

TIME

THE EQUALIZER

ALEX MORGAN LEADS
THE FAVORED U.S. TEAM
AT THE WORLD CUP.
BUT HER MOST IMPORTANT
GOAL IS OFF THE FIELD

BY SEAN GREGORY





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 Clothes dry on a fence at a camp for displaced Yezidis near Dohuk, northern Iraq

Photograph by Newsha Tavakolian—Magnum Photos for TIME

ON THE COVER:
Photograph by Erik Madigan Heck for TIME

Congratulations. Business leadership is now gender equal.*



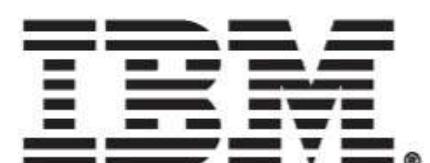
Be Equal

*At current rates, this will be true in the year 2073.

With your help, we can make sure it won't take 54 years to reach gender parity. Be Equal promotes the advancement of gender equality in business leadership—for everyone, of any gender. It's part of our decades-long commitment to nondiscrimination in the workplace. It's why we are constantly developing technologies that help businesses combat unconscious bias and promote equal opportunity.

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* "Women, leadership, and the priority paradox." IBM Institute for Business Value. March 2019. <https://ibm.co/womenleaders>.

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Conversation



WHAT YOU SAID ABOUT...

NEXT GENERATION LEADERS TIME's 2019 class of Next Generation Leaders was a reminder to "never underestimate the power of children and youth mobilizing for change," wrote Erion Veliaj, the mayor of Tirana, Albania, referring to climate activist Greta Thunberg, featured on one of the May 27 covers. "I LOVE THIS," Kerry Washington said, tweeting the second cover, featuring her fellow actor Tessa Thompson.

And Twitter user @joicereis_ wrote that Brazilian Congressman David Miranda is "a breath of fresh air" who "represent[s] our best" amid the ascent of "far-right politicians and fascism." For those on the list, the issue came as both a bright spot and a weighty responsibility: "I hope I can live up to the title," tweeted honoree Ramla Ali, the first Muslim woman to win an English boxing title.

THE MODI ERA Many supporters of India's Prime Minister Narendra Modi thought the cover line on international editions of the May 20 issue, which declared him the country's "divider in chief," was unfair. Sumit Raje in Giessen, Germany, found the essay overly "negative," arguing that "Indian youth is more hopeful than ever before."

M. Lal Goel of Cantonment, Fla., dismissed writer Aatish Taseer as representing a "westernized clique now out of favor." But others said Taseer was spot-on. "A sharp and perceptive piece," tweeted historian Ramachandra Guha, and Jagjit Singh in Los Altos, Calif., called Modi "a major disappointment."

That's a really strong cover story from @TIME magazine'

Journalist
VIKRAM
CHANDRA

'Next generation leaders, I'm excited for a better future.'

@YOONATEMYHEART,
on Twitter

Back in TIME

Soccer stars

July 19, 1999

When the U.S. won the 1999 Women's World Cup, TIME hailed the victory as "not the end of a game so much as of a crusade." Back then, the head of U.S. Soccer admitted his organization couldn't "afford to pay them what we think they're worth." This week, meet U.S. star Alex Morgan (page 76) and the other players who are continuing the crusade—including the fight for fair pay. Read more from 1999 at time.com/vault



KUDOS On May 20, TIME's 2018 coverage took home **Deadline Club Awards** in four categories: Arts Reporting for Jamil Smith's *Black Panther* cover story (Feb. 19); Spot News Photo for David Butow's portrait of Senator Jeff Flake (Sept. 28); Headline Writing for "Who Gets to Be American?" (Nov. 26/Dec. 3); and Feature Photo for James Nachtwey's "The Opioid Diaries" (March 5, above). See more from Nachtwey in this week's issue on page 50.

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GRAB THE POPCORN Mark the unofficial start of summer with TIME.com's list of the 50 most anticipated movies hitting theaters and streaming sites this season, complete with plot summaries and trailers. From ambitious live-action Disney adaptations to a star-studded Quentin Tarantino return, browse the guide at time.com/movies-list

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NEWEST FLEET

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For the Record

'This is my class, 2019, and my family is making a grant to eliminate their student loans.'

ROBERT F. SMITH, billionaire CEO of Vista Equity Partners, announcing during his May 19 commencement speech at Morehouse College that he will pay off millions in debt for graduating seniors

'I really do not want my pictures in your offices, for the President is not an icon, an idol or a portrait.'

VOLODYMYR ZELENSKY, Ukraine's new President, after being sworn in on May 21; the 41-year-old, formerly a TV comedian, also called for snap parliamentary elections

19.3 million

Number of viewers across all platforms who tuned in to watch the *Game of Thrones* finale on May 19, setting a record for HBO



3,495

Number of votes both candidates earned in the election for mayor of Araceli, the Philippines; Sue Cudilla ended up defeating incumbent Noel Beronio in a coin toss on May 17

All-beef hot dogs
Vienna Beef recalls over 2,000 lb. of skinless beef frankfurters for possible metal contamination



Meatless sausage
Little Caesars is testing a vegetarian-sausage pizza topping made by Impossible Burger

'When you don't need or want money, you don't need or want banks.'

DONALD TRUMP, U.S. President, responding on May 20 to the New York Times' latest investigation of his dealings with Deutsche Bank; he denied the report that he'd been unable to get loans from other banks



\$75

Cost of a cup of what's being called the world's most expensive coffee; California-based Klatch Coffee, the only North American chain to sell the rare brew called Elida Geisha Natural 803, has already sold out of it

'WHEN MY SON GOT SHOT DOWN, I STOOD UP.'

SYBRINA FULTON, mother of Trayvon Martin, announcing on May 20 that she's running for Miami-Dade County commissioner; her son's 2012 death helped launch the Black Lives Matter movement

'I actually never knew that you could make a record. Had I known, I would have made a lot more summits earlier.'

KAMI RITA, Nepalese mountain guide, who climbed Mount Everest twice in one week, on May 15 and May 21; the 49-year-old Sherpa's 24 ascents set a record for most successful climbs of the peak

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The Brief



THE HOT SEAT
The House Judiciary Committee's empty witness chair has become a symbol of impeachment angst

INSIDE

MARRIAGE EQUALITY MAKES NEW INROADS IN ASIA

THE COLLEGE BOARD ADDS A NEW KIND OF SCORE TO THE SAT

THE TRADE WAR HITS HOME FOR AMERICAN MANUFACTURERS

The Brief Opener

CONGRESS

The point person on impeachment

By Alana Abramson

THE HARDEST JOB IN WASHINGTON RIGHT NOW belongs to a straight-talking New Yorker in his 70s. And it's not President Donald Trump.

As Trump ramps up his defiance of House Democratic investigations, Judiciary Committee chairman Jerrold Nadler, 71, is a key player in the fight. Nadler's committee issued the first subpoena for special counsel Robert Mueller's full, unredacted report into Russian interference in the 2016 election, then voted to hold Attorney General William Barr in contempt when he didn't deliver it. The committee will likely do the same with former White House counsel Don McGahn, who failed to appear for testimony on May 21. Nadler's committee may even subpoena Mueller himself.

But Nadler faces a dilemma. Liberals in the House Democratic caucus want an impeachment inquiry into Trump. Taking that first step, they argue, could help Congress in its looming court battle against the White House over the Legislative Branch's investigative powers and would please the party's base. At the same time, House Speaker Nancy Pelosi, who is effectively Nadler's boss, has been clear about the political risks of rushing to judgment amid polls showing that centrists and independents are cooling to the idea of impeachment. Nadler, who chairs the committee that would ultimately oversee the proceedings, is caught in the middle.

The challenge is all the greater because of the stakes. The confrontation is a test of congressional power, and Nadler has been incensed by the "constitutional crisis" he says Trump's blanket defiance represents. "Our fight is not just about the Mueller report," he said on May 8. "Our fight is about defending the rights of Congress, as an independent branch, to hold the President accountable." He's cognizant of Pelosi's concerns that putting impeachment ahead of investigations could hurt Democrats' 2020 electoral prospects on the Hill and at the White House. Balancing those pressures has become the biggest test of the New Yorker's tenure in Congress.

BEING IN THE SPOTLIGHT is something of a novelty for Nadler. The son of a chicken farmer, Nadler came up through the state assembly before running for Congress in a special election in 1992. Speaking to the *New York Times* after his victory, then New York assembly speaker Saul Weprin categorized him as a "nudnik," the Yiddish word for nag.

"When he has something on his mind that he wants to get done, he'll never leave you alone," Weprin said.

On his way up, Nadler got to know and dislike Trump. The pair's feud over Upper West Side real estate deals dates back decades, and Nadler makes no bones about his animosity toward Trump. "We've never had a liar like this in the White House," he told TIME in December.

This isn't Nadler's first brush with the question of impeachment either. Ironically, his national profile rose during his opposition to President Bill Clinton's impeachment two decades ago. But it's only recently that Nadler assumed a starring role in such a drama. He became Judiciary chairman by surprise, after his predecessor, then ranking member John Conyers, resigned from Congress amid sexual-harassment allegations in 2017.

Few think Nadler's personal history with the President or his experience under Clinton would be enough to make him buck Pelosi if she continues to resist calls for an impeachment inquiry. But the Speaker, who said on May 22 that Trump is engaging in a "cover-up," is feeling the pressure too. Frustration among liberal House members over her deliberative approach has been growing for several weeks and is especially acute on the Judiciary Committee itself, half a dozen lawmakers and aides tell TIME. An increasing number of members now believe

that kick-starting the impeachment process with an inquiry is necessary.

That frustration erupted during closed-door meetings on May 20, when several committee members made the case to Pelosi that the party had to hold Trump accountable, to no avail. An impeachment inquiry "would get more and more people to understand [Trump] should be impeached," says Representative Steve Cohen of Tennessee, who challenged Pelosi.

Nadler met with Pelosi and other top leadership in a separate meeting later that night, where he relayed the members' case about the need for more action, but she still would not budge. "There is a suspicion that Nadler, based on some of his statements, agrees with us—but he's in a tough spot just because of his position with the leadership," says one committee member who requested anonymity to discuss internal dynamics.

Some committee members say Nadler is managing the competing pressures well. "The committee definitely takes into consideration members like myself," says Representative Lucy McBath, who flipped a historically conservative district in Georgia in November. Representative Pramila Jayapal, a progressive who supports an impeachment inquiry, says she understands Nadler's political calculus. "He's got to make sure the whole committee is comfortable," she says.

Ultimately, the Democrats will need to find a unified position on impeachment. But until then, Nadler is in the hot seat. □

**Nadler maybe
'agrees with
us—but he's in
a tough spot
because of his
position with
the leadership.'**

A Democrat on the
House Judiciary
Committee





IN EBOLA'S GRIP Four Ebola victims were buried on May 17 in Butembo, Democratic Republic of Congo, where the battle against the disease has been made even more hazardous by violence born of mistrust. Locals skeptical of official warnings interrupted the ceremony, blocking and stoning health workers until police intervened. Butembo is at the epicenter of an outbreak that has killed more than 1,200 people since August.

THE BULLETIN

Marriage equality comes to Taiwan in a historic first for Asia

TENS OF THOUSANDS OF CELEBRATORS gathered outside Taiwan's parliament on May 17, waving rainbow flags as the island's government became the first in Asia to legalize same-sex marriage. The move comes at a moment of change for LGBTQ rights in Asia: even as nations like India—whose Supreme Court decriminalized homosexuality in 2018—have expanded rights, others including Malaysia, Indonesia and Brunei have cracked down. Advocates in the region now hope Taiwan's example can help tip the scales toward inclusion.

OVERCOMING DIVISIONS While strongly supported by President Tsai Ing-wen, marriage equality provoked strong opposition from conservative and religious groups in Taiwan. Conservative lawmakers had tabled two rival bills proposing same-sex unions, but the government's own legislation—the bill that passed—includes the word *marriage* and grants same-sex couples many of the same rights as heterosexual couples. About 200 same-sex couples were reportedly planning a mass marriage registration in Taipei on May 24, the day the law comes into effect.

GAPS REMAIN Human-rights group Amnesty International has said the law "falls short of genuine and full marriage equality," as it does not provide equal adoption rights. The law also does not recognize marriages to foreigners whose countries do not permit same-sex marriage. Despite such limitations, the legislation gained the backing of LGBTQ groups, which saw it as the best option available for equality.

SURPRISE SUPPORT Chinese state media tweeted a congratulatory message in support of the law on May 18, but Taiwan's lawmakers rebuked the praise, seeing it as an attempt by Beijing to take credit for the new law while diminishing their autonomy. (The mainland views Taiwan, an island of 23 million people that lies 112 miles off the coast, as its sovereign territory.) The social scuffle came amid a wave of censorship of LGBTQ subjects on social media in China, where homosexuality is legal but same-sex marriages are not. Leaders weren't the only ones talking about the news: posts about Taiwan's law trended on the Chinese microblogging site Weibo, attracting over 100 million views. —SUYIN HAYNES

NEWS TICKER

Hungary accused of refugee abuse

The Council of Europe, a human-rights agency, has found that **asylum seekers in Hungary face widespread abuse, including being denied food**. The May 21 report, which Hungary disputes, says the anti-migrant stance of Viktor Orbán's nationalist government has "undermined" refugee protections.

Trump's EPA changes pollution math

The Environmental Protection Agency plans to change how it calculates the risks of air pollution, the New York Times reported on May 20. The new model **lowers the number of premature deaths that can be linked to pollution** and would likely allow the Trump Administration to defend easing regulations.

Swiss voters back gun control

Switzerland will tighten its gun laws after **64% of voters backed tougher restrictions on automatic and semi-automatic weapons** in a May 19 referendum. The changes will bring the non-E.U. nation, in which nearly 48% of households own a gun, in line with E.U. regulations adopted by the bloc after the 2015 Paris terrorist attacks.

NEWS TICKER

Migrant child dies in U.S. custody

Carlos Gregorio Hernandez Vasquez, a 16-year-old boy from Guatemala who was apprehended at the U.S.-Mexico border, died on May 20, Customs and Border Protection said. He is the **fifth Guatemalan child known to have died in recent months** after being stopped and detained by U.S. authorities.

Tensions rise between U.S. and Iran

Iran's Foreign Minister on May 20 **accused President Trump of making "genocidal taunts"** after Trump vowed to "end" Iran if it threatened the U.S. The Twitter barbs came amid a U.S. military buildup in the region and the introduction of sanctions on European countries that buy oil from Iran.

Mississippi abortion law goes to court

A U.S. district judge heard arguments on May 21 in a challenge to Mississippi's **restrictive law that bans abortion as early as six weeks into pregnancy.** The same judge had previously struck down a separate Mississippi law that prohibited abortion after 15 weeks of pregnancy.

GOOD QUESTION

How does the SAT's new 'adversity score' actually work?

SAT SCORES WILL SOON MEASURE MORE than just a teenager's math and verbal skills: the College Board, the nonprofit organization that oversees the admissions test, announced May 16 that it's prepping the broad rollout of a new "adversity score" program intended to provide universities with a more complete picture of an applicant's background.

The score, officially called the Environmental Context Dashboard, is calculated using 15 factors addressing a student's home life, community and school system, including local crime and poverty rates, according to the College Board. Together, they add up to an overall disadvantage level, scored out of 100, that universities will be able to view as a supplement to the exam; much of the information it considers was already available to admissions officers but not in this format. Students will not be able to see their adversity score and won't know if it influenced their admission results.

Fifty schools tested the new system last year. The College Board said the pilot program had a clear impact: disadvantaged students were "more likely to be admitted" when the new system was used to add context to the numbers. "[The score] enables colleges to witness the strength of students in a huge swath of America who would otherwise



PROTEST

Food fights

A protester **hit the U.K.'s Brexit Party leader, Nigel Farage, with a milkshake** in Newcastle on May 20, the latest in a pattern of edible outrages. —Madeline Roache

FOMENTED MILK

In Greece, there's a specific word for the act of throwing yogurt at someone: *yaourtoma*. Politicians hit over the years have included former Interior Minister Haris Kastanidis, who got splashed in 2011.

SEE IF IT STICKS

In 2014, Ukrainian activists threw spaghetti and tomato sauce at Russia's consulate in Odessa. In Russian and Ukrainian, the idiom *to hang noodles over someone's ears* means to mislead them.

EGG ON YOUR FACE

Australian politician Fraser Anning was egged during a TV interview in Melbourne in March. The anti-immigration lawmaker appeared to hit 17-year-old culprit Will Connolly, dubbed Egg Boy, twice in retaliation.

be overlooked," College Board CEO David Coleman said in a statement.

Race is not a component of the adversity score, and the rollout comes as a lawsuit filed against Harvard last year on behalf of Asian-American students may threaten the future of affirmative action. Yale's dean of undergraduate admissions, Jeremiah Quinlan, has told the *Yale Daily News* he appreciated that the tool, which the school tested, was "race-neutral" and "data-driven." But Elissa Salas, the CEO of College Track, a nonprofit that helps low-income and first-generation students, says leaving out race means the score won't be a complete picture of the challenges students face.

Even without the score, the U.S. has already seen an uptick in the number of low-income and first-generation students attending colleges nationwide—as well as fresh scrutiny of how the wealthy can game the process. The College Board's announcement comes two months after federal prosecutors indicted 50 people in a sweeping college-admission scandal that involved affluent parents accused of paying to cheat the system.

A tool like the adversity score will likely have to be refined over the years, says David Hawkins, executive director for educational content and policy at the National Association for College Admission Counseling, but he sees it as a start toward making sure kids who aren't from wealthy backgrounds don't get left behind. "Any context we can provide for students' quantitative scores," he says, "is going to be helpful."

—RACHEL E. GREENSPAN

The Brief Milestones

ORDERED

An ex-Somali colonel to pay \$500,000 to a victim in a 1988 torture case, by a Virginia civil court on May 21.

REVEALED

That Dutee Chand, India's fastest female sprinter, is in a relationship with a woman, by Chand on May 19. She is India's first out professional athlete.

INTRODUCED

Karli, a Muppet in foster care, by Sesame Workshop, the nonprofit behind Sesame Street.

WON

The Eurovision song contest, by Duncan Laurence of the Netherlands, on May 18 at the event's finale in Tel Aviv.

DROPPED

The U.S. birth rate, for a fourth consecutive year. The number of people born in the U.S. in 2018 was the lowest in 32 years.



DIED

The Internet-famous feline known as Grumpy Cat, her family said May 17.

ANNOUNCED

That Ford Motor Co. will cut 7,000 jobs globally by the end of August, according to the carmaker on May 20. The plan will reduce the number of salaried employees by 10%.



Pei at the Louvre in 1993; the pyramid he designed for the museum's entrance was controversial at first but has become a Paris landmark

DIED

I.M. Pei

Modernist master

By Jeanne Gang

MOST PEOPLE WILL REMEMBER I.M. PEI FOR HIS CULTURAL and commercial works, like the glass pyramid at the Louvre in Paris and the Bank of China Tower in Hong Kong. But in my city, Chicago, it is residential work that remains his lasting contribution—and that helped secure his legacy as one of the most influential architects of the 20th century.

In the late 1950s, Pei, who died May 16 at 102, undertook the redevelopment of a portion of the Hyde Park neighborhood in collaboration with Chicago architect Harry Weese. This was one of the largest urban-renewal projects of its time, and as with many others, discrimination and displacement are an intractable part of its story. But Pei and Weese's design is notable for its context-sensitive approach, corresponding with Pei's interest in a better model for reshaping cities.

Their plan kept viable buildings in place, renovated others and added new ones, avoiding the complete tabula rasa of much urban renewal. Pei's modern brick townhouses, with their welcoming front doors (not their garages) facing the street, sit comfortably beside older structures. And his University Apartments, a pair of towers longer than they are tall, mitigate the difference in scale between old and new buildings. To visit the neighborhood today is to be reminded by Pei that modernism can adapt to its surroundings without compromising boldness or innovation.

Gang is an architect and a 2019 TIME 100 honoree

DIED

Herman Wouk

The people's choice

WHEN HE ENLISTED IN THE Navy after Pearl Harbor, the Bronx-born writer Herman Wouk discovered something: a life beyond the "wise guys of Broadway and the wise guys of Columbia—two small worlds that sometimes take themselves for the whole world," as TIME quoted him as saying in a 1955 cover story.

