

# TIME



>> Sent: Monday, June 06, 2017, 11:32 AM  
 >> To: Donald Trump Jr.  
 >> Subject: **Re: Russia - Clinton - private and confidential**  
 >>  
 >> Hi Don  
 >> Let me know when you are ready to talk via phone about this  
 >> **Hillary info** - you had mentioned early this week so wanted to try  
 >> to schedule a time and day best to you and family. Rob Goldstone  
 >>  
 >> This iphone speaks many languages  
 >>  
 >> On Jun 3, 2016, at 10:53, Donald Trump Jr. <[redacted]> wrote:  
 >>  
 >> Thanks Rob I appreciate that. I am on the road at the moment but perhaps I just  
 >> have some time and if it's what you say I love it especially later in the summer. Could  
 >> when I am back?  
 >> Best,  
 >> Don  
 >>  
 >> Sent from my iPhone  
 >>  
 >>> On Jun 3, 2016, at 10:46 AM, Rob Goldstone  
 >>>  
 >>> Good morning  
 >>> Emin just called and asked me to contact you with something very interesting.  
 >>> The Crown prosecutor in Russia met with his father this morning and in the  
 >>> Trump campaign with some official documents and information that would incriminate  
 >>> Russia and would be very useful to his father.  
 >>> This is **obviously very high level** and sensitive information but is part of Russia's  
 >>> effort to help Mr. Trump - helped along by Ambassador Goldstone.  
 >>> What do you think is the best way to handle this information and would you like to  
 >>> see it?  
 >>> I can also send this info to you directly if you prefer. It is ultra sensitive so want  
 >>> Best  
 >>> Rob Goldstone  
 >>>

# Red Handed

**THE RUSSIA  
 SCANDAL  
 HITS HOME**  
 BY DAVID VON  
 DREHLE

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WE WIN AWARDS BECAUSE OF THE CARS WE BUILD.**



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<sup>1</sup> Based on recognized industry awards for 2014–2016 year-end totals.



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▲ During a rally in Ohio on June 28, 2016, then Republican presidential candidate Donald Trump, left, embraces his son Donald Trump Jr.

Photograph by Patrick Semansky—AP

ON THE COVER: TIME photo-illustration. Photograph by John Moore—Getty Images

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## What you said about ...

**GAME OF THRONES** Daniel D’Addario’s July 10–17 dispatch from the set of the hit HBO series gave *Thrones* fans lots to discuss. Sean Sullivan of Fredericton, New Brunswick, appreciated the reminder of how much work goes into the show.

“You sometimes forget there’s a guy whose main job is making shields and spears,” he tweeted. But Andrea Miller of Rehoboth, Mass., felt it was a “mistake” to feature the stars in runway styles rather than in the show’s “deliciously beautiful” costumes. Meanwhile, *Vanity*

*Fair*’s Joanna Robinson zeroed in on what might be gleaned from the cold conditions in which D’Addario saw star Emilia Clarke filming a scene with a dragon: “Is this our first official hint of a meeting of ice and fire?”

“The photos are so stunning, I’m not sure how I’m going to get any work done today.”

ALICIA LUTES,  
Los Angeles

**AMERICA’S SUMMER JOBS** The July 10–17 feature by Karl Vick on American teens’ declining interest in certain summer jobs jogged “pleasant memories” for readers like Beverly Whipple of Voorhees, N.J.—who worked for 15¢ an hour in the 1950s at the boardwalk in Point Pleasant Beach, N.J., featured in the story. (Her children worked there too, she added.) And Michael Cartier of Scotts Valley, Calif., who took issue with the idea that one wouldn’t take such a job “just for the money,” wrote that his summer earnings made it possible for him to stay in college. But Nate Sirovatka, 18, of Portland, Ore., who wrote that he works summers but has friends who choose not to look for a job during those breaks, noted that these days “a summer job isn’t going to change our economic outlook when the fall rolls around.”

‘My first summer job was working in a pancake house until 3 a.m. To this day, I can’t look a pancake in the eye.’

SUSAN POSNER,  
Geneva, Ill.

**SHAPE OF THE STATES** Test your knowledge of U.S. state shapes with TIME Labs’ new interactive quiz, which challenges you to draw all 50 with your computer cursor. Don’t worry, you don’t have to know where each state is; the program will place each contour sketch on a map and grade you according to how well your drawing matches the state’s real borders. Take the quiz at [time.com/states-quiz](http://time.com/states-quiz)



**FROM THE ARCHIVES** A new list of the top 25 most memorable kisses in LIFE’s archive of iconic photography includes this Bernard Hoffman image of a young girl—the daughter of a dog breeder—puckering up for a puppy. See the whole list at [life.time.com](http://life.time.com)

### SETTING THE RECORD STRAIGHT

► In “How They Make the Greatest Show on Earth” (July 10–17), the fashion credits misidentified the jacket worn by Nikolaj Coster-Waldau. It is a Joshua Kane jacket. In the same issue, “Why America’s First Daughter Is a Hit in China” incorrectly described G-III Apparel Group Ltd. The company makes clothing under the Ivanka Trump name, but it does not produce Ivanka Trump shoes and isn’t involved with the brand’s trademark applications.

### TALK TO US

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# 'If it's what you say I love it.'

**DONALD TRUMP JR.**, President Trump's eldest son, replying to a June 3, 2016, email from the representative of a Russian business associate with Kremlin connections offering information that "would incriminate Hillary" and "is part of Russia and its government's support"; Trump Jr., then campaign manager Paul Manafort and the President's son-in-law Jared Kushner met a Russian lawyer at Trump Tower six days later

## 5,500

Approximate number of artifacts, including a clay cuneiform tablet, illegally imported from Iraq that arts-and-crafts supply chain Hobby Lobby agreed to forfeit, nearly seven years after purchasing them for \$1.6 million from an unnamed dealer in 2010



## 'Those Christians are worthy of special consideration and honor.'

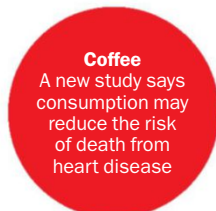
**POPE FRANCIS**, announcing in an apostolic letter dated July 11 a fourth path to sainthood for Christians who heroically sacrifice their lives to save others; the addition was one of the most significant adaptations to Roman Catholic Church policy on canonization in centuries

## 950

Approximate number of threats to members of Congress investigated by the U.S. Capitol Police in the first half of 2017, more than all such investigations made throughout 2016

## 'Differences were not papered over; they were clearly stated.'

**ANGELA MERKEL**, German Chancellor, elaborating on the statement on climate-change policy issued by the G-20 leaders, in which all of them, except the President of the U.S., agreed that the Paris Agreement is "irreversible"



## 'I HAVE FULL CONFIDENCE THAT WE WILL GET THERE.'

**ERIC GARCETTI**, mayor of Los Angeles, celebrating the decision that the city will host either the 2024 or the 2028 Summer Olympic Games, if it can follow a July 11 International Olympic Committee requirement that it come to an agreement with Paris about which city will host first

## 30

Number of home runs hit by New York Yankees outfielder Aaron Judge as of July 7, when he topped the **team record for home runs in a single season by a rookie**, set by Joe DiMaggio in 1936; there were 78 games left in the regular season



## 'It was an inferno.'

**FERNANDO SALAZAR**, Colombian biologist, describing the wildfire in Los Padres National Forest in Santa Barbara County, California, that broke out as he and his wife were camping; a series of wildfires has forced nearly 8,000 people to evacuate statewide



# The Brief

'IN MOSUL, THINGS WILL MOVE FROM BLOODY TO COMPLICATED.' — PAGE 14



Voters cast early ballots in Minneapolis in October 2016

## POLITICS

### The GOP quest to find voter fraud draws backlash

By Alex Altman

MICHAEL HANNUM KNOWS WHAT IT'S like when Kris Kobach comes after you. Last year, the Kansas secretary of state charged Hannum, a 65-year-old retired molecular geneticist, with one felony and three misdemeanor election violations, alleging that Hannum voted in 2012 in Johnson County, Kansas, where he lived, as well as Omaha, Neb., where he visited his mother.

Hannum says he doesn't recall voting in Nebraska. If anything, he thinks his then fiancée might have mailed an absentee ballot by mistake. But facing a bulldog prosecutor and prison time, he decided to plead guilty, paying a \$5,500 fine and twice that in legal fees to resolve the matter. "It was amazing how many resources went into pursuing me," Hannum says. "In my opinion, it was a political statement."

His pursuer is one of the leading defenders of the Republican Party belief that voter fraud is an epidemic. Kobach's zeal for the subject, and his defense of Donald Trump's unfounded claim that millions of illegal votes were cast for Hillary Clinton in 2016, made him the President's pick to spearhead a new White House commission on election integrity, which will hold its first official meeting on July 19.

The panel's tactics have already drawn bipartisan criticism. Some states refused Kobach's request for detailed voter data, including sensitive information like Social Security numbers, while others refused to cooperate at all. The commission plans to compare databases to study best practices and check for fraudulent registrations, then recommend ways to strengthen the

system. “The goal is to catalog vulnerabilities in our election system,” says J. Christian Adams, a Republican election lawyer on the panel. “To get to the bottom of a problem with evidence and data.”

Opponents see another agenda. For years, GOP leaders have argued for election rules to safeguard elections that make it harder for people who tend to vote Democrat—especially poor minorities—to cast a ballot. The goal of Kobach’s commission, says Vanita Gupta, CEO of the Leadership Conference on Civil and Human Rights and a former head of the Justice Department’s civil rights division, “is to lay the groundwork for voter suppression.”

Since 2010, over 20 states have passed tighter voting restrictions. Under Kobach, 51, Kansas has been particularly aggressive. The Ivy League-educated lawyer and former Justice Department official has pushed through statutes requiring that residents prove citizenship in order to register and show a government-issued photo ID at the polls. (A conservative federal judge struck down some of those restrictions last year, finding they had deprived 18,000 Kansans of their rights.) Kobach, who recently announced a campaign for governor, even wrested prosecutorial powers from the state legislature to crack down on what he called an epidemic of illegal voting. In two years, he has convicted nine people for fraud. Most were older citizens with homes in two states who mistakenly voted in both.

Academic studies repeatedly show that election fraud is exceedingly rare. “The data show Americans are more likely to be struck by lightning than commit election fraud,” says Rudy Mehrbani, senior counsel at the Brennan Center for Justice at New York University School of Law. And yet widespread fraud is received wisdom for some on the right.

Election experts say the panel’s approach is likely to yield large numbers of false positives—voters flagged for possible fraud who did nothing wrong. That’s what’s happened with an interstate voter-registration directory Kobach championed in Kansas. Known as Crosscheck, it compares voter rolls in 32 states to turn up people registered in multiple places. But the system has kinks. According to a 2017 study by researchers from Stanford, Harvard and Microsoft, it could stop 200 legitimate votes for every double vote it prevents.

Voting-rights advocates, who tend to be Democrats, fear Republican lawmakers could use its findings to purge voters or pare back ballot access. “It’s about creating a narrative that the system is broken and the laws have to be changed,” says Lorraine Minnite, who studies voting rights at Rutgers University. That’s the case Trump himself has made. After the election, he tweeted angrily when the media didn’t corroborate his claims that voter fraud was pervasive. Now he’s tasked Kobach with finding the evidence. □



## TICKER

### U.S. military plane crash kills 16

U.S. officials are investigating the cause of a military plane crash that killed 16 service members when it plunged into a field in rural Mississippi on July 10. A Marine Corps spokeswoman said the KC-130 Hercules aircraft “experienced a mishap” but provided no further details.

### Vatican cleric faces sex-assault trial

Pope Francis’ top financial adviser is to stand trial in his native Australia on multiple charges of “historical sexual assault offences.” Cardinal George Pell, 76, is the most senior Vatican cleric to face such accusations. He’s due to appear in a Melbourne court on July 26.

### Brazil’s ex-President sentenced to prison

Former President Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva was found guilty of corruption charges and sentenced to 9½ years in prison. Lula is the most senior figure yet to be jailed as a result of the corruption scandal sweeping the country.

### Family saved by human chain

Dozens of beachgoers in Panama City, Fla., saved a family of six and four others from drowning by forming a human chain from sea to shore. The stranded swimmers had been swept from the shore by strong rip currents.

## BY THE NUMBERS

# The true cost of ransomware hacks

On July 6, two of the world’s largest consumer-goods companies detailed the financial impact of June’s Petya ransomware attack. Several large multinationals were hit by the virus linked to Russian hackers, which crippled computers and disrupted ports. Here’s how cyberattacks of this kind have affected bottom lines.

# 3%



Hit in second-quarter sales growth claimed by **Mondelez**, maker of Oreo cookies and Cadbury chocolates, as a result of the June 27 Petya attack’s disrupting the company’s shipping and invoicing capabilities.

# \$117 MILLION



Estimated loss of sales to **Reckitt Benckiser**, the U.K. maker of Veet and Lysol, also resulting from the Petya attack; the company forecast a 2% hit in revenue growth in the second quarter.

# \$1,077



**Average ransom demanded in ransomware attacks** in 2016, according to cybersecurity firm Symantec, a 266% increase from the year before.

## VERBATIM

# Dance for me, boy!

**CONOR MCGREGOR**, MMA star, taunting Floyd Mayweather while promoting their upcoming Aug. 26 fight; his remarks were widely criticized as racially insensitive



DATA

COUNTRIES GETTING HAPPY

Happiness is on the rise in Nicaragua, according to the latest U.N. "World Happiness Report," which ranks 155 countries annually by the happiness of their citizens, using metrics such as GDP per capita and perceptions of corruption. Here, the five countries where happiness has grown most over the past decade:



1.

Nicaragua



2.

Latvia



3.

Sierra Leone



4.

Ecuador



5.

Moldova



**ROAD WARRIORS:** More than 2 million people gathered at an antigovernment rally in Istanbul on July 9 to mark the end of a three-week "justice march" from Ankara led by Turkish opposition leader Kemal Kilicdaroglu. It was the largest show of opposition yet to an ongoing crackdown on dissent launched by President Tayyip Recep Erdogan after the coup attempt of July 15, 2016. The crackdown has led to over 47,000 arrests. *Photograph by Emin Ozmen—Magnum for TIME*

IMMIGRATION

Italy lashes out as flow of migrants surges

MORE THAN 83,000 MIGRANTS arrived in Italy by sea in the first six months of this year, and the country is turning to desperate measures to cope.

**NEW ROUTE** A 2016 E.U.-Turkey accord and border closures along the Balkans route helped stem the movement of refugees traveling via the eastern Mediterranean to Greece. The flow then shifted to the crossing from Libya to Italy. The number of arrivals in Italy in 2017 is on course to beat last year's record total of 181,000.

**NO TO NGOS** In response, Italy has lately targeted rescue charities and other NGOs, threatening to close its ports to rescue ships and bar them from entering Libyan waters. Rights groups say NGOs are being made scapegoats.



^ Italy has threatened to crack down on the NGOs that rescue asylum seekers at sea

**ALL AT SEA** The E.U. has promised Italy extra funds and plans to strengthen Libya's coast guard but nixed a proposal by Rome for other European ports to open their gates to rescue boats. As in the 2015 migrant crisis, consensus yet again seems hard to find. Meanwhile, the number of dead and missing off Libya so far this year has passed 2,300—another grim milestone in Europe's most intractable crisis. —TARA JOHN

FOREIGN POLICY

# No good options on North Korea

By Philip Elliott

WHEN DAVID PRESSMAN WOULD SIT down with his counterparts from China or Russia to discuss the provocations of North Korea, he often heard the same message coming across the tables: “You need to talk. You need to talk.”

It was maddening to Pressman, the former U.S. ambassador to the U.N. for special political affairs. Talking works only if both parties agree to an agenda, and the U.S. and North Korea could not even get that far. “The United States is prepared to talk. We’re prepared to talk about denuclearization of the Korean peninsula,” says Pressman, now a partner at Boies Schiller Flexner. “But the North Koreans are not willing to have that conversation. The North Koreans want to have a conversation that accepts their status as a nuclear power.” That, many argue, is not a difference the U.S. can overlook.

And yet the need for some kind of engagement has become more urgent in recent weeks. North Korea tested an intercontinental ballistic missile on July 4 that, in theory, can reach Alaska. It was a remarkable milestone for a country that routinely pledges to annihilate Americans. And it isn’t stopping.

So what is to be done? There are no good options, current and former government officials agree. “You’re not choosing between good and bad,” says Victor Cha, a former National Security Council director for George W. Bush. “You’re choosing between bad, really bad, worse and much worse options.”

North Korea’s nuclear program has bedeviled U.S. Presidents from both parties, across decades. Attempts to curb its program have been shown as



Kim celebrates the test launch of the Hwasong-14 ICBM in this photo released by the North Korean government on July 5

transient and flawed. And North Korea’s most potent quasi friend, China, has proved to be reluctant to pressure Pyongyang. President Donald Trump has signaled that he wants action of some sort. In April, Vice President Mike Pence visited the demilitarized zone between North and South Korea to declare that “the era of strategic patience is over.” But the new Administration has not backed up its tough talk with a stated strategy, raising concerns from veteran observers. “The worst option is just to threaten without understanding what the issues are,” warns former Secretary of State Madeleine Albright.

