ISIS on Trial

Putin's New Cold War

Newsweek

INTERNATIONAL

13.10.2017

DOES GOD BELIEVE IN TRUMP?

THE AMAZING STORY OF

THE DONALD'S REBIRTH

FROM SINNER TO SAVIOR OF THE CHRISTIAN RIGHT

Donald Trump's hands to scale

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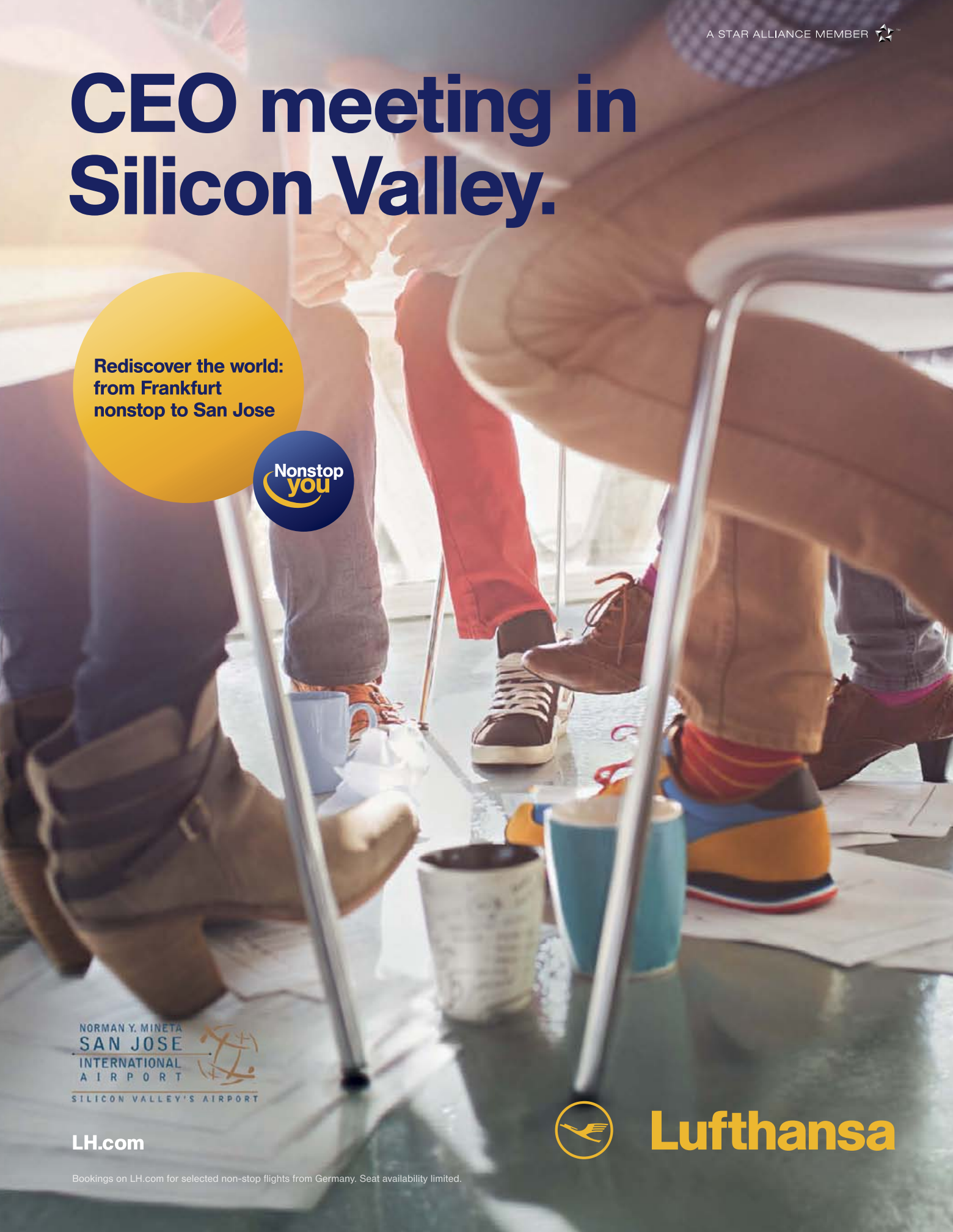
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Newsweek

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OCTOBER 13, 2017 _ VOL.169 _ NO.13

CHARLES KRUPA/AP

THUMP FOR TRUMP
Supporters hold signs and a Bible during a rally for then–Republican presidential candidate Donald Trump about a year ago in Manchester, New Hampshire.

COVER CREDIT
Painting by **PAJAMERZ!** for *Newsweek*

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FEATURES

Newsweek

INTERNATIONAL EDITION
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DEPARTMENTS

THE JOKE'S ON WHO?

The writers of *Fresh Off the Boat*, including co-executive producer Sanjay Shah, below, are aiming their humor at the Republican assault on DACA.

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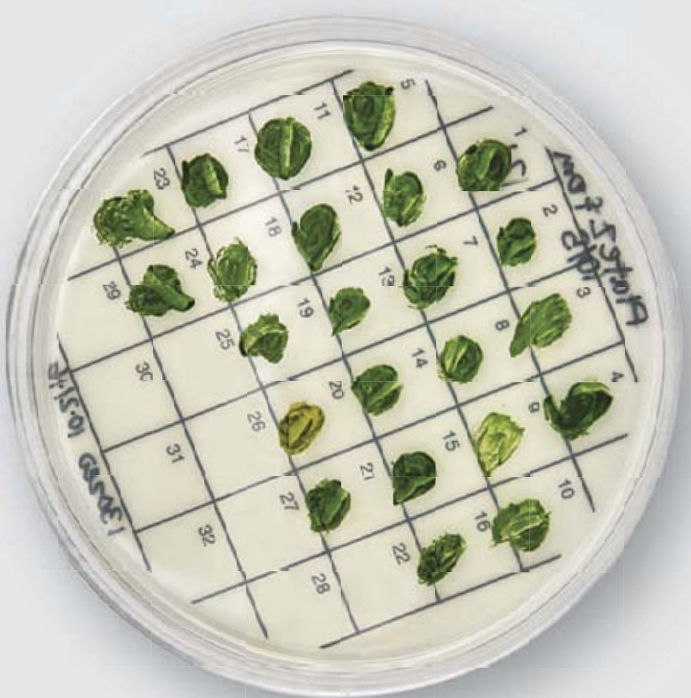


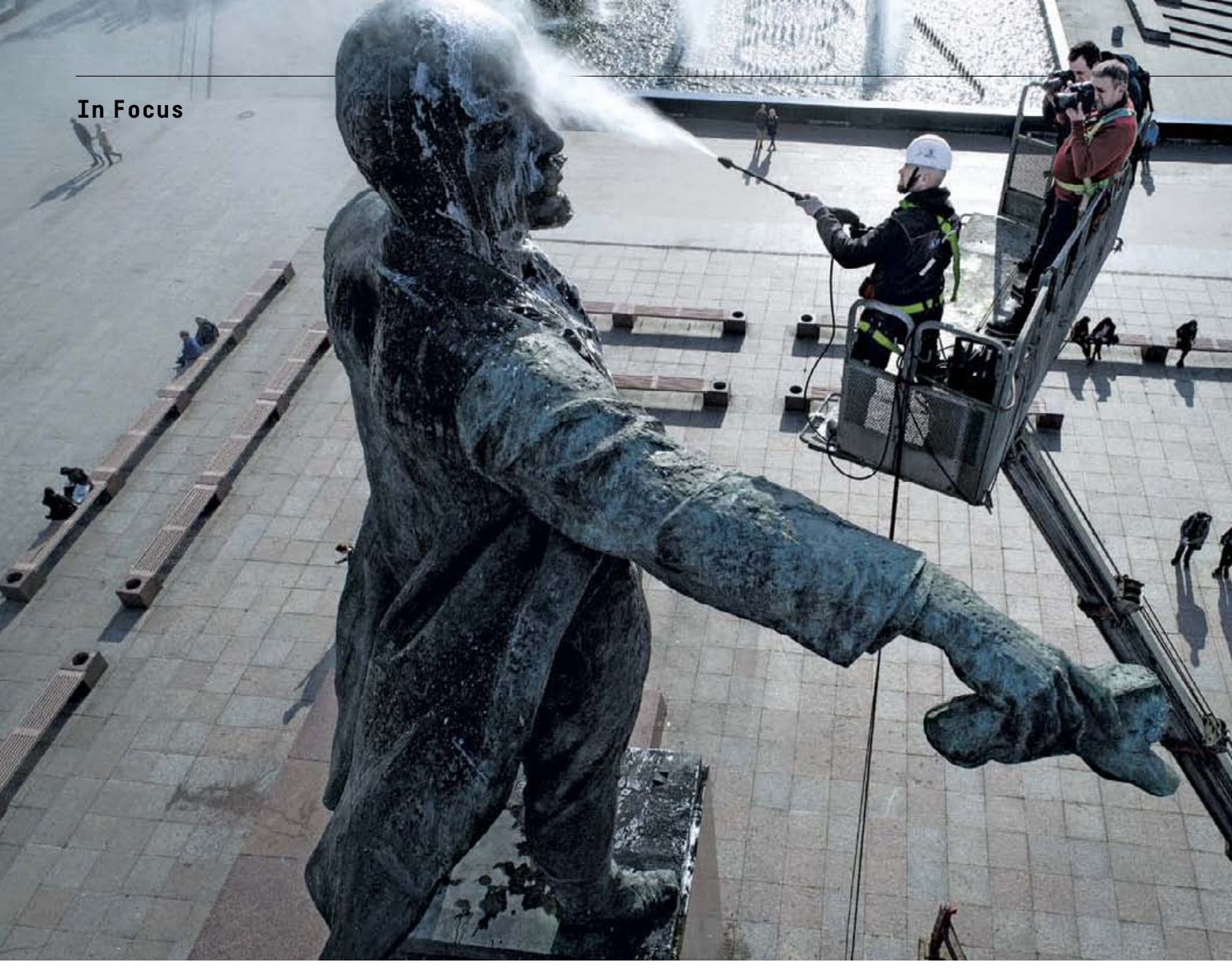
DAVID BECKER/GETTY

LAS VEGAS

Fear and Loading

It was the deadliest mass shooting in U.S. history: At least 58 killed and more than 500 injured, but the numbers can't capture the horror felt by a crowd of 22,000 as Stephen Paddock fired on a country music festival from the balcony of his room on 32nd floor on October 1. Paddock, 64, a retired accountant, killed himself in his room after the attack, police say. And as of publication, the world was left to guess at his motives.

DAVID BECKER



ST. PETERSBURG, RUSSIA

Soft Soaping?

A worker cleans a statue of Vladimir Lenin, the Russian Communist leader, on September 28. November marks the 100th anniversary of the end of the Bolshevik Revolution, which dismantled the czarist monarchy and led to the rise of the Soviet Union. Today, Russians often venerate Soviet history, but they remain divided over how to view the revolution. With President Vladimir Putin in power, many of them value stability over liberty.

→ DMITRI LOVETSKY

JERSEY CITY, NEW JERSEY

Fairway Friends

Bill Clinton, George W. Bush and Barack Obama gathered at the Presidents Cup on September 28. It was the first time three American presidents have attended the golf match at the same time since it began, in 1994. President Donald Trump wasn't there (he stopped by his luxury golf club in New Jersey that weekend); he got slammed for that and his response to the post-hurricane relief crisis in Puerto Rico,

→ SAM GREENWOOD

RAQQA, SYRIA

Toil and Rubble

A Syrian fighter walks through debris near the eastern front lines on September 25. Backed by U.S. special forces, a coalition known as the Syrian Democratic Forces is close to ousting militants loyal to the Islamic State group from the crumbling city. The ISIS jihadis are using hostages, snipers and booby traps to slow their adversaries. As one Syrian rebel commander told Reuters: "Right now, there's no advancing."

→ BULENT KILIC

COUNTERCLOCKWISE FROM TOP: DMITRI LOVETSKY/AP PHOTO; SAM GREENWOOD/GETTY; BULENT KILIC/AFP/GETTY

ONE BOMBY NIGHT
Analysts say they fear an accident could quickly cause the North Korea standoff to spiral.

THOMAS PETER/GETTY

"The Russians had honed their craft, while the FBI agents were struggling to keep up." » P.16

NATIONAL SECURITY

Madman on the Potomac

Can anyone stop Trump from starting a nuclear war with North Korea?

ONE NIGHTMARE SCENARIO GOES LIKE THIS: Donald Trump emerges from his White House bedroom in the middle of the night, cellphone in hand, enraged by the latest taunt from North Korea's Kim Jong Un. He spots the military aide sitting in the corridor with a black valise in his lap. It's called the nuclear football.

"I'm gonna take care of this son of a bitch once and for all," Trump growls. "Big-time. Gimme the codes."

The aide cracks open the valise and hands the president a loose-leaf binder with a colorful menu of Armageddon options. They range from total annihilation plans for Russia and China down to a variety of strikes tailored to North Korea.

"I'll take that one," Trump says.

The aide then hands him an envelope with a set of numbers and letters, the ones that verify it's really him when he calls Defense Secretary James Mattis. It's the same code that will go down to theater commanders, B-1 bombers, Wyoming missile silos and submarines lurking off North Korea.

"Do it," he tells Mattis. "Wipe him the hell out."

What was once just a nervous joke among Washington policymakers and military experts when Trump ran for the presidency has suddenly crept closer to a horrendous range of possibilities, judging from a *Newsweek* survey of former Pentagon officials and experts. And no one knows where the confrontation is headed after weeks of increasingly personal insults and military provocations from both sides.

On September 26, days after the Pentagon sent B-1 bombers and fighter escorts near North Korea in a display of military force, Pyongyang "moved a small number of fighter jets, external fuel tanks and air-to-air missiles to a base on its eastern coast," according to reports. And Trump threatened Pyongyang once again, saying he was prepared for "a military option" to solve the crisis, which would be "devastating."

Analysts with long experience in the region say they fear an accident—a collision of jets or ships, a wayward artillery shell—could quickly cause the situation to spiral, especially with Trump and North Korean officials exchanging insults. In his United Nations speech on September 19, Trump called Kim "Rocket Man," followed later by "Little Rocket Man." Kim responded by calling Trump a "mentally deranged U.S. dotard," a word long out of use that sent millions scurrying for

BY

JEFF STEIN

SpyTalker

Illustrations by EDEL RODRIGUEZ

their dictionaries. (It means someone decrepit and senile.) Trump then vowed that Kim and his foreign minister "won't be around much longer."

