

THE

A HERO RISES

THE SUPERPOWER
OF *BLACK PANTHER*

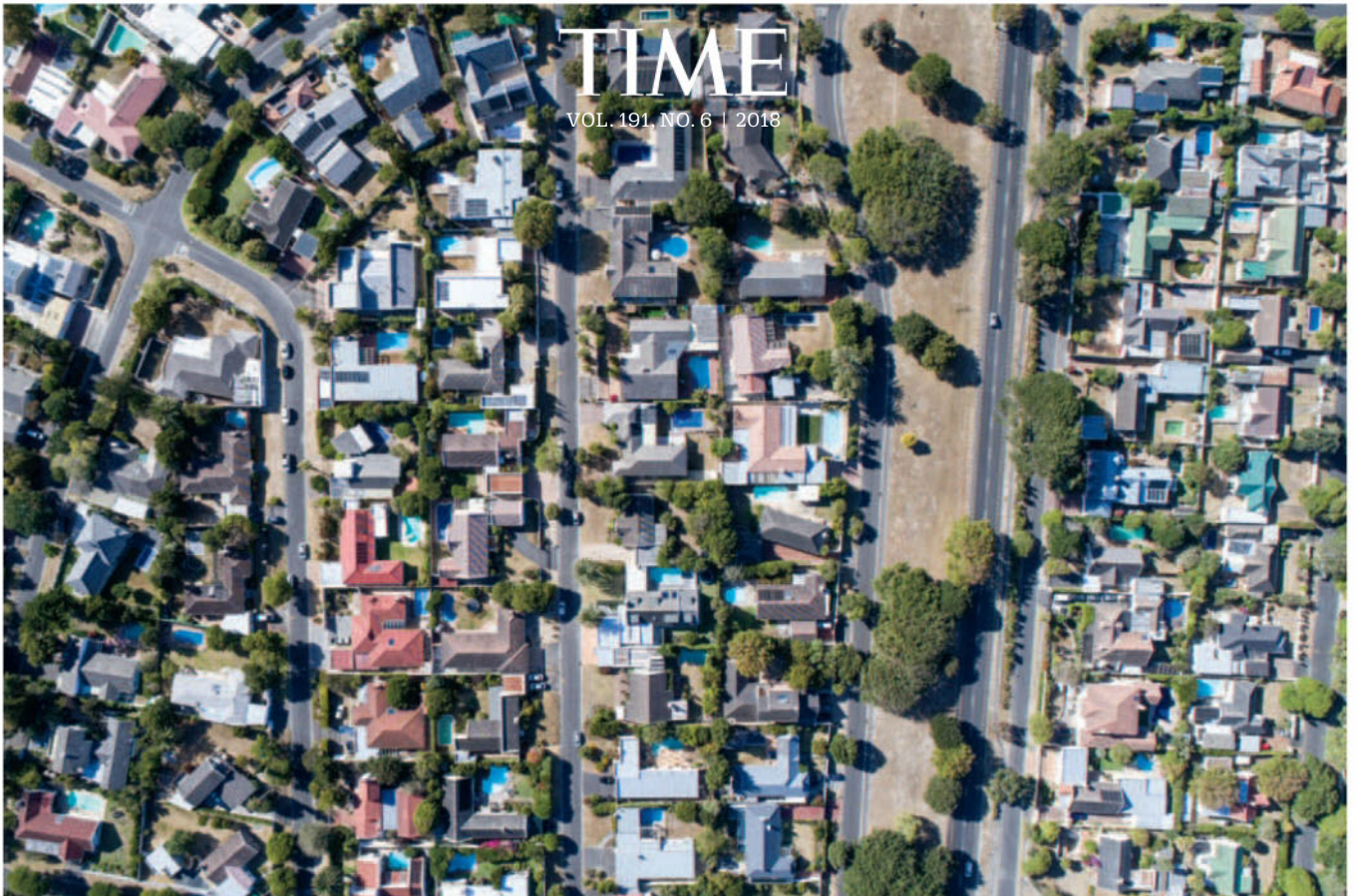
BY JAMIL SMITH

Chadwick
Boseman,
star of Marvel's
latest movie

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TIME

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^ Swimming pools dot Kreupelbosch, an upscale Cape Town suburb, amid a worsening water crisis
Photograph by Mikhael Subotzky and Johnny Miller for TIME

ON THE COVER:
Photograph by Williams + Hirakawa for TIME

THE TALK OF DAVOS

AFTER READING “UNDOING the World America Made” by Karl Vick and “What the Global Elite Can Learn From the Donald” by Richard Haass [Feb. 5], I was struck by how otherworldly your authors are. Horribly depressing and all untrue. President Donald Trump’s visit to Davos, Switzerland, was an enormous success! It’s America first, not America alone. Your other article “States of Vulnerability” is why Trump was elected as a beacon of hope. They are the hollowed-out flyover states that the Clinton and Obama Administrations ignored for years.

Sidney Crain, SACRAMENTO

CAPITALISM IS A VERY SAD game, as is depicted in “States of Vulnerability.” It is ironic that the same issue reported on the World Economic Forum in Davos, where Trump’s appearance drew meaningless attention among the elite. If poor people’s only asset is their resilience, I wonder who in Davos heard their cry and argued anything about fairer distribution among people.

Antonio H. Terada, OSAKA, JAPAN

SOUR NOTE

RE “HOW RAP ASCENDED (Again) to Become the Sound of the Mainstream” [Feb. 5]: Many thanks to Raisa Bruner

for setting me straight on the remarkable rise of rap music. Now I understand perfectly well that rapping about parties, sports cars and diamond rings is what it takes to make it big these days. If rap music is, in fact, “running the culture right now,” then please inform me as to what it would take to get it to run away.

Donald F. Smith, EGAA, DENMARK

GUNS UNCHALLENGED

IN THE “TICKER” [FEB. 5] you report that the U.S. has seen 11 school shootings in the first 23 days of the year. In most places, such statistics would be cause to demand action. So once again one wonders, Will Donald duck the issue? Will someone whose actions often have all the subtlety of a cartoon character see the wisdom of doing anything that might antagonize the gun worshippers? One has to doubt there ever being enough slaughter for that.

Michael Huber, LINDFORD, ENGLAND

THE INTOLERANT IMMIGRANTS

RE “WHEN THE ONLY HOME You Know Becomes a Place You May Never See Again” [Feb. 5]: I live in a part of Berlin with a predominantly Muslim immigrant population. I realize that the reasons for their diaspora are very real and that it is our duty to provide a safe haven for the

oppressed. But I have become somewhat immune to the feelings of solidarity expressed in your article. Even here, far from the conflicts in their homeland, I am confronted with a hate of other religions, a readiness to condone human-rights abuses, and a steady, easily discernible radicalization. The resulting problems are hardly experienced in the more affluent districts of the city. But here, as in so many other European cities, those who can move out do so, leaving an ever more violent ghetto.

Patrick E.F. Villiers, BERLIN

ADDRESSING ISOLATION

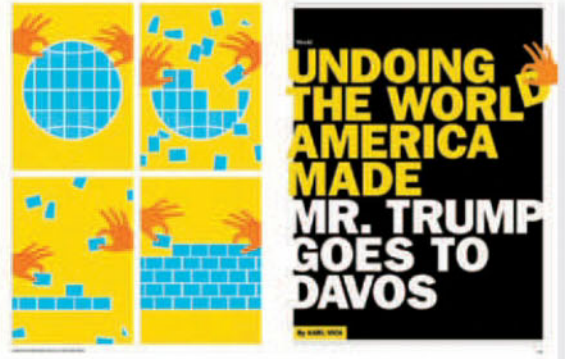
I WAS SURPRISED TO SEE the appointment of a U.K. Minister of Loneliness as a “Leave It” item on your Pop Chart [Feb. 5]. As people live longer, many more will be lonely. In some cultures it may not be an issue, as

Grandma and Grandpa will continue to live with their family for their lifetime. But in most Western families, the youngsters move out, and the parents are left on their own. This is fine until the parents become elderly or lose a partner and find themselves rarely being visited. If by appointing a politician actions can be taken to alleviate the living death of loneliness, that can only be a good thing.

Terry McGeary, EAST KILBRIDE, SCOTLAND

SETTING THE RECORD STRAIGHT

▶ In Time Off (Feb. 5), the rapper Lil Uzi Vert was misidentified in a photo. The image was of Lil Yachty. In the Jan. 22 issue, “How to Tell a President ‘You’re Fired’” incorrectly characterized Section 4 of the 25th Amendment. Once the Vice President becomes acting President in an invocation of Section 4, he, not the incumbent President, remains in power if sustained by a majority of the Cabinet (or the designated “other such body”) as the matter moves to its congressional phase.



TALK TO US

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I am very Sensitive to Lights and Sounds

Jacob Sanchez
Diagnosed with autism

Sensory sensitivity is a sign of autism.
Learn the others at autismspeaks.org/signs.

'O CANADA!
OUR HOME AND
NATIVE LAND!
TRUE PATRIOT
LOVE IN ALL OF
US COMMAND.'

NEW GENDER-NEUTRAL ENGLISH LYRICS to the Canadian national anthem, which lawmakers approved ahead of the 2018 Winter Olympics; the line previously referred to the patriotism of "all thy sons"



\$1.50

Increase in the weekly take-home salary of a secretary in Lancaster, Pa., which was hailed in a tweet by House Speaker Paul Ryan as proof the recent tax overhaul is helping Americans; Ryan deleted the tweet after he was accused of being out of touch

'Can we call that treason? Why not?'

DONALD TRUMP, U.S. President, on Democrats' not clapping during his State of the Union address; the White House clarified that Trump was being "tongue in cheek," but the comment still sparked criticism

'Treason is not a punch line.'

JEFF FLAKE, Republican Senator from Arizona, responding to the President's comment in a speech on the Senate floor

'This is a logistical nightmare.'

CAROLYN WARD, FEMA officer, emailing an Atlanta wedding caterer who was awarded a \$156 million contract to deliver emergency meals to Puerto Ricans affected by Hurricane Maria; 18.5 million meals were ordered, but only 50,000 were delivered—and without pouches to heat them up

4,400

Approximate age, in years, of a tomb that archaeologists recently discovered near Cairo; it is believed to have belonged to a prominent priestess named Hetpet, according to Egyptian government officials



4,000

Approximate number of costumes put up for sale by the Dutch National Opera in Amsterdam, owing to lack of storage space

'All these lambs walked into slaughter because they were convinced nobody rises to such a position who would do something illegal to you, but they do.'

UMA THURMAN, actor, becoming the latest Hollywood star to accuse producer Harvey Weinstein of forcing himself on her in a hotel room

NorCal
California's
Redwood Coast
tops list of best
places to visit in
the U.S.



SoCal
L.A. tops
worldwide list of
cities with the worst
traffic congestion

'She got in the water somehow, and I don't think she got in the water by herself.'

JOHN CORINA, lieutenant in the Los Angeles County sheriff's department, in a televised interview about the mysterious 1981 drowning of actor Natalie Wood; in light of new witness statements, the death was recently declared "suspicious"

ILLUSTRATIONS BY BROWN BIRD DESIGN FOR TIME

The Brief

'NOT ALL IS LOST FOR A DIPLOMATIC SOLUTION ON THE KOREAN PENINSULA.' —NEXT PAGE



A South Korean soldier on duty in a conference room in the demilitarized zone, as the Games suggest a thaw

WORLD

As the Koreas share an Olympic moment, Trump risks irrelevance

By Ian Bremmer

VICE PRESIDENT MIKE PENCE IS planning to attend the opening ceremony of the Olympics on Feb. 9 with an unusual guest in tow: Fred Warmbier, father of American student Otto Warmbier, who died last year just days after being released from a North Korean jail. Team USA comes to PyeongChang ready to compete, including in politics.

It's a provocative move, especially in the context of the recent thaw in relations on the Korean Peninsula—the same thaw that President Trump was taking credit for less than a month ago. But in the State of the Union, he returned to form: “We need only look at the depraved character of the North Korean regime to understand the nature of the nuclear threat it could pose to America and to our

allies.” Pence built on the theme upon his arrival in Asia, unveiling what he called the “toughest and most aggressive” sanctions on North Korea yet and pledging to isolate the rogue state until it abandons its nuclear-weapons programs “once and for all.”

But if the U.S. is interested in a long-term, sustainable solution with North Korea, many experts say demanding denuclearization from a regime that sees nuclear weapons as its only life-line is folly. The U.S. has a history of willfully ignoring facts on the ground, to its own detriment (think the “Assad must go” policy from 2011). If the U.S. is serious about reaching a diplomatic solution to the Korean impasse, it may well have to stomach a nuclear Pyongyang. Truth be told, that reversal should be much easier for Trump

than any of his predecessors, given his penchant for flipping on U.S. policy positions and a decided lack of interest in promoting human rights. The biggest obstacle standing in Trump's way is his ego. Admittedly, it's a pretty big obstacle.

Not all is lost for a diplomatic solution on the Korean Peninsula even if the U.S. refuses to change tack. China—which is responsible for some 90% of North Korea's total trade and the majority of its food and energy—has taken a more active role in dealing with the North Korean threat. Some of that has to do with pressure from the U.S., which has made clear that good relations with Washington are dependent on Beijing's helping resolve the standoff. But just as important is the fact that China now sees itself playing a global leadership role, and it's difficult to live up to those expectations when it can't even keep the peace in its own backyard.

Besides, China needs few incentives to ensure that things with North Korea don't spiral out of control. The collapse of the Kim Jong Un regime would be a disproportionately large headache for Beijing, because tens of thousands of desperate North Korean refugees would stream into China. Beijing also fears that the U.S. military would use the collapse of North Korea as an excuse to set up more permanent shop on the Chinese border. And that's before we get to the prospects of loose nukes up for grabs.

So too South Korea, which under the leadership of progressive President Moon Jae-in, has decided to engage more proactively with North Korea—hence the Olympic truce, which Kim appears to be taking seriously. (He is even sending his sister Kim Yo Jong to the Games.) The previous two South Korean conservative governments had fallen in line with the hard-line U.S. stance toward Pyongyang. Moon, who genuinely believes in acting constructively with North Korea, has bucked that trend. But it's not lost on South Korea that the White House can't exactly be counted on to uphold long-standing alliances. While Trump bemoans the threat of North Korea, he also hammers away at South Korea over a bilateral 2012 trade pact he has derided as a "horrible deal." Rather than rely on a mercurial U.S. President, Seoul recognizes that it must be proactive in determining what happens on the Korean Peninsula.

As for the U.S., it has a choice to make. It can accept that a nuclear North Korea is a fact of life and start working to decrease tensions on the Korean Peninsula, or it can stick to its guns and contemplate any number of "bloody nose" strategies in the hope that a limited show of force doesn't set Kim off. Trump's stated foreign policy of "principled realism" may compel the U.S. accepting an unpleasant reality, or risk losing its seat at the negotiating table—just like it did in Syria. □



TICKER

Merkel seals coalition deal

German Chancellor Angela Merkel's center-right Christian Democratic Union finally agreed on a new coalition with the center-left Social Democratic Party after months of political uncertainty following Germany's September elections.

'El Chapo' jurors to be anonymous

A federal judge in Brooklyn ruled that the jury selected to determine the fate of Mexican drug lord Joaquín "El Chapo" Guzmán will receive special protections including being anonymous and partly sequestered "to protect their privacy."

False tsunami alert on East Coast

Thousands of East Coast residents received an official alert warning of an impending tsunami on Feb. 6, which turned out to be a routine test message that was wrongly sent out. The alert was sent about a month after Hawaiians received a false alert of a missile attack.

Hong Kong court releases activists

A Hong Kong appeals court overturned jail sentences handed to three prominent activists, including Joshua Wong, who were facing prison terms for their role in massive pro-democracy protests in 2014.

WORLD

Indonesia's growing intolerance

Indonesia is on the verge of outlawing all sexual intercourse outside marriage, as conservative political factions in the majority-Muslim nation compete for votes ahead of provincial elections. —*Suyin Haynes*

PROHIBITIONS

Egged on by influential conservative groups, Indonesia's parliament is considering legal reforms that would outlaw sex between same-sex people, and allow unmarried people caught having sex to be jailed for up to five years.

PREJUDICE

The legal moves come as the country's LGBT community has become a target for police and politicians. Defense Minister Ryamizard Ryacudu called gay activists more dangerous than a nuclear bomb, while police in Aceh—the only province where homosexuality is illegal—recently arrested 12 transgender women after forcing them to strip in public.

POLITICS

Fringe parties and ultra-conservative groups have positioned themselves as defenders of moral values, and successfully mobilized popular support for their causes. In a recent survey, nearly 90% of Indonesians who understand the term LGBT said they felt "threatened" by the community. But tens of thousands have signed an online petition against the legal crackdown on sex.



