

TIME

RISING  
SEAS.  
FLEEING  
RESIDENTS.  
DISAPPEARING  
VILLAGES.

# OUR SINKING PLANET

by  
JUSTIN  
WORLAND

**U.N. Secretary-General  
António Guterres**  
off the coast of Tuvalu,  
one of the world's most  
vulnerable countries.  
Facing a rise in global sea  
levels, island nations are  
leading the fight against  
climate change



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A surge of measles cases hasn't stopped grassroots groups from opposing mandatory shots  
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*People flood the streets of Hong Kong in protest of a proposed extradition bill on June 9*

*Photograph by Thomas Peter—Reuters*

**ON THE COVER:**  
*Photograph by Christopher Gregory for TIME*

# Conversation



## WHAT YOU SAID ABOUT...

**BUILDING A BETTER BERNIE** Readers hailed Anand Giridharadas for the balance of his June 17 profile of 2020 U.S. presidential hopeful Bernie Sanders, which Nova Sauli of Jacksonville, N.C., called an “insightful” story on the candidate’s pros and cons. For George Reid of Pleasanton, Calif., the proof was in David Brandon Geeting’s cover photo of the Senator as a “smiling, optimistic, confident leader” in contrast to the more common “scowling” portrayal.

(“Maybe he was dreaming of the socialist utopia that he wants to impose on the rest of us,” wrote Igor Shpudejko of Goodyear, Ariz.) But Tom Hardenbergh of Bath, Mich., was left feeling that Sanders’ candidacy at age 77 was part of a larger problem for Democrats, whom he sees as “fixated” on defeating Trump and “not thinking about what comes next.”

**HOW BRITAIN WENT BONKERS** Fans of the artist Cold War Steve loved the June 17 international cover, featuring his illustration

satirizing Brexit; it was “a silver lining on our agonising descent into Brexit hell,” tweeted @KayneSheppard. The story by Jonathan Coe scored on the point that Brits’ humor “prevents us discussing seriously issues at play in our country,” wrote @HelenBryant14, while @alanferrier wrote that

Tina Brown’s accompanying essay asked “the question that historians will be asking for decades: ‘When and how did Britain lose its mind over #Brexit?’”

**This nation was already broken. Brexit just exposed it.**

@SORBIQ,  
on Twitter

**You captured the man so perfectly ... that is why we love him.**

STEPHANIE RIVERA,  
Fairfield, Iowa

### FOOD FOR THOUGHT

On TIME.com, learn why Los Angeles is called “the doughnut capital of America.” Hundreds of independent doughnut shops in the area are owned by Cambodian refugees and immigrants, many of whom came to the U.S. after fleeing the Khmer Rouge in the 1970s and ’80s. See Theo Stroomer’s photographs of the people making these delicacies, as well as their tasty creations—including a glittery tribute to the singer Selena (right) at Donas in Downey, Calif.—at [time.com/donut-photos](http://time.com/donut-photos)



### Back in TIME

Vaccines  
March 29, 1954

Sixty-five years before this week’s feature on the anti-vaccine movement (page 38), TIME’s cover highlighted the work of Jonas Salk, inventor of the polio vaccine. A polio researcher called that year’s mass trials of the Salk vaccine “the greatest gamble in medical history”; the last case of polio that originated within the U.S. was recorded 25 years later. Read the story at [time.com/vault](http://time.com/vault)



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# For the Record

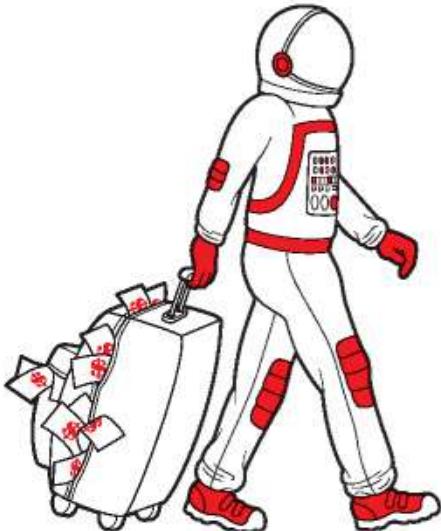
# 'The actions taken by the NYPD were wrong.'

JAMES P. O'NEILL,

New York City police commissioner, on June 6, in the NYPD's first apology for its June 28, 1969, raid on the Stonewall Inn, a gay bar in Manhattan's West Village; the patrons who fought back are considered by many to have launched the modern LGBTQ-rights movement

# 13-0

Final score in the U.S.-Thailand Women's World Cup match on June 11; the U.S. team set a new scoring record for the tournament



# \$58 million

Estimated cost of a round-trip ticket to the International Space Station; NASA announced June 7 that private citizens would soon be able to pay their way

**'The encouragement is not coming from a sense of "How great it would be!" It's from fear'**

MINDY KALING, actor, arguing that Hollywood casts are getting more diverse only because studios are afraid of being "called out," in a June 7 New York Times interview

# 'BAD FOR BUSINESS.'

MORE THAN 180 CEOs, representing over 108,000 workers, on a recent wave of restrictive state laws on abortion; in a June 10 open letter, they made an economic argument against such bans

**'What an incredible metaphor this room is ... Behind me, a filled room of 9/11 first responders—and in front of me, a nearly empty Congress.'**

JON STEWART,

former host of Comedy Central's *The Daily Show*, speaking to a subcommittee of the U.S. House Judiciary Committee on June 11 about the delayed reauthorization of the September 11th Victim Compensation Fund

# 43

New world record for most paw shakes (alternating sides) in 30 seconds, set by Rachael Grylls and her Jack Russell terrier Jacob at the May 11-12 DogFest in Hertfordshire, England



TV

Study suggests sleeping with TV on may lead to weight gain in women



Radio

Radiohead delights fans with public release of music stolen by hackers

**'It's time that Africa had its own Stanford and MIT and Harvard.'**

FRED SWANIKER,

Ghanaian entrepreneur, on his vision for the African Leadership University in Mauritius, which he founded four years ago; the school's first graduating class received diplomas on June 12

# The Brief



A MAN, A PLAN  
At the White  
House on June 11,  
President Trump  
holds what he  
said was a page of  
a new migration  
deal with Mexico

INSIDE

PROTESTS OVER PRESS  
FREEDOM IN RUSSIA

YOUTUBE'S EVOLVING POLICY  
ON EXTREMISM

REMEMBERING DR. JOHN'S  
DISTINCTIVE SOUND

# The Brief Opener

TRADE

## The risks of Trump's dollar-driven diplomacy

By John Walcott

CUSTOMS AND BORDER OFFICIALS SAY 144,000 people crossed the U.S. southern border illegally in May, a 13-year high. President Donald Trump has responded with a threat that may have surprised those struggling to stem the flow. On May 30, he vowed to impose escalating tariffs on all Mexican imports, adding a 5% penalty every month on everything from avocados to autos, up to a maximum of 25%, unless Mexico halted the influx of undocumented immigrants.

Migration is not a trade problem, strictly speaking, and the episode revealed a larger truth about Trump's foreign policy. When he is faced with a challenge on the world stage, Trump's reflex is to reach for economic carrots and sticks as a way to advance U.S. interests. From North Korean nuclear weapons to Chinese intellectual-property theft to Central American migration, Trump has adopted dollar-driven diplomacy as his default move, targeting other countries' auto, agricultural and defense sectors, among others.

That's a big break from how past Presidents have handled international affairs. Traditionally, the U.S. has used a variety of diplomatic tools: engaging in lengthy, detailed talks with other countries' diplomats to find areas of possible shared interest; using summits to entice compromise from foreign leaders; and organizing broad alliances with like-minded countries to pressure opponents. That meant more points of influence, experts say, and sent a message that America cared about more than the bottom line.

The results of Trump's approach in the short term have been mixed. More worrying, foreign policy experts from both parties say, is that Trump may harm America's long-term interests by making the U.S. seem fickle and focused only on economic value. His actions "have resulted in fears that the U.S. is no longer powerful, principled and predictable," says Zack Cooper of the conservative-leaning American Enterprise Institute.

**TRUMP CLAIMS HIS APPROACH** is working. On June 7, he announced that he'd put the Mexico tariff threat on hold indefinitely. Mexican President Andrés Manuel López Obrador said on June 8 that he would continue to work with the U.S. on the issue. On June 10, Trump said the U.S.

and Mexico had reached an agreement to curb the influx of migrants from Central America. But details of the supposed deal remain unclear.

Trump has declared victory as a result of trade enticements and threats in practically every corner of the world. Ahead of his June 2018 summit with North Korean dictator Kim Jong Un, Trump dangled the prospect of U.S. investment in the country, telling Kim that North Korea "will be a great economic and financial nation one day." Elsewhere, Trump walked away from the 2015 deal constraining Iran's nuclear program and imposed broad new economic sanctions instead. The approach isn't limited to adversaries. Trump has measured the value of America's relationship with allies—including Japan, South Korea and NATO members—in dollars, demanding that they pay more for collective defense and threatening economic penalties, including charging for U.S. troop deployments, if they don't. Trump threatened Canada with auto tariffs in order to coerce America's closest ally to go along with his plans to modify NAFTA.

Some NATO countries have pledged to up their contributions to the alliance's collective defense; South Korea and Japan have also pledged to spend more on their militaries. The modified NAFTA agreement, not yet ratified, made limited changes to the U.S.-Canada trade relationship. These short-term wins, however, don't make Trump's approach a success. Tariffs on Chinese products have yet to produce a broad trade agreement. And U.S. intelligence agencies warn that instead of bringing Iran and North Korea to their knees, tough economic sanctions may be strengthening their authoritarian rulers by fueling popular resentment, according to four intelligence officials, who described those assessments on the condition of anonymity.

Emphasizing economics over everything else holds longer-term dangers. As China's economy overtakes America's in coming years, the U.S. will need to make common cause with the European Union, Japan and other allies to constrain Beijing on the world stage. Trump's offhand trade threats against those allies will make that harder, says William Burns, president of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and a former senior official in Republican and Democratic administrations. "Our unilateralist tactics and overuse of tariffs will come back to bite us," Burns says.

There may be a political logic to Trump's approach: some polls suggest that his dollar-driven foreign policy plays well with his base. And with migration, North Korean and Iranian nuclear dangers, and Chinese cybercrimes, among many other world problems, proving stubbornly hard to solve, the approach can give the impression of action. It's the costs to America that will come long after Trump leaves the White House that have America's diplomatic class worried.

**'As chief representative of the Mexican state, I cannot permit that anyone attacks our economy.'**

ANDRÉS MANUEL LÓPEZ OBRADOR,  
Mexican President,  
at a June 8 rally





**RAFA'S DOZEN** Rafael Nadal reacts to winning yet another French Open on June 9, extending his record at Roland Garros to 12 titles. The Spanish player, who won his first French Open in 2005 two days after his 19th birthday, defeated Austria's Dominic Thiem in four sets to win his 18th career Grand Slam. Two more, and Nadal, 33, will equal the record set by his longtime rival, Switzerland's Roger Federer. After battling injuries for the past two seasons, Nadal called the win "very special."

#### THE BULLETIN

## 'Persecuted' Russian journalist released from house arrest after protests

RUSSIAN INVESTIGATIVE JOURNALIST IVAN Golenov made his career writing the news, revealing corruption among Moscow's elite for the news site Meduza. But he became the subject of headlines himself after he was arrested on trumped-up charges of drug trafficking that could have landed him 20 years in prison. After a public outcry and scrutiny from Russia's remaining independent media, he was released on June 11 when police conceded lack of evidence. Activists hailed it as a rare victory amid a sea of repression.

**LOCKED UP** After Golenov was stopped on June 6 and subjected to a strip search, police said they had found drugs in his bag. When his lawyer was finally able to see him after more than 12 hours, Golenov said he had been beaten and not allowed to eat or sleep. But cracks soon started to appear in law enforcement's story. Photos purporting to show a drug lab in Golenov's apartment were removed from a government website after colleagues established they were taken elsewhere. "We have grounds to believe Golenov is being persecuted because of his journalistic activity," his editors at Meduza said in a statement.

**STREET ACTION** By the time the journalist appeared on June 8 in a Moscow court, where he was sentenced to two months of house arrest, doctors reportedly suspected he had a concussion and broken ribs. On the streets, meanwhile, a wave of support was growing. One-person vigils—which, unlike other forms of protest in Russia, don't require a permit—were held despite police intimidation. And on June 10, three of Russia's biggest newspapers each carried the same front-page headline: WE ARE IVAN GOLUNOV.

**BITTERSWEET RESULT** Golenov might be a free man now, but intimidation of journalists is common in Russia, ranked 149th out of 180 countries for press freedom by Reporters Without Borders. "Ivan's arrest is just a part of the Russian system," Ivan Kolpakov, editor-in-chief of Meduza, tells TIME. But Kolpakov also theorizes that Golenov's ordeal was prompted by one particular piece he was working on. In a stroke of luck, Golenov filed that piece just hours before his arrest; now Meduza is preparing to publish it. "He is a lucky guy," Kolpakov says. "For the first time in his life, he didn't miss his deadline." —BILLY PERRIGO

#### NEWS TICKER

## Canada plans ban on single-use plastics

Canadian Prime Minister Justin Trudeau said on June 10 that Canada **will ban many single-use plastic items—such as bags, straws and cutlery—“as early as” 2021.**

Less than 10% of the more than 3 million tons of plastic thrown out annually in Canada is recycled, according to government figures.

## DOJ to turn over Mueller documents

After weeks of negotiations, House Judiciary chairman Jerry Nadler said on June 10 that the Justice Department had agreed to give Congress **crucial evidence collected by Robert Mueller.** The move will allow Democrats to use that information to keep investigating President Trump.

## Venezuela opens border with Colombia

Authorities said more than 30,000 Venezuelans crossed into Colombia on June 8, many in search of food and basic goods, after **Venezuelan leader Nicolás Maduro opened the border.** He had closed it in February during a dispute over U.S.-backed attempts to bring aid trucks into his crisis-stricken country.

## NEWS TICKER

### Pence defends policy on Pride flags

Vice President Mike Pence said on June 10 that it was the “right decision” for the State Department to **reject requests from U.S. embassies to fly the rainbow flag on flagpoles** during LGBTQ Pride Month. Many had hoisted Pride flags in past Junes, and some embassies have done so again this year in defiance of the policy.

### Nearly 100 killed in attack on Mali village

At least **95 people were killed in a nighttime raid on an ethnic Dogon village** in central Mali, officials said on June 10. The attack came amid rising tensions in the area, as seminomadic Fulani Muslims vie with villages for resources and the expansion of Islamic extremism destabilizes the country.

### Immigrants in California get health care

California is using a budget surplus to expand the state’s health care program to cover **undocumented immigrants under age 26**. The move, set to go into effect in January, will make the state the first to allow undocumented adults to enroll in state-funded health insurance.

## GOOD QUESTION

### Why is YouTube changing its policies on extremism now?

WHEN YOUTUBE ANNOUNCED ON JUNE 5 that it was updating its policies to ban white supremacist and neo-Nazi videos, along with those that deny the truth of historical events like the Holocaust, it was a change months in the making—even though it came amid a new round of controversy for the platform.

In early June, YouTube came under fire for its handling of videos posted by Steven Crowder, a conservative video creator with nearly 4 million subscribers, who repeatedly attacked Carlos Maza, a video host for the news site Vox who is gay and Latino. The platform first said it couldn’t intervene because Crowder’s videos didn’t violate its policies, but mounting pressure led it to reverse course and “demonetize” Crowder’s channel, meaning he couldn’t make money from advertising on his videos. (Crowder’s channel still links to a store that sells shirts with slogans like THERE ARE ONLY TWO GENDERS, CHANGE MY MIND.) In a June 5 blog post, the company said it made the move after considering Crowder’s broad impact rather than looking at each video in a vacuum.

The very same day, the company also announced its ban on “videos alleging that a group is superior.” YouTube CEO Susan Wojcicki said the rule changes were unrelated to Crowder. “This is something we had been working on for months,” she said on June 10

at the Code Conference, an industry event—and indeed, there’s no reason to doubt that YouTube would have been considering shifting its policies long ago, in light of increased attention to online extremism after events like the Christchurch massacre in March.

But the situation nevertheless calls into question YouTube’s willingness or ability to enforce its rules, even as it develops new ones. It will have to be careful in applying the policy—which already seems to have unintentionally blocked YouTubers who conduct research into or attempt to rebut the views of extremists—as well as in how it expresses the rules. As many commentators have pointed out in light of the Crowder incident, YouTube’s rules already banned hate speech and bullying. Skillful agitators are able to walk right up to the line without crossing over, and some conservative provocateurs who have crossed it and been punished have used that fact as evidence Silicon Valley is biased against them, further galvanizing their followers.

Wojcicki, for her part, apologized for YouTube’s handling of the Crowder incident, which exploded into the public consciousness just as Pride Month kicked off. “I know that the decision we made was very hurtful to the LGBTQ community, and that was not our intention at all,” she said. “If we took down that content, there would be so much other content that we need to take down.” Her statement raises the question of why YouTube plays host to so much dubious content in the first place—and whether that’s a problem the site’s new rules can help address.

—ALEX FITZPATRICK

## FASHION

### Changing with the times

On June 10, after many said its policy discriminated against the indigenous Maori community, Air New Zealand dropped a ban on staff tattoos. Here, more wardrobe updates. —Ciara Nugent



#### SOCER (UN-)UNIFORMS

After a two-year trial, FIFA, the international soccer association, began allowing players to cover their heads in 2014. The change followed complaints by the Iranian women’s team and men in the Sikh community.



#### FLEXIBLE FOOTWEAR

In 2017, the Canadian province of British Columbia barred workplaces from forcing women to wear heels. This month, Japan’s Labor Minister rejected calls for a similar move in Japan, calling heels “necessary.”



#### A MORE INCLUSIVE ASCOT

On March 5, the organizers of England’s Royal Ascot horse races said attendees can now choose whether to follow the men’s or women’s dress code—though both still require a hat in the Royal Enclosure.

# Milestones

## DECRIMINALIZED

**Homosexuality**, by Botswana's high court, on June 11. Three judges voted to overturn colonial-era laws that carried prison terms of up to seven years.

## CRASHED

A **helicopter**, on the roof of a New York City office building, on June 10. The pilot, the only person aboard, was killed. Authorities said there was no sign of terrorism.

## PLANNED

The use of an Army base in Oklahoma that served as a **Japanese internment camp** in WW II, to hold migrant children, by the Trump Administration.