"I think this tit for tat Trump has ginned up is not only dangerous and unnecessary but creating an escalation spiral that is increasing the odds of miscalculation," says Robert Manning, a former senior U.S. intelligence expert on Korea and strategic weapons in the George W. Bush and Barack Obama administrations. "It's not just a war of words," he tells *Newsweek*. "We keep flying B-1s up their kazoo." That, along with Trump calling Kim names, says Manning, now a senior fellow with the Brent Scowcroft Center on International Security at the Atlantic Council, "inflates" Kim's ego. It's "mind-bogglingly stupid."

As if to make the point, on September 25 North Korea's foreign minister buffed Trump's threats into a declaration of war. "That's absurd," White House spokeswoman Sarah Huckabee Sanders said. The regime also vowed to "take countermeasures, including the right to shoot down bombers."

But so far, there have been no signs North Korea is preparing to attack South Korea, Japan or U.S. bases in the region, even as it threatens to explode a hydrogen bomb somewhere over the Pacific. With the acrimony deepening, however, an increasing number of analysts now fear something less lethal but profoundly dangerous: a constitutional crisis, provoked by an impulsive Trump order for a pre-emptive strike. "Someone in the chain would say no," says a former senior Pentagon official, sharing his views with *Newsweek* on condition of anonymity due to the issue's sensitivity. "That's what I believe, having worked with these guys"—meaning military leaders from Mattis on down to the U.S. forces commander in South Korea, General Vincent Brooks. "It would be really hard for Trump to be capricious about a spur-of-the-moment attack," the former official continues. "He'd have to make it a major strategy thing that's been long planned, in consultation with Mattis and Dunford." General Joseph Dunford is chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

The former official adds that Brooks, especially, who has won a wide circle of admirers for his forthright yet nuanced views on the intersection of domestic politics and military strategy, would not follow such a midnight order. "If Brooks truly felt Trump was just saying, 'Fuck it, I want to attack today'—that there was not a truly imminent threat to U.S. forces and the homeland, he might refuse the order." Brooks could not be immediately reached for comment.

It's not likely a Trump order would get down that far, analysts say. People who know Mattis tell *Newsweek* he would resign rather than carry out an impulsive order from Trump to attack North Korea, with nuclear weapons or not. Trump could fire Mattis, but that could set off "a political firestorm and even a constitutional crisis that could prevent prompt execution of the order," says Kingston Reif, director of disarmament and threat reduction policy at the Arms Control Association in Washington, D.C.

Kim called Trump a "mentally deranged U.S. dotard," which sent millions scurrying for their dictionaries.

In October 1973, President Richard Nixon sparked a crisis by ordering his attorney general, Elliot Richardson, to fire the special prosecutor overseeing investigations into the crimes that became known as Watergate. Richardson refused and resigned, and so did his deputy. Nixon finally found somebody to carry out that deed, but the move backfired, inflaming the impeachment drive and forcing him from office 10 months later.

Even more relevant to Trump, says a growing chorus of commentators, is another incident from Nixon's final days, when, according to various accounts, his chief of staff Alexander Haig, an army general, asked military commanders to check back if they received any unusual directives from the deeply depressed, sometimes drunk president.

Chris Whipple, author of *The Gatekeepers: How the White House Chiefs of Staff Define Every Presidency,* tells *Newsweek* that John Kelly, Trump's chief of staff, "needs to take a page from that...and just be sure that he's in the loop when it comes to the nuclear football."

There's no rule stopping Trump from firing Mattis and continuing down the chain of command until he finds someone willing to attack North Korea, analysts say. Any defense secretary, notes Kathleen Hicks, a former principal deputy undersecretary for policy at the Pentagon, is merely "a check in the system against overenthusiasm" on the president's part for letting loose the nukes. Under the rules of the National Command Authority, the only weapon Mattis has to stop Trump's launch order is persuasion. If he blocks it, "then the president may, in his sole discretion, fire" him, it says, and tap the next person in the

EDEL RODRIGUEZ

chain of command to carry it out. If he wants, Trump can reach right down to a general heading a regional command. The Uniform Code of Military Justice requires sworn officers to carry out a bad but lawful order, setting up the kind of dilemma dramatized in the hit 1992 court martial drama *A Few Good Men*.

"To say that the secretary of defense and his subordinates have a legal duty to comply with presidential orders is not to say that they should do so," Jack Goldsmith, who held high positions in the Justice and Defense departments, wrote recently. But "they have to be prepared to accept the consequences of defiance," which include "resigning...resisting until fired, informing congressional leaders (in or out of public), or quietly coordinating with the vice president and others for presidential removal under the 25th Amendment."

"All of this is uncharted territory," says Reif. And compounding the legal, military and political complexities of the situation, some analysts envision Kim hitting first with a limited strike, such as a barrage of rocket and artillery fire on Seoul, which would kill tens of thousands of people, prompting U.S. and South Korean counterfire. But then Kim could sit back and let Trump make the next big move. "President Trump would then be faced with an unimaginable decision: continue the attack and see potentially millions more die, or give in to Kim's demands and stop," wrote retired Lieutenant Colonel Daniel Davis (who served under White House national security adviser H.R. McMaster in Iraq). Given North Korea's hardened defenses, massive rocket supplies and nuclear weaponry, "the interests of the United States would be gravely harmed no matter what choice Trump makes at that point," Davis says.

Judging by the erratic leadership he's demonstrated so far, Trump doesn't look prepared to carefully weigh an array of military options that include the use of nuclear weapons. No president really is, Whipple says. "Every White House chief of staff can probably tell you in chilling detail about the day the chairman of the joint chiefs came in and explained to the president and his chief the operation of the nuclear codes. It's a gut-check moment for every chief and obviously, one would hope, every president."

Even some of Trump's most accomplished, sophisticated fans had little idea of the license a president has to unleash a civilization-ending nuclear war, Whipple tells *Newsweek*. When he was on a trip with former George W. Bush chief of staff Andrew Card to give a talk, they encountered a corporate CEO who said he planned to vote for Trump. "And I said, 'You know you're giving this guy the nuclear codes, and there's nothing to prevent him from using them?' And he said, 'Well, I'm not too worried about that.'"

Whipple turned to Card and said, "Andy, tell him." Card then told the CEO, "in chilling detail," about the guidance Bush got on the eve of his 2001 inauguration, and how nobody had any authority to stop him from activating the football. "Andy said to this guy, 'There's nothing—nothing—to prevent the president from doing this on his own.'" Card did not respond to *Newsweek*'s request for comment.

California Representative Ted Lieu and Massachusetts Senator Ed Markey, both Democrats, want to take the freelance nuclear option out of Trump's hands. In January, they introduced a bill that would prohibit a president from launching a pre-emptive nuclear strike without a congressional declaration of war. It's not going anywhere in the GOP-controlled Congress.

"I would certainly not do first strike," Trump declared a year ago during one of his presidential debates with Hillary Clinton. But moments later, he circled back with a contradictory response: "At the same time, we have to be prepared. I can't take anything off the table." Since then, with every North Korean provocation, he's increasingly reverted to the "fire and fury" he pledged in August to rain down on Pyongyang if it endangers U.S. interests.

Nobody knows how he'll feel when he wakes up to find that Kim has tested another H-bomb, flung a missile over Japan or needled him with another insult. All we know is that when he wanders out in his bathrobe and opens the nuclear football, he's got the keys to Armageddon in his hands. N

"I would certainly not do first strike," Trump said. "[But] I can't take anything off the table."

EDEL RODRIGUEZ

ICED The body of a dead militant in Mosul. Few Iraqis seem concerned about the treatment of suspected ISIS members and their families.

VERONIQUE DE VIGUERIE/GETTY

IRAQ

The Wrath of Mosul

ISIS's victims are thirsting for revenge—and taking it however they can. Will anyone stop them?

BY

EMILY FELDMAN
@Emily_Feldman

DAYS AFTER THE ISLAMIC State group fled Mosul, Saeed Quraishi was in a judge's office in Iraq's Nineveh province when two women arrived. They were handing over suspects with links to ISIS. But these weren't hardened fighters. They were their children, all under the age of 3. "We don't want them," the women said. "Their fathers are [ISIS], and they raped us."

Quraishi watched as the women walked away, leaving their crying babies behind. He wondered if the women's families had pressured them to give up the children. "It was a horrible situation," says Quraishi, an Iraqi human rights worker, who asked to use a pseudonym because he feared for his safety. "Even if it was their decision, that is not easy."

The incident wasn't

isolated. In the months since Iraqi forces ousted ISIS from Mosul, those reeling from the group's brutal treatment have been hungry for revenge. Many have cut ties with their families and accused neighbors of ISIS-related crimes. Others have become vigilantes, rendering justice as they see fit. Earlier this year, aid workers and journalists discovered more than two dozen bodies floating down the Tigris River near Mosul. The dead—many bound and blindfolded—were ISIS suspects, likely executed by state-affiliated forces.

ISIS's victims have good reason to be angry. After seizing Mosul in June 2014, the militants forced their draconian laws—no cigarettes, no mingling between men and women, no music or private internet—on the city's roughly 1 million residents. The group routinely tortured and executed civilians. They occupied homes, taking whatever they wanted. They trained child soldiers and enslaved women and children. When U.S.-backed forces started ousting fighters from the city last October, ISIS went on a rampage, executing suspected spies and civilians attempting to flee. Before losing Mosul in early July, the militants had killed or wounded more than 8,000 members of the Iraqi security forces.

"Are they juvenile victims, or are they murderers?"

Today, few Iraqis seem concerned about the treatment of ISIS suspects and their families. And defense attorneys are shunning ISIS clients for fear of ostracism and retribution. That fear was recently amplified, Human Rights Watch reported, after Iraqi authorities issued arrest warrants for more than a dozen lawyers defending ISIS suspects. All were charged with affiliating with the group.

The only people willing to stand up for the accused are workers from a handful of human rights groups. Scott Portman is one of them. He's the Middle East and North Africa director for Heartland Alliance International, a U.S.-based nonprofit that employs local lawyers and social workers in Iraq.

Portman says the country's current problems with retribution go back to 2015, when the Iraqi-led coalition ramped up its fight against the militants. In Tikrit, Ramadi and Fallujah, locals reported that government forces and militias were executing and abusing ISIS suspects, including teenagers and child soldiers.

But the scale of reported abuses multiplied during the recent battle for Mosul, the most populous city ISIS held in Iraq. Now, Portman says, the level of anger against perceived sympathizers is as bad as it was about a decade ago, during the bloodiest years of the Iraq War. Security forces, who suffered heavy losses against the militants, have packed hundreds of ISIS suspects—including minors—into fetid makeshift prisons. They've detained the militants' wives and children in camps. At one, described in a July U.N. report as "below humanitarian standards," 10 people died in eight days. Iraqi authorities have rounded up at least 1,400 more wives and children of ISIS suspects

FROM LEFT: NDREA DICENZO/PICTURE-ALLIANCE/DPA/AP; AHMAD AL-RUBAYE/AFP/GETTY

BRINGING DOWN THE BLACK BANNERS Opposite: Suspected ISIS militants packed into a makeshift cell near to Mosul. Above, an Iraqi militia member takes down a sign on a lamppost in the city. ISIS's victims have good reason to be angry. Among other things, the group routinely tortured and executed civilians.

since then (though none have been brought before a judge). One reason they are purportedly doing so is fear of revenge attacks. "It is difficult to control people's desire for retribution," Portman says, "when they have lost so many of their friends."

That desire for vengeance makes it hard to guarantee due process in the courts. Even suspects with good lawyers may face inexperienced, overwhelmed or vengeful officials. Quraishi, who runs training workshops for judges and prosecutors on behalf of Heartland, says some are sympathetic to young fighters or people forced to join the group. But others, like one prosecutor he met at a workshop, see no difference between an ISIS leader and a 12-year-old recruit. "We should burn them," Quraishi recalls the man saying.

The staggering number of people being detained makes the situation even more difficult. Quraishi says that Kurdish and Iraqi authorities have locked up some 5,000 ISIS-linked juveniles. The overcrowding has led to a backlog in the country's courts; suspects can wait months to face a judge. When they finally do, the time judges spend reviewing their cases is often brief. Nineveh's counterterrorism court, which has been operating out of an abandoned home, was working its way through about 2,000 cases in early July, according to a forthcoming Human Rights Watch report. *The Daily Telegraph* reported that the 12 judges at that court were hearing between 40 and 50 cases a day.

Heartland and other human rights groups have been trying to mitigate these problems for ISIS suspects, some of whom are arrested and released in one city only to be rearrested in another. Psychologists and social workers are reuniting separated family members, finding solutions for orphaned children and investigating reports of mistreatment. Their legal teams are advising hundreds of judges, prosecutors and lawyers to carefully consider the circumstances of each case.

"Were these people really radicals and criminals? Or are these people who were forced to be with ISIS?" Quraishi asks. "Are they juvenile victims, or are they murderers?"

Quraishi fears that mistreating or wrongfully convicting people could have serious consequences. Ostracized women and children, like those kids left at the Nineveh court, could become easy recruitment targets for extremist groups. And putting minors behind bars alongside hardened jihadi fighters, he adds, could create a new generation of killers.

"We need them to understand that rule of law considers everybody," he says, "the victims and the criminals." N

POLITICS

The Spies Who Remained in the Cold

The U.S. is losing the intelligence war with Russia—and Putin is reaping the benefits

IN 1989, A SPY WALKED INTO my father's office in New York City. He claimed to be a military officer assigned to the Soviet mission to the United States and said he wanted to do business. My dad, a Pakistani immigrant, had started a small defense company that supplied the U.S. government with books and research material. So while a Soviet standing in his office was abnormal, what he asked for—information on nuclear nonproliferation—was not.

About 20 minutes after the man left, two FBI agents walked in and told my father the man's true identity. Then they asked for his help: My dad was to continue doing business with him and share what information he learned with the bureau. It was the beginning of a decades-long relationship between my family and the FBI that lasted until 2009.

