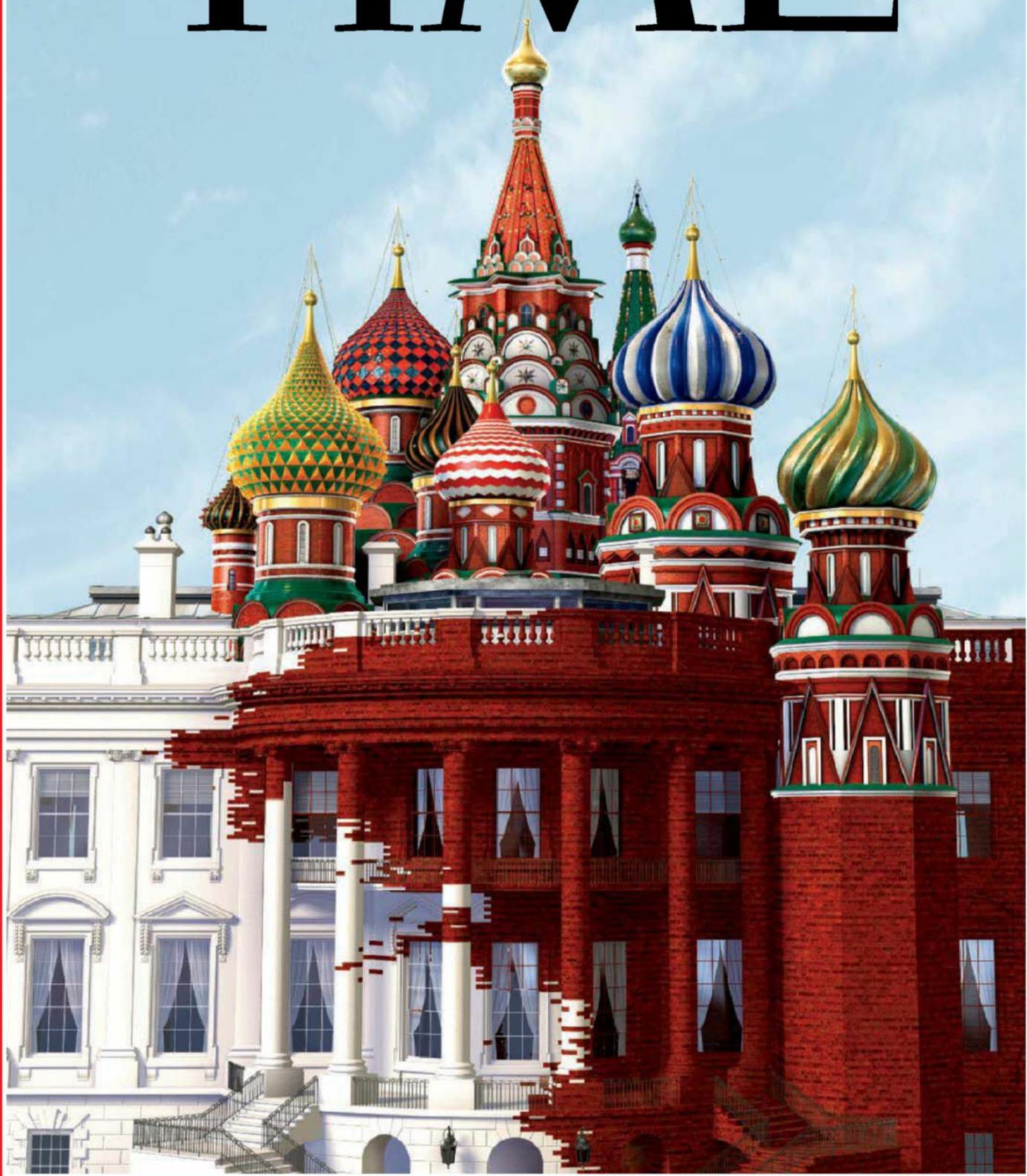


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President Trump talks with Russian Foreign Minister Sergei Lavrov at the White House on May 10

Photograph by Russian Foreign Ministry/EPA

**ON THE COVER:**  
Illustration by Brobel Design for TIME

## Conversation



### What you said about ...

**TRUMP AFTER HOURS** "I won!" *Late Show* host Stephen Colbert exclaimed after President Trump described him as a "no-talent guy" in an interview accompanying Michael Scherer and Zeke J. Miller's May 22 cover story.

"Don't you know I've been trying for a year to get you to say my name?" Colbert joked. Kathie Cook of Sequim, Wash., said the article's most "telling" insight was Trump's frustration over the press coverage of his presidency—coverage that, she added, "is playing a critical role in

holding people accountable." For Igor Shpudejko of Goodyear, Ariz., however, what stood out most was Scherer and Miller's observation that Trump seemed to be enjoying "the trappings of power." And, he added, "Who wouldn't?"

**SECRETS OF THE CANINE MIND** Jeffrey Kluger's May 22 feature about new research on how dogs think got high marks as a "well-observed article" in a tweet from dog trainer and pet behaviorist Karen Wild. But readers Susan Brown of Brookeville, Md., and A.A. Lloyd of Asheville, N.C., both argued that a study Kluger described—in which a psychologist faked a heart attack while walking a dog and the dog did not look for help—did not account for whether dogs can tell the difference between a fake crisis and a real crisis. Meanwhile, reader Jane Mesches of Frisco, Texas, sent an email

'Can't get it out of my mind that science may have wronged the dog.'

DONNELL RUBAY,  
Benicia, Calif.

"signed" by Mickie, her family dog, to provide firsthand proof of the dog-human communication described in the story: "I can attest to the fact that the gaze works. I use the gaze at dinnertime, and I get fed."

'As a Trump supporter, I have to say "Trump After Hours" was fair and even-handed.'

ROBERT HAUGHEY,  
Palm Beach  
Gardens, Fla.

**STAR WARS AT 40** The Star Wars experts on TIME's entertainment and technology teams are marking the franchise's 40th anniversary by ranking its 40 most iconic scenes. But you don't need to be obsessed with the films to recognize these moments ("May the Force be with you," Admiral Ackbar's famous "It's a trap!" line) given their cultural influence. See the full list at [time.com/starwars40](http://time.com/starwars40)



#### BONUS TIME THE GOODS

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**UNITED STATES OF ROMANCE** TIME Labs mapped data on 116 million "interstate marriages" to show whom Americans are most likely to marry, based on home state. See the full list at [time.com/soul-states](http://time.com/soul-states)



**TEXANS** who marry out of state disproportionately fall for **LOUISIANANS**, at a rate that's 4.14 times the national average.

**SETTING THE RECORD STRAIGHT** Because of an editing error in Milestones (May 22), we missated the age of fossils belonging to a proto-human species called *Homo naledi*. They are roughly 236,000 years old.

#### TALK TO US

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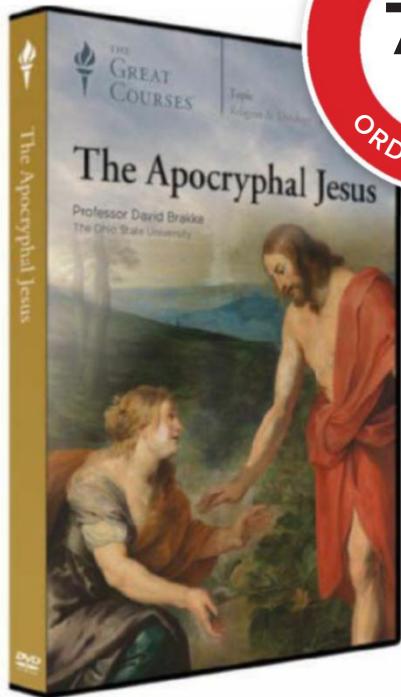
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## What Does the New Testament Leave Out?

The canonical Bible is one of the most influential books in all of Western history, but you might be surprised to find out how many gaps and contradictions the New Testament contains. Much of what we know about Jesus today actually comes from apocryphal gospels, letters, and more. *The Apocryphal Jesus* is your chance to fill in the gaps and discover a new perspective on Jesus and his world. Over 24 revealing lectures, Professor David Brakke of The Ohio State University takes you on a tour of this world and surveys the major apocryphal works that have survived.

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3. Young Jesus in the *Infancy Gospel of Thomas*
4. Joseph and the Magi in the Apocrypha
5. The Apocrypha and the Cult of Mary
6. Lost Gospels and Fragments
7. Sayings of Jesus from the *Gospel of Thomas*
8. Jesus's Statements beyond the Gospels
9. Conversations with the Living Jesus
10. The *Gospel of Judas*'s Gnostic Vision
11. The *Gospel of Peter* and the Talking Cross
12. The Apocrypha and Pilate's Sanctification
13. Dialogues with the Risen Jesus
14. Hope and Adventure in the *Acts of John*
15. Social Disruption in the *Acts of Paul*
16. Thecla: Independent Woman of the Apocrypha
17. Miracles and Magic in the *Acts of Peter*
18. Peter versus Paul in the *Pseudo-Clementines*
19. The *Acts of Thomas* and the Mission to India
20. Spiritual Love in the *Acts of Andrew*
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22. Revelations That Didn't Make the Bible
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# 'I think we could do with a little less drama from the White House.'

MITCH MCCONNELL, Senate majority leader, lamenting in a May 16 interview that White House controversies have distracted Republicans from making meaningful progress on tax reform and health care legislation



**15,000**

Number of pollen grains a honeybee sheds in two minutes when it cleans itself, according to new research from Georgia Tech

**37.6%**

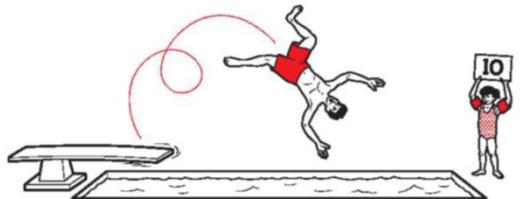
Percentage increase in arrests by U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement of individuals it says were "either known or suspected of being in the country illegally" in the **first 100 days of the Trump Administration**, compared with the same period last year

## 'I WILL HELP HIM, BECAUSE HE NEEDS HELP.'

ÉDOUARD PHILIPPE, recently appointed French Prime Minister, speaking of new President Emmanuel Macron, who unlike Philippe is not a veteran of the nation's political establishment

# 37%

Percentage of parents who say they would allow their child age 6 or up to swim unsupervised in a home, hotel or neighborhood pool, according to a national poll from the University of Michigan



**Richie**  
Musician Lionel received an honorary degree from the Berklee College of Music



**Ritchie**  
Director Guy's \$300M King Arthur film made only \$14.7M in the U.S. in its debut weekend

## 'MUSIC IS NOT FIREWORKS. MUSIC IS FEELING.'

SALVADOR SOBRAL, singer from Portugal, after winning the 62nd annual Eurovision Song Contest in Kiev, Ukraine

## 'I'm definitely going to say it's a privilege'

KARA MCCULLOUGH, U.S. Nuclear Regulatory Commission chemist recently crowned Miss USA, answering a competition question about whether health care should be a right or a privilege for U.S. citizens; after her remarks drew criticism, McCullough, a government employee, said she hoped it would eventually be a "right for all worldwide"

## 'THE PEOPLE INVOLVED IN THIS ... ARE BENEATH OUR CONTEMPT.'

MIKE SIGNER, mayor of Charlottesville, Va., responding to a May 13 gathering of white nationalists wielding torches in a local park to protest the planned removal of Confederate statues in the city

# The Brief

'EMMANUEL MACRON WANTS TO CREATE A PARLIAMENT AND BUDGET JUST FOR COUNTRIES THAT USE THE EURO.' —PAGE 10



*The so-called WannaCry attack brought down computers worldwide, including some at several U.K. hospitals*

## CRIME

### Why a global cyber crisis stalled—this time

By Robert Hackett

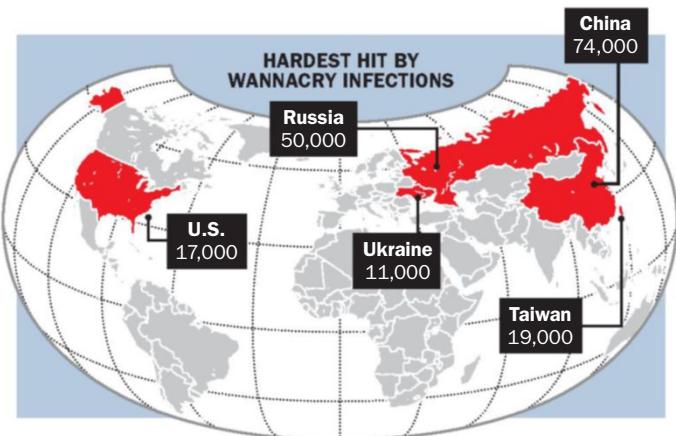
IN THE END, IT WASN'T THE CYBER Armageddon that it seemed to be at first glance.

What has been described as the largest ever ransomware attack—a cybercriminal scheme that locks up computer files until victims pay a ransom—holds the paradoxical distinction of being both an outrageous success (in terms of its blast radius) as well as an abject failure (in terms of its haul). The malicious software spread so far and wide, jammed up so many IT networks and generated so much panic and mayhem that the wrongdoers effectively undid themselves. Consider the burglary bungled.

On May 12, the world awoke to the beginnings of hundreds of thousands of old Microsoft Windows-based computers' seizing up as they

succumbed to a virulent strain of malicious software, appropriately dubbed WannaCry. Within hours, the digital pandemic circled the globe like the Spanish flu, infecting machines running outdated operating systems in some 150 countries, spreading across numerous homes and corporate networks. The attack, which relied on powerful tools believed to have been developed by the NSA and leaked online in April by a group of hackers known as the Shadow Brokers, wormed its way through businesses, hospitals and governments, all of which found themselves suddenly locked out of their own systems.

Researchers detected the wave quickly, and it wasn't long before they picked up on the criminals' self-defeating mistakes. The attackers



failed to assign each victim a separate Bitcoin wallet, researchers noted, a critical error that meant they would not be able to easily track ransom payments. They neglected to automate the money collection in a way that would scale. And then there was the matter of the kill switch.

No one is quite certain why the attackers coded a self-destruct button into their software, yet that's precisely what they did. Marcus Hutchins, a 22-year-old security researcher based in England who goes by the moniker MalwareTech, stumbled on the power plug largely by accident. After taking lunch on that Friday afternoon, he inspected the malware and noticed a specific web address encoded within. Curious, he registered the domain for less than \$11. This simple act sinkholed the malware, killing the virus' ability to propagate and buying time for organizations to upgrade their software and deploy protections.

The attackers "had a Ferrari engine from the NSA, basically, and they put it in a Ford Focus' body, which they got from some ransomware kit," says Ryan Kalember, a cybersecurity strategist at Proofpoint. Despite the campaign's prevalence, in total it has netted a measly \$80,000. Compare that with the estimated \$60 million annually raked in by the Angler ransomware campaign in years past.

Still, the attack caused serious damage and downtime for those affected. In response, Brad Smith, Microsoft's president and chief legal officer, said the company shouldered "first responsibility." Microsoft took the unusual step of providing an update for unsupported operating systems, like Windows XP, even though it had retired them years ago. Smith then took a swat at the government, criticizing its supposed habit of "stockpiling" vulnerabilities in tech companies' code for surveillance purposes. He compared recent leaks of this information to the military's "having some of its Tomahawk missiles stolen."

Russian President Vladimir Putin piled on, noting that Microsoft identified the NSA as the source of the hacking tools. He added, "Russia has absolutely nothing to do with this."

Researchers are now chasing down possible leads to find out who was behind the attack. One theory points to North Korea, though the evidence for this was tenuous at press time.

A few days after WannaCry came to light, the Shadow Brokers posted a message online stating that the group would begin a monthly data-dump service, selling access to top-notch exploits to those willing to pay. "More details in June," the group said in a blog post. The promise presages doom to come. □

## DIPLOMACY President Trump goes global

Donald Trump will embark on his first trip abroad as U.S. President on May 19. His eight-day itinerary includes stops in the symbolic homes of three Abrahamic religions:

### SAUDI ARABIA

Trump will meet King Salman on May 20 for bilateral talks. He will reportedly come bearing a \$100 billion arms deal, and the pair are likely to discuss issues such as Syria, Iran and the ongoing war in Yemen. The President is also giving a speech about radical ideology to leaders from countries across the Muslim world.

### ISRAEL

The U.S. accused the Syrian regime of executing thousands of imprisoned political opponents and burning their bodies at a prison near Damascus. Syria's Foreign Ministry denied the allegations, calling them a "new Hollywood plot" to justify U.S. intervention in Syria.

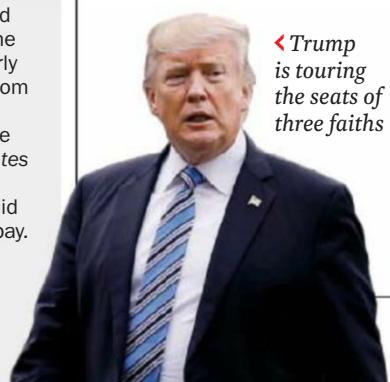
### New Ebola cases in Congo

The World Health Organization confirmed a second case of Ebola in the Democratic Republic of Congo more than a year after the outbreak was officially declared over. Three people have died among the suspected and confirmed cases.

### Bounty demanded for Disney movie

Disney's CEO said hackers threatened to release one of the studio's movies early unless it paid a ransom in Bitcoin. Media reports claimed the film is the latest *Pirates of the Caribbean* sequel. Bob Iger said the studio wouldn't pay.

◀ Trump is touring the seats of three faiths



**DATA**

AMERICA'S BUZZIEST BABY NAMES

The Social Security Administration published its list of 2016's top baby names. Here, the ones that increased the most compared with 2015.

—Chris Wilson



**BURNING RAGE** A bus was set afire in Caracas on May 13 as the near daily demonstrations that have rocked Venezuela for more than six weeks continue. Antigovernment protesters are piling pressure on President Nicolás Maduro to resign amid a deepening economic crisis. The U.N. Security Council met on May 17 to discuss the unrest, which has led to the death of at least 42 people. *Photograph by Carlos Garcia Rawlins—Reuters*

**TRADE**

## Big plans for China's new Silk Road

On May 14 and 15, Beijing hosted a global summit on China's \$900 billion Belt and Road Initiative, which aims to create a trade and infrastructure network spanning the ancient Silk Road through Europe and Africa. Three major projects illustrate its ambitions and challenges:

### CHINA-PAKISTAN ECONOMIC CORRIDOR

The \$46 billion road, rail and energy project will span 2,000 miles between China's westernmost city of Kashgar and Pakistan's Gwadar Port, cutting the transport time from 12 days to 36 hours. However, India fiercely opposes the route through disputed Kashmir.

**KHORGOS RAIL TERMINAL** This \$250 million dry port on the China-Kazakhstan border will open up untapped Central Asian markets, though



▲  
*Gwadar Port is part of a corridor that could help ease Pakistan's energy crisis*

the rail project is twice the cost of sea freight and only marginally faster.

