



THE **UNRAVELING** OF **EUROPE**

HOW NEW LEADERS
ARE UNITING TO DIVIDE
THE CONTINENT

by
VIVIENNE WALT

Community Driven

Automobile dealerships help power the local economy and support the local community.

TIME Dealer of the Year recognizes one dealer who's best at both.



Although there are 18,000 franchised new-car dealerships across the country, only one dealer gets to be called the TIME Dealer of the Year. The prestigious award, basically the auto industry's Oscar, honors a dealer who has achieved excellence in both community support and business success. One of the largest providers of automotive financing, Ally Financial, is the exclusive sponsor of the award, which this year went to John Alfirevich of Apple Chevrolet in Tinley Park, Ill.

"John is the epitome of what this award means," says Andrea Brimmer, Ally's chief marketing and public relations officer, who was backstage with Alfirevich after he received the award in January at the National Automobile Dealers Association (NADA) Show in San Francisco. "The first thing he did was call his dad to tell him the news and he got very emotional. It was a very touching moment and, once again, kind of reinforced and crystallized to me why we're involved with it."

Alfirevich's dad, Joseph, is Apple Chevrolet's co-owner and served as the dealership's general manager when John was growing up. Says John: "Dealers play an enormous role in advancing the well-being of their communities."

Indeed, over the last year, Apple Chevrolet has donated to nearly 100 organizations.

"It's no easy feat to receive the TIME Dealer of the Year Award," says Peter Welch, NADA's president and CEO. "Winning the award means that a dealer has displayed an enduring commitment to their customers and communities, and of giving back to others. It means he or she has impacted peoples' lives in profound and meaningful ways."

With the win, Alfirevich gets to make even more of an impact in the community because Ally will direct \$11,000 to the charity of his choice—one of the many ways Ally proudly supports Apple Chevrolet and other dealerships across the country.

"Dealers play an enormous role in advancing the well-being of their communities."

JOHN ALFIREVICH

"While we're one of the largest auto lenders in the country, we play a very consultative role with dealers, too, advising them on the best ways to grow their business," says Brimmer. "We've been doing that for 100 years now. We don't come in and out of the market like a lot of other lenders do. That's one of the things that's really special about our relationship with them. We have a vested interest in seeing them succeed."

Which means their local communities succeed, too.

"Auto dealers generate billions of dollars for local economies," says Welch. "They are one of the biggest groups of employers in any state, town or municipality. Nationwide, they employ more than 1.2 million people in great-paying jobs that cannot be shipped overseas. Dealers take great pride in their businesses and their place in their neighborhood. Many grew up in a business that has been handed down from generation to generation. When you have a legacy of pride like that, you produce high-quality work, you maintain great integrity, and you do what's best for customers."



IN PARTNERSHIP WITH

NADA

you do it right, no matter what 'it' is.

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As a proud supporter of the TIME Dealer of the Year Award, Ally would like to recognize the achievements of the 2019 TDOY winner, John Alfirevich, and finalists. Through various charitable endeavors, they have all helped develop and improve their local communities. Together, they're a shining example of how to do it right.



TDOY Finalist
John Kendall Garff



TDOY Finalist
Frank Hug Jr.



TDOY Winner
John Alfirevich



TDOY Finalist
Ryan LaFontaine



TDOY Finalist
Eric Nielsen

ally
do it right.

TIME 50 YEARS
DEALER OF THE YEAR
IN PARTNERSHIP WITH ally



5 | Conversation
6 | For the Record

The Brief

News from the U.S.
and around the world

7 | Trump doubles
down on the **border**
fight

10 | What Benjamin
Netanyahu's win
means for **Israel**

12 | The problem
with **royal-baby**
gifts

14 | TIME with ...
presidential
contender **Tim**
Ryan

16 | College
basketball's
shining moments

The View

Ideas, opinion,
innovations

21 | Why some
CEOs deserve their
supersize salaries

23 | Quick Talk: Alaa
al Aswany, Egyptian
author in exile

23 | Ian Bremmer:
the prospects of a
China-U.S. **trade**
deal

24 | Angelina Jolie
on why **Afghan**
women must
participate in the
peace process

25 | Pico Iyer on
Japan and the
weight of history

Features

□ Undoing Europe

With the rise of nationalism and Brexit looming, the European Union faces massive new divisions

By Vivienne Walt **26**

Lasting Legacy

Five years since the water crisis hit Flint, Mich., residents still don't trust their faucets

By Josh Sanburn; photographs by Brittany Greeson **34**

Correcting the Record

Esther Lederberg and her first husband were both brilliant scientists. But her name is the one missing from textbooks

By Katy Steinmetz **40**

Time Off

What to watch, read,
see and do

47 | Hip-hop's
new feminist
movement

50 | Movies: *Little*,
Stockholm, *Her*
Smell and *Teen*
Spirit

52 | Television:
Desus & Mero hit
Showtime; *Les Miz*
on PBS; *Bless This*
Mess on ABC

54 | Books: Sally
Rooney's *Normal*
People; Ian
McEwan's latest,
Machines Like Me

56 | 10 Questions
for comedian **Molly**
Shannon

Ariana Hawk
applies rash cream
to her son Sincere
at their home in
Flint, Mich., on
April 24, 2018

Photograph by
Brittany Greeson
for TIME

ON THE COVER:
Illustration by
Craig Ward
for TIME

Conversation



WHAT YOU SAID ABOUT...

THE TEST CASE The April 15 cover story about Joe Biden's hands-on style and the women who said it made them feel uncomfortable left readers divided on how to interpret the former Vice President's actions—and whether the dustup would hurt him if he runs for President.

Tom Kovach of Nevis, Minn., called photos of the interactions in question "downright creepy," while Susan Carl of Denver said Biden's gestures were "a harmless show of appreciation and affection." Marian Blair of Seattle argued that if Biden wouldn't kiss the back of a man's head, "then he shouldn't do it to women." And Chase Webb of Happy Valley, Ore., wrote that while Biden's "flirtations" shouldn't be equated with "serious sexual offenses," he simply has too much baggage for 2020 and is "the wrong man at the wrong time."

WE MUST SAVE NATO U.S. veterans praised former NATO commander James Stavridis' April 15 piece on the importance of the alliance. "Required reading" for Congress, tweeted @PAEscarajadillo, who said he served with NATO forces in Afghanistan and "saw

the value in conducting allied ops." Dewey A. Browder, a retired Army lieutenant colonel in Clarksville, Tenn., called the story "both accurate and timely," though he felt more credit could have gone to European allies for hosting bases and welcoming troops. "We must keep NATO strong," he wrote. "The peace of the world may depend on it."

'Remember the advantages, both strategic and moral, of acting as team players at home and abroad.'

ERICA HORTON,
Hughson, Calif.

'You can't teach an old dog new tricks, nor a 76-year-old politician.'

KENNETH LEE,
Raytown, Mo.



RUINED On TIME.com, see how the destruction in cities once controlled by ISIS—Raqqa in Syria and Mosul in Iraq—has created what photographer Victor J. Blue describes as an "archaeology of oblivion." The landscape, he writes, is filled with "detritus of daily life mixed with the castoffs of war—ammunition and unexploded ordnance, toys, cooking pots, kevlar vests and flowered blankets—all tossed with human remains." More at time.com/after-war

Back in TIME

Battle of the Sexes
March 7, 2005

This week's feature (page 40) on the movement to give more credit to female scientists like Esther Lederberg—who played a role in Nobel-winning research but didn't get the prize—is the latest example of the struggle for gender equity in science and math. In 2005, after Harvard president Larry Summers said men were more hard-wired to succeed in those fields, TIME outlined how new research "upends the old myths about who's good at what." Read at time.com/vault



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health**

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TUTORIAL Want to step up your Instagram game? TIME technology columnist Patrick Lucas Austin has your guide to the six top tips for the platform's Stories feature, with tricks for users at every experience level—from how to ask questions to how to record hands-free. See his roundup at time.com/instagram-tricks and follow TIME on Instagram at [@time](https://www.instagram.com/time)

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For the Record

'I don't think it should be the final season.'

GEORGE R.R. MARTIN, Game of Thrones creator, on the red carpet at the NYC premiere of the final season of HBO's adaptation of his books

'While there are people who have a large number of Twitter followers, what's important is that we have large numbers of votes on the floor of the House.'

NANCY PELOSI, Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives, in an April 8 interview; the remark has been viewed by some as a dig at newer members of Congress

17

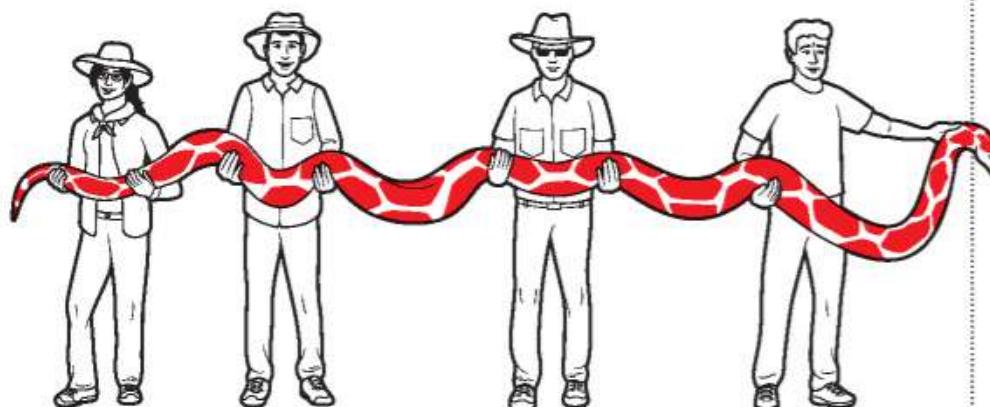
Length, in feet, of the new record holder for largest python caught in the Big Cypress National Preserve in the Florida Everglades; the female reptile weighed 140 lb. and contained 73 developing eggs

'Your quarrel, sir, is with my creator.'

PETE BUTTIGIEG, Democratic mayor of South Bend, Ind.—who is gay and a 2020 presidential hopeful—addressing Vice President Mike Pence's policy positions on LGBT rights, at an April 7 event

'We exist in a state of permanent commemoration.'

PAUL KAGAME, Rwanda's President, marking the 25th anniversary of the beginning of the genocide there, which left more than 800,000 dead



'There are times when you need to give time time.'

DONALD TUSK, E.U. Council President, asking heads of state to consider granting an extension on Brexit



\$989,500

Amount that the father of a current Harvard student paid for the university fencing coach's \$549,300 home, according to the deed; the school is investigating the sale in light of new attention to potential bribery in college admissions

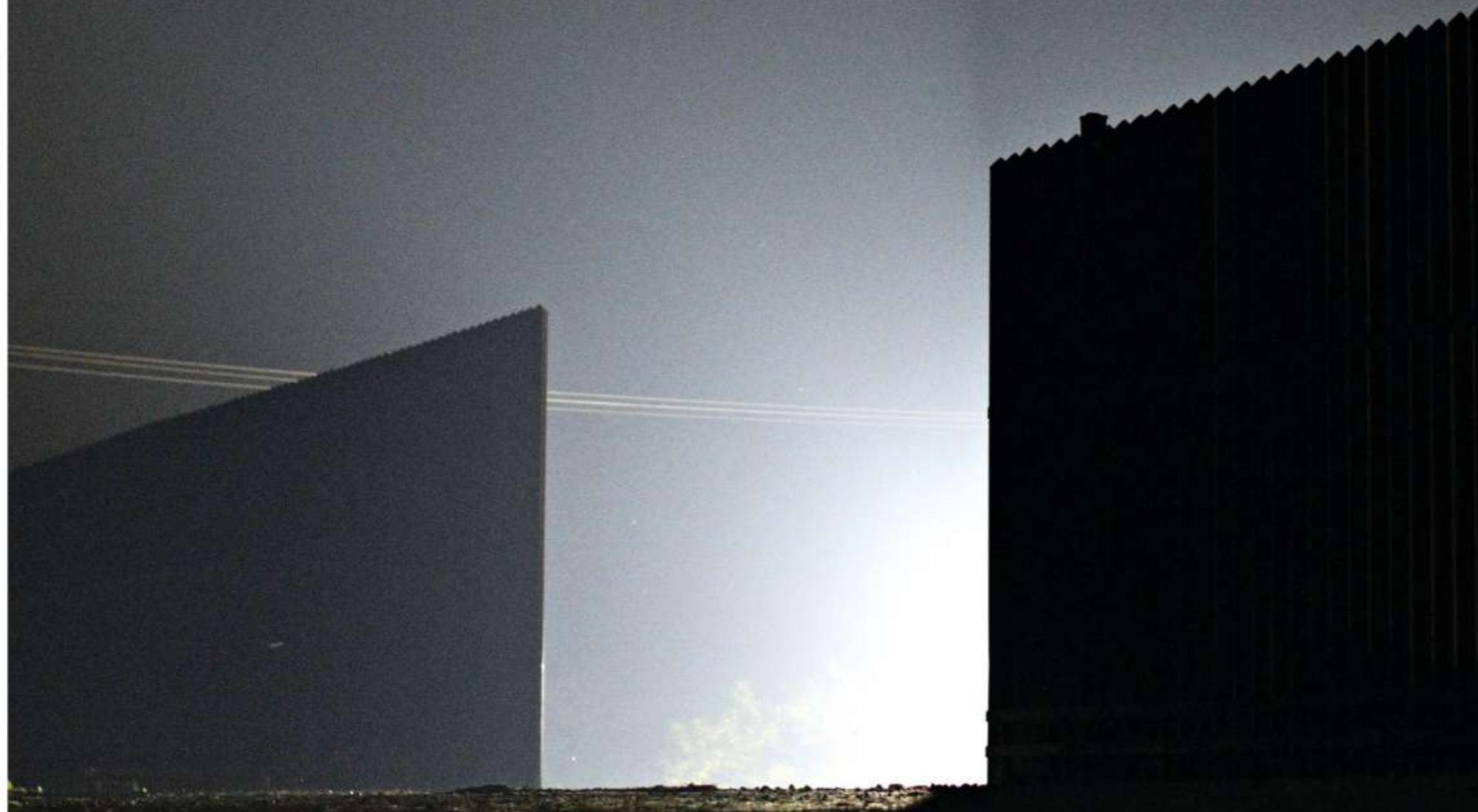
Beehives
Scientists report 14 wild bee species are in decline in the Northeast



Beyhive
Beyoncé announces her documentary is coming to Netflix on April 17

The Brief

SPOTLIGHT
The U.S.-Mexico
border, including
this stretch
near Peñitas,
Texas, is again
at the center of a
political battle



INSIDE

A REBEL LEADER PUTS LIBYA ON
THE BRINK OF CIVIL WAR

THE PALACE HAS A PLAN FOR
ROYAL BABY GIFTS

A PICTURE OF A BLACK HOLE
SHEDS LIGHT ON DARKNESS

PHOTOGRAPH BY LOREN ELLIOTT

The Brief Opener

IMMIGRATION

Trump's border battle is only beginning

By Brian Bennett

WHEN THE NUMBER OF PEOPLE CROSSING the U.S.-Mexico border fell after Donald Trump's Inauguration, the White House called it the "Trump effect." But the numbers soon began to spike, and by March they had hit a 12-year high for the month. Now the surge in crossings is finally getting to the President. Asked if the crisis was driving Trump crazy, a former aide told TIME, "Not crazy—insane."

Which is why Trump moved in recent days to make his hard-line border policies even tougher. On April 7, he forced Homeland Security Secretary Kirstjen Nielsen to resign. On April 9, Nielsen's acting deputy resigned, the same day the Pentagon announced two military contracts worth \$976 million to begin construction on a border wall. A day later, Immigration and Customs Enforcement announced the acting director, Ron Vitiello, would depart.

Trump's only just getting started, senior White House officials say. Among the other ideas he is considering are a range of executive actions, including narrowing the criteria under which people will be allowed to seek asylum in the U.S., ending the practice of allowing asylum seekers to work while their cases are adjudicated and detaining migrant children for longer periods of time, according to the news website Axios. Trump has also mused about closing the border entirely, reportedly encouraged border agents to flout asylum law and argued that ending his Administration's controversial family-separation policy had encouraged more crossings. "Once you don't have it," Trump said April 9, "that's why you see many more people coming. They're coming like it's a picnic."

White House officials and Trump allies believe this is a winning political issue for the President, despite his failure to deliver on his signature promise to build a border wall. "The President has shown to his supporters that he is willing to declare a national emergency," says immigration hard-liner Kris Kobach, a former Kansas secretary of state who, according to two people in close contact with the White House, is on the short list to replace Nielsen. But even if the short-term politics break Trump's way, it's not clear that his strategy shift will actually deter border crossings—or how the immigration fight he's picking will affect the President's re-election prospects.

Trump's rise to the presidency was built on a simple premise: weak immigration laws had damaged

America, and he alone would fix them. The reality is much more complicated. Economic and political instability in Guatemala, Honduras and El Salvador remains the primary driver behind tens of thousands of families' decisions to go north, immigration experts say. In the past three years, the U.S. has sent more than \$2 billion in aid to Central America in an effort to improve living conditions in the so-called Northern Triangle and reduce incentives to emigrate. But Trump appears to have lost patience with that strategy. "We were paying them tremendous amounts of money. And we're not paying them anymore," he said March 29. "Because they haven't done a thing for us."

Trump describes the immigrants crossing the U.S.-Mexico border as an "invasion" of dangerous criminals. In fact, the surge of migrants in recent months has been driven primarily by families with children, who come to request asylum. Border Patrol agents apprehended 53,077 people crossing illegally with family members in March, an increase of 45% over the previous month, according to figures released April 9 by U.S. Customs and Border Protection. That presents a challenge for U.S. officials, who are legally required to process asylum seekers' claims and barred from detaining children for more than 20 days.