Consensual sex outside marriage is already criminalized in the province of Aceh

DIGITS

107,000

Number of Saudi women who applied for 140 job openings at airports and border crossings, after Saudi Arabia's General Directorate of Passports set out to recruit women for the first time



NO RESPITE A man embraces his injured son at a hospital after the shelling of civilian areas in Douma, Syria, on Feb. 1. The town is located in eastern Ghouta, the last remaining rebel-held stronghold near the capital, Damascus. Russian and Syrian regime forces launched another attack, killing at least 25 people, on Feb. 6. The White Helmets, a search and rescue group, called it “another bloody day for civilians.” Photograph by Mohammed Badra—EPA-EFE/Shutterstock

POLITICS
The mounting political crisis in the Maldives

THE PRESIDENT OF THE MALDIVES THREW the Indian Ocean island chain into turmoil on Feb. 5, declaring a state of emergency and locking up judges who had just thrown out a conviction against his main political rival. Here’s what’s happening.

CRACKDOWN President Abdulla Yameen declared a 15-day nationwide state of emergency, granting law enforcement sweeping powers and sending soldiers onto the streets to keep order. He also had two Supreme Court judges arrested, days after the court overturned convictions against nine of the President’s opponents, including exiled former leader Mohamed Nasheed.



COUP ALLEGATIONS Nasheed was sentenced to 13 years in prison on terrorism charges in 2015 following a trial that was broadly viewed as politically motivated. The former President, who lives in self-imposed exile in Sri Lanka, says the government’s actions amount to a coup. He has appealed for India to intervene and for the U.S. to impose sanctions.

COURT U-TURN The crisis comes ahead of what could be a fiercely contested presidential election this year, if Nasheed is allowed to run. A day into the state of emergency, that already looked less likely: on Feb. 6, the court’s remaining three judges issued a statement revoking their original ruling “in light of the concerns raised by the President.”

—JOSEPH HINCKS

◀ *President Abdulla Yameen is defying a court order*



GROUNDHOG FORECASTS

Every Feb. 2, or Groundhog Day, the U.S. watches to see if Punxsutawney Phil will spy his shadow and augur six more weeks of winter. But he’s not alone. Using regional weather data, TIME looked at how accurate various groundhogs were in 2017—and what they had to say this year:

UNADILLA BILL
Unadilla, Neb.
 Accuracy: 83%
 Saw shadow in 2018? No

PIERRE C. SHADEAUX
New Iberia, La.
 Accuracy: 75%
 Saw shadow in 2018? No

STATEN ISLAND CHUCK
Staten Island, N.Y.
 Accuracy: 52%
 Saw shadow in 2018? No

PUNXSUTAWNEY PHIL
Punxsutawney, Pa.
 Accuracy: 36%
 Saw shadow in 2018? Yes

FRENCH CREEK FREDDIE
French Creek, W.Va.
 Accuracy: 28%
 Saw shadow in 2018? Yes



TICKER

Life behind bars for gymnast abuser

Larry Nassar, the sports doctor who sexually assaulted at least 260 women and girls including Olympic gymnasts, was sentenced in Michigan to 40 to 125 years behind bars for molesting young athletes. It was his third prison sentence.

India hunts 'doctor' who spread HIV

Officials in northern India are hunting for a fake doctor who they believe infected dozens of people with HIV by reusing a contaminated syringe and needles.

Fake doctors are widespread in India, which has a shortage of trained medics.

Eagles players shun White House trip

Some Philadelphia Eagles players, including Malcolm Jenkins and Chris Long, said they would not join other Super Bowl winners on a visit to the White House. President Trump has repeatedly criticized NFL players who kneel in protest during the national anthem.

Ancient Brit had dark skin

Britain's earliest known humans had dark brown skin, curly hair and blue eyes, according to analysis of DNA from the nation's oldest complete skeleton. The "Cheddar Man" skeleton, discovered in 1903, is believed to be about 9,000 years old.

Doctors push back on the 'right to try' experimental treatments

By **Alexandra Sifferlin**

NO ONE WANTS TO ARGUE AGAINST GIVING potentially beneficial drugs to people who need them. But not everyone in the medical community is convinced that a national "right to try" policy, which would allow people with fatal illnesses to have access to drugs not yet approved by federal authorities, will make life better for patients.

Such laws have already passed in dozens of states, and the Senate passed a version of the federal bill in August. Now, as the House of Representatives weighs a bill on the matter—a proposal that President Donald Trump lauded in his Jan. 30 State of the Union address—doctors and medical ethicists are sounding an alarm.

For a drug to be approved for use in the U.S., it must undergo several rounds of clinical testing. The U.S. Food and Drug Administration (FDA)—the agency that oversees that approval process—does have a system in place for getting unapproved drugs to people who need them, often referred to as compassionate use or expanded access. Doctors can submit an Emergency Investigational New Drug application to the agency if their patient has no other treatment options. With the FDA's permission and a drug company's willingness, a patient can try that treatment.

The federal right-to-try bill would allow

patients and their doctors to bypass the FDA and work solely with drug companies for access to unapproved drugs that have undergone at least basic safety testing. The federal bill would also protect doctors and drug companies from being held liable should something go wrong, and bar the FDA from using data on negative outcomes from right-to-try cases to affect the approval of a drug unless those details are critical to assessing the drug's safety.

Proponents of the legislation argue that it will cut down on the time it takes for a

person to get the drugs he or she needs. But in a letter signed by more than 300 medical experts and sent to the House Committee on Energy and Commerce, which is currently considering the bill, health professionals argue that weakening FDA over-

'This legislation sells vulnerable patients and families false hope.'

MEDICAL EXPERTS, in an open letter to lawmakers

sight could ultimately be dangerous, adding that the agency already approves 99% of patient requests for expanded access.

"Expanded access can be improved, but the right to try approach is misguided and would likely do more harm than good," the letter reads. "This legislation sells vulnerable patients and families false hope at the expense of weakening the FDA's critical role in making sure that all Americans can have confidence in the safety and effectiveness of our medical products." □

EDUCATION

When school's out ... by accident

A New Hampshire middle school was forced to evacuate for about an hour when a student's attempt to cook calamari for a science class caused enough smoke to set off alarms. Here, other odd reasons schools have been evacuated.

—Kate Samuelson



AIR FRESHENER

Last October, students at a school in Baltimore were evacuated and the local fire department called over a strange smell, which turned out to be a pumpkin-spice-scented air freshener.



SCIENCE PROJECT

A high school on Long Island was evacuated by police last summer when a mislaid science project involving a pressure cooker and a backpack was mistaken for an explosive device.



BODY SPRAY

In 2013, a can of Axe body spray caused a schoolwide shutdown when it was released in a classroom. Emergency forces were sent in to investigate the "hazardous" smell.

Milestones

DIED

Grammy-winning singer **Dennis Edwards**, who once led Motown funk group the Temptations, at 74.

> Television executive **Lin Bolen**, who in 1972 became the highest-ranking woman in TV when she was given the title of vice president for daytime programs at NBC, at 76.

LAUNCHED

SpaceX's **Falcon Heavy**, the world's most powerful rocket. The payload, which in this case was CEO Elon Musk's red Tesla Roadster, is now headed toward Mars' orbit.

DISCOVERED

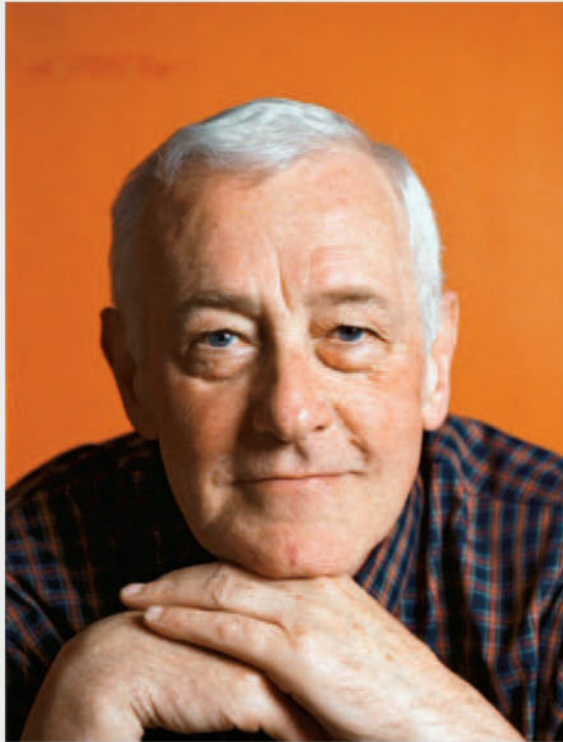
An ancient **Mayan City**, beneath the jungles of Guatemala, by researchers using laser mapping.

REJECTED

Compulsory veils, by 49% of male and female Iranians, according to a poll taken in 2014, which was released this month by President Hassan Rouhani amid hijab protests.

RESIGNED

White House staff secretary **Rob Porter**, following accusations by his two ex-wives that he abused them during their marriages. Porter denied the allegations.



Mahoney, pictured here in 2002, was best known for the role of Martin Crane on *Frasier*

DIED

John Mahoney Actor from stage to sitcom

By Laurie Metcalf

I FIRST MET JOHN MAHONEY, WHO DIED ON FEB. 4 at 77, when in 1979 he graciously accepted an invitation by a group of punks to join Chicago's Steppenwolf Theatre Company. He was 15 years older than I was, and I was so impressed that he had quit the security of his full-time job as the editor of a medical journal to pursue his childhood dream of acting—and that he decided to do it with us.

I loved going to his apartment in Oak Park, a suburb of Chicago, where he would trounce us in his favorite card game, called May I?, and cook a giant pot of spaghetti and meatballs. I loved being with him both on- and offstage, and I miss seeing him clap his hands in glee at a good joke, and the permanent twinkle in his eye. What a wonderful man.

Metcalf is an actor and an original member of the Steppenwolf Theatre Company. She has been nominated for an Oscar for her role in the film *Lady Bird*.

THE CEO REPORT

The stock market waves goodbye to easy money

By Alan Murray

THE MOST IMPORTANT JOB OF THE chairman of the Federal Reserve is largely an intangible one: to instill confidence in money, markets and the economy. But as soon as Jerome Powell was sworn in on Feb. 5—indeed, before he was sworn in—confidence collapsed and took the stock market with it. The Dow Jones average plummeted 666 points on Feb. 2 and 1,175 points on Feb. 5—the largest point drop in its history—before stabilizing Feb. 6.

Practical-minded businesspeople may be tempted to dismiss these wild market gyrations the same way they dismiss Trump's tweets—mere noise that obscures the music. After all, the fundamentals of the economy are good, earnings are strong, inflation and interest rates are low, so why worry?

But there's probably a signal in there somewhere. Yes, algorithmic trading of volatility-related derivatives had a lot to do with the market's roller-coaster ride. But so did legitimate uncertainty about the future.

For the past decade, the world has been awash in easy money—the result of an unprecedented experiment in monetary policy. As the flood recedes, rocks will emerge. To quote Warren Buffett, “You only learn who has been swimming naked when the tide goes out.”

There was no great harm done in the recent swoon. Market indexes ended up close to where they had been when the year began. But Powell, and the rest of us, should consider this a warning. There will be rough swimming ahead. □

BY THE NUMBERS

\$1 trillion

Amount that stocks lost in value during the first five days of February before regaining some ground

HER FUTURE BEGINS ON TWO WHEELS.



Photo by
Jake Lyell

Hirabai began walking to school when she was a little girl. It was an exhausting, dangerous two-mile journey from her home in rural India. At 14, she started attending a high school even farther away, unsure of how she would complete her education. But now, with the gift of a Dream Bike from ChildFund, she's riding — safely and quickly — toward her dream of one day attending university. In 11 countries, ChildFund is making it possible for girls to continue their education by giving them much-needed bicycles and safe passage to a better future.

ChildFund[®]
International

Learn more about ChildFund International and our Dream Bike Program at [ChildFund.org](https://www.childfund.org)

Controversial former Trump adviser touted Kremlin ties

By Massimo Calabresi and Alana Abramson

A FORMER TRUMP CAMPAIGN ADVISER BRAGGED ABOUT HIS ties to the Kremlin in an August 2013 letter obtained by TIME. “Over the past half year, I have had the privilege to serve as an informal adviser to the staff of the Kremlin,” Carter Page wrote to an academic press in a dispute over edits to a manuscript he had submitted for publication. The letter raises new questions about the extent of Page’s contacts with the Russian government and casts a pall over the controversial memo released by House Republicans on Feb. 2, as part of their effort to undermine special counsel Robert Mueller’s Russia investigation.

Page, whom Trump named as a campaign foreign-policy adviser in March 2016, was at the heart of the House memo that Republicans touted as proof that he had been improperly spied on by a group of anti-Trump Democrats at the Justice Department. The memo, produced by the Republican chair of the House Intelligence Committee, Devin Nunes, claimed that in October 2016 the FBI convinced the secretive Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Court that Page was a Russian agent. Nunes’ memo argued the bureau had gained the court’s permission to surveil Page based on information provided by former British spy Christopher Steele while Steele was being paid, indirectly, by Hillary Clinton’s campaign.

Democrats objected to the release of the Nunes memo, and the FBI warned it was incomplete and misleading. Republicans claimed the alleged scandal was “worse than Watergate.” The Steele dossier does not identify its sources, and Page has denied any wrongdoing. It’s not the first time that Page, an eccentric energy consultant and would-be Russia scholar, has stumbled into the spotlight.

PAGE’S TROUBLE with Moscow started in January 2013, when he met a Russian diplomat named Victor Podobnyy at an energy conference in New York City, according to court documents. Three months later, according to the documents, Podobnyy was caught on tape boasting about trying to recruit as an agent someone identified as “Male-1” by making “empty promises” about “connections in the [Russian] Trade Representation.” Page, who was trying to build a consulting business in Russia at the time, acknowledges that he was “Male-1.” In messages to TIME after the release of the Nunes memo, Page said that during 2013 he “sat in on and contributed to a few roundtable discussions with people from around the world.” Page says he had subsequent similar meetings, describing them to TIME as “really plain-vanilla stuff.”

Whatever his interactions with the Russians in early 2013, they attracted the attention of the FBI. In June of that year, bureau agents interviewed Page, he says, about his contacts with the Russians. Page says he suggested to the agents that their time would be better spent investigating the Boston



Page speaking to reporters on Capitol Hill last year

‘Over the past half year, I have had the privilege to serve as an informal adviser to the staff of the Kremlin.’

CARTER PAGE, former Trump aide

Marathon bombing, which had occurred two months earlier. He claims the bureau launched a retaliatory campaign against him shortly afterward.

Two months after his meeting with the FBI, Page wrote his letter claiming Kremlin ties as part of an effort to get a book he had written published by an academic press. Page’s views on Russia were notably different from other scholars, says an editor who has worked with him in the past. “He wanted to make the argument that we needed to look more positively at Russia’s economic reforms and Russia’s relationship with Central Asia,” says the editor. The editor says he viewed Page as a harmless eccentric.

Page first appeared on the national scene in March 2016, when then candidate Donald Trump told the *Washington Post* that Page was one of his foreign-policy advisers. Months later, Page gave a speech in Moscow attacking American foreign policy. In his dossier, Steele alleged that Page held secret meetings with a senior Kremlin official and a powerful Putin ally on that trip. Soon after, Trump disowned him. Page has not been charged with any wrongdoing. — *With reporting by PRATHEEK REBALA/WASHINGTON* □



LightBox

A first for Philly

Patrick Robinson of the Philadelphia Eagles is overcome after the team defeated the New England Patriots 44-31 in Super Bowl LII in Minneapolis on Feb. 4. The Eagles, led by backup quarterback Nick Foles, clinched the first Super Bowl title in franchise history, setting off confetti on the field and raucous celebrations back home.

Photograph by
Chris Wattie—Reuters

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SUPER BOWL CHAMPIONS

SUPER BOWL II

Retiring minds want to know how to prepare for unexpected risks

By Walter Updegrave

WHEN IT COMES TO RETIREMENT PLANNING, WE NATURALLY focus on the risks we're most aware of—for instance, the possibility that this nine-year-old bull market could give way to a ravaging bear. Or that an unscrupulous or incompetent adviser might talk us into bad investments.

Here are three risks that may not be top of mind but that you should still guard against:

1. COMPLACENCY RISK

Maybe you set your savings rate early in your career, when your budget was especially tight, and haven't raised it since. Or perhaps you were automatically signed up for your 401(k) at a default rate of 3% to 6% and you never increased it.

Still, aided by the double-digit market returns of recent years, your retirement account balances seemed to be growing nicely, so you never bothered to gauge whether you were actually on pace to build an adequate nest egg. In short, you have fallen prey to complacency risk.

You've let yourself be lulled into a false sense of security that you're on the road to a secure retirement—or at least making reasonable progress toward that goal—while in reality you may be well short of where you need to be.

