

TIME

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Senate minority leader
Chuck Schumer

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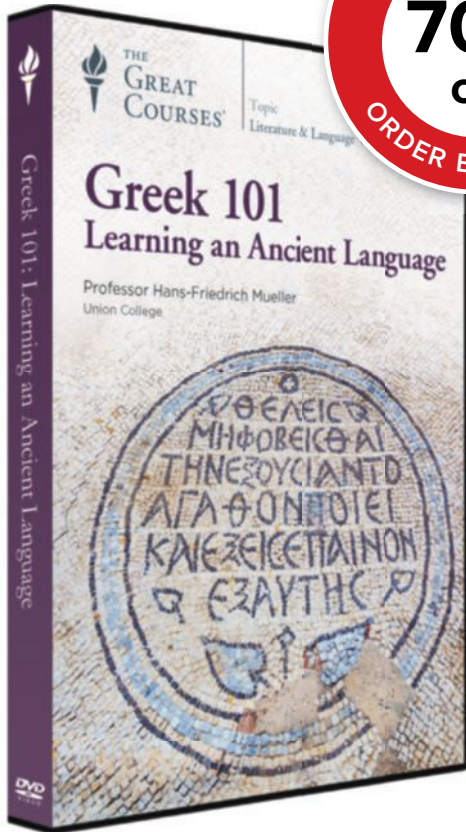
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▲ Syrian refugee Taimaa Abazli, 24, in Greece with her two children—Helni, 4 months, and Wael, 3 years—after being moved from Karamanlis camp to a hotel in Giannitsa on Jan. 12

Photograph by Lynsey Addario—Verbatim for TIME

ON THE COVER: Photograph by Platon for TIME

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What you said about ...

STEVE BANNON Readers praised the reporting that went into David Von Drehle's Feb. 13 cover story about the influence of President Donald Trump's adviser. They were conflicted, however, about the cover, featuring a dramatic portrait by Nadav Kander. The image and wording were "trying to get people to think" of Bannon in a certain way, wrote L. Hoyt Miller of Cortez, Fla. Meanwhile, several professional architects objected to a teaser for the story in the table of contents, which called Bannon "the architect." One of them, Danielle Fontaine of Greenville, S.C., said the characterization "saddened" her, even though the article was "otherwise enlightening."

'Very helpful for understanding what is going on in this country.'

DUANE C. ANDERSON, Sioux Falls, S.D.

THE RESISTANCE Karl Vick's Feb. 6 cover story about the Women's March and what's next for the resistance movement struck a chord with readers. On Twitter, reader @jmf1atham praised TIME for not focusing on "doom and gloom," and Linda Law

of Clemson, S.C.—who wished the piece spent more time focusing on smaller demonstrations in towns where "it takes more courage" to march—wrote that the movement has "only just begun." Linda Mills Woolsey of Rushford, N.Y., lauded TIME's attempt to show the complexity of the opposition. But she was critical of how we framed the protest as "brought to you" by Trump. The phrase, she wrote, signals "that if anything is happening in a culture it must be, ultimately, somehow the result of male being and action."

'The new resistance activists will become our future mayors, governors, Prime Ministers, members of Congress.'

PAUL FEINER, Greenburgh, N.Y.

A TEAM THAT MAKES MOVIE MAGIC

In this week's issue, TIME's film critic Stephanie Zacharek explores the work of Martin Scorsese (left) and



Rodrigo Prieto and the special storytelling alchemy that exists between directors and cinematographers. The report is presented by Rolex, a sponsor of the 89th Academy Awards, which will be held on Feb. 26 in Los Angeles. Read more about how directors and cinematographers work together on page 38, and visit time.com/entertainment for TIME's complete Oscars coverage.

BONUS
TIME
HEALTH

Subscribe to TIME's free health newsletter and get a **weekly email full of news and advice to keep you well.** For more, visit time.com/email

RULE BRITANNIA TIME reporters dug up 65 revealing numbers about Queen Elizabeth II to mark her 65 years on the throne (see page 13). View the full list at time.com/Queen65

17,420	12	27	237
Number of pieces of mail the Queen received during the week of her 90th birthday	Number of U.S. Presidents the Queen has met with over the years	million Rough number of people who watched the Queen's coronation on TV in 1952	Number of roads in the U.K. named after the Queen



Want to know more? A LIFE special edition on the Queen, released for her most recent birthday, is available on Amazon.



SETTING THE RECORD STRAIGHT ▶ In the Brief (Jan. 30), we misstated the percentage of income that a self-employed worker can set aside in a SEP-IRA. The maximum contribution rate is effectively 20%. In For the Record (Feb. 13), we mischaracterized the record Serena Williams set by winning the Australian Open. Her 23 Grand Slam singles titles are the most in the Open era; Margaret Court holds the all-time record, with 24. In the same issue, the map accompanying "A Tale of Two Pipelines" mistakenly omitted Michigan's Upper Peninsula.

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‘THEY CAN SHUT ME UP, BUT THEY CAN’T CHANGE THE TRUTH.’

ELIZABETH WARREN, U.S. Senator, criticizing her Republican colleagues for using a Senate rule to prevent her from speaking during a debate about Attorney General nominee Jeff Sessions

200,000,000

Estimated number of years since the “lost” supercontinent Gondwana was formed; scientists recently discovered its remains under the Indian Ocean island of Mauritius, according to a study published in the journal *Nature Communications*

‘You think our country’s so innocent?’

PRESIDENT TRUMP, pushing back against Fox News host Bill O’Reilly for calling Russian President Vladimir Putin “a killer” during a Feb. 4 interview

‘If there were 30 slippers, then we knew that 15 people had been executed.’

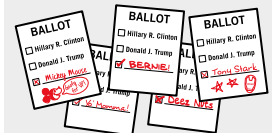
Apple
The tech company was set to release its much anticipated Beats X wireless earbuds



Oranges
The U.S. citrus industry is struggling after its trees were struck by an incurable disease

‘I don’t think anyone feels bad for the Patriots.’

TOM BRADY, quarterback, defending the New England franchise’s dominance after winning the Super Bowl on Feb. 5; it’s Brady’s fifth title as a starting quarterback, an NFL record



161,000

Number of Florida voters who wrote in names like Mickey Mouse on their ballots, according to a recent report from state officials; Trump’s margin of victory over Clinton was nearly 113,000 votes



\$3 billion

Valuation that Snap Inc., the company behind Snapchat, is seeking in an initial public offering

‘Immigrants, family members and businesses deserve much better.’

GOOGLE, TWITTER, UBER AND 94 OTHER MAJOR TECH COMPANIES, in an unprecedented joint amicus brief filed with the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit in San Francisco, arguing against the Trump Administration’s Executive Order temporarily prohibiting refugees and citizens of seven predominantly Muslim nations from entering the U.S.

The Brief

'BRADY COULD LEAVE THE GAME HAVING SCALED THE PINNACLE OF IT. HE WON'T' —PAGE 13



In a speech to the military, Ayatullah Khamenei said President Trump had shown America's "real face"

WORLD

The U.S. and Iran's new relationship status: enemies, with benefits

By Karl Vick

FOR NEARLY FOUR DECADES, IRAN has been a reliable villain in U.S. foreign policy, black hat firmly in place even as President Obama made engaging the mullahs over their nuclear program the centerpiece of his diplomatic legacy. So when Tehran test-fired a ballistic missile on Jan. 29 in defiance of a U.N. resolution, the newly minted Trump Administration knew what to do. National Security chief Michael Flynn informed Iran it was "on notice." The Treasury Department followed with a fresh round of sanctions. Iran ratcheted up its military drills, and what do you know? It was just like old times.

President Trump's Manichaean, us-against-them view of the world fits snug as a Lego with the opposing perspective of Ayatullah Ali Khamenei,

who welcomed the new U.S. President with a clawed swipe. "We thank him, because he made it easier for us to reveal the real face of the United States," Khamenei said on Feb. 7. Trump came back tartly on Twitter (calling Iran "#1 in terror"), a medium where the Supreme Leader has been at home for years; his feed goes out in five languages. The English-language version chirped, "#Trump says be scared of me!" Away from the Twitter-sphere, however, Iran removed a missile from a launchpad the same day.

And yet the most crucial impact the Trump Administration has had on the Islamic Republic so far may be that felt by ordinary Iranians like Zeinab, a 60-year-old mother in Tehran. Trump's Jan. 27 Executive Order barred her from obtaining the visa

she needed to visit her son in Virginia, where he is pursuing a Ph.D. “I was so, so happy, and now I am so, so sad,” she told TIME. “Everyone always said America was the beacon of freedom, but after this I’m not so sure.” Iranians were dismayed to find their country among the seven whose citizens were barred from entering the States. Polls indicate that most Iranians like Americans. As many as a million Iranians call the U.S. home, having moved either to escape the regime or to earn a better living. More than 12,000 are currently in the U.S. on student visas and now find themselves in limbo.

The reality of Iran, in other words, is not black and white. Its missile program—widely viewed by outsiders as a possible delivery system for a nuclear weapon—is popular with ordinary Iranians, who remember having no reply to Saddam Hussein’s missile barrages in the 1980s war with Iraq. Yet that same population is far more liberal than its rulers. This matters, because popular sentiments will inevitably affect the complexion of the government in place nine years hence, when, under the nuclear deal, Iran can begin edging back toward uranium enrichment. And the sense on the streets of Tehran is that Trump’s visa ban drained the reservoir of goodwill accumulated by Obama. The ban also impaired the May re-election prospects of President Hassan Rouhani, who championed engagement with the West.

Nowhere are the complexities of the U.S.-Iran relationship more apparent than in Syria. Trump speaks of coaxing Russia away from its alliance with Iran in that country, where both back the brutal regime of President Bashar Assad. Moscow and Tehran are not normally pals, but their interests overlap in Syria: Russia will literally kill to keep its only Mediterranean naval base there, while for years Assad was Iran’s one and only ally, indispensable for supplying the Hizballah militia Iran created to battle Israel in neighboring Lebanon. So they work in tandem, if not as equals. Russia controls the skies above Syria, while Iran runs the troops on the ground, controlling huge paramilitary and militia forces, and much of the Syrian army, says Charles Lister, a senior fellow at the Middle East Institute. “Iran is always going to be the party that’s in the better position,” he says.

Strange things happen when you venture outside your comfort zone and the real world awaits. Trump says his chief concern in the region is defeating ISIS—but Iran is in the thick of that fight too. In Syria, Iran-backed militias are helping pave the way for an assault on the ISIS capital of Raqqa. And in Iraq, Tehran arms and steers large Shi’ite militias engaging the Sunni extremists. That puts Iran and the U.S. on the same side—a disquieting place to find your most reliable enemy. —*With reporting by KAY ARMIN SERJOIE/TEHRAN*



TICKER

Tornadoes tear through Louisiana

At least three tornadoes struck Louisiana amid severe storms, injuring more than 20 people and leaving about 10,000 homes without electricity. Much of the worst damage was seen in eastern New Orleans, in areas that were heavily flooded by Hurricane Katrina.

Judge sentences rapist to celibacy

An Idaho judge made celibacy until marriage a condition of a 19-year-old’s probation after he pleaded guilty to raping a girl, 14. The fact that Cody Herrera had 34 previous sexual partners was said to be a factor in Judge Randy Stoker’s decision.

Jackson estate fights tax bill

Michael Jackson’s estate began a legal battle with the Internal Revenue Service that could see it pay back taxes and penalty payments of more than \$700 million. The estate says Jackson’s name and likeness were worth just \$2,105 at his death, but the IRS claims the true figure is \$161 million.

New Yorkers erase Nazi symbols

A group of subway riders in New York City came together mid-ride to use hand sanitizer and tissues to scrub away Nazi swastikas and anti-Semitic slurs daubed on a train car’s windows and ads.

BUSINESS

What CEOs think of Trump

Although Silicon Valley has criticized many of the new President’s policies, especially the travel ban, the rest of the business world seems cautiously optimistic. Here, a sampling of statements from recent earnings calls.

—Ryan Teague Beckwith

‘I was impressed. I was meeting with a CEO. It was obvious.’



RANDALL L. STEPHENSON, CEO of AT&T, after meeting with the President

‘A lot of us have built our business on the freer flow of cross-border trade, data and people. If that were to change over time, that would be a problem.’



AJAY BANGA, CEO of MasterCard

‘I’ve been very pleased with the agenda that the Trump Administration has.’



JOHN WATSON, CEO of Chevron

‘We never realized the full benefit from ACA that we expected, so we wouldn’t expect any significant near-term impact if it were to be repealed.’



STEPHEN RUSCKOWSKI, CEO of Quest Diagnostics

‘We expect a bounce back. The preoccupation with the election was hurting sales.’



LEN RIGGIO, CEO of Barnes & Noble



TAKING FLIGHT Children are evacuated on Feb. 3 from the town of Avdiivka, on the front line of renewed clashes between government forces and pro-Russian rebels in eastern Ukraine. Fighting killed at least a dozen people and damaged infrastructure, leaving thousands with no electricity or water for days until they were restored on Feb. 5. The U.N. warned that further fighting could displace more than 800,000 people. *Photograph by Brendan Hoffman—Getty Images*

WORLD

Al-Qaeda is gathering strength as Yemen burns

THE LEADER OF AL-QAEDA'S BRANCH in Yemen called for attacks on the U.S. after a Jan. 29 Special Forces raid in which several civilians were killed, as well as a U.S. Navy SEAL. In an audio message, Qassim al-Rimi, leader of al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP), scorned Donald Trump as the "new fool of the White House." Here, how a powerful enemy has regrouped:

THRIVING IN CHAOS AQAP has benefited from the security vacuum created by Yemen's ongoing civil war. As military forces backed by a Saudi Arabia-led coalition battle the Houthi rebels who seized much of the country in 2014 and 2015, state institutions have collapsed. More than 10,000 people have died, and the country is on the brink of famine.



↑
AQAP leader Qassim al-Rimi, pictured in three separate images on a Yemeni police wanted poster from 2010

SCALING UP AQAP also flourished as the U.S. shifted resources to the fight against ISIS in 2014–15. Now it is again powerful enough to control territory in a weakened Yemen. In the first such offensive in months, the group recently attacked towns in the southern Abyan province. The U.S. raid was reportedly an attempt to dispatch al-Rimi but may instead make him more influential.

THREAT LEVEL Among al-Qaeda's various franchises, AQAP is considered the largest threat to the West, most recently claiming the 2015 attack on the offices of *Charlie Hebdo* in Paris. Now it seems intent on striking Americans in the U.S., with al-Rimi urging followers to "burn the land beneath their feet." Worryingly for the U.S., the botched raid prompted Yemen by Feb. 7 to halt American ground missions—removing its most direct means of taking the fight to the militants.

—JARED MALVIN/ISTANBUL



WHO BLOCKS ONLINE ADS

More people are using ad-blocker software on phones and desktops, according to a new report by PageFair, which helps them evade pop-ups and cuts into publisher revenue. Here's a sample of countries and their shares of ad-blocker users:



Indonesia
58%



Greece
39%



Pakistan
32%



Sweden
28%



U.S.
18%



TICKER

Putin approves “slapping law”

Russian President Vladimir Putin signed a law that partly decriminalizes domestic abuse. Under the new rule, dubbed the “slapping law,” domestic violence resulting in “minor harm” will no longer be punishable by two years in prison but by a fine of up to \$500 or up to 15 days in jail.

Israel makes settlements legal

Israel’s parliament passed a controversial bill intended to retroactively legalize thousands of Jewish settler homes built on land privately owned by Palestinians. The law is expected to be challenged in Israel’s Supreme Court.

Britain’s Speaker nixes Trump speech

John Bercow, the Speaker of the U.K.’s House of Commons, said he would oppose President Trump’s addressing Parliament during his state visit, because of Britain’s opposition “to racism and to sexism” and support for “equality before the law.”

Mob boss sues feds for prison injury

Former Colombo crime boss Thomas “Tommy Shots” Gioeli has sued the federal government for \$10 million over injuries sustained during a game of prison ping-pong in August 2013. The government has rejected any charge of negligence.

THE RISK REPORT

Merkel may be struggling, but don’t count her out

By Ian Bremmer

IS ANGELA MERKEL IN TROUBLE? SHE hopes to win a fourth term as Germany’s Chancellor this fall, but recent polls show her trailing Martin Schulz, candidate for the center-left Social Democratic Party. The news made headlines across Europe because Merkel has been the one European leader in recent years who projected coolheaded, mainly popular leadership through the Continent’s various crises.