## REJECTED

The idea that **gender identity can be fluid**, by the Vatican, on June 10, in a document that called the concept a threat to families.

## ANNOUNCED

That Brigadier General Laura Yeager will be the **first woman to lead a U.S. Army infantry division** when she takes command of the 40th Infantry on June 29.

## SENTENCED

Six Indian men, on charges related to the **rape of an 8-year-old girl** in 2018, by an Indian court, on June 10; the case had caused national outrage.

## GRANTED

A building permit, for Antoni Gaudí's **Sagrada Família basilica**, by Barcelona, on June 8. The move came 137 years after construction began.



Dr. John, seen here in 2014, released his first album, *Gris-Gris*, in 1968 and was inducted into the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame in 2011

## DIED

### Dr. John

*Embodiment of a city's sound*

By Terence Blanchard

LIKE SO MANY MUSICIANS FROM NEW ORLEANS, MALCOLM John Rebennack Jr.—known as Dr. John—played music for the pure love of it. That love allowed him to be himself. I first encountered him when I was on tour in Japan in the 1980s; he was doing a double bill with the Neville Brothers, and when we saw those guys, it was almost like we were back home.

Mac was a sweetheart, and when I would see him, we'd talk about New Orleans and the things New Orleanians talk about, which is mostly food and parties. He loved to cook, and I remember he told me how good possum was. I said, "Mac, I haven't made that journey yet," and he said, "Possum is some good eating, man." It broke my heart to hear that he passed away, on June 6 at age 77, because he was such a typical illustration of what it means to be from the city: he was a combination of Cajun, blues and jazz—a little of everything, and you can hear it in the way he played piano, in the bluesy style of how he sang. He created music that touched people around the world, but he didn't allow the world to change who he was. Throughout his life, he was always the guy who carried the culture and spirit of the city wherever he went.

Dr. John, along with Professor Longhair, created a sound that is uniquely associated with the history of New Orleans. Whenever you start to think about that city, those are the names that will pop into your head.

**Blanchard** is a Grammy-winning trumpeter and composer

## WON

### Ali Stroker

*A historic Tony*

ALI STROKER'S TURN AS Ado Annie in Daniel Fish's revival of *Oklahoma!* has been hailed as funny and sexy and a vital part of the fresh edge this production has brought to the classic musical. On June 9, the performance became a historic one too, when Stroker became the first actor who uses a wheelchair to take home a Tony Award.

Stroker, who was also the first wheelchair user to star in a Broadway show, in the 2015 revival of *Spring Awakening*, called her Featured Actress win a huge moment for representation. "This award is for every kid who is watching tonight who has a disability, a limitation, a challenge, who has been waiting to see themselves represented in this arena," she said. "You are."

But it was also a reminder of the work left to be done. There was no ramp or lift to the stage, so Stroker had to wait backstage in case she won. Later she spoke about how theaters need to become more accessible for performers like her—who, she'd already made clear, are done lingering in the wings.

—ABIGAIL ABRAMS



**IF SOMEONE BREAKS  
INTO YOUR HOUSE**

---

**CALL THE POLICE**





**IF YOUR HOUSE  
IS ON FIRE**

**CALL THE FIRE DEPARTMENT**

**IF YOUR TEEN HAS  
A DRUG PROBLEM**

**GO TO DRUGFREE.ORG**



# Inside Andrew Yang's outsider campaign

By Lissandra Villa/Portsmouth, N.H.

THERE'S NOTHING ELSE LIKE AN ANDREW YANG CAMPAIGN event. Nowhere else will fans show up wearing hats with MATH written across the top ("Make America Think Harder"). If the mood is right, chants of "PowerPoint" break out, as they did at a recent rally in Seattle. And at the center is Yang, an American flag-patterned scarf tossed loosely around his neck, the personified version of a meme you might've seen on Reddit.

Yang is one of the Democratic presidential candidates you've probably never heard of. But the former entrepreneur's long-shot campaign has seen some surprising successes. Yang is polling better than several more traditionally qualified candidates, he's amassed a loyal online fan base, and he's met the qualifications for the first Democratic debate in late June, where Yang's hoping to get noticed and become a challenger for the nomination.

He has built his army of fans by talking about issues that no one else is focusing on, from universal basic income (he's for it) to circumcision (he's against pushing it on parents), employing an outside-the-box style that appeals to voters craving an outsider candidate. "There's a real appetite for a different kind of political conversation," Yang tells TIME. "I can't tell you how many times people have said to me, You're the first political candidate I've ever contributed to, this is the first political event I've ever attended."

Yang is vying to become the first Asian-American nominee of a major party. And while his poll numbers remain a rounding error, his modest momentum reflects the enduring hunger for unconventional candidates. If his campaign can catch fire, it would be further evidence that it's no longer necessary to spend time serving in elected office, or be the smoothest retail politician, to contend. What matters, Yang suggests, is to think differently than Washington does. "If we activate a significant number of these people that right now are not conventionally interested in politics," he says, "then we can contend."

ON A RAINY DAY IN MAY, Yang walked into a Portsmouth, N.H., coffee shop. He was late for our interview because, according to his campaign staff, he wouldn't "shut up" at his last stop. He was wearing his signature red, white and blue scarf, and he offered me a high five, which is something he likes to do a lot.

Yang, 44, was born in New York State to two immigrants from Taiwan. He graduated from high school in Exeter, N.H., got an undergraduate degree from Brown University and went to law school at Columbia, from which he graduated in 1999. After a brief stint as a corporate lawyer, he launched a failed Internet company called Stargiving, which raised money for charity by auctioning off celebrity experiences, and worked for a mobile-software company and a health care startup. Then he ran a tutoring company that was acquired by test-prep giant Kaplan in 2009 for what Yang refers to on the campaign trail as a "modest fortune."



Yang, seen here at a rally in New York City on May 14, has won attention with his universal-basic-income proposal

Along the way, Yang married and had two kids, including an autistic son. He credits the latter experience with helping fuel his campaign for President. "As first-time parents, you don't know what's normal vs. what's not normal," he recalls. "Is it normal for a 3-year-old to freak out when the texture of the ground changes?" Until his son was born, Yang had suffered only minor adversity. The idea that a single mother would have to care for an autistic child with no resources was heartbreaking, he says, and helped shape his belief in universal basic income—the core of his platform and the idea that's helped him gain traction.

In 2017, Yang had lunch with Andy Stern, former president of Service Employees International Union. He'd read Stern's book *Raising the Floor*, which focuses on universal basic income and ends with the idea of someone running for President on the issue. Yang wanted to try. "I was shocked," Stern recalls. "You know, part of me thinks you're crazy, and part of me thinks you're my hero."

Yang set off on his uphill battle as a presidential candidate. He took his first



tentative steps toward raising money and spent time thinking about his platform, which today includes dozens of ideas on everything from health care (he's for Medicare for All) to taxes (he'd like to make Tax Day a federal holiday, complete with celebrations) to financial literacy. If your government teacher ever asked you to invent policy from scratch for a school assignment, the results might look something like his: imaginative, interesting and a little bit out there.

**AT CAMPAIGN EVENTS**, Yang often gestures with a free hand as though he were that claw from the old carnival machine, lowering to pick up a stuffed animal. His speeches focus on the challenges surrounding automation, and he often rails against Amazon, blaming it for local stores' closing. "The economy is being transformed faster than ever," he says. "It has devastated many communities and ways of life. And while we can't make everyone whole, we can start sharing the bounty of these incredible innovations much more quickly and broadly."

Yang's first campaign breakthrough

came in an appearance on comedian Joe Rogan's podcast, which introduced him to a large audience. After that he started gaining traction on Twitter and Reddit, largely for his universal-basic-income proposal. "I think this policy of a universal basic income, which was, you know, championed by Martin Luther King Jr. and many others, is one that's going to help transform the capitalist economy into one that's more focused on people," says Edward Levasseur, 24, after he heard Yang speak at a nightclub in Portsmouth, where people waited up to an hour to talk to Yang afterward.

Yang knows giving people \$1,000 a month sounds like a gimmick. But he tells voters it's an old idea, pointing to Alaska's Permanent Fund Dividend—an annual distribution of oil revenues to state residents—as an example of how this can work. Internationally, there've been attempts similar to universal basic income. In 2016, Switzerland rejected a referendum on a proposal, the first country to hold such a vote. Smaller-scale trials and studies have periodically popped up. At events, Yang will often ask crowds what they'd spend \$1,000 a month on. The audience tosses back a range of answers: Rent. A babysitter. Marijuana.

By the end of the latest fundraising quarter, Yang had raised nearly \$1.8 million for his campaign. And while he can draw crowds in the thousands, his base is online: on Twitter, his follower count is more than 300,000.

Even if Yang defies the long odds and becomes President, it's not as though Americans will magically start receiving \$1,000 checks every month. Democratic congressional aides note that it would be easy for Republicans to attack the idea as welfare and that Congress and the American public have little familiarity with the concept. Democrats would likely be reluctant to embrace the idea of changing existing social-welfare programs, triggering the kind of policy debate that typically requires political know-how to navigate.

But Yang's whole platform hinges on this idea, and he's committed to it. He

even picked two families, one in Iowa and one in New Hampshire, to send a monthly \$1,000 check to test the policy. That caused a recent hiccup; after the *Des Moines Register* inquired about the payments, Yang's campaign said it would amend its finance reports to reflect spending it had previously omitted.

While he likes to tout the contrast he cuts with the President—"The opposite of Donald Trump is an Asian man who likes math," he says—Yang doesn't talk much about his identity as the first Asian-American man to run for President as a Democrat.

His campaign has gained traction primarily with younger voters—and not just because of his habit of swearing on the campaign trail. ("F-ck yeah," Yang responds when I point out this penchant.) "I think it's because young people unfortunately have come of age in an era of institutional failure and erosion," Yang says, "and so when they sense that someone is speaking in an institutional voice, they kind of tune out." Authenticity is something that politicians struggle with, out of fear of getting blasted on cable news for saying the wrong thing, which in turn creates conformity among candidates. But Yang is unabashedly geeky, and he thinks young people appreciate his authenticity.

It will take much more than that to win the nomination. Among other things, Yang will have to convince Democrats that he can beat Trump. And unlike most of his rivals, he believes in reaching out to the President's voters. "Democrats made a grievous error by not having one of their debates on Fox," he says. "How can you win a general election if half the country isn't watching your candidates debate?"

Yang thinks that once people get to know him through the debates, they will begin to coalesce around him. He often says that people tell him he's what they hoped for when they voted for Trump. "I am the outsider who has a different sort of message," he says, between bites at the coffee shop. "And that's attracting many different people who want a different conversation, a different voice, in Washington." □

### The opposite of Donald Trump is an Asian man who likes math.'

How ANDREW YANG often explains how different he is from the President

# The Brief TIME with ...

Can anyone save USA Gymnastics at this point? New CEO **Li Li Leung** is determined to try

By Alice Park

THERE ARE THANKLESS JOBS, AND THEN THERE is Li Li Leung's job. As the new president and CEO of USA Gymnastics (USAG), Leung oversees an organization that is struggling to justify its existence. After major sponsors walked away following USAG's involvement in one of the worst sex-abuse scandals in sports history, the group declared bankruptcy last December, and is now in danger of losing its status as the national governing body for the sport in the U.S.

Leung is the fourth new head of USAG in two years and must now restore the reputation of gymnastics in the U.S. She inherits an organization that many gymnasts feel is working against them. Both gymnasts and USAG officials have revealed that under its previous leadership, it not only failed to immediately report sexual-abuse claims to law enforcement but also tried to keep those reports from becoming public. And even after hundreds of complaints from athletes against one man, former national team doctor Larry Nassar, piled up, USAG appointed a series of people with ties to those involved in the scandal to high-level positions. (In court, more than 150 women and girls, from local athletes to Olympic and world team members, said he sexually abused them over the past two decades, some when they were as young as 8 years old; in 2018, Nassar was sentenced to up to 175 years in prison.) Some of them believe the only way forward is to raze the organization and create an entirely new body to represent gymnastics.

Leung is betting her career that she can rebuild USAG from the inside. As a former gymnast, she wants to make athletes' concerns more of a priority in order to rebuild the trust that has dissipated like the chalk dust gymnasts clap off their hands. She approached USAG last fall, when her predecessor resigned. "I didn't reach out wanting to be CEO," says Leung. "If that meant I would volunteer, then I would volunteer."

Heading the organization wasn't exactly a sought-after position, and many potential candidates turned it down. Leung, however, decided to leave a comfortable job at the NBA to take over the disgraced organization. Just two months into her tenure, Leung's office at the USAG headquarters in Indianapolis is still devoid of any personal effects; there hasn't been much time for decorating

between meeting with every staff member and attending competitive events. (The first former gymnast to lead USAG in 20 years, she has even stretched with the junior national team, and kept up when they performed splits.) A few early mistakes as CEO have raised questions about whether she's up to the task but haven't shaken her resolve. "It's not like you can snap your fingers and have everybody completely move on," says Olympic gold medalist Nastia Liukin. "It's going to take time."

With the Olympics, gymnastics' grandest showcase, looming in just over a year, Leung has scrawled a number, 43, on a whiteboard that occupies an entire wall of her office as a reminder of how urgent her job is. "It's a timeline for me, a countdown of days," she says, declining to elaborate further.

**LEUNG DIDN'T NEED** this job. As president of global partnerships at the NBA, she was responsible for marketing, negotiating and nurturing relationships with brands such as Nike, Samsung and Audi, and her easy friendliness helped her adapt to living around the world in London, Shanghai, Beijing and New York. But after watching USAG self-destruct over the past few years, she could not sit by any longer. "I kept telling myself, 'It's going to get better at some point,'" she says. "Over the course of two years, it didn't. Because I gained so much from the sport, I felt it was time to pay it forward."

When she was 7, she and her twin sister, May May, took their first gymnastics class in Ridgewood, N.J. The daring flips, and the license to tumble and catapult their bodies to impossible heights, left the girls smitten, so Leung's parents soon moved the family to nearby Parsippany so the sisters could train at an elite gym. For 15 years, Leung lived the almost monastic life of an elite athlete, training twice a day, for 35 hours a week, missing most of the traditional teenage rites of passage like football games and school dances. The dedication earned both Leung and her sister gymnastics scholarships to the University of Michigan, and her athletic career even set her up for a less traditional challenge while she was at the NBA—competing in a regional first

## LEUNG QUICK FACTS

### Balancing act

At Michigan, Leung competed as a gymnast on four Big Ten conference championship teams and was named Academic All-Big Ten three times.

### Building bridges

As a consultant in London, Leung advised Arsenal on growing its presence in China and helped the UFC secure sponsors in Europe.

### Still tumbling

"Even though my schedule is busy, I try to work out or, at a minimum, stretch each day," she says. "Gymnastics never really leaves you!"



round of *American Ninja Warrior*. (The floating steps sunk her.)

In her new role, she is focused on enforcing new athlete safety policies to protect gymnasts. She has been advised not to reach out to sexual-abuse survivors involved in pending lawsuits, although some have contacted her. She told attorneys on the survivors' committee that when she can, she wants to meet with them. "I don't see them as adversaries at all," she says. "I want to hear from them and would love them to be part of the solution going forward."

**SUCH A PARTNERSHIP** with survivors may not be as easy as Leung hopes, given her rough start at the helm. In her first broadcast interview, Leung revealed that she too had been seen by Nassar, but

**'Because I gained so much from the sport, I felt it was time to pay it forward.'**

LI LI LEUNG,  
president and CEO of  
USA Gymnastics

said she was not abused by him because her coach was in the room. Survivors took offense; many had testified that Nassar abused them, under the guise of treating them, while their parents or coaches were in the room unaware of what he was doing. Leung quickly issued an apology on social media. "I could have chosen my words a bit more artfully," she says a few days after the fallout. "My comment was never meant to diminish the horrific experiences the survivors had to go through. I continue to apologize for that."

Then Leung hired Ed Nyman, a former gymnast and an expert in biomechanics at University of Findlay in Ohio, who had worked at his wife's gymnastics facility, to serve as a medical liaison between athletes, coaches and the organization, and to oversee athlete care and wellness. But on his first day, she fired him, after she says she learned he "fail[ed] to disclose athlete safety complaints involving him and his wife's gym." Nyman says the complaints were made to SafeSport (an independent body that evaluates any complaints about athlete abuse, regardless of whether they are sexual in nature), did not require a formal investigation and were known to people at USAG. He maintains, "I have never done anything that disqualifies me for this job."

Despite all the problems USAG must contend with, Leung is determined to turn it around. The U.S. Olympic Committee's investigation into whether USAG should be decertified as a national governing body is on hold because of the bankruptcy, but she hopes the organization will be financially solvent again by the end of the year. That would give her time to make the case that USAG should remain the representative for the sport at the Tokyo Games in 2020. "My goals are to work in several main areas," she says of the critical year ahead. "One is finding a fair and full resolution with the [Nassar] survivors. The other piece is athlete safety; we want to empower athletes. And finally, our financial stability is a big part. I believe if you put your house in order and do what's right, the partnerships will come. That way our athletes can focus on the Olympics without any distractions." □

# LightBox

## Partly cloudy

As elementary-school students play in Karo, North Sumatra, Indonesia, on June 10, Mount Sinabung spews volcanic ash some 10 miles away. It had erupted for nine minutes the previous day, blowing ash more than 22,000 ft. into the air; authorities have warned residents to use face masks and stay indoors to protect themselves against harm from continuing ash and smoke. One of the country's most active volcanoes, Mount Sinabung has seen a spike in activity since 2010.