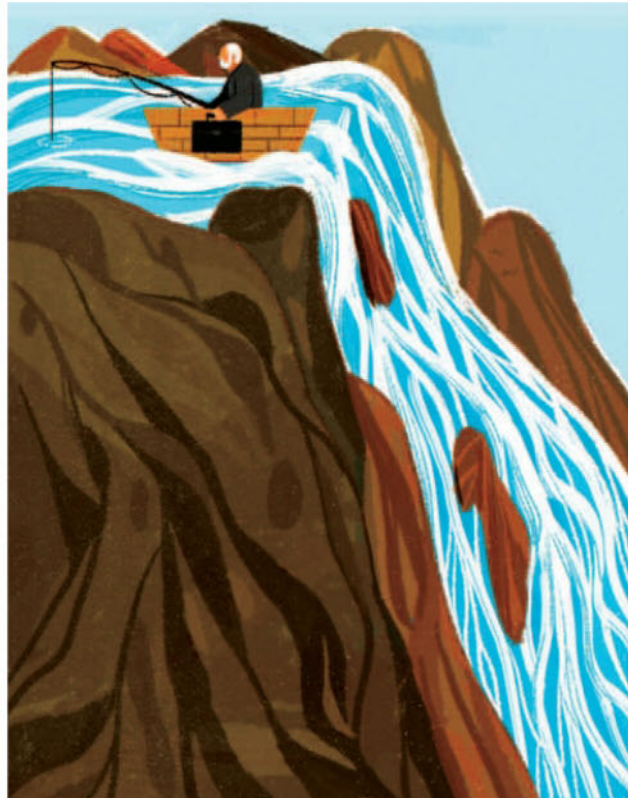
The best way to protect against this risk is to periodically give yourself a retirement checkup. Go to a retirement income calculator and plug in information such as your income, the current value of your retirement accounts, how much you're saving each year and the age at which you plan to retire. The tool will estimate your probability of achieving your goal.

If the tool estimates your chances at less than 80%, then you need to make some adjustments, such as saving more, investing differently, scaling back your planned retirement lifestyle or a combination of these things.

2. EMOTIONAL RISK

This risk tends to be highest during periods of market extremes, when emotion and impulse are more likely to affect our investing decisions. But whether it's getting overly excited when stocks are on a tear or too pessimistic when the market is taking a beating, letting your emotions sway your investing strategy can inflict real damage on your retirement prospects.

One way to manage this risk is to set—and then preferably put in writing, so you'll be more likely to stick to it—an asset-allocation strategy that will increase your chances of being able to ride out stocks' ups and downs without reacting rashly to them. A risk-tolerance asset-allocation tool like the free version Vanguard offers can help you come up with such an asset mix. Whatever stocks-bonds blend you ultimately decide on, make sure you rebalance occasionally to ensure that gains or losses in different holdings don't cause your portfolio to stray too far from your target mix.



3. LONGEVITY RISK

You might think that this risk—which is essentially the possibility that you could live much longer and spend a lot more time in retirement than expected—would be an issue only after you retire.

The danger, of course, is that if you underestimate how long you might live (as many people do), you might spend down your nest egg too quickly and outlive your savings.

But longevity risk can also come into play during your working years.

If you assume you need to save enough during your career to support you for 20 years after you leave your job, and you actually end up living 25 or 30 years in retirement, you're not going to accumulate nearly enough savings to maintain your pre-retirement standard of living throughout your post-career life.

It's impossible to know exactly when you're going to shuffle off this mortal coil. But you can get a more realistic sense of how long you may be around by going to the Actuaries Longevity Illustrator.

With these estimates in hand, you will be able to better assess how much you ought to be saving during your career and how much you can safely afford to spend once you're retired. Of course, you won't entirely eliminate longevity risk. But you'll be much better equipped to deal with it.

Updegrave is the editor of RealDealRetirement.com

The View

'PHONES CAN BE TIME-SUCKING TEMPTATIONS OR TOOLS FOR FINDING DEEPER FULFILLMENT.' —NEXT PAGE

HAPPINESS

Where even the best marriages are hard: in the middle

By Belinda Luscombe



EVERYONE WHO JUST GOT MARRIED is psyched about it. It's a new adventure with their best friend. Everyone who has been married for 50 years or more is psyched about it. They're living with their closest companion—it's been a trip, totally worth it.

But the people in the middle? They're, you know, they're *fine*. They perhaps didn't expect marriage to be quite as much work as it is. Not just the child care and the housekeeping and the paying of the bills but the parts that are supposed to be fun—the talking, the planning, the throwing a leg over. They had been led to believe it would feel easier, more natural. The thing about walking off into the sunset together is that then it gets dark and people stumble over each other.

Two new books seek to solve just this midlife marital ennui: *The Rough Patch*, by San Francisco clinical psychologist Daphne de Marneffe, and *Happy Together*, by husband-and-wife marital educators Suzann Pileggi Pawelski and James Pawelski.

The midlife crisis is an old cliché, with little support in research, but when we dismiss the happiness dip that people experience in their middle years, “we are actually trying to disarm the intensity of the forces we are grappling with,” de Marneffe writes. “The midpoint of life represents the moment of maximal conflict between our drive to seek external solutions to our emotional dilemmas and our recognition that ultimately they don't work.” It's also often the point where our tenacity falters and the neat selvages of our certainties about who we are and whom we chose start to fray.

Being married, as Ben Affleck memorably implied while accepting an Oscar for *Argo*, can be like pretending to make a film in a hostile land. There's a lot of negotiation, a lot of compromise and, sometimes, a hasty exit. And yet a 2017 analysis of tens of thousands of Britons found that marriage really keeps people happier, especially if they're best friends. So how do couples find a way through?

Happy Together's co-authors, who claim theirs is the first book to apply the principles of positive psychology to romance, advise "building and broadening"—expanding the life you have together—and "lengthening and strengthening," which sounds like a shampoo commercial but is about savoring the good things you have, a sort of slow-food movement for feelings. It's an old marital chestnut that couples in it for the long haul should find new things to do together and new things to do apart. Perhaps positive psychology might propel couples to try.

De Marneffe's book is situated in the highly therapized air of San Francisco. She too offers a two-pronged approach, which she calls "feeling with and thinking about." The response spouses need from each other, she claims, is one that is empathetic and then helpful. When a child comes home with a scrape, good parents don't just coo sympathetically. Nor do they just turn away and reach for antiseptic. They do one, then the other. Similarly, relationships thrive when partners can acknowledge each other's existence and feelings and troubles, then improve them. This also means that saying to your spouse, "I just want you to listen, not help," is actually depriving them of half the ways they can show love.

Ultimately, both books agree, the best way to right a marriage is everybody's least favorite: hold up your end of the couch. The Pawelskis spend half their book on cultivating character, becoming someone to whom another might like to be married. De Marneffe offers specifics: you become such a person by "facing authentic emotion and vulnerability." She encourages her patients not to settle, to have unflinching conversations about sex, money, drinking, bodies, desires, the whole mess.

If the only advantage of growing older is greater self-knowledge, then it follows that growing older with another offers a still richer source of feedback. (Presented, one hopes, with compassion.) And yet self-knowledge is not the point of spending life as a twosome. Marriage's chief promise is another-knowledge, a decades-long exploration, as de Marneffe says, of "a distinct being whose contour and interior you have yet to truly know." Like so many things, marriage is better when it's between good friends. □

DIGIT
\$560 million

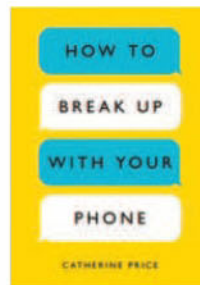
Money won by a Powerball player in New Hampshire, who has since sued the state to keep her name secret so that, according to her lawyer, she can have "the freedom to walk into a grocery store or attend public events without being known or targeted as the winner of a half-billion dollars"



GOOD POINT
How to break up with your phone

ON AVERAGE, AMERICANS SPEND about a quarter of their waking hours staring at their phones. It's a love-hate relationship: many of us would like to reduce our screen time—but phones are so useful and enjoyable that we also don't want to just cut them out of our lives.

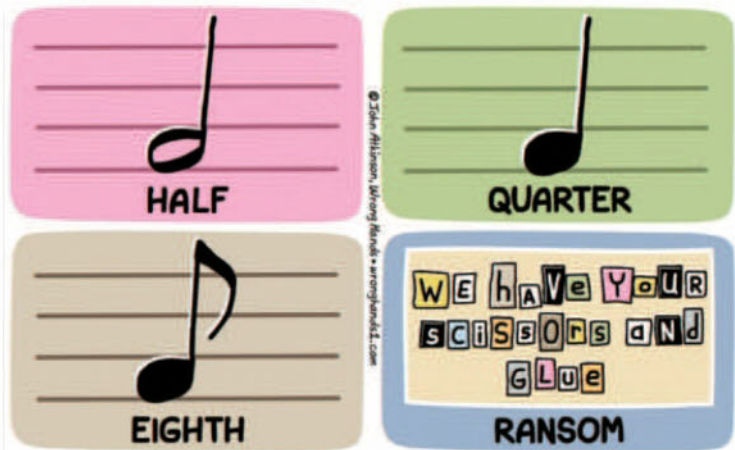
My book *How to Break Up With Your Phone* is an evidence-backed plan for finding a middle ground. One of the first steps? Install a time-tracking app like Moment or (OFFTIME) to gather data on your habits and track your progress.



Another important step is to choose some phone-free activities that you enjoy—and set up your environment to help make them happen. Want to read more? Put a book on your coffee table. Want to play music? Take your instrument out of its case. Want to spend more time with a friend? Make real plans. Phones can be time-sucking temptations or tools for finding deeper fulfillment—it all depends on how we use them.

—CATHERINE PRICE

CHARTOON
Note identification



JOHN ATKINSON, WRONG HANDS

Pope Francis arrives for an ecumenical Mass in a cathedral in Lund, Sweden, on Oct. 31, 2016



RELIGION

Pope Francis has jeopardized his morals

By Christopher J. Hale

ON FEB. 5, IT CAME TO LIGHT THAT POPE Francis received an eight-page letter in 2015 from a Chilean man, Juan Carlos Cruz, detailing how a priest sexually abused him, and how other priests concealed the crime—among them, then Father Juan Barros, a man Francis had just months earlier appointed to be the bishop of Osorno, Chile.

This revelation comes weeks after Francis called accusations against Barros “calumny.” He eventually walked back his claims and sent a Vatican special prosecutor to Chile to investigate the allegations of a cover-up. But Francis received the letter by hand from Boston Cardinal Sean O’Malley, one of the church’s top-ranking officials. That he either did not read the letter or did not act on it is a stunning development that represents the biggest crisis of Francis’ nearly five-year papacy.

Francis’ surprise 2013 election came on the heels of a four-minute speech he gave before the conclave in which he decried the church’s vanity: “When the church is self-referential, inadvertently, she believes she has her own light.” Francis called this the “worst evil” that could befall the church, and his ascendance served as a rebuke of that self-regard. He was expected to reform

the church. In a great many ways, he has—from a new focus on the environment and poverty to an emphasis on simplicity and sobriety among the clergy.

But all that progress is for naught if Francis doesn’t finally address the sexual abuse scandal head-on. His legacy is at stake—and more important, so is the viability of the Catholic Church itself and its gospel mission. A church that systematically covers up the abuse of children by its ministers is a church without a future.

In his letter to the Pope, Cruz wrote, “Holy Father, I write you this letter because I’m tired of fighting, of crying and suffering.” In the Gospel, Jesus tells us God’s worst punishment is reserved for those who would harm children. In the Catholic tradition, the Pope is the vicar of Jesus Christ: he acts and ministers in Christ’s name. If that is truly the case, then Francis must end this scandal now. He must apologize to the victims. He must investigate the claims. And he must transform the church, as he said he would.

Hale is a political strategist who helped lead Catholic outreach for President Obama and a co-founder of the Catholic blog Millennial

QUICK TALK

Edmund White

The acclaimed author is the winner of the 2018 PEN/Saul Bellow Award for Achievement in American Fiction.

What was most important to you when you set out to have a career as a novelist, and what is most important now?

I wrote my first novel when I was 15—never published—and I think I wanted to write a gay book. In 1955, that was pretty unusual. I had never read a gay book, but I had this burning need to. I suppose I thought by expressing myself or by finding the truth, that I would keep my head above water. Then I think about the time I was 30, I lost that psychological necessity of writing and I began to be interested in the actual craft. The main thing that keeps me going now? I mean, I’m 78 years old, but I’m writing a novel, full speed ahead.

People often describe your work as dealing with the gay experience in America. What then does it mean for that aspect of your work to be recognized with this award?

Well, in these politically correct days, I suppose it helps being gay, although the latest surveys show that the American public, after having been for gays, has now turned slightly against them. But anyway, I think it is, for sure, partly a recognition of my minority status.

—Sarah Begley

Kate Upton shines a light on fashion's biggest problem with her #MeToo story

By **Eliana Dockterman**

IT BEGAN WITH A TWEET. ON JAN. 31, SUPERMODEL KATE Upton wrote, "It's disappointing that such an iconic women's brand @Guess is still empowering Paul Marciano as their creative director #metoo." In an interview with TIME, Upton detailed her claims against Marciano, co-founder and former CEO of Guess, who she says assaulted and began harassing her during her first professional modeling campaign when she was 18.

Harassment has plagued the fashion industry for decades, but allegations have often been ignored. Many models work as independent contractors and have few legal protections; last month lawmakers introduced a bill in New York that would hold designers, retailers and agencies accountable for abuses.

In a statement to TIME, Marciano called the accusations "absolutely false" and "preposterous." "I have never been alone with Kate Upton," he said. "I have never touched her inappropriately. Nor would I ever refer to a Guess model in such a derogatory manner." A representative for Guess declined to comment. Photographer Yu Tsai says he witnessed the harassment Upton describes and corroborated details of her allegations.

What happened with Paul Marciano? After the first day of shooting the Guess Lingerie campaign in 2010, Paul Marciano said he wanted to meet with me. As soon as I walked in with photographer Yu Tsai, Paul came straight up to me, forcibly grabbed my breasts and started feeling them—playing with them actually. After I pushed him away, he said, "I'm making sure they're real."

Despite doing everything I could physically do to avoid his touch throughout the meeting, he continued to touch me in a very dominating and aggressive way, grabbing my thighs, my arms to pull me closer, my shoulders to pull me closer, my neck, my breasts, and smelling me. He then told Yu Tsai to leave us alone. I was able to send a quick text to Yu Tsai asking him to stay. He did, but that did not stop Paul's constant grabbing. I was extremely shaken, surprised and scared.

At one point he forcibly grabbed the back of my head so that I could not move and started kissing my face and my neck. I remember not wanting to say "Get off of me" because I didn't want to open my mouth to say anything because I didn't want him to be able to put his tongue in my mouth. I had two options: do everything I could to wiggle away and avoid his pursuit, or punch the CEO of Guess. So I decided to just wiggle away.

Then Paul insisted that he walk me up to my hotel room. I immediately declined. The only thing I was thinking is, If he touches me like that in public, I can't imagine what he'd try to do in private. Thankfully, Yu Tsai stepped in and insisted he'd do it. I was so relieved and felt like I had barely escaped.

After that, Paul was reaching out to me constantly, always in communication about my next shoot. But I wouldn't officially be booked until a few days before

the actual shoot. It made me feel that if I cut off communication with him, I wouldn't be booked again. Paul's texting increased, telling me how excited he was to see me, that he wanted me to change in front of him so he could see my naked body getting into his clothes. He asked if I thought of him when I was posing sexy on set.

What happened after you stopped working with Guess in 2011? I went on to be extremely successful because of my *Sports Illustrated* cover. Guess Jeans reached out to my agency and offered me their campaign again in 2012. They offered me \$400,000, which at the time was their highest-paying offer ever. But as we got closer to the shoot date, Paul began texting that he would make sure to be on set. He told me that I wasn't allowed to bring my boyfriend. I just couldn't do it. I refused the campaign. I couldn't accept the money. I walked away about a week before the shoot was scheduled.

On a shoot, is it clear how you can report abuse? You have no idea who to tell. And you're constantly told about the models who are O.K. with this behavior and how successful they are. So you're pressured to be O.K. with it.

Some harassers in fashion have defended themselves by saying that the lines are blurred when you're shooting a sexy photo. Honestly, fashion is not any different from any industry. When I come on set, I'm very professional. Everyone around me is very professional. Not even stylists touch my body without my consent. They ask me before they do.

Nobody has a right over my body just because they view me as sexy or a sex icon. That doesn't mean they're allowed to ever touch my body. I'm not thinking of any man while I'm on a shoot. The reason I'm there and the reason I'm feeling sexy is because I'm empowering myself. This is my body and my workplace. I am just doing my job. □

Upton: "Nobody has a right over my body just because they view me as sexy."



Our troops deserve better than Trump's idea for a flashy parade

By James Stavridis

WHEN I SHOWED UP AT THE NAVAL ACADEMY, THE first thing they did after shaving my head was teach me to march. Over the next four years as a midshipman, I marched in countless parades, generally a couple every week. Like every other midshipman to pass through the gates of Annapolis, I hated it. Parades take a lot of work to rehearse, don't do anything for morale, and they are expensive in terms of both time and preparation.

Every time there was a parade scheduled, the entire brigade of midshipmen literally prayed to the rain gods to send a downpour and thus cancel the parade. And those were for relatively simple parades of 4,000 midshipmen who were already living within a five-minute march of the parade field—no missiles, tanks, trucks or jet aircraft being towed around. I thought after I was commissioned that I had left serious marching behind, and I was glad to do so.

But now we have a President who evidently wants a military parade “like the one in France”—meaning their Bastille Day celebrations. I am very respectful of French culture and the French military, but the idea of a big, showy, expensive parade reminds me less of our French allies and more of the old Soviet Union's “Who has the biggest missile?” extravaganzas—or the truly creepy North Korean jitterbug-marching-style galas, with the even creepier “young leader,” Kim Jong Un, urging on his nation of sycophants in wildly over-the-top applause, with a clap-hard-or-die feel.