**LAMU PORT** The first phase of this \$480 million deep-sea port in Kenya, a transport hub for a road, rail and pipeline network across Central Africa, is due to open next year. But low commodity prices threaten its economic viability.

—CHARLIE CAMPBELL/BEIJING



### Adeline

+1,712

(increase in use)

### Charlotte

+1,698

### Riley

+1,403



### Mateo

+1,539

### Oliver

+1,383

### Bryson

+1,245

**TICKER****Japanese princess to wed commoner**

Japan's Princess Mako, the eldest grandchild of Emperor Akihito, has announced she will give up her royal status to marry Kei Komuro, a commoner.

The 25-year-old's announcement is set to reignite debate over primogeniture in the Japanese monarchy.

**Clinton returns with political group**

Hillary Clinton put an end to speculation about her next move by launching Onward Together, a political group urging people to "get involved, organize, and even run for office." The Republican Party dismissed the group as a repurposing of Clinton's "failed branding."

**Caffeine overdose killed teen**

A South Carolina coroner ruled that a high school student died from an excess of caffeine. The 16-year-old suffered heart failure after drinking a large Diet Mountain Dew, a latte and an energy drink over two hours.

**Desert island buried in trash**

A new study found that Henderson Island, an uninhabited patch of land in the South Pacific, has an estimated 37.7 million pieces of trash on its beaches, the highest density of plastic waste anywhere in the world.



Voters in North Rhine-Westphalia gave Merkel a shot in the arm

**THE RISK REPORT****Indefatigable Merkel complicates Europe's need to reform**

**By Ian Bremmer**

ON MAY 14, ANGELA MERKEL TOOK A MAJOR step toward winning a fourth term as German Chancellor. Her Christian Democratic Union won a key state election in North Rhine-Westphalia, Germany's most populous region and the home state of Martin Schulz, the center-left Social Democratic Party leader. Schulz had been the only politician considered capable of unseating Merkel in the Sept. 24 presidential election, but this defeat has hammered his campaign. His early momentum in polls is all but gone.

On the surface, the Merkel-Schulz contest has little in common with elections elsewhere in Europe. There is no anti-E.U. populist with a realistic chance of victory. Merkel is the living symbol of European governance, while Schulz is the former president of the European Parliament. Germany's economy is booming, and unemployment is low.

Yet the Merkel-Schulz contest does reflect some of the populist tensions in European countries. Schulz argues that Germany's wealth is not shared fairly and that past reforms have hurt the working class. Merkel says Germany's greatest challenge is in

maintaining law and order, a resonant issue at a time when a rise in crime is blamed in part on the influx of migrants into the country. An E.U. deal with Turkey reducing the flow of people into Europe has blunted criticism of Merkel's open-door policy, and she is much more credible than Schulz on security.

This election is still important for Europe's future. Although populist candidates have fallen short at the ballot box, anger at the E.U. is still boiling. It's now on European leaders to push for reforms to address those frustrations.

Newly elected French President Emmanuel Macron has some bold ideas; he wants to create a parliament, budget and common tax policies just for countries that use the euro. He also says these nations will be better off if Germany reduces

its large trade surplus—an affront to fiscal conservatives in Merkel's party.

Merkel and Macron did announce a joint plan to build a "road map" to deeper integration when they met on May 15. But the German Chancellor is less likely than Schulz to find common ground with her French counterpart. Europe will be the poorer for its failure to reform. □

Although populist candidates have fallen short at the ballot box, anger at the E.U. is still boiling

## Milestones

### DIED

**Powers Boothe**, Emmy-winning character actor known for playing complex villains, including "Curly Bill" Brocius in *Tombstone* and brothel owner Cy Tolliver on HBO's *Deadwood*, at 68.

► Award-winning reporter **Javier Valdez**, who spent his career fearlessly investigating Mexican drug cartels, at 50. Valdez is thought to be the sixth journalist murdered in Mexico this year.

► British serial murderer **Ian Brady**, who with his girlfriend Myra Hindley sexually tortured and killed five children in the Yorkshire moors in the 1960s, at 79. Brady, who was jailed 51 years ago, never revealed where he had hidden the remains of his third victim, 12-year-old Keith Bennett.

### FREED

**Chelsea Manning**, from a Kansas military prison, after serving seven years of a 35-year sentence for disclosing archives of classified files to WikiLeaks. Granting Manning clemency was one of Barack Obama's final acts as U.S. President.

► Puerto Rican nationalist **Oscar López Rivera**, from house arrest, after more than 35 years of incarceration for his role in FALN, the militant pro-independence group.

### SOLD

A bronze **Constantin Brancusi head** named *La Muse Endormie*, for \$57.4 million at the auction house Christie's in New York City. The sale set a record for the artist's work.

## NATION

# Sentencing reversal angers both sides

ON MAY 12, TWO DAYS AFTER PRESIDENT Trump fired FBI Director James Comey, U.S. Attorney General Jeff Sessions dropped a bombshell of his own: Federal prosecutors should pursue the most serious possible charges in all criminal cases, no matter the circumstances. The sweeping 1½-page memo reversed an Obama-era policy that allowed for more leniency, particularly for first-time nonviolent drug offenders, and threw a wrench into bipartisan plans to reform the criminal-justice system.

Sessions said the new directive is both necessary for public safety and the "right and moral thing to do," citing upticks in violence in some American cities and surges in drug-overdose deaths. "If you are a drug trafficker, we will not look the other way. We will not be willfully blind to your conduct," Sessions said. "These are not low-level offenders. These are drug dealers, and you drug dealers are going to prison."

The rigid stance is at odds with the broader political consensus that has emerged in recent years. With research showing that mandatory minimum sentences and other methods used in the war on drugs tended to disproportionately punish people of color and increase prison populations without reducing crime, officials across the nation have adopted



less stringent approaches to drug offenders. Their efforts have been encouraged by a once unlikely criminal-justice-reform coalition led by conservative donors Charles and David Koch and the liberal-leaning American Civil Liberties Union. In a rare act of Washington cooperation, members of Congress from both sides of the aisle have been working on federal sentencing legislation that would reflect the emphasis on treatment over incarceration.

Many of these supporters have been strongly critical of Sessions' memo. "We should be treating our nation's drug epidemic for what it is: a public-health crisis, not an excuse to send people to prison and turn a mistake into a tragedy," Republican Senator Rand Paul of Kentucky wrote in an op-ed for CNN. A Republican colleague, Utah Senator Mike Lee, said, "To be tough on crime, we have to be smart on crime," in a tweet criticizing the policy.

With Sessions' memo in effect immediately, the debate over criminal justice will return to Congress. Last year, when he was still a Senator from Alabama, Sessions helped block a sentencing-reform measure. As Attorney General, he can order an about-face for the nation's prosecutors—but he can no longer bottle up a bill. Says Jason Pye, public-policy director for FreedomWorks, a Tea Party-aligned group that supports criminal-justice reform: "This is a moment for conservatives in Congress to step up."

—MAYA RHODAN

## POLITICS

# Best excuses for sleeping on the job

Nobody could blame Zimbabwe's 93-year-old President Robert Mugabe (below, left) for repeatedly drifting off during events, but on May 11 his spokesman said the dictator was in fact merely resting his eyes. Here, other excuses politicians have given for nodding off. —Tara John



**INDIA**  
After Indian National Congress vice president Rahul Gandhi was seemingly caught in slumber in Parliament in 2016, a colleague let reporters know he was in fact **looking down to check his cell phone**.



**AUSTRALIA**  
Lawmaker Clive Palmer blamed then Prime Minister Tony Abbott for **boring him into unconsciousness** after being captured by television cameras taking a nap in Parliament in 2014.



**U.S.**  
President Ronald Reagan's habit of snoozing during overseas events—most notably during a 1982 speech by Pope John Paul II—was blamed on his **inability to sleep on planes**.



# Why your portfolio should be stocked with global shares

By Paul J. Lim

LOST AMID ALL THE TALK OF THE “TRUMP bump” on Wall Street is the fact that U.S. equities, while up, have actually been among the worst performers in the world this year. Stock markets in Mexico, China, Spain, France, Brazil, South Korea, Singapore, Poland, India and Turkey have not only outpaced the S&P 500 U.S. index so far in 2017, they’ve more than doubled the gains of domestic shares.

Setting the politics of globalization aside, the resurgence of foreign equities, which languished for several years in the aftermath of the 2007–09 financial crisis, comes at a critical juncture for retirement investors.

After the second longest bull market in history, U.S. stocks have become as frothy as they were in the run-up to the bursting of the dotcom bubble in 2000 and the Great Depression in 1929. This is based on the price-earnings ratio, or P/E, calculated using 10 years of averaged corporate profits.

Historically, the median P/E for the S&P 500 has been about 16. This year it has climbed above 29. “We have about the highest ratio in the world,” says Robert Shiller, the Nobel Prize-winning Yale economist who popularized the use of this ratio, which many now refer to as the Shiller P/E.

Not only does this raise the risk of a downturn for U.S. stocks sometime in the near future (using this measure, Shiller correctly predicted the 2000–02 tech wreck, as he did the financial crisis), it points to the likelihood of disappointing returns over the next decade. Both outcomes would disproportionately affect the fortunes of older investors at or nearing retirement.

**FOREIGN STOCKS**, on the other hand, have lagged U.S. equities so much—they have fallen 18% over the past decade, while the S&P 500 has gained 60%—that they are among the few investments in this aging bull market that are actually considered cheap.

International equities in developed economies in Europe and Japan, for instance, are trading at a P/E of about 15, down from their historic norm of around 22. And the P/E for stocks based in emerging economies such as India and Russia is even lower—a

mere 13. Among the cheapest emerging markets are those of China and Brazil, whose shares are trading at a Shiller P/E of 12 and 10, respectively. That’s roughly 30% below their historic levels. Meanwhile, both China and Brazil have also been undertaking major economic reforms that have attracted global investors.

Research Affiliates forecasts that U.S. blue-chip stocks are likely to generate returns of less than 1% a year over the next decade, after subtracting out the effects of inflation. On the other hand, foreign stocks are generally expected to return more than 5% annually. And emerging-market shares are forecast to do even better: nearly 7% a year over the next decade.

Trouble is, rather than adding to their foreign stash lately, investors have actually been reducing their international exposure.

**TODAY**, the typical American investor age 35 to 50 keeps only 14% of his or her stock portfolio in overseas equities, according to a survey by Fidelity Investments. That’s down from 18% in 2009.

Yet global equities make up more than 50% of the world’s total stock-market capitalization. And a study by Vanguard found that the full diversification benefits of foreign stocks aren’t achieved until one’s portfolio reaches about 30% international exposure.

Retirement investors don’t have to sell their domestic holdings to raise their foreign exposure. Investors could simply ratchet up the proportion of new contributions into their 401(k)s and IRAs that are earmarked for foreign stocks for the next several years.

The potential rewards of foreign exposure do not come without risks. If the U.S. were to slip into a bear market, foreign equities would likely fall too, at least in the short run. But based on their lower valuations, they would also be likely to bounce back quicker, money managers say. And while it is true that President Trump’s threats to impose tariffs and renegotiate global trade deals add uncertainty, many overseas economies are several years behind the U.S. in their recoveries, meaning their economic rebound may have more years to go. “Why on earth would you want to only own the stocks of the economy that you live and work in?” says Ben Inker, head of the asset-allocation team at money manager GMO. “Owning a globally diversified portfolio opens you up for less risk of a really bad outcome in any single market.” □



**14%**

Percentage the typical American investor age 35 to 50 keeps of his or her stock portfolio in overseas equities, according to a survey by Fidelity Investments

**30%**

Percentage of international equities that a stock portfolio should contain to experience the full diversification benefits of foreign stocks, according to a Vanguard study





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## Shelter from the storm

A thunderstorm rolls into Paducah, Texas, on May 10. With 97 tornados reported so far in 2017, Texas appears to be slightly ahead of last year's 90 confirmed twisters but well behind the 228 in 2015. In an average year Texas has about 140, according to the National Weather Service.

*Photograph by Drew Angerer—  
Getty Images*

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# TheView

'IN TIME, INNOVATION WILL ENABLE AN ERA OF PERSONAL POWER.' —PAGE 20



## POLITICS

### Why the Census matters now more than ever

By Haley Sweetland Edwards

THE QUESTION OF HOW MANY MEN, women and children live within our borders seems an academic one. A factoid, easily answered by the U.S. Census Bureau, which, by constitutional decree, updates its tally every decade using an army of 635,000 "enumerators" who are employed to walk door-to-door, clipboards in hand.

Of course, the Census results are more than trivia. They inform the very foundation of our electoral process: how state and federal political districts are drawn; which Americans are counted for representation; and how federal dollars, many of which are allocated per capita, are spent. "It is vital, it is critical, that the public has confidence in the Census," says Terri Ann Lowenthal, a former staff director of the House Census

Oversight Subcommittee. "Anything that compromises that compromises the whole mission."

And so when Census Bureau director John Thompson announced on May 9 that he will leave his post at the end of June, it caused a stir. Thompson, who served at the bureau for more than 30 years, was expected to stay on through 2017. But colleagues say he was hobbled by intense pressure from Congress about cost overruns on a new Internet-based questionnaire and by Commerce Secretary Wilbur Ross's wavering confidence in him. (In a statement to TIME, the Commerce Department, which oversees the Census, declined to elaborate.)

Regardless of the reason for Thompson's exit, his departure leaves the bureau rudderless, not only in the

crucial years leading up to the 2020 Census but also at a uniquely volatile moment on the political stage. Throughout both his campaign and his time in office, President Trump has regularly assailed both the legitimacy of federal institutions and the veracity of objective facts. Now Trump is tasked with appointing Thompson's replacement—and, more important, ensuring that Americans can trust the data that he or she presents.

There are signs that the bureau is struggling. In April, Congress allocated less than half its requested budget increase for 2017, leading the agency to cancel or abridge some scheduled field tests. If that trend continues, it may be forced to cut corners on the Census. "If you underfund the Census, you get an undercount," says Kenneth Prewitt, who directed the bureau during the 2000 Census. "And if you don't count people, they are politically invisible, in effect." Meanwhile, the Trump Administration, which as of mid-May has yet to name anyone for 455 key federal roles requiring Senate confirmation, hasn't said who will replace Thompson, or when. The Commerce Department told TIME it is "conducting an active search both internally and externally" for a replacement.

There are concerns that whoever is tapped may politicize the Census, says Bruce Bartlett, a former aide to Ronald Reagan and George H.W. Bush. It's up to the director, after all, to decide how much effort should be put into tracking down hard-to-find populations. And if he or she makes choices that wind up, say, excluding minorities, that could unfairly shift "representation and money from blue states to red states," Bartlett says.

The biggest threat to the integrity of the Census may be Trump himself. "When I hear a President say he doesn't trust federal numbers or they're made up, I'm concerned," says Katherine Wallman, who served as chief statistician of the U.S. from 1992 to 2017, referring in part to Trump's repeated claim that the Bureau of Labor Statistics' unemployment numbers were "fake." If Trump were to do the same thing—to send a tweet dismissing the 2020 Census data in similar terms—it would eviscerate a key part of the foundation upon which our government is based. If we can't agree how many people live in each county, how can we fairly and accurately allocate seats for state legislatures or the House?

This kind of crisis has happened before. After the 1920 Census, Congress refused to accept data showing the country's rapid urbanization and voted not to reallocate seats based on that supposedly flawed information. But in today's political climate, with a President regularly peddling mistrust of any institution he cannot control, the fallout may be worse. "If you're making choices designed to benefit one of the parties," warns Prewitt, "you've killed the Census."

### VERBATIM

'Leadership in women has to be O.K. Emotion in men has to be O.K.'

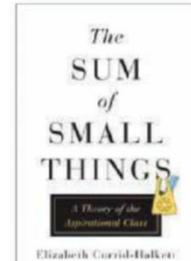
SHERYL SANDBERG, Facebook COO and author of *Option B: Facing Adversity, Building Resilience, and Finding Joy*, on bucking gender stereotypes in the workplace



### BOOK IN BRIEF

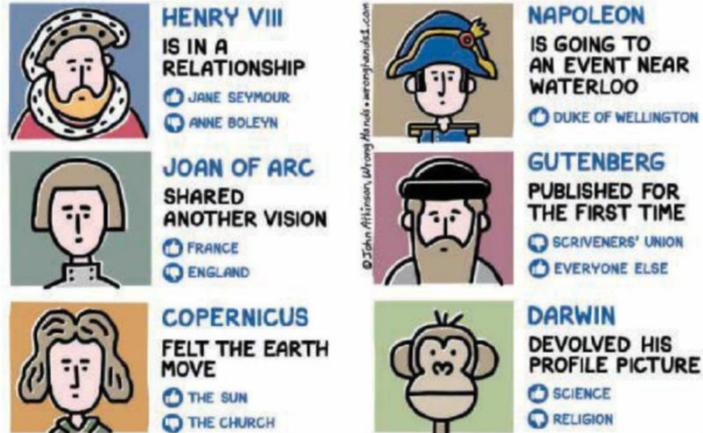
## The new conspicuous consumption

IN THE LATE 19TH CENTURY, THE economist Thorstein Veblen famously skewered members of the upper class for trying to telegraph their social status by surrounding themselves with luxury goods—a phenomenon he dubbed "conspicuous consumption." But Elizabeth Currid-Halkett, author of *The Sum of Small Things*, says a new cultural elite is on the rise: the aspirational class. These are people who aren't necessarily rich but who share a set of views on the most socially conscious ways to spend money—for instance, driving electric cars instead of SUVs and buying only organic produce. While these are financial choices, Currid-Halkett argues that they are driven primarily by an aspiration to be—or at least appear to be—"their version of better humans." That's why, for this milieu, "a \$2 heirloom tomato purchased from a farmers' market is so symbolically weighty ... and a white Range Rover is not." —SARAH BEGLEY



### CHARTOON

## Historical status updates



JOHN ATKINSON, WRONG HANDS

**SNAPSHOT**

## Sweden's Solar Egg sauna

Residents of Kiruna, the northernmost town in Sweden, routinely go to great lengths to stay warm. But their new golden sauna serves a higher purpose. In a change that has unsettled some locals, the town's city center is quite literally being moved two miles east—a relocation necessitated by the town's unstable foundation. To ease the transition, a Swedish developer commissioned art duo Bigert & Bergstrom to build a community meeting spot where people could gather to discuss the changes. The result: Solar Egg, a golden egg-shaped sauna that aims to promote "thoughts of rebirth." Of course, inside it still functions like an actual sauna; a wood burner keeps the temperature between 167°F and 185°F. —Julia Zorthian



SANDBERG: JONATHAN LEIBSON—AOL/GETTY IMAGES; SOLAR EGG: JEAN-BAPTISTE BÉRANGER; SNEAKERS: GETTY IMAGES

**HISTORY**

## The birth of the U.S. police force

WHEN PRESIDENT JOHN F. KENNEDY NAMED the week of May 15 as National Police Week, he noted that law enforcement had been protecting Americans since the nation's birth. But in fact, the U.S. police force is not so old.