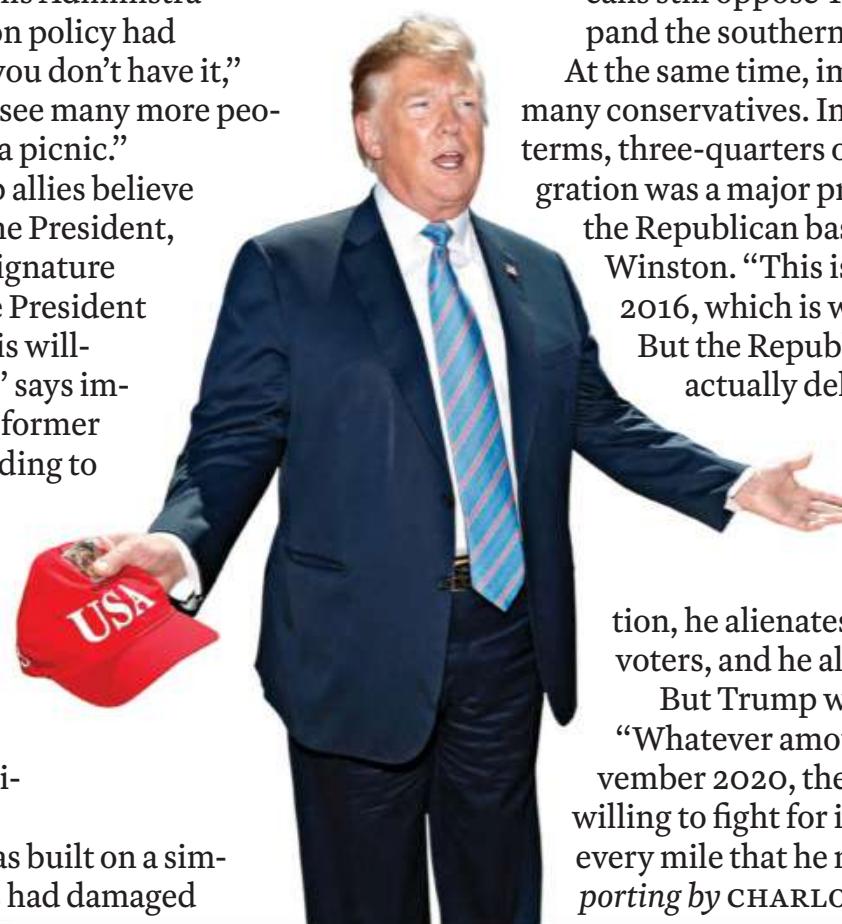
IF THE POLICY PROBLEM is knotty, the political dimension isn't much clearer. While Trump's immigration tactics thrill his base, moderate Republicans and swing voters are ambivalent. Last June, a Quinnipiac poll found that two-thirds of American voters reported opposing the Trump Administration's zero-tolerance policy. (Thousands of children were separated from their families under this policy; officials now say it could take up to two years to reunite them all.) A January Gallup poll found that 60% of Americans still oppose Trump's pledge to significantly expand the southern border wall.

At the same time, immigration is a core concern for many conservatives. In a Pew poll before the 2018 midterms, three-quarters of GOP voters said illegal immigration was a major problem. "This is a good issue for the Republican base," says GOP strategist David Winston. "This is a promise he made to them in 2016, which is why he's coming back to it now.

But the Republican base is not large enough to actually deliver a majority coalition." Democratic pollster Joel Benenson adds that Trump has "proven over and over that every time he tries to enact one of his more

egregious policies on immigration, he alienates Democrats, middle-of-the-road voters, and he alienates Republicans."

But Trump won't stop fighting this battle. "Whatever amount of barrier is built before November 2020, the President has shown that he is willing to fight for it," says Kobach, "even if it is not every mile that he might have wanted." —With reporting by CHARLOTTE ALTER and W.J. HENNIGAN





Fighters loyal to the U.N.-backed government in Tripoli, Libya, prepare for battle on April 8

THE BULLETIN

A renegade military chief with U.S. citizenship reignites Libya's civil war

CLASHES ON THE EDGE OF LIBYA'S CAPITAL Tripoli left dozens dead, after rebel warlord Khalifa Haftar ordered his troops on April 4 to take the city, located in the nation's west, from the U.N.-backed government. The advance of the general's Libyan National Army (LNA) came ahead of a planned April 14 conference aimed at reconciling Libya's armed factions. Libya has been riven by instability since the fall of dictator Muammar Gaddafi in 2011, and the escalating violence is pushing the divided country back to the brink of civil war.

ROGUE GENERAL Haftar, 75, was an officer in the 1969 coup that brought Gaddafi to power. After falling out with the dictator in the 1980s, he spent two decades in exile in the U.S., where he took citizenship. He re-emerged to serve as a general in the 2011 civil war that ended Gaddafi's reign and, in 2014, promised to shore up security and rout Islamist militias from the eastern city of Benghazi. Now that he controls much of the south and east, his LNA is engaged in "a struggle for the spoils," says Frederic Wehrey, a senior fellow at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

SILENT PARTNERS All major states nominally support the U.N.-backed government in Tripoli, but Haftar has plenty of backers overseas. Egypt, Saudi Arabia and the UAE have allegedly supplied weapons to the LNA to help fight Islamist militias aligned with the Muslim Brotherhood. Russia is reportedly providing training to Haftar's forces, while France has also given him tacit support, seeing him as key to stabilizing Libya. Haftar has cast himself as a national protector, but critics fear he is attempting to return the country to Gaddafi-style authoritarian rule.

NO AUTHORITY Haftar's advance on Tripoli has already led to bloodshed. It was met with condemnation from U.S. Secretary of State Mike Pompeo, while the U.N., Russia and E.U. leaders have called in vain for a truce. But no state has threatened sanctions or acted to affirm the legitimacy of the Tripoli government. "The agenda has been pure carrot and no stick," Libya expert Elham Saudi says of the international community's past attempts to rein in Libya's armed actors. "What is the incentive now to play by the rules?" —JOSEPH HINCKS

NEWS TICKER

14 agree to plead guilty in college scandal

Actor Felicity Huffman and 13 other defendants agreed on April 8 to plead guilty in connection with a large investigation into college-admissions fraud. Last month, prosecutors revealed a complex operation that allegedly allowed parents to pay bribes and cheat on tests to get their children into desired schools.

Hong Kong protesters found guilty

Nine leading pro-democracy activists were convicted April 9 on "public nuisance" charges for their roles in the 2014 Umbrella Movement protests in Hong Kong, which called for free elections. The court did not immediately issue a sentence. The charges carry up to seven years in prison.

Record time lost by exonerees

Last year saw 151 exonerations in the U.S., in which people were cleared of convictions for crimes they did not commit, according to National Registry of Exonerations data published April 9. This group served 1,639 years in prison, a record, averaging 10.9 years per exoneree.



The Netanyahu era continues, with Israel moving still further right

By Joseph Hincks

THE CONTINUING REIGN OF KING BIBI IS ALL BUT GUARANTEED. Benjamin Netanyahu was on track to a record fifth term as Israel's Prime Minister on April 10 after challenger Benny Gantz conceded defeat in what at first appeared to be a close contest. Both Netanyahu's Likud and Gantz's Blue and White parties won 35 seats in balloting a day earlier. What made the difference—a telling one—was the surge by the right-wing and religious parties that Netanyahu calls “natural partners” in a coalition that will hold a Knesset majority.

The outcome continues the transformation of Israel from a state dominated in its early decades by its leftist founding Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion to the country poised to see Netanyahu surpass him as its longest-serving Prime Minister.

The election, framed as a referendum on Netanyahu's leadership, was prefaced by Israel's Attorney General confirming in February that he would indict the incumbent on bribery, fraud and breach-of-trust charges, pending hearings. Fighting for his political life, Netanyahu rallied against Israel's media and judiciary on the campaign trail. He was accused of incitement against the country's Arab voters, just as he had been during the 2015 vote.

The charges did not hurt him with his base. In the final days, Netanyahu consolidated his right-wing support with a promise to embark on “the next phase to extend Israeli sovereignty” by annexing major Jewish settlements in the West Bank—fulfilling a long-held ambition of Israelis who see the occupied Palestinian territory as part of biblical Israel. Analysts suggest Netanyahu might now offer annexation up in a

Netanyahu was feted by Likud party supporters at an election-night party in Tel Aviv

With a fifth term, Netanyahu is poised to become the longest-serving Prime Minister in Israel's history

quid pro quo deal if right-wing parties agree to offer him immunity against indictment.

Such a move would formalize the death of the two-state solution that envisioned a Palestinian state alongside Israel and was undone by the second *intifadeh*, or Palestinian uprising. Annexation would be “devastating,” says Nimrod Novik, a former foreign policy adviser to Israel's late Prime Minister Shimon Peres. Novik said it would fatally undermine the West Bank-based Palestinian Authority (PA), which wants to achieve its vision of statehood by political means instead of armed struggle, while precipitating “a very sharp rise in recruiting for Hamas,” the faction that advocates armed resistance and terrorist attacks. Saeb Erekat, secretary-general of the Palestine Liberation Organization, said Israelis had voted “no to peace and yes to the occupation.”

NETANYAHU BENEFITED from a White House that makes no pretense of neutrality. U.S. President Donald Trump has moved the American embassy to Jerusalem, recognized Israeli sovereignty over the Golan Heights and, on election eve, named Iran's Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps a terrorist group, a move that Netanyahu said he'd requested.

“The fact that Bibi won, I think we'll see some pretty good action in terms of peace,” Trump said April 10, alluding to his promised “deal of the century.” The plan, which may finally be unveiled in coming weeks, is expected to offer economic incentives at the expense of Palestinian territorial claims. That approach abandons the central premise of the 1993 Oslo Accords—under which Palestinians would renounce violence in exchange for a state of their own—in favor of continued Israeli control over Palestinians. PA President Mahmoud Abbas has vowed to reject such a deal, amid fading hopes for a breakthrough.

Netanyahu's win “diminishes to a bare minimum the prospects of a two-state reality, let alone a two-state solution in the foreseeable future,” says Gilead Sher, who served as chief of staff to former Prime Minister Ehud Barak, the last liberal politician Israel voted to lead it, two decades ago. □

HELP SAVE THE FRIDGE

A dramatic photograph of a massive iceberg floating in a dark blue, choppy sea. The iceberg is mostly white with a translucent blue base. In the background, a range of snow-capped mountains rises against a pale, overcast sky.

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The fridge needs help. Because much of the energy we need to power it produces waste, pollutes the atmosphere and changes the climate. We can transition the way we produce and use energy in a way that will contribute to a sustainable future. We're campaigning in countries all around the world to provide the solutions for governments, for companies and for all members of society to make the right choices about energy conservation and use. And you, as an individual, can help just by the choices you make. Help us look after the world where you live at panda.org



Spitsbergen, Norway.

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The Brief News

NEWS TICKER

Sudanese troops protect demonstrators

Parts of Sudan's military began to **defend protesters from attacks by regime security forces** in the capital, Khartoum, on April 8, according to witnesses. For months, the government has brutally clamped down on demonstrations that call for an end to President Omar al-Bashir's 30-year rule.

Woman caught at Mar-a-Lago stays in jail

Prosecutors said April 8 that Yujing Zhang, the woman **charged with breaching security at President Trump's Mar-a-Lago club**, had suspicious electronics in her hotel room, including a thumb drive with malware and a device to detect hidden cameras. She will remain in jail until her hearing resumes.

Iran military force labeled terrorist group

On April 8, President Trump **declared Iran's Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps a foreign terrorist organization**, saying that arm of the country's military "promotes terrorism as a tool of statecraft"—the first time the label has been applied to part of a foreign government. Iran retaliated by designating U.S. forces in the Middle East a terrorist organization.

GOOD QUESTION

What will Prince Harry and Meghan Markle do with their baby gifts?

WITH THE DUCHESS OF SUSSEX DUE TO give birth to her first child this spring, friends of Meghan Markle and the Duke of Sussex, Prince Harry, are already going out of their way to shower the popular royal pair with gifts.

But giving to royals is more complicated than wrapping up a baby rattle and posting it to the palace address. A grassroots "global baby shower" movement, spearheaded on social media by Markle's fans, urged followers to give to charities on March 31 in the couple's name. That spurred an April 5 Instagram update from the Sussexes, thanking participants and echoing the request that they not be sent physical presents. They "have long planned to encourage members of the public to make donations to select charities," the post reminded followers, directing them to a number of organizations that support families in need.

While it's nothing new for the charity-minded to request donations in lieu of gifts, this particular request had good reason for being underlined: as CNN royals commentator Victoria Arbiter explains, the royals cannot accept any "unsolicited" gifts.

So if there's a return address on a package sent to the palace, the mail-room staff will promptly send it back with a note—although it probably won't come from Harry and

Meghan directly, Arbiter clarifies, but from the royal office. No return address? The gift will get donated to local hospitals or charities; Kate Middleton followed the same protocol since her children were born. "The royal mail room, you can imagine, is pretty intense," Arbiter says; security is paramount.

Brands should also forget about sending free products. "If they're sent from a company, they will definitely be sent back [or donated], because the royals don't want to be walking billboards," Arbiter says.

That doesn't mean the new baby will go gift-free. "There's no official royal prohibition against members of the royal family receiving gifts from their friends or family members," says royals expert Leslie Carroll. Tennis star Serena Williams and lawyer Amal Clooney, for example, reportedly arranged for the penthouse location of Markle's Manhattan baby shower in February. While it has not been made public exactly what was bestowed on Markle at that time, experts guess there were plenty of "sweet and sentimental" presents to unwrap. "If Serena or Amal want to give Meghan a cute little onesie for the baby," Carroll says, "that's not a crime."

But for those who aren't part of Markle's inner circle, it's best to hold off on sending gifts their way. That said, there is one thing the royals always accept: regular mail. "If people send cards congratulating them on the baby, they will get a reply at some stage. It may take some time, but they will get a reply," Arbiter says, "and it's a nice way to show their appreciation."

—RAISA BRUNER

MONEY

Hell toupee

Many Zimbabweans were upset to read reports that their government had paid \$155,000 to import 64 judges' wigs made of horsehair. Here, other public-spending squabbles. —Billy Perrigo

DUCKING THE BILL

British lawmaker Peter Viggers was found in 2009 to have spent more than \$2,000 in public money on a floating duck house for his garden. Viggers stepped down after the revelations came out.

DOWNTON AND OUT

U.S. Congressman Aaron Schock resigned in 2015 amid an investigation into his spending—including some \$40,000 that went toward decorating his office in the style of the TV show *Downton Abbey*.

BAG OF TRICKS

As part of an ongoing corruption probe facing former Malaysian PM Najib Razak and his wife, police in May 2018 seized 284 boxes of **designer handbags**, along with watches and jewelry, from their home.



Milestones

REVOKED

The U.S. visa of International Criminal Court chief prosecutor Fatou Bensouda, by the Trump Administration, on April 5. The ICC is investigating possible war crimes by U.S. troops in Afghanistan.

REPLACED

Randolph "Tex" Alles, as U.S. Secret Service director, by the White House on April 8. President Trump chose James Murray to fill the role.

DECLARED

A public-health emergency, in the Williamsburg area of Brooklyn, by New York City Mayor Bill de Blasio to combat a measles outbreak. Every resident must now submit to being vaccinated.

KILLED

A suspected rhino poacher, by an elephant, in a South African park, officials said April 5. The park said the man's body was later eaten by lions.

PLEADED

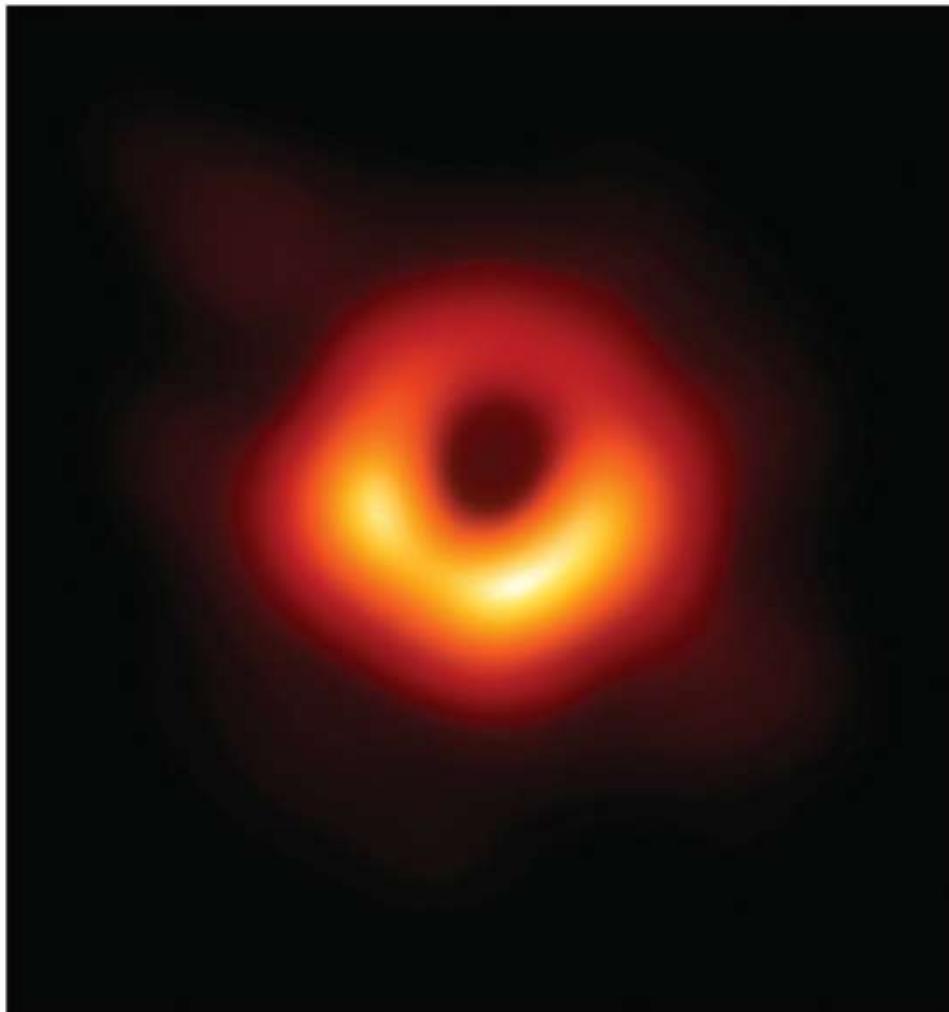
Guilty, to racketeering charges, by former *Smallville* actor Allison Mack on April 8, for her role in the cultlike group Nxivm.