NOW LET ME BE HONEST: the Navy is no doubt the service that is least attuned to the idea of marching. And I am all for doing things that honor our troops, especially those who have fought so bravely in Iraq, Afghanistan and the Horn of Africa. But I would respectfully submit that ordering a spectacle down Pennsylvania Avenue is not the best option. The last time we did a big parade like this was several decades ago, and it cost around \$10 million. Some estimates have the cost of a big one today topping \$20 million, which would include moving tanks, missiles, jets, helicopters and military bands to Washington.

Secretary of Defense Jim Mattis has correctly stopped handing out “challenge coins” from his office—symbolic tokens that officers in our armed forces give to troops. As he told me, they don't contribute to readiness or combat capability, so why waste the money? That is the Jim Mattis I know, and I'd say he's got it right. I'd recommend that we apply the same logic to this kind of parade.

The men and women who have to put in the time planning, rehearsing, creating a security plan (a parade

would be an extraordinarily juicy target for the Islamic State or al-Qaeda), setting up the stands, cleaning up, taking down the stands and getting all their gear back home would, frankly, not be having a lot of fun. This would no doubt fall on a holiday weekend (Memorial Day, Fourth of July or Veterans Day), so there goes their hoped-for and much-deserved weekend break.

Would they enjoy walking down Pennsylvania Avenue and hearing the applause? I guess. Would they enjoy a nice weekend off at the lake, among their friends and families, even more? That's my bet. We know that we have the best-funded, most war-experienced, highest-morale military in the world. That is not a threat or a boast; it is a fact. We don't need a puffy parade to show the world we can fight. Believe me, the world knows that already.

I KNOW THIS isn't an either-or situation, but I'd prefer to see our Department of Defense, which is so well led by Jim Mattis, focus on planning for war, pushing Veterans Affairs to improve, funding military families with good medical and child-care benefits and honoring our fallen with ceremonies as they are laid to rest. Those are the best ways we can honor them.

On a smaller scale, local parades make a lot more sense—they connect to communities and help in recruiting. Or, here's an idea: instead of a big parade, how about a cookout honoring the troops? With rib-eye steaks, barbecue chicken, ribs and cold beer, and civilians buying, cooking and cleaning up afterward? Or just hearing them continue to say, with sincerity, “Thank you for your service,” upon meeting active-duty troops and veterans? Let's leave the missiles in the silos where they belong and be quietly confident in the lethality, professionalism and integrity of our military—no parade necessary.

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

HOLD THE TROMBONES



After the Gulf War, then President George H.W. Bush spent \$12 million—almost double that adjusted for today—on a military parade.



Military officials have been critical. Retired general Michael Hayden tweeted, “I used to watch them in Bulgaria,” while analyst and veteran Mark Hertling said “most military hate parades, most think this [is] a really dumb idea.”



Nation

TRUMP'S DEEP BENCH

*By confirming judges in record numbers, the President
is changing America for a generation*

BY TESSA BERENSON

A

A FEW DAYS AFTER DONALD TRUMP WAS ELECTED President in November 2016, Senate Republican leader Mitch McConnell placed a call to incoming White House counsel Don McGahn. McConnell knew Trump had a chance to change the ideological makeup of the federal court system in a way not seen since the Reagan era, but only if McConnell and McGahn could get him to tighten up a disorderly political operation, and fast. “I said, Don, we’ve got an opportunity here to have a huge long-term impact on the country,” McConnell recalls, sitting in a cushioned chair in his Capitol office one day last month. He made McGahn a promise to move qualified judges through the Senate confirmation process as quickly as the White House could send them.

The conversation launched what may prove to be the most important legacy of the Trump presidency. Amid the dramatic infighting, global feuds and impulsive tweets that marked the President’s first year, Trump, McConnell and a group of ambitious conservative lawyers set in motion an enormous effort to reshape the federal judiciary. Trump’s team helped get a record-breaking 12 appeals-court judges confirmed during his first year, four times as many as President Obama did in the same time frame. Trump has nominated roughly 80 federal judges, 24 of whom have already been confirmed by the Republican-led Senate. And he’s just getting started: Trump still has 139 open seats on the bench to fill, a number that has only grown since he became President. “We’re filling up the courts with really talented people who understand and read the Constitution for what it says,” Trump tells TIME. “It’s already having a tremendous impact. These appointments are going to be one of the most important things, if not the most important thing, we do.”

The judges Trump picked are on the whole smart, experienced and conservative. The American Bar Association evaluated 60 of them and rated 56 as qualified or well-qualified. They are mostly white and male, and several have spurred controversy with their comments about hot political and social debates. On the bench, their views will shape a sweeping array of issues. Conservative judges tend to be sympathetic to claims about gun rights, religious freedom and free speech. During his time on the 10th Circuit, for example, new Supreme Court Justice Neil Gorsuch ruled on a landmark case involving the craft-store chain Hobby Lobby, finding that it had a right not to provide birth-control coverage to employees for religious reasons. At the same time, the judges Trump’s team favors tend to be skeptical about abortion rights and workplace and environmental protections. Shortly after Trump nominee Amy Coney Barrett was confirmed to the Seventh Circuit Court of Appeals in October, she joined a decision refusing to rehear a workplace racial-segregation case.

THE ROAD TO CONFIRMATION

Even with the Trump Administration’s speedy process, it can take months to get a federal judge confirmed. Here’s the path to the bench:

1 ALLIES FLOAT NAMES

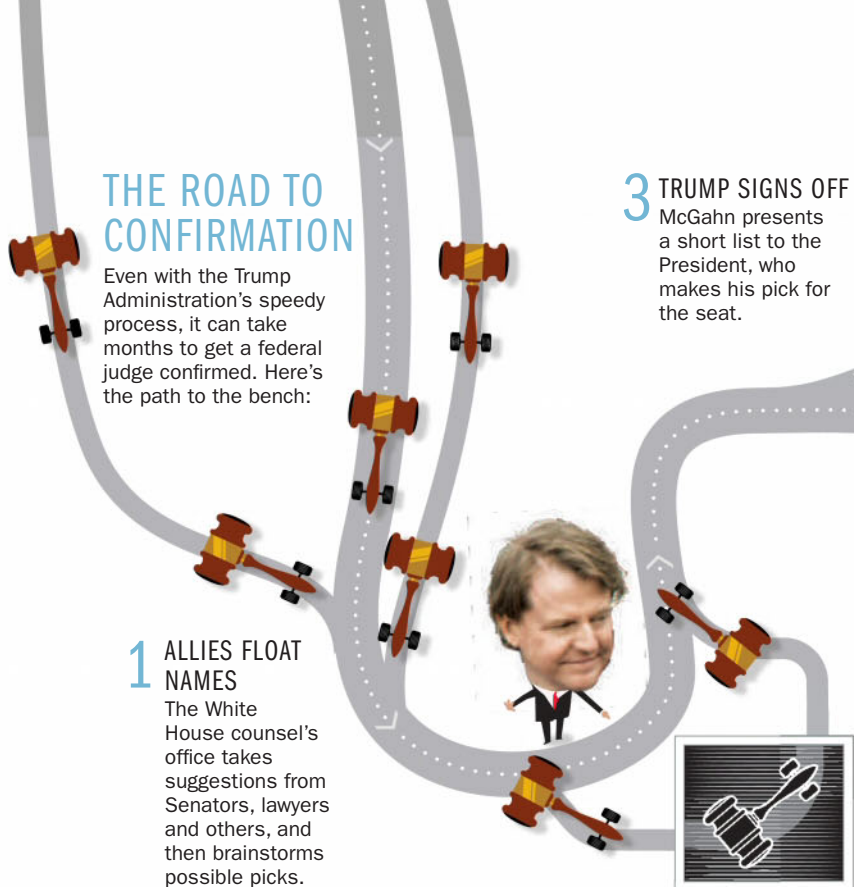
The White House counsel’s office takes suggestions from Senators, lawyers and others, and then brainstorm possible picks.

2 LAWYERS VET CANDIDATES

White House counsel Don McGahn and others vet the judges, hold rounds of interviews and consider FBI background checks.

3 TRUMP SIGNS OFF

McGahn presents a short list to the President, who makes his pick for the seat.

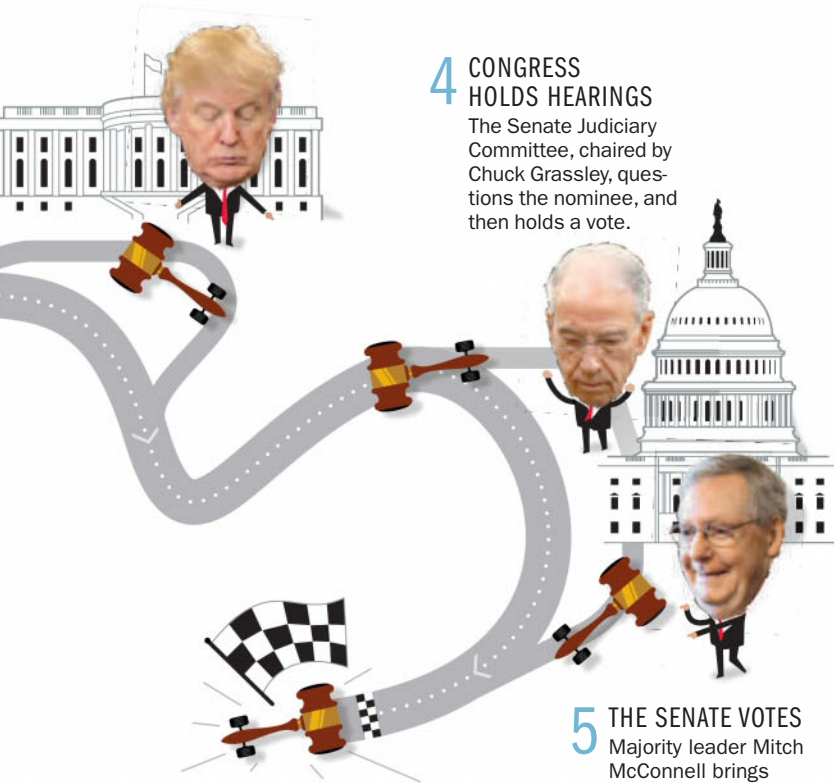


‘THESE APPOINTMENTS ARE GOING TO BE ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT THINGS, IF NOT THE MOST IMPORTANT THING, WE DO.’

—PRESIDENT TRUMP

Since the vast majority of cases never make it to the Supreme Court, these life-tenured judges will be the final authority on some of the most controversial issues in American life. Most of those confirmed so far have taken seats formerly held by Republican-appointed jurists, so the balance on major circuits hasn’t yet shifted drastically. But it will. Filling the bench is a project whose impact will accrete slowly, with one decision at a time by judges who hold their jobs for decades. “They will way outlast most of us,” says Senator Richard Blumenthal of Connecticut, a Democrat on the Senate Judiciary Committee.

This plan to change America for generations isn’t happening by chance. Trump’s team has created a streamlined process in the White House and Senate that maximizes the opportunity he’s been handed. They’ve razed congressional customs and carefully nurtured the relationship between the President and conservative legal scholars. In the process, McConnell, McGahn and a constellation of advisers have unclogged the judicial pipeline, pushing nominees onto the courts faster than ever before. The result, McConnell believes, could be Trump’s most consequential bequest. “The tax bill was hugely important, but as soon as the government changes, believe me, they’ll revisit the tax code,” McConnell tells TIME. “The impact that this Administration



4 CONGRESS HOLDS HEARINGS

The Senate Judiciary Committee, chaired by Chuck Grassley, questions the nominee, and then holds a vote.

5 THE SENATE VOTES

Majority leader Mitch McConnell brings committee-approved nominees to the floor for consideration by the full Senate.

6 CONFIRMATION

Democrats and Republicans killed the judicial filibuster over time. Now a simple majority of 51 votes is enough to seat the nominee.

GRAPHIC BY TESSA BERENSON AND LON TWEETEN

could have on the courts is the most long-lasting impact we could have.”

THE FIRST TEST for Trump’s judicial strategy came almost a year before his staff started unpacking boxes in the West Wing. On Feb. 13, 2016, early in Trump’s fight to win the Republican nomination, Supreme Court Justice Antonin Scalia died in his sleep during a hunting trip at a luxury ranch in Texas. That afternoon, Trump campaign aide Stephen Miller, now a White House senior adviser, called an associate of Leonard Leo, executive vice president of the Federalist Society, an influential conservative group. A Republican debate was scheduled for that evening, and Leo says Miller wanted his advice on how to talk about Scalia’s death. “That was the first inkling,” Leo recalls, that Trump—a former pro-choice Democrat whose closest connection to the conservative judicial network was through his sister, Maryanne Trump Barry, who sat on the Third Circuit—could be an ally on the courts.

Trump and Leo built an unlikely alliance that would benefit both the politician and the legal doyen. In March 2016 they hatched a plan to release a list of conservative judges that Trump promised to pick from to replace Scalia. The unusual maneuver, orchestrated by McGahn, helped persuade some

skittish Republicans to vote for Trump, while easing the fears of the party in Congress. The list “comfort[ed] a lot of my members that he might appoint these kind of people,” McConnell says, “given his own background, which was far from, shall I say, ideologically consistent.”

When Trump won in November, winnowing the list kicked into high gear. One week after the election, around the same time as McConnell’s call, Leo gathered with Trump, McGahn and other advisers in the President-elect’s office on the 26th floor of Trump Tower. Leo, direct and bespectacled, began teaching Trump about the subject he’d spent his life following. “I don’t think he necessarily knew how many judges he was going to be able to appoint,” Leo recalls. “One of our jobs was to make it clear to him that this was going to be a pretty massive enterprise.”

Leo shared some of the same concerns as McConnell. In order for Trump to seize the huge opening on the courts, things would have to be different than they were during his slapdash campaign. In transition meetings with Trump, Leo says, he stressed “the importance of maintaining some degree of order.” If there were any topic unlikely to capture the mercurial boss’s attention, it might be granular discussions about conservative judicial prospects.

But Trump’s interest had already been piqued in a classically Trumpian way: he noticed the polls. By the time he was elected President, Trump grasped how beneficial his campaign partnership with conservative court watchers had been. National exit polls showed that 21% of voters said the Supreme Court appointment was “the most important factor” in their decision, and those voters strongly favored Trump. He knew he had to deliver quickly on the Supreme Court. “He made such a big deal out of it,” Republican Senate Judiciary Committee chairman Chuck Grassley says. “He couldn’t have reneged.”

Just over a week after he took the oath of office, Trump nominated Gorsuch, a widely respected conservative from Colorado, to fill Scalia’s seat. Gorsuch would become a crucial test case for the judicial-confirmation strategy that Trump’s team had set up. And it worked. About two months later, with Leo consulting, McGahn running the operation and Senate Republicans ready to carry him over the finish line, Gorsuch was confirmed to the nation’s highest court. In contrast to the turmoil elsewhere in the opening months of the Trump Administration, the process was smooth and effective.

“It’s bizarre to have the Supreme Court nominee be your practice for [judicial nominations], but that was effectively his first shot,” says Carrie Severino, head of the conservative Judicial Crisis Network. Once Gorsuch was confirmed, the legal team’s focus shifted, Severino says, to the next challenge: “Now let’s fill up the lower courts.”

After the Gorsuch win, attention turned to the daunting project of filling the rest of the judicial vacancies. The Trump Administration has been able to confirm some two dozen federal judges in 12 short months for two main reasons. First, McGahn's office runs a tighter ship than past Administrations. McGahn and his staff receive input on names from outside advisers, like local lawyers, governors and state attorneys general. "You want all the information you can get," says a senior Administration official. The Federalist Society or the Office of the Vice President sometimes offers input, and the White House consults with home-state Senators, according to sources with knowledge of the process. On district courts, the Senators hold much more sway: they suggest three names, and the counsel's office generally picks from that short list. But McGahn's office keeps closer control of the process than his predecessors, cutting out other stakeholders within the White House from early decisions, like the legislative affairs office and political affairs shop.

The other key to the effort's success is McConnell, who has been planning for this opportunity for years. The Kentuckian knew there were few big pieces of legislation that Republicans could pass with a slim majority in the Senate. And even those could be undone when the next Democratic Administration swept into power. So while others in his party were focused on winning the 2016 presidential race, McConnell quietly blocked judges from being confirmed under Obama, stockpiling vacancies for whoever would become the 45th President.

The tactic made Democrats furious—especially McConnell's unprecedented decision to deny a hearing to Merrick Garland, Obama's nominee to fill Scalia's seat. McConnell argued that the confirmation window closes in a President's final year. Some two-thirds of Americans disagreed with that view, according to a CNN/ORC poll in March 2016, including a majority of Republicans. But in the long run, McConnell didn't pay a political price for his obstruction. In fact, the strategy only galvanized the conservative base, who knew a Supreme Court seat was on the line.