In colonial times, the closest analog was usually a volunteer night watch. Watchmen got a bad rap for drinking on duty, so when towns tried mandatory service, citizens would often pay someone else to serve instead—"ironically, a criminal or a community thug," says Gary Potter, a crime historian at Eastern Kentucky University. The best early example of organized policing is one today's officers might prefer not to see as a comparison point: slave patrols, the first of which was formed in the Carolina colonies in 1704.

Police forces as we would recognize them now date to the mid-19th century,

the first having been created in 1838 in Boston. As the city's commerce boomed, businesses campaigned to transfer the cost of a permanent property-protecting force to the citizenry, arguing that it was for the collective good. Other major U.S. cities followed suit, prompted in part by the rise of organized labor and the arrival of waves of immigrants. Those made anxious by such changes called for law and order. But the rise of political machines and then Prohibition opened police forces up to new kinds of corruption.

It was later, in Kennedy's lifetime, that a movement took hold to professionalize the U.S. police force, which ultimately enabled the system we have in place today.

—OLIVIA B. WAXMAN

► For more on these stories, visit [time.com/history](http://time.com/history)



### DATA THIS JUST IN

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

**1**

#### TEENS ARE DRINKING LESS

CDC data shows that the prevalence of underage teen drinking in 2015 was 32.8%—its lowest point since 1991, when the rate was 50.8%.

**2**

#### PEOPLE WITH HIV ARE LIVING LONGER

A report in *Lancet HIV* that analyzed data from over 88,000 people in 18 cohort studies worldwide showed that people infected with HIV in recent years are living roughly 10 years longer than those who were infected in the 1990s, largely thanks to anti-HIV drugs and improved health care.

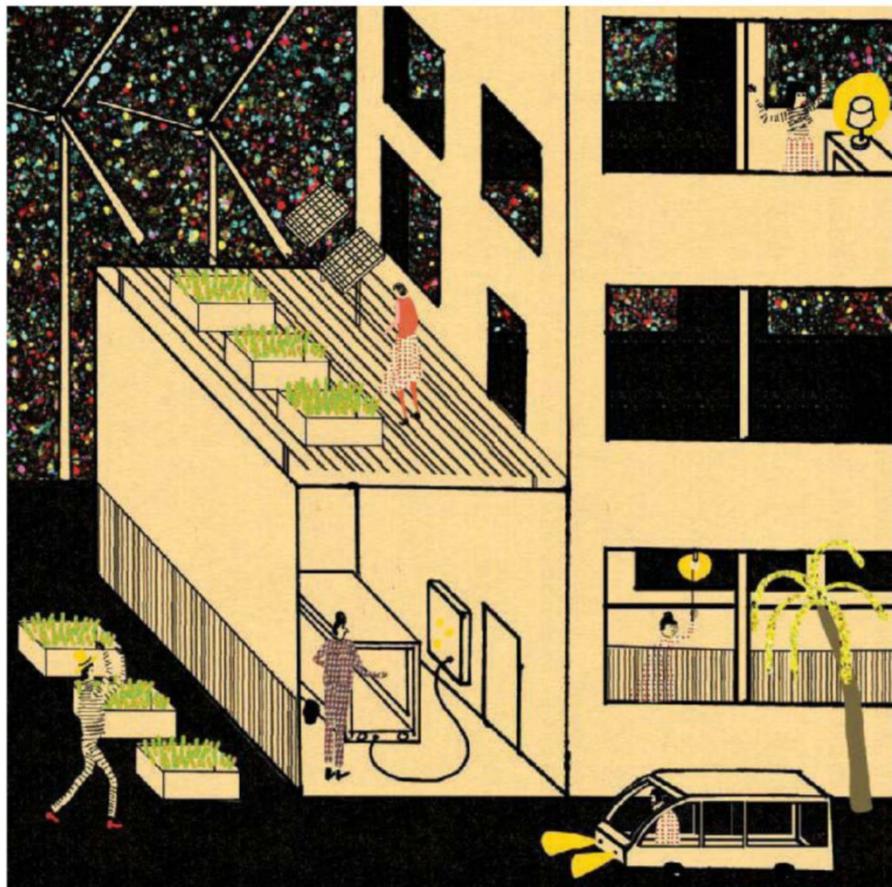


**3**

#### EXERCISE KEEPS YOUR CELLS YOUNGER

A large, multiyear study in *Preventive Medicine* found that people's telomeres—the parts of DNA that get shorter as we age—were significantly longer in those who exercised often, compared with those who were sedentary.

—J.Z.



### NATION

## Why your power company wants to sell you more than electricity

By Justin Worland

THE 2,600-SQ.-FT. TAN HOUSE IN Houston Heights looks like any other in the neighborhood five miles from the city's booming downtown: paneled siding; a tidy, verdant yard; and a kitchen updated with granite countertops.

Look deeper, however, and the home becomes a model of energy efficiency. Solar panels line the roof, a lithium-ion battery stores energy collected on-site, and automated window shades help keep the interior cool. Most surprising? The home was created as a model by the Texas-based energy provider Reliant.

Building a house that helps consumers save energy may seem counterintuitive for a company that makes money selling electricity, but it's just the latest step utilities are taking

to prepare for the nation's energy future. Increasingly, consumers are using smart thermostats to reduce their energy footprint, producing their own electricity with solar panels and saving it for future use with a home battery. As a result, utilities are working to expand their services and even encourage consumers to use less electricity—once an unthinkable notion.

"Utilities are really beginning to realize that the world has shifted," says Accenture global managing director Tony Masella, who advises power companies. "It's not something that will happen in five years. It's happening now."

In response, utilities across the country are transforming from electron

purveyors into energy-service providers. In Georgia, homeowners can now buy solar panels directly from Georgia Power, while Vermonters can get a new battery for their house from Green Mountain Power. Across electricity-gobbling Central and Southern California, consumers can use Southern California Edison's digital home-energy-adviser tool to get tailored recommendations for reducing their usage—and their bill.

These changes are mostly at the margins so far, with little bearing on the companies' bottom lines. But they represent a dramatic shift in thinking. For more than a century, U.S. utilities counted on a guaranteed customer base and charged them a set rate, often based on a calculation made by state regulators. Freed from the burden of finding customers, the companies focused on maintenance and delivery issues and largely left consumers alone.

The rise of renewable power, particularly the rapid growth in rooftop solar, has changed the calculus. More than 1 million homeowners installed solar panels by 2016, and the number is expected to reach 2 million by 2018. At the same time, battery technology continues to advance. "In time, innovation will enable an era of personal power, and it's not if—it's when," says Elizabeth Killinger, president of Reliant Energy. "We have to win the hearts and minds of our customers every single day."

The change will also mean a shift in how—and how much—consumers think about energy. A recent Accenture report found that the average U.S. energy consumer spends only nine minutes each year dealing with their provider, mostly involving problems like billing and outages. Utilities are trying to improve the relationship, sending emails to warn about unusually high usage and offering tailored efficiency tips, like a note to a warehouse operator on the value of motion-activated lighting.

Still, all of these steps are no substitute for scale. "If people really want solar on their private residence, they can get it," says Lisa Wood, executive director of the Institute for Electric Innovation, a utility-backed group. "It's still far cheaper to build a large solar facility." □



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## Searching for a soul mate is futile. The ideal partner is the one you create

By Ada Calhoun

"GIVEN THAT YOU HAVE 500,000,000 POTENTIAL soul mates," writes Randall Munroe in the science book *What If?*, "you would find true love only in one lifetime out of 10,000."

A cousin of mine gave a toast along these lines at his brother's wedding. He calculated the odds of finding the one person "meant for you," given the billions of people on the planet, the number of people you're likely to meet in the course of your life and the fact that in the scheme of human history, none of us stay in a corporeal body for very long. The toast concluded: "So I think the odds are against your being soul mates, but that doesn't make it less of a miracle that you found each other."

But the soul-mate ideal just won't go away. You see it invoked in dating profiles, in rom-coms and on *The Bachelor*.

The concept dates back at least to Plato's *Symposium*. Zeus, seeking to humble humans, split them in half, forcing us to wander in search of our other half: "So ancient is the desire of one another which is implanted in us, reuniting our original nature, making one of two and healing the state of man."

While romantic, this has done an awful lot of damage: creating impossible-to-meet expectations; making people think that a happy, healthy relationship isn't good enough; and tricking people into holding out for "the one."

I've experienced that feeling of love at first sight that signifies encountering one's soul mate. It was magical, and then, quite quickly, it dissolved by the sobering light of day, thanks to the pressures of real life. If that man was my soul mate, then soul mates are overrated.

**MY FAVORITE WRITER** on the subject of soul mates is J.R.R. Tolkien, who was in love with his wife Edith from his teens until her death at age 82. He acknowledged that soul mates are pretty good in theory: "In such great inevitable love, often love at first sight, we catch a vision, I suppose, of marriage as it should have been in an unfallen world."

In a letter to his son, he presented a far more nuanced and compelling approach to what a real soul mate is. Was there someone out there theoretically better suited to him than Edith? Probably. But so what?

"Only a very wise man at the end of his life could make a sound judgment concerning whom, amongst the total possible chances, he ought most profitably to have married," Tolkien wrote. "Nearly all marriages, even happy ones, are mistakes: in the sense that almost certainly (in a more perfect world, or even with a little more care in this very imperfect one) both partners might have found more suitable mates."

Tolkien blamed our obsession with soul mates on the

### FINDING THE ONE

88%

Percentage of Americans who cited love as a very important reason to get married, according to a Pew study; the second biggest reason: making a lifelong commitment

3.2

Number of divorces and annulments per 1,000 total population that took place in 2014, according to the CDC, as the nationwide divorce rate continued to drop

Romantic chivalric tradition: "Its weakness is, of course, that it began as an artificial courtly game, a way of enjoying love for its own sake ... It takes, or at any rate has in the past taken, the young man's eye off women as they are"—that is, "companions in shipwreck not guiding stars."

I love that: companions in shipwreck. True soul mates are made, not born. This tracks with what I see in long-lasting marriages. It takes time for many of even the most loving couples to feel like kindred spirits. It isn't something that happens in the first hour, or even the first year. It takes time, and patience, and commitment.

"**HE'S VERY EFFICIENT**," one woman I know said, looking at her husband with so much affection that I felt like I was intruding. "And I procrastinate. We used to fight about it all the time, but now we just work around each other. He lets me sit there and drink coffee in the morning while he bustles around. When we're on vacation, we spend one day the way he wants to—usually getting up early and driving to every bakery in town—and the next day the way I want to—sleeping in, strolling. We take care of each other. But we had to learn that, how to sync up."

Another friend told me that his tradition-minded parents, an adorable couple who appeared to the outside world to be soul mates, didn't have much to bind them together when they married: "She was Jewish, and he had a good job. That was enough." They struggled while their kids were growing up, resolving to stay together until the nest was empty and then go their separate ways. But something funny happened: by the time the children were grown, neither wanted to leave.

Our old notion of soul mates is not helpful. "The 'real soul-mate,'" Tolkien wrote, "is the one you are actually married to."

Wedding  
Toasts  
I'll Never  
Give  
Ada  
Calhoun

Calhoun is the author of the new memoir *Wedding Toasts I'll Never Give*

## Trump's aggressive moves in a sloppy game of political chess may be his undoing

By Bob Ferguson

THE MOST AGGRESSIVE OPENING IN CHESS IS CALLED the King's Gambit. On the second move, White sacrifices a pawn that typically protects his king for a blitzkrieg assault on Black. It's audacious. With no preparation, no careful groundwork, White signals his intent to wipe his opponent off the board. In the early 20th century, the King's Gambit led to many brilliant victories. But through careful preparation, grand masters discovered that they could place White on the defensive by capitalizing on weaknesses created by the aggressive opening.

President Trump is playing the political version of the King's Gambit—and his electoral victory was certainly an example of early success. But his approach leaves vulnerabilities that undermine his attacks.

Trump's first defeat—his travel ban targeting people from Muslim-majority countries—is a good example. My office brought a lawsuit challenging that Executive Order and, within a week, stopped it nationwide. How did we do it?

First, we studied Trump's moves and prepared. During his campaign, Trump said he wanted to create “a total and complete shutdown of Muslims entering the United States.” His adviser Rudy Giuliani explained to Fox News, “When he first announced it, he said, ‘Muslim ban.’ He called me up. He said, ‘Put a commission together. Show me the right way to do it legally.’” Like White sacrificing a pawn on the second move, the President telegraphed his intent to act aggressively. Once Trump told the nation he wanted the travel ban, we marshalled our resources and prepared arguments for the move we knew was coming.

Second, we did not accept Trump's playing field as he presented it. We blunted his action by moving the field of battle to the courtroom. In that setting, Trump was on the defensive. After all, it isn't the loudest voice that prevails before a federal judge—it's the Constitution.

Third, we capitalized on the weaknesses created by Trump's early moves. For example, Trump's team did little, if any, vetting of the travel ban. They failed to ask their own executive agencies to review the Executive Order. In short, it was sloppy.

Additionally, we used Trump's words against him. Those statements about creating a “Muslim ban”? They became evidence in our complaint that the Executive Order was partly motivated by animus against Muslims.

AFTER WE STOPPED the President's original travel ban, Trump issued an all-caps tweet: “SEE YOU IN COURT!” But we had already seen him in court—and defeated him there twice. His tweet revealed only one thing: that the President was playing two moves behind.

Trump's aggressive nature will be his undoing. His firing

of FBI Director James Comey is the latest egregious example.

We have seen this story before: disregard for the rule of law. Sloppy execution with shifting rationales. A President's own Administration caught off guard.

The key to restoring the rule of law is to blunt Trump's aggression and put him on the defensive. That's why I joined 19 fellow attorneys general in calling for the appointment of an independent special counsel to continue Comey's work investigating Russian interference in our elections.

We will see more reckless and aggressive behavior from this Administration. And I will continue to meet weekly with key members of my team to anticipate Trump's next moves.

### ALL THE WRONG MOVES

President Trump has signed 36 Executive Orders in his first four months in office. By comparison, Presidents Obama and Bush 43 averaged 35 and 36 orders per year, respectively.

At a campaign rally, Trump said reversing the Trans-Pacific Partnership required the mind of a “grand chess master. And we don't have any of them.” The U.S. has 93 grand masters, second only to Russia, which has 238.



WHEN TRUMP RECENTLY SIGNED an Executive Order designed to threaten our national monuments, we were prepared. I penned a letter to Interior Secretary Ryan Zinke, warning that any harm to our treasured landmarks would run contrary to federal precedent dating back to Theodore Roosevelt—and would result in legal action from my office.

Additionally, the President recently restarted a coal-leasing program on federal land, despite his refusal to obtain an updated environmental assessment, as required by law. Together with the attorneys general of California, New Mexico and New York, I challenged the Administration's action, filing suit in federal court.

My fellow attorneys general and I will continue to anticipate Trump's aggressive moves and hold him accountable. We will be prepared. And we will counter his unlawful, ill-conceived gambits. Frankly, that's our job. We represent the first line of defense to uphold the rule of law.

What became of the King's Gambit? Today it is rarely seen at the top levels of international chess, because elite players know how to react—by turning aggression into weakness.

Ferguson is an internationally rated chess master and the attorney general for Washington State



Nation

# TRUMP'

# S LOYALTY TEST

**HOW THE  
PRESIDENT'S  
ACTIONS ARE  
STRAINING  
GOVERNMENT  
INSTITUTIONS  
AND THE PEOPLE  
WHO WORK  
FOR THEM**

BY MICHAEL SCHERER  
AND ALEX ALTMAN

*Televisions in  
the West Wing  
were tuned on  
May 15 to reports  
that Trump had  
shared intelligence  
with the Russian  
Foreign Minister*

PHOTOGRAPH BY  
JONATHAN ERNST





**IN THE OVAL OFFICE, SENIOR AIDES TO** President Donald Trump sometimes steal glances at one another while he speaks. Silent and stone-faced, they dare not say what they are thinking, but they communicate nonetheless. Beyond the President's earshot and eyeshot, the concern comes through in less subtle ways. The West Wing's thick walls, even with the TV turned up, cannot muffle the sounds of staffers shouting behind closed doors.

It is a terrible thing to work every day for long hours in a hostile environment you can't control. It is worse when the stakes are as consequential as those at the White House, when your public reputation is on the line and when the man in charge blames those around him for his self-made misfortune. The fourth month of the Trump presidency has unfolded with all the suspense of a reality show. No one knows what will happen next because the President changes his mind in real time. "We watch Twitter," says one aide. "We're just as in the dark," allows another.

Senior officials walk through the building with funereal looks on their faces. Others complain that the White House is being "paralyzed" by the commotion. "He likes everyone always being on thin ice," explains one adviser of the President's management style. A few West Wing aides have begun to look for lifeboats, shopping résumés to think tanks, super PACs and corporate communications firms in the market for anyone who can make sense of the White House's bizarre workings. When news broke on May 15 that the President had revealed sensitive classified information to the Russian Foreign Minister and the Russian ambassador in an Oval Office meeting, one White House staffer sent a message to a friend outside the building: FML, read the text—abbreviated millennial slang for an unprintable curse on one's own life.

The President they serve, duly elected by the nation, has decided to govern as he lived before winning the election: impulsively, extemporaneously, with his emotions on full display. But the effect has been different in the White House. There, his decisions have jeopardized foreign intelligence relationships, affected ongoing criminal investigations and provoked the investigatory powers of the FBI and Congress.

No less than Vice President Mike Pence has been caught as collateral damage, his credibility in question after he falsely described the reason for the firing of FBI Director James Comey—only to be contradicted a day later by the President. "The good news is that if you don't like a decision, there's a good chance the President will come up with a new one if he watches enough *Fox & Friends*," deadpans another senior White House aide.

That leaves White House staff struggling to create a structure that will allow him to succeed. Some are grappling with how much they should try to dissuade the boss when he has his mind made up. Many wrestle with how they can maintain their own reputations while proving their loyalty by going on television to defend him. "It's exhausting," says a midlevel aide. "Just when you think the pace is unsustainable, it accelerates. The moment it gets quiet is when the next crisis happens."

In the end, how to respond is a decision each person must make alone. The presidency of Donald Trump, in short, has become an acute test for those helping to lead the nation. At the White House, up on Capitol Hill and in the bowels of the three-letter national security and law-enforcement agencies, men and women are weighing the sometimes conflicting interests of their country, their careers and the President they serve.

It is a political dilemma, to be sure, but also a moral one: a test of allegiance to the truth, to the law and to the traditions of

government. For many, the priority now is to limit the damage so the mistakes that have been made don't multiply into something more disastrous. "The situation is what it is," Andrew Card, former chief of staff to President George W. Bush, told MSNBC. "And we have to mitigate it."

