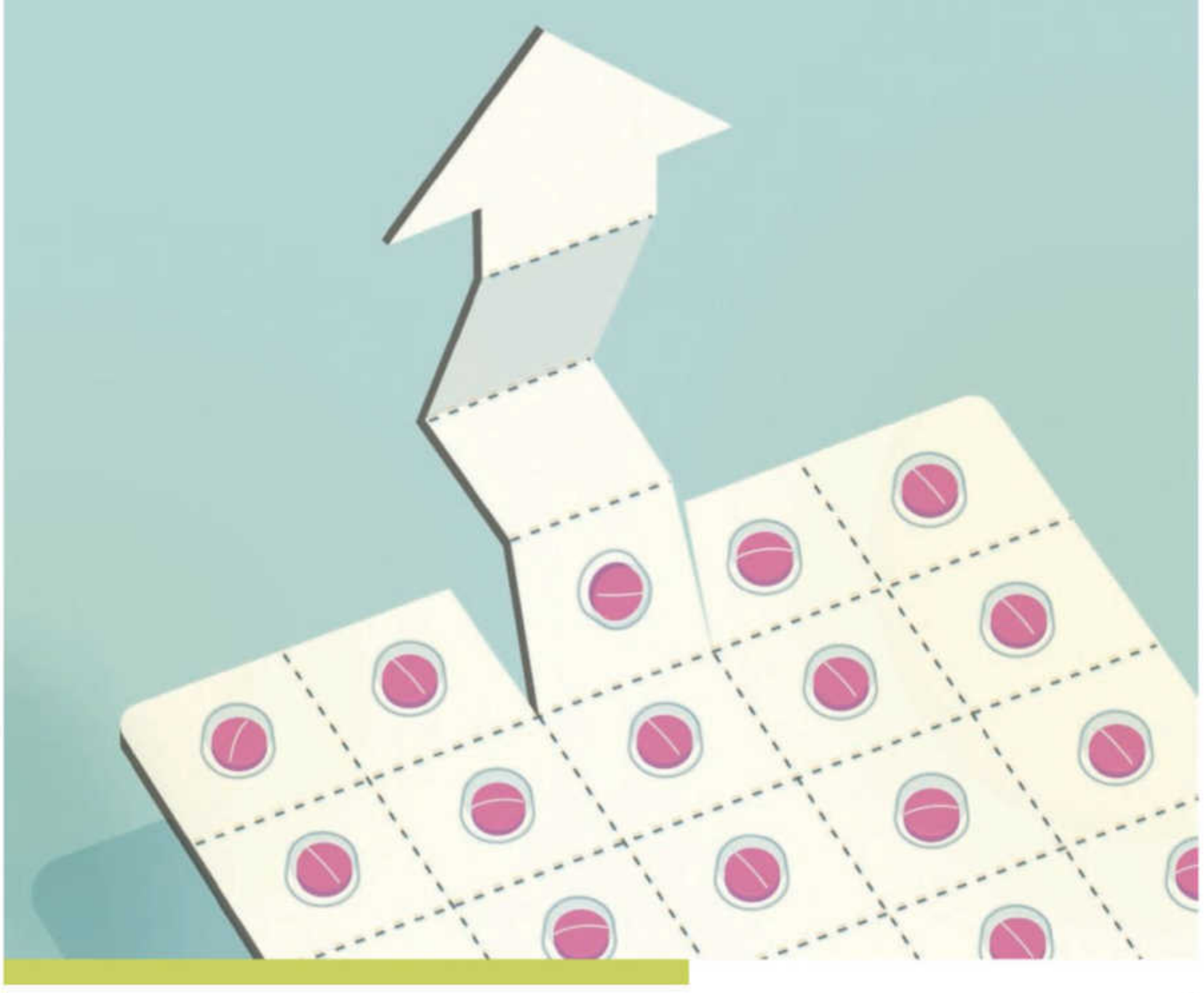
We need to get naloxone in the hands of more first responders and family members.

We need to not only train health care providers on how to treat pain, but also ensure that alternatives to pain management are covered by insurance.

We need to make sure everyone understands that opioids are addictive. As simple as that may sound, many people—including many physicians—don't recognize that some commonly prescribed medications are actually highly addictive. This does not mean that opioids should not be used for legitimate pain. Twenty years ago, the medical community acknowledged that we were not adequately treating pain, but the pendulum swung too far in the direction of prescribing opioids. As we confront this epidemic, we don't want the pendulum to swing too far in the other direction.

Finally, we need to stop seeing addiction as a moral failing and start treating it as the chronic illness it is, one that demands our skill, urgency and compassion. Once we stop judging, we can start helping.

Murthy is the Surgeon General of the U.S.



HEALTH CARE

4 ways to shoot down skyrocketing drug prices

BY HALEY SWEETLAND EDWARDS

WHEN POLITICIANS DECRIED the drug company Mylan's decision to increase the price of an EpiPen by 500% in less than six years, their indignation rang familiar. After all, Congress had just wrapped up a series of hearings examining Valeant Pharmaceuticals' decision to raise the price of a single vial of its heart medication Isuprel from $180 to $1,472. A few months earlier, Turing Pharmaceuticals CEO Martin Shkreli had been deemed the "most hated man in America" after increasing the price of the anti-parasitic drug Daraprim by 5,000% in one month, from $13.50 per pill to $750. Shkreli showed little remorse for the hike and smirked his way through congressional testimony in February. No wonder 3 in 4 Americans believe that drug companies put profit before people, according to a recent Kaiser Family Foundation poll.

The cycle of outrage turns reliably: a drug company jacks up the price of medication, the public rebels, politicians line up to excoriate the drugmakers' CEOs, and pharma executives, in turn, promise it will never happen again.

Until it does. In 2015 drugmakers increased brand-name drug prices in the U.S. by an average of 16.2%, nearly 10 times the average inflation rate, according to Express Scripts' Prescription Price Index. Spending on prescriptions rose by 12.6% in 2014, (the latest year for which data are available), according to federal health officials, and it is expected to rise by an additional 7.3% every year through 2018. The drug industry, meanwhile, remains among the most lucrative, with annual profit margins of nearly 20%.

An end to this cycle remains elusive. The pharmaceutical industry does not operate according to normal market rules: consumers neither shop for nor pay for a cancer drug in the same way they purchase a sweater or a smartphone. Changing that will likely require fundamentally rethinking the economics of the pharmaceutical market, either by limiting how drugmakers turn a profit or by changing how patients access drugs. Here's a look at four potential solutions that policy wonks across the ideological spectrum have put forward.

1 CREATE A FEDERAL WATCHDOG COMMITTEE

Hillary Clinton rolled out a plan in early September that would create a team of federal officials tasked with monitoring drug-price hikes. If the group determined that a certain hike was excessive, it would have the power to intervene directly by imposing penalties on the offending drug company or funding competitors' efforts to create rival products at lower prices. The plan borrows from a slew of state-based bills, many of which require drugmakers to justify price increases by providing hard data about research-and-development costs or a drug's performance in human trials. "Consumers need to know what they're paying for—why a drug costs what it does," says John Rother, who leads the National Coalition on Health Care, a nonprofit group aimed at lowering drug prices that has endorsed national drug-pricing-transparency legislation.

2 ALLOW AMERICANS TO IMPORT DRUGS

Both Clinton and Donald Trump, as well as a growing number of state and federal lawmakers, have backed the idea of allowing Americans to import drugs from abroad, so long as they meet Food and Drug Administration standards. "In a lot of these cases, you have the same drug available at a Canadian pharmacy for a fraction of the cost," Republican Senator Susan Collins of Maine told TIME. The pharmaceutical industry opposes the idea on the grounds that it could increase the risk of Americans' taking counterfeit medications and undercut drugmakers' ability to spend on developing new cures.

OPPOSITE PAGE: ILLUSTRATION BY HARRY CAMPBELL FOR TIME; THIS PAGE: ILLUSTRATION BY ALEX FINE FOR TIME

THE HIGH MIDDLE GROUND ON SOCIAL SECURITY

BY FRANK LUNTZ

We sometimes forget that America's character has been forged by calamitous conflict. Subjects against kings. Southerners vs. Northerners. Blue and red. Our most challenging moments—and some of our most regrettable ones—have united us as a people and propelled America toward a renewed commitment to progress.

While the narrative of this mad, bad campaign swings from border walls to locker rooms, serious issues like Social Security have been flung into the too-hard-to-tackle basket. Whether you are paying into it or receiving it, it's an issue that impacts just about everyone, so why is nobody talking about it?

I recently convened a focus group of undecided voters in Virginia on behalf of AARP, a group that supports quick action to shore up Social Security. The program matters to these voters—they know it's in trouble. We tested clip after clip of each candidate's sound bites, and it became painfully clear to the focus group that neither candidate is offering a real plan with meaningful substance. Then I asked the undecided voters to "dial test" me. I took the best the Republicans have to offer (raising the retirement age for those under 50) and the best the Democrats have to offer (increasing the payroll-tax cap so that the wealthiest workers pay a little more). I coupled this with a bipartisan commitment to prevent Congress from raiding the Social Security Trust Fund. The result? Applause.

The lesson? If we're to solve massive challenges like Social Security, we need to rediscover an approach that prioritizes meaningful progress over ideological rigidity and marching orders, and do it fast.

So how does a politician survive the third rail of Social Security? The focus groups offer four essential principles:

1) Today's recipients should not be impacted. They paid into the system and deserve to benefit from it.

2) It must be an all-in approach. All Americans—young and old, rich and poor—have to give a little in order to gain a lot for their retirement future. The very definition of Social Security is an insurance policy for all of society.

3) The solution must be permanent. Americans don't want to make changes now only to make even more changes later.

4) It must be bipartisan. That sentiment needs to be honed and harnessed. Consider how a joint commitment to genuinely reforming Social Security, fixing Medicare or addressing any number of serious issues would instantly change the mood and outlook of the American electorate. Even if just one candidate took the political risk, the change would be palpable. It is high time in this low season to infuse a little more substance into a destructive and depressing race—not just because it is the right thing to do, but because it might be a deciding factor in November. Imagine that—an election outcome actually determined by the issues.

Luntz is a Republican news analyst and pollster for CBS and Fox

3 REFORM THE PATENT PROCESS

Pharmaceutical patents are supposed to reward drug companies for doing something good—namely, for investing tens of millions of dollars in potentially risky R&D to come up with new medications. Patents allow companies to recoup their investment by selling new drugs competition-free—and therefore at higher prices—for a number of years. But this model is increasingly under scrutiny, in part because many people believe drug companies are gaming the system. Instead of focusing on developing new cures, they are spending millions tweaking the way existing drugs are administered or changing their inactive ingredients. Those moves have the effect of extending a drug's patent and upping the amount of time it can be sold at monopoly prices, but they don't necessarily help consumers. Many major drug companies also spend more on marketing, advertising and executive pay than on R&D.

One potential fix: changing how patents are administered so that the government rewards companies with patent protections only when they can demonstrate that they've invested in developing or improving a drug with high therapeutic value.

Many drug companies spend more on marketing than researching new cures

4 HELP REGULATORS FAST-TRACK GENERICS

When there is no alternative for a drug, patients and insurance companies have no choice but to pay whatever price a drugmaker sets. That dynamic, says Democratic Senator Elizabeth Warren of Massachusetts, creates "market failures and a recipe for disaster." To fix the problem, lawmakers in 2012 allowed the FDA to collect fees from generic-drug manufacturers to expedite the approval of new drugs. FDA officials say that effort is beginning to pay off. Earlier this year the agency reported that it had collected $1.5 billion in fees, hired 1,000 additional employees and was making headway on the backlog of roughly 4,000 generic medications. But with thousands of new applications pouring in every year, the process is much slower than many advocates would like. In the meantime, any company selling a drug with no competitor can, and does, charge pretty much whatever it wants. ◻

OBAMACARE

Obamacare: In need of intensive care, or terminally ill?

BY HALEY SWEETLAND EDWARDS

IN A PRESIDENTIAL DEBATE conspicuously devoid of substantive policy or civil agreement, there was one notable exception. By the end of the town-hall showdown on Oct. 9, it was clear both Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton agreed that President Obama's signature health care law, the Affordable Care Act, is flawed. Their subsequent scuffle was not over whether the law is broken; it was over whether it's too broken to be fixed.

Trump, following the dog-eared Republican play-

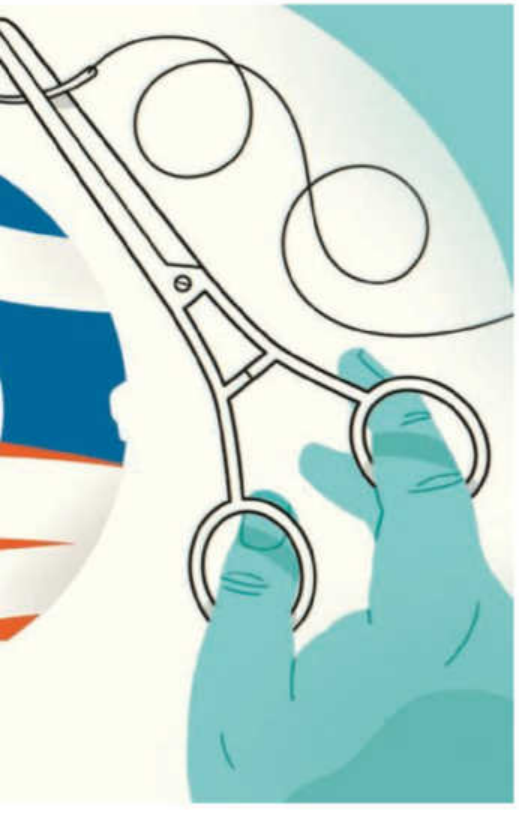


ILLUSTRATION BY HARRY CAMPBELL FOR TIME

book, made the case for its terminal failings. "Obamacare is a disaster. You know it. We all know it," he said, adding that it must be repealed and replaced with "something that works."

Clinton struck a more nuanced note. The law, she acknowledged, was not what she would have created if beginning from scratch today. But if we repeal it outright, she went on, we risk doing more harm than good. Thanks to its provisions, 20 million more Americans now have health insurance, a record 90% of the country is covered, and those with preexisting conditions get treated equally by insurers. According to a recent study, Americans in states that expanded Medicaid under Obamacare are now, on average, less likely to have medical debt and more likely to receive preventive services that lower costs in the long run.

The reasons for Obamacare's structural problems are not contested. This year, premiums for the most common individual plans are expected to increase by as much as 27%, according to the Kaiser Family Foundation. The average deductible in 2016 was nearly $6,000.

The public exchanges were supposed to work by forcing everyone to get coverage, subsidizing those with low incomes and compelling insurance companies to extend coverage to anyone who asked for it. But the subsidies were too small, leaving many lower-middle-class Americans with unaffordable premiums and narrow coverage, and the penalty for not buying insurance in the first place was not nearly draconian enough. As a result, roughly 28.5 million Americans, many of whom are young and healthy, are still without insurance. This has distorted the public marketplace, which is now dominated by poorer and sicker customers, who are the most expensive to cover—leading insurers like UnitedHealthcare and Aetna to flee. Some policy experts estimate that, by 2020, one-third of the exchanges will have just one insurer in them.

Clinton has said she would address these issues by keeping costs in check. She has advocated for capping families' out-of-pocket premium costs at 8.5% of income and backed a refundable tax credit of up to $5,000 per family for any costs that exceed that limit. She has also promised to increase federal support for states that expand Medicaid by covering the full costs of newly eligible enrollees for three years and to lower the age eligibility for Medicare from 65 to 55. Her plan would cost somewhere in the neighborhood of $300 billion over 10 years, according to the Committee for a Responsible Federal Budget—a sum her campaign says it would pay for largely with tax increases on the wealthy.

Of course, any change to Obamacare would require that Congress get on board. So in the end, the fate of the law will likely come down to the next President's ability to cut a bipartisan deal. □

Some 28.5 million Americans are still opting out of health insurance, a portion of whom say it's because they can't afford it

SOLVING HEALTH CARE REMAINS DIVISIVE

PRESCRIPTION PAIN

77%

Percentage of people who say prescription-drug costs are unreasonable

OBAMACARE'S UNPOPULARITY

47%

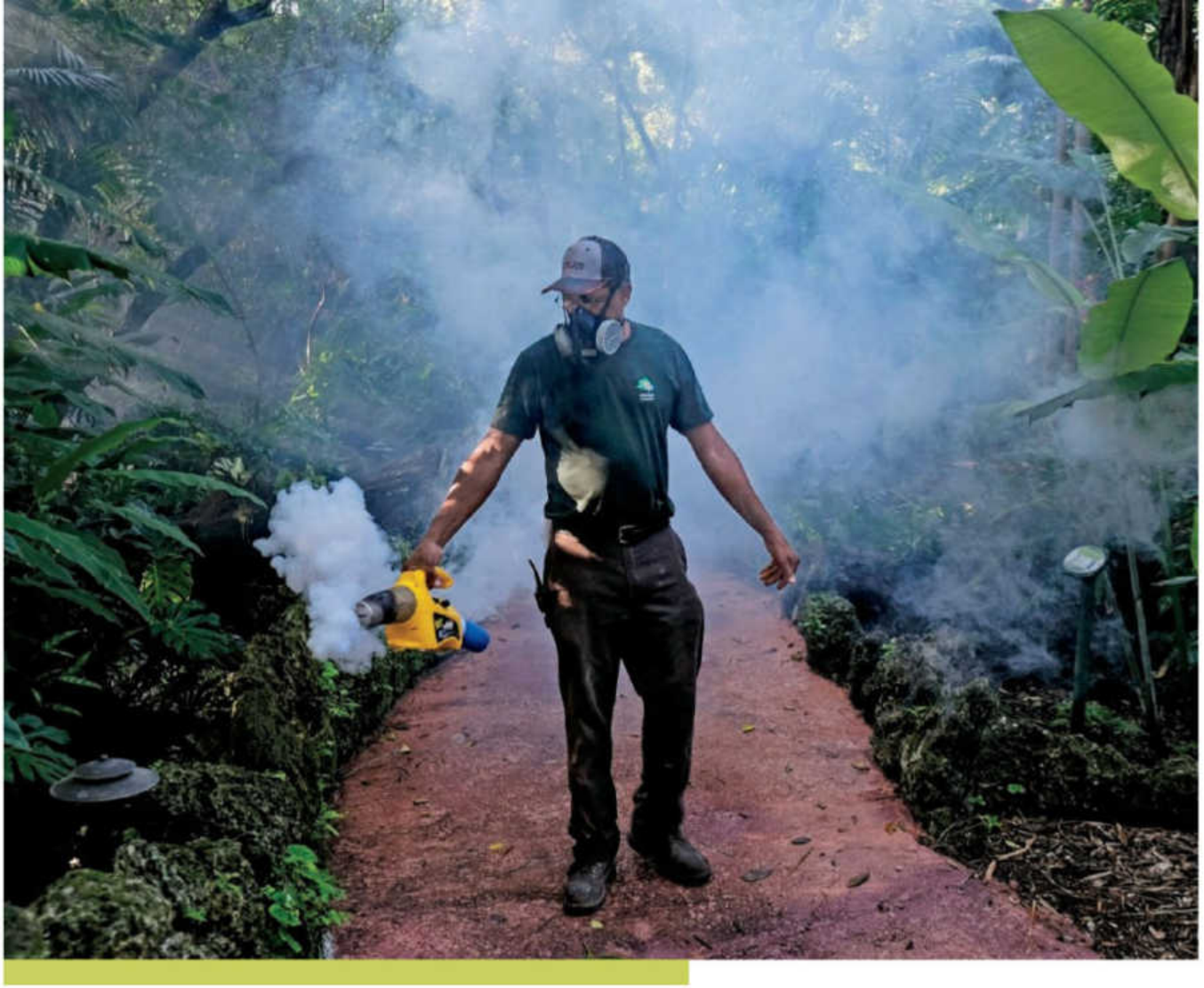
Percentage of Americans who view it unfavorably; 44% had a positive opinion of Obamacare in September

PARTY POLITICS

78%

Percentage of Democrats who approved of Obamacare, compared with just 9% of Republicans, as of this April; Independents weighed in at 39% approval

SOURCES: KAISER FAMILY FOUNDATION; PEW



A groundskeeper in Miami spreads a pesticide to kill potentially Zika-carrying mosquitoes

HEALTH CARE

How Zika could change the politics of abortion

BY BRYAN WALSH

WHEN THE MOSQUITO-BORNE Zika virus began burning through Latin America early this year, the women of the region were left with a choice that was no choice. Zika infections in pregnancy can result in children born with a neurological defect called microcephaly, which causes severe brain damage and dooms some babies born with it to die in their first year. Abortion is either illegal or severely restricted in nearly all Latin American countries—according to the Guttmacher Institute, fewer than 3% of women in Latin America and the Caribbean have broad legal access to abortion. That means most infected pregnant women have little choice—legally—but to bring their pregnancies to term.