The realization prompted Wouk, who died May 17 at 103, to make a change in his own life, from radio gag writer to novelist. Writing for what he called the "common reader," the observant Jewish author strove for realism and what he called "clarity of expression." His best-known work, *The Caine Mutiny*—about sailors who overthrow their incompetent captain—sold more than 3 million copies in the U.S. alone and won the Pulitzer Prize for fiction in 1952. Though reviewers were lukewarm on much of the rest of his work (more than 20 books and plays, including several best sellers), Wouk said he put more stock in the opinion of the American public: "They're good enough to elect our Presidents, aren't they?"

—CIARA NUGENT



Wouk on the Sept. 5, 1955, cover of TIME

The worsening trade war exposes a problem that's Made in the USA

By Alana Semuels

FOR NEARLY A CENTURY, THE ST. PIERRE MANUFACTURING Corp. has made steel products like horseshoes, tire chains and wire ropes in a facility in Worcester, Mass. Yet, despite the strong economy, St. Pierre, like many other American manufacturers, is struggling. Its problems stem from President Donald Trump's tariffs on Chinese-made goods. The ongoing trade war "makes it a heck of a lot harder to compete," says Peter St. Pierre, the company's vice president of finance and operations and a grandson of founder Henry St. Pierre.

Trump imposed tariffs on imported steel and aluminum more than a year ago, later adding them on an additional \$200 billion worth of Chinese goods. On May 10, as negotiations on a wider deal with China faltered, he said some tariffs

would increase to 25% from 10%. His rationale is twofold: dissuading Americans from buying Chinese exports is meant to put some teeth behind trade-deal talks, with the added benefit of helping domestic companies by pushing consumers to buy American. When defending the increased tariffs, Trump on May 13 told consumers it was the "best idea" to buy American-made goods. "Make your product at home in the USA and there is no Tariff," he added in a later tweet aimed at business leaders.

Yet for St. Pierre and its peers, this directive exposes one of the central challenges of the way the Trump Administration is waging its trade war. Though the debate over tariffs is practically an American institution, global trade today is a different beast than it was in the early 19th century, when tariffs on some imported materials helped jump-start the American textile industry. American manufacturers have been sourcing products and parts from around the world for decades, and today it is nearly impossible—not to mention extremely expensive—for companies to extract themselves from that global supply chain. As a result, an escalating trade war could isolate American manufacturers, quarantining companies and consumers from the increasing prosperity that's come with a globalized economy. The rest of the world meanwhile continues to trade unencumbered.

The steel and aluminum tariffs have already hit American manufacturers across industries. Heavy-equipment makers like Caterpillar, beer sellers like Anheuser-Busch and automakers like General Motors all say costs have surged because of increased prices on those materials. (The Trump Administration lifted tariffs on steel and aluminum from Canada and Mexico on May 17, but the market is expected to remain tight.) Meanwhile, thousands of products, from seafood to electronics, are

Almost no company isn't going to import something from China.'

MICHAEL J. HICKS,
economics professor,
on China's role
in American
manufacturing

affected by the May 10 increase. "Almost no company isn't going to import something from China," said Michael J. Hicks, an economics professor at Indiana's Ball State University.

THE PUSH TO "BUY AMERICAN" is as old as the nation itself. George Washington boasted of wearing "homespun" clothes to his Inauguration as a dig at the British, says Dana Frank, a professor emerita at the University of California, Santa Cruz, and author of *Buy American: The Untold Story of Economic Nationalism*. (Washington's clothes were made by his slaves.)

That rhetoric has resurfaced in moments of nativism—in the wake of rising anti-immigrant sentiment in the 1920s and 1930s, for example, Frank says. But in the aftermath of World War II, when the U.S. emerged as the strongest economy in the world, consumers and businesses alike concluded that protectionism might make it harder to sell overseas too. So they embraced free trade and the opportunity to send American products to countries whose own economies were in ruins. The world bought U.S.-made goods; manufacturers prospered; labor unions negotiated good deals for American workers. Global supply chains were established as early as the 1960s. By the time yet another "buy American" campaign peaked in the early 1990s, in part a response to Japanese-made cars having gained significant market share in the U.S., Frank says, "that train had already left the station."

Now, even the most American-seeming products are made with pieces from elsewhere. Not counting the engine and transmission, around 23% of a Corvette and 43% of a Ford Explorer comes from outside the U.S. and Canada, according to American University's Made in America Auto Index. Budweiser—which literally branded its beer "America" in 2016—makes some of its cans

►
The St. Pierre Manufacturing Corp. in Worcester, Mass., is feeling the sting of tariffs on foreign steel



The Brief Business

from imported aluminum, as does Coca-Cola. General Electric imports some parts from China for the high-tech medical equipment it makes in Wisconsin. And American retailers source many of their goods from overseas too; when Walmart pledged to buy more American-made goods in 2013, the \$50 billion it committed made up just 1.5% of what it spent that year buying goods globally.

As for St. Pierre, the company made the decision to buy some parts overseas when it began to face growing competition in the 1970s from cheaper foreign products; prices had to come down if it was going to keep customers. Peter St. Pierre says his father used to get nervous to raise suggested retail prices by even a quarter. Now, with the tariffs, the younger St. Pierre is asking for \$3 to \$5 more. Further complicating matters: even the American-made steel the company already uses for its horseshoes is causing problems, its price having increased 40% over the past year as tariffs on Chinese steel intensified demand for the domestic product. "Everything we do here is steel-related," says St. Pierre, "and over the last year or so, the price of steel has been going up and up."

TODAY'S TRADE WAR comes at a particularly difficult time for U.S. manufacturers. E-commerce technology is making it possible for retailers to stock fewer items on shelves and to fill orders only when needed, resulting in better efficiency for stores but fewer orders for manufacturers. And rising minimum wages, while a boon to workers, are increasing labor costs. That means fewer units are being made, St. Pierre says, and each one costs more.

The problem is clear to business owners like Morris Kessler, who started an amplifier company in 1967. Today, that company, ATI, makes high-end amplifiers and audio equipment in Southern California. Kessler's experience shows how tariffs put companies that source components globally but make products in the U.S. at a disadvantage: European competitors can undercut his prices because they can buy Chinese components

without the added tariffs. Meanwhile, he suspects his Chinese suppliers are getting in on the trade war by raising prices as a form of retaliation, as parts he used to get for a penny now cost five cents. "This is hurting companies that never made anything in China," he said.

Trying to source parts from the U.S. alone would be nearly impossible. As U.S. manufacturers stopped making

in Oregon, but the company has sourced carbon steel from overseas since the 1970s, which means it now pays the 25% tariff. Competitors that import finished products rather than raw materials into the U.S. aren't paying one at all. So company president Jay Zidell says he's exploring the idea of buying semiforged fittings overseas and importing them. That would mean closing down part of his

plant and laying off workers. "What choice do we have?" he says.

Other companies, including General Motors and Winnebago, have announced plant closings and layoffs since the tariffs were enacted last year. "It's a hard situation for companies—even though they've invested in the U.S., President Trump and the tariffs are making it impossible to keep employment at current levels," said Christina Fattore, a political science professor at West Virginia University. Manufacturing employment, which had been increasing steadily since the recession, has leveled off in recent months.

Some American manufacturers have adapted by charging more for high-quality products, but they worry that customers' patience with higher prices is running out. In a 2017 Ipsos/Reuters poll, 69% of American consumers said price was very important to them and 77% said quality was, while only 32% said it was very important that a product was made in the USA. Many U.S. manufacturers are already selling products at a premium, because their workers have more labor protections and higher wages than those in China, and they fear the trade war may push prices past what consumers are willing to pay.

Which is why Peter St. Pierre is worried about tacking that extra couple of dollars onto price tags. Some retailers have already stopped stocking more expensive U.S.-made horseshoes in recent years, he says, and replaced them with lower-quality sets from China. "It may get to a point where not enough people are going to want to buy horseshoe sets made in the USA," Peter St. Pierre says. "It really is getting more and more challenging." □



St. Pierre has been making pitching horseshoes since 1938 and is now the only company that still forges them in the U.S.

products that were more available elsewhere—resistors and semiconductors for companies like Kessler's, for example—Chinese suppliers filled the void. Establishing new supply chains would take years.

In fact, as the trade war continues, some American manufacturers may begin buying more parts from overseas, rather than fewer. Tube forgings of America has made steel fittings for energy facilities in the U.S. since 1954; the fittings are made

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A gender gap no one wants to close

By Jamie Ducharme

FOR DECADES, SUICIDE-PREVENTION experts have been stumped by a phenomenon known as the gender paradox. Though girls report contemplating suicide more often than boys, and make more attempts, boys die by suicide far more regularly. But new data, drawn from four decades of public records and published in *JAMA Network Open*, suggest this gender gap is closing.

It's "alarming," says study co-author Donna Ruch, a researcher at Nationwide Children's Hospital in Ohio. "On top of the fact that females are thinking about suicide more and attempting suicide more, now they're actually completing suicide."

Starting in 2007, suicide rates for girls ages 10 to 14 began increasing by 13% annually, compared with 7% for boys, according to the new study. For teens 15 to 19, the average annual increases were 8% for girls and 3.5% for boys. As a result, the gap between male and female suicide rates

13%

Annual increase in suicide rate among girls ages 10 to 14

has lessened considerably, Ruch says. In 1975, boys 10 to 14 died by suicide 314% more often than girls in that age range. By 2016, that number fell to 180%. For the 15-to-19 age group, the gap between boys and girls narrowed from 415% to 331%.

The data alone don't explain why suicide rates are rising more swiftly for girls than for boys, though the analysis does offer some hints. Historically, girls have been more likely to attempt suicide by less deadly methods, like poisoning, while boys have more often used lethal means like firearms. Those tendencies help explain why girls outpace boys in suicide attempts while the reverse is true for deaths. But the recent analysis of Centers for Disease Control and Prevention records shows that young girls are increasingly using more lethal means of suicide, such as hanging and suffocation.

Adults can help kids of any gender by talking to them about suicide and mental health. But Ruch says we need better gender-specific suicide-prevention strategies. For example, girls and young women are more likely to be diagnosed with depression and anxiety, while boys are more likely to display conduct or aggressive-behavior disorders. Approaches that home in on these risk factors, Ruch says, could help stymie the suicide trend across all demographics. □

you asked

Is your sunscreen safe?

Researchers at the Food and Drug Administration recently found that four of the most common active ingredients in sunscreens can be absorbed through the skin and appear in the blood. The health impacts are unclear, but it's concerning enough that the agency has requested more research on the effects of sunscreen ingredients.

The FDA is finalizing new regulations for evaluating the safety of sunscreens, and it found that only two ingredients, zinc oxide and titanium dioxide, are generally safe and effective. Two others, PABA and trolamine salicylate, have been linked to adverse health effects and are unsafe, while 12 have not been studied enough for the agency to say anything about their safety.

The FDA is expected to request more studies on these 12 ingredients, but until its final report is submitted later this year, the Environmental Working Group's annual list of "best" sunscreens can be useful in sunscreen shopping; it relies on similar criteria as the FDA.

—Alice Park



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The Brief TIME with ...

Playing Atticus Finch on Broadway, **Jeff Daniels** marvels at the appetite for public decency

By Karl Vick

THE DAY IS CLOUDY AND SO IS JEFF DANIELS. The actor has walked to Central Park directly from watching the news conference in which Attorney General William Barr defended President Trump in the moments before the release of special counsel Robert Mueller's report, and it has done even less for his mood than the drizzle that arrives at the park entrance with him.

"I'm waiting for the hero," Daniels growls, after sitting gamely for a portrait with the two Australian shepherds he has come to walk. The older one, Maggio, is named for a Detroit Tigers outfielder his daughter had a crush on in high school. Scout joined the family last summer after Daniels signed on to play Atticus Finch in a new Broadway production of *To Kill a Mockingbird*. Aaron Sorkin adapted Harper Lee's 1960 novel for the age of Trump, and the show's roaring success is fueled by the steady combustion of liberal sensibilities and the kind of news Daniels is stewing over.

"It's exactly what *Mockingbird* is about," he says of Barr's news conference. "You know, it's about, where's goodness and decency? It's respect and honesty and truthfulness and 'do unto others.' Where is that? I didn't see it this morning. I haven't seen it for two years." He pauses to pick up after one of the dogs. "But the country is divided between people who want to believe it and people who don't believe it. Dangerous times."

Daniels in real life sounds a bit like Will McAvoy, the cable anchorman he played in the HBO series *The Newsroom*, another Sorkin creation. The show, which ran from 2012 to 2014, got mixed reviews. But the declamation McAvoy uncorked in one episode, on "Why America is not the greatest country in the world anymore," has been viewed upward of 20 million times on YouTube. It's a self-critical summons to remembered greatness that makes its appeal from pretty much the opposite pole as a Trump rally, and it suits Daniels as comfortably as the Atticus Finch that Sorkin wrote with him in mind.

"Usually, how it works, the actor gets a job and two weeks into a 12-week shoot is calling the agent going, 'What's next?' Or, 'Get me off this set. Get me out of this movie.' That's not happening with this," Daniels says. He's doing eight shows a week. There's a bit of makeup from last night's performance on his right temple. "You got one of the great fictional American heroes, maybe just a great

DANIELS QUICK FACTS

Stage hand
Daniels first appeared on Broadway in 1980, with Christopher Reeve in Lanford Wilson's *Fifth of July*. He was nominated for a Drama Desk Award.

Guitar man
In 2012 guitar maker C.F. Martin & Co. issued a Jeff Daniels model. "I think they sold 53 of them, which wasn't bad for an actor."

Homeboy
Daniels is writing his 18th play for his hometown theater. "I want all of our playwrights to write about the people sitting in our seats. Hold a mirror up."

American hero because people think he's real. And you're onstage at the Shubert Theatre, the Carnegie Hall of Broadway, as it was described to me. Riding Aaron Sorkin like he's Secretariat."

At the Shubert, Daniels draws cheers just walking onstage. "People," he says, "are jumping to their feet every night." The \$1.77 million the show took in the first week of May set a record for an American play on Broadway. And it's up for nine Tonys, including one for Daniels for Best Leading Actor in a Play.

"There's all that," Daniels says, "and then there's the thing that happens, I don't know, three or four times a month—what a gift: I've had prominent people coming back with tears in their eyes and just overwhelmed. So changed, rocked, moved that 15 minutes after the curtain came down, they're in the restroom and they're still crying."

He's still walking, eyes straight ahead.

"The American theater has a voice."

AT 64, DANIELS came to gravitas the long way. His breakout role was playing the weak, unfaithful husband of a dying woman in *Terms of Endearment*. "I certainly wasn't on the leading man's square-jaw track," he says. "But the guys I modeled after, or loved, were Jack Lemmon and Dick Van Dyke, Alan Arkin in *The In-Laws*, Peter Sellers' *Pink Panthers*, *Strangelove*—guys that could do comedy and drama. And comedy's always been a second-class citizen, a lesser art form. There's little gravitas in a guy getting in trouble in *Something Wild*," he says, referring to his 1986 crime comedy.

But theater, like Daniels, is limber. He moved to New York City in 1976 to work at the Circle Repertory Theatre, and remained invested in the stage throughout his film career. "At no time did I stand in the first day of rehearsal of a play and have anyone say to me, 'Could you do what you did in that last play, just do it here?' Which is what Hollywood's all about. 'Do you have a brand yet? Do you have an image yet? Can you play to that? Don't deviate from that, it's not why we hired you.' So that was the choice behind *Dumb and Dumber*—the 1994 Farrelly brothers comedy that had him stuck by frozen urine to Jim Carrey on the back of a motorcycle. "How out-of-the-box can I go?"

Far enough, apparently. In just the past two years, Daniels has starred in the Hulu series *The Looming Tower* as a legendarily troubled real-life FBI agent, in the Netflix western *Godless* as a one-armed child killer and now he's Atticus Finch. In his hometown of Chelsea, Mich., where his father served as mayor and Daniels and his wife chose to raise their family, he founded the Purple Rose Theater Company, named for the 1985 Woody Allen movie that made him a leading man. He doesn't mind the time away (his *Mockingbird* contract runs through November). "I relax more here than back there," Daniels says.



"It's the most overcaffeinated city in the world. I come here to relax." He stands 6 ft. 3 in. and moves through the park either unrecognized or too quickly for anyone to snag him. "We're walking!" he tells the dogs, when one pauses to snuffle.

When he first left Michigan, Daniels threw a guitar in the trunk. He still plays, often in public, often with his son Ben, and usually his own songs. He wrote the gentle "Hard to Hear the Angels Sing" after reading a Kathleen Parker Washington Post column from November 2016, lamenting a public sphere where people talk past one another.

But Daniels also writes plays (for the Purple Rose) and says that's what lets him appreciate what Sorkin, best known for *The West Wing*, has done with arguably America's most treasured novel, which still sells a million copies a year, never mind the iconic 1962 film. The dry humor, specifically tailored for Daniels, is only part of it.

"You can't just sit up there in 24 chairs and read the book," he says. "Or take a Horton Foote screenplay and put it on the stage word for word. That feels like a money grab. What's the added value of

Remind us what is honest, remind us what decency looks like.

JEFF DANIELS, on what his Broadway production of *To Kill a Mockingbird* does at its best

doing *Mockingbird* on Broadway right now?"

The question might have been answered differently four years ago, when the U.S. had a black President and Lee's previously unpublished first novel, *Go Set a Watchman*, was about to be released. The book includes the same trial featured in *Mockingbird*, but its version of Atticus sees no contradiction between defending a wrongly accused black man and sitting on a committee dedicated to keeping the town's African-American population subservient to its whites.

Sorkin's *Mockingbird* focuses less on race than on some electoral divide, with white liberals and African Americans (chiefly Calpurnia, the maid) assembled on one side, resentful whites on the other. This Atticus gets into a physical tussle with a redneck, to cheers from the audience. Daniels sees the hunger every night.

"Yeah, yeah," he says. "Remind us what's right again? What is ethical? Remind us what is honest, remind us what decency looks like, remind us what compassion looks like."

He shrugs. "Apparently we need reminding." □

LightBox

A keystone state

President Trump believes his path to a second term goes through Pennsylvania. "We gotta win this state," he told a boisterous crowd at a May 20 rally in Montoursville, Pa., to which he traveled on Air Force One. Holding the state, which went to a Democrat in the six presidential elections before Trump flipped it in 2016, may be tough. An early poll showed him trailing former Vice President Joe Biden, who was born in Scranton, Pa., and has made his ties to the state a central part of his pitch. Trump leveled attacks at Biden for leaving the state as a child and added, "I'll be here a lot."

Photographs by Peter van Agtmael—Magnum Photos for TIME
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A supportive crowd of thousands met President Trump at a hangar at Williamsport Regional Airport in Montoursville, Pa., for a May 20 rally



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TheView

POLITICS

BLUNDERING TOWARD WAR

By David French



It's time for the American people to become fully alert to a dreadful possibility. The U.S., led by a Chief Executive so erratic even his closest advisers feel the need to ignore his orders, may stumble into its worst war in more than a generation—without the congressional authorization required by the Constitution. ▶

INSIDE

EUROPE'S PERPLEXED
POPULISTS

THE THREAT GENERIC DRUGS
COULD POSE TO PUBLIC HEALTH

AMERICA DISCOURAGES ITS
MOST SUCCESSFUL IMMIGRANTS

The View Opener

While the public is tracking the fact that tensions with Iran are rising, it does not know precisely why. On May 5, National Security Adviser John Bolton announced that the Administration had ordered a carrier strike group to the Persian Gulf region, allegedly in response to unspecified Iranian threats. On May 13, the *New York Times* reported that the White House was reviewing updated military plans that could send a total of 120,000 troops to the Middle East—which would near the total at the height of the Iraq War. Then on May 15, the State Department ordered all “non-emergency” personnel out of Iraq.

This is happening in the aftermath of the Administration’s 2018 decision to pull out of the Iran nuclear deal and, later, to designate Iran’s Revolutionary Guards Corps a terrorist organization.

On May 21, the Administration finally briefed Congress on the alleged nature of the Iranian threats, yet the briefing left lawmakers divided. While Republican Lindsey Graham called the intelligence a “game changer,” key Democrats were unimpressed. The public, meanwhile, remains largely in the dark.

IT'S IMPORTANT TO BE CLEAR about the gravity of the situation. War with Iran would represent a military challenge far more substantial than toppling the Taliban or Saddam Hussein. Iran's military is intact. It has substantial missile assets and considerable ability to attack American forces directly and through proxy forces throughout the Middle East and perhaps well beyond.