**FOR TRUMP,** the learning curve at the White House has been steep. In 2014, Trump said the thing he looks for most in an employee is loyalty. And for decades that is what he demanded, dismissing advisers and executives whose commitment or capacity he came to doubt. But loyalty in business flows directly to the boss. In the federal government, allegiance is sworn to the Constitution, and evidence is growing that Trump does not understand the difference.

Associates of Comey's say the President repeatedly asked for the top law-enforcement officer's loyalty at a private White House dinner in January, even though the FBI director should be loyal to the law only, and at the time Comey was investigating Russian interference in the election and possible ties to Trump's campaign. Then in February, Comey met privately with Trump in the Oval Office, and, according to a memo he wrote at the time, the subject of the recently fired National Security Adviser Michael Flynn came up. "I hope you can see your way clear to letting this go, to letting Flynn go," Trump told Comey, according to the notes, which were first reported by the New York Times. Although short of a command, the plain language of the request, if accurate, comes dangerously close to a President intervening in a criminal investigation of his own associate.

The White House denies both claims. But no one can dispute Trump's singular, at times disproportionate, obsession with anything concerning the investigation into Russia's involvement in the 2016 election. Nor does the White House deny the President's decision on May 10 to give classified intelligence about the Islamic State, which had been handed over by a foreign intelligence service, to the Russian Foreign Minister, whom Trump had invited to the Oval Office. That development, first reported by the Washington Post and apparently a spontaneous boast, appeared to violate

## 'HE LIKES EVERYONE BEING ON THIN ICE.'

—WHITE HOUSE ADVISER



long-standing commitments for the U.S. not to share intelligence from allies without permission. Trump's second National Security Adviser, H.R. McMaster, argued that the decision was "wholly appropriate," adding that the President did not even know the source of the information he described to the Russians. McMaster, who wrote a book about military officials' failure to challenge a doomed strategy in Vietnam, appeared to be threading the needle, maintaining his loyalty to Trump, while carefully protecting his own reputation by declining to deny the facts of the President's actions.

And so the Russia specter continues to descend from several directions on the executive mansion. Anger at U.S. Attorney General Jeff Sessions' decision to recuse himself from the investigation led Trump to tweet a false accusation that President Obama had wiretapped his campaign at Trump Tower. Trump has never given up that claim, even as evidence compounded against it. Instead he has argued that the entire Russia-muddling investigation is a sham—and that "wiretapping" can mean things not found in the dictionary—even railing at a

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*Republican Senator Bob Corker, surrounded by reporters on May 16, sharply criticized a White House in growing disarray*

televised hearing in the presence of TIME reporters on May 8. Three days later, the President admitted that Comey's pursuit of the Russia investigation played a role in his dismissal, after first announcing to the world that he was only acting on the recommendation of his Deputy Attorney General, who faulted Comey's handling of Hillary Clinton's emails.

All these claims have put the country and its caretakers on notice. For a small group of influential officials, the proper response to this test has been to go public, albeit anonymously. A flood of leaks has resulted, allowing the national press to fulfill its role as a check on the powerful. Similarly, officials at the nation's investigative agencies continue to remind themselves of their professional code. "It is significant that we take an oath to support and defend the Constitution and not an individual leader, ruler, office or entity," reads an explainer on the oath on

the FBI website. "A government based on individuals—who are inconsistent, fallible and often prone to error—too easily leads to tyranny on the one extreme or anarchy on the other."

In practice, this means the FBI is built to resist loyalty requests from a President. Andrew McCabe, the bureau's acting director and a candidate for the job, has testified to the Senate that there will be no letup, whatever the wishes of the President, in the inquiry into his campaign's contacts with the Russians. "There has been no effort to impede our investigation to date," he said. "You cannot stop the men and women of the FBI from doing the right thing, from protecting the American people, from upholding the Constitution."

Deputy Attorney General Rod Rosenstein has echoed the same line. In office less than a month, he wrote a memo urging Comey's firing on the grounds that the FBI director had mishandled the investigation into Clinton's emails. For less than 48 hours, Trump adopted this memo as his justification before recanting, and then openly citing the Russia investigation as the cause. With the embarrassing episode behind him, Rosenstein says he plans to



return to his primary mission, regardless of the questioning of his motives. "I took an oath to preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States," Rosenstein said in a May 15 speech to business owners in Baltimore. "There is nothing in that oath about my reputation."

Two days later, Deputy Attorney General Rosenstein acceded to the demands of Democrats in Congress by appointing a special counsel, former FBI Director Robert S. Mueller III, to take over direction of the Russia investigation, creating a new buffer to protect the probe from political interference. Mueller ran the FBI from 2001 to 2013.

**THE SYSTEM DEMANDS** a different role to be played by the elected members of Congress, who pledge allegiance to the Constitution but are directly answerable to voters. Here, too, two weeks of disturbing revelations from the White House have begun to shift calculations. For Democrats, the pressure to oppose Trump is overwhelming. For most Republicans, loyalty to the President will last as long as their interests align.

So far, the GOP's 52 Senators have all voted in accordance with the Trump Administration's preferences at least 88% of

McMaster at the briefing-room podium, defending Trump's decision to share intelligence with Russia

the time. But in sotto voce conversations across the Capitol, Republican lawmakers are venting about the President's recklessness. At a minimum, they are fed up with his antics. Some question his suitability for the job. "Probably two-thirds of the Republicans in the Senate are deeply worried about President Trump," says Senator Tim Kaine, the Virginia Democrat who was Clinton's running mate in 2016. "A handful have been willing to say so."

But the past few weeks have done little to dent Trump's popularity among Republican voters. White House aides remain confident that most Trump supporters see the scandals primarily as media creations. "Our shock absorbers are thick," says one senior White House official, citing campaign controversies like the Access Hollywood tape. When Richard Nixon resigned from office in 1974, 24% of the American public still approved of his presidency. That was more than two years after the Watergate break-in. As it stands, according to Gallup, 38% of Americans

support Trump. But that includes more than 70% of Republicans in recent polls. "There is an overwhelming percentage of Republican [voters] who are still loyal to Trump," explains Illinois Senator Dick Durbin, the chamber's second-ranking Democrat. "And so it unnerves them when they think about retaining control of the House and Senate."

Republican leaders have mostly gone to ground. House Speaker Paul Ryan has tried to change the subject, holding a press conference about tax reform in the midst of the uproar and offering only a weak assurance that he maintains confidence in the President. Senate majority leader Mitch McConnell has repeated his patient requests for less White House drama. Others have begun to break ranks more forcefully. "The White House has got to do something soon to bring itself under control and in order," said Senator Bob Corker of Tennessee, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. "Obviously, they're in a downward spiral right now." In an interview with TIME, Senator John McCain exhorted colleagues to stop carrying water for the President. "I can't relate to those people who weather-vane," fumed McCain. "Do what's right." He later told an audience that the waves

of revelations were reaching “Watergate size and scale.”

On the House side, Utah Representative Jason Chaffetz, who has announced that he will not seek re-election, sent a letter to the FBI on May 16 requesting all memos, notes and recordings relating to communications between Comey and the President. The House and Senate Intelligence Committees have also promised to press on with their investigations, as has South Carolina Senator Lindsey Graham, who is leading a separate inquiry.

Top communications advisers to House and Senate Republicans have given up trying to coordinate messages with the White House, since no one is sure what the President will do next. In a telling sign of where the power in the White House lies, the calls of concern are going not to White House chief of staff and former party chairman Reince Priebus but rather to Trump’s son-in-law Jared Kushner, who has been quiet as the scandals have multiplied. “Jared,” says one longtime Senate campaign strategist, “might be the only one who can dig us out.”

**THAT DOESN'T SOLVE** the immediate problems that White House staff face in preventing Trump from further unforced errors. Inside the West Wing, daily staff meetings have become solemn affairs, with aides waiting for the next shoe to drop and no one quite sure whom the President will take counsel from next. “It's really grim,” says one White House aide.

The dominant narratives of the early days of the Trump White House have proved wrong in recent weeks. Those who diagnosed chaos missed the controlling order. Those who focused on ideological splits, between globalists and nationalists, conservatives and moderates, missed the larger picture. The President is not living alone under siege, nor is he unaware of what is transpiring around him. The more operative divide now is that between those who are there to serve Trump himself and those who toil for the institution of the presidency.

There's a chief of staff, a Vice President and a National Security Adviser leading hundreds of political and career employees working to keep the lights on. No one in this group has worked with Trump for more than a couple of years. Then there is a separate staff of Trump loyalists—a shadow Trump organization within the West Wing. It includes family members like Jared Kushner and Ivanka Trump; Trump Tower veterans like Keith Schiller, Hope Hicks, Dan Scavino Jr. and Jason Greenblatt; plus the coterie of outside friends who serve as a sort of rump Cabinet.

Both factions have labored to protect the President from his worst instincts. Aides have tried everything from restricting access to the Oval Office to filling the President's schedule in a futile bid to minimize distractions. Staffers are frustrated by leaks about staff turmoil coming from Trump's extended circle

of allies. But Trump has so far resisted attempts to impose order, insisting on long stretches of unstructured time to watch television and call allies. Unlike most CEOs, he is an “instinctive and reactive” leader, in the words of one aide, “unwilling or incapable” of hewing to a long-term strategy. Others inside the White House have likened his itchy Twitter finger and obsession with cable chatter to a drug addict who cannot grasp that his habits have become a problem. A single segment “can take over the day” for the entire West Wing, complains a staffer.

The result is a dysfunctional workplace. The President has made clear that he believes he has been let down by his staff. Meanwhile, his staff is increasingly hesitant to sacrifice their credibility for a boss who won't protect them. When news of the classified intelligence given to the Russians came out, the press office, still reeling from supplying bad information on the firing of Comey, sent out McMaster to issue a spirited defense. One day later, when news broke of Comey's memo alleging that Trump had asked him to drop the Flynn investigation, no White House staff rushed to the cameras. Instead, reporters received a denial from the White House by email. No adviser to the President chose to attach their name to his defense. —With reporting by ZEKE J. MILLER, PHILIP ELLIOTT, TESSA BERENSON, ELIZABETH DIAS and SAM FRIZELL/WASHINGTON

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## SPECIAL COUNSEL NAMED IN RUSSIA PROBE



On May 17, Deputy Attorney General Rod Rosenstein appointed former FBI chief Robert Mueller as special counsel to investigate Russia's involvement in the 2016 election. In choosing Mueller to run the Russia probe, Rosenstein has in one fell swoop restored the independence of the Justice Department, tapping a man named to head the FBI by George W. Bush (which will quiet Republicans).

Mueller is James Comey without the drama, a straight-arrow Boy Scout who often favors gray suits, white shirts and red ties.

Mueller insures that no stone will be left unturned, having run both the bureau and overseen its counterintelligence operations as FBI chief. And as a former prosecutor himself, he knows how to run an investigation and still make the FBI jump (not everyone does). So this is a take-no-prisoners move by Rosenstein and a reminder of the old adage: be careful what you wish for. In going back to Mueller, Rosenstein has moved fast and chosen someone above reproach, above politics and who came through his run at the bureau with his reputation not only intact but

enhanced.

Mueller, a former Marine decorated for his service in Vietnam, is a product of the Establishment, having attended St. Paul's, Princeton, New York University and the University of Virginia. He has two postgraduate degrees and comes from the old-money crowd that is Trump's cultural nemesis. In addition to running the FBI, he was No. 2 at the Justice Department and ran its criminal division as well.

His appointment will likely tap down any question of political interference from the Trump Administration. —Michael Duffy

## Special Report

# HACKING DEMOCRACY INSIDE RUSSIA'S SOCIAL MEDIA WAR ON AMERICA

BY MASSIMO CALABRESI

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**ON MARCH 2, A DISTURBING REPORT HIT**

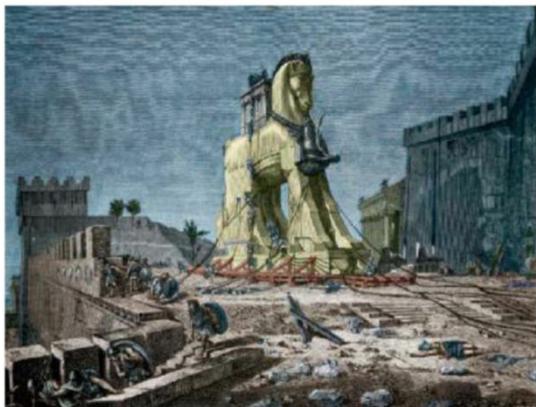
the desks of U.S. counterintelligence officials in Washington. For months, American spy hunters had scrambled to uncover details of Russia's influence operation against the 2016 presidential election. In offices in both D.C. and suburban Virginia, they had created massive wall charts to track the different players in Russia's multipronged scheme. But the report in early March was something new.

It described how Russia had already moved on from the rudimentary email hacks against politicians it had used in 2016. Now the Russians were running a more sophisticated hack on Twitter. The report said the Russians had sent expertly tailored messages carrying malware to more than 10,000 Twitter users in the Defense Department. Depending on the interests of the targets, the messages offered links to stories on recent sporting events or the Oscars, which had taken place the previous weekend. When clicked, the links took users to a Russian-controlled server that downloaded a program allowing Moscow's hackers to take control of the victim's phone or computer—and Twitter account.

As they scrambled to contain the damage from the hack and regain control of any compromised devices, the spy hunters realized they faced a new kind of threat. In 2016, Russia

# HIDDEN PERSUADERS

Disinformation campaigns used through the ages



## THE TROJAN HORSE

In the ultimate hack of ancient times, the Greeks used the Trojan Horse to lull residents of Troy into a false sense of security so that they could slyly enter and destroy the city

## 1517 REFORMATION LEAFLETS

In one of the earliest examples of printed propaganda, Martin Luther turned the masses against the Catholic Church by questioning its practices



had used thousands of covert human agents and robot computer programs to spread disinformation referencing the stolen campaign emails of Hillary Clinton, amplifying their effect. Now counterintelligence officials wondered: What chaos could Moscow unleash with thousands of Twitter handles that spoke in real time with the authority of the armed forces of the United States? At any given moment, perhaps during a natural disaster or a terrorist attack, Pentagon Twitter accounts might send out false information. As each tweet corroborated another, and covert Russian agents amplified the messages even further afield, the result could be panic and confusion.

For many Americans, Russian hacking remains a story about the 2016 election. But there is another story taking shape. Marrying a hundred years of expertise in influence operations to the new world of social media, Russia may finally have gained the ability it long sought but never fully achieved in the Cold War: to alter the course of events in the U.S. by manipulating public opinion. The vast openness and anonymity of social media has cleared a dangerous new route for antidemocratic forces. "Using these technologies, it is possible to undermine democratic government, and it's becoming easier every day," says Rand Waltzman of the Rand Corp., who ran a major Pentagon research program to understand the propaganda threats posed by social media technology.

Current and former officials at the FBI, at the CIA and in Congress now believe the 2016 Russian operation was just the most visible battle in an ongoing information war against global democracy. And they've become more vocal about their concern. "If there has ever been a clarion call for vigilance and action against a threat to the very foundation of our democratic political system, this episode is it," former Director of National Intelligence James Clapper testified before Congress on May 8.

**IF THAT SOUNDS ALARMING**, it helps to understand the battlescape of this new information war. As they tweet and like and upvote their way through social media, Americans generate a vast trove of data on what they think and how they respond to ideas and arguments—literally thousands of expressions of belief every second on Twitter, Facebook, Reddit and Google. All of those digitized convictions are collected and stored, and much of that data is available commercially to anyone with sufficient computing power to take advantage of it.

That's where the algorithms come in. American researchers have found they can use mathematical formulas to segment huge populations into thousands of subgroups according to defining characteristics like religion and political beliefs or taste in TV shows and music. Other algorithms can determine those groups' hot-button issues and identify "followers" among them, pinpointing

those most susceptible to suggestion. Propagandists can then manually craft messages to influence them, deploying covert provocateurs, either humans or automated computer programs known as bots, in hopes of altering their behavior.

That is what Moscow is doing, more than a dozen senior intelligence officials and others investigating Russia's influence operations tell TIME. The Russians "target you and see what you like, what you click on, and see if you're sympathetic or not sympathetic," says a senior intelligence official. Whether and how much they have actually been able to change Americans' behavior is hard to say. But as they have investigated the Russian 2016 operation, intelligence and other officials have found that Moscow has developed sophisticated tactics.

In one case last year, senior intelligence officials tell TIME, a Russian soldier based in Ukraine successfully infiltrated a U.S. social media group by pretending to be a 42-year-old American housewife and weighing in on political debates with specially tailored messages. In another case, officials say, Russia created a fake Facebook account to spread stories on political issues like refugee resettlement to targeted reporters they believed were susceptible to influence.

As Russia expands its cyberpropaganda efforts, the U.S. and its allies are only just beginning to figure out how to fight back. One problem: the fear of Russian influence operations can be more damaging than the operations themselves.



### 1939 AIRBORNE FLYERS

Like the members of this Royal Air Force bomber crew, left, both Axis and Allied powers used “leaflet bombs” during World War II to drop propaganda materials over enemy lines in an attempt to demoralize soldiers

### 2009 KIM POWER

Kim Jong Il, like his father Kim Il Sung and son Kim Jong Un, relied on film, posters, music and art generated by the North Korean government to bolster his regime



### 2016 PIZZAGATE

A conspiracy theory linking members of the Democratic Party to a fake child-sex ring came to a head in December when Edgar Maddison Welch fired shots in a pizza restaurant where the supposed operation was taking place

Eager to appear more powerful than they are, the Russians would consider it a success if you questioned the truth of your news sources, knowing that Moscow might be lurking in your Facebook or Twitter feed. But figuring out if they are is hard. Uncovering “signals that indicate a particular handle is a state-sponsored account is really, really difficult,” says Jared Cohen, president of Jigsaw, a subsidiary of Google’s parent company, Alphabet, which tackles global security challenges.

**LIKE MANY A GOOD SPY TALE,** the story of how the U.S. learned its democracy could be hacked started with loose lips. In May 2016, a Russian military intelligence officer bragged to a colleague that his organization, known as the GRU, was getting ready to pay Clinton back for what President Vladimir Putin believed was an influence operation she had run against him five years earlier as Secretary of State. The GRU, he said, was going to cause chaos in the upcoming U.S. election.

What the officer didn’t know, senior intelligence officials tell TIME, was that U.S. spies were listening. They wrote up the conversation and sent it back to analysts at headquarters, who turned it from raw intelligence into an official report and circulated it. But if the officer’s boast seems like a red flag now, at the time U.S. officials didn’t know what to make of it. “We didn’t really understand the context of it until much later,” says the senior intelligence official. Investigators

now realize that the officer’s boast was the first indication U.S. spies had from their sources that Russia wasn’t just hacking email accounts to collect intelligence but was also considering interfering in the vote. Like much of America, many in the U.S. government hadn’t imagined the kind of influence operation that Russia was preparing to unleash on the 2016 election. Fewer still realized it had been five years in the making.