Yet she’s on the back foot for now. That’s hardly surprising given everything that’s gone wrong for her since TIME named her Person of the Year in 2015. Then, Merkel’s politically courageous decision to admit more than 1 million migrants, many of them from the Middle East, into Germany over the course of two years won her plaudits across the globe. In Germany, however, the policy has been bitterly divisive—and as violent crimes have been blamed on refugees and terrorist attacks have struck Berlin and elsewhere, the criticism has intensified. Many Germans are now angry that their taxes will pay for the resettlement of refugees.

On the world stage too, Merkel looks increasingly isolated. Britons have voted to abandon the E.U. ship she has stewarded through turbulent waters, and French presidential candidate Marine Le Pen wants the same for her people. In the U.S., Barack

Obama has given way to Donald Trump. Other European leaders have gone soft on her determination to call Russian President Vladimir Putin to account for bullying and lies.

But don’t bet against Angela Merkel. She remains popular, with one recent poll giving her a 74% approval rate—in part because Germans consider her a credible foil to the turmoil on all sides. She’s proved herself time and time again to be smart, adaptable and resilient. Her greatest advantage though

Merkel has proved herself time and time again to be smart, adaptable and resilient

may be Germany’s desire for stability. Her key rival is no insurgent firebrand in the Trump–Le Pen mold. Schulz is a former president of the European Parliament who backs European integration, defends refugees, criticizes

Trump and vilifies Putin. The main populist alternative, the far-right Alternative für Deutschland party, is polling at just 12%.

Germans don’t share the hunger for change we see in other countries. A Feb. 6 poll by Ipsos Global Advisor reports that while 80% of respondents in France and 50% in Britain want “a leader that will change the rules of the game,” just 21% of Germans said the same. In addition, while 70% in France and 67% in Britain say their country needs a strong leader to restore order, just 34% of Germans said the same.

Perhaps that’s because Germany already has a strong leader. □

HEALTH

How to treat phobias

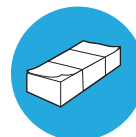


THErapy

Viewing subliminal images of spiders can help arachnophobes better control their fears, according to a Feb. 6 paper. Here, other notable studies exploring how people can learn to overcome crippling phobias.

—Tara John

A separate study published on Feb. 6 found that cognitive behavioral therapy helped reduce symptoms of patients with social phobia. The therapy increased brain activity in areas that regulate emotions.



MoNEY

In a 2016 study, neuroscientists used reward therapy to help the human brain overcome phobias, by giving subjects money every time brain activity linked to a particular fear was detected.



PILLS

Arachnophobes given beta blockers—a heart medication also used to treat anxiety—after being exposed to spiders were able to overcome their fear better than control groups, according to a 2015 study.

Milestones

DIED

Actor **Richard Hatch**, 71, *Battlestar Galactica*'s Captain Apollo. Hatch also appeared in the TV series' reboot from 2004 to 2009.

► **Hans Rosling**, 68, Swedish physician and statistician known for his public teachings on global development.

► Concert pianist **Walter Hautzig**, 95. Hautzig's musical talent paved his path out of Nazi-occupied Austria in 1938, when he was awarded a fellowship from the Jerusalem Conservatory.

COMPLETED

The world's **longest regularly scheduled airline flight**, by Qatar Airways. The airline introduced the 17-hour, 9,032-mile flight from Auckland to Doha, Qatar, on Feb. 6.

RECEIVED

By U.S. colleges, a record **\$41 billion in donations**, in fiscal year 2016.

BOUGHT

\$17 billion in **foreign alcoholic beverages** in the U.S. in the first 11 months of 2016, a 6% increase that will likely be the biggest total in alcohol import sales in more than 20 years.



Brady engineered a comeback for the ages to win his fifth Super Bowl

WON

Tom Brady

A record-shattering Super Bowl

AFTER FINISHING OFF THE GREATEST SUPER BOWL COMEBACK IN history, Tom Brady shared a friendly handshake with NFL commissioner Roger Goodell. Goodell had suspended Brady for four games over his role in the so-called Deflategate scandal. All week pundits had wondered how Brady might show up his nemesis in the afterglow of a Super Bowl win. But when you've risen to the top of your game, it isn't hard to take the high road.

Brady is the best quarterback of all time. Any contrarian chirping ends now. On Feb. 5, his New England Patriots erased a 25-point third-quarter deficit in Super Bowl LI to stun the Atlanta Falcons, 34-28. Brady became the first NFL starting quarterback to win five Super Bowls and four game MVPs. He also set Super Bowl records for most passes completed (43) and passing yards (466) in a single game. No team that trailed by more than 10 points had ever recovered to win a Super Bowl. Forget about 25. After his near flawless performance during this historic rally, Brady could leave the game having scaled the pinnacle of it.

He won't. At 39, Brady says his body feels great. His obsession with sleep and a freak diet—avocado ice cream is a treat—are working. And team boss Bill Belichick remains locked in. With his shrewd signings of undervalued players, Belichick has hacked the NFL's salary-cap model, which is intended to prevent teams like the Pats from winning five Super Bowls across 15 years. Brady and Belichick refuse to stop, and a dynasty marches on. —SEAN GREGORY

RULED

Queen Elizabeth II, for 65 years

IN EARLY 1952, THE United Kingdom was still reeling from World War II and the once mighty British Empire was inching toward irrelevance, having recently lost India, the jewel in its crown. Elizabeth Windsor, then 25, was mourning the death of her father George VI while preparing to rule a country in flux and an empire in decline.

Now 90, Queen Elizabeth II on Feb. 6 became the first British monarch to reach her Sapphire Jubilee. Yet the Queen did nothing in public to mark the occasion. Instead, she spent the anniversary of her transition from Princess to Queen at Sandringham, the country estate where her beloved "Papa" died. It was a fitting way to mark a reign steeped in the quiet act of duty. The world has changed since 1952, but some things have not.

—KATE SAMUELSON



Trump questions a rule obliging financial advisers to put clients' interests first

By Maya Rhodan

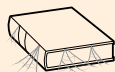
WITH THE STROKE OF A PEN, PRESIDENT Trump has put the future of a controversial financial-planning rule in doubt. On Feb. 3, he signed an executive memo instructing the Department of Labor to review the fiduciary rule, which requires financial advisers to put their clients' interests ahead of their own when giving retirement investment advice. If the department finds that the rule has hindered the public's access to retirement-planning information, officials would need to publish a

retirement accounts increased reliance on financial advisers and brokers.

Yet not all financial planners have had to adhere to the same standard. Before the rule, only registered advisers and those appointed under the law followed the fiduciary standard. Other financial planners could comply with the suitability standard, a lower bar that allowed for potential conflicts of interest like steering a client toward a specific savings plan without disclosing that the broker received a commission for selling that plan. Conflicts of interest, the White

their position. The ranking member of the House Financial Services Committee, Maxine Waters of California, warned that eliminating the rule could contribute to another financial crisis. "Every day you don't have the fiduciary rule is a day that you can offer conflicted advice," said Minnesota Representative Keith Ellison. And Senator Elizabeth Warren of Massachusetts said the memo made it "easier for investment advisers to cheat you out of your retirement savings."

Even with the future of the rule uncertain, some of the changes it calls for may stick. In November, Capital One Investing joined a group of firms, including JPMorgan Chase and Merrill Lynch, that dropped commissions for retirement-account services in order to comply with the rule. The Financial Planning Coali-



40 years

Time since retirement-advice regulations were last updated before the 2015 fiduciary rule



\$17 billion

Estimated annual loss to retirement funds without the fiduciary rule



3,000

Number of letters about the fiduciary rule received by the Labor Department during a five-month comment period



1%

Percentage drop in annual returns on retirement savings without the rule

new rule to either rescind or revise it.

The review is a victory for opponents of the rule, enacted by the Obama Administration in 2015. "This has been a big moment for Americans," said Missouri Republican Representative Ann Wagner. She says the rule limits low- and middle-income Americans' access to retirement advice and puts an unnecessary burden on the advisory industry. Supporters, meanwhile, contend that the fiduciary rule was designed specifically with the interests of working people in mind. Left in the middle: the thousands of financial-planning firms affected by the rule and the vast numbers of Americans who rely on their advice.

Before the rule was issued, it had been 40 years since retirement-advice regulations had been significantly revised. In that time, a shift away from employer-provided pension plans toward personal plans like the 401(k) and individual re-

House Council of Economic Advisers estimates, have led Americans to lose \$17 billion annually in lower returns.

To some financial planners, however, the Obama Administration's solution missed the mark. "There's no disputing that every financial adviser ought to be acting in the best interest of their clients," says Dale Brown, CEO of the Financial Services Institute, which advocates for the industry. "The main problem is that the rule is so complex and so costly for advisers to comply with, and exposes advisers and firms to such potential liability and lawsuits, that it ultimately prices access to financial advice out of the reach of small investors who need that advice the most."

LIKE VIRTUALLY everything else in Washington, the fight over the fiduciary rule is divided along party lines. Before the text of Trump's memo had even been released, Democrats were staking out

tion, which represents nearly 80,000 professionals, says the rule has led to lower fees, increased options and more-creative approaches to client services.

"I do think a lot of the industry continues to embrace a fiduciary standard as it applies to advisers working with their investor clients," says Brian Graff, CEO of the American Retirement Association, a trade group. "I don't expect that trend to go away."

The President's memo may not have killed the fiduciary rule outright, but it could lead to death by delay. If the Labor Department decides to rewrite the rule, it would kick off the same multiyear process that was invoked to develop current regulations. For high-income and large institutional investors, any changes will do little to alter their expectation that advisers put their interests first. But for everyone else, the uncertainty could make for an even longer, winding road to retirement security. □



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WORLD

Multitudes rally against political corruption in Romania

OVER SIX STRAIGHT DAYS IN JANUARY and February, hundreds of thousands filled the streets of cities across Romania in protest against attempts to weaken the nation's anticorruption laws. The demonstrations began after the new government issued a series of executive orders on Jan. 31 decriminalizing low-level abuses and pardoning scores of convicted officials—reversing a decade of official efforts to stamp out corruption.

The protests were the largest since the 1989 revolution that toppled the communist dictator Nicolae Ceausescu, and they succeeded in forcing one major concession from the coalition government led by the Social Democratic Party (PSD). On Feb. 5, it scrapped a bill that would have decriminalized abuse of office if the sums involved were less than about \$48,000. Critics say the law was specifically fashioned to exonerate PSD head Liviu Dragnea, who faces corruption charges that block him from becoming Prime Minister.

Corruption is endemic in Romania, but the situation has improved in recent years, thanks to the National Anticorruption Directorate. More than 1,000 officeholders and politicians have been convicted of abuse of office since 2014. The agency has been called overzealous by some officials, but many Romanians argue that it hasn't done enough to alter a political culture of malfeasance. So, over at least six chilly days and nights, they took to the streets to do it themselves.

—TARA JOHN

Protesters at Victory Square in Bucharest hold up cell phones with lights on at a demonstration on Feb. 5

PHOTOGRAPH BY DAN BALANESCU—EPA

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The View

'VIRALITY IS A DAVID MYTH OBSCURING THE FACT THAT THE INTERNET IS STILL RUN BY GOLIATHS.' —PAGE 21



The Enlightenment romanticized the pursuit of scientific knowledge (as depicted in this 1766 Joseph Wright painting of a philosopher giving a lecture), which was disruptive for those accustomed to tradition and religion

HISTORY

How the Enlightenment predicted modern populism

By Bryan Walsh

BY NEARLY ALL OBJECTIVE SIGNS, THE 2016 election should have been a cakewalk for a mainstream candidate. The economy had mostly recovered from the 2008–2009 recession. Unemployment was low, and despite the occasional small bump, so was violent crime. The Middle East may have been in bloody chaos, but few U.S. soldiers were dying there, as they so recently had by the hundreds in Iraq and Afghanistan.

Yet it was the candidates of anger who captured the public imagination—first Bernie Sanders with his rebellion against globalization and free trade, and then, conclusively, Donald Trump, who added dark notes of fear and loathing. By the time of his Inauguration speech, Trump was painting a frightening portrait of “American carnage,” one

that bore little relation to American reality, but one that still resonated in the angry minds of his core supporters and throughout the suddenly restive West.

We all now live in this age of anger, and many—including much of the political and media class—have treated it like a strange new phenomenon, driven by the mostly white, working-class voters (“the forgotten men,” as Trump calls them) who put a fearmonger in the Oval Office. But in his erudite new book, *Age of Anger: A History of the Present*, which was conceived before Brexit and Trump, the Indian nonfiction writer and novelist Pankaj Mishra argues that our current rage has deep historical roots. And they date all the way back to the dawn of the Enlightenment.

A quick high school history recap: in

the 18th century, the thinkers of the Enlightenment, men like Voltaire and Adam Smith, sought to free humankind from what they saw as the constraints of religion and tradition so human beings could pursue their individual interests. These same ideals, Mishra argues, underpin the modern embrace of free-market capitalism, which took sole position on the world stage after the collapse of state socialism in 1989. This was the “end of history,” in political scientist Francis Fukuyama’s phrase, and despite the significant speed bump of 9/11, it seemed inevitable that it would transform—and modernize—every corner of the world, leading to untrammeled economic growth for all.

But the progress of reason was always shadowed by irrationality. Humans aren’t purely rational actors—at least most of us aren’t—and while the spread of the Enlightenment permitted many to pursue knowledge and wealth through self-interest, it was profoundly disruptive for others, as the sometimes oppressive security of religion and tradition was swept away. The result was what Mishra—borrowing from Nietzsche—terms “ressentiment,” or “the mismatch between personal expectations, heightened by a traumatic break with the past, and the cruelly unresponsive reality of slow change.” It was a toxic mix of envy, humiliation and powerlessness. And it led to rebellion.

For some—from the anarchists of the 19th century to the soldiers of ISIS today—that rebellion takes the form of ever more horrifying acts of violence. But the more pervasive shift is psychological. Even though the economy has recovered from its 2008 crisis, the promises of growth for all have still not materialized for many, and the idea that “the future would be materially superior to the present,” Mishra writes, “has gone missing today.”

What’s left behind is a rage that is in many ways justified, as global capitalism—though it has raised living standards around the world—seems to do little but show people what they can’t have. And that rage is channeled by increasingly authoritarian leaders—like Russia’s Vladimir Putin, India’s Narendra Modi and Trump—who promise they alone can provide easy solutions at the expense of even easier enemies. What they offer has failed before in history, at incalculable human cost—yet at this moment, they seem to be the only ones speaking.

That is the most sobering part of Mishra’s book. Nineteenth century rebels had real political alternatives, even if some, like communism, would prove catastrophic. But where do we turn now? Mishra nods toward the need to move beyond the “religion of technology and GDP and the crude 19th century calculus of self-interest,” although just how we do that, and where it might take us, he doesn’t say. The best we might be able to do, in this age of anger, is fight resentment with resistance. □

VERBATIM

‘Despite all the challenges we face, I remain convinced that, yes, the future is female.’

HILLARY CLINTON, urging women to “step up and speak out” in a video message to the MAKERS women’s leadership conference on Feb. 6



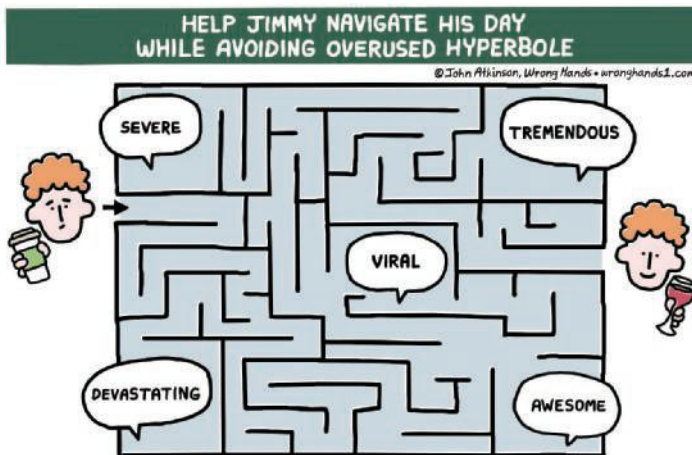
BOOK IN BRIEF

Will millennials start running for office?