I served in Iraq during the surge, deployed close to the Iranian border. My squadron sadly experienced firsthand the lethality of Iran-allied militias. American forces struggled to suppress these forces throughout the Iraq conflict, and they represent but one component of the overall Iranian threat.

The President, meanwhile, is mercurial—even in his national-security pronouncements. While Trump disputed the *Times* report, on May 19, he both tweeted, “If Iran wants to fight, that will be the official end of Iran,” and said in a taped Fox News interview,

“I’m not somebody that wants to go into war.” This is characteristic. Trump has often moved from hawk to dove and from dove to hawk. Just look at his shifting stances on Syria and North Korea.

After the Mueller report and a May 15 story by the *Atlantic* both depicted a White House where aides slow-walk or disobey Trump’s orders, it is also worth wondering who is rattling the saber. Bolton’s hostility against Iran is long-standing. He has a command of history and the facts that the President lacks,

and tactical decisions made short of war can ratchet up tensions more than the President understands.

I am not arguing that Trump’s advisers would dare initiate outright hostilities without his approval. But a nation cannot properly prepare for serious conflict without assur-

ance that the Commander in Chief is in actual command.

In the aftermath of the intelligence failures in Iraq, Americans should have a healthy skepticism of military action justified by intelligence reports that leave Congress profoundly divided. And given Trump’s fundamental dishonesty and alarming ignorance, Americans should have zero assurance that their President or his Administration is accurately describing the nature of the Iranian threat.

While Americans deployed abroad have the inherent right of self-defense, the U.S. should not engage in offensive military action without congressional approval. The President cannot tolerate acts of terrorism against U.S. forces, but the American people cannot tolerate an unconstitutional war.

Now is not the time to trust an untrustworthy Administration. But now is exactly the time for Congress to reassert its constitutional authority. Merely receiving an intelligence briefing is not enough. The message to the Trump Administration should be bipartisan and emphatic. There can be no new war without informed congressional consent.

French is a *TIME* columnist, lawyer and senior fellow at the National Review Institute



Bolton said deploying aircraft carriers to the Middle East was a “clear and unmistakable message”

SHORT READS

► Highlights from stories on time.com/ideas

What won't save Roe

When it comes to continuing abortion access in America, “anyone grasping for optimism is mistaken,” write Kathryn Kolbert and Linda J. Wharton, who were co-counsels on the 1992 Supreme Court case *Planned Parenthood v. Casey*. They urge pro-choice voters “to do more than vent your alarm on social media.”

A tragedy's second act

Sri Lankan novelist Anuk Arudpragasam fears that the Easter Sunday killings, if overtaken by a global narrative rooted in Islamophobia, will help the nation’s majority population evade its own history of violence. He writes, “It is easier sometimes to follow a script, after all, even when it comes at the cost of peace.”

Making parenting fair

While reporting for her recent book, *All the Rage*, psychologist Darcy Lockman found that many couples fall into a trap that often results in working women continuing to do far more of the child care than their husbands: They tell themselves, “[We’ll] fix it later.”



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The View

THE RISK REPORT

The E.U.'s far right struggles to govern

By Ian Bremmer



IT'S A BIG MOMENT for Europe's most ambitious populists. They hope that elections for the European Parliament will give them the boost they need to extend their political momentum across the E.U. But in Austria they got off to a rough start because of an embarrassing video.

The details of that case are as

ludicrous as they are damning. Vice Chancellor and leader of the far-right Freedom Party Heinz-Christian Strache was caught offering lucrative government contracts to a woman he believed to be the niece of a powerful Russian oligarch in exchange for her willingness to buy an Austrian newspaper and shift its editorial position to favor his party just before an election. For many, this episode confirmed two things: much of Europe's far right is, or would like to be, on the Russian payroll, and its charismatic leaders lack basic good judgment.

The next development says something about the predicament facing center-right parties as they try to beat back attempts by the far right to steal their voters. Chancellor Sebastian Kurz, chairman of the center-right Austrian People's Party, spotting an opportunity to test its far-right coalition partner with voters, called for new elections. That's smart politics, but while the result may temporarily strengthen the center right at the far right's expense, it doesn't solve the larger problem that voters are anxious and angry at mainstream politicians who they believe don't have their best interests at heart.

Across Europe, mainstream conservatives continue to wrestle with this problem, but they would be wise to do so carefully. In Germany, Annegret Kramp-Karrenbauer, Chancellor Merkel's likely successor, has tried to prevent

the far-right opposition Alternative for Germany party from pulling away her party's voters in part by tacking to the right on the immigration policies that have undermined Merkel's popularity. But she has also tried to force Merkel into early retirement, a plan that has backfired and now threatens her position within her party.

In France and Italy, center-right parties have made poor attempts to imitate anti-E.U. and anti-migrant language and policies that alienate centrist voters and make them appear to be pale imitations of more aggressive conservative rivals, who benefit by the comparison. In Spain, the rise of the populist Vox party has pulled the more moderate People's Party and Ciudadanos party to the right, splitting the right-wing vote in ways that helped a center-left party finish first in the country's most recent national elections.

But still the glaring, and most consequential, example of a center-right party's miscalculating how best to manage a challenge from the right comes from the decision by then Prime Minister David Cameron to beat back criticism from the fledgling U.K. Independence Party by calling for a public referendum on Britain's continued membership in the E.U. The punishment his Conservative Party has taken following the Brexit vote and the inability to deliver on its result has only just begun. An angry Briton doused Brexit champion Nigel Farage with a banana and salted-caramel milkshake on May 20, but it's the Conservatives who are taking the biggest hit.

Europe's populists are so far better at campaigning than at governing, and some of its leaders are more prone to poor judgment than their mainstream competitors. But far-right politicians haven't simply invented anti-E.U., anti-migrant anger, and those who would deny them votes still struggle to answer this challenge. □

For many, the video confirmed that much of Europe's far right is, or would like to be, on the Russian payroll

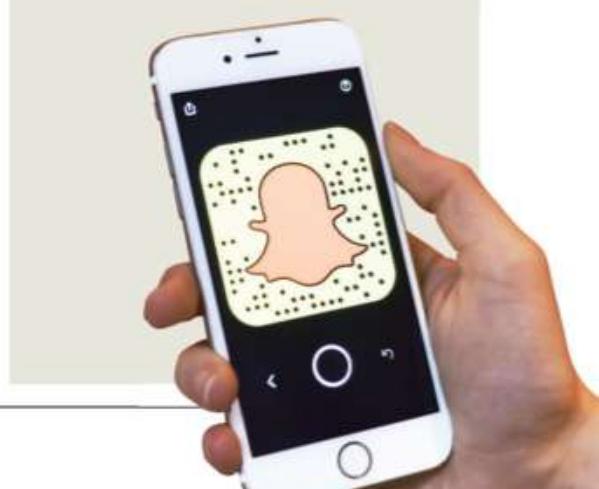
TECHNOLOGY

What a gender-swapping filter doesn't show

A new filter on Snapchat lets users alter images of themselves to look like a different gender, spawning countless jokes across social media. Snapchat says the feature is intended to help users express themselves. But for the trans and nonbinary community, it's more complicated.

"My first thought was, 'Oh my gosh, this is going to make so many people realize they're trans!'" Cat Graffam, an artist and trans woman, says. "You're able to see yourself in a way you didn't think was possible." But Graffam also found the feature that allowed her to see herself as a man "unsettling" because she's "spent the past five years trying to feminize my appearance."

Andre Cavalcante, a professor at the University of Virginia who studies the media and gender, writes in an email that he worries about how the filter oversimplifies gender. "Men have broad chins and facial hair. Women are posed in soft lighting (for no apparent reason) and have small, delicate features," he says. "In this way, gender is reduced to a mask or a costume, something that can change with (literally) a snap." —Tara Law



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*Susanne Tanski et al., “Youth Access to Tobacco Products in the United States: Findings from Wave 1 (2013-2014) of the Population Assessment of Tobacco and Health (PATH) Study,” 2018, <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pubmed/30407588>.

The worldwide threat of generic drugs

By Katherine Eban

FOR THE 16 YEARS THAT DR. BRIAN Westerberg, a Canadian surgeon, worked volunteer missions at the Mulago National Referral Hospital in Kampala, Uganda, scarcity was the norm. The patients usually exceeded the 1,500 allotted beds. Running water was once cut off when the hospital was unable to pay its bills. Patients often couldn't access the medication they needed, so on some early trips, Westerberg brought drugs over from Canada. But as low-cost generics made in India and China became widely available through Uganda's government and international aid agencies in the early 2000s, it seemed at first like the supply issue had been solved.

Then on Feb. 7, 2013, Westerberg examined a feverish 13-year-old boy who had fluid oozing from an ear infection. He suspected bacterial meningitis but couldn't confirm because the CT scanner was broken. The boy was given intravenous ceftriaxone, an antibiotic that Westerberg thought would cure him. But after four days, the ear was worse. As Westerberg prepared to operate, the boy had a seizure. With the CT scanner working again, Westerberg ordered a scan, which revealed abscesses in the boy's skull, likely caused by the infection.

When a neurosurgeon looked at the images and declared that surgery was unnecessary and the swelling and abscesses would abate with effective antibiotic treatment, Westerberg was confused. They had already treated the boy with ceftriaxone, which hadn't worked. His confusion deepened when his colleague suggested they switch to a more expensive version of the drug. *Why swap one ceftriaxone for another?*

Most people assume that a drug is a drug—that the brand-name or a generic version of it is the same anywhere in the world, so long as it's made by a reputable drug company that has been inspected and approved by regulators. That, at least, is the logic that has driven the global generic-drug revolution: that



drug companies in countries like India and China can produce low-cost, high-quality drugs for markets around the world. These companies have been hailed as public-health heroes for giving the impoverished access to the same cures as the wealthy.

But many of the generic-drug companies that Americans and Africans alike depend on, which I spent a decade investigating, hold a dark secret: they adjust their manufacturing standards depending on the country buying their drugs, a practice that could endanger not just those who take the lower-quality medicine but the population at large.

These companies send their highest-quality drugs to markets with the most vigilant regulators, like the U.S. and the E.U. They send their worst drugs—made with lower-quality ingredients and less scrupulous testing—to countries with the weakest review.

THE U.S. DRUG SUPPLY is not immune to quality crises. Over the past 10 months, dozens of versions of the generic blood-pressure drugs valsartan, losartan and irbesartan have been recalled. The active ingredients in some,

manufactured in China, contained a probable carcinogen once used in the production of liquid rocket fuel. But the patients who suffer most are those in so-called R.O.W. markets—the generic-drug industry's shorthand for "rest of world." In swaths of Africa, Southeast Asia and other areas with developing markets, some companies have made a cold calculation: they can sell their lowest-quality drugs where they will be least likely to get caught.

In much of Africa, for instance, pharmaceuticals used to come from more developed countries, through donations and small purchases. So when Indian drug reps offering cheap generics started arriving, the initial feeling was positive. But Africa soon became an avenue

"to send anything at all," said Kwabena Ofori-Kwakye, an associate professor in the pharmaceutics department at the Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology in Kumasi, Ghana. The poor quality has affected every type of medication, and the adverse impact on health has been "astronomical," he said.

Multiple doctors I spoke to throughout the continent said they have adjusted their treatment in response, sometimes tripling recommended doses. Dr. Gordon

Donnir, former head of the psychiatry department at the Komfo Anokye teaching hospital in Kumasi, treats middle-class Ghanaians in his private practice and says that almost all the drugs his patients take are substandard, leading him to increase his patients' doses significantly. While his European colleagues typically prescribe 2.5 mg of haloperidol (a generic form of Haldol) several times a day to treat psychosis, he'll prescribe 10 mg, also several times a day, because he knows 2.5 mg "won't do anything." Donnir once gave 10 times the typical dose of diazepam (a generic form of Valium) to a 15-year-old boy, an amount that should have knocked him out. The patient was "still smiling," Donnir said.

Many hospitals also keep a stash of what they call "fancy" drugs—brand-name drugs or higher-quality generics—to treat patients who should have recovered after a round of treatment but didn't. Confronted with the boy at the Mulago hospital, Westerberg's colleagues swapped in the more expensive version of ceftriaxone and added more drugs to the treatment plan. But it was too late. In the second week of his treatment, the boy was declared brain-dead.

Westerberg's Ugandan colleagues were not surprised. Their patients frequently died when treated with drugs that should have saved them. And there were not enough "fancy" drugs to go around, making every day an exercise in triage. It was also hard to keep track of which generics were not to be trusted, said one doctor in western Uganda: "It's anesthesia today, ceftriaxone tomorrow, amoxicillin the next day."

Westerberg flew back to Canada and teamed up with Jason Nickerson, a respiratory therapist who'd had similar experiences with bad medicine in Ghana. They decided to test the chemical properties of the generic ceftriaxone that had been implicated in the Ugandan boy's death. Another of Westerberg's colleagues brought him a vial from the Mulago hospital pharmacy. The drug had been made by a manufacturer in northern China, which also exported to the U.S. and other developed markets. When they tested it at Nickerson's lab, it contained less than half the active drug ingredient stated on the label. At such low concentration, the drug was basically

useless, Nickerson said. He and Westerberg published a case report in the CDC's Morbidity and Mortality Weekly Report. Although they couldn't say with certainty that the boy had died because of substandard ceftriaxone, their report offered compelling evidence that he had.

SOME COMPANIES CLAIM THAT while their drugs are all high-quality, there may be some variance in how they are produced because regulations differ from market to market. But Patrick H. Lukulay, former vice president of global health impact programs for USP (formerly U.S. Pharmacopeia), one of the world's top pharmaceutical standard-setting organizations, calls that argument "totally garbage." For any given drug, he says, "there's only one standard, and that standard was set by the originator," meaning the brand-name company that developed the product.

It's not just those in developing markets who should be alarmed. Often, substandard drugs do not contain enough active ingredient to effectively cure sick patients. But they do contain enough to kill off the weakest microbes while leaving the strongest intact. These surviving

microbes go on to reproduce, creating a new generation of pathogens capable of resisting even fully potent, properly made medicine. In 2011, during an outbreak of drug-resistant malaria on the Thailand-Cambodia border, USP's chief of party in Indonesia, Christopher Raymond, strongly suspected substandard drugs as a culprit. Treating patients with drugs that contain a little bit of active ingredient, as he put it, is like "putting out fire with gasoline."

USP is so concerned about this issue that in 2017 it launched the Quality Institute, which funds research into the link between drug quality and resistance. In 2018, Boston University biomedical engineering professor Muhammad Zaman studied a commonly used antibiotic called rifampicin that, if not manufactured properly, yields a chemical substance called rifampicin quinone when it degrades. When Zaman subjected bacteria to this substance, it developed mutations that helped it resist rifampicin and other similar drugs. Zaman concluded that substandard drugs are an "independent pillar" in the global menace of drug resistance.

The low cost of generic drugs makes them essential to global public health. But if those drugs are of low quality, they do more harm than good. For years, politicians, regulators and aid workers have focused on ensuring access to these drugs. Going forward, they must place equal value on quality, through an exacting program of unannounced inspections, routine testing of drugs already on the market and legal enforcement against companies manufacturing subpar medicine. One model is the airline industry, which through international laws and treaties has established global standards for aviation safety.

Without something similar for safe and effective drugs, the twin forces of subpar medicine and growing drug resistance will be so destructive that no country will be able to ignore them. As Elizabeth Pisani, an epidemiologist who has studied drug quality in Indonesia, put it, "The fact is, pathogens know no borders."

*Eban is the author of *Bottle of Lies: The Inside Story of the Generic Drug Boom*, from which this essay is adapted*

By the numbers

90%

of prescriptions filled in the U.S. are generic drugs

80%

of active ingredients in brand-name and generic drugs come from outside the U.S.

1,021

generic drugs received FDA approval in 2018

TheView Immigration

We do not come to America empty-handed

By Suketu Mehta

AMERICA HAS SUCCEEDED, AND ACHIEVED ITS PRESENT position of global dominance, because it has always been good at importing the talent it needs.

Immigrants are 14% of the U.S. population, but they started a quarter of all new businesses and earned over a third of all the Nobel Prizes in science given to those affiliated with U.S. universities. One of four U.S. tech companies established from 1995 to 2005 had an immigrant founder, CEO, president or chief technology officer, and by one analysis about 71% of Silicon Valley tech workers are immigrants. The numbers are even more impressive at the top: of the 25 biggest public tech companies in 2013, 60% were founded by immigrants or their children, such as Apple's Steve Jobs, son of a Syrian immigrant, and Google's Sergey Brin, who came from Russia at the age of 6.

In 2008, Bill Gates stated before Congress that for every tech worker the country lets in, five American jobs are created. Over half of all billion-dollar tech startups have an immigrant

founder. Today they employ half a million Americans. Immigrants or their children founded 43% of the 2017 *Fortune* 500 companies, which employed more than 12 million people worldwide in 2016.

To shut off this incredible well-spring of talent would be to cut off America's brain to spite its muscles. Because that talent has an increasing number of countries vying to get it to

come to their shores.

As the populations of developed countries get older, they need the vigor of immigrants all the more, because they are young. Immigrants in the U.S. are some 14% of the population but constitute 16.9% of the workforce, and these workers are younger than native-born workers. Half of Americans are over 40, and the U.S. will become a nation of geezers as the baby boomers retire. And most immigrants don't come here with their parents, so their Social Security taxes go toward paying for others' parents. Immigrants also have more children than the native-born, so their children will continue subsidizing both the graying native-born and their increasingly less fecund children.

Americans are retiring in larger numbers, and they're living longer. In 1960, there were about five workers paying Social Security taxes for every retiree or disabled person receiving benefits; by 2013, there were fewer than three. And Americans aren't making enough babies. In 2018, the U.S. fertility rate fell for the fourth straight year, to 1.7 babies per woman; the replacement rate is 2.1.

Starting next year, the Social Security Administration will spend more money than it collects. By 2035, its \$2.9 trillion reserves will be completely gone, and the Administration will only have enough money coming in to pay you

For immigrants, the family isn't a chain. It's a safety net



▲
Newly sworn-in
U.S. citizens
on Jan. 22 in
Lowell, Mass.

80% of the benefits you're entitled to.

One way this financial Armageddon can be averted, according to a report by the trustees of the Social Security Administration, is to increase immigration, illegal as well as legal. Because immigrant workers are younger, they will work longer and pay more into the system. According to a 2013 projection, immigrants, both legal and illegal, will contribute half a trillion dollars into the Social Security trust fund over the following 25 years. Over the following 75 years, they will contribute at an even faster rate, for an estimated total of \$4 trillion.

MUCH OF THIS MONEY will disproportionately benefit the native-born. Most undocumented immigrants pay into the system but are ineligible for most benefits. According to the Social Security Administration, undocumented immigrants paid \$13 billion in payroll taxes in 2010 and received only \$1 billion in benefits.

Immigration reduces the Social Security deficit by hundreds of billions of dollars; the greater the number of



immigrants we let in to work and pay into the system, the more likely retirees are to not have to open cans of dog food for their dinner. America's problem, in the years ahead, isn't going to be that too many people are coming here. It's going to be that too few might want to.

Just as America mines bauxite or copper from foreign countries, it has, until Donald Trump, been good at finding the human resources it needs abroad. Take India, for instance, where I grew up until I moved to the U.S. at age 14. Unlike the British, the U.S. isn't directly implicated in the plight of India, where levels of malnutrition among its children are some of the highest in the world. But it benefits, as the British did, from having Indian immigration. We are the third largest immigrant group (after Mexicans and Chinese)—there are over 4 million of us in the U.S. Starting in 2013, more Indians than Mexicans have entered the U.S. We are recent arrivals; only 31% of us were born here. But we made up for lost time. In 2016, India sent more immigrants to the U.S. than did any other

country on the planet.

Indian Americans are the most successful ethnicity in the U.S.: we have the highest median incomes and the highest educational attainment. Seventy-seven percent of us over the age of 25 have a college degree (which is 2½ times the American rate); more than half of college-educated Indians in America have a postgraduate degree. We are 8% of America's doctors. Up to a fifth of all startups in Silicon Valley were founded by Indians.

As a minority, we are the model. But it's not because Indians are some sort of master race; if that were the case, what explains India? America skims off the "creamy layer," as we used to call the elite of the lower castes in India, from other nations. Most of the immigrants who come here are substantially better educated and richer than the countrymen they left behind. We do not come empty-handed, mine host!