Toward the end of that period, I became part of the family business. For more than three years, I worked as a double agent for the bureau, infiltrating Russian military intelligence. So I've watched the Trump-Russia probe play out with considerable interest. During that time, I've been quietly asking current and former counterintelligence professionals, "Who is making sure Russia doesn't undermine our democracy?" The answer has always been the same: "I don't know, but I hope somebody is." Yet since Donald Trump still refuses to admit that Moscow interfered in the 2016 presidential election, I'm not sure anybody—in his administration or the intelligence community—is keeping proper tabs on our Cold War adversary.

This threat from Moscow is not an idle one. It appears to have resulted in a successful operation against the United States, one that likely began long before Trump took office. The Russians seem to have penetrated the president's inner circle, used social media to spread fake news and may have even targeted the American voting system. In the aftermath of this malicious campaign, the U.S. has done too little to harden its defenses against such an operation. There have been no demands to increase the budget of the intelligence community to counter Russia and other intel threats to the nation. Instead, many seem to think we can defeat Moscow simply by throwing Trump out of office. That's a dangerous idea.

BY

NAVEED JAMALI

@NaveedAJamali

My father saw firsthand the intelligence threat Moscow poses to the U.S. He also saw how the demise of the Soviet Union had little impact on the Russian spy game. After the collapse of the USSR, intelligence officers from the Russian mission to the United Nations very quickly began showing up at the family office, looking for the same information that first spy had sought. To them, the U.S. was still the enemy.

But U.S. intelligence viewed Moscow a bit differently. When I began working for the FBI in 2005, my handlers and I were completely focused on Russian spies. But we were the

RED DON Trump with former Russian ambassador Sergey Kislyak. If the president continues to call Moscow's interference a "hoax," America will continue to lose the new Cold War.

exceptions; the rest of America was focused on terrorism and Al-Qaeda. The agents I worked with were patriots and professionals, but they had little support and few resources. I would often joke with them about their hand-me-down cars. The agents were fighting a battle the American people thought was over. We had just been attacked by a deadly new enemy, and that fight was sucking up most of the money and resources available.

Counterintelligence wasn't a top priority. During my operation, a military attaché from a foreign country invited me to meet with him. As I sat in his Manhattan consulate, drinking tea, the attaché told me he was looking for "somebody in D.C. to put me in contact with," a positive and intriguing sign. I reported the details to the FBI and then waited. Weeks rolled by. Finally, one of the agents dejectedly told me that "the agent responsible for that country won't return my calls." I never spoke to the attaché again. I never learned who in D.C. I was supposed to contact. It was a missed opportunity.

Many seem to think we can defeat Moscow simply by throwing Trump out of office. That's a dangerous idea.

Moscow rarely misses opportunities. The Russians were distrustful of everyone and everything. The tactics they employed to avoid FBI surveillance were simple but highly effective. They would conclude each of our meetings by handing over a menu or a business card of another restaurant. Then, a week or so later, I would receive a short call inviting me to lunch. At the end of the meeting, the process would repeat. There was never any discussion by phone or email. All communication occurred in person. This meant unless the FBI knew where I was meeting my "handlers," they would have struggled to know how to monitor us. The Russians had honed their craft, while the FBI agents were struggling to keep up.

As my days working against the Russians concluded, I worried more and more about this mismatch. In a post–Cold War world, it's easy to understand how justifying the cost of counterintelligence may have become politically difficult. But nobody told that to the Russians.

With FBI counterintelligence efforts languishing, they found the perfect opportunity to attack the U.S. In the aftermath of that assault in 2016, the U.S. has still not acknowledged a counterintelligence failure, nor has it adequately sought to fix it. As long as the president continues to call Russian interference a "hoax," the weaknesses Moscow exploited to successfully undermine American democracy will never be strengthened.

If Russia's electoral interference has taught me anything, it is that the U.S. must hold FBI counterintelligence to the standard it was held to in 1989 when agents walked into my father's office: to be able to detect and counter a Russian recruitment effort in roughly 20 minutes. N

NAVEED JAMALI *is the author of* How to Catch a Russian Spy, *a memoir about working undercover as a double agent for the FBI. He continues to serve as an intelligence officer in the U.S. Navy Reserve and is a senior fellow in the Program on National Security at the Foreign Policy Research Institute.*

FROM TOP: KLUBOVY/GETTY; ALEXANDER SHCHERBAK/TASS/GETTY

WAY OUT OF DESTITUTION

The fight against extreme poverty turns innovative to bring smiles to destitute families

A row of dilapidated adobe houses dot the slope of a loess hill in Zhaojiawa, a laidback village in Xinzhou, central Shanxi Province in north China. Many of them have been abandoned as their residents moved out of the village in search of greener pastures.

Some of the villagers who have stayed on are grappling with extreme poverty. Wang Sannu is one of them. The 68-year-old lives with her orphaned granddaughter and grandson, who are both mentally challenged. Their bedroom, bereft of any other furniture or ornament except a brick bed with newspapers pasted on the walls and the ceiling, mirrors their stark condition.

Xinzhou, due to its inhospitable loess land and steep ravines, is one of China's poorest places. The mountain-dominated landscape and drought-prone weather make it difficult for locals to eke out a decent living.

"Because of the drought, crops can be grown for brief spells only and the yield is low. The villagers live at the mercy of the weather," Ma Yuyin, Secretary of the Zhaojiawa Village Branch of the Communist Party of China (CPC), said.

With the Central Government's thrust on poverty alleviation, Chinese President Xi Jinping visited three households in Zhaojiawa on June 21 to inspect the work at the community level. Wang Sannu's family was one of the three.

Destitution to contentment

Disaster, illness, and higher education fees or wedding costs are some of the factors driving people into deep poverty in the villages.

Liu Fuyou and his wife, both in their 70s, live with Liu's 92-year-old mother in the village. All three are in poor health. The couple's five grown-up children have left the village and settled down in other places.

"Last year, my family's total income was under 7,000 yuan ($1,029)," Liu said. "Most of it came from government subsidies for planting grain crops and converting farmland back into forest. Only about 500 yuan ($74) of it was income from growing grain."

Xinzhou has begun taking targeted measures to alleviate poverty. A poverty alleviation work team is now stationed in an adobe house in the village. It has a computer and printer, and on the walls are charts and graphs, outlining poverty alleviation goals and analyzing the causes of poverty.

Under the targeted poverty alleviation policy, Wang Sannu and her two grandchildren now have the minimum living allowance. The grandmother also gets old-age insurance and assistance to people in extreme poverty. In addition, the two youngsters receive an annual allowance of 20,000 yuan ($2,941) for orphans.

"Now the government is paying for most of our food and clothes," Wang said. "I am content."

In the past five years, 417,000 people were lifted out of poverty in Xinzhou, according to the city government's work report for 2016. The city has more than 3 million people and the plan is to move another 353,300 residents out of poverty by 2020.

Since Zhaojiawa's living conditions are poor, the local authorities plan to relocate its residents to places with better facilities, according to Wang Zhidong, Secretary of the CPC Kelan County Committee. Zhaojiawa is a village under the jurisdiction of the county.

Over 3,500 people in 115 villages in the county will be relocated to places with better living conditions like Songjiagou, a new village in Kelan which has been built to accommodate villagers moving out of poverty-stricken areas. With asphalt roads, running water, broadband Internet and cable TV, the new village's infrastructure presents a vivid contrast to that of Zhaojiawa. It also has a school, hospital, library and cultural center.

Zhang Guiming is one of the people who recently moved into the new village. His neat new home has modern amenities.

"In the hilly place where I used to live before, it was a struggle to get drinking water. Now I am living in a new house where I eat well, live well, and everything goes well," he remarked with satisfaction. "And I didn't have to pay a penny for the house."

Renewed efforts

The 13th Five-Year Plan (2016-20) of China is waging a battle against poverty to achieve the goal of building a moderately prosperous society in all aspects by 2020.

In November 2015, the Central Government made a decision to eliminate poverty by 2020. At that time, 70 million people were still living in poverty in China.

On June 23 this year, Xi chaired a meeting in Taiyuan, capital city of Shanxi, on eliminating extreme poverty, pledging more support for areas in extreme poverty. The meeting also called for more social forces to participate in the poverty alleviation work.

At a press briefing on July 5, Hong Tianyun, Deputy Director of the State Council Leading Group Office of Poverty Alleviation and Development (LGOP), explained which areas in China suffer from extreme poverty.

By Wang Hairong


XINHUA

On September 21, an official (first front) from the Fengpu Township of Ningde, Fujian Province, prepares red couplets with a family who had just moved to a new resettlement house thanks to poverty-relief efforts from the local government

Hong said the regions to be further supported mainly refer to "three areas," "three autonomous prefectures" and "three demographic groups." The "three areas" are Tibet Autonomous Region, the southern area of Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region and the ethnic autonomous areas inhabited by Tibetans and other ethnic minority groups in Qinghai, Sichuan, Yunnan and Gansu provinces.

The "three autonomous prefectures" in extreme poverty are Linxia Hui Autonomous Prefecture in Gansu, Liangshan Yi Autonomous Prefecture in Sichuan and Nujiang Lisu Autonomous Prefecture in Yunnan.

The "three demographic groups" include people trapped in poverty because of illness. Statistics in 2014 show that 42.1 percent of the impoverished was caused by illnesses, especially serious and chronic diseases. The second group comprises those who became impoverished due to disasters or market fluctuations. The third is formed of the elderly, who need to be covered by social insurance because of their advanced age, illness and inability to work.

"More preferential policies should be produced for these areas and groups so that they can exit poverty for good," Hong said.

In addition to national initiatives, provincial governments should eliminate poverty by 2020 in light of their own conditions, he said, adding that some provinces have done a good job.

Guizhou Province, for example, has listed 20 townships as areas in extreme poverty and focused its resources on alleviating poverty there. Hebei is targeting several counties in Zhangjiakou as key areas for extreme poverty alleviation.

"It is difficult to get the remaining poor people out of poverty through conventional ways, so we must use unconventional measures," Qu Tianjun, an official with the LGOP, said, alluding to e-commerce and the Internet as effective methods of poverty alleviation.

In November 2016, the LGOP issued a guideline on promoting targeted poverty alleviation through e-commerce. The goal is to set up e-commerce poverty alleviation stations in around 50 percent of the poverty-stricken villages by 2020.

To connect people in need of assistance with those keen to offer their help, the LGOP launched a website on October 16, 2016.

By July 12 this year, the website, Zgshfp.com.cn, had witnessed 80,895 registered users who described themselves as poverty-stricken. There were over 39,500 offers of help and 545,795 yuan ($80,423) had been donated.

Many requests for help are very specific. For instance, on July 12, a user from Yongzhou in Hunan Province named Liu Jialian posted a message, saying life had grown harsher after one side of her house collapsed following a flood. Her request was for rice and edible oil.

Of all the requests, 20 percent had been met, Hong said at the July 5 press conference. The authorities will next verify the requests and make sure that the donations reach the right person. They will also get in touch with the relevant government departments and state-owned enterprises (SOEs) to persuade the latter, especially those operating in poverty-stricken areas, to boost local industrial and economic development.

Getting more players

The government has been encouraging enterprises, non-governmental organizations and individuals to participate in the poverty alleviation work. Since 2014, 68 centrally administered SOEs have assisted almost 15,000 poverty-stricken villages, mainly supplying water and electricity and paving roads, Qu said.

An industrial poverty alleviation development fund has been established and till now, 26,500 private enterprises have been mobilized to assist 21,000 poor villages. This has benefited 3.8 million impoverished people.

The Evergrande Group, a Fortune Global 500 firm engaged in real estate, finance, health and culture travels, began to offer assistance to Dafang, a county in Bijie, Guizhou, since December 2015. Their plan was to invest 3 billion yuan ($442.1 million) in three years and lift 180,000 people out of poverty by 2018.

This year, Evergrande decided to invest another 8 billion yuan ($1.2 billion) to help all the poor counties in Bijie. The company is using various means to alleviate poverty. It supports rural cooperatives that hire people in straitened circumstances and so far, has given loans to more than 180 vegetable and animal husbandry cooperatives.

"We not only provide fund, but also talented people, technology, management teams and ideas," Yao Dong, Vice President of the group, said.

Non-governmental organizations are also being mobilized to participate in poverty alleviation. Qu said more policies will be introduced to encourage them to engage in poverty relief work. ■

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TOWER OF Bab

Evangelicals worship their president

ble

but seem blind to the multitude of signs that Donald Trump's holy trinity is "me, myself and I"

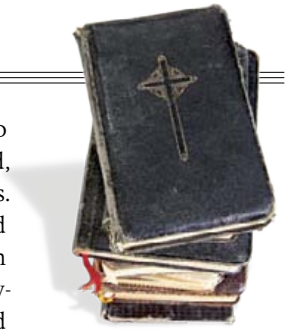
by **NINA BURLEIGH**

MASS APPEAL
Trump's efforts to harness the political muscle of evangelicals goes back to at least 2011, when he sought guidance from religious leaders on whether he should challenge President Obama in his run for a second term.

FROM LEFT: CHIP SOMODEVILLA/GETTY; HEINZ-DIETER FALKENSTEIN/GETTY. PREVIOUS SPREAD: JAHI CHIKWENDIU/THE WASHINGTON POST/GETTY

"WHEN HE LIES, HE SPEAKS HIS NATIVE LANGUAGE, FOR HE IS A LIAR AND THE father of lies."

JOHN 8:44



AS HURRICANE HARVEY INUNDATED Houston and tens of thousands fled, good Samaritans emerged on the seething waters. Boat owners from as far away as Louisiana pushed all manner of craft into the deluge, steering down urban streets that had been transformed into rivers, risking their lives to rescue men, women and children. Furniture store owner Jim "Mattress Mack" McIngvale opened his showrooms to dozens of wet refugees and their pets for several nights. Even workers trapped in a bakery by the rising tide thought first of others—they used the time they were marooned to bake for the hungry and the homeless.

Such acts of bravery and charity were as uplifting as the megastorm was crushing. But that spirit of generosity was not universal. As more than 9,000 displaced people packed into the George R. Brown Convention Center—almost double its capacity—one very large, very warm, very dry and very Christian space remained shuttered. The Lakewood megachurch, whose 606,000-square-foot interior can hold 16,000 people, would not be offering shelter, millionaire pastor Joel Osteen said, because it was in danger of being flooded.