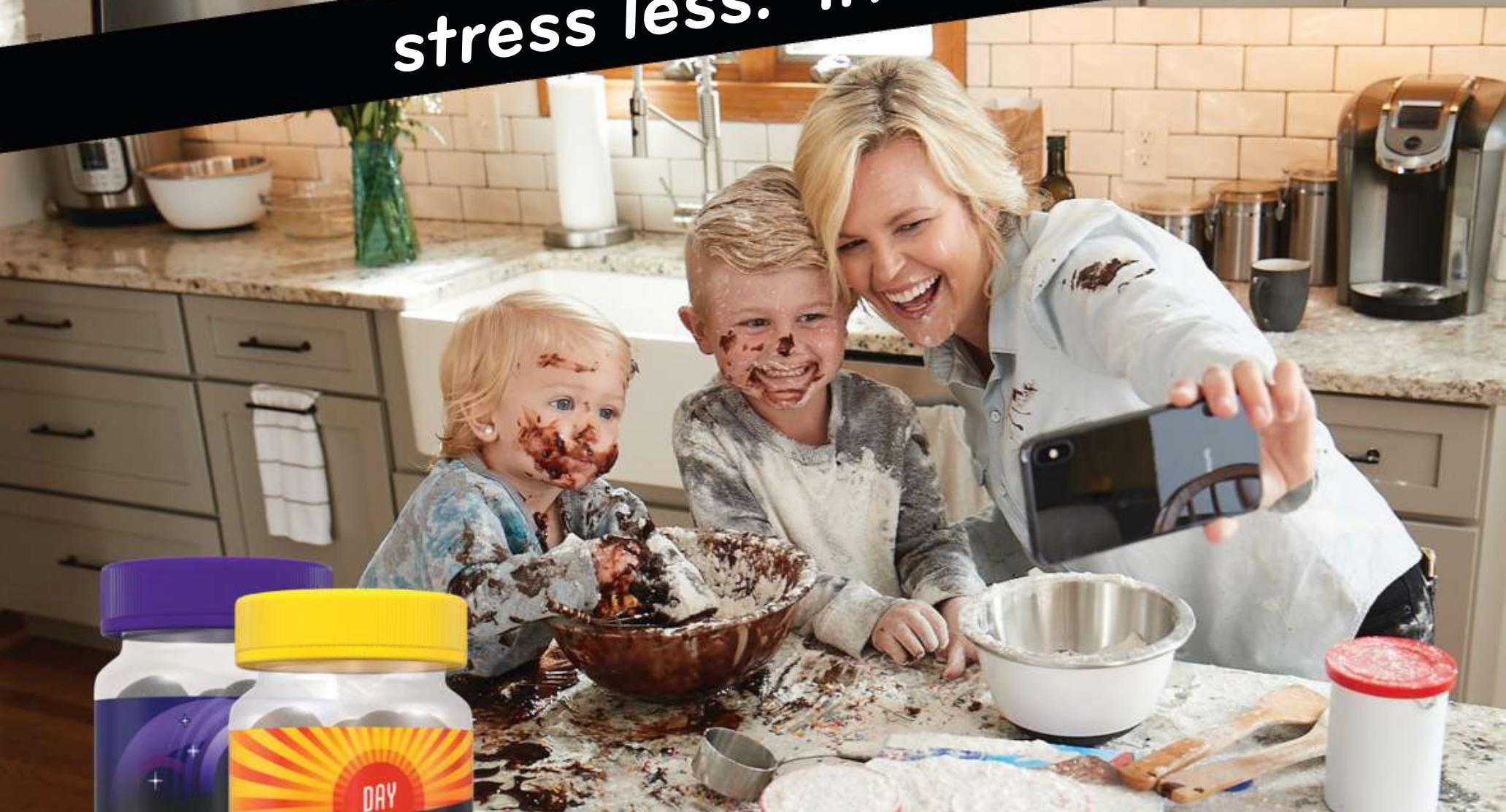
**Photograph by Dedi Sinuhaji—EPA-EFE/Shutterstock**  
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# The View

PARENTING

## WHAT A FATHER CAN DO

By David French



When I was 7 years old, my father resigned from his job as a college professor. It was a critical moment in his career and created real financial risk for his young family. But he felt that he was being asked to violate his principles—and nothing was more important to him than a strong moral code.▶

INSIDE

MEDIA OBSESSION WITH  
PATERNITY TESTS

ITALY'S THREAT  
TO THE E.U.

THE "TRUMPIAN  
ANTI-TRUMP" OF BRITAIN

# The View Opener

That bold decision was a model of my father's approach to raising his kids. Walk your talk. Live your values. Provide for and protect your family. He told me to be kind to women, sure, but I watched him love and honor my mother. He exhorted me to work hard, but the lesson stuck because I saw him grind night after night as he went back to school to get another degree and took on side jobs to help pay the bills.

I think back on his example often as I try to be the best father I can to my own children. Raising kids has never been an easy job for anyone, of course. But the challenge of helping boys find their way to a purposeful adult life is particularly fraught these days. With good reason, many of the most harmful attributes associated with traditional masculinity are being re-examined. But as we reckon with the damage of these freighted expectations, we can't lose sight of the essential role fathers play in shaping sons into men of character.

**MANY OF THE STEREOTYPICAL TRAITS** that our culture associates with boyhood—things like achievement, adventure and risk—are not inherently harmful cultural constructs that should be engineered out. They are, rather, innate characteristics that must be shaped, molded and channeled to virtuous ends.

It's here that a father has an outsize influence—and that influence can radiate beyond the immediate family. Without a father at home, boys are at a disproportionate risk of not attending college, according to a 2015 study in the journal *Family Relations*. And in America's deeply unequal society, the presence of a father can make a profound difference. In 2018, the New York Times reported on troubling research showing that even when black and white boys "grow up next to each other with parents who earn similar incomes, black boys fare worse than white boys in 99% of America." Among the common elements in the 1% with similar outcomes: lower levels of race discrimination and poverty and higher numbers of dads. Indeed, the report found that the mere



Fathers are associated with positive outcomes for boys even beyond their own children

presence of fathers in a community could positively impact fatherless boys.

What accounts for this value? It gets back to the elevation of actions above words. It's the model boys follow—not the speech. Infantry soldiers will read field manuals, but they want to hear from combat veterans. Football players will study the playbook, but they'll run through a wall for a coach who proved it on the field. It's about being a living example, not just a mouthpiece.

As a father, I constantly ask myself the question, "What can I do to show my son the way?" That's one reason I joined the military later in life and deployed to Iraq. I did not want to pressure any of my children to follow my literal lead and enlist, but rather to demonstrate to them as best as I could what it looked like to be more committed to your country and to your family than to yourself.

Our actions as fathers represent the markers that men lay down, the decisions they point to that say, "I don't always have wisdom. I may be at a loss for words. But let me show you what it's like to be a man."

It's hard to imagine life without my father's influence. That there are children by the millions who can't comprehend life with a good father is not just painful to contemplate, it also represents an individual and cultural cataclysm.

The message to men should be clear and unmistakable: fatherhood is a nondelegable duty, and your son needs you every bit as much as you needed your own dad. As a boy blazes his trail through life, his father should be leading the way.

French is a TIME columnist

## SHORT READS

► Highlights from stories on time.com/ideas

## A war of words

Americans and Brits have battled over the English language for centuries, and not just about an extra *u* here and there.

But according to Peter Martin, author of *The Dictionary Wars: The American Fight Over the English Language*, "**they have always been able to understand their insults of one another.**"

## The witches among us

Over the past 150 or so years, witches have gone from frightening figures to inspirational ones, writes Pam Grossman, author of *Waking the Witch: Reflections on Women, Magic, and Power*. And how you feel about them could be revealing: "**Show me your witches, and I'll show you your feelings about women.**"

## All in the family

The recent explosion of commercial DNA kits didn't just happen because of scientific advancement, says Nara Milanich, author of *Paternity: The Elusive Quest for the Father*. **The media also played a role by turning ancestry tests into a "deeply alluring cultural phenomenon."**

**THE RISK REPORT**

## Italy's precarious economy again threatens the E.U.

By Ian Bremmer



ONCE AGAIN, ITALY and the E.U. are headed toward confrontation. They fought a protracted battle last year over the impact of Italy's budget on its debt before arriving at a compromise in December, but the problem has re-emerged, and it's not clear whether a larger fight can be avoided.

In recent days, Italy's technocratic Prime Minister has pledged to resign if leaders of the Five Star Movement and the League, the two parties that make up the country's fractious coalition government, fail to put aside differences to agree on a budget the E.U. will accept, one that won't saddle Italy with ever more dangerous levels of debt.

At first, Prime Minister Giuseppe Conte's threat seemed to have worked. League leader Matteo Salvini and Five Star head Luigi Di Maio emerged from a meeting on June 10 talking of a "shared goal" of avoiding E.U. action against Italy "while safeguarding economic growth, employment, as well as tax cuts," according to a statement from Salvini. "I'm not interested in fighting with the E.U." Di Maio said on June 11, "but we must get the results Italians are interested in."

The reasoning is straightforward. Italy's economy is weak; the Bank of Italy has cut its 2019 economic growth forecast to 0.3%. Five Star wants to respond by spending more to help people manage hardship, creating a minimum wage and continuing a "citizen's income" scheme, similar to the idea of basic income. The League wants sharp personal and corporate tax cuts that its leaders say will jump-start growth and reduce unemployment.

**Only Greece is in worse shape, and Greece's economy is small enough that it can be bailed out. Italy's economy is far too big for that**

But the E.U. says Italy is already on track to spend too much. Its rules say Italy must keep deficits at 3%, and the European Commission has forecast a nominal deficit of 3.5% for next year. Italy's budget will violate E.U. rules. The only real question is by how much—and what Brussels will do about it.

E.U. fears are well founded. Italy's €2.3 trillion (\$2.6 trillion) debt is about 132% of its 2018 economic output. Only Greece is in worse shape, and Greece's economy is small enough that it can be bailed out. Italy's economy, the euro zone's third largest, is far too big for that.

That's why Italy's worries are well founded too. The E.U. has power to impose fines, cut funding and order Italy to cut spending and raise taxes to meet its commitments. The greater concern is market fear, underlined by Prime Minister Conte, that ratings agencies could downgrade the country's credit rating, making it more expensive for Italy to borrow. E.U. action, even if it doesn't come with specific penalties, makes these troubles more likely.

Underneath the market jitters are fresh concerns that Five Star and the League are competing with each other to please voters in advance of potential snap elections. Five Star remains the coalition's senior partner, but it's the League that is gaining popularity and political momentum. Both sides know that austerity measures will anger the electorate, and both have won votes in the past by attacking the E.U. and its rules.

The risks of defying those rules forced the two populist parties to climb down last year. That will probably happen again. But this year, Italy's debt could cause more than just political infighting—it could lead to Europe's next major crisis. □

**QUICK TALK**

### Rory Stewart

*The British lawmaker—a former soldier, diplomat and author—is running to replace Theresa May as leader of the Conservative Party and become Prime Minister. He has been taking his case directly to the public, inviting people to engage with him on social media and on the streets.*

**Do you think there's something to steal from how the populists use media?** Absolutely. I'm the sort of Trumpian anti-Trump. My little video on no-deal Brexit got 2 million views, which is more than he was getting on some of his tweets.

**Do you think the U.K. got into a political crisis like this because too many people in power are too removed from everyday people?** British politics is much less elitist, much less class-based, than it was 50 years ago. And it's become much more extreme and polarized.

**Is Trump is someone you could have an honest relationship with?** I don't think that diplomatic relationships are honest in the way that normal human relationships are honest.

—Anand Giridharadas



*Stewart, leaving 10 Downing Street in May*

An aerial photograph capturing a large-scale protest in Hong Kong. The scene is filled with a dense crowd of people, many wearing yellow hard hats and dark clothing, filling the streets. In the foreground, a significant number of police officers in riot gear, including black helmets and blue uniforms, are positioned along a concrete barrier. The ground is littered with debris, discarded umbrellas, and trash. Buildings are visible in the background, with one featuring a red sign that reads "University". A road sign indicates "Canton Town Drive" and "红棉路".

World

# HONG KONG

CHINA'S LAST BASTION OF FREEDOM UNITES

An aerial photograph capturing a large-scale protest in Hong Kong. In the foreground, a massive crowd of protesters, many wearing yellow hard hats and holding umbrellas, is gathered on a multi-lane road. They are facing off against a line of police officers in riot gear, who are positioned behind a concrete barrier. The scene is filled with smoke and tear gas canisters, with plumes of white smoke billowing across the street. Protesters are seen running and taking cover. In the background, modern buildings and trees are visible under a clear sky.

# G IN REVOLT

AGAINST BEIJING BY FELIZ SOLOMON/HONG KONG

Protesters square off with police amid clouds of tear gas outside the government headquarters in central Hong Kong on June 12

PHOTOGRAPH BY  
ANTHONY WALLACE

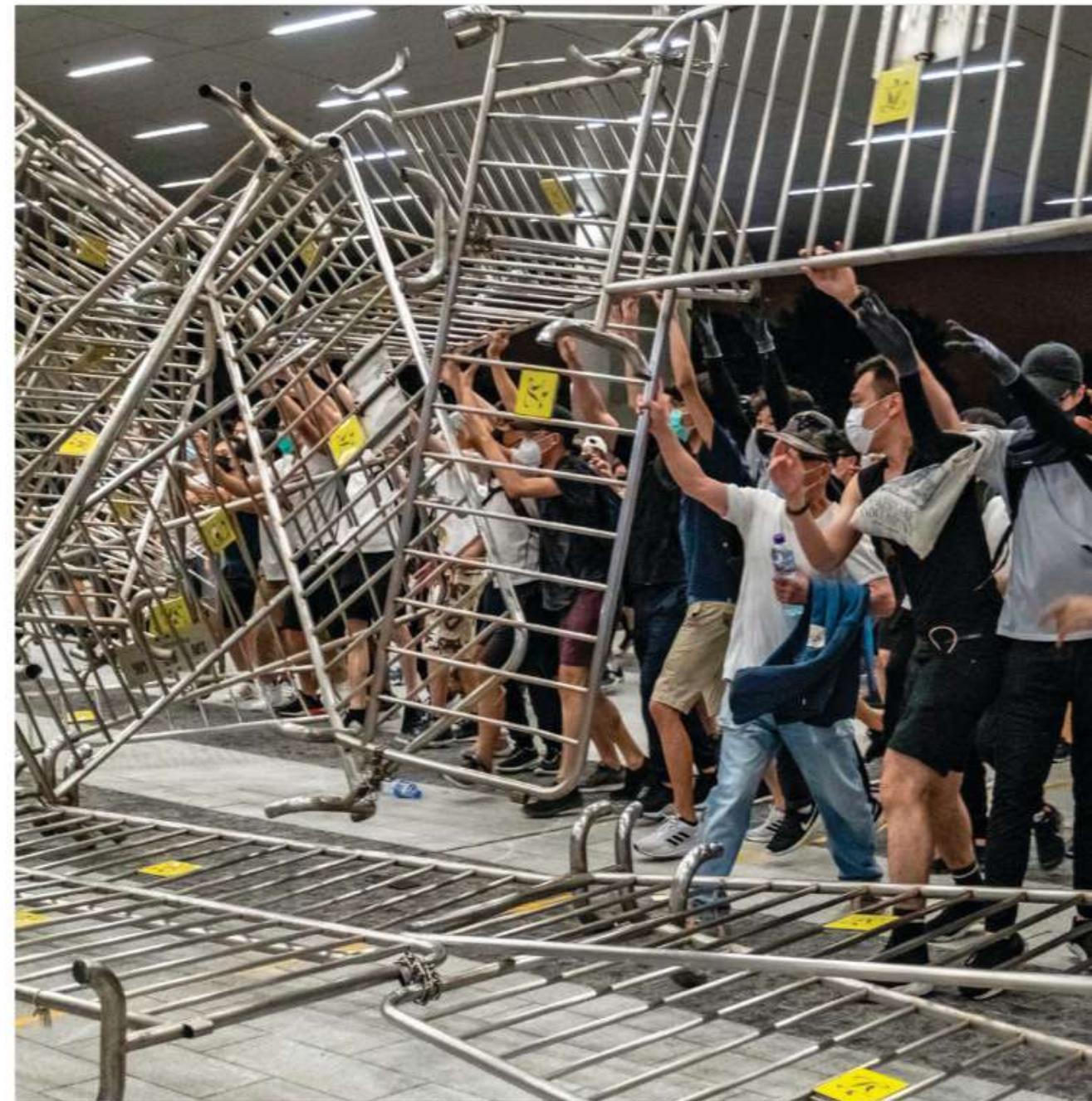
## THE CROWDS WEREN'T JUST EQUIPPED FOR A STORM, THEY WERE COUNTING ON ONE. WHEN RAIN STARTED TO FALL ON THE

tens of thousands of mostly young people amassed around Hong Kong's legislature on the morning of June 12, umbrellas popped open with loud shouts of "Ga yau!"—a Cantonese cheer meaning "Add oil," as to a fire. Within hours, the flimsy canopies were flipped sideways and turned into makeshift shields against tear gas and pepper spray fired by local police. They proved less reliable against rubber bullets, however, and might offer no protection at all against the authoritarian forces that loom over the entire island.

But the point was to try.

The protests were hardly the first in the former British colony since it was handed over to China in 1997. The specter of greater control by communist authorities on the mainland had driven Hong Kongers onto the streets in 2003, 2012 and 2014. But this time, the numbers were greater than ever before and the escalation carried at least the sense of a showdown.

**THE SPECIFIC ISSUE** at hand was a bill that would allow the extradition of fugitives to stand trial in mainland China. The legislation, fast-tracked by the city's leadership, is widely seen as a threat to the unique freedoms this city of 7 million enjoys. Under the terms of the handover, Hong Kong has operated under a customized model called "one country, two systems," which gave it a 50-year period of effective self-rule, even though it is part of China. Its history as a lucrative colonial port town left a liberal legacy unique in the People's Republic.



Hong Kongers have long lived a freer, more cosmopolitan lifestyle than most Chinese, and prejudice against mainlanders is pervasive. Free speech and an independent press are enshrined in the Basic Law that has governed the city since the handover. They're proud of their distinct cuisine and language, speaking Cantonese rather than the Mandarin more common in greater China.

But critics fear that China's encroachment may bring an end to all that. Beijing might use the law to nab opponents and submit them to its notoriously opaque justice system, they say. The risk could extend beyond residents, even to visitors who pass through the city's transit hub. "If Hong Kong's extradition bill becomes law," says Sean King, a former U.S. diplomat in Asia and currently senior vice president for the consultancy firm Park Strategies, "I'd think very carefully

about visiting again anytime soon."

In other words, the contest for Hong Kong reflects the stakes for the larger world that China seeks to lead.

The rise of Beijing has been the major global story of the new century. But the very breadth of that ascent and the bland labels of the areas where it has edged toward dominance—trade, infrastructure, finance, tech—have served to mask the nature of the system China brings with it. That system is control.

On the mainland, the system appears to go unchallenged, because control is almost total and cast as conformity. Along with a surveillance state, China's Communist Party has worked to impose a singular vision of Chinese identity in territories where diversity once thrived. In the far western province of Xinjiang, authorities have detained more than a million ethnic Uighurs and other Muslim minorities



▲  
Demonstrators overturn metal barriers on June 10, as protests against the extradition law turn violent

in concentration camps where they are forced to adopt secular Chinese customs. In Tibet, the party is systematically erasing a rich Buddhist heritage. President Xi Jinping has revived nationalism as a unifying force, in step with a rising tide of authoritarians around the globe that U.S. President Donald Trump has in many cases embraced.

