

TIME



THE GODDESS MYTH

HOW A
VISION OF
PERFECT
MOTHERHOOD
HURTS MOMS

by CLAIRE HOWORTH



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U.S. Senate candidate Roy Moore on Sept. 26, the night he beat incumbent Luther Strange in the GOP primary

Photograph by Scott Olson—Getty Images

ON THE COVER:
Photograph by Erik Madigan Heck

WELCOME HOME?

RE “PROMISED LAND”
 [Oct. 9]: Your article proves that many of the “refugees” flooding Europe are nothing more than economic immigrants and benefit seekers. Real refugees settle where they are instructed to do so and owe eternal gratitude to their host country and its people. Instead, the people in your article left Estonia without any justification and chose to live in Germany knowing the country is overcongested with immigrants and seems to no longer welcome them. If you really wanted to offer a service to Syria and your readers, you should have focused on the brave Syrians who have stayed in their motherland and sacrifice their lives standing up to Islamist terrorism.

Georgios Kapellakos,
 EVIA, GREECE

I AM GERMAN AND HAVE
 lived in the Netherlands for nine years. When I go back to visit, I am shocked by how things have changed. Do you know what it’s like to feel like a stranger in your own land? Is it so hard to understand that Germans do not embrace every newcomer? The world is not black-and-white, and not every German who looks at developments with caution is a Nazi.

Claudia Tebes,
 SOEST, THE NETHERLANDS

TAKING ISSUE WITH A KNEE

RE “TRUMP’S OFFENSIVE Playbook” [Oct. 9]: As a veteran, I find the NFL players’ refusal to stand during the national anthem to be offensive. Granted, it is their prerogative to protest and show dissent about alleged social injustice for blacks. But their job is to play football, not subject viewers like myself to their social ideologies. Let them address the racial injustice off the field. That act of not showing any respect to the flag is a slap in the face to every veteran who has served our great nation, and it is the most extreme insult to the veterans who gave their lives in the ultimate sacrifice for their country.

Darrell Reeves,
 CARMICHAEL, CALIF.

IT IS DISHEARTENING TO
 see the new form of racism take shape. No one is arguing against racial justice, only that “now is not a good time” to bring it up. These people successfully shifted the conversation from the substance of the NFL players’ protests to respecting the American flag, allowing racists to be vehemently pro-flag rather than anti-black. We need to recognize these tactics and focus on issues of substance, rather than debating whether free speech should be allowed if its timing is awfully inconvenient



to those who don’t want to listen. We need to be smarter than that.

Laura J. Kluskens,
 MADISON, WIS.

THE ROHINGYA CRISIS

YOUR ARTICLE “MYANMAR’S Shame” [Oct. 2] reminded me of the genocide I witnessed in my country, then East Pakistan, now Bangladesh, in 1971. Now that the Rohingya Muslims in Myanmar are subjected to similar genocide, or “ethnic cleansing,” the silence of many world leaders is deafening. And, like many world leaders, Aung San Suu Kyi has preferred politics and power over compassion.

Nahid Afrose Kabir,
 ADELAIDE, AUSTRALIA

IT’S EASY FOR US IN THE
 free West to speak out against the world’s atrocities from the comfort of our arm-

chairs. How quick we are to judge those we once idolized as heroes of human rights for their failure to live up to our high moral standards. But we, unlike Suu Kyi, don’t face the threat of being imprisoned or killed at the whim of a brutal controlling army that monitors our every word and move. It’s curious that some folks reserve their greatest criticism for Suu Kyi, who is, in effect, powerless, rather than for those directly responsible. It seems to me that in light of the world’s daily atrocities, most of us are failures as humanitarians.

Terry Richard Klumpp,
 ALBION, AUSTRALIA

SETTING THE RECORD

STRAIGHT ▶ In the Brief (Oct. 9), a photograph accompanying a story about drug-resistant malaria incorrectly showed the *Aedes* mosquito, rather than the *Anopheles* mosquito. The *Aedes* species does not carry or transmit malaria.

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‘I didn’t think they would have any reason to search for one private.’

SERGEANT BOWE BERGDAHL, the U.S. soldier captured by the Taliban, pleading guilty to charges that he endangered his colleagues by walking off his base in Afghanistan in 2009

2

Number of Adélie penguin chicks that survived breeding season in an eastern Antarctic colony of 18,000 pairs; WWF says “unusually extensive sea ice” formed in late summer meant parents had to trek farther than usual to find krill, and their babies starved while waiting for them to come back



NF
The rapper’s album *Perception* topped the *Billboard* album chart



UF
University of Florida catches flak for plan to host alt-right leader Richard Spencer

‘TRUST IN OUR COMPANY HAS FALLEN TO ZERO.’

HIROYA KAWASAKI, Kobe Steel chief, apologizing for employees revealed to have falsified quality data, including parts used on Japan’s renowned high-speed rail network



\$53,863

Amount of money for Hurricane Harvey relief that 6,663 Texas inmates donated from their commissary accounts, according to the state’s criminal-justice department

‘There is some language in the book that makes people uncomfortable.’

KENNY HOLLOWAY, school-board vice president in Biloxi, Miss., explaining why Harper Lee’s *To Kill a Mockingbird*—one of the most challenged books of all time—was removed from the eighth-grade language-arts curriculum

‘I actually felt less alone this week than I have ever felt in my entire career.’

REESE WITHERSPOON, actor, alleging a director assaulted her when she was 16, joining the conversation about sexual harassment ignited by revelations about producer Harvey Weinstein

16

Number of U.S. states that have enough cash to weather the next recession, according to a new report from Moody’s Analytics

‘I AM JUST TIRED.’

ELI BROAD, billionaire philanthropist famous for revitalizing downtown Los Angeles, announcing he’s retiring from public life at age 84

The Brief

'THE U.S. HAS SPENT OVER A DECADE TRYING TO STABILIZE THE COUNTRY IT INVADED.' —NEXT PAGE



President Trump laid out his approach to Iran at the White House Diplomatic Reception Room on Oct. 13

WORLD

Iranians are finding unity in hegemony

By Kay Armin Serjoie/
Tehran

THE TRUMP ADMINISTRATION GOT A lesson in Persian pride this week.

Contrary to what the White House might have expected, Iran's power brokers found a lot to like in President Trump's Oct. 13 speech attacking the "rogue regime." For all of Trump's threats to abandon the 2015 nuclear deal, the moderate government of Iranian President Hassan Rouhani breathed a sigh of relief that there would be no major development on the historic agreement for another 60 days, if then, while the U.S. Congress debated what to do. Iran's conservatives and hard-liners seized on the speech as proof that they were correct all along that the U.S. cannot be trusted. The security-military establishment, meanwhile, was pleased that the Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps was not

outright designated a terrorist entity.

But two words in the speech might have done more to unite the Iranian populace against the U.S. than decades of propaganda: Trump called the Persian Gulf the "Arabian Gulf." No Iranian—whether religious or atheist, pro-regime or anti-regime—can stomach the body of water separating Iran from its southern Arabic neighbors being called anything but the Persian Gulf. Within minutes state TV was running news tickers pointing out the choice of words. In a live speech on state TV hours later, Rouhani ridiculed Trump for "his weak geography."

For moderates like Rouhani, the outcome was better than what they had feared. Fifteen years earlier George W. Bush repaid Iran's discreet cooperation in the U.S. war against the Taliban by

including Tehran in the “axis of evil.” This caused then President Mohammad Khatami and his reformist allies to lose face inside the country and ultimately surrender the presidency to hard-liner Mahmoud Ahmadinejad in 2005.

But now, aided by Trump’s rhetorical flourish, the official motto in Tehran has become “unity and solidarity.” Even Rouhani’s political opponents have trodden lightly when criticizing him. Until Supreme Leader Ayatullah Ali Khamenei weighed in on Oct. 18, condemning the “rants and whoppers of the brute U.S. President,” Rouhani seemingly managed to take charge of the official position.

The upshot is that—however Congress reacts to Trump’s decision to “decertify” (but not dismantle) the nuclear deal, the U.S. President appears to have actually strengthened the hand of the Islamic Republic. “He unraveled eight years of Obama’s efforts to show that the U.S. government supports the Iranian nation and only opposes the Islamic Republic,” said Amir Mohebbian, a conservative theoretician close to the inner circles of the state.

Iran, meanwhile, continues to flex its muscles elsewhere. On Oct. 16 its paramilitary allies helped overrun the strategic northern Iraq city of Kirkuk (see column, right), once again proving Iran’s essential value to Baghdad’s Shi’ite government, a natural ally since the U.S. deposed Saddam Hussein. The victory also furthered the swashbuckling legend of Major General Qasem Soleimani, leader of the Revolutionary Guards’ extraterritorial Quds Force and the face of the country’s return to regional hegemony. In Yemen, thanks to Saudi Arabia’s brutal intervention, Iran has found a new proxy in that country’s Houthi rebels. In Syria, for all the attention paid to Russia and its air support, Iran dominates the ground forces. And if it manages to unite with the Shi’ite militias at the Iraq border, Iran will fulfill its dream of a “land bridge” running from Tehran to the Mediterranean.

An overland route would allow it to resupply its forces in Syria and Lebanon, including Hezbollah, the Shi’ite militia it helped create to attack Israel. It would also further boost the spirits of ordinary Iranians, whose ambivalence about their clerical rulers can be overwhelmed by stronger feelings—a national pride that extends back across 2,500 years, a period that includes century upon century of (remembered) empire. In that context the U.S. President might have done Iran’s leaders a powerful service.

“Trump has actually solved a problem for the Islamic Republic,” Mohebbian says. “The divide between the diplomatic and revolutionary aspects of the state was becoming a potential dilemma, but Trump bridged the gap.” □

THE RISK REPORT

Sitting on the sideline as Iraq rolls over the Kurds

By Ian Bremmer

HOLDING IRAQ TOGETHER without the common enemy of ISIS looming over it was always going to be tough. President Donald Trump is not going to make the task any easier.

The rise of the Islamic State in 2014 forced many factions in Iraqi society to paper over their differences against a common enemy. In the contested areas of Iraqi Kurdistan, Kurdish authorities took control of oil-rich Kirkuk after the Iraqi army fled as ISIS advanced. On Oct. 16, Iraqi forces returned to take back Kirkuk and its surrounding areas by force, in response to Iraqi Kurds’ overwhelmingly voting for independence in an unsanctioned referendum on Sept. 25.

The Iraqi Kurds might feel hard done by. For the past three years their *peshmerga* fighters, trained and armed by the U.S., have played a pivotal role in beating back ISIS. Their expectation was that in time, they would be rewarded with a homeland of their own, despite the strenuous objections from neighboring Turkey, Syria and Iran, all of whom have sizable Kurdish populations of their own.

With allies like these, Iraq’s Kurds might be asking if they really need enemies

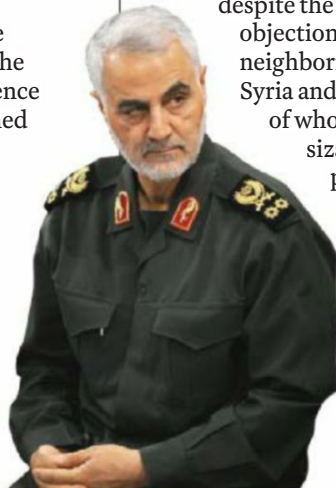
The Kurds’ insistence on carrying out a referendum, while understandable, put the U.S. in a bind. Washington opposed the vote for fear it would weaken pro-U.S. Iraqi Prime Minister Haider al-Abadi ahead of elections next year. The U.S. has spent over a decade trying to stabilize the country it invaded in 2003, propping up the central government while also providing

aid to Kurdish forces. Hence Trump’s announcement on Oct. 16 that “we’re not taking sides.”

While the rhetoric makes sense, Trump’s decision to decertify Iran’s compliance with the nuclear

deal, coupled with his inconstant support for Iraq’s Kurds, have pushed things closer toward an endgame. In recapturing Kirkuk, Iraqi security forces were joined by Shi’ite militias backed by Iran. The Iranians, emboldened by Trump’s nuclear-deal gambit, have every incentive to push the U.S. into these kinds of existential geopolitical dilemmas.

To be fair to Trump, this is not the first time a U.S. President has had to give way to realities on the ground. Obama did virtually the same with the Ukrainians when Vladimir Putin invaded in 2014, leaving Kiev in the lurch. The difference here is that it was Trump’s unilateral decision to provoke Iran that ended up forcing moves in Iraq, much like it was Trump’s unilateral backing of Saudi Arabia that touched off this year’s spat between Qatar and other Gulf monarchies. With allies like these, Iraq’s Kurds might be asking if they really need enemies. □



◀ Quds Force commander Qasem Soleimani is busy in Iraq, Syria and Yemen

SOLEIMANI: GETTY IMAGES; KURDI: THOMAS KRONSTEINER—GETTY IMAGES



TICKER

Trump denies 'insensitive' call

President Trump denied claims that he told the widow of a U.S. serviceman killed in Niger that "he knew what he signed up for, but I guess it still hurt." Democratic Representative Frederica Wilson, who was present during the call, originally reported the comment, which she described as "so insensitive."

Maltese journalist killed by car bomb

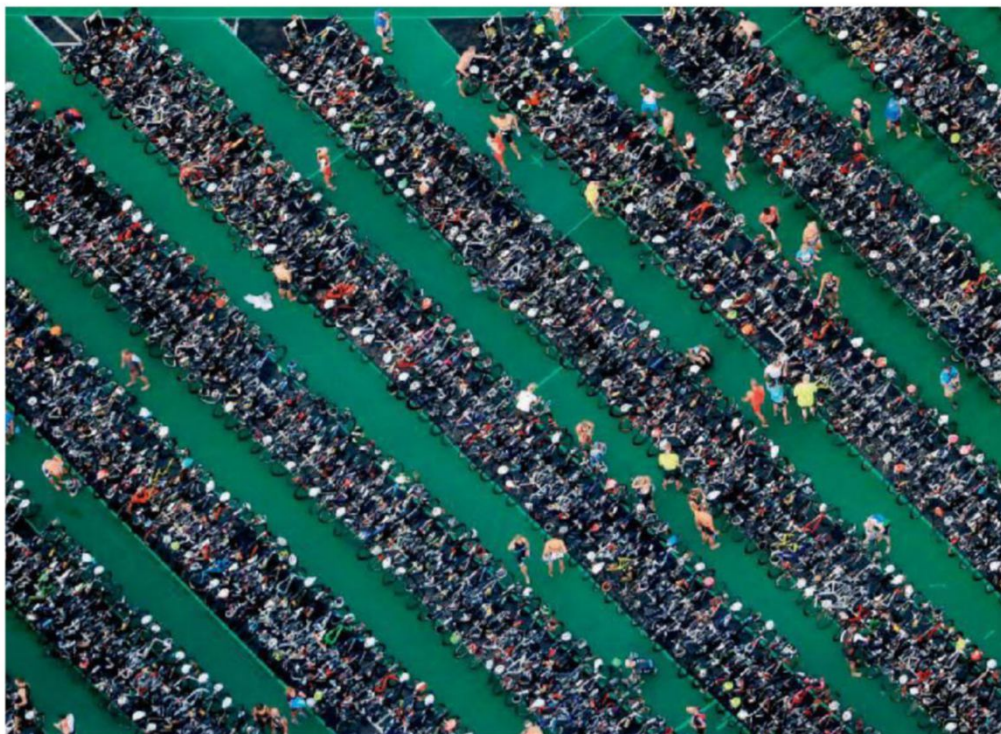
Daphne Caruana Galizia, a journalist from Malta who worked on the Panama Papers revelations that exposed the nation's links to offshore tax havens, was killed after a bomb exploded in her rented car. No suspects have been identified.

Huge oil spill in Gulf of Mexico

Authorities are investigating the causes of a spill of up to 9,350 barrels of oil in the Gulf of Mexico. The spill may be the area's largest since the blow-out at BP's Macondo well, which sank the Deepwater Horizon rig in 2010.

'Allah' read on Viking shroud

A researcher in Sweden claimed to have found Arabic characters spelling "Allah" woven into Viking burial clothes, raising questions about Islam's influence on Scandinavia. Some experts have disagreed with the findings.



PEDAL TO THE MEDAL Athletes gather in the transition area at the Ironman World Championship in Hawaii on Oct. 14. This year Germany's Patrick Lange won the 2.4-mile swim, 112-mile bike and 26.2-mile foot race in a record-breaking 8 hr. 1 min. 4 sec. Switzerland's Daniela Ryf took her third consecutive victory in the women's race. Photograph by Sean M. Haffey—Getty Images for Ironman

WORLD

The swift rise of Austria's 'whiz kid' leader

SEBASTIAN KURZ, 31, IS SET TO BECOME Austria's next Chancellor after his center-right People's Party (ÖVP) gained the biggest share of votes in the Oct. 15 parliamentary elections. Here's more about the politician known as the *wunderwuzzi* (whiz kid).

FAST RISE The only child of a teacher and an engineer, he soared through the ranks of Austria's conservative establishment after joining ÖVP's youth branch in 2003 and later became Foreign Minister by age 27. In 2016, Kurz defied the E.U.'s leaders to mastermind the closure of the Balkans' borders to refugees, winning him the support of Austria's right-leaning electorate.