Although nosy reporters quickly discovered that his precious church was both accessible and bone-dry, neither God nor scribe could move Osteen to embrace the stranded multitudes. But Twitter did, in a spasm of scorn delivered with the hashtag #OpenTheDoors. (The church was a shelter, yes, but *a tax shelter*, wags said.) After 48 hours of public flogging, Osteen relented—just as the sun was coming out in Houston and the waters were receding, taking with them his saintly reputation.

Osteen's brand of closed-door Christianity is increasingly common on the conservative fringes of American fundamentalism, where profitability is considered next to godliness. Versions of that flinty theology, sometimes called prosperity gospel, dominate President Donald Trump's evangelical panel, 25 pastors and religious conservatives who have mostly dispensed with those Sunday school homilies about Jesus loving the sick and poor, and Jesus responding to attacks with a turn of the cheek. They preach that their Lord hates entitlements, from welfare to Obamacare, that climate change is the talk of pagan heretics and that their heavenly father is fine with nuclear first strikes, as long as it's America droppin' the hammer.

And many of them believe their mortal messiah is Donald J. Trump, long a sybaritic scion but now the man who has solemnly vowed to take America to the promised land of deregulation, tax breaks and re-segregation.

An I for an I

TRUMP'S LONG AND SOMETIMES CONFOUNDING spiritual journey started in Jamaica, Queens, at the bite-sized First Presbyterian Church, and later, at the WASP-y Marble Collegiate Church on Manhattan's Fifth Avenue, where prosperity prophet Norman Vincent Peale preached that you could think yourself to success. In 1952, Peale published *The Power of Positive Thinking*, a *New York Times* best-seller for 186 weeks that sold more than 5 million copies and was translated into 15 languages. That tome and his hailstorm of follow-up titles trained a generation of Americans to grin and fake it all the way to the bank. His theology was well summarized by the mantra Fred Trump pounded into his boy, Donald: "You are a killer. You are a king."

That nugget may have been as close as young Donald ever got to Scripture. During the recent presidential campaign, he called the Bible chapter Second Corinthians "Two Corinthians," a transgression on par with referring to the Holy Trinity as the Three Amigos. He has called Communion "my little wine" and "my little cracker." More alarming for the truly pious, he couldn't come up with a favorite Bible verse when asked during the campaign,

except to say he liked the Old Testament's "an eye for an eye."

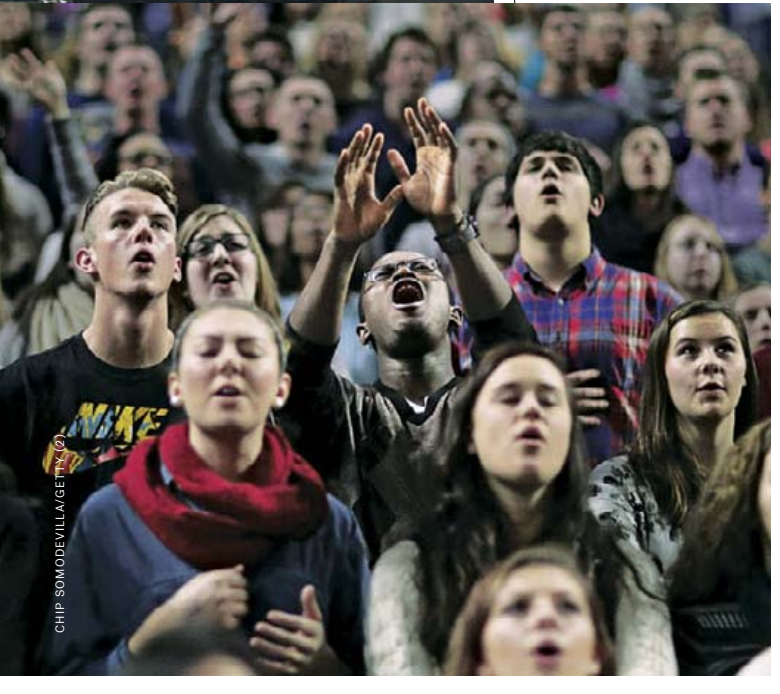
Trump also diverts from traditional Christianity in more significant ways. For one, he often boasts that he never asks for forgiveness, although that's a fundamental tenet of fundamentalist Protestants, who believe that all men are sinners in the eyes of God.

For many decades, Trump was the sweaty embodiment of the Manhattan libertine—a Studio 54 denizen who ran a modeling agency as his personal Tinder, and laughingly told Howard Stern that *his* Vietnam was avoiding STDs when he was a swingin' bachelor...and a swingin' married man. He wasn't known for his religious faith until sometime in the early 2000s, when he cold-called televangelist Paula White, another prosperity Christian, after seeing her on TV, and they became friends. (Like Trump, she has endured congressional and federal inquiries into her finances.) White soon owned a $3.5 million Trump Tower condo and spent time with Trump when she visited New York City. She later explained that she knew Trump was a true Christian partly because of the way he treated his employees.

In May 2011, Trump asked her to do a little work for him: deliver some religious leaders up to Trump Tower to counsel him on whether he should challenge Barack Obama for the presidency. The group talked with him for two and a half hours, including a 20-minute prayer session, and urged him to have faith in God during what they called the "evil process" of challenging Obama. After that confab, Trump apparently determined God was not ready for him to be in the White House, but four years later, he must have gotten the OK from on high, because he decided to run. The relationships he'd cultivated with White and the pastors who ministered to him in 2011 earned him favorable early coverage in the Christian media and access to the vast network of megachurches, and it all paid off in November 2016, when he was elected president of the United States. Evangelicals—a quarter of the American people—put him over the top, despite his "New York values."

Trump clearly appreciates that support and continues to curry favor with his faithful flock. On July 1, he headlined the Celebrate Freedom rally for two of his most ardent demographics: veterans and

"WE NEED A REPUBLICAN PRESIDENT, AND IT doesn't matter HOW WE GET THERE."



CHIP SOMODEVILLA/GETTY (2)

TWO NATIONS UNDER GOD In January, Trump delivered the convocation at Liberty University, a private Christian school founded by televangelist Jerry Falwell in 1971.

evangelicals. After the First Baptist Dallas choir premiered an original song, "Make America Great Again," the main act strode to the podium. "We are *ooone* nation, under God," the president crooned with the caramel delivery of a Vegas emcee introducing Liberace at the Sands. "In America, we don't worship government. We worship God!" Rapturous applause. "You will *ne-eeehver* be forgotten," he vowed. "We don't want to see God forced out of the public square, driven out of our schools or pushed out of our civic life. We wanna see prayers before football games, if they wanna give prayers!" And, he added, "we're gonna start saying 'merry Christmas' again!"

That Kennedy Center fête was the high point of an otherwise harrowing summer for Trump. The nationally televised event featured his most clean-cut supporters: no tattoos, no biker leather, no skinheads, no torches—just polite white men, women and children feasting on Christian chestnuts and patriotic red meat.

Trump delivered just what his crowd wanted to hear that day, mentioning God dozens of times, but there are reasons to question his sincerity and his piety. For example, the creators of a new database, Factba.se, of every recorded word Trump has uttered in public ran all that audio through a digital analysis that measures stress and found that he is most stressed when talking about what he now professes is his greatest love—God—and least stressed when he discusses what is allegedly his mortal enemy, *The New York Times*.

But perhaps he's still evolving spiritually. After all, Trump long pursued an aggressively secular life, but these days, the famously germaphobic president submits to a regular laying on of hands in the Oval Office. In a recent photograph shared by evangelical pastor Rodney Howard-Browne of one of these rituals, all eyes are squeezed shut as Trump adviser Omarosa Manigault, Vice President Mike Pence, Trump lawyer Michael Cohen and a group of visiting religious advisers summon the Holy Spirit. All eyes closed but for one pair—Trump is peeking.

He offered another glimpse into the depth of his piety when he veered off script in his acceptance speech last year at the Republican National Convention in Cleveland. His prepared remarks had him say: "At this moment, I would like to thank the evangelical community, who have been so good to me and so supportive." But what he actually said was: "At this moment, I would like to thank the evangelical community because, I will tell you what, the support they have given me—*and I'm not sure I totally deserve it*—has been so amazing. And has been such a big reason I'm here tonight."

All modern presidents have had faith councils of one sort or another. They usually include representatives of many faiths (and races), and their job is to maintain ties between the White House and the nation's vast constellation of religious groups.

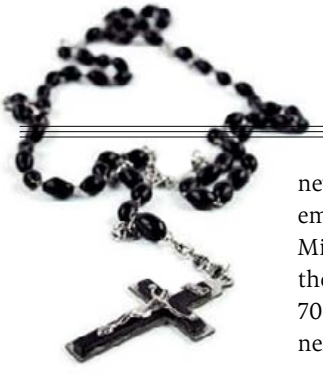
THE POWER BROKERS OF PRAYER
Clockwise, from above: televangelist White, considered Trump's closest spiritual adviser; the president and the first lady exiting church services on Inauguration Day; Weyrich, who co-founded the Moral Majority movement with Falwell, top left, in 1979.

But Trump's evangelical council is almost all white (one black) and dominated by evangelicals. Trump has repaid this fanboy congregation by putting eight white evangelicals in his God Squad of a Cabinet (Ben Carson, the ninth Cabinet evangelical, is black). And they have dispensed with secular expertise at almost every level. (Education Secretary Betsy DeVos, heiress to the Amway fortune, showed she was the right zealot for the job by using her family money in an attempt to demolish Michigan's public schools in favor of religious schools and home schooling.)

Fundamentalists now have an all-access pass to the highest levels of government, and Trump made their wish list a priority. One of his first acts as president was to order the IRS to lay off monitoring political donations to churches. Political pastors and billionaires alike loved it: Conservative donors can now bleach dark money donations through churches.

His other big concession to his devout army was picking Pence to be his running (and kneeling) mate. The uxorious Hoosier, whose political career seemed deader than Lazarus or Myspace two years ago, is now a heartbeat—or a Robert Mueller indictment— away from being leader of the free world.

WHITE PROCLAIMED THAT TRUMP WAS "RAISED UP BY GOD" TO lead the country.



The Race-Baiting Race to the Bottom

IN AUGUST, TRUMP GOT A FIRE-AND-BRIMSTONE BAPTISM FOR saying there were "very fine people on both sides" of the riot in Charlottesville, Virginia, that white supremacists started. American businessmen recoiled and charities canceled bookings at his Mar-a-Lago resort, but his evangelical council was steadfast in its support. "Honored to serve @POTUS on his Faith Initiative Council," First Baptist Dallas Pastor Robert Jeffress tweeted. "He has done more in 6 mo. to protect religious liberty than any pres. in history." Paula White went on fellow televangelist Jim Bakker's show to announce that Trump was "raised up by God" to lead the country.

To historians, the evangelical leaders' response was no surprise, because they know racism was behind the emergence of evangelicals as a political force in America. "If you are looking for the core animating spark of the Christian-right movement, it's not abortion but private Christian universities not being able to have laws against interracial dating," says Robert Jones, head of the Public Religion Research Institute. He knows that when the federal government forced integration on public schools in the South, white parents yanked their kids out and enrolled them in new church-run schools dubbed "segregation academies." The white flight was fast and devastating. In Mississippi, for example, the white population in the Holmes County school system dropped from 700 to 28 in year one of desegregation, and by the next year had dropped to zero.

To curtail this trend, the IRS began to deny tax-exempt status to segregation academies. Bob Jones University, one of the biggest evangelical colleges in the country, faced losing its IRS-exempt status because of its ban on interracial dating. As racial panic spread, a Republican political genius named Paul Weyrich—with patronage from Western segregationist beer billionaire Joseph Coors—forged alliances with Southern religious leaders. According to William Martin, author of *With God on Our Side: The Rise of the Religious Right in America*, Weyrich met Jerry Falwell Sr. in the coffee shop of a Holiday Inn in Lynchburg, Virginia, in 1979. "Weyrich was saying to Falwell, 'There is a moral majority in this country that wants such and such,' and Falwell said, 'Back to where you started. What was that you said? You used a phrase.' Weyrich said, 'There is a moral majority...' Falwell says, 'That's it. That's what we'll call it. We'll form an organization, and that is the name we'll give it.'"

In the 1980 presidential election, Falwell's moral majority helped propel Ronald Reagan into the White House. Reagan knew what his God-fearing demographic really wanted, which is why he kicked off his campaign with a stump speech supporting states' rights at a fair in rural Mississippi. "States' rights" had been a rallying cry for Southern segregationists for decades,

CLOCKWISE FROM TOP LEFT: BETTMANN/GETTY; MANDEL NGAN/AFP/GETTY; BETTMANN/GETTY; JABIN BOTSFORD/THE WASHINGTON POST/GETTY; DENVER POST/GETTY; ROSARY: GETTY

and in case anyone missed the coded message, Reagan delivered that speech just 7 miles from where three civil rights workers had been murdered in the 1960s. On the campaign trail, and many times while he was in the White House, Reagan also did a lot of grousing about "welfare queens."

Over the next few years, abortion and gay marriage became the issues Republican strategists used to enflame that moral majority and cattle-prod right-leaning Christians into the voting booth. Trump weaponized this cynical ploy on the campaign trail. He found it easy to abandon his long-held support of abortion and gay marriage if it meant sealing the covenant with his fervent fundamentalists.