Now it appears to be Hong Kong's turn to feel the heat of a greater power forcing it into conformity—but China's freest city won't give in without a fight. Hong Kong has a long history of mass demonstrations. Significantly, just days before the protests erupted, it was host to one of the largest-ever vigils for the victims of Beijing's bloody 1989 crackdown

## VIEWPOINT

# WHAT FREEDOM IS WORTH

By Joshua Wong

IN DECEMBER 2014, DURING THE final days of the Umbrella Movement, prominent signs proclaiming WE'LL BE BACK sprang up along Harcourt Road, one of the three major thruways occupied by peaceful pro-democracy protesters for nearly three months. The protest did not achieve its objective of genuine universal voting to elect our chief executive, but it awoke a generation of Hong Kongers to resist Beijing's interference and showed the potential of civil disobedience.

That promise was fulfilled when more than 1 million took to the streets against an amendment that would allow Beijing to request extradition of any individual from Hong Kong. The chief executive would have the final say, but since he or she is handpicked by the Chinese government, we have every reason to be troubled. Yet the peaceful march on June 9 failed to change Mrs. Lam's unwavering mind, forcing protesters to take the next step. I was deeply moved when I saw on television protesters resisting authorities to retake Harcourt Road. Five years ago, I had been temporarily detained at the police station when the exact same thing happened. I have missed the action again but in a different place: the Lai Chi Kok Reception Centre. As a student leader of the Umbrella Movement, I am serving my third sentence in prison.

Here, information about the outside world can be limited, but I take every opportunity to follow the news on television or in newspapers. The hygiene conditions are poor, and there is nothing else with which to clean my table other than toothpaste. On these rainiest summer days, the extreme heat is so unbearable that turning the fan on seems only to make things worse. I share a cell with five other inmates with almost no privacy, and only a squat toilet. The moment I most look forward to every day is when the two friends or family members come to visit; I see them through a glass barrier and speak through a telephone.

My lack of freedom today is a price

I knew I would have to pay for the city I love. In the five years since the Umbrella Movement, but especially since 2017, when Mrs. Lam took office, our autonomy has further deteriorated: more opposition candidates deemed unacceptable by Beijing are barred from running for elected office; the pro-independence Hong Kong National Party is completely outlawed; a National Anthem Ordinance was proposed that would criminalize individuals who disrespect "March of the Volunteers." China is dead set on making Hong Kong more like it. Not taking a stance will mean less freedom for all.

"Those who make peaceful revolution impossible," President John F. Kennedy once said, "will make violent revolution inevitable." While I continue to believe nonviolent resistance is the best way to safeguard our way of life, China and its puppet government in Hong Kong ought to be responsible for the escalation of the present crisis. And it is not an isolated case. Beijing's imperial reach extends far and wide, from Taiwan and Xinjiang to the South China Sea and beyond. However this ends, our city will never be the same again.

As American security and business interests are also jeopardized by possible extradition arrangements with China, I believe the time is ripe for Washington to re-evaluate the U.S.-Hong Kong Policy Act of 1992, which governs relations between the two places. I also urge Congress to consider the Hong Kong Human Rights and Democracy Act. The rest of the international community should make similar efforts. A victory for Beijing is a victory for authoritarianism everywhere. Keeping an eye on this place sends an important message to Chinese authorities that democracy, not authoritarianism, is the way of the future. It also keeps our hopes alive knowing that we are not fighting alone.

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Wong, who wrote this essay from jail, is secretary-general of the pro-democracy party Demosisto

# World

on democracy activists at Tiananmen Square. It's the only place on Chinese soil where the massacre is openly commemorated, while government censors try to wipe it from mainland memory. The spirit of the protests snuffed out 30 years before helped inflame the demonstrations seen in Hong Kong.

"We're furious, we're angry, some of us are afraid—but we're here anyway," says Laurie Wen, a 48-year-old writer who joined this month's protests. "The thing that infuriates us the most is pointing to the sky during the day and calling it night."

**HONG KONG'S FRESH WAVE** of civil disobedience began with a murder. In February 2018, a pregnant 20-year-old woman from Hong Kong was killed by her boyfriend during a trip to Taiwan. The suspect, Chan Tong-kai, then 19, flew back to Hong Kong and has since been jailed for lesser crimes. Unable to prosecute the Hong Kong resident for a murder beyond the city's jurisdiction and without legal grounds to send him to Taiwan, the city's chief executive, Carrie Lam, pushed for a bill that would allow Chan to be extradited.

But the legislation raised alarm bells. Hong Kong's courts and Lam would have the authority to transfer suspects to jurisdictions with which the territory has no extradition agreement—not just Taiwan but also mainland China. This presents a threat not just to criminals but potentially to anyone whose behavior offends the Communist Party leadership, from human-rights advocates to business executives.

That helps explain why an unusually diverse assemblage of lawyers, students, stay-at-home moms, businesspeople and others joined the protests against what they see as an existential assault on their rights. On Sunday, June 9, a two-mile stretch of a central avenue was filled with column after column of protesters in a uniform of plain white T-shirts. From above, the mass of slow-moving city dwellers looked like a giant snake sliding through a forest of skyscrapers and wrapping its jaws around Hong Kong's legislative headquarters.

If the estimates are even close to accurate, the march was the largest protest in the city's history; organizers say more than a million people—one-seventh of the population—flooded the streets with chants of "No extradition to

China!" and "Carrie Lam, step down!"

The reality is, China already feels empowered to grab its adversaries from Hong Kong soil. In 2015, five booksellers peddling salacious volumes about mainland politics disappeared; all five eventually resurfaced in China. In 2017, a Chinese tycoon was abducted by secret police from one of the city's luxury hotels. But the extradition bill would render what are now noteworthy exceptions into something entirely routine; if the option to legally extradite people is on the table, Beijing will use it, critics say.

Chinese officials have spoken out in full support of the legislation, but Lam steadfastly denies that the amendments were Beijing's idea. "This bill was not initiated by the central people's government. I have not received any instruction or mandate from Beijing," Lam told reporters at a press conference on June 10. "We were doing it, and we are still doing it, out of our clear conscience and our commitment to Hong Kong."

Though Lam's critics describe her as a "puppet" of the mainland, her protests illustrate the importance of maintaining at least the pretense of independence. The Hong Kong government is still haunted by the massive protests of 2003, which forced it to back down on national-security legislation outlawing sedition and criticism of the Chinese government. Scrapping the bill was perceived as an admission that the government knew it was wrong, and Lam is fearful a repeat would destroy both Beijing's trust in her loyalty and her legitimacy at home. The last time Hong Kongers took to the street in great numbers, in the 2014 student-led occupation of the financial district that became known as the Umbrella Movement, the authorities here and in Beijing refused to grant concessions. Many student leaders were jailed, and some remain behind bars. If Lam gives in now, Hong Kong will have proved that throngs in the street still have currency in the final free enclave of China.

This time, unlike in 2014, the protests have taken on a more violent tenor. On the streets, clashes broke out after some demonstrators hurled bricks and bottles at police. The first clouds of tear gas exploded into the crowds just before 4 p.m. on June 12, sending panicked protesters and journalists fleeing for the



safety of malls and parking garages. But the demonstrators are defiant, vowing to defy the government until the legislation is dead in the water.

The business and diplomatic communities have answered the call to support them. More than 100 local businesses committed to joining a labor strike on June 12—an extremely rare event in Hong Kong—fearing the law could even endanger investors and government employees transiting through Hong Kong. The government has already shown itself willing to punish private companies for offending Beijing; last year, *Financial Times* journalist Victor Mallet was denied a working visa after chairing a talk by a pro-independence activist.

Protest leaders have shown no sign of backing down. "We ask everyone to continue staying here to support the demonstration," Claudia Mo, a lawmaker with



▲  
*Protesters react after police fire tear gas at a rally against an extradition bill on June 12*

the pro-democracy Civic Party yelled to cheering crowds shortly before they were dispersed. “During Occupy Central in 2014, we said, ‘We will be back.’ Today, we say, ‘We are back!’”

**THE RIFT** between Beijing and Hong Kong has now been widening for 22 years, and every attempt by the central government to bring Hong Kong further into its fold has triggered panic and protest. This in turn has deepened Beijing’s distrust of Hong Kong, which it sees as disloyal and subject to foreign interference. News about the latest protests is being heavily censored in China, where state-controlled newspapers have blamed the unrest on “foreign forces” meddling in Hong Kong’s affairs—but experts say it is China’s own interference that may be further alienating its rogue territory.

“By forcing the issue in such an

aggressive and abrupt way,” says James Millward, a professor of history at Georgetown University, “China can actually be creating a population in Hong Kong that will dig in and actually redefine itself in opposition to the mainland even more than it has so far.”

That risks putting the two sides on a more overt collision course. At best, more sustained opposition to Beijing will lead to political deadlock. At worst, it could lead to punishment in whatever form it deems fit. Beijing’s tolerance of Hong Kong ultimately comes down to a cost-benefit analysis, and the city may be becoming more trouble than it’s worth. In 1993, four years before the handover, the coastal enclave was China’s cash cow—a

financial gateway between East and West. At the time, the city accounted for roughly 27% of China’s GDP. But 26 years later, the mainland is awash in mercantile centers made in its own image and Hong Kong accounts for only about 2.9% of the Chinese economy.

“Uncomfortably for Hong Kongers, and everyone who loves Hong Kong, the city finds itself on the front lines of a global battle between a resurgent Chinese Communist Party and a world that adheres to liberal democratic values,” says Ben Bland, director of the Southeast Asia Project at the Lowy Institute and author of *Generation HK: Seeking Identity in China’s Shadow*. “The systems maintained by these two blocs are incompatible when pressed up against each other.”

Hong Kong’s freedoms currently allow it to fight back in ways that other parts of China can’t, but for how long? The state is becoming only more pervasive. Xinjiang is seen by many as a laboratory for wider application of invasive surveillance. Human-rights groups have reported police methods for harvesting data from Xinjiang residents from phones and ID cards and using it to track and detain supposed threats to public order. “Many people think that Hong Kong may be the next place where it gets rolled out,” says Millward of Georgetown. In the meantime, the memory of Tiananmen—where public protest was ultimately met with tanks and fusillades—is as vivid as it is chilling in Hong Kong.

Like many youths who joined the latest protests, high school student Rachel Liu grew up in a political state scheduled to expire within her lifetime. At 15 years old, she’s tasted the freedom that Hong Kong offers and is afraid of the change an increasingly authoritarian Beijing will bring to the only home she knows. “There are so many officials in China, and they have so much power,” she said. “Even if this amendment doesn’t pass, there will be other amendments, other laws in the future that will bring Hong Kong more and more under China’s control. There’s nothing more important than this movement right now.” —With reporting by LAIGNEE BARRON, ARIA CHEN, AMY GUNIA, ABHISHYANT KIDANGOOR and HILLARY LEUNG/HONG KONG and CHARLIE CAMPBELL/SHANGHAI □

# World

VIEWPOINT

## MY LOST REFUGE

By Ma Jian

UNTIL IT WAS HANDED OVER TO CHINA by the British in 1997, Hong Kong was a safe haven for dissident writers and artists. After my first book was banned by the Chinese government in 1987, Hong Kong became my refuge for 10 years. In independent bookshops I could read books that were banned in the mainland. Within the four walls of my small home on Lamma Island, I was able, for the first time, to write in complete freedom and feel entirely safe, knowing that no police officer would come knocking on my door. Hong Kong was a welcoming, ever changing harbor that felt alive with new ideas and possibilities.

The Basic Law, Hong Kong's mini constitution that came into force in 1997, was supposed to guarantee that the territory's freedoms and way of life would remain unchanged for 50 years. But by then, fellow dissidents and I sensed in our bones that Hong Kong's independence was doomed. We had seen that the Chinese Communist Party never kept any of its promises to respect freedom and human rights, and we feared that well before 2047, China and Hong Kong would become "one country, one system." On the day of the hand-over, as the People's Liberation Army marched over the border, we walked onto the streets banging drums and tossing white "spirit money" into the air, enacting funeral rites for Hong Kong's independence.

Now it is clear that the Chinese Communist Party had no intention of allowing Hong Kong to maintain its unique way of life. Judicial autonomy, press freedoms and civil liberties have been continuously eroded. This April, nine leaders of the Umbrella Movement were charged with "public nuisance" offenses. Four of them, including legal scholar Benny Tai and sociology professor Chan Kin-man, have been jailed. Three heroic young activists—Joshua Wong, Nathan Law and Alex Chow—who campaigned for universal suffrage, were imprisoned. In 2015, five booksellers were abducted to China by secret police.

LAST OCTOBER, in another attack on press freedom, the *Financial Times* journalist Victor Mallet was denied a work visa by the Hong Kong government. It was widely assumed to be punishment for chairing a talk by pro-independence activist Andy Chan. Since I left after the handover, I have frequently returned to Hong Kong, but I never felt in danger until November 2018. A few days before I was due to attend the Hong Kong International Literary Festival to discuss my novel *China Dream*, a satire of Xi Jinping's Orwellian rule, I was told my events were canceled. I went anyway, determined, if necessary, to hold the



▲ Protesters carried umbrellas as a symbolic gesture, but they offered little shelter against tear gas

talks in the street. After a public outcry, the events were reinstated. But throughout the trip, I feared for my safety. From the moment I emerged from passport control, a loyal friend stuck by my side, even sleeping on a camp bed in my hotel room, lest I be kidnapped by China. It is a fear all dissidents in Hong Kong now face. But if the extradition bill passes, this already grave situation will become much worse. Any opponent of Xi's regime could be legally and openly abducted.

In Tibet and Xinjiang, the Chinese Communist Party has in the main succeeded in crushing calls for freedom and true autonomy. It has incarcerated over a million Muslim Uighurs in concentration camps—one of the most atrocious and horrific abuses of humanity scarring the world today. The situation of Hong Kong is different. Unlike their mainland compatriots, Hong Kongers have grown up knowing what it feels like to be free. Aware that this freedom is now in danger, they will not relinquish it without a fight. Those crowds today on the streets of Hong Kong braving riot police, water cannons and tear gas understand that the Chinese judicial system is a tool of the state. Once accused and extradited, there is no chance of a fair trial.

They are struggling not just for their own personal liberty but for the soul of their territory. Will Western leaders abandon them as they have Xinjiang? If they fail to stand up to Beijing now, then eventually all of us, in every country around the world, could risk becoming the harried dissidents and fugitives of the Chinese Communist Party's inhumane rule.

Ma Jian is the author of *Beijing Coma*, among other books

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# Environment



*Rising seas  
threaten to  
submerge Tuvalu,  
one of many island  
nations struggling  
with climate  
change*



# This Island Is

# Sinking

The countries hurt most by climate change are fighting back—and getting results

**By Justin Worland/  
Suva, Fiji**

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Photographs  
By Christopher  
Gregory for TIME

# Environment

THE JOURNEY TO THE FIJIAN VILLAGE of Vunidogoloa is arduous. It requires a flight across the Pacific to the nation's remote international transit hub, a 140-mile connection on a rickety 19-seat plane to a smaller island, an hourlong drive past other rural villages and finally a short walk guided by a man with a machete to reach a ghost town forced into retreat by climate change and the rising seas that come with it.

Once home to more than 100 people, Vunidogoloa has been overrun by the tropical forest. Plants cover the town square. The stench of rotting rodents wafts from abandoned homes, and salt water seeps up through the soil as far as 300 ft. from Natewa Bay. This Saturday morning in mid-May is warm and pleasant, but a few times a year, king tides inundate the village with knee-high waters; locals were forced to place precious possessions on tall surfaces and run for the hills. "All the rights of living," says Sailosi Ramatu, the village's administrator, "had been lost because of climate change."

And so, five years ago, Vunidogoloa was abandoned. The Fijian government built a new town about a mile up the hill at a cost of half a million dollars. Vunidogoloa is the first place in Fiji to relocate because of the effects of climate change, but it won't be the last. Prime Minister Frank Bainimarama tells me he plans to move 40 Fijian villages in the coming years to cope with rising sea levels, which globally climbed about 7.5 in. in the 20th century and could rise 3 ft. more by the end of the 21st, according to the U.N.'s climate-science arm. "Every day I think about climate change," he says.

The relocation of villages like Vunidogoloa foreshadows the existential threat a changing and unsettled climate poses to a handful of small nations. Intense storms and flooding have pounded Fiji's islands, leaving the country to anticipate losing assets worth 5% of its GDP each year, a number expected to grow in the coming decades. Some years will be worse: in 2016, when Tropical Cyclone Winston hit, that figure ballooned to 20%. The constant turbulence has imperiled industry and choked off the food supply in Fiji; other island nations like Tuvalu, Kiribati and the Marshall Islands could face even worse in the coming century, scientists say, with sea-level rise threatening to

wipe them off the map entirely.

To save themselves and raise awareness of the perils of climate change, a collection of these vulnerable states—from Fiji to the Marshall Islands, the Maldives to the Bahamas—has launched an international campaign. It has been, against all odds, a remarkable success. Together, these mostly poor nations with little hard power leveraged the moral force of their peril to shape the global 2015 Paris Agreement. They helped inspire hundreds of billions of dollars in financial commitments for the developing world from richer countries. They spurred the creation of last year's Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) report that upended the climate debate. And they helped save complex international climate talks from collapse.

These successes of these countries offers a broader lesson: no one nation can solve a problem as complex as climate change alone, but together bands of nations can make a difference. And that lesson applies to a host of global challenges, from emerging diseases to international terrorism and the spread of nuclear weapons. As states around the world turn inward in response to rising populism, the tiny island nations are showing that international institutions remain not only relevant but also necessary to address the toughest challenges of our generation. "Climate change

offers an opportunity for multilateralism to prove its value," says U.N. Secretary-General António Guterres, who traveled to Fiji and other Pacific island nations in May to meet with leaders there.

That test is anything but theoretical for the bellwether states that dot the Pacific. Global average temperatures have risen so rapidly—already 1°C since the beginning of the industrial era—that the very existence of these nations is in doubt. The IPCC study released last fall suggests that some may not survive if temperature increase tops 1.5°C by the end of this century.

In mid-May, leaders of island nations from across the Pacific gathered in Fiji to plot their next big step: coordinating a push to make developed countries commit to aggressive new targets for reducing their emissions at a global climate summit to be convened by the U.N. in New York this fall. The goal: make the world respond to the urgency of climate change.