CAMPAIGNING IN POETRY Kurz was anointed ÖVP's leader in May, and he set about revitalizing the party's brand. He mixed a severe anti-immigrant message, pledging tougher controls on migrant access to welfare, with sunny promises to reignite the economy. The tactic helped blunt the rise of the far-right Freedom Party (FPÖ).

GOVERNING IN PROSE Now Kurz's party must find a coalition partner to govern with, and the smart money is on the FPÖ. This union

with a Euroskeptic party could prove troublesome for the pro-E.U. Kurz, especially as Vienna is due to hold the presidency of the bloc in 2018. The *wunderwuzzi* of Austria will have to prove that he possesses greater skills than the ability to run a media-savvy political campaign. —TARA JOHN



Kurz is set to become the world's youngest head of government



TICKER

Hurricane fans European wildfires

A spate of wildfires whipped up by winds from an eastern Atlantic hurricane killed at least 40 people in Portugal and at least four in Spain. The storm's winds brought sand from the Sahara desert and dust from the wildfires as far north as southern Britain, obscuring the sun there on Oct. 16.

Marawi 'liberated,' Duterte says

President Rodrigo Duterte declared the southern Philippine city of Marawi "liberated from the terrorist influence" of an Islamist militia linked to ISIS. More than 1,000 people have died since the group occupied the city on May 23.

Olympian reveals sexual abuse

U.S. gymnast McKayla Maroney, a gold medalist at the 2012 London Olympics, said she was abused by team doctor Larry Nassar over a period of eight years. Nassar is currently in jail after pleading guilty to child pornography charges.

Anne Frank costume removed

A Halloween costume of Holocaust victim Anne Frank was removed from an online retailer after a backlash on social media. "We should not trivialize her memory as a costume," an Anti-Defamation League representative said.

HEALTH

Congress looks to fix Obamacare, while Trump undercuts it

By Maya Rhodan

FOR PRESIDENT TRUMP, THE AFFORDABLE Care Act is already dead. "Obamacare is finished," he said in off-the-cuff remarks before a Cabinet meeting on Oct. 16. "You shouldn't even mention it. It's gone. There is no such thing as Obamacare anymore." But while he may wish that his recent executive actions to undercut the law were fatal, it remains on the books. And members of Congress from both parties are working on a way to keep it healthy at least through midterm elections.

Just a day after Trump's remarks, Republican Senator Lamar Alexander of Tennessee (*below*) and Democratic Senator Patty Murray of Washington announced that they had reached a deal on a short-term plan to keep the individual insurance marketplaces regulated by the ACA stable through 2019. Like Trump, Republicans in Congress ran for office on a promise to repeal Obamacare. But unlike Trump, many of them are up for election next fall. Failing to prop up the law in the short term could mean rising premiums that would hurt their campaigns.

Under the new plan Congress would fund payments to insurers that keep costs low for two years and expand access to waivers that allow states to offer insur-

ance that does not have to meet all of the requirements mandated under Obamacare. The plan would also expand access to catastrophic insurance policies—low-premium, high-deductible insurance plans currently only available to young people—and boost funding to outreach programs that help people enroll, which Trump had also sought to undercut.

The point, Alexander said, is to avoid the "chaos" of skyrocketing premiums and rising medical debt that is predicted to come if the payments to insurers stop. "I don't know a Democrat or a Republican who benefits from chaos," he said.

Some of that chaos appears to have been intentionally inflicted by Trump. On Oct. 12 the President signed an Executive Order that could give Americans access to cheap insurance plans that offer fewer protections. Then, the White House announced the end of "cost-sharing reduction" payments designed to lower insurance costs for poorer Americans. The goal, as Trump's former chief strategist Stephen Bannon said, was to "blow up" Obama's signature legislative achievement.

But Trump has sent mixed messages. He's argued that his executive actions helped bring Democrats to the negotiating table (they were already in talks) and said he'd back a "short-term fix" but also tweeted that he doesn't support "bailing out" insurers.

Congress is moving ahead on a deal. Whether the deeply divided parties in both the House and Senate can reach agreement is far from certain. And even if they can, no one knows whether Trump, in the end, will go along. □



CRIME

When tasty foods become stolen goods

Police in South Texas arrested a man nicknamed the Fajita Bandit, who allegedly stole shipments of skirt steak from his employer worth \$1.2 million over the course of nine years in order to sell fajitas illegally. Here, some other schemes to get rich off pilfered foods. —Kate Samuelson



CHOCOLATE

A 22-ton cargo of chocolate, including Kinder eggs and Nutella, worth at least \$59,000, was stolen from a truck's trailer in the town of Neustadt, Germany, in August.



MAPLE SYRUP

In April three men were sentenced in connection with the theft of almost 540,000 gal. of maple syrup valued at \$18 million from a depot in Quebec.



CHEESE

Last year a New Jersey teenager was charged with stealing more than \$160,000 worth of Jamaican processed cheese from a warehouse in Bergen County.

Milestones



Kaepernick, seen kneeling before a 2016 game, alleges NFL teams banded together to keep him out of the league

FILED

Colin Kaepernick Collusion claim against NFL

When Colin Kaepernick began kneeling during the national anthem to protest racial injustice, few thought it would be the source of national debate more than a year later. Yet NFL owners recently met to discuss the issue after President Trump called on the league to suspend players who kneel. No such policy was adopted, but the NFL did support a federal sentencing-reform bill backed by many players. Kaepernick, however, remains unemployed. So on Oct. 15 he filed a collusion grievance against the NFL. Legally, collusion is difficult to prove. There's little doubt, however, that Kaepernick's stand may have cost him his career. —Sean Gregory

DIED

Poet and translator **Richard Wilbur**, who won Pulitzer Prizes in 1957 and 1989 for his poetry collections *Things of This World and New and Collected Poems*, at 96.

► **Sima Wali**, champion of Afghan women's rights who received the Gloria Steinem Women of Vision Award in 1989, at 66.

► **Gord Downie**, lyricist and front man of the Canadian rock band the Tragically Hip, at 53.

PLEADED GUILTY

To charges of desertion and misbehavior before the enemy, **U.S. Army Sergeant Bowe Bergdahl**, who was captured by the Taliban in 2009 after walking off his military base in Afghanistan.

WON

The **Man Booker Prize** by **Lincoln in the Bardo**, the first full-length novel by George Saunders, about the night Abraham Lincoln buried his 11-year-old son. It was the second year in a row that the U.K.-based award has been won by a U.S. author, four years after Americans became eligible to win.

TRANSFERRED

\$18 billion by **George Soros** to his human-rights foundation Open Society, turning it overnight into one of the world's wealthiest philanthropic organizations. The 87-year-old former hedge-fund manager is thought to be worth around \$23 billion.

SIGNED

A bill into law by **California Governor Jerry Brown**, making the state the first to officially recognize a third gender. In the future, transgender and nonbinary residents will be able to select the letter X on state-issued documents, rather than M or F.

NOMINATED

Climate-change skeptic **Kathleen Hartnett White** as **White House senior adviser on environmental policy**, by President Donald Trump. In 2014, White, a former government regulator, described renewable energy as "unreliable and parasitic."

SCIENCE

What we learned from a never-before-seen cosmic collision

NOBODY WAS HERE TO WITNESS THE collision of two neutron stars in a distant galaxy 130 million years ago. But when the signals of the cataclysm reached Earth just recently, they taught us a lot, as reported in several newly published studies. Here, four key insights:

Neutron stars are insane. A neutron star is an ordinary star squeezed down to just 12 miles across, a single teaspoon of which would weigh a billion tons. When two of them collide, as this instance confirmed, they produce gamma rays, X-rays, ultraviolet radiation, visible light and gravitational waves—a bounty for astronomers.

Neutron stars are armed. The universe sometimes flashes with blasts of radiation known as gamma-ray bursts that could wipe out life on any planet in the way. Astronomers suspected the source of the energy was colliding neutron stars, which recent observations confirmed. The burst was a weak one and it flew wide of Earth—this time.

The universe is speeding. We know the universe is expanding, and a gravitational signal from a galaxy at a known distance made it possible for the first time to measure how fast: 43 miles per second per megaparsec. That's astronomy talk for "really fast."

Collisions can create precious metals. Lighter elements are created in the interior of stars, but the source of the heaviest ones was a mystery. The event produced huge amounts of heavy metals, including gold—both scientific and literal pay dirt. —JEFFREY KLUGER

▼ An illustration of a neutron-star collision



The frenzy to win Amazon's new HQ could come at a price

By Katy Steinmetz

OVER THE LAST FEW WEEKS OFFICIALS IN DOZENS OF American cities have been working overtime to prove that they are prime for Amazon. The Kansas City, Mo., mayor's office ordered 1,000 items from the Seattle-based behemoth—ranging from a hot-dog costume to wind chimes—and then wrote reviews for each product. The city of Birmingham, Ala., built Amazon boxes the size of bread trucks and displayed them around town. A town in Georgia proposed donating some of its own land and renaming it after the e-commerce giant. And that's on top of the countless hours that economic developers have spent writing more serious proposals for one of the world's most valuable companies. As a representative for the Dallas Regional Chamber says, "It's been all hands on deck."

Amazon dangled a transformative prize to inspire this activity: the prospect of winning the company's second headquarters, along with an estimated 50,000 jobs and \$5 billion in investment over the coming decades. The scope of the project is unprecedented, and as "HQ2" fever took hold across North America, more than 100 cities have reportedly considered bids. At least one official in Seattle, home to Amazon's first headquarters,

even pushed for their town to get in the mix ahead of the Oct. 19 deadline. "It's impossible not to see this as the kind of rising tide that lifts all boats in the city," says Tim Whitmire, who runs a leadership development company in Charlotte, N.C., where officials from 16 counties have been feverishly collaborating on a pitch.

The benefits of winning are obvious. Jobs are good for communities, and Amazon has estimated that the average compensation for positions at HQ2 will be more than \$100,000. Cities scramble to lure factories where jobs pay half as much, in sectors that are less magnetic. Not only is the tech industry viewed as the economic backbone of the future, but one big tech company has the tendency to lure a "cluster" of others, according to economist Enrico Moretti. His research has also found that every tech job supports about four more in the same community, from taxi drivers to teachers. Besides, just being chosen will supercharge a city's brand. "If it's good enough for Amazon," says Joseph Parilla, a fellow at the Brookings Institution think tank, "a lot of companies will take notice."

Yet winning will come with costs. As Amazon has grown explosively in Seattle—since opening its downtown HQ in 2010—the city has struggled to keep pace with housing

demands and startling jumps in the cost of living. One local columnist warned other cities bidding for HQ2 to beware of the "prosperity bomb" that has pushed lower-income residents, like taxi drivers and teachers, outside Seattle's city limits. And Amazon has made clear that it would like to receive incentives like tax breaks wherever the company builds next, pushing government officials to craft packages of subsidies in the hopes of rising to the top of the pile. If packages get sweet enough for Amazon, locals may be on the losing end of the deal, says Greg LeRoy, executive director of nonprofit research group Good Jobs First: residents may eventually find they're paying a higher tax bill for the privilege of being Amazon's second home.

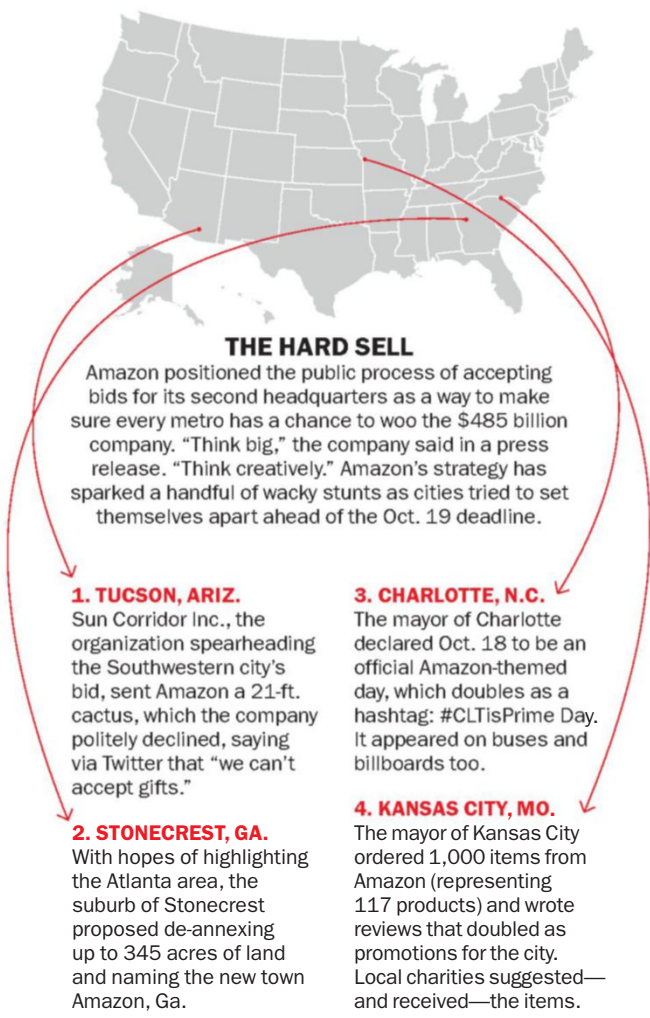


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IN ANNOUNCING the proposal, Amazon founder and CEO Jeff Bezos said the new headquarters will be a

Amazon's current HQ in Seattle has helped drive explosive growth in the city. Pictured below, Bezos.





BEZOS: GREG DOHERTY—GETTY IMAGES; HEADQUARTERS: DANIEL BERMAN—BLOOMBERG/GETTY IMAGES

“full equal” to HQ1. The company has some druthers: it wants a metro area with more than 1 million people, space for a building bigger than the Mall of America, a world-class airport and so on. The population ask alone culls the list to about 50 candidates in the U.S., with the likes of Denver, Dallas and Atlanta appearing on speculative shortlists. Among metros that seemed to check the boxes, there was immediate pressure to apply, even if officials did not want to take part in the peacocking. “If you don’t, well, what are you saying about your place?” says Parilla, who works on metropolitan policy. “It’s almost a signal that you’re not in the game.”

With cities pitted against one another, Amazon noted in its request for proposals that incentives—ranging from free land to reduced taxes—could influence the decision. While many sites are staying mum about the details

of their bids, reports of packages worth hundreds of millions have sprung up in places like Trenton, N.J., and San Diego. That sets off alarms for watchdogs like LeRoy. He and others have decried the increase in such “megadeals” in recent years, from a \$1.3 billion incentive package that lured Tesla to Nevada to Wisconsin’s \$3 billion gambit to win jobs from Foxconn. If a big company attracts lots of new people to a region, there are inevitably public costs: hiring more teachers, fielding more 911 calls, widening roadways. And if the company is getting a pass on contributing to public coffers, that can push the quality of services down while driving other tax bills up. “There’s no such thing as free growth,” LeRoy says, just as there’s no guarantee a big deal will break even for taxpayers over time.

Leaders in San Antonio were initially excited to submit a proposal, but the prospect of a “bidding war” made

Mayor Ron Nirenberg reconsider. On Oct. 11 he co-wrote a letter to Bezos, saying the fast-growing city would not put forth a formal bid. San Antonio would welcome Amazon, Nirenberg tells TIME: “We’re just not going to mortgage our future to do it.”

Plenty of other cities will still compete, and Amazon will set a key precedent when the company announces, and explains, its decision in 2018. Many observers believe that human capital—pools of highly skilled workers—will matter most, and Amazon may be drawn to incentives like university partnerships as much as tax freebies. In the meantime Seattle city council member Lisa Herbold recommends that bidding cities prepare for a growth bonanza by bolstering affordable housing. “When you have a lot of economic prosperity in a city, there are some people who will benefit,” she says, “and some who will suffer.” □



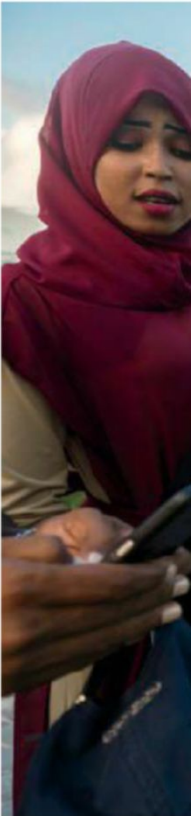
LightBox

Horror in Mogadishu

A victim of the devastating truck bombs in Somalia's capital on Oct. 14 is carried away from the rubble. The attack, believed to be the work of the militant group al-Shabab, killed at least 300 people and wounded hundreds more. Somali President Mohamed Abdullahi Mohamed condemned the strike, vowing that "terror won't win."

Photograph by Mohamed Abdiwahab—AFP/Getty Images







WORLD

Somalis hold on to hope despite the latest attack

HOPE IN SOMALIA HAS ALWAYS BEEN a fragile thing, uplifted by the waves of refugees who have returned to make something of their homeland after decades of civil war and deflated by the attacks from Islamic extremist group al-Shabab. Hope had been set aloft this year by the violence-free election in February of President Mohamed Abdullahi Mohamed, a returning refugee with U.S. citizenship. With Mohamed and his commitment to rule of law came foreign investment to the capital of Mogadishu—a new hospital, banking systems, even a peace park. Global efforts to rebuild the police and army were paying off. “Somalia conjures up clichés of the worst of Africa—famine, civil war, Kalashnikovs, despots,” says photographer Brent Stirton, who has documented the renaissance for TIME. “It hasn’t really been fair to Somalis.”