BARRED

Sixteen Saudis, from the U.S., over the killing of Jamal Khashoggi, by the State Department on April 8.

NAMED

Abdelkader Bensalah, as interim President of Algeria, on April 9. Thousands protested the appointment of the close ally of deposed leader Abdelaziz Bouteflika.



At the center of M87, a galaxy in the constellation Virgo, a black hole is seen outlined by hot gas drawn by its gravity

CAPTURED

The first picture of a black hole A supermassive achievement

A PICTURE OF A BLACK HOLE IS ONE OF THOSE SELF-NEGATING concepts, like the sound of silence or the presence of absence. But on April 10, scientists at half a dozen simultaneous press conferences around the world unveiled the first ever picture of a black hole, specifically the massive one in the center of the M87 galaxy, 54 million light-years distant.

True to the science, the image is not of the black hole itself, which is unseeable in any wavelength, but of the so-called event horizon around it—the stars, dust and energy that circle the gravitational drain before being sucked inside forever. The image was captured by a global web of eight radio telescopes, collectively called the Event Horizon Telescope (EHT), in observatories as distant from one another as Spain in the north and Antarctica in the south. The EHT also surveyed a black hole in the center of our Milky Way galaxy, although a picture of it has not been released.

That second black hole seems titanic—the equivalent of 4.1 million of our suns. The one in M87, however, is nearly 1,600 times as large: the staggering equivalent of 6.5 billion suns. The EHT itself is growing, with three observatories added since the new images were captured. These first two black holes will surely be followed by many more. Virtually all of the at least 200 billion large galaxies in the known universe are thought to be organized around a central black hole. We can never hope to survey them all; we will surely survey many more. And now, at last, we know how to do it. —JEFFREY KLUGER

DIED

Richard E. Cole Doolittle raider

THE MEN WHO CARRIED out the first U.S. airstrike on the Japanese homeland during World War II would be known to the world by the name of their leader: Lieut. Colonel Jimmy Doolittle. But Doolittle wasn't alone; the operation involved 80 men. Now there are none. His co-pilot, Richard E. Cole, who died on April 9 at 103, was the last surviving Doolittle raider.

On the morning of April 18, 1942, their 16 B-25 bombers flew into Japanese airspace, dropping munitions on industrial targets in the Tokyo area and beyond. The damage was minimal, but the raid boosted morale for the U.S. in the aftermath of Pearl Harbor. It also demonstrated to the imperial Japanese army that offensive bombing on the country's homeland was possible.

After the war, Cole and the other survivors reunited annually to make a toast to their fallen comrades, using silver goblets presented to them in 1959. In 2017, Cole was the only surviving member to commemorate the 75th anniversary of the raid at the National Museum of the U.S. Air Force. There, he raised his goblet of cognac for one final time. —WILDER DAVIES



The Brief TIME with ...

In a crowded presidential race, **Tim Ryan** is trying to break through with a Midwestern message

By Philip Elliott/West Des Moines, Iowa

YOU MAY HAVE HEARD OF TIM RYAN'S COUSIN. Sitting on a barstool in an office-park brewery in West Des Moines, Iowa, Ryan tells the tale of how cousin Donny called him up two decades ago, shell-shocked and soon to be out of a job at the electrical-parts factory where he'd worked for seven years. The last thing Donny did was box up the equipment he'd been running to ship it to China, along with his job.

It's an anecdote that Ryan deploys often. It's also one that could have come from the mouth of President Donald Trump, whom Ryan is now running against. An eight-term Democratic Congressman from a largely white, working-class part of Ohio, Ryan has just launched a presidential campaign built around the plight of the people Trump dubbed the "forgotten men and women" of America. And even a few years ago, the 45-year-old swing-state Congressman may have looked and sounded like a presidential candidate from central casting, a man following the path taken by eight Presidents from Ohio to the White House.

But as the 2020 race gets under way, Ryan barely registers in the crowded Democratic presidential contest. The party is fielding its most diverse group of contenders in history, including firebrands, pioneers and coalition builders. In a race dominated so far by policy ideas like free college and breaking up monopolies, there's little sign of an opening for a little-known Midwestern Congressman who was against abortion rights until 2015 and has made rebuilding the party's connection with blue collar voters the centerpiece of his campaign. Most of the latest polls in Iowa and New Hampshire didn't even ask about Ryan, who faces a steep climb just to qualify for the first Democratic debates in June.

But even as they dismiss Ryan's chances, many Democrats say the party should heed his message. To win back the White House, they say, Democrats first need to win back workers who share the frustrations Ryan sees when he's out with his family. "I could win Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, Wisconsin; rebuild the blue wall; and take out Trump," Ryan tells TIME. But that's not all. "I don't want it to be just about beating Trump. It's got to be about totally forging a new politics in the country that realigns things. It's got to happen."

RYAN QUICK FACTS

Backbench uprising

Ryan tried and failed to oust Speaker Nancy Pelosi in 2016, attacking her for being a drag on the party's image.

Zen caucus

He practices several forms of meditation and organizes twice-a-week sessions for a group in Congress dubbed the Quiet Time Caucus.

Family man

The Congressman and his wife Andrea are raising three kids, two from her first marriage. His first marriage ended in divorce.

Ryan admits that he is a long-shot contender. "For me, it's Iowa, New Hampshire," Ryan says, sipping a locally made pint of Foxy Blonde ale. "I have to do really well. I don't know what that means in the field of 19 people. It used to be three tickets out of Iowa, and now maybe it's, like, six?"

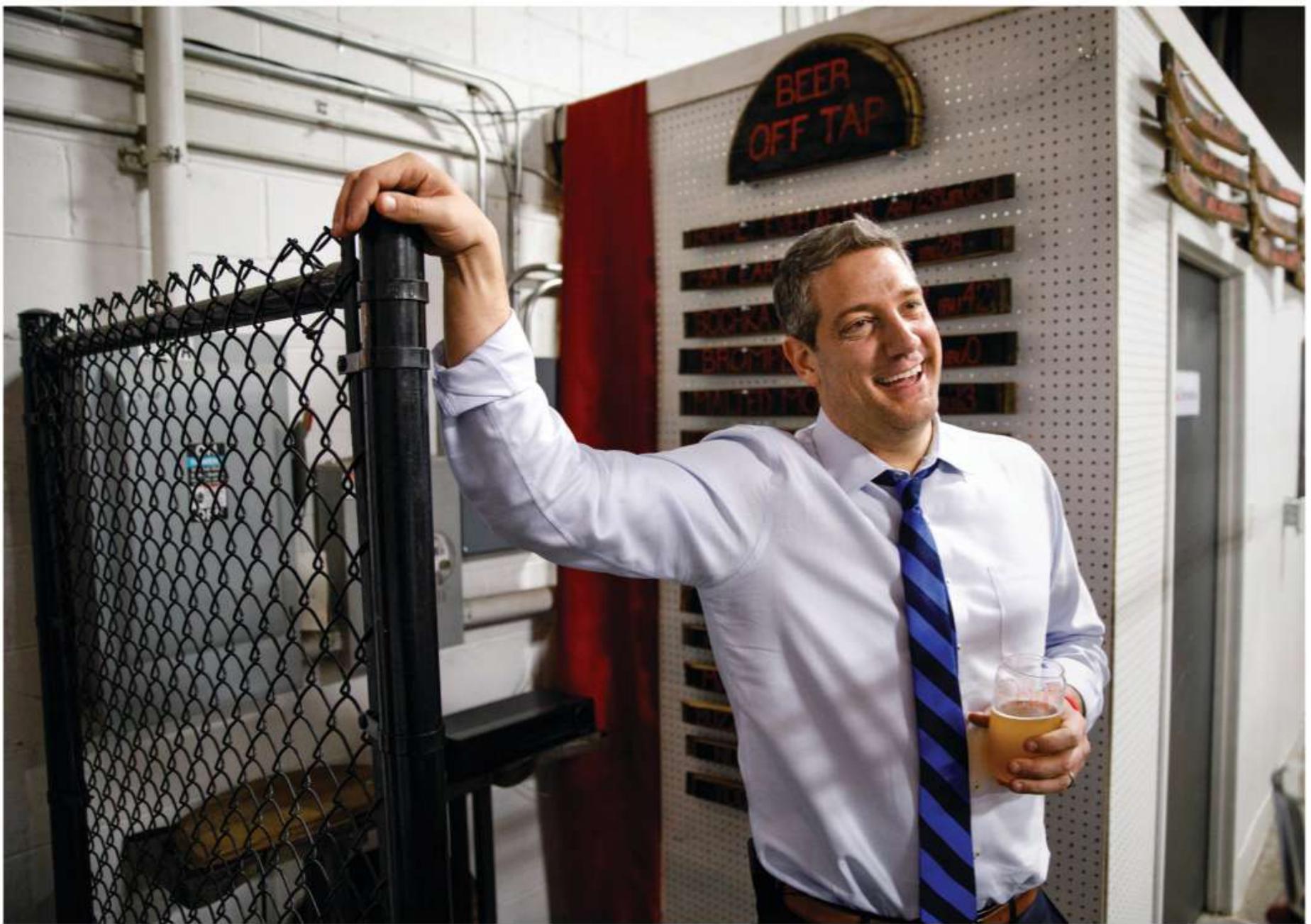
The Congressman's politics can be equally hard to interpret. It's easy to caricature a former NRA guy who has supported corporate-tax cuts and tried twice to dethrone House Speaker Nancy Pelosi for being out of step with today's Democratic Party. But Ryan is no centrist. He may not be for the Green New Deal as it stands, but wants to partner with the private sector to develop new environmentally friendly technologies to replace a vanishing manufacturing sector. He's a self-described progressive, but one who doesn't sign on to far-left ideas like abolishing ICE or the Electoral College. And he's a yoga and meditation devotee who wrote a book on the practice of mindfulness and another on food policy.

RYAN GREW UP in Niles, Ohio, a small city on the outskirts of the once mighty industrial hub of Youngstown. He and his brothers were altar boys at Our Lady of Mount Carmel Catholic Church, where his priest celebrated a private mass for Ryan's family and close friends just hours before Ryan delivered his announcement speech on April 6.

The priest played to the choir with his sermon, telling the clan to hold out hope for Ryan's candidacy. After all, the priest said, the Pharisees doubted that someone from Galilee could be a prophet, let alone found Christianity. "It was the best homily," Ryan chuckles. "A President from Niles? Come on." (Ryan is in on the joke; President William McKinley was born there, and the Congressman launched his original House campaign from the McKinley presidential museum.) In a party marked by rising secularism, Ryan remains devout. "To me, my faith is about love and compassion," he says.

A standout high school quarterback, Ryan was recruited to play at Youngstown State. A knee injury when he was 19 sidelined him and sent him studying political science at Bowling Green. Between stints working for his local Congressman, the troublemaking James Traficant, and a term in the state Senate, he earned a law degree. In 2002, after Traficant was indicted for bribery, racketeering and tax evasion, Ryan, then 29, ran for his former boss's job and won, making him the youngest Congressman in the country at the time. (Though Traficant was expelled from the House, he still got 15% of the vote in 2002 as a jailhouse candidate and 16% in 2010.) The district is now among the poorest in the U.S., and Ryan has used his perch on the powerful House Appropriations committee to bring home millions of dollars in grants.

Ryan has long mused about running for higher



office. Whether he can compete with a host of better-known and more dynamic competitors is a different question. At a moment when rivals like Elizabeth Warren are rolling out well-formed policy proposals honed with input from think tanks and networks of advisers, Ryan is serving as his own policy chief. He lacks the online fundraising army that has powered candidates like Bernie Sanders, Kamala Harris and Pete Buttigieg. Nor does he have the big-dollar backing of contenders like Joe Biden and Cory Booker.

The reality of his candidacy comes through as a kind of humility bordering on fatalism. Before sitting down for a beer with TIME, Ryan fielded questions from potential Iowa caucusgoers gathered on the brewery's concrete floor. "This will not be easy," Ryan told his crowd. "I'm not a superstar. I'm not a savior. I will tell you I will jump in the foxhole with you, and we will get this done. We are smart enough, we are creative enough, we are courageous enough, to pull this off. But it will be a long slog."

Few Democratic observers believe Ryan has a chance of emerging as the nominee. But there is

**I'm not a superstar.
I'm not a savior.**

TIM RYAN,
Democratic
presidential
candidate

evidence that his peers should be listening to his pitch. For all the energy on the party's left flank, the Democrats' path back to the House majority ran through the Midwest in 2018, driven in large part by suburban women who have soured on Trump's bravado. Many Democrats are eager for presidential candidates who promise big changes, but plenty of voters in the heartland simply want to believe politics can be practiced across the aisle, as Ryan has shown in working with GOP colleagues on defending Ohio military bases and fighting Great Lakes pollution.

Cousin Donny is hardly the only person in this part of the country to have been affected by the economic upheaval of the past decades. In fact, Ryan says it was another family member's call that spurred him to seriously consider a White House run. In November of last year, his stepdaughter Bella called in tears. Her friend's father was soon to lose his job, she said, when the local General Motors plant closed its doors. Ryan was reduced to tears too—"It was brutal," he recalls—and sparked to action. □

THE ROAD ENDS HERE

BINIA





LightBox

SPORTS

For college basketball, a pair of unforgettable championships

IN THE HOURS LEADING INTO tip-off, the April 8 NCAA men's basketball national championship game received about as much love as a blister on a player's big toe. Pundits and the general basketball populace lamented that the matchup featured two of the best defensive teams in the country, Virginia and Texas Tech—the former of which plays at a notoriously plodding pace. But the Monday-night affair in Minneapolis, which Virginia won 85-77 in a riveting overtime victory, was so much more than the predicted snoozer. For the third straight game, Virginia trailed in the waning moments of regulation. But, once again, the Cavaliers made big plays to pull out a win. A year ago Virginia became the first top seed to ever lose to a No. 16 in men's tournament history. This season, the team swam in championship confetti.

And the men's game had plenty to live up to, as it followed Baylor's 82-81 victory over Notre Dame in the women's championship the previous evening. Arike Ogunbowale, who hit last-second shots in both the national semifinal and title games a year ago to propel the Fighting Irish to the championship, couldn't make two last-second free throws to tie it up. The crowd in Tampa hushed in the third quarter, after Baylor power forward Lauren Cox left the game in a wheelchair with a knee injury. Cox was able to later return to the court—and became the first player to hoist Baylor's title trophy.

—SEAN GREGORY

Virginia's Kyle Guy (No. 5), the Most Outstanding Player of the Final Four, celebrates the title with his teammates

PHOTOGRAPH BY MIKE EHRMANN—GETTY IMAGES

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LightBox





For the second time in seven years, Baylor defeated Notre Dame—this time in Tampa—to win the national championship

PHOTOGRAPH BY STREETER LECKA—GETTY IMAGES

**SHE IS A WORLD OF POSSIBILITIES.
DON'T LET THE WORLD TELL HER
OTHERWISE.**



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The View

BUSINESS

CEOS ARE NOT OVERPAID

By Tyler Cowen

It is fashionable today to bash Big Business. And there is one issue on which the many critics agree: CEO pay. We hear that CEOs are paid too much (or too much relative to workers), or that they rig others' pay, or that their pay is insufficiently related to positive outcomes. But the more likely truth is CEO pay is largely caused by intense competition.▶

INSIDE

HOW A U.S.-CHINA TRADE DEAL
WOULD LIKELY FALL APART

WHY AFGHAN WOMEN NEED TO
BE A PRESENCE IN PEACE TALKS

THE SOOTHING UNFAMILIARITY
OF VISITING JAPAN

The View Opener

It is true that CEO pay has gone up—top ones may make 300 times the pay of typical workers on average, and since the mid-1970s, CEO pay for large publicly traded American corporations has, by varying estimates, gone up by about 500%. The typical CEO of a top American corporation—from the 350 largest such companies—now makes about \$18.9 million a year.

While individual cases of overpayment definitely exist, in general, the determinants of CEO pay are not so mysterious and not so mired in corruption. In fact, overall CEO compensation for the top companies rises pretty much in lockstep with the value of those companies on the stock market.

The best model for understanding the growth of CEO pay, though, is that of limited CEO talent in a world where business opportunities for the top firms are growing rapidly. The efforts of America's highest-earning 1% have been one of the more dynamic elements of the global economy. It's not popular to say, but one reason their pay has gone up so much is that CEOs really have upped their game relative to many other workers in the U.S. economy.