Here’s a look at the three main approaches and their complications:

## MILITARY ATTACK

FEW THINK THE U.S. CAN BOMB ITS way out of this. For one thing, North Korea is adept at hiding its missiles, and there’s no guarantee the U.S. could get them all. North Korean retribution

would also be fierce—and 25 million South Koreans live within range of conventional weapons, while Japan is also a target. An incomplete U.S.-led military strike on just one facility could cost as many as 1 million lives and \$1 trillion, according to one Pentagon estimate given to Clinton-era negotiators. The math hasn’t gotten kinder in the intervening years.

The most immediate at-risk Americans, beyond those living in South Korea and Japan, are the Alaskans, who are betting that U.S. antimissile defenses can intercept an incoming nuclear weapon. Alaska Governor Bill Walker has toured the missile base at Fort Greely and tells TIME that he has confidence in the military’s ability to defend his state of about 740,000 people. “As the threat grows, we

KIM: KCNA/REUTERS; ALBRIGHT: CHIEN-MIN CHUNG—AP; FUNERAL: KYODO NEWS/AP; MISSILE: KONA/NSA/AF/GETTY IMAGES

**JULY 1994**

North Korea’s founder, President Kim Il Sung, dies, ending 45 years in power. His son Kim Jong Il succeeds him.

**OCTOBER 1994**

North Korea signs the Agreed Framework, which suspends its nuclear-power program and commits it to nonproliferation.

**2000**

Secretary of State Madeleine Albright visits North Korea and is the first senior American official to meet with a North Korean leader.



**JANUARY 2002**

President George W. Bush says North Korea is part of an “axis of evil” with Iran and Iraq in his State of the Union address.

**OCTOBER 2006**

North Korea conducts an underground nuclear test, sparking U.N. condemnation and economic sanctions.



feel justified in having a greater military presence in Alaska,” he says. “If something happens on our soil, it’s very, very significant.”

As a matter of policy, keeping a U.S. strike in the mix increases its leverage. But there are doubts that the U.S., South Korea and Japan would agree to an attack simply because Kim Jong Un develops a better missile that can reach the West Coast of the U.S. “If you’re going to have a credible threat of force, you have to mean it,” says Wendy Sherman, a veteran diplomat who negotiated with North Korea in the 1990s. “Is war the preferred solution? Absolutely not, because it will be catastrophic.”

### ECONOMIC PRESSURE

MOST OBSERVERS SEE CHINA AS THE state with the most sway over North Korea, given that the majority of its food and energy supplies come from its neighbor to the north. China, however, has shown little interest in

materially hurting Pyongyang, despite clear tensions with the Kim regime. For the moment, Beijing sees aggressive sanctions as a step toward the collapse of North Korea, which could yield a wave of refugees and a unified Korean Peninsula, a development that would end with a U.S. ally directly on its border. (The official U.S. position opposes regime change. “We want to bring Kim Jong Un to his senses, not to his knees,” U.S. Pacific Command Chief Admiral Harry Harris told Congress earlier this year.)

For his part, Trump all but declared it China’s task to curb North Korea—a view he seemed to abandon in a series of tweets when he didn’t think Chinese President Xi Jinping was moving quickly enough. “Cooperation with China is the right approach, but outsourcing to China is not going to work,” says Christopher Hill, a former U.S. ambassador who led talks with North Korea during George W. Bush’s Administration. “I would draw a distinction between asking the Chinese to take care of this versus working with China.”

At the same time, the newly elected President of South Korea, the liberal Moon Jae-in, has signaled an eagerness to bring North Korea to the table through economic incentives and a willingness to break with the U.S. Similar efforts under other South Korean Presidents, including one to whom Moon served as chief of staff, prompted diplomatic differences with Washington. But with Trump now in the White House, there’s little telling how this may be received. Veterans of both parties have been bewildered by a lack of coherent strategy.

Multilateral negotiations helped curb North Korea in the past, including a successful deal in 1994 that delayed North Korea’s nuclear program for almost a decade.

### DIRECT DIPLOMACY

IDEALISTS HAVE ARGUED THAT DIRECT talks should resume, even without the immediate prospect that North Korea will abandon its nuclear program.

As Joel Wit, who helped negotiate and enforce the 1994 U.S.-North Korea agreement, puts it, “You should start with what is doable.” He proposes an agreement for the U.S. to pull back from military exercises with South Korea in exchange for a verifiable North Korean moratorium on nuclear and missile tests, which could lead to further talks. Accepting a nuclear North Korea, if only temporarily, would be a major concession. But Wit says it makes sense, given his view that Chinese pressure and a military strike “are guaranteed to fail.”

Other diplomats suggest that direct talks can be part of broader conversations, especially if they give Kim the recognition he seeks. Former Director of National Intelligence James Clapper has called for the establishment of a low-grade diplomatic outpost in Pyongyang, similar to the U.S. footprint in Havana during the embargo.

“We shouldn’t accept North Korea as a nuclear-weapon state,” explains Sue Mi Terry, a former Korea analyst for the CIA. “But what’s going to happen is a deterrence and containment policy.”

Perhaps the right nudging could prompt the North Koreans to rethink their nuclear obsession. “They prize nothing more highly than regime survival. And they have come to associate their continued possession of nuclear weapons as supporting regime survival,” says Dan Poneman, an arms-control expert who has worked in the Administrations of three of the past four Presidents. “The job for the rest of the international community is to break that logic.”

—With reporting by MICHAEL SCHERER and EMMA TALKOFF/WASHINGTON □

#### DECEMBER 2011

North Korean leader Kim Jong Il dies. His son Kim Jong Un takes power.



#### 2016

The Obama Administration expands its sanctions against North Korea and its leader.

#### JULY 2017

North Korea tests an intercontinental ballistic missile that could reach Alaska, prompting a new wave of condemnation.





**TICKER**

**China to block VPNs next year**

China will block access to VPN services, used to bypass state-imposed Internet censorship, next year, Bloomberg reported on July 10. The government has ordered state-run telecom firms to bar individuals' access starting on Feb. 1, 2018.

**Giant iceberg splits from Antarctica**

An iceberg almost four times the size of Houston broke off from the Larsen C ice shelf in Antarctica. Scientists are studying the 2,200-sq.-mi. mass of ice to see whether the split was the result of climate change.

**Smoking on the rise in movies**

Depictions of people smoking cigarettes and other tobacco products in top-grossing movies grew by 80% from 2015 to 2016, according to a new report by the CDC. The number of movies that showed or implied the use of smoking-related products declined from 2005 to 2010 but has since increased.

**Cows flown into isolated Qatar**

More than 150 German dairy cows were flown into Qatar to boost milk supplies, amid an ongoing diplomatic blockade by Qatar's neighbors Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, Egypt and the United Arab Emirates. A total of 4,000 cows will be imported.



Macron, left, and Trump, right, chat with Merkel in Hamburg on July 7

**DISPATCH**

**The biggest absence at this year's G-20? Moral authority**

By Simon Shuster/Hamburg

ALTHOUGH THE G-20 WAS CONCEIVED AS A venue for the world's richest nations to debate the global economy, their leaders have also used the summit to enforce rules of common decency, usually through a method you may remember from grade school: peer pressure. Take Russia's decision in 2014 to seize the territory of its neighbor Ukraine. By the time the leaders of the G-20 nations met that November, the E.U., U.S., Canada, Japan and Australia had imposed sanctions on Russia in response. They emphasized their disgust by making Russian President Vladimir Putin feel like an outcast at the summit.

Skip ahead to this year's G-20, which took place on July 7 and 8 in Hamburg, and the conditions for that kind of ostracism have evaporated. None of the G-20 leaders now appear to have the moral authority or the political will to chide others for breaking the rules.

At no time was that more clear than during the much-anticipated meeting between Putin and U.S. President Donald Trump. Despite copious evidence of Russian dirty tricks

in last year's election, Trump appears to have told Putin they should let bygones be bygones. "There was not a lot of re-litigating of the past," Secretary of State Rex Tillerson said.

Nor did German Chancellor Angela Merkel achieve much agreement on issues of free speech, democracy or even free trade. Without Trump's support, Merkel had little chance of advancing these kinds of ideals, according to Barbara Unmüßig, a leading defender of civil rights in Germany. "The U.S. is no longer an ally on these issues," she said.

Merkel had little choice but to seek consensus by accommodation instead of by pressure. In calling for the group to be more "flexible," she even suggested a turn toward a kind of moral relativism: You do you, and if anything, we'll just agree to disagree.

In a statement on the Paris climate accord, from which Trump has withdrawn the U.S., negotiators even removed a reference to a "global approach" to dealing with climate change. This raises the question of whether a global approach can be found to any of the world's challenges without U.S. leadership.

That may feel liberating for statesmen like Putin, who have felt constrained or isolated due to the pressure of their peers. But for the leaders who used to apply this pressure, it signals a new era of moral flexibility—one in which they should be prepared to bend when rules are broken.

## Milestones

### DIED

Actor **Nelsan Ellis**, best known for playing Lafayette Reynolds in HBO's horror series *True Blood*, at 39.

> Two-sport champion **Gene Conley**, who won three NBA titles with the Boston Celtics and helped pitch the Milwaukee Braves to a World Series win, at 86.

> **Anton Nossik**, the so-called godfather of the Russian Internet, who co-founded and edited some of Russia's biggest online news publications, at 51.

### OPENED

**China's first overseas naval base**, in Djibouti, on the eastern Horn of Africa, after the first People's Liberation Army troops were dispatched there. China says the logistics base will be used to resupply Chinese navy ships taking part in peacekeeping and humanitarian missions.

### WON

The Ladies European Thailand Championship, by amateur golfer **Atthaya Thitikul**, 14, making her the youngest known winner of a professional golf tour event.

### ADDED

Twenty-one new sites to **UNESCO's World Heritage List**, at the U.N. body's annual summit, including the sacred island of Okinoshima in southwestern Japan, which bars female visitors.

### EXITED

The Muppets ensemble, by Steve Whitmire, who lent his voice to **Kermit the Frog** for 27 years. Puppeteer Matt Vogel, who joined *Sesame Street*'s troupe in 1996, will take over the role.



### RECORDED

## A 'teleportation' to outer space

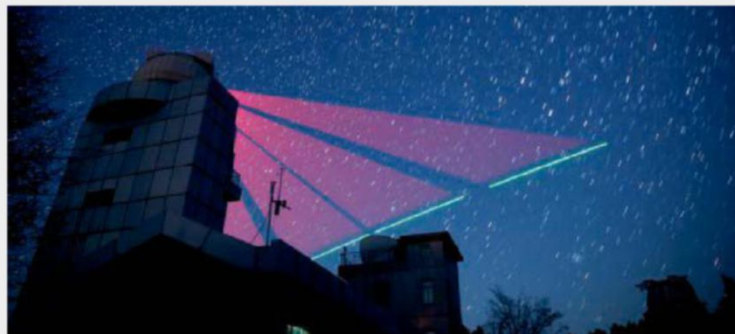
IT WASN'T EASY TO FLUMMOX Albert Einstein, but quantum entanglement had him stumped. Per entanglement theory, it is possible for two particles to become connected in such a way that even if they are placed on opposite ends of the universe, anything that happens to one of them—say, a change in its rate of spin—will instantly be reflected in the behavior of the other. Einstein called it “spooky action at a distance.” Modern-day China apparently doesn't spook so easily.

In a development that dazzled the physics community, a team of quantum researchers from the University of Science and Technology of China announced

they had split pairs of photons and beamed one of each pair to the Micius satellite orbiting more than 300 miles overhead. Each photon remained entangled with its partner on Earth. (China had already proven that teleportation worked in the other direction, last month splitting pairs of photons on Micius and teleporting them to separate receiving stations on Earth more than 745 miles apart.)

This matters for reasons beyond the fact that teleportation is just sublimely cool. Entanglement could lead to an instantaneous, ultra-secure Internet, in which information encoded in one set of photons would pop up instantaneously—and unhackably—in the corresponding set.

—JEFFREY KLUGER



*A photo-illustration of a Chinese ground station communicating with the Micius satellite*

### MONEY

## It could be you ... twice

A California teenager claimed over \$600,000 after winning the lottery twice in a single week in April. Rosa Dominguez's two \$5 scratch-off tickets made her \$555,555 and \$100,000. But the 19-year-old is not the first to have such extraordinary lottery luck. —Kate Samuelson

### OHIO

Seven people have won the state lottery more than 100 times over the past three years, an April report showed. One particularly lucky man has won 150 times since 2014.



### FLORIDA

An Orlando man claims to have won lottery prizes seven times, with his total winnings amounting to more than \$1 million. Richard Lustig revealed his “winning lottery method” in a self-published handbook.

### VIRGINIA

A couple from Portsmouth won two \$1 million prizes and a \$50,000 prize in the state lottery during one month in 2014. Husband Calvin Spencer said it was “a blessing from the Lord.”

WORLD

## Iraq controls Mosul once again. But who controls Iraq?

IN MOSUL, ISIS HAS LOST MORE than a city. Defeat there marks a reversal of the victory that first put ISIS on the map in June 2014. While the Syrian city of Raqqa is its capital, Mosul was where it declared the state that's now in full retreat, and the traumatized people of Iraq's second city can finally begin to rebuild their lives.

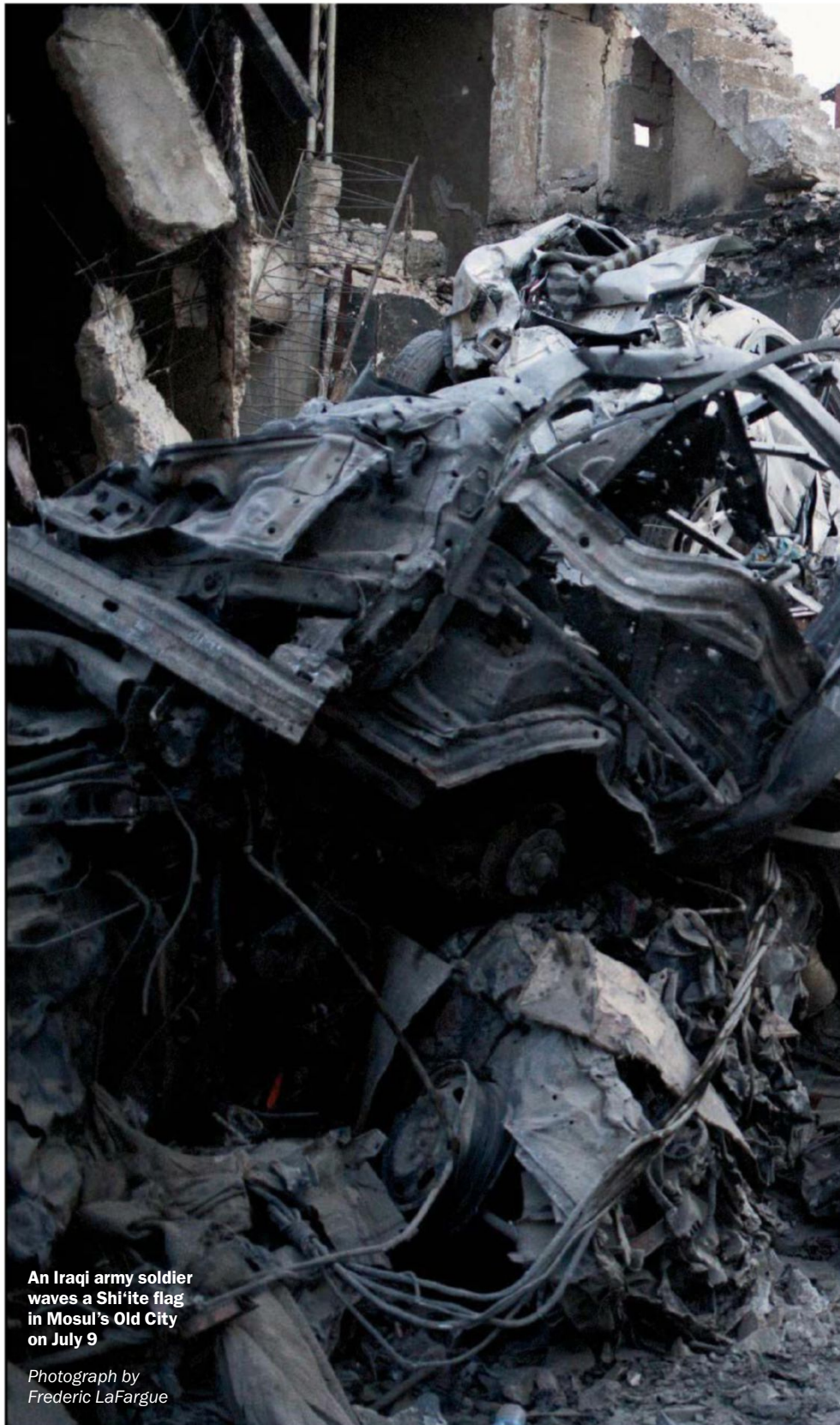
Now things will move from bloody to complicated. The conflict has elevated Shi'ite militias to prominence as a potent military and political force, shifting the balance of power away from Prime Minister Haider al-Abadi. His rival, former leader Nouri al-Maliki, will be watching closely to plot new political alliances with ambitious militia leaders.

Kurdish forces also now claim military control of some territories contested by Baghdad, and Kurdish political leaders have seized the moment by calling for an independence referendum. A vote might not be binding, but it would certainly heighten the conflict between the Shi'ite-dominated government in Baghdad and officials of the Kurdistan Regional Government.

Finally, free of ISIS and its war, Sunnis will again demand greater influence, new rights and more resources from Baghdad, intensifying tensions not only between Sunnis and Shi'ites but among Sunni factions as well. Lower oil prices will make it tougher for the government to pay for a long and expensive reconstruction process—and bribes for those who can be bought.

