

TIME



Year One.

A photograph of a snowy mountain range reflected in a body of water. In the foreground, there is a large, white ice floe floating on the water. The water is a deep blue color, and the mountains are covered in snow. The sky is overcast.

HELP SAVE THE FRIDGE

Spitsbergen, Norway.

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The fridge needs help. Because much of the energy we need to power it produces waste, pollutes the atmosphere and changes the climate. We can transition the way we produce and use energy in a way that will contribute to a sustainable future. We're campaigning in countries all around the world to provide the solutions for governments, for companies and for all members of society to make the right choices about energy conservation and use. And you, as an individual, can help just by the choices you make. Help us look after the world where you live at panda.org





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▲ *Air Force One before Trump boards to depart for West Palm Beach, Fla., from Maryland's Joint Base Andrews on Nov. 21*

Photograph by Eric Thayer—Reuters

ON THE COVER: Illustration by Edel Rodriguez for TIME

STRUGGLING FOR A HOME
YOUR STORY “EXIT WEST” [Dec. 25–Jan. 1] weaved the hope and desperation of the three migrant families from Syria quite magnificently. The refugee crisis needs to be urgently addressed on a global level. My mother came to India as a refugee in 1947 from the then newly created Pakistan, and her recollections of the tribulations that her family faced at that time are no different from the ones in your story. The Rohingya refugees continue to suffer in Bangladesh while they have been turned away from India. Why are we so skeptical about those who have left their homeland in search of a better future? I wish that the U.N. played an active role so that we could have a global policy for refugees that guarantees them the respect and affection they deserve.

Gulbahar S. Sidhu,
JALANDHAR, INDIA

LEAVING YOUR HOMELAND is nightmarish, be it due to war, climate change or religious crackdowns. Sadly, I come from a part of the world that has witnessed many such exoduses. The plight of the homeless is anything but luxurious. For refugees the ordeal is no less miserable. So it would not be insensitive to point out that those depicted in your series

are inarguably sophisticated, stylishly clothed and even making decisions about moving to more welcoming nations of the West. All this is in stark contrast to the refugees in our part of the world, where this is unimaginable.

Manjari Bhowal,
NEW DELHI

OVER MANY YEARS I HAVE seen and admired the readiness of TIME to confront issues that are, from an editorial standpoint, politically uncomfortable. Having read your article, I can find no acknowledgement of the basic cause of the immigration problem: religion. It is no surprise that the European countries that have experienced Islamic tyranny are reluctant to allow refugees in. I hope you are not losing editorial courage and submitting to political correctness.

Don Darke,
STILTON, ENGLAND

YOUR STORY “EXIT WEST” raises a question that touches on the core of the anxieties that make the migration issue so contentious and a threat to the fabric of European societies. Why should a refugee who is granted asylum in Greece receive benefits that his jobless Greek neighbor, who is not much better off economically, is denied because of fiscal austerity measures? This is not



just about “the soul of Europe” but also very much about the realities of many native Europeans. Making people feel that newcomers are treated “more equal” will strengthen populist movements, which may be a greater danger to European ideals than tougher immigration policies.

Gerd Will,
LUDWIGSLUST, GERMANY

ENGENDERING EMPATHY

RE “HOW TO RAISE A SWEET Son in an Era of Angry Men” [Dec. 25–Jan. 1]: Faith Salie entreats all parents to raise a sweet son who will grow into a man who’s vulnerable, empathetic, affectionate and so on. But even if you ignore key factors like genetics and financial status that may produce something other than a “sweet pea” son, our society may not give such a gentle soul permis-

sion to “feel everything and to express those emotions without shame.” Without being taught to toughen up when needed, your sweet pea will be exposed, in a typical rough-and-tumble school environment, to plenty of testosterone-fueled competition, bullying and shaming. That could be hard on your tender boy.

Gerald Kamens,
FALLS CHURCH, VA.

THANK YOU FOR THE RELEVANT and important message about raising sweet boys. This is imperative. When my sons (now 40 and 42) were young, my motto for them was “Strong enough to be gentle.” They are now sweet, gentle, caring and involved fathers. They both have only girls and are raising them the same way.

Cindy Dischinger,
PLYMOUTH, MINN.

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175,489

Number of Cadillac vehicles sold in China in 2017—the first time more were sold in China than in the U.S. (where 156,440 of the vehicles were sold); sales were up 51% in China last year and down 8% in the U.S.

\$306 billion

Cost of damage by natural disasters in the U.S. in 2017, America's most expensive year on record, according to the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration



\$300,000

Amount of money that a rare penny made in Philadelphia in 1793 fetched at an auction; only about 500 such coins are thought to exist

‘Individuals who exercise their choice should never remain in a state of fear.’

INDIA'S SUPREME COURT, announcing that it will reconsider a colonial-era law that criminalizes gay sex—which was reinstated in 2013—in response to a petition by LGBTQ groups

‘TRUST ME, THE WOMEN IN THIS ROOM TONIGHT ARE NOT HERE FOR THE FOOD. WE ARE HERE FOR THE WORK.’

FRANCES MCDORMAND, giving a nod to the #MeToo movement while accepting a Golden Globe for Best Performance by an Actress in a Motion Picture, Drama, for *Three Billboards Outside Ebbing, Missouri*

‘Google employees who expressed views deviating from the majority view at Google on ... ‘diversity’ hiring policies, ‘bias sensitivity,’ or ‘social justice,’ were/are singled out, mistreated, and systematically punished.’

JAMES DAMORE, engineer, filing a class action against Google about five months after the company fired him for circulating a memo arguing that biological factors explain the gender-inequality issue in Silicon Valley



Diamonds
Gwyneth Paltrow confirms engagement to Brad Falchuk with diamond-ring emoji



GOOD WEEK
BAD WEEK



Dimon
JPMorgan Chase CEO Jamie Dimon said he “regrets” calling Bitcoin a “fraud”

‘I HAVE MANY PLANS, BELIEVE ME.’

JOE ARPAIO, former Maricopa County sheriff, announcing that he's running for U.S. Senate in Arizona to replace retiring Republican Jeff Flake, four months after President Trump pardoned Arpaio after he was convicted of criminal contempt in a racial-profiling case

‘Teaching English in government and nongovernment primary schools in the official curriculum is against the law’

MEHDI NAVID-ADHAM, head of Iran's High Education Council, barring primary schools from teaching English, arguing that only Persian-language skills and Islamic culture should be learned at that age

The Brief

'IMMIGRATION HAS ALWAYS BEEN PARTLY ABOUT AMERICA'S REFRESHING ITSELF' —NEXT PAGE



Jose Escobar hugs his wife in El Salvador for the first time since his March deportation from Texas

IMMIGRATION

By ordering Salvadorans out, Trump inverts an American promise

By Karl Vick

FOR A NATION OF IMMIGRANTS, THE challenge is where to draw the line. A decade ago, Gallup asked adults the world over whether they would like to live somewhere else, if they could. They got a yes from 700 million people. Asked where they'd like to go, the destination of choice—named by 165 million people—was the U.S.

America can't take them all in, of course. But the idea of the nation as both a beacon and a refuge has softened the landing for millions of people who arrived without papers and over time became Americans.

It's an idea the Trump Administration is snatching back. The announcement on Jan. 8 ordering nearly 200,000 Salvadorans to return to Central America is only the latest inversion of an Executive

generosity that extends back at least six Presidents. About 46,000 Haitians were ordered out in November, when 2,500 Nicaraguans were also put on notice. Tens of thousands of Hondurans living in the U.S. await the next Department of Homeland Security take-back of what's called Temporary Protected Status (TPS).

TPS thus takes its place on protest signs alongside DACA, or Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals, in undoing the founding assumption of national identity since at least Plymouth Rock: that becoming an American was basically a matter of showing up and acting like one.

Border enforcement is one cornerstone of nationhood (as most of the 165 million would acknowledge). But historically, illegal aliens grew less

alien the longer they were in the country, and more legal. TPS was granted to Salvadorans already in the States in 2001 on the notional premise that they could hardly be expected to return to a country just hit by an earthquake. Today the State Department warns U.S. citizens against traveling to El Salvador, and it's far more perilous for Salvadorans, given the extraordinary violence of urban gangs that operate with impunity there. Honduras is similarly afflicted. Together with Guatemala, the nations have some of the world's highest murder rates.

Meanwhile, during the 16 years they have been legal, these people appear to have made a life for themselves. According to the *Journal of Migration and Human Society*, the Salvadorans in question work at higher rates (88%) than their U.S.-born counterparts (63%) and are raising 193,000 children, all U.S. citizens. They have been in the U.S., on average, 21 years, the span of a first-generation narrative we know both from stories of our own families and from the national story we tell ourselves. That's the progression Trump has reversed.

"They're being turned into undocumented people," says Don Kerwin, executive director of the Center for Migration Studies, a New York think tank. "It's not legalization. It's illegalization."

It's also a sea change in U.S. policy. Immigration has always been partly about America's refreshing itself, and hybrid vigor, and filling jobs U.S. citizens won't do. Prominent among groups opposing the TPS rollback is the U.S. Chamber of Commerce.

But the transactional tended to be married to the aspirational, even by Republicans. In a 1980 presidential primary debate, Ronald Reagan and George H.W. Bush took turns framing the issue around compassion. "I'd like to see something done about the illegal alien problem that would be so sensitive and so understanding about labor needs and human needs," Bush said. In office 10 years later, he signed legislation creating TPS.

Trump's agenda, by contrast, plays to the nativists in his base. He proposes accepting fewer refugees from war zones, doing away with visa lotteries that reward random supplicants and outlawing family-reunification visas, recasting them as "chain migration." At a televised Jan. 9 meeting with lawmakers, Trump proposed that all those changes come together in bills that would also address the perhaps 800,000 U.S. residents who had been brought into the country as young children and grew up knowing no other home.

Later in the day, a U.S. District judge in San Francisco ordered that DACA continue while courts sort through the challenges to Trump's decision to end it, even as he expressed his strong regard for the people wondering what country is theirs.

"It should be a bill of love, truly," Trump said. □



TICKER

Kansas state rep. apologizes for racist comments

Republican representative Steve Alford of the Kansas house walked back comments he made on Jan. 6 linking the "character makeup" and "genetics" of black people with their tolerance for marijuana.

N.C. congressional map ruled unconstitutional

North Carolina legislators were ordered to redraw the state's congressional map by Jan. 24 after a panel of federal judges ruled that a 2016 map gave Republicans an unconstitutional advantage.

Fraternity banned for hazing

The Pi Delta Psi national fraternity was banned from operating in Pennsylvania for 10 years, a judge ruled on Jan. 8, following the hazing death of a 19-year-old Baruch College student in 2013. The fraternity was also ordered to pay a fine of more than \$110,000.

Singing may aid postpartum depression

Singing could help speed up mothers' recovery from postpartum depression, researchers from the Centre for Performance Science in London found in a study of 134 mothers suffering with moderate to severe symptoms.

DIPLOMACY

Koreas unite for Olympics talks

On Jan. 9, North Korea agreed to send a team to South Korea for next month's Winter Olympics in Pyeongchang. It was the first direct inter-Korea talks since communications were severed following Pyongyang's fourth nuclear test in early 2016. —Charlie Campbell

SPORTS DIPLOMACY Officials sat down for 11 hours at the Joint Security Area of the demilitarized zone that has divided the Korean peninsula since an armistice effectively ended the 1950-3 Korean War. North Korea agreed to send two figure skaters to compete in the Games, as well as a cheerleading squad and some others.

TALKING HEADS South Korean President Moon Jae-in has pushed for talks since taking office in May. North Korean leader Kim Jong Un may have finally agreed as strict new U.N. sanctions are starting to bite. He also likely feels secure after apparently demonstrating in November that his latest nuclear-armed missiles could strike anywhere in the U.S.

UP NEXT China is hopeful the opening may lead to a "freeze for freeze" agreement: ceasing joint military drills between Seoul and Washington for a moratorium on the North's nuclear tests. But U.S. officials are wary. Although Pyongyang officials shot down Seoul's offer to discuss denuclearization, they did agree to talk further about reducing military tensions. And Moon has said he would be happy to meet with Kim.



DIGITS

171,635

Total number of migrants that reached Europe by sea in 2017, according to the International Organization for Migration. More than twice as many made the journey in 2016



UNDER ATTACK Reuters journalists Wa Lone (center, front) and Kyaw Soe Oo (center, back) leave a Yangon court on Jan. 10 after being charged under a colonial-era state secrets act, in a case that raises concerns about Myanmar's press freedoms. They were reportedly working on stories about Rohingya Muslims when they were arrested on Dec. 12 for possessing documents police had just handed to them. Photograph by Lynn Bo Bo—EPA-EFE/Shutterstock

POLITICS The Liberian soccer star becoming a President

GEORGE WEAH, 51, IS DUE TO BECOME PRESIDENT of Liberia on Jan. 22, in the West African country's first democratic transfer of power in decades. Here's how he went from the soccer pitch to the presidential palace:

RAGS TO RICHES Born in a slum in the Liberian capital of Monrovia, Weah's raw talent as a soccer player caught the eye of coach Arsene Wenger, who signed him to AS Monaco in 1988. The striker went on to thrill millions in Europe's most elite soccer clubs, becoming an inspiration for a generation of Liberians as civil wars raged from 1989 to 2003. He remains the only African soccer player to win FIFA's World Player of the Year Award.

'PRIDE OF AFRICA' At the height of his soccer fame, Weah had a

transformative meeting with the late Nelson Mandela, who nicknamed him the "pride of Africa." After hanging up his cleats in 2002, Weah turned to politics and formed a party, the Congress for Democratic Change. He fell short of the country's top job in a 2005 run, but succeeded on a second attempt in December.

KICKOFF Weah succeeds the celebrated President Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, a Nobel laureate who led her country through the Ebola outbreak of 2014–16. The onetime soccer star has his work cut out for him; his opponents worry about his lack of education and political experience. And questions remain over the extent of his links to former President Charles Taylor, a notorious warlord. Taylor's ex-wife, Jewel Howard Taylor, is set to be Weah's Vice President.

—TARA JOHN

◀ Weah, 51, credits his political awakening to a meeting with Mandela



DATA

FLY TIME

Air Baltic was the most punctual airline in 2017, per data from U.K. firm OAG. Here's how it fared against other timely airlines:



Air Baltic
90.01%
of departures and arrivals were on time



Hawaiian Airlines
87.24%



Japan Airlines
85.27%



Transavia
84.25%



Qatar Airlines
82.95%



Volair
82.13%



TICKER

Apple insists its tech is kid-friendly

Apple defended its parental-control provisions after two major investors called for a probe into iPhone addiction among young users. “We think deeply about how our products are used and the impact they have on users,” the firm said in a Jan. 8 statement.

Iran: Some 3,700 arrested, says lawmaker

The arrests were made during recent antigovernment protests, the largest the country has seen since 2009. The number, provided by an Iranian lawmaker, is far higher than the 450 people authorities previously said were detained.

Jeff Bezos is the world’s richest man

The Amazon CEO became the richest person of all time, according to Bloomberg’s billionaire tracker. It values the tech entrepreneur’s net worth at \$105.1 billion, eclipsing Bill Gates’ \$93.3 billion.

Israel: Netanyahu’s son under fire

Yair Netanyahu, the 26-year-old son of Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, was criticized after a recording emerged of him bragging about a \$20 billion gas deal outside a Tel Aviv strip club in 2015. He quickly apologized.

THE RISK REPORT

What Emmanuel Macron was really doing in China

By Ian Bremmer

EMMANUEL MACRON ARRIVED IN BEIJING this month with the gift of a horse from his cavalry corps for his counterpart Xi Jinping. It was a gallant gesture of respect, though one French official conceded the operation was “very complicated ... for sanitary reasons.” During his three-day visit, France’s youthful President paid due respect to what he called the world’s “oldest living civilization.”

But Macron had another message for his hosts. “I came here to tell China my determination to get the Europe-China partnership into the 21st century,” he said. It seems Donald Trump is not the only President who sees that China and its companies don’t always play by Western rules, particularly on respect for intellectual property.

China invests more in Europe than in the U.S., for several reasons. First, Chinese firms believe the E.U. offers a diversity of opportunities. If one member state drives a hard bargain on investment rules, China enters the European market through another. In the U.S., federal rules limit opportunities to play one state or city off another.

Investors in the U.S. can also face scrutiny from the Committee on Foreign Investment in the U.S. (CFIUS), the federal body empowered to determine whether deals with foreign companies raise antitrust or national-security concerns. CFIUS devotes special attention to

state-owned firms, particularly from China.

Europeans are starting to see value in the CFIUS approach. In 2016, Germany’s Economics Ministry withdrew approval for a deal that would have allowed a Chinese investment fund to buy a German computer-chip equipment maker. Soon after, Germany became the first E.U. member to tighten rules on foreign corporate takeovers, fearing China was gaining access to Western technology while protecting its own companies from foreign competition.

As a candidate and now as President, Macron has positioned the E.U. as a vehicle that

Donald Trump is not the only President who sees that China doesn’t always play by Western rules

can boost French interests, but he also talks of “protective Europe.” Don’t be surprised if we see a CFIUS-style E.U.-wide investment committee that could put hurdles in front of Chinese state-backed investment in European companies. Smaller

E.U. member states might still prefer to cut their own deals with China, but Macron means to ensure that China must deal with the E.U. and its rules.