Today's CEO, at least for major American firms, must have many more skills than simply being able to "run the company." CEOs must have a good sense of financial markets and maybe even how the company should trade in them. They also need better public relations skills than their predecessors, as the costs of even a minor slipup can be significant. Then there's the fact that large American companies are much more globalized than ever before, with supply chains spread across a larger number of countries. To lead in that system requires knowledge that is fairly mind-boggling. Plus, virtually all major American companies are becoming tech companies, often with their own R&D. And beyond this, major CEOs still have to do all the day-to-day work they have always done.

THE COMMON IDEA that high CEO pay is mainly about ripping people off doesn't explain history very well. By most measures, corporate governance has become a lot

tighter and more rigorous since the 1970s. Yet it is principally during this period of stronger governance that CEO pay has been high and rising. That suggests it is in the broader corporate interest to recruit top candidates for increasingly tough jobs.

Furthermore, the highest CEO salaries are paid to outside candidates, not to the cozy insider picks, another sign that high CEO pay is not some kind of depredation at the expense of the rest of the company. And the stock market reacts positively when companies tie CEO pay to, say, stock prices, a sign that those practices build up corporate value not just for the CEO.

There is also reason to question criticisms of CEO pay that focus much more on issues of economic inequality. In general, within business firms, returns to higher-tier workers have not risen relative to the pay of the lower-tier workers—except for the few at the very top. Changing pay scales within firms are not major drivers of income inequality.

In fact, the main driver has been the blossoming of superstar firms that sell an innovative product and have global reach, as well as productivity shifts that benefit those companies especially. These firms include Google, Facebook, Boeing and Verizon. Typically, everyone in these companies—from senior managers to personal assistants—is paid more than workers at their more traditional counterparts. But that reality makes for a less juicy narrative than stories of CEOs taking money from their workers.

The overall value of superstar firms is yet another reason a first-rate CEO can be so very, very valuable. Building such an operation helps those firms raise wages for just about everyone. So the real question, looking forward, is what we might do to get more of those companies, so that more people's pay can go up.

Cowen is Holbert L. Harris Chair of Economics at George Mason University and the author, most recently, of *Big Business: A Love Letter to an American Anti-Hero*, from which this essay is adapted

SHORT READS

► Highlights from stories on time.com/ideas

What our words say about violence

Rabbi Jeffrey Myers of the Tree of Life Synagogue, who survived the 2018 shooting there, **says**

to stop using the word hate: "When we tone down our rhetoric ... we lessen the emotional impact of our words, and perhaps steer ourselves and others away from the wrong path."

The limits of new labels

The Trump Administration's designation of part of Iran's armed forces as a terrorist organization is "unprecedented and counterproductive," write former State Department officials Daniel Benjamin and Jason M. Blazakis, and **"theater by a [President] who values toughness over all else."**

We are not just who we socialize with

Being your own person is essential to cooperation, writes Nicholas A. Christakis, author of *Blueprint: The Evolutionary Origins of a Good Society*. In a time of tribalism, he counsels, "**we may require a bit more rugged individualism if we are to work together toward the common good.**"

THE RISK REPORT

Trump and Xi need to resolve the trade war, but real peace is unlikely

By Ian Bremmer



"WE'RE VERY WELL along," says President Trump about U.S.-China trade talks.

"Significant work remains," caution his spokespeople. Negotiators representing the world's two largest economies have worked hard for months to resolve long-standing conflicts over market access, protection of intellectual property, and other issues that led Trump last year to order billions of dollars in tariffs on Chinese goods. The two remaining outstanding goals appear to be U.S. willingness to quickly lift tariffs and Chinese willingness to allow the U.S. to verify that China is keeping its promises, but optimism is in the air that a deal will soon be done.

For good and for ill, there are significant similarities between this agreement and the 2015 nuclear deal the Obama Administration struck with Iran. Both involve lengthy, complex negotiations among teams of both technical experts and seasoned diplomats.

As with the Iran deal, the U.S.-China agreement will be greeted with extraordinary fanfare. And, perhaps most important, these are both deals agreed to by the representatives of governments that deeply distrust each other.

THAT'S WHY a U.S.-China trade pact, like the Iran nuclear deal, is unlikely to last very long. One of Iran's bitterest complaints is that the Obama Administration left many sanctions in place even after the nuclear deal was signed. Trump may well do the same with China, and the threat that Trump will abruptly tweet out new threats will hang over future relations. China, like Iran, will allow for some sort of verification process to prove it's keeping its end of the deal, but the President may not always be satisfied with the result, particularly if U.S. and Chinese officials interpret the agreement differently,

because of their economic interests and essential mistrust of each other.

A further similarity: other governments will be left with the mess when the deal breaks down. A series of reports issued earlier this month underscore just how many interested parties there are. The Asian Development Bank says trade disputes between Washington and Beijing create the most important current risk for Asia's regional economy. The International Monetary Fund notes that today's global supply chains leave South Korea and Japan, as well as Germany, Italy, the U.K. and France, especially vulnerable to an economic slowdown triggered by tariffs. The World Trade Organization warns that tit-for-tat tariffs, like those at play in the U.S.-China trade war, threaten global jobs, growth and economic stability.

Donald Trump wants a deal. He needs a major political win to open his campaign for re-election, and there are few other foreign policy achievements he can credibly claim. Chinese President

Xi Jinping wants a deal too. He's managing a long-term slowdown of China's economy and needs to avoid criticism at home that the "new era" of Chinese power he has proclaimed has forced his country and its economy into an unwelcome international spotlight. The negotiators representing the two governments want an agreement that will satisfy the political needs of their Presidents while resolving enough problems in U.S.-China trade relations to give the deal a chance to stand the test of time.

But mistrust extends well beyond the men at the top. China and the U.S. will compete for domination in coming years across the political, economic, security and technology arenas. A signed agreement can make an important difference to limit this competition. It can also be destroyed more quickly than it was constructed. Just ask Iran. □

QUICK TALK

Alaa al Aswany

The exiled best-selling Egyptian author discusses the lawsuit he says military prosecutors are bringing against him for allegedly insulting "the President, the Armed Forces and judicial institutions" in his 2018 novel, *The Republic*, as *If*, which depicts Egypt's 2011 revolution.

How did you learn about the lawsuit? Through an article published in *Egypt Today*. It's disturbing because in the military court, the chief of the army or the chief of the state has the right to double the sentence, or to give you amnesty, or to do anything.

Have things gotten worse under President Abdul Fattah al-Sisi? Without doubt. We had censorship [before]. But now we don't have freedom of expression. Nothing can be said, except praising the President.

Why is literature particularly dangerous to an authoritarian regime? Because in fiction, ideas become real life. When I give you an article about how life was very tough under the Soviet Union, that would be good. But when you read *Doctor Zhivago*, this is something very different. Because you will feel the suffering of the people.

—Joseph Hincks



Aswany, who currently stays in Brooklyn

Let the women of Afghanistan make peace

By Angelina Jolie

WHEN THE TALIBAN SEIZED POWER IN 1996, IT WAGED a war against Afghan women. Girls' education was banned. Women were confined to the home and denied the right to work. They were flogged, beaten, mutilated and stoned to death for supposed immorality. This is not ancient history. These are living memories for millions of Afghans. And they have become present concerns, as U.S. government representatives negotiate with the Taliban about a settlement that could see it return to a position of power and influence in Afghanistan.

After the U.S. and its allies invaded Afghanistan in 2001, ending Taliban oppression of women was frequently described as a goal second only to the eradication of terrorist safe havens. Today, nearly a third of the Afghan parliament and civil service are women. Afghan women are professors, artists, journalists, lawyers and judges; they serve in the national police force and military. The nation's ambassador to the U.S. is a woman. This progress is inspiring yet fragile: women and girls there still routinely face discrimination and violence.

While no one doubts the need for peace, Afghan women want to know that they won't be betrayed, and their rights won't be undermined, by these negotiations. There won't be stability if a peace agreement ushers in a new era of injustice and oppression of women. It would be a tragic outcome after nearly 40 years of conflict in the country.

WOMEN, WHO HAVE the most to lose if the Taliban returns to power, currently have the least say in the process by which it may do so. As negotiations continue, and an Afghan government delegation meets with Taliban members, certain steps are urgently needed.

First, Afghan women must be able to speak for themselves. This means including female negotiators in significant numbers as part of any Afghan government delegation and ensuring formal participation for women's groups representing civil society. Qatar, as host of the intra-Afghan dialogue, should invite such groups to take part as full delegates. Everyone knows the difference between tokenism and inclusion.

Second, women's rights and concerns must be on the formal agenda, not relegated to side events or made the lone responsibility of female delegates. Women should have

Women in the old section of Herat, Afghanistan, on Jan. 9, 2018



Afghan women should not be left alone to defend their rights before an organization that has traditionally treated them as inferior beings

leadership roles during the development and implementation of any agreement and be consulted on all aspects of the future of the country—not just "women's issues."

Third, as the U.S. possesses a position of power in the peace process, Afghan women look to us to bring our diplomatic leverage to bear to uphold their rights, alongside their own government. If we don't, it is almost a foregone conclusion that they will be marginalized. The U.S.—and the other nations that fought beside it in Afghanistan—should be adamant that they will not back any peace deal that erodes rights for women, and will hold all parties to the commitments they

make. Afghan women should not be left alone to defend their rights before an organization that has traditionally treated them as inferior beings.

Those who oppose equal rights for women in Afghanistan may claim this agenda is a Western imposition. But women gained the right to vote in Afghanistan in 1919, a year before women in America, and the Afghan constitution of the 1960s guaranteed equality.

I have also met many Afghan refugee fathers who braved intimidation and violence to support their daughters' right to an education.

These peace negotiations are based on the hope that the Taliban has changed and will compromise. Its position on women's rights and their participation in these talks is a fundamental test of its intentions. Accepting as irreversible the progress made by Afghan women is the standard it should be held to. The war in Afghanistan has been the defining foreign policy issue of our generation. After all the sacrifices made, we must seek to end the conflict on the right terms. We need a peace that is built on human rights in order for it to last.

Jolie is an Academy Award-winning actor and co-founder of the Preventing Sexual Violence in Conflict Initiatives

Japan still inhabits its own ancestral universe

By Pico Iyer

EVERY MORNING, MY JAPANESE WIFE HIROKO GETS OUT OF bed before dawn and boils hot water to make tea for her father. It hardly matters that he died six years ago. The household altar on which she also lays out his favorite snacks sits next to the boom box on which she'll soon be blasting out Green Day's "21st Century Breakdown." When she gets a day off from the Paul Smith store where she sells semipunk English fashions, she travels two hours—each way—by train to talk to her grandmother, who left this earth in 1979. Hiroko still remembers how whenever she kicked a chair as a little girl, her father told her to apologize. The chair had a soul and heart too, he reminded her. What had it done to harm her?

Some of this may sound strange to the fashion-mad kids in Tokyo's Harajuku district. The ancient capitals around which Hiroko and I live, Nara and Kyoto, take Japan's traditions more seriously than do the rebuilt cities of modern Japan. And Hiroko in her autumn years is certainly more diligent about honoring old customs than she might have been in her springtime years. Yet the fact remains: on arriving in Kyoto in 1987, from midtown Manhattan, I was struck most by the trendy girls in fishnet stockings, the ubiquitous burger joints, the sound of pinball racketing through fluorescent shopping arcades. After 32 years around my adopted home, I'm most startled by the resilience of everything that's old.

Geopolitically, this hasn't been a blessing. Japan regularly finishes close to the bottom in all of Asia—far behind North Korea, Cambodia and Indonesia—when it comes to English-language proficiency. At Princeton, where I'm teaching this month, the classrooms are full of students from Shanghai and Mumbai and Singapore; I have yet to encounter a single one from Japan. As the number of international visitors to Japan has surged, from 5 million in 2003 to 31 million last year—the number may reach 40 million with the Tokyo Olympics next year—the country is eager to make foreigners feel at home. Yet what draws us visitors to the island nation is not how familiar it feels but how distinct.

MANY MIGHT SAY, in fact, that Japan has not strayed far from the hermit kingdom it remained for more than 200 years, when any citizen trying to leave the islands was executed. In recent years it's found that marketing its past is almost its only way of fashioning a future, economically. After urbanist Richard Florida at the University of Toronto measured 45 countries for their closeness to tradition, modern-seeming Japan came out No. 1. Culturally, this makes for an evergreen

advantage: the birthplace of sushi and *manga* and ramen is in no danger of being mistaken for anywhere else. In an age of global migration, the continuity of Japan has become selling point as well as affliction.

I look at the calendar in my neighborhood in suburban Nara, and almost every event seems to speak for an agrarian, long-ago Japan that hovers around us as vividly as my late father-in-law does. Bonfires to propitiate the gods in the hope of a good harvest. A lantern festival illuminating the sacred forest around one of the country's most revered Shinto shrines. A ceremonial cutting of the antlers of some of the roughly 1,200 wild deer that roam, untethered, through the city's downtown. Japan's retrograde treatment of women, of anyone who acts differently—of people as dark-skinned as I am—has left it increasingly out of sync with the global order; but I urge my friends to visit because even McDonald's will be serving moon-viewing burgers to go with the harvest moon this September.

This month my neighbors are streaming out into temple gardens to bawl drunken songs

under the frothing cherry blossoms. On May Day, a new imperial era arrives as Crown Prince Naruhito ascends the Chrysanthemum Throne. But changing constantly on the surface seems almost a way in Japan of ensuring that nothing changes very much deep down. Next month, and next year, Hiroko in her leather jacket will still be urging our daughter, on her days off, to make the long trip from her smoothie shop to pour fresh water on her great-grandmother's grave.

Iyer, a contributor to TIME since 1982, publishes a new book, Autumn Light: Season of Fire and Farewells, on April 16



The famous cherry blossoms in bloom on the banks of the Meguro River in Tokyo





* THE PLOT EUROPE AGAINST PEACE

ELECTIONS IN
MAY COULD FINALLY
ALLOW POPULISTS
AND NATIONALISTS TO
REMAKE THE E.U. FROM WITHIN
BY VIVIENNE WALT/BRUSSELS

THE DECISION CAME AS A SURPRISE.

When the Nobel Committee awarded its annual Peace Prize in 2012, the betting markets had predicted a laureate involved with the Arab Spring. Almost no one expected the prize to go to a fusty institution that had transformed a continent of war to one of peace—the European Union. “War is as old as Europe,” explained Herman Van Rompuy, the first European Council president, accepting the award in Oslo in December that year. “Our continent bears the scars of spears and swords, cannons and guns, trenches and tanks, and more.”

Today, Europe calls to mind bureaucracy. Instead of gunfire and the rattle of tank tracks, the soundtrack to the E.U. is the quiet rustling of papers in the hallways of its capital, Brussels. After the traumas of genocide and upheaval, Europe now embraces compromise. “For this,” Van Rompuy said, “boring politics is only a small price to pay.”

But they’re not so boring lately. One of the world’s most extraordinary experiments in governance—a union throwing together what is now 28 countries with wildly different cultures, to fight around a negotiating table rather than on the battlefield—is under siege from within.

In the decades after the signing of the Treaty of Rome in 1957, which created the E.U.’s predecessor, glorious blandness came to define Europe. Over time, countries surrendered segments of their governance to a faceless entity that diffuses authority across a handful of confoundingly named institutions: the European Council, the Council of the European Union, the European Parliament and the European Commission.



In his Nobel Peace Prize speech, Van Rompuy referred to the E.U.’s secret weapon as “binding our interests so tightly that war becomes materially impossible.” Those interests range from the common euro currency in 19 countries to frictionless trade and the free movement of people to live and work across the 28 member states. And in the Parliament in Brussels, 751 representatives forge common policies that affect more than 500 million people, on everything from trade and agriculture to technology and the environment. In Brussels, lawmakers make countless decisions about the cars Europeans drive, the food they eat and the pets they own.

It’s an opaque system that most Europeans either struggle to understand or display little interest in trying. Until now there’s been only tepid attention paid to elections for the European Parliament, which take place every five years; in 2014, fewer than 43% of voters even bothered to go to the polls.

This time, the stakes are higher. As the campaign ramps up ahead of parliamentary elections May 23–26, the first Europe-wide vote since an unprecedented wave of migration roiled the continent, Europeans sense they can no longer take their union for granted. Far-right nationalists have banded together in an effort to consolidate their power across the union. Politicians once sidelined as fringe extremists have moved into the mainstream, even if many are still in the opposition.

Ex-White House chief strategist Bannon on a rented private plane in Brussels heading to London



And they are increasingly confident about their chances in May. “With every election in the last three years, in Sweden, Italy, Hungary, Austria, [it is] like dominoes, bing, bing, bing,” Marine Le Pen says, sitting in her office recently in the French Parliament in Paris.

French polls suggest Le Pen’s far-right party—which rebranded last year as National Rally in a bid to shed the image of anti-Semitism and xenophobia associated with its predecessor the National Front—will almost certainly increase its representation in Brussels. Elsewhere, populist and far-right nationalist parties are likely to do well, according to the polls.

Together, they are a long way from claiming the majority in Brussels. But by boosting their numbers in Europe’s Parliament, hard-liners will increasingly be able to shape the debate. That could allow the E.U.’s sharpest critics to begin remaking the union from within—a strategy leaders like Le Pen have spent years planning. Drumming her fingers on her desk, she says, “We are writing history with a big H.”

That history has taken on a different shape in recent months. In the days following Britain’s 2016 vote to leave the E.U.—a major jolt to those raised on a borderless continent—Le Pen decorated her office wall with posters reading, in

“OUR DARKEST ANGELS IN EUROPE ARE ALWAYS SOMEWHERE UNDER THE SURFACE.”