In 2011, protests in more than 70 cities across Russia had threatened Putin’s control of the Kremlin. The uprising was organized on social media by a popular blogger named Alexei Navalny, who used his blog as well as Twitter and Facebook to get crowds in the streets. Putin’s forces broke out their own social media technique to strike back. When bloggers tried to organize nationwide protests on Twitter using #Triumfalnaya, pro-Kremlin botnets bombarded the hashtag with anti-protester messages and nonsense tweets, making it impossible for

Putin’s opponents to coalesce.

Putin publicly accused then Secretary of State Clinton of running a massive influence operation against his country, saying she had sent “a signal” to protesters and that the State Department had actively worked to fuel the protests. The State Department said it had just funded pro-democracy organizations. Former officials say any such operations—in Russia or elsewhere—would require a special intelligence finding by the President and that Barack Obama was not likely to have issued one.

After his re-election the following year, Putin dispatched his newly installed head of military intelligence, Igor Sergun, to begin repurposing cyberweapons previously used for psychological operations in war zones for use in electioneering. Russian intelligence agencies funded “troll farms,” botnet spamming operations and fake news outlets as part of an expanding focus on psychological operations in cyberspace.

It turns out Putin had outside help. One particularly talented Russian programmer who had worked with social media researchers in the U.S. for 10 years had returned to Moscow and brought with him a trove of algorithms that could be used in influence operations. He was promptly hired by those working for Russian intelligence services, senior intelligence officials tell TIME. “The engineer who built them the algorithms is U.S.-trained,” says the senior intelligence official.

**‘USING THESE TECHNOLOGIES, IT IS POSSIBLE TO UNDERMINE DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT.’**

—RAND WALTZMAN, RAND CORP.

Soon, Putin was aiming his new weapons at the U.S. Following Moscow's April 2014 invasion of Ukraine, the U.S. considered sanctions that would block the export of drilling and fracking technologies to Russia, putting out of reach some \$8.2 trillion in oil reserves that could not be tapped without U.S. technology. As they watched Moscow's intelligence operations in the U.S., American spy hunters saw Russian agents applying their new social media tactics on key aides to members of Congress. Moscow's agents broadcast material on social media and watched how targets responded in an attempt to find those who might support their cause, the senior intelligence official tells TIME. "The Russians started using it on the Hill with staffers," the official says, "to see who is more susceptible to continue this program [and] to see who would be more favorable to what they want to do."

**ON AUG. 7, 2016,** the infamous pharmaceutical executive Martin Shkreli declared that Hillary Clinton had Parkinson's. That story went viral in late August, then took on a life of its own after Clinton fainted from pneumonia and dehydration at a Sept. 11 event in New York City. Elsewhere people invented stories saying Pope Francis had endorsed Trump and Clinton had murdered a DNC staffer. Just before Election Day, a story took off alleging that Clinton and her aides ran a pedophile ring in the basement of a D.C. pizza parlor.

Congressional investigators are looking at how Russia helped stories like these spread to specific audiences. Counter-intelligence officials, meanwhile, have picked up evidence that Russia tried to target particular influencers during the election season who they reasoned would help spread the damaging stories. These officials have seen evidence of Russia using its algorithmic techniques to target the social media accounts of particular reporters, senior intelligence officials tell TIME. "It's not necessarily the journal or the newspaper or the TV show," says the senior intelligence official. "It's the specific reporter that they find who might be a little bit slanted toward believing things, and they'll hit him" with a flood of fake news stories.

Russia plays in every social media space. The intelligence officials have

found that Moscow's agents bought ads on Facebook to target specific populations with propaganda. "They buy the ads, where it says SPONSORED BY—they do that just as much as anybody else does," says the senior intelligence official. (A Facebook official says the company has no evidence of that occurring.) The ranking Democrat on the Senate Intelligence Committee, Mark Warner of Virginia, has said he is looking into why, for example, four of the top five Google search results the day the U.S. released a report on the 2016 operation were links to Russia's TV propaganda arm, RT. (Google says it saw no meddling in this case.) Researchers at the University of Southern California, meanwhile, found that nearly 20% of political tweets in 2016 between Sept. 16 and Oct. 21 were generated by bots of unknown origin; investigators are trying to figure out how many were Russian.

As they dig into the viralizing of such stories, congressional investigations are probing not just Russia's role but whether Moscow had help from the Trump campaign. Sources familiar with the investigations say they are probing two Trump-linked organizations: Cambridge Analytica, a data-analytics company hired by the campaign that is partly owned by deep-pocketed Trump backer Robert Mercer; and Breitbart News, the right-wing website formerly run by Trump's top political adviser Stephen Bannon.

The congressional investigators are looking at ties between those companies and right-wing web personalities based in Eastern Europe who the U.S. believes are Russian fronts, a source familiar with the investigations tells TIME. "Nobody can prove it yet," the source says. In March, McClatchy newspapers reported that FBI counterintelligence investigators were probing whether far-right sites like Breitbart News and Infowars had coordinated

with Russian botnets to blitz social media with anti-Clinton stories, mixing fact and fiction when Trump was doing poorly in the campaign.

There are plenty of people who are skeptical of such a conspiracy, if one existed. Cambridge Analytica touts its ability to use algorithms to microtarget voters, but veteran political operatives have found them ineffective political influencers. Ted Cruz first used their methods during the primary, and his staff ended up concluding they had wasted their money. Mercer, Bannon, Breitbart News and the White House did not answer questions about the congressional probes. A spokesperson for Cambridge Analytica says the company has no ties to Russia or individuals acting as fronts for Moscow and that it is unaware of the probe.

Democratic operatives searching for explanations for Clinton's loss after the election investigated social media trends in the three states that tipped the vote for Trump: Michigan, Wisconsin and Pennsylvania. In each they found what they believe is evidence that key swing voters were being drawn to fake news stories and anti-Clinton stories online. Google searches for the fake pedophilia story circulating under the hashtag #pizzagate, for example, were disproportionately higher in swing districts and not in districts likely to vote for Trump.

The Democratic operatives created a package of background materials on what they had found, suggesting the search behavior might indicate that someone had successfully altered the behavior in key voting districts in key states. They circulated it to fellow party members who are up for a vote in 2018.

**EVEN AS INVESTIGATORS** try to piece together what happened in 2016, they are worrying about what comes next. Russia claims to be able to alter events using cyberpropaganda and is doing what it can to tout its power. In February 2016, a Putin adviser named Andrey Krutskikh compared Russia's information-warfare strategies to the Soviet Union's obtaining a nuclear weapon in the 1940s, David Ignatius of the Washington Post reported. "We are at the verge of having something in the information arena which will allow us to talk to the Americans as equals," Krutskikh said.

## INVESTIGATORS ARE PROBING WHETHER MOSCOW HAD HELP FROM THE TRUMP CAMPAIGN



But if Russia is clearly moving forward, it's less clear how active the U.S. has been. Documents released by former National Security Agency contractor Edward Snowden and published by the Intercept suggested that the British were pursuing social media propaganda and had shared their tactics with the U.S. Chris Inglis, the former No. 2 at the National Security Agency, says the U.S. has not pursued this capability. "The Russians are 10 years ahead of us in being willing to make use of" social media to influence public opinion, he says.

There are signs that the U.S. may be playing in this field, however. From 2010 to 2012, the U.S. Agency for International Development established and ran a "Cuban Twitter" network designed to undermine communist control on the island. At the same time, according to the Associated Press, which discovered the program, the U.S. government hired a contractor to profile Cuban cell phone users, categorizing them as "pro-revolution," "apolitical" or "antirevolutionary."

Much of what is publicly known about the mechanics and techniques of social media propaganda comes from a program at the Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency (DARPA) that the Rand researcher, Waltzman, ran to study how propagandists might manipulate social media in the future. In the Cold War, operatives might distribute disinformation-laden newspapers to targeted political groups or insinuate an agent provocateur into a group of influential intellectuals. By harnessing computing power to segment and target literally millions of people in real time online, Waltzman concluded, you could potentially change behavior "on

*Former Director of National Intelligence James Clapper calls Russian cyberinfluence operations a threat to democracy*

the scale of democratic governments."

In the U.S., public scrutiny of such programs is usually enough to shut them down. In 2014, news articles appeared about the DARPA program and the "Cuban Twitter" project. It was only a year after Snowden had revealed widespread monitoring programs by the government. The DARPA program, already under a cloud, was allowed to expire quietly when its funding ran out in 2015.

In the wake of Russia's 2016 election hack, the question is how to research social media propaganda without violating civil liberties. The need is all the more urgent because the technology continues to advance. While today humans are still required to tailor and distribute messages to specially targeted "susceptibles," in the future crafting and transmitting emotionally powerful messages will be automated.

The U.S. government is constrained in what kind of research it can fund by various laws protecting citizens from domestic propaganda, government electioneering and intrusions on their privacy. Waltzman has started a group called Information Professionals Association with several former information operations officers from the U.S. military to develop defenses against social media influence operations.

**SOCIAL MEDIA COMPANIES** are beginning to realize that they need to take action. Facebook issued a report in April 2017 acknowledging that much disinf-

formation had been spread on its pages and saying it had expanded its security. Google says it has seen no evidence of Russian manipulation of its search results but has updated its algorithms just in case. Twitter claims it has diminished cyberpropaganda by tweaking its algorithms to block cleverly designed bots. "Our algorithms currently work to detect when Twitter accounts are attempting to manipulate Twitter's Trends through inorganic activity, and then automatically adjust," the company said in a statement.

In the meantime, America's best option to protect upcoming votes may be to make it harder for Russia and other bad actors to hide their election-related information operations. When it comes to defeating Russian influence operations, the answer is "transparency, transparency, transparency," says Rhode Island Democratic Senator Sheldon Whitehouse. He has written legislation that would curb the massive, anonymous campaign contributions known as dark money and the widespread use of shell corporations that he says make Russian cyberpropaganda harder to trace and expose.

But much damage has already been done. "The ultimate impact of [the 2016 Russian operation] is we're never going to look at another election without wondering, you know, Is this happening, can we see it happening?" says Jigsaw's Jared Cohen. By raising doubts about the validity of the 2016 vote and the vulnerability of future elections, Russia has achieved its most important objective: undermining the credibility of American democracy.

For now, investigators have added the names of specific trolls and botnets to their wall charts in the offices of intelligence and law-enforcement agencies. They say the best way to compete with the Russian model is by having a better message. "It requires critical thinkers and people who have a more powerful vision" than the cynical Russian view, says former NSA deputy Inglis. And what message is powerful enough to take on the firehose of falsehoods that Russia is deploying in targeted, effective ways across a range of new media? One good place to start: telling the truth. —With reporting by PRATHEEK REBALA/WASHINGTON

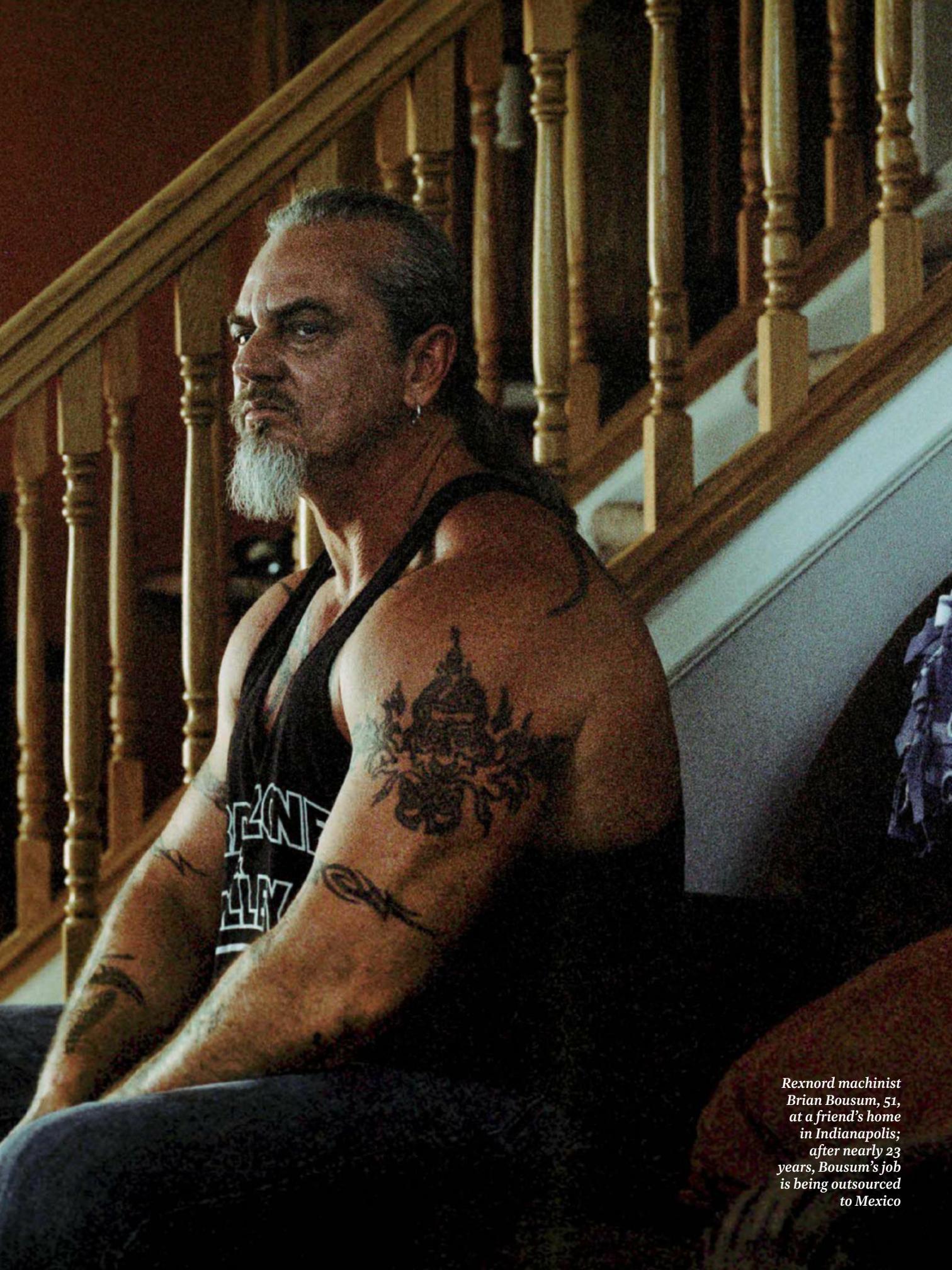


Nation

# THE JOBS THAT WEREN'T SAVED

A mile from the Carrier plant President Trump helped keep open, another factory is moving to Mexico and putting 300 Americans out of work

*By Sean Gregory/Indianapolis*



Rexnord machinist  
Brian Bousum, 51,  
at a friend's home  
in Indianapolis;  
after nearly 23  
years, Bousum's job  
is being outsourced  
to Mexico

# Deep bags sag under Brian Bousum's eyes as he sips whiskey and water in a friend's apartment on a recent Sunday evening. Fifty-one years old, he has spent the past two decades operating screw machines and setting up drill presses at the Rexnord ball-bearing plant on the west side of Indianapolis, a mile from the Carrier factory made famous by President Trump.

For a guy who didn't go to college, he says, the work is hard to beat: the union offered job security and enough overtime to make up to \$75,000 a year, a salary that enabled him to buy his own home with an in-ground pool. Bousum's son joined him at the plant after graduating from high school.

By the end of the summer, however, they'll both be out of a job. Rexnord, a \$1.9 billion company based in Milwaukee, is closing the Indianapolis plant and moving its operations to Mexico. There, labor costs about \$3 an hour, rather than the \$25 Rexnord pays its longest-serving union employees in Indiana. The move will put more than 300 Americans out of work. Before that happens, some of the workers here are taking advantage of Rexnord's offer of an extra \$4 to \$10 an hour to train their Mexican replacements. Others are too pained and too proud.

The outsourcing of America's factory jobs is nothing new, of course. Since 1999, the nation's manufacturing workforce has dropped 28%, from 17.3 million jobs to 12.4 million, as companies flee to countries with cheaper labor costs. Between 2001 and 2016, the U.S. had a net loss of nearly 54,000 manufacturing businesses. In those that remain, more and more work

is being done by robots and advanced computers, which are usually overseen by engineers, programmers and others with at least four-year college degrees.

"This is a runaway train," says Anthony Carnevale, director of the Georgetown University Center on Education and the Workforce. "In the end, technology and global markets improve productivity and benefit all of us. Sadly, it hurts some of us even more."

Donald Trump promised to make the pain stop, and he owes his election in part to the Midwestern factory workers who believed he would make good on the pledge. "I absolutely got sucked into this message," says Rexnord machinist Gary Canter, 46, who has started delivering pizza for Papa John's three nights a week to sock away extra money before his impending layoff. For Bousum, the rationale was simple: "I voted for Trump based on the fact that he could save our jobs."

They had reason to hope in early December, just weeks after Trump's victory, when the President-elect announced a deal with nearby heating- and cooling-equipment manufacturer Carrier to keep 1,100 jobs in Indianapolis rather than move them to Mexico (although some 300 of those "saved" jobs were



white collar positions that were never slated to move). The next day, Trump turned his ire toward Rexnord, which had already announced its relocation plan. "Rexnord of Indiana is moving to Mexico and rather viciously firing all of its 300 workers," the President-elect tweeted. "This is happening all over our country. No more!"

More than five months later, Rexnord is pressing ahead with its move. Senator Joe Donnelly, a Democrat from Indiana, who has discussed the closure with the President, cautions that a last-minute reprieve is unlikely. "I don't want to create false hope," Donnelly tells TIME.

"This has been a very difficult decision and we understand its impact on our associates, their families and the Indianapolis community," Rexnord said



in a statement. But the company, which netted \$68 million in the 2016 fiscal year, noted that “difficult decisions are a part of today’s business environment. To be a viable company that contributes to economic growth, we must meet customers’ needs with high-quality products at competitive prices.”

If Trump’s Carrier deal was a reminder of how the bully pulpit could be used to make the private sector bend, Rexnord’s closure shows its limits—and offers a lesson in the challenges of reversing a global economic trend decades in the making. When Trump tweeted about Rexnord again, on May 7, he said the deal to leave the country was made during his predecessor’s Administration, and alluded to levying “big” taxes on the Mexico-made goods the company will sell in the U.S.

▲  
*After 58 years of manufacturing bearings at this plant in west Indianapolis, Rexnord is moving its operations to Monterrey, Mexico*

But that will not revive an entire way of life in the Midwest—or address the host of knotty economic, social and political issues that come with its demise. “The blue collar life is all I’ve known,” Bousum says, drawing from his glass of whiskey. “How the hell am I going to survive?”

**EVERY WORKPLACE** has a third place, where colleagues go to celebrate a promotion, toast a retirement or simply blow off steam. For many at Carrier and Rexnord, that place is Sully’s, a sports bar across from the Carrier plant, where long-

necks run \$1 on special. Between shifts recently, TJ Bray and Kyle Beaman settled into a booth there to unwind. Beaman, 62, worked in quality control at Rexnord, while Bray, 33, started working at Carrier 15 years ago, one day before his high school graduation.