There was evidence that many Latin American women, fearful of Zika, would have wanted to explore the option of abortion if they could. Recent research published in the *New England Journal of*

Medicine found an up to 108% increase in requests for abortifacient medication in Zika-affected countries where abortion is restricted, via a nonprofit that tries to provide access to the drugs even in the face of legal restrictions. Still, there have been more than 2,000 confirmed Zika-related cases of microcephaly—and probably more—in Latin America.

When it became clear that Zika was making its way into Southern U.S. states like Florida, there were fears that the U.S. could see a similar wave of microcephalic births. The difference is that, in theory, U.S. women have access to legal and safe abortion. Yet in those states that are the most vulnerable to Zika—including Texas, Florida, Mississippi and Louisiana—access to abortion has been repeatedly cut back, and even banned later in pregnancy. Since microcephaly is rarely identified in the first trimester, those restrictions have made Zika one more battleground in the decades-long war over abortion in the U.S.—a war whose outcome will depend in part on whether Donald Trump or Hillary Clinton appoints the next Supreme Court Justice.

THE CALENDAR MATTERS when it comes to both Zika and abortion. Although women can be tested early in pregnancy for the Zika virus, which is often asymptomatic, doctors have no way of knowing for sure that a Zika infection will lead to birth defects until the fetus has developed to about 20 weeks, when ultrasound exams can begin to pick up on the telltale sign of microcephaly: an unusually small head. The dilemma for American women is that taking steps to end the pregnancy at that point would be considered a late-term abortion, which 15 states have outlawed.

That leaves pregnant women in those states with a near impossible choice should they contract or even suspect they have contracted Zika: they either abort the fetus earlier in their pregnancy, while it is legal but before they have evidence of microcephaly, or roll the dice and hope for the best.

If antiabortion activists have their way, those late-term restrictions will eventually extend to all 50 states. On the surface, that's a policy change that most Americans would support. Polls have consistently shown that while a majority of Americans support the right to an abortion during the first trimester, that support drops precipitously the further along a pregnancy is. A recent Harvard-STAT poll found that only 23% of Americans believed a woman should have access to an abortion after 24 weeks.

But as the threat of Zika in the U.S. hits home, those hard lines have begun to soften. That same poll found that support for abortion access after 24 weeks more than doubled, to 59%, if a woman is told her baby has a serious risk of microcephaly. And while support was higher among Democrats, 48% of Republicans surveyed were also in favor of access.

It wouldn't be the first time that fear of birth defects altered American attitudes on abortion. Like Zika, rubella is mostly harmless for adults but can cause severe birth defects when pregnant women are infected. A major outbreak of the disease in the mid-1960s led to 2,000 newborn deaths and 20,000 babies born with congenital rubella syndrome, which can cause deafness, brain defects, heart problems and more. The awareness of that risk—and the willingness of middle-class women to talk in the media about their decision to terminate pregnancy rather than risk fatal birth defects—helped push abortion into the mainstream a decade before *Roe v. Wade*.

It's still too early to know whether Zika will produce similar changes around the politics of abortion in the U.S., since only a small number of U.S. women have so far contracted the virus. And while Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump are as opposed on abortion as they are on most subjects—Clinton is against federal efforts to ban abortions after 20 weeks, while Trump has said he would support repealing *Roe* altogether—neither candidate was asked about the issue in the first two debates. Perhaps the early lesson of Zika, in Latin America and the U.S., is that feelings about abortion are much more conditional—and personal—than advocates on either side realize or want to admit. ◻

One poll found that support for abortion access after 24 weeks more than doubled if a woman learned her baby was at risk of having microcephaly

THE MIXED FEELINGS ABOUT ABORTION

LEGAL, ILLEGAL

56%

Percentage of Americans who say abortion should be legal in all or most cases. Forty-one percent think it should be illegal in all or most cases.

AGE MATTERS

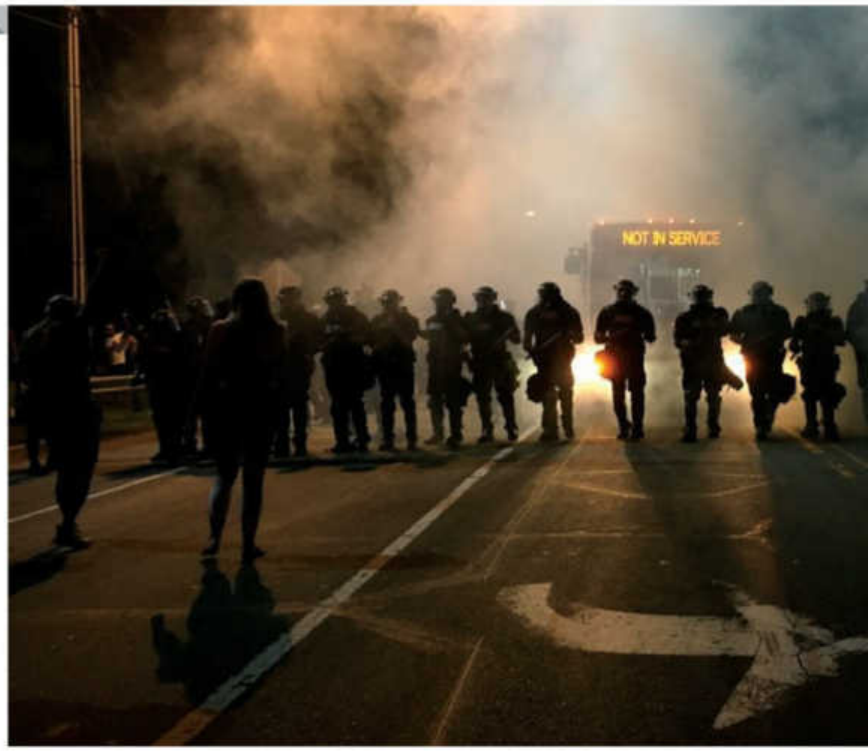
62%

Percentage of adults under age 30 who think abortion should be legal in all or most cases. That percentage decreases with age; 57% of those in their 30s or 40s agree, and only 52% of those over 65 say the same.

SOURCE: PEW

GASTON DE CARDENAS—MIAMI HERALD/GETTY IMAGES

POLICE AND RACE



Do you see me?

BY JOHN LEGEND

Police gather around protesters after the fatal police shooting of Keith Scott in Charlotte, N.C., in September

WE'RE LIVING IN A MOMENT when the challenges facing black folks are becoming more visible. Thanks to cell phones and social media, the entire nation can now see for itself what black folks have been talking about for years—the pain of injustice, the consequences of negative stereotypes.

These issues are critical to us, to our families and communities. But no black person wants to be seen merely as a problem to be solved. It's a conundrum. I wasn't even sure I wanted to agree to write this column. You want to raise these issues; you don't want to be synonymous with them. But silence doesn't fix anything. And there's plenty to fix.

Obviously, I'm very fortunate, but the average black person still faces what you might call a "black tax" at every turn. When police are more likely to pull us over, or pull the trigger. When our résumés get turned away. When we are turned away from a mortgage or an Airbnb rental. When we get paid less for doing the same work. Scientific research proves that if you know someone is black, you treat them worse.

Too many of our communities are still battling the legacy of housing segregation. You see it in the wealth gap and the persistent problems of those living in poverty. These neighborhoods were created through discriminatory policies and almost always suffer problems with crime, conflicts with the police and a lack of quality schools and other resources.

So how do we fix it? There has been genuine progress, and there will be more. Some of it will be through politics and policy. We have to desegregate our schools. We must reduce unnecessary sentences and elect prosecutors who represent the true needs of their communities. We need progressive housing policies. We need to reckon with our past and repair the damage.

But we also need a change of heart. It's hard for me to understand how anyone can still be racist or assume inferiority and skin color are tied together. There are too many examples of black excellence, including the current inhabitants of the White House. There, you will see stellar examples of family values, the power of education, intelligence and grace under all sorts of adverse conditions.

Part of my job is to tell stories and to empower diverse storytellers, to spread love and light. Art has the power to build connection and empathy. We need to see each other in all of our humanity. You can't love your neighbor across the street or across town if you're constantly in fear of confronting the unknown. Hopefully all of us will learn to open our eyes, empathize and join together.

Legend is a singer-songwriter and an executive producer of Underground

ABOVE: ADAM RHEW—AFP/GETTY IMAGES; ILLUSTRATION BY ALEX FINE FOR TIME

Restoring order to the rule of law

BY JOSH SANBURN/BURIEN, WASH.

IT'S JUST AFTER 8 A.M. inside a drab second-floor classroom two miles from the Seattle airport, and Rex Caldwell is trying to get two dozen cops to talk about their feelings. "This is not meant to be touchy-feely," he insists, a plea for them to let their guard down and open up. If they can share what keeps them awake at night, what they think about when they're on patrol, it could help save their lives, he says, maybe even the lives of others. Emotional control, he tells them, can be just as important for a cop as physical dominance.

Slowly, they buy in. Caldwell, a retired police chief and manager at the Washington State criminal-justice training commission, asks them to share the depleting emotions they feel on a daily basis. Rage, one says. Fear, offers another. The whole group commiserates over anxiety about being sued if something goes wrong in the line of duty. By the time Caldwell leads a mindfulness-inspired breathing exercise called 16 Seconds to Clarity, it seems fitting. "This reminds us of why we're doing the job," says Elmer Brown, a Bothell, Wash., police sergeant taking the course.

Since 2012, when a former sheriff named Sue Rahr was put in charge of the state's police academy, every new recruit and a number of current officers have undergone training designed to turn them into "guardians" of the community rather than "warriors" who see the beat as a battlefield. Rahr ditched the lobby display case stuffed with nightsticks and handcuffs and replaced it with a mural featuring the preamble and Article I of the Constitution. Gone too are the posters warning of threats facing officers, as well as the "Yes, sir!" culture borrowed from the military. Recruits once snapped to attention when they encountered a staff member. Now they are required to make eye contact and initiate conversation.

The changes are an attempt to drastically alter the way police approach their jobs. To Rahr, one of the most critical things a cop needs to know is how to de-escalate a situation without using lethal force. She believes most situations can be defused if officers know how to communicate properly and stay calm.

"When I talk about the term *guardian,* I'm talking about a mind-set and a perspective and a philosophy," Rahr says from her office in late September, a Seattle Seahawks coffee mug in hand. "When I'm talking about a warrior, I'm talking about a skill set and a toughness and a tenacity. Officers still have to have that, but that shouldn't be their controlling philosophy about how they approach their jobs."

The way cops do those jobs is of particular concern right now. For yet another year, a series of fatal shootings of black men at the hands of police has sparked outrage in cities across the nation. At least 751 people have been shot and killed by law enforcement in 2016, according to numbers compiled by the Washington *Post.* A quarter of the victims were African American, and a similar percentage were considered mentally ill. After these incidents and efforts by the Black Lives Matter movement to draw attention to what its supporters say are decades of racial discrimination by police, the public's faith in law enforcement has dwindled. Just 56% of Americans say they have confidence in the police, according to Gallup, one of the lowest marks in more than two decades. Morale among law-enforcement rank and file, meanwhile, has plummeted, a funereal national moment coming in July when a sniper killed five officers in Dallas.

All of this has pushed race and criminal justice, issues that until recently had been afterthoughts on the national stage, to the fore of the presidential race. And in a campaign pitting two vastly different candidates, the gulf between Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump is rarely as wide as

OPINIONS ON POLICE DIVERGE BY RACE

PERCEPTION OF FAIRNESS

50%

of white people think African Americans are treated less fairly in interactions with the police, while 84% of black people believe they are treated less fairly

USE OF FORCE

75%

of whites say police use "the right amount of force for each situation," vs. 33% of African-American respondents

SOURCE: PEW

it is when they talk about crime and policing. They draw two starkly different portraits: one America is overrun with violence and race riots; the other is plagued by distrust between black communities and biased officers. Trump has painted the country in Nixonian hues, pledging to bring back ironfisted "law and order" and calling for greater use of the controversial policing practice called stop-and-frisk, which a federal judge found unconstitutional in New York City because it disproportionately targeted African Americans. Clinton, meanwhile, has sounded a more conciliatory note, backing Black Lives Matter activists, calling for greater accountability and proposing to spend $1 billion on programs addressing implicit bias within law enforcement. "We have to retrain our police officers," she said in April.

What is clear is that one of the few ways to even start turning around an institution as large, important and change-averse as U.S. law enforcement is to begin at the beginning, in the academy.

"We should take advantage of what we're learning to make our training more effective," Rahr says. "The irony of all this is the changes I've made really get us back to what policing was originally intended to be."

A former sheriff, Rahr has turned Washington State's police academy into a place that trains recruits to be "guardians" by emphasizing conflict resolution, respect and emotional well-being

EVERY FEW WEEKS, a new class of recruits begins training among the pines and firs of Burien. Rahr speaks to each group while handing out copies of the Constitution, often joking that she knows she looks more like a real estate agent than a sheriff. "If I saw someone who looked like me on the street," she says, "I would not assume that she was a cop with three decades of experience."

Rahr has bright blond hair and a sunny disposition and likes to say she's always been "on the edge of inside"—part of the profession but always a bit of an outsider. She joined the King County sheriff's office in 1979 at age 22 as one of a handful of female cops, initially signing up to save money for law school. But Rahr quickly found that she enjoyed the work, recalling an incident early in her career when she subdued a large drunk man who had punched her in the head by pulling his hair and kicking him in the groin. She says an officer who arrived on the scene found her with a smile on her face and blood dripping from her hands. "He said, 'I knew in that moment you were never going to be a lawyer,'" Rahr says.

Rahr came of age as a cop at a time of rising urban crime rates, the crack epidemic and the federal government's war on drugs. Police saw themselves as the front line in that fight, and their training emphasized an adversarial approach, says Seth Stoughton, a former Tallahassee, Fla., police officer and expert in police training at the University of South Carolina School of Law. Police and researchers say a warrior mentality was often reinforced after the 9/11 attacks, when local law enforcement was asked to guard the homeland like soldiers and was equipped with the military gear to do it. As a result, the nation's police academies spend the largest percentage of their time on use-of-force training and the least on de-escalation and conflict mediation. Roughly 168 hours are spent on uses of force, most of which focus on physical skills, compared with nine on conflict mediation, according to the Bureau of Justice Statistics.

To some experts, there is a straight line between this disparity and high-profile examples of fatal encounters like the shooting of Philando Castile near St. Paul, Minn., on July 6, which set off days of occasionally violent protests in the Twin Cities. Had officers been trained to rely more on de-escalation, the thinking goes, there might never have been a need to fire a shot.

"There's been this notion for decades that we're in a war on crime," says Charles Ramsey, who served as the top cop in Washington, D.C., and Philadelphia before stepping down last year. "Us against them, good guys vs. bad guys. That approach occasionally has merits. But neighborhoods have become safer, yet the same aggressive tactics are being used."

RAHR HAS LONG BEEN A PROPONENT of a different approach. After being elected sheriff of Seattle's home county in 2005, she developed what she

'Most people can be de-escalated. Not all of them, but unless you give them the opportunity, you're not going to know.'

—**SUE RAHR**, executive director, Washington State police academy

ABOVE: ANDREW MIKSYS FOR TIME; OPPOSITE PAGE: ILLUSTRATION BY ALEX FINE FOR TIME

calls the LEED model—listen and explain with equity and dignity—based on the idea that people are more likely to cooperate with police if they believe they're being treated fairly. At the police academy, she has taken it statewide. In addition to scrapping the military trappings, Rahr instituted crisis-intervention training to help recruits identify and locate treatment for mentally ill suspects rather than throw them in jail. Breathing exercises and "emotional intelligence" courses designed to help officers handle their high-stress jobs became routine. And the mock scenarios that once ended with force are now designed so that recruits can resolve them through nonlethal means.

"The message is not everything ends in an arrest," Rahr says. "Most people can be de-escalated. Not all of them, but unless you give them the opportunity, you're not going to know."

At the same time, Rahr increased the hours of training in defensive tactics and firearms in the belief that the greater that officers' confidence is in their skills, the less likely they are to use verbal intimidation. "Failure to comply does not necessarily indicate resistance," Rahr says. "There is a very valid school of thought that says if somebody doesn't comply, then you need to go to force immediately. And I just disagree with that."