—Frans Timmermans, first vice president of the European Commission

French, BREXIT: AND NOW FRANCE! Those “Frexit” posters have now vanished, and there is no exit talk from nationalist politicians like Hungary’s Prime Minister Viktor Orban or Italy’s Deputy Prime Minister Matteo Salvini. Perhaps having witnessed the postreferendum upheaval in Britain, Europe’s nationalists now seem content—or at least resigned—to stay in the E.U., despite their antagonism toward its leaders.

What has replaced a desire to leave, however, could be just as hazardous for Europe: a plan to pick apart the fabric of the E.U., from Brussels itself. “They do not like anything to do with Europe, and they will do anything to destroy it,” says Fabrice Pothier, a former NATO policy-planning director and chief strategy officer at Rasmussen Global, a consultancy firm in Copenhagen. Pothier, who is French, is hoping to stand in the E.U. elections as part of French President Emmanuel Macron’s party. “European solidarity is something that has a very thin veneer.”

Europe’s leaders have never felt more alone. Across the ocean, President Donald Trump has called the E.U. “a foe” of America, stalled a transatlantic trade deal while repeatedly threatening tariffs on European goods, and lashed out at NATO, the West’s cherished postwar project. Former White House strategist Stephen Bannon has crisscrossed Europe, pushing far-right nationalists to wage battle against Brussels. Now a more chilling question looms for Europe’s leaders: whether the E.U. can survive in the long term at all.

Bruno Le Maire, France’s Economy Minister, fears that the challenges to the union could ultimately overwhelm the grand dream that led to its founding. Unless the union can offer the hope that nationalists are promising, he says, “I really do think there is a threat for the European construction to vanish.”

FOR SOME IN EUROPE, a shakeout cannot come soon enough. Facing economic stagnation, uncontrolled migration and intense competition in a tight job market, many see E.U. officials in Brussels as remote technocrats determined to keep the bloc together, no matter the cost. On paper, Europeans’ support for the E.U. is the highest in 35 years, at least according to the union’s own polling data. In reality, that support often seems as undependable as the union itself. From Italy to Austria, millions have voted for populists and nationalists, who attack the E.U.’s core principles and who are plotting to remake Europe from within.

For the E.U.’s defenders, the challenge is how to head off the destructive nationalist impulse the union was formed to combat. “Our darkest angels in Europe are always somewhere under the surface,” says Frans Timmermans, a Dutch center-left politician and the European Commission’s first vice president. In order to keep them at bay, he says, the E.U. will need to “demonstrate that there is some value in acting together as Europeans for the common good.”

If that sounds vague, many in the E.U. say that’s the problem. To them, Brussels is a vast bureaucracy trying to inter-

World

vene in every aspect of European life, from a distance removed from its harsher realities. Income gaps have widened as Europe slowly recovers from the financial crisis. In 2017, the Paris-based Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development warned that growing inequality was a political powder keg in Europe and could spur protectionism and populism.

Winning the loyalty of angry, resentful voters will require Europe's leaders to show they can deliver concrete opportunities. "This is a last-chance election," says Pothier. "If citizens feel we are not delivering, how are they going to vote next time, in 2024?"

For years, proponents of the E.U. could rely on the fact that their opposition was hardly united. Europe's far-right and nationalist parties tend to share little beyond concerns about illegal immigration and Islamist-inspired terrorism. Le Pen and her counterparts have been unable to coalesce as a voting bloc, owing to a clash of egos and bitter splits over issues like Russia sanctions and trade policy. That could change in May if they join forces at last. On April 8, Salvini held a summit in Milan with right-wing leaders from Austria and Poland, and he has invited Le Pen and others to the city on May 18 to try to form a political bloc. Europe's disrupters are trying to coax those big personalities to keep their eyes on a bigger prize: remaking the E.U.

That was Bannon's message when he opted to throw himself into the European campaign after leaving the White House. Inspired by Trump's 2016 campaign, Italy's Salvini—who has met with Bannon twice—has catapulted his anti-immigrant League party to the top of Italy's polls with the slogan "Italy first!" In July, Bannon flew to London to meet right-wing Belgian politician Mischael Modrikamen. Over lunch in the city's swanky Brown's Hotel, the two agreed to form an organization called the Movement, to bring together nationalist leaders across Europe ahead of the May 2019 elections. Bannon then darted around Europe, visiting Orban and other right-wing leaders, as he attempted to knit together a coherent group.

The idea, he told TIME in an interview last fall, was to ready nationalist parties to win in the E.U. elections, through methods like data analytics and polling, honed during Trump's campaign. "Europe is on fire right now with the populist movement," he said last summer, sitting in the study of Modrikamen's Brussels mansion, a large swimming pool gleaming outside the window. He had begun that day in Paris, discussing the strategy for the E.U. elections over breakfast with Le Pen. "The centrist parties do



Above: Italy's Salvini, right, greets Hungary's Orbán in Milan; right: France's Le Pen leaves a meeting with Salvini in October



not have the energy," he said. "They do not have the youth, they do not have the ideas, they do not have the vigor."

Europe's politicians hardly need a complete outsider to instruct them in E.U. politics. But Bannon's strategy of subverting the E.U., rather than leaving it, closely meshes with that of Europe's nationalists. Salvini and Jaroslaw Kaczynski, the leader of Poland's ruling party, for example, are discussing how to work together in Brussels. In an interview last fall, Salvini told TIME the aim would be "to re-establish the European spirit that has been betrayed by those who govern this union," including a severe crackdown on illegal migration and emphasizing Europe's "Christian-Judeo roots."



To make a difference in Brussels, the anti-E.U. parties would need to win at least one-third of votes, something that seems possible for the first time in decades, according to some polls. If—and it is a big if—the parties coalesce, they could block key appointments and overrule decisions in a tactic that Bannon described to TIME as “command by negation.” And they could push their own hard-line candidates for key positions, in particular those involved in migration and free trade.

It is those two issues that have riven E.U. politics, beginning with the global financial crisis in 2008. The recession left Greece, Ireland, Portugal and Spain virtually bankrupt, and entirely dependent on bailouts from the International Monetary Fund and the E.U., backed by Germany—Europe’s strongest economy. The loans were often conditional on imposing severe austerity measures that squeezed ordinary citizens and cut public services, deepening a sense of crisis.

“This whole spirit in Europe of ‘we are all in this together’ started to crumble during the economic crisis,” says Judith Sargentini, a Dutch member of the European Parliament, from the GreenLeft party. “And then came the refugee crisis.”

Just as Europe began recovering, millions fled violence in Syria, Afghanistan and parts of Africa. In 2015, about 1.3 million of them endured the dangerous Mediterranean sea crossing and other illicit routes to apply for asylum in Europe, in what became the continent’s biggest migrant flow since World War II.

The refugee crisis was a pivotal moment in Europe, and it set the stage for future

divisions. While European leaders fought over how to settle migrants, whether to impose quotas on resettlement programs and the legality of deporting asylum seekers—still unresolved—populists and nationalists seized on the issue as the major rallying cry for their cause. In Germany, where Chancellor Angela Merkel welcomed 1 million asylum seekers, the crisis catapulted the first far-right politicians into the Bundestag for decades.

Britons, on the other hand, have been more concerned about the number of immigrants from poorer E.U. countries. When the E.U. expanded to include 10 mostly Central and Eastern European countries in 2004, the U.K. was one of three nations

to immediately open its borders to workers from new member states. In the years before the 2016 referendum, many of those new E.U. citizens moved to the U.K. to work—fueling pro-Brexit voices who argued against free movement in Europe.

Britain was always a hesitant E.U. member, refusing to abandon the British pound for the euro, or to join the Schengen system that eliminates internal border controls between 26 countries. But in several interviews with TIME, top European officials

describe Brexit as a seismic, even existential, shock. The first defection by a member state in 62 years has cracked open questions that sputtered to the surface periodically for years, including how to drastically overhaul the E.U., either by limiting its mammoth scope and regulatory oversight or by tightly binding the 27 countries still in it.

Even politicians who fiercely defend the E.U. disagree over what to do. There is the notion of a Europe-wide banking union and financial authority, as well as a European military—proposals pushed by Macron, who has emerged as the E.U.’s most passionate voice. But even among moderates, there is a common view: the E.U. needs to change, and fast. “All over Europe you see the same split,” says France’s Economy Minister Le Maire. “One part benefiting from globalization, and the other suffering from globalization.” Without a drastic fix, nationalism will increase its hold on the continent. “The status quo is not an option,” he says. “The status quo will lead to the end of Europe.”

THE DIVIDE GOES well beyond the haves and have-nots. It is also a battle between two worldviews: those of the liberal West, which created the common market in the 1950s, and the E.U.’s newer members, many of which are former Soviet satellites where stridently nationalist views prevail. In that sense, Europe’s divide echoes last century’s Cold War, but with the two sides now thrust together in a single union.

The schism has played out most starkly 700 miles east of Brussels—in Hungary, which joined the E.U. in 2004. As such, Prime Minister Orbán’s battle with Brussels has become a litmus test for populists and far-right groups across Europe as they edge into the mainstream. At issue is how much they can defy E.U. principles on migration, human rights and economy, while still remaining firmly in Europe’s embrace.

For months, E.U. leaders have railed against Orbán, who has been in power since 2010. The most powerful coalition in the European Parliament suspended Orbán’s Fidesz party in March, citing his authoritarian policies, such as silencing his critics and driving out of the country the charitable operations of George Soros, the Hungarian-American billionaire who has for decades funded democracy projects in his native country; Orbán claims Soros stokes antigovernment activism and illegal migration.

In February, the government launched its E.U. election campaign, plastering thousands of posters on walls across

“EUROPEAN SOLIDARITY IS SOMETHING THAT HAS A VERY THIN VENEER.”

—Political strategist Fabrice Pothier

the country, depicting Orbán's two archenemies: Soros and European Commission President Jean-Claude Juncker. YOU HAVE THE RIGHT TO KNOW WHAT BRUSSELS IS PLANNING! the ad screamed from billboards along the airport road and from the pages of magazines and newspapers. It warned of plans like imposing "mandatory resettlement quotas" for migrants and weakening border controls; the E.U. is not implementing either. Many of the posters were covered up in March in advance of a visit by German politician Manfred Weber, who is campaigning to replace Juncker. But for the anti-immigrant government, the message remains in place. "The issue of migration is a game changer," Hungary's Foreign Minister Peter Szijjarto tells TIME. "It is the root cause for many of the political conflicts in Europe."

Even liberal politicians would agree with that. Migration has become a flash point in Europe's politics. Though migrant arrivals have dwindled to a tiny fraction from a few years ago, at the peak of the migrant crisis in 2015, more than 400,000 people—mostly from Africa and the Middle East—crossed the Hungarian border in a desperate effort to reach Western Europe. In response, Orbán sealed the border with barbed-wire fencing and introduced a law allowing the detention of migrants while their asylum applications are considered.

Szijjarto, the Foreign Minister, says Hungary and its allies in Central Europe like Poland and the Czech Republic are determined to block any moves in the E.U. to make Europe more ethnically diverse. "We would never accept any methods or procedures that would change the composition of the population of the European continent," he says. "Europe is a Christian continent." Addressing crowds in Budapest on Hungary's national holiday on March 15, with Poland's Prime Minister Mateusz Morawiecki by his side, Orbán warned that unless Hungarians resisted the "liberal empire" of the E.U., "Europe will no longer belong to Europeans."

Orbán, who represents fewer than 10 million people, has emerged as one of Europe's foremost far-right leaders. Having won three straight elections, Orbán, 55, is betting his views will have more sway in Brussels after the May vote. "Western Europe is trying to give us political, cultural, all sorts of lessons," says Orbán's spokesperson Zoltan Kovacs. "We are not going to change."

But outside of Budapest, among the farmland and small villages, the E.U.'s role looms large. About 22 miles west of the capital lies the picturesque town of Bicske, home to 12,000 people. In March, alongside the anti-E.U. campaign posters featuring Soros

and Juncker, were dozens of posters from the E.U. itself. Outside schools, health centers and official buildings there are signposts with blue E.U. flags, emblazoned with its circle of gold stars, listing the amounts European taxpayers have spent on each public project—as they have across Hungary.

The E.U.'s current six-year budget allocates about \$28 billion to the country, as part of its assistance to newer, poorer members. Zoltan Tessely, the member of parliament from

Bicske and a strong Orbán loyalist, says they could not manage without the help. Yet that does not lessen the criticism of the E.U. "Democracy does not work this way, that if you get money you have to keep quiet about injustice," Tessely says. "Perhaps they believe they have paid for us to shut up."

But many Hungarians object to their government's approach. One chilly night in March, activists gathered on the streets in central Budapest to collect signatures for a petition, urging the government to sign on to Europe's new Public Prosecutor's Office. They believe that would enable outside scrutiny of Hungary's affairs and end what they believe is systemic corruption. Akos Hadhazy, an opposition member of Hungary's parliament and a former member of Orbán's party, says their criticism goes unheard and the government claims the opposition is lying "because they want to bring in migrants."

So why does Orbán enjoy huge support at home? "Say a lie enough times, and people will believe it," he says.

BUT EVEN IN the wealthier, more liberal West, nationalists cast E.U. executives as disconnected elitists out of touch with the concerns of ordinary people. That was the message in northern France one warm Sunday afternoon in late winter, just 80 miles from Brussels, in the small town of Caudry. About 500 people sat in the town's public hall, clutching French flags and

waiting for their idol—Marine Le Pen—to arrive for a campaign rally for the European elections. Onstage, a banner read, LET'S GIVE POWER TO THE PEOPLE.

Two years after Le Pen's bruising defeat to Macron in the French presidential election runoff, there was a sense

among the crowd that their hard-line views—halting immigration and limiting Europe's borderless trade—might finally have a shot at success in the May vote. Like Orbán's followers, Le Pen's supporters blame the economic struggle on migrants who have entered Europe; unlike them, they also blame E.U. countries like Hungary and Poland for luring jobs and companies away from high-wage nations like France.

"The E.U. is a laboratory of ultra-liberalism, of free trade,



**MIGRATION IS THE ROOT CAUSE
FOR MANY OF THE POLITICAL
CONFLICTS IN EUROPE.**

—Peter Szijjarto, Hungary's Foreign Minister



A man sells both Hungarian and E.U. flags in Budapest at a January protest against Orbán's government

ence: the protests have shown no signs of ending.

Left unchecked, economic inequalities may ignite similar protest movements across Europe. Resentments have metastasized over years, from Paris to Budapest—and could take years to resolve. “If you look at European societies since the financial crisis began in 2008, with very, very few exceptions the differences between rich and poor have increased, and sometimes hugely,” says Timmermans, the Commission’s vice president.

So far, populists and nationalists have become adept at harnessing that anger—but few politicians have come up with solutions to quell it. Reflecting on the lessons from months of protests, France’s Le Maire recognizes that “at the heart of the movement is a feeling of economic injustice.” He mentions the American philosopher Francis Fukuyama’s 1989 essay “The End of History?,” which predicted that liberal democracies would govern a more harmonious world. The book made an impact on him. “History is back,” Le Maire says. “History is back with its violence and conflicts.” In May, Europeans will need to decide whether their continent’s long history of fraught nationalism is back too. □

of brutal globalization!” Le Pen told the crowd from the stage, above roaring cheers, and exhorted them to turn the May elections into “a revolt of populism.”

The negative effects of globalization are all too apparent in Caudry. Just down the street from the meeting hall sits the Museum of Lace and Embroidery, a testament to centuries-old artistry and a glimpse into a lost world. Only a few lace factories remain. (Caudry lacemakers stitched Kate Middleton’s gown when she wed Prince William in 2011.) The rest have succumbed to competition from China or lower-cost E.U. countries. Caudry’s unemployment rate is around 27%, according to government statistics—about three times France’s average. In 2017, the decision by U.S. home-appliance company Whirlpool to move its factory from nearby Amiens to cheaper Poland became Le Pen’s rallying cry against the E.U., and Le Pen won many northern areas in her presidential race that year. “About 65% of people in our villages support Marine,” says retired logistics worker Thérèse Marié, sitting in the audience at Le Pen’s rally.

France has also been dealing with the *gilets jaunes* (Yellow Vests) protests every Saturday since last November, with demonstrators rallying across the country, smashing Paris store and bank windows and burning cars. Sparked by Macron’s imposition of a higher fuel tax in order to pay for an ambitious green-energy rollout, the movement has drawn in many who have never before protested. Several older residents attending

Le Pen’s rally in Caudry wore yellow vests. Marié, who says she struggles on her pension of about €1,000 (about \$1,130), was defiant: “I am 65, and I’m not even scared.”

More hard-line activists are fighting against an entire system they believe is rigged against them. VICTORY THROUGH CHAOS, reads graffiti on a wall in Paris. Demonstrators have asked for a rise in the minimum wage and better services in rural areas, as well as the resignation of Macron and his government. To them, 41-year-old Macron—who made his fortune as a Rothschild banker and, as President, has scrapped France’s “wealth tax,” a levy on its richest citizens—epitomizes a cocooned elite that trumpets globalization but cannot grasp the struggles of those left behind. The French President, who has ambitions to succeed Merkel as the unofficial leader of the European project, has been forced to compromise at home. After conducting a three-month listening tour, Macron has promised to introduce sweeping changes. But it has made little difference: the protests have shown no signs of ending.