A year ago, Bray thought he would be the one out of a job. Carrier’s parent company, United Technologies (UTC), announced plans to close its Indianapolis plant and move its jobs to Monterrey, Mexico. Then Trump got involved. At campaign rallies, the candidate relentlessly hammered the company as a job killer, turning Carrier into a symbol of the devastation he said globalization had wreaked on the nation’s workers.

After Trump was elected, UTC, which has done billions of dollars in business with the Department of Defense, agreed to keep union jobs in Indianapolis in exchange for a tax-incentive package and, presumably, an end to the President’s barrage. “I am thankful to the President for what he did,” says Bray.

But even grateful workers worry that their paychecks may not survive future rounds of automation or cost cutting. Torrie Bennett, a 13-year plant veteran, says the mood at Carrier now “is like being in an ugly relationship. They’ve said they want to leave you. So you’re on guard.”

Trump’s intervention reinforced the expectation that he can prevent other companies from moving manufacturing jobs overseas. Asked what he would say to the President if he had the chance, Beaman, who worked his last day at Rexnord in April, is frank: “Can you help us? If you can’t help us, be man enough to tell us. A lot of people are banking on this. Donald Trump, can you save us?”

**AMERICA’S MANUFACTURING** roots reach back almost to the dawn of the nation. Samuel Slater, a cotton spinner’s apprentice from England, opened what’s considered to be America’s first textile factory in Pawtucket, R.I., in 1790. Nine children pushed foot treadles to make spindles of yarn. From that tiny operation grew tens of thousands of factories making everything from the cement lining the Erie Canal to the tracks for the transcontinental railroad to the assembly-line Model Ts that ushered in the automobile age.

By 1943, in the midst of World War II, nearly 4 in 10 of America's nonagricultural workers were employed in manufacturing, producing steel, ships and aircraft for the U.S. war effort; later, such workers produced homes, cars and air conditioners for the ascendant postwar middle class. The jobs were often steady and unionized, the pay good, and the requirements rarely more than a high school diploma and a solid work ethic.

But all that started to die in the early 1980s. Some 19.5 million Americans held manufacturing jobs in 1979, an all-time high. By 1983, the figure was already down to about 16.7 million. By 2024, according to projections from the Bureau of Labor Statistics, just 7.1% of Americans will work in manufacturing.

The reasons are many, but the prime culprits are globalization and automation. In 1991, China accounted for 2.3% of the world's manufacturing exports. In 2001, the country joined the World Trade Organization, and by 2013, China's share of global exports was 18.8%, according to a 2016 study in the *Annual Review of Economics*. Countries such as Mexico and the Philippines have also increased their exports. Labor in these markets tends to be substantially cheaper than in the U.S., and trade deals like NAFTA make it easy for American companies to produce goods in far-flung locales.

To economists, however, America's shrinking manufacturing jobs have less to do with free trade than with robots. The U.S. still produces world-class airplanes, car parts and heavy machinery. Companies just need fewer people to make them. The result, according to the Brookings Institution, is that whereas it took 25 jobs to generate \$1 million in manufacturing output in 1980, today it takes just 6.5 jobs. Many of the nation's factories are more productive than ever, and there is growing demand for workers in so-called advanced manufacturing roles. From 2013 to 2015, 132,000 such jobs were added, according to Brookings.

But these positions increasingly require specialized technical training after high school, with preference often going to those with degrees in science, technology, engineering and math. And the work will be less about fitting pieces together manually than overseeing the robots that do it. Today, according to research from



Don Zering, Rexnord's union rep, at the United Steelworkers Local 1999; he's worked at the company for 44 years

the Boston Consulting Group, robots perform about 10% of manufacturing work around the world. By 2025, they are projected to account for about 25%. "High-skill workers in factories will be managing processes," says David Autor, a professor of economics at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT), "rather than showing off manual dexterity."

Autor's research shows that American workers who lost their manufacturing jobs as a result of trade shocks, like competition from Chinese imports, are likely to make less money and collect more disability benefits over the ensuing decade. He predicts a similar fate for the women and men at Rexnord. "Unless they get very lucky, there won't be another employer out there saying, 'Great, I can use a few more ball-bearing guys,'" says Autor.

Even the rescued Carrier jobs may be vulnerable. In an interview about the deal with CNBC in December, UTC chairman and CEO Greg Hayes said a \$16 million investment to automate tasks in the plant would ultimately reduce the workforce. And the company is moving ahead with the closure of another plant in Huntington, Ind., which workers had

hoped would be included in the Trump deal. When it shutters by early next year, some 700 people will be laid off. "There's no easy way out of this," says Georgetown's Carnevale, who served on national workplace commissions under Presidents Reagan, Clinton and George W. Bush.

So far, the Trump Administration's most notable move on trade has been pulling the U.S. out of the Trans-Pacific Partnership, the 2016 free-trade agreement among a dozen countries including Australia and Japan. The President also rolled back Obama-era environmental and workplace safety reporting regulations in the name of spurring job growth. In addition, he has appointed a number of business-friendly Cabinet Secretaries.

But after pledging to put an end to the nation's economic carnage, Trump has softened some of his most aggressive stances on trade. The President no longer publicly calls China a currency manipulator, a sign that he recognizes the value of the strategic relationship between the world's two largest economies. And after consulting with the leaders of Canada and Mexico, he has agreed not to terminate NAFTA, though he does want to renegotiate the sweeping trade agreement among the three nations that has been in place since 1994. Nor, despite his Rexnord tweet, has Trump backed including the border adjustment tax, a levy on domestic sales and imports favored by House Speaker Paul Ryan, as part of the



## GOP tax-reform effort.

Nevertheless, manufacturers see cause for optimism. The U.S. economy has added some 41,000 manufacturing jobs since February, and large firms such as GM and Hyundai have announced new investments in U.S. factories—often with the White House’s encouragement. Thanks in part to regulatory changes and proposed tax cuts, the National Association of Manufacturers (NAM) says 93% of member companies it surveyed have a positive outlook on the economy—a 20-year high. “What manufacturers see is an agenda from the federal level that is focused on growth,” says Jay Timmons, NAM’s president and CEO.

Many economists are far more skeptical. They say the nature of manufacturing work has fundamentally changed and they don’t believe tax cuts and protectionism can deliver a Rust Belt revival. “Those are not the policy solutions of the future,” says John Van Reenen, a professor of applied economics at MIT. Pointing to the U.S. trade wars of the 1930s that worsened the Great Depression, he says, “Those are the policy failures of the past.”

The trend lines are apparent in a Congressional Research Service report released in early May, which shows that the number of manufacturing workers with graduate degrees increased 35% between 2000 and 2016, while the percentage of workers with just a high school diploma fell by more than a third. “Even if in-

Kyle Beaman and his wife Phyllis, at home in Indianapolis; Beaman, 62, lost his job in April

creased manufacturing output leads to additional employment,” the report concludes, “it is likely to generate little of the routine production work historically performed by workers with lower education levels.”

**AT REXNORD**, the layoffs have started to come in waves, every few weeks bringing news of more colleagues lost. “It’s like buying a ticket for the *Titanic* when you know the ending,” says Brian Reed, who has worked at the plant for 24 years. “You get up every day, and it’s just miserable.”

Rexnord is offering severance packages of one week’s pay for every year worked at the company. Employees who have worked there at least 15 years and whose age and years of service add up to 75 can start drawing on their pension as soon as they’re laid off. Everyone else has to hang on until they turn 65.

While they wait, the plant has been cleaved by the debate over training their replacements. John Leonard, 56, and Mark Elliott, 52, worked side by side for more than two decades, spending more time together than they did with their families. Elliott accepted the offer. Leonard thought they needed to refuse to help out with training as long-shot leverage

to save their gigs. The friends stopped talking for two months as a result. “It’s all about the money,” Elliott says of his choice. The Mexican workers, he says, “didn’t steal those jobs.”

For others, it’s a matter of putting pride ahead of paying the mortgage. “It’s just a moral issue,” says Reed. “You’re helping the company that ripped the life from under you be successful.” As employee John Sullender explains it, “They’ve knocked us down as far as we can be knocked down. I have enough dignity—I’m not going to do that.”

Between sips of whiskey at his friend’s place, Brian Bousum takes the more diplomatic view. He turned down the training offer—but not because he couldn’t use the money. Bousum lost that nice house after his divorce, and after breaking up with his girlfriend he has temporarily become a middle-aged couch surfer. He will likely be laid off just months before being able to tap into his pension.

“How can you blame them for getting every damn dime out of the company they can get?” Bousum asks. And though he couldn’t bring himself to teach his replacement the skills he’s developed over more than 20 years, he knows this isn’t the Mexican workers’ fault. “It can’t be easy for them to be in a place where most people don’t care for them,” Bousum says.

What he’ll miss most about Rexnord is working alongside his son, taking a moment to pray together every day. There is some government money available for retraining, but Bousum is skeptical about his ability to transition as a middle-aged machinist with a high school diploma. Though for decades, that was good enough.

After voting twice for Barack Obama, Bousum pulled the lever for Trump. He liked that Trump was at least talking about reviving American manufacturing and restoring the middle class. Now, Bousum is praying for Trump to make good—even if he knows the faith may not be rewarded.

“I still have hope that something will change, something will happen,” Bousum says. “Donald Trump’s a millionaire. He doesn’t have to worry about hope and faith. But a blue collar guy like me, if you don’t have hope and faith, what do you got?” □

BRATAYLEY



DADDYOFIVE



SHAYTARDS



# Society Growing up in public

*Parents are putting their kids' lives on YouTube and making a living out of having fun. But this family business has a downside* **By Belinda Luscombe**



## ► **Shay Carl Butler came to fame and fortune via a unitard.**

In August 2007, after a video of the father of two dancing in his wife Colette's workout outfit went viral, he realized there might be a business in domestic antics. The former granite-countertop installer, who says he didn't even own a computer until 2004, began recording his life and posting the videos and didn't stop for almost a decade, through weight loss, the birth of three more kids and the ever growing wealth of his family.

Shaytards, as Butler's main channel on YouTube is known, became wildly popular. Collectively, its videos have been watched more than 2.6 billion times. The most popular video—at about 23 million views, titled “WE GOT A SWIMMING POOL!”—is typical; it features 15 minutes of wholesome family fun, in which the most noteworthy thing that happens is that one child reports that another got “hit in the nuts” by a water balloon.

From top:  
The LeBlancs,  
the Martins  
and the Butlers  
have made a  
living by sharing  
such domestic  
moments as  
kids' games,  
Halloween  
and the arrival  
of a baby on  
YouTube. But  
the enterprise  
has come at  
a cost to their  
families

Vlogging—the frequent recording and uploading of personal videos, usually on YouTube—has become a big business, or rather a sea of businesses, with operators as small as one person and as large as a massive production company. (Butler was one of the co-founders of Maker Studios, a conglomerate of YouTube channels that was sold to Disney for \$500 million in 2014 but absorbed into the company on May 4.) And family vlogging is the ultimate family business: you literally get paid for raising your kids. The more fun a family has, the more viewers and, ergo, money they get. Popular clans can attract sponsorship, advertising and, at the very least, a lot of free stuff to play with on camera. Brands seeking a PG-rated YouTube outlet have flocked to family vloggers like the Mormon-raised Butlers, who now live on a huge property, complete with a studio and horses, in Idaho. YouTube metrics firms estimate that the Shaytards channel brings in anything from \$2,000 to \$38,000 every month just in ad revenue.

Thousands of these families live their lives in the lens of the webcam: from the megapopular folks at Family Fun Pack—a family of seven Californians, including parents Kristine and Matt—to We Are the Freemans!, who have just 400 subscribers after five months of daily uploads. And it's a growing genre; YouTube says that time spent watching family vloggers is up 90% over the past year.

But recently, several prominent YouTube families have got into strife, some in the way families often do, only

## ► ‘When I stepped back ... I put myself in other people’s shoes to see how bad this looked.’

HEATHER MARTIN, DaddyOFive

with a lot more spectators, and some because the pressure to get spectators seemed to muddy their judgment. With a camera and an Internet connection, any parents can put their home life on YouTube. But it's becoming clear that a childhood in which a part of every day must be given over to public consumption and commentary is not ideal for every kid, or even every adult. As family vlogging matures, some of its perils are beginning to emerge.

**IN FEBRUARY**, Butler, who had previously said he would leave YouTube in March, abruptly stopped vlogging. A “webcam girl” by the name of Aria Nina released an explicit series of direct Twitter messages the father of five had sent her over the course of a few months. Then Butler announced that he was struggling with alcoholism and needed to rehabilitate. “It’s been impossible to keep up this perfect ‘happiness is a choice’ mentality,” he wrote on Twitter. Since then, Shaytards has gone silent.

The pressure of being the perfect family wasn't what prompted Mike and Heather Martin to shut down

DaddyOFive, which had attracted hundreds of thousands of subscribers and was their chief source of income. In April, the Ijamsville, Md.-based couple were called out by other YouTubers for appearing to be particularly cruel to their younger children Cody, 9, and Emma, 12, during their prank-style videos.

In one video, Cody is blamed for mysterious ink stains on the carpet in his bedroom. He crumples in a confused heap as the elder Martins shout obscenities at him, before they let him in on the joke: it's invisible ink, and they put it there! In another video, the kids are encouraged to flip water bottles with the added twist that if their bottle doesn't land on its base, someone will hit them. That's how Emma gets slapped hard across the face by her stepbrother. The kids insisted that they enjoyed their rough-and-tumble on-camera life, but even with that and an apology from Mike and Heather, Frederick County Circuit Court granted the youngest two kids' biological mother emergency custody.

The Martins are now under a gag order, and through a spokesperson, they declined to comment for this story. But Heather told the Baltimore Sun that things simply got out of hand. “What started out as family fun crossed the line,” she said. “When I stepped back and reflected and looked at how this would appear to other people, I was able to take myself out of character and—me just being Mom—I put myself in other people’s shoes to see how bad that some of this looked.”

Child psychologists say that most

## HOUSEHOLD HITS

### FAMILY FUN PACK

Two teachers, Kristine and Matt, have five kids and one on the way; they're big fans of playing dress-up

**Began:** 2011

**Subscribers:** 5.2 million

**Total views:** 9.4 billion



### EH BEE FAMILY

Canadians Andres and Rossana Burgos came to YouTube after finding fame on the defunct Vine

**Began:** 2013

**Subscribers:** 2.8 million

**Total views:** 300 million



### ALL4TUBEKIDS

Virginia dad Roland Pellegrino was a teacher when he and his daughter Brittany started the vlog

**Began:** 2007

**Subscribers:** 2.6 million

**Total views:** 900 million



kids are very resilient and can adapt to the circumstances in which they are brought up, including fame, but they warn that there are danger areas in family vlogging. "All children want to please their parents," says Harold Koplewicz, a psychiatrist and head of the Child Mind Institute, who adds that the DaddyOFive pranks were clearly abusive. "We trust the caretakers in our lives that they're looking out for us. If they're not, it makes us very anxious and uncomfortable." As they grow into adolescence, he adds, kids need some privacy to be able to make mistakes, and they need parents who are their protectors, not their employers.

YouTube says it took down the DaddyOFive videos that violated its standards and stopped feeding ads to the Martins as soon as viewers alerted it. Malik Ducard, global head of Family and Learning at YouTube, says the vast majority of family vloggers find it to be a positive experience. "I see a lot of true family love in these families," he says. "I feel like they're families I know down the block." Most of them, he adds, don't need to be told to prioritize their loved ones over their viewers.

Some vloggers are well aware of the dangers. "No one knows what the implications [of family vlogging] will be in the future," says Rossana Burgos, matriarch of the megasuccessful Eh Bee Family channel. "And so for us, every single step, we think, How is this going to affect [our kids] in 15 years?" The family has tried to conceal their two

kids' real names, calling them Miss Monkey and Mr. Monkey online, but they get recognized almost everywhere they go. They also don't work every day. "We don't think putting up videos every day is a good idea, especially when you have children involved," Burgos says.

Of course, YouTube fans don't have to meet their idols to interact with them. The company, which is owned by Google, actively encourages its families to engage in the comments section. This can mean that kids could be exposed to a lot of opinions that even adults find hard to negotiate. "Even in the beginning, people would leave really rude comments," Kristine of Family Fun Pack has said. "Really disturbing things." She never knew how seriously to take them. "Is this a kid or a legitimate adult? You never really know." The Eh Bee parents don't allow their kids to be online unless they are in the room with them.

Even when parents' nurturing skills are perfectly appropriate, anonymous commenters can make painful situations worse. After Caleb LeBlanc died in

October 2015 of an undiagnosed heart condition at the age of 14, the Internet swirled with speculation about the "real" cause of his demise. His family, known on YouTube as Bratayley (2.4 billion video views), not only had to deal with shock and grief, but also had to process why so many people were suspicious of the parents. (The Maryland state medical examiner's office confirmed that the death was due to a previously undiagnosed heart condition.) The family still vlogs regularly, because, they say, they want "to be celebrating life."

**DESPITE THE DRAWBACKS,** experts are cautious about criticizing what could just be family scrapbooking writ large. "The effect of fame on children is hard to discern," says Alan Kazdin, director of the Yale Parenting Center, pointing to the social and material advantages that come with it. What famous families sacrifice may be worth less than what they gain. Many of them eventually post a video of their new house. And the Eh Bee family is about to set off on their second trip around the U.S., courtesy of an allergy medication.

And perhaps that, in the end, is what makes family vlogging so irresistible, despite the potential downsides. It forces people to create a more interesting life for the camera. As Missy Lanning, a mother of two and the matriarch of Daily Bumps said in a video of her family's many adventures, "Because we daily vlog, we have chosen to live our life to the fullest, and it's awesome." □

## ► 'We don't think putting up videos every day is a good idea, especially when you have children involved.'

ROSSANA BURGOS, a.k.a. Mama Bee

### DAILY BUMPS

The vlog of Bryan and Missy Lanning grew out of their infertility struggle; they now have two kids

**Began:** 2012  
**Subscribers:** 2.5 million  
**Total views:** 1.7 billion



### SAM AND NIA

The Rader family of Texas got a big boost in fame when the ex-nurse secretly tested his wife's urine for pregnancy

**Began:** 2007  
**Subscribers:** 1.9 million  
**Total views:** 500 million



### SACCOMEJOLYS

Irish-born but based in England, Jonathan and Anna have two kids and six dogs; Anna started as a beauty vlogger

**Began:** 2009  
**Subscribers:** 1.9 million  
**Total views:** 600 million



SUMMER

# Movie

PREVIEW

31

outrageous, romantic, escapist,  
shocking, squee-evoking, nostalgic,  
terrifying, empowering, hilarious,  
thought-provoking, dreamy, feel-good,  
groovy, poetic, muscle-clenching,  
exciting, relaxing, breathtaking, subtle,  
laugh-out-loud, implausible, plausible  
REASONS TO GO TO THE CINEMA

BY SARAH BEGLEY, ELIZA BERMAN,  
RAISA BRUNER, ELIANA DOCKTERMAN,  
LILY ROTHMAN AND MATT VELLA

# IN

**Steven Soderbergh's 1999 summer film *The Limey*, one character tells another, “You’re not specific enough to be a person. You’re more like a vibe.” So it is with summer movies. Although we all have some idea of what one should be—funny, fast, not too taxing on the brain—a strict definition is futile. You just know one when you see it.**

This summer in particular, the movies offer an additional benefit: they're one of the few places we can escape our current nerve-shredding news cycle. To sit quietly in one place for a few hours with your phone turned off—you do turn it off, don't you?—is a rare gift these days. And you don't necessarily have to be a fan of superhero-comic-book extravaganzas to partake, because even though we have a few of those to look forward to—like Patty Jenkins' *Wonder Woman* (June 2), starring the formidable Gal Gadot, and Jon Watts' *Spider-Man: Homecoming* (July 7), in which young English actor Tom Holland assumes the title character's stretchy mantle—the next few months promise offbeat riches for just about everybody.