It's possible that three years of life under ISIS will bring conflict-weary Iraqis of all stripes to seek compromise and build relations. But unfortunately, the nation's history suggests otherwise. —IAN BREMMER

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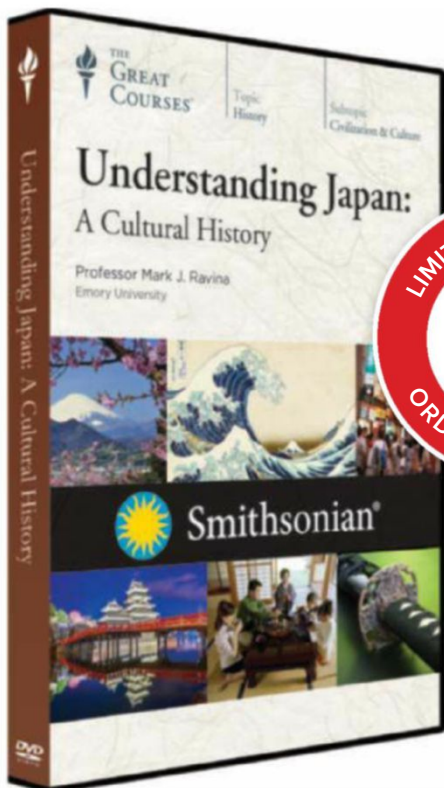


An Iraqi army soldier waves a Shi'ite flag in Mosul's Old City on July 9

Photograph by  
Frederic LaFargue







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# The View

'LAW SCHOOL CONDITIONS YOU TO KNOW THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN RIGHTEOUSNESS AND SELF-RIGHTEOUSNESS.' —PAGE 20



*Charlie Gard's parents are fighting doctors for the right to treat him with an experimental therapy*

## ETHICS

### When parents and doctors disagree on what futile means

By Alice Park

HE'S ONLY 11 MONTHS OLD, BUT Charlie Gard commands an army of the impassioned that numbers in the hundreds of thousands and includes a Pope and a President. This online platoon, including 350,000 people who have signed a petition on his behalf, is rallying behind his parents' singular mission—for Charlie to stay alive. A far smaller but equally committed group, including a hospital and a court, is fighting back, defending the medical community's right to decide when enough treatment is enough and to allow the baby to die with dignity and in peace. It's a moral argument with a challenging perception problem, as doctors are aligning to essentially stop the care they are committed to provide. And no matter what happens to Charlie, the

questions raised by his case will endure.

Charlie was born last August with a rare mitochondrial depletion syndrome that renders his cells unable to pull energy from his body. The disorder has left parts of his brain so damaged that he can't breathe on his own or hear. For the majority of his short life, he has lived in the neonatal intensive-care unit at Great Ormond Street Hospital in London, relying on machines to breathe for him. He can't move his arms and legs and suffers from seizures that require medications to control. This spring, the hospital determined that nothing more could be done to help him and that his life of tubes and monitors doesn't have the quality a human deserves. Removing him from life support would be, in its opinion, the most humane option for him.

His parents Connie Yates and Chris Gard disagree. While they recognize their son's medically precarious state, they have staked their hope on an experimental therapy that has never before been tested on humans with Charlie's condition. If there is a chance that Charlie could get better, even if he doesn't recover completely, then they should have the right to take it, they say. "He's our son. We feel it should be our right to decide to give him a chance at life," Yates said to British broadcasters. "We don't know until we try. He's still fighting, and we're still fighting." So why would a hospital take a moral stand against treatment and against parents' wishes?

Doctors aren't obligated to provide treatment that they feel is inhumane or ineffective. Before recommending that Charlie be taken off of life support, his doctors considered the experimental therapy but concluded that his brain had been so damaged that he wasn't likely to improve if he received it. "Doctors in this case could have said, He's going to suffer, it's going to be really unpleasant and painful for him, but what the hell, it's not our problem," says Jonathan Moreno, a professor of medical ethics at the University of Pennsylvania, about acceding to the parents' wishes. "Would we want our doctors to think that way and wash their hands of that obligation? I don't think so."

Parents apply a very different emotional calculus to the notion of futility, says Dr. Margaret Moon, a pediatrician from the Johns Hopkins Berman Institute of Bioethics. For some, there is no such thing as futile medical care, given that their only priority is keeping their child alive. That's the position the parents of Baby K took when they insisted on continued life support for their daughter, who was born with only a partial brain and had trouble breathing on her own. For others, like Charlie's parents, the threshold of futility is reached only when they have exhausted every possible treatment option, however uncertain the outcome.

In the U.S., such conflicts are generally resolved in favor of the parents. When doctors don't feel medically and ethically able to continue futile treatment for a child, they offer parents the opportunity to find other hospitals that would. "In the U.S. we have created a culture where everybody should get whatever health care they want," says David Magnus, director of the Center for Biomedical Ethics at Stanford University. "As long as neither neglect nor abuse is involved, we give parents tremendous latitude in making decisions for their children."

That's not the case in the U.K., in large part because of the country's single-payer national health system. It's more routine for the medical community, and the courts, to make decisions about what's acceptable care, what's excessive care and even, as in Charlie's case, when care should stop. □

**VERBATIM**  
**'I hope you will be treated unfairly, so that you will come to know the value of justice.'**

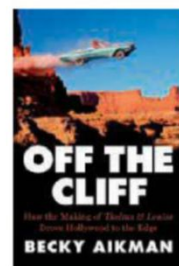
**JOHN ROBERTS**, Supreme Court Chief Justice, to graduates at Cardigan Mountain School in New Hampshire; the June 3 speech recently went viral because of its unconventional nature



**BOOK IN BRIEF**

**How *Thelma & Louise* changed Hollywood**

LOVED THIS YEAR'S *WONDER WOMAN* OR *The Beguiled*? Thank *Thelma & Louise*. Before its release, in 1991, movies about women were largely written and directed by men and offered a watered-down version of womanhood. This explains why studios were so reluctant to greenlight a script from an unknown female screenwriter, Callie Khouri, about two women who broke the rules and took men to task for their bad behavior, argues Becky Aikman in her new book, *Off the Cliff: How the Making of Thelma & Louise Drove Hollywood to the Edge*. But the film was a hit, and Khouri won an Oscar for Best Original Screenplay—proving that audiences had an appetite for stories “about grown-up women ... where what's at stake is bigger than who gets to sleep with whom,” as Aikman puts it, and paving the way for female-penned films like *Lost in Translation* and *Bridesmaids*. Now, she says, if only Hollywood would learn from those successes and greenlight more female-led projects. —SARAH BEGLEY



**CHARTOON**

**Word on the street**



JOHN ATKINSON, WRONG HANDS

**SNAPSHOT**

## Paris' Technicolor basketball court

One way to repurpose an oddly shaped urban lot? Turn it into the world's most colorful basketball court. That's the idea behind this creation from French fashion label Pigalle and art firm Ill-Studio, which was first unveiled in 2015 and recently repainted—with help from Nike. Now the rubberized court, walls and hoops in Paris' ninth arrondissement all have a sunset color scheme that Pigalle and Ill-Studio call their "interpretation of the future aesthetics of basketball and sport in general." —*Julia Zorthian*



**HISTORY**

## The surprisingly peaceful origins of Bastille Day

FOR MANY, FRANCE'S BASTILLE DAY (July 14) is a time to recall that nation's revolutionary past and the storming of the Parisian prison that gives the fete its English name. But while the French Revolution may call to mind scenes of terror and guillotines, on the first anniversary of the 1789 events at the Bastille, revolutionaries and royals celebrated side by side.

Amid the summer of 1790's relative calm, July 14 seemed like a good day to celebrate the new constitutional monarchy. A festival was planned in Paris, and men, women and children of all classes volunteered alongside hired laborers to build an amphitheater, a triple triumphal arch and a ceremonial altar.

On the big day, the Marquis de Lafayette, at the height of his revolutionary acclaim, led a march from the Bastille to the chosen spot,

where hundreds of thousands waited in the rain. Music played. Cannons fired. The royal family arrived. At the altar, Bishop Talleyrand led a mass. Lafayette, the national guard and the national assembly swore fealty to the nation, the law and the King. In turn, Louis XVI swore to uphold the as-yet-unfinished constitution. The crowd cheered as Marie Antoinette held up the dauphin (the heir).

That unity wouldn't last. In 1791, the national guards opened fire at protesters at the very same spot. In 1793, the King and Queen were executed. But for a moment, the festival symbolized a hope of moving forward in fraternity—a hope that was reaffirmed in 1880, nearly a century later, when Bastille Day became an official holiday. —*MERRILL FABRY*

► 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**

#### TEEN BIRTH RATES ARE AT AN ALL-TIME LOW

The number of U.S. births in 2016 by mothers ages 15 to 19 declined by 9% from the previous year to 20.3 births per 1,000 teen women, the lowest rate ever recorded, according to the CDC.

**2**

#### PETS IN AMERICA ARE GETTING FATTER

About one-third of all cats and dogs in the U.S. are too heavy, according to a new report from the Banfield Pet Hospital, which found that over the past decade the number of overweight cats has jumped by 169% and the number of overweight dogs has risen by 158%.

**3**

#### PEOPLE ARE LESS HELPFUL WHEN IT'S HOT

Research in the *European Journal of Social Psychology* found that people are less service-minded in uncomfortably hot spaces. In one of the study's scenarios, retail employees were 50% less likely to engage in behavior like offering to help customers when the stores were hot.

—*J.Z.*

## One campus arena where free speech is not up for debate: law schools

By Heather Gerken

IN THIS, THE SUMMER OF OUR discontent, many college presidents are breathing a sigh of relief that they made it through a politically fraught spring without their campuses erupting. Nobody wants to be the next Middlebury or Claremont McKenna, where demonstrations disrupted controversial speakers.

Law deans, in sharp contrast, have reason to be cheery. Their campuses have been largely exempt from ugly free-speech incidents like these. Charles Murray, the controversial scholar whose speech drew violent reaction at Middlebury, has spoken at Yale Law School twice during the past few years. Students and faculty engaged with him, and students held a separate event to protest and discuss the implications of his work. But he spoke without interruption. That's exactly how a university is supposed to work.

**THERE MAY BE** a reason why law students haven't resorted to the extreme tactics we've seen on college campuses: their training. Law school conditions you to know the difference between righteousness and self-righteousness. That's why lawyers know how to go to war without turning the other side into an enemy. People love to tell lawyer jokes, but maybe it's time for the rest of the country to take a lesson from the profession they love to hate.

In law schools we don't just teach our students to know the weaknesses in their own arguments. We demand that they imaginatively and sympathetically reconstruct the best argument on the other side. From the first day in class, students must defend an argument they don't believe or pretend to be a judge whose values they dislike. Every professor I know assigns cases that vindicate the side



Students at Middlebury College shouted down Charles Murray rather than listen to his controversial ideas when he came to speak at their campus in March

she favors—then brutally dismantles their reasoning. Lawyers learn to see the world as their opponents do, and nothing is more humbling than that. We teach students that even the grandest principles have limits. The day you really become a lawyer is the day you realize that the law doesn't—and shouldn't—match everything you believe. The litigation system is premised on the hope that truth will emerge if we ensure that everyone has a chance to have her say.

The rituals of respect shown inside and outside the courtroom come from this training. Those rituals are so powerful that they can trump even the deepest divides. As Kenneth Mack recounts in his book *Representing the Race: The Creation of the Civil Rights Lawyer*, Thurgood Marshall was able to do things in court that a black man could never do in any other forum, like subjecting a white woman to cross-examination. Marshall was able to practice even in small, segregated towns in rural Maryland during the early days of the civil rights movement. The reason was simple: despite their bigotry, members of the Maryland

bar had decided to treat Marshall as a lawyer, first and foremost.

**THE VALUES** in which my profession is steeped were once values in politics as well. In 2008, I was one of the lawyers in the Obama campaign's "boiler room." Buses delivered the staff to Grant Park to watch Barack Obama accept the win. We arrived just as Senator John McCain was giving his concession speech on the Jumbotrons. The election was hard fought, and there was no love lost between the two campaigns. But even as the crowd around us jeered, the Obama staff practically stood at attention. It was like watching an army surrender—one of the most moving experiences I remember from that extraordinary campaign.

We need to return to what were once core values in politics and what remain core values in my profession. Make no mistake, we are in the midst of a war over values. We should fight, and fight hard, for what we believe. But even as we do battle, it's crucial to recognize the best in the other side and the worst in your own.

*Gerken is the dean of Yale Law School*

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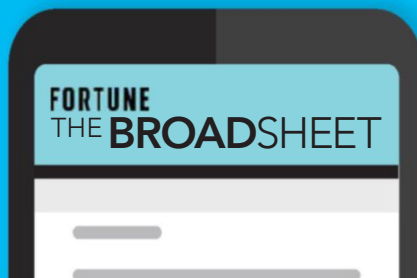
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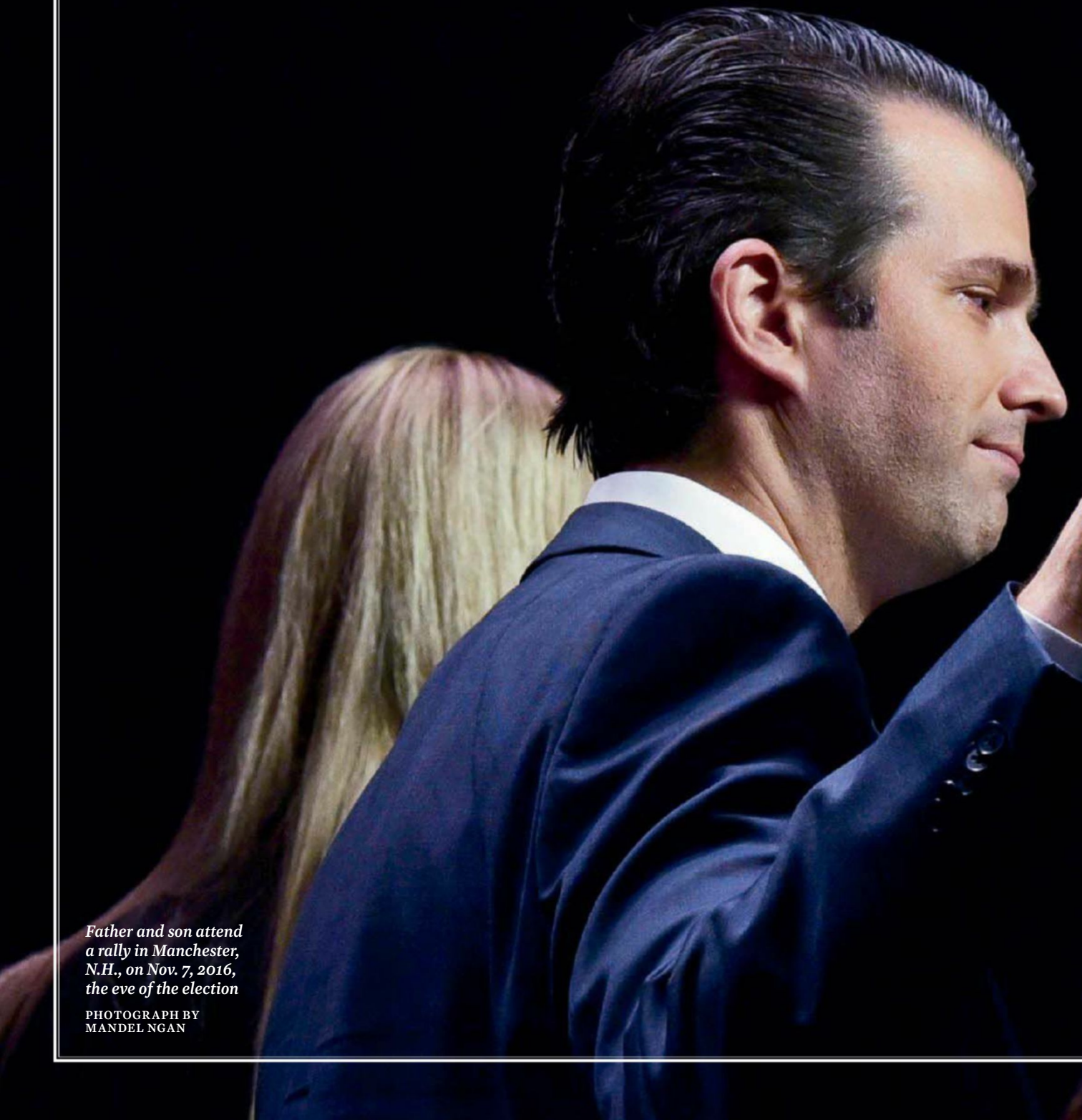
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Nation

# How Donald Trump Jr.'s emails have cranked up the heat on his family

By David Von Drehle



*Father and son attend a rally in Manchester, N.H., on Nov. 7, 2016, the eve of the election*

PHOTOGRAPH BY  
MANDEL NGAN





# The most pressing question of our time might be: How bad is it?

As a candidate and now as President, Donald Trump has smashed the gauges that once tracked the normal temperature, pressure and wind speed in the climate map of American politics. Now when it feels like the barometer is plunging, we can only watch and wonder: Who can predict what's coming next, with so many broken indicators?