The Kingdom of Trump

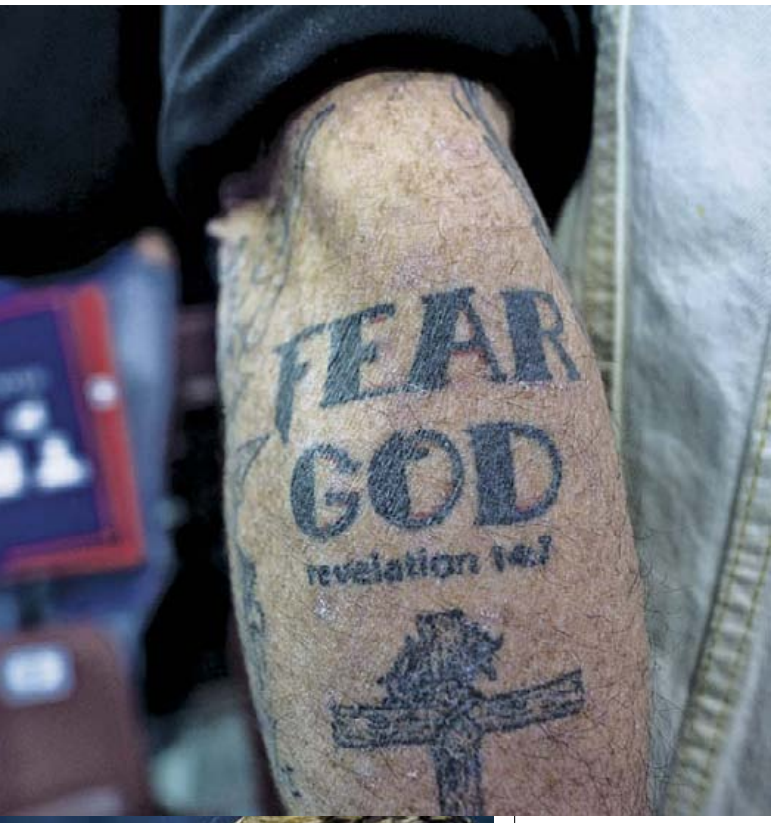
TRUMP'S CHIEF SPIRITUAL ADVISER IS NOT HIS VEEP, that pious silver fox who says he never dines alone with a woman not his wife. That sacred duty falls to White, chair of the White House evangelical panel. She is thrice-married (currently wed to Journey rocker Jonathan Cain, whose "Don't Stop Believin'" was an '80s rock anthem) and preaches to millions on TV and, when she's back in Florida, to her smaller flock at the New Destiny Christian Center church in Apopka. White and her fellow prosperity theologians have put some white-out over the New Testament line that it is easier for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter the kingdom of God. She prefers another biblical passage, "When you enter the land I am going to give you and you reap its harvest, bring to the priest a sheaf of the first grain you harvest" (Leviticus 23:10 NIV). Her webpage First Fruits 2017 is an online collection plate, decorated with a photograph of grapes, pomegranates and oranges, and click buttons labeled "Give your best first fruits offering today!" and "Send your prayer request today!" lead to forms for credit card payments.

(White's spokesman said she was unavailable for an interview with *Newsweek*.)

The next most prominent godly voice in Trump's White House is the Cabinet Bible study pastor, Ralph Drollinger, who preaches that Jesus—contrary to several millennia of church teaching—didn't really think you had to help the poor if you happen to be a member of Congress. In "Entitlement Programs Viewed Through the Lens of Scripture," a sermon from one of his weekly Bible study sessions, which he delivered last year on Capitol Hill, he told his high-level political congregants that the Bible "is clear" that caring for the poor is the responsibility of the family and the church, not the government. "Nowhere to be

THE NEW CABINET BIBLE STUDY PASTOR HAS CALLED ON TRUMP TO CREATE A... "benevolent dictatorship."

FROM LEFT: SPENCER PLATT/GETTY; MARK MAKELA/GETTY



HOLY SPIRIT
Trump's selection of the famously devout Pence as his vice president was widely seen as a huge payoff to his evangelical supporters.

found in the NT is an explicit command for the Institution of the State to assume such a function," he wrote. "Jesus was only a role model to emulate."

In another teaching, "What Does the Bible Teach in Regards to Property Rights?" Drollinger wrote, "It's safe to say that God is a Capitalist, not a Communist."

(Drollinger's office declined *Newsweek*'s request for an interview, explaining that he was on an annual 200-mile hike in the Sierras.)

Drollinger endeared himself to Trump last year when he called on him to create a "benevolent dictatorship." This anti-democratic impulse was familiar to people who study evangelicals. Political scientists have noted a growing authoritarian trend in American voters, and in Trump voters in particular. A 2011 meta-analysis of hundreds of studies involving thousands of people found that "fundamentalism correlated positively with authoritarianism, ethnocentrism, militarism, and prejudice."

Drollinger's fondness for abject subservience even extends to climate change. He and several of Trump's theologians preach that even if the world is heating up, it's presumptuously sinful to believe human activities have anything to do with it. Says Drollinger: "To think that man can alter the earth's ecosystem—when God remains omniscient, omnipresent and omnipotent in the current affairs of mankind—is to more than subtly espouse an ultra-hubristic, secular worldview relative to the supremacy and importance of man."

This fossil-fuel-loving fringe of the evangelical movement—which includes Environmental Protection Agency Director Scott Pruitt—preaches that the many green Christian movements are born of a spiritual deception and are evidence of a "demonic worldview," says James Wanliss, associate professor of physics at Presbyterian College in South Carolina, who claims that environmentalists aim for "the reconstruction of a pagan world order."

To which Senator James Mountain Inhofe says amen. Inhofe, the powerful chair of the Senate Committee on Environment and Public Works and one of the Capitol's most devoted climate change deniers, lays the responsibility for Earth's climate on God, and God alone. "God's still up there," he said on a Christian radio show in 2015. "The arrogance of people to think that we human beings would be able to change what he is doing in the climate is, to me, outrageous."

Thou Silver-Tongued Tweeter

IT'S NOW OBVIOUS THAT TRUMP GOT AN EXTRAORDINARY RETURN on investment when he cozied up to evangelicals in 2011, but what did they see in him? His biography until quite late in life would seem to be antithetical to everything they believe. Jones, of the Public Religion Research Institute, thinks the answer lies in the 2015 Supreme Court ruling legalizing gay marriage. "Local Democrats and progressives wildly underestimated the nuclear

RELIGIOUS STATES
Trump's visit to Vatican City in May spurred a close confidant of the pope to write a scathing condemnation of evangelicals and some Catholics, who he said are mixing religion and politics and are promoting a "theocratic type of state."

event that the same-sex marriage decision was for conservative white Christians," he says. "It was so at the heart of their political engagement. They had pushed all their resources into the fight, and they lost decisively in courts and in public opinion."

Among the many miracles Trump performed during his campaign was exploiting white conservative Christian fear. White Christians really are losing demographic ground, if not power. America won't be theirs for much longer because they are a shrinking portion of the electorate. But, as Trump showed to astonishing effect, they still turn out to vote at higher rates than other, larger demographic groups. And that gives their views greater weight. In 2008, white evangelicals were 21 percent of the population but made up 26 percent of the vote, Jones says. In 2016, white evangelicals had slipped to 17 percent of the total population, but they still constituted 26 percent of voters. Jones calls the 2016 election their "time machine," Christian fundamentalists' chance to resurrect the public opinion of 2008, when just 40 percent of Americans supported gay marriage, not the 60 percent who do now.

America's white Protestant fundamentalist Christians are dwindling, dying off like the dinosaurs God put on Earth alongside humans 6,000 years ago before he mysteriously decided to take them away. (And who cut them out of Genesis?) "Our best estimate is that 2024 will be the first election where we have an electorate that is less than majority white and Christian," Jones says.

"DONALD TRUMP IS A WRECKING BALL TO THE SPIRIT OF political correctness."

But that still leaves the question of how evangelicals were able to embrace Trump. In 2011, a poll asked respondents to agree or disagree with the statement that someone who commits an immoral act in private life could still perform well in a public position. Among white evangelicals, only three in 10 thought it was possible. In 2016, the pollsters asked the same question—and 71 percent of white evangelicals agreed. "White evangelical Protestants went from being the group least likely to agree that this was possible to being the most likely to agree," Jones says. "In one way of thinking, Trump turned evangelical ethics on its head, because they had been based on principles. They let the ends justify the means: We need a Republican president, and it doesn't matter how we get there."

For many fundamentalists, Trump's profligate dissembling and decades of dissipation are further proof that their Lord moves in mysterious ways. White evangelical supporters excuse Trump's long history of immoral behavior by comparing him to various biblical heroes whose lives were less than exemplary but who nonetheless did God's work. Lance Wallnau, author of a best-selling book about Trump called *God's Chaos Candidate*, has claimed God spoke to him and said, "Donald Trump is a wrecking ball to the spirit of political correctness."

Now comes the most presumptuous—perhaps even heretical—question a journalist could pose: What does God think of Trump, who, according to *The Washington Post*, has already told over 1,000 lies since he moved into the Oval Office and is on a trajectory to hit 2,000 by the end of the year?

The same digital voice analysis that measured Trump's comfort level when talking about God and the allegedly godless *New York Times* shows that when the president tells an obvious lie (a statement PolitiFact has determined is false) he is *more* relaxed than he is at most other times during his speeches and interviews.

That would seem to be a vexing problem for the faithful, since the Bible repeatedly associates lying with the devil. To cite just one of many examples in Scripture, John 8:44 (NIV) refers to Satan thusly: When he lies, he speaks his native language, for he is a liar and the father of lies." Now recall that millions of white conservative fundamentalists who take the Bible literally are awaiting the fulfillment of its prophesy about the apocalypse—the end of days—which will feature the rise of an evil force that will briefly rule the world. He goes by many names, among them the Prince of Lies. N

FROM LEFT: L'OSSERVATORE ROMANO/ANADOLU AGENCY/GETTY; VANGELIS ARAGIANNIS/ALAMY

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WILDLIFE

Packing a Trunk

Elephants in East Africa are on the move to escape the greatest threat to their existence

HUMANS HAVE LONG BEEN AWARE OF THE danger posed by poachers. A study published in the peer-reviewed *Ecological Indicators* journal in September suggests that elephants are too, and they've begun moving at night, taking advantage of darkness to avoid them.

The research, carried out by the Kenya-based charity Save the Elephants and the University of Twente in partnership with the Kenya Wildlife Service, used GPS tracking and mortality data collected in northern Kenya between 2002 and 2012. The data helped calculate a "night-day speed ratio"—the amount of time spent moving during each of these periods—of elephants in relation to levels of poaching in the nearby areas. When poaching threats were greatest, both male and female elephants traveled and ate more at night than during the day. These activities make them visible to hunters; under the cover of night, that threat is greatly reduced.

Although the adaptation could be saving their lives, Save the Elephants founder Iain Douglas-Hamilton says, "This alteration in movement behavior has implications for their foraging strategy, reproduction and survival, which are not yet fully understood." Although elephants can see in dim light, baby elephants may lose their mothers in darkness. And searching for food at night could also leave elephants vulnerable to attacks by lions and other predators that hunt in the dark. Elephants' lack of movement at night normally keeps them hidden from these natural threats.

These findings confirm and expand on previous research on elephant behavior, such as a study published in March finding that African elephants in the wild sleep much less than elephants in captivity and spend much of their time fleeing poachers when that danger is present.

Ian Redmond, a consultant who focuses on elephants for the British animal rights organization Born Free Foundation, calls the use of GPS monitoring in this study "a stroke of genius." Tracking when elephants move with this technology could provide clues about poaching levels on a regular basis. That information can be used to alert anti-poaching patrols in time to stop killings: When the GPS indicates nighttime movement, researchers will know that poachers are in the area. "It truly has potential to save elephants' lives," Redmond says.

BY

SOFIA LOTTO PERSIO

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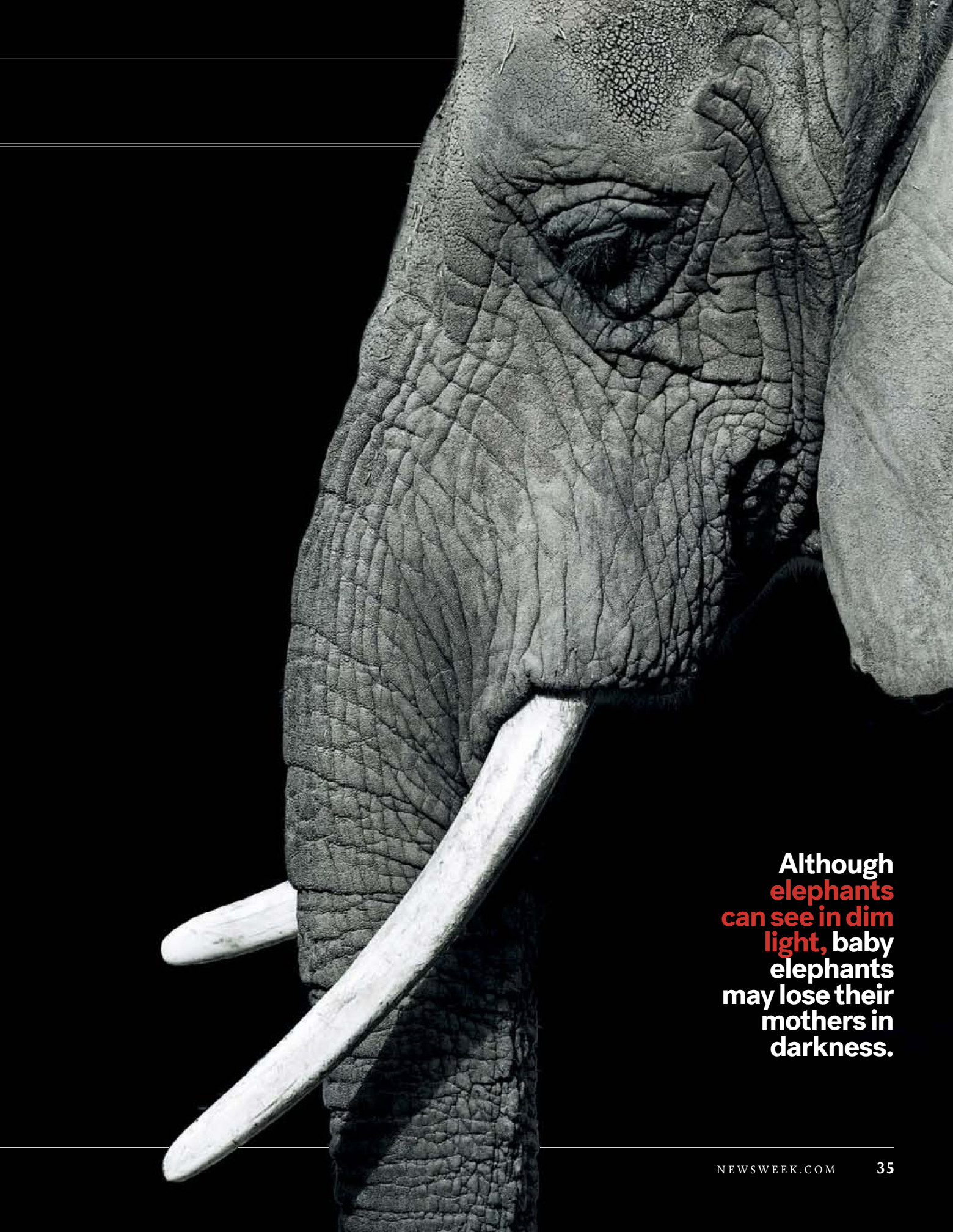
FROM LEFT: WORLDWIDE FEATURES / BARCROFT MEDIA; KRZYSZTOF HANUSIAK PHOTOGRAPHY/GETTY