History nerds will want to see what Christopher Nolan, the king of big-screen spectacles, does with *Dunkirk* (July 21), a dramatization of the near miraculous events there in May 1940. And with *Megan Leavey* (June 9), director Gabriela Cowperthwaite tells the true story of the heroic working partnership between a U.S. Marine corporal (Kate Mara) and her bomb-sniffing dog Rex during the Iraq War. Summer movies aren't always about pure escapism. Sometimes they can help us see where we are by showing us where we've been.

If you were a drive-in habitué in the 1970s, you might have seen Walter Hill's

1978 existential car-chase drama *The Driver*, starring Ryan O'Neal, on a big outdoor screen on a hot summer night. That film—as well as a 1994 Jon Spencer Blues Explosion song called “Bellbottoms”—provided inspiration for Edgar Wright's *Baby Driver* (June 28), in which Ansel Elgort plays an ace getaway driver whose personally selected playlist is the thing that puts a tiger in his tank. Nothing says summer like fast cars, great tunes and cute dudes.

And when, if not in summer, can you laugh at totally dumb stuff, including jokes of the scatological variety? If you feel you need permission to do so, here's a reminder that the tradition of toilet humor has a long, venerable history, going back at least as far as Chaucer's day—he let a fart fly in “The Miller's Tale.” Chaucer would probably be happy to know that one of the most elegant and enjoyable actors today, Patrick Stewart, will provide the voice of Poop in Tony Leondis' animated *The Emoji Movie* (July 28). Toilet humor, done well, is a kind of punk act, a shout of defiance in the face of society's expectations. Plus, sometimes a pile of poop with googly eyes is just funny.

Sure, if you wait, you'll eventually be able to watch any of the films on our list on your smartphone. But doesn't the very idea make you feel lonely? Summer movies were meant to be seen with a crowd. Not to mention with air-conditioning.

—STEPHANIE ZACHAREK



## 1 The scariest Alien alien yet

What are nightmares made of? H.R. Giger, the Swiss surrealist who designed the *Alien* series' terrifying monsters in the 1970s, certainly knew. Even accounting for its acid blood, mouth-within-a-mouth and knifelike tail, the creature's most disconcerting aspect has always been the way it reproduces. A "face hugger" implants an egg into its host until a "chest burster" emerges to grow into a "xenomorph," Greek for "8-ft.-tall murder machine." Now director Ridley Scott is finally taking fans to a place they have long wanted to see: the aliens' home planet. No spoilers. But it turns out that one of the world's most recognizable monsters did not have a happy childhood.

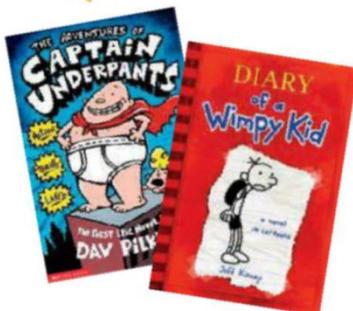
**Alien: Covenant (May 19)**

In the movie reboot of *Baywatch*, the '90s show about lifeguards who run in slow motion, Zac Efron plays an Olympic swimmer sidelined for bad behavior. But if his character never returns to the pool, Efron could have a future as a "physique competitor," says Steve Weinberger, head judge for the National Physique Committee and International Federation of BodyBuilding and Fitness. His assessment: "He just needs a little tweaking and he could be very good." Although the actor, who cut down to 5% body fat for the role, boasts admirable abdominals, "what he really needs is a wider back." (Chin-ups and lateral pull-downs should do the trick, says Weinberger.) How would he fare against the ideal masculine form, Michelangelo's David? "Zac would win," Weinberger rules. "Zac is actually harder than David. And David is pale white," he says. "Zac has nice color. It looks like he's been out in the sun." Doing crunches and saving lives.

**Baywatch (May 25)**



## 4 Movies to encourage reluctant readers



Both Jeff Kinney's *Diary of a Wimpy Kid* and Dav Pilkey's *Captain Underpants* appeal to reluctant readers. And they're both becoming movies. Which is a good thing. American Library Association president Julie Todaro says librarians like movie adaptations since they ultimately gin up excitement for the books they're based on. They're also more popular with boys, who she says are still considered to be behind in reading. And the timing of their releases means they could draw kids to the library when they might not come in as much. "We want kids to read year-round," she says. "We want those skills to continue to the fall."

**Diary of a Wimpy Kid: The Long Haul (May 19); Captain Underpants: The First Epic Movie (June 2)**

## 2 Zac Efron's abs, deltoids, quads and glutes

In the movie reboot of *Baywatch*, the '90s show about lifeguards who run in slow motion, Zac Efron plays an Olympic swimmer sidelined for bad behavior. But if his character never returns to the pool, Efron could have a future as a "physique competitor," says Steve Weinberger, head judge for the National Physique Committee and International Federation of BodyBuilding and Fitness. His assessment: "He just needs a little tweaking and he could be very good." Although the actor, who cut down to 5% body fat for the role, boasts admirable abdominals, "what he really needs is a wider back." (Chin-ups and lateral pull-downs should do the trick, says Weinberger.) How would he fare against the ideal masculine form, Michelangelo's David? "Zac would win," Weinberger rules. "Zac is actually harder than David. And David is pale white," he says. "Zac has nice color. It looks like he's been out in the sun." Doing crunches and saving lives.

3

## Unlikely summer bromances



**DWAYNE JOHNSON AND ZAC EFRON**

In *Baywatch*, Johnson plays a responsible father figure and Efron a Ryan Lochte type who throws up during a race. But the two musclemen overcome machismo to forge a bond as deep as the sea they patrol.



**SAMUEL L. JACKSON AND RYAN REYNOLDS**

Jackson always tests the MPAA's patience with his trademark "motherf---er." He and Reynolds, who proved his proficiency in profanity in *Deadpool*, gird for an escalating swear-athon in *The Hitman's Bodyguard*.



**STEVEN SODERBERGH AND CHANNING TATUM**

Who knew the actor who got his start playing a hunky soccer player in *She's the Man* would form a fruitful partnership with the director of *Traffic*? The duo try to replicate the magic of *Magic Mike* with heist flick *Logan Lucky*.

**Baywatch (May 25); The Hitman's Bodyguard (Aug. 18); Logan Lucky (Aug. 18)**

## 5

## Sequels that just won't quit

We break down the equations behind the summer's biggest franchises

<b>ALIEN: COVENANT</b>	 + CGI + 	-	 + (  × 2 ) =	The 6th film in the franchise tries to answer fans' big questions
	The series' eponymous monster returns ... with better special effects ... and a story about how it was born.	Sigourney Weaver isn't there ...	but Michael Fassbender returns ... playing not one but two androids.	
<b>PIRATES OF THE CARIBBEAN: DEAD MEN TELL NO TALES</b>	(  +  ) + (  +  ) + (  +  ) =	The beloved Disney park ride ... comes alive with Johnny Depp in eyeliner.	Orlando Bloom and Keira Knightley return, but with way less screen time.	Oscar winner Javier Bardem is also there ... as a ghost.
<b>CARS 3</b>	(  3 +  ) ×  =	Lightning McQueen is back, but way older ... plus Armie Hammer lends his voice as a young gun ...	all of which may be boosted by the new Cars ride at Disneyland.	The 3rd Cars film introduces kids to the difficulties of aging
<b>TRANSFORMERS: THE LAST KNIGHT</b>	 ×  -  +  =	The giant talking robots are back ... and they can still transform into vehicles.	Experimental auteur Shia LaBeouf isn't in tow ... but bro's bro Mark Wahlberg returns.	The 5th film keeps it fresh by making good guy Optimus Prime break bad (or so it seems)
<b>DESPICABLE ME 3</b>	(  -  ) ×  + (  × 100 ) =	Star Steve Carell returns ... except now he's warmhearted, not evil.	Plus he plays two characters (twin brothers).	Of course the minions return ... and there's a ton of them, naturally.
<b>AMITYVILLE: THE AWAKENING</b>	 + (  ) +  =	Back in that spooky house ... the occupants are, as usual, clueless ...	though one of them is heavy hitter Jennifer Jason Leigh.	The 19th movie's real horror may be its premise: exorbitant health care costs force Leigh's family to move into a haunted manse
<b>WAR FOR THE PLANET OF THE APES</b>	(  +  ) 10 +  + (  +  ) =	The CGI apes are mad ... and they've got way more brainpower than normal apes.	A backstory about their rise ... includes battling with villain Woody Harrelson ...	The 9th movie gets more apocalyptic as man-ape tensions rise

**Alien: Covenant (May 19); Pirates of the Caribbean: Dead Men Tell No Tales (May 26); Cars 3 (June 16); Transformers: The Last Knight (June 21); Despicable Me 3 (June 30); Amityville: The Awakening (June 30); War for the Planet of the Apes (July 14)**

## 6 Sinister style in period drama *My Cousin Rachel*

Rachel Weisz's character in the adaptation of Daphne du Maurier's best-selling novel is a puzzle: a widow who is either an innocent victim or a treacherous killer—or maybe whatever's in between. The time period of the book is also ambiguous, which let the film's creators decide on one for themselves. Costume designer Dinah Collin says setting the film in 1840 meant they could avoid the stiff crinolines that became popular a decade later as well as the "hilarious" big sleeves of the previous decade. "You want something much more elegant," Collin says. Especially when you're trying to dress a riddle, wrapped in a mystery, inside an enigma.

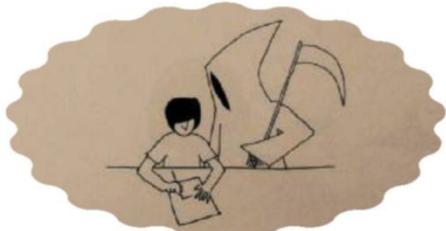
***My Cousin Rachel* (June 9)**



## 9 Poignant illustrations by a comedian

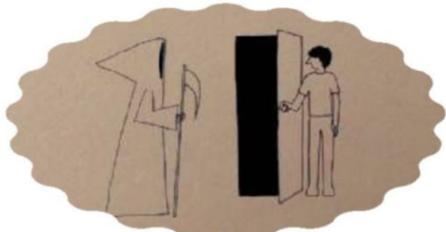
Demetri Martin not only wrote, directed and starred in his moving new comedy but also illustrated it. His interstitial drawings punctuate the story of a man named Dean (Martin) and his father (Kevin Kline), who mourn the loss of Dean's mother and pursue romance on parallel tracks.

***Dean* (June 2)**



### THE SHADOW OF DEATH

Dean does everything he can to escape the cloud of grief over him, from flying across the country to looking for a new love. But the more he avoids reality, the more the Grim Reaper clings to his shadow.



### SHOWING DEATH THE DOOR

Dean learns that grief is best navigated not through avoidance but confrontation. Only once he has acknowledged the pain he wants to escape can he begin to move on, little by little.

## 8

## Tom Cruise's death- (and age-) defying stunts

It was Tom Cruise's idea to film a plane crash in zero G for *The Mummy*. The 54-year-old shot the scene on a plane that NASA astronauts had dubbed the Vomit Comet. "When Tom hears, 'That's not possible,' he goes, 'You just committed yourself to it,'" says director Alex Kurtzman. Here are the numbers behind the set-piece sequence:

***The Mummy* (June 9)**

# 30,000

Number of feet the plane dropped

# 22 0

Seconds of weightlessness for each flight—the time to get the shots right

Number of stunt doubles for Cruise, who didn't lose his lunch

# 64

Number of takes. The crew rode the plane 16 times in a row, twice a day for two days

## 7 Knock-down, drag-out rivalries



### MAN VS. WOMAN

In *Beatriz at Dinner*, an earth-loving healer (Salma Hayek) trades verbal barbs with an earth-leveling developer (John Lithgow) at a dinner party.



### MAN VS. APE

The king of chimps (Andy Serkis) takes the fight to the colonel of a human army (Woody Harrelson) in the latest *Planet of the Apes*.



### MAN VS. CLIMATE CHANGE

In *An Inconvenient Sequel*, a follow-up to his 2006 Oscar winner, former Vice President Al Gore continues his environmental crusade.

***Beatriz at Dinner* (June 9);  
*War for the Planet of the Apes* (July 14);  
*An Inconvenient Sequel* (July 28)**



## 10. Sally Hawkins' whimsy

She'll charm your pants off, then giggle conspiratorially about your pantslessness. She did it in her starmaking turn as an optimistic teacher in 2008's *Happy-Go-Lucky*, and she does it again this summer in *Maudie*, playing real-life Nova Scotia folk artist Maud Lewis. As the arthritic, impoverished, inconceivably cheerful Maudie, Hawkins hums sweet songs and dances like a little girl on the toes of her husband. But these innocent idiosyncrasies aren't childishness. They're born of a sense of wonder—which Hawkins possesses by the gallon.

***Maudie* (June 16)**

## 11 Wonder Woman's upgraded threads

Wonder Woman's outfits have been the subject of controversy over the past 76 years (too revealing! too conservative!). As such, the costume that the Amazonian warrior as played by Gal Gadot dons in her first live-action feature was carefully crafted by costume designer Lindy Hemming (*The Dark Knight*).

***Wonder Woman* (June 2)**

Since she is a harbinger of peace, most of her weapons are defensive, like bullet-blocking bracelets

Yes, Wonder Woman is still in heels, because as Gadot told TIME, "She can be both strong and sexy"

The filmmakers wanted to highlight her warrior status with real armor (rather than latex)

In the comics, Wonder Woman didn't get a sword and shield until the 1980s



## 13 An Oscar-worthy German shepherd



When you're directing a movie that co-stars a dog, it helps if the canine thespian is a German shepherd. Megan Leavey tells the true story of a U.S. Marine (Kate Mara) and her combat dog, Rex. For director Gabriela Cowperthwaite, it's not just the breed's history as working dogs that makes shepherds the Daniel Day-Lewis of their species. "You're looking at this body that's not that far off from a wolf, yet you're seeing a face that's full of expression," she says. "That combination is pretty beautiful. It's hard to take your eyes off of them."

***Megan Leavey* (June 9)**

## 12 Real-life love, rewritten

*Emily V. Gordon and Silicon Valley's Kumail Nanjiani co-wrote a comedy about their courtship. Nanjiani kept Gordon, who is white, a secret from his Pakistani Muslim family; she fell mysteriously ill and was put into a medically induced coma. Then they got married. The movie sparked a bidding war at Sundance, ultimately selling for \$12 million. Here, their tips on how to write about your own love affair:*

**Details matter:** Things like Gordon's favorite brain T-shirt "don't matter to anyone but us, but they're nice, textured details we wanted to make sure were there," she says.

**Humor earns depth:** "If there's a joke and it works," says Nanjiani, "you buy currency you can spend in going to an emotionally deeper place."

**Outside input helps:** "That's how you make it a story instead of your story," says Gordon. "It needs to resonate with people who haven't gone through it."

***The Big Sick* (June 23)**



## 14 The beguiling look of *The Beguiled*

Sofia Coppola's latest focuses on a houseful of ladies during the Civil War. But they're no Little Women. The residents of a girls' boarding school—the headmistress (Nicole Kidman), a teacher (Kirsten Dunst) and a young pupil (Elle Fanning)—take in a wounded Union soldier (Colin Farrell) and end up battling for his sexual attention. (It's a remake of the 1971 classic starring Clint Eastwood.) As the plot darkens, so do Coppola's signature visuals. "In the beginning it's very romantic," she says. The director used a lot of florals and pastels to create "a soft, feminine world." Slowly, it transforms into Southern Gothic. For inspiration, Coppola looked to portraiture from the period, William Eggleston photos and the '70s nature photography that informed her 1999 breakout, *The Virgin Suicides*. "There's a lot about power between male and female dynamics," she says of the new movie. "In *The Virgin Suicides*, the women don't make it. But in this one they take charge of things."

***The Beguiled* (June 23)**

## 17 Baby Driver's insane chases

Ansel Elgort plays a getaway driver with an iPod full of rad tunes and no fear of death. The physics of one marquee stunt—Elgort transports three bank robbers through a narrow alley full of deadly traps—have never been seen on film, says stunt driver Jeremy Fry. Here's how they pulled it off:

***Baby Driver* (June 28)**

55

Speed, in miles per hour, at which Fry initiated the stunt; he came out doing about 30 m.p.h.

3  
Number of takes

180

15  
Total hours of prep

Angle of rotation—in and out of the stunt

100

Inflation, in lb. per sq. in., to keep the tires from gripping the road too much

15

## Another big friendly giant

The hulking creature at the center of the fantastical film *Okja* is friendlier than she may seem. Following his trippy *Snowpiercer*, Korean director Bong Joon-ho spins a tale of a young girl (An Seo Hyun) and her strange, shy pet, Okja, who attracts the attention of a zoologist (Jake Gyllenhaal). When a vain CEO played by a creepy-as-ever Tilda Swinton sweeps up Okja and takes her to New York, the girl sets out to save her. As child-creature bonds go, this story—and its concept art—trend more toward *Pan's Labyrinth* than *Free Willy*. The Netflix film also bridges international waters, dialogue switching between Korean and English.

***Okja* (June 28)**



## 16. The mistress of gore

A *Girl Walks Home Alone at Night* director Ana Lily Amirpour's second film, *The Bad Batch*, begins with cannibals' cutting off a girl's limbs (Suki Waterhouse). The scene sets the tone for a movie about misfits dumped in the desert by the government. It was inspired by Amirpour's watching her orthopedic-surgeon father saw off a patient's leg as a child. "It was him with plastic goggles sawing a man's leg off with a hacksaw, just like in the film. There's no modern gadget," she says.

"It's just a man sawing." Her dad consulted as she wrote, saying, "If I were in the desert, I would saw it off, burn the amputated nub and then put ash on it to keep out infection."