But hope collapsed anew on Oct. 14, when two truck bombs detonated downtown, killing over 300 people in the worst terrorist attack the country has seen. Al-Shabab has not claimed the bombing but earlier vowed to step up attacks in response to military efforts against the group. “Let’s unite against terror,” Mohamed tweeted as he urged Somalis to “get through this together.” Many rushed to answer his call and donate blood. That doesn’t surprise Stirton: “Somalia is one of the most resilient nations on earth. The bombing is terrible, but it won’t stop progress or the Somali people from wanting progress.”

—ARYN BAKER

Foreign investment has brought progress to Mogadishu (top left), evident in the new peace park (top right), thriving small businesses (bottom right) and improved police training (bottom left)

PHOTOGRAPHS BY BRENT STIRTON—
VERBATIM FOR TIME

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



Amid tragedy in wine country, some cause for hope

By Ray Isle/Napa, Calif.

ON SUNDAY, OCT. 8, I WAS HAVING DINNER at the winery Ovid in Napa Valley with Jack Bittner and his wife Sara. It was a sort-of-business, sort-of-social get-together that's characteristic of a life in wine: Jack runs the place, and I write about wine. The night was perfect—early October, harvest, the best time to be in Napa. But it was strangely windy.

Around 9, Sara took their daughter Lucinda down the hill to their home in St. Helena while Jack and I stayed to talk. The wind moaned and shuddered, an eerie Halloween gale that seemed about three weeks too early. At some point I said something like, “That wind is nuts.” We chatted a bit longer and then called it a night, because he had to be back at work at 4 a.m. to pick the last of their petit verdot. At least that was the plan.

Over the next few hours seven wildfires broke out in Northern California's wine region. The “Diablo winds,” blowing 70 m.p.h. at times, spread the flames with terrifying speed. Add to that already high temperatures, humidity in the single digits and a wet winter that had produced abundant growth in the forested hills, and you had the perfect conditions for a disaster.

As of Oct. 18 the fires have burned across more than 210,000 acres, hitting Napa, Sonoma, Solano and Mendocino counties particularly hard. More than 5,700 homes and businesses have been destroyed, and over 40 people have died, a grim toll that is sure to rise. About 60 people remain missing. It is the most destructive fire here in decades.

The flames aren't quenched yet, but they aren't growing. The lethal Tubbs fire, which tore through densely populated neighborhoods in Santa Rosa, is now more than 90% contained. The massive Atlas fire, on the eastern side of Napa Valley, is 83% contained. Evacuation orders, at one point affecting about 100,000 people, are being lifted. The firefighters, numbering more than 10,000, some from as far away as Australia, are slowly winning.



The Signorello Estate winery, in Napa, Calif., seen on Oct. 11, after fire destroyed it

A couple of days ago I stood with Ray Signorello next to the ruins of his winery on the Silverado Trail in Napa. The last time I was there, a few years ago, he told me about the chef they had just hired and the culinary program he hoped to ramp up for visitors to the winery. “I guess we'll take that on the road for a bit,” he now says.

The winery, Signorello says, had burned straight up, like one of those chimneys used for lighting coals in a backyard grill. As he considered the scorched brick and twisted metal in front of us, Signorello says, “As bad as this is, it could have been worse. My wife was there that night—she called me to say there was fire on the ridge behind us and she was getting out. Which she did.”

WINERIES MAKE UP only a small percentage of what's been lost. Whole neighborhoods in Santa Rosa burned. Karissa Kruse, president of Sonoma County Winegrowers, lived in one of them, Fountaingrove. She recalls a neighbor pounding on her door at 2:30 a.m. “The streets were just chaos,” Kruse says. “You looked up in the hills and saw a wall of orange coming. I got a flashlight, got on some clothes, grabbed the cats, grabbed my computer ... I was out of there in 18 minutes.” Kruse's house burned to the ground.

The story of these fires is tragic for

many people, and it is still being written. But there are reasons to be optimistic. Vineyards, as it turns out, don't burn well. In fact, at this time of year, with green leaves still on the vines and trunks

full of moisture, they act as effective firebreaks (one reason the damage to wineries was far less than what one might expect). For another, despite the expectations created by images of hillsides ablaze and torched buildings, the 2017 vintage here will most likely be unaffected.

Close to 85% of the grapes had already been harvested before the fires started; more in some areas, less in others. The omnipresent smoke may affect the flavors of fruit left on the vine, but the juice already fermenting in tanks and barrels should be fine. And vast portions of the region were untouched by the flames; Napa and Sonoma counties together form an area about twice the size of Rhode Island.

When I finally reached Jack Bittner, I learned he had spent several hours that Sunday fighting fires at his in-laws' house near Calistoga. “Miraculously, it's still there ... though it's a charred moonscape in all directions,” he says. Then he went back up to Ovid and, like vintners all over Napa and Sonoma, fires be damned, got the last ton of grapes in.

Isle is the executive wine editor of Food & Wine

The View

'WOMEN ARE WALKING AROUND FEELING LESS ALONE.' —NEXT PAGE



'ME TOO'

Women will be the ones to decide what happens next

By Laurie Penny

COGNITIVE DISSONANCE IS A HELL of a drug. It smothers the senses of societies that claim to despise sexual predators and yet keeps giving them awards and electing them to office. Right now, all over the world, in the wake of the Harvey Weinstein accusations, women and girls are coming together in stunning numbers to finally name the men who have been hurting and humiliating them for so long. Resistance to rape culture is going viral. And polite society is expressing a certain amount of skepticism.

Could this really have been happening to so many women and girls? Why didn't they speak out before?

Unfortunately, this isn't history being rewritten. It is history being reread and read aloud so that all the ugly, uncomfortable stories in the

margins can finally come out. This is not a trend, or an overreaction. This is a rebellion.

Rebellions involve risk and defiance. It takes fantastic courage to name your abuser. Naming your abuser is an act of defiance. It means overcoming every lesson you've ever internalized about what happens to women who make trouble. And there are always consequences for that defiance. If you stand up to your rapist, you risk being iced out of your industry, called a liar and a lunatic, and being shamed and humiliated in public and punished in private. That's how structures of oppression work—by excusing almost everyone involved from acknowledging what's happening. The reason that so many men can honestly claim not to have

known the scale and extent of sexual abuse is that women and children have protected them from that knowledge. That's what rape culture is. It's not just a system that allows rapists to get away with it. It's a system that allows them to feel O.K. about it afterward.

On the scale of convenient self-delusion, "We didn't know that every industry on earth was riddled with sexual violence" falls somewhere between "That guy will never make it to the White House" and "It's just a rash." I'm sure that a lot of us, on some level, didn't really know. Hollywood didn't really know, just like Silicon Valley didn't really know. Really knowing requires everyone to act according to their consciences. So nobody knows.

Think about this moment in Hollywood terms. There's a moment toward the end of every classic protest movie when—just as it looks like the baddies have won, that they've finally crushed that secret part inside our hero that wants the world to be different—suddenly, one ordinary person stands up and says, No, this is not right. They say: "I am Spartacus." They say: "O, Captain, my captain." They put down their tools. They drop their guns. The camera closes in on this person's terrified face as they realize the consequences of the crazy, stupid thing they just did.

And then, somewhere in the crowd, a stranger stands up and says something that means "Me too." Then another person. Then another and another, and suddenly everyone is getting to their feet and the camera pulls back as the whole restive crowd rises to say, "Me too." Me too. All of us. Things have been so terribly wrong for so very long, and we've had enough. That chill of excitement runs down your spine, and the music soars as you watch all those people realize that they're not alone anymore. Everyone knows that bit of the movie. Well, that's the bit of the movie we're in. What happens next is up to us.

Penny is the author of Everything Belongs to the Future

Why I said #MeToo

By Alyssa Milano

I have been assaulted and harassed more times than I can recall, and that's not just because I work in Hollywood. Abuse is everywhere—#MeToo has proved that. And I'm not the first to use those powerful words: Tarana Burke, an activist, began calling for people to share their stories years ago, after a young girl told her about being abused and she couldn't bring herself to say, "Me too."

The phrase takes attention away from the predator and brings it back to the victims. To give women a platform enables us all to feel how enormous of an issue this kind of abuse is. We've been so silenced, we don't realize there is a community out there that's ready to embrace us.

Milano is an actor



Protesters march outside the office of Manhattan DA Cy Vance, who didn't prosecute Weinstein

When men see other men behaving badly

By Susanna Schrobsdorff

A LOT OF MEN ARE ASKING THEMSELVES IF they have ever done something that a woman somewhere is tweeting about with the #MeToo hashtag in response to the question, Have you ever been harassed or assaulted? It all began with the horrific accusations against producer Harvey Weinstein over the past month. Since then, the ugliness has swamped our consciousness. It seems to be everywhere, like rot in the walls. Women are walking around feeling less alone, yet they are scared and sickened by the magnitude of the problem. How will we move forward?

The hope is that this catharsis will prompt men and institutions to acknowledge and change their behavior when it comes to the harassment of anyone. I'm sure that some men recognize their own behavior in those tweets. Maybe they're ashamed of their actions or their complicity. Maybe they have learned something about what women go through. Of course, there are those deeply narcissistic, powerful men like Weinstein who can't imagine that a woman doesn't want

'I don't want the fear of being caught to be the thing that makes people not sexually harass people, but if that's what it takes ... If there is something positive that can come out of all this awfulness, then it will be that.'

DANIEL RADCLIFFE, actor, in an interview with TIME

them. Or they don't care because they've gotten used to a life where no one says no without swift and cruel retaliation. (Hell hath no fury like a rejected bully.)

But a lot of men really aren't sure if they've crossed a line. Male friends tell me they've been sifting through memories, thinking, I'm no monster like Weinstein, but what about that time I complimented a woman on her hair—was that creepy?

To answer that question, women are posting lists of things men shouldn't do or say. They advise men to think of women as . . . people. Or that if men are distracted by a woman's womanness, they should just think of her as the Rock, as Anne Victoria Clark wrote. Another list, "57 Things I Need You to Stop Doing to the Women You Work With," includes not commenting on a woman's appearance, ever, and not grabbing her butt.

But here's the problem: we are lumping sexual assault in with "I like your jacket." Part of being treated like a person at work is being treated as a friend, perhaps for a lifetime. And friends talk about their lives outside of work, their kids or their cancer treatment, because we are human first. There's no fixed line between friendship and creepy. And what about the many people who date, marry and break up with colleagues? Then the line between icky and romantic gets really blurry. Think of John Cusack's character standing outside his ex's bedroom with a boom box in the movie *Say Anything*. Read one way, it's the start of a marriage; in another way, he's a stalker. We've been raised on romances in which the guy "just wouldn't give up until she said yes," that she would go out with him or marry him.

Clearly, we have a lot of cultural baggage. So as helpful as a list of don'ts might be, it's not enough. I think men need to hear it from women directly. Is it possible for men to ask women if they've done something to make them uncomfortable or scared? And if they did, would we answer no when we meant yes so as not to offend? I'm not sure. But maybe more honesty is something we can salvage from this awful swamp. It'd be a start anyway.

Schrobsdorff is a TIME columnist and chief of strategic partnerships

We have a lot of work to do

By **Megyn Kelly**

When the Roger Ailes sexual-harassment scandal broke in July 2016 and he was forced out of Fox News in disgrace, I thought we might be at the beginning of a sea change. When Silicon Valley began erupting with similar stories this past spring, I thought, Yes, here we go. Now that we are in the midst of the Harvey Weinstein scandal, many are proclaiming, "This is it. It ends now." My take? Maybe. But we have a lot of work to do.

First and foremost, the victim blaming must stop. Often it seems there is almost a presumption that those who get harassed must have done something to invite it, which leads too many victims to stay silent. Actress Mayim Bialik thought this was the time to discuss the virtues of "not being a perfect ten" or being someone who hasn't had plastic surgery or who avoids flirting with men. (She apologized.) Donna Karan also had to apologize for suggesting that women are "asking for it." How insulting to victims. There are laws in this country. Wearing a short skirt doesn't violate them. Shoving one's tongue down an employee's throat does.

Second, let's get real about the options that harassment victims face. "Report it!" we say. "You have rights!" Easy to say; much harder to do. The thing that keeps harassment targets quiet, in my view, is not that they do not know their options. It's that they know their options stink.

Go to HR? HR may have to tell the harasser—and he may survive the bout. "He cannot legally retaliate," people tell us. We know. But we also know the

practical realities of starting wars with powerful men. So most women stay quiet. And then if they do find the courage to come forward, the first thing they're asked is, "Did you report it?" (In my case, I did tell a supervisor that Ailes had harassed me. Nothing was done.)

More women speaking up is huge. But more women in power—at or near the top of companies or industries—is equally important. What women need is someone they feel safe approaching. An outside lawyer whose paycheck is not dependent on the boss, perhaps—Fox News now has such a person. But women will still be reluctant unless they believe this person isn't loyal to the company first.

Perhaps the most critical solution lies in partnership with the men. The harassers must stop; we know this. But male titans of industry must stand up for decency. Shout it from the rooftops and whisper it in the bars when women aren't around, because we don't often get invited to the late-night drinks where those conversations happen. Those are the moments. Women alone cannot change the culture. We need men. Evolved ones. Kind ones. Brave and scared ones, like those who fear expulsion from the fraternity if they object to a male colleague's bad behavior.

All of this is easier in an environment in which the law and one's principles are vigorously enforced, even and especially when no one is looking. In other words, it's not women vs. men; it's ethical vs. not. Which side are you on?

Kelly hosts Megyn Kelly Today on NBC at 9 a.m.

'How many times have we been a critic, an adviser, a "protector," when the only thing our loved ones wanted was a listener? Of the many roles that men can play in reducing sexual victimization—including stop victimizing—perhaps a place to start is changing how we listen.'

PARENTING

Why you shouldn't punish your kids for lying

By Alan Kazdin

GETTING YOUR CHILDREN TO STOP LYING IS challenging. There are many influences (TV, movies, video games and some great books) in which lies are common. Children see parents lie to others, if only to be polite. Most parents add to that with tales about the lives and activities of Santa Claus or the Tooth Fairy, or to allay fears. ("This will not hurt!") Parents do this out of love, but for some children, lying can become a problem.

The most common reactions to children who lie are explaining why it is wrong and punishment. As ways of changing behavior, these are ineffective. Here are three better tools supported by research to use instead.

PRAISE: You could ask your child to say something that happened at school that is true. It is not critical what that is. This is about practice. When your child complies, praise him enthusiastically. Be specific: "That was great! You told me what happened just like I asked. Wow!" and give your child a hug or a high five. If your child says something true in the course of her day, praise that behavior too. Aim for one or two interactions like this a day. If you happen to "catch" your child in a lie, be matter-of-fact in your disapproval. Say something like, "That is not true and could get you in trouble outside of the home; it is better to say the truth."

MODEL: Explicitly tell the truth. This could be about something that happened when you were a child or something that happened during the day. It need not be dramatic. Another option is to play a game at dinner. Each person tells one thing that was true that day. Again, give a little praise to the child who normally lies if she plays along.

DE-EMPHASIZE PUNISHMENT AND MORALIZING: They are unlikely to change behavior or develop the conduct you want. That does not mean ignoring, lying or letting it go. Rather, use very mild punishment (light reprimand, short loss of privilege, a brief time-out). More severe, harsh or enduring punishments (shouting, taking away something for a week, hitting) are not more effective in actually changing the frequency of lying.

Try these procedures for two to three weeks and see where you are. Usually they can be dropped by then. It is unlikely that lying will be completely eliminated, but with the right encouragement, it can be dramatically lessened.

Kazdin is the director of the Yale Parenting Center

VERBATIM
"They had more concerns about my beard."

JIMMY KIMMEL, late-night host, responding to a question about whether ABC has ever asked him to tone down the politics of his monologues



DIGITS

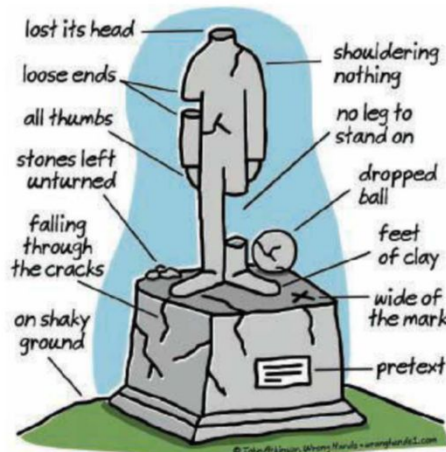
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Number of pieces in Lego's Women of NASA set, on sale Nov. 1, after a fan proposed the idea last year and thousands of people supported it. Inside? A space shuttle, the Hubble telescope and four luminaries: astronomer Nancy Grace Roman, computer scientist Margaret Hamilton and astronauts Sally Ride and Mae Jemison.