Nation



*Ariana Hawk, mother of Sincere,
now 6, starts warming bottled
water to prepare a bath for her
two younger children in April 2018*



Toxic — Legacy

In Flint, residents still
won't trust their taps

By Josh Sanburn

Photographs by
Brittany Greeson
for TIME

Nation

Flint residents ask Hawk for help getting safe water; she's seen here in January with a friend delivering cases, which she bought



IT'S TOO HOPEFUL TO think the Flint, Mich., water crisis is over. Five years ago this month, the city began using the corrosive Flint River as its main source of water, which ate away the city's pipes and leached lead into the drinking water of thousands of residents. Eighteen months later, the city reconnected to Detroit's clean water supply after studies confirmed what parents had been telling officials: that lead from their taps was poisoning their families. Since then, the state of Michigan has declared Flint's water safe to drink. Thousands of lead-tainted pipes have been replaced. More than a dozen officials connected to one of the worst health disasters in U.S. history are facing criminal charges.

But for many residents, the crisis continues. Flint's families still stand in line for cases of bottled water. Parents are still fearful of lurking health problems. And many residents still refuse to trust what flows from their taps, no matter what the state says.

"Our kids are still sick and at risk," says Ariana Hawk, the mother of Sincere Smith, the now 6-year-old boy who became the face of the water crisis after being featured on the





With bottled water, Hawk helps her children brush their teeth before their Head Start program

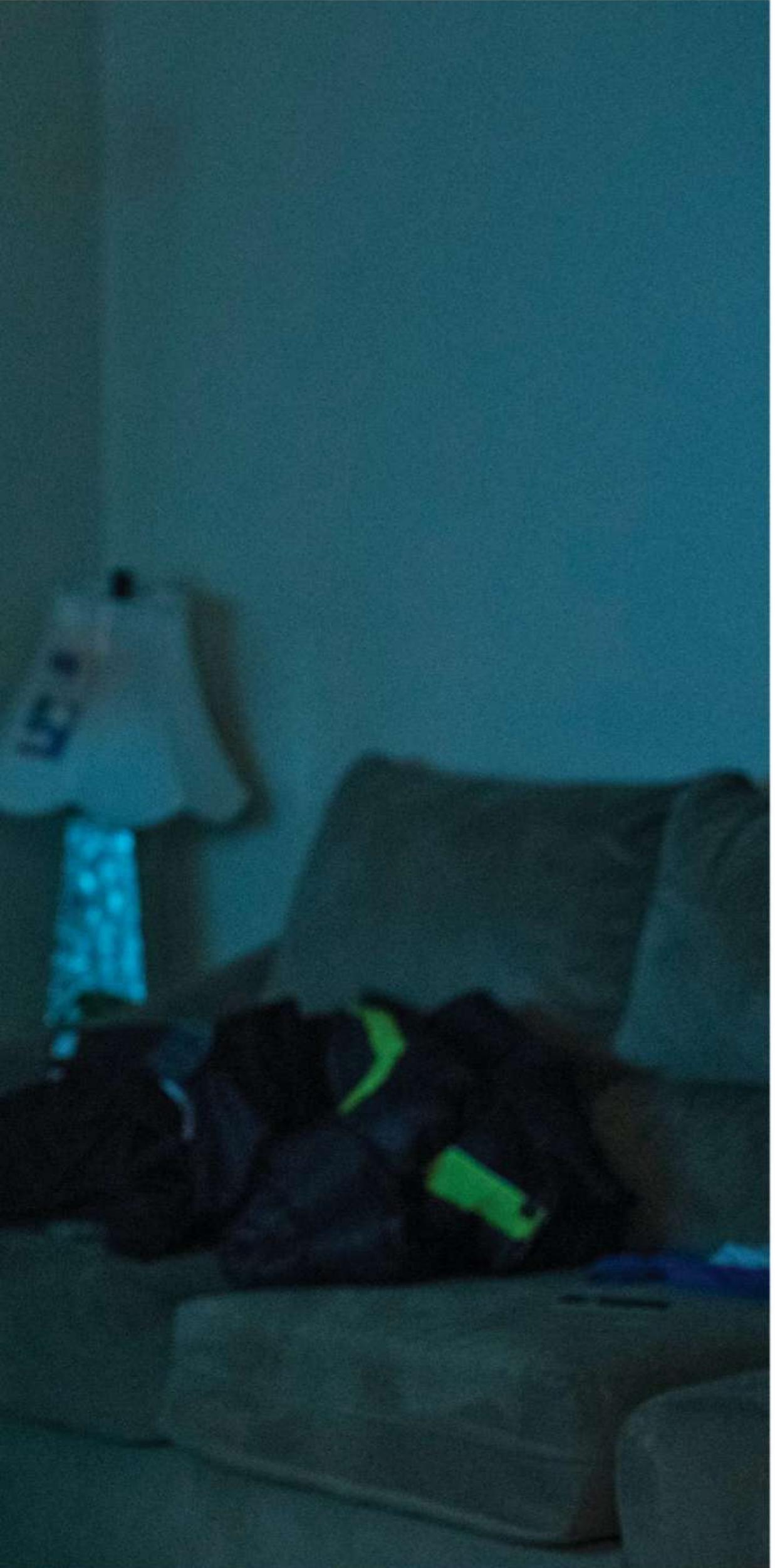


Sincere's rashes have improved, but Hawk still needs to apply a cream to his leg twice a day

On the fourth anniversary of the water switch that caused the lead pollution, Hawk and daughter Aliana joined other Flint residents last year protesting at the Michigan state capitol



Sincere poses at his grandmother's house before the party for his sixth birthday in February



cover of TIME in January 2016. “Families are broken up. Families are dying.”

Soon after the story appeared, Hawk moved Sincere and her four other children to nearby Swartz Creek, where the water’s fine. Sincere’s health improved, and his rashes disappeared. “His skin was perfect,” says Hawk, 28.

But the family returned after they lost some of their benefits by relocating, Hawk says. Sincere’s rashes came back too. (He wanted to wear pants all summer to hide his scaly skin, she says.) His fear of water never left him.

“He talks about how it’s poison,” she says. “He doesn’t trust water.”

Like many others, the family is back to waiting in line for bottled water. While the state stopped giving out bottles last year, some distribution centers are still operating, thanks to donations. Hawk sometimes waits for four hours to get two free cases at a time. But mostly she buys water—five cases on Monday, five more cases on Thursday—so she and her kids can cook and bathe and brush their teeth like any other American family.

The health problems are not limited to Sincere. Two more of Hawk’s children—Kwame, 12, and Aliana, 4—have tested positive for lead poisoning. Kwame has difficulty remembering and focusing, while Aliana has asthma. “I’m scared that the next shower will be her last,” Hawk says, adding that showers and baths are limited to five minutes at a time, twice a week. Aliana’s father died from bacterial pneumonia in 2016, which Hawk believes was part of an outbreak of Legionnaires’ disease linked to the water crisis. The disease spiked in Flint over the past few years, killing 12 people and sickening at least 87.

Flint is making some progress. About 8,000 of the city’s estimated 18,000 lead-tainted service lines have been replaced. The rest could be swapped out as early as this summer. In October, Flint’s public schools received an unexpected gift from entrepreneur Elon Musk, who gave almost \$500,000 to provide filtration systems for their water.

But the shadow haunting Flint won’t be fully visible for years. Lead poisoning can lead to debilitating developmental problems, so parents won’t know the extent of the damage until a generation of kids like Sincere, carrying lead in their bones, grows up.

For now, Hawk is trying to keep others in her community aware that the crisis is not over. She organizes water drives and hands out bottles to senior-citizen homes. “We just take care of each other,” she says. □

Society

1.

Lederberg studied biochemistry in college despite being told it was “too difficult for women”



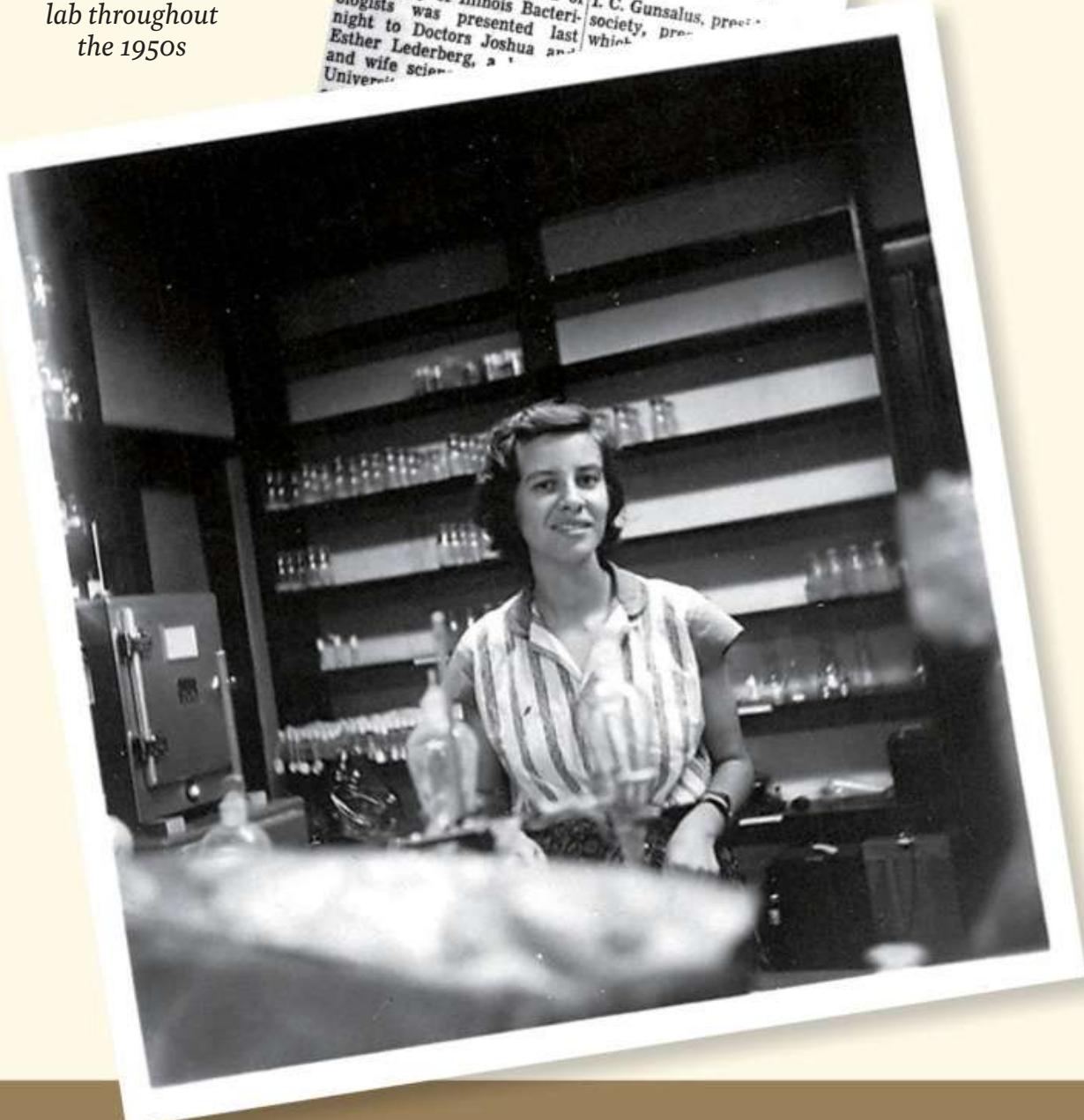
2.

Before her first husband, Joshua, won the Nobel Prize, the couple won an award for pioneering work in bacterial genetics



3.

Lederberg made strides in the lab throughout the 1950s



Where credit is due

Like many female scientists, Esther Lederberg saw her achievements overshadowed by a man's.

Now there's a movement to tell their stories

By Katy Steinmetz



ESTHER LEDERBERG IS STANDING ON AN ORNATE carpet in Stockholm, wearing a ruched gown and a rather serious expression. It's an unusual getup for the pioneering scientist, who more often wore a lab coat and a wry grin. But it is also an unusual night. The year is 1958, and Lederberg, 35 years old, has been invited to a tony ceremony in Sweden not as a bacterial geneticist but as a wife. Alongside other spouses, she will look on while three men—her first husband, her mentor and another research partner—are jointly awarded the Nobel Prize, for work connected to her own.

"It's this group of four people who worked on things," says Rebecca Ferrell, a biologist who has researched Lederberg's life. "The three guys get the prize, and she gets to put on gloves and a long gown and watch."

That bittersweet evening is immortalized in photographs viewable online, thanks to Lederberg's second husband, Matthew Simon. Since Lederberg's death in 2006, he has dedicated most of his waking hours to building an elaborate memorial website in her honor. It exhaustively catalogs her photographs, her papers, her discoveries, even her extracurricular interests. The project is a labor of love. But it is also an argument: Simon, along with others, believes that Lederberg has been overshadowed and underappreciated because she was a woman. "She should have been given credit," Simon says, "for what she, in fact, did."

What Lederberg did was spend decades investigating the way microorganisms share genetic material, trailblazing work at a time when scientists had little sense of what DNA was. So did her first husband, Joshua Lederberg, who died in 2008. Yet far more people have heard of him than of her, a disparity that some experts attribute to a phenomenon known as the Matilda Effect. The term, coined by scientific historian Margaret Rossiter, is a nod to 19th century suffragist Matilda J. Gage, who, as Rossiter puts it, first described the bias that has led to female researchers being "ignored, denied credit or otherwise dropped from sight" throughout history.

The good news is that invisible women are becoming more visible because of a growing movement of advocates—ranging from passionate individuals like Simon to academics and filmmakers. Several people who knew Lederberg say that by the end of her life, she had come to believe that it was silly to worry about one's reputation, that the science was what really mattered. A dozen years after her death, that equanimity still eludes her widower. "Her attitude was, 'Forget it, I'll be forgotten anyway,'" Simon says. "My attitude was, I'm angry."

Lederberg with Joshua at
the Nobel Prize ceremony
in Stockholm in 1958

Society

BORN IN 1922, Esther Miriam Zimmer came of age in New York City during World War II. Her family was poor. Her father worked as a printer, his siblings as garment workers. But Esther, a voracious learner, would fly far beyond the Bronx neighborhood where she grew up. At Hunter College, which she attended on a scholarship, she studied biochemistry, even though she was told the subject was “too difficult for women,” Simon says. She went on to earn a master’s in genetics at Stanford University, where, as Simon writes on the website, she sometimes made ends meet by eating frogs’ legs after dissections.

Esther met Joshua Lederberg shortly before she graduated from Stanford. They married months later, when she was 23 and he was 21, and soon headed off to the University of Wisconsin, where they would begin years of fruitful collaboration and she would earn a Ph.D. Joshua, by all accounts a brilliant thinker, became famous for his big ideas. Esther, meanwhile, developed expertise as an experimentalist, doing the often tedious work of testing big ideas in the lab.

“I’m sure that Esther benefited by being in Josh’s presence,” says Millard Susman, a professor emeritus of genetics at the University of Wisconsin–Madison who arrived shortly after the Lederbergs left. “But obviously Josh benefited by being in Esther’s presence too.” Throughout the 1950s, they published papers together and apart as both made discoveries about bacteria, proving that those simple species could reveal “the chemical events that all life depends on,” as Susman puts it.

Joshua won the Nobel Prize for upending the notion that bacteria always make identical copies of themselves when they reproduce; he discovered that they can also engage in something that looks more like sex, mixing genetic material and producing something new. Esther worked alongside him and made related discoveries, like identifying a “fertility factor” that allows that mixing to happen. She also discovered a virus she named *lambda phage*, which would later help reveal the mysteries of DNA and the expression of genes. Such revelations, which the Lederbergs worked on with other collaborators as well, unearthed basic principles of what would become molecular biology, setting the stage for fields like genetic engineering.

The Lederbergs took joint credit for developing a technique called replica plating. For decades, scientists used a toothpick-like tool to move one cluster of bacteria at a time in the lab. In 1952, the Lederbergs showed that hundreds of colonies could be moved at once by using a material like velvet. They used replica plating to do landmark work showing that mutations happen randomly in evolution rather than because they are needed—a hotly contested topic at the time—and the process was adopted widely. “It’s the difference between handwritten manuscripts and

1.



2.



3.



4.





5.

1.

Lederberg poses with colleagues at Stanford University in 1962. She worked at the school until retiring in 1985

2.

Around age 18, Lederberg engages in study that will eventually earn her a master's and a Ph.D.

3.

Lederberg, visiting Osaka, Japan, in 1962, traveled to attend conventions with fellow researchers and studied foreign languages

4.

It was common for Lederberg, pictured in Tokyo in 1962, to be one of few women present at scientific meetings

5.

Lederberg and her second husband, Matthew Simon, celebrate Thanksgiving in 1991

the school after she and Joshua split up. Though she worked at Stanford until retiring in 1985, "she never had a position commensurate with her position in science," Abir-Am says. (Stanford, reached by TIME, did not provide comment.)

Mark Martin, who developed a friendship with Esther while he was a graduate student at Stanford in the 1980s, is one of many scientists who laments that Esther's name has been absent from textbooks. Now an associate professor of biology at the University of Puget Sound, Martin teaches students about her when he explains bacterial genetics. "I don't think that you own something that you discover. It was there before you were born," he says. "But I do believe in credit. And that means that if somebody does something, you bring that up. That's your job."

THE MATILDA EFFECT goes hand in hand with another phenomenon: the Matthew Effect. Per the Gospel of Matthew, those who have plenty shall have more in abundance, while those who have little will find it taken away. Rossiter, now a professor emerita at Cornell University, thought there should be more focus on the fact that female scientists had for centuries ended up on the short end of this maxim. She wrote a paper introducing the term in 1993, and, she says, "it took on a life of its own."