The French President knows that China offers tremendous opportunities for France and for Europe. But during a speech on Jan. 8, he noted that “the ancient Silk Roads were never just Chinese ... New roads cannot go just one way.” Macron is no protectionist, but gallant gestures aside, he knows he must insist that China play fair. □

MUSIC

When songs sound similar



On Jan. 7, Lana Del Rey alleged Radiohead is threatening to sue her for 100% of the royalties for “Get Free” because the song resembles the band’s 1992 hit “Creep,” a claim Del Rey refutes. The band denied filing legal action but said it wants the songs’ similarity to be acknowledged. —Kate Samuelson



“SHAKE IT OFF”

Taylor Swift was sued last September by songwriters Sean Hall and Nathan Butler, who claimed the pop star’s 2014 hit bears a lyrical similarity to a song they wrote, “Playas Gon’ Play.” Swift’s representatives called the ongoing lawsuit “ridiculous.”

“PHOTOGRAPH”

In April 2017, Ed Sheeran settled out of court with a pair of songwriters who sued the singer for \$20 million, accusing him of “verbatim, note-for-note copying” of their 2009 song “Amazing,” which was released as a single by British *X Factor* winner Matt Cardle in 2012.

“BLURRED LINES”

In 2015, a jury found Robin Thicke and Pharrell Williams copied elements of Marvin Gaye’s 1977 classic “Got to Give It Up” on their 2013 hit “Blurred Lines,” awarding his family nearly \$7.4 million. The pair appealed the ruling.

Milestones

DIED

Acclaimed astronaut **John Young**, the first person to fly six times from Earth to space and the ninth to walk on the moon, at 87.

▶ British actor **Peggy Cummins**, best known for starring as the gun-toting Annie Laurie Starr in the 1950 film noir classic *Gun Crazy*, at 92.

▶ Former Toyota chief **Tatsuro Toyoda**, who led the Japanese automotive company's international expansion, at 88.

MARRIED

Same-sex couples in midnight ceremonies across Australia on Jan. 9, the official start date of the country's new marriage-equality law, passed on Dec. 9.

SUED

Walmart Stores, for allegedly misleading U.S. customers by selling eggs with labels falsely stating they came from hens with "outdoor access."

FOUND

The **largest known prime number to date**, by a FedEx employee in Tennessee. The newly discovered number, called M77232917, is more than 23 million digits long.



Freshman DeVonta Smith catches the winning TD pass in Alabama's national-title victory over Georgia

WON

The University of Alabama College football national title

RARE IS THE DYNASTIC TRIUMPH THAT CHARMS A nation. Yet millions will remember Alabama's wondrous 26-23 overtime victory over Georgia in the Jan. 8 college football national championship game. Georgia was about to hand Alabama—the sport's most robust talent factory, or, in the eyes of less generous observers, the sport's evil empire—a comeuppance. The Bulldogs kicked a long field goal in overtime to take a 23-20 lead and sacked Crimson Tide freshman backup quarterback Tua Tagovailoa on the following play. Alabama was now out of striking range, its fleeting title hopes pinned to a player who not long ago was leading his high school team in Hawaii.

So what did Tagovailoa do? He lofted a gorgeous 41-yard touchdown strike to DeVonta Smith, another freshman, to clinch the win for Alabama. Dour Crimson Tide coach Nick Saban practically skipped onto the field like delighted child, while even Georgia fans marveled at the epic. The win gave Saban his sixth title, tying him with his Alabama predecessor Bear Bryant for the most in college football history and cementing his place alongside a legend. —SEAN GREGORY

BUSINESS

The Chinese film market is ready for its closeup

By Clay Chandler

OVER THE PAST DECADE, CHINA HAS emerged as the world's No. 1 consumer in a slew of important product categories ranging from autos to mobile phones. Hollywood has long salivated over the prospect that films too would be added to that list.

The 2017 box-office numbers are finally in, and last year China had total ticket sales of \$8.59 billion. They fell well short of the North American box office for 2017, estimated by comScore at \$11.12 billion. Even so, analysts cheered the results as a healthy showing for China. Since 1994, when China's communist rulers eased a long-standing ban on all foreign films, growth in China's box office has translated into hefty profits for U.S. studios. Many titles—including *Pacific Rim*; *Transformers: Age of Extinction*; and *Furious 7*—earned far more money in China than they did in North America.

There are clear signs Hollywood's dominance of China's film scene has begun to fade. No fewer than four of the five highest-grossing movies in China last year were locally produced. By far the biggest blockbuster was *Wolf Warrior 2*, a jingoistic action film depicting the exploits of a Rambo-like former People's Liberation Army soldier. *Wolf Warrior* took in a record-shattering \$854 million by year-end, which would make it one of the worldwide film industry's top 10 moneymakers of all time. All of which suggests that the arc of China's film industry may follow that of many other product categories in the country. As China's economy matures and homegrown challengers come into their own, global players increasingly find themselves forced to scramble more frantically than ever to hang on to a shrinking share of a growing market. □

LightBox

Daring rescue

Emergency personnel carry a mudslide victim rescued from a collapsed house in Montecito, Calif., on Jan. 9. At least 15 people were killed in Santa Barbara County after a deluge of water, rocks and trees tore into dozens of homes. The mudslide came after flash flooding in the Santa Ynez Mountains, which were stripped of water-absorbing shrubbery after recent fires. Among those saved was a 14-year-old girl who had been trapped for hours in her home. "I thought I was dead for a minute there," she reportedly said after being rescued. Authorities warned the death toll could climb.

Photograph by Kenneth Song—Santa Barbara News-Press/Reuters

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





Looking Forward



1. YOU HAVE NO (HIGH INTEREST) DEBT

Financial professionals disagree on the merits of paying down your mortgage before you retire. Jay Hummel, head of direct sales and service at American Century Investments, says that for many retirees, the emotional benefits of paying off their mortgage may outweigh any financial benefits of keeping the debt. Still, retirees can benefit from the mortgage-interest deduction (though the new GOP tax bill adds some restrictions on write-offs for the biggest new mortgages) and also grow their nest egg by investing the money they would have used to pay down principal.

Yet there's broad consensus that people should eliminate all credit-card and other high-interest debt before retiring. If you haven't paid down debt that's not tax-deductible by your 50s, now's the time to do it, says ShirleyAnn Robertson, a financial professional with Prudential Advisors in Schaumburg, Ill. You don't want to remain exposed to rising interest rates and late charges when you're no longer earning a paycheck.

Signs you can retire in 2018

By Elizabeth O'Brien

MANY FOLKS TIME THEIR retirement to coincide with milestones—35 years on the job, say, or reaching age 65 or saving \$1 million. But more than a number, you have to be ready, financially and psychologically. You may have dreamed of this moment for years on your commute, in your cubicle, on those vacation days when you can't avoid your work emails. Here are three signs the time might finally have come to call it quits.



2. YOU HAVE ENOUGH TO DO

You know what you're retiring from, but what are you retiring to? You'll need some activities to fill your days, and your plans should give you a sense of purpose. Work confers status and validation, and stepping away from your career can lead to a loss of identity, says Joe Sicchitano, head of wealth planning and advice delivery at SunTrust Bank. Look for opportunities like volunteering that can offer you a similar sense of belonging and recognition.

Pace yourself, though. Some retirees, fearing too much free time, pack their schedules just as tight as when they were working. Pick an activity or two that you're excited about, try them out for the first few months of retirement, and if you have time and energy to spare, then add one activity at a time until you have the right mix.

Consider the effect your retirement will have on your partner. Stay-at-home spouses can find longtime routines disrupted when the bread-earning partner stops working and is suddenly around all the time. If you're retiring first and your spouse continues to work, line up some friends to keep you company on weekday activities.

3. YOU'VE SAVED ENOUGH

Some advisers say amassing an arbitrary amount (say, \$1.3 million) is less important than determining how much you plan to spend in retirement. One general rule of thumb for calculating how much you'll need is to take your annual expenses and multiply them by 25. For example, if you spend \$75,000 a year, you'll need \$1.88 million to live on, assuming you live for 25 years in retirement. Subtract from that total the amount you'll receive from Social Security and any pensions that you might have. The remainder is the amount you'll need to fund on your own from your retirement savings, says Brett Anderson, a certified financial planner in Hudson, Wis.

Many advisers say spending in retirement holds fairly constant, adjusted for inflation. Early retirees tend to spend disproportionately on leisure activities, and later retirees tend to spend disproportionately on health care expenses. Spending may not drop that much, if at all, in your less active years, since health care expenses will consume the dollars that went to recreational activities. Medical costs rise at a higher rate than general inflation, roughly by 5% or 6% per year, and that spending can mount quickly in older age.



The View

'THE MINGLING OF POLITICAL AND CULTURAL CELEBRITY CAN'T BE REVERSED.' —NEXT PAGE



Winfrey told the audience at the Golden Globes on Jan. 7 that “a new day is on the horizon”

CULTURE

We need Oprah to be our Oprah—not our President

By Daniel D’Addario

PRACTICALLY AS SOON AS OPRAH Winfrey left the Golden Globes stage, the notion that she would campaign for—and who knows? Maybe win!—the presidency in the next election swept across social media. When a reporter for the *Los Angeles Times* asked her partner, Stedman Graham, about the idea, Graham said she would “absolutely do it. It’s up to the people.” The zeal for Oprah 2020 is still catching, and understandably so: not only is Winfrey hugely popular, but it would mark a historic occasion for women, particularly women of color, who remain underrepresented in positions of power. (That Winfrey briefly, glancingly denied interest in running in a backstage interview mattered little. How many times did Hillary Clinton deny

that a 2016 run was in the cards?)

Winfrey has been floated for political office before, and her endorsement of Barack Obama was a pivotal 2008 campaign moment as well as a test bubble of whether the Oprah brand worked at the ballot box. She’s certainly media-savvy enough to know how her speech would land. But the volume and the passion of the response was a genuine surprise. After all, Winfrey had been speaking in a stirring way on public stages for decades without such an outpouring of support for America’s projected ambitions.

We used to write fan letters or, more recently, tweet praise at our favorite celebrities; in the Trump era, we draft them to our fantasy team. Winfrey’s certainly a favorite—her Q score, measuring celebrity popularity, is

above average, and she had a strong favorable rating in a 2017 poll that indicated that she would beat Trump in a head-to-head 2020 matchup. But you don't need to be an Oprah-level megastar to get the "for President" treatment: Winfrey's moment comes along with those of Tom Hanks, also urged to run for office by Seth Meyers at the Golden Globes, and Dwayne Johnson, who responded with affable bafflement but left the door open. If Winfrey runs—imagine!—she'd likely clear the field, but if she rules it out, surely five more American-born movie stars or musicians over 35 will face down questions. (Beyoncé, having recently turned 36, is eligible; Nicole Kidman, born in Hawaii, is too!) If the current President rose to prominence in the tabloids and later became a reality-TV star, doesn't Winfrey seem like an even more credible option?

But it's a troubling trend, not least because liberals sympathetic to a Winfrey candidacy seem to have learned nothing from what they dislike about President Trump. Replacing a political amateur with a political amateur with good intentions won't solve certain core problems the Executive Branch is suffering at the moment. Winfrey has given her fans every indication over the years that she is a skilled executive, a genius of empathy and a deep reader of literature (a sharp contrast to our current post-literacy President), but it's not exactly pedantic to suggest, as various positions lie unfilled and as America's status on the world stage sinks, that some level of experience is needed.

The mingling of political and cultural celebrity can't be reversed. An audience that once might have looked at an inspiring speech as, well, an inspiring speech now reads it as stumping by any other name. What's easy to forget during four seasons' worth of reality-TV-ready outbursts from the President is that the job is supposed to be more than talking points. What would a President Winfrey's stance on North Korea or housing or greenhouse-gas emissions be? What would happen in a FEMA crisis or during an urgent national-security threat?

Winfrey would no doubt be a skilled diplomat. But the truest sign that the world has tectonically shifted post-Trump is that it hardly matters. A Winfrey presidency, ardently rooted for by many, would give us made-for-TV moments of catharsis and inspiration; we would for four years, or eight, be riveted. Trump swears we will get tired of winning; Winfrey would make us tired of living our best lives. A Winfrey run might actually be the most sensible result of the Trump presidency: it would reverse aspects of his temperament but keep in place the core way he's changed America, the idea that the power of the presidency and the fame of the officeholder should compound upon themselves until we're all so entertained that we can think of nothing else. □

VERBATIM
'No company can outsource that responsibility.'

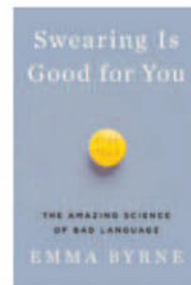
TWO APPLE INVESTORS,
 JANA Partners LLC and the California State Teachers' Retirement System, demanding in an open letter to the company that it work to combat child smartphone addiction; the groups control a combined \$2 billion in Apple shares



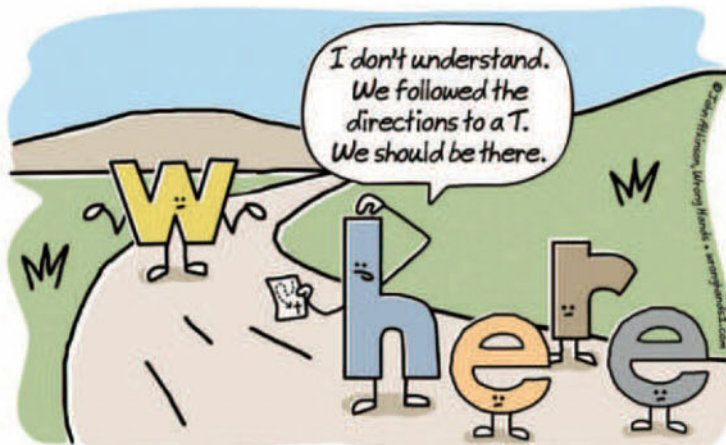
GOOD POINT
Why there is no 'best' curse word

FOR DECADES, SCIENTISTS HAVE looked for a link between the act of cursing and the sense of catharsis it creates. As I studied for my forthcoming book, *Swearing Is Good for You*, there has been conjecture that a particular word with powerful fricatives (*f*) and voiceless velar stops (*k*) just feels better. Sadly, the research doesn't bear this out. Instead, the joy of swearing is individualized.

A curse must have a frisson of taboo, and only in languages we learn before adolescence do swear words carve deep emotional paths. Experiments show that curses found early are pulse quickeners, memory sharpeners, painkillers—the severity of which depends on the responses of those whose opinions mattered most to you when you first tried them out. For me, it was the clip around the ear I got for calling my little brother a “twit.” (I’m British.) Without their knowing it, a friend’s laughter, a parent’s disappointment or an enemy’s fury teaches you how to swear. —EMMA BYRNE



CHARTOON
Being there



JOHN ATKINSON, WRONG HANDS



EXCERPT

How to start ‘death cleaning’

By **Margareta Magnusson**

I AM IN THE PROCESS OF “DEATH CLEANING,” or as we call it in Swedish, *döstädning*. It is a term that means that you remove unnecessary things and make your home nice and orderly when you think the time is coming closer for you to leave the planet, to save precious time for our loved ones after we are gone.

For me, this means going through all my belongings and deciding how to get rid of the things I do not want anymore. Just look around you. Several of your things have probably been there for so long that you do not even see or value them anymore. Sometimes you just realize that you can hardly close your drawers or barely shut your closet door. When that happens, it is definitely time to do something, even if you are only in your 30s. You could call that kind of cleaning *döstädning* too, even if you may be many, many years away from dying.

Be aware of the fact that to downsize your home will take some time. Start by checking the basement or the attic or the cupboards by your front door. Many of the things you have in storage have probably been there for ages. You may even have forgotten what it is you have there. Good for you, because you will now realize that you will not miss anything if you throw it away.

Tell your loved ones and friends what you are up to. They might want to help you

and even take things you don’t need and also help you move things that you cannot move alone. Perhaps a grandchild or someone else you know is about to move into their first apartment. Invite them over so you can show them your things and chat about them, telling the visitors stories about the objects (or perhaps even your life) that they do not know. Meanwhile, have some bags and boxes at hand that you can fill while you are chatting, so they can take stuff with them right away.

I’ve discovered that it is rewarding to spend time with these objects one last time. When I was younger, I never used to have the time to sit and think about what an object meant to me in my life or when and how it came into my possession. Each item has its own history, and remembering that history is often enjoyable.

This new job of yours will not be accomplished any faster if you wait, but with a little practice and preparation, it will certainly be easier for you to make decisions about how to get rid of things. You might even discover the added bonus that it will feel wonderful to visit a dump and throw worthless things as far as you are able to.

Adapted from Magnusson’s The Gentle Art of Swedish Death Cleaning



PROBLEM. SOLUTION?

CELL PHONES IN PRISONS

THE ISSUE

While federal inmates are barred from using cell phones, smuggling the devices into prisons is rising—thanks, in part, to deliveries via drone.

The Bureau of Prisons confiscated 28% more cell phones in 2017 than in the previous year, according to preliminary data.

Deputy Attorney General Rod Rosenstein called the matter a “major safety issue” on Jan. 8, citing cases like that of a North Carolina inmate who ordered an attack on a prosecutor’s father.

THE IDEA

The Department of Justice will test the use of “**microjamming**” technologies that aim to block cell-phone service, as well as back tighter regulations for drone usage.

THE CAVEAT

According to the AP, telecom companies are concerned that **microjamming could affect local coverage for legal users—including first responders** to emergencies near or at prisons. While the FCC has said it’ll help stop the cell-phone use, for now it can only allow federal agencies to jam public airwaves and not individual prisons outside the BOP system. Also, as Rosenstein said, “technological solutions to detect and disrupt drones are in their infancy.” There’s no guarantee the drones can be stopped.