TRUMP AND JARED KUSHNER have proposed a new immigration plan that would change the family-based system to a "merit"-based system in which skills, knowledge of English and an ability to assimilate will take precedence over family connections. In 2017, two-thirds of the 1.1 million green cards that America gave out went to relatives of U.S. residents; only 12% were attained through employment.

If America's immigration system were to be based on "points"—if it lifted its lamp only to the highly skilled—then my own family and those of many other Indians would never have been allowed in. I am in the U.S. as a result of "family reunification," or what Trump calls "chain migration." We haven't taken a dime in welfare. When we needed money, we borrowed from family. For immigrants, the family isn't a chain. It's a safety net.

My mother came here in 1977 because her sister in Detroit, a U.S. citizen, sponsored her and her husband and their three small children. My mother wouldn't have gotten a visa based on her skills. Because, as I discovered recently, my mother never finished her college degree.

In March 1963, in Mumbai, my mother was in the back of a taxi with

two of her friends from the elite Sophia College, going to her uncle's house for dinner. In a month, she was to get her bachelor of arts, in philosophy and French, after her final exams. She was confident of the results; she was a good writer, and her essays would be shown around as a model for other students. She had married my father the previous year and was now five months pregnant with me.

The taxi pulled into a petrol pump to get refueled, and her friends insisted that she move to the middle because she was pregnant. The taxi drove out of the pump, and a drunk driver came speeding down, broadsiding the taxi. Her friend sitting near the window had multiple fractures. The friend sitting on the other side was also hurt, and the taxi was totaled. But my mother seemed to be largely unhurt, except for some bleeding around the hip.

The doctor told her this. He also said, "If it was my own sister, I would tell her not to sit for the exams," which involved sitting for six hours at a stretch, and now there was this accident. "You can take the exams if you want, but it could be risky for the baby." So my mother rested in bed for some time, then went to Kolkata to join my father, and had me. But of course studying was impossible for a new mother. She never got her B.A. She had never mentioned this incident to me until now.

So I said it, in my parents' car, as we were coming up to the George Washington Bridge, 36 years after the accident: "You gave up your college degree for me."

"Yes," she replied. "But it was worth it, because I got ... you."

My mother is, like most immigrants, an ordinary hero. Like most immigrants with kids, she wants what parents want: a better life for her children, for whom a college degree is the least of the things she is prepared to give up. The most American of values is family. When we allow family to be reunified, we will find merit in the most unexpected places.

Adapted from Mehta's forthcoming book, This Land Is Our Land: An Immigrant's Manifesto, published by Farrar, Straus and Giroux

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Inside the
controversial
company helping
China control
the future
of the Internet

THE BATTLE FOR

By Charlie Campbell/
Shenzhen, China



5G



Technology

Dennis Honrud's family has been farming wheat in eastern Montana for three generations. Unashamedly old school, Honrud sows only half his 6,000 acres, leaving the rest fallow to avoid soil depletion. "There's not many of us left," he laments. Like many workers in the global economy, the 68-year-old needs to stay connected, in his case to monitor crop prices and weather updates from his green John Deere tractor. So he asked a telecom provider to put a cell tower in his backyard.

The Honrud property in Glasgow, Mont., is so remote that it wasn't well covered by any of the big four American carriers—Verizon, AT&T, T-Mobile and Sprint. So Honrud turned to the local provider, Nemont Wireless, to install the tower. Today, cell service is pretty good. When the occasional car accident happens on the stretch of highway next to the Honrud farm, highway patrol officers no longer need to drive a mile to get a signal. Now they can place a call from the scene. If that hasn't saved a life yet, "at some point in time it will," Honrud says.



But there's a problem. Like around a quarter of the smaller "tier 3" carriers catering to rural areas like Glasgow, Nemont uses equipment provided by Huawei, the world's biggest telecommunications-equipment company. The Chinese firm generated a mind-boggling \$107 billion in revenue last year, selling equipment to customers in 170 countries and regions around the world. It also may be the most controversial company in the world.

Huawei has long been accused of rampant theft of intellectual property (IP), selling U.S. tech to



enemy states like Iran and North Korea and being a Trojan horse for the Chinese Communist Party (CCP). Its place as the world's No. 2 smartphone maker—behind Samsung and ahead of Apple—was achieved despite Huawei handsets being shunned by the big four U.S. carriers out of security concerns. FBI Director Christopher Wray has accused Huawei of “pervasive criminal behavior” designed to “undermine our country’s place in the world.”

On May 15, the Trump Administration placed Huawei on the Commerce Department’s Entity List,

The tower built by Nemont in Honrud's yard in rural Montana.

The remote property relies on Huawei technology for all its cell service

meaning American companies require a special license to do business with it. Google began blocking Huawei from parts of its Android operating system in order to comply. U.S. chipmakers, which together sold some \$10 billion worth of components to Huawei last year alone, were obliged to follow suit.

The Entity List is not only devastating for Huawei but also for any nation that uses its telecom equipment, given the firm’s reliance on American components. The move was always considered the “nuclear option,” says Samm Sacks, a cybersecurity fellow at



the New America think tank who regularly briefs Congress on China policy. "This is not just crippling on Huawei as a firm, but crippling on the entire concept of global tech supply chains," says Sacks.

Huawei got a temporary reprieve on May 20, when the Commerce Department announced a 90-day exemption. But the firm long ago began working on cutting out its reliance on U.S. materials, producing its own semiconductor chips and working on an alternative operating system to Android. Hu Xijin, editor in chief of China's state-run *Global Times*, tweeted May 21 that the blacklisting was "a real turning point" for "U.S. semiconductor companies gradually losing [the] Chinese market."

This tech cold war matters because it could slow down or dramatically alter the rollout of a technology that is likely to define the future of the Internet for the next decade—the 5G networks in which Huawei has all but cornered the market. The race to roll out 5G is the most consequential fight for global technological supremacy since the U.S. battled the Soviet Union to put a man on the moon. The winner will take home billions, if not trillions, in profits and gain a powerful seat at the table in creating the infrastructure for the next billion Internet users. And right now, it looks like the U.S. is losing.

THE FIFTH GENERATION of network technology arrived in the U.S. on April 3 in Chicago and Minneapolis. It would have been a banner day for American

▲
Huawei technology
on a Nemont cell
tower outside
Scobey, Mont.
▼

Huawei founder
and CEO
Ren Zhengfei



IT infrastructure, were it not for the fact that citizens of Hangzhou, Shanghai and Wuhan had all been enjoying experimental 5G networks for months. In Fangshan, autonomous vehicles are already using 5G to transmit data to one another to avoid collisions.

China's edge in 5G is disorienting for the U.S., which is used to dominating new technology and the economic growth that accompanies it. If the U.S. lags in 5G, does it lose the opportunity to birth the next Amazon, the next Netflix, the next Uber? Up until now, the status quo has been that American tech companies innovate while Chinese companies duplicate, but that has much to do with infrastructural advantages in the U.S., along with world-class universities and easy access to capital. What does it mean if the U.S. doesn't have that advantage? What if the next Apple or Microsoft—trillion-dollar giants that alter the global landscape with every decision they make—comes out of China?

5G means a lot more than just another bar on your cell phone. The hop from 3G to 4G meant we went from being able to read an article on our phones to being able to stream a movie. But the leap from 4G to 5G will mean an exponential rise in download and upload speeds across every Internet-connected device you own, the ability to connect those devices to a single network easily and the ability to off-load computing to the cloud. It's not only the most significant shift in computing since the smartphone, it will also enable huge advances in

industries like automated vehicles (*see box, right*).

The advent of 5G means practically everything with a chip will be tethered to a wireless network, which brings with it enormous geostrategic implications if a Chinese company is responsible for building those networks. The 5G infrastructure will intertwine factories, power plants, airports, hospitals and government agencies. If it comes under a broad, sustained attack, it “would mean a total collapse of society,” warns professor Lim Jong-in of the School of Information Security at Korea University.

That might explain why the U.S. is taking such a hard line on Huawei, which has spent \$2 billion over 10 years to ensure it is in the best position to be the architect of global 5G technology. The company has already signed contracts to provide 5G equipment with 40 international carriers and shipped over 70,000 5G base stations, or short-range transceivers. But Washington is doing everything it can to slow this technological advance—not just cracking down domestically but also putting intense pressure on allies around the world to ban Huawei from their 5G networks on national-security grounds. “If a country adopts [Huawei equipment] and puts it in some of their critical information systems, we won’t be able to share information with them, we won’t be able to work alongside them,” U.S. Secretary of State Mike Pompeo said in late February. Australia, New Zealand and Japan have acquiesced to bans; others, including the U.K. and Germany, are hedging their bets. Huawei has hit back by suing the U.S. government for banning its 5G equipment, claiming the ban was “unlawful.”

Yet there is good reason to be wary. Article VII of China’s 2017 National Intelligence Law stipulates “any organization or citizen shall support, assist and cooperate with state intelligence work.” Even were Huawei not complicit, there is little doubt that the Chinese government could impose its will. Every Chinese company is legally obliged to host internal CCP cells—where employees who are party officials meet to discuss ideology—whose allegiance and purpose is murky at best. “If the CCP tells Huawei to do something, then there’s not going to be a lot of leeway to say no,” says Adam Segal, director of the Digital and Cyberspace Policy Program at the Council on Foreign Relations.

Huawei is now trying to convince the world it is a legitimate company not beholden to the party, and leading the charge is Ren Zhengfei, the former military engineer who founded Huawei with just a

‘If the CCP tells Huawei to do something, there’s not a lot of leeway to say no.’

—ADAM SEGAL, COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

EXPLAINER

Everything you need to know about 5G

By Alex Fitzpatrick

WHAT IS 5G?

It’s a new cellular-network technology. It can transmit data much more quickly than 4G, which many of us use to connect to the Internet today. But it also requires towns and cities to set up a much higher number of small cells, or short-range transmitters, to provide the same geographic coverage as 4G.

WHERE CAN I USE 5G TODAY?

The four major wireless carriers are introducing 5G coverage in dozens of cities in 2019 and 2020, including Atlanta, Denver and Washington. 5G coverage within cities may be limited at first, however, with only certain neighborhoods getting access.

WHO ELSE WILL BENEFIT FROM 5G?

5G promises to bring faster speeds and lower latency—the time it takes data to move back and forth—meaning the apps and services you use, like video chat and mobile gaming, will be much quicker. It could also enable disruptive new wireless innovations, potentially powering the next big tech unicorn like Uber or Snapchat.

HOW MUCH FASTER IS 5G?

Networks will be about 20 times faster than 4G networks on average, meaning you could download *Avengers: Endgame* in the time it takes Thanos to snap his fingers. Latency could be as low as 1 ms, compared with 50 ms for 4G.

ARE THERE ANY DOWNSIDES TO 5G?

Privacy advocates worry that 5G could make it easier for law enforcement and others to track a person’s whereabouts with pinpoint precision as their phone connects to multiple cells. They also have concerns about its potential to greatly improve facial-recognition software. However, conspiracy theories circulating online claiming that 5G signals have been linked to cancer have no basis in science.

WILL I NEED A NEW PHONE TO USE 5G?

Yes. Smartphone makers like Samsung and Motorola are already rolling out 5G-compatible phones, and Apple is expected to follow suit soon. You can still use your current smartphone on 4G networks until you are ready to upgrade.



\$5,600 investment in 1987. He transformed what began as a small outfit reselling Hong Kong-made telephone switches into today's 188,000-employee colossus. Huawei's AI-powered factory floor churns out a smartphone every 28.5 seconds. Its conference center is redolent of the Palace of Versailles. The ostentation is at odds with Ren's humble beginnings. He grew up hungry as one of seven children in a dirt-poor family in China's impoverished central province of Guizhou, and still speaks with a thick bumpkin accent. He's twice married and admits to neglecting his three children for long hours at the office. He established a foothold in China's nascent telecom market by supplying rural communities overlooked by the large foreign firms, and is famous for a customer-centric business philosophy inspired by military tactics. Former employees bemoan a cultish atmosphere where they are described as "wolves" expected to "sacrifice" to compensate for glaring inefficiencies. "It's the self-immolation of employees that keeps the company running," one former executive tells TIME. But Huawei engineers

Workers eating lunch at the Huawei campus in Shenzhen, China

also have a reputation for finding a way to make crazy projects a reality, like a 4G base station more than 17,000 ft. up Mount Everest to allow mountaineers and rescue workers cell coverage. The company plans to upgrade this to 5G soon.

For a long time Ren avoided speaking to U.S. media, but he has begun speaking up as the government action intensified. "The U.S. is taking us too seriously," he says in his Shenzhen office. "So we hope that through dialogues like these we can reveal the truth and better understand each other." He boasts that 14% of revenue and 45% of staff, numbering 80,000, is dedicated to R&D across 14 international hubs. Huawei filed for 5,405 patents last year—the largest number, by some distance, by a single firm in the world. Forty percent of the world's population uses telecoms that pass through Huawei equipment, according to the firm.

The U.S. government claims Huawei has made its commercial gains through unfair means—by, for example, stealing intellectual property from American businesses. Huawei offered bonuses to employees who stole other firms' technology, according to a U.S. indictment filed Jan. 16 (the firm denies this). Huawei has settled IP-theft cases brought by Cisco, Motorola and T-Mobile. In 2018, U.S. company Akhan Semiconductor sent a sample "diamond glass" smartphone screen to Huawei for testing. It was returned late, broken and with missing pieces,

'If Huawei has something [the U.S.] can't look into, then we've got some pretty dumb engineers here.'

—DENNIS HONRUD, WHEAT FARMER IN GLASGOW, MONT.

the firm says. A subsequent FBI investigation concluded it had been attacked with a high-powered laser in an apparent attempt to reverse-engineer it.

For Akhan CEO Adam Khan, who has invested \$6 million since 2007 to hone the technology, the alleged theft was “extremely disappointing” and has national-security implications owing to his technology’s military applications. “I would encourage the U.S. government to keep Huawei at arm’s length,” he says, adding that “many, many” inventors have shared similar allegations. Criminal and civil cases against Huawei related to the alleged theft are ongoing. Ren denies his firm steals technology, insisting he “highly respects intellectual-property rights.”

As well as stealing, there are also allegations of espionage attempts. In January, police in Poland arrested Huawei employee Wang Weijing and a Polish national on suspicion of spying. Huawei fired Wang, and Ren tells TIME that “all employees must not violate local laws and regulations.” Asked whether he is loyal to the CCP, of which he is a member, Ren replies, “I am loyal to my customers.”

Huawei has long been accused of leaving secret vulnerabilities or “back doors” in its software and hardware that would permit illicit access to private data. In 2018, the French newspaper *Le Monde* reported that the African Union headquarters in Addis Ababa, whose Huawei-built IT system was a gift from the Chinese government, was hacked, thanks to deliberate vulnerabilities. Huawei and China have denied responsibility for the breach.

Ren says he would rather disband his company and go to prison than install back doors in Huawei technology. To betray his customers, he says, risks having to repay billions of dollars in bank loans on his own. “Comparatively, I think going to jail is better.”

The U.S. has so far been unable to prove there are deliberate back doors in Huawei-built tech. But a report in March from an oversight board of the U.K.’s National Cyber Security Centre alleged flaws in Huawei’s software products “that cause significant cybersecurity and availability risks.” Although the U.K. report found no evidence the vulnerabilities were the result of Chinese state interference, U.S. intelligence officials believe there is no doubt that Chinese intelligence has both knowledge of the flaws and sufficient access to exploit them. The greatest danger, Principal Deputy Director of National Intelligence Sue Gordon tells TIME, lies not just in the hardware Huawei and other Chinese firms sell, but also in the software they run, for example the code used in routine security updates.

It’s little wonder, then, that the U.S. is using its powers of persuasion to drive a wedge between Huawei and the rest of the world—not altogether successfully. The E.U.’s executive body rejected U.S. calls for a ban in March. On April 24, after months of indecision, the British government decided to



permit Huawei to be used for peripheral 5G equipment while banning it from core infrastructure. Pompeo slammed the decision, which divided Prime Minister Theresa May’s Cabinet. “Why would anyone grant such power to a regime that has already grossly violated cyberspace?” he said on May 8.

In Germany, U.S. Ambassador Richard Grenell told the country’s Economy Minister in a letter dated March 7 that the U.S. would limit intelligence sharing unless Germany banned Chinese firms from its 5G networks. That threat appears to have stiffened German resolve not to legislate against Huawei; two weeks later, Chancellor Angela Merkel said she did not believe in singling out a company “simply because it is from a certain country.” Still, German officials say they are not naive about the risks of handing this market to China. Merkel’s Foreign and Interior Ministers urged her to lock Chinese firms out of the 5G rollout last fall.

The cost of saying no to Washington could be more than allies think, experts say. Countries who use Huawei may find they are no longer able to integrate American weapons systems and platforms, making it harder to carry out joint training and security cooperation with the U.S. “The impact to military and intelligence cooperation could further corrode already strained U.S.-allied relationships,” says Timothy Heath, a former analyst at U.S. Pacific Command now at Rand Corp.

But cutting out China could present a threat too. After New Zealand barred Huawei from 5G, Beijing unleashed economic warfare in apparent retaliation, discouraging tourism, delaying seafood imports and even turning back an Air New Zealand jetliner bound for Shanghai after onboard paperwork referenced self-governing Taiwan as an independent country.

And when Canada agreed in December to arrest Ren’s daughter, Huawei CFO Meng Wanzhou, on behalf of U.S. prosecutors seeking her extradition for alleged sanctions contraventions, China leapt into action. The government detained 13 Canadian citizens, charged two with espionage and put another two on death row for drug offenses.

Ren says the charges against his daughter are baseless and politically motivated, and her portrait occupies pride of place in his cluttered office. He denies the government’s actions prove Huawei and the state are in cahoots. “It is right for the Chinese government to protect its citizens,” says Ren. “Especially an executive of a large company arrested for no reason.”

THE U.S. FEUD with Huawei risks bifurcating 5G’s rollout into two distinct blocs—nations that embrace Chinese 5G and those that reject it wholesale—hampering global connectivity and hurting the bottom lines of companies forced to choose. Technology consultant Stephanie Hare

Technology

says the lack of trust between the world's No. 1 and No. 2 economies means every other country is being forced to choose sides, based on its own interests. "There can be no sitting on the fence here."

That choice might be easier if one side did not have such a clear commercial advantage. Huawei is around 18 months ahead of rivals in rollout capacity. Its 5G base stations and wireless networking equipment are smaller and more economical to run than 4G, as well as typically 30% cheaper than rivals'. Many countries' 4G infrastructure is already provided by Huawei, which would allow the firm to upgrade them to 5G more quickly and at lower cost than by using a competitor. And the competition is not exactly robust. No specialist companies in the U.S. are able to roll out 5G, meaning American consumers and businesses will have to rely on Huawei's foreign competitors, chiefly Sweden's Ericsson or Finland's Nokia, if the ban persists.

Major corporations would much prefer that than risk working with Huawei. Several executives of multinationals courted by the Chinese company told TIME they balk at the thought of doing business with it, both because of slipshod programming and security risks. TIME saw internal emails of one firm contracted to work with Huawei that urged staff not to install its software because of spyware concerns.

Yet the costs domestically could still be high. Like Glasgow, Mont., nearly every part of the U.S. has Huawei equipment already embedded in wireless infrastructure. The rip-and-replace costs of banning Huawei wholesale—\$50 million for Nemont alone, says CEO Mike Kilgore—would jeopardize the survival of these smaller carriers. That means scores of rural Americans—including small-town fire and police departments and emergency responders—might lose their cell and broadband service. The same goes for other countries.

The question now is whether the Trump Administration will find a compromise. Chinese firm ZTE almost collapsed last year after similar action to that taken against Huawei. Eventually, President Trump negotiated a \$1 billion fine in lieu that allowed ZTE to keep trading.

A President who can strike deals is what Honrud wanted when he—like 65% of people in Glasgow—voted for Trump. He didn't expect to have his livelihood used as leverage, but says the technology is "something they can negotiate with." The Commerce Department reprieve allows existing Huawei equipment like that on Honrud's farm to keep running, for now. He's not especially worried about the risk. "If Huawei has something we can't look into," he says, "then we've got some pretty dumb engineers here."—With reporting by SIMON SHUSTER/BERLIN; BILLY PERRIGO/LONDON; JOHN WALCOTT/WASHINGTON; VIVIENNE WALT/PARIS; and JAKE SWEARINGEN/NEW YORK □

ENVIRONMENT

The coming mountain of e-waste

By Alana Semuels/Fresno, Calif.