FOR YEARS, MOST MILLENNIALS HAVE avoided running for public office. But contrary to popular stereotypes, it was not because the generation born between 1982 and 2002 didn’t care about changing the world; it was because they cared too much—or so argues Shauna L. Shames, a Rutgers political-science professor who surveyed dozens of students at places like the Kennedy School of Government for her new book, *Out of the Running*. Despite the election of President Obama, who drew heavy millennial support, most young people saw politics as all partisan infighting, no progress. As a result, they opted for careers in NGOs, community organizing or appointed office, where they felt they could get more done. But there are signs the tides are turning. Shames cites the rise of Bernie Sanders as proof millennials will “work within the political system when properly inspired.” And if the recent anti-Trump protests are any indication, that inspiration may be coming in spades. —SARAH BEGLEY



CHARTOON
Amazed



JOHN ATKINSON, WRONG HANDS

BIG IDEA

A suitcase that follows its owner

Decades ago, the Vespa scooter changed the way people drive around cities. Now Piaggio Fast Forward—a division of the Piaggio Group, which developed the Vespa—is trying change the way they walk. Once users don a special belt, the Gita can follow them around, carrying as much as 40 lb. of cargo and using stereoscopic and fish-eye cameras to avoid obstacles. In the future, once Gitas have mapped a route, they may even be able to navigate on their own to, say, deliver goods. “We’re inventing a new form of mobility,” says PFF CEO Jeffrey Schnapp of the Gita, which is slated for commercial release in 2018. —*Julia Zorthian*



VIEWPOINT

The myth of ‘going viral’ on the Internet

By **Derek Thompson**

THE INTERNET IS SUPPOSEDLY A HIVE OF virality. When we see a Facebook post with 10,000 shares or a YouTube video with 5 million views, we assume this popularity is driven by zillions of intimate shares, like infected individuals passing along the flu.

Do popular ideas and products really go “viral”? For a long time, nobody could be sure. It was hard to precisely track word-of-mouth buzz. But online, scientists can actually follow the journey of a piece of information as it pings around the Internet.

In 2012, researchers from Yahoo studied the spread of messages on Twitter. Their conclusion: nothing really ever goes viral. More than 90% of the messages didn’t diffuse at all. The vast majority of the news that people see on Twitter—around 95%—comes directly from its original source or from one degree of separation.

Popularity on the Internet is still driven by the biggest broadcasts—not by a million 1-to-1 shares, but rather by a handful of 1-to-1 million shares. Such broadcasts used to be exclusive to legacy companies, like TV channels and FM stations. Now there are new blast points on the Internet, like a Kardashian post or a top spot on Reddit.

We want to believe the viral myth because it’s uplifting. It promises small-time writers, photographers and videographers that a moment’s inspiration can transform into sudden fame. It holds up the Internet as a perfect democracy, where anybody can become a star if they make something good enough. In the end, virality is a David myth obscuring the fact that the Internet is still run by Goliaths.

Thompson is the author of Hit Makers: The Science of Popularity in an Age of Distraction



**DATA
THIS
JUST IN**

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

1

CAMPING MAY HELP YOU SLEEP BETTER

A small study published in *Current Biology* found that people’s internal clocks shifted earlier to align with daylight after just a weekend of camping, which could be beneficial, since having delayed or inconsistent sleep cycles can lead to health problems.

2

FAST-FOOD WRAPPERS COULD BE TOXIC

A report in *Environmental Science & Technology Letters* found that about half of roughly 400 wrappers from 27 fast-food chains tested contained fluorine, a marker for the grease-resistant PFAS chemicals. Previous studies have linked PFAS exposure to thyroid issues, fertility problems, increased risk of cancer, developmental delays and other health issues.

3

SPACE TRAVEL MAY CHANGE GENETIC MAKEUP

Preliminary results from the NASA study on twins Mark and Scott Kelly show that spending a year in space altered Scott’s gene expression and his levels of DNA methylation. Further analysis is needed to fully understand the effects. —*J.Z.*

Retirees shoulder a bigger share of student debt

By Haley Sweetland Edwards

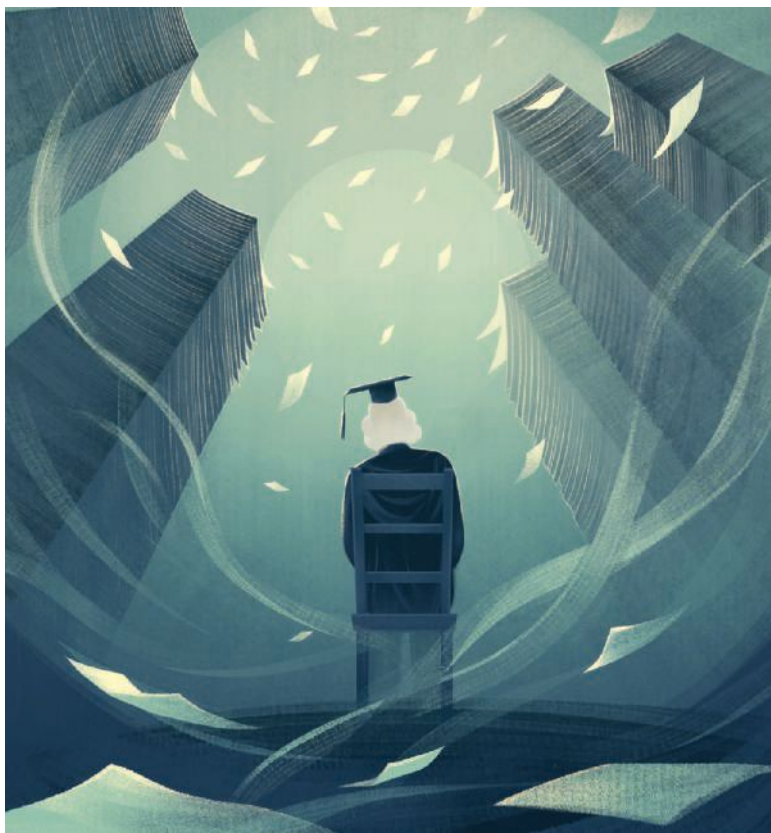
IF THELMA RICHARDS CONTINUES TO PAY \$317 a month, every month, for the foreseeable future, she'll pay off her student loans by the year 2038. The problem is, by then she'll be 87 years old. "I don't think I'm going to live that long," she says, laughing. "I'm not joking!"

Richards, 65, who lives in Little Falls, N.Y., fits the profile of a growing number of older Americans, who are now more likely than ever to hold student debt well into retirement age. According to a January report from the U.S. Consumer Financial Protection Bureau (CFPB), a federal watchdog agency, the number of Americans age 60 and older carrying student debt quadrupled in the past decade. They are now the fastest-growing group of student borrowers and owe, on average, \$23,500, up from \$12,000 in 2005. Altogether, the over-60 set now carries \$66.7 billion in student debt.

It's a trend that has policymakers wringing their hands. "Washington really needs to wake up to the problem," said Rohit Chopra, a senior fellow at the Consumer Federation of America. The student-loan crisis "is not just a slow drag on millions of households who might otherwise be saving for a down payment on a home," he says. "It's preventing people from living with dignity in retirement."

The rapid rise in older Americans taking on student loans has two main causes. The first is that parents and grandparents are co-signing loans to support the younger generation. The second is that older Americans are increasingly taking student loans for themselves. With blue collar jobs dwindling, people in their 40s and 50s are going back to school to acquire new skills or buff their résumés. Richards, for example, who worked as a waitress while raising three kids as a single mom, went back to college in her 40s to earn a degree in occupational therapy. While her new profession yields a higher income and health care benefits, it has also left her with a lifetime of debt. In 2005, her consolidated loans tallied roughly \$42,000, a sum she says she has since paid down to about \$26,000.

Both trends leave older borrowers in a bind. Because they have less time in the workforce and are more likely to become ill, they are often in a weaker position to pay back loans. Making monthly payments on a fixed income is also more difficult than it is for younger borrowers, whose incomes are more likely to grow. According to the CFPB report, more than a third of those age 60 and older with



ON THE RISE

From 2005 to 2015, the number of Americans age 60 or older with one or more student loans soared from about 700,000 to 2.8 million

YET ANOTHER BILL

Older student-loan borrowers are more likely to carry mortgages, credit-card debt and auto loans, which combine to squeeze fixed incomes

ASK FOR HELP

The Education Department offers plans to cap some payments at a fraction of a borrower's income, but loan servicers don't always make these options clear

student debt had forgone medical care, including prescription drugs, to afford their loan payments. In 2015, nearly 40% of borrowers over 65 were in default, which means the government can garnish their tax refunds and Social Security benefits to service payments. From 2002 to 2015, the number of people 50 or older whose Social Security checks were garnished increased by more than 400%, according to a 2016 report by the Government Accountability Office. And there's no way out: if someone dies with student debt, the balance is skimmed off his remaining assets.

While the government occasionally discharges federal loans in cases of financial hardship or permanent disability, consumer advocates say it's an uphill battle that often requires years of paperwork. Chopra says a better solution is to reform the way student-loan servicers operate. Older borrowers should be informed of affordable repayment options, he says, and Social Security benefits should be protected, particularly if a borrower's income is already below the poverty line. Robert Farrington, the founder of the website the College Investor, says one main piece of advice for older borrowers is simply to avoid any loan that isn't repayable in 10 years. "Remember," he says, "if you don't pay, they'll come after you." □

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Dealing with North Korea is a team sport, and the U.S. needs China on its side

By Admiral James Stavridis

LET'S START WITH THE NUMBERS: FIVE. TEN. SIX HUNDRED. That's five nuclear tests in the past decade; enough plutonium to make 10 nuclear warheads; and the ability to launch ballistic missiles at least 600 miles, and perhaps far longer. That's the arsenal at the disposal of North Korea's Kim Jong Un. Emphasis on *un*—untested, unlearned and unpredictable. He is also, at 32, relatively young, morbidly obese, possibly addicted to opioids and possessed of a really bad haircut. But he is not irrational, a mistake some observers make. He follows priorities learned from his father and grandfather—ruthlessly maintain internal power, cling to weapons of mass destruction and cast South Korea and the U.S. as villains.

To say that he is prone to hyperbole does a disservice to the word. In addition to announcing that he will turn South Korea into “a sea of fire” (where roughly 30,000 U.S. troops, their families and thousands of U.S. citizens live), he frequently threatens the U.S. with direct nuclear attack. Last August he applauded his nation's submarine launch of a nuclear missile.

U.S. RESPONSES to North Korea have been erratic over the past several decades, essentially ping-ponging between public negotiations, backroom bargaining with China and operational saber rattling by military forces. Nothing has altered the trajectory of Kim; his nuclear ambitions and actions have both expanded since he took power in 2011. The most demonstrative action by the Trump Administration was, characteristically, a tweet from President Trump just after the New Year, when he said, “North Korea just stated that it is in the final stages of developing a nuclear weapon capable of reaching parts of the U.S. It won't happen!” I hope he is right, but as the saying goes, “Hope is not a strategy.” What is a good strategy for approaching the manifest challenges of North Korea and Kim Jong Un?

We have to recognize that all roads lead to Pyongyang through Beijing. Despite the Trump Administration's desire to get tough with China, we will need political capital with President Xi Jinping to enlist his help. Without China, further sanctions are meaningless. An open dialogue and the outline of a plan are critical. We may have to moderate our approach on Taiwan (falling back to the “one China” policy, which Trump has questioned) and ease our opposition to China in the South China Sea. Geopolitics, like life, is full of choices.

North Korea is a team sport. Our allies and friends—South Korea, Japan, Australia, Vietnam, Malaysia and others—all agree on the challenges. We should leverage their participation in diplomatic and economic initiatives to deal with the North. And we'll need to conduct frequent allied exercises to leverage joint operational capability in things like missile defense.

Special operations and cyber will be of use if we are

UNVEILED THREAT

Kim recently announced that North Korea was in the “final stages” of test-launching a long-range ballistic missile



forced to take dramatic action. Especially alongside South Korea, we can create robust Special Forces packages that are prepared to conduct precision operations directed against leadership, infrastructure and, of course, nuclear forces. At the far end of the spectrum of violence, we should be ready for a conventional strike using long-range bombers, in which we'd want to be able to operate from forward U.S. Pacific bases in Guam and in Japan. The head of U.S. Pacific Command should prepare such plans and options for Trump—and is probably doing so.

Missile defense is an element that will be crucial to defend both South Korea and Japan. We need to get our top-notch systems in place to defend against an attack, using either conventional or nuclear weapons. This means deploying Terminal High Altitude Area Defense (THAAD), the maritime-based Aegis Ballistic Missile Defense and more tactical defense systems like Patriot.

Perhaps most important, we will need an economic carrot-and-stick approach. As we have in the past, we can trade carrots such as trade, reduced sanctions and food assistance for participation in meaningful talks. At the same time we will need to articulate and truly threaten to impose deeper economic sanctions.

ALL OF THIS THINKING must be done by a unified and coherent principals committee of the National Security Council. Having real experts at the table—like the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the head of U.S. Pacific Command and the Director of National Intelligence—is crucial. Including political actors like Steve Bannon makes little sense.

In the end there is no silver bullet. But the sooner we start dealing with Kim, the better. He will otherwise pop up at the worst times, influencing broader, more important relationships, notably ours with China. We have to get ahead of the problem to move a strategic global agenda forward.

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



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SU2C Ambassador
Executive Producer
of the documentary,
The C Word

Tonya Peat
Cancer Survivor

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THE FACE OF THE OPPOSITION

INSIDE CHUCK SCHUMER'S PLAN
TO TAKE ON PRESIDENT TRUMP

BY SAM FRIZELL

Put Chuck Schumer and Donald Trump in a room together and you can't miss the connection. They are the leaders of rival parties, sharp opponents on Twitter and in the press, but they live by the same words, as big and bold as the city that made them. "Beautiful!" they will say, though at different times and about different things. "Wonderful!" "Horrible!" "So, so great!" It is the vernacular of outer-borough kids who, in different ways, scraped their way to the big time. They are two local grandees who boast, yarn, insult and rib each other like they are still on the streets of New York City.



It will take a while—like maybe never—for Mitch McConnell, Paul Ryan or other GOP pooh-bahs to build up a store of Trump war stories to match Schumer's. In fact the first time congressional leaders visited the new President at the White House, most of his attention focused on their Democratic foil. At one point that evening, Trump recalled a 2008 fundraiser he held for New York's senior Senator at his Mar-a-Lago club in Florida. The two dozen or so top Democratic donors had cocktails and dinner, serenaded by Peter Cetera, formerly of the rock band Chicago. "I raised \$2 million," Trump boasted.

If you ask Chuck Schumer what it means to be from Brooklyn, he will answer with two words: "No bullsh-t." Plus he's a numbers guy. "It was \$263,000, to be precise," he shot back at the President.

For all the chaos and plot twists of the coming weeks, the one sure thing to watch is how these two men go at it, now that Trump presides from the Oval Office and Schumer, 66, is the closest thing the Democrats have to an official opposition leader. Though they know each other and share both experience and instincts, they cannot anticipate each other's every move. On Trump's side, unpredictability is a point of pride. And on Schumer's, even his long résumé and ferocious work ethic could not have prepared him for the choices he faces now. In many respects, both the success of the Trump agenda and the power of the Democratic Party—most immediately, its tenuous hold on 48 Senate seats—depend on how well Schumer plays his cards.

Schumer's hand at the moment is not strong. Certainly many of the featured items on the President's agenda—to remake Obamacare, reform the tax code, fund new infrastructure projects and pass new trade deals—will require the help of at least some of the Senators in Schumer's caucus. But as liberal activists fill the streets with signs calling for RESISTANCE, Schumer is under enormous pressure from his left flank to man the barricades and stop Trump, just as the Republicans tried to block anything that came out of Barack Obama's White House.

There are risks in playing the obstruction game. Stop popular parts of Trump's agenda for too long and too persistently, and the party's support can plummet.

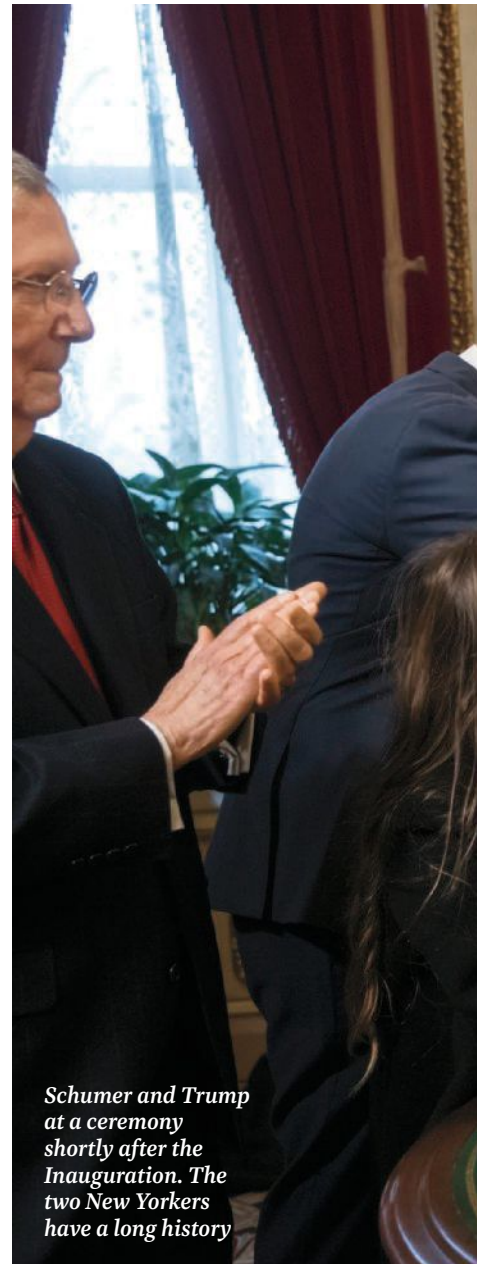
Play ball with Trump, and Schumer risks a rebellion on his left. Making matters worse is a procedural hair ball as arcane as the Senate itself: getting almost anything significant through the Senate takes 60 votes. Republicans have only 52. If Schumer tries to block Trump's Supreme Court nominee, Mitch McConnell could trigger the "nuclear option" and change the rules to allow the nominee to pass with only 51 votes. As could any future court nominees, however far outside the mainstream.