If they fail, they will likely not be the last to go. But not all successes are created equal. Indeed, it may be their loss that finally rouses the world to the stakes of the challenge.

THE STORY of how a few tiny Pacific nations joined hands to shape the Paris Agreement begins in September 2015, in a bland conference room at the Grand Pacific Hotel in the Fijian capital of Suva. During a three-day meeting in advance of the Paris climate talks, government officials and civil-society leaders from 15 Pacific nations drew up a list of what they wanted out of the approaching negotiations. The goals included a halt to new coal mines in countries that still supported the industry, backing for research and development on issues facing the region and increased funding to help poor countries prepare for extreme weather. One demand was paramount: any new global climate pact, the leaders agreed, had to aim to stop temperatures from rising more than 1.5°C by the year 2100.

That's just half a degree difference from the 2°C target that had dominated global climate talks. The gap may not sound like much. But the leaders gathered in Suva had known for years it could determine whether their countries survive or sink. Perched just a few feet above sea level, several countries are on the brink of



Vunidogoloa administrator Sailosi Ramatu, right, and his son Simi Botu stand on what remains of their former home



# Environment

losing their entire land mass. For those at higher elevations, the threat is nearly as dire. A country can survive only so many storms whose costs match annual GDP.

Emerging from their September confab, the Pacific countries had not only a commitment to 1.5°C but also a road map to get others on board. In the months that followed, the islands joined with other vulnerable countries to pressure their peers. On the streets of Paris that December, activists chanted the mantra, “One point five to stay alive.” Behind the scenes, negotiators from the Pacific states indicated they might oppose a deal that fell short of the target. Because any country can veto international climate deals, such a move would have doomed the talks. “The countries most vulnerable were the countries pleading with the world,” recalls former Ireland President Mary Robinson, who served as the U.N. climate-change envoy during the Paris talks. In a sign of the islands’ clout, President Obama met with the President of the Marshall Islands and the leaders of four other island nations as negotiations in Paris began.

Optimism gave way as the negotiations stalled. For days, the talks centered on the usual disagreements dividing the geopolitical heavyweights. The big developing countries wanted the developed world to acknowledge it was responsible for the bulk of climate change and face tougher standards to address it. The U.S. wanted rigorous reporting rules to ensure that countries like China and India actually kept their climate promises. As the talks entered their final days, negotiators faced the prospect of failure, just like six years earlier in Copenhagen.

Then officials representing a coalition of small island states sat down with top U.S. State Department diplomats to broker a deal that moved talks forward. The pact involved the islands’ endorsing the U.S. push for stringent reporting requirements, while the U.S. consented to support the call to incorporate 1.5°C into the final Paris Agreement.

The deal helped break the logjam. Within hours of its announcement, dozens of countries had unified in the coalition. Negotiators knew victory was at hand when Brazil, a big developing country often aligned with China, joined the group. The final text of the accord called for keeping temperatures “well below 2°”



*From left: U.N. chief António Guterres chats with Fiji Prime Minister Frank Bainimarama; Pacific leaders meet to discuss their climate agenda*

and ideally to 1.5°C. China and India argued for watering down the deal until the final hours, but declined to use their veto power to block the global compact. “In the end, we outmaneuvered the laggards,” says Farhana Yamin, a negotiator for the Marshall Islands at the time.

The islands’ impact on climate discussions has only grown since. In the aftermath of President Trump’s surprise election victory, Fiji won a bid to lead the 2017 U.N. climate talks—a massive task that entailed not only hosting key meetings that brought top officials to Fiji to see the ravages of climate change firsthand but also guiding nearly 200 countries to policy consensus and, by extension, keeping the global climate regimen on track. With support from the U.S. and others, Fiji’s bid was successful. “We thought it was a powerful statement,” recalls John Kerry, the former U.S. Secretary of State.

After winning the hosting slot, Fiji developed a plan to coax its peers into supporting the aggressive measures the region’s survival requires. Wealthy carbon-emitting nations were facing political storms. The incoming Trump

Administration in the U.S. was hostile to climate science, and the E.U.’s attention had turned to Brexit. So Fiji pioneered a program called the “Talanoa Dialogue,” the name for the national tradition of listening and sharing. Instead of shaming countries that failed to live up to their climate promises, the Fijians stressed to them the urgency of the challenge. It was a strategic decision intended to build bridges at a time when other leaders seemed eager to burn them.

Fiji planned the dialogue in 2017, and it was folded into official climate negotiations the following year. In the process, top officials in vulnerable countries told their counterparts elsewhere about how climate change was already devastating communities and about their own aggressive plans to reduce emissions. The Marshall Islands said it would cut emissions by 45% by 2030, Fiji promised to eliminate its emissions by 2050, and the Cook Islands plans to be entirely renewable by 2020. “We are very small emitters, but we cannot afford to be fighting from the rear,” says Bainimarama.

Simply bearing witness to the crisis in nations like Fiji has made a difference. Claudia Roth, one of the vice presidents of the German Bundestag, visited Vunidogoloa earlier this year as part of a multi-stop tour of countries confronting climate



change. The visit rendered her speechless and brought her delegation to tears, she says. Roth returned with plans to promote an array of programs aimed at helping the people and places hardest hit by global warming. “It is really a crime to continue to ignore what’s going on,” she says.

The impact of Fiji’s year leading global climate policymaking is evident on the ground. Around the country, it’s easy to spot the E.U. flag attached to development projects. A range of institutions including the German government and USAID has helped foot the bill to relocate villages. Even the gathering Bainimarama hosted in May featured events sponsored by the U.K. and Canada.

That’s a small part of a much bigger picture. In total, developed countries are projected to spend \$67 billion annually by 2020 on climate initiatives in the developing world, according to the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development. Though a significant step, it’s far short of the \$100 billion that developed countries had previously promised on annual basis.

Even so, the push for the 1.5°C target has paid huge dividends in publicity. As directed by the Paris deal, the IPCC released a report on the difference between 1.5°C and 2°C of warming. The conclusions were stark: the world is danger-

ously close to climate catastrophe that could impoverish hundreds of millions of people, lead to the disappearance of coral reefs and expose 10 million additional people to the effects of sea-level rise. The report drew more attention to climate change than even the adoption of the Paris Agreement itself and inspired the push for a Green New Deal in the U.S. as well as aggressive new climate plans in a handful of other countries.

**DESPITE THESE VICTORIES**, it would be a mistake to think that the Pacific leaders feel triumphant. No matter how mighty their efforts, the fate of the world’s most vulnerable communities is still largely out of their hands. The world remains on track for more than 3°C of warming if countries implement only their current plans, according to a December 2018 analysis from Climate Action Tracker. With populist leaders around the globe threatening to reverse their predecessors’ work on climate, it remains unclear whether countries will even follow through with those modest plans. If communities like Vunidogoloa are to be saved, others will need to help.

Some are trying. On May 14, Guterres, the U.N. Secretary-General, touched down in Fiji, the second stop on a four-country tour of the region. Giant billboards fea-

turing his face lined the bumpy roads to the capital. The following morning, traditional performers presented Guterres with a giant roasted pig as he sat onstage with Bainimarama in a tropical-themed shirt.

Guterres has thrown the weight of the U.N. into combating climate change. The summit he is convening in September before the meeting of the U.N. General Assembly will bring together heads of state along with business and civil-society leaders. To participate fully, Guterres is requiring leaders make new commitments to reduce countries’ emissions. “I know it’s very hard for the Secretary-General to get 200 nations to come together and decide on one thing, but we need the political will, the political commitment to fight this,” says Bainimarama. “If we don’t get through this, the crisis will turn into chaos, and chaos means the end of the world for us.”

Guterres is working to position the tiny island nations not just as the political center of the debate, but as its moral center, too. The U.N. has divided the September conference into nine segments, including the energy transition, nature-based solutions, climate financing and carbon pricing. For key topics, he has appointed one big economy and one developing country suffering urgently from climate change to helm the discussions. Jamaica

# Environment

is leading the climate-finance segment with France, for example, while the Marshall Islands heads up the public-mobilization portion with Ireland. Together, these countries will work with NGOs and other partners to decide which new initiatives to unveil in September. Some commitments likely to be highlighted at the summit have already made news, including plans from Germany and the U.K. to go carbon-neutral by 2050. The goal, Guterres says, is “to make country by country assume leadership.”

Those individual initiatives, however, must be part of a larger collective initiative that requires world leaders to get together and tackle their emissions. “We do it for wars, we do it for communicable diseases,” says Rachel Kyte, CEO of Sustainable Energy for All and a key adviser to Guterres. “We can damn well do it for climate change.”

The Pacific provides a map to navigate these choppy waters. Like the rest of the world, the region faces issues beyond climate change. Corruption abounds; poverty is rampant. In some places, women are treated as second-class citizens. And on many fronts, the region’s leaders don’t even agree among themselves, much less with the rest of the world. But on the issue that matters most to them, the one that threatens their very existence, they have achieved unanimity.

It would be easy to view the islands as distant lands with distant challenges. But their tragedy may soon be ours. Vunidogoloa sits on a beach that coastal erosion has chipped away for at least a half-century, and the porous soil makes the area particularly vulnerable to flooding. Miami’s permeable limestone subsurface exposes the great U.S. city to the same peril. New Orleans and Houston already face the threat of supersized storms that will only get worse with time. Outside the U.S., Osaka sits just a few feet above sea level, some of Australia’s biggest cities reside in a state with frequent drought, and several European hubs regularly face crippling floods when there’s too much rain. We can sit and watch small Pacific islands disappear—but who do we think will be hit next?

This isn’t lost on those nations’ leaders. Their fate is ours foretold, they tell anyone who will listen. “What we are trying to tell the world is that when we go down, all the cities will go down too,” says Tuilaepa Mailelegaoi, the Prime Minister of Samoa. “We are arguing also for the safety of the people of the world.” The rest of the world would be well served to listen. □



*Villagers leave Sunday church service in the town that was built to replace Vunidogoloa*



# The Va

*An anti-vaccine rally  
at the Arizona  
state capitol  
on May 18*



# Battleg

# vaccine



# rounds

EVEN AS U.S. MEASLES CASES HIT RECORD NUMBERS, A GRASSROOTS MOVEMENT IS DETERMINED TO KEEP STATES FROM REQUIRING KIDS TO GET THEIR SHOTS  
BY JEFFREY KLUGER/  
SACRAMENTO

# Society

## Christina Hildebrand went down a rabbit hole and emerged at the statehouse in Sacramento.

That's how she describes it—going down a rabbit hole—and in her case it happened 14 years ago, when she was pregnant with her first child. In a world filled with chemicals and toxins, processed foods and GMOs, she decided her baby would be brought up as naturally and chemical-free as possible. It was when she was researching how best to achieve that goal that she bumped into vaccines.

That was a bad time to begin thinking about such things. The fraudulent 1998 paper by British physician Andrew Wakefield ostensibly linking vaccines to autism had not yet been retracted, and American celebrities, led by former model Jenny McCarthy, would soon begin making talk-show hay on that phony idea. Hildebrand didn't like what she was hearing.

"The vaccination issue is a choice," she says. "If you choose to be vaccinated for the measles, then you're covered. You don't need to worry about somebody who is not vaccinated."

Hildebrand will not disclose what choice she made for her own children. "Their medical history is private and not something I care to share," she said in an email to TIME. But she's less reticent about her views on vaccines as a whole. Owner of a market-research firm in San Francisco, she is also the founder of A Voice for Choice, an advocacy group that challenges vaccine science and lobbies against state legislation that mandates vaccination as a condition for attending public schools and in favor of legislation that allows parents to opt out. The group has three part-time employees plus "a huge number of volunteers," Hildebrand says.

She was in Sacramento on May 21 as the legislature was taking up SB 276, a bill to close a loophole that allows some parents to sidestep vaccine requirements by finding a provider willing to attest that their child cannot tolerate the shots for medical reasons. That same morning, an event for Sacramento's Summer Food Service Program was taking place in front of the statehouse, and children and teachers in blue T-shirts were everywhere. At the edge of the crowd was a scattering of yellow—a small group of anti-vaccine mothers in yellow vests, an apparent nod to France's *gilets jaunes*, the populist economic movement.

The mothers were mostly observing, there to protest a speech by California state senator Richard Pan, a physician and the sponsor of SB 276, and all but one declined to talk to TIME on the record. Representatives of anti-vaccine groups in other states, including Maine, Michigan, Vermont and Arizona, also declined



*From top:*  
Activists line  
the halls in  
Sacramento  
during a hearing  
on SB 276;  
a protest outside  
of the statehouse  
in Spokane,  
Wash., where  
lawmakers were  
considering  
a pro-vax bill



to be interviewed for this story by email or phone. The California mothers were gracious, heartfelt and genuinely worried about what they believe to be the manifest danger of vaccination. But in a state as increasingly vaccine-friendly as California, they fear mockery and ostracism if they were to be marked with the *anti-vax* brand. (Like most such activists, they prefer to frame the issue in terms of choice and medical freedom, insisting they are not against vaccines but rather believe the decision whether to vaccinate is best left to parents. For the sake of clarity, however, the term *anti-vaccine* will be used for those who oppose mandatory vaccinations and *pro-vaccine* for those who support them.)

One of the women, Denise Aguilar, was not so wary. "We are just parents who are getting a little bit fed up with the bills that are being passed," she said. "To have our health in bureaucrats' hands, that's the complete tyranny of the government."

**37**

Measles cases reported in the U.S. in 2004, a record-low annual total

**1,022**

Measles cases reported in 2019 as of June 6, the highest rate since 1992

**SACRAMENTO WASN'T THE ONLY PLACE** people sharing these beliefs gathered that week. Three days earlier, hundreds protested in front of the Arizona statehouse in Phoenix, where legislation is being considered that would eliminate the state's personal-belief exemption, which allows parents to opt out of vaccines on philosophical grounds. The scene looked festive, but sentiments were dark, with particular venom directed at the U.S. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, which champions childhood vaccination. CONVICT CDC, read



From top: Ethan Lindenberger, 18, testifies before a Senate committee about getting vaccinated against his parents' wishes; anti-vaxxers in Albany, N.Y.



one sign with red-painted bloody handprints. NO TO FORCED MEDICAL PROCEDURES, read another. Children and babies wore T-shirts that made them living posters. I GET MY ANTIBODIES FROM BREAST MILK, read one. (Yes, but not enough to prevent disease.) Present at the event was medical gadfly Robert F. Kennedy Jr., who has been campaigning against vaccines on the basis of false science since 2005.

Four days before the Sacramento event, a rally was held in Albany, N.Y., as the state reels from the current epidemic of vaccine-preventable measles, with nearly 600 cases in New York City and more than 260 outside the city. Kennedy showed up in Albany too.

In Austin, where the state legislature took up bills both loosening and tightening vaccine rules before its May adjournment, the group Texans for Vaccine Choice (TFVC) is a regular presence. "They are all over the place," says Jinny Suh, founder of the pro-vaccine group Immunize Texas. "You see them at hearings where they testify about every kind of myth."

Those states are not remotely the whole story. There are registered anti-vaccine PACs in at least four states: Oregon, Michigan, Oklahoma and Texas. Every state in the country except Alaska and West Virginia has at least one anti-vax organization, according to the Vaccine Liberation website, which tracks them. The most aggressive of the groups are not just demonstrating but also actively challenging pro-vax legislators, running candidates against them in primaries.

"I talk to colleagues, and they say that their problem is that people who support vaccines are not single-issue voters, while anti-vax people are," says Pan, the sponsor of California SB 276. "They tell me, 'I don't need this faction working against me.'"

The ubiquity of the groups, of course, does not change the misinformation they spread: that vaccines are dangerous, even deadly; that they are linked not only to autism but also to ADHD, asthma, depression and a grab bag of other conditions. The near unanimous global consensus on the safety and lifesaving power of vaccines, they say, is a conspiracy driven by profits, on the part of governments, the pharmaceutical industry and even individual pediatricians.

It's not true—any of it—and the nonsense comes at a very bad time. The World Health Organization recently labeled vaccine hesitancy one of 2019's leading threats to global health, and in the U.S. that threat is escalating. A national measles outbreak has exceeded 1,000 cases in 28 states in just the first five months of 2019, making it the worst year for the disease since 1992. Measles had been declared eliminated in the U.S. in 2000—meaning the few infections that did turn up originated elsewhere—but if the current outbreak continues through the fall, the U.S. could lose its elimination status.

While some anti-vaxxers claim measles is merely a fever and a rash, a rite of immunological passage that confers natural lifetime immunity, public-health officials are clear that it is not. Worldwide, the disease killed 110,000 people, most of them children under 5, in 2017. In the U.S., before the introduction of the first measles vaccine in 1963, there were up to 4 million cases annually, with 48,000 hospitalizations and up to 500 deaths per year.

Measles isn't the only resurging vaccine-preventable disease. There have been outbreaks of mumps around the country, with 1,002 cases so far in 2019—some due to college students missing their booster shots, others due to people who never got vaccinated in the first place. Whooping cough, too, has resurfaced. Part of that is due to a mutated bacterium, but earlier outbreaks—like one in California in 2014—have been tied to overuse of personal-belief exemptions.

Social media is a force multiplier in spreading the junk science, with Facebook serving as a no-cost organizing platform for many of the local groups. A 2018 study out of George Washington University found that Russian bots have been spreading vaccine misinformation across Twitter, in what experts believe to be one more attempt at sowing discord in the U.S. Even Pinterest has had to combat the propaganda, blocking anti-vax searches and pulling down offending posts.

What galls public-health experts is that the anti-vaxxers' "personal choice" really isn't all that personal. Depending on the disease, it's necessary for about 95% of a population to be vaccinated to provide so-called herd immunity, the ability of a well-inoculated

# Society

community to protect the few of its members who can't be vaccinated due to age, illness or a weakened immune system. But in 2019, as anti-vaxxers put the individual over the group, the group is in growing danger.

"Vaccines are a victim of their own success," says Dr. Paul Offit, director of the Vaccine Education Center at the Children's Hospital of Philadelphia. "People have forgotten how sick measles can make you and how dead measles can make you."

**THE CURRENT SURGE** in anti-vax energy is traced by most observers to Disneyland. In 2014, an outbreak of measles originating at the California theme park spread across seven states and into Canada. The next year, state legislatures began examining whether exemptions to mandatory vaccinations were too easy to come by. And the battle was joined.