AS A TECH-HUNGRY NATION flush with cash gets ready to upgrade to the next generation of lightning-fast 5G devices, there is a surprising environmental cost to be reckoned with: a fresh mountain of obsolete gadgets. About 6 million lb. of discarded electronics are already processed monthly at recycling giant ERI's Fresno plant. Pallets of once beloved but now outdated devices, like smartphones with only an 8-megapixel camera or tablets with a mere 12 GB of storage, arrive here daily. Workers with hammers hack at the bulkiest devices, while others remove dangerous components like lithium-ion batteries. The scene is like a twisted Pixar movie, with doomed gadgets riding an unrelenting conveyor belt into a machine that shreds them into piles of copper, aluminum and steel.

"In our society, we always have to have the new, best product," said Aaron Blum, the co-founder and chief operating officer of ERI, on a tour of the facility. Americans spent \$71 billion on telephone and communication equipment in 2017, nearly five times what they spent in 2010 even when adjusted for inflation, according to the Bureau of Economic Analysis. (Apple alone sold 60 million iPhones domestically last year, according to Counterpoint Research.) When we buy something new, we get rid of what's old. That cycle of consumption has made electronics waste the world's fastest-growing solid-waste stream.

That stream is expected to

turn into a torrent as the world upgrades to 5G, the next big step in wireless technology. 5G promises faster speeds and other benefits. But experts say it will also result in a dramatic increase in e-waste, as millions of smartphones, modems and other gadgets incompatible with 5G networks are made obsolete. "I don't think people understand the magnitude of the transition," says ERI co-founder and executive chairman John Shegerian. "This is bigger than the change of black-and-white to color, bigger than analog to digital, by many multitudes."

That's good business for ERI, which charges clients to collect their electronics and to securely wipe their data; the company also makes money from refurbishing and reselling devices. But less than a quarter of all U.S. electronic waste is recycled, according to a United Nations estimate. The rest is incinerated or ends up in landfills. That's bad news, as e-waste can contain harmful materials like mercury and beryllium that pose environmental risks.

Part of the problem is regulatory. Only 19 states have laws banning electronics from the regular trash. In states without such rules, like Nevada, electronics often end up in garbage and recycling bins, said Jeremy Walters, a community-relations manager for waste collector Republic Services. Environmental concerns aside, compacting flammable lithium-ion batteries with paper recycling can be dangerous;



recycling centers have reported an uptick in fires.

Even when e-waste rules exist, it's left up to consumers to handle their old devices properly. But recycling them can be a pain. Rather than just drop a used phone in a bin outside their homes, lots of people have to take their electronics to a store, which may pay them for it but could also charge them to get rid of it. Many consumers, paralyzed by the hassle or put off by the expense, simply throw their devices into the trash or stash them in a drawer, hoping they'll just disappear. "We don't necessarily have the measures to make sure people aren't throwing it away," Walters said.

The e-waste stream is expected to turn into a torrent as the world upgrades to 5G

Workers sort through discarded electronics at ERI's Fresno facility

One solution is to make electronics last as long as they once did. At ERI's facility, Shegerian showed TIME dozens of televisions from the 1970s and 1980s that stopped working only recently. Yet instead, technology companies are speeding the pace of obsolescence. Most smartphone batteries can't be easily replaced when they stop holding a charge, new laptops don't accept old cables, and software companies push upgrades that won't run on old devices. "Our products today don't last as long as they used to, and it's

a strategy by manufacturers to force us into shorter and shorter upgrade cycles," said Kyle Wiens, the founder of iFixit, which publishes do-it-yourself repair guides. Apple's AirPods, for example, may have trouble holding a charge after two years. Apple declined to comment.

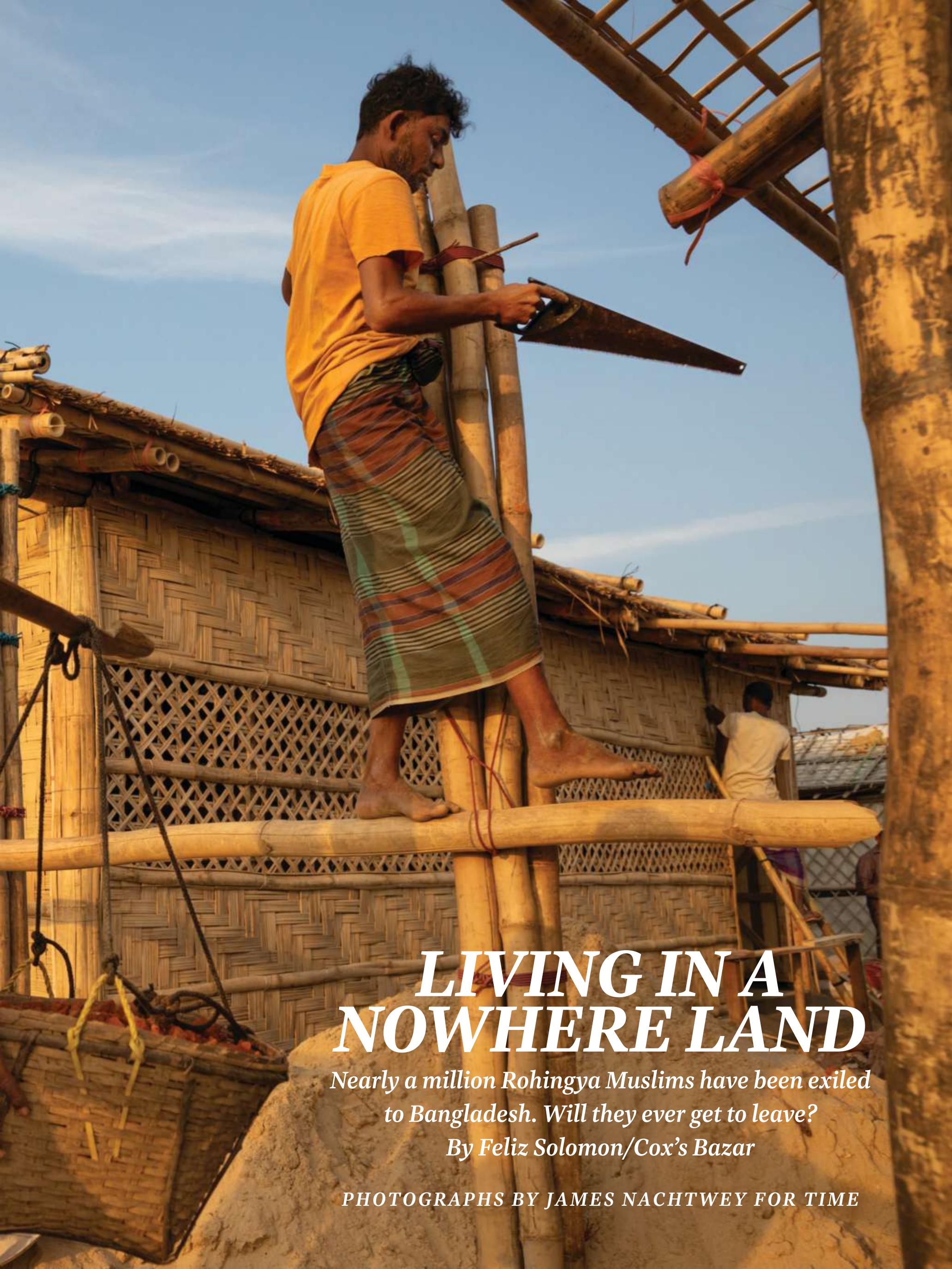
Some environmental groups say multibillion-dollar companies like Apple and Samsung should pick up the cost of recycling the devices they sell. Lawmakers in parts of Europe and Canada and in some U.S. states have passed so-called Extended Producer Responsibility (EPR) laws, which require manufacturers to establish and fund systems to recycle or collect obsolete products. "Worldwide EPR legislation levels the playing field, because this cannot be done on a voluntary basis," said Scott Cassel, the founder of the Product

Stewardship Institute, which advocates for EPR laws. "But the United States is resisting any changes to existing laws."

Even so, some companies are increasing their recycling efforts on their own, whether for the economic benefit or the public relations boost (mining fresh materials has financial, environmental and human costs of its own). For instance, Apple in 2018 introduced Daisy, a smartphone-recycling robot that can take apart 200 iPhones every hour, and says it diverted 48,000 metric tons of electronic waste from landfills that year. But that's a drop in the bucket compared with the 50 million tons of e-waste generated globally last year—a number that stands to skyrocket as consumers replace their old devices with the newest 5G-ready gadgets money can buy. □

Construction
on a school in
Kutupalong
camp in Cox's
Bazar, the
largest refugee
settlement on
the globe





LIVING IN A NOWHERE LAND

*Nearly a million Rohingya Muslims have been exiled
to Bangladesh. Will they ever get to leave?*

By Feliz Solomon/Cox's Bazar

PHOTOGRAPHS BY JAMES NACHTWEY FOR TIME



A midwife, Nur Nahar, holds Yasmin, a girl delivered moments earlier to Janoka Bibi, 20, in Kutupalong camp in April. The girl's father abandoned the family





Most of the camps are built on steep hills, making walking difficult even in the dry season



FROM THE MOMENT SHE TOOK HER FIRST BREATH

of warm April air, Maisa Kauser was one of the nowhere people. She was born on the floor of an unfurnished hut with no electricity and no running water. Only an untrained midwife helped her mother Umaira deliver the baby. The 20-year-old said holding Maisa felt like “holding a whole new world in my arms.” But no one was there to register the birth or officially record that she exists.

Maisa entered the world in a refugee camp in southeastern Bangladesh where nearly a million are stuck, after fleeing violence and persecution in neighboring Myanmar. Spread across what used to be forested hills in the coastal district of Cox’s Bazar lie dozens of makeshift ghettos that together make up the world’s largest refugee camp. The Rohingya, a majority-Muslim ethnic group from majority-Buddhist Myanmar’s westernmost state of Rakhine, fled here in large numbers in late 2017, when the Myanmar army began a systematic campaign of arson, rape and murder that the U.N. has called genocidal.

Neither country wants them, but one will have to keep them. The official narrative of the international community holds that the Rohingya must be allowed to go home to Myanmar voluntarily, in safety and with dignity. Yet in reality that is not going to happen for a very long time—if ever. U.N. officials say it will likely take years before even a small trickle of Rohingya refugees can return to Myanmar, and then only to convince the hundreds of thousands of others that it is possible.

Now, as the world looks on, a miserable slum of a million people has taken shape in Cox’s Bazar, with a near total absence of governance yet at a cost of nearly a billion dollars every year. “It is a dilemma because the overt policy is return, while the objective reality is that return will be extremely difficult,” says Steven Corliss, who represents the U.N. refugee agency, UNHCR, in the Bangladeshi capital of Dhaka. “The situation is untenable: environmentally, socially and economically.”

Dhaka has to decide whether it will create a city for





At a kiln outside
Kutupalong camp,
Rohingya refugees are
employed for work
that Bangladeshis
won't do

the stateless or what amounts to a jail. The latter looks more likely. The government of Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina is determined that the refugees will be short-term visitors, and has enacted hard-line policies to prevent integration. It denies the Rohingya formal education, bars them from working, proposes surrounding parts of the camp with barbed wire, and wants to send 100,000 of them to an isolated and flood-prone island.

Publicly, the U.N. has sided with Dhaka, recognizing that one of the world's most densely populated countries, threatened by coastal erosion that is forecast to displace 18 million people by 2050, cannot easily accommodate a million largely unskilled rural villagers.

But privately, interviews with more than 20 U.N. officials, diplomats and humanitarian workers reveal they are at odds with Bangladesh on how to move forward. Several expressed explicit concern to TIME over Dhaka's inflexibility on education and livelihoods, and worried that a recent rise in crime would be met with an even heavier hand. "If policies are not created in recognition that this is a long-term problem, things are going to get worse," a U.N. official based in Cox's Bazar said on condition of anonymity.

Things already looked bleak for the Rohingya. Since they were stripped of Burmese citizenship in 1982, they lost everything they had in a steady erosion of rights punctuated by sporadic outbursts of horrific state-sanctioned violence. They now find themselves sequestered in the smallest possible physical space with nowhere left to go.

Bangladesh, which generously let them in, doesn't want them to stay. "These camps are already receiving more attention than some [Bangladeshi] host communities and far better than what they had in Myanmar," Bangladesh's State Minister for Foreign Affairs, Shahriar Alam, tells TIME. "If we are offering them a better life than what they're used to, they will not go back."

THE VIEW FROM CAMP 20 EXTENSION in Cox's Bazar is of a population settling in for the long haul. Just past the office of the Camp-in-Charge, the only concrete building amid an endless sea of shanties, scrawny laborers carve terraces out of a barren hillside and reinforce them with a trellis made of sticks and twine. New roads are being laid of mud bricks from a nearby kiln, where, after fleeing a displacement camp set ablaze by a rocket-propelled grenade, a few dozen men skilled in the trade have found under-the-table employment. **MID-TERM HOUSING**, as a sign describes it, has sprung up beyond the lake, fashioned from woven strips of treated bamboo designed to last five to 10 years.

Despite the construction activity, conditions in the camps remain abysmal. Most refugees live in small shacks made of bamboo and tarpaulin sheets, so tightly packed together that they can hear their neighbors talking, having sex and disciplining their children or, sometimes, wives. In the springtime, the huts turn into saunas. In





Inan Hossein, with his wife Halema Khatun, lost his leg to a gunshot from a government soldier in Myanmar

the monsoon season, daily rainfall turns hilly footpaths into waterslides and lifts trash and human waste from open drains to float in stagnant pools. Were one of the cyclones that threaten the coastal province every year to score a direct hit on this improvised encampment, humanitarian workers predict “large-scale loss of life.”

Life here is a fragile thing in any case. A recent report by the International Crisis Group, which researches conflict, said murders and other forms of violence occur almost nightly inside the camps and are rarely if ever investigated. Cox’s Bazar is on the path of a trafficking route for methamphetamine smuggled out of Myanmar. And so an internal struggle is under way for political, economic and social control of the population.

Refugees say the daylight hours, the only time foreigners and aid workers are allowed to visit, are deceptively calm. Many are afraid to leave their shelters after dark, more than half a dozen refugees said, when what they describe as shady, violent criminals domineer the alleys in the absence of overnight security. “There are informants on every block,” one refugee tells TIME, asking not to be named for fear of reprisals. “We know who they are, but we’re afraid to say anything against them. They patrol the streets at night. No one wants to go outside.”

THERE IS NO CONSENSUS on exactly who controls the camps at night. Refugees share a widespread belief that the men are members of the Arakan Rohingya Salvation Army, or ARSA, the militant group that attacked Myanmar security personnel and set off the violence in 2017. Security analysts and U.N. officials say, however, that most are likely members of criminal gangs who traffic drugs and humans and bandy the name of the militants to gain authority. Their activity has simultaneously prompted urgent calls for more security and generated concern about the “optics” of a heavily securitized encampment that refugees are not allowed to leave.

Amid the lawlessness, an assortment of archconservative ideologues, militants and criminal gangs have designated themselves as enforcers of a strict Shari‘a code. As was the case with Afghan refugees in Pakistan, displacement and foreign intervention led to a growing conservatism. Women suffer disproportionately; NGOs aiming to empower women with skills training and paid volunteer work have faced an alarming backlash. Since January, more than a hundred women have

quit their jobs because of overt intimidation by fundamentalists, according to aid workers. Some described masked men coming to their homes and threatening their families. An internal U.N. memo seen by TIME says Rohingya women engaged in volunteer work increasingly “faced individualized threats, as well as community threats via announcements made by religious leaders following prayers.”

At the same time, a nascent civil society has been trying to find its voice in Cox’s Bazar. Unlike in heavily controlled Rakhine state, the Rohingya can now openly congregate for Islamic study, prayer and political discourse. But community leaders in the camps have been targeted, harassed and worse by the camp’s less moderate factions. Last year, one camp leader was murdered in a manner associated with ARSA: warnings circulated on WhatsApp followed by a fatal slash across the man’s throat in front of several witnesses. Analysts warn that other moderate leaders are likely to be threatened with assassination in the years ahead. “Whether we like it or not, eventually the government will have to become heavy-handed to control the threats and prevent radicalization,” says Shahab Enam Khan, research director at the Bangladesh Enterprise Institute, a think tank based in Dhaka. “It’s not a matter of if or when, it’s a matter of how heavy the hand will be.”

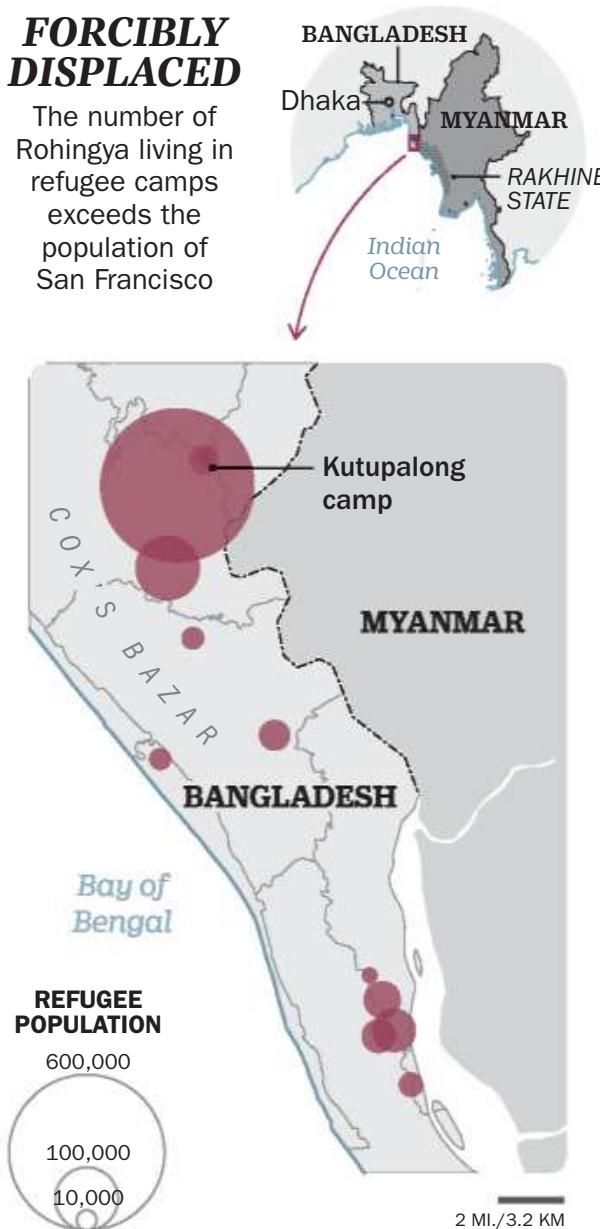
But Dhaka’s policies have already inflamed the situation. Cutting the Rohingya off from the economy leaves them with few options but to pursue illicit forms of income. Denying them formal education has also created a network of poorly supported, unregulated madrasahs, or Islamic schools, in the camps. The potential for exploitation is clear; while there’s no evidence transnational extremist groups like ISIS or al-Qaeda operate here, analysts

believe a domestic Bangladeshi hard-line group called Hefazat-e-Islam, which has called for jihad against the Myanmar government, holds heavy influence over the camps’ mosques and madrasahs.

The mullahs who run the madrasahs say they simply want to give the camp’s children the chance of something resembling a future, in the form of basic education. But the madrasahs are categorically excluded from Western funding channels and receive little guidance or oversight from Bangladeshi religious authorities. Staffed by volunteers and crammed with children desperate for education, many subsist on faith alone.

FORCIBLY DISPLACED

The number of Rohingya living in refugee camps exceeds the population of San Francisco



Abu Syed, a 39-year-old scholar who founded three volunteer-run madrasahs, says he has received no outside help except for a lump sum for building materials when he arrived. "We're at risk of shutting down at any time," he says. "It's hard to say how long we can keep doing this."

LIFE IN THE CAMPS is perhaps most dismal for adolescent girls, who by custom by and large are not allowed to be seen in public after they reach puberty. Inside a small shelter on the edge of Camp 15, a 16-year-old girl explains why, in mid-March, she tried to leave for Malaysia, more than 2,000 miles away by sea. The girl, who did not want to be named, came here with nothing but a sarong and her immediate family. Poor and illiterate, she is unable even to get married because her single mother can't afford to pay an exorbitant dowry.