Rossiter was far from the first person to point out that women have faced unfair professional hurdles while men have enjoyed unacknowledged advantages. But her coinage has been put to use as a corrective fervor has filled the air. The movement to give women their due is evident in tweets and articles about "Matildas," sidelined contributors in fields ranging from nuclear physics to cancer research. It's apparent in films like the Oscar-nominated *Hidden Figures*, a true story about black female mathematicians, including Katherine Johnson, who helped NASA get white men like John Glenn safely into space. (In February, NASA renamed a facility for her.)

It's also in papers written by academics who have put some numbers on the phenomenon. In one 2019 study, a team from Brown University and San Francisco State University reviewed two decades' worth of population-biology papers and found that while women accounted for 43% of programmers listed in little-viewed acknowledgments, they made up just 7% of authors. Naomi Oreskes, a historian of science at Harvard University, has documented the "invisibility" of women in the world of geophysics and has explained that such imbalances perpetuate the myth that science is "an almost exclusively male preserve."

The story of Esther Lederberg, Oreskes writes in an email, is a "sadly familiar" one. Throughout the 20th century, many women in science were hired in positions that presented them with greater burdens of fundraising and less job security. When they did

a printing press," says Ferrell, a professor of biology at Metropolitan State University of Denver. Ferrell sees Esther "all over it." After all, she was a practical scientist who came from a family of textile workers.

The question of who gets credit in a laboratory is always a messy business, but there is little doubt that Esther became marginalized after her husband won the Nobel Prize. In 1956, two years before, the Lederbergs had jointly won the Pasteur Award, a prize for "outstanding contributions" to science. Joshua had won another award, the Eli Lilly, in 1953 and subsequently told a reporter, "Esther should have been in on that too." In a remembrance written after Esther died, noted microbiologist and Stanford professor Stanley Falkow said Esther's "independent seminal contributions in Joshua's laboratory... surely led, in part, to his Nobel Prize."

Joshua did recognize her in his Nobel lecture, saying he had "enjoyed the companionship of many colleagues, above all my wife." But it was brief, and after they got home, he was invited to lead the department of genetics at Stanford while she was offered a research-associate position in a different department. The era of their being "a husband and wife science team," as one 1956 article put it, was ending.

Only the two of them could say why their relationship faltered, but by 1966 they were divorced. One young scientist Esther befriended in the 1970s, Dennis Kopecko, recalls her being generous and uncompetitive but also "irascible" in the years that followed. Joshua, he says, became a "giant in the field" and would walk by Esther and Kopecko in the Stanford cafeteria without acknowledging their presence.

According to Simon, Esther eventually received a faculty appointment only because she was willing to accept a job without tenure. Another colleague, Brandeis University historian of science Pnina G. Abir-Am, says Esther had to fight to keep a job at

Society

publish papers, male colleagues often got credit. And women who worked alongside their husbands were routinely assumed to be glorified assistants. “The fact that they were Lederberg and Lederberg and they were married meant that one of the names just got dropped off,” Jo Handelsman, a microbiologist who directs the Wisconsin Institute for Discovery, says of Esther’s legacy.

Rewriting history is hard, but telling stories from a new point of view can be a catalyst. Take Rosalind Franklin, the scientist whose X-ray photograph of a double helix was crucial in allowing Francis Crick, James Watson and Maurice Wilkins to understand the structure of DNA. They became world renowned for their discovery, winning the Nobel Prize, while Franklin received little attention. That is, until accounts like the 1975 book *Rosalind Franklin and DNA* pushed her to the fore. By 2015, Nicole Kidman was playing Franklin in an award-winning West End play. This year, the European Space Agency announced that a new Mars rover would be named after her.

Today more work is going into identifying the barriers to women’s participation in science, like the stereotype that women are innately unsuited to the work. Though studies suggest that women still account for only 30% of the world’s researchers, numbers are improving in fields like life sciences. And women are getting more recognition, as advocates push for more gender diversity on prize committees long chaired by men. In 2019, mathematician Karen Uhlenbeck became the first woman to receive the prestigious Abel Prize. After the announcement, she described herself as part of the first generation of women who could actually get “real jobs” in academia.

COMPARED WITH BLOCKBUSTER FILMS, Simon’s crusade is a quiet one. The 77-year-old has bushy white eyebrows and wears hearing aids, but any sign of age belies his stamina. On a good day, he says, he still spends 16 or 17 hours working on the Esther M. Zimmer Lederberg Memorial Website, operating out of a back room in his low-slung home in Palo Alto, Calif. The project has become a mammoth network of more than 38,000 items. Sitting on a couch in the living room he and Esther once shared, he laughs as he imagines her reaction: “You’ve been doing this thing for 12 years. Are you crazy?”

They met in 1989 when Simon, an engineer, attended a meetup for singles in Palo Alto and asked if anyone knew where he could hear some baroque music. A woman about 19 years his senior, who happened to play those kinds of tunes on the recorder,

This photo hangs in the room where Simon has spent years working on Lederberg's memorial website



'If Esther would have been a man, all kinds of things would have been different.'

REBECCA FERRELL,
professor
of biology at
Metropolitan
State University
of Denver

spoke up. “It was Esther,” Simon says with a smile. They married in 1993, and 13 years later, he was left grief-stricken after she died from a combination of congestive heart disease, diabetes and kidney failure.

In the haze that followed, Simon started going through his wife’s things and decided to build an archive. He began by cataloging decades of photographs she had taken, which included scientific meetings with men who would become the world’s most prominent geneticists. She had identified everyone using a numbered key, but Simon couldn’t find it. So he had his first challenge: figuring out who everyone was. “It’s like being a detective,” he says.

Then one day he opened an envelope and found a research paper. This appears to be where the site began to evolve into a polemic, as Simon dug into the technicalities of the world his wife had inhabited, detailing her innovations and publications, analyzing who was due credit for various discoveries.

While the site is imbued with Simon’s adoration of Esther, a prosecutorial aggression is present too. He lists, for example, eight pieces of evidence to show how central she was to developing replica plating, noting that a profile on her husband published by the U.S. National Library of Medicine doesn’t mention her contribution at all.

Simon, who has coded the site himself, doesn’t keep track of how many people visit. One gets the sense that he doesn’t really care, that what matters to him is making sure that this version of history—in which Esther Lederberg is the protagonist—has been made available. “I figure I’m going to die, and someone may want to look at this a hundred years from now,” he says. “Who knows?”

The website is finding an audience. Ferrell drew from it when writing about Esther for the American Society for Microbiology, which published a book last year dedicated to women in the field. After all her research, Ferrell doesn’t think we know enough to say whether Esther’s work merited a Nobel Prize. But she firmly believes that the female Lederberg got shortchanged. “If Esther would have been a man,” she says, “all kinds of things would have been different.”

Lederberg’s legacy matters because she is more proof that science is and has been a realm of women. Today women are better represented, but prejudices linger. And young girls still have fewer scientific role models than boys do.

“We have to work really, really hard on this in our society on every front,” says Handelsman, director of the Wisconsin Institute for Discovery. “Just the fact that her story is being told now is a triumph.” □

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Time Off



GAME
CHANGER
Lizzo leads a
new generation
of women
reshaping
hip-hop

INSIDE

ELISABETH MOSS PAYS HOMAGE
TO ROCK'S GREATS

THE FIRST WORTHWHILE
NETWORK SITCOM OF 2019

A NEW NOVEL SPEAKS TO
MILLENNIAL STRUGGLES

TimeOff Opener

MUSIC

Lizzo fulfills her own self-love prophecy

By Raisa Bruner

THERE'S A LIZZO LYRIC FOR EVERY PROBLEM. Feeling less than beautiful? "Mirror, mirror on the wall," Lizzo sings on "Juice," "Don't say it, 'cause I know I'm cute." Had a rough day? "Come now, come dry your eyes/ You know you a star, you can touch the sky," she soothes on "Good as Hell." Need to dance? Throw on "Tempo," her recent collaboration with Missy Elliott. Lizzo's music spans from straight-up hip-hop to guitar-blazing soul to anthemic funk-pop, but no matter the medium, the message is one of joy and empowerment. It's feminism writ large, boisterous and unapologetic, in a style that feels entirely of this moment.

But Lizzo has greater ambitions than her own artistry. "The space I'm occupying isn't just for me," she says, taking a break to eat lunch between rehearsals for her upcoming tour. "It's for all the big black girls in the future who just want to be seen."

Lizzo—who sings, raps, dances and plays classical flute—isn't the only artist spreading a message of self-worth, body positivity and unabashed female sexuality this year. The world of hip-hop and nominally "urban" music—long a space where men posture and women are objectified—is becoming a bastion of female strength and storytelling. In hip-hop, the personal has always been political, as artists mined life experiences to tell stories about the world we live in. But women have always had to fight for space in the genre, even as early rappers such as Missy Elliott and Lauryn Hill blazed a trail and successors including Nicki Minaj and Cardi B kicked the door open wider. The new artists breaking out are women whose messages are in line with the cultural movements surrounding feminism, identity and visibility.

Like Lizzo—real name Melissa Jefferson—who grew up in Houston. From a young age, she practiced classical flute. In college, she tried to balance playing in the marching band with her other skill: rapping. She dropped out, living out of her car while dealing with the death of her father. "His legacy to me was that he always wanted me to do [music], so why would I stop now?" she remembers. "That's the only thing that kept me going during that time. There was nothing else." She ended up in Minneapolis, where at her very first show a fan stopped her as she exited the stage. "She told me, 'We need you. We need you to live here.'" So Lizzo stayed, honing her skills as a performer, not just as a flautist and rapper, but also as a singer and dancer. At one point, she says, she was playing as many as five shows a night with a number of indie groups. She toured with the indie pop trio Haim, released two EPs and worked with Prince at his famous Paisley Park home.

Now on her major-label debut album *Cuz I Love You*, out April 19, Lizzo continues to grow as an artist. She was

always multitalented, twerking while playing her flute onstage, switching from rapping to singing in quick succession, and applying music theory to her dance tracks. Listeners seem ready to embrace that full range; "Juice," which she has performed to energetic audiences on *The Tonight Show Starring Jimmy Fallon* and *Ellen*, has more than 22 million Spotify streams.

Growing up, Lizzo says she lacked role models in whom she could see herself. "I have to be that person because I don't see that person," she says. "Because of who I am, my story happens to have a message to it." She insists that her music speak for itself; it's not her job, she says, to be a "beacon of change." But it might be happening anyway, as she prompts listeners to look beyond the traditional confines of genre.

THE HISTORY OF HIP-HOP often skims over the contributions of its female voices. But they've been there all along: early MCs like Roxanne Shanté and Queen Latifah shaped rap in its nascent

MORE RISING STARS

DOUNIA
Morocco-raised
Dounia preaches
confidence over
creative R&B beats

LEIKELI47
The playful
Brooklyn
rapper rhymes
about black
womanhood

NONAME
Noname mixes her
slam-poetry roots into
verses about racial
challenges



stages; Salt-N-Pepa and Foxy Brown set records with their chart-topping hits; and rappers like Lil' Kim and Eve made names for themselves as outspoken artists who were forthright about their sexuality.

But as Columbia Records' co-head of urban music Phylicia Fant explains, many—if not all—of these women received a co-sign from powerful male rappers, or were the singular girl in a hip-hop crew. And the composition of the industry at large, from the DJs to the radio programmers to the journalists, also skewed male, adds Tuma Basa, YouTube's director of urban music. In turn, the audience for hip-hop was understood to be mostly men.

It's only recently, thanks to the music streaming boom and the power of social media, that women in the world of hip-hop have been able to make their mark without receiving structural support from men. Women now, Fant says, understand they can do it on their own: "I don't need a co-sign. I don't need a crew. I'm using social media. I'm doing it my way." This, she says, gives them

the ability to "control their narrative before someone else can." Basa agrees: "We've moved from the gatekeeper era to the tastemaker era." He calls it the "Cardi B effect": By gaining acceptance in the hip-hop community and scoring massive hits like "Bodak Yellow," the Bronx-born rapper helped identify a female audience for rap and drew a blueprint for more artists to follow. "We're experiencing a market correction," Basa says. "Whatever sexism or exclusionism existed before, the platforms are evening it out." Still, progress is slow; Spotify's most popular hip-hop playlist, RapCaviar, listed almost entirely male artists in early April. "Even if there's a shift, we're not at the mountaintop," Lizzo says.

While Basa is hesitant to categorize Lizzo as specifically hip-hop—her music spans genres and incorporates many pop elements—she's not the only woman of color who raps and is earning a following for her specificity, creativity and a message that's tailored to a female audience.

Rappers like the Grammy-nominated short-form specialist Tierra Whack; the masked Brooklyn artist Leikeli47; and the R&B-influenced, cerebral Noname represent a diversified new look and sound for the scene, refusing to conform to the expectations of the male gaze—or male listeners. Leikeli47 titled her 2018 album *Acrylic*, winking at the typically female ritual of nail care, while a recent—and notorious lyric—from Noname implied that one of her body parts "wrote a thesis on colonialism." Others, like CupcakKe, Saweetie and the duo City Girls have also developed followings for their smart rhymes. "Every woman out there is looking for someone to connect to," Fant says. "Now these young women have different options."

For years, the few women who created a space for themselves in hip-hop have had to play by men's rules; even Nicki Minaj and Cardi B, the genre's two biggest contemporary stars, have been marketed with an eye to mass appeal, from their branding

to the male artists with whom they've collaborated. This new wave of female artists, by comparison, are leading with their idiosyncrasies.

"These women who are telling their stories—look at how they look," Lizzo says. "Have you ever seen anything like that before? Is it weird? Does it make you uncomfortable?" To her, it's progress to have female artists in the public eye who don't adhere to narrow standards of beauty or femininity. "It feels novel because we're not the norm," she says. "I post a lot of naked pictures of myself—one, because I look good, but two, because I want to normalize it. When I post these things, it's not to be provocative. I'm sick of black women being [seen as] provocative because you're not used to us."

Fant says Lizzo's confidence has effects beyond her own artistry, throughout the industry. "She represents a dream realized for women of color," she says. "She shows me that we are not invisible."

I post a lot of naked pictures of myself—one, because I look good, but two, because I want to normalize it.

LIZZO,
on being in control of her own image

NONE OF THIS would matter without great songs to back it up. But Lizzo's sound, like her story, is one of undeterred

self-love, a jubilant self-help manual delivered in danceworthy song form. You can hear it in "Juice," a bouncy throwback party tune, or in "Tempo," which celebrates her body. To Lizzo, the music is her self-care. "When you listen to a Lizzo song, some people might be like 'Wow, she's so happy all the time,'" she says. "But no, she's working on being happy. I want my music to be a self-fulfilling prophecy of where I want my life to be."

So far, it seems to be working; Lizzo says she's already hit all her 2019 goals. Maybe biggest of all is her song with Missy Elliott, who in many ways is Lizzo's precursor—an artist who showed her what might be possible in her own career. "She handed me a beautiful torch," Lizzo says. Then she backpedals: "Maybe she doesn't feel that way—maybe it would be wrong to assume that! But whatever she gave me, I'm clutching it so tightly."

CUPCAKKE
Sex-positive
CupcakKe paints bold lyrical metaphors

TIERRA WHACK
Her debut album *Whack World* featured vibrant one-minute songs



TimeOff Reviews



Pretty in pink: Martin walks the talk in Little

MOVIES

Oh, to be a kid again—not!

By Stephanie Zacharek

MODERN COMEDIES TEND TO RELY more on language than on sight gags to earn laughs. But *Little*—its basic plot conceived by 14-year-old Marsai Martin, of *black-ish*, who also stars in the film—earns its greatest laughs by riffing on visual contrasts of big and little, small and tall. Regina Hall plays Jordan Sanders, the head of a hugely successful Atlanta tech company: she's rich, gorgeous, impeccably dressed—and unbearable. Her assistant, April (the marvelous Issa Rae, star and creator of HBO's *Insecure*), endures Jordan's tirades with increasing exasperation.

But after Jordan berates a little girl who innocently tries to show her a magic trick, another kind of magic happens: she wakes up in the body of her 13-year-old self (Martin), and when she tries to live her life the usual adult way, she's reminded that it's virtually impossible to be taken seriously when you're just a little punk.

There's a reason grownup Jordan is so awful: as a brainy, science-oriented kid, bullied by her peers, she vowed that she'd grow up to be rich and make everyone else's life miserable. Pint-size former adult Jordan, as played by

Martin, is pure delight. She has the same haughty mannerisms as grownup Jordan, and the same sense of entitlement, but they do her no good. In one of the movie's best and most cathartic sequences, April tutors her tiny-tyrant boss in old-school manners, demanding to be addressed as "Miss April, ma'am."

Although *Little* bears some similarities to the 1988 kid fantasy *Big*, it's a thoroughly modern comedy, one that lives comfortably with the idea that women can hold power and authority—though because they're human, they can misuse it, too. And its costuming, by Danielle Hollowell, counts as pure visual comic artistry. Little Jordan is way too small for big Jordan's luxe outfits, but she insists on wearing them anyway: And so we see small Jordan—her hair a mass of natural curls rather than a straightened businesswoman bob—flopping around in oversize striped silk pajamas, or strutting into the school she's been forced to attend while wearing an expensively cut pink bell-bottomed pantsuit. The extra fabric may swamp her tiny frame, but it hardly cramps her style. She's got room to grow, as both a woman and a girl. □



MOVIES

Prisoners of love

Stockholm syndrome is a term people use all the time. But how many of us know where it came from? Director Robert Budreau tells the weird, wild, true story in *Stockholm*: Ethan Hawke and Mark Strong play outlaw types Lars and Gunnar, who take three hostages during the course of a 1973 Stockholm bank robbery. The duo's captives are at first fearful, understandably. But before long, they forge a bond with their captors. One of them, Bianca (Noomi Rapace), falls in love with Lars, and the feeling is mutual.