McConnell then used Gorsuch's nomination to knock down the final procedural hurdle requiring bipartisan consensus on judgeships. In 2013, Democrats—facing opposition engineered by McConnell—changed Senate rules to allow federal judges to be confirmed with a simple majority, taking away the filibuster, which required 60 votes. But they didn't change the rules on Supreme Court nominees. So when Democrats balked at Gorsuch, McConnell convinced Republicans to scrap the judicial filibuster's remaining vestige. "You couldn't get anybody confirmed" without invoking the so-called nuclear option to break the Gorsuch filibuster, he explains. "Only when that was demonstrated was I

TRUMP'S APPELLATE PICKS



AMUL THAPAR

The first judge confirmed after Gorsuch, Thapar is a favorite of McConnell's and now sits on the Sixth Circuit, which covers Tennessee, Kentucky, Michigan and Ohio.



JOAN LARSEN

Confirmed to the Sixth Circuit, Larsen is a former clerk for Justice Antonin Scalia. She served in George W. Bush's Justice Department before joining the Michigan supreme court.



GREGORY KATSAS

Katsas was Trump's White House deputy counsel. He was confirmed in late November to the powerful D.C. Circuit.

able to convince my people to do what we had to do," he says, "because we were very critical of [Democrats] for doing it three years before."

Trump's own participation in the selection process varies based on the court. For the Supreme Court opening, he personally interviewed four candidates, making his final decision after meeting each of them once. For circuit and district judges, the President signs off on the final decision after the interview and vetting process is complete. But Trump and his team are in sync on what they want in a nominee: judges who are originalists and textualists, meaning they interpret laws based on what they say is the original intent of the Constitution's framers and based purely on the text, without considering shifting social values or paying much heed to legislative history. They also want judges who worry about regulations and what they see as the increasing power of unelected bureaucrats, a phenomenon McGahn calls the administrative state.

Some of Trump's picks have a history of inflammatory statements or decisions that might have been disqualifying under the vetting procedures used by previous Republican Administrations, according to Nan Aron, head of the liberal group Alliance for Justice. "The standards are so much lower now," she says. In fact, provocation is part of the point. In one of his rare public appearances—a speech before the Federalist Society in November at Washington's Mayflower Hotel—McGahn joked that his team would work with two lists of potential nominees. The first list contains "mainstream" and "pragmatic folks." The second list, he said, includes judges who are "too hot for prime time ... The kind of people that make some people nervous."

"The first list we're going to throw in the trash," McGahn said to laughter and applause. "The second list, that's the one we're going to put before the U.S. Senate, because I know leader McConnell is going to get it done."

AS PROMISED, McConnell has delivered, successfully confirming even appellate judges with polemical pasts. One judge, Leonard Steven Graszo, was confirmed to the Eighth Circuit in December despite writing in 1996 that the legacy of landmark abortion ruling *Roe v. Wade* is "moral bankruptcy." Barrett, the judge confirmed to the Seventh Circuit, wrote in 1998 that Catholic trial judges should sometimes recuse themselves from capital-punishment cases. John Bush, confirmed to the Sixth Circuit in July, used to blog about politics, spreading conspiracy theories and once comparing abortion to slavery. Liberal groups are working overtime to do their own research and pounce on what they unearth. Alliance for Justice, for example, estimates that its team reviewed 67,680 pages of records as part of its vetting process last year.

The emphasis on speed has produced a few embarrassing setbacks. Toward the end of 2017, the White House withdrew three divisive district judge nominees from consideration. Brett Talley, nominated for a district court in Alabama, came under fire for his lack of trial experience, objectionable blog posts and failure to disclose that he was married to McGahn's chief of staff. Jeff Mateer, nominated for a district court in Texas, had once described transgender children as evidence of "Satan's plan." And Matthew Petersen, nominated to the district court in the District of Columbia, withdrew after he struggled to answer even basic legal questions during questioning from Republican Senator John Kennedy of Louisiana. Hammering these concerns in the hearings, says Blumenthal, is one of the only remaining points of leverage that he and other Democrats have on this issue: "There is at some point a shame level," he says, "that the Administration cannot surmount with some of these nominees."

Democrats have tried to gum up the confirmation process, in some cases refusing to return blue slips, a custom by which both home-state Senators sign off on nominees. They've also called for extra votes to extend debate time between committee hearings and final votes. But in the end, they have few tools to stop Republicans from confirming Trump's nominees, now that the filibuster has been eliminated.

Even though the system benefits Republicans now, conservatives worry that doing away with blue slips and filibusters will inflict long-term damage on the Senate, reducing its power relative to the Executive Branch. "I wish I could tell you, Yes, it can happen in my lifetime," Republican judiciary chairman Grassley says of returning to more bipartisan cooperation on judicial confirmations. "But I'm 84 years old. I don't expect it to happen."

FEDERAL JUDGES are supposed to be above politics. Once they emerge from a bruising confirmation process and don their black robes, the lifetime appointments purportedly protect them from the pressures and partisan transactions that plague the other two branches of government. But that has always been something of a fairy tale. Already during this young presidency, judges from all points on the ideological spectrum have had to wade directly into politically charged issues, ruling on Trump's crackdown on sanctuary cities and iterations of his travel ban. "We have seen extraordinary levels of judicial activism in cases being decided not based on the law, but based on the judge's view of the President," says Severino.

Trump himself has contributed to the increasing public perception of judicial partisanship. During his campaign, he attacked a Mexican-American judge, saying his Hispanic heritage made him "hostile" to Trump's position. In early 2017, he

criticized a "so-called judge" who had halted his travel ban. (That prompted Gorsuch, then still awaiting confirmation to the Supreme Court, to call the President's attacks on the judiciary "disheartening" and "demoralizing.") Trump "is not somebody who cares deeply about a fair and independent justice system," says Daniel Goldberg, legal director at Alliance for Justice.

Reaction to the impact Trump's judges will have often splits along party lines. Nearly 70% of Americans said they had faith in the Judicial Branch in September 2017, according to Gallup, more than either of the other two branches of government. But Democrats are now less trusting of the courts than they were a year ago, while Republican faith in the system surged during Trump's first year, from 48% toward the end of the Obama era to 79% last fall. For Republicans, Trump's judges offer a reassuring check on government overreach and strong support of free speech, gun rights and religious-freedom issues. For Democrats, the judges' focus on original intent and pure text of laws threatens to "turn the clock back," Alliance for Justice's Aron says, on issues such as workplace protections, LGBT rights and environmental regulations.

That's already become a reality for Joseph Morrissey, who last fall lost a case before Kevin Newsom, a Trump-appointed judge on the 11th Circuit. Morrissey and his now husband sued the IRS after they were denied a tax deduction for reproductive expenses when they had a child through in vitro fertilization. The 11th Circuit case was heard in Montgomery, Ala., in August. Morrissey, a law professor at Stetson University, remembers visiting civil rights museums in the city before heading to court. "There was a real dedication to acknowledging the abuses of the past and remedying them," Morrissey says. "I was encouraged by the things I was reading and the things I was seeing at the memorials and the museums, only to have my hopes dashed."

Sitting in the courtroom, Morrissey says he began to feel defeated. A month later he got the news: Newsom ruled that IVF procedures weren't related to Morrissey's "own reproductive function," so he wasn't eligible to claim the deduction. "That's what we need," Morrissey quips during a phone interview conducted from the backseat of a minivan beside his two young kids. "A socially conservative white man in Alabama who is going to really help carry on the legacy of civil rights."

The sarcasm reveals a simple truth about judges' power. Each nomination, each confirmation and each opinion add up to a judicial legacy that will express itself in decades to come. That's the lodestar for those working on judges amid the chaos of the Trump Administration: the higher mission to shape American society beyond any one policy or decision, and beyond any one President. □



DON WILLETT

Now on the Fifth Circuit, Willett is known as the "tweeter laureate" of Texas for his colorful social-media presence.



ALLISON EID

Eid was confirmed to the 10th Circuit, filling the seat vacated by Gorsuch. Her judicial views have been compared to those of her mentor, Justice Clarence Thomas.



DAVID STRAS

Stras, now on the Eighth Circuit, was confirmed in 2018, despite not receiving the customary okay from his home-state Senator.



World

WHEN THE

Capetonians collect water from the Kalk Bay spring on Feb. 1; at some springs, waits can drag on for hours

PHOTOGRAPH BY MIKHAEL SUBOTZKY AND JOHNNY MILLER FOR TIME





TAPS RUN DRY

What it's like to live through an urban water crisis
By Aryn Baker/Cape Town



I KNEW WE WERE IN TROUBLE WHEN I found myself Googling *dry composting toilets*. That was on Feb. 1, just after the mayor's office here in Cape Town announced new water restrictions. We are now limited to using 13 gallons of water per person per day. That's enough for a 90-second shower, a half-gallon of drinking water, a sinkful to hand-wash dishes or laundry, one cooked meal, two hand washings, two teeth brushings and one toilet flush. I figured I could save an extra couple of gallons by forgoing the daily flush in favor of a dry composting toilet. Hippie friends living off the grid in the country do it. How bad could it be?

According to current projections, Cape Town will run out of water in a matter of months. This coastal paradise of 4 million on the southern tip of South Africa is to become the first modern major city in the world to completely run dry. And even though residents aren't responsible, the burden of making sure it doesn't happen rests largely on our ability to cut down on water usage. Dramatically.

Millions of people around the world live without sufficient access to water. But Cape Town is no developing-world urban quagmire. It is a prosperous metropolis, a well-managed global tourist destination responsible for 9.9% of South Africa's GDP, full of multimillion-dollar beachfront properties, art museums and two of the world's top 50 restaurants. Cape Town running out of water is like San Diego going dry. Which, if you factor in the looming threat of climate change, may not be that far off. California's five-year drought, which ended in 2016, had state officials scrambling to enact their own water restrictions. At one point, NASA warned that the state had less than a year's supply in its reservoirs. As with the California dry spell, climatologists at the University of Cape Town say man-made global warming is a likely factor in the continued drought and that we, like many other cities around the globe, are facing a drier future with increasingly unpredictable rains. What is happening to us in Cape Town might not be an outlier. It could happen to you too.

THE CAPE TOWN CRISIS stems from a combination of poor planning, three years of drought and spectacularly bad crisis management. The city's outdated



People queue to buy water at a grocery store in Milnerton, a suburb of Cape Town, on Feb. 3



6.6

gallons

Daily ration that Capetonians will be given after the taps are turned off

water infrastructure has long struggled to keep up with the burgeoning population. As dam levels began to decline amid the first two years of drought, the default response by city leadership was a series of vague exhortations to be “water aware.” The water-saving appeals became more urgent in the past year. The rest of us prayed for rain.

It was only in September that Capetonians were given a limit of just over 23 gallons of water per day per person. By then the reservoirs were at a third of their capacity. But less than half of city residents met that goal—the tragedy of the commons, in action. As a result, with reservoirs down to the last dregs of accessible water, the 13-gallon limit we are asked to meet is less than the minimum U.N. daily recommendation for domestic water needs.

An even grimmer scenario now looms: Day Zero, when the government will turn off the taps for most homes and businesses in the city to conserve the very last supplies. Hospitals and other vital institutions in the city center will still get water, according to officials, but the majority of residents will have to line up at communal water points to collect their daily allotment of 6.6 gallons—about half our current, meager recommended limit—under the gaze of armed guards.

This dystopian scenario is no bluff. As of Feb. 5, Day Zero was predicted to fall on May 11, according to an analysis of current usage patterns and dam levels. Although a decline in agricultural use has shifted the date forward since the beginning of the year, there has been no significant reduction in urban consumption, according to the mayor’s office. Day Zero could just as easily be moved closer if city residents don’t continue to conserve. The looming shutdown has prompted chaos, with a run not only on bottled water but also on water tanks and jerricans. Once lush city parks and golf courses have withered, and public restrooms now urge visitors to flush only when absolutely necessary. High-end cafés use paper cups and plates to cut down on dishwashing. Many fear for their livelihoods; analysts estimate that the water crisis will cost some 300,000 jobs in agriculture and tens of thousands more in the service, hospitality and food sectors. If employees



Aubrey Witbooi carries water from the Kalk Bay spring on Feb. 1; Obaidullah Cader, Muneerah Traut and Saajidah Cader collect water at the Newlands

have to take time off from work to wait in line for water, it's going to have an even greater impact on the economy.

Which brings me back to the composting toilet. Come Day Zero, there is no way I am going to flush more than a third of my precious daily water supply down a conventional toilet. Suddenly, spending \$250 on a high-tech composting commode seems like a good deal. Until I read the fine print. The contents of the toilet must be allowed to mature for several months on a patch of well-drained soil, several meters away from human habitation. I live in a row house with a concrete terrace the size of two ping-pong tables. Now I'm picturing myself hauling buckets of human waste to the nearest farm.

City officials are urging families to stock up with an emergency supply of drinking water. It's a wise suggestion, except for the fact that bottled water, especially the five-liter (1.1 gallon) version, is impossible to find. They sell out the minute they arrive in stores. My husband

now drops off our daughter at school a half hour early so he can hit the supermarkets as soon as they open, hoping to score whatever water may have been delivered overnight. So far, he has had no luck. Even the shopkeepers don't know when the next shipment will come in.

The next best option is to go to one of the city's natural springs to fill up a jerrican, in an experience that feels like an early rehearsal for what is to come on Day Zero. At the Newlands spring, on the premises of a beer-bottling plant, lines undulate for hours down the street. People arrive long before the 5 a.m. opening, and brewery security guards police the crowd to ensure order. Official plans for Day Zero state that there will be approximately 200 water-collection points around the city, but many questions remain. A quick, back-of-the-envelope calculation suggests that even if only a quarter of residents show up to get their family allotment, each site will see some 5,000 water seekers a day. How will

they transport the water? Where will they park? Even if each site has 50 to 200 taps each, as the city promises, the lines are likely to take hours.

Lucky are the neighbors with pools—a built-in bathing option and emergency supply of water combined. For the past six months, it has been illegal to top up pools with municipal water; instead, most people buy well water trucked in by the tanker, sourced from outlying areas unaffected by the restrictions. The newly lucrative business sits in a legal gray area. Technically, it's illegal to sell water from wells or rivers, but you can charge for labor and transport. In listings on the local version of Craigslist, aquapreneurs are offering to “deliver” water for 4.5 rand, or 36¢, a gallon. If you want drinkable water, it will cost more.

Despite lacking a pool, I figured stockpiling that kind of water would help mitigate any Day Zero chaos. All I needed was a big tank. I wasn't the only person with this idea. All the hardware stores told me



spring on Feb. 3; Mwai Halala, with her son, Jaden, holds water from Newlands on Feb. 3; John Levi, a water porter at Newlands, on Feb. 3

there was a six-to-eight-week waiting list for new stock, but a friend knew someone who knew a guy who could get one quicker, if I was willing to pay. I pulled into a sand-dusted parking lot only to be shown a pair of plastic barrels that didn't look as if they would hold a cup of tea, let alone hundreds of gallons. He was charging \$350 each, nearly twice the market price of even the best-quality tanks.

I kicked myself for my lack of foresight. Four months ago, I could have filled up an affordable top-of-the-line tank with the spring rainwater gushing from my roof. Instead I let myself be swayed by soothing assurances from Mayor Patricia de Lille that she would “not allow a well-run city to run out of water.” Like the rest of us, the mayor was in denial. It is no small consolation that she has since been removed from her water-crisis-management duties and is facing a vote of no confidence in city government.

But the crisis didn't start with one deluded mayor. It goes back decades.

“City will run out of water ‘in 17 Years,’” declared a *Cape Times* headline as long ago as April 26, 1990. The story, quoting a Water Research Commission presentation in the country's Parliament, went on to recommend a sewage-recycling plant to augment supplies from the city's six rainfall-fed dams. Instead, Cape Town embarked on a laudable conservation effort, but it wasn't enough.

Now the city is playing catch-up, installing expensive desalinization plants to purify seawater and scrambling to tap the underground aquifer. Only two of the seven water-augmentation projects are expected to be up and running by the time Day Zero kicks in. As with my back-ordered water tank, a little extra planning would have gone a long way toward staving off a crisis of unprecedented proportions.

CAPE TOWN MAY BE the first major city to run out of water, but it won't be the last. In Mexico City, residents are

already experiencing cuts to their piped water supply, and officials in Melbourne (another city affected by drought) warn that the city is little more than a decade away from exhausting current water supplies. At one point, before a sustained deluge in 2015, the city of São Paulo was down to less than 20 days' worth of water, according to the World Resources Institute, a Washington-based research organization that tracks the use of natural resources around the world. It reports that more than a billion people currently live in water-scarce regions and as many as 3.5 billion could experience water scarcity by 2025 if steps are not taken to conserve water now.

As the clock to Day Zero counts down, Capetonians are joining together to share water-saving tips online, and on air through call-in radio shows. Don't boil food; bake it or cook it on the grill. Use paper plates, and wrap your serving platters in plastic wrap that you can peel off after each meal. Order pizza and



*On Feb. 3,
Theewaterskloof
Dam—one of five that
supply Cape Town—
was at 13% of capacity*



eat straight from the box. Shower over a plastic tub and then use the water to wash clothes. Keep a bowl in every sink to collect water from washing hands. Use that and laundry water to flush toilets.

The tips, and the attention, have begun to work. On Jan. 30, Mmusi Maimane, head of the Democratic Alliance, a political party that has controlled Cape Town for a decade, announced that residents' efforts were having an impact. But, he warned, unless consumption fell by at least 25%, Day Zero was still inevitable. The problem is, short of turning off neighborhood taps, there are few effective ways to cut off profligate users. Instead they are fined, in amounts that range from \$41 to \$248—which in some wealthy neighborhoods is hardly a deterrent.