Yet certain old ways survive. Like a farmer forecasting the weather by the ache in his knee, Washington has a feeling that this storm could be a monster. And the twinge that forecast the deluge was Donald Trump Jr. facing a camera and issuing what sounded a little like an apology. Which is an ominous sign in an Administration that means never having to say you're sorry.

A bombshell report in the *New York Times* revealed the junior Trump's enthusiastic response to "obviously

very high level and sensitive" morsels supposedly collected by the Kremlin—a report so accurate that the young Trump shared the proof himself on Twitter rather than try the #FakeNews dodge. Then the President's eldest son paid a visit to Fox News host Sean Hannity's show. For Trumpers in trouble, this is like a grounded child serving detention at Grandpa's house. He frowns, then spins a better excuse than the child could ever create alone, followed by ice cream.

Even in that gentle setting, Trump Jr. felt a need to drop the nonstop offense of brand Trump. "In retrospect," he said, "I probably would have done things a little differently."

So, how bad is it? Investigators in Congress and the Justice Department have miles to go before determining whether President Trump or his son, son-in-law or advisers cooperated—or even conspired—with Russian officials to tilt the outcome of last year's election. But this much is now clear, thanks to Trump Jr.'s Twitter stream: whether the Trumps teamed up with the Russians or not, they certainly wanted to. And that overrides the months of denials from the Trump orbit that there was anything to what the President has repeatedly called a "witch hunt." When Trump Jr. was asked on July 24, 2016, about Democratic claims that Russia was trying to help the Trump campaign, he responded with unmitigated outrage on CNN. "It's disgusting. It's so phony," he said. "I can't think of bigger lies."

He now admits that he knew of purported Russian attempts to help his father weeks earlier. In fact, he tried to

make it happen. The proof is in an email chain, with the subject line: "Russia - Clinton - private and confidential." It involved Trump Jr., who shared it with both Trump son-in-law Jared Kushner and former campaign manager Paul Manafort. Whether they read what he sent them is a matter of some dispute, but the email managed to gather all three men for a meeting. The campaign was in furious swing, yet these inner-circle advisers hosted a visitor from Moscow at Trump Tower. She was said to be conveying dirt on Hillary Clinton, compliments of the Kremlin. The tipster who arranged the meeting promised the younger Trump that they could expect "official documents and information that would incriminate Hillary and her dealings with Russia and would be very useful to your father." And in case that wasn't clear enough, he added, "This is obviously very high level and sensitive information but is part of Russia and its government's support for Mr. Trump." He said it had been passed by Russia's "Crown prosecutor" just that morning. To which Trump Jr. replied, "If it's what you say I love it."

So much for White House efforts to deny a Russia problem. At the time of the meeting last June, Manafort—later resigned over his financial ties to Russia and its loyalists in Ukraine—was still riding high. Donald Trump, the billionaire giant killer of primary season was struggling to assume the mantle of presumptive GOP nominee, raise money for the general election and transform his campaign from chaos to clout, all while the party's Never Trumpers hunted feverishly

## THE SUMMER OF 2016

May 3

### Lock on nomination

After Donald Trump wins the Indiana primary, the Republican National Committee declares him the presumptive nominee and begins preparations for the general election.

June 3

### The offer of help

Publicist Rob Goldstone emails Donald Trump Jr. about having a meeting to pass on damaging information on Hillary Clinton as "part of Russia and its government's support for Mr. Trump." Minutes later Trump Jr. replies, "If it's what you say I love it."

June 7

### Trump promises "major speech" on the Clintons

Hours after his son schedules a meeting with the Russian lawyer, Trump announces a major speech. "We're going to be discussing all of the things that have taken place with the Clintons," he says.

June 8

### Kushner and Manafort looped in

Trump Jr. forwards the email from Goldstone to former Trump campaign chairman Paul Manafort as well as his brother-in-law Jared Kushner, who was actively involved in the campaign.

June 9

### The meeting

The three Trump aides meet with Natalia Veselnitskaya in Trump Tower. Kushner leaves after several minutes, say participants. Trump Jr. says the promised information on Clinton was vague and not valuable.



↑  
*Russian oligarch Aras Agalarov, left, and Trump appear after the Miss Universe pageant in Moscow in November 2013*

for a miracle to stop the takeover. Just hours after the Russia meeting was scheduled, candidate Trump announced to the world that he was drafting a “major speech” to make public “all of the things that have taken place with the Clintons.”

Trump Jr. acknowledged on Twitter that he took the meeting in hopes of mining the dirt, but says he instead received a dreary lecture on issues of Russian adoption from an empty-handed lawyer, along with some vague claims about donors to the Democratic National Committee. The meeting “went nowhere but had to listen,” he typed; later he assured Hannity that he had left Dad out of the episode entirely, a claim echoed by White House officials. Kushner maintains that he failed to read

to the bottom of the email invitation to the meeting, so he did not understand the Russian promise it contained. “It was on the fourth page of a forwarded conversation,” said a source familiar with Kushner’s knowledge.

What actually happened is a mystery for special counsel Robert Mueller to unravel. What may matter more in the meantime, though, is what the three men did not do. Unlike the President and his spokespeople, these key insiders never

dismissed the offer of “very high level” Russian “support” as phony or fake. On the contrary, the prospect of Russian assistance was real enough to pull three very busy men into a Trump Tower office to meet with a messenger from Moscow. They also failed to report the alleged effort of a foreign power to influence the election. Kushner failed even to report the meeting on his initial security-clearance application.

Again: How bad is it? The entire 2016 race was a test of shifting standards. In that sour season of deeply unpopular candidates, millions of people undoubtedly felt that stopping Clinton was a cause so important that they could countenance any number of strange alliances. Likewise, there were millions who, in the waning days of the campaign, clicked happily on a salacious dossier of anti-Trump material gathered by gunshoes in an effort to stop him.

But while partisanship is one thing, Russia has long been an entirely different matter. From Damascus to Turtle Bay, from oil fields to outer space, Russia is a fierce rival of the U.S. and has been for generations. What politician jumps in bed with Russia? Whether overt or covert, Moscow’s stance toward Washington runs a short, troubling gamut from mischievous to hostile. “Russia is the one country that could physically destroy America,” former U.S. ambassador to Ukraine Steven Pifer noted in a Brookings Institution paper published last October. For advisers to a would-be President to take at face value an offer of clandestine assistance from Moscow is foolish at best,

PREVIOUS PAGES: AFP/GETTY IMAGES; THIS PAGE: MAXIM SHEMETOV—REUTERS

**June 14**  
**The DNC says it’s been hacked**

The Democratic National Committee announces that it has been hacked, with cybersecurity firm CrowdStrike saying it determined that Russian-intelligence-linked groups were behind the intrusion.

**June 15**  
**The first documents are released**

A hacker claiming to be “Guccifer 2.0”—later identified by U.S. intelligence as a front for Russian intelligence groups—begins posting documents obtained from the DNC hack.

**July 24**  
**Clinton campaign accuses Russia of trying to help Trump**

Clinton campaign manager Robby Mook tells CNN that the campaign has been told Russians were leaking the DNC emails as part of an effort to help Trump.

**July 24**  
**Trump Jr. denies Russia is trying to help his father**

Asked minutes later on CNN about the claim that Russia was helping Trump, Trump Jr. reacts with outrage, calling the allegations political “lies.” “It’s disgusting. It’s so phony,” he says.

**July 27**  
**Trump’s public request to Moscow**

In a news conference, Trump says, “Russia, if you are listening, I hope you are able to find the 30,000 emails that are missing” after being deleted from Clinton’s private computer server.

reckless for sure and potentially treasonous in the worst-case scenario.

Maybe this is what it means to elect a billionaire dealmaker to the White House. Trump has promised to put “America first.” But in this episode, the guiding mind-set seems, at best, to be a very strange, postnational wheeler-dealerism. The juicy fruit dangled in front of Trump Jr. was supposedly passed from the Kremlin’s chief prosecutor to a real estate oligarch named Aras Agalarov. He has been a pal of the Trumps ever since the future President staged a Miss Universe pageant in Moscow in 2013. Known as “Putin’s builder” for his close ties to the Russian leader, Agalarov proposed a partnership to construct a Trump-branded skyscraper in the Russian capital, and he remained in touch with the new President even after the deal fell through. Agalarov also had well-established ties to Yuri Chaika, Russia’s prosecutor general since 2006, and publicly came to Chaika’s defense against corruption claims in 2015.

Agalarov’s son Emin, a pop star in Russia for whom Trump once appeared in a music video, is on a first-name basis with Trump Jr. It was Emin who first asked for the meeting—via his publicist, a Fleet Street veteran of Britain’s rough-and-tumble tabloids named Rob Goldstone. Although Emin did not wind up at Trump Tower (instead, the visitor was a connected attorney named Natalia Veselnitskaya), the overall picture was a series of transactions, from mogul to mogul, heir to heir, Moscow to London to Manhattan. Borders vanish when you’re looking down from a private jet at cruising altitude.

**BUT WITH CONGRESSIONAL** committees at work and with Mueller bulking up his staff at the Justice Department, questions of patriotism may pale beside questions of legal and political jeopardy. In 1974, before Trump had built his first tower or Trump Jr. had drawn his first breath, Senator Lloyd Bentsen of Texas explained in a silky drawl the reasoning behind his proposed ban on international support for U.S. political campaigns. “I am saying that contributions by foreign nationals are wrong,” Bentsen honeyed, “and they have no place in the American political system.”

Over the years, the Bentsen amend-

ment has been interpreted to ban many types of information sharing, on grounds that information is itself a thing of value. For example, the Federal Election Commission ruled in a 1990 case that polling data can be a thing of value if shared with a campaign. Legal experts are split on the question of whether Trump Jr. could be charged with conspiring to break Bentsen’s law by accepting anti-Clinton research—a thing of value to the Trump campaign—even if the supposed research was never, in fact, delivered.

One skeptic is Jan Baran, an expert on campaign laws at the firm of Wiley Rein. For many years, he notes, federal regulations have permitted foreign

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## A more plausible charge is obstruction of justice—and here the President himself might be vulnerable

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nationals to volunteer on U.S. campaigns, and in this case the Agalarovs might simply be volunteers who offered to carry “documents and information” that they picked up at no cost. So where is the foul? “Everyone’s upset that Don Jr. met with Russians, but I don’t see where there’s a violation of campaign-finance laws, let alone a conspiracy to violate those laws,” Baran says.

Other theories of legal peril lurk outside of campaign law. Perhaps Trump Jr. violated the ancient Logan Act, a relic of the 18th century that forbids “intercourse with any foreign government” in connection with “disputes or controversies with the United States.” Would it matter that no one has been convicted under the law in more than 200 years?

Senator Tim Kaine, a Democrat from Virginia and Clinton’s running mate, raised the stakes further by saying that these fresh revelations move the Russia investigation into the realms of “perjury,

false statements and even, potentially, treason.” The first two crimes on his list might apply to Kushner, who had to fill out a form disclosing contacts with foreign officials as part of the screening process for security clearance for an official White House position. If he could be shown to have omitted the meeting with the Russian lawyer on purpose, he could be vulnerable. Neither Trump Jr. nor Manafort was subject to the vetting.

Treason, meanwhile, is an extremely hard case to make. Only about 30 Americans in the history of the country have been charged with it. The only crime defined in the Constitution, treason is limited to “levying war” against the U.S., “adhering to their enemies” or “giving [those enemies] aid and comfort.” The attempted hanky-panky at Trump Tower is not likely to meet that test.

A more plausible charge is obstruction of justice—and here the President himself might be vulnerable. As investigators dig deeper into all things Russia-related, they might find explanations for some of Trump’s seemingly erratic decisions. Why did he praise former FBI director James Comey publicly, allegedly court his loyalty privately and then fire him so abruptly? Why did Trump encourage the Russians to hack Clinton’s emails, then deny evidence that Russian hacking took place? Was he trying to derail or divert the investigation? Even if he was, can a President be indicted for thwarting an investigation when his executive authority clearly includes the Justice Department?

Such questions may explain why one of Mueller’s first hires is an expert in constitutional law and the limits of executive power. Mueller, who was for a dozen years the director of the FBI, has been summoned back to the Justice Department to riddle out his own version of the question “How bad is it?” So far he isn’t saying.

Beyond the legal implications lies the political damage, which will be tallied over time. Trump had just returned from a trip to Europe when the latest bad news broke, blotting out coverage of his speech defending Western values in Poland and casting a jaundiced light on his first meeting with Putin. With his agenda bottled up in Congress by the cork of an unpopular health care bill, Trump may be losing any ability to focus political attention

on matters of his choosing. Few elected Republicans were willing to defend the Trump camp when the email chain went public.

Their silence pointed to the one measuring stick that Trump hasn't yet broken: the voters. The year 2016—the year of Trump's unexpected victory—is receding as quickly as 2018 approaches, and members of the GOP must decide how closely to embrace their party's leader in their next campaigns. This is a delicate calculation. Polling suggests a deepening determination among core Republicans to shut out what they're hearing from established institutions. Strong majorities on the right express skepticism, not just of the media but also of many government agencies, colleges and universities. For them, the sound of established authorities howling over the emails might as well be music.

But polls also make it clear that core Republicans are not a majority in the U.S. Trump's nationwide job approval remains stuck at about 40%. If you think of elected officials as a needle wobbling between the GOP base and persuadable independents, you can watch them to see how much political damage is being done. So far, special elections in places like Georgia, Kansas and South Carolina have shown the needle tilting away from Trump, but not enough to lose him any Republican Congressmen.

**INSIDE THE WHITE HOUSE**, the mood was, once again, weary and grim. The President dropped from public view, surfacing briefly to praise his son as “a high-quality person” and to tweet his approval of Trump Jr.'s *Hannity* appearance. “My son Donald did a good job last night. He was open, transparent and innocent.”

Sources describe the President as “frustrated” by the Russia mire—his millions of online followers could tell you that—and he continues to be unwilling to recognize that his impetuous and improvisational actions are partly to blame. It was his choice to praise Putin throughout the campaign, his whim to suggest that the Russians should hack Clinton's email, his decision to hire figures as Manafort and former National Security Adviser Michael Flynn, and his impulse to fire Comey after a meeting in which the former FBI director says the President asked him to dial down a part of the investigation.

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## The Players

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**ROB GOLDSTONE**  
The middleman

The music publicist emailed Trump Jr., promising damaging information from the Russian government on Hillary Clinton



**NATALIA VESELNITSKAYA**  
The Russian lawyer

The lobbyist who has worked to oppose sanctions on Russia was the envoy who was sent to Trump Tower to hold the meeting



**EMIN AGALAROV**  
The pop star

The singer son of Putin ally Aras Agalarov was Goldstone's client and the connection to the Trumps, who knew him through the Miss Universe pageant in Moscow



**PAUL MANAFORT**  
The chairman

A longtime lobbyist with clients in Eastern Europe, he attended the meeting in his role as chairman of the Trump campaign



**JARED KUSHNER**  
The son-in-law

Now a White House senior adviser, he failed to mention his presence at the meeting when applying for a security clearance

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Instead, Trump is said to have turned on his lawyers, blaming longtime personal attorney Marc Kasowitz for the team's failure to put an end to his woes. Adding to their burden, the lawyers have been hamstrung by a deliberate decision inside the White House to avoid an internal investigation. Fearing the bad odor that news of an inquiry could create, the Administration has not asked individual staffers to produce lists of their contacts with Russians during the campaign and transition. Such lists are an invitation to nitpicking by the press and investigators, one White House official noted, but the alternative is no better. Without asking for lists, the Administration is flying blind, unsure whether their own statements will prove true, just waiting for the next shoe to drop.

Trump's attorneys, meanwhile, hope they have enough remaining credibility with the President to drive home just how perilous his predicament has become for him. The incriminating interplay between his son and a potential business partner in Russia points Mueller ever deeper into the guts of the Trump Organization, which Trump Jr. now runs with his brother Eric. In hopes of limiting the damage, the lawyers, not to mention some White House staff members, would love to shut down Trump's Twitter—but he made it clear in remarks to the *New York Times* Magazine that this will never happen. “It's my voice,” he said. “They're not going to take away my social media.”

It all adds up, in the words of a senior Administration official, to a “sh-tstorm” that no White House staffer even tries to deny. The #FakeNews defense won't work when the Trump family is the one tweeting the potentially incriminating emails. And all of Washington has awakened to the fact that the Russia issue has spiraled beyond anyone's control. There are too many investigations and too many targets—each with his own interests to protect and his own team of attorneys to protect them—and too many enemies created by Trump's bull-in-a-china-shop style. It's not a question anymore of putting them all in a box and shutting the lid. It's only a question of how bad it will get. —*With reporting by MASSIMO CALABRESI, ZEKE J. MILLER, MICHAEL SCHERER/WASHINGTON and SIMON SHUSTER/BERLIN* □

Health Care

# THE UNITED PATIENTS OF AMERICA



As Republicans scramble to replace  
Obamacare, families with sick or disabled  
members are emerging as a powerful  
opposition force

**By Charlotte Alter  
and Haley Sweetland Edwards**

PHOTOGRAPH BY DAYMON GARDNER FOR TIME





## Angéla Lorio, 43, and John Paul Lorio, 4

### HOW HEALTH CARE AFFECTS THEM

Lorio was uninsured when she gave birth to John Paul at 27 weeks. He was born with tracheomalacia, intraventricular hemorrhage and developmental delays. They are now covered by Medicaid, which pays for the equipment and nursing that allows John Paul to live at home.