Budreau, whose last movie was the deeply affecting 2015 Chet Baker biopic *Born to Be Blue* (featuring a stellar performance from Hawke), keeps careful control of *Stockholm*'s shifting tones. And Hawke, one of our most dependably terrific actors, tracks those gradations of mood nimbly. Lars isn't always a nice guy. Early in the siege, he holds a knife to Bianca's throat. But Hawke lets you see Lars's doubts running in the background. He's not an easy character, but he's still a sympathetic one.

At times *Stockholm* is suspenseful, even a little scary. But mostly, it's funny and tender, particularly the scenes between Bianca, who appears to feel trapped in a restrictive marriage, and the haplessly affectionate Lars. In the movie's sweetest scene, Lars makes a love offering to Bianca in the form of a song that happens to be playing on the radio, Bobby Bland's "I'll Take Care of You." The music doesn't lie. It's a promise Lars keeps. —S.Z.

MOVIES

Her Smell revives the riot-grrrl vibe

IN THE SECOND HALF OF 1994—BEGINNING not even six months after the suicide of her husband, Kurt Cobain—Courtney Love went on tour with her band, Hole, in a series of performances that exposed a woman in free fall. I saw one of those shows: Love opened herself wide to the audience as if she had no idea, or didn’t care, how much she should keep to herself. She flirted with us and taunted us. You couldn’t be sure if the show was a messy rebirth or a practice run of self-destruction. Maybe it was both.

Alex Ross Perry’s *Her Smell* is a fictional story haunted by the vibe of 1990s-era Love, with Elisabeth Moss starring as Becky Something, the drug-addled lead singer of a riot grrrl-era band called Something She. Becky and her bandmates (played, astutely and sensitively, by Agyness Deyn and Gayle Rankin) are scruffy rock-’n’-roll darlings: they’ve earned a gold record and made the cover of *Spin*. But Becky is falling apart and taking the band down with her. An early scene shows her in a grubby backstage dressing room after one of the band’s shows, alternately ignoring and obsessing over her infant

daughter. She grins at the baby like Heath Ledger’s Joker.

Becky is a mess rendered in tight, lingering closeups, her face slicked with sweat, mascara and glitter, and most of *Her Smell* is devoted to her perilous deterioration. This is the third film Moss has made with Perry, and the second in which she plays a woman spiraling into madness. (The first was Perry’s 2015 *Queen of Earth*.) Moss knows her way around this sort of role, and it’s not long before the movie’s dogged grimness starts to feel rote.

And then, in the movie’s last third, the story—and Moss’s performance along with it—opens out into a kind of radiant, cautious optimism. Moss has said she drew her inspiration less from Love than from fragile but vital figures like Cobain and Marilyn Monroe. But for me, watching her as Becky brought back that circa-1994 Love, like a ghost from the planet of jagged memories. *Her Smell* is an uneven movie, occasionally dipping into clichés. But Moss’s performance works as a distillation of one of Love’s signature lines, from the song “Doll Parts”: Becky knows what it costs to be the girl with the most cake. —S.Z.

LITTLE: UNIVERSAL; STOCKHOLM: SMITH GLOBAL MEDIA; HER SMELL: GUNPOWDER & SKY; TEEN SPIRIT: LD ENTERTAINMENT/BLEECKER STREET



Moss draws inspiration from rock’s tragic heroes in *Her Smell*



Fanning, with Rebecca Hall:
a star in the making

MOVIES

Sing out, sister

Teenage dreams are fragile, fleeting things, and the time that’s left for Elle Fanning, now 21, to channel them is dwindling too. She’s the gentle comet flashing through *Teen Spirit*, actor Max Minghella’s writing-directing debut, and she’s luminous enough to blur the movie’s faults.

Fanning plays Violet, a shy 17-year-old who lives with her repressive mother (Agnieszka Grochowska) on a farm on the Isle of Wight. Violet longs for pop stardom, or just to get away from home, and aims to enter a nationwide TV singing competition. But she’s a minor and needs permission from a guardian. Enter Vlad (Zlatko Buric), a sozzled regular at the sleepy pub where Violet often sings. Vlad may be a boozier, but he’s also a former opera singer who knows his stuff, and he hears promise in Violet’s lilting, glassine voice.

Teen Spirit has a shaggy shape: Minghella raises questions about his characters that he never bothers to answer. But the picture has a sweet, earnest temperament, and it’s a pleasure to listen to Fanning, who does her own singing. Against the prepackaged slickness of her pop-star wanna-be competitors, Violet shows zephyr-like grace. She’s got spirit to spare. —S.Z.

TimeOff Television



Desus and Mero bring their idiosyncratic comic stylings to Showtime

PROFILE

Two Bronx firebrands shake up late night

By Andrew R. Chow

WHEN ANNA KENDRICK GOES ON TALK SHOWS, SHE OFTEN gets asked to sing. The *Pitch Perfect* star has staged mini-musicals with James Corden and broken into show tunes with both Stephen Colbert and Conan O'Brien.

But when Kendrick appeared on Showtime's talk show *Desus & Mero* this week, she didn't sing. Instead, she joined its eponymous hosts at the strip club. In a romp through the Bronx, Kendrick and the pair threw money inside the club and shot dice outside it, all while discussing baked goods and her approach to the craft of acting.

Desus Nice and the Kid Mero, it's clear, aren't your parents' late-night hosts. If other comedians dance right on the edge of the line, the Bronx natives stomp on all over it in their Timberland boots. The pair—born Daniel Baker and Joel Martinez, respectively—met in passing as summer-school students and reconnected years later on Twitter, where they both had loyal followings; they joined forces first on a freewheeling podcast in 2013 and then a similarly shaggy talk show on the millennial-focused network Viceland in 2016. Their humor is profane and lowbrow yet frequently sharp and political, enriched by a lightning-quick rapport and an encyclopedic knowledge of culture.

With their arrival on Showtime, Desus and Mero face their biggest challenge yet: How do they balance their specific sensibilities with their larger aspirations toward cultural saturation? "We want to get to that Kevin Hart point," Desus

If you want something a little jarring, a little edgier, a little scary—we're there.'

DESUS NICE,
on *Desus & Mero* on Showtime

says, "where you're just like, 'Goddamn! They're in this too?'"

On the broadcast networks, late night is still dominated by white men. But on cable and streaming, the landscape has been invigorated by a diverse set of comics with hyperspecific worldviews and life experiences, from Samantha Bee to Hasan Minhaj to Busy Philipps. Likewise, Desus and Mero's proud distinctiveness serves them well in this fractured cultural moment, in which the big tent of entertainment has caved in. While the news of their move from Viceland to Showtime was met with raucous enthusiasm, there was also some anxiety among fans: Would their wildest impulses and ability to deep-dive into black culture be diluted?

SO FAR, the pair have thrived on their bigger platform. Their increased budget and freedom from having to record daily has allowed them to embark on hysterical field visits, from bantering with bodega owners to writing a song about butts with John Legend. A new writers' room has given them fuel for skits and sparring topics, including a lacerating parody of *Green Book*. "If we're in a cafeteria, all the late-night guys are over there," Mero says, motioning with his hands, "and we're over here throwing sh-t across the room."

Yet as much as Desus and Mero revel in their outer-edge appeal, they're also gunning for the center of the cultural world. They have a book deal with Random House and hope to eventually host awards shows and act in dramatic films. And their show is still working through growing pains. Ratings have been soft, and the pair cut down the studio audience after the first show's large crowd felt too impersonal. They've also realized the necessity of self-censoring some of the more risqué jokes that would have flown on the podcast, especially since their executives at Showtime have been hands-off: "They give you enough rope that you could hang yourself," Desus says.

While the show may be a work in progress, it's still a blast of fresh air to the late-night landscape. "If you turn your TV on and want Jimmy Fallon, that's there for you," Desus says. "If you want something a little jarring, a little edgier, a little scary—we're there." □



Javert (Oyelowo) vs.
Valjean (West)

REVIEW

Les Miz, minus the music

Victor Hugo's *Les Misérables* is a novel of ideas—elemental ones about class, criminal justice and human nature. That much would be obvious if the book were still as popular as the melodramatic musical. So it's refreshing that the makers of the latest adaptation, a six-part BBC miniseries debuting on PBS's *Masterpiece* April 14, seem devoted to restoring the narrative's ideological potency.

It's just unfortunate that such depth comes at the expense of storytelling. Six hours sounds luxurious, but it's still a tight fit for the 1,500-page tome, which follows reformed thief Jean Valjean (Dominic West) and Javert (David Oyelowo), the cop obsessed with capturing him, through two fractious decades of French history. Writer Andrew Davies, a BBC stalwart, honors Hugo's argument that clemency can change people for the better. But his dialogue reduces the characters to mouthpieces.

Still, as in so many *Masterpiece* offerings, the performances are superb, from West's wrenching turn as a good man made to believe he's evil to the fragility of Oyelowo's misguided Javert. Lily Collins, Adeel Akhtar and Olivia Colman are just as riveting in supporting roles. This *Les Miz* may not be perfect, but it beats Russell Crowe singing. —Judy Berman

REVIEW

Bless the first worthwhile network sitcom of 2019

PAM GRIER IS A FOUNT OF WISDOM AND experience. So when her latest character, Constance, offers some advice in the debut episode of ABC's sitcom *Bless This Mess*, you can bet it's going to reverberate through the entire series. "The best kind of love ain't happy," Constance tells her dejected new neighbor Mike (*Parenthood* alum Dax Shepard). "The best kind of love is honest."

This is, of course, precisely what he needs to hear. A full year into their marriage, Mike and his wife Rio (*In a World ...* writer-director-star Lake Bell) are both reeling from their first-ever fight. And they're likely to have many more, seeing as they recently moved from New York City to the Nebraska farm Mike inherited, where they're determined to become alfalfa farmers despite their total lack of agricultural experience. (She was a therapist; he was a music journalist.) But the soil is useless, the house is a wreck and there's a guy named Rudy (Ed Begley Jr.) living on the property who says things like, "I don't need therapy—I'm not a Jewish person."

On its surface, *Bless This Mess*, which premieres April 16, is a pretty formulaic

fish-out-of-water sitcom, with timely red state-vs.-blue state undertones. There are jokes about the city slickers' fussy Whole Foods diet and, in the crumbling home, echoes of *The Money Pit*. Rudy and Constance, a shopkeeper who's also the local sheriff, are ripe for a will-they/won't-they romance.

But as executed by co-creators Bell and Elizabeth Meriwether, and featuring the most charismatic network comedy cast since *The Good Place*, the pilot shows a lot of potential. (A scene in which national treasure Susie Essman, guesting as Bell's overbearing mom, terrorizes a cow via cell phone from several states away, doesn't hurt.) Grier is tough but tender. Begley brings a rumpled softness to Rudy that keeps him from veering into Kramer territory. And like Meriwether's biggest hit, *New Girl*, the show balances old-fashioned sweetness with of-the-moment characters and cultural references; neither rural nor urban types comes across as caricatures. Best of all, Bell and Shepard make an utterly believable, sympathetic couple—one that is just beginning to understand what it really means to make a lifelong commitment. —J.B.



Mike (Shepard) and Rio (Bell) put a new spin on a familiar conceit



Rooney set both her novels at Trinity College Dublin, her alma mater

FICTION

Defining normal for a new generation

By Eliana Dockterman

IRISH AUTHOR SALLY ROONEY STAKED her claim as the novelist of the millennial generation with her stunning 2017 debut, *Conversations With Friends*, which tells the story of a bisexual communist who expresses the emotions she can't in person through emails and texts. It's a nuanced portrait of modern romance, yet it closes on a surprisingly traditional, upbeat note—suggesting that our most familiar tropes die hard.

Rooney, 28, mines similar territory in her latest love story, the equally engrossing but still more conventional *Normal People*. This book's protagonists, Marianne and Connell, are in many ways opposites: She comes from a cold, wealthy family, he from one that's cash-strapped but rich in love; she doesn't care what others think of her, he does. But they share an anxiety about achieving "normalcy," that bonds them. They enter into an on-again, off-again relationship that takes them through high school and college.

Rooney's writing is at its best when the two clash: each feels a simmering resentment about the other's financial or social standing, leading to defensive intellectual debates. Rooney herself

debated in college, and her characters often adopt philosophies they don't believe in or conceal those they do believe in under layers of irony. Their wry, well-observed dialogue keeps the pages turning and captures the youthful struggle of trying to find your place in the world.

But the book falters when its players succumb to damsel and hero archetypes. Marianne, suffering from abuse at home, deems herself unlovable and, in between affairs with Connell, seeks out men who will treat her as such. He wonders if he can save her. A better question is whether it's his responsibility to do so at all.

In recent years, many novels have tackled sexual and domestic abuse. But writers must push beyond clichés of bad men throwing beer bottles against the wall and good men saving the day. If only Rooney didn't insist on Marianne's white knight being her lover, rather than a friend, a counselor—or even herself.

Still, Rooney shines when she depicts how the waves of trauma consume both the victim and her romantic partners. The fallout of abuse remains a subject well worth exploring. Here, Rooney takes an admirable first step. □

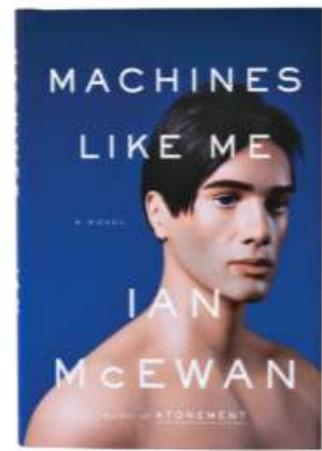
FICTION

Unreal love

In *Machines Like Me*, Ian McEwan's latest novel, 1980s London resembles the future more than the past. Characters email, browse online and program synthetic humans, aptly named Adam and Eve. When Charlie Friend, a trader who recently came into some money, buys an Adam, he enlists his unrequited love Miranda to help him design the bot's personality. But as Adam becomes more human, his relationship with Miranda begins to change—and the three become embroiled in a love triangle that quickly spins out of Charlie's control.

McEwan, the award-winning author of novels including *Atonement* and *On Chesil Beach*, demonstrates his comfort with a historical backdrop in this narrative, in which Charlie harps on protests over the Falklands War and Margaret Thatcher's politics. While McEwan never quite explains the blending of past and future, he succeeds in establishing a stirring dynamic between the three characters, particularly as Adam's growing humanity draws out Charlie's jealousy. McEwan cleverly forces readers to question the strength of human love—even as a machine powered by artificial intelligence attempts to replicate it.

—Annabel Guterman



McEwan's 15th novel takes on artificial intelligence

I didn't talk
for a very long time

Jacob Sanchez
Diagnosed with autism

Lack of speech is a sign of autism. Learn the others at autismspeaks.org/signs.



10 Questions

Molly Shannon The comedian and actor on the truth about Emily Dickinson, showbiz moms and why her real kids will not be YouTube stars

What made you want to do a movie about Emily Dickinson? I was interested in telling the truth about her life. We've been told that she was a recluse spinster who never wanted to be published. But [some scholars] came to realize that a lot of her poems were written to her brother's wife, Susan. It makes you look at her poetry in a whole different way.

Is Wild Nights with Emily a thought experiment—What if this theory about her love life were true?—or is it an attempt to correct history? It's an attempt to correct history. I think there was so much shame around these feelings during that time, which Emily expressed in her letters. I think after Emily became a successful writer after her death, people were worried that if the public found out she loved women, the public who adored the old-maid-recluse story would stop reading her poetry.

Dickinson said she knew something was poetry if she felt “physically as if the top of my head were taken off.” How do you know if something is funny? If I am performing it, it feels great, like heart-pounding passion. When comedy really sings and moves and clicks and rings, it makes my heart pound.

Quite a lot has changed for female authors since Dickinson. And for female comedians since you were on SNL. What would you still like to see? Emily was aggressively trying to get published. So I think this movie would be an inspiration to female writers now looking to do the same thing, wanting their voices heard. I always tell girls if you are able to write, you can kind of write your way in. That's how I started. And the more stories for women, the better. There just aren't enough.

WHEN COMEDY
REALLY SINGS
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RINGS, IT MAKES
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POUND



In the movie, meeting Ralph Waldo Emerson is underwhelming. Have you had that experience in real life?

I met a very, very successful person in business, and this person's house seemed really empty. It was very fancy, and there was everything you could ever want. But I remember thinking it wasn't what I would have imagined. My dad always said you can be just as happy having a cup of pea soup at a coffee shop with one friend who understands you. That's joy.

On your Comedy Central show, The Other Two, you play a showbiz mom. Is their reputation unfair?

The showbiz mom that I play has a very optimistic attitude. She has good family values, and she's experiencing a new chapter. I don't think all showbiz moms are bad. I've certainly worked with really nice ones.

Would you want your kids to be YouTube stars, like your son in the show? I really like that my kids are just kids who go to school and have friends right now. I don't feel like kids have to be working professionally.

Do your children enjoy having a funny mom? I think they do. They ask me to do impressions a lot.

Do they put on old episodes of SNL?

No, no, never. I don't do that at all. No. Never. I don't really show them my stuff.

In the show, you have to tell your son that his dad died because he was an alcoholic and fell asleep in the cold. Did your dad's history with alcoholism make that scene easier or harder?

Absolutely easier. Because I understand that. And I loved performing it. It was funny, it was real, you could understand the wife's compassion. My dad found AA when I was a teen. He would let me tell funny stories about him because he was like, Maybe that will help someone!, which I'm so grateful for.

—BELINDA LUSCOMBE



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