In other words, resistance may be inevitable. But it might also be futile. And it may even prove counterproductive to Democrats' hopes of winning back a majority anytime soon.

Which brings us back to Schumer himself. If he made his reputation as a partisan fighter, his habit and history suggest he would like to negotiate with Trump when and where a deal can be made, which he believes is possible on trade, taxes and infrastructure spending. So with all the pressures on Schumer—from liberals, from centrists and his own instincts—the real question is whether the Senator from Brooklyn is going to fight or compromise and in what order.

ON THE NOVEMBER NIGHT that Trump won, Schumer flew down from New York City into Washington, where he had expected to arrive as the Senate's majority leader and a key partner for President Hillary Clinton. But then the people spoke, and Schumer's instinct was to be humble and conciliatory. "Tonight the American people voted for change," he said as the returns came in, shocking many of the grieving Democrats at the party's senatorial campaign headquarters.

In the days that followed, Schumer said, he suffered through a sort of depression. He comforted his distraught adult daughters by teaching them the lyrics to the old Shirelles song: "Mama said there'll be days like this." Only then did he find relief in a realization. "If Hillary won and I was majority leader, I'd have more fun, and I'd get more good things done, which is why I'm here," Schumer explains in a Feb. 2 interview in his Senate office, beside a photo of himself with former President Obama in a Brooklyn park. "But with Trump as President and me as minority leader, that job is far more important."



Schumer and Trump at a ceremony shortly after the Inauguration. The two New Yorkers have a long history

And harder. The Democratic Party that emerged from the 2016 election is no monolith: liberal firebrands like Elizabeth Warren of Massachusetts and Bernie Sanders of Vermont were preparing for a more militant approach to Trump and some of the Democrats' donors on Wall Street. Meanwhile, moderates like West Virginia's Joe Manchin, a former coal executive, and North Dakota's Heidi Heitkamp traveled to Trump Tower in New York City for meetings that signaled they might bolt the party.

Schumer worked the phones to keep both members inside the fold by assuring them they could stake out their own positions when it mattered. "We all think he's our best friend," says Manchin. Schumer



has since set up regular dinners with five Democrats facing 2018 re-election campaigns in states Trump won, including West Virginia, North Dakota, Indiana, Montana and Missouri. He displays a decidedly unliberal gift from Manchin on his office desk: a donkey and an elephant carved out of coal.

Coming after Harry Reid, who kept more distance from his colleagues, Schumer has worked to strengthen links to other Democrats. During a recent visit to Lake Placid in upstate New York, he stopped by to see fellow New York Senator Kirsten Gillibrand and played chess and read bedtime stories with her young sons. He ceaselessly calls his members to solicit advice. “Chuck is pretty much

tethered to his phone,” says Senator Ron Wyden of Oregon. When President Obama went to Capitol Hill on Jan. 4 to urge the Democratic caucus to fight to keep the Affordable Care Act, Manchin called Schumer, telling him he would skip the meeting. Whatever you need to do, Schumer told him.

Then Schumer set about elevating members on his liberal flank. One of Schumer’s first official acts was to promote Sanders and Manchin to leadership, elevate Warren and add Michigan Senator Debbie Stabenow. That helped mollify the troops. “I don’t know how much more thoroughly you can cover the waterfront,” says Senator Claire McCaskill of Missouri. (Actually you can: Schumer,

who uses a flip phone, has memorized the 47 cell-phone numbers of his caucus. “I like numbers,” he says.)

In December he held a closed meeting with a group of top-ranking Democrats to figure out how to delay Trump’s efforts to repeal the Affordable Care Act. The newly promoted Sanders spoke up. “If we are really going to make a difference, we have to do this outside the Beltway,” Sanders told Schumer, according to a Sanders aide. Schumer helped Sanders organize rallies across the country protesting the repeal of Obama’s signature law. Then Schumer orchestrated an unprecedented holdup of a President’s Cabinet nominations, sending his caucus members to grill them in committee hearings and stalling the votes to

confirm them on the Senate floor.

But even as that strategy took shape, an organic rebellion burst into the streets, first with the massive women's march and then with protests against Trump's refugee ban at the nation's airports. It was just a matter of time before the liberal anger turned on Schumer himself, for not doing more to stop the Trump agenda. At a candlelight vigil Schumer organized outside the Supreme Court on Jan. 30 to protest the ban, the crowd turned on Schumer, chanting, "Do your job! Do your job!" "The Democratic leadership is not listening to their base," said Claudia Gross-Shader, an employee of the city of Seattle, at the vigil. The next day, protesters massed outside Schumer's Brooklyn apartment. "Grow a spine!" some chanted. Others chanted worse.

So Schumer is trying to juggle, saying he is willing to work with Trump on some issues—but will draw the line where the new President's proposals conflict with Democratic "values." "If he says, 'I want to get rid of the carried-interest loophole,' which he campaigned on, we'll support it," Schumer says. "If he has a real plan to deal with the high cost of prescription drugs," he continues, "we'll work with him."

FOR CHARLES ELLIS SCHUMER, the middle of the road is familiar ground. Born to an exterminator and a homemaker in a middle-class neighborhood in Brooklyn, Schumer attended the same high school as Ruth Bader Ginsburg and Bernie Sanders. A side job working the mimeograph machine for Stanley Kaplan's new test-prep company as a teenager helped him ace the SAT, setting him on a path to Harvard College and Harvard Law during the late 1960s.

His introduction to politics came in 1968, when he worked for Eugene McCarthy in New Hampshire. Even in those years, Schumer was a cautious breed of progressive, skeptical of more-extreme activists on the left, including some from wealthier backgrounds, who sometimes advocated violence. He remembers watching them at protests try and provoke police officers by calling them pigs. "I would say to these kids, 'I grew up with these police officers,'" Schumer recalls. "Don't take their humanity away."

In 1974 he ran for and won a seat in the New York State assembly at the age of 23, representing his parents' Brooklyn district. He spent five years in Albany before running for Congress, winning in 1980. During his 18 years in the House, he earned a reputation as a sharp-elbowed partisan. He helped guide the 1993 Brady gun-control bill and a controversial 1994 crime bill through Congress and became known as a tough dealmaker. It would pay off: he overcame several other Democrats for the right to challenge Al D'Amato for his Senate seat in 1998, eventually beating the sharp-tongued Long Island incumbent by a double-digit margin.

Schumer's early years in the Senate were not easy. No sooner had he arrived in the upper chamber than he found himself overshadowed by New York's junior Senator, Hillary Clinton, who was elected in 2000. The popular former First Lady stole the spotlight wherever the two went, both in their state and elsewhere, even at a favorite Chinese restaurant he took her to on Capitol Hill. But together they helped persuade President George W. Bush to deliver \$20 billion to New York after the 9/11 attacks. (Schumer grew to respect Clinton, who he privately would say had learned to "climb the greasy pole" of politics—something Schumer believes he did himself—and which he thinks distinguishes him and his record from Barack Obama, who was a superstar from the beginning.)

By then, of course, Schumer had repeatedly crossed paths with the Trump clan. His maternal grandfather had been a builder in Brooklyn with Trump's father Fred Trump. As a young man, Schumer remembers seeing Fred tooling around town in his black Cadillac with the license plate "FT." More often than not, the younger

Trump and Schumer found themselves on opposing sides: in 2000, Trump tried to build a casino in Manhattan; Schumer wrote a letter to the Bureau of Indian Affairs to block him. "Casinos do not belong in Manhattan," Schumer argued. Years later, Schumer fought Trump again when the real estate mogul and a group of investors wanted to sell an affordable-housing development in Brooklyn at a profit, a move that would have imperiled the rent rates of the low-income tenants. Schumer won the fight.

Despite their spats, Trump was a regular donor—he saw it as the cost of doing business in Manhattan. In total, the Trump family has given more than \$80,000 to Schumer's electoral efforts over the years, according to federal records, which is not a huge amount by political standards, but not token either. (The \$263,000 Trump brought in at Mar-a-Lago was raised with other donors.) "He never had hard feelings," Schumer says of Trump. "It was like business for him." In 2006, Schumer returned the favor and appeared on Trump's *The Apprentice*, hosting contestants for a breakfast at a posh Washington hotel. "Even when he was much younger, you knew he was going to go places," Schumer told the *Apprentice* contestants.

Schumer can be aggressive in public but is looser in private. He has strong relations with such Republicans as Senators John McCain, Lindsey Graham and Lamar Alexander, who regard him as a partner they can work with. "He's a tough negotiator, but his word is good," says McCain. In his first one-on-one meeting with Representative Paul Ryan of Wisconsin over immigration reform in 2013, they talked for 20 minutes about ice fishing and Asian carp, an invasive species that has threatened to overrun lakes in both their states. He is regarded as perhaps the hardest-working Senator by his peers and is more trusted by Republicans than Reid was. "Even if he's out to kill you, you know he's going to keep trying to kill you," says a top Republican Senate aide. "It's more predictable, which makes the place run better."

SCHUMER AND TRUMP DON'T THINK SO DIFFERENTLY, AT LEAST ON SOME ISSUES.

IF THERE IS ANY REASON to be optimistic about the level of partisanship in Washington, it might be that Schumer and Trump don't think so differently, at least on some issues. "I'm closer to Trump's



views on trade than I am to Obama's or Bush's," says Schumer, who opposed both NAFTA and the Trans-Pacific Partnership. China, he adds, is a particularly bad actor on trade matters, and Schumer has called on Trump to name China a "currency manipulator" and work harder to guard against theft of intellectual property. Schumer says he was "sort of glad" when Trump caused a mini-diplomatic crisis by accepting a phone call from Taiwan's President, angering Beijing. "With other nations, free trade may hurt us, but China is rapacious." Adds Schumer: "I love America. I want America to be No. 1."

It's worth remembering, too, that Schumer and Trump were both shaped by the same unforgiving New York media climate. They are both obsessive consumers of news and have a finely tuned instinct for what pops with working-class New York City subway riders. If Trump is obsessed with ratings, Schumer is obsessed with headlines: he regularly reads the New York papers, the national papers and the smaller papers around the country. Like Trump, Schumer is a master at celebrating himself in the press, whether it's helping to keep the Buffalo Bills in New York State; fighting to lower the price of flights from Rochester, N.Y., to Disney World; or keeping jobs in upstate

Demonstrators gather outside Schumer's Brooklyn home on Jan. 31 to demand that Democrats obstruct Trump's agenda at every turn

New York. "He is somebody that tactically understands what Trump has succeeded in doing so far," says Brian Fallon, a former Schumer aide.


Schumer arranged several telephone calls with Trump late last year in the hopes of steering Trump toward a less combative path. In those private conversations, Schumer says, he warned Trump about the rightward tilt of his Vice President Mike Pence and the most conservative flank of the Republican Party. "You ran as a populist," Schumer remembers saying on the phone, "but if you let the hard right take you over, you will not succeed as President." At one point, Schumer says, he told the President that the only infrastructure bill that would really work would need to cost at least \$1 trillion, funded by direct government spending (as opposed to tax credits), with labor and environmental protections and no accompanying cuts to entitlements. Schumer says Trump responded with two encouraging words: "I know." (The White House declined to comment on the calls.)

On the other hand, Trump has not hesitated to blast Schumer for being a drama queen, mocking his tearful denunciation of Trump's "mean-spirited and un-American" refugee policy. "I noticed Chuck Schumer yesterday with fake tears," Trump said. "I'm going to ask him who is his acting coach." Schumer, an easy crier whose middle name honors Ellis Island and whose daughter is named for Emma Lazarus, got a kick out of Trump's jab.

What follows now is a complex series of calculations for Schumer. He will try to block Republicans from repealing the Affordable Care Act root and branch, but may blink when some of his members want to help Republicans on a replacement. It seems increasingly likely he will try to bring down Neil Gorsuch, Trump's conservative Supreme Court pick, but it seems just as likely that he will be unable to then prevent McConnell from changing the Senate rules to force Gorsuch through with 51 votes. Schumer's antics have angered the White House. The country is getting "frustrated," said a White House official, "with Senator Schumer's tactics to obstruct the will of the American people."

Shortly after Barack Obama won the White House, McConnell gave a speech announcing that the top priority for Republicans would be to make Obama a one-term President. Schumer's offer to Trump is more nuanced. Govern from the middle, Schumer is suggesting, and I will share some votes. Govern from the right, and you'll give Democrats a chance to reclaim the populist mantle in coming elections. "We're not going to do what the Republicans did and oppose it just because the name Trump is on it," Schumer said.

Still, for all the phone conversations, the warnings and the remonstrations between the two New York potentates, Schumer sees the shock and awe of Trump's first weeks in office as a bad sign. He is waiting for Trump to move to the middle but is increasingly skeptical that the President will ever get there. "You never know if he's really paying attention," says Schumer of Trump. It could have been "wonderful," "beautiful" and "great." But the rules have changed, and a long fight seems unavoidable. They are in Washington now. —With reporting by ZEKE J. MILLER/WASHINGTON

A photograph of a woman wearing a dark headscarf and a blue knitted scarf, looking off to the right with a somber expression. In the foreground, the back of a child's head is visible, resting on the woman's shoulder. The background is dark and blurry, with some out-of-focus lights in shades of green and blue.

Finding Home

WHEN THE CALL COMES

A Syrian family makes one more risky journey, this time to learn their fate

By **ARYN BAKER** / ATHENS
Photographs by
LYNSEY ADDARIO for **TIME**

*Taimaa Abazli, her
two children and
her husband (not
pictured) take an
overnight bus to
Athens, where they
will learn which
country will grant
them asylum*





There is no call more important to the Syrian refugee stranded in Greece than the one from the Greek Asylum Service informing her that finally, after months of agonized waiting, there is a European nation willing to take her in. The polite man on the other end of the line won't name the country; instead, he instructs the refugee to take a chartered bus to Athens for an in-person interview—these usually take place within the next 24 hours. “It is a destiny-defining moment,” says one refugee, who put off buying diapers for his newborn daughter in order to save up for a battery charger for his phone. “You can’t afford to miss that call. You bring your phone with you everywhere you go. You never let it die.”

^
Top, from left: Taimaa packs while cuddling Heln; boarding a bus for Athens; with her husband Mohannad outside the Athens asylum office. Bottom, from left: Taimaa and Heln in an ambulance; waiting at an Athens hospital; Heln rests after being treated for acute bronchitis

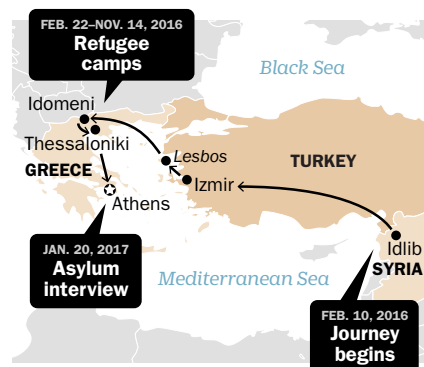


Taimaa Abazli, a 24-year-old mother of two, missed that call. She had a good reason: her 4-month-old daughter Heln had just been diagnosed with an acute bronchial infection, and in the frenzied rush to the hospital she left her phone at the hotel where she and other refugees had been staying. By the time she and her husband Mohannad realized their mistake, it was too late to call the asylum office back. The appointment was scheduled without their being able to explain that the hospital wanted to keep Heln on an IV drip for three days, or that taking the infant on a 10-hour bus ride to Athens might put her at greater risk of developing pneumonia.

To Taimaa, nothing was more important than her daughter's health. Mohannad

THE JOURNEY SO FAR

When Taimaa fled Syria, she thought she would reach Germany within a month. Instead, her family has spent months in refugee camps, waiting for a European nation to accept them.



worried that if they missed the interview, the family's entire future would be at stake. The couple argued well into the evening, and Mohannad prevailed. Against doctor's orders, Taimaa checked her daughter out of the hospital, and she and her family boarded the overnight bus to Athens, with Heln bundled up against the cold, still struggling to breathe.