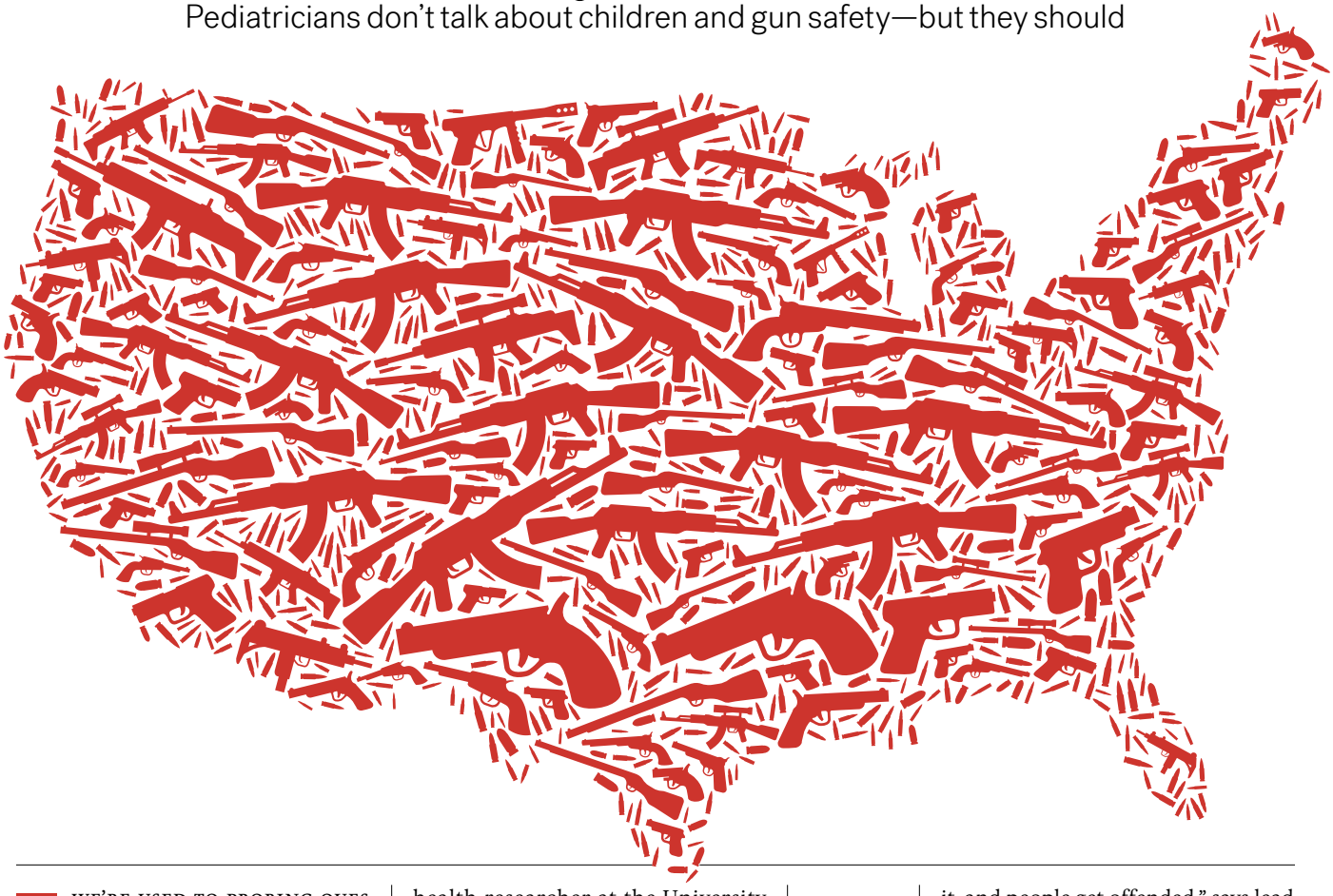


Although elephants can see in dim light, baby elephants may lose their mothers in darkness.

MEDICINE

Baby Bullets

Pediatricians don't talk about children and gun safety—but they should



WE'RE USED TO PROBING QUESTIONS from our doctors. "Are you vaccinated? Do you smoke? Are you sexually active? Do you own a gun?" Well, maybe not that last one.

We expect doctors to talk about habits that may affect our health, and that's also true of the pediatricians who take care of our children by educating parents about how to minimize risks. "Pediatricians are comfortable talking about seat belts and poisons and stuff because we all, just through living, have exposure to those things," says Garen Wintemute, an emergency room doctor and public health researcher at the University of California, Davis. Other risks, like smoking, physicians may not experience firsthand but discuss extensively in medical schools so are comfortable bringing up with patients. Wintemute says that's often not the case when it comes to another common health risk: firearms. That discomfort is clear in results of a survey of pediatric emergency doctors presented September 15 at the conference of the American Academy of Pediatrics.

"I think there's a politically charged nature to it, and people get offended," says lead researcher Sheryl Yanger, an emergency pediatrician at the Ann and Robert H. Lurie Children's Hospital of Chicago. "There's just a lot of emotions to thinking about gun ownership."

Currently, physicians don't get much help navigating those emotions. That's despite the fact that gun deaths and injuries are both preventable and prevalent. According to data gathered by the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 33,594 Americans were killed in 2014 with guns and 84,997 were non-fatally injured in 2015 by a firearm. Each year in the

BY

MEGHAN BARTELS

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U.S., about 1,300 children die and almost 6,000 are injured by guns.

The preventability of gun injuries is what particularly inspired Yanger to look at how emergency doctors, who regularly screen patients for dangers but often do so under tight time pressure, handle the issue. So she asked 185 pediatric emergency doctors about their political beliefs (66.8 percent were Democrats), their gun ownership (11.6 percent have a gun in their home), how they handle the topic when talking to patients and any obstacles they face during the conversation.

According to the survey, pediatricians are more likely to talk to their patients about gun safety if they believe their action will prevent an injury, if they feel confident providing the information and if they feel like it's their responsibility to do so. On the other hand, obstacles include political concerns, not having adequate information available and worries that talking about guns isn't legal.

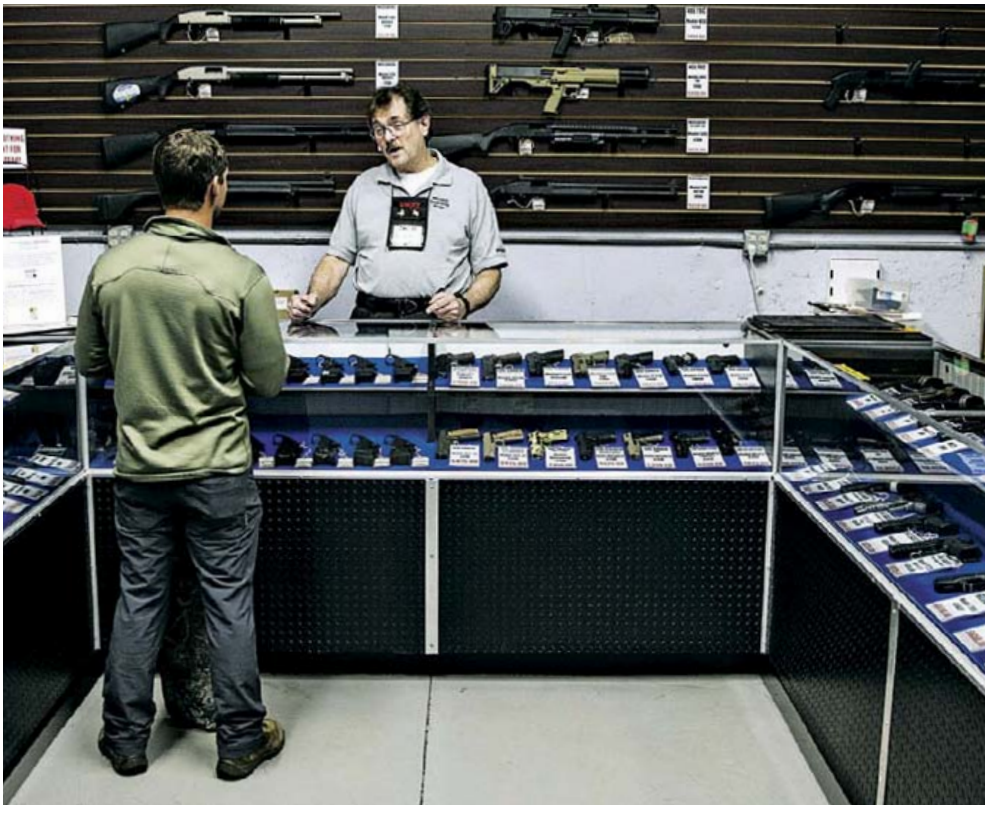
Yanger hopes the survey will encourage schools and professional groups to give doctors the information and techniques (and motivation) they need to start discussing gun safety. The results aren't necessarily surprising, but having hard data shows the need for more training.

Wintemute, who wasn't involved in the survey, anticipates general groups, including the American Medical Association, as well as state-level and specialist organizations, becoming more vocal in gun discussions. That's in part because of a court decision in February that overturned a Florida gag rule that prevented doctors from asking whether their patients own a gun. That has reduced concerns that such conversations could result in lawsuits, which had been a key concern.

Gun risks vary with the patient's age, Wintemute adds. For children, typically the risk at home is what doctors call "unintentional exposure," when they stumble on a firearm accidentally. As children grow up, suicide and homicide also become concerns. For adults, sometimes a partner's firearm is more dangerous than their own. All of those risks require a physician asking different questions and offering different information depending on the answers.

Those details can make talking about gun safety daunting for those unfamiliar with guns. Between 13 and 41 percent of physicians own guns, compared with 36 percent of Americans as a whole. "For a physician, if I have no personal exposure to guns, and the people I socialize with don't either, I'm walking into another culture" to ask about gun ownership, Wintemute says of his colleagues. "And they're understandably reluctant to do that." Talking about that hesitation is the first step to getting the training they need to keep children safe. N

Each year in the U.S., about 1,300 children die and almost 6,000 are injured by guns.



BABES IN ARMS The risk guns pose depends on age: For young children, the worry is unintentional exposure in the home, when a child stumbles upon a loaded gun owned by a parent.

FROM LEFT: ALEX BELOMLINSKY/GETTY; SAMUEL CORUM/ANADOLU AGENCY/GETTY

SCIENCE

Do Jellyfish Dream of Electric Sheep?

Figuring out if brainless creatures need their Z's can lead to sleepless nights for researchers

DANITA DELIMONT/GETTY

WE'RE INTIMATELY FAMILIAR with what a sleeping human looks like, or a sleeping dog or bird. But what does a sleeping ant look like—or a sleeping jellyfish? Despite spending a third of our lives asleep, we still haven't cracked all its secrets, but becoming more adept at recognizing the state in other species could explain why sleep is so important to us.

Sleep—or at least some activity that looks an awful lot like it—is pretty common for all living creatures: among not just humans and our close relatives but also birds, reptiles, fish, insects and even a microscopic worm, called *Caenorhabditis elegans*, found in many science labs.

Still, while scientists haven't yet confirmed that any animal can go without sleep, they also aren't convinced that all animals need it. That's particularly true of animals that don't even have brains. So when a trio of Caltech grad students noticed some laboratory jellyfish were acting differently when the lights were turned off, they decided to investigate. "We just went in one night...with our iPhones and some pretty simple apparatuses, and we filmed them," Michael Abrams, one of the three lead authors on the new *Current Biology* paper summarizing their findings, tells *Newsweek*. "You could really clearly, by eye, see a change in the behavior between the light and the dark."

The jellyfish, called *Cassiopea*, are nicknamed upside-down jellyfish for their preference to hang out in shallow waters near the seafloor with their tentacles up. *Cassiopea* are intriguing to scientists because they have a nervous system but a very simple one—instead of a centralized brain like ours, they have a network of nerves spread through their bodies.

The jellyfish pulse their bells (the non-tentacle portions of jellyfish), creating currents around their bodies. "They're pretty big, and it's a big movement," says Claire Bedbrook, another Caltech grad student on the team. And this is what the researchers noticed that first night watching the tank—the jellyfish pulsed less at night than during the day. That observation sent them on a three-year quest to determine whether what they were seeing met the definition of sleep.

While you probably don't think about it each night as you put on pajamas, there is a biological definition of sleep, based on three criteria. The body has to move less and be less aware of stimuli—but those characteristics must be readily able to turn off (otherwise, you're in a coma). And there's something called homeostatic regulation, a fancy way of saying that after you go without sleep for a long time, you sleep extra to catch up.

So Abrams, Bedbrook and fellow graduate student Ravi Nath designed a sequence of experiments that could methodically determine whether those boxes could be checked for *Cassiopea*.

In order to do so, the team needed to figure out a way of interrupting whatever sleep the jellyfish might be getting. "We had to be pretty creative," Abrams says, as they needed some kind of prod or nudge they could replicate precisely without the jellyfish getting used to it and ignoring it.

BY

MEGHAN BARTELS

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WAKE-UP CALL Researchers had to prod the jellyfish out of what seemed to be their sleep state without scaring them, or boring them so much that they slept through their "alarm clock."

That meant thinking like a jellyfish, Bedbrook says. One of the runner-up techniques, putting the *Cassiopea* in a flask and shaking it, visibly stressed out the jellyfish and was discarded. "This is a real issue in sleep research," Bedbrook added.