Plenty of cops differ with Rahr's approach. "I really don't like the fact that people around the nation think this is the end-all, be-all," says Spokane County sheriff Ozzie Knezovich. "It's a myth." Knezovich says that 20% of his recruits fail field training after graduating from the state academy and that too many of them are hesitant to use force when needed because they're worried about potential lawsuits.

Police unions have also been hesitant to fully embrace Rahr's approach. "I think overreliance on techniques that make the officer vulnerable to attack do put the officer in greater harm's way," says Jim Pasco, executive director of the Fraternal Order of Police, the nation's largest police union, which has endorsed Trump's candidacy.

By Election Day, no matter who wins, 100 more recruits will have graduated from the academy in Burien, making their way through the auditorium's red-carpeted pews and onto a stage that was once a sanctuary for a megachurch. Instead of Scripture, the newly minted cops will be surrounded by quotes from Plato on the core character of a republic.

"It's a little bit ironic that this used to be a church," Rahr says. "It's much easier to get the officers in the frame of mind of 'I'm serving a higher purpose' here." It's the kind of message law enforcement may need now more than ever. But there's only so much Rahr and the academy can do before Washington's newest police officers are out on patrol, trying to guard their communities—and themselves. ◻

4 STEPS FOR THE NEXT PRESIDENT

BY OPAL TOMETI

Racism should be a core concern for all Americans, in every area of our lives. Implicit bias—our subconscious associations of race—permeates everything that we do. And we must pursue systemic accountability to fix it. The next President must apply the lens of race to all core issues, including health care, immigration, jobs, criminal justice, climate change and education, and create a Cabinet-level position dedicated to racial equality and justice.

More immediately, however, we must address the problems with race and policing. The killing of unarmed black people is the most egregious example of the dehumanization of black lives in the U.S., which has left too many black people devalued, disregarded and disposable. Here are four main steps the next President must take to address this.

First, we must defund police departments that have shown problems with racism. Police cannot be allowed to continue aggressive, violent and often unconstitutional policing with impunity. In 2017 the federal government will give approximately $4.2 billion to local police departments. The President has control of $1.6 billion of those funds through the awarding of a discretionary grant program and must use it to make a statement about our commitment to fair policing practices.

Second, we must enforce provisions of the Department of Defense's 1033 program, which transfers surplus military equipment to police departments. Despite President Obama's 2015 Executive Order limiting this process, the value of distributed equipment has increased, totaling $494 million so far in 2016. Not only is the use of military equipment unnecessary, it also sends a message to communities that local police are at war with black and brown people. Military-grade equipment has been used across the country to violently quell peaceful protests and has resulted in a move toward aggressive policing practices like SWAT raids, of which there was a 1,566% increase from 1980 to 2014.

Third, we must investigate prosecutors. A study by the *Guardian* found that police killed 1,134 civilians in the U.S. in 2015, yet prosecutors charged officers with crimes in only 18 of the cases, and those numbers do not account for extralegal killings and daily incidents of brutality. The lack of accountability at all levels of government perpetuates the problem. Across the country, local prosecutors lock up members of black and brown communities at alarming rates for low-level, often nonviolent offenses but too often refuse to hold accountable the police officers who are involved in the killing, harassing and abuse of those black and brown communities. Prosecutorial inaction perpetuates police violence and supports the current culture of impunity.

Finally, we must create a committee to address the long-standing discrimination against black people in America. The President should issue an Executive Order to establish a reparatory-justice commission that will examine the lasting legacy of slavery, Jim Crow and mass criminalization.

Tometi is a co-founder of the #BlackLivesMatter Network and the executive director of Black Alliance for Just Immigration

One nation, up in arms

BY EMILY BARONE

Recent mass shootings have renewed the debate over gun rights. And every day Americans are killed by accidental gunshots or by weapons that fell into the wrong hands. Here's a look at gun ownership and gun deaths in the U.S.

There were

310 MILLION

firearms in the U.S. as of 2009

114 million Handguns

Firearms were responsible for 71% of all murders last year

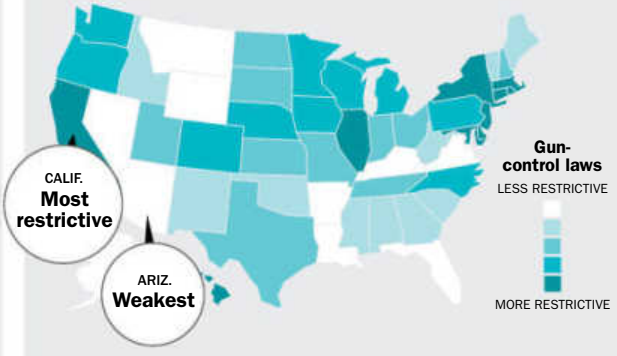
86 million Shotguns

110 million Rifles

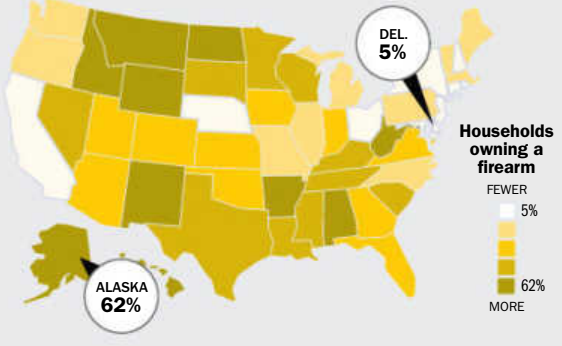
NOTE: THE BRADY CAMPAIGN'S STATE RANKING EVALUATES EACH STATE ON 33 GUN POLICIES, GUN DEATH RATE AND CRIME-GUN EXPORT RATE.

SOURCES: CRS; BRADY CAMPAIGN TO PREVENT GUN VIOLENCE; BMJ; CDC; DOJ; PEW RESEARCH CENTER; FBI; GALLUP; GUNVIOLENCEARCHIVE.ORG

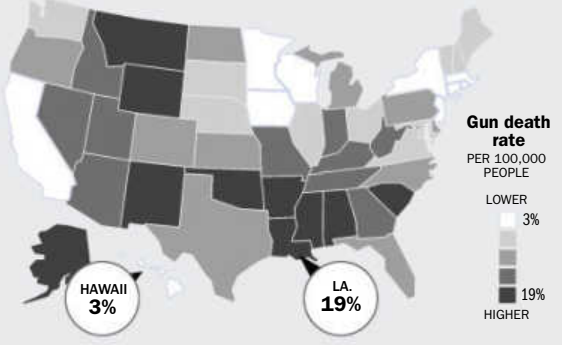
***GUN LAWS** are most stringent in California and in the Northeast. States are ranked here on the restrictiveness of their gun laws.*



***GUN OWNERSHIP** is higher where gun laws are looser. About half of owners say they own guns for protection, followed by hunting (32%).*



***GUN-RELATED DEATHS** are more prevalent in the Southern states. More than 60% are suicides, while about a third are homicides.*



U.S. GUN OWNERS

Background checks, an indicator of sales, have been ticking up …

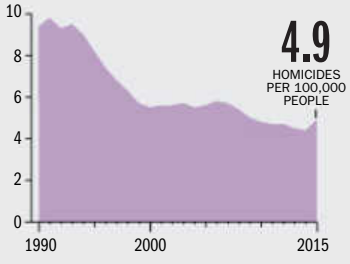
	2000	2015
Background checks	9 MILLION	23 MILLION

much faster than gun-owning households, suggesting that owners are stocking up

	2000	2015
Gun-owning households	39%	41%

GUN VIOLENCE

While gun sales are ticking up, the U.S. homicide rate is trending down



Still, more people die from guns than from car accidents. In 2016 there have been 1,622 accidental shootings, and 515 children have been shot

REFORM PROPOSALS

Donald Trump calls for concealed-carry permits in all 50 states; he supports stricter sentences for felons caught with firearms

Hillary Clinton supports a ban on assault weapons and the expansion of background checks to mental-health outpatients and domestic abusers

TRUMP, CLINTON: DREW ANGERER—GETTY IMAGES

How political language got so coded

BY KATY STEINMETZ

DURING THE VICE-PRESIDENTIAL DEBATE on Oct. 4, as Democrat Tim Kaine and Republican Mike Pence tussled over immigration plans, one of the candidates said the words *criminal aliens* seven times. The other described immigrants who had come to the U.S. illegally as "people … who are here without documents." Can you guess who said which?

Sure. Political language is packed with code words, sometimes known as dog whistles. "The idea," says sociolinguist Ben Zimmer, "is it's speaking to a particular audience that's supposed to pick up on a frequency that others won't hear." Often these terms say not much on the surface, but underneath attempt to speak to the *real* issue at stake.

When Pence hammers on about "criminal aliens," the immigration debate is about safety. When Kaine avoids uttering "illegal," the debate is about humanity (aren't we a welcoming nation of immigrants?). Earlier this year, Republicans quickly called the Orlando attack an act of "Islamic terrorism" (a national-security issue), while many Democrats called it a "mass shooting" (a gun issue). When Donald Trump emphasizes "law and order," as Richard Nixon did in 1968, that plays on anxieties about race relations for some voters. Hillary Clinton's 1996 comment about gangs of kids being "superpredators" has been viewed as a slight to the black community.

Earlier this year, a group of economists analyzed congressional records and found that from 1870 to 1990, the odds of correctly identifying a politician's party by language was 50-50. By 2010, the odds were 83%. The turning point was 1994, says Stanford's Matthew Gentzkow, which brought the Republicans' Contract With America and the rise of strategists like Frank Luntz, who set the bar by rebranding *estate taxes* as *death taxes*. (You can read Luntz elsewhere in this package.) Changes in technology meant that virtually anything a politician said on the Capitol floor could be recorded, so messaging had to be consistent. Says Gentzkow: "There was this innovation in using language very strategically and very deliberately."

SNIFFING OUT DOG WHISTLES

Even when people want to use neutral language, it can be hard to find ground that feels fair to all sides. One of the most powerful arbiters of phrasing, the *AP Stylebook,* has recommended avoiding many loaded phrases over the years, and other major media outlets often follow that advice. —*K.S.*

PRO-LIFE/PRO-CHOICE

HOMO-SEXUAL

ISLAMOPHOBIA

UNDOCUMENTED/ ILLEGAL IMMIGRANT

SKEPTIC/ DENIER

2000 The AP recommends chucking the terms ***pro-life*** **and** ***pro-choice,*** terms charged by their respective sides in the debate, in favor of the more direct *anti-abortion* and *pro–abortion rights.*

2006 The AP identifies *gay* as a preferred term. ***Homosexual,*** a word popularized by psychologists in a time when being gay was seen as a disease, can have derogatory clinical connotations.

2012 The AP adds an entry for the suffix *-phobia,* saying it's not appropriate for social or political contexts. Words like ***Islamophobia*** can suggest that someone has an irrational fear that qualifies as a mental illness. In general, the *Stylebook* tries to eschew labels in favor of details.

2013 The phrases ***illegal immigrant*** **and** ***undocumented immigrant*** both go by the wayside. The AP reasons that no person should be labeled "illegal," even if their actions might be, and finds "undocumented" too imprecise. They recommend describing the person's situation.

2015 The entry for global warming directs reporters not to use the words ***skeptic*** **or** ***denier.*** Scientists say true skeptics are involved in inquiry and research, while *denier* has connotations of denying tragedies like the Holocaust. The AP recommends phrases like *climate-change doubters.*

Crossing the border

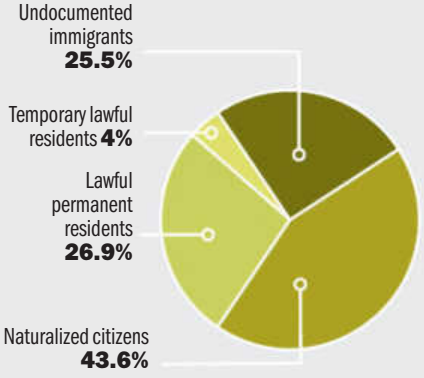
BY EMILY BARONE

The number of undocumented immigrants has declined during the past decade, and Barack Obama has deported more people than any other President in U.S. history. You wouldn't guess either fact from the 2016

1. COMING

There are 11.1 million undocumented immigrants in the U.S., down from a peak of 12.2 million in 2007. The drop is due in part to fewer job opportunities during the recession and tighter border control.

TOTAL FOREIGN-BORN POPULATION: 43.6 MILLION

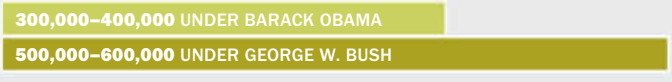


HOW UNDOCUMENTED IMMIGRANTS GOT TO THE U.S.:

40%–50% On temporary visas or fraudulent documents

50% Illegal border crossings

UNDOCUMENTED IMMIGRANTS WHO ENTERED THE U.S. EACH YEAR:



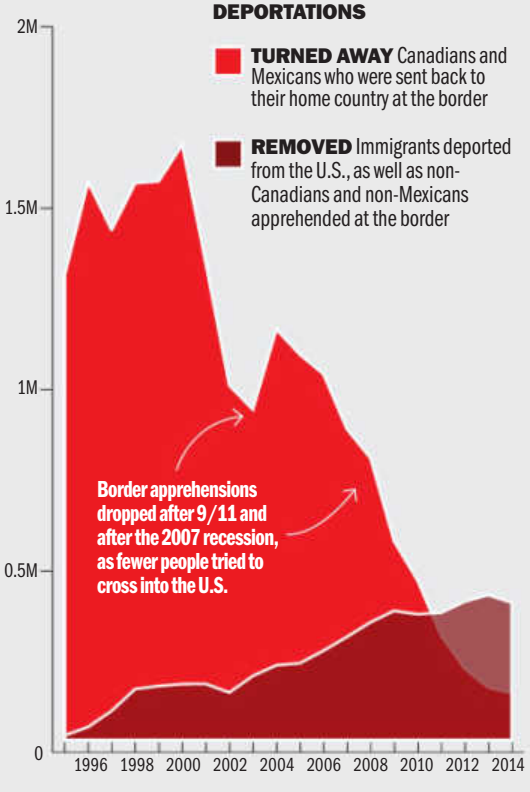
COUNTRIES OF BIRTH:

48% of Mexican immigrants, about 5.85 million, are unauthorized

2. GOING

Each year, about 500,000 undocumented immigrants return home on their own, get permanent residence, are deported or die.

27 YEARS Time it would take at the current rate to deport all undocumented immigrants in the U.S. today



4. HISTORY

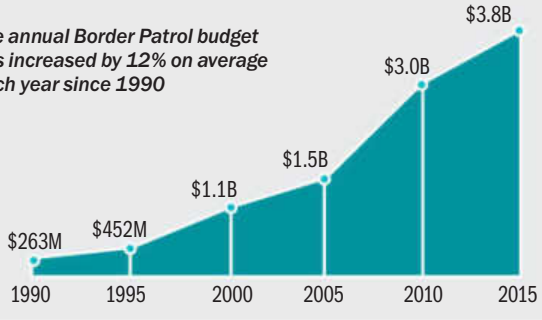
1924

Congress establishes U.S. Border Patrol and applies the first limits on the number of immigrants who can enter the country

Border-enforcement personnel have doubled since 2004, to

21,000

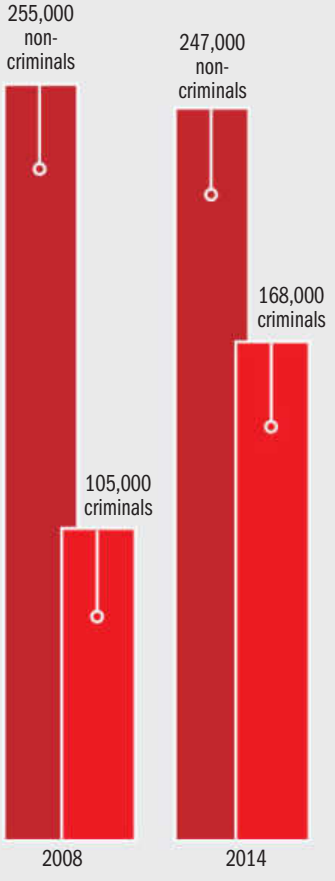
The annual Border Patrol budget has increased by 12% on average each year since 1990



campaign trail, where Donald Trump elevated concerns of an immigration crisis and Hillary Clinton courts Hispanic voters in battleground states. Trump has pledged to build a wall across a portion of the 2,000-mile border with Mexico, and Clinton has promised to push immigration reform in her first 100 days, with a path to citizenship for those in the country without authorization. Neither plan is likely to pass Congress next year.

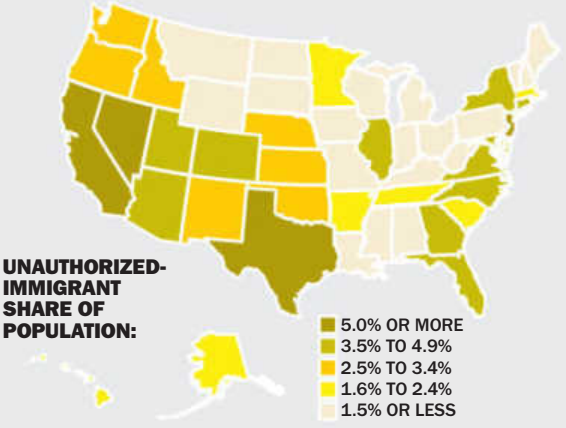
UNDOCUMENTED CRIMINALS

Since Obama took office in 2009, the U.S. has focused enforcement resources on deporting convicted criminals.



3. STAYING

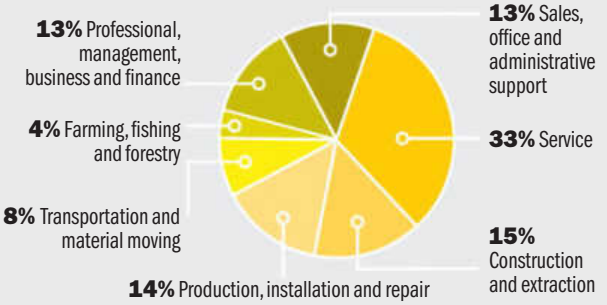
Half of undocumented immigrants have been in the U.S. for at least 13 years. That's up from eight years in 2003. As a result of longer stays, there is a greater chance they have children born in the U.S.