CHARTOON

Monument to incompetence

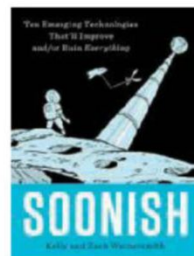


JOHN ATKINSON, WRONG HANDS

BOOK IN BRIEF

The knife-edge of our future gadgets

AT THE BEGINNING OF A CHAPTER IN *Soonish: Ten Emerging Technologies That'll Improve and/or Ruin Everything*, Kelly and Zach Weinersmith pose a question: "Why do you use your computer so much more than your bike?" The answer seems obvious. Your computer does many things well; your bike, just one. But "what if we could make all of your stuff like the computer?" The Weinersmiths posit that it's possible. As they do for several nascent technologies in the book, the Weinersmiths draw from (and sometimes actually draw) promising research and proofs of concept like fingertip-size origami robots and shape-shifting furniture. But they counterbalance curiosity with concern. What if your programmed belongings are hacked? "Maybe you wake up one day and the dish has run away with the spoon," the authors write. "It's bad enough you lost your stuff, but now you're wondering exactly where the knife went." —LISA EADICICCO



KIMMEL: RODIN ECKENROTH—GETTY IMAGES; DIGITS: THE LEGO GROUP

BIG IDEA

The sunshine town

How do you build America's first completely solar-powered community? You start from scratch. Developers Kitson & Partners designed and constructed Babcock Ranch, a South Florida town that spans 17,000 acres (440 of which are a solar field), in partnership with state and local government. It took them more than a decade. Getting around will be groundbreaking too: the developer says the town will launch the first self-driving shuttle network in North America in November. The automated electric vehicles will pass downtown, a charter school and multiple neighborhoods, where prices for model homes currently start at about \$350,000. The first residents—of a potential 50,000—are expected to begin moving in by the end of the year. —*Julia Zorthian*



HISTORY

Why the anthem became a sports tradition

THESE DAYS “THE STAR-SPANGLED BANNER” is most likely to make news at a football game, where NFL players use it as a moment for protest. But a milestone in the sporting history of what is now the national anthem happened on the baseball diamond, during the 1918 World Series.

The contest had almost been canceled, as baseball officials planned to nix the whole thing out of deference to soldiers fighting in World War I. They changed their minds after hearing that troops overseas were eager to know who'd win. (Babe Ruth's Boston Red Sox beat the Chicago Cubs.) It was at Game 1 that Red Sox third baseman and furloughed Navy sailor Fred Thomas offered a rendition of the patriotic song. Although it wasn't the first time it was sung at a game, the performance was widely hailed; the *New York Times* wrote

it was “far different from any incident that has ever occurred in the history of baseball.” Given the timing, Thomas' performance helped solidify the song's role in patriotic ritual—and American sporting events.

It wasn't until World War II, by which point the song was the official national anthem and sound-system technology had made music much easier to play at outdoor games, that such performances became a pregame tradition. At the war's end, NFL commissioner Elmer Layden called for all of the league's teams to continue to play “The Star-Spangled Banner” at every game, arguing that the tradition was just as important as it had been during the war. Layden said, “We should never forget what it stands for.” —OLIVIA B. WAXMAN

► For more on these stories, visit time.com/history



BY THE NUMBERS
Guns and data

Nine hundred ten. That's how many of the annual **33,000 gun-related deaths** in the U.S. could be prevented if all states enacted waiting periods between the purchase and acquisition of handguns, according to a new study in *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*. (That total doesn't include the suspected decrease in suicides.)

The 2012 Sandy Hook shooting inspired the study's researchers to analyze politically viable policies. They note such measures limit gun violence but not ownership; opponents say delays endanger those needing urgent defense.

Sixteen states and the District of Columbia have handgun waiting periods, ranging from a day to more than a week. The authors estimate these regulations prevent about **750 homicides** yearly.

The researchers linked the policies to a **17% drop in gun homicides** and **7% to 11% drop in gun suicides**. From a data sample spanning 1970 through 2014, they calculated the change in gun-death rates for states with waits vs. those without. They also studied the national decline when the Brady Act launched a federal five-day waiting period in 1994. In 1998, it was replaced with background checks that cause no delay. —*J.Z.*

The background of the entire page is a close-up photograph of the American flag, showing the stars and stripes. The stars are in the upper left, and the stripes run horizontally across the rest of the image. The lighting is slightly dim, giving it a serious and patriotic feel.

Nation

The Crusader

**WHAT ROY MOORE'S RISE MEANS
FOR THE REPUBLICAN PARTY**

**By Nash Jenkins/Montgomery, Ala.,
and Philip Elliott/Washington**

*Moore brandishes
a handgun
while speaking
about Second
Amendment rights
at a campaign
event in Fairhope,
Ala., on Sept. 25*





Roy Moore has been talking with God. It's a brilliant October afternoon in downtown Montgomery, Ala., and inside the weathered brick home serving as the headquarters for Moore's Senate campaign, the twice-removed former chief justice of the Alabama supreme court leans back in his chair and shares what the Lord has told him.

“Our rights come from God,” the 70-year-old Baptist says. “The Constitution was founded upon God. It was made for moral and religious people. It is the fallen nature of man that the Constitution meant to restrain.”

Moore is favored to win the Dec. 12 election to fill the Senate seat that was vacated when Jeff Sessions stepped down to become the nation's Attorney General. And while several conservative rabble-rousers have joined the Senate in recent years—both Rand Paul of Kentucky and Ted Cruz of Texas come to mind—there is nobody in Washington quite like Moore: a judge who recites anti-abortion poetry, rejects the theory of evolution, doesn't think Muslims should be allowed to serve in Congress, fought to keep antiquated wording in the Alabama constitution requiring school segregation and suggested the Sept. 11 terrorist attacks were God's punishment for America's sins. His first priority in the Senate, he says, will be to fight to impeach the five Supreme Court Justices who voted in 2015 to give same-sex couples the right to wed from coast to coast. (Such a move would make history: the last attempt to remove a Supreme Court Justice began in 1804, and proved a failure.)

Moore is not only a culture warrior. He is a populist Christian and a soldier in the larger Republican revolution that is rooted

in frustration with Washington and prizes anti-establishment anger over all else. The same uprising that carried President Donald Trump into the White House looks poised to deliver an even more disruptive figure, one the party cannot control.

And the revolution is about to spread well beyond Dixie. Its field general, former Trump strategist Stephen Bannon, says he is recruiting a slate of insurgent outsiders who will vow to topple the Republican ruling class. “Right now it's a season of war against the GOP establishment,” Bannon told a gathering in Washington on Oct. 14. Three days later, Bannon showed up in Arizona to endorse the right-wing Senate candidate Kelli Ward, who is running against incumbent Republican Jeff Flake, a Trump critic. Bannon's allies say they plan to challenge sitting Republican Senators in Nevada, Mississippi, Montana, Wisconsin and West Virginia. “The anger we all saw bubble up in 2010 is even more pronounced now,” says Andy Surabian, a top Bannon lieutenant. “Every Republican who hasn't lived up to their promises should be watching their backs.”

At a moment when the party should be capitalizing on unified control of Washington, the 2018 elections are shaping up instead as perhaps the nastiest GOP civil war in a generation. A collection of outside groups tied to Senate majority leader Mitch McConnell has already raised more than \$40 million this fall to protect incumbents next year from Bannon's insurgents, and donors are preparing to quadruple that if needed. At stake is whether the GOP remains a party of traditional conservative principles, or becomes something else entirely. Senator John McCain warned in an Oct. 16 speech his party risks following “some half-baked, spurious nationalism cooked up by people who would rather find scapegoats than solve problems.”

GALLANT, ALA., pop. 742, is a quiet village in the foggy upstate hills, with a volunteer fire department, a post office and the town's First Baptist Church. This is where Moore worships. “He's a straight-shooter and a man of God,” deacon Arnold Gray says at an Oct. 15 prayer meeting. Faith has long been Moore's foundation. The judge and his wife Kayla, who have been married for 32 years, live on a 50-acre property, protected by a locked gate, in a hillside house you can't see from the wooded road. The Ten Commandments are posted above their bed. Moore, who doesn't touch whiskey or beer, wears a 10-gallon hat and speaks extemporaneously—“I'm not a speechwriter,” he says—sometimes pausing to grin with his tongue between his teeth. He can recite whole passages of works that move him, from Blackstone's Commentaries to the *Federalist* papers to his own poetry, which ranges from decrying “babies piled in dumpsters” to comparing love to



butterflies.

Moore spent his formative years in Gallant, the oldest of five children born to a jackhammer operator and a homemaker. He was a studious child. “I never got any trouble out of that boy—he’s always loved going to church,” says his mother Evelyn Ridgeway. “He never went outside. I’d find him studying in his room at 3 in the morning. Kids used to make fun of him.” But Moore was willing to go his own way. He “prayed hard” to get into West Point, where he says his fellow cadets had little patience for “a Southern boy with a strong adherence to what I believed.” After a stint as a military police commander in Vietnam, he studied law at the University of Alabama and settled back in his home county. He made a reputation as a tough prosecutor. “I lost maybe four cases in five years, and I tried hundreds,” he says. After losing an election for a local judgeship, he spent a year working as a rancher in rural Australia. In 1992, he was appointed to preside over the 16th circuit court

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Moore greets supporters on Sept. 26 after winning the Republican primary in the special election for Alabama’s open Senate seat

of Alabama after the sitting judge died.

Then came the move that put him on the map. “I’d prayed not to get appointed unless it was God’s will,” Moore recalls as he prepares to drive from his campaign headquarters to meet Kayla across town. “I got appointed. I had to start decorating my courtroom, and I figured I’d hang a big picture of Washington or Jefferson, but I couldn’t find any. So I pulled out a little plaque of the Ten Commandments that I’d made in 1980.” The American Civil Liberties Union sued, but Moore refused to budge. “I said ‘What, I can’t acknowledge God’s role in this?’”

In 2000, Moore was elected the chief justice of the Alabama supreme court. He soon commissioned a granite monument to the Ten Commandments—the “moral foundation of the Constitution,” he maintains—to sit in the rotunda of the courthouse. It weighed 5,280 lb. and drew nearly as many protesters. A legal controversy erupted, and in November 2003 the Alabama court of the judiciary removed Moore

from office when he refused to ditch the monument. It made him a national celebrity among evangelicals. Moore took the reins of the Foundation for Moral Law, the judiciary-action group he founded in 2002 that fights for public prayer and against abortion and same-sex marriage. In 2012, he ran again for chief justice and won. Four years later, he was removed from the post by judicial officials once again—this time for telling Alabama judges not to issue marriage licenses to same-sex couples, in defiance of the U.S. Supreme Court. “The ultimate goal of the movement is to drive the nation into a wasteland of sexual anarchy that consumes all moral values,” he wrote in an opinion on *Obergefell v. Hodges*, the Supreme Court case that he describes as a “sudden overthrow of our government.”

Says Moore: “I don’t hate people because they profess homosexuality. I hate sin. And sodomy has historically been an aberration of our laws.”

This isn’t the kind of talk you hear much anymore in Senate hallways. But then, Alabama is a deeply red state that has elected Senators like Sessions and, in the 1980s, Jeremiah Denton, who believed the U.S. was being destroyed by moral decay. When Sessions was nominated to become U.S. Attorney General, Alabama’s Republican governor, Robert Bentley, chose state attorney general Luther Strange to fill Sessions’ old seat until a special election could be held. At the time, Bentley was under state investigation on allegations that he had used taxpayer dollars to conceal an extramarital affair with a female staffer. Voters speculated that Bentley had sent Strange to the Senate so the governor would have a chance to pick a more favorable prosecutor. Bentley resigned. The suspicion hurt Strange. Says local conservative activist John Pudner: “Alabama doesn’t like insiders.”

Both Trump and McConnell backed Strange, but Bannon cast his lot with Moore, who was leading in the polls when Bannon touched down in September to endorse him in the closing days of the state’s GOP primary. “His team was up three touchdowns with 45 seconds left, and he found the first plane so he could be on the sidelines when the clock hit zero,” a veteran Republican strategist says of Bannon. Moore went on to beat Strange, capturing 54.6% of the vote. Moore downplays his ties to the Breitbart boss. “I met Steve Bannon when the primary was about toward the end of it,” the candidate recalls. “I talked to him on the phone and he offered his support. I said, ‘Well, fine, I’d love to have your support.’” Moore also professed surprise when Trump announced on Oct. 16 that he would be meeting with Moore the following week. “Well, that’s the first I’m hearing about it,” Moore chuckled several hours later. “But let’s make it happen.”



▲
Bannon, top, has declared a “civil war” within the Republican Party and is backing candidates like Moore who pledge to challenge the party establishment in Washington

THE BIBLE-QUOTING JURIST and real estate mogul turned President may not have much in common. But their interests may align: a year after Trump’s election, mainstream Republicans still run things on Capitol Hill—and things still aren’t getting done. Multiple attempts to repeal and replace Obamacare have failed. The promised border wall is scarcely closer to reality. Tax reform is struggling to get off the ground, and a government shutdown looms on the horizon. “We have a slew of politicians that care more about their power than they do about doing what’s right for this country,” says Ed Henry, a Republican in Alabama’s house of representatives

and a Moore backer. “That’s why Americans voted for Donald Trump, and that’s why Alabamians are voting for Roy Moore. They want to upset the apple cart.”

Bannon and his allies want to capitalize on this frustration. Their strategy is to knit together a disparate coalition, from evangelical populists to small-government libertarians, to take on the proverbial swamp. Already Bannon is jetting around the U.S., meeting with major Republican donors in a bid to convince them to defect from McConnell’s team. Along the way, he is advising would-be recruits on how to savage incumbents. Republicans are defending eight Senate seats in 2018, many of them in red states that are fertile ground for an upset. Only Cruz—a favorite of the wealthy Republican donors Robert and Rebekah Mercer, who have also bankrolled Bannon—appears safe from a primary threat. “The grassroots saw they can be successful with President Trump,” says Surabian, Bannon’s ally, “and they now see they can be successful in dislodging Mitch McConnell as majority leader and replacing squishy, weak-kneed Republicans with anti-establishment, America First–styled Republicans.”

One question Bannon has yet to answer is whether he can match McConnell’s cash. During the past two election cycles, establishment Republicans have trounced Tea Party–style insurgents in a sweep of competitive primaries. McConnell’s aides understand the stakes. The GOP leader tried to make sure the President understood them when they met privately on Oct. 16, after which the two Republican leaders took questions together in the White House Rose Garden in a forced show of unity. “You have to nominate people who can actually win, because winners make policy and losers go home,” McConnell told reporters, citing failed candidates like Christine O’Donnell, Sharron Angle, Todd Akin and Richard Mourdock, Tea Party–backed nominees who squandered winnable races.

Democrats insist that Moore could fall into the same category. His opponent in December will be Doug Jones, a 63-year-old former U.S. Attorney who made his name prosecuting the perpetrators of the 1963 Ku Klux Klan bombing of a Birmingham

‘Electing Moore would be like throwing a bomb into the Senate.’

DOUG JONES, Democratic opponent

BANNON’S BRIGADE

The former White House chief strategist isn’t limiting himself to Alabama’s Senate contest. Here are some of the other races Bannon is looking to disrupt:

ARIZONA

Senator Jeff Flake is among the GOP’s most endangered incumbents. Bannon wants to take him out in the primary, throwing his weight behind state senator Kelli Ward.

MISSISSIPPI

Senator Roger Wicker ran the committee to defend the GOP majority in 2016, yet now finds himself in Bannon’s crosshairs. State senator Chris McDaniel is eyeing a second bid for a U.S. Senate seat, this time with Bannon’s blessing.

WYOMING

Senator John Barrasso is a member of the GOP leadership in the Senate, and that’s enough to make him a marked man. Bannon is urging Blackwater founder Erik Prince, who owns property in Wyoming, to challenge Barrasso in the primary.

NEVADA

Senator Dean Heller is among Trump’s favorite Twitter targets. Bannon is wooing repeat candidate Danny Tarkanian, the son of a fabled local basketball coach, to challenge Heller.

church that killed four African-American girls. That’s as strong a profile as a Democrat in Alabama is ever likely to get, but the odds are long. Trump won nearly two of every three votes in this state in 2016; no Democrat has been elected to the Senate from Alabama since Howell Heflin in 1990.

Republicans worry about Moore too; only a small fraction of the House Republican conference and even fewer of his Senate colleagues have endorsed his candidacy. Around Washington, GOP strategists have taken to joking about how Moore makes Senate hard-liners like Cruz, who sparked a government shutdown in 2013, look tame. Some fear that as the party pushes for a tax-cut package, Moore’s strong cultural views could present a distraction. In his interview with *TIME*, the judge remarked that NFL players who knelt during the national anthem in protest against police brutality or systemic racism were committing a crime. “It’s against the law, you know that?” Moore said. “It was an act of Congress that every man stand and put their hand over their heart. That’s the law.” (Moore was referring to a section of the U.S. code that outlines how people should conduct themselves when the anthem is played, but the code merely outlines proper etiquette; there are no legal penalties.)

If Moore loses in December, it would shave the party’s cushion in the upper chamber to a single vote—which means there is an outside chance that Moore’s rise and Bannon’s crusade could cost the party control of the Senate, giving Democrats the numbers, and the subpoena power, to thwart every aspect of Trump’s agenda. And in the much more likely event that Moore wins, the Senate is about to become harder to govern—if that’s possible. “Electing Moore would be like throwing a bomb into the Senate,” Jones says over coffee at a diner in the town of Moulton on Oct. 16. “He can’t work with anybody. People here don’t want to go backward, and some of his divisive and extreme rhetoric takes us back decades.”