In a sweltering hut lined with plastic sheets, she plotted her departure for weeks before setting out one afternoon with two dresses and the equivalent of about \$3. She knew that if she got across the Bay of Bengal, the smuggler would ask for more money. "I had hope that if I got to the other side, someone would be kind to me," she says. If no one rescued her, "then that is my fate."

She and the dozens of other passengers, mostly girls around her age, were told that rich Rohingya men who had built lives in Malaysia would be waiting on the shores to save them. More likely they would have been trafficked or left to die at sea. So perhaps she was lucky that after a fishing boat took her out to sea and circled for hours in the darkness, the "big boat" never came. She doesn't see it that way. "I returned with a heavy heart," she says. "I'll go again any chance I get. I can't be here anymore."

There is nowhere else to go. Back in Rakhine state, conditions are as bad as or worse than when the Rohingya left. The homes they fled have been razed, and a new conflict between the Myanmar army and Arakanese ethnic insurgents has intensified since January. The quasi-civilian government, led by disgraced Nobel laureate Aung San Suu Kyi, has little control over the situation and is still in denial about the atrocities. One senior Western diplomat based in Yangon says the government "hasn't shown its ability to impose its will in Rakhine state at all."

The international community, too, has failed to compel Myanmar to restore rights to the Rohingya and

guarantee them a place to return to. The country has largely been protected from accountability by China, its neighbor to the north and its largest trading partner. Beijing has consistently blocked critical actions on Myanmar by the U.N. Security Council, allowing only the passage of a nonbinding statement in 2017 urging the military to end excessive force, which it didn't.

"We're still waiting for bold action from the Security Council which will enable the return of this population and show that we care about the principles and values at the core of this organization," Adama Dieng, the U.N. Special Adviser on the Prevention of Genocide, tells TIME. "If this issue is not resolved today, we will be setting a very serious precedent."

Few countries other than Bangladesh are stepping forward to help out the Rohingya in the interim. Other countries that have long been destinations for Rohingya, such as India and Saudi Arabia, began deporting them late last year in separate crackdowns on migration. And there's evidence of donor fatigue among the countries that have promised to help the refugees stuck in Cox's Bazar. Only 18% has been pledged toward a requested \$920 million for a one-year U.N. response plan. The World Bank has mobilized almost \$500 million in grants for infrastructure over the next three years, but critical food and social programs are at the whim of faraway politicians.

What the Rohingya want, more than money or promises of aid, is citizenship and the rights and responsibilities it guarantees. For the generations turned away from every home they've ever had, it's getting harder to hold out hope. As a child, Alom Shah dreamed of becoming an engineer, and was devastated when his people were banned from studying at university in Rakhine state in 2012. "I felt like both my wings were broken," the 19-year-old said. He

taught himself English and now volunteers in the refugee camps as a translator for medics. "Once we got here, it was like, 'What do we do now?'" he says tearfully, looking up at us with watery eyes and then, embarrassed, shifting his gaze to the floor. "It felt like we were holding our breath, and gradually losing our hope."

He says he's already asked all the foreigners he knows if they can help him get a scholarship or find some other way out. They can't. "In the daytime when I meet my friends, I somehow pass the time," Shah says. "But at night when I'm alone, when I think about the future, all I see is darkness. We're not allowed to dream." □

LEFT WITH NOTHING

Highly dependent on humanitarian aid, the Rohingya are among the most vulnerable refugees in the world

375 SQ. FT.
U.N. MINIMUM
STANDARDS



Camp area per person

910,619

Total refugee population

664,752

are illiterate

500,840

are children

32,983

are single mothers

18,030

are acutely malnourished young children

SOURCES: UNHCR; UNOCHA

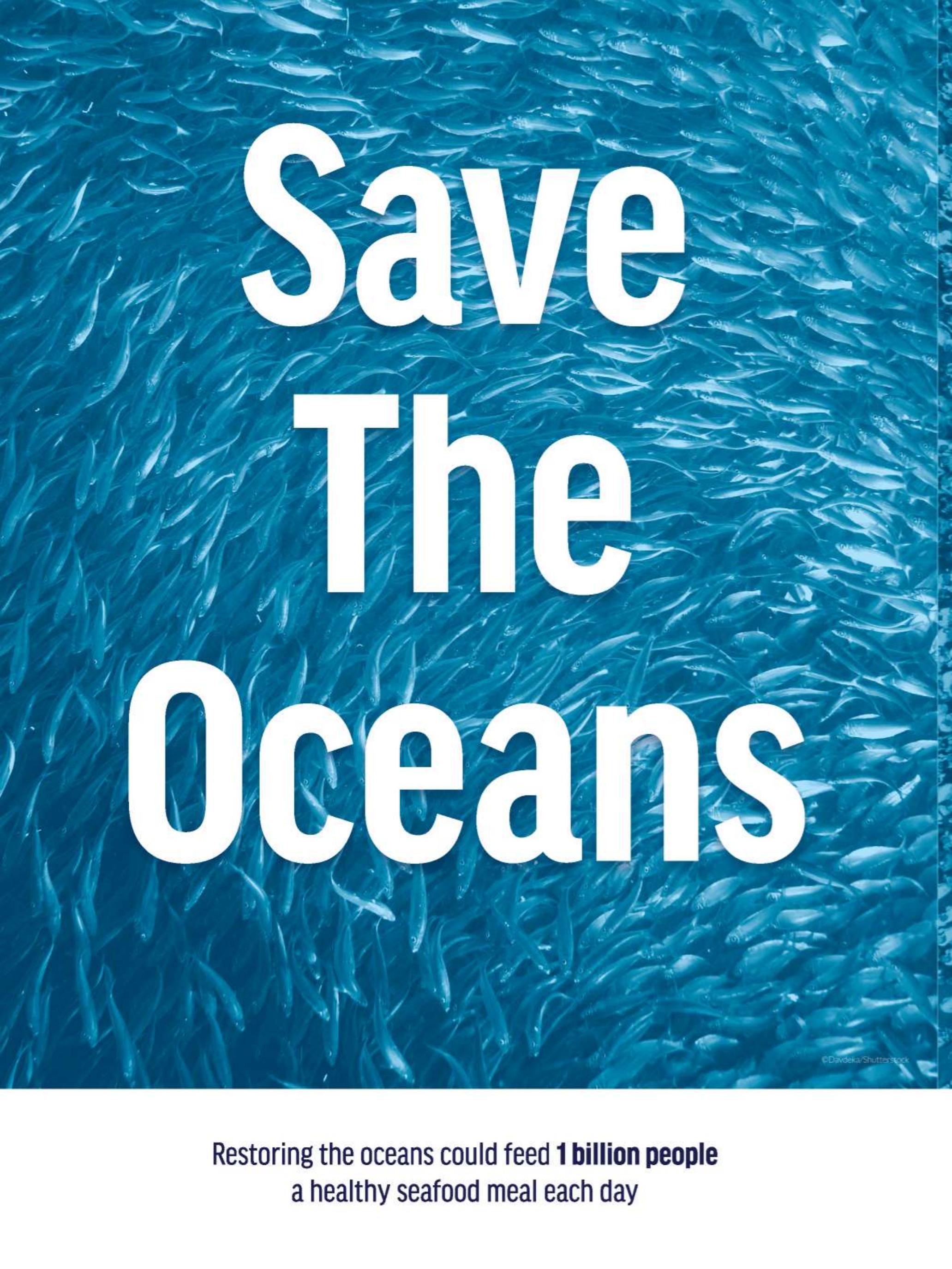
NOTE: ILLITERACY IS BASED ON LOWEST ESTIMATED RATE





The outskirts
of Kutupalong,
the far edge of
construction in
the Cox's Bazar
complex

Save The Oceans



© Davideka/Shutterstock

Restoring the oceans could feed **1 billion people**
a healthy seafood meal each day



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World

WHAT REMAINS OF ISIS

In northern Iraq, freedom from terror
may depend upon healing the mind of a child

BY KIMBERLY DOZIER

PHOTOGRAPHS BY NEWSHA TAVAKOLIAN FOR TIME

*This story was produced in
partnership with the Pulitzer Center*



The Yezidi boy known as S. was abducted by ISIS at the age of 9 and returned to his family at 12, a different person







THE MUKHTAR'S GRANDSON
Thikran Kamiran, now 19, was deemed too young to be executed with the men of his village

R

RAISED IN NORTHERN IRAQ'S SMALL Yezidi religious minority, S. was 9 years old when the so-called Islamic State killed his father and brother, kidnapped him and turned him into a child soldier. He witnessed unspeakable violence, saw friends tortured and was beaten by the "teachers" who indoctrinated him into the group's severe version of Islam.

Three years later, when his mother ransomed him back from ISIS for \$10,000, he was returned against his will to a family he barely remembered. He tried repeatedly to run back to his former captors. He threatened his sisters with a knife, calling them infidels; hit his mother, saying he wasn't really hers; and more than once tried to set fire to his uncle's house. Brainwashed by ISIS with a combination of savage cruelty and lionizing praise, S. was wracked by interior conflict, a lonely pariah in a family alien to him, lashing out violently at the slightest provocation.

What to call the war on ISIS now that the group has lost the last of its territory in Iraq and Syria? President Donald Trump's declaration of "victory" appears premature, given how much of the conflict exists not on battlefields but in the minds and souls of individuals.

In wars between countries, the losing side retreats to its borders. But since the late 1990s, the U.S. has been locked

in wars against terrorist groups with no fixed address. The territory ISIS briefly did claim as a state served to enhance its attraction as something more difficult to confront: a global movement. Thus the question that now preoccupies counter-terrorism officials: What devotion does the group retain among the 8 million Iraqis and Syrians it ruled at the height of its power, the estimated 40,000 people who traveled from elsewhere to join its caliphate and the millions around the globe who may be entertaining its extreme vision of Islam?

And what will become of the thousands of youngsters press-ganged into ISIS's forces in northern Iraq? The terrorists separated Yezidi children from their families, sometimes killing their parents in front of them. In the soil of that trauma, they planted the idea that the boys were the future army of ISIS, indoctrinating them with the arrogance of conquerors. They laced the boys' food with Captagon, an amphetamine, to dull their fear and trained some as suicide attackers. Many more were sent to the front lines where fighting was bloodiest, forced to wear suicide belts at all times, with instructions to blow themselves up if the enemy got too close.

Each of these boys could grow up to become a threat to thousands, and each must be healed. In Iraq, some 1,500 Sunni Muslim children ages 13 to 17 are being held, charged with being members of ISIS, according to Human Rights Watch. Hundreds of others have returned to live with relatives, bearing the scars of battle, inside and out.

The Yezidi boys like S. now occupy the gray zone between guilty and forgotten. No one experienced the violence of ISIS as they did. It came from every side.

THE NINEVEH PLAIN, which extends north and east of the city of Mosul, has for centuries been a kind of showcase for ancient faiths: Assyrian, Chaldean, Syriac. Yet there the perhaps half-million Yezidi believers were such frequent targets of persecution that the group's elders speak of 72 "genocides" even before ISIS swept over the entire region in 2014. The extremists displaced around half the Yezidis, killing, capturing and enslaving more than 6,000, according to Hussein al-Qaidi,

director of the Kurdish government's kidnapped affairs department. As ISIS retreated from its last redoubt, around 3,000 were still missing.

Some survivors tell how their Arab neighbors joined ISIS to seize their lands, kill their loved ones and drive them out. Hundreds of thousands now live in refugee camps, in the homes of relatives or in drafty, half-constructed buildings at the edges of Kurdish towns and villages. They say they don't trust the Iraqi government to protect them from the next attempt at genocide, and many are seeking sanctuary in Canada, Germany, Australia or anywhere else that will have them.

The scattering will make it harder for their tribe to survive. The ancient Yezidi religion is inherited through birth, based on bloodlines via the father, and the tribe is divided into three castes that cannot intermarry. Shrinking the available pool makes the survival of the faith even harder—one more reason the boys who were taken, then brought back, need to be healed and woven back into the fabric of their community.

TIME met a number of survivors, interviewing several older boys extensively about their time with ISIS. Those under 18 were asked limited questions, with guardians or caregivers present.

Every boy's story starts the same way. They tell you the moment ISIS attacked and their fathers, brothers or uncles were taken away. Sometimes they were permitted to stay with their mother and sisters for a while, but somewhere along their journey, moved like cattle from

schoolrooms or wedding halls, they were singled out and taken away with other boys for religious indoctrination and military training. Around the age of 13, the unlucky ones were sent to fight.

Thikran Kamiran, 19, described the moment ISIS arrived in his large northern village and tricked his grandfather, the village leader, into gathering everyone together in the school courtyard, allegedly for safe passage out if they chose not to convert to Islam.

ISIS fighters led the Yezidi men and older boys away in three truckloads, supposedly carrying them to safety at nearby Sinjar mountain. Thikran, then 15, was with his mother and sister, cowering in the school courtyard, when they heard thundering volleys of gunfire in the distance. The ISIS fighters told the panicked women and children that it was just animals, but everyone knew their husbands, brothers and sons had just been killed.

The ISIS fighters saved Thikran's grandfather for last, letting him listen in horror to that gunfire and realize he'd led his people into a trap, before taking him outside and shooting him too.

That's the day Thikran learned to hide his anger and fear. He was taken with his mother and sister to the ISIS stronghold of Tal Afar, and sent to an Islamist school to study the Quran from sunrise to sometimes well after sunset. He said he learned to recite the Quran and ISIS ideology better than his peers—so well that his ISIS overseer offered to make him an instructor, though he turned that "promotion" down. He said his scholarship is why he never had to fight.

"We converted to Islam and told them 'We will obey you,'" he said. "I made that sacrifice to protect myself and my family." He doesn't feel guilty for playing along, he says; he "feels nothing," a frequent answer from many of the boys. Burying anger, pain and fear was a survival skill. Reactivating emotion means facing grief over loved ones killed, guilt over anyone they may have killed or whatever else they did to remain alive. So they stay numb.

The Yezidi child soldiers were often grouped together with others of their tribe, yet ISIS trainers also worked to break down any connection among them, by putting one of them in charge

**EACH OF THESE BOYS
COULD GROW UP TO
BECOME A THREAT
TO THOUSANDS,
AND EACH MUST
BE HEALED**



VETERAN OF THE 'LINE OF PARADISE'

*One of two 16-year-old cousins
whom ISIS stationed on the front
line, wearing suicide vests*

of their unit and making him responsible for meting out vicious beatings for infractions like failing to reassemble a weapon fast enough.

Two cousins, both 16, explained how they were trained in an all-Yezidi unit, then deployed to the “Line of Paradise”—ISIS’s name for the Syrian front lines where many Yezidi boys were sent as cannon fodder, surrounded by enemy troops and hammered from above by airstrikes. The cousins say they had to wear suicide belts much of the time, packed with metal intended to kill attacking troops if they overwhelmed the Yezidi front line.

Many Yezidi boys got detailed lessons on how to kill. In some camps, the student soldiers were forced to watch instruction videos on beheading, from how to lift the prisoner’s head by his scalp to where to cut the throat. Yezidi boy returnees described learning how to remove hands, arms or legs as punishment for crimes like theft. One described an operating-theater-like room where they watched a limb removed from an anesthetized patient.

Some boys were also taught how to crucify those found guilty of disobeying ISIS’s dictates, a punishment several boys say happened almost weekly. The dead were left rotting for days in public squares or busy intersections, wearing a sign describing their crime—usually refusal to convert.

Amid these horrors, the boys were offered grandiose metaphysical escape. Their captors told them that their Yezidi families were destined for hell, but that they were the righteous ones who would inherit the caliphate. “ISIS told us about heaven, told us we were on a good path,” said ISIS escapee Shalal, now 15, his voice still high and childlike. He was 11 when he was taken, along with his mother, younger sister and brother, and indoctrinated in a military training camp. “It affected our minds,” he recalls. “Whenever we talked to our families, we would tell them what ISIS told us, that they needed to become Muslims too.”

As coalition bombing intensified against ISIS, Shalal decided it was time for his mother, sister and brother to escape the group’s self-declared capital, Raqqa. He reached his father by telephone back in Iraq, who arranged

for a smuggler to meet the boy and his brother Hachim, now 7, at the front lines. “It was very scary,” Shalal recalls, describing how he guided his brother through bushes in the dark. Shalal’s mother and sister were smuggled out later for roughly \$10,000 each.

The family’s escape was in part the result of the bizarre economy of ISIS’s wartime loss of territory. In its waning days as leaders of a would-be state, ISIS had a sort of Craigslist of captives it was offering for sale—cashing in on the victims it had seized during its march across Syria and Iraq. The government of Kurdistan, in northern Iraq, set up a \$10 million fund to help pay for the return of kidnapped children. Many, including Shalal’s father who ransomed them and now cares for them all, are still waiting to be reimbursed.

PHYSICAL DELIVERANCE for the Yezidi boys was just the beginning of the journey back. Shalal was aggressive and angry when he first returned, said his father, who had narrowly escaped capture himself while traveling for business. Now he seems quiet and subdued, sitting next to his father as he describes his time with ISIS, looking down at the floor of their unfinished house and playing with his smartphone. He won’t give many details about what else he saw or did as a fighter for the group. His father, a teacher who studied psychology, insists his son is fine and doesn’t need counseling. But as the boy listens to his older cousin Ashrawe describe fighting for ISIS, his far-off gaze suggests otherwise.

Ashrawe manned checkpoints in the middle of some of the fiercest fighting

‘MEN AND BOYS WE ARE ONE LOT. WOMEN AND GIRLS ARE WORTHLESS.’

—S., a Yezidi captured by ISIS



in Syria, and he was badly wounded in a mortar strike that killed two other boys in his unit. His leg still hurts from embedded shrapnel. He also came back with a young Yezidi wife given to him by ISIS. But at 18, with no job, he struggles to take care of her, so he too relies on his uncle the psychologist, for food and the shelter of the incomplete concrete apartment block they live in, its windows just blank holes open to the chilling February wind.

The family is also dealing with another tragedy of the war. Shalal’s mother had a child by an ISIS fighter while in captivity. Shalal’s father had refused to take the child in, so she left the infant at an orphanage in Mosul where other former ISIS children were being sent, when she was rescued from



RANSOMED AND STILL DIVIDED
Khayri Abdullah Massi ransomed family members, but his wife went back to raise the child she had by her “ISIS husband”

ISIS along with her daughter and sons. Torn by the memory of the abandoned child, her husband said, she chose late last year to leave her family and go back to find her baby.

The familial trauma has been made worse by a quirk of the Iraqi constitution. Under that document, children born of ISIS fathers, or an unknown father, are automatically registered as Muslim. That registration in turn automatically switches the mother's religion to Islam as well. Yezidi elders call this genocide by constitution and have appealed to Iraqi officials in Baghdad to change it.

Yezidi elder Hadi Babashekhi, son of the Yezidi religious leader Baba Shekh, claims that his community is finding a place for children like Shalal's half-sibling. But other Yezidi community

leaders, and former Yezidi slaves, say the community rejects such children, so an unknown number of former ISIS slaves like Shalal's mother are forced to choose between their faith and family, or exile with their child born in captivity.

Shalal's father is angry and resentful, frequently bringing up what he says is his wife's betrayal, when asked about his son, one more emotional weight for Shalal to bear.

WHEN THE FIGHT against ISIS was on the battlefield, there was no shortage of resources: through fiscal year 2019, the U.S. military has committed \$54 billion to the war effort, according to a Brown University estimate. But it's a different story now that the contest has moved into the personal space, where funding for social

services and counseling is hard to come by.

The Yezidi boys have a certain amount of help from their faith. The religion's leadership passed a decree in 2014 that forgave their people for the sin of being forced to convert, or for being raped, or for being forced to kill and maim for ISIS. With that came the offer of a ritual of return that includes a rebaptism ceremony for men, women and children to cleanse them of the sin of whatever they were forced to do.

“We will slowly, step by step, convince those children ... to put the Yezidi community’s humanity back into their heart, because there is no more peaceful religion than Yezidi,” says Babashekhi. The “rebaptism” takes place at the Yezidi holy site of Lalish, tucked within a valley north of Duhok, a scenic city encircled by mountains in Iraqi Kurdistan. All members must visit at least once in their lifetime to submerge themselves in the 4-to-5-ft.-deep well inside a small, worn stone shrine, sacred to Yezidis.