The urge to flee before the taps are switched off is strong. Some of our friends are planning to temporarily repatriate themselves to homes in the U.S. and Europe. Businesses are thinking of relocating to Johannesburg, a two-hour flight away, for the duration. I, for one, plan to stick it out. After all, for the large number of South Africans who don't live in the mainly white and affluent suburbs that still define Cape Town 25 years after the end of apartheid, Day Zero is just another day in the life. Many township residents already line up at a central tap to get their daily water supply. In a nod to this reality—and out of fear of massive social unrest—city officials have said that townships and informal settlements will be exempted from Day Zero plans to shut off water mains.

I'm sure I can handle 6.6 gallons of water a day. I'm already down to two showers a week, and my daughter would go down to once a month if I let her. I've sacrificed a corner of my terrace to make way for my back-ordered water tanks. Once they arrive, I will start praying for rain and interspersing my bucket baths with baby-wipe top-ups. I'll be cooking my meals on the grill and eating with my fingers. The toilets? Until now, I've been using my shower water to flush. But once the taps run dry, we won't even have that. So I reopen my Internet browser and again type *dry composting toilets*. With any luck, they won't have sold out. □

Movies

SHIBER POWERED

BLACK PANTHER MARKS

A MAJOR MILESTONE FOR CULTURE

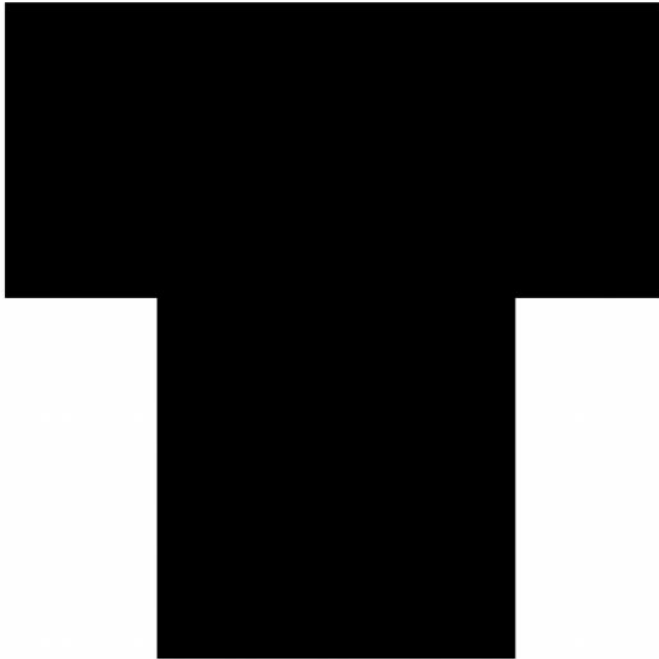
BY JAMIL SMITH



PHOTOGRAPH BY WILLIAMS + HIRAKAWA FOR TIME



Actor Chadwick Boseman, left, and director Ryan Coogler, photographed in Los Angeles on Jan. 31. "True power exists when you can't tell where it comes from," says Boseman



THE FIRST MOVIE I REMEMBER SEEING IN A THEATER HAD A black hero. Lando Calrissian, played by Billy Dee Williams, didn't have any superpowers, but he ran his own city. That movie, the 1980 *Star Wars* sequel *The Empire Strikes Back*, introduced Calrissian as a complicated human being who still did the right thing. That's one reason I grew up knowing I could be the same.

If you are reading this and you are white, seeing people who look like you in mass media probably isn't something you think about often. Every day, the culture reflects not only you but nearly infinite versions of you—executives, poets, garbage collectors, soldiers, nurses and so on. The world shows you that your possibilities are boundless. Now, after a brief respite, you again have a President.

Those of us who are not white have considerably more trouble not only finding representation of ourselves in mass media and other arenas of public life, but also finding representation that indicates that our humanity is multifaceted. Relating to characters onscreen is necessary not merely for us to feel seen and understood, but also for others who need to see and understand us. When it doesn't happen, we are all the poorer for it.

This is one of the many reasons *Black Panther* is significant.



Williams as Lando Calrissian in *The Empire Strikes Back*



What seems like just another entry in an endless parade of superhero movies is actually something much bigger. It hasn't even hit theaters yet and its cultural footprint is already enormous. It's a movie about what it means to be black in both America and Africa—and, more broadly, in the world. Rather than dodge complicated themes about race and identity, the film grapples head-on with the issues affecting modern-day black life. It is also incredibly entertaining, filled with timely comedy, sharply choreographed action and gorgeously lit people of all colors. "You have superhero films that are gritty dramas or action comedies," director Ryan Coogler tells TIME. But this movie, he says, tackles another important genre: "Superhero films that deal with issues of being of African descent."

Black Panther is the 18th movie in the Marvel Cinematic Universe, a franchise that has made \$13.5 billion at the global box office over the past 10 years. (Marvel is owned by Disney.) It may be the first megabudget movie—not just about superheroes, but about anyone—to have an African-American director and a predominantly black cast. Hollywood has



Black Panther features tense action sequences:

"There was a point during the movie when my brother turned to me and said, 'What's gonna happen?'" Boseman says. *"I looked at him like, 'Just watch the movie!'"*

never produced a blockbuster this splendidly black.

The movie, out Feb. 16, comes as the entertainment industry is wrestling with its toxic treatment of women and persons of color. This rapidly expanding reckoning—one that reflects the importance of representation in our culture—is long overdue. *Black Panther* is poised to prove to Hollywood that African-American narratives have the power to generate profits from all audiences. And, more important, that making movies about black lives is part of showing that they matter.

THE INVITATION TO the *Black Panther* premiere read "Royal attire requested." Yet no one showed up to the Dolby Theatre on Hollywood Boulevard on Jan. 29 looking like an extra from a British costume

drama. On display instead were crowns of a different sort—ascending head wraps made of various African fabrics. Oscar winner Lupita Nyong'o wore her natural hair tightly wrapped above a resplendent bejeweled purple gown. Men, including star Chadwick Boseman and Coogler, wore Afrocentric patterns and clothing, dashikis and boubous. Co-star Daniel Kaluuya, an Oscar nominee for his star turn in *Get Out*, arrived wearing a kanzu, the formal tunic of his Ugandan ancestry.

After the Obama era, perhaps none of this should feel groundbreaking. But it does. In the midst of a regressive cultural and political moment fueled in part by the white-nativist movement, the very existence of *Black Panther* feels like resistance. Its themes challenge institutional bias, its characters

take unsubtle digs at oppressors, and its narrative includes prismatic perspectives on black life and tradition. The fact that *Black Panther* is excellent only helps.

Back when the film was announced, in 2014, nobody knew that it would be released into the fraught climate of President Trump's America—where a thriving black future seems more difficult to see. Trump's reaction to the Charlottesville chaos last summer equated those protesting racism with violent neo-Nazis defending a statue honoring a Confederate general. Immigrants from Mexico, Central America and predominantly Muslim countries are some of the President's most frequent scapegoats. So what does it mean to see this film, a vision of unmitigated black excellence, in a moment when the Commander in Chief reportedly, in a recent meeting, dismissed the 54 nations of Africa as “sh-thole countries”?

As is typical of the climate we're in, *Black Panther* is already running into its share of trolls—including a Facebook group that sought, unsuccessfully, to flood the review aggregator Rotten Tomatoes with negative ratings of the film. That *Black Panther* signifies a threat to some is unsurprising. A fictional African King with the technological war power to destroy you—or, worse, the wealth to buy your land—may not please someone who just wants to consume the latest Marvel chapter without deeper political consideration. *Black Panther* is emblematic of the most productive responses to bigotry: rather than

▼▼▼
‘We been
saying
freedom
for six years
and we ain’t
got nothin’.
What we
gonna start
sayin’ now is
Black Power!’

STOKELY
CARMICHAEL,
speaking in the
summer of 1966

going for hearts and minds of racists, it celebrates what those who choose to prohibit equal representation and rights are ignoring, willfully or not. They are missing out on the full possibility of the world and the very America they seek to make “great.” They cannot stop this representation of it. When considering the folks who preemptively hate *Black Panther* and seek to stop it from influencing American culture, I echo the response that the movie's hero T'Challa is known to give when warned of those who seek to invade his home country: Let them try.

THE HISTORY OF BLACK POWER and the movement that bore its name can be traced back to the summer of 1966. The activist Stokely Carmichael was searching for something more than mere liberty. To him, integration in a white-dominated America meant assimilation by default. About one year after the assassination of Malcolm X and the Watts riots in Los Angeles, Carmichael took over the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee from John Lewis. Carmichael decided to move the organization away from a philosophy of pacifism and escalate the group's militancy to emphasize armed self-defense, black business ownership and community control.

In June of that year, James Meredith, an activist who four years earlier had become the first black person admitted to Ole Miss, started the March Against Fear, a long walk of protest from Memphis to Mississippi, alone. On the second day of the march, he was wounded by a gunman. Carmichael and tens of thousands of others continued in Meredith's absence. Carmichael, who was arrested halfway through the march, was incensed upon his release. “The only way we gonna stop them white men from whuppin’ us is to take over,” he declared before a passionate crowd on June 16. “We been saying freedom for six years and we ain’t got nothin’. What we gonna start sayin’ now is Black Power!”

Black Panther was born in the civil rights era, and he reflected the politics of that time. The month after Carmichael's Black Power declaration, the character debuted in Marvel Comics' *Fantastic Four* No. 52. Supernatural strength and agility were his main features, but a genius intellect was his best attribute. “Black Panther” wasn't an alter ego; it was the formal title for T'Challa, King of Wakanda, a fictional African nation that, thanks to its exclusive hold on the sound-absorbent metal vibranium, had become the most technologically advanced nation in the world.

It was a vision of black grandeur and, indeed, power in a trying time, when more than 41% of African Americans were at or below the poverty line and comprised nearly a third of the nation's poor.



Black Panther, who was first introduced in *Fantastic Four*, recently got a comic-book reboot courtesy of writers including Ta-Nehisi Coates and Roxane Gay

BLACK POWER



Carmichael, pictured here at a 1966 rally in Berkeley, Calif., took a stand against white oppression and helped popularize the term black power

Much like the iconic Lieutenant Uhura character, played by Nichelle Nichols, that debuted in *Star Trek* in September 1966, Black Panther was an expression of Afrofuturism—an ethos that fuses African mythologies, technology and science fiction and serves to rebuke conventional depictions of (or, worse, efforts to bring about) a future bereft of black people. His white creators, Stan Lee and Jack Kirby, did not consciously conjure a fantasy-world response to Carmichael’s call, but the image still held power. T’Challa was not only strong and educated; he was also royalty. He didn’t have to take over. He was already in charge.

“You might say that this African nation is fantasy,” says Boseman, who portrays T’Challa in the movie. “But to have the opportunity to pull from real ideas, real places and real African concepts, and put it inside of this idea of Wakanda—that’s a great opportunity to develop a sense of what that identity is, especially when you’re disconnected from it.”

The character emerged at a time when the civil rights movement rightfully began to increase its demands of an America that had promised so much and delivered so little to its black population. Fifty-two years after the introduction of T’Challa, those demands have yet to be fully answered. According

to the Federal Reserve, the typical African-American family had a median net worth of \$17,600 in 2016. In contrast, white households had a median net worth of \$171,000. The revolutionary thing about *Black Panther* is that it envisions a world not devoid of racism but one in which black people have the wealth, technology and military might to level the playing field—a scenario applicable not only to the predominantly white landscape of Hollywood but, more important, to the world at large.

The Black Panther Party, the revolutionary organization founded in Oakland, Calif., a few months after T’Challa’s debut, was depicted in the media as a threatening and radical group with goals that differed dramatically from the more pacifist vision of civil rights leaders like Martin Luther King Jr. and Lewis. Marvel even briefly changed the character’s name to Black Leopard because of the inevitable association with the Panthers, but soon reverted. For some viewers, “Black Panther” may have undeservedly sinister connotations, but the 2018 film reclaims the symbol to be celebrated by all as an avatar for change.

The urgency for change is partly what Carmichael was trying to express in the summer of ’66, and the powers that be needed to listen. It’s still true in 2018.



MOVIEGOERS FIRST ENCOUNTERED Boseman's T'Challa in Marvel's 2016 ensemble hit *Captain America: Civil War*, and he instantly cut a striking figure in his sleek vibranium suit. As *Black Panther* opens, with T'Challa grieving the death of his father and coming to grips with his sudden ascension to the Wakandan throne, it's clear that our hero's royal upbringing has kept him sheltered from the realities of how systemic racism has touched just about every black life across the globe.

The comic, especially in its most recent incarnations as rendered by the writers Ta-Nehisi Coates and Roxane Gay, has worked to expunge Eurocentric misconceptions of Africa—and the film's imagery and thematic material follow suit. "People often ask, 'What is Black Panther? What is his power?' And they have a misconception that he only has power through his suit," says Boseman. "The character is existing with power inside power."

Coogler says that *Black Panther*, like his previous films—including the police-brutality drama *Fruitvale Station* and his innovative *Rocky* sequel *Creed*—explores issues of identity. "That's something I've always struggled with as a person," says the director. "Like the first time that I found out I was black." He's talking less about an epidermal self-awareness than about learning how white society views his black skin. "Not just identity, but names. 'Who are you?' is a question that comes up a lot in this film. T'Challa knows exactly who he is. The antagonist in this film has many names."

That villain comes in the form of Erik "Killmonger" Stevens, a former black-ops soldier with Wakandan ties who seeks to both outwit and beat down T'Challa for the crown. As played by a scene-stealing Michael B. Jordan, Killmonger's motivations illuminate



On set, Coogler works with star Gurira. "Black Panther is about a guy who works with his family and is responsible for a whole country," he says. "That responsibility doesn't turn off."

thorny questions about how black people worldwide should best use their power.

In the movie, Killmonger is, like Coogler, a native of Oakland. By exploring the disparate experiences of Africans and African Americans, Coogler shines a bright light on the psychic scars of slavery's legacy and how black Americans endure the real-life consequences of it in the present day. Killmonger's perspective is rendered in full; his rage over how he

and other black people across the world have been disenfranchised and disempowered is justifiable.

Coogler, who co-wrote the screenplay with Joe Robert Cole, also includes another important antagonist from the comics: the dastardly and bigoted Ulysses Klaue (Andy Serkis).

“What I love about this experience is that it could have been the idea of black exploitation: he’s gonna fight Klaue, he’s gonna go after the white man and that’s it—that’s the enemy,” Boseman says. He recognizes that some fans will take issue with a black male villain fighting black protagonists. Killmonger fights not only T’Challa, but also warrior women like the spy Nakia (Nyong’o), Okoye (Danai Gurira) and the rest of the Dora Milaje, T’Challa’s all-female royal guards. Killmonger and Shuri (Letitia Wright), T’Challa’s quippy tech-genius sister, also face off.

T’Challa and Killmonger are mirror images, separated only by the accident of where they were born. “What they don’t realize,” Boseman says, “is that the greatest conflict you will ever face will be the conflict with yourself.”

Both T’Challa and Killmonger had to be compelling in order for the movie to succeed. “Obviously, the superhero is who puts you in the seat,” Coogler says. “That’s who you want to see come out on top. But I’ll be damned if the villains ain’t cool too. They have to be able to stand up to the hero, and have you saying, ‘Man, I don’t know if the hero’s going to make it out of this.’”

“If you don’t have that,” Boseman says, “you don’t have a movie.”

THIS IS NOT just a movie about a black superhero; it’s very much a black movie. It carries a weight that neither Thor nor Captain America could lift: serving a black audience that has long gone underrepresented. For so long, films that depict a reality where whiteness isn’t the default have been ghettoized, marketed largely to audiences of color as niche entertainment, instead of as part of the mainstream. Think of Tyler Perry’s *Madea* movies, Malcolm D. Lee’s surprise 1999 hit *The Best Man* or the *Barbershop* franchise that launched in 2002. But over the past year, the success of films including *Get Out* and *Girls Trip* have done even bigger business at the box office, led to commercial acclaim and minted new stars like Kaluuya and Tiffany Haddish. Those two hits have only bolstered an argument that has persisted since well before Spike Lee made his debut: black films with black themes and black stars can and should be marketed like any other. No one talks about Woody Allen and Wes Anderson movies as “white movies” to be marketed only to that audience.

▼▼▼
‘I will buy out a theatre in an underserved community [in Mississippi] to ensure that all our brown children can see themselves as a superhero.’

OCTAVIA SPENCER,
on Instagram

Black Panther marks the biggest move yet in this wave: it’s both a black film and the newest entrant in the most bankable movie franchise in history. For a wary and risk-averse film business, led largely by white film executives who have been historically predisposed to greenlight projects featuring characters who look like them, *Black Panther* will offer proof that a depiction of a reality of something other than whiteness can make a ton of money.

The film’s positive reception—as of Feb. 6, the day initial reviews surfaced, it had a 100% rating on Rotten Tomatoes—bodes well for its commercial prospects. *Variety* predicted that it could threaten the Presidents’ Day weekend record of \$152 million, set in 2016 by *Deadpool*.