None of this concerns Moore. Late on a Monday afternoon in October, he was sitting in the parlor turned conference room of the house that serves as his campaign office. The light was fading from the windows. Moore was about to drive over to the offices of the Foundation for Moral Law, which his wife Kayla now runs. The high-ceilinged offices in the historic Montgomery building still has five plaques of the Ten Commandments on its walls, and the judge keeps an office there where he plots his next battle. “You think the people of Alabama don’t understand what I believe?” he says. “It’s God’s providence that we’ve won, because it’s inexplicable in modern terms. There’s all this consternation in Washington over ‘What does this mean?’ It means the country is waking up to the relevance of God.” □



*New York
City mother
Margaret
Nichols nurses
her son Bo,
at 7 months.
She originally
planned to
breastfeed for
two years*



Society

THE GODDESS MYTH

Motherhood is supposed to be all about love and joy. So why do so many moms feel so bad?

BY CLAIRE HOWORTH

PHOTOGRAPHS BY
ELINOR CARUCCI FOR TIME

Giving birth to her first child at home without medication was a foregone conclusion for Margaret Nichols. Pain would yield to will, and that would be that. Throughout her pregnancy, the 40-year-old New York City meditation teacher pored over the natural-birth canon, books like Ina May Gaskin's *Spiritual Midwifery and Bountiful, Beautiful, Blissful* by Gurmukh Kaur Khalsa. She became active in an international Facebook group dedicated to home and water births, stockpiling mindfulness tips to help her override the physical agonies of labor. She rented an inflatable blue birthing tub made of phthalate-free vinyl. Practically all her friends had given birth at home, and they assured her that the 118 gallons of water, warmed to roughly her body temperature,

would function as “nature’s epidural.”

When Nichols went into labor last November, she felt elated, primed and cozy. She was surrounded by a midwife, a doula and her partner Jeff Hubbard. But 30 hours later she was in pain beyond imagination, howling what she later called desperate “animal-kingdom noises” as she hurtled in her midwife’s car toward a local hospital. There, she eagerly accepted anesthesia, took a brief nap and gave birth to a healthy son she named Bo.

Back home, Nichols commenced the course of exclusive breastfeeding that is prescribed to pretty much every new mother in America. She had hoped to nurse for two years. But after 5 months she developed lactation issues, which were exacerbated by a previously undiagnosed thyroid problem. She would have to supplement with donor milk and formula. Feeling like she hadn’t “succeeded” and that her story wasn’t “worthy,” she went dark on Facebook.

The beginning of motherhood for Nichols was thus tainted by disappointment. Seven months later, she describes a kind of “mourning” that her biology wouldn’t submit to her ideals. “I prepared so much for the birth, but the one thing that’s not

talked about as much is how much support we need, and how vulnerable we are afterward,” she says.

You could argue that Nichols set herself up, that nobody should expect babies or bodies to adhere to best-laid plans. But like millions of other American moms, she had been bombarded by a powerful message: that she is built to build a human, that she will feel all the more empowered for doing so as nature supposedly intended and that the baby’s future depends on it. Call it the Goddess Myth, spun with a little help from basically everyone—doctors, activists, other moms. It tells us that breast is best; that if there is a choice between a vaginal birth and major surgery, you should want to push; that your body is a temple and what you put in it should be holy; that sending your baby to the hospital nursery for a few hours after giving birth is a dereliction of duty. Oh, and that you will feel—and look—radiant.

The myth impacts all moms. Because they partly reflect our ideals, hospital and public-health policy are wrapped up with it. But even the best intentions can cause harm. The consequences vary in degree, from pervasive feelings of guilt to the rare and unbearable tragedy of a mother so intent on breastfeeding that she accidentally starves her infant to death.

A survey of 913 mothers commissioned by TIME and conducted by SurveyMonkey found that half of all new mothers had experienced regret, shame, guilt or anger, mostly due to unexpected complications and lack of support. More than 70% felt pressured to do things a certain way. More than half said a natural birth was extremely or very important, yet 43% wound up needing drugs or an epidural, and 22% had unplanned C-sections. Breastfeeding, too, proved a greater challenge than anticipated. Out of the 20% who planned to breastfeed for at least a year, fewer than half actually did. The majority of mothers in the survey, as well as those I talked to in dozens of additional interviews, pointed to “society in general” as the source of the pressure, followed by doctors and other mothers.

Partly to blame are tsk-tsking furies: the barista who challenges your coffee order, the mother-in-law who asks why the ketchup isn’t organic, the fellow partygoer who wonders, eyebrow cocked, if the drink you are holding is “virgin.” “Anytime I pulled out a bottle and powdered formula, I felt eyes staring at me with daggers,” says Ashley Sobel, a mom in New York. “Pumping instead of breastfeeding. Child going crazy on a plane. Going back to work immediately,” says Janel Molton, who lives in Palo Alto, Calif. “We live in a world where people fling judgments with their fingertips.”

This kind of mom-shaming, in which people

SURVEY RESULTS

34%

said a natural birth was extremely important, while another 40% said it was at least somewhat so

11%

said it was not at all important

28%

said their birth experience didn’t go according to plan



feel licensed or even morally obligated to single out certain behaviors as wrong, might explain why many mothers I spoke to talked about their introductions to motherhood in the language of failure. A woman who had to be induced for a vaginal birth called her plans “not successful.” A mom who had planned to go medication-free but ultimately “gave in” to an epidural said she wished she had “trusted” her body. And while only one mother I talked to had an elective C-section, the ones who had unplanned surgeries were almost uniformly disappointed. The feelings were similar and even more widespread among moms who either couldn’t breastfeed or stopped for “selfish” reasons—bleeding nipples, lack of sleep, returning to work. Of course what these moms wanted—what we all know they wanted—was a healthy baby. That’s what most of them got. But what’s lost in the cacophony of anxiety is the other thing every mom wants: to enjoy the beauty of motherhood.

HOW DID WE COME TO BELIEVE THAT mothers should be compliant with nature—the master of evolutionary hardball—and then feel responsible when it works against us? Certainly, some of it is the Internet, which increasingly delivers medical information with a side of personal opinion.

▲
Nichols pumps her breast milk, which she supplements with donor milk and formula

Google the basics and the top results will frequently lead to BabyCenter.com, part medical resource, part Reddit for parents. The site, owned by Johnson & Johnson, features articles written by a medical advisory board, but what more often turns up are links to its community forums, where the expert opinion is that of your fellow mother. Take the question “Should I breastfeed or bottle-feed?” Search sends you to a BabyCenter chat on which the top-rated answer—a ranking of “helpfulness” determined by users’ likes—states: “For every 87 formula-fed babies who die of SIDS, only 3 breastfed babies die from SIDS.” This is false. On the site’s forums, you can find page after page of repeat visitors trash-talking and trolling one another. They call themselves “drama llamas.” This is what passes for expertise on one of the web’s most popular destinations for expectant and new mothers.

Elsewhere online, the goddess templates abound. There’s Genevieve Howland, a.k.a. Mama Natural, whose YouTube series has more than 64 million views. Nearly 19 million people have watched the videos she posted of her two natural births. There was Beyoncé’s pregnancy announcement on Instagram, showing the singer, then expecting twins, resplendent as a fecund

deity. There are the legions of sublimely filtered public motherhoods, blogged in detail by women like Naomi Davis and Courtney Adamo.

It's a lot to live up to, even for them. And yet it seems only natural to revere the vision of the effortlessly fertile, happily pregnant DIY mama who finds affirmation in the excruciating. Who doesn't want to believe that motherhood is innate? I certainly did. When I was pregnant with my daughter, I Googled everything. I grilled my OB on skipping pain meds (she laughed) and pondered the benefits of a doula (she scoffed). I wound up having a C-section when my daughter didn't descend. And, yes, I was sad about it. My daughter couldn't nurse, so I pumped for almost five months, stashing away freezer bags with the zeal of a doomsday prepper to carry her to 6 months exclusively on breast milk. I felt smug about my supply, and guilty when I eventually stopped.

I asked Dr. Mary Jane Minkin, a clinical professor of obstetrics at Yale School of Medicine, if my feelings were common. She said she sees women making themselves "crazy" over the wish to do things as naturally as possible, including giving birth intervention-free and breastfeeding. "In the 1900s, we didn't have a lot of interventions," she tells me. "Guess what? People died. The average female life expectancy was 48. That was as 'natural' as it got." Catherine Monk, a psychologist and associate professor at Columbia University Medical Center, whose research focuses on maternal stress, echoes Minkin. "There's a crescendo of voices saying, 'If you don't do X or Y, you're doing it wrong,'" Monk says. The result is "a kind of over-preciousness about motherhood. It's obsessive, and it's amplified by the Internet and social media."

TIME WAS, women desperately needed someone like Ina May Gaskin. The Tennessee midwife has authored several popular natural-birth manuals, starting with *Spiritual Midwifery* in 1975—not long after a time when husbands were often banned from delivery rooms, women were put under general anesthesia during labor and formula-feeding was the rule rather than the exception. The book detailed the methods of a freethinking commune called the Farm where Gaskin and other midwives delivered babies. (Women still give birth there.) Even for moms who didn't want to give birth in a cabin in the woods, Gaskin and those who followed her helped foster a culture in which women felt empowered to make their own obstetrical choices.

Gaskin's work also helped popularize the role of midwives in the U.S. Midwives, in turn, have precipitated the rise of the doula, or birth assistant, over the past few decades. In 2015, more



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Combo-feeding (formula and breast milk) rates in the U.S. dropped from 43% in 2009 to 34% in 2014 for babies under 6 months

than 38,000 births took place at home. Most of them were planned and part of a big increase in out-of-hospital births over the past decade, which now account for more than 1.5% of all U.S. births—almost as many as elective C-sections. Overall, C-sections are down for the third year in a row, making up 26% of low-risk first births.

Philosophies about having a baby the "right way"—and the scientific knowledge undergirding the advice we're expected to follow—are, like so much else in health trends, cyclical. To epidural or not to epidural? It will give you a wicked headache (highly possible, says science), or it will hamper your bonding with the baby (somewhat possible, says other science), or it may not work at all (there's always that chance). It wasn't long ago that formula was promoted as a bounty of women's lib. Today it's disparaged as a last resort.

These pendulum swings make motherhood harder and more confusing, something I heard a lot about from the moms I spoke with for this article. "With my first, I found myself really stressed



out trying to live up to it all and embarrassed when I couldn't," says Seana Norvell, a California mom who had a C-section when her first baby was breech. She had trouble producing enough milk, but she obsessed about breastfeeding. Her husband and mother secretly fed her child formula, an act she says she is now grateful for. "As a new mom, it's easy to feel judged," says Tennessee mother Kaitlyn Kambestad. "There are so many conflicting studies, ideas and opinions. It's overwhelming."

THE ONE THING being pitched universally these days is breastfeeding. There are good reasons to do it: it may help reduce gastrointestinal infections, middle-ear infections and some immune-based diseases like allergies and asthma. It's free. It could be lovely bonding time with your baby. All of which is why more than 80% of American moms try it. Dr. Lori Feldman-Winter, a representative of the American Academy of Pediatrics, says evidence supports the belief that mother's milk impacts

babies' brain activity. "It's particularly apparent in premature babies," she says. "Probably it's most important in the most vulnerable populations."

But where women used to claim that formula was excessively pushed on them, the preaching, both from many doctors and from fellow mothers, may now have gone too far the other way. Take the Baby-Friendly Hospital Initiative (BFHI). Established in 1991 by the World Health Organization and UNICEF, the BFHI is an effort to help women around the world breastfeed exclusively from day one until a baby is 6 months old and for as long as possible once solid foods are introduced. It was meant to ensure proper nutrition, especially in regions that lack clean drinking water. But it has also been influential in the U.S. because it designates hospitals that conform to its rules as "baby-friendly." Last year, almost 20% of America's 3.9 million newborns were delivered in one of 420 BFHI-certified facilities. There's at least one in every state.

If you walk into a BFHI-certified hospital, the signs will be clear: there are images everywhere of mothers nursing their babies. You won't see any formula, bottles or pacifiers on display. Those are forbidden under BFHI guidelines, which state that human milk is "the normal way" to feed an infant. If a mother wants to formula-feed, this hospital must warn of "possible consequences" to the baby's health. The BFHI also strongly recommends rooming-in, the practice of having babies sleep in the hospital room, if not in the bed, with their mom.

The pressure to room-in alarms some doctors. Last October, after several of Boston's largest hospitals shut down newborn nurseries to achieve the BFHI designation, three prominent physicians wrote a scathing viewpoint in *JAMA Pediatrics*, a leading peer-reviewed journal. "There is now emerging evidence that full compliance with the 10 steps of the initiative may inadvertently be promoting potentially hazardous practices and/or having counterproductive outcomes," wrote Dr. Joel L. Bass and Dr. Tina Gartley, both in pediatrics at Newton-Wellesley, and Dr. Ronald Kleinman, the physician-in-chief at MassGeneral Hospital for Children. They worry that rooming-in could lead to mothers' accidentally smothering their children and possibly contribute to sudden unexpected postnatal collapse, a rare but often fatal respiratory failure.

When I ask Trish MacEnroe, the executive director of the BFHI's U.S. arm, what the possible consequences of not breastfeeding are—Injury? Illness? Death?—she tells me: "Breast milk and formula are not equivalent to one another. The mother's breast milk is a unique biological food." The goal of the BFHI, MacEnroe

15%
did not plan to
breastfeed at all

56%
planned to
breastfeed for
seven months or
longer

43%
breastfed for six
months or less

says, “is not to produce guilt, but it is to prevent regret. We believe mothers have the right to know about the impact of their decisions.”

Even if they don’t give birth in a BFHI-certified hospital, the refrain that new moms hear may not be so different. In April, the American Academy of Pediatrics issued a stern statement underscoring that “breastfeeding should be considered a public-health imperative and not merely a lifestyle choice.” But it’s hard to wrap your head around what “lifestyle choice” means when, say, you are suffering the pain of plugged ducts, or staying up all night for cluster feedings, or trying to please zealous lactation consultants. Not to mention the likelihood that you’re among the 87% of American workers who don’t have paid maternity leave. Given any—or all—of those factors, you could be forgiven for feeling like you’re set up to fail. As Rachel Zaslow, a certified nurse-midwife in Charlottesville, Va., puts it, “The minute a person becomes pregnant, there’s a notion that if you’re not doing those kinds of things, you’re not a good mother.”

LUCKILY, AN ANTI-SHAME CANON is growing. Political scientist Courtney Jung’s recent book *Lactivism* argues that breast milk has become an industry the way formula once was, compounding the incentives and pressures that potentially hurt moms. Amy Tuteur, a former OB, wrote *Push Back*, a polemic against natural parenting. In *Blaming Mothers*, legal scholar Linda Fentiman writes that “mothers—and pregnant women—are increasingly seen as exclusively responsible for all aspects of their children’s health and well-being.” In the spring, Alexandra Sacks wrote about the difficult process of matrescence—the total identity shift of becoming a mother—for the *New York Times*. All strains of the goddess myth.

There is a backlash beyond the bookshelf too. Last year, Dr. Christie Del Castillo-Hegyí, an emergency-room physician in Arkansas, founded Fed Is Best. The organization, run by a group of doctors, nurses and mothers, raises awareness of feeding options. It wants the BFHI to reconsider its stringent rules and to inform mothers on what Del Castillo-Hegyí says are under-recognized risks of exclusive breastfeeding, ranging from jaundice to starvation. She would know. Several years ago, in her quest to exclusively breastfeed, she nearly starved her infant son to death. Some of the mothers who work with Fed Is Best have had similar experiences, in a few cases leading to their babies’ death. They are determined to keep such tragedy from striking others. “If you have leaders telling you this is what’s best, it becomes ideology, policy, identity,” says Del Castillo-Hegyí. “I can’t even think of something more vulnerable than

motherhood. And if motherhood means ‘exclusive breastfeeding,’ then a mother will do anything.”

Mothers *will* do anything. I knew that going into my research for this story. But for all the communal aspects of bearing and raising children, for all the prescriptions we follow on the path of shaping another human, motherhood is a uniquely individual experience. Even amid harsh self-reflection, the moms I spoke to who had been let down ultimately concluded as much. “After the birth, I saw how judgmental I was about parenting styles,” New York City mom Margaret Nichols says. “I realized we all have our path and way of thinking, and what works for each mother is exactly perfect for that child.” Says Seana Norvell, who recently gave birth to her third child: “What I’ve learned is there are some things you can control, but there is a lot you can’t. We just have to give ourselves a break and do the best we can.”

It’s hard to keep an individual “best” in mind amid images of glory and perfection, and anecdotal stories about what worked or didn’t for another mom. But “women are coming out and talking more about [the problems of motherhood],” says Domino Kirke, a New York doula with a practice in Los Angeles, whose popular Instagram account is filled with graphic but exhilarating images of the births she attends: mothers and their newborns amid bloody placenta on the bed at home as well as gracefully shot operating rooms where C-sections give way to joy. She says she wants to help mothers erase “the unknown,” which is where she thinks the shame and guilt come from.

Among the 112,693 photographs that are hashtagged #nationalbreastfeedingweek and #worldbreastfeedingweek, there are a few rogue bottles, some defiant pumps and the red, tear-streaked face of a mother named Angela Burzo. Her nursing selfie, captioned “This photo depicts my reality,” went viral in August, no doubt thanks to its truth-to-myth frankness. Even among the picture-perfect mommy bloggers, some are making a concerted effort to talk about the dissonance between what we see and what we feel. LaTonya Yvette, a popular lifestyle blogger who offers refreshing assessments of “honest motherhood,” is just one of them. Says Yvette: “The story I share as mother directly aligns with the mother I am.”