Adult survivors say the ceremony helps, but others say it is not enough to stop the nightmares or flashbacks or to purge the guilt a child feels, which can be channeled inward into depression and outward to rage. Duhok also happens to be the home of one of Iraq’s only child and adolescent mental-health centers. But counselors there explained they don’t have the funding or the staff to seek out the children and treat them on a regular basis—the kind of treatment that’s needed to undo how these children were conditioned to kill.

“Calling it brainwashing is to underestimate what has happened to the kids,” said one of the only other child psychologists there, Galavej Jafaar. Another psychologist, Araz Adil with the Kurdish nonprofit SEED, said, “When they arrive, everyone gives them so much attention. After a while when they stop getting that attention, their symptoms start to appear, and you see PTSD, depression and anxiety, and that’s when they have a longing to go back.”

The boys’ recovery from trauma has immense implications not only for the individuals but also for international security. Yet the matter is muddled by conflicting agendas. Yezidi elders downplay the risk, while Baghdad,

though obligated by international convention to rehabilitate child soldiers, ignores Yezidi boys and jails Sunnis as young as 13. There's also uncertainty about the numbers involved. Out of the roughly 6,400 Yezidis taken by ISIS, 1,855 children had returned as of mid-February. Of the boys, around 300 ticked the box on the form admitting that they had fought for ISIS. But al-Qa'idi of the Kurdish government's kidnapped affairs department thinks the number is much higher.

"Some 1,200 kids between the ages of 13 and 17 were taken to the military bases to be trained to be fighters," he said, citing interviews with hundreds of returnees. "Those kids who are still in captivity and being trained are a threat to the whole world ... These kids, ideologically and practically, have been prepared to attack," al-Qa'idi said. "They are made into a bomb, ready to be triggered by ISIS."

Father Patrick Desbois, a Catholic priest who runs a nonprofit called Yahad-in Unum, has recorded interviews with more than 100 Yezidi survivors, focusing primarily on the children and how they were trained to believe they would carry on after the ISIS territorial "caliphate" is gone. The French cleric's Yezidi team keeps track of new arrivals. For interviews, a cameraman, photographer, translator, Desbois and a former Belgian police investigator all pack into a tent or drafty sitting room and start the questions. "Was the suicide belt you had to wear heavy?" Desbois will ask.

Desbois says he uses some of the accounts to explain to officials from other Western countries that the children they are welcoming could be dangerous if not carefully "deprogrammed" and healed. He tells the story of one boy now resettled in the West whose social-media posts swing from anger that ISIS killed his mom to slogans that ISIS will rise again.

As evidence that his program can rehabilitate the lost boys of ISIS, the priest offers the story of another returnee. At a camp near Duhok, the boy rounded up former child soldiers and started a gang that built several improvised explosive devices. The bombs were spotted and the plot foiled, and the Yezidi community

'WAS THE SUICIDE BELT YOU HAD TO WEAR HEAVY?'

—FATHER PATRICK DESBOIS, in interviews with Yezidi boys forced to become ISIS child soldiers

and Desbois' nonprofit intervened to keep the child from going to jail. After counseling and sport and art therapy, Desbois says, the child has returned to his community.

"The best deradicalization program is a successful integration program," says David Manicom, Assistant Deputy Minister at Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship in Canada. He declined to say whether the 1,400 mostly Yezidi survivors of ISIS the country has taken in included child soldiers, but noted that trauma is so common that therapists have learned not to leave a child alone with an adult for any length of time, because of how violently it upsets the child living with memories of abuse.

Questions of justice, meanwhile, remain unresolved. In northern Iraq, Judge Ayman Mostafa is trying to build a case against ISIS for war crimes to the Kurdish High Commission on Recognition of Genocide. But he has no power to indict or prosecute its fighters, and a genocide charge can be brought only by a U.N. body, which Iraq regards coolly because it will not consider capital punishment. All the while, thousands of ISIS fighters have simply returned to the fabric of their old lives, living openly in Mosul and Tel Afar. That's one of the main reasons that hundreds of thousands of Yezidis won't go home—they know who awaits them there.

The Yezidi boys know it too.

FOR HIS PART, S. no longer tries to run away from home. Months of slow, careful attention from a team of therapists working with him and his mom have brought him a long way. "The first time I met him, he ran away," said Adil, the



psychologist from the Kurdish nonprofit SEED. "The second time, he was beating up his mother violently."

Adil worked to teach S. about where his own emotions were coming from—how a surge of adrenaline fuels a faster-beating heart, stoking emotion and driving his anger higher. The idea was to



BEYOND WORDS

Sairan Khalaf speaks Kurdish; her daughter, 11, knows only Arabic after three years of captivity

return to S. the control of his body and mind that ISIS had taken from him. At the same time, his mother was taught not to respond to her son's violence with more of the same. Most tribal families in Iraq hit their children to discipline them, Adil explained. Both the mother and the child learned how to express

their emotions without physically hurting each other.

Now her almost teenage son still gets angry but doesn't hit her, the mother said. She compliments him on keeping his control. He in turn compliments her for the verbal praise.

The work is not done. S. still holds

some of the values ISIS taught him, telling his therapist, "Men and boys we are one lot. Women and girls are worthless." But a year after his return from ISIS, he helps around the house and tells his mother that he's glad he came back, because he's the only man the family has left. □

world cup 2019

ALEX MORGAN STRIKES BACK

The soccer star is primed to lead the U.S. to victory—on and off the field
By Sean Gregory



12 PLAYERS TO WATCH

THE TOP CONTENDERS

HOME-FIELD ADVANTAGE?

THROWBACK UNIFORMS

MEET THE NEWCOMERS



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ON A DRIZZLY SPRING EVENING IN New York City, Alex Morgan fixes her gaze on the golf ball at her feet, cocks her arms and then propels them forward with effortless power. The ball leaps off the tee and sails toward the netting between the tee and the Hudson River 200 yd. away. "This is nice," Morgan says, exhaling between swings. "Really nice."

The driving range is a favorite escape for Morgan, but she's spending less and less time there—even as she needs the release more than ever. The reigning U.S. women's soccer player of the year, Morgan is the sport's most marketable American star since Mia Hamm and the linchpin of Team USA's bid to clinch a second consecutive World Cup title this summer. She leads the U.S. into the tournament, which begins on June 7 in France, facing outsize expectations both on the field and off.

As the defending champions and top-ranked team, the Americans are favored to win. But the competition is historically tough. When the U.S. hosted the landmark 1999 World Cup, which led tens of thousands of girls to sign up for youth soccer leagues, only a few countries were considered contenders. Traditional soccer powers like France, England and Spain didn't even qualify. Now, thanks in part to increased investment from soccer governing bodies and their corporate backers, many more have a real shot in the tournament, which now has 24 teams, up from 16 two decades ago.

"This is the first time I have ever been able to name potential winners on more than one hand," says former U.S. player Julie Foudy, an ESPN analyst, who sees the U.S., France, Germany, Australia, Japan, England and Sweden as title threats. "Absolutely, this is the most competitive World Cup I have seen."

Interest should be particularly high



in the U.S., where the women's team not only outperforms the men's team on the field—the men failed to even qualify for last year's World Cup—but has outdrawn it too. Four years ago, some 25 million people watched the women's team beat Japan in the World Cup final—a record U.S. audience for any soccer game.

But the team's success highlights glaring inequities. Despite the popularity of the women's team, the men are positioned to make substantially more money. And so on March 8, International Women's Day, the U.S. players took the unprecedented step of filing a federal gender-discrimination lawsuit against the United States Soccer Federation, the national governing body for the sport. Morgan's name was listed first in the suit, which accuses U.S. Soccer of paying "only lip service to gender equality." (The federation, in a legal filing responding to the complaint, denied unlawful conduct, attributing any alleged pay discrepancies to "differences in the aggregate revenue generated by the different teams and/or any other factor other than sex.")

"Eventually, you just have to take a stand," Morgan says while riding in an Uber from her New York hotel to the driving range. "How come we've had to

fight this whole time, year after year?"

Her stand has inspired other women's teams around the world to push for equal treatment and has transformed the U.S. women into a cause larger than soccer. At a Los Angeles exhibition game in April, the actors Jessica Chastain, Eva Longoria, Jennifer Garner, Uzo Aduba and Natalie Portman attended with T-shirts that read TIME'S UP PAY UP. At a time of almost paralyzing political division, the World Cup has the potential to be a welcome national distraction, a respite from presidential politicking and cable-news sniping.

"A win for this team is a win for women everywhere," says former U.S. captain Abby Wambach. "If other women in the business world, in parenting, see these women stepping up and betting on themselves, it gives them the power to want to do it for themselves. And that, my friend, is how the world actually changes."

No pressure or anything, not that Morgan wasn't feeling plenty already. Morgan, 29, is the face of Team USA—her steely gaze will be plastered on billboards and dancing across screens in commercials for Coca-Cola, Nike and Secret deodorant. Her millions of followers on Instagram and Twitter give her one of the largest social-media imprints of any female



From left: Morgan, during the game in which she scored her 100th career international goal in April; snapping a selfie with fans; and celebrating her legendary goal to beat Canada at the 2012 Olympics

athlete in the world. She starred in a Nickelodeon movie for kids, *Alex & Me*; wrote a series of books for middle schoolers that was made into an Amazon TV series; and has shared a stage with Taylor Swift.

But Morgan, who in April joined Hamm and Wambach as the youngest U.S. players to score 100 career international goals, has never dominated the World Cup. She was a breakout rookie in a losing effort in 2011, and was hobbled by injuries in 2015 when Carli Lloyd's heroics powered the U.S. to victory. This year is the best chance for America's best player to make her mark on the world's most prestigious tournament—while showing that she should be paid the same as any man for doing it.

"We have to do more in general—we have to be the athlete, we have to be the role model, we have to lead the way for the next generation," Morgan says. "Are male athletes doing that? Are they thinking about anyone other than themselves? I don't know. We do have more than one job within this role, and are getting paid much less."

So it's understandable if the weight of it all weighs on Morgan as she hacks away at the driving range. After a few crisp swings, she whiffs, missing the ball completely. "I'm going back to my 7-iron,"

she says when her driver catches air. All that looms in the background is national unity, gender equality and Morgan's professional legacy. "You can't think about it," she says. "But you can't not."

LEADING THE FIGHT for equal pay in sports was far from the mind of the 8-year-old Morgan when she left a Post-it for her mother, Pam, at their home in Diamond Bar, Calif., a suburb east of Los Angeles. "Hi Mommy!" Morgan wrote on a note Pam still has. "My name is Alex and I am going to be a professional athlete for soccer!" She signed it "Ali Cat."

The certainty was surprising. Unlike most promising young soccer players, Morgan avoided the high-pressure Southern California youth circuit and played many different sports as a kid. Her competitiveness was honed in fierce board games with her parents and two older sisters. "Alex strove not to be the loser," says her father Michael, a retired masonry contractor. "Because she knew she was going to get party-danced around."

Morgan began playing elite travel soccer at 14, years after many of her contemporaries. She credits playing a range of sports with preventing her from burning out. "When I went to soccer practice,

I was really excited because I hadn't been there in four days," says Morgan. She worries that today's youth system is also pricing out potential soccer stars and is counterproductive to America's future competitiveness.

Morgan's speed and knack for scoring earned her a soccer scholarship to the University of California, Berkeley, where she graduated with a degree in political economy and met her future husband, Los Angeles Galaxy midfielder Servando Carrasco, who also played for the school. Morgan excelled on the pitch for Cal and was named to the U.S. Under-20 team, which functions as a feeder for the top national team. After helping lead the U.S. to the 2008 Under-20 World Cup title with a brilliant left-footed goal in the final, Morgan was called up to the senior squad.

Her impact was immediate. Morgan scored a key goal against Italy to help the U.S. qualify for the 2011 World Cup, and she emerged as a go-to substitute in the tournament. Undaunted by soccer's biggest stage, Morgan scored in both the semis and the finals in her first World Cup, which the U.S. lost in heartbreak fashion to Japan.

The performance endeared Morgan to her older teammates, who gave her the



Morgan, left, and her U.S. teammates celebrate after defeating Japan to win the 2015 World Cup



nickname Baby Horse. “She ran so fast and has a very specific gait,” says former teammate Shannon Boxx. “Baby horses are little unsteady with her legs, and we kind of saw that.” Morgan disliked the name but knew better than to complain. “When you’re young and have no leverage on the team, you’re like, Sure, I’ll take Baby Horse,” she says. “But after two or three years, I was like, O.K., it’s funny, but let’s move on.”

Baby Horse became a key cog in the team’s gold-medal run at the 2012 Olympics. Her winning goal in the semifinal against Canada—a header seconds before time expired—has become soccer lore. “What’s unique about Alex is the closer she gets to the goal, the slower the game happens for her,” says Wambach, who has written a new book called *Wolfpack: How to Come Together, Unleash Our Power, and Change the Game*. “She can see the rotation of the ball, and imagine and create a situation where most players would be like, ‘Oh, this is shut down.’ It’s like something else inside of her body just goes into a natural state of flow that allows her to score goals. Her power is unlike anything I’ve ever seen.”

The Olympics made Morgan into a star. She appeared in McDonald’s ads with LeBron James and helped the fledgling National Women’s Soccer League (NWSL) get off the ground by joining the Portland Thorns for the inaugural 2013 season. Buoyed by endorsement deals, her annual income grew into the seven figures—far beyond that of any other top U.S. women’s player. She published an autobiography in 2015 and began writing *The Kicks*, a best-selling kids’ fiction series with a 10th installment coming in June.

A run of knee and ankle injuries, however, slowed Morgan’s ascent. She was hobbled by knee problems at the 2015 World Cup and isn’t proud of her individual showing despite the team’s win. “I don’t feel like I met my goals,” Morgan says in late February at a Philadelphia hotel, where the national team was staying for a game against Japan. “In the first half of the final, I was just gasping, dead. My legs would not go. I wasn’t thinking about how to beat my opponent and be that fearless attacker. I was thinking about how to be pain-free.” A year later at the Rio Olympics, Sweden bounced the U.S. in the quarterfinals, the earliest the U.S.

women’s team has ever been eliminated from a major international tournament.

It was a low moment. Morgan needed to rekindle her passion for the game. So she did what many other Americans in search of inspiration have done: move to France. After being courted publicly by Jean-Michel Aulas, the president of the French club team Olympique Lyonnais, Morgan agreed to join the squad for its 2017 season. Lyon has become a powerhouse in the women’s game, dominating the competition by attracting top players from around the world, paying them more and treating them like a men’s team. This simple, seemingly intuitive idea is radical in professional soccer, where the men’s teams of top clubs are routinely afforded more perks than their women’s sides. “It was something I needed at the time,” says Morgan. “To focus on soccer solely and entirely, without having my family, without having my friends, not having anyone but the team I went to play for.”

Lyon soared with Morgan, winning the league championship, the French Cup and the Women’s Champions League title—a feat known as the treble. More importantly, Morgan rediscovered the joy of playing.

1. Dzsenifer Marozsan

GERMANY

The 27-year-old midfielder was born in Budapest, but was naturalized in Germany as a teenager after showing early promise on the pitch. She became the youngest player in the Bundesliga, the country's top league, at 14, and her reputation as a playmaker has only grown since. Dzsenifer Marozsan now stars for the elite French club Lyon, and in May she was named the best player in the league—just a year after suffering a pulmonary embolism that put her out of the game for months. Marozsan's trophy collection already includes an Olympic gold medal and four prestigious Champions League titles. The only thing missing for the German captain? A World Cup title.



She began meditating and doing yoga, and soon switched to a vegan diet after deciding it was unethical to eat meat.

Save for exalting the beeflike Impossible Burger, Morgan couches her new regimen as a personal choice and keeps the proselytizing to a minimum. But over a dinner of artichokes and stuffed peppers in New York, she says the change has boosted her energy on the field. It's impossible to argue with the results: from August 2017 through the end of last year, Morgan scored an incredible 25 goals in 26 games. She is decidedly no longer Baby Horse. "She has worked to promote the game, promote her team and promote herself," says Hamm, who still casts a long shadow over women's soccer. "She's done an amazing job."

As Morgan has developed into America's leader on the field, she has strengthened her voice beyond it. Among the pro-athlete orthodoxies she's willing to break: don't criticize management, and steer clear of politics. After Major League Soccer's Orlando City team declined to retain her husband, Carrasco, while Morgan was playing for the Orlando women's team, she called out the clubs' shared management for breaking what she says was a deal. "We were told it was going to be a long-term relationship between the club and us," Morgan says now. "When you promote a business acting as a family, I would expect to be given that treatment you promote."

President Donald Trump is another target. "I don't stand for a lot of things the current office stands for," Morgan says. She's particularly upset about the Administration's policy of separating migrant families at the southern border, noting that her husband's family is from Mexico. Indeed, if Trump invites the team to the White House after the World Cup, Morgan says she won't go. If that turns anyone off, so be it.

"We don't have to be put in this little box," Morgan says between sips of red wine at dinner. "There's the narrative that's been said hundreds of times about any sort of athlete who's spoken out politically. 'Stick to sports.' We're much more than that, O.K.?"

A NATIONAL TEAM doesn't simply decide to sue its governing body on a whim. The roots of the equal-pay fight go back

decades. In the early 1990s, the team flew to a tournament in China in cramped economy seats adjacent to the smoking section. "We were pretty much smoking for 13 hours," says Hamm, who played on the team from 1987 to 2004. Players recall staying in roach-infested rooms and taking the hotel shuttle bus to a game. "We sit now and we have to laugh," says Hamm. "If you didn't, you'd cry."

Conditions for the team have vastly improved since the 1990s, and U.S. Soccer has invested far more in women's soccer than most other countries. But plenty of indignities linger.

At one stop on the 2015 World Cup victory tour, a series of 10 exhibition games across the country meant to celebrate the team (and fill U.S. Soccer's coffers), players were shocked by the conditions at Aloha Stadium near Honolulu. Rocks filled the turf. In some sections, the aging field was pulling up out of the ground. The team felt it was unsafe and refused to play. U.S. Soccer agreed and canceled the game, but it rankled the players that it wouldn't have happened if they hadn't spoken out.

"It falls on us sometimes to decide what's just, what's unjust," says Morgan. "We as players shouldn't have to make those decisions. But I'm happy we came together and did."

It was a lesson that informed the decision of five of the team's star players, in 2016, to file a complaint over inequity in pay and bonuses with the federal Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. "We realized that just because we had success without being given what we deserve, doesn't mean we didn't deserve it," says Morgan. "That was like a flip of the switch."

In April 2017, the players signed a new collective-bargaining agreement with U.S. Soccer. As part of the deal, the players won control of certain licensing and marketing rights. They partnered with the NFL Players Association and the WNBA Players Association to form REP Worldwide, a new licensing-representation company, in late 2017. REP expects to sign some 25 licensees—for things like jerseys, scarves and digital collectibles—for the women's soccer players by the start of the World Cup. REP says the players can expect between \$1 million and \$2 million in net royalties by the end of 2020.

Despite these gains, the women often end up with less than the men—and that includes the coaches. For the fiscal year ending in March 2018, women's head coach Jill Ellis received \$318,533 in total compensation—making her the 10th highest paid employee at U.S. Soccer. Jürgen Klinsmann, who was fired as U.S. men's coach in 2016, still received \$3.35 million. Bruce Arena, who replaced Klinsmann and oversaw the failed effort to qualify for the 2018 World Cup, got \$1.27 million. Even the coach of the Under-20 men's team made more than Ellis. (U.S. Soccer says she has since received a six-figure raise that will be disclosed in next year's tax filings.)

"It's devastating to see a male coach who hasn't been coach of the men's team for more than two years still be paid significantly more than Jill, who has a World Cup title on her résumé," says Morgan. "It's terrible."

This long history was on the players' minds when they decided to sue their employers in an effort to close the pay gap once and for all. As the team's top player and biggest name, Morgan agreed to be listed first in the complaint.

"I'm not sure our team would have done that three months before the World Cup," says Foudy, who played on the seminal 1999 U.S. team that won the World Cup on home soil. "We wouldn't want all that noise. I respect that they're willing to absorb all that. It's courageous."

According to the complaint, U.S. Soccer "rejected requests for compensation for the WNT players that would have been at least equal to that afforded to the male MNT players."