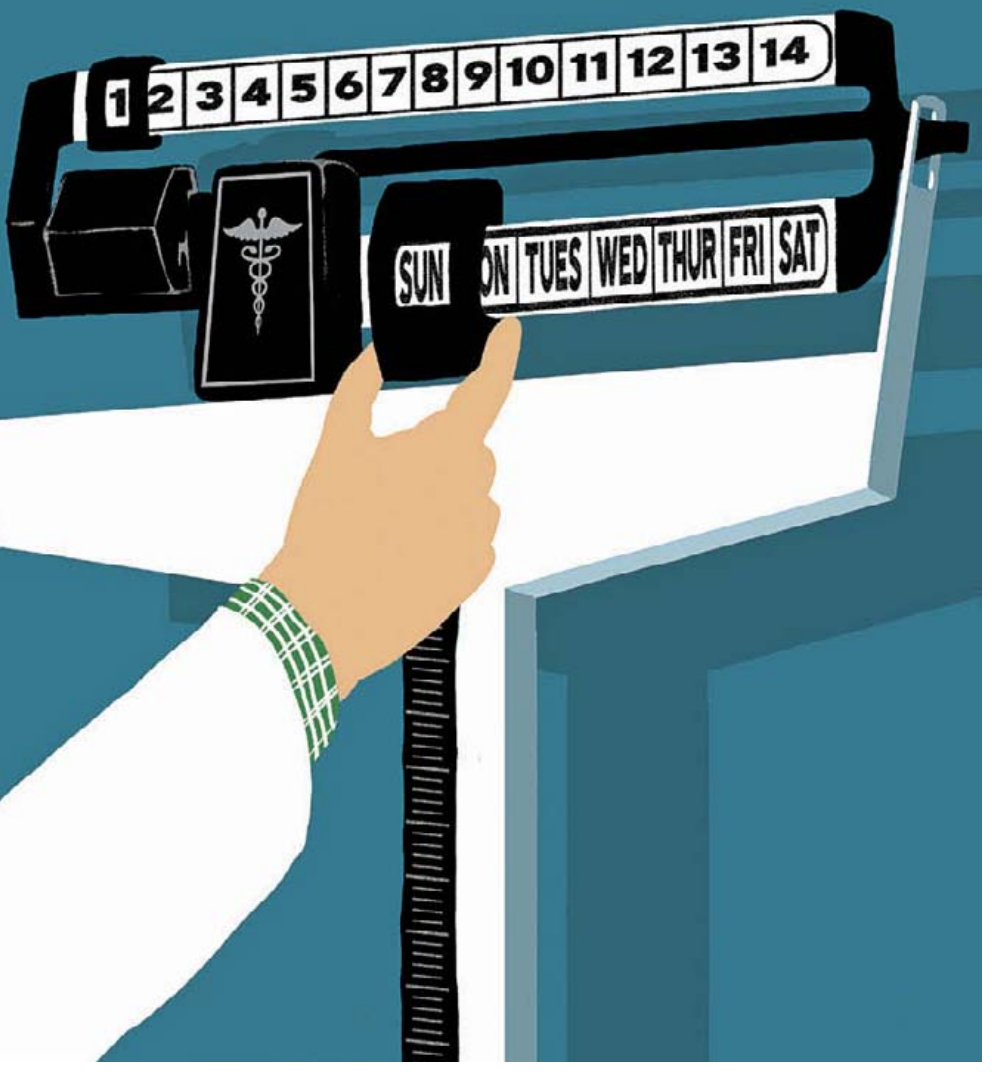
They settled on a jellyfish elevator of sorts: a tube with a netted bottom. When they wanted to nudge a *Cassiopea*, they used the tube to lift the jellyfish up from its hangout at the bottom of the tank. Then they lowered the tube and let the jellyfish sink back, which Nath imagines is like a human waking up from dreaming of falling.

One downside of sleep research: keeping jellyfish awake also means keeping graduate students awake.

Once they had their perfect wake-up nudge, the researchers started running the experiments. (And yes, keeping jellyfish awake also means keeping graduate students awake.) They counted jellyfish pulses during the day and at night, after feeding and after fasting, while nudging them awake throughout the night, and during the day after a restless night. Step by step, their results checked off each component of a sleep-like state, plus the possibility that they were just seeing the effects of tired muscles. All told, they think *Cassiopea* really do sleep, even if it isn't exactly how humans do.

Bedbrook is eager to see whether other researchers find similar behaviors in their own jellyfish and other brainless species whose sleep habits haven't yet been closely studied. That would tell scientists something important about the value of sleep, according to Isabella Capellini, a researcher at the University of Hull in the U.K. who has studied the evolution of sleep. If all species that have no brains sleep, she wrote in an email to multiple media outlets, "the presumed benefits of sleep are more universal and far more broadly shared across the tree of life than previously thought; sleep is in essence evolutionarily older than we thought." It would also mean that sleep has a purpose beyond simply letting the brain rest.

So next time insomnia comes to visit your bedroom, consider counting jellyfish for inspiration. N



HEALTH

The Weight Wait

The benefit of on-and-off dieting for weight loss has taken researchers by surprise

GOOD NEWS FOR THOSE WHO suffer from lack of willpower when it comes to weight loss: A new study indicates that breaking up with your diet for two weeks could help shrink your waistline. No matter the diet regimen a person chooses, weight loss inevitably slows at some point. Researchers from the University of Tasmania in Australia suspected that alternating two weeks of dieting with two weeks of normal eating could help people push past this plateau.

To test their theory, they enrolled 51 obese men for a study comparing a steady diet with one that had breaks. One group reduced calorie consumption by about one-third of their individual needs for 16 weeks straight. The experimental group followed the same calorie restrictions for two weeks and then ditched the diet for the next two, repeating the cycle for 16 weeks.

By the end of study, published in the *International Journal of Obesity*, the intermittent dieters had lost 47 percent more weight than the constant dieters. And the men who took breaks maintained, on average, an 18-pound loss six months after the study—an impressive outcome considering many people fail to hold their goal weights after dieting.

The experimental approach avoided the dreaded diet plateau, the halt in reduction that often happens after a few weeks. Why? Our resting metabolic rate slows when we cut calories, leaving our bodies less efficient at shedding weight, a phenomenon that is crucial for survival but frustrating for stalwart dieters. The intermittent approach avoided that slowdown. "Somehow, they're kind of keeping the body on its toes," says Krista Varady, an outside researcher who studies nutrition and weight loss at the University of Illinois.

Varady emphasizes that the breaks weren't cheat days—participants in that group maintained their weight during the off period but weren't necessarily splurging. Still, she thinks it's probably safe to indulge a bit during a month of dieting, "just as long as it doesn't psychologically derail people."

BY

MELISSA MATTHEWS

@M_Matthews

Illustration by DAVE DEVOLL

Tinalbarka wants to be a lawyer.
She and her family fled violence in Mali.

We stand together #WithRefugees

PHOTO: © UNHCR / A. DRAGAJ

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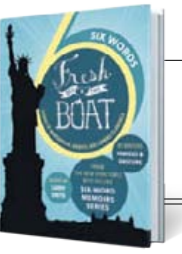
MUSIC

Do It Again...and Again

The iconic blues solo on Steely Dan's hit single "Peg" required one week, seven guitarists and a whole lot of replays

A TAKE ON DACA THAT'S FRESH OFF THE BOAT
How the TV show's writers address the present from the past. » P.46



MICHAEL OCHS ARCHIVES/GETTY

MAJOR DUDES
Fagen, left, and Becker in 1978, a year after the release of their best-selling album *Aja*, which included "Peg."

STEELY DAN WAS BORN AT BARD COLLEGE in 1967, where co-founders Donald Fagen and Walter Becker met. The duo's singular, sophisticated jazz-pop—with obscure, often cryptic lyrics—had fans poring over their albums the way religious scholars study Scripture, and, by the mid-'70s, Fagen and Becker were taking obsessive pains to achieve it. Their approach—odd, neurotic and involving a revolving door of session musicians—turned them into musical auteurs of sorts but made finishing a Steely Dan record challenging and very expensive. "What they might waste on two or three days—most artists like me could make an entire record for that," says guitarist Steve Khan, who played on numerous Dan tracks.

With their sixth album, 1977's *Aja*, that attention to detail resulted in a remarkable distillation of their anti-band vision (more than 35 mostly jazz musicians worked on the album), as well as a double-platinum Grammy winner and Steely Dan's best-selling album. *Newsweek* spoke to some of those who worked on the record's biggest hit single, "Peg," a funky number meticulously built from the drums up. Fagen and Becker, who died in September at 67, were known for keeping the atmosphere in the studio light. "There were always a lot of laughs," says guitarist Elliott Randall, a Dan regular. Still, "Peg" was particularly arduous; it would take a full week to record just the expressive, squealing guitar solo after the first chorus.

BY
ZACH SCHONFELD
@zzzzaaaaccchhh

Steve Khan (rhythm guitar on "Peg"): Most of the in-the-studio direction came from Donald. He was out there with us while Walter and Gary [Katz, their producer] were in the control room. To get a track past all three of them was next to impossible. If two liked it, one would veto it just to exercise his authority.... For the entire session [for "Peg"], no one said a single word to me. Nothing! I was fully expecting to be erased, something they were famous for. At one point, I went into the control room and quietly said to the sound engineer, Elliot [Scheiner], "Is what I'm playing working? Do they like what I'm doing?" Elliot said, "Yes! They love it! They would have said something to you if it wasn't." I left the studio thinking they were going to erase everything.

Elliot Scheiner (sound engineer): When we did things like "Peg," a band would come in and record. Two hours later, Walter and Don would look at Gary, their producer, and say, "Fire this band. Let's go with somebody else tomorrow night." It would be different bands every night to get the same song.

Khan: For the "Peg" intro they said to me, "Do you have anything you can do to spice it up—a sound, something?" When you've been recording long enough, you learn to just say yes to everything. So I pulled out an MXR Flanger [a gizmo that replicates sounds like jet planes or rocket ships] and turned the regeneration knob all the way up. I'd never done this before, and I never did it again—it's such a tasteless sound. I totally expected them to say, "Are you crazy? Turn that shit off." But for some reason they liked it!

"Peg" called for a guitar solo after the first chorus. In Dan Breithaupt's book Steely Dan's Aja, *Fagen recalled that Becker took a stab at it. "I liked what he did, as I recall, but he didn't.... So we started calling guys." According to some accounts, as many as seven guitarists tried to nail it, among them producer and guitarist Rick Derringer and Randall, who was responsible for the masterful solo on Dan's 1972 single "Reelin' in the Years."*

Rick Derringer: I worked with them for a while. They were very happy with it.

Elliott Randall: I'm sure each of us walked out of the studio feeling really good about it. To be honest, I don't think I could remember the content of [my] solo even under hypnosis.

Derringer: I was one of the first guys in line to get that single when it came out. I put it on, and it wasn't me [on the solo]! For a couple years, I thought, Oh man, I guess it wasn't what they wanted. I spoke to Gary later, and he told me, "No, nothing like that. What happened was the recording got degraded, and the solo was messed up. Something screwed up technically." I was relieved to hear it was just a technical issue.

Scheiner: Rick was there for three or four hours. The minute he left, Walter looked at me and said, "Erase it." I said, "OK." You never questioned it. You didn't say, "Come on, really?" It was over.

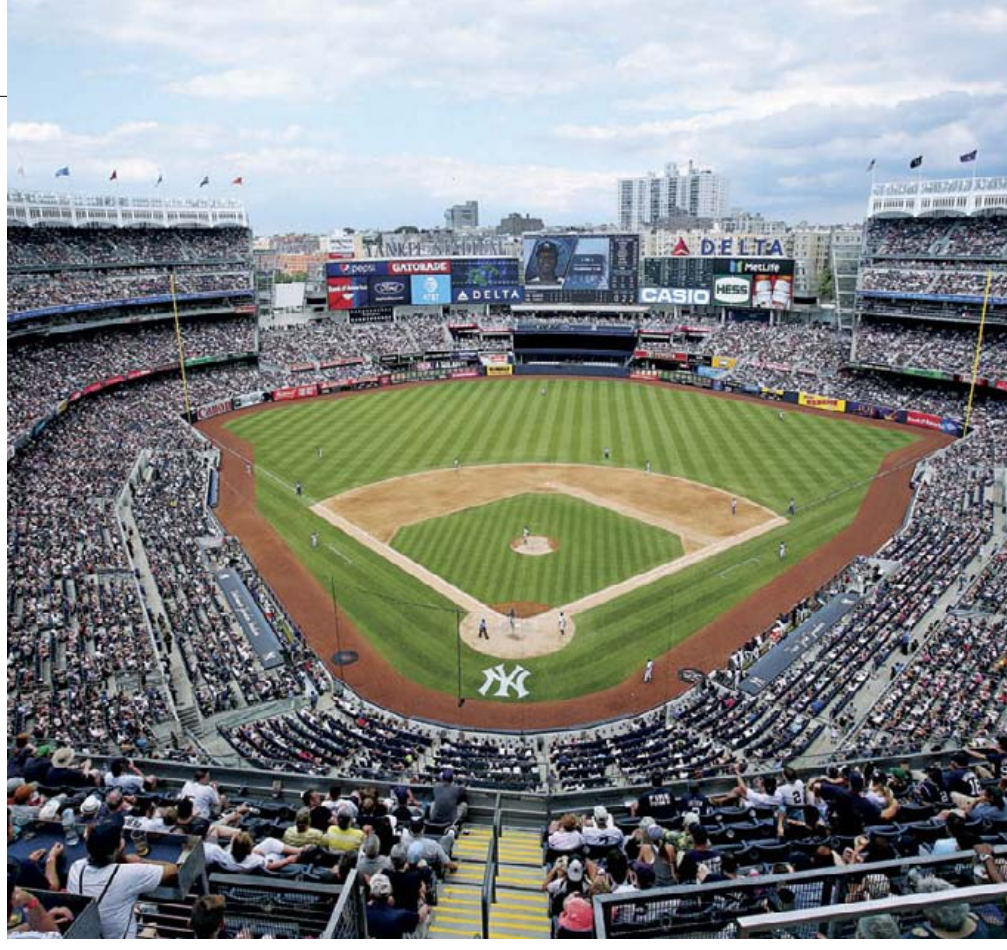
Fagen told Breithaupt, "We were embarrassed for [the musicians] and for us. We felt silly spending all this money for one brief blues solo." Finally, the band recruited Los Angeles guitarist Jay Graydon, who jumped at the chance to play on a Dan record "because that's the most musical you can get and still be commercial."

Jay Graydon: I found out I was the seventh guy. For about an hour and a half, I'm playing my hip, melodic kind of jazz style. Then Donald says to me, "Nah, man. Try to play the blues." I play bluesy for a while. I get melodic for a while. I get bluesy again. Then I get melodic and bluesy. I can't explain it any further. I just did what my musical brain told me to do. And my fingers followed....When I walked out of the studio at the end of the night, I didn't know it was a keeper. I turned the radio on one day, and there it was. I thought, Hey, I made it!