4.5 MILLION *Number of U.S.-born children in 2012 younger than 18 living with at least one undocumented-immigrant parent; this population has doubled since 2000*

WHERE UNDOCUMENTED IMMIGRANTS WORK:

62% hold service, construction and production jobs, twice the share of U.S.-born workers



Immigration and customs enforcement cost $6 billion a year, about 10% of the Homeland Security budget

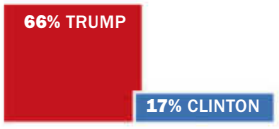
In 2006, the Bush Administration signed the Secure Fence Act. Since then, the U.S. has invested billions of dollars at the southern border. Investments have included:

- 300 miles of vehicle fencing
- 353 miles of pedestrian fencing
- Video surveillance systems
- Seismic, magnetic and thermal detection sensors
- Manned and unmanned aircraft

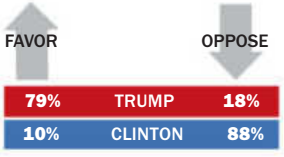
Trump supporters and Clinton supporters have contrasting views on which policies best address illegal immigration

SUPPORTERS WHO

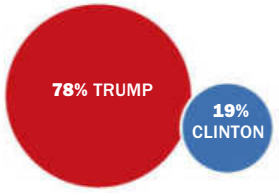
... say immigration is a very big problem



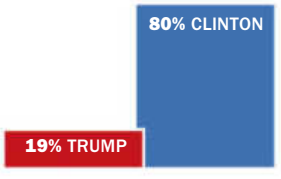
... are in favor of building a wall along the U.S.-Mexico border



... want to prioritize stronger law enforcement and border security



... want to prioritize for undocumented immigrants a path to citizenship



SOURCES: DHS; PEW RESEARCH CENTER; CENTER FOR IMMIGRATION STUDIES; CRS; GAO

TRUMP, CLINTON: DREW ANGERER—GETTY IMAGES

A migrant boy peers out from his tent, covered in plastic to keep out the rain, at a makeshift camp at the northern Greek border in March

REFUGEES

Land of the free, home of the brave

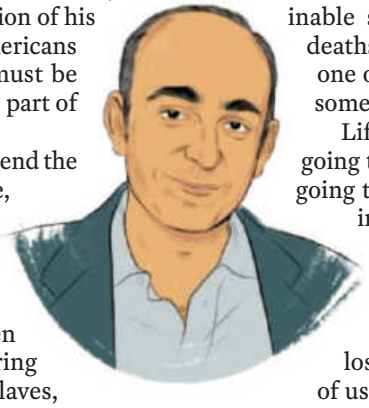
BY MOHSIN HAMID

A PAIR OF RUNAWAY SLAVES fleeing the antebellum South, arriving in Boston. A family of Jews fleeing the Third Reich, arriving in New York. A baby boy fleeing the destruction of his home world of Krypton, arriving in Kansas. Most Americans know what must be done with such people. They must be taken in. Given a chance. Allowed to become an equal part of the American story.

How many Americans today would think it right to send the slaves back to the plantation, the Jews back to Europe, the infant Superman back into space? The very idea seems abominable, absurd—un-American.

Why, then, is there such an outcry over accepting refugees from places like Syria? From places that have been bombed into rubble or fallen under the control of psychopathic, sadistic, murdering gangs? What distinguishes these refugees from the slaves, from the Jews, from Kal-El?

One currently potent answer appears to be that it's because these refugees are Muslims. And Muslims kill Americans. So they must not be let in. But Americans kill Americans too. Indeed, they do so at more than four times the rate at which the British kill the British, the Indonesians kill the Indonesians and the Chinese kill the Chinese. An American's chance of being killed by a terrorist is vanishingly small.



Nonetheless, over the past 15 years Americans have become thoroughly terrorized. In this, the terrorists have succeeded. They have been helped by much of the American media. "Under attack!" makes better click bait than "Lightning killed far more people this year than terrorists—again." And the terrorists have been helped by many American politicians who use fear to sell themselves, to sell their own personal political product.

Fear is potent. Fear can make it difficult to behave decently, to do the right thing, to take in desperate refugees. Fear can warp a society, change its values, transform it into something monstrous. Fear must be resisted. The most potent antiterrorism defense in the world costs nothing and is available to all. It is courage.

It takes courage to jump off the high diving board into a pool. It takes courage to leave the beach for the waves after watching *Jaws*. (As a child, I didn't do so for weeks.) It takes courage to choose the subway seat next to the Middle Eastern–looking guy with a beard and a backpack. And it takes courage not to condemn countless families to unimaginable suffering or perhaps horrific deaths because maybe, just maybe, one of them might want to murder someone someday.

Life isn't perfectly safe. We're all going to die eventually. Something is going to get us. Courage is about living with decency in the face of that reality. Courage is a choice. A daily, hourly choice. Terrorists offer an invitation to be terrorized, to lose perspective. It is up to each of us whether to accept that invitation. And for the country of "The Star-Spangled Banner," that choice is a particularly poignant one. No land can aspire to be the land of the free, unless it aspires also to be the home of the brave.

Hamid is the author of The Reluctant Fundamentalist *and other novels*

ABOVE: VADIM GHIRDA—AP; ILLUSTRATION BY ALEX FINE FOR TIME

CUBA

The 8,000-mile shortcut

BY KARL VICK

PHOTOGRAPHS BY LISETTE POOLE

THE SHORTEST ROUTE from Cuba to the U.S. is 90 miles. But that's across the Florida Straits, and Liset Barrios gets nervous on a boat. So on May 13, she boards Copa Airlines Flight 295, setting off the long way around—the *really* long way. The journey covered 8,000 miles, took 51 days and, along the way, illuminated an obscure byway in this historic wave of human migration. The U.N. says some 244 million people live outside their home countries, most as legal guest workers in nearby nations. About 21 million are refugees fleeing war or persecution. Several million more—no one knows the precise number—make their way underground, "irregular migrants" trying to stay out of sight en route from a poor place with scant opportunities to a richer one, with more.

Liset and her neighbor Marta Amaro, who traveled with her, are in a semi-privileged subset of irregulars. Since they are Cubans presumed by U.S. law to be suffering under the yoke of communism, they would actually be welcomed in America when they arrive—provided they come by land. The problem is that none of the countries close to the U.S. allows a Cuban to enter without a visa.

So it is that Liset, Marta and the photojournalist Lisette Poole land at 1:39 p.m. in Georgetown, the capital of the tiny South American country of Guyana, the nearest country open to Cubans. Their plan is to get a hotel and scout around for a smuggler, but they don't even have to leave the airport. While disembarking, another Cuban tells them he has a smuggler waiting outside. "It's something that's already there," Liset says, of the river of migrants the women enter at that moment. "And you have to have the luck of being there at the right moment to get into it so that everything flows."

That very night, they ride in a van 18 hours to Brazil—the more direct route toward the U.S., northwest across Venezuela, having been ruled out because the country is wildly dangerous. (The migrant river follows the path of least resistance.) They cross the border into Brazil by canoe, then make their way to Manaus, deep in the heart of the rain forest. There they board a plane to southwest Brazil, saving 22 hours overland, and hire a taxi to the border of Bolivia, a remote corner of which they cross en route to Peru.

The bus over the Andes to Lima is $150. Thus far, each has spent $2,300 of the nearly $8,000 the journey will end up costing per person. Most of the way, Liset, 25, pays for Marta. The younger woman has a boyfriend in Chicago, who fell for Liset during a visit to Havana. In Cuba, tourists use a special peso worth 26 times the currency used by ordinary Cubans. By befriending male tourists with money to spend—an arrangement that often shifted from girlfriend to escort—Liset managed

Marta, right, and Liset nervously watch for the signal to run to awaiting cars after crossing the border from Guyana into Brazil on May 14


adidas

Liset, left, stands on the tarmac in Guyana on May 13 after flying with Marta from their hometown, Havana. They soon join a group of Cuban men who have a contact with a coyote

Marta rides in a van with Haitian migrants after on May 24. They were released after an officer

Liset and Marta, with locals who help guide migrants, prepare to board a boat at dawn on June 6, traveling from Necoclí to Capurganá, in Colombia, as they close in on Panama's border

Border-patrol officers at a routine checkpoint back to Metetí for more paperwork before

to live relatively well, after once living in a shipping container. Marta, 53, made $5 a day working in cafeterias, hospitals and, for a time, an asylum. Both women wanted a better life, and then the boyfriend offered to bring Liset north. "Our plan was to help each other," Marta says.

In the way of modern migrants, the women travel with smartphones, touching base with family when they get wi-fi, which the hostel in Lima has. At dusk that day they board a bus toward Ecuador, where Liset talks their way past immigration agents. The first bus in Ecuador is crowded with Haitians, who after the 2010 earthquake also got a temporary dispensation to enter the U.S. There are even Bangladeshis, who began their journey nearly 11,000 miles away.

They cross into Colombia on horseback, negotiate past a military patrol and walk up a hill to a chicken restaurant, where the next coyote—Latin American slang for people smuggler—is waiting. Every move the migrants make is at the instruction of coyotes,

REDUX

being detained by Peruvian migration officials took a liking to Liset and decided to let her go

Marta walks on a path with other migrants, including some from Haiti and as far away as Bangladesh, while crossing the border from Ecuador into Colombia on May 26

in Agua Fría, Panama, send Liset and Marta allowing them to continue to Panama City

Liset uses a mirror to apply some makeup before the final day of hiking through the Darién Gap on June 14. The walk would take about 14 hours through jungle, with little water and no food

who text photos of the next smuggler to the migrants so they know whom to look for at the next stop. "In every country, they would tell you to hide," Liset says, "but I think it was their way to scare you, so you would feel afraid if you were out of their hands."

Colombia, riven by both corruption and conflict, is notoriously difficult, yet the migrants flow on. That night, after a day in a "stash house," Liset and Marta join a dozen others under the tarp of a truck loaded with potatoes. The photographer Poole rides up front with the driver and a coyote. "They swap migrant stories like camp counselors," she writes in her notes.

At a motel, the travelers are grouped by nationality. They take a bus to Medellín, wait days, then board an overnight bus toward Panama, tension rising as South America narrows toward the isthmus. They ride motorcycles to a boat, cross an inlet in a two-hour trip, switch to a horse and buggy and shower in a preschool before reaching a camp, where they meet Cubans who were on the jet from Havana.

They have run out of road. Panama begins at the Darién Gap, a dense jungle 30 miles wide and 100 miles long. They sleep in camps with guides and young men from Nepal and the Punjab, evidence it's not just Latin Americans trying to enter the U.S. from the south. (So far this fiscal year, 448 Armenians have presented themselves at crossings; the Border Patrol has caught 2,130 Chinese and 1,863 Russians.)

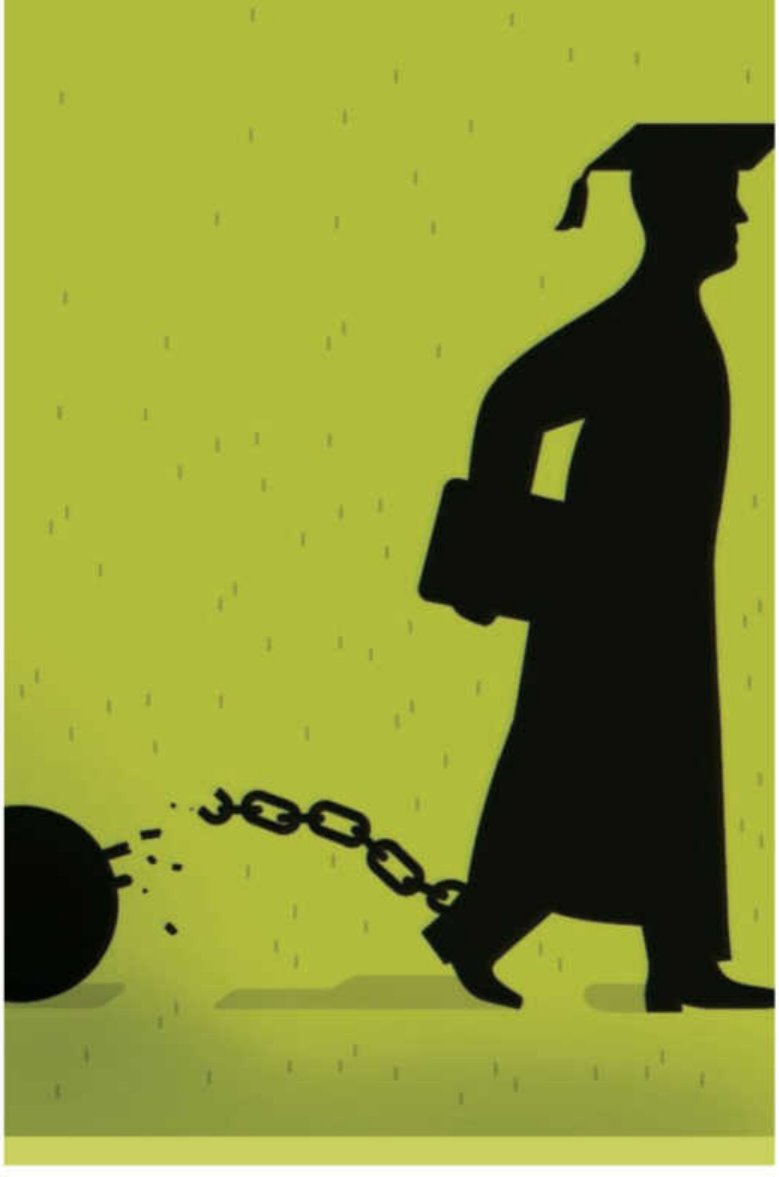
The trek is brutal, running over steep hills called Goodbye My City and Hill of Death. "I wanted the earth to swallow me," says Marta, who hurt her leg the first day. "I didn't think I was going to make it." They travel due west, crossing the same curving river again and again. The women are separated, and Poole moves with a group of 50 others. That night the rain washes away her things. Reunited, the three end up, on the sixth day, presenting themselves to Panamanian officials, who check their fingerprints against terrorism and criminal databases then allow everyone to move on.

The Central American leg feels even more chaotic. The coyote in Costa Rica has green hair and laughs as she blows past officers. Marta leaves the group after a quarrel about money. She'll make it to the U.S. herself, 12 days behind Liset and Poole—who enter Nicaragua on horseback, then hike another jungle trail marked by red ribbons on teak trees; people drink water from puddles and sleep standing up. They end up crowded in an SUV with only a narrow band cut in the window tinting, cross a river into Honduras on foot, then enter Guatemala the same way. Mexico is reached on a raft.

The next day, Liset takes a flight to Mexico City, then another to Matamoros, Texas, where she presents herself to the U.S. agents at the border. There she is given a permit. A day later, July 3, she lands at Chicago's O'Hare airport, the beginning of her American journey.

The boyfriend is late. ◻

After taking buses through Honduras and Guatemala, Liset flew from southern Mexico to Matamoros, near Brownsville, Texas. On July 2, she walks along the bridge over the Rio Grande to present herself to officials and seek asylum



EDUCATION

Who's picking up the education tab?

BY HALEY SWEETLAND EDWARDS

THE PROBLEM of skyrocketing college costs is, by at least some measures, even worse than we thought. The total amount of outstanding student debt has roughly tripled in the past decade, creeping toward $1.3 trillion, and 1 in 10 borrowers is now either delinquent in repayment or already in default.

While the biggest burden disproportionately falls on low-income students, especially those attending for-profit universities, college costs have become a problem that both Republican and Democratic politicians can no longer afford to ignore. Here are two relatively novel fixes to the problem.

1 THE DEMOCRATS' DEBT-FREE COLLEGE

The idea was born with Bernie Sanders' sweeping promise to make college free for everyone. While his plan was short on specifics for funding such a costly experiment, it was wildly popular among young voters. In July, Hillary Clinton, eager to win over Sanders' base, embraced most of it, with a few caveats.

Clinton's version of the plan, which she calls the New College Compact, would make tuition free at all public colleges and universities for more than 80% of American families—those with annual household incomes of $85,000 or less. By 2021, the program would apply to families earning up to $125,000 per year. At community colleges, tuition would be free for all students of all income brackets immediately. In addition to making tuition free for most Americans, Clinton promises to create a marketplace in which no student will have to go into debt to pay for necessary expenses like room and board and books—costs that can add up to half the total price of attending a public school. While students and their families would be expected to contribute to underwrite such costs, Clinton's plan would create incentives for colleges to keep expenses in check.

So far, her campaign has not provided many nitty-gritty details on how, exactly, all this would get paid for. Top aides have estimated that the program would cost roughly $500 billion over 10 years, which would be underwritten largely by new taxes on the very rich and new limits on tax deductions. Clinton originally criticized Sanders' tuition-free plan for relying on state governors to contribute one-third of the funding. But her plan would likely require similar state contributions, a heavy lift politically, especially in Republican-led states.

2 THE REPUBLICAN-BACKED INCOME-SHARING PLAN

The idea, championed by Florida Senator Marco Rubio, seems at first glance unusual: wealthy investors agree to pay for college students'

Private investors, and not taxpayers, would take on the risk of coming up short

educations in exchange for a set percentage of their future incomes—which is paid out for a certain number of years after graduation.

But if the idea of investing in human assets seems odd, advocates of the plan argue that it's no different, at least in theory, from what exists now. Under the Education Department's income-based repayment program, students borrow a certain amount from the federal government with the guarantee that they can cap their future loan payments at 10% of their discretionary income for 20 years, at which point the balance is forgiven.

That's basically how Rubio's income-sharing plan works, proponents say, only his version is better. Students who borrow from private-sector investors would not pay any interest at all. They would not be responsible for a fixed principal. They would, instead, simply agree to pay a percentage—say, 10%—of their future earnings each month, regardless of how much they made, for a fixed period of time. If a student landed a job that paid well, she would pay a larger sum each month—a boon for her investors. But if she wound up unemployed or in a poorly paid job, she would pay very little and investors could end up getting back less than they spent on her education. Regardless, the student would arrive at the end of her negotiated payment period scot-free, and private investors—not taxpayers—would take on the risk of coming up short.

While the plan has yet to get off the ground nationally, it has earned plaudits from state and local policymakers and prominent Republicans like New Jersey Governor Chris Christie. As of this school year, Purdue University, which is led by former Indiana governor Mitch Daniels, is offering one of the first comprehensive pilot programs to 400 rising juniors and seniors. ◻

ILLUSTRATION BY HARRY CAMPBELL FOR TIME; PATTERSON: ILLUSTRATION BY ALEX FINE FOR TIME

THE LITERACY OF LONG-FORM THINKING

BY JAMES PATTERSON

A man from ancient Rome said it was better to know nothing about a subject than to half-know it. I'm worried that this Republic of ours is set on proving his wisdom all over again. Only, we aren't even bothering to know 50% of what's going on. Seems to me we're mostly satisfied with understanding about 10% of something before we grow bored and turn to the next thing.