***The Bad Batch* (June 23)**



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18

## Killer soundtracks

A guided tour through some key songs and the scenes they enhance, as explained by a producer, director and music supervisor of three of the summer's most musically minded films:

ALL EYEZ ON ME L.T. HUTTON, PRODUCER	BABY DRIVER EDGAR WRIGHT, DIRECTOR	ATOMIC BLONDE JOHN HOULIHAN, CO-MUSIC SUPERVISOR
<b>"BRENDA'S GOT A BABY"</b> <b>(2PAC)</b> <p>"[At the start of the biopic], 2Pac takes the role of street journalist. He felt a great responsibility to tell stories of the downtrodden. He wanted to rattle the cages. This song made you sit down and think. It brought attention to crack addiction, teenage pregnancy, molestation. It was deep."</p> 	<b>"BELLBOTTOMS"</b> <b>(THE JON SPENCER BLUES EXPLOSION)</b> <p>The song that inspired the whole thing, in a way. It has bombastic opening strings and guitar stabs. Those guitar stabs introduce the four characters in the scene. You see the gang leave Baby (Ansel Elgort) to rob a bank. Then the chase starts."</p>	 <b>"99 RED BALLOONS"</b> <b>(NENA)</b> <p>"It's basically a wedding song in America; people dance to it. But the true meaning: it's an antiwar song. So we used the original Nena in one part of the movie, and in another part, we had this amazing U.K. duo, Kaleida, do a slow down-tempo and make it kind of heavy and poignant."</p>
<b>"I GET AROUND"</b> <b>(2PAC)</b> <p>"It was that contradiction that 2Pac explained: his theory was, you first have to enter somebody's world in order to lead them out. His songs were almost social experiences. You'd be at a cocktail party, having a good time. But there was a speech at the end of it."</p>	<b>"NEAT NEAT NEAT"</b> <b>(THE DAMNED)</b> <p>"It's one of my favorite punk songs from one of the first punk albums in 1976. They have to jump out of the car because they get stuck in traffic. They carjack a second car, and Baby plugs his iPod in and rewinds so he can pick up where he left off."</p>	<b>"FATHER FIGURE"</b> <b>(GEORGE MICHAEL)</b> <p>"Here is Charlize [Theron] kicking ass against a dozen Berlin police officers. She puts on a song and turns it up as a distraction. We went back to George Michael, who was alive at the time. He watched the scene, and we were approved at a price we could afford."</p>
<b>"SO MANY TEARS"</b> <b>(2PAC)</b> <p>"This was right before he went to prison. It was coming from a place where he had seen a lot more about what success would bring. He had been through poverty, now going through success, trying to address police brutality. He never had a record until he had a record."</p>	<b>"HOCUS POCUS"</b> <b>(FOCUS)</b> <p>"It has these yodeling breakdowns. I had this idea of a great foot chase, where it stops suddenly and starts again. The character is running from police, and then he hides for a bit, and then he goes into a mall and has to change clothes. That's a break. It's not a score; it's existing in the moment."</p> 	 <b>"STIGMATA"</b> <b>(MARILYN MANSON)</b> <p>"At this point in the film, we have already been living in the darker shadows and underbelly of Berlin 1989. We go even deeper into this crazy kind of counterculture sex-club scene—it's a wild place. 'Stigmata' captured that for us."</p>
<b>"CALIFORNIA LOVE"</b> <b>(2PAC)</b> <p>"Because he felt a certain way about his early work and how it was perceived, he wanted to have fun and party. Hence songs like 'California Love.' It was a little lighter, but he would drop jewels in these too. It gives insight into where he was at the time."</p> 	<b>"DEBORA"</b> <b>(T. REX)</b> <p>"Ansel finds out [Lily James'] name is Deborah, and he knows a song called 'Debora' by T. Rex. She knows a different 'Debora' song. They have a conversation about the two and then go on a date in the laundromat, and he plays her the one he's talking about."</p>	<b>"UNDER PRESSURE"</b> <b>(DAVID BOWIE AND QUEEN)</b> <p>"This song really captured the feeling that a lot of people had in the late '80s. Many people hear the intro to it and roll their eyes because of Vanilla Ice's unauthorized sampling of it. So we also had a secret mission to take it back as a legitimate song."</p>
All Eyez on Me (June 16)	Baby Driver (June 28)	Atomic Blonde (July 28)

19

## The Grateful Dead jam again

The tie-dyed hordes. The hallucinogenics. The endless solos. The Dead loom large in the history of U.S. counterculture. Director Amir Bar-Lev (*My Kid Could Paint That*) renders loving homage in a film that took years to make. Here, a look at the numbers:

**Long Strange Trip**  
(June 2\*)

**241**  
Minutes in the film

**50**  
Years since the Summer of Love

**2,318**  
Live shows played—more than any other band in history

**48**  
**13**  
Minutes in the band's longest performance of a song ("Dark Star," 5/11/72)  
Members in the band, including two lyricists

**35M**  
Albums sold worldwide (to date)

\*Streams on Amazon

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20

## Peak bad behavior



### KILLER BACHELORETTES

In *Rough Night*, girlfriends on a bachelorette weekend in Miami start with choreographed dance moves and a smidge of cocaine at the club. **Things get out of hand when:** The stripper arrives



### WOMEN GONE WILD

In *Girls Trip* college friends in New Orleans zip-line across Bourbon Street and flash P. Diddy. **Things get out of hand when:** They hallucinate on 200-year-old wormwood absinthe



### MOMMY DRUNKEST

In *Fun Mom Dinner*, moms escape diaper duty with a trip to the cannabis dispensary, '90s karaoke and inappropriate flirting.

**Things get out of hand when:** Adam Levine shows up

**Rough Night** (June 16);  
**Girls Trip** (July 21);  
**Fun Mom Dinner** (Aug. 4)

21

## A fresh hit of '90s nostalgia

*Landline*, a comedy about two sisters (Abby Quinn, below, and Jenny Slate) coming of age in New York City in the 1990s, nails the vibe with the help of these studiously curated artifacts

### Landline (July 21)



**1. Boom box** Like the landline, a relic of decades past **2. CD collection** A selection that likely included Natalie Merchant, who is featured on the soundtrack **3. Wall-to-wall carpeting** The "crappy, comfy gray synthetic carpet" that director Gillian Robespierre recalls from childhood **4. The Robin Byrd Show** A popular, semipornographic late-night cable-access program **5. VHS tapes** Sister Act and Little Women **6. Blockbuster Video mug** From the glory days of the brick-and-mortar movie-rental chain **7. Troll doll** The original fidget spinner **Out of frame** Posters of the Beastie Boys and Sonic Youth, Rolling Stone covers of Winona Ryder, Courtney Love and Liz Phair, and Gund teddy bears

22

## Charlize Theron as a multitalented murderer

Theron isn't afraid to get her finely pressed white coat dirty in *Atomic Blonde*. More resourceful than James Bond, more lethal than Jason Bourne, she uses anything handy in a fight to maim her enemies

### Atomic Blonde (July 28)



STILETTO



CORKSCREW



HOT PLATE



GARDEN HOSE



BACKPACK

23

## Patrick Stewart classes up the john

He began his career in the Royal Shakespeare Company, conquered space-time in *Star Trek: The Next Generation* and led the X-Men to glory. Next up: voicing the poop emoji

**The Emoji Movie** (July 28)

### Do you use the poop emoji often?

I have used it, yes. It's a quite explicit visual statement of how you feel about something.

### Somebody wrote an entire role about poop!

It's not about poop, actually, it's about an emoji representing poop. So there are lots of poop-influenced jokes in it, most of which he makes himself, actually. He's quite self-mocking, which is kind of charming.

### How did you get into character?

There is no getting into character, because I feel as though this is a role I've been waiting all my life to perform.

**Really?** There are two words that I've loved since I was young: *fecal matter*. It's a phrase that I really like, because it's so

unpleasant, so disgusting. I did at one point suggest that he should be called "Mr. Matter," and his first name "Fecal." But of course that wouldn't go down with the fans so well, because, you know, he has to be "Poop." That's his image, and that's his very descriptive name.

**By the way, when your children were little, did you have a preferred euphemism for No. 2?**

Yes, *big job*.

### How do you make poop classy?

You cast an Englishman who's a knight of the realm who can speak with an upper-class accent. You cast me.



24

## Proof that teens make the best heroes

For superhero billionaires (Iron Man), geniuses (the Hulk) and gods (Thor), saving the world may be a breeze. Not so for Spider-Man, who returns to high school this year. He's an average, stressed-out teenager, though he aspires to be a member of the Avengers instead of captain of the soccer team. "It's not so easy to relate to Tony Stark," says 20-year-old Tom Holland, who plays Spidey. "But everyone's gotten tongue-tied around a crush." Holland watched John Hughes films like *The Breakfast Club* to prepare to play Peter Parker, though he admits he needed little tutoring since he was "quite awkward in high school." Angsty teens trying to come to grips with their own power often make the best heroes, like in the original *X-Men* movies or *Kick-Ass*. Holland has another in mind: "My goal is for [Parker] to be my generation's Marty McFly."

**Spider-Man: Homecoming** (July 7)



25

## Sci-fi's most influential comic finally becomes a film



One of the many things the French simply do better is comic books, or *bandes dessinées*. Take *Valérian et Laureline*, created by Pierre Christin and Jean-Claude Mézières in 1967 and published until 2010. It recounted the adventures of a stoic, intergalactic-time cop and his puckish side-kick, and influenced several generations. George Lucas seems to have borrowed from it liberally for *Star Wars*—including the look of the Millennium Falcon, Princess Leia's gold bikini and being frozen in carbonite—as did later blockbusters like *Independence Day* and *The Fifth Element*. But Christin and Mézières' greatest contribution to the genre was their novel concept of the distant future as a lived-in place where technology frequently fails, as well as their vision of the cosmos as a vast bazaar of ever stranger creatures. Now it falls to another Frenchman, director Luc Besson (*The Professional, Lucy*), to introduce *Valérian* to a new generation.

**Valérian and the City of a Thousand Planets** (July 21)



## 24. Christopher Nolan's war

The visionary director (*Inception*) turns to history in *Dunkirk*. The film was shot on location at the same time of year as, and using some of the real boats that took part in, the 1940 evacuation of Allied troops from that port. Nolan found there was no better way to bring to life, at Imax scale, the hazards the troops faced—including not only Nazis but weather and the sea. "We found it challenging enough—those logistics," Nolan says. "And we didn't have anybody trying to drop bombs on us."

**Dunkirk** (July 21)

## 27 The Dark Tower's layered meanings

After a decade of unsuccessful attempts, Stephen King's landmark series is becoming a movie starring Idris Elba and Matthew McConaughey. The story? It's complicated. Here's a guide:

**Published:** Seven books, from 1982 to 2004

**Genres:** Fantasy, western, sci-fi, horror

**Summary:** Roland Deschain (Elba) is the last of a knightly order of cowboys, known as gunslingers, living in the semimagical universe Mid-World. His quest: to hunt down a villain named the Man in Black (McConaughey) and reach the mystic Dark Tower. A boy from our world, Jake, begins having visions of Mid-World that pull him into Deschain's mission.

**Plot themes:** Fate, loss, family, death

**Literary motifs:** Biblical names, water, technology

**Symbols and meanings:** The number 19 (omens), the Horn of Eld (redemption), the Dark Tower (power, evil)

**References:** Robert Browning's poem "Childe Roland to the Dark Tower Came"; *The Lord of the Rings; The Good, the Bad and the Ugly; Harry Potter; Arthurian legends*

### The Dark Tower (Aug. 4)



## 30 The triumph of animated ballerinas

"Isn't it strange that there hasn't been an animated film focused around ballet?" asks Ted Ty, director of animation on *Leap!*, which is exactly that. Maybe it's because animating ballerinas is a challenge, especially in making sure moves don't look "too perfect" and therefore stiff. Ty worked with retired dancer Aurélie Dupont and studied the iconic Edgar Degas statuettes "to get a feeling of how their bones lay and how they stand and their weight, the difference between an adult and a young girl." The hardest step to animate: the fouetté, a turn involving a repeated whipping motion of the leg. "They can look very mechanical if you don't put an intention behind it," Ty says. "Each character's dancing has to reflect their own personality."

### Leap! (Aug. 30)

## 28 Patti Cake\$'s genius flow

Aussie Danielle Macdonald became a Sundance darling as Patti, an aspiring rapper who spins allusion-rich rhymes, like the one below, about escaping her life in New Jersey.

### Patti Cake\$ (Aug. 18)

- 1 It's the Ritz cracker  
Go hard the swagger is Viagra
- 2 I roll stoned through Jersey  
Like Jagger in a Jaguar  
I pull strings like Santana  
at the Copacabana
- 3 Tony Montana meets Soprano  
in a pink bandanna  
I wax that ass like a Brazilian  
I make a million hits
- 4 Rick Rubin-esque I'm fresh to death  
Or till I'm filthy rich
- 5 Big-boned Joan Jett with  
the Black Heart
- 6 White Trish is the ish  
Live from the black shack  
like a Tampax  
We up in this bitch ...

1. A Ritz cracker is a lowbrow snack with a highbrow name, a paradox that resonates with the artist. Cracker is also a derogatory term for a white person. 2. "Roll stoned" refers to driving while high, and Patti alludes to the Rolling Stones' Mick Jagger because she feels like a rock star. 3. Patti invokes gangsters: Al Pacino's Scarface legend Tony Montana and fictional New Jersey mafioso Tony Soprano. 4. Rick Rubin co-founded Def Jam Records, and his name doubles as a term for curvy women, like Patti, which derives from the paintings of Sir Peter Paul Rubens. 5. Rocker Joan Jett's band is the Blackhearts, and Patti feels her own heart is black because she doesn't care what other people think. 6. Another nickname for Patricia, Patti's full name.



## 29. Aubrey Plaza, unhinged

She's a little bit terrifying. Playing a lustful nun (*The Little Hours*) and a stalker in smudged mascara (*Ingrid Goes West*), Plaza has a tendency to roll her chestnut irises, which gleam with the possibility of detonation, to the apex of their sockets.

It's a quality she honed as April Ludgate, the misanthropic municipal cog on *Parks and Recreation*. She once threatened to scoop out a slacking intern's eyes with a melon baller, then gingerly kissed his nose and slapped his face. This is Plaza's sense of humor, more than any given character. And yet, at just the right moment, humanity can flood those eyes.

Menace, but with mercy close behind.

*The Little Hours* (June 30); *Ingrid Goes West* (Aug. 11)

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## That time I failed miserably at charming my own son

Text by Joel Stein; illustrations by Jeff Kinney

IN 2009, JEFF KINNEY WALKED UP TO ME AT THE TIME 100 party and told me he enjoyed my columns, making me instantly like him. I told him I had just had a son, and he said that in six years, Laszlo would be reading his *Diary of a Wimpy Kid* books. This seemed very cocky and not at all wimpy.

So usually, I have to re-re-re-re-read him his favorite *Wimpy* book, *The Long Haul*, which comes out as a movie on May 19. My book was not made into a movie. Possibly because, unlike Kinney, I didn't come up with the apparently hilarious idea of entering a smelly-shoe competition.



Six years later, my son's favorite author was Jeff Kinney. This was upsetting, since my son happened to live with an author, one who made him whatever he wanted for breakfast every day. Also, unlike *Diary of a Wimpy Kid*, which never mentions Laszlo at all, I often write about him.

Every night for the past two years, I've read Laszlo *Diary of a Wimpy Kid* books over and over while he giggles. Every so often, I ask Laszlo if he wants me to instead read him my way funnier book about being wimpy, *Man Made: A Stupid Quest for Masculinity* by Joel Stein, much of which is about him. Once, he said yes, but he got bored after two pages.

I arranged a lunch with Laszlo and Kinney so my son could see what a cocky, unlikable bastard Kinney is. Instead, Kinney, who has been around 100,000 more kids than I have, charmed Laszlo by drawing pictures and actually listening to him talk instead of pretending to listen to him, like I do.

So I will be seeing the new *Wimpy* movie, likely multiple times, while angrily grinding popcorn kernels between my teeth—and hoping that when Kinney's kids hit puberty, they will start to read my columns.

**Diary of a Wimpy Kid: The Long Haul (May 19)**



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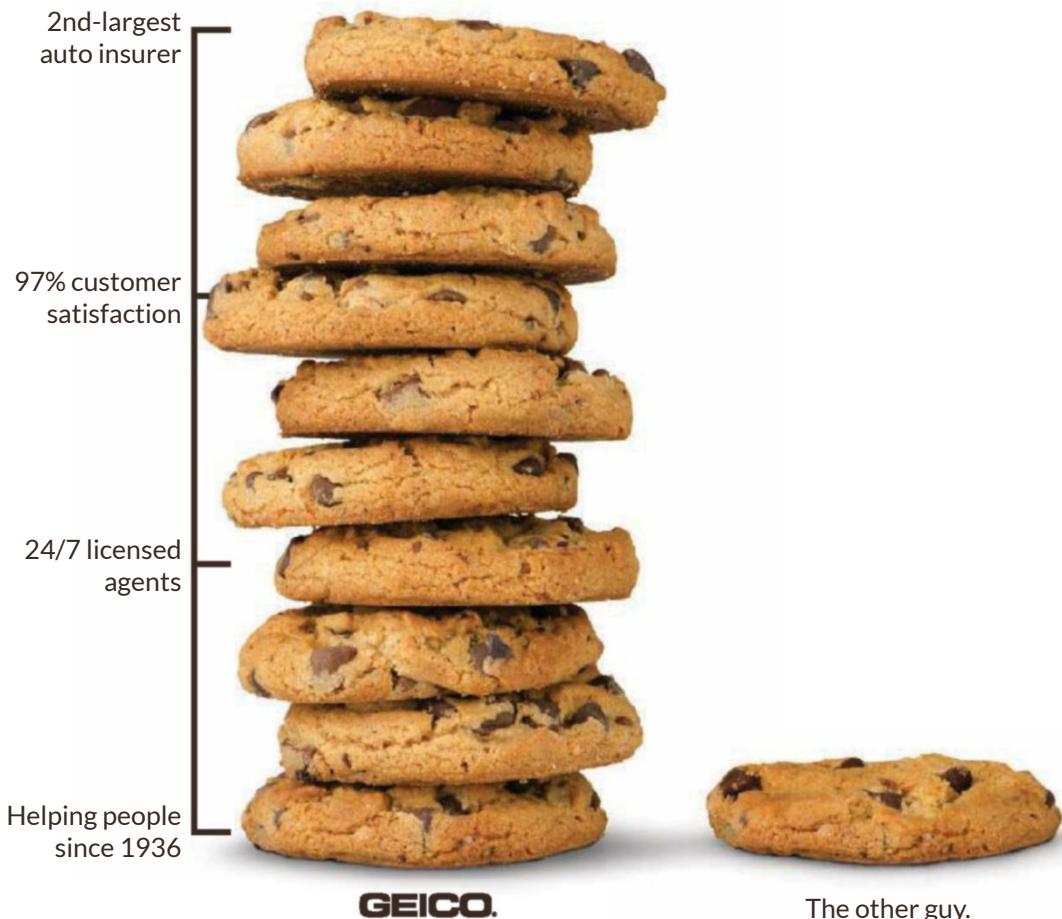
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