### WHAT THEY'RE DOING ABOUT IT

Even though she's a Republican who voted for Trump, Lorio has organized sit-ins against the GOP's proposed Medicaid cuts. "There's nothing like a mama bear coming at you for her cub," she says.

Angéla Lorio never thought she would have a friend like Jessica Michot. Lorio is a Republican who once trained to be a nun. Michot is a Democrat who went to school to be a social worker. Lorio watches Fox News; Michot watches MSNBC. Lorio voted for Donald Trump. Michot was for Hillary Clinton all the way.

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But the two Louisiana moms, who live just a dozen miles apart, were drawn to each other by a force stronger than politics. They met in 2013, after discovering on Facebook that they had overlapped for months in a Baton Rouge neonatal intensive care unit, praying over tiny beds. Lorio's son John Paul and Michot's son Gabriel were born at 27 weeks, which led to severe problems that require them to eat through feeding tubes and breathe through "trachs." Both boys, now 4, also have developmental delays, and their mothers rely on Medicaid to defray the costs of caring for their sons at home.

Lorio and Michot connected immediately over shared experiences—cleaning trachs, mixing formula, inserting feeding tubes—and they soon launched a group for parents like them. They called it Trach Mommas of Louisiana. "This is the first time I've had a very close friend that was on the other end of the [political] spec-

trum," says Lorio, 43, who cares for John Paul full-time. "We can look in another mom's eyes and say, 'I've been there.' That's what unites us."

Now, as Trump and the Republican-controlled Congress work to overhaul America's health care policy, Lorio and Michot find themselves united for another reason: both moms are committed to stopping the Senate Republicans' health

**'We're not going to wait until there's a bill passed to speak up. If we wait to speak up, it'll be too late.'**

ELENA HUNG, mother of Xiomara, 3, who uses a trach tube to breathe

care plan, which they see as a direct threat to their children's welfare. Of particular concern is a provision in a Senate draft proposal that would allow insurance companies to impose lifetime caps on benefits, which could make seriously ill patients essentially uninsurable in the private market. Lorio and Michot also oppose a projected 35% reduction over two decades in federal funding for Medicaid, which they fear would force states to eliminate the programs that help parents of disabled children care for their kids at home. "They will be cutting off his life support," Michot, 33, says of Gabriel. "Without Medicaid, he would either be dead or institutionalized."

So on July 8, Lorio and Michot set off in a bus full of wheelchairs and ventilators to Washington, where they joined more than 100 other parents, patients and advocates for the chronically ill and disabled to protest the health care proposal. They were a motley tribe: Trump voters and Clinton backers, children with oxygen tanks and adults with autism, experienced rabble-rousers and political neophytes. Some had never called their Senators' offices, much less showed up on their doorsteps. But together, these dedicated activists amount to a powerful new constituency, one that is homegrown, bipartisan and mobilized behind a single issue: to protect access to federal health care benefits.

This unlikely grassroots army is a key reason the Republican Party finds itself with few good options on health care, despite controlling both houses of Congress and the White House. As GOP lawmakers attempt to deliver on promises to repeal Obamacare and reduce federal entitlements, while simultaneously serving constituents who rely on those very programs, the result has been a series of health care bills, first out of the House and now the Senate, that appear to satisfy no one. The House bill, which passed in May, is the most unpopular legislation in three decades, according to an MIT analysis of public-opinion polls, receiving support from just 28% of voters.

The backlash led Senate majority leader Mitch McConnell to postpone a vote on the Senate's version at the end of June. On July 11 he announced that the Senate would stay in session an extra two weeks into August to get the job done. The proposed revisions McConnell





is considering allowing more federal Medicaid spending for particular issues like the opioid epidemic—an attempt to draw reluctant Senators’ votes.

As the veteran Republican leader works to persuade enough of his colleagues to get the hobbled bill over the line, advocates like the Trach Mommas and other patients and parents across the country will be rallying the opposition behind a deeply personal cause. “This isn’t about parties and how you voted,” Lorio says. “This is about saving lives.”

**PEOPLE LIKE** Lorio and Michot don’t really have time to be activists. For parents of kids with complex medical needs or chronically ill adults, even going to the grocery store can be a heavy lift. Who has the extra hours it takes to organize a rally when there’s a child at home who needs round-the-clock care?

## Jessica Michot, 33, and Gabriel Michot, 4

### HOW HEALTH CARE AFFECTS THEM

Gabriel and his twin Michael were born at 27 weeks and spent more than a year in a Baton Rouge neonatal intensive care unit. Michael died at age 1, while Gabriel survived with bronchopulmonary dysplasia, hypertensive pulmonary vascular disease and developmental delays. His family has private insurance, but Gabriel’s care is so expensive that if lifetime caps on coverage return, he could be uninsurable in the future.

### WHAT THEY’RE DOING ABOUT IT

Jessica Michot led a bus full of families with disabled children to Washington to urge Senators to preserve Medicaid funding. “I already lost one son,” she says. “I don’t intend to lose another.”

A threat to that care has a way of changing things. Maggie Chism says she didn’t get involved in politics until her daughter Evelyn was born with a congenital heart defect 10 months ago. Now she’s calling and writing letters to McConnell, who represents her in Kentucky. Rocky Fuselier, a 54-year-old Trump voter from Louisiana who was paralyzed in a diving accident when he was 19, traveled to Washington to advocate for continued funding of programs that help disabled adults live independent lives. Laurie Merges, a 47-year-old mother in Ohio, says she was never the type to chant and march—until she was diagnosed with Stage 3 breast cancer shortly after she went on Medicaid following the expansion of the program under the Affordable Care Act.

They are among tens of thousands of newly engaged patients and their loved ones who were fighting to save Obamacare. The American Diabetes Association estimates that it has 15,000 new patient activists this year. The American Cancer Society’s Cancer Action Network says it has logged 19,000 new advocates since January. “Now we go to protests,” says Kerry Reed, 46, a Tennessee mom and longtime Republican voter who switched to Clinton in 2016 and has been covered under the ACA since 2014. She had rarely gotten involved in politics, but she’s now placing daily calls to her Senator and writing letters to the editor of her local paper. “I know you think you’re a Republican,” she tells her neighbors, “but this new care is going to affect you.”

Exactly how the Senate’s latest proposals will affect disabled and chronically ill kids and adults will vary by state and by the type of insurance families have. But experts agree that the heart of the issue is Medicaid. Both the House and the Senate proposals include steep cuts to future funding for Medicaid, an overwhelmingly popular federal program that covers 76 million Americans, including two-thirds of all nursing-home residents and 40% of the nation’s children. If you reduce federal Medicaid funding by as much as \$834 billion over 10 years, as the House Republicans’ bill would, states will almost certainly be forced to cut some of the services they currently offer.

Both the White House and congressional Republicans who support the Senate bill say scaling back spending on Medi-

caid, which has grown to roughly 10% of the federal budget, is necessary. Such reductions, Republicans say, will force states to become more efficient, eliminate fraud and abuse, and serve the most deserving populations first. But health care experts say it will also compel states to make some tough decisions. Federal law requires that all state Medicaid programs cover certain populations, like impoverished children, disabled children and adults, mothers and the indigent elderly in need of nursing-home care, and certain services, like hospital care. As a result, states don't have easy ways to cut large amounts of Medicaid spending without targeting optional programs. That includes one of the most expensive: the one that helps defray the cost of home aides and medical equipment that help severely disabled children and adults stay in their homes and communities, rather than being institutionalized.

"If you have a disabled child and Medicaid has paid for a personal care attendant to come to your house so your kid can get combed and bathed and you can have a shower—that will probably be cut," says Andy Slavitt, the former acting administrator of the Centers for Medicare and Medicaid Services, a federal health agency. "Which means a lot more people will be institutionalized."

Home and community care programs are, after all, very expensive, accounting for more than 25% of all Medicaid spending over the past decade, according to a 2016 federal government analysis. But they're also transformative for families caring for disabled family members and children. According to the Kaiser Family Foundation, a nonpartisan health policy think tank, 44% of kids with special needs across the U.S. rely on Medicaid or other public insurance through state programs like these. Both Lorio and Michot depend on Louisiana's Medicaid programs to get the trach supplies, home health aides and medical equipment that allow their 4-year-old sons to remain at home.

No politician wants to be responsible for kicking sick kids out of their homes. But reductions in Medicaid spending will force governors to make excruciating decisions, explains David Cutler, a health care economist at Harvard University. And that means excruciating choices: Do you cut services for children, or pre-

natal visits, or the amount paid for nursing homes for the elderly? "State budgets are too strapped already," Cutler says.

Congressional Republicans who support the Senate bill say they have created safeguards for some of the most vulnerable populations. Those include exemptions for disabled people from needing to work in order to receive assistance and a carve-out for blind and disabled children, which would allow them to avoid being subject to certain limits on federal spending. "That's a well-intentioned provision, but you have to read closely," says Meg Comeau, a director at Boston University's Catalyst Center, which has analyzed the Republican health plan.

While the description of the carve-out in the first Senate bill lacks detail, it will likely narrowly define what counts as a disability and may only apply to children who qualify under the stringent income standards of the federal disability program. It's possible, for example, that both John Paul Lorio, who has Medicaid coupled with other optional state-based programs, and Gabriel Michot, who has private insurance through his father's employer but also receives Medicaid-funded optional programs even though his family is above the income limit, could see the services they receive scaled back, eliminated or made more expensive through cost-sharing measures.

Patients and advocates are also alarmed by the GOP's proposal to allow insurance companies to reinstate the lifetime coverage caps that were banned under the ACA. Without that ban on lifetime caps in place, people with complex medical needs who are covered by private insurance could blow through the limit on how much their insurers will pay after a prolonged stay at

**'Seeing the difficulties that families are going through really fortified my belief that I was doing the right thing.'**

DAN DONOVAN, Republican Congressman from New York, who voted against the GOP health care bill in the House

the hospital, leaving them essentially uninsurable for the rest of their lives—unless they reduce their income enough to qualify for Medicaid. Take Timmy Morrison, for example. He was born on Sept. 29, 2010, with a rare genetic condition called Opitz G/BBB syndrome, six days after the ACA's ban on lifetime caps went into effect. He spent six months in the NICU, racking up a bill of more than \$2 million, according to his mother, Michelle Morrison. If Timmy had been born six months earlier, the \$1 million cap on Morrison's employer-based insurance policy would have left him without coverage halfway through his NICU stay.

Some parent-advocates have seen the GOP stance on health care as a reason to question their party identity. Alison Chandra, who considered herself a Republican because of the party's position on abortion, finds it hard to square that value for life with the GOP health care proposals. "I've always seen it as very black and white, like the Republicans are pro-life and I'm pro-life, so I guess I'm a Republican," says Chandra, 33, a former pediatric nurse in New Jersey whose son Ethan, 3, has heterotaxy, a rare condition that caused him to be born with nine congenital heart defects, two left lungs and five spleens. While Chandra and Ethan are covered under her husband's employer-based insurance, the return of lifetime caps would render Ethan virtually uninsurable. His care has already cost almost \$2 million in just three years. "The party that would have crucified me for aborting my child now wants to make it impossible for me to keep him alive," she says.

So Chandra has added political action into her daily routine of caring for Ethan. "Here's my list: call the insurance company, call Congress, and then call the pharmacy and get the prescription refilled," Chandra says. "We've been fighting since the moment we heard our kid's diagnosis, since the moment they were born. This is just a regular day for us."

Pastor James Brigman Jr. is taking that fight on the road. On July 7, he set out from his home in Rockingham, N.C., with water, a Bible and pictures of his daughter Lauren Faith, 9, who has cerebral palsy and uncontrollable seizures. It will take him almost two weeks to walk the roughly 350 miles to Capitol Hill to ask his Senators—Republicans Thom Tillis and



Richard Burr—not to vote for any measure that would affect the state Medicaid program that covers Lauren Faith’s care.

“Lauren is never going to get any better,” Brigman says. “She can’t walk, so I walk for her. She can’t stand, so I stand for her. She can’t speak, so I speak for her.”

**THIS IS NOT** the place Republicans expected to be in. Having campaigned for seven years on a promise to repeal the ACA and claw back federal spending, the party is at last in a position to deliver. Instead, they’ve been thwarted by an increasingly pitched, internecine battle over the future of the GOP brand.

On one side, conservative lawmakers and powerful benefactors like the Koch brothers are pushing to eliminate regulations and reduce outlays to programs like Medicaid. On the other side, constituents like the Trach Mommas and a powerful

## Pastor James Brigman Jr., 52

### HOW HEALTH CARE AFFECTS HIM

Brigman’s daughter Lauren Faith, 9, weighed less than 2 lb. when she was born. She survived, but she has cerebral palsy and a seizure disorder. The Brigman family is covered by North Carolina’s Cap/C program, which relies on Medicaid funding to provide home care to severely disabled kids.

### WHAT HE’S DOING ABOUT IT

Brigman is walking about 350 miles from his home in Rockingham, N.C., to confront his Senators in Washington. He estimates that the journey will take him two weeks, and he says he plans to pray along the way. “Are they going to stick with a political party?” he says of his elected officials. “Or are they going to do what’s right for the American people?”

alliance of major medical and industry groups, including the American Medical Association, the AARP and the American Hospital Association, are fighting to safeguard those same programs. In the second week of July alone, the AARP and Save My Care, an advocacy group, spent nearly \$2 million on broadcast, cable and radio spots targeting Republican Senators on the health care bill, according to Advertising Analytics, which tracks such spending. A handful of Republican governors, including Nevada’s Brian Sandoval, Ohio’s John Kasich and Massachusetts’ Charlie Baker, have crossed the aisle to oppose the first version of the Senate health care bill.

In attempting to make both sides happy, Republican lawmakers have spent the past few months performing something of a wobbling dance. The House passed a version of a new health care law in May, which would reduce federal Medicaid spending by more than \$800 billion over 10 years, compared with current law. It effectively removed the signature Obamacare requirement that insurance companies offer coverage at similar rates to everyone, regardless of pre-existing conditions. The nonpartisan Congressional Budget Office estimated that the bill would leave 23 million more people without insurance after a decade, compared with current law. Trump championed the House bill in a televised Rose Garden ceremony, then later described it as “mean.”

Senate Republicans have followed a similar tack. Their draft, which borrowed heavily from the House plan, cut federal Medicaid spending by \$772 billion over 10 years, allowed states to opt out of requiring insurers to cover basic medical benefits such as maternity care or prescription drugs, and eliminated the bulk of the Obamacare taxes on wealthy Americans. The CBO estimated the bill would leave 22 million Americans without insurance by 2026 compared to current law. To patient advocates, any bill resembling the House plan is a nonstarter. “We’ve seen three versions of this bill—all of them would be devastating for our kids,” says Michelle Morrison, who has brought her 6-year-old son Timmy to Capitol Hill half a dozen times as part of a group she co-founded called Little Lobbyists. “Unless they do a complete 180 from what they’ve been doing, it’s going to be bad.”

As McConnell prepared to unveil a new



▲  
*Little Lobbyists co-founders Michelle Morrison, front, and Elena Hung, left, meet with Senator Chris Van Hollen on June 20 about health care*

version of the Senate bill in mid-July, all signs pointed toward a similar proposal to what had come before. Concessions to Republican critics of the bill included an expected \$45 billion pot of money to fight opioid addiction. McConnell also signaled a willingness to drop his earlier plan to cut Obamacare's taxes on the wealthy.

These changes are unlikely to satisfy the newly activated parents and patients, who have been shaping the debate around the bills since the GOP's first health plan was proposed in the House this spring. As the details of that plan emerged, town-hall meetings turned so angry that many Republicans have all but stopped holding them. Patient activists occupied the offices of Arizona Senator Jeff Flake and Colorado Senator Cory Gardner over the July 4 recess, and nearly 50 protesters in wheelchairs were arrested for protesting outside McConnell's office on June 22. The TV star Jimmy Kimmel, whose young son Billy was born with a congenital heart condition, used his late-night show in May to urge lawmakers to consider the impact an ACA repeal could have on seriously ill children.

These protests have shaken lawmakers. Sustained local advocacy ahead of the House vote helped to sway many of the 20 Republicans who did not support the bill. New York Republican Dan Donovan says hearing from concerned constituents, like a family whose three children all have

hemophilia, sealed his opposition to the bill. "Seeing those folks and hearing those stories and seeing the difficulties that families are going through really fortified my belief that I was doing the right thing," Donovan tells TIME.

After 75 people protested outside the office of West Virginia Republican Senator Shelley Moore Capito on June 26, she announced that she could not support the Senate bill in its initial form. "I only see it through the lens of a vulnerable population who needs help, who I care about very deeply," she later told Politico.

## 'The party that would have crucified me for aborting my child now wants to make it impossible for me to keep him alive.'

ALISON CHANDRA, mother of 3-year-old Ethan, who has nine congenital heart defects

Activists are counting on the emotional appeal of their stories to continue to sway Senators. "How do you as a Republican lawmaker counter the argument 'My child is sick and will die if you pass this bill'?" says Dana R. Fisher, a professor of sociology at the University of Maryland who studies protest and social movements. "It's extremely difficult to pivot on that into any kind of political speak that doesn't make you sound like an a--hole."

That's why groups like the Little Lobbyists have been pounding the pavement on Capitol Hill. "We're not going to wait until there's a bill passed to speak up," says the group's co-founder Elena Hung, whose 3-year-old daughter Xiomara was born with airway problems, chronic lung and kidney diseases and developmental delays. "If we wait to speak up, it'll be too late."