Most states require children to be up to date on vaccines to attend public school—and, in some cases, private school—but parents can claim exemptions, depending on the state: religious; philosophical or personal belief; and medical—as, say, when a child is immune-suppressed or allergic to some vaccine ingredients. Only two states—West Virginia and Mississippi—had no religious or philosophical exemptions at the time of the 2014 outbreak and, no coincidence, they had the best vaccination rates in the country, with Mississippi fully vaccinating 99% of its childhood population. Nineteen other states had philosophical exemptions, and 48 also had religious exemptions.

In many states, overuse of exemptions was pushing vaccination rates below the herd-immunity threshold. Bills were introduced around the country eliminating one or both of the nonmedical exemptions, and the activists rose up to fight them. California's SB 277, passed in 2015, was the first to go into effect, retaining only the medical exemption, and it took until this May before a fourth state, Maine, followed suit.

Exemptions aren't the only flash points the bills address. One proposal, a favorite of anti-vaxxers, would require doctors to make vaccine package inserts available to families, in the expectation, pro-vaxxers say, that the list of chemical ingredients and possible side effects—included on all inserts for all drugs—would scare parents into saying no. Another, popular among the pro-vax community, would require doctors to enter patient vaccination records in a statewide tracking system.

"There is no bill that says, 'We're going to come take your children if you don't vaccinate,'" says California assemblywoman Lorena Gonzalez, who is the co-author of SB 276, leading the fight for its passage on the assembly side. "What we say is, 'Then you can't take them to school because now your personal decision is going to affect other kids in the community.'"

So far this year alone, according to the website of the National Vaccine Information Center (NVIC)—an anti-vax group that is seen as a good source of information on vaccine legislation—187 bills were being

## Closing loopholes

State legislatures are making it harder for parents to forgo immunizations for their kids without a valid medical reason

Reasons states allow kids to go unvaccinated

- Medical
- Medical and religious
- Medical, religious and philosophical

### WASHINGTON

In May, following a measles outbreak, the state eliminated philosophical exemptions for the measles, mumps and rubella vaccine

### CALIFORNIA

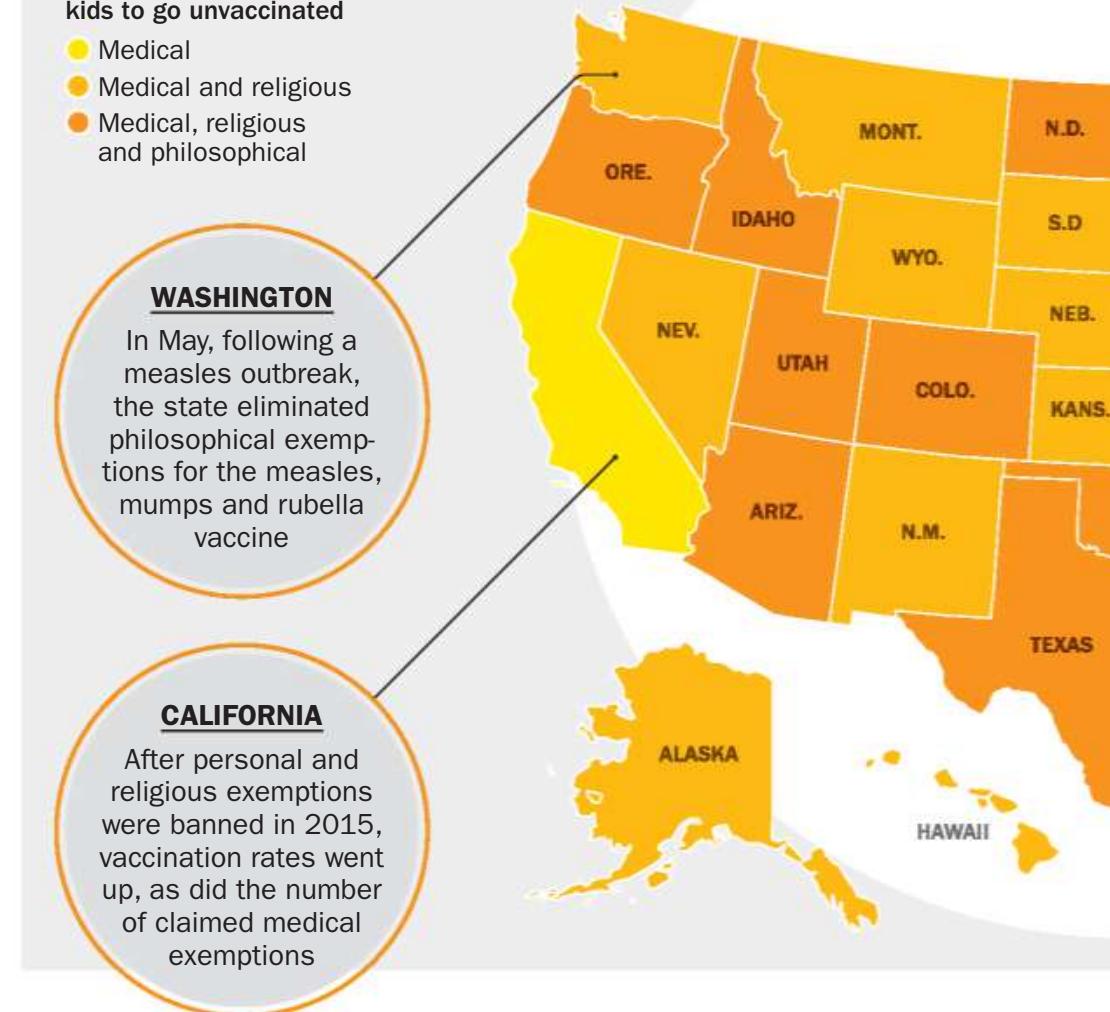
After personal and religious exemptions were banned in 2015, vaccination rates went up, as did the number of claimed medical exemptions

92%

Minimum vaccination rate required for 'herd immunity' against measles, mumps and rubella

86%

Vaccination rate of young children in Missouri, the lowest of any state and one of 11 states under 90%



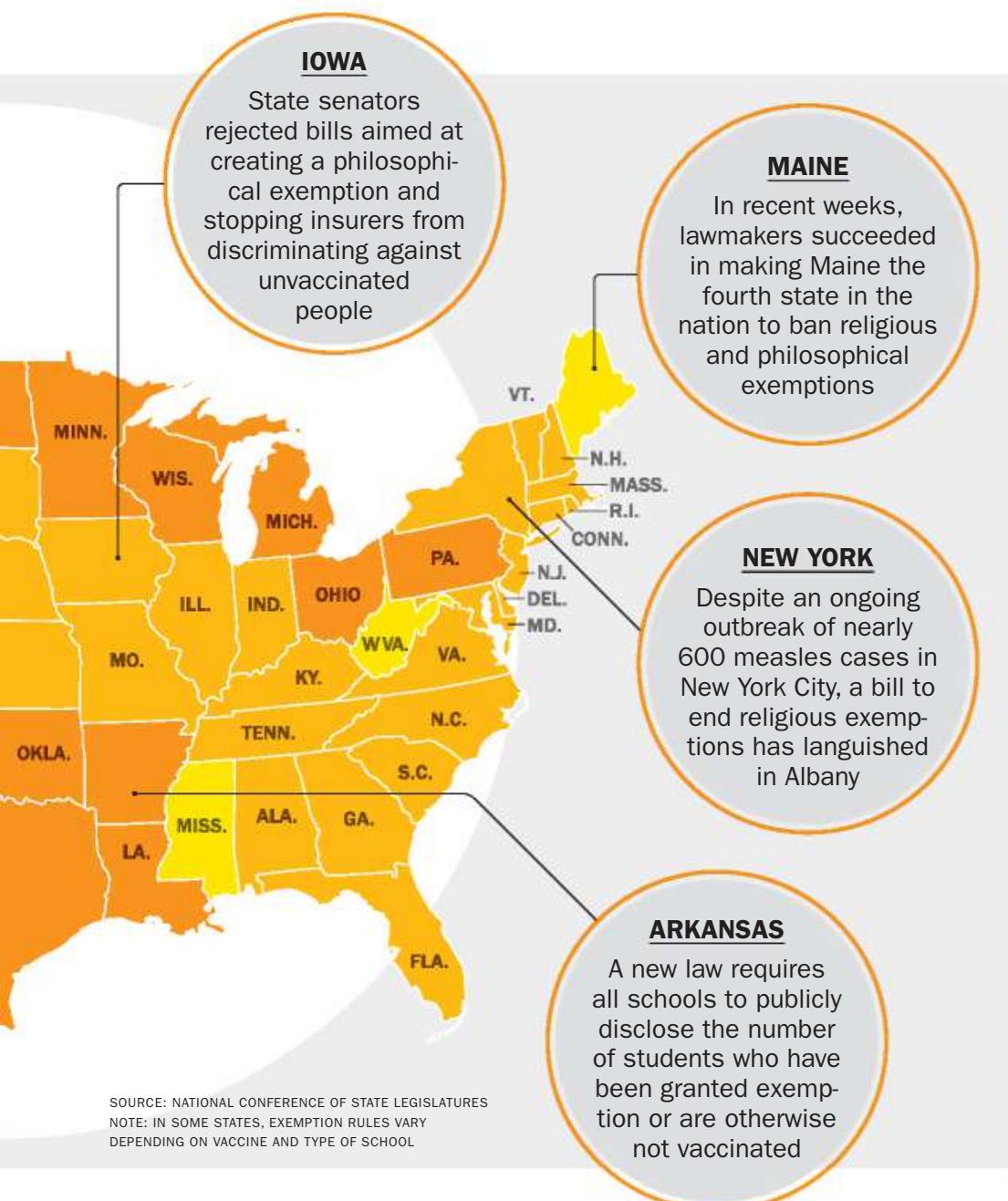
considered in legislatures. Just 70 of those are anti-vaccine, but at least some of the others are unlikely to have been filed at all but for the anti-vax activity.

Even when pro-vax bills do get signed into law, there is no guarantee the anti-vaccine activists will go along. "It doesn't matter what laws are passed," says Aguilar, the mom who spoke to TIME in Sacramento. "We're not going to comply with them."

That noncompliance can happen with the connivance of doctors. No sooner had the 2015 California law gone into effect than anti-vax parents began looking for physicians who would sign a medical waiver even if they had never before met the child. One doctor alone was responsible for about a third of the 500 medical exemptions issued in a San Diego school district, according to health-department records. There was nothing technically illegal about what she was doing.

In response, Pan and Gonzalez introduced SB 276, which would require all medical waivers to be sent to and approved by the state board of health before an unvaccinated child could attend public school. The bill, which is pending in the assembly, passed the state senate on May 22—though not before hundreds of parents lined the statehouse hallways, calling the bill a "crime against humanity" and Pan himself a "tyrant."

Warm bodies and loud voices may be the biggest advantage the activists have, because in other respects they're outgunned, especially financially. Some, like Texans for Vaccine Choice, are 501(c)(4) nonprofits, but their funding is so low—less than \$50,000 a year—that



getting their shots as soon as they turn 18 could be a bellwether of healthy generational shift. In March, Ohio high schooler Ethan Lindenberger made news when he did just that, then testified about his decision to a Senate committee. In the meantime, the battles may simply have to be fought in the legislatures and at the ballot box—and for now, the science is winning. In recent elections, a number of anti-vax challengers either won primaries but lost in the general or did not even make it to the final round. Several incumbents backed by Texans for Vaccine Choice did win re-election, though their incumbency made them much surer bets.

In terms of legislation, anti-vax success has also been minimal. A 2018 study in the *American Journal of Public Health* reported that of 175 vaccine-related bills studied from 2011 to 2017, only 13 were signed into law—and 12 of those actually limited access to vaccine exemptions. The TFVC celebrated what it could after the Texas legislature adjourned, announcing, “NO BAD BILLS were passed!” on its Facebook page. On the TFVC blog, the group’s founder, Jackie Schlegel, took a sharper tone, swiping at this year’s “manic-media-measles-meltdown.” (As of press time, Schlegel had declined to be interviewed by TIME.)

But state legislatures meet every year, and Peter Hotez, professor and dean of the National School of Tropical Medicine at the Baylor College of Medicine, worries that the anti-vax community is adept at playing the long game. “They work on this year after year, so they’re chipping away,” he says.

Hotez believes the front lines of the fight involve social media. In early March, Facebook pledged to prevent the spread of vaccine misinformation, but it has declined to shut down anti-vax pages directly—which, as a private company, it could do without running afoul of the First Amendment. It has also promised to serve up more factual information when users search for vaccines, but both Facebook and Instagram, which it owns, continue to be rife with misinformation.

Such efforts would likely find a very receptive audience. A 2017 Pew Research Center study showed that 82% of Americans believe “healthy children should be required to be vaccinated to attend school because of potential health risk to others.” A Reuters/Ipsos poll in May found 77% of respondents believe children should be vaccinated against measles even if parents object.

None of that is likely to dissuade Hildebrand, Kennedy or other opponents of mandatory vaccines, for whom the argument comes down to the binary business of parental right to choose. In that lies the particular power—and the particular peril—they represent. Climate-change deniers may make it incrementally harder to enact smart environmental legislation. Moon-landing conspiracists may diminish the quality of debate in the public square. But every parent who chooses not to vaccinate has at least one child whose own health is being left at risk and who represents a danger to others too. Neither the child nor the community had a voice in that choice. □

they are not required to file a long-form disclosure with the IRS. The group donated to dozens of candidates in the 2018 cycle, but its biggest contribution was \$5,500; its smallest was \$25. One of the best funded, according to the nonprofit investigative newsroom ProPublica, is the NVIC, whose most recently available fundraising totals—from 2015 to 2016—were just over \$1 million.

That’s real money, but it doesn’t compare with that of the pharmaceutical industry, which donated more than \$2 million to the campaigns of California state legislators in 2013 and 2014. Pan topped the list at \$95,150, according to a 2015 story in the Sacramento Bee that is cited by opponents as evidence of bias. Pan pushes back, pointing out the industry donated to 19 other lawmakers as well, some of them his opponents. “As a pediatrician I spent an enormous amount of time studying and practicing,” he says. “I was there during the 1991 measles outbreak in Philadelphia and saw children get sick and die. If people think I need more incentive to believe in vaccines, they’re wrong.”

Such testimony from the field is unlikely to work on the most committed anti-vaxxers, who are convinced (despite all evidence) that the shots are worse than the disease. “The vaccine issue is kind of *sui generis*, in that the belief is so strong and unamenable to scientific evidence and the wisdom of common experience,” says Michelle Mello, professor of health law and policy at Stanford University.

It’s possible the culture will age out of anti-vax misinformation. Scattered reports of unvaccinated kids



✓ Yes



✓ Yes



✓ Yes



✓ Yes



✓ Yes



✗ No



✓ Yes



✓ Yes



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# Tim Off

CALL TO DUTY  
Bruce  
Springsteen  
embraces  
veterans and  
the question of  
patriotism

INSIDE

HBO'S EUPHORIA TACKLES  
GEN Z DEPRESSION

WHAT DOES THE E.U. DO? AN EPIC  
NOVEL TRIES TO EXPLAIN

JIM JARMUSCH REIMAGINES  
THE ZOMBIE MOVIE

PHOTOGRAPH BY DANNY CLINCH

# TimeOff Opener

MUSIC

## The Boss continues his battle for veterans

By Andrew R. Chow

**S**OME MUSICIANS MAKE SONGS PRAISING troops, like Toby Keith ("American Soldier") and Kid Rock ("Warrior"). Others rail against war, like M.I.A. ("P.O.W.A.") and Neil Young ("Let's Impeach the President"). Then there's Bruce Springsteen, who does both.

In a career spanning five decades, Springsteen has lent a credible voice to many activist causes, decrying poverty, racism and corporate greed. But one topic that he consistently and passionately comes back to is the soldier returning from war. At the peak of his popularity, Springsteen was a major player in the rehabilitation of the movement for Vietnam veterans and helped to normalize the struggles of PTSD; he still raises millions for veterans' causes and has formed personal bonds with many vets. His new album *Western Stars*, out June 14, may be a departure musically, with lush orchestrations evoking the era of Jimmy Webb and "Wichita Lineman." But the vets are in there. In "Tucson Train," he sings, "We fought hard over nothing/ We fought till nothing remained/ I've carried that nothing for a long time/ Now I carry my operator's license and spend my days just running this crane."

Springsteen might not be as central to the cultural conversation now as he was when he released "Born in the U.S.A.," a scathing condemnation of America's treatment of its fighters, in 1984. But he still possesses an outsize influence in music—if four consecutive No. 1 studio albums and a sold-out Broadway show are any indication—and his reach spreads across a divided country. In truth, he was among the artists who warned of the divide, in deeply felt songs of perseverance and struggle set in communities being left behind. That includes veterans, whose service

has become another fault line in our fractured era. While public conversation about the military—whether about kneeling in protest or a jumbo parade—tends to devolve into feverish political debate, Springsteen has become a singular and powerful voice singing for the individual vets themselves.

**THE BOSS** was never a soldier. Drafted during the Vietnam War, he tried his hardest to get out of serving, including pretending he was on LSD. But the violence and loss of war still figured in his life: His father served in World War II and came back with bouts of depression and paranoia. And when Bart Haynes, the drummer in his first band, and Walter Cichon, a New Jersey rocker he idolized, both died while in Vietnam, Springsteen was filled with guilt for years to come. He said as much during his one-man show *Springsteen on Broadway* last year: "I do sometimes wonder who went in my place—because somebody did."

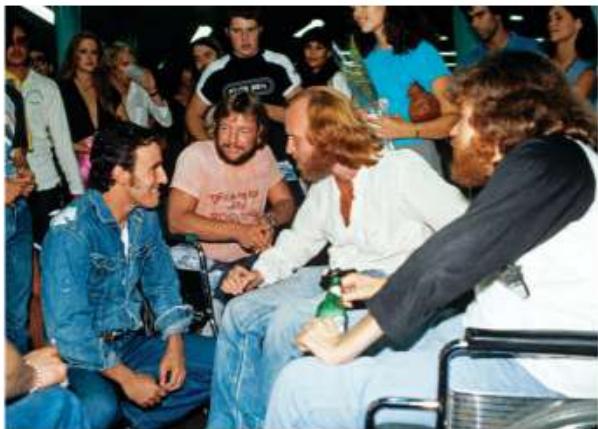
Springsteen began actively addressing veterans' issues in the late '70s after meeting and befriending Ron Kovic, who had written *Born on the Fourth of July*, a harrowing account of his time in Vietnam. At the time, veterans were being thanked for their service, but little else. Many suffered from PTSD, poor health and slim job prospects. And an organization that attempted to support them, the Vietnam Veterans of

### SPRINGSTEEN AND VETS THROUGH THE YEARS



**1973**

Releases debut album and sings of a "ragamuffin gunner" returning from war on "Lost in the Flood"



**1981**

Performs benefit concert for the Vietnam Veterans of America



**1984**

Releases "Born in the U.S.A.," a song he calls a "GI blues"



**2004**

Headlines the Vote for Change tour to encourage voter registration

1981: NEAL PRESTON; 2004: GETTY IMAGES; 2018: ALBERTO VASARI

America, was “hundreds of thousands of dollars in debt” at the time, according to its co-founder Bobby Muller.