—Julia Zorthian

Very. Stable

PHOTOGRAPH BY MARK PETERSON

A high-contrast, black and white close-up photograph of Donald Trump's face, focusing on his eyes and forehead. The image is grainy and has a dramatic, low-key lighting effect. The text is overlaid on the top portion of the image.

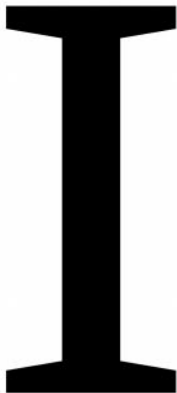
1e. Genius.

A special report on
Donald Trump's
first year in office

THE TORTURED MARRIAGE

Trump and the GOP

By Molly Ball and Philip Elliott



IT WAS BITTERLY COLD AS DONALD Trump sat down to dinner on Jan. 5 at Camp David, the presidential retreat in Maryland's Catoctin Mountains. Republican leaders and Administration officials had joined him for what needed to be a frank conversation. Mitch McConnell, the Senate majority leader, sat to Trump's left; Paul Ryan, the House Speaker, to his right. The group had planned to take stock of their first year in power and hash out strategies for the next. But try as they might, Ryan and McConnell struggled to get the President to focus.

Trump had something else on his mind: a gossipy, unflattering new book, *Fire and Fury*, that was consuming Washington's chattering class. The President seethed at the disloyalty of his former counselor Stephen Bannon; he raged about the book's author, Michael Wolff. Guests gently tried to bring the President back to the topics at hand: a packed congressional to-do list, the looming mid-term elections and the many potholes in their path. But Trump kept fuming, his

arms crossed. At least it's not the Russia investigation this time, McConnell and Ryan thought, according to aides. As both men later told allies, they should know better at this point than to be surprised.

The evening illustrated the accommodation the President and his party have reached one year into their marriage of necessity: Trump will do what Trump will do, and the Republican Congress will try to mind its own store. The partnership hasn't been easy, but it has, for both sides, been fruitful. For all of Trump's impulsive behavior, Republicans wrung much that they wanted out of 2017. The passage of the tax bill in December was the first time Congress had delivered on such a thorny issue since Ryan was slinging McDonald's hamburgers as a Wisconsin teenager. Trump appointed a conservative to the Supreme Court and many more to the federal judiciary, while rolling back scores of regulations. In exchange for putting up with Trump's chaos, lawmakers got a respectable list of policy wins in the traditional GOP mold. It was, McConnell said at Camp David, "the most consequential year" of his more than three decades in Washington.

For his part, Trump got the big victories he wanted. He's been able to claim credit for the stock market, which is soaring, and the unemployment rate, which is at its lowest point in years, while offload-



ing the hard (and, to his mind, dreary) work of devising policy to his eager partners on the Hill.

But now what? The one-year mark of a presidential Administration is often a high point, and Republicans worry that it's all downhill from here. There's little hope for any major legislation in 2018. The political climate is dire and getting worse. And there are challenges looming that they cannot control: the provocations of North Korea, the investigation into Russia's meddling in the 2016 campaign, the threat of terrorism.

THE YEAR IN TRUMP



1.20.17 Donald J. Trump is sworn in as the 45th U.S. President, pledging to put "America first" in his Inaugural Address.



1.21.17 Million of protesters gather in D.C. and other cities for the Women's Marches.

1.21.17 White House spokesperson Sean Spicer inaccurately insists that "this was the largest audience to ever witness an Inauguration."

During his retreat with Republican congressional leaders at Camp David, Trump takes questions from the media on Jan. 6



At Camp David, the legislators tried to impress these realities upon Trump. “Last year would be a tough year to top,” McConnell said. Trump paid little heed, repeatedly interrupting meetings with his rolling rant. On Jan. 6, the lawmakers woke to a series of tweets in which the President proclaimed himself “a very stable genius.” Over breakfast, the lawmakers groused to each other. This again. They couldn’t help but note with some glum humor that just the night before, the White House had treated them to a movie: *The Greatest Showman*, a new

musical about the life of P.T. Barnum, a man whose skill at shocking, entertaining and fooling the public never earned him the respect he felt he deserved. The President, aides said, quite enjoyed it.

LIKE MANY FORCED MARRIAGES, THE partnership began with unrealistic expectations and mutual misunderstanding. Republicans, divided for years between a status quo establishment and a rabble-rousing right wing, tried to convince themselves that Trump just might be the unifying figure they needed.

With his force of personality and self-proclaimed dealmaking prowess, maybe the new President could finally get the moderates and the right-wing Freedom Caucus to row in the same direction.

Trump, meanwhile, figured the professional politicians knew their jobs. After all, the GOP had spent seven years promising to get rid of Obamacare and replace it with something better. Now they had the power to do it. Trump was surprised when it turned out they had no idea how. The President is an older man, set in his ways, but members of Congress hoped

PREVIOUS PAGES: REDUX; THESE PAGES: YURI GRIPAS—REUTERS; TIMELINE: GETTY IMAGES (3)

1.27.17

Trump signs the first travel ban, barring citizens from seven countries for 90 days. Protests break out at airports.



1.28.17

Trump harangues Australian Prime Minister Malcolm Turnbull over a refugee deal; a transcript of the call is later leaked.

1.30.17

Fulfilling a campaign pledge, Trump signs an Executive Order that requires for every new piece of federal regulation, two existing measures must be rescinded.

the gravity of his role and the experienced aides surrounding him would bring him around to the normal procedures.

Then, just a week after the Inauguration, came the travel ban.

“Blindsided? It was like a crowbar to the bridge of the nose,” says Republican Representative Charlie Dent, a Pennsylvania moderate who’s among 37 House Republicans not running for re-election in their districts in this sour season. Dent found out about the ban when his son texted him that a local family of legal Syrian immigrants had had their visas revoked in midair. “It was a fiasco,” Dent recalled. “I called the White House and said, ‘What’s going on?’ It took about five minutes to understand that they didn’t run it by the Department of Defense, or State, or Homeland Security, or Justice. He just signed the Executive Order and sent out a press release.” Dent spent the next 10 days helping get the Syrian family readmitted.

It was a sign of things to come. Trump would do things differently and quickly, and he was not necessarily planning to keep his would-be allies in Congress in the loop. Those around him weren’t as sage as they were cast; the Speaker’s office became a Government 101 tutorial for senior officials baffled by the basics of how a bill becomes a law, let alone arcane minutiae. Time and again, Republicans were asked to answer for another presidential statement they couldn’t explain and didn’t, in many cases, care to defend.

In March, the GOP’s first stab at Obamacare reform failed. But in April, Neil Gorsuch was confirmed to the Supreme Court, shepherded by McConnell and his allies. (The process was norm-shattering in its own way: McConnell refused to consider a nominee for a year until a Republican President could fill the seat, then eliminated the 60-vote threshold to get Gorsuch through.) Congressional leaders held the episode up to Trump as a case study: See how we can both win if you just help us help you?

But any hope that normalcy might reign was dashed in May, when Trump

President Trump’s 2017 report card

After a campaign filled with aggressive promises, here’s a look at what Donald Trump has delivered in his first year in the Oval Office



COURTS

Promise Trump assured skittish Republican voters that he would nominate conservative judges and published a list of vetted candidates he promised to pick from for Supreme Court vacancies.

What’s been done Trump held up his end of the bargain by nominating Justice Neil Gorsuch to the high court and filled a record-breaking number of federal appeals court vacancies in his first year.



ECONOMY

Promise Trump said before he took office that he would be “the greatest jobs producer that God ever created.” He promised to create 25 million new jobs over a decade.

What’s been done The economy is healthy, with stocks continuing to soar, unemployment dropping and strong GDP numbers. But job growth isn’t living up to Trump’s bold promises and is similar to growth rates under President Obama.



FOREIGN POLICY

Promise Trump said he would “bomb the hell” out of ISIS, get tough on North Korea and recognize Jerusalem as the capital of Israel.

What’s been done Trump loosened restraints on U.S. military commanders, resulting in more airstrikes, and ISIS has lost strongholds in Iraq and Syria. He has taunted North Korean leader Kim Jong Un. He formally recognized Jerusalem in December.

abruptly fired FBI Director James Comey, offering a jumble of explanations, none of which made the GOP comfortable. In July, Obamacare repeal failed, twice more, to make it through the Senate. In August, Trump waffled on forcefully condemning the violent white nationalists who’d killed a woman in Charlottesville, Va. In September, after months of nationwide protests, came the final failure of Obamacare repeal.

Three weeks after the health care bill’s demise, members of Congress went home to an irate base and demoralized donors. The National Republican Senatorial Committee lost several million in pledges in the wake of the failure. That, according to a chief of staff to a House Republican, was the “holy sh-t moment” when lawmakers realized they were going to have to get something done. Outside groups warned of trouble ahead. “Voters demand results. We have to deliver,” says Corry Bliss, a GOP strategist running a Ryan-backed super PAC with plans to spend \$100 million defending House Republicans in 2018. “In American politics,

you’re graded on a two-year scorecard.”

Republicans came to grasp that Trump was never going to lead in a focused, traditional way. If Congress was going to get anything done, they were going to have to do it on their own. “The whole ‘give him some runway, cut him some slack’ argument—I haven’t heard that stuff for a while,” the House GOP staffer says.

The failure of the health care push also sobered Trump, allies say. It taught him that he couldn’t trust or bully Congress to deliver on its promises either. And while the ultimate victory on tax reform was a major win for both sides, the lack of meaningful cooperation on its passage only underscored the fundamental dysfunction of the relationship. “Here’s the ultimate issue,” says former Trump adviser Sam Nunberg. “He doesn’t like these guys or respect these guys. He thinks they’re all losers. By the way, they are all losers. But he needs them. He knows that.”

THE STRAINS IN THE RELATIONSHIP ARE easy to spot. Trump and McConnell went weeks this summer without as much as a



1.31.17

Trump nominates judge Neil Gorsuch to the Supreme Court seat left vacant after Antonin Scalia’s death.

2.6.17

Pushing back on a New York Times article that said Trump watches a lot of cable news in his bathrobe, Spicer argues the President does not own one.

2.13.17

National Security Adviser Michael Flynn resigns, purportedly for misleading Vice President Mike Pence and others about his conversations with the Russian ambassador.



HEALTH CARE

Promise Trump repeatedly pledged to repeal and replace the Affordable Care Act.

What's been done Congressional Republicans failed multiple times in 2017 to repeal Obamacare. But they did scrap its individual mandate in the tax-reform bill, which dealt a blow to the law. Senate negotiators reached a bipartisan deal to stabilize insurance markets, but the legislation hasn't come up for a vote.



IMMIGRATION

Promise Trump pledged to crack down on illegal immigration and build a wall along the southern U.S. border, which he vowed that Mexico would pay for.

What's been done Contractors have built prototypes, but there's no wall and no money allotted for one. The White House and Congress are negotiating an immigration package focusing on border security, DACA, chain migration and the visa lottery program.



TAXES

Promise Trump said he would reform the federal tax code, assuring voters during the campaign that "everybody is getting a tax cut."

What's been done Trump signed a GOP tax-reform bill into law in December. The package polled poorly and didn't match all the specifics Trump offered on the campaign trail, but it was the biggest legislative achievement of the President's first year in office.



TRADE

Promise Trump pledged to pull out of the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP), get a "much better deal" on NAFTA and fix the U.S. trade imbalance with China.

What's been done Trump formally withdrew the U.S. from TPP shortly after his Inauguration. The Administration has been in talks to renegotiate NAFTA, though nothing has happened yet, and Trump toned down his rhetoric toward China.

islating will continue to be with a perpetually unpredictable President. The White House walked Trump's comments back; by the evening, Trump was on Twitter, demanding a border wall that Democrats don't support. The zigzag was maddening to Republicans, but not surprising. This is the bed the GOP has made, and it is too late to climb out of it.

The Republicans excused Trump's antics during the campaign with the justification that he was better than Hillary Clinton. In office, they rationalize that he has given them generational victories on judges and taxes and has energized voters and brought new ones into the mix. Once-ferocious critics have found reasons to work with Trump. "I said he was a xenophobic, race-baiting religious bigot," said Senator Lindsey Graham of South Carolina, one of Trump's 2016 rivals who came up short. "He won. Guess what? He's our President." Graham is now a golf partner.

But Republicans also are keenly aware that they may pay the price for the partnership in November. Historically the party in the White House suffers deep losses during a President's first midterm elections. Republicans have a 24-seat cushion in the House and a skimpy one-seat edge in the upper chamber. A CNN poll in December found just 38% of voters likely to vote for Republicans in Congress in 2018; independent voters favored Democrats by a 16-point margin.

If the President is worried by this, he's making no public show of it. Trump wants to campaign for Republicans and boasts about the crowds he draws, but it's not clear many of the candidates will welcome him. In fact, some White House advisers see Vice President Mike Pence as the more useful figure in turning out conservative voters this year and are fielding requests for Ivanka Trump to win over independents and women. Many Republican candidates are likely to do in November what their leaders in Congress did not: keep their distance. A year after Inauguration Day, one can only imagine what the second anniversary will look like. □

word between them. GOP gatherings with the President now often have the air of a corporate retreat with a CEO no one really likes. During the Camp David sessions, Trump attended every roundtable and often touted the success of his team. "Isn't he tremendous?" Trump would ask those assembled in the wood-paneled conference rooms as a new official was called on to speak. Congressional leaders have come to expect these fawning ceremonies. They believe Trump's need for affirmation is one reason he spends so much of his day watching supportive television hosts and calling friends outside government. Ryan and McConnell lead the chorus when they're summoned but privately dislike the show.

But these days members can't always mask their frustration. During an unexpected press conference at Camp David, Trump ordered his guests to line up behind him. The No. 2 Republican in the House, Kevin McCarthy of California, gulped down a giggle and shifted his weight as Trump boasted about attending the finest college. When the Presi-

dent suggested it should be easier to sue journalists for libel, McCarthy closed his eyes. By the time Trump was mocking "Sloppy Steve" Bannon, McCarthy was openly laughing.

Just 48 hours after the Republicans returned from Camp David, Trump gathered lawmakers from both parties in the Cabinet Room for a discussion about immigration. For 55 minutes, with cameras rolling, the President considered the future of the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) program, an Obama-era executive action shielding from deportation hundreds of thousands of young immigrants brought to the U.S. illegally. Trump had ordered it to end, but to the astonishment of the Republicans, Trump now said he was game to preserve it—even as members of his party tried to steer him away from that inclination. "It should be a bill of love," the President said, adding that he'd love to see a comprehensive immigration overhaul. "If you want to take it that further step," Trump added later. "I'll take the heat."

It was a reminder of how difficult leg-

GETTY IMAGES (3)



2.14.17

In a meeting in the Oval Office, Trump asks FBI Director James Comey to shut down an investigation into Flynn (left).



3.4.17

Trump accuses President Barack Obama of tapping his phones in 2016. The Justice Department says there's no evidence of this.

3.6.17

With the travel ban tied up in court, Trump signs a second one, which targets six countries and temporarily bars refugees.

PHOTOGRAPHY

An Unconventional Presidency, in Photos

Top Washington photographers, in their own words, on how they got the shot—and why it mattered





HURRICANE HARVEY JACQUELYN MARTIN

This photograph is a standard shot we make when the President travels from the White House. The difference this time, however, was that he was going to Texas to view the aftermath of Hurricane Harvey on Aug. 29. Whenever we photograph the First Lady, we're sure to get a head-to-toe shot because the public is interested in her fashion choices. As they walked out, I noted the First Lady's choice of footwear in particular, as well as her aviator glasses and jacket. The visual contrast of her high heels with the flooding-recovery-effort story is what has stuck with me about the image.



TRUMP SUMMONING COMEY ANDREW HARRER

It was Jan. 22, 2017, my first day back at the White House after the Inauguration. Photographers and reporters entered as Trump was speaking in the Blue Room, and with no time to set up, I squeezed in at the feet of Vice President Mike Pence. As he spoke, Trump spotted FBI Director James Comey and called out to him. Comey walked over and shook his hand. I only shot three frames, capturing a moment that would become a part of history.

TRUMP IN THE OVAL OFFICE ANDREW HARNIK

This image was taken in the first three months of Trump's presidency. This was a man who was not expected, even by many in his own campaign, to win the election and who had spent the better part of two years trying to get this job. Now here he is, President of the United States, standing in the most powerful office in the world. His job would need to turn from running to leading and governing the country.

THE VATICAN GRIN

EVAN VUCCI

After covering much of Trump's campaign, transition, Inauguration and first year in office, I'm well aware that every image of a polarizing President is examined in minute detail. This one, from May 24, was the ultimate reminder of that. It went viral among critics who pointed out that Pope Francis didn't look happy meeting the Trumps. (There were, of course, photographs of him smiling too.)



THE DEALMAKER

AL DRAGO

On Sept. 6, the President was scheduled to depart the White House at noon from the South Lawn, and the press was escorted into its viewing pen as usual. But a congressional leadership meeting ran a few minutes over, and we could see through the window into the Oval Office. I could see Senate minority leader Chuck Schumer lingering as he stood up, and I took this photo as the President came into the frame to greet him. Schumer was wagging his finger at the President, and Trump had a big grin on his face—because they'd just cut a deal to raise the debt ceiling. The photo tells you instantly what kind of negotiator Trump is.