I say this based on what I know about the most important knowledge-building habit we have: reading. We're becoming a nation of functional illiterates scattered along the tracks, incapable of pursuing a train of thought for more than minutes at a time.

The annual survey on time use by the Bureau of Labor Statistics put some proof to something I think we all knew was coming our way. We have let our standards fall so far that this year's first-time voters are, on average, in the habit of reading for personal interest less than 10 minutes a day.

People age 75 and older read about an hour a day. The habit drops off through each 10-year bracket below that until you get to people ages 35 to 44 years old. They're reading 12 minutes on Saturdays and Sundays and less than 10 during the week. Younger than that, it only gets worse.

That's right—the majority of potential voters are reading less than 10 minutes a day. You scared by that? I am.

But I'm not surprised. As a country, we seem to be entirely losing the capacity for long-term thinking. I was asked to write about literacy here, and I'd argue that I am. Not the literacy of being able to sound out the words above a Facebook post. Not the literacy of knowing what LMAO means in a text message. Not even the level of literacy required to read the instructions on your College Boards.

Before I get a bunch of educators mad at me, I'm not saying that mechanical literacy should be taken for granted or that it is anything but fundamental. The decoding of words set on page (or screen) is perhaps the most difficult widespread codified behavior we have taken on in the modern era. And I count myself among those who believe it's been the most important. To my mind, reading teachers should get as much praise and respect as doctors, and more than most lawyers.

But an adult who absorbs words only through captions, tweets, posts, memes and—at best—smartphone-screen-size articles is not literate. Not in my book anyhow. I'd argue—and not just for the sake of my day job as a novelist—that if we're not in the habit of reading books or, at least, long-form articles that take us the better part of an hour in the course of an entire day, we are fundamentally damaging our society's fabric, and our future.

We are becoming a nation of distracted nincompoops who don't have the patience to bother finding out if lies are lies and—because we have lost the mental capacity to do otherwise—are forced to judge issues on the basis of style and delivery rather than substance and accuracy.

Are you upset about this election? Are you upset about the direction of this society? Then fix it. You're a reader. You know what reading does for your ability to think things through. Get out there and make this your No. 1 priority. Got a kid? Make her read 20 minutes a day. Got a neighbor who stares at his phone all day? Get him a good book. Volunteer at the library. Volunteer at a school. At the very least, subscribe to a newspaper or magazine that supports long-form journalism and stop reading stuff for free through your screen.

We need to reverse this situation, and quick—before the next class of less-than-10-minutes-a-dayers gets out to the polls.

I may be reading too much into the situation, but I sense we haven't seen anything yet.

Patterson is the author of more than 147 novels, which have sold a combined 300 million copies

ENVIRONMENT

Engineered food holds our future

BY HOPE JAHREN

Genetically modified plants in agricultural products are a safe and productive way to feed the world

ON THE OCCASIONAL clear-frost autumn night, my dog takes the opportunity to remind me that she is not a dog. Bewitched by sounds that I cannot hear and by smells that I cannot imagine, she plants her four feet stolidly apart and raises her head up toward the treetops. Through her slack jaw she emanates a long, low, warbling bellow that echoes across the empty wood. After the last note fades, she is herself again and comes tripping back to my side. I rub her head and continue hiking through the dark forest with my GMO wolf.

Yes, my best friend is a genetically modified organism; deliberate selection has produced the blunt-toothed, small-pawed wonder that walks by my side. Millennia passed as the most trusting puppy was selected from the litter born of a mother who herself had been the most trusting puppy, forever changing the original pattern of genes within the DNA. Now I live with a *Canis* species that sees food as a gift and can't hunt to save her life but has somehow retained the ability to howl.

Our world is changing rapidly. In my 47 years of life, global population has fully doubled, with 3.7 billion hungry mouths added to our planet. During this same time span, the amount of land suitable for agriculture has increased by only 5%. Miraculously, this did not result in the great global famine one

ABOVE: HENRIK SPOHLER; ILLUSTRATIONS BY ALEX FINE FOR TIME

might have predicted—and we have farmers, agriculturalists and genetic engineers to thank for that. Simply put, we produce many times more food per acre of land than we did in 1969, especially for staple grains. Rice yields per acre have doubled since then, and corn yields and wheat yields have more than doubled.

How do scientists modify a plant so that it makes more food than its parents did? We could treat each harvest like a litter of wolf pups and select only plants bearing the fattest, richest seeds for the next season. This was the method our ancestors used to engineer rice, corn and wheat from the wild grasses they encountered. During my childhood, advances in genetic technologies allowed scientists to identify and clone the mutant genes responsible for repressing stem growth, leading to shorter, stronger stalks that could bear more seed—the high-yield cultivars that feed us today. The 21st century has brought with it a marvelous new suite of high-tech tools with which to further accelerate the process of artificial selection. Plant geneticists can now directly edit out or edit in sections of DNA using molecular scissors. We can minimize a plant's weaknesses while adding to its strengths, and we don't have to wait for seasons to pass to test the result.

It is the transformative potential of these techniques to quickly supply the next-generation crops required for impending climate change that led me to add my name to the Cornell Alliance for Science's petition asserting the safety and efficacy of GMO plants in agricultural products, a stance supported by the American Society of Plant Biologists, the American Association for the Advancement of Science and the National Academies. It is these groups' consensus that early research claiming to link genetically modified foods to cancer (specifically tumor formation) was scientifically unsound, key examples of which have since been retracted. The ability of a few corporations to own and thus control the sale and use of GMO varieties remains troublesome. It could perhaps be alleviated by a policy of expiring patents on new cultivars, similar to the way a pharmaceutical company is allowed to recoup expenditures made in research and development for a limited time, until the drug becomes generically available.

Regardless of politics, our world will continue to change rapidly. The U.N. issued a report that projects the global population will reach 9.7 billion by 2050: yet another 2.4 billion hungry mouths to feed. And this time around, we will be tilling soils under rising temperatures, increased drought and shifting populations of pests. The crop cultivars that we plant today are not equal to the task of feeding the new world that we are creating. We need more GMO research.

I love the quiet forest that stands between my lab and my home. But I know that as a scientist, I am responsible first to humanity. We must feed, shelter and nurture one another as our first priority, and to do so, we must avail ourselves of our best technologies, which have always included some type of genetic modification. We must continue as in millennia past, nourishing the future as we feed ourselves, and each year plant only the very best of what we have collectively engineered. I keep the faith of my ancestors each night when I walk through the forest to my lab, and my GMO wolf does the same when she guards my way home.

Jahren is a scientist and the author of Lab Girl, *a memoir*

CLIMATE CHANGE AFFECTS EVERY ISSUE VOTERS FACE

BY ROBERT REDFORD

The environment rarely polls high as a concern for the American electorate. It's usually topped by health care, the economy, national security—all of which are valid concerns.

But the largest environmental issue—climate change—is altering our voting landscape.

There may be no other voting issue that touches so many voters. Are you a health care voter? The mosquitoes that carry malaria, dengue and Zika thrive in a warmer world. Climate change is heating our atmosphere. National-security voter? The American military and security establishment is already studying models of how climate change will exacerbate resource conflicts around the world. Religious-values voter? The worst effects of climate change will be felt by the poor, the dispossessed, those who most need our charity. An economy voter? Clean energy and the technologies that make it possible are the growth industries of the future.

Or maybe you don't vote on specific issues. Maybe you vote thinking mostly about your kids: you want to make sure they can grow up in a world that at least resembles the one we grew up in. Then the single most powerful vote you can log in 2016 in any election is for a leader who is adamantly and authentically determined to combat human-made climate change.

Some of the most important changes are happening not at the national level but in state and local government. Our job as citizens is to support the leaders at each of those levels who are making climate change a central part of their platform.

Hillary Clinton has promised to continue the good work President Obama has done on climate, including supporting U.S. participation in the Paris climate agreement. Donald Trump has given every indication that he'll stop and even reverse any progress we've made. We should weigh their words and actions soberly.

Because it's not about protecting the climate. It's about protecting life. Yours. Mine. Our kids'. Their kids'.

Redford is an actor, a director and a trustee of the Natural Resources Defense Council

SUPREME COURT

The dangers of an empty seat

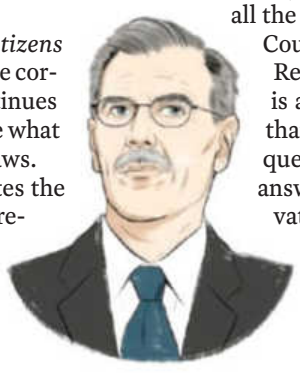
BY DONALD VERRILLI

FOR MONTHS, Republican Senators have obstinately refused to consider Chief Judge Merrick Garland's nomination to the Supreme Court. Senator Mitch McConnell set this strategy in motion mere hours after Justice Antonin Scalia's death, when he issued a statement declaring that he would not allow the vacancy to be filled during the remainder of President Obama's term. This unprecedented obstructionism has ensured that the future of the Supreme Court is at stake on Nov. 8.

As vividly confirmed by the series of tie votes on important issues during the court's latest term (including the Administration's policy of providing immigration-law relief to alien parents of U.S. citizens), the eight Justices now sitting on the court are locked in a state of jurisprudential and ideological equipoise. So the person who fills Scalia's seat will likely cast a decisive vote on many issues that matter most to the American people, such as:

› Whether the court steps back from *Citizens United* and allows the government to limit the corrosive influence of money in politics, or continues to invoke the First Amendment to dismantle what remains of the nation's campaign-finance laws.

› Whether the court gives cities and states the latitude to regulate possession and use of firearms to reduce the risk of tragedies like the school shooting in Newtown, Conn., or instead extends its 2008 decision (in *Heller*) recognizing a Second Amendment right to bear arms that would wipe away many gun regulations.



› How the court evaluates a wide range of laws affecting women's rights and health, including state legislation that undermines a woman's right to reproductive freedom, federal regulations aimed at ensuring equal access to contraception and measures that provide for fair pay and protect against workplace discrimination.

As vital as those individual questions are to our nation's future, however, something even more profound is on the line in this election: the public's faith in the Supreme Court as an institution of law and not politics. Let's not mince words. Senate Republicans have refused to even give Garland a hearing—let alone an up-or-down vote—because they know they cannot justify actually voting against him. He is deeply distinguished and superbly qualified based on all the criteria traditionally used to assess Supreme Court nominees, as Senator Orrin Hatch and other Republican Senators have acknowledged. This is all about counting to five votes on the issues that matter most to Republicans. They want the questions that will come before the court to be answered in a manner that advances their conservative ideology and interests, and they believe Donald Trump will nominate a person more likely to do so. So they've shredded what was left of the norms that had traditionally governed the Supreme Court confirmation

ILLUSTRATION BY HARRY CAMPBELL FOR TIME; VERRILLI: GOLDSMITH: ILLUSTRATIONS BY ALEX FINE FOR TIME

process. If they pull this off, it's hard to see how we get back to any semblance of a process that focuses on a nominee's integrity, intellect and temperament. Whatever they may say in the future, their actions are irrefutable proof that for them the bottom line is all that matters.

Worse than that, it is hard to see how we could preserve broad public confidence in the independent judiciary that the framers of our Constitution understood was vital to the legitimacy of our form of government. For tens of millions of Americans, *Bush v. Gore* was a body blow to their faith in the Supreme Court as an institution devoted to the rule of law and not to politics. But the court is a resilient institution, and its reputation has largely bounced back over the ensuing 16 years—which is due in no small measure to the wise stewardship of Chief Justice John Roberts. All of that is out the window if the Senate Republicans prevail in their partisan power play to hand Trump the ability to name Scalia's successor. The court will inevitably be dragged down into the hyperpartisan muck that it has so far managed to stay above.

If the Senate Republicans' obstructionism succeeds, they will have their court. But that's what it will be: their court, not the nation's. Let's hope it doesn't come to that.

Verrilli was U.S. solicitor general from 2011 to 2016

BEWARE THE TEMPTATIONS OF EVER-EXPANDING EXECUTIVE POWERS

BY JACK GOLDSMITH

The arc of a presidency is hard to predict. In December 2000, historian Michael Beschloss proclaimed that the election of George W. Bush "marks the end of what the great historian Arthur Schlesinger Jr. once called the 'imperial presidency.'" Then came the 9/11 attacks, and Bush's transformation from a modest executive as Texas governor with no foreign policy experience into a prerogative-wielding war President. Barack Obama promised retrenchment but expanded presidential war and administrative powers. Bush and Obama were not the first Presidents to defy expectations and become aggressive presidentialists once in office. Jefferson, Lincoln, Eisenhower and Nixon, among others, did the same.

With Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump, by contrast, we expect robust presidentialism. These wolves come as wolves, as Justice Antonin Scalia once said—though as different subspecies.

Trump has promised to tear up international agreements on trade and security, to commit torture and other war crimes, to discriminate on the basis of race and national identity and to suppress the press. But it will be hard for him to carry out these and other pledges to violate settled law without the cooperation of other institutions—beginning with his own Executive Branch.

Even if Trump floods the upper echelons of the Justice, Defense and State departments with lackeys—something he cannot do without Senate consent—they cannot easily execute lawbreaking presidential commands in the face of recalcitrant bureaucrats and internal watchdogs. Congress seems feckless now. But if Trump proposes illegal initiatives opposed by both parties, it can fight back with its control over the purse and appointments. And the independent judiciary, with the support of a vibrant press and civil society, has proved that it can stand up to a lawless President.

Trump could still do enormous damage through initiatives that are ill conceived as opposed to lawless, and thus that might not spark latent presidential checks to the same degree. He could use the presidency's vast prosecutorial discretion for political ends. He can change the arc of American foreign policy through unilateral action. And his temperamental and ill-informed statements can destroy the confidence on which markets and international cooperation depend.

And yet we should not overlook the dangers of the more likely Clinton presidency. In the face of proliferating global threats, she promises to be a hawkish, unilateral Commander in Chief. The dovish wings of the Democratic and Republican parties may rise up to check these tendencies. But in the past, congressional pushback has been least efficacious in war, and courts have traditionally stayed out of the matter.

Clinton's domestic regulatory initiatives also raise concerns. In areas ranging from immigration to health care to the environment, Obama has shown how a President acting alone can change domestic law through selective law enforcement, aggressive administrative regulations and imaginative rearrangement of spending authorities. Clinton has pledged to use these tactics even more aggressively.

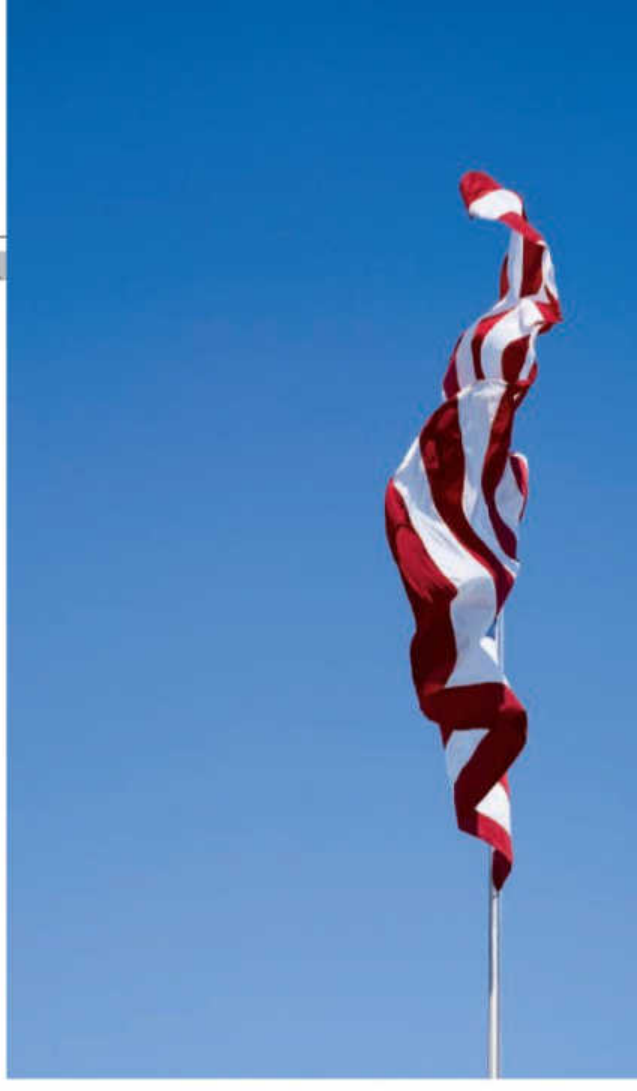
Whether one approves of Clinton's domestic regulations, and indeed whether one sees them as lawful, will often depend on whether one approves of their leftward tilt. As the political parties' head-snapping reversals in attitudes toward presidential power during the past two presidencies show, outcomes matter more than constitutional principle in politics.

But no matter what outcomes one prefers, constitutional principle may be at stake in a Clinton victory. Such a victory will also bring Supreme Court control by Democratic appointees for the first time in almost half a century. Clinton will also enjoy the support of a generally progressive bureaucracy, and perhaps the Congress.

If the danger with Trump is that the governmental institutions that oppose him won't be robust enough to check him, the danger with Clinton is the opposite: that too few governmental bureaus will be motivated to oppose her initiatives. This may be happy news for Democrats in the short term. But an unchecked presidency is one that tends toward excess, error and abuse.

Goldsmith is a Harvard Law School professor and a senior fellow at the Hoover Institution; he was an Assistant Attorney General in the George W. Bush Administration

NATIONAL IDENTITY



The fight for the meaning of America

BY DAVID VON DREHLE

THE IDEA OF NATIONALISM is at least as old as Genesis, where the sons of Noah divide the earth between them after the flood. But as the presidential campaign has made clear, Americans have not quite settled on what it is that defines us as a nation.

Are we defined by openness, a belonging, at least potentially, to people everywhere? Hillary Clinton has advanced that idea throughout the campaign. "We don't hide from change. We harness it," she declared in her campaign launch speech. Her vision was of an "inclusive society," she continued: "What I once called 'a village' that has a place for everyone."

Or are we defined, as most nations have been throughout history, by geography and a common culture? Does our nationhood depend on what we keep out as well as what we include? Donald Trump has answered Clinton's calls for togetherness by demanding sharper divisions, between domestic and foreign, undocumented and citizens, Muslim and non-Muslim. "If you don't have borders, you don't have a country," he often says.