Under any other circumstance, Taimaa says, she would be excited to take a journey that promised to reveal, after months of waiting, the first solid glimpse of her future as a legal resident of Europe. She fled Syria with her husband and a young son a year ago, when the borders between Greece and northern Europe were still open. But by the time they reached

Greece, after a harrowing journey by land and sea, mainland Europe's attitudes toward the refugees streaming in from Middle Eastern battlefields had hardened. Last March the borders slammed shut, trapping some 60,000 asylum seekers in a country already on the verge of economic collapse.

THE EUROPEAN UNION, recognizing Greece's burden, pledged in 2015 to take up to 66,400 of its refugees within the next two years. But the rise of far-right and nationalist parties throughout Europe has substantially slowed those efforts, keeping the asylum seekers in limbo. Some countries, such as Austria, Denmark and Poland, are refusing to take in refugees altogether, while countries like Slovakia and the Czech Republic have accepted fewer than a dozen each. So far, little more than 12% of Greece's asylum seekers have been relocated elsewhere in Europe. U.S. President Donald Trump's recent refusal to accept Syrian refugees for resettlement in the U.S. may further embolden Europe's anti-migrant sentiment, prolonging the pain for families who want nothing more than to get started on their new lives. "When it comes to accepting refugees, European countries are still far behind schedule," says Roland Schönbauer, the U.N. refugee agency spokesman in Athens. "It's not a big task to accommodate 50,000 people in the richest region of the world. These people are not going back. Where will they go?"

Like the tens of thousands of other refugees in Greece, Taimaa—one of three new mothers whom TIME is following for its yearlong Finding Home project—has spent the past 12 months in a constant state of uncertainty. She doesn't know where her family will go or what their future holds. In Syria she was a music teacher; now she dreams of opening a beauty salon, but it's hard to make plans when she doesn't even know what language her customers will use.

The Greek Asylum Service says it tries to match applicants' preferences, language abilities and family ties with recipient countries, but refugees say the process is more like a lottery. Taimaa and Mohannad spent much of their bus journey to Athens debating the relative merits of Germany and Holland. Taimaa had hoped for Germany, but friends who

TAIMAA HAS SPENT A YEAR IN CONSTANT UNCERTAINTY

had been relocated there told her the conditions for arrivals were little better than in Greece. The couple also fears that Germany's historically pro-refugee Chancellor, Angela Merkel, will not be re-elected in September, further threatening a tenuous acceptance in the country. Ireland, says Taimaa, would be far better. At least she already speaks some English.

The bus pulled up to the asylum office at dawn, disgorging several dozen refugees into the frigid morning air. They huddled around their suitcases, stamping their feet and blowing on their hands to keep warm until the office opened two hours later. Taimaa and her family were among the first in line.

They emerged several hours later. "What did you get? Is it good?" one of the other refugees shouted out. Mohannad didn't say anything at first. He put his thumb up, then rotated it sideways, then down, and back to sideways. "Estonia," he whispered, bewildered. "I don't even know where it is on the map."

"Est-WAN-ya?" Taimaa rolled the unfamiliar word around in her mouth. Her husband corrected her pronunciation. "Estonia?" she said again. "That's the first time I've even heard of it." For the little that Syrian refugees know about the small Baltic nation, Estonians likely know even less about them. The country, which has the smallest Muslim population in Europe, has taken in only 89 refugees under the European migrant-relocation program—significantly fewer than the 550 it has pledged to take in by the end of 2017. It has no mosques, and prospective asylum seekers are expected to adhere to Estonian values, no matter their own religious and cultural traditions.

WITHIN A FEW HOURS of getting the news, Taimaa had already consulted her far-flung network of fellow refugees for information about Estonia. The reviews were mixed. The country was praised for helping the newcomers integrate by assisting them in finding affordable hous-



ing, schooling and jobs. But the language was difficult to pick up, the people could be cold, and it was hard to build a community, let alone find a Middle Eastern grocery store. Estonians like to eat pork—which Muslims like Taimaa are forbidden to eat. She worries that her family might struggle to fit in and could face strong anti-Muslim sentiment. "From the information they gave us about [Estonia], it's very bad for us. You don't have the freedom to practice your religion," she says.

But after the initial shock had worn off,



Taimaa slumps against a bed, exhausted, while Heln sleeps

Taimaa was more sanguine. She checked her daughter into the Athens children's hospital and was relieved to find that the prognosis for Heln was good, despite the delayed treatment. In the end, she admits, refugees don't have a choice about where they will go. There is no process of appeal. For Taimaa, Estonia offers a chance for security and stability: "We have to be grateful to the country that is taking us, that it's welcoming refugees and giving them a house and many other things that we need and lost back in our country." If

there is no mosque, she adds, she can always pray at home.

After a year in limbo, the only thing she wants now, she says, is to get started on her new life, whatever it holds. But even that is up in the air: they still have one more interview at the Estonian embassy—a formality that some refugees warn can be grueling. Officials try to make sure the asylum seekers are a good cultural fit, and there are rumors that the refugees will be asked why they don't eat pork and that the women will be told to take off their

headscarves for photos. After that it could take several more weeks for the Estonians to organize the transfer. In the meantime Taimaa has to keep waiting. Everything is different now, she says with a sigh. But nothing has changed. —*With reporting by IRENE LIOUMI, AMINA KHALIL, LYNSEY ADDARIO and FRANCESCA TRIANNI/ATHENS and THESSALONIKI*

Continued reporting for this project is supported by a grant from the Pulitzer Center on Crisis Reporting

Movies

The Light Touch



*To film *Silence*,
27 years in the
making, director
Scorsese and
cinematographer
Prieto had to find a
common language*

PHOTOGRAPH BY MICHELE ASSELIN FOR TIME



*By Hollywood's current rules,
the Oscar-nominated film *Silence*
shouldn't have gotten made.*

*How Martin Scorsese and
Rodrigo Prieto did it anyway*

BY STEPHANIE ZACHAREK / LOS ANGELES

B

BECAUSE WE TEND TO THINK OF FILM AS A DIRECTOR'S medium, cinematographers—the craftspeople who understand that visual textures and moods can affect moviegoers deeply and mysteriously—don't get much love. The director-cinematographer union is one of the most essential partnerships on any movie, but it's also something of a secret puzzle, a dialogue in a language that can slip between the cracks of words. The most astonishing feats of cinematography are also sometimes among the least flashy, essentially the result of putting technical skills to work in the service of synesthesia. Science and numbers are enlisted in the service of color, light, feeling. How do you convey, for example, the very texture of the air? In 17th century rural Japan, no less?

That's what cinematographer Rodrigo Prieto pulls off in Martin Scorsese's *Silence*, a picture that, by all reasonable logic of how movies get made these days, shouldn't even exist. Scorsese wanted to turn Shusaku Endo's 1966 novel *Silence* into a film when he first read it, in 1989. Stories about the suffering and spiritual crises of Portuguese missionaries ministering to persecuted Catholics in Japan weren't an easy sell then, and they're even less so now. But for Scorsese, who grew up Catholic and has always in one way or another tackled spiritual themes in his work, the idea of turning *Silence* into a movie was like a talisman carried in a pocket, an idea he carted around with him through the years and more than two decades' worth of films.

Every director wants a hit—it buys him or her, among other things, a bit of leverage and freedom in terms of what gets made next—and in 2013, Scorsese had one. His semi-based-on-true-life tale of scoundrelous traders, *The Wolf of Wall Street*, became massive, bringing in nearly \$400 million globally. The time was right, finally, for *Silence*. The



The idea of turning Silence into a movie was like a talisman carried in a pocket

picture he has made with Prieto at his side—along with veterans like editor Thelma Schoonmaker and production designer Dante Ferretti, with actors Andrew Garfield and Adam Driver in the leads—is a radiant exploration of what it means to believe in the grace of God, or of anything. Its multilayered visual splendor hasn't been lost on the Academy, which nominated *Silence* for Best Cinematography.

Yet this picture that almost wasn't has not—yet—found its place with audiences. Even movies that seem to exist outside of time are subject to the injustice of the opening-weekend box office tally. After a limited opening in December, *Silence* grossed a little less than \$2 million in its first week-



quiet spectacle: the two were in Los Angeles for the American Film Institute Awards luncheon, in January, at which *Silence* was honored as one of the organization’s movies of the year. When they arrived at the room designated for our interview, Prieto had the framed AFI citation tucked under his arm, swathed in protective bubble wrap. In their discreetly tailored dark suits—one of them tall, the other less so—they could have been ambassadors for the concept of the telling detail. And later, in conversation, they would sometimes finish each other’s sentences or even start new ones for each other: “How’d you do the moonlight thing again?” Scorsese at one point asked Prieto.

Because creating artificial lunar majesty was yet another of Prieto’s jobs on *Silence*, which was filmed in Taiwan, often in unpredictable weather, in a setting of rocky coastlines, mist-laden forests and magisterially jagged mountains. The landscape is integral to *Silence*’s story of two Portuguese Jesuit priests, Sebastião Rodrigues (Garfield) and Francisco Garupe (Driver), who volunteer, fervently, to travel to Japan, where Christians are being persecuted. They’ve received news that their mentor, Cristóvão Ferreira (Liam Neeson), who had been doing missionary work in the country, has caved in to pressure from the Japanese authorities and apostatized—in other words, disavowed his faith. What they find when they reach Japan both defies their expectations and unnerves them: the devout Christian peasants who greet them—people who have been almost literally driven underground for their faith—can hardly believe this blessing, that they finally have genuine priests in their midst. Rodrigues and Garupe find themselves tested in radical and sometimes horrific ways as they’re forced to recognize that doubt is an essential component of faith.

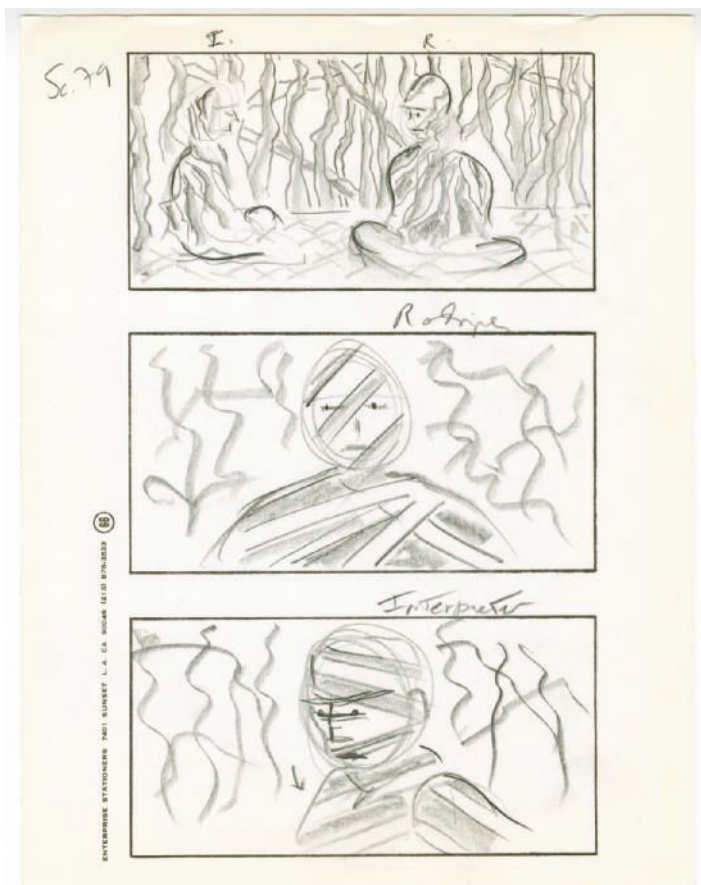
That resplendent, unforgiving landscape could also be a metaphor for the trial of getting a movie made. It helped that Prieto and Scorsese had worked together twice before, first on *The Wolf of Wall Street* and then on the pilot for HBO’s 1970s-era rock epic *Vinyl*. “Even the first day I met Marty, he made me feel comfortable,” Prieto says. “I had nothing to lose, we’re going to meet, maybe he doesn’t like me. If nothing happens, I continue my life.” But he was understandably eager to work with Scorsese, one of the ’70s filmmaking mavericks who’s still doing vital work. “I’ve always really loved the way he designs his movies. So whenever he talks about a scene, the way he wants to shoot it, I just suck it up immediately.”

In advance of every movie he makes, Scorsese—like many directors before him, most notably Alfred Hitchcock—prepares a storyboard in which he maps the look of the picture, drawing every shot as he envisions it. He’s been doing this since the age of 11, when he drew an elaborate storyboard for an, alas, imaginary CinemaScope feature called *The Eternal*

end in wide release, in mid-January. But no one—not even the people who made it—can know what a film might mean to audiences in the years to come. In an era when blockbuster-style digital effects have pretty much bigfooted the world of movies, an intense, ruminative picture like *Silence* is a challenge to the currently accepted notion of what a movie spectacle should be.

WHAT, EXACTLY, does 17th century Japanese air look like? Prieto captures it—having shot *Silence* mostly on film, using digital cameras only for certain scenes—as something both fleeting and definitive, like the whisper of a brushstroke on a silk scroll. As he puts it, “That’s something that film allows you to do. It allows you to play with the air.” Getting Scorsese and Prieto in a room together is itself a

Scorsese, center, and Prieto, right, shot much of their religious epic outdoors and at night on location in Taiwan



City, an extravaganza set in ancient Rome and featuring detailed panels of helmeted centurions and assorted robed officials engaging in various acts of deceit, betrayal and rapprochement.

Scorsese's insistence on thinking everything through in advance makes a cinematographer's job easier, though nothing is ever set in stone. It can't be, because so much of filmmaking is problem solving, particularly when vagaries of weather, or even just shifting light, enter the picture. Besides, all working relationships between directors and their cinematographers are different, and even when a director-cinematographer duo work together on another movie—or on many more movies—the nature of that relationship shifts with the material.

That has been as true of pairings like Bernardo Bertolucci and Vittorio Storaro (*The Conformist*, *The Last Emperor*), Alfonso Cuarón and Emmanuel Lubezki (*Gravity*, *Children of Men*) and Woody Allen and Gordon Willis (*Annie Hall*, *Manhattan*) as it is of Scorsese and Prieto. Scorsese is something of a serial monogamist when it comes to cinematographers. He has made distinctive-looking pictures with Michael Ballhaus (*Goodfellas*, *The Departed*), Michael Chapman (*Taxi Driver*, *Raging Bull*) and Robert Richardson (*Bringing Out the Dead*, *The Aviator*). Each of those movies has its own specific, identifiable look: think of

The Aviator's split-personality glow—half glistening Hollywood dream, half sepia-pearl paranoid nightmare—or of *Taxi Driver's* raw, feverish view of New York as an insomniac, unblinking city. Yet we think of each as, indisputably, a Scorsese movie.

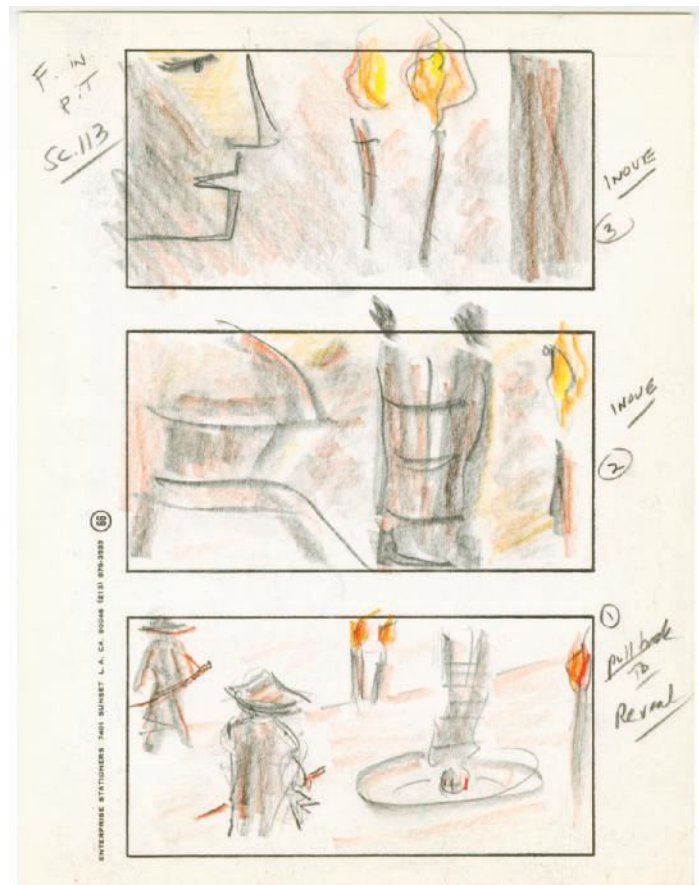
How, exactly, does that work? There's no conclusive way to parse Scorsese's relationships with his various cinematographers other than to suppose that each brings a set of special and specific gifts to him—and his openness to these gifts is key. At the same time, his storyboards, which he prepares once he has a sense of how he wants to approach a movie, shutting himself away in a hotel suite for about 10 days until they're done, provide a road map to his way of thinking. Prieto loves the day Scorsese finally sits down with him to explain the shot list. "That day for me is one of my favorite parts of production with Marty," he says, "because he'll explain his process of why he wants to do that medium shot, or why does the camera move? Or is it completely static? Are we tight or are we wide, and why? No shot is random."