Motherhood in the connected era doesn’t have to be dominated by any myth. Social media can just as easily help celebrate our individual experience and create community through contrast. Moms have to stick together even as we walk our separate paths. We have to spot the templates and realize there are no templates. We have to talk about our failures and realize there are no failures. —*With reporting by ALICE PARK and ALEXANDRA SIFFERLIN/NEW YORK* □

72%

of moms felt at least some pressure to do pregnancy, birth and feeding a certain way

32%

said that pressure came from no one in particular

33%

felt it came from society in general

20%

said it came from their doctors

The well-intentioned, misinformed, oversharing pregnancy experts

By Siobhan O'Connor

FOR 30-ODD WEEKS, MY BARISTA AND I HAVE HAD ROUGHLY the same routine. I order my morning coffee and he pretends he hasn't heard me, filling in the blank with a joke. "Mocha double-shot no-fat soy latte?" I laugh every time. I like the line. I like that we can agree that that's a terrible coffee order. And I like these small moments that can make life in a big city feel a little more intimate. Only this time, he leaves me hanging.

"You're allowed to have espresso?"

He's looking at my belly, which, at 7½ months pregnant, is well outside of the "Is she or isn't she?" arena that tends to make people nervous. *Allowed?*

I start babbling. "Oh, that's not really true anymore, the thing about coffee. When you're this far along, and even earlier too, the studies say it's..." I trail off, grab my drink, smile apologetically and then kick myself for smiling apologetically.

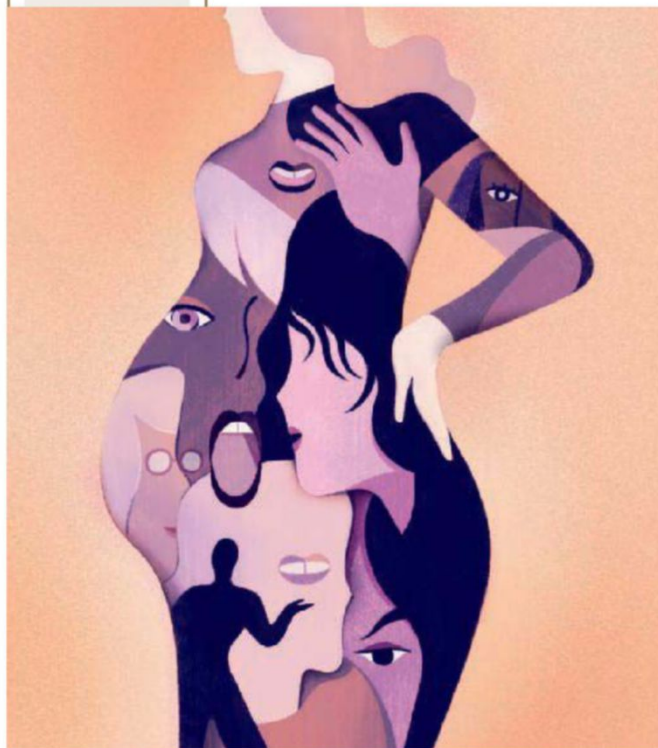
When you're pregnant in public, you learn quickly that everyone's an expert. They're an expert about what you put in your body—coffee, cabernet, smoked turkey, stinky cheese. They're an expert about how much weight you ought to gain, and how if you're not careful, you'll give yourself diabetes and have to get a C-section. They even have strong feelings about your footwear. It doesn't matter how old you are, or how well-informed: at 38, I'm of what doctors like to call "advanced maternal age," and because of my vocation as a health editor and my pastime as a science nerd, I read scientific studies for sport.

But none of that matters. People, well-meaning though they may be, are going to tell you what they think is best, not for you so much, but for your fetus. And even when you know they're wrong—and trust me, they're almost always wrong—it won't matter: you're going to feel bad about it.

I appreciate that, as a society, we can mostly agree that harming a child is among the worst things you can do. I suspect that that's part of what undergirds the casual judgment of pregnant women, the same way it undergirds the casual judgment of moms. But that doesn't make it any less paternalistic, and it doesn't mean the judgments are based on facts.

Take coffee, which should be anything but controversial in 2017. For decades, the received wisdom was that drinking coffee during pregnancy could contribute to miscarriage risk. Today, according to the best, most up-to-date studies—not to be confused with the studies you are most likely to hear about—it's perfectly safe to have a couple of strong cups per day. But it doesn't matter that I know that and that my doctor backs me up. As long as my belly pokes out like it does, I'm going to be offered decaf over espresso and seltzer over wine, and I'm going to get funny looks from strangers when I opt for the latter.

I read somewhere that the rules of pregnancy are meant to prepare women for life as a mother—a life where every choice is one of sacrifice, where putting another's well-being before your own is paramount. That last part I understand, even if it offers a rather retrograde, dim view of motherhood. But it's



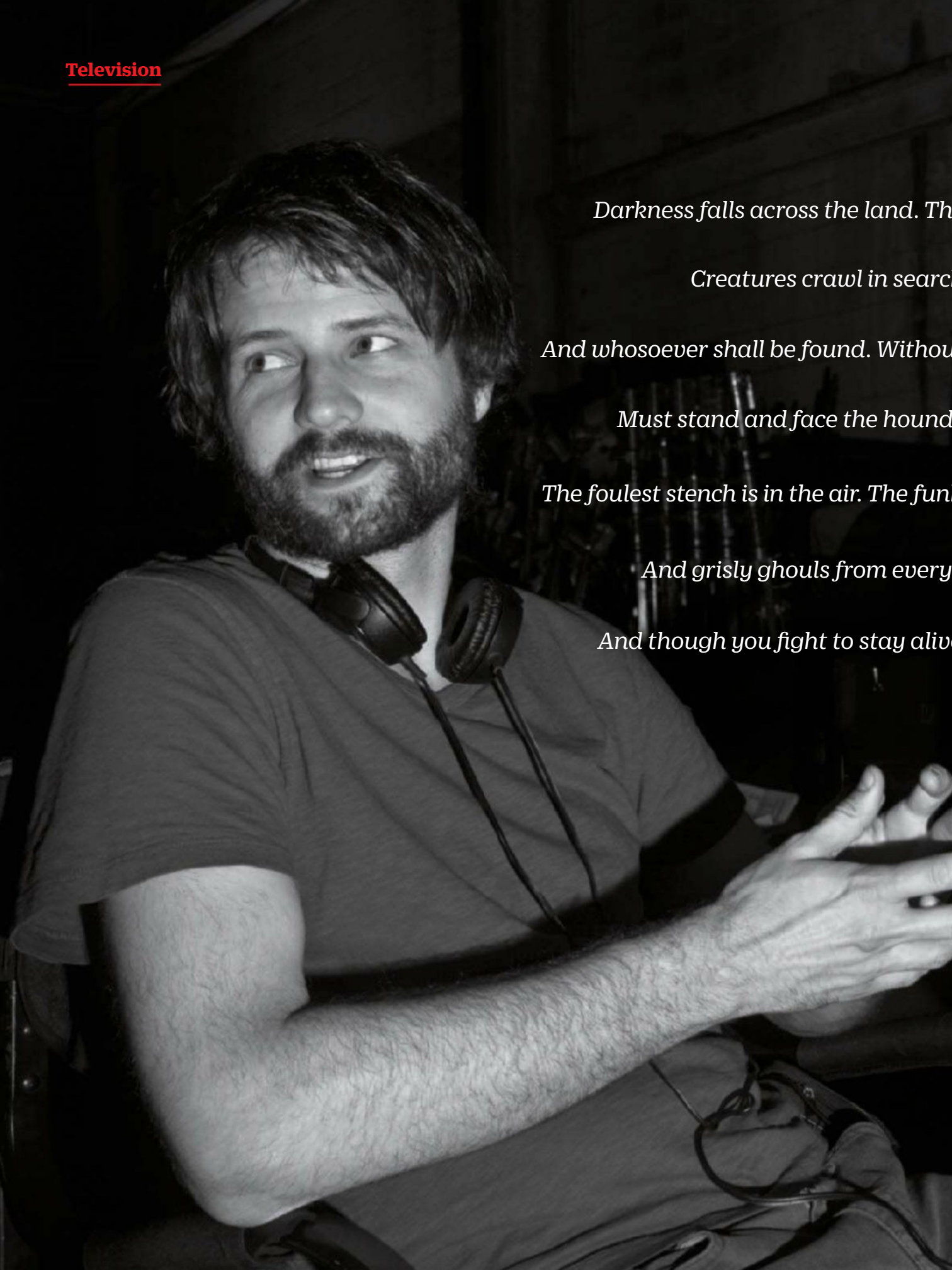
“**People, well-meaning though they may be, are going to tell you what they think is best, not for you so much, but for your fetus**”

still based on a false appraisal of risk.

No one wants to fail at being a mother before her first kid even arrives. That's felt especially true for me. Before this pregnancy, I endured multiple miscarriages, followed by months of torturous self-blame. My doctor warned me that the pain wouldn't double with every loss, that it would be logarithmic—the curve getting ever steeper. He also told me that even though there was nothing I could have done to prevent the miscarriages, the guilt may feel unbearable.

He was right. Determined to figure out what I'd done wrong, because surely this must be my fault, I canvassed experts, read studies, scrutinized my diet and had more blood tests than I can count.

Ultimately, I was faced with the evidence—and my best lesson about motherhood so far: that things can go terribly wrong, and there isn't always a why. That those losses, that heartbreak, was, like most heartbreak, completely out of my control. And that this healthy pregnancy, glorious gift that it has been, is too. □



Darkness falls across the land. The

Creatures crawl in search

And whosoever shall be found. Without

Must stand and face the hound

The foulest stench is in the air. The fun

And grisly ghouls from every

And though you fight to stay alive

e midnight hour is close at hand.

h of blood. To terrorize y'all's neighborhood.

t the soul for getting down.

s of hell. And rot inside a corpse's shell.

k of forty thousand years.

tomb. Are closing in to seal your doom.

e. Your body starts to shiver.

For no mere mortal can resist ...

**TV'S
FUNNEST
THRILLER**

By Daniel D'Addario/Atlanta

*Ross and Matt Duffer,
the wunderkind creators
of the fall's most
anticipated returning
series, Stranger Things,
on set in Atlanta*

PHOTOGRAPHS BY GRANT
CORNETT FOR TIME

E

EVERYONE'S TIRED ON THE SET OF *Stranger Things*. I'm visiting on a Friday in May, and a months-long, effects-heavy Season 2 shoot is grinding toward its end. "It's going slow," says Millie Bobby Brown, the 13-year-old Emmy nominee who plays the supernatural character Eleven. "Last season it felt like we were rapid. Everything was fast," she says. But now "the anticipation from the fans scares everyone. It makes the Duffers stressed. It makes us stressed."

The Duffers are Matt and Ross, identical 33-year-old twins and the maestros of a show that was about the only thing everyone seemed able to agree on during the contentious summer of 2016. The Netflix series, whose eight-episode

first season arrived with relatively little fanfare that July, was set in 1983 and told the story of a group of young *Dungeons & Dragons*-playing friends who encounter interdimensional forces. As they look for their missing friend Will (Noah Schnapp), they befriend a mysteriously powerful preteen girl (Brown). Will's mother (Winona Ryder) unravels as she searches for him with the help of a hard-living cop (David Harbour). And Will's loner older brother (Charlie Heaton) warily teams up with other teenagers in their small town of Hawkins, Ind., to find him.

But what made the show so addictive was its clever and lovingly detailed packaging, from wood-paneled rec rooms and Schlitz-fueled teen keggers to a soundtrack of Toto and the Clash. References underpinned the story at every level. The show didn't just use Ryder, the queen of 1980s teen cinema, in a comeback role. It also brilliantly employed the visual language of John Hughes and Steven Spielberg as well as the sinister-yet-comforting narratives of Stephen King. *Stranger Things* added up to something that not only felt like it came out of the '80s but also let you relive the decade—even if you weren't

there the first time around. All in one bingeable package.

Stranger Things also became a huge hit. While Netflix does not release viewership numbers, the show made an obvious impact. Last Halloween you might have noticed more than a few kids, and grownups, dressed as Eleven, or wrapped in Christmas lights to look like Ryder's character, Joyce, at her most forlorn. The "*Stranger Things* kids" became fixtures at awards shows, on late-night TV and on magazine covers. Hollywood took notice, too, honoring the show with 18 Emmy nominations and the top prize at the Screen Actors Guild Awards. "To see Meryl Streep standing up and clapping for us was so weird. I never really thought it would happen," says Brown.

If *Stranger Things* now seems like a predestined success, it was a fairly edgy bet even by Netflix standards. After all, the show's creators were as green as they come. The Duffers had fairly thin résumés—a little-seen horror film released in 2015, a writing gig on a short-lived M. Night Shyamalan TV show—when they put together their pitch. It consisted of a book of images and a mock trailer summing up what their show

FROM STRANGERS TO FRIENDS

ELEVEN

The mysteriously powerful girl
Played by Millie Bobby Brown



DUSTIN

The loyal pal
Played by Gaten Matarazzo



WILL

The haunted boy
Played by Noah Schnapp



would be. “It was super-nuts,” says Matt. “Sometimes I’ll ask them point-blank why they let us do it at all.” On Oct. 27, when a new season of *Stranger Things* comes out, we’ll get to see how nuts exactly—and just how far the Duffers can push television forward by looking backward.

IN ACTION, the Duffers tend to move in tandem. When the scene I’m watching them film ends, one brother bolts to advise the actors and the other is up and following before anybody can even parse which one called “Cut.” Both wear T-shirts, jeans and the sort of retro sneakers that look like what you might’ve worn to high school gym class in 1984. Between takes, the kids gleefully goof off. Their acting is jazzy and improvisational as they’re encouraged to amp up their terror take after take. The Duffers’ parents are visiting the set today, watching the action with headphones on from behind their director sons.

Matt and Ross Duffer grew up in Durham, N.C., where, Matt says, “it was hard to get or even hear about more obscure films.” Instead, they went to the video store and rented the sort of crowd-pleasing, all-ages movies that Hollywood

doesn’t really make anymore. The Duffers claim that their influences are more tonal than specific, that they draw upon the cinema of the past for mood more than detail. “We honestly weren’t thinking about the references as much,” says Ross. “We’d do a few winks, and of course we talked about *E.T.* when we first came up with this show, but that wasn’t the primary focus. Let’s just tell the best story we can and hopefully we’ll capture some of the magic of these movies we loved growing up.”

sequences that are meant as homage. One scene I observed featured Max (Sadie Sink), a new member of the kid cast this year, driving a car with a block under her foot to reach the gas pedal. “That’s exactly like Short Round in *Temple of Doom*,” Ross says, referring to Jonathan Ke Quan’s character in the second *Indiana Jones* film, which was released the year when *Stranger Things*’ second season is set. “Spielberg has an identical shot. The whole scene is informed by something else—and then let’s do one wink for the

‘HOPEFULLY WE’LL CAPTURE SOME OF THE MAGIC OF THESE MOVIES WE LOVED GROWING UP.’

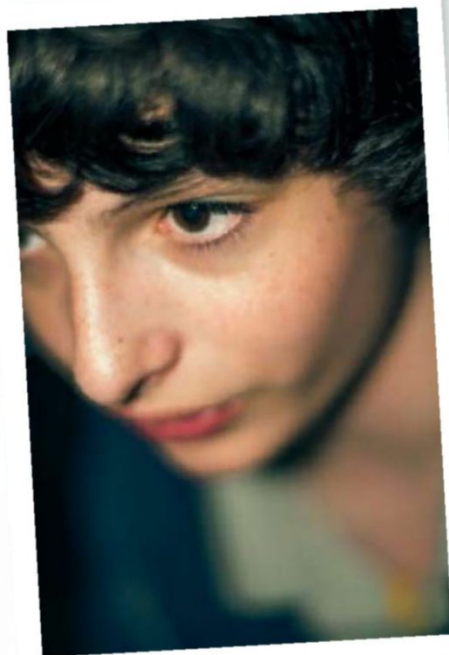
ROSS DUFFER, *Stranger Things* co-creator

There’s something essential about those references to *Stranger Things*’ resonance. They’ve turned into an Internet parlor game among fans, who hunt out specific shots, for example, that might tie the show to its adventure-film heritage. And despite the Duffers’ protestations, it’s easy to get them talking about specific

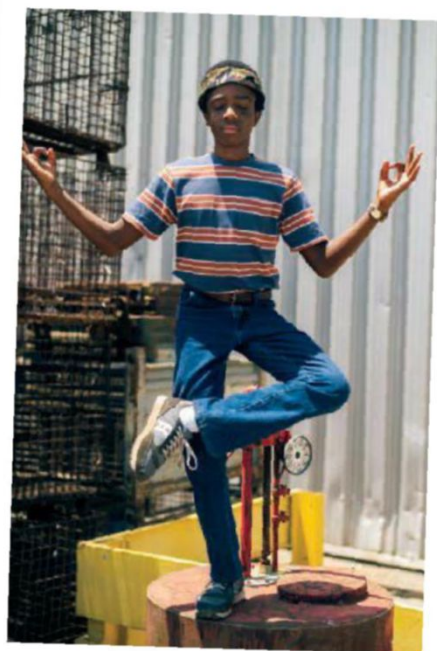
fans.” The Duffers are a very specific sort of fan: slightly too young to remember the material they’re quoting firsthand. They were too young to see *E.T.* in theaters, for instance, but they were able to watch—and pause, and rewind, and restart—the VHS tape endlessly at home.