**THE TRACH MOMMAS'** 25-hour drive from Louisiana was not easy. But after several panic attacks, feeding-tube mishaps and one little girl who spiked a fever and had to go to the ER, the group made it to the Hart Senate Office Building on July 10. They had an appointment to meet with a staffer for Bill Cassidy, a Republican Senator from their home state who is pushing for a compromise on health care that would allow some states to keep Obamacare. Once there, Michot and Lorio were told the staffer no longer had time to speak to them in person but could do a phone call later. The moms refused to leave, and eventually a member of Cassidy's health care team appeared. She nodded politely as Lorio and Michot explained what drastic Medicaid cuts would mean for John Paul and Gabriel. Within 10 minutes, the meeting was over.

Still, the Mommas saw the trip as a success: a face-to-face meeting with a Cassidy staffer was their goal all along. But they were far from celebrating. They still owed the bus company more than \$5,000 for the journey to D.C. And despite all their efforts, the Senate bill or another one just like it, they knew, could still pass. If it does become law, Lorio may enter another phase of political transformation. She says she won't vote for any Republican—from her local representative to Trump—if they act to cut Medicaid. But she'll still be friends with Michot. —*With reporting by KATIE REILLY/NEW YORK* □

# DEMOCRACY'S VICTORY OVER TERRORISM THE DEMOCRACY AND NATIONAL UNITY DAY IN TURKEY

We, the undersigned, joined hands to safeguard and strengthen Turkey's democracy and to support our country's democratic tradition.

One year ago today, a coup attempt was carried out by a secretive criminal organization known as FETO/PDY in Turkey, which had been infiltrating the country's strategically-important public institutions for decades.

The Turkish Parliament, among other symbols of our democracy, came under attack by the coup plotters. Over the course of the coup attempt, 250 innocent people lost their lives and another 2.193 survived with injuries.

On the streets of Istanbul and Ankara, ordinary citizens stood up to tanks and stood their ground despite being targeted by heavy weapons.

Last summer's coup attempt represented a test of Turkey's democratic institutions. Together, people of diverse backgrounds, their President, the Parliament, the government, political parties and non-governmental organizations, defended Turkish democracy and passed this test with flying colors.

We remember those who lost their lives during the heroic resistance against the coup plotters with respect and gratitude.

By stopping an intervention by terrorists in the political process, the Turkish people prevented a new crisis in an already unstable part of the world.

As they mourn the dead and nurse the wounded back to health, the people of Turkey wish to see their friends and allies on their side at the first anniversary of this great test of their resolve.

Terrorism is a crime against humanity. The international community must stand in solidarity against all terrorist groups, regardless of their origins and goals, and terror attacks against democratic societies.

It is only by working together for strong democracies, free societies and the rule of law that people around the world can build a brighter future.

We share the Turkish people's commitment to peace, security, democracy and economic welfare.



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# A PORTRAIT OF THE PRIME MINISTER AS A YOUNG MAN



The Republic of Ireland has never  
had a leader like Leo Varadkar

BY JENNIFER DUGGAN/DUBLIN

IN IRELAND, SOFT POWER IS USUALLY SERVED up in a pint glass. World leaders visiting the country can expect to be treated to a Guinness by the Taoiseach (a.k.a. Prime Minister) during the obligatory photo op inside a genuine Irish pub. But when Ireland's new Taoiseach, Leo Varadkar, welcomed Canadian Prime Minister Justin Trudeau to Dublin in early July, he broke with tradition. Instead of clinking pints of the black stuff in a dimly lit bar, Varadkar invited fitness fanatic Trudeau to don his running shoes and go for a jog in a local park. The unorthodox meeting wasn't just a photo op, the new Prime Minister insists, sitting in his Dublin office on July 7. The jog also allowed him to talk freely with his Canadian counterpart away from the note takers and photographers. "He was able to give me some advice on the experience of being a new head of government," Varadkar says. "He was 18 months in office and I was 18 days in office, so he had a few tips to give me."

When Varadkar ascended to his country's highest office on June 14, he became, at 38, the youngest Prime Minister in Ireland's history, and by far its least typical. Born to an Indian

father and an Irish mother, Varadkar represents a break from the parade of aging white men who predated him, and from his own center-right Fine Gael Party and its center-left rival Fianna Fáil. His premiership also reflects a sea change in social attitudes in this country of 4.7 million, once a bastion of staunch Catholic values. In 2015, Ireland became the first country in the world to legalize same-sex marriage by popular vote. During the referendum campaign, Varadkar, then Minister for Health, came out as gay on national radio, a revelation that was greeted with surprise but little dismay. One of his first acts as Taoiseach was to lead a pride parade through Dublin. Few eyebrows were raised.

Varadkar wants to bring this spirit of millennial openness to how his country approaches the world (although he jokes that, being born in 1979, at the tail end of Generation X, he's technically a "Xennial"). It was no accident that his first meeting with a head of state was with Trudeau. He and the 45-year-old Canadian represent a new and growing cohort of youthful world leaders who are defining themselves in opposition to an older order that is turning inward. He names Trudeau,



French President Emmanuel Macron and Dutch Prime Minister Mark Rutte as part of this generational shift toward a new centrism. “The traditional divide between left and right, capital and labor, small state and big state, high taxes and low taxes doesn’t define politics in the way it did in the past,” he says. “We see new divisions emerging.”

The problem for Varadkar—which may come to define his tenure in office—is that one of the most pressing divisions is between his country and its closest neighbor. The United Kingdom’s decision to leave the European Union presents a gigantic obstacle not just to Varadkar’s ambitions for Ireland but also for Ireland’s ambitions on the world stage. Membership in the E.U. has been central to the country’s growth from one of the Continent’s provincial backwaters to a major cultural and economic force. So while Britain may be content to turn its back on Europe, he says, “we are absolutely convinced that our place is at the heart of the European home that we helped to build.”

**THE SON OF A DOCTOR** who emigrated from Mumbai and a nurse from southeastern Ireland, Varadkar knew from an early age that he wanted to enter politics. There is a popular story that at age 7 he announced he wanted to become the Minister for Health when he grew up. “My mum wanted me to be a doctor like my dad, and at 7, I really wanted to be a politician, and I managed in my mind to combine the two,” he explains.

He did study medicine, at Dublin’s Trinity College, but he was also heavily active in student politics and spent a summer in Washington interning for Jack Quinn, then a Republican Congressman from New York. He went into local government, where he won a reputation as a straight talker, and won his first seat in the Dáil, Ireland’s Parliament, in 2007—although his party, Fine Gael (“Tribe of the Irish”), was then in opposition.

The following year, the collapse of Ireland’s major banks in the worldwide economic crisis almost bankrupted the country, forcing it to seek a €67.5 billion bailout from the E.U. and the IMF in 2010. Tarnished by the crash, the ruling party, Fianna Fáil, was ousted in the 2011 election, and Varadkar was named Minister for Transport, Tourism and

Sport in the government led by Fine Gael’s Enda Kenny.

In this role Varadkar had his first brush with Donald Trump. Then a private citizen and developer of a golf course in Doonbeg, County Clare, Trump contacted him in 2011 to resolve a planning issue. “It was a small thing,” Varadkar recalls. “It was resolved by the county council rather than by me, but it was resolved.” Still, the future U.S. President thought it prudent to give the government minister overseeing the project a call. “I got the impression he was the kind of person who would pick up the phone and want to ring the man or woman who is in charge over there, rather than necessarily going through normal business or diplomatic procedures,” Varadkar says. “There are pluses and minuses to that.”

Varadkar’s own straight-talking got him into trouble that same year, when he suggested in a newspaper interview that Ireland was “very unlikely” to resume borrowing on financial markets and might need a second bailout. His comments provoked anger from his colleagues and caused jitters about Ireland’s credibility on international markets. But his political progress continued: in 2014, he fulfilled his childhood ambition by becoming Minister for Health.

But it was his admission about his sexuality the following year that gave him a new national prominence. His frankness was considered key to the campaign to legalize same-sex marriage, and a political risk in a country where being gay was illegal until 1993. Yet his sexual orientation played no prominent role in the leadership contest that brought him to power after Kenny announced his intention to step down in May. “I think it has just reflected a change in Irish society that has already happened,”

Varadkar says. “But it does add additional responsibility on me to use the office that I now hold to advance equality of opportunity ... not just for people from the LGBT community here in Ireland, but also around the world.”

He leads Ireland just as crisis is evolving into opportunity. Under the evenhanded management of Kenny and years of punishing austerity measures, the Irish economy has made a remarkable recovery, ranking for the past three years as the fastest growing one among the 19 countries that use the euro. Construction cranes once again stipple the Dublin skyline, and work has resumed on buildings left unfinished during the recession. In the month before Varadkar took office, unemployment fell to a nine-year low of 6.2%.

The country’s reputation as a tax haven also remains largely intact, despite some battering. The low corporate tax rate of 12.5%, plus a generous range of specialized concessions, have made Ireland a magnet for U.S. tech and pharma multinationals looking for headquarters overseas. But last year the European Commission ruled that a sweetheart deal given to Apple Inc. by the Irish government amounted to illegal state aid. Apple, the world’s largest company by market capitalization, paid a tax rate of just 0.005% in 2014. The commission ordered the company to pay €13 billion in back taxes, although both Apple and the Irish government are appealing to Europe’s top court.

Varadkar insists that the ruling should not dissuade other U.S. companies from taking advantage of the country’s generous tax infrastructure. “I think the fact that we are defending our tax policy sends a very positive message to companies, American or otherwise, who may wish to invest in Ireland,” he says, rejecting the claim by some critics that the republic allows what amounts to tax evasion. “I do think corporations should pay their tax. We have made some changes already in Ireland,” he says. As an example, Varadkar offers the closing of the “double Irish” loophole that permitted companies to dramatically shrink their corporate tax liability. “We will continue to make changes to prevent corporations from avoiding paying tax anywhere, which is not something we stand for,” he says.

■ **‘THE WAY  
I SEE US IS AS  
AN ISLAND AT  
THE CENTER OF  
THE WORLD.’** ■



Political stability, however, remains elusive. Varadkar leads a minority government that rests on a precarious coalition agreement between Ireland's two major parties. He was elected by his party, not by popular vote. And there are dark, Brexit-shaped clouds on the horizon. The U.K.'s looming departure from the E.U., and its single market for goods and services, presents a vast economic challenge to Ireland. The two countries do roughly €1.2 billion in trade every week, and Ireland's agri-food economy is especially dependent on continued access to British markets. Britain and Ireland are bonded historically, culturally and geographically—the republic shares a land border with Northern Ireland, the majority-Protestant enclave that remains part of the U.K. If Britain leaves the E.U. without a deal, the Irish economy stands to suffer collateral damage. Exports and imports could be hit by steep tariffs, supply flows through the U.K. could be cut off and a hard border could return to a region of the world that overcame decades of bloody sectarian war as recently as 1997.

So high are the stakes that some see in them the case for Ireland leaving the E.U. as well—an “Irexit.” Were Ireland outside the E.U., it would be free to negotiate its own trade deal with the U.K. and perhaps benefit from whatever arrangements Britain makes with the U.S., China and other economic powers. In a recent paper for conservative think tank the Policy Exchange, former Irish diplomat Ray Bassett wrote that “Irexit is a definite option for Ireland, should the U.K. and the E.U. not arrive at a satisfactory deal.”

Varadkar isn't having any of it. “It is something we are not even considering, and something we can absolutely rule out,” he says. Ireland, he adds, has taken a different path from Britain on a number of occasions, from gaining independence in 1921 to joining Europe's single currency in 1999 (Britain kept the pound). Support for E.U. membership was as high as 80% in recent polls, he says, “which I think demonstrates a real consensus in Ireland about where we belong in the world, which is at the heart of Europe.”

That means putting faith in an E.U. team negotiating on behalf of the 27 remaining member states, only one of which is so exposed to the consequences.



*Varadkar, right, hosted Canada's Justin Trudeau just weeks after taking office*

“I think we are stronger actually, because we are part of a negotiating team with 450 million people behind us,” Varadkar says. Still, he vows to remain “vigilant,” especially against any return to border controls between North and South. “Our overriding objective in any negotiations is ensuring we avoid any return to an economic border on the island of Ireland, because that could affect our peace process.”

Ireland counts its relationship with the U.S. as no less important—and not just because of investments by its multinationals. Every tenth American claims Irish heritage, and both countries revel in the connection. Varadkar and Trump spoke again, on June 27, in a filmed, largely ceremonial phone call that made headlines when the U.S. President complimented the “nice smile” of a female Irish reporter. Before taking office, Varadkar said he “wouldn't be keen” on inviting Trump to Ireland, but he would not be drawn by TIME on whether that stance had changed since he became Taoiseach.

But he did say he hoped to present an argument in favor of globalization when he eventually meets Trump—the Irish Prime Minister typically visits Washington on March 17, to commemorate St. Patrick's Day. “If I do get a chance to meet him in March, I'll certainly be making the case

for free trade, not just because it benefits Ireland but also because it benefits America,” Varadkar says. “I don't think you can make America great again by trying to go back to an old coal-based manufacturing economy that doesn't really exist anymore. It is going to have to be about embracing a modern trading economy.” He's not worried about crossing a U.S. President who has shown himself to be prickly in the face of criticism, then? “Friends have to be able to say things to each other that are true,” Varadkar says, “and a small country like Ireland can show leadership in the world by using our voice.”

Varadkar, whose straight talk has served him well so far, wants to keep Ireland as a player on the world stage no matter how Brexit plays out. At the U.N., Dublin is seeking election for a nonpermanent seat on the Security Council in 2021–22, for the first time in 20 years. And as some nations draw inward, Varadkar says he is committed to defending a new brand of European multilateralism, from trade to climate change to migration, whenever he can.

“Geographically, we are at the periphery of Europe, but I don't see Ireland in that way,” he says. “The way I see us is as an island at the center of the world.” □

# 6 More Reasons to Get Up and Move

Exercise can make your muscles pop and your vibe more chill. New research is finding out why it's the path to strength and well-being



# 1 Yoga can change your genes

YOGA AND MEDITATION CAN DO MORE THAN just help you feel relaxed in the moment. New research published in the journal *Frontiers in Immunology* shows that they can actually reverse stress-related changes in genes linked to poor health and depression. After analyzing 18 published studies on the biological effects of meditation, yoga, breathing exercises, qigong and tai chi, researchers found that these mind-body exercises appear to quiet the activity of genes that promote inflammation.

Too much psychological stress can cause inflammation in the body, and when stress goes unchecked, the inflammatory response can become chronic and impair both physical and mental health. People who experienced stress but practiced these mind-body activities regularly had fewer biological signs of inflammation, signaling a reversal of the effects of chronic stress. More research is needed, but this may translate into a reduced risk of inflammation-related diseases and conditions.

Inherited genes are not static, and DNA activity can depend on things within people's control. "By choosing healthy habits every day, we can create a gene activity pattern that is more beneficial for our health," says the study's lead author, Ivana Buric of Coventry University in England. "Even just 15 minutes of practicing mindfulness seems to do the trick."

—AMANDA MACMILLAN



## 2 You don't have to do it every day

Even if you're convinced of the many health benefits of exercise, it can still be tough to squeeze into a busy schedule. National guidelines recommend 150 minutes of moderate-intensity physical activity each week. Luckily, science has vindicated people who cram that amount into one or two days on the weekend instead of spreading it out. These so-called weekend warriors get about the same benefits as those who exercise more often, finds research recently published in *JAMA Internal Medicine*.

In a survey of more than 63,000 people in Europe, those who said they did 150 minutes weekly of moderately intense exercise in one or two days lowered their risk of dying early from any cause by 30% to 34%, compared with people who were inactive. Here's the remarkable part: people who exercised on most days of the week lowered their risk by 35%, which is not very different from the risk reduction of those who exercised less frequently.

The findings support the idea that you don't have to work out every day in order to lower the risk of diseases that can shorten your life. That should be heartening to anyone who finds it hard to carve out time for fitness every day.

—Alice Park

## 3 It will make your job less stressful

EXERCISE IS THE BEST WAY to deflect the stress of the workday, and you can get physical and emotional benefits just from walking. Even a 15-minute stroll helps people focus more at work and feel less exhausted at the end of the day, found a recent study published in the *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology*. Researchers told almost 100 workers in a variety of fields to tweak their typical lunch routines for 10 workdays in a row. After eating a quick lunch, half took a 15-minute stroll through a nearby urban park, while the other group found a quiet place inside

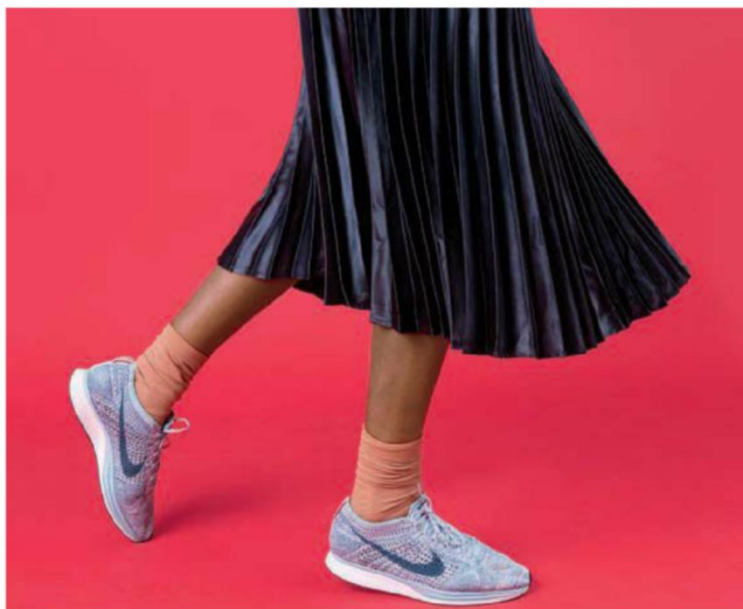


their office building to do a series of relaxation exercises, including deep breathing and mindfulness techniques.