Those storyboards also give Prieto a sense of the movie-to-be as an organic whole. "Marty thinks a lot also in terms of editing. It's not just covering a scene in the regular sense of wide shots and close-ups. He really does think about the end result, once it's all put together. Listening to that process helps me

Storyboards

Scorsese likes to work with his cinematographer by preplanning shots with detailed illustrations, like those he drew (above) dictating a scene with star Garfield (center)





understand how he's picturing it, and I can translate that into images. Not just shots, not just the framing or the camera movements, but the emotion behind it." Knowing why Scorsese chose "a specific language for the camera," Prieto says, helps him to grasp the mood of a scene so he can figure out the appropriate lighting for it.

Silence is, in visual terms, a much quieter picture than many Scorsese has made. Thematically it has a great deal in common with *The Last Temptation of Christ*, Scorsese's superb (and controversial) 1988 adaptation of Nikos Kazantzakis' novel about Jesus' spiritual trials. But, in terms of style, it's possibly most in line with 1997's *Kundun*, his luminous, poetic film about the 14th Dalai Lama (shot by Roger Deakins, most frequently associated with the Coen brothers and the lensman behind movies like *No Country for Old Men* and *O Brother, Where Art Thou?*). In one sequence, Rodrigues, driven half-mad by an incipient crisis of faith, stares into a pool of water and sees the face of Christ—as painted by El Greco—staring back at him. In another, a trio of peasants, all faithful Catholics, are crucified on a beach at low tide. Their deaths occur slowly as the waves lash at them, drowning them not in one merciful plunge but in minute-by-minute misery. The scene is sustained and intense, with

no bold camera moves, no extreme editing. There is, of course, editing in *Silence*—there's a reason Scorsese's longtime editor Thelma Schoonmaker is considered one of the greatest in the business and is just generally adored—but the ultimate effect is one of stillness and contemplation. The eye has plenty of time to drink everything in because the camera, too, appears to be taking its time.

Yet that visual quietness demanded a specific kind of rigor. Scorsese has, Prieto explains, "done so many movies with powerful camera moves, this sort of explosive cinema language, which was not quite appropriate for this movie. It became apparent that this story required a whole different way of shooting. It was pretty organic." It also meant that, because so much of *Silence*

was shot outdoors, in natural and thus unpredictable settings, the light would change rapidly. "And each location had certain characteristics," Prieto says. "Some places we couldn't access with any lighting equipment at all. For those places we ended up doing dusk for night, shooting in the last moments of ambient daylight, which means minutes, very short minutes." To shoot just one sequence could take

It became apparent that this story required a whole different way of shooting.

RODRIGO PRIETO

Great minds see alike

Rodrigo Prieto's work on *Silence* has been nominated for an Oscar. Here's a sampling of Best Cinematography winners made by famous director-cinematographer duos



BLACK NARCISSUS (1947)

In Michael Powell and Emeric Pressburger's story of nuns on the edge of madness, Jack Cardiff's fervid, dreamy lighting and emphatic camera angles evoke creeping hysteria.



CRIES AND WHISPERS (1972)

Sven Nykvist's crimson-red color scheme is one of the distinguishing features of Ingmar Bergman's intense family drama, but in places it is contrasted with a dreamy naturalism.



BARRY LYNDON (1975)

Stanley Kubrick and John Alcott used a special Zeiss camera lens, originally developed for NASA, to shoot the film's warm, luminous candlelight scenes.



THE LAST EMPEROR (1987)

Bernardo Bertolucci and Vittorio Storaro tell the story of Emperor Pu Yi through color: his childhood, for example, is a study in reds, oranges and yellows, hues warmed by memory.



THERE WILL BE BLOOD (2007)

Robert Elswit's stark, vital rendering of an unforgiving landscape is key to Paul Thomas Anderson's story of an oil prospector undone by greed and misanthropy.



GRAVITY (2013)

Emmanuel Lubezki's visuals in Alfonso Cuarón's lost-in-space symphony riff on the universe's vastness—but also impart the idea that for the movie's astronauts, it's a home away from home.

days. Making sure the light would look continuous and natural throughout a scene was a challenge.

In a movie that uses very little CGI, even in post-production—Prieto's preference when possible—nature is its own special effect, working on its own schedule. There's nothing to do but to bow to her. Though parts of the story take place in small, enclosed spaces, like huts, caves and prison cells, the overarching natural arena prevailed. There were times when Scorsese had planned a visual in a very specific way, only to arrive at the shooting location and realize that nature had other ideas. "Very often, I'd have another shot planned. And [Prieto] would look at me and say, 'Look what we have here,'" Scorsese says. "The landscape took over." Though fog was created for some scenes, generally, it just showed up. "Often we simply had to stop and say, Let's shoot in this fog and this mist," Scorsese says. Prieto jumps in to complete the thought: "It worked very well for the story—a lot of it is about hiding."

NO MATTER HOW CAREFULLY a shoot is planned in advance, there is probably only one reliable truth in filmmaking: depending on the choices and compromises a filmmaker has to make on any given day, the movie will become its own creation. Improvisation is essential to filmmaking, and to cinematography in particular. Some of the most astonishing cinematic effects result from Encyclopedia Brown-style problem solving, or from simply seeing the accidental artistry in a mistake.

Old-school, early-Hollywood cameramen—people like Gregg Toland, James Wong Howe and Lee Garmes, all revered, rightly, by modern-day cinematographers—developed effects, often by trial and error, that now help define what we think of as classic Hollywood filmmaking. But the younger cinematographers who came of age in the new Hollywood of the late 1960s and early 1970s had even more freedom to experiment, and to mess up. The late Conrad Hall—one of the most

respected cinematographers of the past century, known especially for his trenchant but subtle camerawork on the 1967 *In Cold Blood*—once said he took particular credit for “helping make mistakes acceptable” to studio heads and to audiences. For instance, the occurrence of a lens flare—in which light strikes the lens at an angle that results in streak or blot of light on the image—used to mean that a shot was spoiled, until cinematographers like Hall decreed it an effect. That’s the sort of thing, Hall said, “that nobody would dare do without getting fired in the slick old days.”

Still, while it’s one thing to think on your feet as an individual, a cinematographer and a director often have to think as one, particularly when there’s a problem to be solved. Let’s say you need moonlight. Even if there is a moon in the sky on the night you need it, and even if it’s exactly the moon phase you want, shooting at night is extremely difficult. (Prieto used digital cameras for many of the nocturnal scenes in *Silence*.) As it turns out, Scorsese’s plan called for a scene featuring a samurai ceremony held in the moonlight. Filmmakers sometimes have to play God—and so Prieto created his own moon on the outdoor set by stringing hundreds of compact fluorescent bulbs around a metal base. In the theater God himself wouldn’t be able to tell the difference.

Even if he could, he wouldn’t be likely to take offense at anything he sees in *Silence*. The picture’s somber beauty is humbling—its ruggedly carved mountains and brushy trees, its cloud-dotted skies and quasi-mystical leafy forests, make you feel small in the scheme of creation. “Beautiful. Muddy!” Scorsese says of the locale. “The mud itself becomes quite beautiful,” he says. “Everything! I’m not an outdoorsman. I’m known for my hypochondria and asthma. I’m known for being an urban person, Manhattan. I lived here in California for 10 or 12 years, but that’s about as far as I got into the country.

“So for me, being placed in caves and thunderous waves hitting—I didn’t even understand quite about high tide. How come this is getting high? What’s going on here? Oh, I see, the moon! I get it, I get it! I mean, I’m a New Yorker. I began to really appreciate the elements.”

One of the recurring motifs in *Silence* is that of the faithful Catholic peasants succumbing to the demands of the ruling shogunate, renouncing their faith by stepping on the *fumi-e*, a small plaque embossed with a religious image. As you watch the film, the sight of their muddy, sandaled feet, sullyng the sacred, induces a kind of trancelike despair. The mud itself gets very real. “Normally I complain,” Scorsese says. “But here I said, ‘Nope!’ I got out of the car, and I couldn’t even move my foot because of the mud. I began to get slightly irritated. I said, ‘No, this is what you’re doing. This is who we are, and this is what we do, and this is what you wanted to do.

So let’s just physically get through it.’”

It bears noting that Scorsese is 74; the Mexico City-born Prieto is 51. “Marty really was like a general there, in the trenches. That was very inspiring for of us, the troops. We saw the lengths that he would go to, of discomfort. And we thought, If he’s doing that, we have to go 10 times further.”

EVEN WHEN THE TWO men are just sitting side by side, there’s a protectiveness in Prieto’s posture toward Scorsese. No sooner had the interview started when a rackety banging resounded from the room next door: someone at the Four Seasons Beverly Hills had chosen that precise moment to begin tearing down a wall, or so it seemed. Prieto jumped up and

left the room to investigate. A cinematographer’s job, roughly outlined, involves lighting, coloring, framing the shots, adjusting the exposure and moving the camera. A cinematographer is generally a manager of people and budgets as well. And for efficiency’s sake if not just out of outright courtesy, he or she must have the set ready just as the director likes it—and Scorsese is notorious for demanding silence on the set.

You could say a cinematographer works all kinds of magic for a director, much of it achieved through mundane and routine tasks. And although cinematography involves so much more than just producing pretty pictures, if achieving the correct and desired effect also results in a beautiful image—that’s part of what we go to the movies for, isn’t it? Nature in *Silence* looks both real and hypnotically surreal at once. At times its wild-colored skies and raggedy seacoasts look so mind-alteringly vibrant that they resemble the glorious matte paintings—backdrops painted on glass—of Michael Powell and Emeric Pressburger’s *Black Narcissus*, a Scorsese favorite.

Even when movies are shot on film, there is always some digital fiddling in postproduction, even if it’s just something as basic as color correction. The questions had to be asked: Was any of the visual glory of *Silence* attributable to some painted or otherwise artificial effect? Was any of nature’s magnificence enhanced digitally after the fact, to make it look, well, more magnificent on film?

Director and cinematographer begin speaking at once, like excited school kids ready with the answer. Scorsese can barely keep from leaping out of his chair: “It was real! The clouds were real! It was amazing!” And what he says next explains why, at age 74, anyone would want to keep making pictures as demanding and near heartbreaking as *Silence* was, a project that took 27 years and \$46.5 million to complete. “It was,” he says, “like being in a movie!” □

■■■■■
I’m not an
outdoorsman.
I’m known for my
hypochondria
and asthma.’

MARTIN SCORSESE

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Time Off

'A HERO OF THE ALT-COUNTRY MOVEMENT, HE'S A NEUROTIC, STAR WARS-OBSESSED, INTROVERTED NIGHT OWL.' —PAGE 51



Woodley, Witherspoon and Kidman play women trying to open up to one another on *Big Little Lies*

REVIEW

Television manages to put a new twist on the California state of mind

By Daniel D'Addario

THERE'S SOMETHING PARTICULARLY dreamlike about the California of HBO's new limited series *Big Little Lies* and the Netflix comedy *Santa Clarita Diet*. The two shows have divergent tones but a unified vision of the state's suburbs as the place comfort gives way to confrontation. *Lies* stars Reese Witherspoon and Nicole Kidman, playing neighbors and friends in easy, jumbo-wineglass comfort. Their schedules are breezily blank between school drop-off and pickup. On Netflix, Drew Barrymore has slightly more going on, but her character is still mostly sleepwalking through life.

This vision of California—the one where Joan Didion smoked her way through a nameless depression, Anne Bancroft picked up Dustin Hoffman as a form of mild entertainment,

and *Transparent*'s Pfefferman family lie relentlessly to themselves—has become familiar to the point of cliché: California as a place people go to remake their lives but ultimately get tranquilized by the sun. Both *Big Little Lies* and *Santa Clarita Diet* begin with these old tropes—and manage to get somewhere vividly new. *Diet* does so by employing bold, splashy comedy, *Lies* by using heightened drama.

On *Big Little Lies*, based on Liane Moriarty's novel of the same title, we're watching the last months of someone's life. (The show flashes forward to depict the aftermath of a main character's tragic fate, but we don't know who.) Madeline (Witherspoon), for all her outer sunniness, is wrecking her marriage through her envy of her ex's new



As a zombie in *Santa Clarita Diet*, Barrymore finds the cure for suburban ennui in a body count

yogini wife (Zoë Kravitz). Playing Celeste, Kidman, as coolly glam as she's been since *Eyes Wide Shut*, has even darker secrets: we see her husband grab her a little too hard and, later, much worse. But the pals are unable or unwilling to get deep with each other, or to admit too much to their new friend Jane (Shailene Woodley), a young single mom who has recently arrived in town. Eventually that begins to change. Their halting movement toward honesty—marked with little self-deprecations—is touching precisely because it's so uncomfortable to watch.

While *Big Little Lies*, directed by Wild's Jean-Marc Vallée, proceeds with woozy stateliness, *Santa Clarita Diet* uses violence to make its points with startling speed and intensity. Very early on, we learn that Sheila (Barrymore), a realtor who works with her husband Joel (Timothy Olyphant), has become a zombie. Her relentless drive for the taste of human flesh reveals just how staid her life had been before. Having left behind obsessive concern about her neighbors' opinions in favor of late-night prowling, Sheila, undead, is finally alive. This is a show that's emboldened by its oddity—you'll either love its humor, merging body horror with Barrymore's new agey persona, or be repulsed. Either way, Barrymore is incandescent as a person waking up to the possibilities of life.

All these women are on a "journey," whether a picaresque goof or one imbued with vise-like tension. But both shows find something new amid cliché. *Big Little Lies* depicts even the school pickup line with a lush splendor that grants the revelations of its story substance and weight; *Santa Clarita Diet* rips the pace and style of network sitcoms to tell a story far outside the sitcom norm. These shows manage to innovate as quickly as their characters. California may be a place where it's easy to delude oneself. But it's also the staging ground for the most American pursuit: reinvention. At least on television. □

QUICK TALK

Sam Richardson

The actor, 33, stars in the new Comedy Central series *Detroiters*, about a pair of bosom buddies and small-time advertising men in the Motor City. His co-star and co-creator is his best friend, Tim Robinson.

Is the show trying to say something new about male friendship? We were just trying to show our friendship. In the show, if somebody tries to make a gay-panic joke, we're like, "That's real funny. Grow up!" Very purposefully, that's not where the humor lies. What's funny is these guys will make friendship bracelets for each other. As adults.

How did you want to depict Detroit, where you both grew up? It was very important that we show a different side. The one you're used to seeing is a place you go for a zombie apocalypse. I'm not saying Detroit isn't a place where negative things exist. That would be irresponsible. But why doesn't Detroit deserve to have a fun comedy? Why does it always have to be a bleak crime drama where everybody's murdered?

How did you come up with the idea to be admen? We love the old commercials we grew up watching. Everybody in America knows their local commercials. That gave us a parallel to writing comedy. The process for how we make our ads is similar to sketch writing, where you pitch, you do an all-nighter, then you film it.

Any specific ads that inspired you? "Mel Farr, Superstar" was one we grew up watching. He was an ex-Detroit Lions star who had a Ford dealership. He had a brown suit and red cape, and they would do visual effects where he was flying.

Many of your characters are perpetually cheerful. Are you like that? A lot of these characters use facets of myself and then expand them. Sam [on *Detroiters*] is essentially me but hyperbolized. With Richard [on *Veep*], I'm not as ignorantly optimistic, but there's something funny about a guy who can shake off anything. —ELIZA BERMAN

ON MY RADAR
THE AMAZING WORLD OF GUMBALL

'Gumball and Darwin are two little cartoon guys, but they are best friends and they love each other. They're one of my favorite onscreen duos.'