TABLE FOR ONE

JIM WATSON

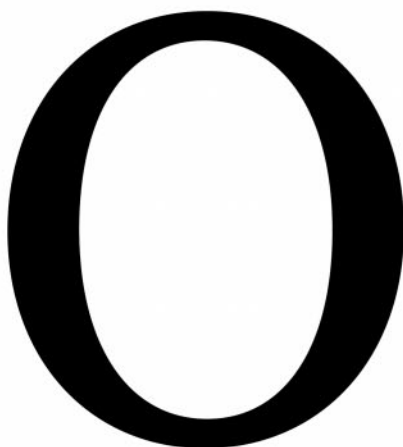
On Nov. 28, Senate minority leader Schumer and House minority leader Nancy Pelosi ditched a White House meeting on government funding in protest of a Trump tweet saying he didn't foresee a deal. The President used their absence to convey a clear message, employing the news media to deliver it in a classic political spin-doctor move. But rather than showing he was working and they weren't, it conveyed how alone he was in the moment.



THE UNPRESIDENT

Fire and Fury and Trump's first year

By Michael Duffy and Nancy Gibbs



ONE OF THE UNSPOKEN PRECEPTS OF the presidency is that you can't complain about the job. You are the most powerful person on earth; no one is going to feel sorry for you, whatever the challenges and pressures, whatever the abuse and frustrations and regrets.

For those like Bill Clinton, who campaigned almost from birth, there was a joy about the job even in the most brutal times, and in his final days it was hard for him to imagine giving it up. For others, like Dwight D. Eisenhower, who were more reluctant recruits, the powerful sense of duty made the Oval Office an extension of their other works, just a logical transition. For someone like George W. Bush or

Barack Obama, whose paths to the Oval Office were relatively short—a detour in a life headed elsewhere—they did the job, all in, and then left it behind.

With Donald Trump, the nation is seeing something new. Although he flirted with running as an independent decades ago, and as a Republican in 2012, he was never driven by a vision, an agenda or a set of goals. He gave every indication of wanting to win the presidency but not be the President.

That impression, and so much more, is brought to life in Michael Wolff's explosive and controversial new book, *Fire and Fury*, a damning account of the first nine months of the Trump presidency that has Democrats salivating and studying the Constitution and Republicans fretting over its conclusions while pretending to criticize it as a hatchet job. The President was so incensed by the book and its many criticisms of his leadership style that he tried to block its publication even after *Fire and Fury* was widely available,



Stephen Bannon, who appears in the book as a man at odds with himself, has stepped down from Breitbart News

thereby guaranteeing that it would sell out everywhere from Maine to Montana. So many are the questions raised in the book about his suitability for office that Trump was left to declare in a Jan. 6 tweet that he is a “very stable genius.”

For all the criticism of Wolff's methods, much about the portrait rings true. Trump didn't expect to win and, if he thought about it, probably didn't want to. The



4.7.17

Trump orders a missile strike on a Syrian airfield in response to a chemical-weapons attack that killed dozens of civilians.



4.19.17

Trump dines with former Alaska governor Sarah Palin and musicians Kid Rock and Ted Nugent at the White House.



OVAL OFFICE: DREW ANGERER—GETTY IMAGES; TIMELINE: AP/REX/SHUTTERSTOCK, GETTY IMAGES (5)

campaign itself gave him the power and the glory and the profits. The office takes those away. In the terms he cares about—nuclear button notwithstanding—he is in many ways less powerful as President than he was a year ago. Candidates can say whatever they want about what they will do; Presidents are expected go out and do it. There’s more ridicule and much less freedom. Harry Truman’s “great

white jail” is spartan compared with a life pinballing between Mar-a-Lago and Fifth Avenue. The rewards of the office, such as they are, aren’t rewarding to Trump, other than the pomp, the crowds, the chance to show off the Lincoln Bedroom or to see in our response an awe he does not share but likes provoking. The fuel that powers the presidency—the passion for ideas, the attachment to allies, the give

and take of practical politics—gives him no energy. So this is an exhausting, even debilitating, life for a 71-year-old, much less one with little curiosity or sense of mission beyond self-interest. The most thin-skinned public figure imaginable has been exposed to the elements. And he doesn’t like them.

All of this speaks to fitness, which is different than mental capacity or compe-

5.4.17
Trump brings House Republicans to the Rose Garden to celebrate passage of a bill repealing and replacing the Affordable Care Act.



5.9.17
Trump fires James Comey, arguing that he mishandled the investigation into Hillary Clinton’s private email server.



5.10.17
Trump reportedly reveals classified information to Russian Foreign Minister Sergei Lavrov and ambassador Sergey Kislyak during an Oval Office meeting.

tence or proficiency with policy. It goes to wanting to learn, to grow into the role, to be tested by the office held by others in more difficult times, to make the best of the challenge history hands you. As portrayed in *Fire and Fury*, Trump is little interested in such things. He is a President who is almost annoyed by the office he holds. What an unhappy man he must be.

As is so often the case with Trump, the portrait painted is shocking but not surprising. Wolff is known for his bare-knuckled prose, his flexibility with facts, his instinct to capture larger truths, to see the forest without being able to name every tree. And so this President, this White House, was his perfect subject. Trump is the same man America watched through the campaign, breaking rules, flouting convention, surrounded by amateurs, doing sometimes-brilliant improv, nothing planned or plotted. Is he the least calculating, most instinctual President this country has ever seen? Thanks to his Twitter feed, he is certainly the most transparent one; the tantrums aren't hidden, nor the insecurities, nor the knowledge gaps, grievances, blind spots, tone deafness. None of this has been secret. Majorities of Americans disapprove, just as majorities did before he was elected.

So what changed? Mainly it is that Wolff's book captures the President's own advisers admitting what so many people have been seeing, after a year spent denying that water is wet. Again and again this President and this White House asserted things that were flatly untrue: the numbers, the crowds, the votes, the size of the tax cuts. We're no longer through the looking glass. That has implications for everything.

BOOKS ABOUT SITTING PRESIDENTS ARE extremely hard to do well. They are particularly hard to do about a President who has such a broad definition of truth, much less one who said, according to Wolff, "I've made stuff up forever and they always print it." Clarity is elusive on a good day. Longtime White House reporters will tell you that there are as many opinions

TRUMP IS A PRESIDENT WHO SEEMS ALMOST ANNOYED BY THE OFFICE HE HOLDS



about what happened at a West Wing meeting as there are people in the room.

Wolff's technique isn't to air all sides. In *Fire and Fury* he most often presents a version of the truth that comes straight from the mouth or memory of Trump's now defenestrated adviser Stephen Bannon, the right-wing warrior who joined Trump's team in August 2016 and lent it so much of its raw cultural power in the closing days of the campaign. Bannon then went to Washington with the President-elect to advance the chief strategist's anti-immigration, anti-corporate, nationalist agenda, whether or not Trump fully agreed with it. *Fire and Fury* is the story of his triumphs and failures before he flamed out seven months in.

Wolff's book confirms what others have glimpsed or reported about the baroque character of the Trump White House. But it does so in detail so granular that it may become, even with its shortcomings, a definitive text on the 45th presidency. Some elements are beyond question. The Trump White House, within days of the Inauguration, was split into three endlessly warring camps: the neopopulist wing under Bannon; the GOP establishment wing under chief of staff Reince Priebus; and the Democratic-

leaning Manhattan wing under Jared Kushner and Ivanka Trump. The three factions leaked and counterleaked against one another to gain the upper hand or the President's favor, or both. (While Bannon and Kushner were famously unavailable for on-the-record interviews, both became, as Wolff notes, "the background voices to virtually all media coverage of the White House.") Trump signed Executive Orders favoring one faction or another, often without the other camps' knowledge, which led to more heartburn and retribution.

And yet for most of the nine months of 2017 covered by Wolff's book, Trump never settled in any one camp. Instead, the President spent hours complaining about his aides, family members and various advisers, detailing their weaknesses, humiliating them in meetings, making sure no single person accumulated too much power. "We serve at the President's displeasure," said one. Although he had somehow won the White House and therefore must be a man of protean ability, evidence was hard to find: many aides found him incurious and even hostile to information; he didn't read ("he didn't really even skim," Wolff writes), devoting himself to headlines but little else. He was not a good listener and tended to ignore people who imposed on his time. He resisted opinions by anyone labeled an "expert" and dismissed as "geniuses" people who acted mentally superior to him. Wolff reports that he was "almost phobic about having formal demands on his attention."

He could be, moreover, hesitant and uncertain about how to react to problems, so aides found ways to work around him, to "game him" into action. For example, Dina Powell of the National Security Council learned from Ivanka that photographs and charts could move him on foreign-policy questions. When she wanted Trump to respond to Syria's use of chemical weapons, she showed him a presentation with photographs of children injured in the attack. The President decided to retaliate by firing Tomahawk missiles at a Syrian military base.

GETTY IMAGES (2)



5.11.17

Trump says he fired Comey in part because of "this Russia thing," contradicting earlier White House accounts.

5.17.17

Deputy Attorney General Rod Rosenstein appoints former FBI director Robert Mueller as special counsel.



5.21.17

During a visit to Riyadh, Trump, the King of Saudi Arabia and the President of Egypt take a photo while touching a glowing orb.

Other details of Trump's leadership style are interesting if not downright curious. He uses people's appearances as a gauge of whether they can succeed. (He is sensitive about his own image too: when a news report portrayed him in February 2017 as roaming the White House late at night in his bathrobe, he railed against the portrayal.) Wolff reports that Trump, at least early on, repaired to his bed many nights, often as early as 6:30 p.m., with a cheeseburger nearby, to watch TV and make phone calls to friends, seeking advice. (Aides often spent time the next morning trying to talk the President out of acting on the nighttime suggestions.) Although Trump can be coarse and flamboyantly sexist in his references to women, he seems more comfortable taking advice from women than from men.

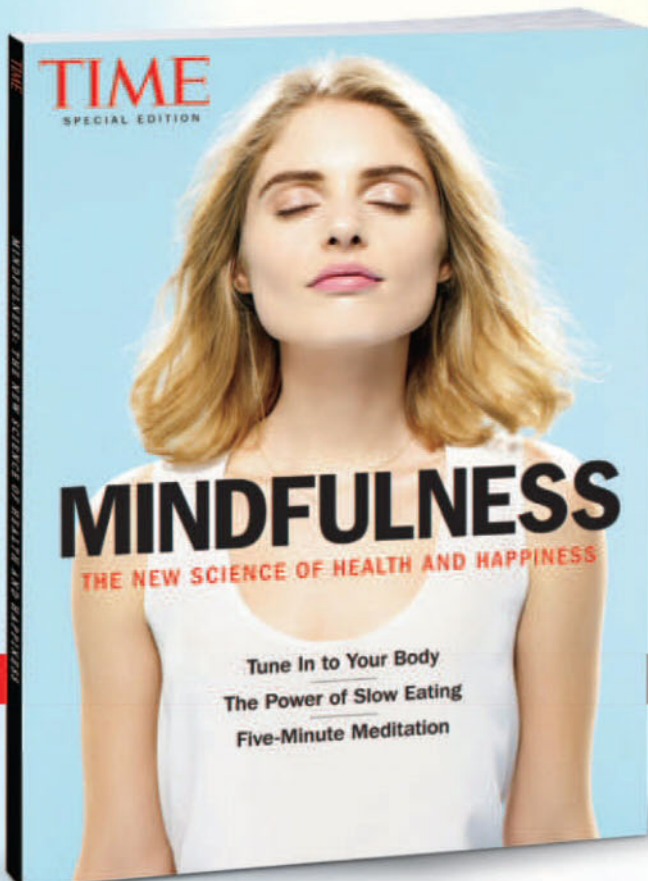
As lurid as Wolff's portrait of Trump may be, the President's chief strategist is the book's central character. Bannon emerges as a man at odds with himself: thrilled to be leading a populist revolu-

tion from the seat of American government, but deeply conflicted about playing any part in the power structure. This leads him down bad alleys, such as taking on the President's family. The book pulls back the thick, brocaded curtain shrouding Ivanka Trump and Jared Kushner, the two family members with official White House jobs who have a hand in a wide array of policy matters and a say in virtually everything else. Bannon identified "Jarvanka" early on as his chief rival, not only because of the couple's blood proximity to the President but because their politics were marginally left of center (and decidedly left of Bannon's). It was Jarvanka who worked to keep Kellyanne "Alternative Facts" Conway off the TV; who insisted the 2017 State of the Union speech sound moderate and evenhanded; and who pressed Trump to bring in Anthony Scaramucci to run communications for 10 disastrous days last summer. The infighting between the camps is particularly brutal; in many ways the book is

more Bannon's withering indictment of Jared and Ivanka than of the President.

Bannon isn't content to oppose Jarvanka; he wants, at least in Wolff's rendering, to destroy them. When Bannon convinces Trump to withdraw from the Paris Agreement to curb climate change, he says, "The bitch is dead." And when Trump fires FBI Director James Comey in May, Bannon fingers Jared and Ivanka as the triggermen, in part because he believes that single decision sparked a chain of events that could ruin the President. "The daughter," Bannon said, "will take down the father." According to Wolff, Bannon thinks that Jared and Ivanka advocated for firing Comey because their own global business interests might not stand up to federal scrutiny. Some of this fear, Wolff asserts, stemmed from the fact that Jared's father Charles was concerned that his own family's finances would become entangled in the Trump probe. "Ivanka is terrified," Bannon told Wolff.

By midsummer 2017, Bannon is fully



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TIME

at war with Jared and Ivanka, impatient with their ideas, resentful of their clout, jealous of their media savvy and working nonstop to undercut their reach. Indeed, the strangest passage in the book comes in the penultimate chapter, when Wolff lets Bannon go on a delicious-if-true, 2,000-word rant about the risks posed to the family and its business interests by the Russia probe. It is late July now, and Bannon is on the outs with the Trumps, feeling outnumbered and unloved, surrounded by his self-made enemies and, at least in private, lashing out in many directions. Bannon had spent some time, according to Wolff, trying to get the Trumps to create a special SWAT team of lawyers and spin doctors to handle special counsel Robert Mueller's probe, much as Bill Clinton did in 1998 to counter the investigation of independent counsel Kenneth Starr. The best defense, Bannon believed, is a better offense. Trump would just have to gut it out.

But that plan never got off the ground. Which explains in part why Bannon was dumbfounded by a July interview Trump did with the *New York Times*, in which he somewhat inexplicably warned Mueller to stay away from his family's finances. "Ehhhh... eh... eh... eh," screeched Bannon, making the sound of an emergency alarm. "Don't look here! Let's tell a prosecutor what not to look at!"

Bannon then notes that Mueller had hired one of nation's top money-laundering prosecutors to dive into the deeply complicated financial transactions that make up the Trump real estate empire. He asserts that Mueller will also biopsy the deals made by Kushner, just as his father had warned. "You realize where this is going," Bannon continued. "This is all about money laundering. Their path to f-cking Trump goes right through Paul Manafort, Don Jr. and Jared Kushner... it goes through Deutsche Bank and all the Kushner sh-t. They're going to roll those two guys up and say, Play me or trade me."

Then Wolff writes, "An expressive man, Bannon seemed to have suddenly exhausted himself. After a pause, he

AS FOR TRUMP, THERE IS NO SIGN THAT THIS BOOK WILL CHANGE HIM AT ALL



added wearily: "They're sitting on a beach trying to stop a Category Five."

LEFT UNEXPLAINED IS HOW, MUCH LESS for whom, money might have been laundered. It is a real weakness of *Fire and Fury* that Wolff permits Bannon to go on without providing any evidence for such claims. Readers have poked holes in some of Wolff's facts and sources have disputed quotes attributed to them. It's not the first time in his career that the author's accuracy has been challenged.

But then maybe it takes a thief to catch a thief. Some argue that with a President like Trump, the normal rules of journalism don't apply. By this logic, a President who has such a casual relationship with the truth requires loosening the rules about cross-checking claims with all sides, supplying evidence for sweeping observations and providing the source of every quote and detail. Whatever questions linger about Wolff's methods, the central narrative of *Fire and Fury* may take years to prove. In the meantime, the book will confirm what both sides already believe: Democrats will see in it explicit confirmation of all that is unfit and unworthy in Trump, while Republicans will see instead all

that is wrong with the news media.

Yes, the book has broadened a conversation taking place in Washington (again, mostly among hopeful Democrats) about whether we are approaching a moment when members of Trump's Cabinet somehow get together and invoke the 25th Amendment, which has a long-ignored passage about how an Administration can replace a Commander in Chief when his faculties are impaired. This is little more than a liberal fantasy. Presidents don't get replaced by their subordinates. They get impeached by their opponents. So far, about once a century.

Instead, the consequences of the book may be borne by Bannon. All the incendiary claims and quotes he coughed up to kneecap Ivanka and Jared now read like a political suicide note, and his attempts to walk them back did little good. First the right-wing media impresario lost the backing of his financial patrons, hedge-fund mogul Robert Mercer and his daughter Rebekah. Then, on Jan. 9, he was drummed out of his role as the boss of Breitbart News, the perch from which he planned to wage war on the GOP establishment. "Sloppy Steve," Trump's new sobriquet for Bannon, will stick to him for a while.

As for Trump, there is no sign that this book will change him at all, though he is clearly obsessed with its details and conclusions. (Perhaps to rebut the charges about his mental acuity, Trump took the extraordinary step on Jan. 9 of admitting cameras into bipartisan immigration negotiations for 55 minutes.) Axios reports that his official day now starts at 11 a.m., with the bulk of the morning carved out for "executive time"—watching TV, tweeting and talking to friends. He's spent one day out of three in his presidency so far at one of his ritzy properties; having ridiculed Obama for his time on the links, Trump played golf, by one count, 75 times in 2017. That means he golfed, on average, more than six times a month, which would count as a lot even if he were a nice Florida retiree. Which he isn't. □



5.25.17

During a NATO meeting, Trump appears to brush aside the Montenegrin Prime Minister for a group photo.