People in both groups said they concentrated better, felt less strain and had higher well-being on the afternoons they walked or relaxed, compared with when they took a normal break. But walkers got a bonus, because they enjoyed their breaks more. Those higher levels of enjoyment seemed to be directly related to better concentration and less fatigue, the study authors say. What's more, the good effects lasted through the end of the workday.

Exercise can also help you blow off steam and come home happier. In recent research in the *Journal of Applied Psychology*, people who burned more calories on a daily basis were less likely to take out their anger about work issues on the people they lived with, compared with those who moved less. Physical activity also seemed to protect people's moods when they slept poorly.

There's even a magic number of steps to reach in order to protect against bringing grouchiness home: 10,500, just over the standard daily goal of most fitness trackers. —A.M.



## 4 Strength training will change your body for good

The scientific benefits are stacking up in favor of strength training. It's the best kind of exercise for making muscles bigger and one of the few ways to make bones denser. It also comes with the less visible benefit of lowering risk for several diseases, including Type 2 diabetes and cardiovascular disease. In a recent study, women who did any amount of strength training had a risk of Type 2 diabetes that was 30% lower and a risk of cardiovascular disease that was 17% lower than those who did no strength training.

Power lifting isn't the only way to get results. A study this year showed that when frail, obese women over age 60 worked out with resistance bands—cheap strips of elastic that loop around arms or legs—for three months, they dropped body fat and increased bone density.

—Mandy Oaklander



# 5 Running may even be good for your knees

Running has a reputation for causing wear and tear on knees over time, leading to joint pain, arthritis and other injuries. But a recent small study found that a short run actually lowered inflammation in runners' knee joints, leading experts to question whether running really does increase a person's risk for injuries—or if it helps prevent them.

In the report, published in the *European Journal of Applied Physiology*, researchers at Brigham Young University brought 15 healthy runners ages 18 to 35 into a lab, where they took samples of their blood and knee-joint fluid before and after a 30-minute run on a treadmill. They also took samples when the runners were at rest.

The researchers expected to find an increase in molecules that spur inflammation in the subjects' knee fluid after they ran—but they didn't. Instead, they found that pro-inflammatory markers actually decreased after a 30-minute run. The scientists ended up getting complete information from only six of the people in the study, but they saw the same results in every one of them.

The research here hasn't quite reached the finish line. Long-term results may be different, given that this study only looked at inflammation right after people ran rather than a week or a month later. Other factors, like weight or genetics, may also contribute to whether a person is more likely to get arthritis or other injuries from running. More research is needed to determine exactly how much running is good for the knees.

In the meantime, people who run can reduce their risk for knee problems through cross-training and taking time to recover, as well as paying attention to any pain or swelling. But for now, the benefits of running likely outweigh any potential disadvantages, especially when it's done in moderation.

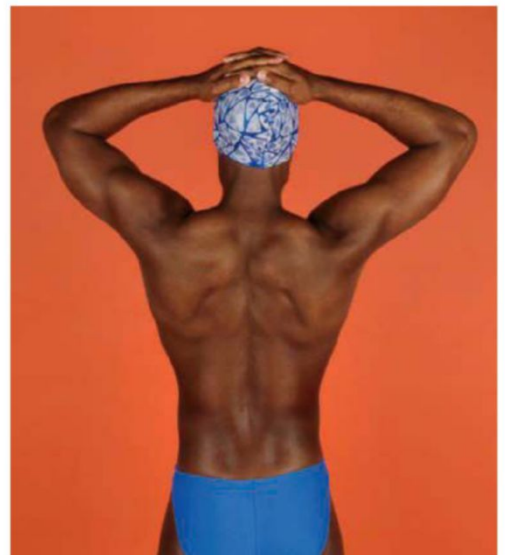
—Alexandra Sifferlin

# 6 It's as great for your brain as it is for your body

EXERCISE MAKES THE HEART PUMP BLOOD faster—a boon for the brain, which is the biggest consumer of oxygen in the body. Physical activity also increases levels of the brain-derived neurotrophic factor, which is known to help protect and repair brain cells and grow new ones. People who exercise have even been shown to have more volume in certain parts of the brains.

Moving more also appears to lower the chances of memory loss and Alzheimer's disease—even for people who are genetically at risk. In a June study, researchers followed people who had at least one parent with Alzheimer's disease or at least one gene linked to Alzheimer's, or both. People who spent at least 68 minutes a day doing moderate physical activity had better glucose metabolism—which signals a healthy brain—than people who did less.

Aerobic exercise, like running and swimming, appears to be best for brain health. That's because it quickly increases a person's heart rate, pumping more blood north to the noggin. —A.S.



# Find your best burn

Every kind of exercise has its perks. Here are the unique benefits of six common types.  
By Markham Heid

## Running

It's great for a long life, and even a little pays off. Running just five to 10 minutes a day has been linked to a lower risk of death.



## Hiking

Walking on uneven ground strengthens muscles you don't use on flat land, reducing the risk of falls by improving balance.



## Pilates

The ultimate stomach sculptor, Pilates improves posture and activates deeper abdominal muscles than other workouts.



## Dancing

It's a demanding calorie burn. Starting, stopping and changing directions burns a ton of energy, even if you just groove in place.



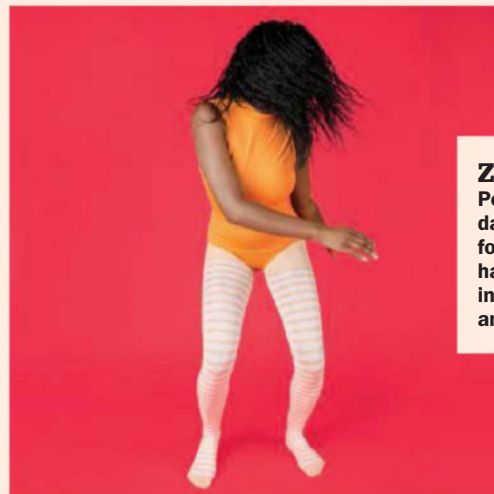
## Swimming

Moving through water fires up more major muscle groups than other kinds of cardio, engaging your legs, upper body and core.



## Zumba

People love the fun dance-based workout for a reason. Zumba has been shown to increase self-esteem and well-being.







# Time Off

'YOUNGER SHUTTERBUGS ARE FLOCKING TO INSTANT CAMERAS IN SEARCH OF SOMETHING TANGIBLE.' —PAGE 52



Caesar (Andy Serkis) and his cohorts defend their world and look out for one another

## MOVIES

### Do humans even deserve *War for the Planet of the Apes*?

By Stephanie Zacharek

THE BIGGER MOVIES GET, SOMEHOW the smaller we get. Pictures built to entertain us with increasingly elaborate special effects, marathon-length run times and plots that sprawl off the rails within the first 20 minutes don't necessarily make us feel more human. But Matt Reeves' *War for the Planet of the Apes* is something else, a summer blockbuster that treats its audience members as primates of a higher order. It comes by its thrills honestly. This is a spectacle that trusts us to think.

In the first movie in the rebooted franchise, the 2011 *Rise of the Planet of the Apes* (directed by Rupert Wyatt), a bunch of superbright apes—the virus that has made them so smart is lethal to humans—break out of a Northern California research facility

and scamper to freedom in a redwood forest. In the Reeves-directed *Dawn of the Planet of the Apes* (2014), set some 10 years later, the apes have built a world of their own, but tensions flare between them and the relatively few surviving humans. The anchor character of those movies and of this one is the chimp Caesar, played, via motion-capture technology, by Andy Serkis. His simian brow is noble. His eyes carry shadows of sorrow and flickers of hope. He's a leader of apes, and men could learn from him too. But in *Dawn of the Planet of the Apes*, a hate-filled bonobo named Koba (Toby Kebbell, who appears briefly in this film as well) sparked a war Caesar was unable to stop.

As *War for the Planet of the Apes* opens, Caesar and his cohorts defend

their forest world against a battalion of human soldiers. The apes win, but as a message of peace they send the troops back alive to their leader, the Colonel (Woody Harrelson). A war-hardened loon with rogue ambitions of his own, the Colonel unleashes more violence against the apes, who are simply trying to rebuild their war-torn home. Caesar fights back, though the real demon he's facing is his own anger.

There's ape betrayal, ape bravery, ape joy and lots of ape action in *War for the Planet of the Apes*. Yet the picture's plot mechanics aren't nearly as significant or as memorable as its characters are: the way they move and interact invites curiosity and even wonder. The apes who have had contact with humankind speak English, but most communicate via sign and body language—their interactions constitute a ballet of interpretive dance and knowing looks. In addition to Caesar, many favorites from the other movies return, the loveliest among them the empathetic orangutan Maurice (Karin Konoval). His gentle soul shines through his luminous pie plate of a face. He's a calming influence on Caesar and a watchful parental stand-in for the mute, though never excessively cute, orphan girl (Amiah Miller) who's adopted by the apes. Best of all, though, is the chimp played by Steve Zahn, an old loner who goes by a name some humans gave him long ago: Bad Ape. Bad Ape is actually a great ape, a marvelous, semiforgetful senior citizen who speaks in broken English and whose doddering generosity is the sort that can save the day. (When he holds a pair of binoculars to his eyes the wrong way, the “ooooohhhh” of disappointment that escapes his lips is one of the movie's goofiest little pleasures.)

*War for the Planet of the Apes* is hardly all joy and light: Harrelson's loose-cannon Colonel is a sadist and wannabe dictator, and the movie contains some harrowing scenes of ape suffering. Be forewarned if you're thinking of taking little kids. But there's plenty of vital poetry in the picture: the sight of apes on horseback, riding off to battle or just trotting along a beach, is strangely stirring, a picture of animal dignity that isn't quite right yet makes all kinds of sense. The special traits of these creatures—their eagerness to do the right thing and their impulse to look out for one another—are qualities to which real humans should aspire. In the words of Bad Ape: “New friends. Special day.” □

QUICK TALK

Ansel Elgort

*In the high-octane thriller Baby Driver, the actor and DJ, 23, plays a music-obsessed getaway driver trying to extricate himself from a life of crime.*

**Your character gets turned on to new music from iPods he finds in stolen cars. Who has influenced your taste?**

Eve Beglarian, a composer and friend of my mother's, made me my first iPod [playlist]. One of the songs was “Easy” by the Commodores. The auditions for *Baby Driver* weren't going well, and [director] Edgar Wright said, “Do you know any songs that you know every word, guitar lick, drum fill?” I remembered “Easy.” He said, “When you're ready, I want you to lip-sync.” He told me that that is what got me the role. I guess I have to thank Eve.

**At times the movie plays like a very sophisticated music video. They**

filmed very rhythmically. If I wasn't wearing earbuds, I was wearing an earwig—like a radio, but it's tiny and you can hear stuff in your ear. Whatever the audience hears, we heard while filming.

**How much did you get to drive?**

They only let me drive when no one else was in the car, so that wasn't often. They didn't want me to kill Jamie Foxx.

**You're known for your bold fashion choices. When did you start caring about style?**

I must have been in the sixth grade. I wore the same red Adidas sweatpants every day, a white T-shirt and blue sneakers. I was like a cartoon character.

**After young-adult films like *The Fault in Our Stars* and *Divergent*, were you eager for more adult fare?**

I don't look at *The Fault in Our Stars* as a teenage movie. I looked at it like, this is a great script and a good character, and I was excited to do it. But of course I was looking forward to being part of a “real” movie. If it meant working with Kevin Spacey, Jamie Foxx and Jon Hamm, sign me up. —ELIZA BERMAN

ON MY RADAR

FRANK OCEAN

“He's somebody who makes an album and it's not about making hit records, it's about just being true to yourself as an artist. I'd like to be able to do that.”



ELGORT: ANDREW TOH—GETTY IMAGES; A GHOST STORY: AZA



Affleck is a  
lovelorn ghost—  
under a sheet—  
who can't let the  
corporeal go

**MOVIES**

**A Ghost Story chills—and makes you wonder**

THE CLASSIC CHEAP HALLOWEEN costume—a bedsheet with two holes for eyes—becomes a symbol of grief and longing in David Lowery's spooky-somber chamber piece *A Ghost Story*. Casey Affleck and Rooney Mara star as a young suburban couple mostly in love, though it's clear that some kind of rift has opened between the two of them. There's an accident. Mara's character—the duo go unnamed throughout the film—is called upon to identify her partner's body. As she turns to leave, he, or the spiritual entity he has become, rises from the gurney. Fully draped in a sheet, he follows her back to the house they shared, the site of both their greatest happiness and creeping unrest. This melancholic presence, a melding of the spiritual and the workaday, watches in sober silence as his partner mourns him, and eventually moves on.

There's more to this elegiac, nearly wordless drama than that. And writer-director Lowery (*Pete's Dragon*, *Ain't Them Bodies Saints*)

works in a twist at the end. What's most remarkable about *A Ghost Story* is how easy it becomes to care for that figure under the sheet, presumably Affleck, who can convey the deepest sense of sorrow, or of just feeling lost in the world, with a mere twist of the torso. And Mara is perfectly cast as the girl who's been left behind; even the willowy curve of her neck suggests a quiet thoughtfulness.

**ABOUT THAT SCENE ...**

After *A Ghost Story* screened at Sundance, audiences couldn't stop talking about one scene: Mara's character, grief-stricken, eats an entire pie in two long shots that total about five minutes.

restlessly poetic that it's hard to turn away. Like a wild, sonorous piano chord struck by someone or something in the middle of the night—where did *that* come from?—the contemplative aura of *A Ghost Story* sticks with you. Who knows if there's life after death? But if there is, it could very well look something like this. —STEPHANIE ZACHAREK



**“LOOK, I’M A  
BALANCING  
BREAKFAST!”**



**CRUNCHY WHEAT.  
FROSTED SWEET.  
FEED YOUR  
INNER KID**



“DING! GOIN’ UP!”



CRUNCHY WHEAT.  
FROSTED SWEET.  
FEED YOUR  
INNER KID

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## Time Off Reviews



Rae (second from left, with Orji, Amanda Seales and Natasha Rothwell) got her start making comedy videos online

### TELEVISION

## Issa Rae’s *Insecure* is the sharpest comedy of the year

LAST YEAR THE FIRST SEASON OF *INSECURE*—THE HBO SERIES co-created by and starring the magnetic comic Issa Rae—was among a constellation of bright spots. Like FX’s *Atlanta* and *Better Things* and Amazon’s *Fleabag* and *One Mississippi*, all sparkling comedy debuts of 2016, the series introduced a sharp, fully formed perspective on the world, one from outside the class of comics (often white men) who historically get the chance to create their own half hours.

In its second season, which debuts on July 23, *Insecure* stands on its own as the sharpest comedy of the year. The show’s early story was about the run-up to a bad decision as Issa, an office drone mired in a seemingly dead-end relationship with nice-guy Lawrence (Jay Ellis), pondered what it would be like to blow up her love life. Now, having seen her relationship come to an end, Issa’s story is yet more interesting—one tinged with as much resentment as regret. This is an utterly original character, one for whom the word *insecure* doesn’t tell the half of it: Issa cycles through manic confidence and the sort of crushing sense of having failed that hits hardest at the end of youth, when one first realizes that not every decision is reversible.

Rae’s performance is incandescent and would make for a worthy choice to award should Emmy voters decide that Julia Louis-Dreyfus has collected enough hardware. In a typically well-observed moment, she tries on various personae in the mirror as she prepares for Lawrence to visit her. (“I’m not a cheater anymore,” she coos. “I love how we can joke about this!”) But the show’s world keeps getting broader. There’s sharp material in Season 2 about BFF Molly (Yvonne Orji), who simultaneously tries to harden herself in a corporate law office and to open up in therapy. And there’s an ambient, thrumming sense of place, with this South Los Angeles’ low-slung apartment buildings and free-form house parties. Rae has made the first show that satisfies as wholly as did that great sitcom about a complicated woman fumbling for love. And, just like *Sex and the City*, it is enamored with its setting. Give *Insecure* an episode and you will be too. —DANIEL D’ADDARIO

**INSECURE** airs on HBO on Sundays at 10:30 p.m. E.T.

INSECURE: HBO; KAPUR: GETTY IMAGES; WILL: TNT

TELEVISION

## Will has a famous name, but it lacks light-footed grace

*WILL*, TNT'S NEW DRAMA ABOUT A young playwright (played by Laurie Davidson), is a show in which people say things like, "Who will want a play by William Shakespeare?" The speaker, here, is his wife, Anne (Deirdre Mullins), when he is leaving her in Stratford to try his luck in London.

He finds more than just success. The show's gaudy depiction of Elizabethan London—masquerades and orgies, religious strife and torture, quasi-rap battles in which Shakespeare proclaims, "I make no claim to fame/ hold none in disdain"—are fairly rote. That he ends up in a modern-seeming love affair is no surprise.