Trump's rhetoric of great walls, trade wars and crackdowns on outsiders make him a textbook nationalist in a year when nationalism is surging around the world. From Putin's Russia to the France of Marine Le Pen, from anti-immigrant marches in Germany to the U.K.'s Brexit surprise, from defiant Turkey to nostalgic Japan, influential leaders are stoking powerful movements of us-against-them.

Perhaps this is an inevitable reaction to the boundary-blurring power of globalism. Rapid transportation and wireless communication allow nearly effortless spread of people and ideas. Multitudes of refugees cross continents and oceans. Murders dreamed up in war-torn Africa or Asia come true in faraway Paris or San Bernardino.

Even so, the American brand of nationalism has perplexed scholars from the nation's beginnings. Old World nations hold fast to ethnic, racial or cultural identity—a particular people tied to a particular place. America, by contrast, has long perceived itself as a voluntary association of many races and ethnicities and cultures.

The U.S. has no official church and no official language. Only half of the residents of America's largest city speak English exclusively at home, according to the Census Bureau. Americans come in every conceivable genetic mash-up. They

JOHN MACLEAN—GALLERY STOCK; ILLUSTRATION BY ALEX FINE FOR TIME

don't even need to have American parents. Trump, for example, is the son of a woman raised on a windswept Scottish island. Though "her loyalty to Scotland was incredible," as he recalled earlier this year, Mary MacLeod Trump nonetheless achieved American citizenship in 1942 and bred an American original.

Princeton sociology professor Paul DiMaggio has written that the American self-image comes very close to denying the very existence of "such a thing as 'American nationalism' " at all. Ancient Greeks developed cosmopolitan philosophy, which holds that all people are members of a single human society, regardless of their tribe or nation. A strong dose of this notion shapes Clinton's thinking: real Americans are precisely those people who recoil from the idea of "real Americans."

How far can this notion go before it crumbles under its own weight, though? Critics of the cosmopolitan ideal fear that it leads inexorably to the loss of national identity. And American nationhood is no small birthright in today's world, as World Bank economist Branko Milanovic has shown.

Examining the link between nationality and prosperity in the age of globalism, Milanovic has concluded that a human being's place and culture have become the dominant factor in determining standard of living. Internal class differences within nations matter less than differences in wealth between nations. "The poorest Americans are relatively well-off by world standards," Milanovic has noted. Americans "are lucky to have been born in a country that is rich."

Many Trump supporters embrace the idea that a specifically American culture is the root of the nation's good fortune. Fundamentally capitalist, self-reliant, English-speaking and descended from Protestant Europe, this culture welcomes newcomers—but only if they adopt cultural values and existing norms.

At a Trump rally in North Carolina not long ago, Jim and Sylvia Auten gave voice to this version of nationalism. "It's hard for me to figure out what our culture is anymore," said Jim, an octogenarian from Wilmington. "Immigrants and refugees, they come here and they don't want to assimilate, they just want the benefits."

Cosmopolitan vs. cultural, open vs. closed: in times of turmoil, the conflict tends to sharpen, observes Harvard sociologist Bart Bonikowski. Debates "about legitimate membership in the American nation" intensify when the country is "perceived to be threatened."

This election has brought the tension to a head and let slip the dogs of a new culture war. Where once we fought over abortion and school prayer, this year the fight is over the very meaning of America. □

In times of turmoil, the conflict tends to sharpen: cosmopolitan vs. cultural, open vs. closed

AMERICAN EXCEPTIONALISM

BY HILLARY CLINTON

There's always been something special about the United States of America. President Abraham Lincoln called us the "last, best hope of earth." President Ronald Reagan said we are a "shining city on a hill." And Robert Kennedy called us a great, unselfish, compassionate country.

I couldn't agree more.

If there's one core belief that has guided and inspired me every step of my career in public service, it's this: the U.S. is an exceptional nation. And when you add up all our advantages, it's clear we're indispensable too—a nation all others look to for leadership.

America is indispensable in part because we have the greatest military in history, with the best troops, training and technology. And it's essential we do everything we can to support our men and women in uniform, and our veterans.

America is also indispensable because of our network of alliances, built up with decades of diplomacy. Russia and China can't begin to compare. Our allies amplify our power, aid our defense and stand with us in good times and bad, like when NATO declared 9/11 to be an attack against all its members. Walking away from our alliances now would be a dangerous mistake.

America is indispensable because we have the largest, most dynamic economy in the world. Our workers can outinnovate and outcompete anyone in the world. And our entrepreneurs start exciting new businesses every day.

Most of all, America is indispensable—and exceptional—because of our values. As Secretary of State, I was proud to represent our country's commitment to freedom, equality and opportunity. The world looks to us to stand up for human rights, LGBT rights, religious and ethnic minorities, women, people with disabilities and people everywhere who yearn for peace. We challenge ourselves and other nations to do better. It's why so many people from around the world want to become Americans too.

But with all of these advantages comes responsibility—we need to continue leading the world. Because when America fails to lead, we leave a vacuum that lets extremism take root, emboldens our adversaries and discourages our friends.

Of course, this doesn't mean that people from other places don't also feel deep national pride—and other countries also have a responsibility to step up and help solve global problems. But America has an unparalleled ability to be a force for peace, progress and prosperity around the world. And when we do, we make our own country safer and stronger.

So let's never stop doing good and being great. Let's keep America exceptional.

Clinton is a former Secretary of State and the Democratic Party nominee for President

If you own Chinese-made laminate flooring sold by Floor & Decor between January 1, 2012 and August 1, 2015, you may qualify to receive benefits from a class action settlement

You may be part of a Class Action Settlement in which up to $14 Million has been proposed to resolve a lawsuit against Floor & Decor Outlets of America, Inc. ("FD"). The lawsuit claims that FD mislabeled Chinese-made laminate flooring, sold between January 1, 2012 and August 1, 2015, as complying with California regulations limiting formaldehyde emissions. FD denies those allegations and stands by the safety of its products.

What Does The Settlement Provide?

If the flooring product you purchased came from one of three Chinese manufacturers, you may be entitled at your option, to either $1.50 in cash or $3.00 in store credit for each square foot of flooring you own. If your product is not from one of these manufacturers, you may submit a sample for testing free of charge. If formaldehyde emissions from the sample exceed 0.084 parts per million, you may receive the benefits described above. You can determine whether you qualify for the benefits without testing by visiting www.FDSettlement.com or by submitting a Claim Form.

How To Obtain Benefits

To participate, you must submit a valid claim form available at www.FDSettlement.com, by calling 1-888-339-3891, or by writing to: Smith v. FD, c/o GCG, PO Box 10309, Dublin, OH 43017-5909. Claim forms can be submitted electronically on the website or by first-class mail. Instructions for submitting test samples, if needed, will be provided once you submit your claim.

To exclude yourself, you must write to the above address by **November 21, 2016**. To object, you must file an objection with the Court by **November 21, 2016**. For complete instructions on how to exclude yourself or object, visit www.FDSettlement.com.

If you do nothing, you will get no benefits and won't be able to sue FD in the future.

Who Represents Me?

The Court has appointed counsel to represent you. If you want your own lawyer, you may hire one at your expense.

When Will The Court Decide?

The Court will hold a hearing on January 10, 2017 at 10:00 a.m. to consider whether to approve the settlement, award fees and costs to class counsel of $4,666,666.67, and pay service awards. You may appear at the hearing, but don't have to.

How Do I Get More Information?

You can get more details at www.FDSettlement.com, by calling 1-888-339-3891, or by writing to Smith v. FD, c/o GCG, P.O. Box 10309, Dublin, OH 43017-5909

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Time Off

'MIRANDA SINGS IS A GEN Z PEE-WEE HERMAN, AND THE INTERNET IS HER PLAYHOUSE.' —PAGE 92

Mindy and Mike Murray, a.k.a. Tammy and Ollie, two of the devoted mascots in Christopher Guest's new film

NETFLIX

MOVIES

Under the giant heads of *Mascots* live absurd humans just like us

By Eliza Berman

WHEN PARKER POSEY GOT A CALL from Christopher Guest offering her a part in his next movie, she already knew the drill. Having appeared in all four of the faux-documentaries Guest had written and directed since 1997, she knew he'd give her the basic character sketch—in this case, Cindi Babineaux, a mascot for a Mississippi women's college basketball team who's aging out of her tenure as Alvin the Armadillo—and it would be her job to fill in the details. "The nine-banded armadillo is limited," she says, recalling her attempts to crack the character. "They're mainly roadkill." She pauses. "That's an interesting angle."

Finding the interesting angle on idiosyncratic subcultures and the Cindi Babineauxs that comprise them has driven Guest's work over the past two decades. Movies like *Best in Show,* about competitive dog breeders and trainers, and *A Mighty Wind,* about a folk-music reunion concert, have won the onetime *Saturday Night Live* cast member legions of devoted fans. His particular brand of comedy, which originated with the cult classic *This Is Spinal Tap* in 1984, directed by Rob Reiner and co-written by Reiner, Guest, Harry Shearer and Michael McKean, applies the conventions of self-serious documentary filmmaking to unexpected, if not undeserving, fictional subjects. In *Mascots,* Guest's first film in a decade, premiering on Netflix on Oct. 13, he and co-writer Jim Piddock turn their gaze—with the help of a flock of returning cast members, including Posey, Jane Lynch, Fred Willard and Ed Begley Jr.—toward the

men and women who dance in poorly ventilated animal suits to bring smiles to the faces of amateur sports fans.

When Cindi arrives at the World Mascot Association's Golden Fluffy Awards in Anaheim, she faces stiff competition from the likes of Tommy "The Fist" (Chris O'Dowd), a belligerent hockey mascot and the self-proclaimed "bad boy of sports mascotery"; Phil Mayhew, a.k.a. Jack the Plumber (Christopher Moynihan), a real estate appraiser who deems his day job his "pretend life"; and Owen Golly Jr., a.k.a. Sid the Hedgehog (Tom Bennett), a third-generation mascot and butcher who cheers a soccer team formed by a British pudding factory.

In a way, the stakes are higher for the mascots than they were for dog handlers or has-been folkies. Their complete anonymity—in both face and name—makes the chance for recognition by their peers all the more meaningful, as proven most poignantly by Jack the Plumber, who hypes a football team whose members don't know him from Adam. Yet his routine—which involves chasing errant, breakdancing feces around the stage—is met with rapturous applause from the mascot community.

The mascots refer to their passion as a craft. They look to forebears so dedicated to their plush alter egos that they chose to be buried inside of them. Judges wear white gloves to handle the trophies, lest they leave a thumbprint, and the master of ceremonies buzzes with nervous excitement at the possibility that the Gluten Free Channel—which airs in "over two cities nationwide"—might televise future competitions.

IT'S ALL EXTREMELY serious business for these characters, and much of the humor derives from the often humorless, single-minded fervor with which they devote themselves to their passion. But despite the zaniness of the end result, it's serious business for the actors who portray them too.

Posey's attitude toward Cindi mirrored her approach to her uptight Weimaraner owner in *Best in Show,* who has a hilarious conniption when her dog's favorite toy goes missing. But Posey didn't play that scene for laughs. "Meg asks for a toy that they don't have at the pet store, and it's serious. It's people caring. There's a lot of heart. It kind of starts at that," she says. Adds Lynch, who reunites with Guest for a fourth time in *Mascots*—this time as competition judge Gabby Monkhouse, whose mascoting career as a moose was cut short by a split-induced injury: "It's wonderful that it ends up being so funny, but it comes from a real place of being grounded in these characters."

It's also surprisingly serious on set, where, Lynch observes, "Wacky things don't happen." Guest's movies are meticulously plotted, but they're unscripted. The dialogue is improvised in protracted takes, from which Guest conjures comedic magic in the editing room. The word *improv* may imply off-the-cuff ideation, but preparation is key. "By the time you get to set, it has to be a fully baked characterization, so you can play," says Lynch. "You can't play if you're not sure who your character is."

Although *Mascots* and its predecessors are largely apolitical, it's hard to talk about sports symbolism without mentioning the conversation about offensive characters that continue to represent some teams. In one scene, Cindi is nearly disqualified because of a rule forbidding competitors whose teams are associated with anything offensive based on race, creed, gender or sexual orientation, and Alvin the Armadillo's predecessor, per an anonymous complainant, was the Leaping Squaw. The judges' deliberation skewers discussions about real-life controversial mascots, with most of the all-white panel not seeing what's so bad about the word *squaw,* anyway. ("Frankly," says Gabby, "I'm more offended by the word *leaping.*")

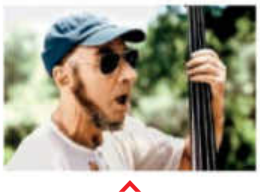
Guest's films are commonly referred to as mockumentaries, but the filmmaker has distanced himself from the term because his intent is not to mock. "It's not a mean laughter," says Lynch. "It comes from deep inside our own fears of the ordinary. We laugh watching these people because ultimately, they're really just ordinary people who wish they were extraordinary, and they're not. We're laughing at ourselves even if we don't know it." ◻

GUEST'S WORLD

***THIS IS SPINAL TAP* (1984)**
A raucous British rock band births the catchphrase "This one goes to 11"

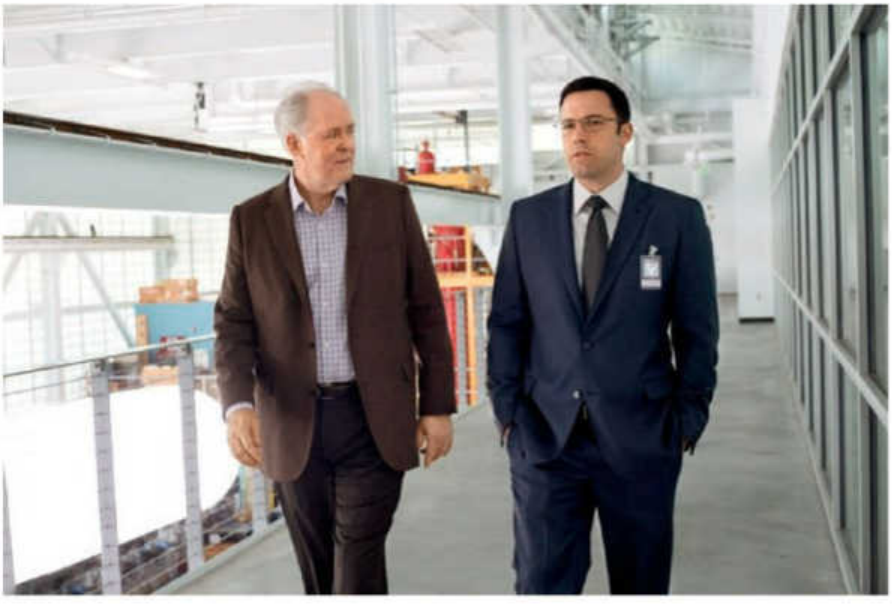
***BEST IN SHOW* (2000)**
A group of obsessive canine owners compete for the blue ribbon at a Westminster-like dog show

***WAITING FOR GUFFMAN* (1997)**
Community-theater actors in small-town Missouri fall under the delusion that they have a shot at Broadway



***A MIGHTY WIND* (2003)**
A fictional crew of obsolete folkies perform hits like the Oscar-nominated "A Kiss at the End of the Rainbow"

EVERETT (4); MASCOTS: NETFLIX; THE ACCOUNTANT: WARNER BROS.



Lithgow and Affleck do their best to make talking about numbers look interesting

MOVIES

The Accountant pays small dividends on its star

By Stephanie Zacharek

IF *THE ACCOUNTANT* HAD BEEN MADE in the 1970s, preferably by Roger Corman, the studio marketing department wouldn't have had to think twice about the tagline—"He'll whip your assets!"—and the movie would be a lot more fun too. As it is, the premise of *The Accountant* is so preposterous that it *almost* qualifies as fun: Ben Affleck plays Christian Wolff, a socially awkward math savant who runs a small-town strip-mall accounting business by day but retreats, in his spare time, to a vintage Airstream trailer kitted out with state-of-the-art weapons, drawers full of cash in every currency and a museum-worthy artwork or two. (There's a Jackson Pollock mounted on the ceiling above his bed, so he can gaze upon it while thinking his orderly accountant's thoughts.)

Christian's day job sure looks boring, but his real line of work is cooking the books for big-time criminal outfits, which means he needs to be able to disappear at a moment's notice—hence the hipster bachelor-pad trailer—and, every once in a while, kill somebody. Luckily, he's also an ace marksman and a fearsome martial-arts practitioner, but only as the result of bad parenting. As a kid, Christian had a chance to attend a progressive neurological institute for children with special issues, like autism. But the tough, terrible love doled out by his thuggish, career-soldier dad—"If loud noises and bright lights bother him, he needs more, not less"—set this loner genius on the path toward crunching numbers for the wrong side of the law. It also helped him hone the skills necessary to break heads.

The setup offers all kinds of dazzling possibilities, but director Gavin O'Connor *(Warrior, Jane Got a Gun)* and writer Bill Dubuque *(The Judge)* mostly go for the organized-sock-drawer kind. Anna Kendrick appears as the love interest masquerading as an allegedly interesting character with a job—she plays Dana, an accounting clerk who discovers a glitch in the books of her employer, a robotics company run by a shifty-looking John Lithgow. Christian is brought in to locate the source of the discrepancy. Meanwhile, a Treasury Department agent on the verge of retirement (J.K. Simmons) lurches toward that one last big case, and Christian just might lead him to it.

> 'I gave the script to my mom … because she's an accountant.'
>
> **ANNA KENDRICK**, explaining in a Twitter Q&A how she prepared for her role in *The Accountant*

But the story's wowza surprise revelations—most of them tied up haphazardly near the end, in the now obligatory expositional wrap-up—hit with about as much zip as an annotated spreadsheet. That's a shame: *The Accountant* would be more entertaining if it just acknowledged its own nerdy outlandishness. Still, it's something to watch Affleck play a man who has trouble expressing his feelings and struggles to read those of others. In addition to that Airstream, Christian has a featureless apartment, where we see him retreat to cook and then consume a humble dinner of exactly three fried eggs, three pancakes and three strips of bacon. It's ritualistic details like these—and not watching Christian leap and run and prove his prowess with automatic weapons—that make *The Accountant* watchable. How do you show what a man is feeling when he has a face unaccustomed to showing feelings? Affleck somehow pulls it off, mostly with nothing more extravagant than a stray glance or a shadowy muscle twitch.