5.31.17

Shortly after midnight, Trump tweets: "Despite the constant negative press covfefe."

6.1.17

Trump says he will withdraw the U.S. from the Paris Agreement: "I was elected to represent the citizens of Pittsburgh, not Paris."

As fallout from *Fire and Fury* continues to ripple across the news, **Michael Wolff** talks about what may be next in the White House

How do you feel about the President's response? I have deeply mixed feelings. On the one hand, yes, it's undeniably good for this book. On the other hand, it's all ludicrous. It's also a little scary.

Have you been in touch with Stephen Bannon since the book's launch? Let me not go there.

Factual accuracy has come up as a topic of conversation—it's a powerful weapon for those who want to discredit your book. You know, first thing, the book is methodically researched, methodically sourced. The truth is that the White House is going to do anything to try to discredit this book. It would certainly appear that the President seems to feel this is a mortal threat. He's going to try in every possible way to come after this book and to attack this book. That is the Trump way.



Wolff discusses his best seller in New York City on Jan. 8

There are characters in your book doing their best to get what they think is right, and get as many of their own policy goals out of this tumultuous situation. Yes. I came to admire the people in the White House. That's a funny thing because on the one hand, I might also think they shouldn't be there. They should look at this and say, "This is bad, I'm not going to support this, and I'm going to get out of it." On the other hand, I saw a lot of these people come to the conclusion they are important now. They are the bulwark between this guy who they think can't do this job, and getting the job done. Or at least, protecting the country from the man they work for.

And so as they peel away— Yes, it becomes even more dangerous. Essentially, the President's two senior advisers right now beyond General Kelly are Stephen Miller, who I think everybody saw have a meltdown on Jake Tapper's show, and Hope Hicks, a perfectly nice 28-year-old who knows nothing about anything.

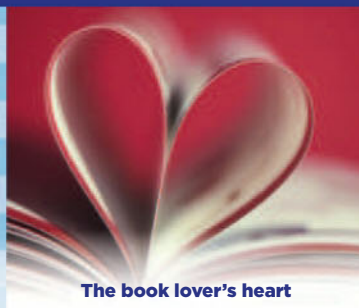
—DANIEL D'ADDARIO

ERIK TANNER FOR TIME

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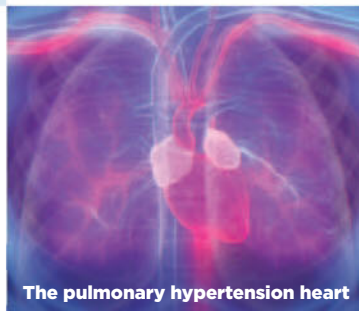
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The book lover's heart



The lover's heart



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HOW TO TELL A PRESIDENT 'YOU'RE FIRED'

The 25th Amendment, a constitutional primer

By Jon Meacham

H

HE COULDN'T HAVE PUT IT MORE plainly. On April 13, 1965, in the midst of a congressional debate over the proposed 25th Amendment to the Constitution dealing with presidential succession and incapacity, the chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, Representative Emanuel Celler of New York, dispensed with high-minded legal arguments. They were there, Celler said, to figure out what might be done if the unthinkable—a deranged American President with nuclear weapons—became thinkable. “The President may be as nutty as a fruitcake,” Celler declared on the House floor. “He may be utterly insane.” And for this reason, America needed a plan.

Ratified two years later, the amend-

ment offered the country just that. And now, half a century on, the subject of whether President Donald Trump could face a removal from power under its terms is one of an ever widening conversation. “The 25th Amendment is a concept that is alive every day in the White House,” said Michael Wolff, author of *Fire and Fury: Inside the Trump White House*, on NBC’s *Meet the Press*. White House officials have strongly denied this—but, as ever, the President himself has managed to keep the issue alive by tweeting about his mental stability.

Is the 25th Amendment chatter simply a liberal fantasy? A #resistance fever dream? Political porn for wonks? Almost certainly, but we live in a world in which the outlandish (a President Trump) became a reality, so who’s to say where our political melodrama will end? It’s highly unlikely, but this unprecedented presidency could lead to unprecedented constitutional ground: the invocation of the boring-sounding yet world-shaking Section 4 of the 25th Amendment—a provision that enables the Vice President, with a majority of members of the Cabinet, to declare the President unable to discharge his duties, thus installing the Vice President as acting President pending a presidential appeal to, and vote by, the Congress.

6.13.17

Meeting with GOP Senators, Trump calls the House health care bill—which he previously celebrated—“mean.”



6.29.17

Trump calls *Morning Joe* co-host Mika Brzezinski “low IQ” and says he saw her “bleeding badly from a face-lift.”

7.8.17

Trump helps write a misleading statement in which Trump Jr. says a 2016 meeting with a Russian lawyer was about adoption.





EXECUTIVE EMERGENCIES George H.W. Bush had a thyroid condition ('91); Reagan, shortly before he was shot in an assassination attempt and underwent

We know, we know: it all sounds overheated, particularly when you consider that Vice President Mike Pence is one of Trump's chief enablers and that the Cabinet officers all owe their place to Trump, whom they would be voting to humiliate. And yet the mechanics are in place, and the history of the question of presidential incapacity, and of the amendment itself, shows that lawmakers at midcentury anticipated a President whose instability might amount to disability. So why pass up a teachable moment to explore remote constitutional hypotheticals?

PERSONAL AND ABSTRACT FORCES shaped the debate over the capacity sections of the 25th Amendment. There were memories of Woodrow Wilson's long convalescence from his October 1919 stroke; the evident (if rarely acknowledged in real time) illness and wartime death of Franklin D. Roosevelt; Dwight D. Eisenhower's heart attack in 1955 and stroke in '57; and John F. Kennedy's assassination in 1963. The advent of the Cold War, meanwhile, had sharpened the question of a President's capacity to respond instantly to an existential nuclear crisis.

The 25th Amendment has four sections, three of which have to do with presidential succession and the filling of the vice presidency in the event of a death or resignation. Section 3, under which a President can temporarily trans-

fer authority if he, for instance, undergoes surgery, was invoked by Ronald Reagan in 1985 and by George W. Bush in 2002 and '07. George H.W. Bush, who suffered from a thyroid condition, was ready to invoke Section 3, giving Vice President Dan Quayle temporary power if he was seriously felled by illness, but it never came to that.

Section 4 is where things really get interesting. That provision, wrote John D. Feerick, a legal scholar and a key architect of the amendment, "covers the most difficult cases of inability—when the President cannot or refuses to declare his own inability." The modern framers contemplated nightmare scenarios as they drafted the amendment, including, Feerick recalled, "situations where the President might be kidnapped or captured, under an oxygen tent at the time of enemy attack, or bereft of speech or sight." One Section 4 scenario: an emergency medical situation during which the President was unconscious or disabled for a period of time (a coma, for instance). It was clear from the debates at the time of adoption and ratification, according to Feerick, that "unpopularity, incompetence, impeachable conduct, poor judgment and laziness do not constitute an 'inability' within the meaning of the amendment."

The drafters took pains to make clear that this was not an option to be taken in

ordinary times. "We are not getting into a position," Indiana Senator Birch Bayh, the amendment's chief author, said in response to questions from Senator Robert Kennedy of New York, "in which, when a President makes an unpopular decision, he would immediately be rendered unable to perform the duties of his office." The position they were getting into was more apocalyptic. "It is conceivable," Bayh said, "that a President might be able to walk, for example, and thus, by the definition of some people, might be physically able, but at the same time he might not possess the mental capacity to make a decision and perform the powers and duties of his office."

The most contentious issue, then, would be psychological ability, not physical. And the context would likely be some kind of standoff in which a President, in the overwhelming opinion of one elected official (the Vice President) and of officials confirmed by the Senate (a majority of the Cabinet), appeared unfit to execute his duties. There is also language in the amendment that allows a majority of "such other body as Congress may by law provide"—perhaps a panel of medical experts (or even Congress itself)—to weigh in. In 1965, Representative Richard H. Poff of Virginia said Section 4 was designed to meet a moment "when the President, by reason of mental debility, is unable or unwilling to make any rational



7.11.17
Trump Jr.'s emails reveal he set up a 2016 meeting with a Russian lawyer who promised dirt on Hillary Clinton.

7.13.17
Trump tells French First Lady Brigitte Macron that she's "in such good shape" and "beautiful," spurring criticism.



7.25.17
Speaking to the Boy Scout Jamboree, Trump breaks protocol and angers parents by bragging about his election win.



surgery ('81); Ford, seated, considers his options for Vice President ('74); Eisenhower is wheeled onto a hospital sundeck after his heart attack ('55)

decision, including particularly the decision to stand aside.”

AFTER HIS STROKE EARLY IN HIS SECOND term, Eisenhower drafted an understanding with Vice President Richard Nixon that authorized him to step in for a time if Eisenhower were incapacitated. There was, however, a possibly fatal flaw in Ike’s plan: “The President,” Eisenhower wrote, “would determine when the inability had ended and at that time would resume the full exercise of the power and duties of the Office.”

But what if the incapacity had not, in fact, been overcome? What if the President believed himself to be fit but was not? This was the issue the drafters wrestled with in Section 4. Like Eisenhower’s informal plan, Section 3 handled situations like convalescence from physical problems. The questions for Section 4 involved trickier scenarios in which the President suffered, for instance, from some kind of mental-health issue that he might not recognize but others around him did. “I admit this: if a man were so deranged that he thought he was able, and the consensus was that he [wasn’t],” Eisenhower said, “there would have to be something else done.”

Section 4 of the 25th Amendment was that something else. In such a case, according to the amendment, the Vice President and a majority of the Cabinet, or

Congress’s “such other body,” could sign a letter to the Speaker of the House (Paul Ryan) and the president pro tempore of the Senate (Orrin Hatch) declaring the President unable to discharge the office. If this happens, the Vice President becomes acting President. If the President in question disagrees about his incapacity, he can, in writing, immediately reassume office. In this constitutional tennis match, the Vice President and the Cabinet majority then have four days to decide whether to reassert the claim of incapacity. If they do so, the Vice President again becomes acting President. Congress then takes up the issue, where a two-thirds vote in each house, within 21 days, would be necessary to sustain the acting President.

If the issue were allegations about a President’s mental health—the likeliest scenario—Congress could presumably investigate, impaneling doctors and taking testimony. And there’s this wrinkle: “While removal by impeachment is final, the President may appeal a declaration of Section 4 inability an unlimited number of times,” Adam R.F. Gustafson wrote in the *Yale Law & Policy Review* in 2009—in Trump terms, thus setting off a seemingly endless season of *The Apprentice* meets *Advise and Consent*.

HISTORY DOESN’T OFFER US MUCH TO go on in terms of Section 4. Although it was in effect during Watergate, those

around Nixon, worried about his darkness and his drinking, took informal steps. “I can go into my office and pick up the telephone and in 25 minutes 70 million people will be dead,” Nixon told visiting lawmakers during Watergate. Afterward, California Senator Alan Cranston called Defense Secretary James R. Schlesinger about “the need for keeping a berserk President from plunging us into a holocaust.” In Nixon’s final days as President, Schlesinger instructed the military to double-check attack orders from the White House with him, thus unilaterally circumscribing the powers of the Commander in Chief.

The 25th Amendment was explicitly researched in 1987 amid speculation that the 76-year-old Reagan, hobbled by the Iran-*contra* affair, might be unable to carry on as President. The incoming White House chief of staff, Howard Baker, asked an aide to explore the constitutional options, but upon arriving for work, Baker realized that the President was up to the job, and talk of the amendment faded.

Which is what will probably happen with the current chatter about Trump. But in the nuclear age, there isn’t much room for error—and that means Pence and the Cabinet might want to brush up on their constitutional history, for in the most dangerous of hours it could fall to them to make some of their own. □

PREVIOUS PAGES: PENCE AND TRUMP: BRENDAN SMIALOWSKI—AFP/GETTY IMAGES; BRZEZINSKI: GETTY IMAGES; THESE PAGES: BUSH: AP; REAGAN, FORD, EISENHOWER: GETTY IMAGES; TIMELINE: GETTY IMAGES (4)



7.28.17

Republican Senator John McCain joins Senators Susan Collins and Lisa Murkowski to vote down an Obamacare-repeal bill.



7.31.17

New communications director Anthony Scaramucci is fired after 10 tumultuous days on the job.

8.8.17

Trump says that if North Korean missile tests continue, “they will be met with fire and fury like the world has never seen.”

VIEWPOINT

Tweets aside, Trump has mostly governed like a garden-variety Republican

By Ian Bremmer

AS HIS PRESIDENCY ADVANCES TOWARD THE ONE-YEAR mark on Jan. 20, it is harder than ever to see Donald J. Trump clearly. A much-talked-about new book portrays him as a cartoonishly petulant, narcissistic man-child with no trace of curiosity about the world or his job. His backers insist it's his politically incorrect, plain-speaking alpha-male forcefulness that so offends his critics. Competing cable channels give each view ample airtime, and American politics seems lost in the fog of perpetual war.

Foreign leaders see Trump more pragmatically. They've lost interest in his tweets and outsize personality, shocking and entertaining though both sometimes are. To understand the true impact of the man who leads the world's only superpower, allies and rivals look beyond Trump himself to the changes created by his team.

No, Trump is not normal. He appears never to have aspired to be normal. But while a presidential Administration is led by the Executive, it is the sum of all the people who work in the Executive Branch, working and colliding with the rest of the American government as well as with governments of other nations. So as we mark the one-year anniversary of Trump's Inauguration, let's have a close look, not at this most distracting of all Presidents, but at his presidency. Not just at what he says, but at what he has actually done and not done.

BEGIN WITH HIS domestic agenda. To be fair, Presidents much more popular than Donald Trump have struggled to move legislation through Congress, and even with GOP majorities in both houses, this President faces an especially steep hill. He has no experience managing relationships with lawmakers, no patience for policy detail and a tendency to aggravate even his allies. His image isn't helping. Media coverage, with help from Trump himself, presents him as a tweet-storming, bomb-throwing maniac. Outside his base, he's associated most closely with personal pettiness, tirades against immigrants, demands for a border wall, support for white nationalists, sexual-misconduct allegations by multiple women and attacks on kneeling black football players.

But on policy, Trump has governed mostly as a garden-variety conservative Republican. He has rolled back



Obama-era regulations, particularly on energy and the environment, signed a tax bill that sharply cut corporate taxes and eliminated the requirement that all Americans buy health insurance, and enforced immigration laws. He has nominated conservative judges and made an orthodox choice to chair the Federal Reserve. Markets are humming. By those measures at least, would a Jeb Bush presidency be all that different?

On national security, he has offered red meat for the base, for example by announcing plans to move the U.S. embassy in Israel from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem. But even if that eventually happens, it might not change much in the Middle East, partly because Arab governments are much more focused on Iran and threats posed by ISIS fighters returning home from Syria and Iraq these days than on the plight of Palestinians. He once declared NATO obsolete, then backtracked once other members appeared willing to spend more on defense. He has pushed to increase defense spending, let the generals lead on Afghanistan and Syria, and bombed Syria's Bashar Assad in defense of the chemical-weapons convention.

U.S. taxpayer funding for the U.N. continues despite assertions of "America first." The Trump Administration has expanded the NATO presence along Russia's borders, embraced the Saudis with both arms, taken a harder line on Iran without (so far) scrapping the nuclear deal and engaged China to help with North Korea.



8.15.17

Trump says the white nationalists who marched in Charlottesville, Va., included "some very fine people."

8.25.17

Trump pardons former Arizona sheriff Joe Arpaio, who had been convicted of criminal contempt.



9.2.17

Touring a shelter for people displaced by Hurricane Harvey, Trump says, "Have a good time, everybody!"



The President about to sign the tax bill on Dec. 22

It's not that Trump's mouth doesn't matter. The Saudis have seized on his rhetoric toward Iran, and even Qatar, to take a worryingly hard line on both. Trump's claim that the Iran nuclear deal is "the worst ever" and his threats to tear it up have bolstered and emboldened anti-Western hard-liners in that country. His willingness to personalize the conflict with North Korea has pushed Kim Jong Un toward ever more dangerous demonstrations of defiance. On substance, though Trump has been more assertive than Obama, outside the Paris Agreement withdrawal, would a Hillary Clinton foreign policy have produced distinctly different tangible results?

Trade is the one area where Trump clearly differs from the establishment of both parties. The President has surrounded himself with trade skeptics like Trade Representative Robert Lighthizer, advisers Stephen Miller and Peter Navarro, and Commerce Secretary Wilbur Ross. (National Economic Council director Gary Cohn is an exception.) The President withdrew from the Trans-Pacific Partnership, threatens to tear up NAFTA, wants what he considers a better bilateral deal from South Korea and complains about every country that enjoys a trade surplus with the U.S.—including China, Germany and Japan. U.S.-China trade relations are set for an especially rocky 2018, particularly now that Trump has decided that China hasn't put enough helpful pressure on North Korea.