But in 1981, Springsteen staged a benefit concert in Los Angeles, bringing veterans like Muller onstage and arguing passionately for the community. The concert provoked a swell of interest, and the organization was able to expand and fight for medical services and government recognition. “Without Bruce, we would have folded,” Muller says now. “We would never have had a coherent Vietnam movement in this country.”

Springsteen’s activism made its way into his music. The B side of “Born in the U.S.A.” was “Shut Out the Light,” which depicted a soldier racked by PTSD and insomnia. Former Secretary of State John Kerry, who was also an early member of the Vietnam Veterans of America, tells TIME in an email that Springsteen’s songs were transformative for a nation that was attempting to sweep its trauma under the rug. “His lyrics and ballads spoke to what so many veterans were feeling: it was as if he’d worn the uniform himself,” Kerry says. “He was telling the raw story of the real experience, not the one being sold by politicians.”

As the U.S. continued to send soldiers into foreign conflicts, Springsteen continued to tell the stories of those coming home. After the Gulf War, he penned “Souls of the Departed,” about the sleepless guilt of “young Lieutenant Jimmy Bly.” At the height of the Iraq War in 2007, he released “Gypsy Biker,” singing of the “speculators” who “made

their money on the blood you shed.” Ten years later, for the Iraq-veteran movie *Thank You for Your Service*, he made a dirge from a marching cadence: “Some say freedom is free, but I tend to disagree/ I say freedom is won through the blood of someone’s son.”

He has headlined the annual benefit show Stand Up for Heroes for 12 of the past 13 years, helping the Bob Woodruff Foundation raise more than \$40 million for veterans’ causes. And his openness about his bouts of depression has encouraged others to confront their own struggles.

**OVER THE PAST DECADE**, any statement about the military has become something akin to a litmus test for patriotism. When Michael Moore criticized snipers following the 2014 film *American Sniper*, Sarah Palin responded by accusing “Hollywood leftists” of “spitting on the graves of freedom fighters who allow you to do what you do.” Colin Kaepernick felt similar blowback when he kneeled in protest of racial injustice, as many fans have come to equate the national anthem exclusively with the military. And Donald Trump has embraced an unabashedly jingoist view of the armed forces. When his plans to throw a massive Veterans Day parade fell through last year, he blamed its cancellation on political decay in Washington.

Mainstream musicians have mostly taken the safe route, performing at

concerts like Salute the Troops and VetsAid in which they play hits and maybe wave an American flag. But Springsteen has refused to back away from the tensions in a contentious subject, even if it means risking his popularity. At the 2014 Concert for Valor, he chose Creedence Clearwater Revival’s “Fortunate Son”—a song that excoriates the country’s inequality—and was quickly blasted by conservative outlets, who called his choice antimilitary and anti-American.

Springsteen’s reply is that of many veterans: pro-troop vs. antiwar is a false dichotomy. In *Springsteen on Broadway* last year, he reiterated the defiance that actually propels “Born in the U.S.A.”: “It’s a protest song, a GI blues,” he said.

And on *Western Stars*, his 19th studio album, war, trauma and recovery hover behind many melodies. He sings of World War II veterans taking out GI loans, soldiers turned crane operators, and men with steel rods in their legs. These characters are part of an America in which war is not an abstract partisan issue but an eternal fact baked into generations of everyday life. And as long as troops continue to leave the country and return dejected, they can find a salve in Springsteen’s music, just as Ron Kovic did four decades ago. “It was a small act,” Kovic says of being recognized in concert by Springsteen in 1978. “But in a way, it was the beginning of my coming home.” □



**2014**  
Releases “The Wall,”  
commemorating Vietnam  
veterans who died in combat



**2018**  
Performs at the annual Stand Up  
for Heroes, which raises millions  
for veterans’ causes



**2019**  
Releases  
*Western Stars*

# TimeOff Television



Troubled teen Rue (Zendaya) chases oblivion

REVIEW

## In HBO's Gen Z drama, *Euphoria* isn't happiness

By Judy Berman

GEN Z IS SAD—OR SO THEIR ELDERS HAVE HEARD. AND IT isn't just teen angst. Too young to remember 9/11, they had relatively peaceful childhoods that have given way to existential struggles on both political and environmental fronts. Adults haven't been much help. We haven't meaningfully addressed the sources of their stress—like school shootings—but we have capitalized on it with moody Burger King commercials and anhedonic hitmakers from Billie Eilish to Lil Uzi Vert.

Teen TV these days can be dark too. *Riverdale* and *Chilling Adventures of Sabrina* are Archie Comics twisted by murder, organized crime and the occult. In an apt metaphor for kids fighting a generational war, Marvel's *Runaways* battle their own villainous parents. Netflix's controversial *13 Reasons Why* helped make teen suicide a YA talking point. But *Euphoria*, an extremely TV-MA series that premieres June 16 on HBO, may be the first teen drama to fully exploit the Xanax-numbed aesthetic that defines Gen Z in the popular consciousness.

Its creator, writer and most frequent director is Sam Levinson, the filmmaker behind last year's indie *Assassination Nation*, a tale of teen girls, social media and revenge. Similar elements suffuse the morose *Euphoria*, which stars actor-singer-author-activist Zendaya as 17-year-old drug addict Rue Bennett. Fresh out of rehab, she has no intention of staying clean; years of depression have convinced her that chemically induced oblivion is her best-case scenario.

Upon returning to school, where some of her peers are

**'We're  
not more  
shocking  
than ... Game  
of Thrones.'**

**ZENDAYA,**  
defending *Euphoria*'s  
grittiness in *Paper*  
magazine

surprised she isn't dead—and tell her so—Rue finds a kindred soul in new kid Jules (model and activist Hunter Schafer), an artsy trans girl with an equally sad backstory and dreams of becoming a fashion designer. As Rue numbs herself with drugs, Jules escapes into risky hookups with older men she meets on a queer dating app. So fierce is their attachment that they often sleep in the same bed. It's a credit to both actors that the characters' relationship feels so pure; I only wish we got less of diffident Rue's solitary wanderings and more of the girls together.

Around them, a constellation of classmates have destructive coping mechanisms of their own: Alpha jock Nate (*The Kissing Booth*'s Jacob Elordi) channels his repression into cruelty. Outcast Kat (Barbie Ferreira, a model and body-positivity activist who starred in Vice's *How to Behave*) finds a dangerous outlet for her sexuality online.

LIKE *RIVERDALE*, this show inhabits a neon-lit permanent night; one episode takes place at the gloomiest carnival you've ever seen. If happiness is organic and long-lasting, euphoria is chemical and fleeting. (In a mixed message, drug trips look like a lovely violet haze, but the consequences of using any substance are always dire.) Lots of full-frontal nudity, often of the male variety, seems meant to capture how inured Gen Z characters and viewers are to porn.

Teens love to think of themselves as tragic and jaded, so *Euphoria* will surely find fans, particularly young ones. But the prevalence of politically active young women in its cast alone suggests it undersells kids' optimism and engagement—traits teen hits such as *Sex Education* and *Grown-ish* embrace. In fact, aesthetics aside, *Euphoria* reminds me of the bleak fare 30-somethings like Levinson and I grew up with: *Kids. Cruel Intentions. Thirteen.*

The difference is that those stories' writers weren't much older than their characters. Though its heroine is informed by Levinson's youth, *Euphoria*'s nihilism feels as contrived as a Burger King ad. Rue sighs, at one point, over people seeking "something to make it all seem meaningful." If only *Euphoria* were wise enough to do the same. □

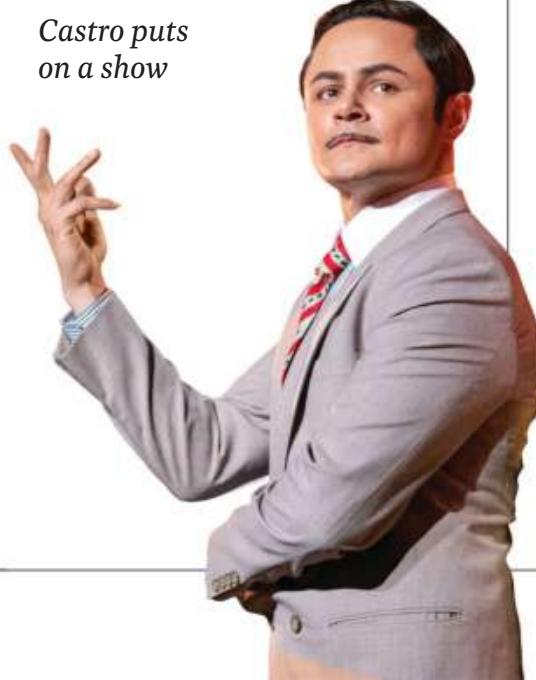
REVIEW

## Inside Arturo Castro

Arturo Castro has range. That much has been clear since he started juggling roles in *Broad City*, as Ilana's sweet gay roommate Jaime, and *Narcos*—where he played a cartel prince critics compared to *Game of Thrones*' evil Joffrey. He can do comedy and drama, heroes and villains, queer and straight characters. As a teen in his native Guatemala, he even hosted a music-video countdown.

That flexibility serves him well in *Alternatino with Arturo Castro*, a sketch show that hits Comedy Central on June 18. In the tradition of *Inside Amy Schumer*, *Key & Peele* and *Chappelle's Show*, it fuses absurd humor and cultural critique, here with riffs on Latinx identity that feel true to their creator. Along with poking fun at himself in autobiographical skits (in one, a white girlfriend complains that he's too "delicate" to be a "Latin lover"), Castro plays a time-traveling Che Guevara who cashes in on T-shirt sales and a Hurricane Maria survivor who catches Trump's infamous paper-towel roll. As battles over immigration and xenophobia rage, the show is obviously well timed. But *Alternatino* isn't just relevant; it's a smart, consistently funny showcase for a distinctive talent. —J.B.

Castro puts on a show



Santiago (Bichir) and Gigi (Sanchez) weather trouble in paradise

REVIEW

## There's nothing grand about this Hotel

DAYTIME SOAP OPERAS ARE A BREED unto themselves. Benignly addictive, they compensate in volume for what they lack in originality and talent. But in order to survive in prime time, especially amid so much competition, a soap needs to be better than that: to land as twisty, tawdry fun rather than as a rote rehash of tropes, the show must hook us with a killer cast—even if it's just one scene stealer. *Dynasty* had Joan Collins. *Beverly Hills, 90210* had Luke Perry and, for a while, Shannen Doherty. *Empire* has Taraji P. Henson.

Though it's built on a foundation of soap stalwarts—sex, power, money, family, body-con dresses—executive producer Eva Longoria's disappointing *Grand Hotel* lacks any such presence. Premiering June 17 on ABC, it chronicles the fractious Mendoza clan's efforts to hold on to the last family-owned hotel in Miami Beach. Patriarch Santiago (Demián Bichir of *The Hateful 8* and *Weeds*) inherited the place following the death of his wife; now he's falling behind on payments to the loan sharks who've been keeping him afloat. His kids, playboy Javi (Bryan Craig) and business-school grad Alicia (Denyse

Tontz), disapprove of Santiago's marriage to their mom's best friend Gigi (Roselyn Sanchez)—who has two feuding adult daughters of her own: sexy, insecure Carolina (Feliz Ramirez) and mousy, insecure Yoli (Justina Adorno).

Meanwhile, scheming hotel employees like pregnant maid Ingrid (Anne Winters) and new waiter Danny (Lincoln Younes) try to evade Santiago's intimidating right-hand woman, Mrs. P (Wendy Raquel Robinson). Everyone seems to know more than they let on about a co-worker's disappearance.

The plot, adapted from Spanish series *Gran Hotel*, is predictable and the dialogue hacky. ("I haven't called you here in the middle of the night to play games," Gigi snaps in one scene.) But a good soap can make silly writing work. What it can't overcome is poor casting. Framed as comic relief, bratty musician El Rey (Jencarlos Canela) is more irritating than funny. While potentially amusing antagonists like Carolina and Danny are flattened by charmless performances, the show wastes its best actors—Bichir, Robinson, Adorno—in bland roles. *Grand Hotel* could've been a fun summer getaway. Instead, it's a joyless slog. —J.B.

# TimeOff Books

## FICTION

### A heroine lifts up an ancient hero's tale

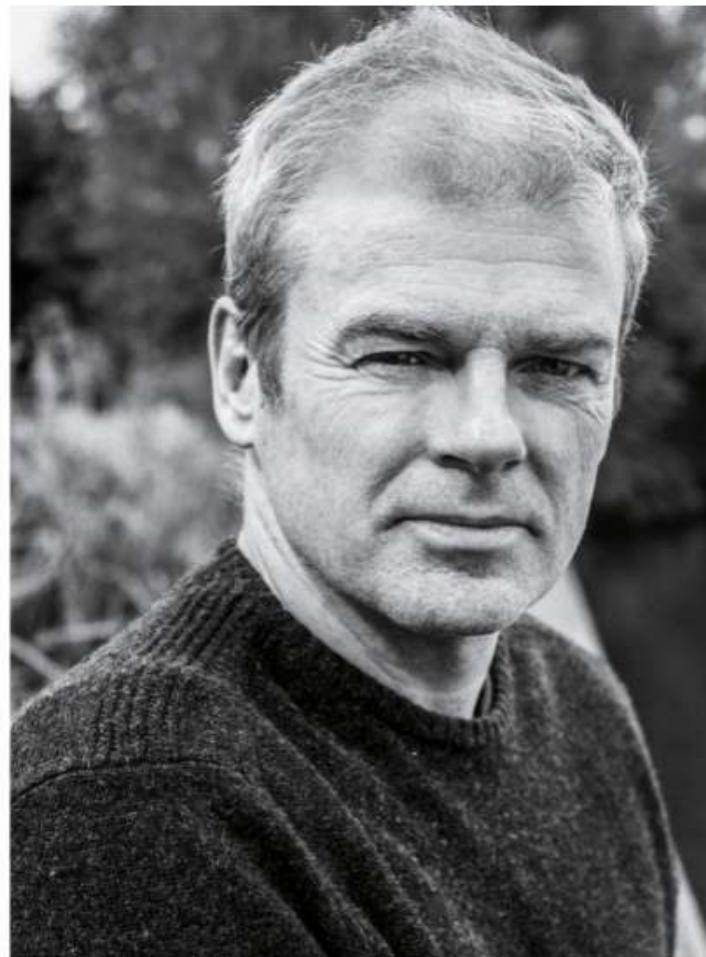
By Nicholas Mancusi

THE PORPOISE OPENS WITH ACTION. THE NEW NOVEL FROM Mark Haddon, whose 2003 hit *The Curious Incident of the Dog in the Night-Time* was the basis for a Tony-winning play, begins with Maja, pregnant wife of the superwealthy Philippe, going down in a small plane in rough weather. Her life is lost, but the baby is saved. "He will call her Angelica. He will never remember the name he and Maja chose." The tragedy of his daughter's birth twists Philippe's love for his child into a monstrous obsession that turns into sexual abuse. He withdraws them from society, hiding at the family mansion, Antioch, until a young man named Darius stumbles upon Philippe's crimes and decides to free the girl.

This is a fine start, told with arresting detail. But after 70 pages, the story takes a hard turn into the unreal. Darius, fleeing Philippe on a yacht, awakens after a sickness to find that he has transmogrified into Pericles of legend. The yacht now a sailing vessel, we are transported back to the age of heroes. Angelica, who may be imagining what follows in a kind of delirium, is largely forgotten by the story, as it departs her to follow Pericles around the Mediterranean. A famine is lifted, a gladiatorial tourney won, and a family is made, lost and reunited.

Haddon has borrowed his structure from the play *Pericles, Prince of Tyre*, co-authored by Shakespeare and, many argue, another loutish dramatist, George Wilkins—both of whom appear as characters. They, in turn, borrowed from the Greek legend of Apollonius. All forms of the story open with the hero learning the incestuous secret of the king of Antioch. Haddon is clearly unsettled by the conceit of an abused girl serving as catalyst for male heroics, and, unsettlingly, he repeats it. But later, female characters like Pericles' wife and daughter become the most interesting. Haddon writes with wrenching beauty about how the world inflicts itself on the disadvantaged. Reflects one character: "The story is still cruel and unfair, but she knows now that life can be cruel and unfair."