Konstantin Stanislavsky counseled that actors should play objectives rather than outright feelings, anyway. What, then, does Christian want? In the movie's finest moment—it's Affleck's finest moment too—he listens as Kendrick's Dana explains how she really wanted to be an artist, but her father urged her toward a more practical career. She belittles her dad's views of art, explaining that his taste runs mostly to poker-playing dogs. Christian, unable to flirt, instead plays the contrarian. He likes paintings of poker-playing dogs, he says, "because dogs would never bet on things. It's incongruous." And he winks at her without winking. Compared with that, busting heads is just kid stuff. ☐

MOVIES

Hart of a lion: making an entire city laugh at once

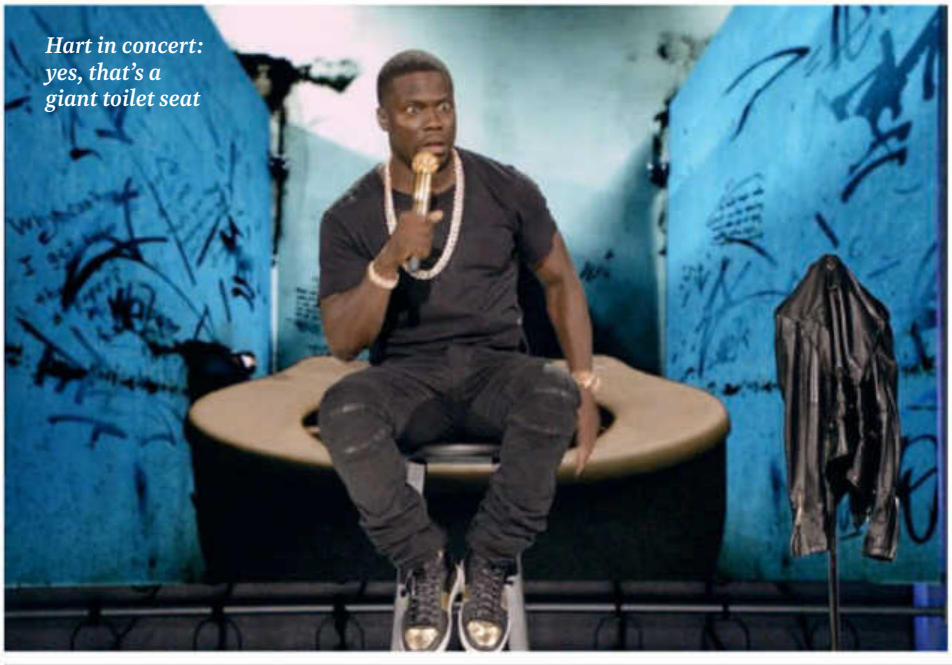
IT TAKES A LIONHEARTED CONSTITUTION to do live comedy in an arena, a joint where it's nearly impossible to read individual faces and where the sound of an audience's laughter—or, worse, its silence—must register as an overwhelming blur. Kevin Hart has a lion's heart. His rambunctious live concert movie *Kevin Hart: What Now?* wasn't filmed at an arena but in a *stadium*—Philadelphia's Lincoln Financial Field—before an audience of some 53,000 people. That's like making the entire population of Hoboken, N.J., or Pensacola, Fla., laugh at once.

> 'Doors that people were saying were closed, I now have a platform where I can open some ... I'm slow-walking this to reality.'
>
> **KEVIN HART**, in *Entertainment Weekly*

Sometimes raw but mostly just raucous, Hart generally pulls it off in his third concert film, riffing on everything from his fear of the wildlife surrounding his suburban Los Angeles home—including a particularly ballsy raccoon—to his father's assumption that the helpful presence living inside his smartphone is named Cyrus and not Siri. Hart isn't exactly a master of modulation: his delivery starts out at 10 on the intensity meter and pretty much stays there. His shtick can be wearying if you're not pumped for it. And the movie's framing device, presenting Hart as a half-suave, half-clownish James Bond–style hero, is wobbly and strained. *Kevin Hart: What Now?* kicks into gear only after Hart has leaped onto that stage, decked out in a black leather jacket with golden zippers, as if they'd been brushed with a kind of comedy-rock-star superpower Midas touch.

Hart spins through stories about what happens when you send your kids to private school (while you're reminiscing with friends about how tough life was in the hood, they're moaning about wi-fi outages) and how terrible it would be to have your kneecaps bitten off by a wild animal (making bowling, in particular, rather awkward).

Hart was born and raised in Philadelphia, so a homecoming party to which 50,000 neighbors bought tickets must be especially sweet. He seems humbled, even a little overwhelmed, by their presence and by their laughter. He may be playing to a stadium packed with people, but he hears them playing to him too. —S.Z.



Hart in concert: yes, that's a giant toilet seat

Williams' character seeks a nest

MOVIES

Certain Women burns slow but true

KELLY REICHARDT'S FILMS *(Meek's Cutoff, Wendy and Lucy)* can seem like delicate creatures while you're watching them. Their true sturdiness and depth emerge only after you've allowed time for the details to sink in.

Reichardt's latest, *Certain Women,* connects the daily lives—and the workaday loneliness—of four women in rural Montana: a lawyer (Laura Dern) representing an injured construction worker (Jared Harris) who has already settled his case but can't let it go; an alienated mother (Reichardt regular Michelle Williams) whose husband (James Le Gros) is building her a dream house, even though he barely understands who she really is; and a shy ranch worker (Lily Gladstone) drawn to the distracted law-school grad (Kristen Stewart) who tools into her town twice a week to teach a night class. *Certain Women* burns slow, but it leaves behind a mysterious, shimmering aura. You feel you know these women—even if their feelings are at times elusive even to themselves. —S.Z.

QUICK TALK

Rebecca Hall

The British-born actor, 34, gives an award-worthy performance in Christine *(Oct. 14), director Antonio Campos' harrowing reimagining of the final days of Florida TV news anchor Christine Chubbuck, who shot herself during a live broadcast in 1974.*

What was your first reaction upon encountering this material? People fall into two camps: Either you hear about the story of Christine and you go, "That's a frightening, horrible thing—she must have been a monster." Or you're curious and vaguely sympathetic.

You must have fallen into the second camp. I thought, Wait a minute. It's about mental-health issues, but there's something brutally relatable here, because you're looking at a woman who is a misfit, and weird. Often that's portrayed as cool and hip, but it's so rare, especially for a woman, for that to be portrayed as agony—the pain of thinking that you don't fit in.

Was it challenging to step into the shoes of such a tortured character? As a lady, you don't get to do those roles so often. People are so frightened of an unlikable woman onscreen. It was impossible to get funding for this movie—we ended up making it on a shoestring in 22 days. In many ways, I probably couldn't have handled more than that.

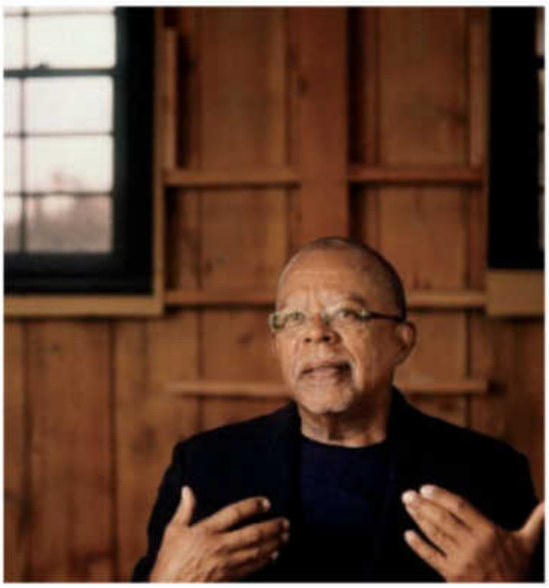
Even though the film is very dark, is there something ultimately redeeming about it? Everyone has a day where they're like, I'm not doing well at being me. Everyone knows what it's like to be depressed. Sometimes you really fail at being normal. At its heart, there's a positive message—that people are more accepting of us on our darkest days than we sometimes think.

Are you pleased with the reception of the film? I don't think you get a [role like] Christine more than three times in your career if you are extraordinarily lucky, extraordinarily successful and probably a man. I really want people to see it. I've even joined Instagram, for God's sake! —SAM LANSKY

ON MY RADAR

MOONLIGHT

"I just saw Moonlight, which broke my heart. I loved it so much. What a brilliant filmmaker [director Barry Jenkins] is. It's amazing."



Gates and others describe the new Jim Crow

MOVIES

13th: an amendment with an identity crisis

EVEN IF YOU THINK YOU KNOW EVERYTHING about the 13th Amendment, which abolished slavery—or about the criminal-justice system—there will be something in Ava DuVernay's succinct, passionate documentary *13th* to make your jaw drop. Although the amendment guarantees freedom for all citizens "except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted," its meaning has been willfully distorted: mass incarceration, unreasonable drug laws and police brutality have become Jim Crow–like means to control the lives of people of color. The chances that a white man will go to prison at some point in his life are 1 in 17. For black men, that statistic is 1 in 3, according to the film. DuVernay has assembled a persuasive group of experts—including Angela Davis and Henry Louis Gates Jr.—to expand on, and illuminate, the distressing facts. *13th*—currently available on Netflix—is dense with information, and it moves fast. But it's also a story told in images, and the ones DuVernay has chosen ring not just with sadness and horror but also cautious optimism. If it's wrenching to see the face of Emmett Till in his casket, swollen and defiled, there's joy in the photographs that accompany the closing credits, images of black family life in America from the late 19th century to today, as it ought to be and sometimes has been. *This* could be the future of America, if we treat it not as an elusive dream but as an achievable reality. —S.Z.

HART: UNIVERSAL; CERTAIN WOMEN: IFC; HALL: GETTY IMAGES; 13TH: NETFLIX

Lacie (Bryce Dallas Howard) is obsessed with likes in an episode of Black Mirror

TELEVISION

Sci-fi evolves into disturbing reality in *Black Mirror* and *Westworld*

By Eliana Dockterman

LACIE TAKES A CAREFUL BITE OF A COOKIE AND SPITS IT into her hand, then places the rest of it on the saucer next to her cup of coffee. She snaps a picture to post on social media, captioning it HEAVEN. She giggles as the likes rack up.

It's a familiar scene to anyone who's dined in a restaurant where patrons spend as much time documenting their food as they do eating it. But Lacie (Bryce Dallas Howard) is the subject of an episode of *Black Mirror,* a *Twilight Zone* for the digital age that Netflix premieres on Oct. 21, having added six installments to the original seven that aired in Britain. Each tells a self-contained story. In "Nosedive," Lacie lives in a world where every picture, post and real-life interaction is ranked by online friends. The higher your ranking, the more perks you accrue: nicer cars, better apartments. But drop too low and you can't enter your workplace, let alone a country club.

"I don't think of it as the near future—I think of it as a parallel present," says Michael Schur, who wrote "Nosedive" with Rashida Jones based on a concept by *Black Mirror* creator Charlie Brooker. "We're basically already there. People are deriving a sense of value and meaning from social media."

While *2001: A Space Odyssey* and *Blade Runner* rendered worlds that appeared distant, *Black Mirror*—alongside the new HBO series *Westworld* (airing Sundays)—asserts that we are nearing dystopia. *Westworld* takes place in a Wild West theme park where visitors can shoot and seduce lifelike robots. The park's mastermind (Anthony Hopkins) says guests prefer doing violence to the androids.

"Look at *Grand Theft Auto* and other open world games—violence is part of all of them. With virtual reality, the violence is ever more realistic and immersive," says Jonathan Nolan, who with wife Lisa Joy co-wrote the series based on the 1973 Michael Crichton film. "We were interested in the moment after that, in which the simulations become indistinguishable from reality." On *Westworld,* the robots grow self-aware and challenge the ethics of human actions.

Computers that are smarter than humans are fast approaching. People converse with Apple's Siri, and this year a Google computer beat the world champion at a complex game called Go, a milestone that many computer scientists thought was a decade away. "We drive a Tesla," says Joy. "We used to commute to set ourselves. By the time we were filming the finale, the car could do the commute for us."

Technology is developing so quickly that ethical questions that sci-fi has always posed are increasingly becoming a part of our daily lives. Should robots have rights? Does social media connect or isolate? Do devices expose our worst selves? While we may not yet have answers, at least these shows compel us to confront and wrestle with these dilemmas together. Jones says that at a recent screening of "Nosedive" at the Toronto Film Festival, "There was a sense of collective shame. But also relief: *Oh, someone else does that too.*" □

BEST *BLACK MIRROR* CONCEPTS

1. "BE RIGHT BACK"
A woman (Hayley Atwell) who loses her boyfriend signs up for a service that will cull his online presence to re-create him

2. "THE ENTIRE HISTORY OF YOU"
An implant allows humans to rewind and replay anything they've ever seen, wreaking havoc on personal relationships

3. "WHITE CHRISTMAS"
Jon Hamm plays a consultant who helps men pick up women through a device that allows him to hear what the client hears and see what he sees

4. "THE NATIONAL ANTHEM"
Terrorists kidnap a princess and demand that the Prime Minister have sex with a pig on national television for her return

BLACK MIRROR: NETFLIX; BERLIN STATION: EPIX; THE WALKING DEAD: AMC

TIME PICKS

MOVIES
In South Korean director Park Chan-wook's erotic thriller ***The Handmaiden*** (Oct. 21), a con man and a pickpocket try to trick a sheltered heiress out of her fortune—but it soon becomes unclear who's getting fooled.

MUSIC
On *Mad Love* (Oct. 14), her first album in a decade, former teen-pop chart topper **JoJo** serves up a more grownup sound with soulful songs about intoxicating romances and self-empowerment.

BOOKS
In ***Who Killed These Girls?*** (Oct. 11), Beverly Lowry unravels the unsolved murders, and subsequent botched investigation, of four teenagers in a Texas yogurt shop in 1991.

TELEVISION
Berlin Station, premiering Oct. 16 on Epix, stars Rhys Ifans and Richard Armitage as CIA agents in Berlin coping with leaks of classified information.

TELEVISION

The Walking Dead deals a grisly blow

Daryl (Norman Reedus) surveys the scene

DESPITE ITS NAME, *The Walking Dead* has never really been about the zombies. From the show's first episode, in which Rick Grimes (Andrew Lincoln) awakens from a coma to find the world as he knew it overrun by the undead, AMC's hit drama has actually been character-driven, fueled by the relationships formed among a ragtag group of survivors navigating a post-apocalyptic landscape. But as the show has picked off those characters one by one, it's veered toward the point of no return.

That matters, considering that *The Walking Dead* has been the top-rated series on television for four years running, earning more than 14 million live viewers for the Season 6 finale. While the show delivers consistent shocks and a vividly drawn dystopian universe, those aren't enough to carry a series; it works because viewers have developed such fierce emotional attachment to its protagonists. Audiences have watched for six years as this crew has battled hordes of zombies, turned a prison into a home and nursed one another back from the brink of emotional collapse; it's easy for fans to feel that they too would belong in this makeshift family.

Which is why it was so brutal when the sixth season ended with a cliffhanger in which one of the main characters was seen being beaten to death with a barbed-wire-covered baseball bat—a gruesome sequence by any measure but especially considering how invested fans are in the group. (The identity of that character will be revealed in the Season 7 premiere on Oct. 23, and speculation among the show's devotees about who it is has already reached a fever pitch.) Core cast members have been offed in the past, but this is the first time one of those deaths has seemed quite so gratuitous. It douses what little hope viewers have clung to that no matter how bad things get, human decency would win out against the forces of evil.

> 'It made me physically sick when I read it, and if we've done it right, you will [be] too.'
>
> **ANDREW LINCOLN**, to *Variety*, about the controversial scene

Recent dark dramas have walked this tightrope by ensuring that major deaths served a greater purpose than just toying with viewers' emotions—Ned Stark was beheaded to set the entire course of *Game of Thrones* in motion; *Breaking Bad*'s Walter White made the ultimate sacrifice to save his partner. There's a place for shocking violence on television if it's purposeful enough. But when *The Walking Dead* comes back, it may be hard to remember what the show's purpose was at all.

—MEGAN MCCLUSKEY

TELEVISION

Haters Back Off takes a star from YouTube to TV

By Daniel D'Addario

Ballinger's Miranda, with an admirer (Erik Stocklin), dreams of adoring fans

MIRANDA SINGS, A YOUTUBE SKETCH series introduced in 2008, makes a mockery of the web's would-be celebrities. Miranda, a misfit in cakey red lipstick played by Colleen Ballinger, appears in lo-fi music videos, either caterwauling or sing-speaking salaciously. The joke is that Miranda thinks fame is her birthright.

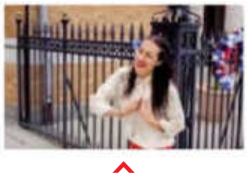
But that's made the joke hard to sustain—because like Ballinger, Miranda has become famous. The actor and character have a combined 11.5 million YouTube followers—more than the weekly viewership of Fox hit *Empire*. It's hard to mock the thirsty when you're on a national tour or appearing on Jerry Seinfeld's *Comedians in Cars Getting Coffee*—or when you have your own Netflix series.

On *Haters Back Off*, whose eight episodes arrive on Oct. 14 on Netflix, Ballinger wisely takes her character back to the start. We're not seeing Miranda with a massive audience—we're seeing her as a homeschool student in Tacoma, Wash., beginning to make the videos that she hopes will bring her paid gigs and renown.

Attention is attention to Miranda: the praise she receives from her equally fame-obsessed uncle Jim (Steve Little) feels good, but so too does the chance to blast her comments-section critics. "I'm going to pray for the souls of my haters," she declares. "I'm going to pray for God to punish them and teach them a lesson." Without her critics, Miranda would have to shift her focus to her ill mother (*The Office*'s Angela Kinsey)—or to the hole in her own heart that she's trying to fill with applause.

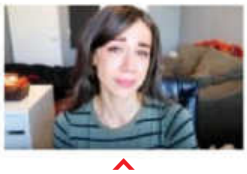
With her placeless accent, flagrant rudeness and outré look, Miranda is a character meant to appeal to tweens and young teens—she's a Gen Z Pee-wee Herman, and the Internet is her playhouse. But it's an open question whether her audience is equipped to pick up the show's minor-key notes.