There are three other areas where Trump differs from his

predecessors in ways that create unprecedented challenges for the U.S. political system. First, his (and his family's) financial conflicts of interest are well past ordinary. It's not just the overpriced shoes his daughter sells or his son-in-law's real estate schemes, tawdry as those things are. There are conflicts of interest involving Trump properties reimbursed for the conduct of government business. More worrying are the President's foreign holdings and the ways that other governments can create business opportunities for him to curry favor with his Administration. Robert Mueller may well find that Trump's financial entanglements abroad raise troubling legal questions.

There is also Trump's attraction to authoritarian leaders; his lamentations that the U.S. system denies him the sorts of power they wield; and his profoundly cynical attitudes, adopted by some of his followers, toward the media, courts, Congress, the opposition party and other institutions that check executive power, as the authors of the U.S. Constitution intended.

But Trump's taste for authoritarianism and his conflicts of interest don't appear to have any great systemic effects. Both seem more opportunistic and improvisational than strategic. Neither appears to have had much real impact on policy and its effectiveness. It's on the question of competence that much more depends. You don't have to believe Trump's harshest critic to notice that he doesn't understand how government works, doesn't always follow the counsel of his experienced advisers, doesn't have much impulse control and isn't curious to learn more about his country or the world. Here, checks and balances offer only indirect help.

AS WE LOOK toward the future of his presidency, our greatest concern should be that Trump hasn't yet been tested by an unexpected crisis of someone else's making. His luck may be about to run out, because the world's increasingly uncertain balance of power makes a dangerous bolt from the blue much more likely this year. Cyberspace has become an arena of conflict for both governments and private players. The standoff with North Korea poses many dangers short of nuclear war. U.S. forces find themselves in heavy, sometimes hostile, traffic inside Syria. The potential for confrontation with Iran is on the rise. The Kremlin, which has given up on Trump's ability to reset U.S.-Russian relations to Moscow's liking, remains full of surprises. The dispersal of ISIS fighters from Syria and Iraq to other countries creates new forms of terrorism risk.

None of that is Donald Trump's fault. These worries were growing long before he arrived in Washington. But at the dawn of Trump Year Two, one or more of these challenges may soon create his first true crisis, and then we'll all learn more about what this President can and cannot do. □

9.6.17

Trump strikes a deal with the Democratic congressional leadership to raise the debt ceiling and avoid a government shutdown.

9.19.17

In a speech before the U.N., Trump calls North Korean dictator Kim Jong Un "Rocket Man."



9.20.17

Hurricane Maria slams Puerto Rico, leaving at least half of the island's population without power for months.

VIEWPOINT

In praise of leaks

By Norman Pearlstine

TO WATCH STEVEN SPIELBERG'S *THE POST* IS TO SEE HOW much has changed since the Supreme Court allowed publication of the Pentagon Papers in 1971. Back then, the court's liberal majority espoused the right to publish leaks, especially those in the public interest. Justice Hugo L. Black's opinion insisted that "the press must be left free to publish news, whatever the source, without censorship, injunctions or prior restraints," while Justice William O. Douglas said, "Secrecy in government is fundamentally antidemocratic."

A lot has changed since the Nixon Administration. Journalism is no longer ascendant. A series of court cases has affirmed the government's right to keep secrets while limiting when reporters can legally keep sources confidential. The public's distrust of media has never been greater. And many news-media companies continue to struggle financially.

At the same time, leaks have become bigger and more serious. Massive hacks including those perpetrated by WikiLeaks, Edward Snowden and U.S. Army Private Chelsea Manning have succeeded in penetrating the National Security Agency, the State Department and other government entities. Leaks from within the Trump White House and the agencies reporting to it are ubiquitous.

All of which leaves the free press in America at an increasingly precarious moment. Sensing journalists' reputational and economic vulnerability, President Donald Trump has fought back by branding the news media "the enemy of the American people." He dismisses any story he doesn't like as "fake news," even as he and others on his team have leaked sensitive material with impunity. Most ominously, he has ordered the Justice Department to review its self-imposed limits on investigating and prosecuting the media. The risk is that in fueling popular resentment and issuing demands for crackdowns, the President will succeed in undermining its ability—notwithstanding the protections enshrined in the First Amendment—to expose government mistakes, lies and deceptions.

This moment didn't arise out of the blue. "The Trump Administration represents the most serious threat to a free press since ... the Obama Administration," says Bruce Brown, executive director of the Reporters Committee for Freedom of the Press. President Obama's Justice Department prosecuted nine government employees or contractors under the Espionage Act for leaking information to the media and policy groups, double the number brought under all his predecessors. It secretly seized Associated Press phone records in a leaks investigation, in what AP president Gary



Pruitt called "a massive and unprecedented intrusion" that might have been unconstitutional. The DOJ also opposed passage of a federal shield law that would have helped journalists protect their sources. "If Donald J. Trump decides as President to throw a whistle-blower in jail for trying to talk to a reporter, or gets the FBI to spy on a journalist, he will have one man to thank for bequeathing him such expansive power: Barack Obama," wrote investigative reporter James Risen shortly before Trump took office. In fact, Attorney General Jeff Sessions has subsequently said the Trump Administration is pursuing 27 leak investigations, three times the number of investigations undertaken in the Obama years.

MORE THAN A DOZEN YEARS AGO, while working as Time Inc.'s editor-in-chief, I concluded that a TIME reporter should comply with a request from George W. Bush's Justice Department that he testify before a grand jury about a leak we received from an Administration official about a covert CIA officer, Valerie Plame. I made that controversial decision after the courts ruled we couldn't keep secret the source's identity—White House deputy chief of staff Karl Rove—or what he had told us, and the Supreme Court declined to review those decisions. Plame was a



9.22.17

In Alabama, Trump attacks NFL players who protest during the national anthem, saying they should be fired.

9.24.17

As the second travel ban winds through the courts, the State Department issues new restrictions on visas.



9.30.17

When the San Juan mayor slams hurricane-relief efforts, Trump tweets that Puerto Ricans "want everything to be done for them."

**“THE TRUMP
ADMINSTRATION
REPRESENTS THE
MOST SERIOUS
THREAT TO A FREE
PRESS SINCE ...
THE OBAMA
ADMINSTRATION.”**

BRUCE BROWN, executive director
of the Reporters Committee
for Freedom of the Press



classified information illegally. I don't think journalists are above the law. We can be compelled to testify; our sources and the public should understand we shall usually do so. That said, I believe there are rare occasions when journalists and the corporations they work for may decide to engage in civil disobedience if that is the only way to protect confidential sources. We should be prepared to pay fines and be jailed for criminal contempt should we refuse to testify.

My own rule is that a journalist should not defy the courts without having good reason to believe that publication of leaked and classified information is in the national interest and that the source's life or livelihood would be jeopardized by revealing his or her identity. Although grand juries are supposed to work in secrecy, leaks from them are all too common.

WHEN IT COMES TO leaks and the press, we have always wanted it both ways. In 1734, decades before the Revolutionary War, John Peter Zenger, a New York publisher, defied government efforts to learn the names of sources who had criticized the colonial governor. He was charged with seditious libel but was acquitted at trial after his lawyer Andrew Hamilton convinced the jury that keeping his sources confidential was “in the cause of liberty.” The *Federalist* papers, written to support ratification of the Constitution, established the principle that anonymity was an important component of free speech, when their authors—Alexander Hamilton, John Jay and James Madison—published the papers under the pseudonym Publius. In 1789, Congress passed the First Amendment, prohibiting it from “abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press.” Less than a decade later, Congress passed a Sedition Act that placed limitations on speech. Abraham Lincoln ordered the arrest of critics who opposed the Civil War. And throughout the 19th century, many state courts jailed reporters who wouldn't identify their sources for stories.

In the Plame case, we gave a grand jury notes belonging to Time Inc. because I didn't think the circumstances justified our civil disobedience. Rove said he hadn't asked for confidentiality and that neither his life nor his livelihood were at risk. Although I would have done the same thing under similar circumstances today, I believe that many of the leaks and leakers telling us what is going on in the Trump White House deserve protection. If reporters and editors writing stories based on leaked information from those sources agree, Donald Trump's embrace of “Lock them up! Lock them up!”—now a wish—may soon be reality. It's a long way from the heady days of victory depicted in *The Post*.

Pearlstine is a former Time Inc. editor-in-chief and the author of Off the Record: The Press, the Government, and the War Over Anonymous Sources

CIA operative working on weapons of mass destruction. After her husband Joseph Wilson wrote a column in the *New York Times* in July 2003 attacking Bush for misleading the public while seeking to justify his war with Iraq, Plame's identity was leaked to several journalists in an effort to embarrass her and undermine his credibility. Deputy Attorney General James Comey subsequently appointed Patrick J. Fitzgerald, the U.S. attorney for the Northern District of Illinois, as special counsel to investigate the leaks. Fitzgerald convened a grand jury in January 2004 and soon after issued subpoenas seeking TIME reporter Matthew Cooper's testimony and Time Inc.'s notes.

Leaks can certainly cause embarrassment, and there have been examples where they have also caused real damage. But to a surprising degree, leaks usually do more good than harm. Along with most Americans, I believe our government has the right to keep secrets, especially when national security is at stake. I only wish it did a better job of protecting its secrets. I also join many Americans in thinking transparency is an essential antidote against leaders who rely on secrecy to hide their mistakes, corruption and dishonesty.

If nations can have secrets, it follows that there should be laws that punish leakers who obtain or disseminate

10.4.17

Secretary of State Rex Tillerson affirms support for Trump after a report says he called the President a “moron.”



10.8.17

Republican Senator Bob Corker says Trump's reckless behavior could set the nation “on the path to World War III.”



10.16.17

Trump tells the widow of Sergeant La David T. Johnson, killed in an ambush in Niger, that Johnson “knew what he signed up for.”

TRUMP: OLVIER DOULLIERY—ABACA/SIPA USA; NFL, PUERTO RICO, TILLERSON: GETTY IMAGES; CORKER: REUTERS

VIEWPOINT

Trump's national-security strategy leaves too much unsaid

By James Stavridis

JUST BEFORE CHRISTMAS, THE WHITE HOUSE ISSUED THE new national-security strategy of the U.S. Having participated in drafting many similar documents during my multiple tours of duty as a strategic planner in the Pentagon and later as a four-star combatant commander, I know the process well—but I didn't know what to expect from the Trump Administration. Would this document reflect the mercurial, confusing and conflicted personality of the President?

Thankfully, the basic document is surprisingly centrist, professionally written and largely balanced in terms of reflecting a reduced role for the U.S. in the world. It signals an abiding willingness to work with allies, partners and friends to address global challenges. As Lieut. General H.R. McMaster, the National Security Adviser, said to me just before it came out, “‘America first’ doesn't have to mean ‘America alone.’” The document reflects that approach, and if implemented by sensible leaders at all departments, it will not do significant damage to the nation's security. What's important—and potentially dangerous—is what's left unaddressed.

The document outlines four key “pillars” for our security. The first is “Protect the American People, the Homeland and the American Way of Life,” something no one argues with in general terms. The section does layer in some of the political rhetoric, notably about building a wall, that makes little pragmatic sense but appeals to Trump's base. A second pillar is “Promote American Prosperity,” and this section focuses on economic tools available to the nation. This section pillories previous trade agreements and touts the need for “energy dominance.”

The third pillar is “Preserve Peace through Strength,” and includes the mandate for a strong, capable and global military—essentially validating campaign rhetoric. The final pillar is “Advance American Influence,” and concentrates on how diplomacy, development and strategic communication can help create security. This is the soft-power nod, which is welcome but strangely at variance with actual budgetary and policy decisions by the Trump Administration thus far. None of this is particularly controversial or new, and given the tendencies of the Trump

Administration in its first year in office, that is a net positive.

BUT THE STRATEGY misses in four key areas, and therefore falls short. First, any reference to climate change and global warming is missing. This is a significant shift in U.S. policy, as both the Bush and Obama Administrations rightly highlighted the need to plan for climate change as a national-security threat. Multiple studies have shown the connection between climate change and unrest in drought-stricken areas from Mali to Syria. Global warming is melting Arctic ice and will create competition and tension among Arctic powers, notably including Russia and the five NATO nations that border the Arctic. The need to respond to increasingly erratic and dangerous weather will strain military resources. Rising sea levels will eventually swamp vital ports. And perhaps most important, the U.S. decision to be the only nation on earth standing outside the Paris Agreement is simply bad leadership.

Second, the strategy for Russia and China is too simplistic and doesn't differentiate between the two very different powers. It simply calls them both out as “revisionist powers,” effectively lumping them together without a plan. Russia is a minor economy, but a massive nuclear military power. It is a nation in decline by almost any metric, but still has the ability and inclination to be a spoiler in almost any setting. Its leader despises the U.S. and NATO, and will do anything to undermine the transatlantic alliance. China, of course, is a massive economy that will overtake the U.S. soon in terms of sheer size. China continues to expand its military capability and influence, and may step into the U.S. role as the organizing power for the geopolitical world. With Russia we can be tactical and transactional;

Lieut. General
H.R. McMaster



MCMASTER: MARK WILSON—GETTY IMAGES; MANAFORT, JONES, TRUMP: GETTY IMAGES

10.30.17

Former campaign advisers Paul Manafort (*right*) and Rick Gates are indicted by a grand jury, while foreign-policy adviser George Papadopoulos pleads guilty to lying to the FBI.



12.1.17

Flynn pleads guilty to making false statements to the FBI as part of Mueller's investigation.

12.4.17

Trump backs GOP candidate Roy Moore, former chief justice of the Alabama supreme court, in a special Senate election.

with China we must be strategic. The stakes could not be higher.

Third, while the strategy mentions cybersecurity in several places, it does not put sufficient emphasis on how deeply intertwined our entire economy is in cyberspace, nor how dangerously vulnerable we are in terms of the electric grid, our electoral process, the inner workings of our chips and other crucial elements of national cyber-infrastructure. A bolder plan here would have outlined the need for a Cabinet-level officer to oversee cyber, for example. We have Secretaries of Agriculture, Interior and Commerce; but no one focused like a laser on cybersecurity.

Finally, trade as an instrument of geopolitical influence gets little attention. Given that the Administration's views on trade are negative and protectionist, this is no surprise. But the strategic miss is walking away from the idea of broad area trade agreements, such as the Trans-Pacific Partnership, to advance our strategic interests. A better strategy would be to use such arrangements to extend U.S. influence, especially in Asia. China will be more than glad to fill the vacuum—something they are aggressively doing.

There will be plenty of opportunities for the Administration to correct these deficiencies. The strategy is only a very rough blueprint. General Eisenhower, a career soldier who knew a little something about planning, would often say, "Plans are worthless, but planning is everything." What he meant was that no national plan survives contact with global reality, and will frequently have to change; but that the bonding process of teams working together to create a coherent strategy is what allows an institution to ultimately meet the harsh headwinds of the world. How will the Trump Administration weather those? Stay tuned.

Stavridis is dean of the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University and a former Supreme Allied Commander at NATO

Revolving door

What's changed in the West Wing since the Trump Administration's early days



OUT **Lieut. General Mike Flynn**
National Security Adviser

Trump purportedly fired Flynn for misleading the Vice President about contacts with Russia. Trump later said he knew Flynn had lied to the FBI.

OUT **K.T. McFarland**
Deputy National Security Adviser

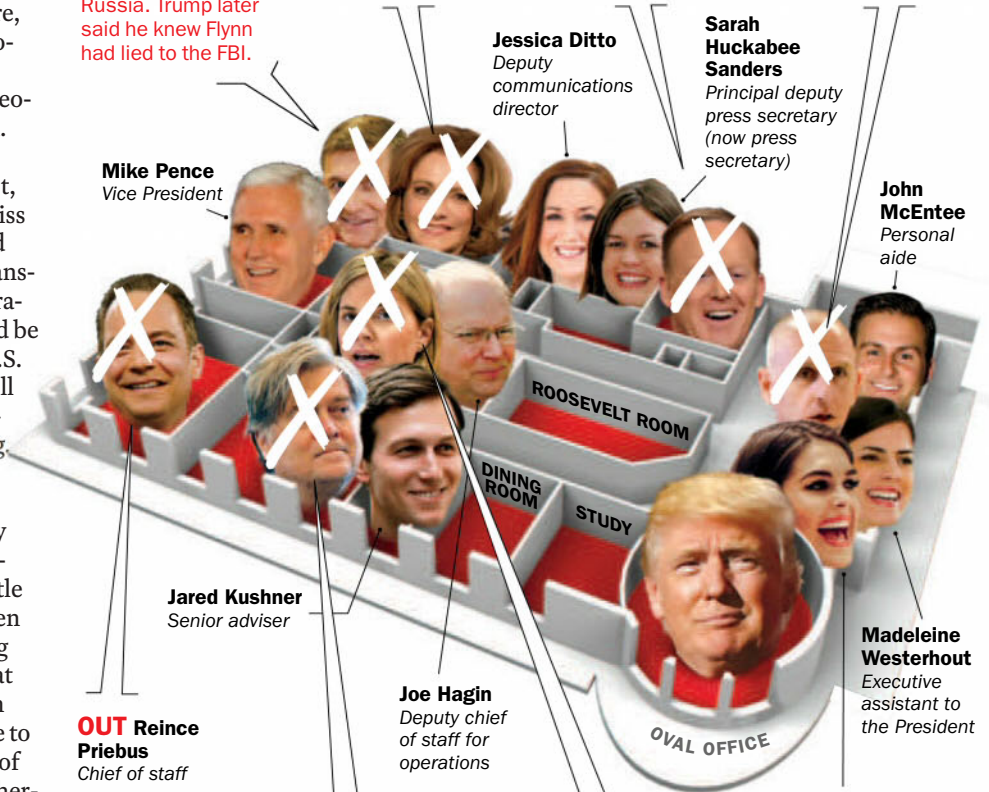
McFarland stepped down in April, then was nominated to be the U.S. ambassador to Singapore.