The show’s first season seemed to

MIKE
The intrepid adventurer
Played by Finn Wolfhard



LUCAS
The cautious skeptic
Played by Caleb McLaughlin



MAX
The new tomboy on the block
Played by Sadie Sink



wrap up Will's journey out of captivity, only to suggest that he came back more haunted than his buddies might realize. The ending seemed to promise deeper excavation into what the show's characters call "the Upside Down," the nether-world within or beneath Hawkins, with new kids and a new commitment to figuring out what exactly happened and is still happening in the paranormal town. "This year, in terms of scope and size, it's much closer to what we've always wanted the show to be," says Matt. The Duffers say this sequel moves the plot forward while keeping the series' signatures. Among those signatures are, of course, the interplay between the kids—which is running up against a ticking clock of sorts. As Matt puts it, "Our kids are growing, and we have to get the show out, whether it's a compromise or not."

Among the biggest expectations for Season 2 is that it come out before the show's young stars get much older. Working with children plainly has its challenges. "They're a pain in the ass! I love them, but [by law] you can only work with them for a certain number of hours," Matt tells me. We're having a somewhat rushed conversation during a lunch break between shoots for a scene that includes most of the kids. "They're going to get yanked away from us at 7 even though we're not going to be done with them," he adds.

STRANGER THINGS isn't just about the kids. In the first season Ryder delivered perhaps her best onscreen work since her Oscar-nominated performance in Martin Scorsese's 1993 film *The Age of Innocence*. As Joyce, she frantically sought out a son who everybody said was dead but whose presence she could feel bleeding through the walls of her house. Harbour, a Tony-nominated character actor who had appeared in the *James Bond* franchise, brought soulful fatigue to the role of the alcoholic town police chief, Jim Hopper. Both actors tapped into undercurrents of pain and exhaustion; Ryder was

nominated for a Golden Globe, Harbour for an Emmy.

Rolling a cigarette in his set trailer, Harbour calls working with the Duffers the "greatest cinematic creative collaboration I've ever had." The differences between a Broadway-trained thespian and a pair of Blockbuster Video-trained directors has been fruitful for both parties. "I'm much more intellectual and much more academic in my process. I'll always push for more explanation," Harbour says. "And they'll always be like, 'Well, this is just kind of cool.' They're coming at it from an intuitive place. I consider them one being. They share one mind—it's just twice as big as mine!"

As for working with children, Harbour has had to push himself yet further. "I've never had to work with kids before in this capacity. There are pleasures to it, and there are also things that are difficult," he says. "When something's good, the relationships that we develop with lead actors, it's kind of a f-cked-up process. To do that with a 13-year-old child feels tricky. So, like, you know, on the surface, it's all cute and everybody loves it. But underneath, there's a real complexity to it."

Brown came at her role pretty straight, as child actors tend to do. "Eleven is part



Some of *Stranger Things*' signature '80s-inflected decor and paraphernalia, including a shrine to departed character Barb (Shannon Purser), whose disappearance haunts Season 2



plays the cautious Lucas, introduces himself to the Duffers' parents by telling them with some gravity, "I'm fans of you guys as well." Later on he and Finn Wolfhard, who plays Mike, the heart of his friend group, kill time between takes by singing Bon Jovi into a fan held by castmate Joe Keery. The whirling of the fan's blades distorts the sound so that the words—"Ohhhhhh, we're haaaaalfwaaaaay theeeere"—come out like an on-the-fritz kitchen appliance. Keery plays Steve, Hawkins' high school stud. At 25 he should know better, and charmingly doesn't, than to encourage them.

They seem like a tribe, in other words. For Wolfhard, who also starred in this year's blockbuster remake of Stephen King's *It*, being on set is an

a show whose entire cast seems, in one way or another, to have found the perfect fit.

THAT HOLLYWOOD IS bereft of new ideas these days is hardly a secret: sequels outpace original properties on executives' to-do lists. But what really resonates with viewers isn't just iteration but a sense that the language of the past is being given a new phrasing. *It*, for instance, freshened up a widely known horror story with vivid effects and a slight attitudinal spin while still revering the source material. This year's *Beauty and the Beast* overlaid Gothic glam atop a fresh take on Disney's older tale. Both are among the most successful films in their respective genres ever made. Netflix's successes include revamps of past hits like *Full House*, *One Day at a Time* and *Gilmore Girls*. Each updated the story for contemporary audiences while keeping a nostalgic core of friendship and family intact.

Part of what makes *Stranger Things* special is that it has tapped into our culture's fervid need to escape into the past. It subtracted smartphones and helicopter parents and added the sort of mortal peril that any good '80s thriller depends upon. And for all its winks, the show is an irony-free zone. "It's not nasty or mean or condescending or ironic or any of those things," Matt says, "which a lot of content can be right now." He punches the word *content*, a euphemism for art-as-product. "Because there's just so much of that. And there's a lot of shows about protagonists doing really nasty things to other people."

As a result, our own prosaic universe came to feel cinematic. If *Stranger Things* Season 2 is as big or bigger than Season 1, it won't just be because the sets have expanded and the action is more daring. It will be because, more than ever, we want to escape into what's remembered, the pleasures and pains of growing up and the pop culture that accompanied us along the way. The Duffers have found a novel formula that does that by balancing homage and kitsch to create something entirely new.

Plus, the kids, whether you relate to them or to their parents, are on one hell of an adventure. "As we grow up," Wolfhard tells me at one point on set, "the characters grow up with us. For now, we've trademarked them. Until they remake it in 20 years. Or make a spin-off." □



of me and always will be. I don't try with her," she says. "I don't even know my lines for today's scene. So it's like, I don't know what I'm doing, and that's what makes it so instinctual."

Harbour is right about one thing: it is really cute, and everybody *does* love it. On set the kids are both full of capering zest and possessed of that sort of big-kid poise that develops in your early teens. There's a lot of downtime between takes that adults might spend reading, knitting or staring, bored, into a phone. But the kids have no trouble keeping busy. Caleb McLaughlin, who

escape from class. "School was difficult for me, elementary school especially," he says. "That was a hard battle. I was getting bullied a lot." For Gaten Matarazzo, finding roles became hard as he got older. He has the disorder known as cleidocranial dysostosis, which affects the bones and teeth. His *Stranger Things* character, Dustin, has it too. Matarazzo casually pops out his front dentures as he tells me, "I still have a lisp, even when I take my teeth out. I was never picked for voice-over or for commercials. I was going out and they said I was good, but I was too short, too toothless." Now Matarazzo is on

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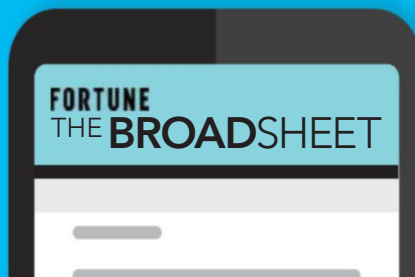
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Time Off

**Philip
Pullman isn't
done building
new worlds**

**By Dan Stewart/
Oxford, England**



W

WHEN PHILIP PULLMAN WAS 10 YEARS OLD, HE witnessed a vision that has stayed with him ever since. The year was 1956, and he was living in South Australia, where his stepfather was a pilot with Britain's Royal Air Force. The River Murray floods that year had left huge parts of the region underwater, and he remembers being driven out to see it. "It was astonishing," the 70-year-old British author says now. "It was an immense mass, as wide as the sea, of gray water whipped up by a cold wind. The power of it. It was an impression that never left me."

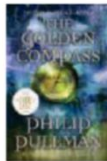
It's this memory that inspired the flood at the center of *La Belle Sauvage*, the first volume of the Book of Dust, Pullman's new trilogy set in the universe of his fantasy series His Dark Materials. Released between 1995 and 2000, the three novels that launched the franchise entered the canon of young-adult fiction and, alongside the Harry Potter series, stands as an early example of the cross-generational appeal of the genre. In 2003, Pullman's fellow Brits voted the entire trilogy their third favorite book of all time, after *The Lord of the Rings* and *Pride and Prejudice*.

His Dark Materials is mostly set in a parallel universe where the supernatural is everyday; ageless witches exist alongside warrior polar bears; and every human has a "daemon," a kind of spirit animal with which it shares a soul. The books also wrestle with weighty metaphysical themes, influenced by the poetry of William Blake and John Milton's *Paradise Lost*. The villains are the forces of organized religion, and the heroes seek to challenge and overturn the order of the monotheistic universe. The final book ends with Pullman's heroine, Lyra, unwittingly restaging the fall of man and setting out to create a "Republic of Heaven," a principled democracy rather than a dictatorship under the authority of God.

These heretical themes saw the books condemned by church groups in the U.S., especially after the 2007 movie adaptation of the first volume, *The Golden Compass*, brought them wider attention.

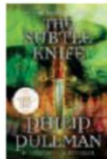
Pullman's works

The story of His Dark Materials, so far



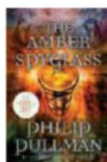
THE GOLDEN COMPASS

Orphan Lyra travels to the Arctic to rescue kidnapped children



THE SUBTLE KNIFE

Lyra meets Will, a boy who discovers the means to travel between worlds



THE AMBER SPYGLASS

Lyra and Will witness a battle between heaven and earth, and fall in love



LYRA'S OXFORD

Set two years after the trilogy, this short volume introduces us to a teenage Lyra still living in Oxford

In the following two years the trilogy was among the country's most frequently challenged books, according to the American Library Association, as anxious parents attempted to have it removed from public and school libraries. "Atheism for kids," the Catholic League announced in 2007, "that is what Philip Pullman sells."

IN PERSON, Pullman doesn't seem much like a threat to the moral order. He strikes an avuncular, professorial figure at home in his low-ceilinged cottage just outside of Oxford. But there's a streak of eccentricity too. While he was writing *La Belle Sauvage*, he vowed not to cut his hair until he was finished. "It was superstition," he says, "or a bargain with the muse or something. 'If I don't cut my hair, this book will be all right.'" He still has the hair, he says, stashed away in a Ziploc bag. "I'm going to give it to the Bodleian Library," he adds, referring to the University of Oxford's research library.

The fury over His Dark Materials has worn away over the years, and the letters Pullman once regularly received from readers telling him he was going to hell seldom come anymore. He sounds rather disappointed to report that "clearly, no evident evil has sprouted from its presence in the world for 20 years. There's nothing they can point to and say, This man ought to be burned at the stake."

Despite the presence of a biblical-style flood in its second half, there's little to object to in *La Belle Sauvage*, which comes out on Oct. 19. Where the first trilogy traverses worlds to question the fundamentals of existence, this prequel shrinks the canvas to tell a more simplistic story about "the dangers of what Blake called single vision," Pullman explains, "a narrow, dogmatic point of view that excludes every other angle of vision but what it deems to be true."

Set about a decade before the events of the original trilogy, *La Belle Sauvage* tells the story of Malcolm, the 11-year-old son of an innkeeper in Oxford. In between helping out at his dad's pub and riding the city's canals in the beloved canoe that gives the book its title, Malcolm is introduced to a baby, Lyra, who is being looked after by an order of nuns at a nearby priory. Over the course of the novel, set almost entirely in Oxfordshire, it falls to Malcolm to protect Lyra from the forces threatening her—not just the rising floodwaters but also the various agents of a tyrannical church, or "Magisterium," now growing in power.

In the book's first half Pullman delves into the authority the Magisterium has accumulated over this alternative version of Britain. It's a grim vision of totalitarianism: dissenters are "disappeared" or forced to go into hiding. Scientists must carry out their work in secret. A sinister youth organization turns schoolkids into informers. The historical

Pullman's inspirations

The influences that go into his work



WILLIAM BLAKE

Pullman has said the work of the Romantic poet and artist helped him “discover what I believe in.”



OXFORD

The city where he studied and lives is a constant muse, Pullman says. “You could never get tired of it.”



ROBERT KIRK

The Scottish pastor's treatise on folklore, *The Secret Commonwealth*, helped inspire the Book of Dust.



JOHN MILTON

His *Dark Materials* takes many of its themes—and its name—from Milton's *Paradise Lost*.

parallels with the Spanish Inquisition and the Soviet Union are unmistakable, but Pullman says similar forces still exist today. “In the Middle East, and in isolated pockets of Western Europe, we see people, especially young men, who love the idea of an absolute answer to everything,” he says. “That cast of mind has not very often acquired political power, but when it does it's absolutely murderous.”

Eventually the flood comes, transporting Malcolm into more fantastical territory as he, Lyra and teenage companion Alice travel through a mysterious, shadowy world inspired by British folklore. As an influence, Pullman cites *The Secret Commonwealth*, a treatise written by Scottish clergyman Robert Kirk in the early 1690s on the world of fairies, witchcraft and second sight. “I'm fascinated by that world,” he says. “And it's the complete opposite of the world that science tells us about.”

Although Pullman is an admirer of writers about science, he believes they are as susceptible to the dangers of a “single vision” as politicians or zealots. “They might say X is nothing more than Y,” he says, “or love is nothing more than the excitation of neurons in the brain, for example. I would much rather say love is the excitation of neurons in the brain, among other things. And we're not truly seeing it unless we see all of those things. And that is something Lyra and Malcolm will have to learn.”

Lyra plays little more than a passive role in this book, being only a few months old. But the next book—titled *The Secret Commonwealth*—will visit her 20 years later. “She's going to be an undergraduate and her own woman, and she's going to have the beginnings of an adult's preoccupations,” Pullman says. “And, um, there will be trouble.” He hints that it will be partly set in Central Asia and that there will be a “bit of a

surprise” in store about Lyra's connection to a major character in *La Belle Sauvage*.

THERE'S MORE OF Pullman's work on the horizon. The BBC is developing a television adaptation of the first trilogy penned by Jack Thorne, the playwright responsible for *Harry Potter* and *the Cursed Child*. *The Golden Compass* was an infamous box-office flop, and while Pullman won't be drawn out about that, he does say he feels his work is better suited to the small screen. “The thing about a movie is that you've got to distill 12 to 13 hours of story into 120 minutes, and, of course, you can't do it because you have to leave things out,” he says. “The great advantage of the new world of long-form television is that you can allow the time for a story to develop.”

The new world of television has also given us *Game of Thrones*, another epic series of books set in a parallel fantasy universe and made into a very successful HBO show. Is he a fan? “Not really my sort of thing,” Pullman says. “I don't watch or read very much fantasy.” He considers himself a realist more than a fabulist, a fact that might surprise ardent Pullmaniacs obsessed with the universe he has built.

In fact, he says, the driving force behind his choice of genre is less a desire to build new worlds than a simple reluctance to explore this one. “It's because I'm a lazy bastard,” he jokes. “Too idle to get up off my backside and do any research in the real world.” Pullman is similarly humble when I ask what he wants the reader to take away from this new book, what that great flood inspired by a childhood vision really means. “The meaning of the book is never just what the author thinks it is. It's a great mistake to rely on the author to tell you,” he says. “We don't know. The meaning is only what emerges when the book and the reader meet.”

‘It was superstition, or a bargain with the muse or something. If I don't cut my hair, this book will be all right.’

PHILIP PULLMAN

QUICK TALK

John Green

The YA author, 40, just published his first novel since the release of his 2012 phenomenon *The Fault in Our Stars*. The new book, *Turtles All the Way Down*, is about 16-year-old Aza Holmes' struggle with a form of mental illness that Green has grappled with in his own life.

Where did the idea for a story about a teenage girl struggling with mental illness come from? There are so many detective stories about obsessive people who are brilliant detectives because of their obsessiveness, and my experience with obsessiveness has been more or less the complete opposite. I wanted to write a detective story where the plot keeps getting interrupted by this person's inability to live in the world in the way that she wants to.

Was it difficult to write about the specific type of OCD and anxiety you suffer from? It was really hard, especially at first, to write about this thing that's been such a big part of my life. But it was really empowering, because I felt like if I could give it form or expression, I could look at it and I could talk about it directly rather than being scared of it.

In the book you emphasize the idea that there's no magical cure for mental illness. Why was it important to convey that message? We really like stories that involve conquering obstacles and involve victory over adversity. And I love those stories too. It's just that that hasn't been my story with mental illness. For me, it's not something I expect to defeat in my life. It's something I expect to live with and still have a fulfilling life.

This is the second book in a row you've written from a female perspective. Do you find it challenging to write characters you don't directly identify with? Any time you're writing from the perspective of a fictional character, you're imagining what it's like to be not you. One of the things I love about writing fiction is that it feels like an escape from my brain.

***Turtles All the Way Down* is your first book since the massive success of *The Fault in Our Stars*. What was writing the follow-up like?** It was an incredible experience and an incredible privilege to have so many people respond to that book so kindly. It meant a lot to me, but it did also mean that when I started trying to write again, I felt like there were people watching over my shoulder, and that made it impossible for a long time. Honestly I felt like maybe I wouldn't write another book, and I got to be O.K. with that.

***Attack of the Clones* pops up as a joke in the book. Do you really think it's the most underrated *Star Wars* movie?** I do. "Most underrated" does not mean that it is good. It just means that people hate on it, in my opinion, too much.

—MEGAN MCCLUSKEY



What's on John Green's reading list



PIECING ME TOGETHER

By Renée Watson

"It's a brilliant look at the role that art plays in the lives of young people, but also all of these different ways that race and gender and privilege intersect in the life of this one really extraordinary young woman."