GRAYDON HAS SINCE PLAYED ON hundreds of recordings and won two Grammys, but it's those 30 seconds on "Peg," recorded in 1977, that people still want to talk about.

Of the many tutorial videos on YouTube dedicated to replicating his "Peg" solo, Graydon says, "Every one that I've seen is wrong! Nobody plays it properly. I crack up when I see this stuff." He will concede that he set a high bar. "It's not easy to play the first couple of bars—a double stop bend."

Graydon misses those earlier days of musicianship. "You can make anything perfect now, with [editing software]. Back then there was no help, man. Before Pro Tools, there were pros!" N



SPORTS

Long Ball Sally

The record-breaking barrage of home runs has major leaguers climbing the fences

↗ THIS PAST SUMMER SAW NO shortfall of long balls: Major league hitters walloped 6,105 round-trippers, eclipsing the single-season record by nearly 10 percent. That barrage of bombastic blasts put Philadelphia Phillies rookie Rhys Hoskins at a disadvantage. Hoskins swatted 18 home runs in his first 34 games, the quickest to that total in major league history. If this were any other year, that would be news, but in 2017 Hoskins's feat is little more than a Philadelphia story.

Records are now a weekly event. On September 22, Cody Bellinger of the Los Angeles Dodgers broke the National League record for home runs by a rookie with his 39th, which is where he finished. (Bellinger's father, Clay, by the way, played three full major league seasons and amassed just 12 home runs.) Three days later, Aaron Judge of the New York Yankees wiped out the major league rookie record for four-baggers by clouting his 50th. He finished the season with 52.

Giancarlo Stanton of the Miami Marlins redirected 59 pitches beyond outfield perimeters. Only two big-leaguers outside of the tainted trio of Barry Bonds, Mark McGwire and Sammy Sosa (turn-of-the-millennium

Our national pastime's long-range capabilities this year would make a Korean dictator blush.

steroidal sluggers) reached 60: Roger Maris (61) and Babe Ruth (60).

Sluggers used to strut toward home plate—or trot around the bases—armed with imposing noms de guerre such as "the Sultan of Swat" or "Hammerin' Hank." Nowadays, "Scooter" will suffice. On June 6, Ryan "Scooter" Gennett, a 5-foot-10-inch second baseman for the Cincinnati Reds, equaled a major league mark by hitting four home runs in one game. Compare Gennett with '50s Yankee shortstop Phil "Scooter" Rizzuto, who failed to hit four home runs in nine of his 13 Hall of Fame seasons. Our national pastime's long-range capabilities this year would make a Korean dictator blush.

It's looking as if the two opening-day home runs San Francisco Giants pitcher Madison Bumgarner smote—the first pitcher ever to do so on opening day in a league that dates back to 1876—was some kind of harbinger. But why balls are flying over walls at an unprecedented pace remains unclear. Mark Stewart, co-author of *Long Ball: The Legend and Lore of the Home Run*, has a partial explanation: "There's no shame in striking out anymore. It's a lot easier to get good wood on the ball with a full, confident swing."

It's also a lot more likely that you will strike out. The 23 highest (worst?) single-season strikeout totals by hitters in the game's 141 seasons have all come since 2004. The Yankees' Judge, a 6-foot-7-inch phenom who may be voted the league's MVP as a rookie, whiffed a major league-high 208 times this season. Not that his scores of Yankee fans—who don black robes and proclaim "All rise!" as he strides to the plate—care.

Mighty Casey keeps striking out, but there is no joy lost in Mudville because he is likely to have a multi-homer game tomorrow. Hall of Famer Reggie Jackson, who as a slugger in the 1970s would appear to corkscrew himself into the earth on missed swings, is renowned for becoming the first major leaguer to hit three home runs in a World Series game. Fewer baseball fans know that Jackson is baseball's all-time strikeout king, with 2,597. Like Mr. October cares. "Fans don't boo nobodies," Jackson once said.

BENCH MARK Yankee Stadium in New York (left) where Aaron Judge (below) broke Mark McGwire's 1987 rookie home run record on September 25.

Stewart believes that every home run begins with a pitch, and as major league hitters grow bigger and stronger, Stewart believes that the men standing on the mound are complicit in the home run uptick. "Pitching is very much like jujitsu, where the object is to get your opponent off balance," says Stewart. "For a pitcher, that means mixing speeds or having a quality secondary pitch [e.g., a slider]. Fewer and fewer pitchers approach their craft this way. It's all about throwing heat."

To put it in boxing terms, no one throws jabs anymore; it's all about haymakers. In the dead ball era, which ended roughly the same time as World War I, hitters approached at-bats defensively and striking out was humiliating (hence the dramatic tension of Ernest Thayer's poem "Casey at the Bat," published in 1888). In the 1915 World Series, Phillies outfielder Gavvy Cravath, who would lead the National League in home runs six times, came to bat with the bases loaded. His manager gave him the bunt sign; Cravath bunted into a double play. Such an order being given—or followed—a century later is unimaginable. The diamond has morphed into a driving range. "Now you've got batting instructors having discussions about 'launch angle,'" says Stewart, laughing, as if baseball really is rocket science.

The change was stoked, as were so many aspects of baseball, by Babe Ruth, "the first guy to take such humongous swings that when he missed, he'd often lose his balance and topple to the ground," says Stewart. "But such was the Babe's talent that the fans cheered almost as boisterously when he fell as when he hit one out."

Fans don't boo nobodies. Nor do they cheer them. N

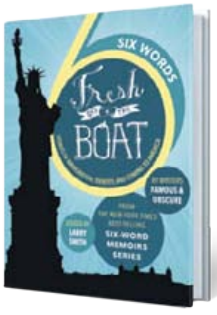
FROM LEFT: CHRISTOPHER PASATIERI/GETTY; ADAM HUNGER/GETTY

TELEVISION

Two Immigrants Walk Into a Bar

The writers of the ABC sitcom *Fresh Off the Boat* find the relatable humor in the Republican assault on DACA (and you thought you had a hard job)

IMMIGRANTS FOUNDED Hollywood (Eastern Europeans named Mayer and Zukor and Laemmle), but you can count the TV shows about them on two hands—and for a long time, not even on one hand. At the dawn of TV, you had a Cuban named Ricky on *I Love Lucy*. Then decades of white suburban families named Bunker and Brady and Bundy. Occasionally, a black family would bust through the Caucasian clutter—the Evans family of *Good Times*, the Jeffersons, the Huxtables, the Johnsons of *Black-ish*—but immigrant families? It wasn't until 1994 that a show was built around such a family. That sitcom, *All-American Girl,* starred Margaret Cho as the daughter of Korean-born parents. It lasted one season. *The George Lopez* show, which began in 2002, hung around for six.



Here we are in 2017, with roughly 48 million immigrants in this country, and we have a grand total of four shows featuring immigrant families: the CW's *Jane the Virgin* (Hispanic daughter of an immigrant mother), Netflix's Cuban-American reboot of *One Day at a Time*, Aziz Ansari's *Master of None* and *Fresh Off the Boat*, based on celebrity chef Eddie Huang's eponymous memoir, which debuted on ABC in 2015. The fictional version of his Taiwanese family is navigating life in Orlando, Florida, where Tiger mom Jessica (Constance Wu) and husband Louis (Randall Park) own a steakhouse, Cattleman's Ranch, while raising three sons.

FOTB began its fourth season October 3, and what were threats when the series ended in the spring have deepened into harsh laws. Most recently, President Donald Trump began to dismantle the Obama era's Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals program. DACA protects 800,000 young, undocumented immigrants from being deported. The show, which has one of the most diverse writing staffs in TV, is set in the '90s, and you might think that cancels out topicality. But Nahnatchka Khan, the show's creator and executive producer, says, "When we researched the hot-button issues [back then], we were surprised at how we're still talking about the same things." So, for example, in an episode that aired a week before Trump

BY

ABIGAIL JONES
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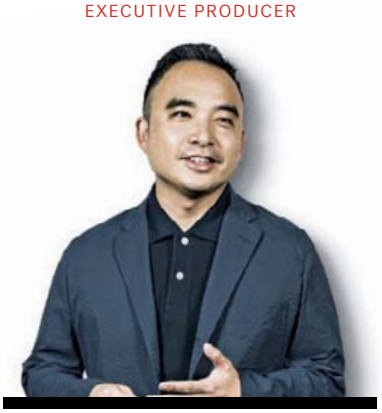
Made it in America

SIX-WORD MEMOIRS FROM *FRESH OFF THE BOAT'S* CREATIVE TEAM.

"I owe it to my father."
Melvin Mar
EXECUTIVE PRODUCER



"Thanksgiving dinner with samosas and turkey."
Rachna Fruchbom
CO-PRODUCER

"Warning! Land of opportunity includes stand-up."
Shen Wang
EXECUTIVE STORY EDITOR

was elected, Jessica learns that the restaurant's cook might be an undocumented immigrant; she calls the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service, only to learn her own status is in question because she failed to renew her green card. "That episode was a perfect way to talk about now," says Khan.

Khan is a first-generation American; her parents were born in Iran, and she grew up in Las Vegas. "You spend your childhood translating, and explaining to parents why you need those Air Jordans," she says. "My dad is here legally, but he's not an American citizen. What if I'd been born in Iran, not Vegas, and my parents had brought me here? What's happening now is all very personal for us."

Writer rooms in Hollywood, long a bastion of white male Ivy Leaguers, are finally beginning to reflect the diversity of America. Of Khan's staff of 15, seven are women, three are gay, and seven are nonwhite, including Indian, Taiwanese, Japanese, half-Chinese and Asian-Hawaiian-Chinese. "It's America!" she says of her writers. "This is how we change the game from the inside."

Executive producer Melvin Mar grew up in Los Angeles, in the only Asian family in a predominantly Latino neighborhood, where he was dangled upside down on the playground like Long Duk Dong, the stereotypical foreign exchange student in *Sixteen Candles*. "In my own family background, there's a history of illegal immigration to America at the turn of the century," Mar says. "Since then, it's been rectified, but the DACA thing still hit home in a crazy way. The show has to be that voice on television. It needs to be there. There are kids trying to figure out if they're going to be sent away to a place that's not their home. That's not the way the country was built."

"I learned Hinduism from Urban Outfitters."
Sanjay Shah
CO-EXECUTIVE PRODUCER

"Still amazed they let me in."
David Smithyman
CO-PRODUCER

"We exist because the stories exist."
Nahnatchka Khan
EXECUTIVE PRODUCER

A new book addresses that. *Six Words Fresh Off the Boat: Stories of Immigration, Identity, and Coming to America* is the ninth in Larry Smith's *Six-Word Memoirs* franchise, which has turned brevity into a best-selling art form. In addition to contributions from the show's cast and writers, the book includes six-word memoirs from some of America's most famous immigrants, including Madeleine Albright ("In 1948, I was a refugee"), director M. Night Shyamalan ("My accent has become my voice"), Huffington Post founder Arianna Huffington ("Another Greek odyssey, thriving in America") and fashion designer Narciso Rodriguez ("Immigrant son proudly dresses First Lady").

Back in 1971, with *All in the Family*, Norman Lear proved that hot-to-the-touch cultural issues go down easier with comedy. Khan is one of his TV creator descendants. "It's a sitcom—you're making people laugh—but you're making them laugh by showing them characters and situations they haven't considered before," she says. "Or they take away from it, 'Wow, I don't share their background or culture, but I relate to them.' Finding that common ground and universality is at the core of these debates: What does it mean to be an American?"

The answer can be found in *Six Words Fresh Off the Boat* memoirs like this: "Refugee went from burkas to bachelors." And this: "Salvadoran immigrant raises US Navy diver." And this: "From farm worker to NASA." N

You might think a show set in the '90s cancels out topicality, but "we're still talking about the same things."

EMILY BERL/TWENTIETH CENTURY FOX TELEVISON (6)

Photographs by EMILY BERL

Illustration by BRITT SPENCER

PARTING SHOT

Rachel Bloom

AMONG RACHEL BLOOM'S MANY GIFTS IS THE ABILITY TO WRITE A SONG about virtually anything. The co-creator of the CW's Golden Globe–winning sitcom *Crazy Ex-Girlfriend* (returning October 13) even wrote a little ditty about pedophilia, "I Love My Daughter (But Not in a Creepy Way)"—not a surprise, perhaps, to fans of her career-making 2010 music video "Fuck Me, Ray Bradbury." *Ex-Girlfriend*—an hour of musical television that is at once raunchy and hilarious, dark and sparkly—stars Bloom as the perversely optimistic Rebecca Bunch, a New York lawyer who, in Season 1, dropped everything to return to California in pursuit of her high school boyfriend. Things didn't go well, then they did, then they didn't again. The new season will continue to explore obsessive love and female friendship, as well as introduce a third theme song, directed by Joseph Kahn. "He just directed Taylor Swift's 'Look What You Made Me Do,' as well as all of Episode 4. The musical numbers in that are stellar!" says Bloom, who spoke to *Newsweek* about another of her show's themes.

"That's when you get into trouble, when you see people as villains, or as binary good and evil."

Rebecca suffers from depression and possibly a personality disorder. Does Trump and the so-called alt-right's desire to overturn Affordable Care Act figure into the new season?

Not specifically—current events move too quickly for us to address. But what's happening politically *has* made us swing more towards what we've always done. The show is about relationships; we're interested in exploring the humanity in everyone, in finding common ground. It started last season with Nathaniel [Rebecca's boss at the law firm]. We haven't really dug into him yet, but he's probably a classic, old-school Republican—definitely way more fiscally conservative than someone like Rebecca. But part of what I love about that character is taking an alpha male and going, "OK, what's made him that way? What's his soft underbelly?"

We have a song in Season 1, "I'm a Villain in My Own Story"—that's when you get into trouble, when you see people as villains, or as binary good and evil. That's not what people are, and I can express that in a song better than I can in a tweet. I feel very helpless using social media to try and change people's minds; everyone is just shouting at each other.

Given the lengths Rebecca goes to for an ex, what's the most embarrassing thing you've ever done for an ex-boyfriend?

Made a TV show called *Crazy Ex-Girlfriend*. He knows who he is.

—Anna Menta

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