OUT **Sean Spicer**
Press secretary

Spicer resigned in July after Trump named a new communications director over the press secretary's objections.

OUT **Keith Schiller**
Director of Oval Office operations

Trump's close confidant and former bodyguard left his White House position in September.



OUT **Reince Priebus**
Chief of staff

Priebus was pushed out in July after failing to impose order on an unruly White House or sufficiently advance Trump's agenda.

OUT **Stephen Bannon**
Senior counselor, chief strategist

Bannon was ousted in August after clashing with members of Trump's senior team, including new chief of staff John Kelly.

OUT **Katie Walsh**
Deputy chief of staff

Walsh left the West Wing in March to work at an outside political group supporting Trump's agenda.

Hope Hicks
Director of strategic communications (now communications director)

BANNON, WALSH, KUSHNER, HAGIN, PENCE: AP/SHUTTERSTOCK; MCGENTEE: TIME; PRIEBUS, SANDERS, TRUMP, HICKS, SCHILLER, MCFARLAND, SPICER: GETTY IMAGES; DITTO: SHEALAH CRAIGHEAD—THE WHITE HOUSE; FLYNN, WESTERHOUT: REUTERS



12.12.17
Former federal prosecutor Doug Jones, a Democrat, defeats Moore in the Alabama special election.



12.22.17
Trump signs a \$1.5 trillion tax cut into law, the first major tax overhaul in decades.

1.6.18
In response to Michael Wolff's controversial book, the President of the United States tweets that he is "a very stable genius."

Call for entries for SOPA 2018 Awards for Editorial Excellence

SOPA [2018年度卓越新聞獎] 現正接受報名



The Society of Publishers in Asia (SOPA) has begun accepting entries from journalists across the region for the SOPA 2018 Awards for Editorial Excellence.

亞洲出版業協會(SOPA)現已開始接受各界新聞工作者遞交作品參與「2018年度卓越新聞獎」。

WHO

The awards are open to all writers, journalists, editors, photographers and designers from all countries in the Asia Pacific region.

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WHERE

There are a variety of submission categories available in English and Chinese. Entry forms, fees and rules can all be found at:

獎項設有多個中文及英文類別。參賽表格、參賽費用及規則可至以下網址查詢：

www.sopawards.com

WHEN

Entries can be submitted from now until 3pm January 31, 2018 (Hong Kong Time).

參賽作品遞交日期為即日起至2018年1月31日下午3時(香港時間)。

HOW

All entries submission and payments will ONLY BE ACCEPTED ONLINE.

所有參賽作品及費用只可經由網上遞交。



SOPA
The Society of Publishers in Asia

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亞洲出版業協會(The Society of Publishers in Asia 簡稱SOPA)成立於1982年,旨在維護新聞自由,表揚亞太區出色新聞工作,以及推廣出版界的專業地位。亞洲出版業協會乃香港非牟利團體,是亞太區國際、區域及本地傳媒的指標,每年均舉辦享負盛名的「卓越新聞獎」,為亞太區的新聞報導定下世界級標準。

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Time Off

'POP CULTURE HAS ALWAYS WORKED ON A 20-YEAR NOSTALGIA CYCLE.' —NEXT PAGE



Criss as Cunanan, an ultimately unknowable murderer

TELEVISION

From Versace to Tonya, toxic certainty in tabloid stories

By Daniel D'Addario

THE NEW FX SERIES *THE ASSASSINATION OF GIANNI VERSACE: AMERICAN CRIME STORY* has a famous fashion designer in its title—but the show is much more interested in his killer. Andrew Cunanan (Darren Criss), before he goes to kill Versace in Miami in 1997, spends his young life in pursuit of status and material wealth. He's fascinated by opera—or at least claims to be to meet rich men—and the association fits: the form's unironically bold emotions seem to suit Cunanan's roiling inner life, and its lavish stagings are a reminder of all he wants but can't access when the curtain falls.

Versace wants to be an opera too. The show, cribbing from recent-enough history to build a narrative of increasingly high dudgeon, is rigorous about its devotion to aesthetic and

to its big ideas about culture and society. Along with the new movie *I, Tonya*, it's among a recent wave of entertainment that repurposes the half-forgotten scandals of the 1990s into morally righteous art. Even when the result falls flat—which it often does—the impulse to create it makes sense: at a moment when offscreen life feels particularly unsettled, the media scandals of two decades ago are as suitably perverse a place as any to try to find something clear and certain.

There's plenty of certitude in *Versace*, which is unabashed about underlining its theses over and over. One of these is the idea that a borderline-malicious lack of interest in gay men on the part of the police led them to miss out on apprehending



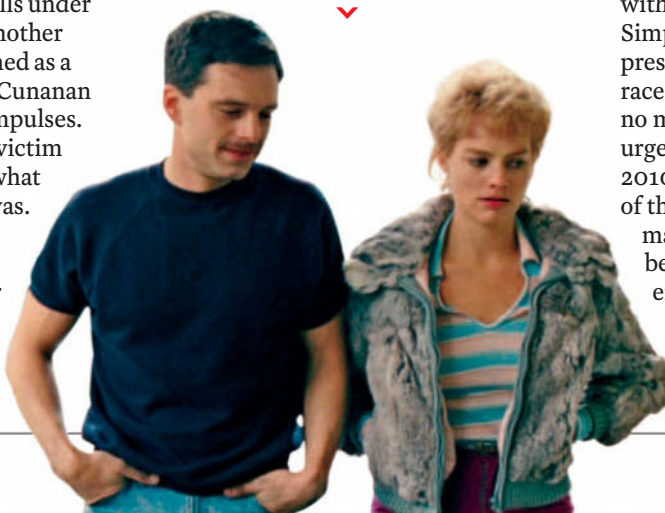
Gianni Versace (Ramírez) and his lover Antonio D'Amico (Ricky Martin)

Cunanan before he made his appointment with the doomed Versace. But the show's bigger point is that the concept of the closet is a sickness that hurt Cunanan and hurts our culture on every level. Between their separate story lines, Cunanan and Versace (Édgar Ramírez) take a sort of *Forrest Gump* tour through every milestone for the gay community in the 1990s—coming out, the AIDS crisis, high society, crystal meth and “Don't ask, don't tell.”

All of that could be argued to be part of the saga, but how much of it is really part of this particular story? The military policy on gays, for instance, arises in a lengthy digression about a gay naval officer (Finn Wittrock) who falls under Cunanan's sway. Elsewhere, another victim (Mike Farrell) is imagined as a closeted fellow besotted with Cunanan even as he hates his own gay impulses. We do not know whether this victim knew Cunanan in real life, or what the nature of the association was. Choosing to make the victim a heartsick, tragically closeted man is the easy choice in order to garner sympathy from an audience that's come a long way—though hardly all the way—on the issue

of gay rights. Sure, people in the 1990s (as now) withered away in the closet—but everyone Cunanan encounters seems burdened by their urges. The fact that Cunanan tends to see the world according to his own strict-if-warped moral code becomes less character trait than understandable way of dealing with the world around him. After all, everyone he meets seems punishingly aware of their own shortcomings. But what a shame: these men were already

Sebastian Stan and
Robbie as the vexed couple
Jeff Gillooly and Tonya
Harding in *I, Tonya*



murder victims. Must this series force them to play the victim in life too?

Meanwhile, Versace lives his life, unaware of the creature coming his way. His sections of the story are stronger: Versace is just a man, in thrall of pleasure but just about the only person onscreen who is not toxically addicted to it. (That he's portrayed so evenhandedly suggests fealty to the Versace name, or a minor miracle.) The story is tragic, certainly, but it also can be read as a lurid one-liner: monster kills star, motive unknown. Morals suggest themselves in the spaces between what is known, but airing them at great length seems a disservice to the story we actually have.

Of course, the true-crime genre—which often speculates about the unknowns in cases like Cunanan's—is nothing new. But there's a special fascination with a story of this particular timing, one that's old enough to be history but recent enough to allow us to feel shocked at just how much has changed. Pop culture has always worked on a 20-year nostalgia cycle; here, that seems in part motivated by the degree to which the audience can give itself a nod of approval—we're much more enlightened now than they were not so long ago. Things really were simpler then, and retro entertainment like *Versace* gives us the double comfort of understanding that we've got it all figured out now and escapism from our growing existential fears that we don't.

WHAT MADE *The People v. O.J. Simpson*, the previous installment in producer Ryan Murphy's *American Crime Story* franchise, work was the effortlessness with which it found resonance between Simpson's case and our lives in the present. That story's elements of class, race, gender and celebrity needed no massaging to fit into a narrative urgently relevant to our lives in the 2010s. It succeeded because the details of that trial are so widely known as to make excavating the real figures from behind the headlines possible, and endlessly interesting.

Cunanan, a shadowy figure even to journalists who've tried to understand his story, is knottier, and less easily understood.

I, TONYA: NEON; CONFIRMATION: HBO; THE ASSASSINATION OF GIANNI VERSACE: THE PEOPLE V. O.J. SIMPSON: FX

Reducing him to a morality-play story of a boy warped by his secrets is unsatisfying. It's enough to make it relevant to an empathetic contemporary audience, but it's not enough for a drama that uses the names and personae of people who really lived.

There's a similarly glum lack of discovery or novelty to *I, Tonya*, which seems somehow a greater missed opportunity. The drama around the 1994 Winter Olympics—before which figure skater Nancy Kerrigan was kneecapped by men hired by rival Tonya Harding's husband and bodyguard—genuinely was rooted in archetypes. Kerrigan was perceived as a beautiful and haughty ice princess, while hardscrabble Harding, an ace with an axel, never got her respect. It would seem like a story ripe for unpacking, delving into what wounds the two took away from their meeting: Harding, punished because she failed to conform, and Kerrigan, punished perhaps more harshly because she did.

Instead, Kerrigan figures into the story only as an object of scorn, while the film wastes much of its running time mocking Harding (Margot Robbie)—gawping at her wide stance when she sits, smoking cigarettes at the rink, suffering through relentless domestic abuse. Then, grasping blindly for a takeaway, the film decides that she was the victim of the media's cruelty all along. "You're all my attackers too," she says directly to the camera. It's hard to deny that Harding was a national curiosity, but the film's decision to position itself as her defender only after reveling in the abuse she suffered is a nervy one, and one the film can't sustain. It collapses under the weight of its own self-regard, too proud of having reclaimed Harding's narrative to give her a character.

Cunanan and Harding were two of the defining sensations of the 1990s, a peacetime decade during which tabloid stories colonized the front page. That neither were, or are, widely understood comes with the territory. And while FX's *Simpson* series proved there's room for real and thoughtful exploration of the people behind the boldfaced names, resonance can't be forced. Reading Cunanan's warped journey through America as tragically consequent to the

Reviving the '90s

In recent years, the last decade of the 20th century has become the hottest property in media as various works find connections between that time and ours



THE PEOPLE V. O.J. SIMPSON (2016)

The first season of *American Crime Story* made past scandal feel educational, with Cuba Gooding Jr. (center) as the defendant in an increasingly complex 1995 trial.

WACO (2018)

The Paramount Network's miniseries (launching Jan. 24) depicts the events leading to the 1993 siege on the Branch Davidian compound, with Taylor Kitsch as cult leader David Koresh.



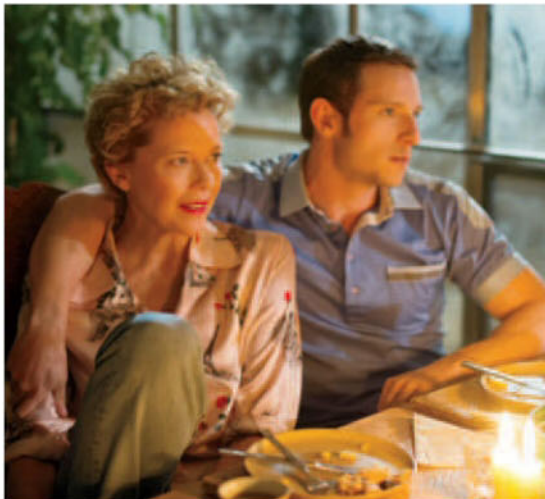
CONFIRMATION (2016)

The HBO film recalled Clarence Thomas' 1991 Supreme Court nomination—and how Anita Hill (Kerry Washington) and her allegations of harassment were dismissed. Viewers in our era heard Hill loud and clear.

gay experience, rather than the random actions of a psychopath, flatters an audience that feels sympathetically toward gay people. And reading Harding's story as *Real Housewives*—level exaggerated but off-limits for real irony flatters an audience that likes edge, but not too much.

Part of what makes the real stories interesting is the ways in which their details exist in a moral gray zone: we'll never know what pushed Cunanan, or if he could have been somehow saved. And the debate about Harding's culpability, among those genuinely interested in the facts of her case, could go on for decades more. For now, *I, Tonya* seems to have settled the debate among casual fans: Harding is enjoying a media renaissance as the subject of sympathetic interviews, and has announced a return to the rink. "Tonya was the victim" may be less chewily satisfying than really digging into her story, just as FX's Cunanan will never fascinate in the way the real one, with the contradictions and silences in his story, has for decades. But which one—the comfortably safe interpretation or the violent, odd, real one—is likelier to sell tickets? A good opera demands a happy ending, even if that happy ending is just the pleasant sensation of an audience's preconceptions being confirmed.

We've gotten these stories back at a moment when seeking deeper meaning in pop culture seems especially urgent. (Who understands the national political scene better than a viewer who spent her 2000s watching reality TV?) And many younger viewers will encounter these tabloid stories for the first time this winter. But in so relentlessly bending the stories to the will of the moment—one in which perceived villains deserve their moment of redemption, or at least bend-over-backward justification—their creators miss out on making something that will last. No matter how assured of their rightness the fictions may be, how long will we be talking about *The Assassination of Gianni Versace* and *I, Tonya*? Probably less time than we will spend still intrigued by Andrew Cunanan and Tonya Harding. Their true stories, messy and unresolved, still have the quality of the most meaningfully provocative of art. □



Bening and Bell: An aging star, an ageless couple

Bening brings the glam Grahame to life

THE ACTOR GLORIA GRAHAME HAD ONE OF THE great faces of '50s film noir. If you've seen *In a Lonely Place* or *The Big Heat*, you probably haven't forgotten those eyes, as mischievous as a game of under-the-table footsie, or that mouth, like the sense memory of what a lemon drop tastes like.

The young Annette Bening greatly resembled '50s-era Grahame, throwing off the same kind of playful yet soul-deep spark. That's why it's so fitting that Bening should now play the older Grahame in Paul McGuigan's perceptive, bittersweet movie *Film Stars Don't Die in Liverpool*, based on Peter Turner's memoir of the same name and set in Liverpool and London during the late 1970s and early '80s, the last years of Grahame's life. This is the story of young aspiring actor Peter (Jamie Bell) and his complicated relationship with Grahame, some 30 years his senior. The two start out romantically coupled; after their breakup, the ailing Grahame reconnects with her old beau and his family, seeking the solace of their Liverpool home, though she refuses medical care.

Belling is terrific at conveying Peter's impatience with Grahame's movie-star neediness as well as his ultimate reckoning with how much he loved her. And Bening is extraordinary, serving up a seemingly contradictory cocktail of fire and vulnerability. At one point, in the early days of their relationship, Peter tells Grahame he's going to see a one-man show. "I love those things!" she says in a zephyrlike voice. "You get to say all the lines." It's a moment of pure showbiz self-centeredness, delivered as a wicked, flirty joke—as if Grahame herself were blowing us a kiss. —STEPHANIE ZACHAREK

ON MY RADAR

STEFAN ZWEIG,
THE WORLD OF
YESTERDAY

"Zweig wrote about the culture of Vienna before the war. In the age of Trump and Brexit, I find it helpful, because I can see that this dynamic has happened before."



QUICK TALK

Annette Bening

In *Film Stars Don't Die in Liverpool*, the Oscar-nominated actor, 59, plays film noir legend Gloria Grahame in the final chapter of her tumultuous life. Bening stars opposite Jamie Bell, 31, who plays a younger ex-lover in whose working-class Liverpool home Grahame chose to spend her last days.

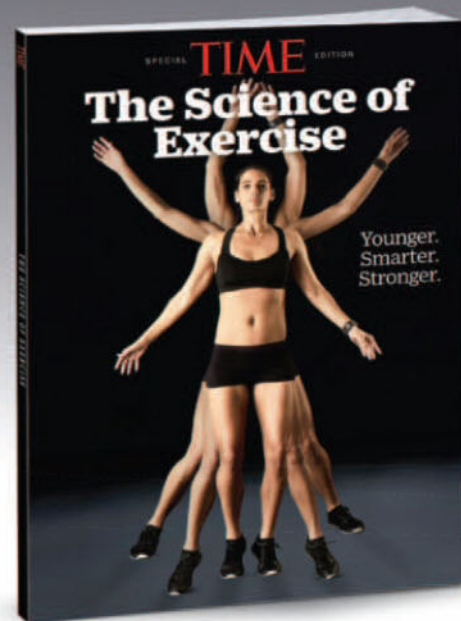
Did you have a prior interest in Grahame? When I was working on *The Grifters* [in 1990], the director, Stephen Frears, suggested that I watch Gloria Grahame. *The Grifters* is a noir-esque movie, so watching her was incredibly helpful. I fell in love with her and her unusual combination of qualities.