THE HATE U GIVE

By Angie Thomas

"It should be a book that's being read in every high school English class in the country. It's such a special book."



WE ARE OKAY

By Nina LaCour

"This poetic, character-driven meditation on grief and isolation made me cry like a baby. But it's also a profoundly hopeful novel, and it beautifully portrays the last days of adolescence, when 'we were nostalgic for a time that wasn't yet over.'"



THE MAN WHO COULDN'T STOP

By David Adam

"Adam's introduction to obsessive-compulsive disorder was tremendously helpful to me personally, but I think everyone could benefit from learning about this often-misunderstood mental illness."

COOPER NEILL—ALIBED; THA/GETTY IMAGES



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From left: Michael, Fegley and Moore's characters find one another's spirits across time

FAMILY

Wonderstruck will leave you exactly that

By Stephanie Zacharek

TODD HAYNES MAKES FILMS THAT ARE TENDER and vital, with a deep affection for the past that's never just misplaced nostalgia. He knows it's a place where real people lived, loved and sometimes suffered. Haynes' extraordinary new film, *Wonderstruck*, builds on everything he has done before, but it's also a crazy leap, a picture that works almost against all odds. Based on a novel by Brian Selznick, who also wrote the screenplay, it tells the dovetailing stories of two 12-year-olds, Ben (Oakes Fegley) and Rose (Millicent Simmonds), living 50 years apart. Ben, growing up in 1977 Gunflint, Minn., has just lost his mother (Michelle Williams) and has always wondered about the father he never knew. His mother refused to answer his questions, and he's haunted by a recurring nightmare in which he's pursued by wolves, a sign that his mind is working overtime to make sense of his grief.

Then a freak accident causes Ben to lose his hearing. It also sparks a journey to New York City, in all its perilous '70s glory, where he makes a new friend, Jaden Michael's Jamie. He also finds a connection with a girl who, 50 years earlier, felt just as lost. Rose, also deaf, lives in Hoboken, N.J., with her father, a distracted man who can't be bothered to try to understand her. At one point he tosses her a book on lip-reading, barking orders for her to study it.

DIRECTOR OF EMOTION

In 2002's *Far From Heaven*, Haynes explored a marriage torn apart by frustrated love, all rendered in the intensified melodramatic colors of '50s filmmaker Douglas Sirk. His version of *Mildred Pierce*, made for HBO in 2011, was blazingly faithful to James M. Cain's novel.

It's filled with tiny print and macabre line drawings, and it terrifies her. She tears a page out and folds it into the shape of a small tower, which she adds to a little fantasy city she's made entirely out of paper.

Rose also finds solace at the movies. She idolizes the silent-film actor Lillian Mayhew (a luminous Julianne Moore), and in one of *Wonderstruck's* most astonishing scenes, she gazes at the image of this resplendent, expressive creature who speaks a language of silence she fully understands. On the silent screen, Mayhew, who appears to be modeled on Lillian Gish, speaks in an alphabet of broad physical gestures and eyes that reflect anguish or joy like light from a prism. Rose watches, rapt. She learns that Mayhew will be performing onstage in New York City and so she, like Ben, runs toward it.

This is an intricate, high-reaching piece of filmmaking, and there are places where the mechanics don't run as smoothly as they should. But the film's beauty runs so deep, it doesn't matter. *Wonderstruck* embraces so many shimmery, evanescent ideas, it's a marvel that any picture—let alone one you can take your kids to—can hold them. This is a romance of New York City, a love letter to the pleasure of making something by hand, a story of finding the place where you belong and of finding your way to the people who understand you. □

WONDERSTRUCK: MARY CYBULSKI—AMAZON STUDIOS; BPA; CELINE NIESZAWER; DEER; JINA (MITSUHI NISHIJIMA)—A24; LOBSTER: BFF/IRISH FILM BOARD/CANAL+/CNCGREEN FILM CENTER/KOBAL/REX/SHUTTERSTOCK

FOREIGN

When love really is a battlefield

MOVIES ABOUT POLITICAL activists tend to put the politics first and the human second. Not so with French writer-director Robin Campillo's *BPM* (*Beats Per Minute*). Set in early-1990s Paris, the film follows a group of ACT UP members as they launch AIDS-awareness demonstrations, squabble during meetings and let off steam on the dance floor, all in the service of keeping themselves, and anyone else at risk, alive.

Campillo, who co-wrote the script with AIDS activist and educator Philippe Mangeot, captures the mood of an era with a specificity that's by turns somber and joyous. The love story between guarded HIV-negative activist Nathan (Arnaud Valois) and the more politically aggressive—and HIV-positive—Sean (Nahuel Pérez Biscayart) is the story's strongest magnet. A tender and captivating sex scene between the two suggests that falling in love requires more than just the engagement of mind, heart and body: each partner also brings baggage. But the total burden is lighter when two people shoulder it together. This is how you love when your life depends on it. —s.z.

Valois's performance as an activist in early-'90s Paris helps the film capture the era



The bland family life of Farrell's surgeon hides a disquieting secret

DRAMA

Colin Farrell finds the dark below

GREEK FILMMAKER YORGOS LANTHIMOS' STYLE, a kind of deadpan harangue, is ideally something you either love or hate. To be in the middle, to merely respect it, is the harder position. And Lanthimos' predilection for inflicting cruelty on his characters spills over in his latest, *The Killing of a Sacred Deer*.

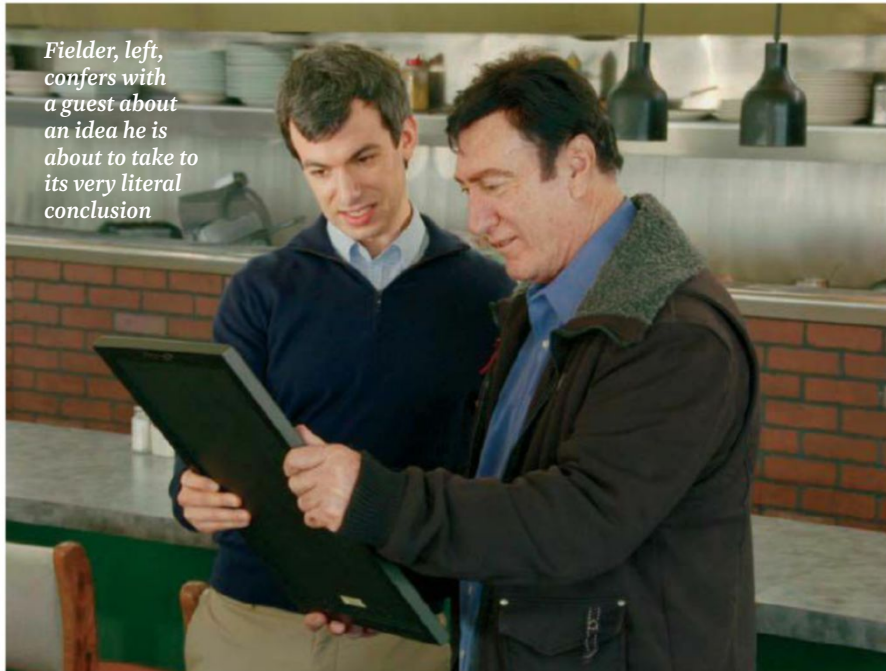
Colin Farrell plays Steven Murphy, a sure-of-himself heart surgeon and the head of a numbingly placid American family. He regularly engages in clinical sex with his wife Anna (Nicole Kidman), an ophthalmologist. His two children, teenager Kim (Raffey Cassidy) and preadolescent Bob (Sunny Suljic), seem blandly normal in every way. But Steven has been secretly meeting with Martin (Barry Keoghan, seen recently in *Dunkirk*), a mysterious youth with eyes as blank as steel. Steven is affluent and closed off to almost everything most other humans need to worry about. Martin has next to nothing. Yet the boy has a strange power over Steven, and it becomes clear that he's trying to exact some sort of punishment.

It's not that *The Killing of a Sacred Deer* isn't brainy or ambitious. Dense with layers of biblical lore and Greek tragedy, it's like a cake that's impressively tall but also unpalatably dry. It's an art-house special-ops mission, tiresomely clinical in its sadism. It leaves you feeling like you've been lectured to, as if Lanthimos decided that we don't already know what a vile place the world can be and thus need to be taken by the hand and shown—but with style. Ignore Lanthimos at your peril or at your discretion. You might respect him, but you don't have to love him. —s.z.



LOBSTER RISK

Lanthimos' last picture, *The Lobster* (2015)—a dystopian comedy starring Farrell and Rachel Weisz—at least had bleak laughs on its side. The picture's stark views about the lengths to which humans will go to avoid being alone made it something of a sullen pleasure.



Fielder, left, confers with a guest about an idea he is about to take to its very literal conclusion

TELEVISION

Dark comedy for late capitalism

I'M ONE OF THE MANY VIEWERS WHO, at the height of the *Modern Family* era, wanted TV comedy to get more class conscious—to develop characters who worried, or at least cared, about money. It's fitting that Comedy Central's M.B.A. fantasia *Nathan for You*, in its fourth season, fulfilled that wish in a twisted, monkey's-paw manner. The show has made steady business of taking good intentions too far.

Host Nathan Fielder, a Canadian comedian, asks small-business owners what it would take to make their operation a success, and then oversteps in trying to hack a solution. (The situations and reactions, startlingly, are real.) He has the zealous, misguided confidence that it takes to attempt to compete in a post-financial collapse economy.

Fielder's character (also named Nathan Fielder) meets with owners of nail salons and travel agencies in the less-photogenic parts of California and "helps" them carry out imaginative yet thuddingly literal ideas. A restaurant that was denied a license to sell food at a hockey game bypasses the rules with a

sealed plastic suit that Fielder fills with hot chili and wears under his clothes. Concerned about the rapaciousness of Uber, Fielder attempts to set up a sleeper cell within the company, drivers who will turn passengers against the car service with bad odors and the song "Mambo No. 5." (In a twist, the driver Fielder tries to help ends up joining Uber—there's no better way to make money today.)

FIELDER OF DREAMS

Fielder, 34, has written for or appeared on other Comedy Central shows like *Important Things With Demetri Martin* and *Drunk History*.

Fielder's methods are ludicrous. But the point he makes is sharp: bizarre grasps, inflected with Silicon Valley loopiness and P.T. Barnum hucksterism, are the last resort of people who have been told that entrepreneurialism is the last virtue. The show is a dark, worthy companion piece to ABC's relentlessly sunny *Shark Tank*, on which inventors smile their way through interrogation before being tossed a small slice of capital. Unflappable and earnest, Fielder convinces you of his certainty that any business can succeed. Compared with its idealistic lead, the show itself is wiser, more engaged and less sure. —DANIEL D'ADDARIO

NATHAN FOR YOU airs on Comedy Central Thursdays at 10 p.m. E.T.

DOCUMENTARY

TV that was too funny for its time

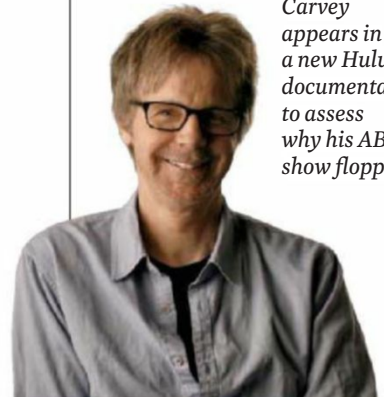
WHEN HE LEFT *SATURDAY Night Live* in 1993, Dana Carvey was at the top of the entertainment industry. His new sketch-comedy show on ABC would be bolstered by rising talents like Louis CK, Stephen Colbert and Steve Carell. What could go wrong?

Everything, obviously. Hulu's new documentary *Too Funny to Fail* examines the almost instantaneous collapse of *The Dana Carvey Show*, a would-be smash that began with Carvey impersonating President Bill Clinton... while breastfeeding puppies. Carvey wanted to move past conventional comedy to edgier, more surreal stuff, even though, as Colbert tells the audience, "all people wanted to see was Dana Carvey doing an impression of Bill Clinton!" Carvey's show was both an incubator of talent and a precursor to what would come later. Today its absurdism would fit right in online. *Too Funny to Fail* is a fascinating story of just how much risk Hollywood was willing to accept back then.

—D.D.

TOO FUNNY TO FAIL is now streaming on Hulu

Carvey appears in a new Hulu documentary to assess why his ABC show flopped



NATHAN FOR YOU: COMEDY CENTRAL; TOO FUNNY TO FAIL: HULU

TimeOff PopChart



The train that appeared in the *Harry Potter* movies as the Hogwarts Express **made an unscheduled stop to rescue a family of six who were stranded in the Scottish Highlands** after a storm washed away their canoe.



'If anyone is going to announce big news about your private life, Oprah Winfrey is the person.'

MINDY KALING, actor and writer, who revealed that she is expecting a baby girl nearly three months after Oprah confirmed her pregnancy



A group of Bangladeshi acid-attack survivors **walked the runway at a charity fashion show in the U.K.** to raise awareness of violence against women.



Chance the Rapper **bought all the opening-day tickets for the movie *Marshall***, in which Chadwick Boseman plays the late Supreme Court Justice, at two Chicago theaters so viewers could see it for free.

Four resorts at Walt Disney World now **allow guests to bring their dogs** along for a stay at the popular vacation destination.



TIME'S WEEKLY TAKE ON

WHAT POPPED IN CULTURE



New Zealanders are **facing the prospect of a "chipocalypse"** because of the loss of 20% of the country's potato crops, thanks to extended wet weather.



A cigar half-smoked by British Prime Minister Winston Churchill in 1947 **sold for more than \$12,000 in an online auction.**



A limited-edition **Buffalo Latte is Canadian fast-food chain Tim Hortons' latest addition** to select U.S. locations. The "spicy" espresso drink is served with a whipped topping dusted with Buffalo seasoning—a tangy flavor usually reserved for wings.



Google **removed a cupcake-themed calorie counter from its Maps app** after some users complained that it could offend or trigger people with eating disorders.



'There's really no worse, or lower, human being.'

ANTHONY BOURDAIN, chef and TV personality, who slammed "elite" Yelp users for leaving negative restaurant reviews on the ratings site

CHANCE: HOGWARTS; KALING: DISNEY; CHIPS: PHONE; CUPCAKE, BOURDAIN: GETTY IMAGES; FASHION SHOW: ACTIONAID; MAP: GOOGLE MAPS; CIGAR: IIRACTIONS/BOURNE MOUTH NEWS/REX; SHUTTERSTOCK; BUFFALO: TIM HORTONS

Masha Gessen The Russian-American author of *The Future Is History* explains the Putin-Trump spectrum of political control and social disillusionment

Your book looks at Russia through the perspectives of seven people, old and young. A phrase that comes up repeatedly is *budushchevo net*—“there is no future.” Why is that so important? I started out trying to tell a story of Russia’s trauma. And one of the hallmarks of trauma is the loss of the ability to plan for the future. It’s really about the loss of control. This sense of having no control over your own life is very important to creating a totalitarian subject. People express that with the phrase *budushchevo net*.

The word *totalitarian* is usually reserved for repressive regimes like North Korea or Nazi Germany. Has Russia really reached that level of state control? The regime that exists in Russia is not a totalitarian regime. It’s a mafia state. But society, which has been conditioned by so many years of totalitarianism, responds by creating totalitarian mechanisms, [like] when people start raiding bookstores to make sure there is de facto censorship.

So Russian totalitarianism comes from the grassroots, not from the top down? What we have is neither of those things. The Kremlin just sends out signals, which are actually not that different from Donald Trump’s dog-whistling to his supporters. In America, the response to Trump’s signals comes from both sides of the debate. But in Russia, the dog-whistle does not elicit cries of protest. Instead, because of its history with totalitarianism, Russian society mobilizes.

What are they mobilizing toward? Scholars of totalitarianism talk about a need to do battle on behalf of something that needs protection. In Russia, this something has been postulated as faith and traditional values.

A wave of young people protested against Vladimir Putin this year. Doesn’t that signal a change? There was an incredible intellectual and

emotional focus on the teenagers who were protesting, but that’s indicative to me of a really sad tendency. The people at the vanguard of the protests [in 2011–12] have already written themselves off, and they are looking to teenagers to save the country. And what if they don’t?

But Russian teenagers today did not experience the traumas of Soviet collapse. Aren’t they more immune to totalitarian tendencies? There’s a hypothesis that things just keep happening to Russians, things that keep turning them into subjects, as opposed to citizens. The more credible hypothesis, I think, is that there is a kind of social trauma that is passed on from generation to generation.

Do you think the West overestimates the power Putin has? It depends. I think his power in influencing the U.S. elections is overestimated, because there is an overwhelming desire to lay blame for Trump somewhere outside the U.S. But otherwise, I don’t think it’s overestimated. He does wield unilateral power in his country.

What future do you see for Russia after Putin? We’ve never seen a country that has been this battered, and I don’t know whether there is any way for it to recover. When Putin goes, I think Russia is not going to stay within its current borders. There is going to be some kind of redrawing of the federation.

Does that mean Russia cannot hold itself together without Putin? Since Putin does not think he is going to die, there is not going to be any succession plan in place when he dies. And there is going to be a period of disarray and uncertainty. That will be a perfect opening for the final breakup of the empire.

—SIMON SHUSTER

‘When Putin goes, I think Russia is not going to stay within its current borders. There is going to be some kind of redrawing of the federation.’



PAUL MORIGI—WIREIMAGE/GETTY IMAGES



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