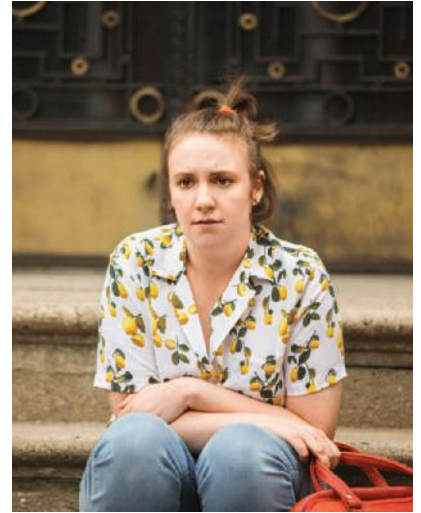
SANTA CLARITA DIET: NETFLIX; RICHARDSON: GETTY IMAGES

INFLUENCE

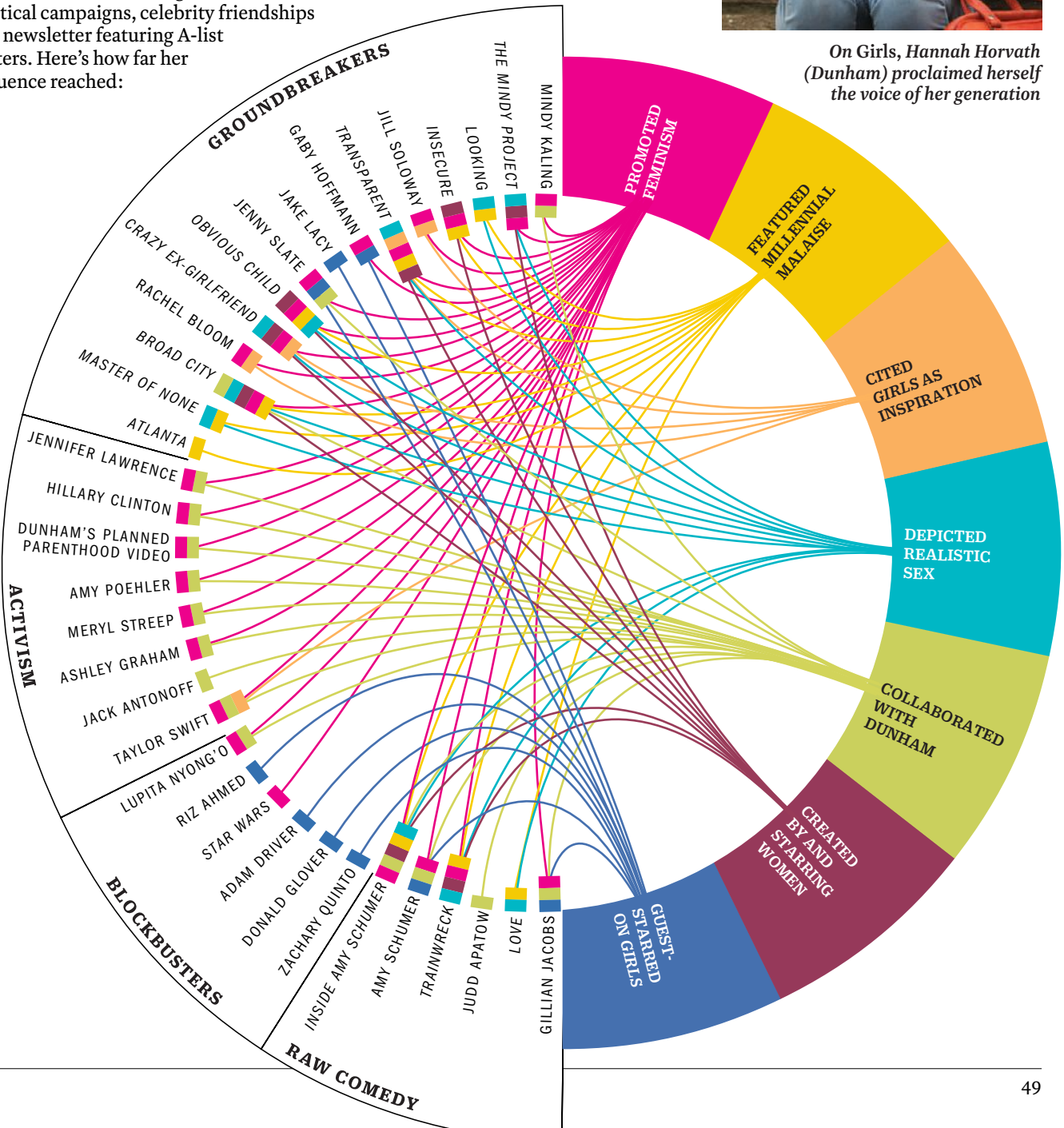
Mapping the *Girls* effect

By **Eliana Dockterman**

THE SIXTH AND LAST SEASON OF HBO'S *GIRLS* PREMIERES ON FEB. 12. THOUGH ITS audience was relatively small over the years, the show had an outsize impact on popular culture as the millennial generation's not-always-flattering TV avatar. Critics now reflexively compare shows written by and starring a young woman to *Girls*. Networks, based on the show's hype, greenlighted a raft of programs examining feminism, youthful angst and awkward nudity. The show's star and creator, Lena Dunham, became a controversial figure too, thanks to her political campaigns, celebrity friendships and newsletter featuring A-list writers. Here's how far her influence reached:



On *Girls*, Hannah Horvath (Dunham) proclaimed herself the voice of her generation





Lego Batman (extra ab not pictured) fends off villainy with his mighty claw of plastic

MOVIES

Lego Batman finds the funny in existential angst

THE FIRST 20 MINUTES OF *THE LEGO BATMAN MOVIE*, IN which a character made of small plastic snap-together pieces captures delicate gradations of hubris and loneliness, are genius. The opening blast of action uses every color in the jawbreaker palette: Lego Batman (voiced by Will Arnett) saves Lego Gotham from a cadre of villains led by Lego Joker (Zach Galifianakis), with his acid-green molded pompadour and equally acidic ingratiating smile. There's never any doubt who'll win. Lego Batman makes a point of showing off his "nine-pack" (he's so awesome, he has an extra ab). But after the rumble is over, he retreats to cavernous Lego Wayne Manor, shifting straight into moody Christian Bale mode. He pops dinner into the microwave—it hums morosely, its light bathing his forlorn, masked face in a one-is-the-loneliest-number glow. The seconds tick by. Lego Batman's existential suffering gets funnier with each one.

And then the whole thing falls apart. The film, directed by Chris McKay, is a spin-off of 2014 hit *The Lego Movie*, an unapologetic product unapologetically selling a product. Sometimes brash, sometimes wearying, that movie at least felt like it was made by the brightest kid in the class. Not so for *Lego Batman*. After that kick-ass opening, the picture devolves into an action-action-plot-action-plot-action monotone. Where have all the gags gone? By the end Lego Batman has learned a valuable lesson: family is important! (A lesson, by the way, that's almost always designed to please adults more than children, who mostly long for chaos and freedom.) Lego Batman, with his comically blank eyes and observant pointed ears, deserves better. No other character with nine abs has ever made misery funnier. —STEPHANIE ZACHAREK

'Why is he so moody? What's going on? Why is he so banged up?'

WILL ARNETT, in *Entertainment Weekly*, on exploring the dark side of Lego Batman's character

MOVIES

Vengeance, the slow way

IN *JOHN WICK: CHAPTER 2*, Keanu Reeves' John Wick—whom we first met as the ruthless yet tender avenger in the surprise 2014 hit that bears his name—does more walking than driving. In the movie's dazzling opening sequence, he does take a car for a spin (and a crash and a bang). But Wick, the quintessential hit man longing for retirement, mostly gets around the old-fashioned way, as if willing himself to slow down.

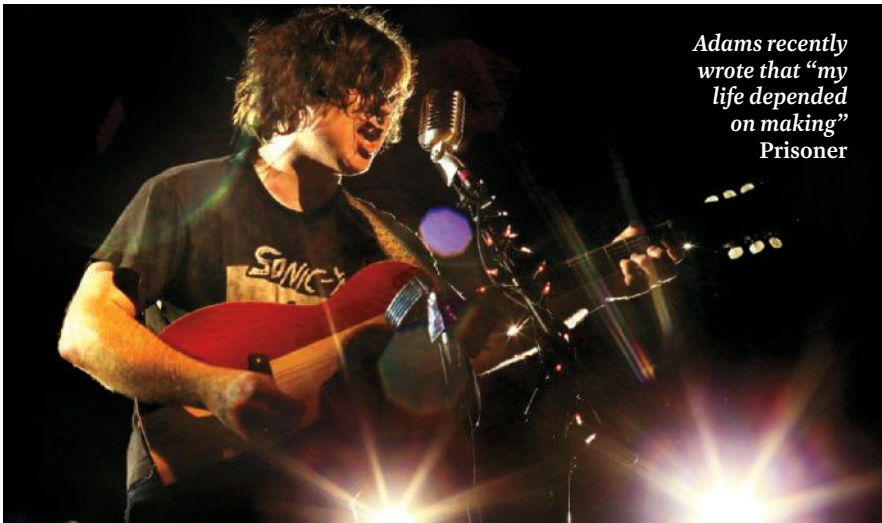
Fat chance. Forced to take one last job, Wick treks to a drowsy, decadent catacomb nightclub in Rome, where he tangles with a sultry mob princess (Claudia Gerini) and her butt-kicking bodyguard (played, wonderfully, by Common). The film has style to burn, and oh! what violence—terrible, bone-crunching, glorious violence, beautifully orchestrated by director and ex-stunt man Chad Stahelski. There's also a dog, a handsome, stocky devil with fur somewhere between chocolate and smoke. He has little to do. Mostly he just walks. But when he does, he's muscular, elegant and thrilling, just like his human sidekick. —S.Z.

**↓
GUN FU, CAR FU,
WALK FU**

Reeves mastered many action styles for *John Wick: Chapter 2*



THE LEGO BATMAN MOVIE: WARNER BROS.; JOHN WICK: CHAPTER 2: LIONSGATE



Adams recently wrote that “my life depended on making” *Prisoner*

ROCK

Ryan Adams offers his opus of despair

THERE ARE NO PUBLISHED ACCOUNTS of exactly what shattered Ryan Adams’ six-year marriage to Mandy Moore. Since announcing their separation in 2015, both have been oblique about the details, although their opposites-attract romance pointed to obvious stress points. A hero of the alt-country movement, he’s a *Star Wars*-obsessed, introverted night owl, renowned (even in rock circles) for a long stretch of bad behavior before sobering up. Moore, currently starring in NBC’s *This Is Us*, is a gregarious former teen-pop star who sold nearly 3 million albums, voiced a Disney princess (Rapunzel) and likes to be in bed before Jimmy Fallon tells his first joke. Also, showbiz romance in general.

The arrival of Adams’ 16th studio album, *Prisoner* (out Feb. 17), offers a searing depiction of what the breakup did to him. It curdled his cream, ate his guts from the inside and left him a quivering shell. And it inspired nearly 80 songs, a dozen of which appear here with 17 more to be released on a vinyl pressing of the album.

Adams, 42, opens his opus of despair with the brilliant power ballad “Do You Still Love Me?” which manages to reference both Prince’s “Purple Rain” soliloquy and the syncopated power chords of Survivor’s “Eye of the Tiger.” “Why can’t I feel your love/ My heart must be blind,” he sings. “What can I say/ I didn’t want it to change.” It’s the

kind of explosive statement that might have been a huge hit for Stevie Nicks or Tom Petty, back in 1982.

From there, the title track begins with a Smiths-like guitar figure and Morrissey-worthy moping. Then Adams moves on to a Bruce Springsteen-style dirge, “Haunted House,” that might have been a track on *Nebraska*. These are duly sad songs, but my throat didn’t begin to tighten until the middle of the record, when Adams begins chronicling the details of his restless, excruciatingly lonely nights. “I’ve been waiting here like a dog at the door/ You used to throw me scraps, you don’t do it anymore,” he sings on “Shiver and Shake.”

Adams showed himself a master of the breakup album with his first solo effort, 2000’s *Heartbreaker*, which frequently lands on best-of-Splitsville lists. *Prisoner* mourns the end of something deeper. Adams hopes it will help listeners find solace amid suffering. But the record never gives us more than a portrait of a talented man locked in solitary with his guitar and weeping heart. It’s not self-indulgent, but self-absorbed: Adams wrote the songs, played almost all of the instruments and painted the cover art. When struck by grief, we need joy and humor to remind us that love can be relearned. Adams likely knows this, but *Prisoner* rarely inspires us to see the long game in love turned lousy. —ISAAC GUZMÁN

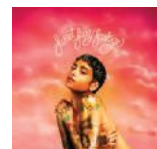
R&B

Kehlani turns candor into virtue

KEHLANI PARRISH DOESN’T mince words. The Oakland, Calif.-based singer spends most of her debut LP, *SweetSexySavage*, laying down romantic ground rules in frank, flirty terms. Take the funky single “Distraction,” on which she eschews love and commitment in favor of a lower-stakes proposition: “I need you to not want to be mine/ Are you down to be a distraction?” This candor makes *SweetSexySavage* a welcome addition to R&B, a genre defined this decade by libidinous, manipulative bad boys like the Weeknd.

Kehlani is a scholar, the kind of songwriter who worships at the altar of Swedish hitmaker Max Martin and chases genre-bending hooks, and *SweetSexySavage* owes plenty to the recent past—even its title is a tribute to TLC’s 1994 smash *CrazySexyCool*. But the album strikes a balance between the nostalgic and the new on the strength of her nimble voice. She’s comfortable singing and rapping and being refreshingly honest. She doesn’t always know what she wants, but she knows exactly what she deserves.

—JAMIESON COX



EARLY ACCLAIM

Kehlani’s 2015 mixtape *You Should Be Here*, recorded when she was 19, earned her a Grammy nomination for Best Urban Contemporary Album

MOVIES

If there's pain in *Fifty Shades*, there's pleasure in its soundtrack

HOW DO YOU GET AN ARTIST LIKE TAYLOR Swift to write and record a song just for your movie? As the producers of *Fifty Shades Darker* learned, you start the conversation very early. “We bring artists in at the ground level,” says Tom Mackay, head of West Coast A&R for Republic Records, which will release the film’s soundtrack Feb. 10. “We show them scenes and talk about a musical direction. Now they’re riding shotgun with the filmmaker and studio throughout the whole process.”

For musical artists and filmmakers, it can be a mutually beneficial arrangement. In an era of declining album sales, soundtracks for blockbusters like *Twilight*, *The Hunger Games* and now *Shades* have become a venue for established stars eager to stay relevant between album cycles, and for emerging artists to keep emerging. “Film and TV are the new radio,” says Mike Knobloch, president of film music and publishing at Universal Pictures.

The strategy has worked for *Shades*. The first film adaptation of E.L. James’ blockbuster erotic trilogy, *Fifty Shades of Grey*, released in 2015, raked in over \$500 million worldwide. Equally massive: the soundtrack. That compilation gave alt-R&B crooner the Weeknd his first Top 5 single with “Earned It,” eventually scoring him an Oscar nod for Best Original Song and a Grammy for Best R&B Performance. Additional contributions from Beyoncé and Ellie Goulding helped make the soundtrack one of the best-selling albums of 2015.



The second film in the *Fifty Shades* series opens Feb. 10

For the sequel, Taylor Swift recorded a sultry collaboration with Zayn, “I Don’t Wanna Live Forever,” which is quickly climbing the Hot 100. Its falsetto harmonies and sultry vibe make it perfect for the film, which is the point: to get the music to fit the scene like a glove. “Otherwise, it’s just going to feel like a series of kinky music videos,” Knobloch says. “If songs were crowbarred in, people would smell it from a mile away.” —SAM LANSKY

The musical stars of *Fifty* (clockwise from top left): Sia, Halsey, John Legend, Tove Lo, Nicki Minaj, Zayn and Taylor Swift



TIME PICKS

BOOKS

In *The Airbnb Story* (Feb. 13), *Fortune* editor Leigh Gallagher profiles the company’s leaders to tell the story of the triumphs—and controversies—the peer-to-peer booking site has weathered as it evolved into a dominant travel company.



TELEVISION

British-born comedian John Oliver returns to dig into the week’s most baffling news on HBO’s *Last Week Tonight* (Feb. 12). Expect impassioned takedowns of President Donald Trump.