All of this may sound like a recipe for an uneven novel. But it's a testament to Haddon's prodigious gifts as a storyteller that this strange, epic adventure is so compulsively readable. And it's only because the pages that focus on Angelica are so gripping that we miss her dearly when she's gone so soon. □



Haddon puts a modern spin on Pericles in *The Porpoise*

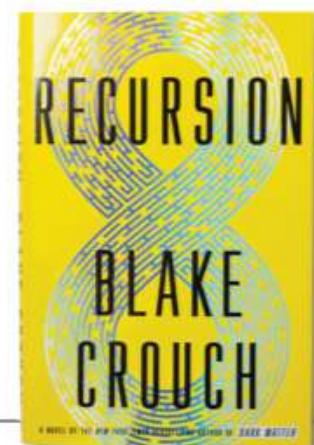
## FICTION

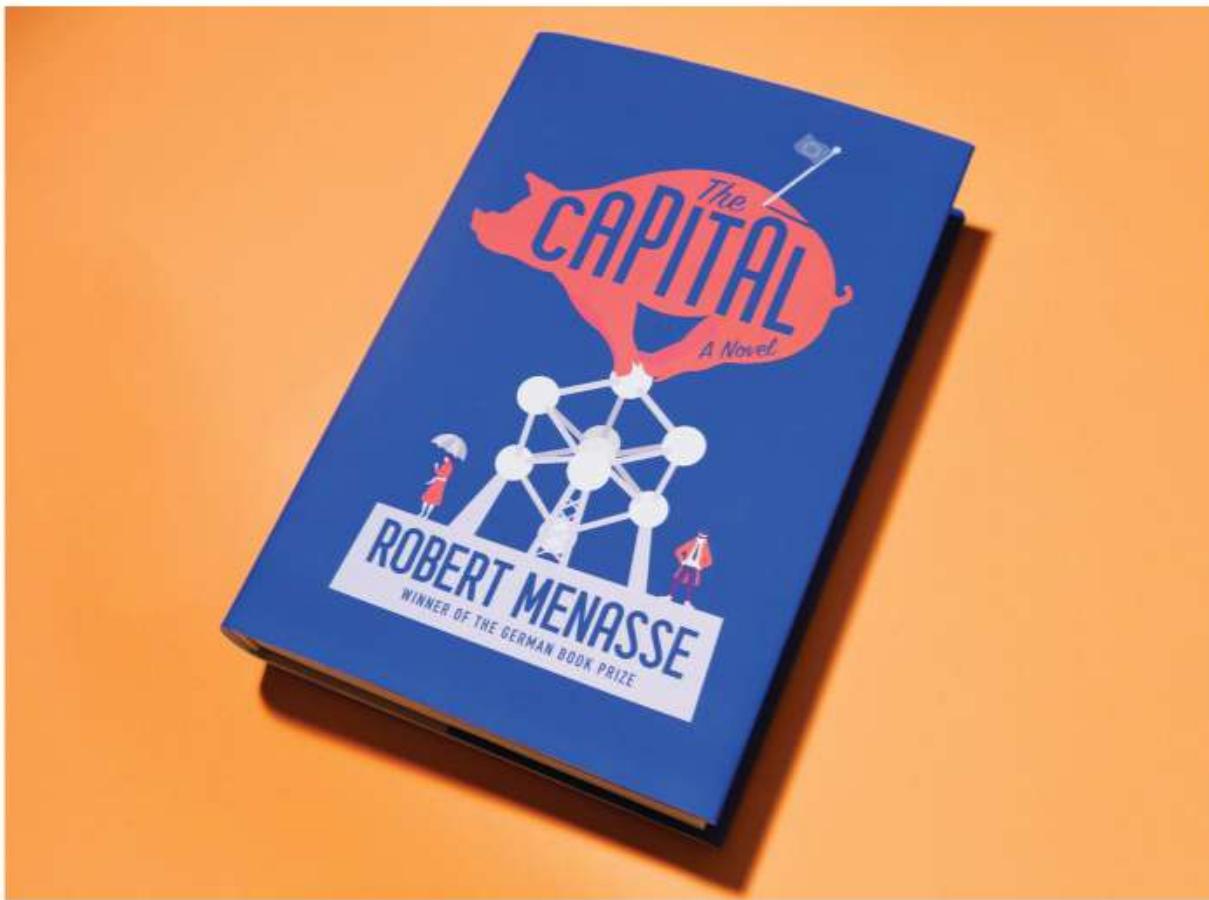
### A trippy journey down memory lane

In *Recursion*, a new novel from sci-fi writer Blake Crouch, Barry Sutton is a New York City cop dealing with a spate of incidents related to false memory syndrome, in which people are driven to suicide by vivid memories of lives they haven't lived. Helena Smith is a brilliant neuroscientist on the cusp of inventing a device to stimulate dormant memories, which she hopes will alleviate her mother's Alzheimer's. Marcus Slade is a rogue billionaire (à la Elon Musk with a dash of Joe Rogan) who offers Helena whatever she needs to finish the project.

But Slade's patronage has a darker motive. Helena's helmet-like device, when complete, can do far more than revitalize memories—it can alter time itself, by sending the subject back to a pivotal moment to start a new timeline. His aspirations turn mad-scientist, and it's up to Helena and Barry to stop him.

This is trippy, mind-bending stuff, and if, as in most time-travel narratives, it can be difficult to keep branching timelines and encroaching paradoxes straight, that's just part of the fun. Crouch's noirish tendencies keep things moving briskly, and his intelligence is an able match for the challenge he's set of overcoming the structure of time itself. Most impressively, he has proffered a method of time travel that seems, with its emphasis on philosophical reasoning over blinking gadgets, downright feasible. —N.M.





Menasse's interwoven narratives tell the story of a fractured continent

#### FICITION

## The E.U. as black comedy

By Andrew R. Chow

EUROPE IS IN A PRECARIOUS STATE AT the moment: Britain is fumbling toward Brexit, terrorist attacks have wreaked havoc on several cities, another economic slowdown looms. In order to combat these challenges, the European Union has been working diligently to ... Wait, what does the E.U. do, exactly?

*The Capital*, an ambitious novel by the Austrian writer Robert Menasse, aims to provide an answer—or at least explain why the question itself is so difficult. The newly translated book won the 2017 German Book Prize and was a best seller there. It blends many genres—the murder mystery, the workplace farce, the criminal's escape—as it sprawls across the Continent and into the past, with threads racing through Polish restaurants, pre-Hitler German sports shops and sun-scorched Greek isles. The 400-page novel, set primarily in the E.U.'s de facto capital, Brussels, is neither breezy nor orderly. But it presents a brutally funny and exhaustive tableau of both a continent in transition and the organization straining to hold it together.

*The Capital*'s characters are as multinational as the E.U. itself. Mateusz Oswiecki, an ascetic Polish assassin, flees an omniscient and shadowy entity, while the aging Holocaust survivor David de Vriend stews in a retirement home. Inside the halls of the E.U. offices, the weary Viennese bureaucrat Martin Susman attempts to dislodge himself from the mountain of work placed upon him by his boss Fenja Xenopoulou, a relentless career climber trying to outrun her hardscrabble Cypriot roots.

Many of the characters never meet, but their story lines converge in astonishing, thematic ways. Europe's traumas, particularly World War II, weigh heavily on all of them; decisions and details from decades past affect the present like "a wave from the ghosts of history, a shard unearthed in an archaeological dig."

The plot occasionally gets bogged down in granular detail. But Menasse writes with a wry, self-deprecating touch. He turns what might have been a dry lecture into a teeming epic that brings to multitedited life a continent undergoing an identity crisis. □

#### FICITION

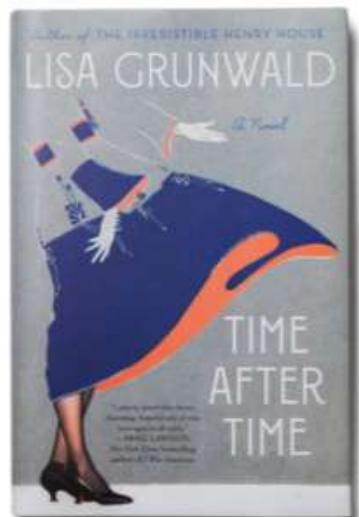
## Stranded at the station

IT'S DECEMBER 1937 WHEN Joe Reynolds first sees Nora Lansing by the clock tower at Grand Central Terminal. He's confused by her appearance—her flapper dress and pearl earrings are straight out of the 1920s—but he's intrigued. He goes to work hoping to find her on his way home, but she doesn't show. One year later Nora reappears in the station, and Joe walks her home. But soon after they go outside, she vanishes into thin air.

Lisa Grunwald, a former features editor at *Esquire*, unfolds Joe and Nora's relationship in her new novel, *Time After Time*. In lively prose set against the fascinating history of Grand Central, Grunwald's characters quickly solve the mystery of Nora's disappearance. But making her stay is harder: she can never go more than a stone's throw past the terminal.

As years go by, with World War II looming, Joe sacrifices much of his world to keep Nora in it. It's familiar territory to consider the lengths to which we'd go for love. But Grunwald asks a compelling question: How long would we stay in one place?

—ANNABEL GUTTERMAN



# TimeOff Movies



Murray, Chloë Sevigny and Driver unite against the zombie hordes

## REVIEW

### Zombies who live for coffee, and more

By Stephanie Zacharek

JIM JARMUSCH BRINGS SO MUCH off-kilter subtlety to his films—pictures like the 1984 deadpan comedy *Stranger Than Paradise* or the more recent vampire romance *Only Lovers Left Alive*—that his ideas feel like secrets slipped from classmate to classmate under the desk. Their progress is steady and slow. The eureka moment is never a shout but a whisper.

Zombies too are slow, steady and subtle in their own way, so maybe it was only a matter of time before Jarmusch tried his hand at a zombie-invasion film: *The Dead Don't Die* is an amiable picture that happily and quite obviously borrows from the zombie-film canon, particularly the nightmare-scapes of the late zombie-apocalypse maestro George A. Romero. The large and festively varied cast assembled here features numerous actors who have worked with Jarmusch before, including Adam Driver and Bill Murray as cops serving and protecting the cozy little town of Centerville as zombie hordes descend. Tilda Swinton appears as a recent and exotic transplant to the town, a Scottish samurai warrior and mortician. (That shouldn't work, but then, it's Tilda.)

Almost exactly half goofy and half melancholy, *The Dead Don't Die* is an intimate picture, a scrapbook not just of zombie-movie lore but also of the places Jarmusch has been and the people he likes to see in his movies. He knows how to get laughs with timing, and zombie timing suits him: The movie's two best ghouls (played by Iggy Pop and filmmaker Sara Driver, Jarmusch's long-time partner) descend upon the local diner, grunting and hungry for flesh, only to be distracted by two glass carafes steaming on their burners. Forget human entrails. They lurch toward the brown elixir of life with unblinking eyes, moaning, "Coffee!"

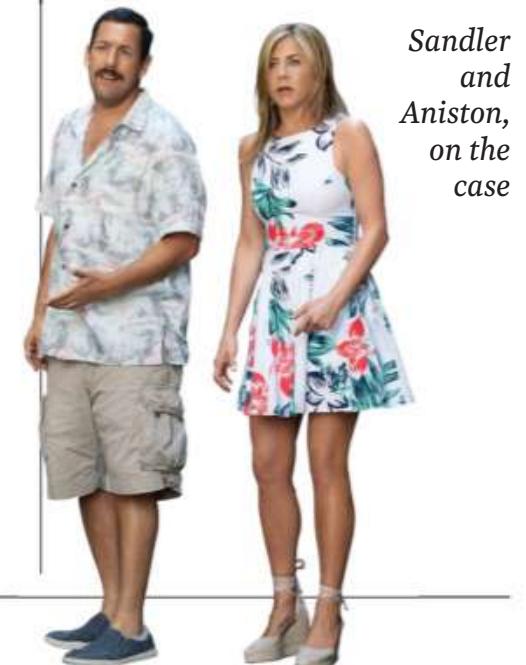
*The Dead Don't Die* is marred slightly by some preachy lines about the materialistic impulses of humans, although who can blame Jarmusch for feeling some anxiety about where the human race is headed? Still, the movie suggests, in that characteristically sly Jarmuschian way, that the world of people is worth preserving. In the words of Centerville's loner-philosopher Hermit Bob, played wonderfully by Jarmusch regular Tom Waits: "The world is perfect. Appreciate the details." □

## REVIEW

### A husband, a wife and a murder plot

IN THE NETFLIX ORIGINAL *Murder Mystery*, Adam Sandler and Jennifer Aniston play a couple—she's a hairdresser, he's a cop—who take a long-awaited holiday abroad only to become enmeshed in a murder plot among the Euro-rich. The players, assembled in the spirit of Agatha Christie via Woody Allen, include a haughty starlet (Gemma Arterton), a blank-headed race-car driver (Luis Gerardo Méndez) and a cranky billionaire (a regal, leonine Terence Stamp, who shows up for about 10 minutes and, wisely, gets out fast).

Hilarity ensues, at least occasionally. But it's hard to aggressively dislike *Murder Mystery*, a modest offering (directed by Kyle Newacheck) that doesn't reach beyond its grasp. The picture is set in Monaco and Lake Como, so the scenery is lush and luxe. And Sandler and Aniston have a breezy, knock-around rapport, playing an average husband and wife who are clearly mates until death—as long as somebody else's doesn't break them up first. —S.Z.



Sandler and Aniston, on the case



*"We choose to go to the moon."*

JFK, September 12, 1962

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## Spam takes its place on the menu

By Ang Li

IN THE NEW NETFLIX ROM-COM *ALWAYS BE MY MAYBE*, a young Asian-American girl comes home from school and fixes herself dinner, carefully arranging slices of Spam on a plate with rice. It's a key scene for the character, who grows up to be a chef—and for the pink block of meat, which has come a long way from being the butt of a Monty Python joke.

In recent years, a growing number of chefs have been working against anti-Spam stigma to bring the meat to the U.S. dining scene. In venues ranging from a Korean barbecue restaurant that focuses on home cooking in New York City to an underground Japanese speakeasy in D.C., more chefs are incorporating the ingredient in their dishes.

Initially a product of U.S. food industrialization, Spam first went overseas during World War II and later arrived in places like Guam, Japan, the Philippines and South Korea when American troops were deployed there. Wherever they went, Spam followed, says Robert Ku, author of *Dubious Gastronomy: The Cultural Politics of Eating Asian in the USA*. Spam tended to find its way into local dishes in areas that experienced a prolonged U.S. military presence after the war ended. Barbara Funamura, a Japanese American from Hawaii, is often credited with inventing Spam *musubi*, a slice of grilled Spam on top of a block of rice, wrapped in nori. And the Korean War saw the birth of a dish made of leftovers from U.S. military bases. Known as *budae jjigae*, or army stew, it combines traditional Korean ingredients—such as kimchi and rice cakes—with U.S. ones like Spam and American cheese.

The spread of Spam wasn't limited to Asia; it also showed up in Britain as an affordable alternative to fresh meat during post-

war economic hardship. But as its popularity waned, it became the target of mockery. Before long, Spam had become stereotyped as a "poor man's meal."

**WHILE THAT PERCEPTION PERSISTS,** it's slowly changing, thanks to the efforts of Asian-American and Pacific Islander chefs. Ku says there's something "quirky yet meaningful" about the way these chefs are embracing their histories.

Taiwanese-American chef Andrew Chiou saw Spam as a convenience food from his childhood. His family would take it straight out of the can and fry it; he threw it in his backpack when he went hiking. Chiou avoided cooking with Spam early in his culinary career, but he started using it after guests in his D.C. restaurant, Momo Yakitori, asked if he could make a dish with it. "It was delicious," he recalls. "It wasn't the Spam I remember eating." Now he adds soft scrambled eggs, Kewpie mayonnaise and grilled cabbage to a traditional Spam *musubi*. He also sautés and chops the meat in potato salad, a play on a dish his mother used to make.

Growing up, Sohui Kim used to poke the Spam strips out of *kimbap*, a Korean rice roll her mom made; she didn't enjoy the flavor and saw the food as a sign of hard times. But as she got older, she became interested in different types of foods and began to reconsider. Now, as the owner-chef of Insa, a Korean restaurant in Brooklyn, she makes her own version of Spam, which guests add to dishes like *budae jjigae* or kimchi fried rice.

In San Francisco, Ravi Kapur, the chef and a co-owner of Liholiho Yacht Club, makes Spam in-house too—and didn't know it had a negative image until he left his hometown in Oahu, Hawaii, for college. "Is it my favorite dish on the menu? Absolutely not. Is it the most important tool in my tool kit? Absolutely not," Kapur says. "It's just one of the many things that remind me of where I came from."

Other chefs agree that Spam, while beloved by many Asian-American and Pacific Islander diners, shouldn't define their cuisines. "Asians have contributed to American food since the 19th century," Ku says. "When we talk about these Asian chefs opening up restaurants showcasing Asian food, it's very much an American phenomenon as much as it is any other kind of phenomenon."

1937

Year Spam was first produced by Hormel Foods Corp. in Austin, Minn.

6

Number of ingredients in Spam: cooked pork, salt, water, potato starch, sugar and sodium nitrite

44

Number of countries around the world where Spam is available



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# 8 Questions

**Larry Diamond** The Stanford scholar known as Mr. Democracy on the shrinking free world, the U.S.'s irreplaceable role in it and his book *Ill Winds*

**E**arlier this year, the watchdog organization Freedom House reported the 13th straight year of decline for democracy across the globe. You've been teaching the subject for 30 years. How bad are things? It's an emerging crisis. It's not the 1930s. We don't have the situation where a blatantly fascist party has conquered a democracy. It's a more subtle, creeping and incremental process. But there's this sense, as there was in the 1920s and 1930s, that it's the authoritarian regimes or the current neo-fascist movements that have the energy, the dynamism, the popular engagement.

You say Hungary no longer qualifies as a democracy and Poland is on the edge. It's a dark period that we're living through now. Unfortunately, part of the darkness has descended on Europe. And that's supposed to be part of the core bastion of freedom and democracy.

Democracy is more than elections, but in its complexity you describe an "outsize role for political leaders." You find a lot to criticize in President Trump, but does saying it risk further polarizing politics? I've struggled with that. But you have an American President who is engaging in a lot of undemocratic behavior, doing the kinds of things that other autocrats have been doing step by step to try and suffocate democracy in their countries. The first line of defense is to call that out.

If a U.S. President is not advocating for democracy, who picks up the slack? Without U.S. leadership, at best we're going to have drift. At worst we'll have a rout of the existing democracies in tenuous places.

So, nobody? Not quite. But no state will act decisively and effectively to secure and defend democratic progress in the world unless the U.S. is in the lead. There will not be another leader.

THE REVENUE LOGIC OF FACEBOOK IS NOT CONSISTENT WITH THE INTERESTS OF DEMOCRACY



**How important is income inequality in all this?** If you look at the constituency for illiberal, generally right-of-center populism, it's the same constituency for Donald Trump in the U.S., for Brexit in Britain, for Marine Le Pen in France, for Alternative for Germany in Germany. The world is passing them by. They lack the skill levels to compete in this globalized economy. And so they feel threatened by international trade, threatened by globalization, threatened by immigration, threatened by a world that's changing very rapidly and that is not the old familiar. And reinforcing income insecurity is the sense that they're looked down upon, that this cosmopolitan elite looks upon them as backward, as hacks, as reactionaries, as defenders of a bygone era. And they're not entirely wrong in their perception. There is a cultural arrogance.

**What role does social media play?** The incentive of the social-media companies is to perpetuate outrage. The more we're riveted, the more time we spend on those platforms and the more ads we see. And so the revenue logic of Facebook is not consistent with the interests of democracy.

**In your new book, you describe Vladimir Putin as a burglar walking down a hallway testing doorknobs while China quietly creates a system to replace the one the U.S. led since World War II. What's the bigger danger?** Chinese President Xi Jinping is constructing a neototalitarian Orwellian surveillance state that is more repressive of human liberty than anything we've seen since Mao. And here I think Donald Trump is doing some positive things to confront Chinese technology theft and China's undemocratic influence efforts in the U.S.

**Is it hard being known as Mr. Democracy?** I just kind of grin and bear it. —KARL VICK

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