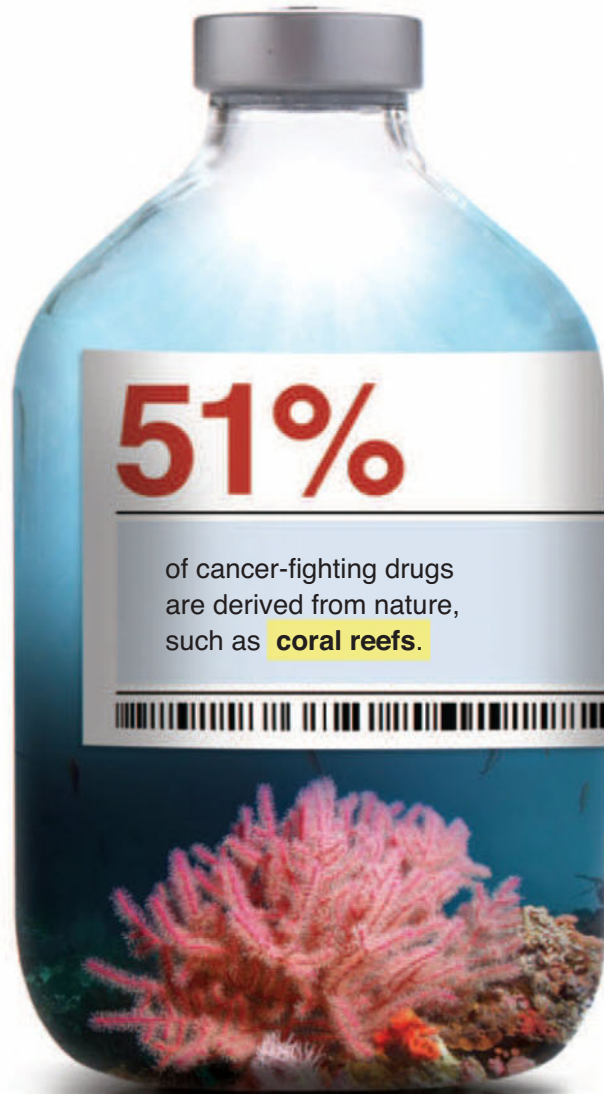
Some of the film’s early success can be credited to Nate Moore, an African-American executive producer in Marvel’s film division who has been vocal about the importance of including black characters in the Marvel universe. But beyond Wakanda, the questions of power and responsibility, it seems, are not only applicable to the characters in *Black Panther*. Once this film blows the doors off, as expected, Hollywood must do more to reckon with that issue than merely greenlight more black stories. It also needs more Nate Moores.

“I know people [in the entertainment industry] are going to see this and aspire to it,” Boseman says. “But this is also having people inside spaces—gatekeeper positions, people who can open doors and take that idea. How can this be done? How can we be represented in a way that is aspirational?”

Because *Black Panther* marks such an unprecedented moment that excitement for the film feels almost kinetic. *Black Panther* parties are being organized, pre- and post-film soirées for fans new and old. A video of young Atlanta students dancing in their classroom once they learned they were going to see the film together went viral in early February. Oscar winner Octavia Spencer announced on her Instagram account that she’ll be in Mississippi when *Black Panther* opens and that she plans to buy out a theater “in an underserved community there to ensure that all our brown children can see themselves as a superhero.”

Many civil rights pioneers and other trailblazing forebears have received lavish cinematic treatments, in films including *Malcolm X*, *Selma* and *Hidden Figures*. Jackie Robinson even portrayed himself onscreen. Fictional celluloid champions have included Virgil Tibbs, John Shaft and Foxy Brown. Lando, too. But *Black Panther* matters more, because he is our best chance for people of every color to see a black hero. That is its own kind of power. □

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Time Off

'THE WOMAN'S FILM, BROADLY SPEAKING, HAS ALWAYS BEEN A POTENTIAL TARGET OF DERISION.' —NEXT PAGE



Here's looking at you: Dakota Johnson, fearless and funny, in *Fifty Shades Freed*

MOVIES

This Valentine's Day, laugh with *Fifty Shades*—not at it

By Stephanie Zacharek

WOMEN'S DESIRE IS A MYSTERIOUS, feral thing, and if you think you've got it figured out because you've looked at a few Georgia O'Keeffe paintings, you're not even close. No wonder most men, and plenty of women, would rather not scrutinize either the success or the content of E.L. James' expansively steamy *Fifty Shades* novels and the movies adapted from them, *Fifty Shades of Grey* (2015), *Fifty Shades Darker* (2017) and, now, *Fifty Shades Freed*. It's easier to laugh at these deliriously popular books and movies than to tangle with what's actually in them and with what they might mean to an audience. Plus, in the midst of our roaring cultural conversation about sexual harassment and abuse in the workplace, the elusive intricacy of what makes women tick

is probably the last subject any of us wants to talk about. Which is exactly why now is the time to talk about it.

In *Fifty Shades Freed*, Dakota Johnson returns as Anastasia Steele, the once prim but now sexually adventurous heroine introduced in *Fifty Shades of Grey*. In that movie, she was a recent college grad drawn into a somewhat unorthodox sexual relationship with 27-year-old Seattle billionaire Christian Grey (Jamie Dornan). Her initiation into Grey's brand of BDSM kink happens in his "playroom," a red-velvet-festooned bachelor lair kitted out with an array of restraints and dainty, rather harmless-looking riding crops. Although it doesn't happen overnight, Anastasia progresses from timid but mildly curious mouseburger to self-assured,

table-turning tigress. Meanwhile, the dizzying head game played out between these tentative lovers is familiar to just about any straight woman or gay man who has dated in the past, say, 2,000 years: Grey, though drawn to Anastasia, is emotionally generous one minute and stonily withholding the next. Her love can tame him, heal him! She's special that way.

That dynamic plays out over and over—and over—in the *Fifty Shades* trilogy. But the pattern is part of the fun: as Prince said, there's joy in repetition. Anastasia breaks with Grey at the end of the first film, when his sadistic impulses unreel a bit too far for her taste, and the two reconcile in *Fifty Shades Darker*. By this point, their relationship has become a more manageable pie chart of plain-vanilla and debauched sex, and they've gotten much better at talking. Most significant, Anastasia has learned to communicate exactly what she wants: *I like it like this, not like that. Back off. Come closer.*

Fifty Shades Freed opens with a comically exaggerated *Modern Bride* fantasy of a luxurious but intimate wedding followed by a no-expenses-spared honeymoon. (In one of the movie's swooniest howlers, the newlyweds canoodle as the Eiffel Tower looms approvingly in the background.) Anastasia has married into money, but she's also set on building her career as a book editor. And Grey's need for control is weakness, not strength, and Anastasia knows it. Tellingly, her going-away outfit, a sleek eggshell pantsuit, is more impressive than her ho-hum-pretty wedding dress. A wedding dress is a goal, an end in itself, but a pantsuit is the future: it's what a woman wears when she's going places.

In *Fifty Shades Freed* there is also, of course, sex that is alternately steamy and ridiculous, and sometimes both at once. This movie is ridiculous—luxuriously so. That doesn't make it bad, no matter what professional critics—most of whom savaged the two earlier films—are likely to tell you. *Fifty Shades Freed* is what many people would call, in an attempt to prove that they know a good movie when they see one, a “guilty pleasure,” though I rail against that idea in principle. Nothing that brings pleasure ought

Love will find a way

Memorable moments in the history of Hollywood-movie eroticism



TARZAN AND HIS MATE
(1934)

This all-ages adventure, made in precode Hollywood, hints at conjugal bliss between Johnny Weissmuller's Tarzan and Maureen O'Sullivan's Jane.



NOW, VOYAGER
(1942)

Even though thwarted lovers Bette Davis and Paul Henreid never make it into bed, their twin lit cigarettes will blaze throughout eternity.



A PLACE IN THE SUN
(1951)

Elizabeth Taylor and Montgomery Clift share one of the most intimate and carnal kisses ever filmed, shot in close-up by director George Stevens.

to be reflexively entwined with guilt. Besides, movies that critics—or even our friends—loftily decree “bad” are actually often “good” in ways that have little to do with aesthetics or even taste. Maybe there's clunky dialogue or thin characters or sex that would be silly if you tried to re-enact it in real life. But occasionally a movie just has the juice, some indefinable energy that even a perfectly crafted film can lack.

THERE'S ANOTHER DYNAMIC at work here. When movies are targeted toward women, as the *Fifty Shades* ones are, the chance that they will be dismissed increases exponentially, especially when so many critics happen to be men. That's nothing new, and professional critics aren't the only ones who scoff. Plenty of regular guys know a “chick flick” when they see one, though it goes without saying that some men love them, secretly or otherwise.

And women aren't obligated to like them or respond to them, though it may be easier for us to read between the lines of their popularity. There's a long, proud tradition of Hollywood films known, not always respectfully, as “women's pictures,” movies with female protagonists who suffer hardships, make sacrifices and sometimes find unexpected joy and freedom. The women's-picture umbrella is wide, covering 1940s triumph-over-adversity melodramas like *Mildred Pierce*; vivid, tear-soaked 1950s spectacles like *Written on the Wind*; and 1980s terminal-illness weepers like *Terms of Endearment*. Serious film scholars recognize, rightly, the artistry of some of these pictures. But the woman's film, broadly speaking, has always been a potential target of derision. “What more damning comment on the relations between men and women in America than the very notion of something called the ‘woman's film’?” the film critic and historian Molly Haskell wrote in her classic 1974 study *From Reverence to Rape: The Treatment of Women in the Movies*. “And what more telling sign of critical and sexual priorities than the low caste it has among the highbrows? Held at arm's length it is, indeed, the untouchable of film genres.”

The *Fifty Shades* movies, replete with their fantasies of self-actualization and

sexual experimentation and discovery, at least partially fit the profile of traditional women's pictures. But they're also a revival of another genre that has all but disappeared from Hollywood: the erotic thriller. The 1980s and '90s were a golden age of movie nudity: think of the feverish carnality of Kathleen Turner in *Body Heat*, or Sharon Stone's sultry brashness in *Basic Instinct*. Male nudity is more common in mainstream movies today than it was then. But female nudity has become practically extinct in Hollywood films: we still see it, but for the most part only in independent and foreign films. In the '80s and '90s you could argue, and many did, that movie nudity was generally gratuitous and degrading to women. But the little female nudity we see in mainstream films today is worse: it's reserved largely for broad, jokey comedies like the 2016 blockbuster *Deadpool*, in which Morena Baccarin nearly stops the show in a sex-scene montage spanning nearly every holiday of the calendar.

That scene is too good-natured to offend any sensible person, but you'd hardly call it erotic. Even more depressingly, it's symbolic of an increasingly puerile approach to movie sex. Today's sex scenes, and the semi-nudity they feature, are rarely languorous or sensual. Instead, sex is generally presented as something best rushed through, Energizer Bunny-style, to limit the risk of embarrassment or remorse, or even the possibility of actual pleasure. In real life and in the best movies, a woman's naked body has an innate elegance; it looks less dignified when it's obscured by lingerie or a low-cut top, as we so often see in movies today. Those little bits of cloth speak less of modesty than of a perfunctory impulse to cover up, as if a woman's nakedness could be nothing but an invitation to shame.

MOVIE NUILITY IS so rare today that it makes what Dakota Johnson does, in all three *Fifty Shades* movies, that much more remarkable. She takes Anastasia seriously while retaining a sense of humor about herself. In a scene where Grey's tongue follows the length of Anastasia's leg, from ankle to wherever, Anastasia gives in to the moment, her neck arched in glorious silhouette.



**THE THOMAS CROWN AFFAIR
(1968)**

A fully clothed Faye Dunaway and Steve McQueen undress each other, figuratively speaking, across a chessboard. Checkmate.



**BODY HEAT
(1981)**

In this update of the 1944 noir *Double Indemnity*, femme fatale Kathleen Turner ensnares William Hurt with her husky voice and other attributes.



**THE LAST SEDUCTION
(1994)**

Linda Fiorentino plays the baddest of bad gals. Peter Berg and Bill Pullman trail along, caught in the ever-lengthening tendrils of her web.

Johnson has a sense of Anastasia not just as part of a pristinely arranged tableau but also as a sensualist, with all the attendant nerve endings and complex emotions that that implies. Johnson is fearless about stripping bare, but her bold flirtiness is inextricable from her dignity: the sauciness of her mother Melanie Griffith and the marble-cool poise of her grandmother, Hitchcock blonde Tippi Hedren, merge in her.

The stolidly handsome Dornan, on the other hand, is something of a dud. But even that works in the movies' favor: all eyes are on Anastasia's pleasure. *Fifty Shades Freed*'s director, James Foley, and cinematographer, John Schwartzman, keep the movie's sex scenes elegant and sleek, but not airless. This is a case where a woman's nudity is presented for women's delectation, not men's. In her most euphoric moments, Anastasia looks how, if we're lucky, some of us at times feel.

In that sense, Anastasia shares her youth and beauty even with those who are no longer young or youthfully beautiful. The current sexual-harassment firestorm has brought with it a clash between younger women and older feminists. Younger women perceive the message of older women as "You should have to put up with the same agonies we did." Older women just want the younger ones to recognize that sexual impulses aren't fully tamable beasts: civilization depends on our control of them, but they will always present dangers that demand our caution and awareness.

The signals between young and old have been crossed. We can only hope good faith will win out. But maybe Anastasia stands for everything second-wave feminists want for their young counterparts, at least in bed. Those women availed themselves of the sexual freedom afforded by the pill but they still had to deal with crappy, chauvinistic guys, not to mention episodes of uncomfortable, often regrettable sex in muddy fields and VW buses. Anastasia, meanwhile, knows when to say no, and when to walk away. She has set the terms of her own sexual bliss, as victor not victim. And, gorgeously, she can laugh about it all. Why shouldn't it be our pleasure to laugh along with her? □



Life in the present: Greg (Tim Robbins) and his wife Audrey (Holly Hunter) in *Here and Now*

TELEVISION

Family drama *Here and Now* made for surreal times

By Daniel D'Addario

THE FUNERAL-HOME SOAP OPERA *SIX FEET UNDER* HELPED form the backbone of HBO's early-2000s industry-shaking success, and yet it remains far less influential than contemporaries like *The Sopranos*, *The Wire* and *Sex and the City*. The show's oddball approach was sui generis in its day, and had remained so—until now.

Six Feet Under creator Alan Ball returns to HBO with the new drama *Here and Now*. It's a family saga whose gnarled emotions give way to a surprising metaphysical twist, and it advances everything that was so special about *Six Feet Under*. On that show, a family's work with the dead filled them with anxiety about how best to live their lives; on this one, a family organized around liberal and libertine philosophy confront the limits of their intellectual framework. *Here and Now* is aptly titled, as it depicts an identity crisis that's nothing new—but that feels especially pressing as our own reality grows encroachingly more hostile. At his 60th birthday party, philosophy professor Greg (Tim Robbins), whose teachings urge living in the “now,” takes a moment to reflect on years of activism: “We lost, folks.”

This would be a drag were the characters not so compellingly drawn. Greg and still-avid idealist Audrey (Holly Hunter) began their family with a worthy goal: to make children born around the world feel at home in Portland, Ore. Their family includes three adopted children, from Vietnam, Liberia and Colombia, as well as a biological daughter. But their ambitious mission has run up against multiple snags. For one thing, all four kids—three of them adults now—feel ill at ease in the world. Their strongest connection with their parents seems to be a familiar shade of

angst. Raymond Lee, Jerrika Hinton, Daniel Zovatto and Sosie Bacon do a masterful job of building testy sibling chemistry, and Zovatto sells his character Ramon's plight: metaphysical visions that are either psychosis or a sign from the universe promising some kind of breakthrough. Given the unbelievable upheaval in the world, why not believe in a higher meaning here?

Somehow this large volume of plot—add in the complicated family life of Ramon's psychiatrist—doesn't overwhelm. The show's intensity of focus gives each character his or her space, though the early going is a bit crowded. The execution is more groundbreaking than the concept. *This Is Us*, as mainstream a hit as television gets in 2018, follows the story of a transracial adoption into adulthood. But *This Is Us'* insights are smothered in sentiment; *Here and Now* is franker, more unyielding and, as a result, more suited to a tough historical moment.

This show's willingness to go for baroque, adding on oddity with gusto, recalls the best and—in moments—worst of *Six Feet Under*. That show's narrative excesses, applied without real purpose, eventually fell flat. But *Here and Now* sets forth more confidently. It uses its specificities and surrealities not to shock but to tell a story about wishing things were better, and coming to terms—or not—with the fact that this reality is the only one we've got. It's a show for our time, and one whose sense of dislocation and whose well-wrought family dynamic may outlast it.



^
AFTER BLOOD

In addition to *Six Feet Under*, Alan Ball created HBO's vampire drama *True Blood* (starring Anna Paquin, above). Both shows had a taste for the surrealism that *Here and Now* deploys when showing us the mind of Ramon (Daniel Zovatto).

HERE AND NOW airs Sundays at 9 p.m. E.T. on HBO

QUICK TALK

Rose Byrne

The actor, 38, stars in *Peter Rabbit*, a new take on Beatrix Potter's beloved children's stories, in theaters on Feb. 9.