We've seen this sort of revisionism, painting antique cultural scenes in modern style, so many times now that, ironically, it has the exact opposite of its intended effect. (ABC's low-rated *Still Star-Crossed*, a *Romeo and Juliet*-inspired story, has a similarly vevy depiction of Shakespeare's world, to similarly flaccid effect.) *Will*'s portrayal of life among the London smart set at a time of change feels duller than it ought. (One

suggestion: If you're going to pull a *Moulin Rouge* and insert modern music cues, you need to be a bit less timeworn than the Beastie Boys to conjure rebellion.)

Another irony is that Shakespeare was a master of creating compelling worlds. His plays set in ancient Rome,

including *Coriolanus* and *Titus Andronicus*, remain fresh. (And the recent imbroglio over a Central Park production of *Julius Caesar* showed just how provocative his work still can be.) That's a high standard, but *Will* lacks the wit of other sub-*Hamlet* entertainments like *Shakespeare in Love*.

It lards on production details and tosses in a lead whose delivery feels more bro than bard. If *Will* wants to convince

us that the anonymous playwright could have conquered the world, it needs to do more to show us the reality of his world, rather than attempt a studiously edgy theme-park version. In other words, it needs to trust the power of its own story. —D.D.

**WILL** airs on TNT on Mondays at 9 p.m. E.T.



**ELIZABETHAN  
DRAMATIST**

Shekhar Kapur, who directed the first three episodes of *Will*, came to prominence with the 1998 regal biopic *Elizabeth*, starring Cate Blanchett.



"SPLASH DOWN!"



CRUNCHY WHEAT.  
FROSTED SWEET.  
**FEED YOUR  
INNER KID**

PHOTOGRAPHY

# The no-frills, full-fun snapshot is back

By Alex Fitzpatrick and Kenneth Bachor

THERE'S SOMETHING ABOUT A POLAROID. THOSE FUNKY colors, the depth of the light and, of course, that classic white border are all part of what make the instant snaps instantly recognizable. Sure, the photos are sometimes flawed, but that's just part of their charm.

Polaroid, the company, entered bankruptcy more than a decade ago and never fully recovered as the number of smartphones with ever better lenses continued to grow. But even as phones displaced traditional cameras for the majority of amateur photographers, they left something missing: rarely do we print our digital photos anymore. The cloud is great for storing pictures but can make it difficult to find memories—especially with bountiful storage and the unlimited shots of digital photography.

Which may explain the recent resurgence of Polaroid-like instant cameras. Some shutterbugs, especially younger ones, are flocking to instant cameras in search of something tangible. Cameramakers like Lomography and Leica have responded by offering a wide variety of instants. Many of them use Fujifilm's Instax format, which produces slightly smaller shots than classic Polaroids. (Polaroid discontinued production of its classic film in 2008.) "[This type of camera] gives you something that you can hold . . . it's still magical to people," says Oskar Smolokowski, CEO of the Impossible Project, which makes instant cameras and film and acquired the Polaroid brand in May.

Today's best sellers aren't much like the hulking Polaroids that peaked in popularity in the 1970s and '80s. They tend to be svelte and distinctive, not to mention packed with smartphone-era extras like Bluetooth connectivity, LED flashes and, yes, even mirrors for selfie-taking purposes. One thing that hasn't changed: the excitement of waiting for a few minutes while the picture fades in.



*A shot taken on a Coney Island summer night with the Lomo Instant on Fujifilm Instax Mini film*

## IMPOSSIBLE I-1 \$299

When Polaroid announced the end of instant film, Impossible bought the last remaining factory and started pumping out new cameras and film. This one features a powerful LED flash ring that makes for higher-quality portraits. Impossible now owns the Polaroid brand too.



## FUJIFILM INSTAX WIDE 300 \$90

This camera is a little bulkier, but that's because it uses Fujifilm's slightly wider format for photos.



FUJIFILM I

This higher-end o has a digital screen photos—Instag

**LOMO INSTANT AUTOMAT GLASS MAGELLAN**  
\$189

Lomography has been selling vintage cameras for decades. This instant offers multiple color filters and exposure settings.



**IMPOSSIBLE POLAROID TWO-TONE  
BW 600**  
\$179

These refurbished classic Polaroids are extremely simple to use, but they're available only in limited quantities.

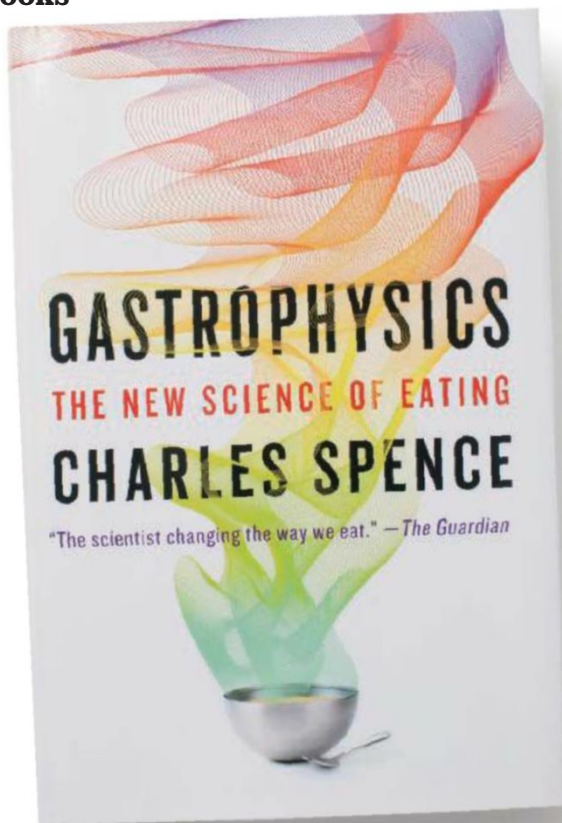
**LEICA SOFORT**  
\$280

The high-end camera company's (relatively) inexpensive instant takes great shots, thanks to excellent optics—and a built-in selfie mirror.



**FUJIFILM INSTAX SQUARE SQ10**  
\$280

The camera uses square film and a built-in selfie mirror that allows you to tweak your framing—before printing.



◀ **AMONG SPENCE'S DISCOVERIES:** Red lighting and high-pitched music enhance fruit notes in wine

**NONFICTION**

## The shape and sound of a perfect meal

A TRULY GREAT MEAL IS ABOUT SO MUCH more than the flavors that touch our tongues—including the napkins, the lighting, the company we're with. In *Gastrophysics: The New Science of Eating*, University of Oxford psychology professor Charles Spence examines the way our five senses, as well as our emotional states and expectations, influence how we experience food. Drawing on his own research and others', Spence offers simple adjustments that can enhance dining pleasure.

**Decorate your surroundings.** The secret ingredient to your signature lasagna can be how you set the table. When researchers set up two dining areas—one with Italian posters and checkered tablecloths, and one with white tablecloths and plain walls—patrons in the decorated setting judged the pasta dishes to be more authentically Italian than those in the neutral setting.

**Cue sweetness with shape.** Chocolate maker Cadbury faced complaints when it changed the shape of its Dairy Milk bar from rectangles to rounds in 2013—not because of the look, but because the new treats were too sweet. But the company

hadn't altered the recipe; consumers just thought it had, because we perceive food presented in round shapes (whether a candy bar, beetroot jelly or chocolate shavings on a latte) to be sweeter than angular shapes.

**Pop the lid off your coffee.** In order to fully experience your food—including a jolt of java—you need to smell as well as taste it. The lid on a to-go cup of coffee puts a barrier between that invigorating fresh-ground scent and the part of your brain that forms expectations of what you're about to enjoy. Without what's called orthonasal information, your coffee may taste the same way it does when you have a cold—weak.

**Listen.** Spence calls sound “the forgotten flavor sense” and says it is essential to a pleasurable dining experience. He found that, for instance, enhancing the sound of a potato-chip crunch impacted its perceived freshness. Some suggestions to add crunch in *Gastrophysics*: sprinkle croutons or toasted seeds over a salad just before serving. (Those who hate the sound of others' chewing, beware.)

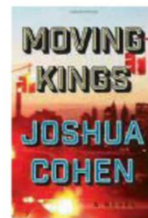
—LUCY FELDMAN

**FICTION**

## The moving spirit

JOSHUA COHEN HAS BECOME one of America's top young novelists with his fiction that draws on biblical stories, including *Witz* (2010) and *Book of Numbers* (2015), both twists on classic Jewish themes. His new novel, *Moving Kings*, is the tale of a modern-day King David: a moving and storage magnate named David King. He's a sad clown with blue collar sensibilities and white collar bank accounts. And though the characters may not be particularly erudite, Cohen's writing is filled with sharp turns of phrase and elegant rhythms. David is “local color, just out of his locale,” at a high-society party: “They probably thought he was physically tough. They probably thought he was in with the mob.” Cohen's cadence is inflected with Hebrew, a language that David defines as “the speech of the beleaguered, the last exasperation before a spanking.” And a spanking is coming for David and his family. An Israeli cousin and his army friend come to work for David in New York, moving boxes but also evicting African Americans who've defaulted on their mortgage payments. The denouement is as vengeful as any Old Testament plot twist.

—SARAH BEGLEY







## It's time for our real-life female leaders to act like Selina Meyer

By **Susanna Schrobsdorff**

DO YOU KNOW WHAT WE SHOULD DO THE NEXT TIME A clutch of male Republican Senators decide it's O.K. to go behind closed doors and rewrite the entire country's health care plan without a single woman in the room? Send Selina Meyer over there in her stilettos to give them a piece of our minds in language they might understand.

I know, she's a narcissistic, foulmouthed fictional ex-President on an HBO series, but I think it's time for women to take a page from the Meyer playbook. We've been tying ourselves up in knots trying to be ambitious but likable, feminine but not too sexual, tough but not bitchy. And all of this rule-following isn't working. Women still occupy less than 25% of the seats in Congress.

Just look at what happened to the female candidate in the last presidential campaign. I know ... We shouldn't dwell, it's not healthy. But let's—just for a minute. Donald Trump said stunningly sexist, bigoted, cruel and obviously untrue things, many times. He hawked his own products at news conferences, refused to release his tax returns and attacked a Gold Star family. He broke every rule, and there's a lesson in that for women: if the actual President of the United States can get elected doing outrageous, unpresidential things, all bets are off. So let's free our inner bitch and knock down a few backroom doors. It's time to let our id out.

**WE COULD ASK** the incomparable Julia Louis-Dreyfus for lessons in how to play someone who is sure she deserves a place at the table even after a humiliating defeat. At one point in the most recent season of *Veep*, Meyer finds out that all the other ex-Presidents are posing for a group photo without her. Sure, she wasn't actually elected President. She assumed the office when her predecessor was forced to resign and then lost the election. A lot of women would be too embarrassed to insist on being in the picture. It would seem presumptuous, arrogant, unfeminine. Not Meyer—she's determined to push right up front in a Trumpian way. She believes she belongs, even if her dead-chic sleeveless dresses are barred from the House. (Yes, that's a rule: Speaker Paul Ryan recently chose to enforce a dress code that forbids women from baring their shoulders on the floor and the adjacent Speaker's lobby.)

You've seen the studies; most women are not like Meyer. Men will apply for a job even if they barely have half the requirements. Women won't apply unless they have all the requirements. But Meyer seizes the tiniest bit of success as reason to throw herself at the doors of power one more time

In the season finale, there's a telling flashback to when



she was first elected Vice President. She walks to the Oval Office and announces herself: "Vice President Selina Meyer to see the President." An aide cracks open the door, tells her the President is busy and slips out, pulling the door closed behind him. He explains that the President doesn't expect her to actually do anything except "continue to be a woman." Crushing.

**BUT MEYER REFUSES** to be political window dressing. She plots, she maneuvers, she lies, she manipulates, and she gets into that office, albeit briefly. Yes, she's awful. But there's something so deliciously satisfying in watching her be selfish and demanding whether she wants a presidential library, sex or a certain kind of protein bar. Just like a powerful man. She's also unapologetically unmaternal, a cardinal sin in an era in which every woman in power, including Hillary Clinton, lists mother or grandmother as their "most important job." When she's shown her baby after it's born, she says, "Is that its hair?" When asked if she'll breast-feed, she says, "No. My God, I'm not a goat." Instead she looks at her newborn lovingly and then tells her husband she wants to run for Congress.

Her quest this season was to get her presidential library funded. And she does, against all odds. The design is shaped like a vagina—she calls it her "vagibrary"—and features a stairway that smashes right through a glass ceiling. But the whole thing is a little unstable, says an aide. "What it's like to be a woman," mutters Meyer. She's mocking the whole glass-breaking trope—her memoir is called *A Woman First: First Woman*. But she did break that glass. Not in a modest, deserving way, but inelegantly and imperfectly. And perhaps that's the most transgressive thing of all: accepting an imperfect woman. □

**Malala Yousafzai** The Nobel Peace Prize winner turned 20 in the Hassan Shami camp for displaced people outside Mosul, Iraq, a stop on her pre-college Girl Power Trip

**What is your first impression of the girls and this camp?** Seeing how hot it is, the lack of electricity, the lack of facilities—it's quite a lot to live here. But then seeing these girls who still have the courage to continue their education and to have dreams. These people wanted to change their community, they wanted to change their education, and they wanted to rebuild their communities.

**ISIS has been defeated in Mosul, but it doesn't mean these girls are going home. What are some of the challenges that you faced in Pakistan that you see here?** The first thing is a lack of investment, because many governments and people are treated as short-term. There are no schools. Syrian refugees have been away from their homes for more than five years, and they have missed school. There's a lack of funding from the international community and governments. The organizations working here, like UNICEF, need the funding to be sustained. Other than that, raising awareness is important, to ensure that the message is sent to refugee families that education is important for their daughters.

**What other countries are you visiting on your Girl Power Trip?** My plan is to go to Africa, South America and North America—one country in each of these continents—to meet girls who have inspiring stories and to encourage them to raise their voice. Nayir, a girl in this camp, has lived under terrorism for more than three years, and she suffered. She lost her father, and now she's living as a refugee, but if you listen to her, she still has hope. People often forget that this is the way refugee children can have a future: you educate them. Otherwise it is a generation lost.

**What do you hope drawing attention to these girls' stories will do?** I'm hoping people will listen to these incredible stories. Situations that most

people outside of these regions would not even imagine for a second are a reality other people are going through, and we cannot be silent.

**Does it ever feel like too much pressure to speak on behalf of all these girls?** I think the pressure is not from other people but from me. There are millions of children who can't access their education, and I can't be silent. But my aim is to appoint inspiring stars among these communities who want to speak up and to encourage them to do so. Because if you keep on waiting for someone else, things will never change.

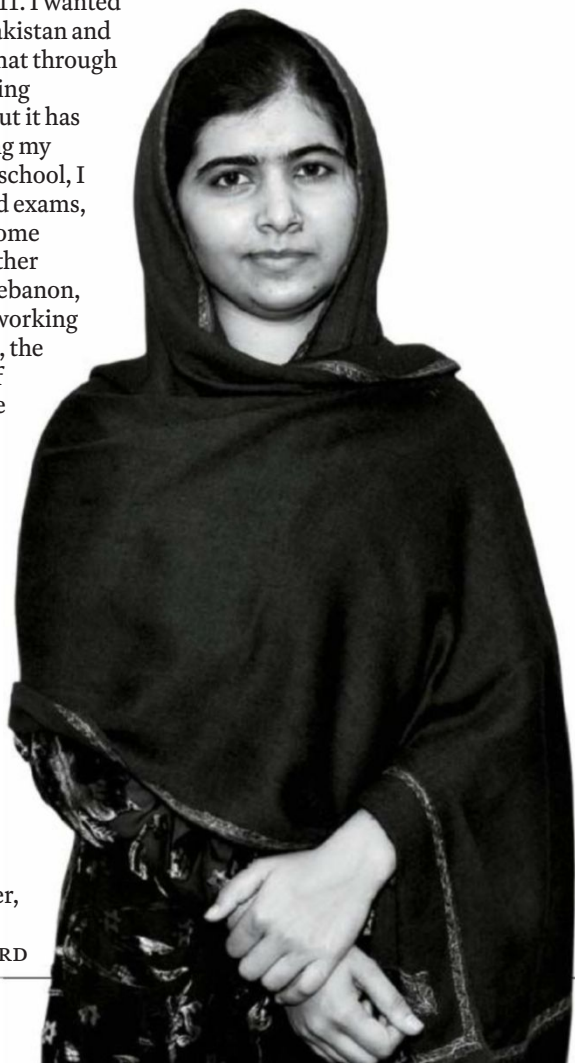
**Has it been a challenge for you to be in the public eye for so long?** I wanted to change the world when I was 11. I wanted to be the Prime Minister of Pakistan and fix everything. I still believe that through raising your voice, you can bring change in your community. But it has been challenging. I was getting my own education. I had to go to school, I had to do my homework, I had exams, I had teachers. And then I'd come out of school, and there's another life, traveling to Jordan and Lebanon, speaking to Syrian refugees, working in Pakistan, running the fund, the book... Women can do lots of things at the same time. We're good at multitasking.

**You just finished school. What do you want to study at college?** Philosophy of politics and economics. I got an offer from Oxford, so I hope that I get the grades that I need to go to the university.

**Do you still want to be the Prime Minister of Pakistan?** Ah, not as much. In any case, I think you have to be 35 years or older to be the Prime Minister, so I still have time *[laughs]*.

—REBECCA COLLARD

**'People often forget that this is the way refugee children have a future: you educate them. Otherwise it is a generation lost.'**



PAUL ELIUS—AFP/GETTY IMAGES



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