MIRANDA SINGS HIGHLIGHTS



"MOVES LIKE JAGGER," 2011
In a flash-mob video set to the Maroon 5 hit, Miranda danced alone through a grocery store

COMEDIANS IN CARS GETTING COFFEE, 2014
Miranda tried to teach Jerry Seinfeld "how to be famous"



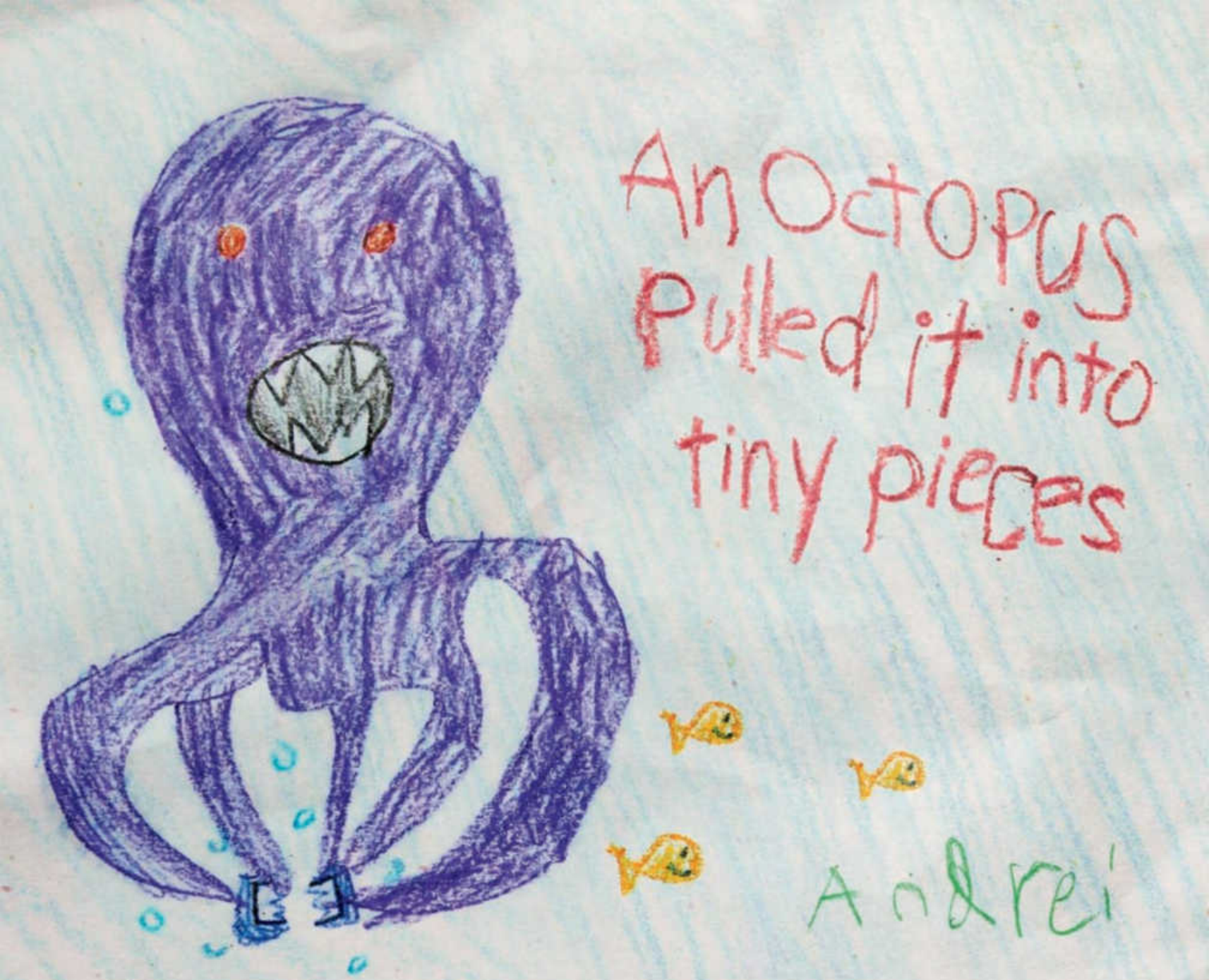
"LIFE UPDATE," 2016
In an emotional out-of-character video, Ballinger told fans about her divorce

Miranda Sings isn't the first YouTube sensation to get its shot at the big time. Amiable goof Grace Helbig got her own talk show on E!, and zealous pop-culture fan Tyler Oakley has practically built an empire out of *Ellen* appearances. But Ballinger is perhaps the first YouTuber to use access to TV-size budgets to make something truly new.

Haters Back Off, with its grating lead character and familiar-looking megachurch-and-megastore setting, is imperfect, but it's also more than it needed to be. Past YouTube-derived projects have been a vehicle to the next thing—a way to reach more and more fans. Ballinger has hit pause on her upward climb to examine what the obsession with having fans papers over and the new problems it creates.

It also seems to come from someplace very real. In a September YouTube video, Ballinger appeared out of character to address her public. Crying as she detailed her recent divorce from husband and fellow web personality Joshua David Evans, she said, "I hate that I can't control this—that it's going to end up in the hands of these people that are so mean." She says she plans to take a break from the Internet. Haters can indeed serve as motivators—but they can also make you question whether it's worthwhile to live a relentlessly public life in the first place. ◻

HATERS BACK OFF: NETFLIX; VIDEOS: YOUTUBE (3)



Taco Bell Canada is transforming one of its Ontario stores into an Airbnb for one night to celebrate the launch of its new Steak Doubledilla. The so-called SteakCation will include a **personal taco butler.**

Toy company Funko is releasing **Golden Girls action figures,** which will be sold exclusively at New York Comic Con.

Pope Francis was **photo-bombed by a smiling dog** while meeting with a canine training group outside the Vatican in St. Peter's Square.

Lady Gaga is doing a **tour of dive bars** to promote her new album, *Joanne*.

Benedict Cumberbatch said he's generally amused by the **attention he receives online,** even when it results in bizarre comments and memes:

'I'm glad I'm bringing a ray of sunshine to an otherwise dull day, being imagined eating fritters shirtless.'

Starbucks released a **limited-edition pumpkin spice whipped cream** in honor of the birthday of its Pumpkin Spice Latte.

TIME'S WEEKLY TAKE ON LOVE IT / LEAVE IT WHAT POPPED IN CULTURE

Critics mocked **Madame Tussaud's latest Justin Bieber wax figure** for looking like it's having an existential crisis.

Custom officials at Houston's George Bush Intercontinental Airport intercepted more than **4 lb. of cocaine sewn into children's coats** that were being transported into the U.S. from Peru.

A company called Costumeish briefly sold—then pulled—a **"Parisian Heist Robbery Victim" costume,** presumably inspired by Kim Kardashian West.

A Southwest Airlines flight was evacuated and cancelled after a passenger's new Samsung Galaxy Note 7 phone **reportedly caught fire.**

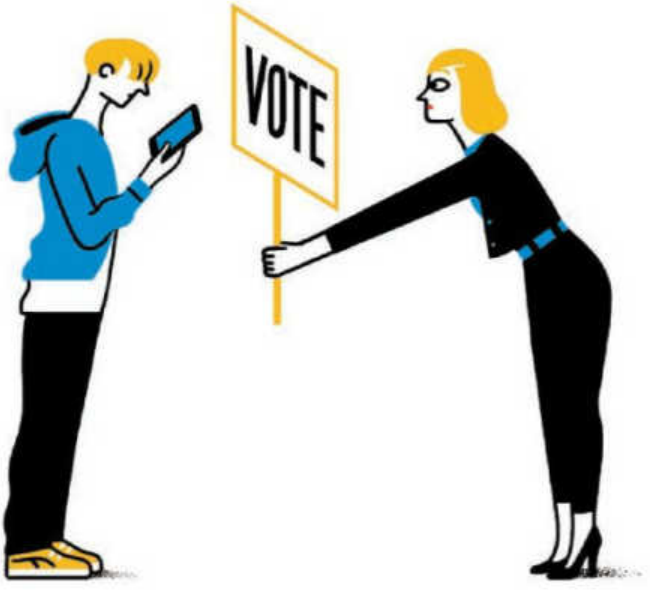
Green Bay Packers tight end Jared Cook tweeted a photo of what appeared to be a **fried chicken head in his order** at Buffalo Wild Wings.

TACO BELL: AIRBNB; GOLDEN GIRLS: FUNKO; LADY GAGA: ANHEUSER-BUSCH; POPE: AP; KARDASHIAN: COSTUMEISH .COM; COATS: ABC; CUMBERBATCH, BIEBER: GETTY IMAGES; STARBUCKS, CHICKEN HEAD, PHONE: TWITTER

By Raisa Bruner, Cady Lang and Megan McCluskey

My household get-out-the-vote campaign hits a teen roadblock

By Kristin van Ogtrop



WHEN ANOTHER SON WENT OFF TO COLLEGE THIS PAST summer, I made it clear that I required four things of him:

1. Eat vegetables
2. Get good grades
3. Make friends
4. Register to vote

My son is going to school in Pennsylvania, so that last requirement was particularly important, even if he does think *battleground state* has something to do with Gettysburg, or maybe the Steelers and the Eagles.

In the suburban town where my son grew up, there is a charming tradition in which the elementary-school kids get to cast ballots alongside their parents whenever the school budget is up for a vote. The stakes of the two electoral contests seem to be equally weighty: an approved school budget vs. reduced investment in the next generation's education; pajama day vs. sports day vs. game day. None of the children seem to care that they don't get a bona fide voting booth like the adults do. After all, there is a cookie tray. And stickers!

SPOILER ALERT to all parents of young kids: regularly voting for the right to wear pajamas to school does not appear to prepare children to vote for President of the United States. My relationship with my teenage son consists mostly of my sending him overly long texts and his responding with one-word answers, occasionally accompanied by a friendly emoji if he remembers that I am partly responsible for his existence, not to mention paying for his meal plan. After we dropped him off at school in August, I spent the trip home text-hectoring him about those four things he needed to do. Miracle of miracles—and yes, maybe just to get me off his back—he actually registered to vote. Sometimes it is remarkably easy to feel like you have been a good parent.

Then, in mid-October, the Letter arrived. It was from the Pennsylvania board of elections, addressed to my son but sent to our home address. I texted to say the Letter had come. Did he want me to open it? "Yes," he responded. "What's the magic word?" I asked. "Rumpelstiltskin," he replied.

Because he never actually said "please," and because he still doesn't know that you should never engage in a battle of wills with an Aries mom, I didn't open the Letter until a few days later. And then: crisis! The personal information he had provided in his voter registration had an error. The good news is that he doesn't carry his Social Security card in his wallet, since we have nagged him for years about that too. The bad news? It seems the future of our country rests in the hands of DJ Khaled fans who eat french fries with every meal and memorize their Social Security numbers incorrectly. I was in a near panic. My son was shrugging, by text.

WHY IS IT SO HARD to make 18-year-old boys care about things that matter? I could have five more sons and live to be 200 and never know the answer to that question. (See: foot odor; responding to emails; Mom when she yells.) But the more I thought about my son's lack of urgency, the more it began to make a kind of sad sense. Young people usually have lower voter turnout than their parents or grandparents anyway. And now, for my son and his friends, their political coming-of-age coincides with a time when one of the major-party candidates looks and sounds like what you would get if you mixed *Survivor, Keeping Up With the Kardashians* and *Duck Dynasty* and baked it in a convection oven at the Playboy Mansion for 70 years. What is reality, and what is reality TV? I actually worked on Capitol Hill, and I can't tell. How is Mr. I Don't Know My Social Security Number supposed to be sophisticated enough to figure it out?

The whole thing has become so meta—reality TV becomes real life, and vice versa—that it's no surprise kids my son's age regard politics with ironic detachment. In fact, we'll be lucky if anyone in his generation ever runs for office. When is the last time you met someone under the age of 25 who wanted to go into politics? I'm not sure I ever have. Future food bloggers, movie directors and tech billionaires are a dime a dozen. Future members of Congress? Uh, no.

This year, more than ever, it's been hard to convince my children that they need to take politics seriously, when it all seems so farcical. But I'm clinging to this little bit of hope: my youngest son, who is 9, insisted on tuning in to every presidential debate. Whether he cares about the issues or just wants to witness the spectacle, I don't know. But at least he's paying attention.

Van Ogtrop is the author of Just Let Me Lie Down: Necessary Terms for the Half-Insane Working Mom

ILLUSTRATION BY LUCI GUTIÉRREZ FOR TIME

Jeremy Corbyn The far-left leader of Britain's main opposition Labour Party on why insurgent leaders are on the rise and why his wife can't stand Donald Trump

You're an antiwar socialist leading Western Europe's largest political party. Are you part of a global anti-establishment phenomenon? It's not about me personally, it's about a rejection of the neoliberal consensus by a lot of people all over the world. Europe and the U.S. were the last to wake up to this.

Your former Labour Party colleague David Miliband says you're making the party "unelectable." How can you win in 2020? We are reaching out to people who are disillusioned with politics because of the lack of distance between the Labour and Conservative parties. We are very enthusiastically mobilizing a lot of young people who didn't vote in the last election.

Is that the same kind of energy that has propelled Donald Trump's campaign? No, I think the Trump campaign is much more about a charismatic individual who's made a great deal of money out of business, then assuming that his charisma will carry him into office. I don't think there are many people who want to see greater social justice who are supporting Trump. I think the parallels are too often drawn between Trump and what is happening in our country.

What do you think about Trump as a leader? He doesn't attempt any form of political consensus. His statements about, for example, the wall between the U.S. and Mexico are beyond absurd. My wife is from Mexico and the anger of people there about Trump is unbelievable.

What would you hope for from a Hillary Clinton presidency? I hope she would be prepared to do all that she can to de-escalate tensions around the world, and support attempts led by the U.N. to put a legal ban on nuclear weapons.

Britain will begin the process of leaving the European Union next year. What is your position on Brexit? I will be pressing the government for full access to the European Single Market for goods and services. We must also establish fair migration rules as part of the Brexit negotiations, which will establish our new relationship with the E.U.

The U.K.'s ruling Conservative Party wants companies to publish the number of overseas employees. Is this a smart way to curb migration? Instead of stopping the abuse of migrant labor, the Conservatives are fanning the flames of xenophobia. Drawing up lists of foreign workers in our companies will foster discrimination in workplaces and in communities.

Have the U.K. and E.U. done enough to help refugees? The program in Europe is floundering. Germany has done by far the most, Britain has done a minimal amount, and I'm working with other socialists across Europe to try to get an agreed European position of supporting refugees. In any other era in history, it would be a mark of shame that more hasn't been done.

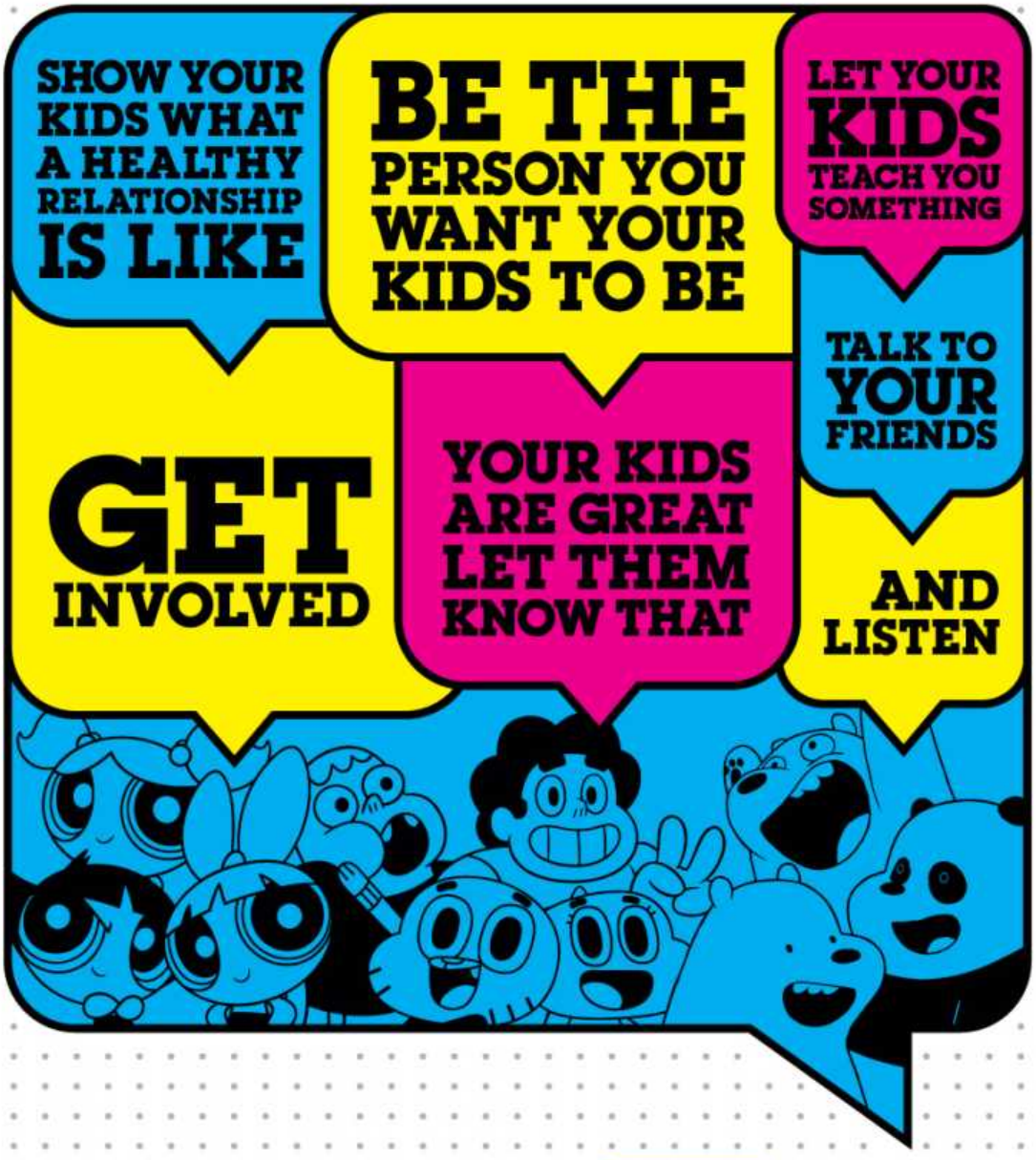
Have international airstrikes in Syria made the situation worse? There has to be a political solution in Syria and I would urge Russia and the U.S. to get together as quickly as possible to try to agree on another cease-fire. A war is not going to solve Syria's problems.

You've been quoted calling Hamas and Hizballah "friends" in the past. Do you regret it? The remarks people quoted at me concerning Hamas were actually an inclusive way of addressing a meeting to ensure a serious discussion took place. It was not an endorsement.

—MARK LEFTLY/LONDON

> '[There's been] a rejection of the neoliberal consensus by a lot of people all over the world. Europe and the U.S. were the last to wake up to this.'

JESS HURD—REPORT DIGITAL–REA/REDUX



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