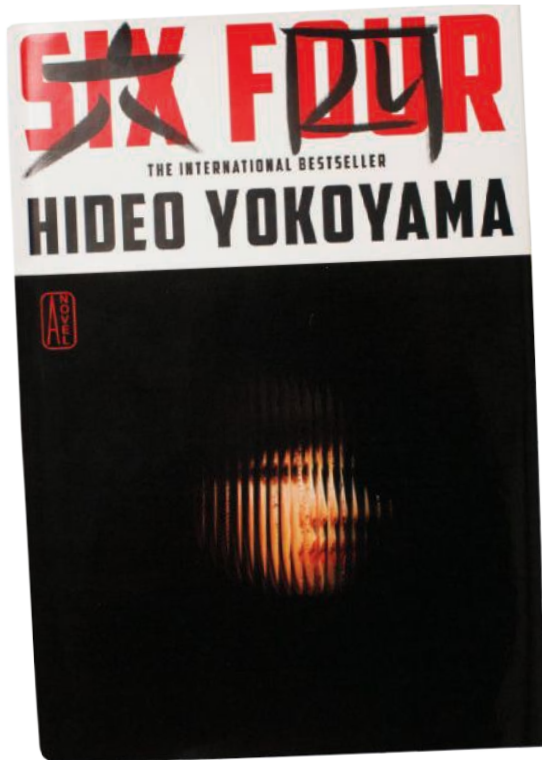
PODCASTS

Feminist writers Jill Gutowitz and Carmen Rios discuss topics like the Supreme Court and climate change on their new podcast for and by young women with an activist bent, *The Bossy Show*.



MUSIC

Tender-voiced Jesca Hoop shifts from dark to light themes on her solo alternative album *Memories Are Now* (Feb. 10), which features nine songs.



SMASH HIT
Yokoyama's sixth novel, *Six Four*, is his first to be translated into English

FICTION
Crimes, cover-ups and competition

TWO MYSTERIES ARE AT THE HEART of Hideo Yokoyama's *Six Four*: the 14-year-old cold case of a young girl's murder and the recent disappearance of protagonist Yoshinobu Mikami's teenage daughter. Yet most of the suspense in this thriller has to do with bureaucratic maneuvering.

Mikami, 46, has spent most of his career in criminal investigations at a prefectural police headquarters, where he earned a reputation as a tough detective. But when the novel opens, he's become press director, an administrative job he did not seek and one he finds exasperating. Between corralling unruly journalists and dealing with dissembling managers—"It's surely easier to be assertive if you don't know anything," his boss advises—he yearns for the days of actually solving crimes. When the cold case known as *Six Four* resurfaces, Mikami begins to suspect a conspiracy within the department. At home,

meanwhile, his daughter Ayumi has run away. Mikami and his wife don't know if she is dead or alive.

Six Four makes its U.S. debut four years after it came out in Japan, where it was a literary blockbuster. The book sold more than a million copies and was adapted both for film and for TV. Part of its appeal was the way it illuminated the country's deep tradition of hierarchy and control. This is a story about frustration at work—wanting to do what's right vs. needing to do what's expected.

Though it deploys common tropes of crime fiction and its lightly noir style, *Six Four's* unusual focus on the PR side of police work sets it apart and gives it unexpected heat. Yokoyama avoids simplistic moralizing, and instead offers the reader a compelling interrogation of duty.

Some of the twists along the way are less shocking than American readers might expect. But the final one pays off.

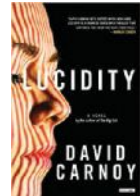
—SARAH BEGLEY

"The bomb concealed within *Six Four* ... had the potential to bring down not only the department but also the entire Prefectural HQ."

HIDEO YOKOYAMA, *Six Four*

FICTION
Dark delights

Fans of crime fiction have plenty to choose from this season. Here are four thrilling new books on the beat:



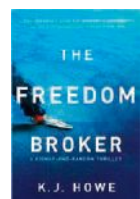
LUCIDITY
BY DAVID CARNOY
A California cold case and a recent murder in New York both connect to a lucid-dreaming center.



QUICKSAND
BY MALIN PERSSON GIOLITO
The latest Swedish crime sensation involves a mass shooting at a prep school.



ILL WILL
BY DAN CHAON
A psychologist with a murderous brother becomes obsessed with a string of drowning deaths.



THE FREEDOM BROKER
BY K.J. HOWE
An expert kidnapping negotiator works to free a special client: her father.

TimeOff PopChart



Breaking Bad star Aaron Paul was given a chance to redeem himself on *The Price Is Right*, 17 years after overbidding on a sports car in the Showcase.



'And... I'll never come back.'

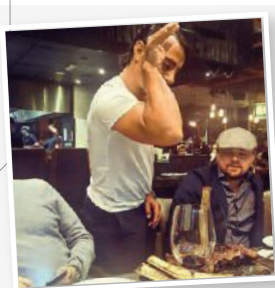
—KRISTEN STEWART, joking that she'll be barred from hosting *Saturday Night Live* again, after accidentally swearing during her opening monologue



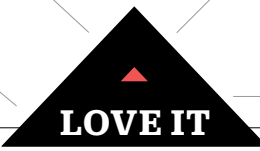
Lady Gaga's epic Super Bowl halftime show featured aerial acrobatics, drones—and a keytar.



The Gap is relaunching its classic 1990s collection, featuring original model Naomi Campbell in the new ad campaign.



Leonardo DiCaprio dined on a meal prepared by Internet sensation Salt Bae, a Turkish chef famous for the flair with which he seasons meat.



TIME'S WEEKLY TAKE ON

WHAT POPPED IN CULTURE

At New York Fashion Week, Japanese brand N.Hoolywood debuted a clothing line inspired by homelessness.



A new dating app called Hater makes matches based on a mutual dislike of 2,000 topics.

Thieves reportedly ransacked Nicki Minaj's Los Angeles mansion, stealing about \$175,000 worth of jewelry and other property.



A legal battle between Kylie Minogue and Kylie Jenner over who will get to trademark their shared first name continued when the U.S. Patent and Trademark Office rejected Jenner's application, according to *People*.

A specialty shop in Tokyo is now serving Kit Kat sushi, with various flavors of the chocolate-covered wafer served over puffed rice and wrapped in seaweed.



SALT BAE: INSTAGRAM; PAUL: YOUTUBE; CAMPBELL: GAP; SUSHI: KIT KAT JAPAN; HATER: HATER INC.; STEWART: GAGA, MINAJ, MINOQUE, JENNER, N.HOOLYWOOD (3); GETTY IMAGES



Red vs. pink: the politics of fashion and why a hat is no longer just a hat

By **Susanna Schrobsdorff**

WHEN I NEED TO KNOW HOW TO #DRESSLIKEAWOMAN, I call my friend Brenda, who is a professor at the Fashion Institute of Technology in New York City. She is more than stylish—she’s a wardrobe artist. Her advice is to skip the usual black when you want to feel confident. “Wear white,” she says. “It’s an ‘I dare you’ color. It’s the color of courage.”

This might be particularly true for those of us who spend half the day carrying around a cup of coffee, but she does have a point in general. After decades in which women tried to blend into a room of dark suits, a woman dressed all in white is making a statement. Consider Hillary Clinton. You can trace her rise and fall in white pantsuits. She wore white to accept the Democratic nomination, at her last debate and then, finally, at the Inauguration of Donald Trump, where it was anything but the white of surrender.

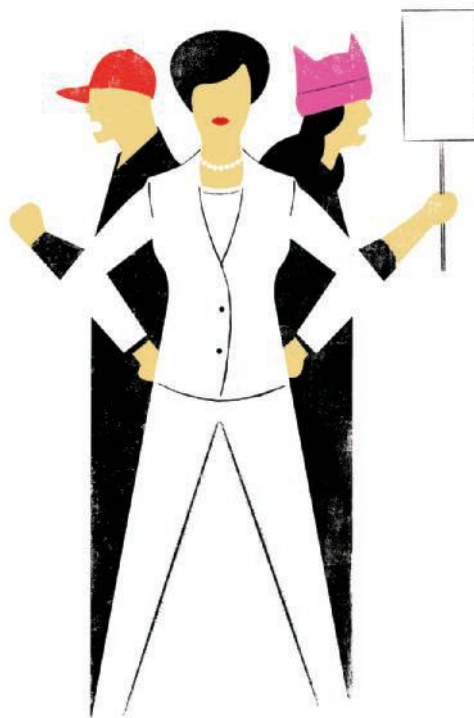
In fact, you could tell the entire story of the past year in politics just by looking at what people wore or refused to wear. Nearly every controversial or inspirational moment has its own signature piece in the identity-politics collection. It started with the pantsuits and those red MAKE AMERICA GREAT AGAIN caps, and went right to pink pussy hats and boycotts of Ivanka’s #womenwhowork-themed fashion, some of which is made by women who work in other countries. Fashion hasn’t been this politicized since the ’60s, when the length of a man’s hair or a woman’s skirt was an ideological choice.

BUT THOSE DAYS were comparatively tame. On Feb. 2, when Axios quoted a source who worked on the campaign as saying President Trump prefers his female staffers to “dress like women,” people flooded the Internet with images of female soldiers, surgeons and firefighters in their gear, along with icons like Ruth Bader Ginsburg in her lace collar and Malala Yousafzai in a headscarf, all tagged #dresslikeawoman.

It’s a little late, but those objects are now more united and motivated than they were before the election. That sea of pink pussy hats at the giant women’s marches in January was an outward sign of a new sense of purpose. Those hats continue to pop up at the many other protests since the Inauguration, an ongoing reminder of Trump’s odious boasts about grabbing women by the genitals.

Not coincidentally, the President’s supporters had the look of a real team long before his opposition did. Thanks to those ubiquitous campaign caps, Trump rallies were branded early on. And they made for an impressive show of muscular red at all those televised rallies.

Now it’s red vs. pink. During the week we see images of



almost all-white, all-male Cabinet nominees who look like attendees at a *Mad Men* convention. Even the two CEOs Trump tapped to advise on women in the workplace are men. And on weekends we see a recurring rainbow of protesters with women leading the charge.

IVANKA TRUMP seems to be caught in the jaws of this divide. It’s hard to separate her clothing line from her father’s hard-line politics. Millennial women are less inclined to shop Ivanka’s look as an ugly election turns into an even more divisive presidency. And the campaigns to boycott all Trump-related businesses aren’t helping sales either. Nordstrom says it’s not stocking the brand this season, and Neiman Marcus has dropped her jewelry from its website.

Ivanka is billed as a modern, moderate voice in the Administration, but the vision she promotes on her lifestyle website is still very Trumpian. She and the other women in the Trump family tableau are a confection of constant perfection and femininity that seems as retro as the days when wearing pants on the Senate floor was a sign of protest.

Those personal Instagram posts that were once great brand promotion now seem out of touch. On the same weekend that thousands of separated families were first hit with the devastating consequences of Trump’s Executive Order banning entry into the U.S. from seven mostly Muslim countries, Ivanka shared a photo of herself dressed up for an event in a silver gown. The dress was gorgeous. The reaction to her post was not.

Ivanka is discovering that everything she wears or sells is now political. There is no comfortable middle between red and pink. Everyone is taking sides, and she’ll be judged like any other woman in politics, harshly and often unfairly. She likely knows that already. Hillary Clinton wasn’t the only woman on the Inauguration dais in a white pantsuit. □

Roger Stone The right-wing provocateur and longtime confidant to Donald Trump talks about his new book on the 2016 race and the President's war on the press

What has struck you most about Trump's first days in office? He has already made historic moves to reverse the policies of his predecessor. He may be the first person in history to be overruled by a federal judge only days after he took office. He has proven that he's going to be an activist. He is not going to stop using the bully pulpit of his Twitter feed. And he is not going to be isolated by his handlers.

Has he made any mistakes in your view? It's his nature. His nature is not going to change. It's not surprising to me that he's feisty and combative and he's not taking any crap. That's Trump. So I'm not going to characterize them as mistakes. They just are.

What's the motive of the war on the press that the White House has launched? Look, this is a page out of the Nixon playbook. The people who voted for Trump resent the press. They no longer trust the press. This election was the tipping point. In a weird way CNN becoming so hysterical in their attacks on Trump just further fuels this narrative.

It didn't end well for Nixon. Why will it end better for Trump? It could have ended well. Nixon got re-elected carrying 49 states despite the fact that most of the media despised him. It's the politics of polarization. He's speaking to the people who elected him.

You note in your book that Nixon was among the first people to encourage Trump to run for President. You've worked for both of them. How are they similar? They're both pragmatists. They're really not ideologues. Trump is kind of a populist conservative; Nixon took populist conservative positions.

The New York Times reported that you're among a couple of Trump associates under federal investigation for alleged ties to Russia. Is there any truth to those

reports—have you been contacted by anyone in the intelligence community? I have not been contacted by anybody in law enforcement. There is absolutely no foundation to this whatsoever. The intelligence community could not have found email transmissions or financial transactions involving me and the Russians and the Trump campaign because there are none. I have no Russian clients. I have no Russian contacts. I have no Russian money. I have no Russian influences. I do like Russian vodka. This thing is a canard. Were the Russians hacking us? Maybe. But did they affect the election in any way? No.

One of the things people are pointing to is that you said during a speech in Florida last August that you have communicated with Julian Assange. And you predicted the document dump. What's your connection with WikiLeaks? As I explain in the book, I have a mutual friend who's a journalist and was in London and communicated with him. When he came back, he told me that Assange has devastating political dynamite on Hillary Clinton and he's going to begin releasing it. I asked when. He said as soon as Wednesday. So I posted that. That [Tuesday], Assange had a press thing where he announced they would have disclosures for the next 10 weeks. So everything I said was true.

You've claimed you may have been poisoned. Are you feeling better? I am feeling better. For almost 17 days in a row I had a fever of over 100°F. Blood tests went to the CDC. They found an exogenous substance in my blood that had the characteristics of polonium.

I'm sorry to hear that. You said you thought you'd been poisoned in connection with the Russian hacking investigation. Do you have any evidence? No. I'll never figure out who tried to poison me. Let's face it: there would be too many suspects. —ALEX ALTMAN

'I have no Russian clients. I have no Russian contacts. I have no Russian money. I have no Russian influences. I do like Russian vodka.'



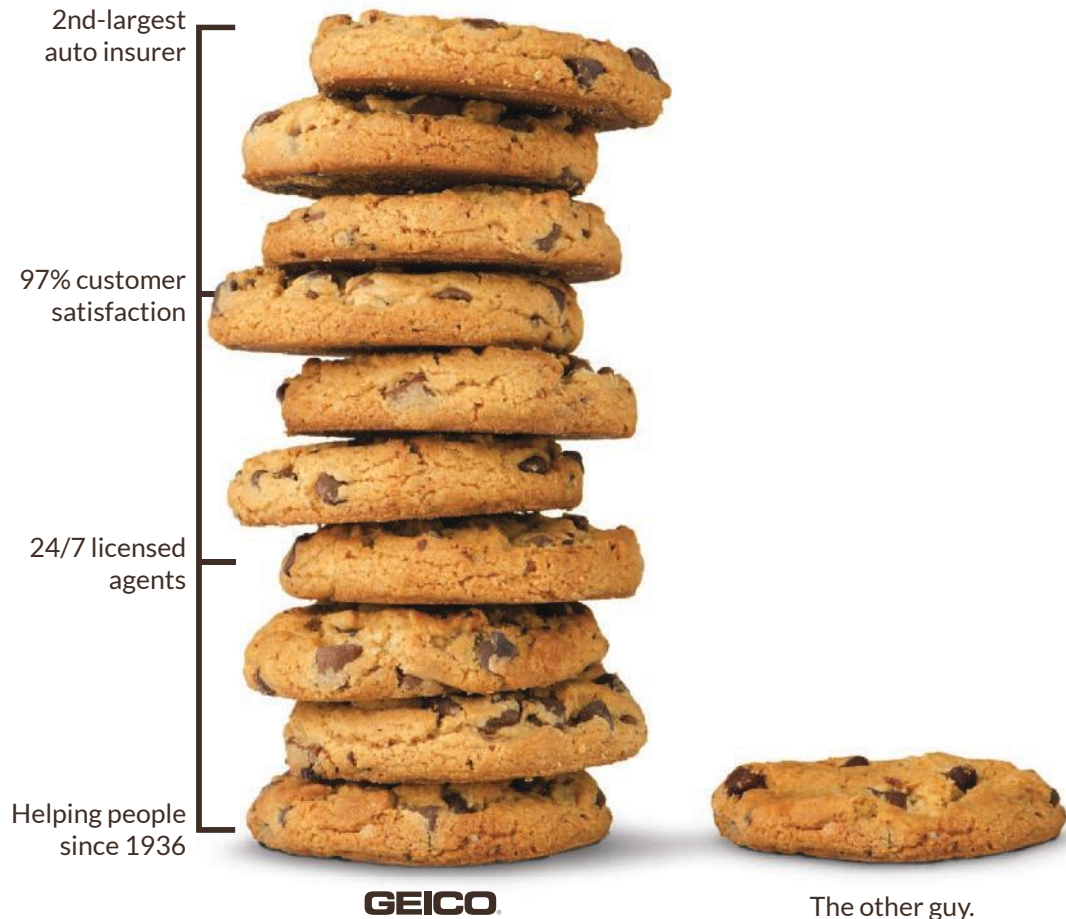
BEN GABRIEL—GETTY IMAGES



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