What made you want to do a family film? Having children of my own was a big motivation to do something accessible to them. I was a little girl who had rabbits, who read Beatrix Potter, who had a ceramic rabbit collection. There's a big part of my childhood that I associate with Beatrix Potter, so I was tickled to be a part of it.

Did you have to channel your inner child? Absolutely. I think in acting in general you do—but in particular, when you're talking to a guy in a blue Lycra outfit while he's holding a rake with a fake rabbit head on it, you've really got to suspend your disbelief.

Tell me about the filmmaking collective you co-founded to promote female-driven storytelling. It's a bunch of girlfriends of mine from Australia. It's definitely a learning curve, particularly with the development phase and script work. That's what we're trying to do, and it takes time. But we're dedicated and passionate about it.

Many female actors seem to be turning to producing to create better roles. Part of the motivation [was] to create roles for myself—for the girls, for everybody—because there is a lack of that. It's very obvious to everyone. But isn't it incredible now? It's really been such a game changer, everything that's been revealed and exposed. I think things are changing, finally. I hope they are.

How did you feel when your movie *I Love You, Daddy* was shelved following allegations of sexual misconduct against its director, Louis CK? I stand in solidarity with the women who came forward. It's disappointing the film probably won't ever be seen. But it's great that they came forward. It must be incredibly scary to do.

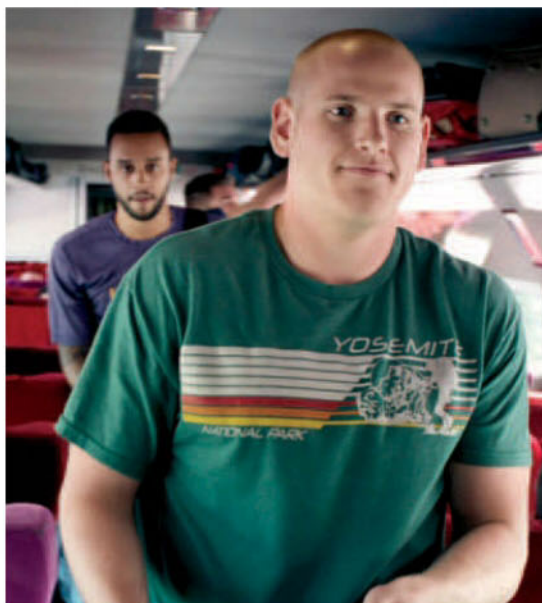
—ELIZA BERMAN



ON MY RADAR

THE FLORIDA PROJECT

"It just crept up on you. It was beautiful to look at and really moving. Willem Dafoe is so fantastic. That was my favorite film of the year."



Real-life hero Spencer Stone plays himself

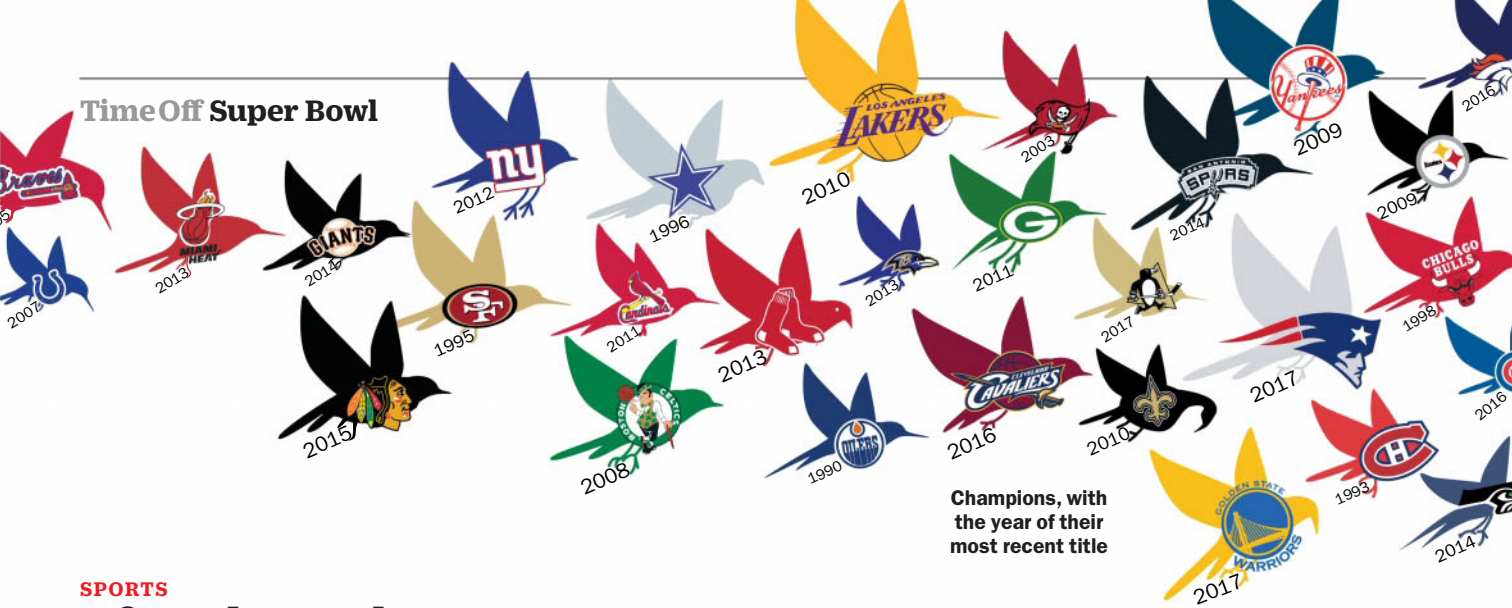
MOVIES

Three nonactors make a movie worth watching

THE STARS OF *THE 15:17 TO PARIS*, DIRECTED BY Clint Eastwood, aren't movie stars at all. They aren't even actors. Instead, they're a trio of young men, friends from childhood, who in 2015 foiled an attempted attack on a train from Amsterdam to Paris, subduing and disarming a man who had just opened fire on passengers with an AK-47. In the movie's tense climax, Spencer Stone, Alek Skarlatos and Anthony Sadler—then a U.S. Airman, National Guardsman and college student, respectively—re-create the moment in which they leaped to action almost without thinking. It sounded brave enough when we all first heard about it. But it's even more remarkable as Eastwood renders it, and the men—all charmers, with none of the stagy stiffness common to nonactors—bring that moment to life so vividly that its very casualness is a jolt.

That's the best part of the movie. The second best are the scenes in which the three friends, before boarding that train, knock around Europe—they're just regular dudes on vacation, kicking back steins of beer and hoping to meet pretty girls. (With their selfie sticks and well-mannered bonhomie, they're the kind of Americans whom Europeans claim to dislike but secretly love.) The sections detailing the men's childhood in Sacramento, with Judy Greer and Jenna Fischer playing beleaguered moms? Not so exciting. But then, the very averageness of these conscientious, gutsy guys is precisely the point. —STEPHANIE ZACHAREK

Time Off Super Bowl



Champions, with the year of their most recent title

SPORTS

After the Eagles win, these title-starved teams are due next

By Sean Gregory

NOT EVEN THE MOST BLINDLY LOYAL Philadelphia Eagles fan saw this coming. After quarterback Carson Wentz tore his ACL in December, Philadelphia's hopes for its first Super Bowl title rested on backup Nick Foles, a once-promising starter whose career seemed destined for journeyman status. Now, after Philadelphia's thrilling 41-33 win over Tom Brady and the New England Patriots on Feb. 4, Foles is Super Bowl MVP, and the City of Brotherly Love has its first Vince Lombardi Trophy.

For millions of long-suffering fans across the country, Philly's win offers hope that their team's drought will be next to end. After all, there's a depressing number of teams that have never won a modern championship. The St. Louis Blues, for example, entered the NHL in 1967, but they've never sipped from the Stanley Cup. The Rochester Royals won the NBA title in 1951 before moving through Cincinnati and Kansas City (with a few years of partial residence in Omaha) and then settling as the Sacramento Kings in 1985—without another win. The Montreal Expos cum Washington Nationals have played in just a single league championship series since 1969, never mind a World Series. The Cleveland Browns, meanwhile, just finished this season 0-16, which doesn't bode well for their odds of following Philly's lead to their first title.

But hope springs eternal, and these teams in each top league, at right, have the best reasons to believe they are next.



Pro teams that are likeliest to end their title droughts

The Eagles' drought lasted 57 years



NFL
Minnesota Vikings

DROUGHT
57 YEARS

CLOSEST CALL
Lost four Super Bowls in the '70s, but the best shot to win it all came after finishing 15-1 in '98, when Atlanta upset the Vikes in the NFC championship.
WHY THEY'RE NEXT
After finishing this season 13-3 and falling one game short of the Super Bowl, the Vikings and their stout defense are battle-tested and built to win.



NBA
Los Angeles Clippers

DROUGHT
48 YEARS

CLOSEST CALL
Held a 3-1 lead over the Houston Rockets in the '15 conference semifinals before blowing the series.
WHY THEY'RE NEXT
The team began a necessary roster overhaul by trading star Blake Griffin to the Detroit Pistons on Jan. 29—if that is managed well, the Clippers could rise as the dominant Golden State Warriors start to age.



MLB
Cleveland Indians

DROUGHT
70 YEARS

CLOSEST CALL
Scored three runs in the eighth inning to tie Game 7 of the '16 World Series, before falling to the Cubs in extra innings.
WHY THEY'RE NEXT
Won 102 regular-season games in 2017, but fell to the New York Yankees in the playoffs. Manager Terry Francona is an expert at ending hexes: in '04, he led the Boston Red Sox to their first title since 1918.



NHL
Toronto Maple Leafs

DROUGHT
51 YEARS

CLOSEST CALL
Lost Game 7 of the 1993 conference finals, 5-4, to Wayne Gretzky and the Los Angeles Kings.
WHY THEY'RE NEXT
Young center Auston Matthews, the top overall draft pick in 2016, is a franchise-making player. Plus, a Canadian team, which hasn't won the Stanley Cup since '93, is due.

GRAPHIC BY LON TWEETEN



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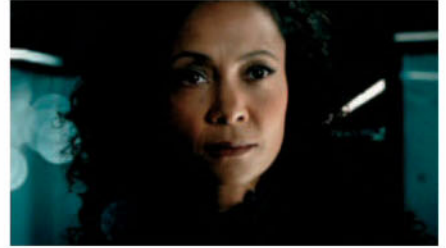


'He was my father. I loved him.'

KELSEY GRAMMER, actor, paying tribute to the late actor John Mahoney, who played his father for 11 seasons on *Frasier*



The Council of Fashion Designers of America announced that **models will have private changing areas** at New York Fashion Week for the first time ever.



HBO announced a premiere date of April 22 for the second season of its sci-fi thriller *Westworld*, teasing a violent android rebellion in a trailer that aired during the Super Bowl.



Competitive eater Molly Schuyler inhaled a record **501 chicken wings in 30 minutes** to win Philadelphia's annual Wing Bowl.

PyeongChang, South Korea, **broke the record for most condoms ever distributed in Winter Olympics history**, with 110,000 of the contraceptives provided to 2,925 athletes, or about 37 per person.



TIME'S WEEKLY TAKE ON

WHAT POPPED IN CULTURE



Monster anthology sequel *The Cloverfield Paradox* **garnered a critic approval rating of just 19%** on review aggregate site Rotten Tomatoes following its surprise Netflix debut after the Super Bowl.

PepsiCo chief executive Indra Nooyi came under fire for saying Doritos was in the process of developing **female-friendly chips that don't crunch as loudly**. The company later refuted this claim.



The San Diego Girl Scout council is **looking into the case of a local Girl Scout**, who went viral after being photographed selling cookies outside a marijuana dispensary, to find out if she violated any rules.



A *Dancing With the Stars: Live!* **tour bus was involved in a 19-vehicle crash in Iowa**, caused by inclement weather, that killed one woman and injured four others.



Music legend Paul Simon announced that **his upcoming tour, *Homeward Bound*, will be his last**, as he signs off with a July 15 concert in London.

GRAMMER: MODEL; SCHUYLER, OLYMPICS, COOKIES, DORITOS, DWTS, SIMON: GETTY IMAGES; WESTWORLD: HBO; CLOVERFIELD: NETFLIX

Rose McGowan The former actor, who publicly accused Harvey Weinstein of rape (which he denies), talks about her new book, her activism and the cult of Hollywood

When did you start writing *Brave*?

Three years ago, but in a lot of ways I'd been formulating it my whole life.

How did the cascade of accusations against the person you call "the Monster" change what happened with the book? I am one of the people that started that process, behind the scenes, a lot earlier. While I was writing this book, I was being harassed by his lawyers. So Shaunna Thomas from the [women's rights] group UltraViolet put me in touch with the media. NBC and the New York Times were in a race for the story, and to make sure it didn't die, I played both sides. I've been working for 20 years at this.

You remind me of an Old Testament prophet, crying that the system is corrupt, everyone is complicit, and everyone needs to repent. Do you see yourself that way? Well, society has had an awful lot of thoughts for me, and I have some thoughts for them. What if I have information that they don't? The media has been in training—and often paid—to slime me and to slander me for years. And now seeing them try to treat me with respect, it's like glitching. It's hard for them, after 20 years of painting me as crazy, or one of VH1's 50 baddest girls in Hollywood. It was this artificial image. I would be in Afghanistan, I would come home, and there would be news that I had gotten in a strip-off with Christina Aguilera.

Were you in Afghanistan seeing your U.S. Air Force pilot brother? No, I was visiting troops. I was there at the height of the war, and I felt safer in Afghanistan than I ever did in Hollywood. Ever.

I was fascinated by your story about the 1998 MTV Video Music Awards, where you went in that famous dress to make fun of ogling. It was a middle finger, yes. It was a first appearance after the sexual assault. And I was like, Is this what you motherf-ckers want to see? Let's go.

And yet it was completely— Misinterpreted. Global slut-shaming.

Is there a way that women can own their sexuality without being sexualized? Yes. Own it. Tell them, "Stop it." I got so tired of how I speak. I was like, "I can't do this individually anymore. I can't. I have to live my life." I have an album coming out, the other half of the book. And [the documentary] *Citizen Rose* is part of the plan. They all started three years ago, very much on purpose. I was like, O.K., I've got three years that I want to devote to this cause. Then I want my life back.

You say that you belonged to two cults... Three, if you talk about society.

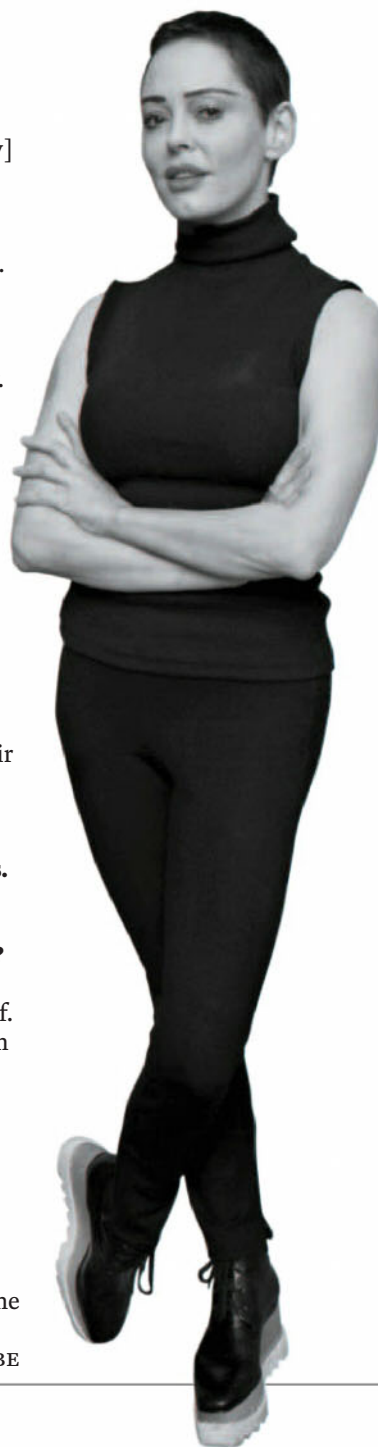
You were born into the notorious Children of God, but why do you call Hollywood a cult? It's the same language. The messaging was the same—all the messages, really, that are handed down to women. The Man is telling you what he wants. It's a propaganda machine. All the Trump voters, they're right about Hollywood. Their impression of it is completely spot-on. Ironically, they can't see what's happening in their life, and their own cult.

You were put in rehabilitation after trying LSD once. You were homeless. You had an eating disorder. Do you worry that you inherited some of your dad's mental-health problems? Of course. The only thing that runs in my family is the urge to destroy oneself. It's a very strange thing when your own brain wants you to die.

People are beginning to say that #MeToo has gone too far, that bad dates are now being called assaults. Bad dates might be assaults. How does that person judging from the outside know what's inside of a girl? We have collective Stockholm syndrome. And the amount of female misogynists is epic.

—BELINDA LUSCOMBE

I felt safer in Afghanistan than I ever did in Hollywood. Ever.'



TRAE PATTON—NBO/UNIVERSAL/GETTY IMAGES

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