You play opposite a much younger man here. It's interesting, because when I started, almost all of the men I played opposite were much older—20 years—and of course no one ever mentioned it. It was, and still is, the norm. In this case, everyone just considered it a love story we were trying to bring real heart and passion to.

You're in an adaptation of *The Seagull* that's coming out this year. Had you done Chekhov before? Yeah, because I was a theater major, so for those of us who grew up doing plays, Chekhov is our hero. It was literally a dream come true to be able to do the movie. I did the same part when I was in acting school, when I was in my early 20s. The fact that the producers got the money to do it was such a shock!

Why do you think this past year was the tipping point for conversations about sexual harassment? The tipping point in my view is technology, and the fact that we have this ability to immediately spread information. There are a lot of things that went into it—more women in the workplace, more women being educated. I hope that with people in show business leading the way, that will work into the lives of the average working woman and man who is vulnerable to their boss, who can't just quit, who's got a family to support. Maybe now there will be more systems of redress where people can go and not just be traumatized by those in powerful positions. —ELIZA BERMAN

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Cabello started out in the vocal quintet Fifth Harmony, formed on the reality show The X Factor

A solo star gets her due on *Camila*

LAST YEAR WAS GRIM FOR WOMEN in pop: high-profile releases from Katy Perry and Miley Cyrus underperformed, while the unshakable Taylor Swift was the sole female pop vocalist to top the singles chart all year. Mostly, moody white guys like Ed Sheeran and Post Malone and newly minted hip-hop renegades like Migos and Cardi B—the only woman besides Swift to hold down the No. 1 spot in 2017, with her track “Bodak Yellow”—dominated airwaves. But in the No. 2 spot for several weeks last fall was a new voice: Camila Cabello, a Mexican-Cuban singer-songwriter raised in Miami who ascended to fame as one part of the girl group Fifth Harmony before departing to forge a solo career, with “Havana,” a sweet-and-sour ode to her hometown. Like 2017’s biggest hit, Luis Fonsi and Daddy Yankee’s inescapable “Despacito,” Cabello’s song smartly capitalized on the

Latin-pop boomlet. “Despacito” was already a hit, but a remix featuring Justin Bieber made it a bona fide smash; likewise, once “Havana” was a hit, Cabello tapped reggaeton king Daddy Yankee for a remix to buoy the song’s popularity on the charts.

On her debut solo album,



GOOD COMPANY

“Havana” hit No. 1 in the U.K., where it became the longest-running chart topper from a female artist since Adele’s “Someone Like You.”

Camila, out Jan. 12, Cabello proves she has the chops to stand alone in the spotlight. Airy, pretty ballads like the wearied “Real Friends” and heartfelt “Consequences” showcase her vocals, and there are a few radio-friendly bangers too, like the tropical-hued “She Loves Control” and “Inside

Out,” which is lightly playful as a samba. But it’s a surprisingly muted set, suggesting that the anthemic female pop that characterized the Obama years may be a thing of the past. In an era in which xenophobia reigns, Cabello’s multiculturalism is its own form of stealthy resistance. —SAM LANSKY

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MUST NOT BECOME TOMORROW'S.

Time Off Books



Johnson was a
Guggenheim
fellow, Pulitzer
finalist and
National Book
Award winner

COLLECTION

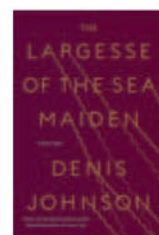
Stories from the grave, and beyond

THE NARRATORS OF DENIS JOHNSON'S POSTHUMOUS short-story collection *The Largesse of the Sea Maiden* have been spared. But as they commune with the dying or survive shootings or use dirty needles, they're left to wonder why they're still kicking.

An adman can't tell which wronged ex-wife is calling to say she's terminally ill: "I suddenly didn't know which set of crimes I was regretting." An ailing author converses with visions of late relatives; when a visitor asks him if the ghosts know they're supposed to be dead, he responds, "How would that fit into any reasonable or polite conversation?" In another story, an alcoholic recounts how often doctors have told him he shouldn't be alive.

Johnson, who died last May of liver cancer, was a guiding light for his readers with his empathic and sometimes delirious depictions of beaten-down seekers, including his National Book Award-winning novel *Tree of Smoke* and his only other story collection, *Jesus' Son*. Johnson finished *Largesse* not long before his death, and some lines wink from the beyond. The ailing author in the book is 67, Johnson's age at his death. And an infant whose grave is exhumed decades later is described as "a sixty-seven-year-old baby."

At times, *Largesse* can feel like a pilgrimage to familiar lessons: God is funny and cruel and maybe a bit distracted; we can hold the same beliefs yet end up in different places. But it is a vital addition to Johnson's oeuvre. By making the characters (somewhat) more upstanding here, Johnson collapses the distance readers can put between themselves and wrongdoers. We, too, must wonder why these people, and not the victims, are still around to tell their tales. Johnson told aspiring authors to write as if ink were blood, because it is precious. So are farewells like this. —NATE HOPPER



END NOTE

With the final manuscript of the book, Johnson left a note to his publisher that said, "Let all of it stand as is."

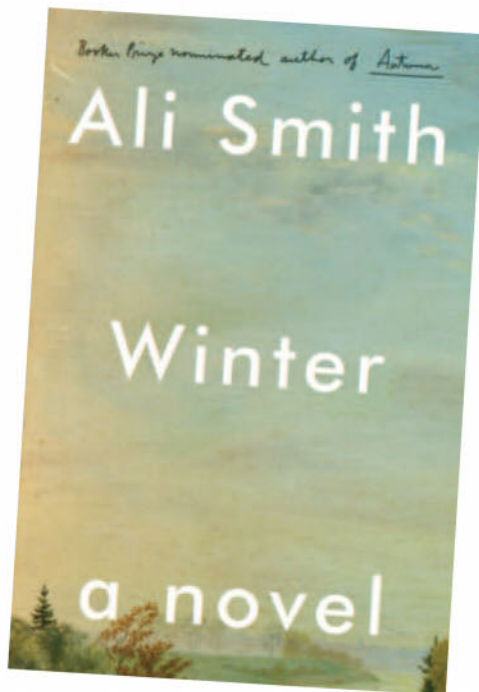
COLD COMFORT

Love and hate in the time of Brexit

SOMETIME IN THE PAST FEW years, the Cambridge, England–based novelist Ali Smith and the Norwegian Karl Ove Knausgaard had the same idea: to write a quartet of novels called *Autumn*, *Winter*, *Spring* and *Summer*. This month, *Winter* arrives in each series. But while Knausgaard engages in his signature blend of broad observations and navel-gazing, Smith glares—at times sympathetically, at times unforgivingly—at a wasteland of a world where Brexit is possible.

It is not necessary to read Smith's *Autumn* before her *Winter*; while the two books share a philosophical style and a playfulness with words, they don't concern the same cast. The characters here are the kind who find the winter holidays challenging, not comforting. Ashamed of his recent breakup, Art pays a young, foreign woman known as Lux to impersonate his girlfriend during a visit to his mother Sophia. They spend their Christmas together in Cornwall, where the majority of voters supported Brexit—despite the fact that the impoverished county has received more than \$1.3 billion in E.U. aid since 1999.

Winter pays frequent homage to *A Christmas Carol*, and Sophia is visited by her own ghost: a vision of a child's head that follows her. Other ghosts haunt distant landscapes: "Refugees in the sea. Children in ambulances. Blood-soaked men running to hospitals or away from burning hospitals carrying blood-covered children." Like many news watchers, Sophia has become inured to images like these. In a social context of us vs. them, this book looks at the us and asks why we feel so little for them. "None of these things is happening



A BOOK FOR EACH SEASON

Winter is the second in a series; *Autumn* was short-listed for the 2017 Man Booker Prize, and *Spring* is expected in 2019.

here," Sophia explains. "They are all happening far away, elsewhere."

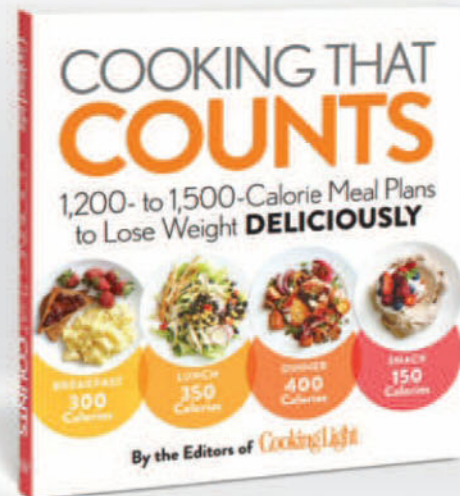
It's a challenge to write a novel about a particular political moment—it threatens to become irrelevant. Smith has apparently tried to solve this problem in part by incorporating historical side plots that resonate with the present in both *Autumn* and *Winter*; here, it's the Greenham Common Women's Peace Camp, where activists began protesting the site of a cruise-missile base in the early 1980s. She spins a fine story, but it feels shoehorned in, and ultimately unnecessary.

Nevertheless, *Winter* is a stunning meditation on a complex, emotional moment in history. The outlook at the end is dark, but soon enough *Spring* will come, and then maybe the threatening icicles will thaw and the buds of hope will push through. Or perhaps the abundant foliage will simply cover up the scars made visible by the sparsity of bleak midwinter.

— SARAH BEGLEY

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Kendrick Lamar and SZA surprised fans with their new song "All the Stars," the lead single off the *Black Panther* soundtrack

Best Actor nominee Tom Hanks was spotted delivering a tray of martinis to his table at the Golden Globes



Hamilton creator Lin-Manuel Miranda tweeted that Jason Brown left him "sobbing" after the figure skater performed his routine to the Broadway musical's "The Room Where It Happens" at the U.S. Figure Skating Championships

Almost all the stars who attended the Golden Globes wore black to protest sexual harassment against women in Hollywood and beyond as a show of solidarity



'And here are the all-male nominees.'

NATALIE PORTMAN, actor, who seemed to call out the Hollywood Foreign Press Association while presenting the award for Best Director at the Golden Globes



TIME'S WEEKLY TAKE ON

WHAT POPPED IN CULTURE



Fashion retailer H&M was accused of racism after its online store featured a black child modeling a hoodie with the slogan "Coolest Monkey in the Jungle"; the company apologized and removed the product from its site

HBO officially confirmed that *Game of Thrones* won't return for its eighth and final season until 2019

117°F

The suburb of Penrith in Sydney hit a record-breaking high of 117°F (47°C) on Jan. 7, making it the hottest place on earth for the day

A Norwegian Cruise Line ship traveling from the Bahamas to New York sailed through the "bomb cyclone," subjecting its 4,000 passengers to harrowing weather conditions like 30-ft. ocean swells



GAME OF THRONES: HBO; H&M: TWITTER; LAMAR AND SZA, MARTINI, BROWN, PORTMAN, GOLDEN GLOBES, CRUISE: GETTY IMAGES



The tragic, beautiful story of two widows who found each other in grief

By **Susanna Schrobsdorff**

WE FRET A LOT ABOUT THE EMOTIONAL BAGGAGE WE BRING to relationships, as if the goal is to come to each new love empty-handed, our hearts wiped clean. But recently, when I read that the widows of two best-selling memoirists had fallen in love, I was reminded that leaving your bags behind isn't really an option. And you shouldn't want it to be.

The pair: Lucy Kalanithi, wife of Paul Kalanithi, a neurosurgeon whose 2016 memoir *When Breath Becomes Air*, about his terminal lung-cancer diagnosis, came out the year after his death. And John Duberstein, husband of Nina Riggs, whose book *The Bright Hour* came out in June, a few months after Riggs died of complications from metastatic breast cancer.

John and Lucy's story, first reported by the *Washington Post*, could be another memoir: Lucy had written a blurb for Nina's book, and they'd become friends. In her final days, Nina suggested that John contact Lucy for support after she was gone. He did, and the two grew close via email. Now they are planning a future together. It's the kind of resolution we all crave in dark moments.

Both books are gorgeously written and so heartbreaking, they're hard to take in one after the other, though they act as complements. That's why Lucy and John are often on tour promoting the books together. When they read the words of the two people they loved so profoundly, perhaps their old lives seem woven into their new life, one love spilling into the next, families merging, past and present overlapping.

While that dynamic might seem fraught, it's perhaps just a more intense version of what we all experience as we roll our emotional carry-ons along. You can look at your teenager and see some version of them at 25, an aching distant adult whom you feel mad at for no reason. A minute later, you can feel the weight of their newborn body on your chest and remember the fear of them falling off the bed. All of it can exist almost simultaneously. The laws of time are so easily warped.

LUCY WRITES in the epilogue to her husband's book how in his last hours, she lay with him in his hospital bed as his breathing slowed. Earlier in the day, in the same bed, their baby daughter Cady, conceived after the cancer invaded their lives, was tucked into the crook of his right arm. Only eight months before, Paul was the one who lay next to Lucy after Cady was born, not far away in the same hospital. Nearly two years before that, they were in another hospital bed, side by side, looking at scans that revealed the extent of Paul's disease for the first time. They wept. Both doctors, they knew



what the images foretold. In the moment Paul says he doesn't want to die, and yet he was already thinking of a future for Lucy without him. "I told her she should remarry, that I couldn't bear the thought of her being alone," he wrote.

THAT LOVE sustained the couple through a grueling time. Lucy writes that the "one trick to managing a terminal illness is to be deeply in love—to be vulnerable, kind, generous, grateful."

Paul, knowing Cady wouldn't remember him, writes a letter to her as wise and lovely as anything I've ever read: "When you come to one of the many moments in your life where you must give account of yourself, provide a ledger of what you have been, and done, and meant to the world, do not, I pray, discount that you filled a dying man's days with a sated joy, a joy unknown to me in all my prior years, a joy that doesn't hunger for more and more but rests, satisfied."

Meanwhile, John's children Freddy and Benny were old enough, 7 and 10 when their mother died, to miss her. Nina has left them a gift through her memoir, in which her feelings for them are drawn with such clarity and visceral love that one hopes they will read it and find their way back to those hours and days with her. At one point she describes her kids playing outside on Freddy's 10th birthday. "Already, the boys are off to the wilds again—whooping and surviving. It will be getting dark soon—the sky has started with that eerie postapocalyptic light of a warm evening in winter—but I am not ready to call them back in."

The ache of loss runs concurrently with gratitude in these books—thankfulness for the love we accumulate, plus the acute pain that spikes at the thought of leaving it behind. One emotion enables the other. It's baggage we all carry. If we're lucky. □

Carmen Yulín Cruz The mayor of San Juan, whose urgent demands for U.S. aid after Hurricane Maria shot her to political stardom, on what's ahead for Puerto Rico

What was 2017 like for Puerto Rico?

It was a year of great challenges and new beginnings. I started my second term as mayor of San Juan, and a new governor was elected with a new majority in the legislature. Even though he and I don't see eye to eye, every beginning offers opportunities. That was immediately shattered not only by Hurricanes Irma and Maria but by policies that made protests somewhat illegal. Privatization of our public schools. Our labor unions lost rights that they have fought for for 40, 50 years. The economy was failing. We're basically a colony of the United States, and the imposition of the fiscal control board started to become real. It wasn't like, "Oh, they're coming to help." They were coming to control us. I opposed it from the beginning. I wish I had been wrong. But I wasn't.

What were the days before and after the storm like?

We were starting to clean the debris of Irma when Maria appeared on Sept. 20, this huge cloud that grabbed ahold of the entire island. There was a sense of great impotence. There was nothing you could do but wait. We took shelter in a colosseum with about 685 people and about 200 employees. I knew they weren't going to have a home to go back to. I saw the palm trees swaying like I've never seen them before. It was devastation. I knew that the country and the city that I had loved all my life were going to be there no more.

You've been vocal about the federal government's role in all of this.

Their lack of role.

What did it do wrong? The federal government didn't do things right from the beginning. President Trump insulted the Puerto Rican people over and over and over. You know that Carly Simon song, "You're so vain, you probably think this song is about you"? He probably thought that Maria was about him. But it wasn't about him, it wasn't about politics; it was about

saving lives. FEMA was asking Puerto Ricans to go online and register for support. For heaven's sake, we have no electricity. FEMA kept asking for memos, as if this were the first disaster that they had ever encountered. I finally lost my patience and stopped being politically correct. And I just shouted out an SOS to the world: "We're dying here!" That didn't make me a lot of friends in the federal government, but that's my duty.

Can you talk about what happened with the Whitefish Energy contract?

First of all, we shouldn't be rebuilding our grid, because it's totally fossil-fuel-injected. We are going to get hit by another hurricane, and we don't want to go through the same thing again. When we finally got access to the contract, we noticed strange things, like if the contract were rescinded, Whitefish would get paid anyway. I tweeted that the contract should be made available for everyone to see. Whitefish tweets back and says, "Mayor, we have 40 people coming today. Do you want us to send them back or keep working?" Look at the gall of a company hired by Puerto Rico, threatening an official for demanding transparency. When you ask for the truth and it blocks somebody's lies, they get upset. Finally, the governor asked to rescind the contract. So now we're back to square one.

Looking ahead to 2018, what's your plan for the city and beyond?

As a Puerto Rican, not as a mayor, I believe that this is the opportunity to make our island nation more equitable and caring.

And what about as San Juan's mayor?

I will dedicate my life to the eradication of poverty, to the end of colonization of Puerto Rico. I hope to make Congress respond to the values upon which the U.S. was built. I love them so much, I want them for my own country.

—ARPITA ANEJA

'It wasn't about politics; it was about saving lives.'



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