U.S. Soccer has argued that since the organization signed different collective-bargaining agreements with the men's and women's teams, the gender comparisons are unfair. Women's national team players, for example, can now receive salaries of around \$170,000 from the federation if they also play in the NWSL, which U.S. Soccer helps finance. The U.S. provides no such base pay to the men's players, since they can earn contracts playing in pro leagues that are far more lucrative than organizations like the NWSL. According to U.S. Soccer, the men are eligible for higher per-game bonuses because the federation pays them on a per-game basis as opposed to a salary. For example, the men receive

\$17,625 for winning an exhibition game, or friendly, against a top-10 team or Mexico; under the 2017 collective-bargaining agreement, the women get \$8,500 for a friendly victory over a top-4 team or Canada. Some of the pay gap also comes from the stark differences in World Cup performance bonuses from FIFA. FIFA awarded \$9 million to the U.S. after the men reached the round of 16 in the 2014 World Cup, while the federation received \$2 million after the women won it all in 2015. FIFA has attributed these differences to the larger revenues generated by the men's tournament.

The litigation is expected to take months to play out. U.S. Soccer is attempting to get the case dismissed, while the players may try to force a settlement. Whatever the legal result, the U.S. women have already secured a victory. Their push for more equitable benefits has inspired other female athletes to fight for their fair share.

"The women's soccer team, in my opinion and the opinion of many of my teammates, continues to lead the way in advancing women's sports," says Meghan Duggan, a member of the 2018 Olympic gold medal-winning U.S. hockey team, which threatened to boycott the world championships in 2017 unless their pay improved. (The team struck a new agreement with USA Hockey before the tournament began.) The U.S. team's stand has set off a chain reaction in women's soccer. The Danish women's national team boycotted a World Cup qualifying match in October 2017; it has since signed a four-year collective-bargaining agreement that included increased investment in women's soccer. After refusing to promote their appearance in the 2017 Euro tournament finals, Scotland's female players signed the first collective-bargaining agreement with their federation. And Norway's women achieved pay parity with the men.

IN SOME WAYS, the equality fight is being won piecemeal. The foodmaker Luna Bar pledged to pay each of the U.S. women who made the World Cup team \$31,250, to make up for differences in roster bonuses. Nike has launched a national ad campaign called "Dream With Us," built around Morgan and the women's team as inspirational figures. Still,

relying on corporate largess to compensate for a cultural double standard is halting progress at best.

"When I was playing, 75% of my money came from endorsements, 25% came from playing. I would love for that to be flipped," says Hamm. "It's frustrating that we're still having these conversations. I'm proud of the women that they're saying we're not taking no for an answer."

To Morgan, the best way to state her case is on the field. She sees another World Cup win as essential to boosting public support for equal pay. "Seeing women supporting other women on a grander level is pretty unique," she says. "We need to capitalize on that now."

The path to victory in France, however, is narrower than ever. The host team is hungry for its first title; the last time a World Cup was held in France, in 1998, the men won at home. England, which reached the semifinals in 2015, won the SheBelieves Cup in March. And Japan, which has reached the finals of the past two World Cups, remains a threat. The U.S. opens against Thailand, on June 11, and must fare well against the other teams in its group, Chile and Sweden, which is led by former U.S. coach Pia Sundhage, to advance.

To prepare, Morgan has studied video of her performances with her personal coach and worked on a bending left-footed shot, from outside the 18-yd. box. She's also taking extra care of her body. When the national team introduced high-tech wristbands to monitor rest quality, Morgan ditched the device. "I swear when I started wearing it, I stopped sleeping well," Morgan says. "After two nights, I was like, F this."

Back at the driving range, the sky clears over the Hudson River as Morgan talks about her ability to compartmentalize. Among the things on her mind is an ambition to launch a media company for girls and women who love sports. But she has balanced performance with the demands of stardom as well as any athlete before her. So why not expect more of the same this summer? "If we do our job," she says, "people will be captivated. This can be something greater and bigger than there's ever been before."

Morgan takes one last swing with her driver. *Whack.* Her ball flies high and long, straight toward the sunset. □

2. Marta

BRAZIL

Named the best female player in the world by FIFA a record-breaking six times, Marta has earned a status reserved for the most exalted Brazilians: being known by a single name. The 33-year-old is the most famous women's player in a soccer-mad country that largely dismissed the women's game before her. But Marta's rare talent as a small and nimble striker has commanded international respect, even earning her comparisons to the Brazilian legend Pelé.

Marta holds the record for most goals scored in the Women's World Cup—a stunning 15 in 17 matches. Count on her to extend the mark in her fifth World Cup.



STORIES TO WATCH

From new teams to new kits to a new host, here's your cheat sheet for this year's World Cup

By Siobhan Morrin

Eyes of the world

Women's soccer is more popular in the U.S. than anywhere else in the world. The dominance of the men's game nearly everywhere else was the reality Germany's women archly pointed up in a video noting that the prize for the first of their eight European championships was a tea set. But the rest of the world is finally starting to catch on to

the excellence of the women's game. In April, FIFA reported more than 720,000 tickets had been sold, over 50,000 more than at the same point for the previous World Cup, and the opening match sold out within 48 hours. TV viewership promises to be in the hundreds of millions; in Europe, national broadcasters like the BBC are showing more of the matches live on mainstream channels.

3. Amandine Henry**FRANCE**

WHILE GROWING UP IN THE northern French city of Lille, Amandine Henry played against boys until she was a teenager. It wasn't simply because she was good. Lille, despite a population of more than 200,000, didn't have any girls' leagues.

Times have changed. Over the past decade, there has been a surge in female soccer participation in France, thanks in large part to star players like Henry. The 29-year-old captain of the French national team has increased visibility for the women's game in her home country.

Henry, a defensive midfielder, nearly quit the sport early in her professional career: a painful knee injury kept her off the field for a year and a half. She recovered and thrived with Lyon, the top club team in France. At the 2015 World Cup, Henry won the Silver Ball award as the tournament's second-best player. Her 30-yd. strike against Mexico in a group-stage game was one of the most jaw-dropping goals of the tournament. (France advanced to the quarterfinals before falling to Germany on penalty kicks.)

Henry took her talents to the Portland Thorns of the National Women's Soccer League. The Thorns won the 2017 title. "Amandine gets the ball in the places



it needs to be," says former Portland teammate Meghan Klingenberg, who was a member of the U.S. national team. "She understands the flow of the game, and is a hardcore winner." Henry is now back with Lyon, which won the Champions League final on May 18.

Nothing would do more for the women's game in France than for Henry to lead Les Bleues to their first World Cup title on home soil.



**'AMANDINE GETS THE
BALL IN THE PLACES IT
NEEDS TO BE. SHE
UNDERSTANDS THE FLOW
OF THE GAME, AND IS A
HARD-CORE WINNER.'**

4. Lucy Bronze**ENGLAND**

A defender known as the best right back in the world, Bronze has helped England—which reached the World Cup semis in 2015 and won the SheBelieves tune-up tournament in March—become a true contender.

5. Wang Shuang**CHINA**

Asia's reigning player of the year, Wang—a creative midfielder who plays professionally for Paris Saint-Germain—in 2018 became the first Chinese player to score a Champions League goal.

6. Asisat Oshoala**NIGERIA**

On May 18 Oshoala, a forward who plays for Barcelona FC, became the first player from Africa to score in the Champions League final. Nigeria's Super Falcons face a tough opening draw against France, South Korea and Norway.

7. Sam Kerr

AUSTRALIA

Only 25, Sam Kerr has already broken multiple scoring records and led Australia to a major tournament win. Named captain in February under new coach Ante Milicic, Kerr powered her team to the FFA Cup of Nations in March, scoring within the first four minutes in the final against Argentina.

Kerr started playing soccer at 12 and made her debut on a national team only three years later. A prolific scorer, she is the all-time leading goal scorer in both the National Women's Soccer League—after stints with teams in New York, New Jersey and Chicago—and Australia's W-League, where she stars for her hometown team, Perth Glory.

Australia is expected to advance past the opening stage in France. Thanks to Kerr's speed and agility, it could be primed for an even deeper run.



STORIES TO WATCH

A star stays home

You wouldn't have expected to see a men's World Cup without luminaries like Lionel Messi or Cristiano Ronaldo. But the women's tournament will be missing the first winner of the Ballon d'Or Féminin, given to the best women's player in the world: Norway's Ada Hegerberg. The 23-year-old striker for Lyon scored a record number of goals in the Women's Champions League last season. But in an act of protest over how her country's federation treats the women's game, she stopped playing for Norway. Hegerberg's absence dims the star wattage in France—along with her country's chances.

First-timers

Four teams are making World Cup debuts: Scotland, Chile, South Africa (above) and Jamaica. Chile has a rough path in Group F, where the top-ranked U.S. is expected to dominate. Scotland will face local rival England, which is riding high after this year's triumph in the SheBelieves Cup. However, the Lionesses are wary of a slip-up, with English winger Karen Carney telling the BBC before the group draw, "I wouldn't want [Scotland]. They'd have a lot of fans coming over, and the rivalry can be a leveler." The top two teams from all six groups, as well as four third-place teams, will pass through to the knockout rounds.

**8. Saki Kumagai**

JAPAN

WHEN SAKI KUMAGAI FIRED A penalty shot past U.S. goalkeeper Hope Solo in the final of the 2011 World Cup, a tormented nation exhaled, if only for a moment. Earlier that year, one of the strongest earthquakes in history unleashed a tsunami and a meltdown of the Fukushima nuclear plant that ravaged the island nation. Some 20,000 people were killed. The then 20-year-old Kumagai's steely play clinched Japan's win—the first World Cup ever won by an Asian nation—and caused a desperately needed celebration. Delirious fans filed out of Tokyo bars and took to the streets in fits of joy.

Nearly a decade later, Kumagai enters this World Cup far removed from the rookie who grew up in Sapporo idolizing the legendary captain of that Japanese team, Homare Sawa. She's now one of the standout players in the world. A defensive midfielder who has suited up for Lyon, the French superclub that's won four straight Champions League titles since 2013, Kumagai now leads a less experienced Japan team attempting to reach a third straight World Cup final (Japan fell to the U.S., 5-2, in the 2015 final in Canada). The team carries some momentum into the tournament, having won the 2018 Asian Cup.

Kumagai, the captain, who plans to help her teammates acclimate to France this summer, will be key. "When she gets the ball, she has an amazing ability to keep possession under pressure," says former U.S. player Meghan Klingenberg. "She makes Japan tick."



'SHE HAS AN AMAZING ABILITY TO KEEP POSSESSION UNDER PRESSURE. SHE MAKES JAPAN TICK.'

9. Ji So-yun

SOUTH KOREA

Ji made her first appearance with South Korea's national team at 15. Now a star for Chelsea in the English Women's Super League, Ji, 28, keys her country's offensive attack.

10. Vivianne Miedema

NETHERLANDS

The Dutch striker scored 29 goals for Arsenal this season, setting a new Women's Super League scoring record. Miedema, 22, teams with 2017 FIFA player of the year Lieke Martens to form a powerful 1-2 scoring punch for the Netherlands.

11. Lindsey Horan

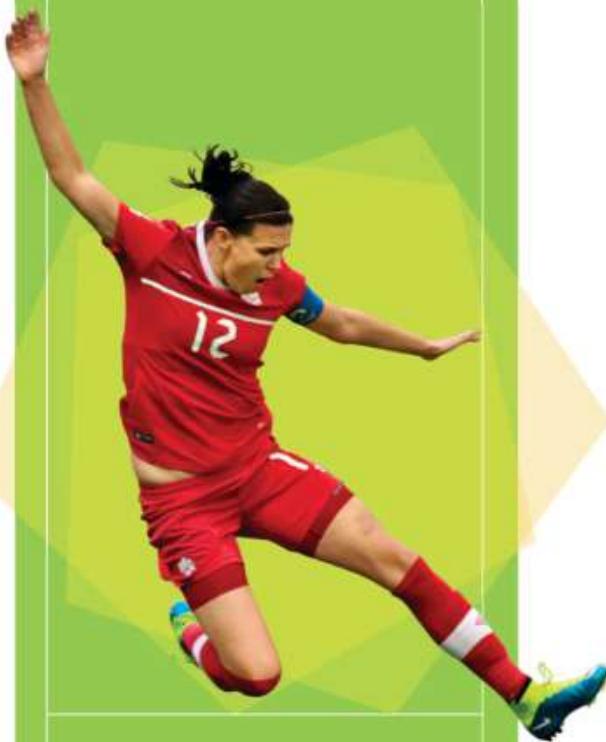
USA

The 25-year-old American midfielder and Portland Thorns star won the 2018 National Women's Soccer League MVP. She's making her World Cup debut in France and is primed for a breakout tournament.

12. Christine Sinclair

CANADA

Canada's captain enters the World Cup with a staggering 181 career international goals. Expect her to break retired U.S. star Abby Wambach's all-time record—for women and men—of 184 in France. At 35, Christine Sinclair has led her country to two Olympic bronze medals, been named Canadian player of the year a whopping 14 times and been nominated seven times for FIFA World Player of the Year. The Canadians enter the World Cup on a hot streak, having not lost since January. If the team keeps it up in France, Sinclair could secure her first World Cup medal in what could be her last appearance in the competition.



STORIES TO WATCH

Home cooking

Though France's women have never won a major tournament, Les Bleues (above) are consistently among the favorites, particularly this year. On top of home-field advantage, almost a third of the squad plays for Olympique Lyonnais, far and away the most dominant women's team in Europe, with 13 consecutive domestic league titles and four Champions League trophies in a row. The team's stars include French captain Amandine Henry and vice captain Eugénie Le Sommer. But their Lyon teammates—like Canada's Kadeisha Buchanan, England's Lucy Bronze, Germany's Dzsenifer Marozsan and Japan's Saki Kumagai—populate the rosters of the competition.

Fresh looks

For the first time in the women's game, many of the players' kits will feature a unique design rather than being a copy of the country's men's uniforms. There are still a few unis that replicate the men's designs—notably Nigeria's, whose green-and-white zigzag pattern with black patterned sleeves echoes the men's jersey that was so popular at last year's World Cup. Other, more original throwback styles include Germany's '90s-inspired pattern by Adidas and Australia's green, white and orange "brushstroke" look. Also notable is France's hexagon-speckled away uniform, complete with matching socks.



TikTok turns emerging artists into viral sensations. But who actually benefits?

By Andrew R. Chow

IN 2017, A LITTLE-KNOWN RAPPER NAMED SUPA DUPA HUMBLE RELEASED his song “Steppin” to a muted response. He moved on to other projects, but a year and a half later, he noticed a surge in the song’s view count on YouTube. As he scrolled through the comments, he kept seeing one word over and over again: “Who came here from TikTok?” “TikTok brought me here.” “Greetings from TikTok but this song is fire.”

“I’m like, What is TikTok?” the rapper, who is 27 and lives in Brooklyn, recalls.

Some quick research led him to the app TikTok, which he promptly downloaded and began to explore. The app allows users to post short videos of themselves lip-synching to music, doing makeup tutorials, performing synchronized dances or acting out comedic skits. There he found that people were creating skits lip-synching to the first 15 seconds of his song.

As he kept coming back to the app, the number of videos kept ballooning: his music had formed the soundtrack to a viral meme. And as TikTok users tried to find the song in its entirety, his numbers on Spotify and other streaming platforms were shooting up too.

“I was so hype,” he says. “It was unbelievable.”

TikTok is the latest breakout platform to house these types of short-form videos, following Vine, which shut down in early 2017, Dubsmash and TikTok’s previous iteration Musical.ly. In November 2017, the \$75 billion Chinese media company ByteDance bought Musical.ly with the intent of folding its 60 million users in the U.S. and Europe into its own successful video app,

TikTok (known as Douyin in China). Its new global TikTok app took off in 2018, rising to the top of Apple’s App Store and racking up a record 3.8 million first-time downloads in October. Teenagers in particular drove its success in the U.S., and its most popular videos began to spill onto other platforms like Twitter, YouTube and Instagram. While some users view it as another silly online diversion, it does for artists like Supa Dupa Humble what other online platforms have done in recent years: allow them to get their music in front of potential fans while bypassing the traditional gatekeepers.

“TikTok empowers artists by being an avenue for visual output and creativity,” Mary Rahmani, TikTok’s director of music content and artist relations, said in an email. “We offer a platform that is creative, collaborative, global and unique.”

Its ascension, however, comes at a fraught moment for the music industry, in which streaming revenue has surpassed physical sales but overall revenue remains soft, in large part because of how much music is available free online. Most musicians must rely on touring, merchandise and even side hustles to make a living, and the meager revenue generated by streaming has contributed to an ongoing battle over how much artists should be paid across different platforms.

Culture

It seems inevitable that TikTok will soon be part of this battle. As the company has grown, with ByteDance being called the world's most valuable startup, TikTok has increasingly found itself in the spotlight, and not always in ways it might like. It faced allegations about its handling of user data as well as questions about what type of content it will allow on its platform. In the case of the artists who have seen their songs take off in ways they never expected, the question is whether giving them a platform is enough. Given the amount of money at stake, how long will exposure be sufficient as currency?

WHEN YOU OPEN TIKTOK, it looks a bit like Instagram: you scroll down a vertical feed of videos that you can like, comment on or share. But unlike Instagram and Facebook, in which you choose to follow friends or organizations, TikTok gives you content based solely on an algorithm powered by artificial intelligence, often displaying the most viral and fun videos that have recently emerged on the platform.

TikTok, of course, did not invent the lip-sync comedy that's so popular with its users—Jerry Lewis mimed a big band in 1961, and Wayne and Garth of *Wayne's World* headbanged to "Bohemian Rhapsody" three decades later. It also isn't introducing participatory memes to the world—think the EDM craze "Harlem Shake." But perhaps never before has such a large platform made it so simple to both consume and take part in these art forms. TikTok has a huge database of songs; if you see a song you like in a video, you can click on it and use it right away. The ability to easily find an audience, combined with the platform's lack of pretension, has made TikTok highly addictive for a younger generation.

And as the app has grown, it's become clear that virality can run in two direc-

tions. While popular songs have birthed memes—as in the case of Soulja Boy's "Pretty Boy Swag" or Metro Station's "Shake It"—memes have also turned minor songs into omnipresent smashes.

Ava Max, a 25-year-old singer-songwriter in Los Angeles, is proof of the latter. Her song "Not Your Barbie Girl" flew under the radar for about six months before it picked up steam on TikTok. Suddenly women were singing along to her lyrics while either dressing up as Barbie or flouting the strict confines of the doll's image. "I noticed that and freaked out," Max says. Several months later, her song "Sweet but Psycho" exploded to an even greater degree on the app, which helped the song accrue more than 550 million streams on Spotify. "It helped because it reached a wider audience and a younger generation that are mostly on their phone, as I am," she says.

TikTok's greatest success story is indisputably Lil Nas X. The 20-year-old Atlanta artist was a college dropout sleeping on his sister's floor when, playing off the renewed popularity of cowboy culture online, he started promoting his country-trap song "Old Town Road" through memes on Twitter and Instagram. After several months, it broke out on TikTok, with creators using it in their videos as they transformed themselves into cowboys and cowgirls.

Record labels took notice, and after a fierce bidding war, Lil Nas X signed with Columbia Records in March. When *Billboard* removed the song from its country charts later that month—classifying it as hip-hop as opposed to country—it got even more attention amid the controversy. The song has become inescapable, and a remix featuring Billy Ray Cyrus sits at No. 1 on the *Billboard* Hot 100.

"I should maybe be paying TikTok," Lil Nas X says. "They really boosted the song."

SUPA DUPA HUMBLE

Saw monthly YouTube views double

THE POWER OF TIKTOK

How the popular app gave these musicians a career boost



BUT NOT ALL TIKTOK STARS have seen the same success outside the app. Songs are often posted on the platform without being labeled correctly, and it can take weeks or even months for musicians to get proper credit.

Such is the case for ZaeHD & CEO, two rappers out of Little Rock, Ark. Like Lil Nas X, they hoped to engineer viral success by recording songs specifically designed to be consumed as bite-size memes. Weeks before they released the full version of their song "All In," they posted short videos of themselves and others dancing to snippets on Instagram, making it a minor sensation before it was even out.

Their social-media push worked: a portion of the song has been featured in 2.3 million videos on TikTok. But there's one issue: that sample was put into TikTok's system by another user, who labeled it "Em Em Dance," by Keezy. The hashtag #ememdance has now been viewed over 32 million times with no reference to the song's creators. "I have been looking for this song for the longest [time] I kept typing in mmm mmm mmm but nothing recognized it," one YouTube comment reads.

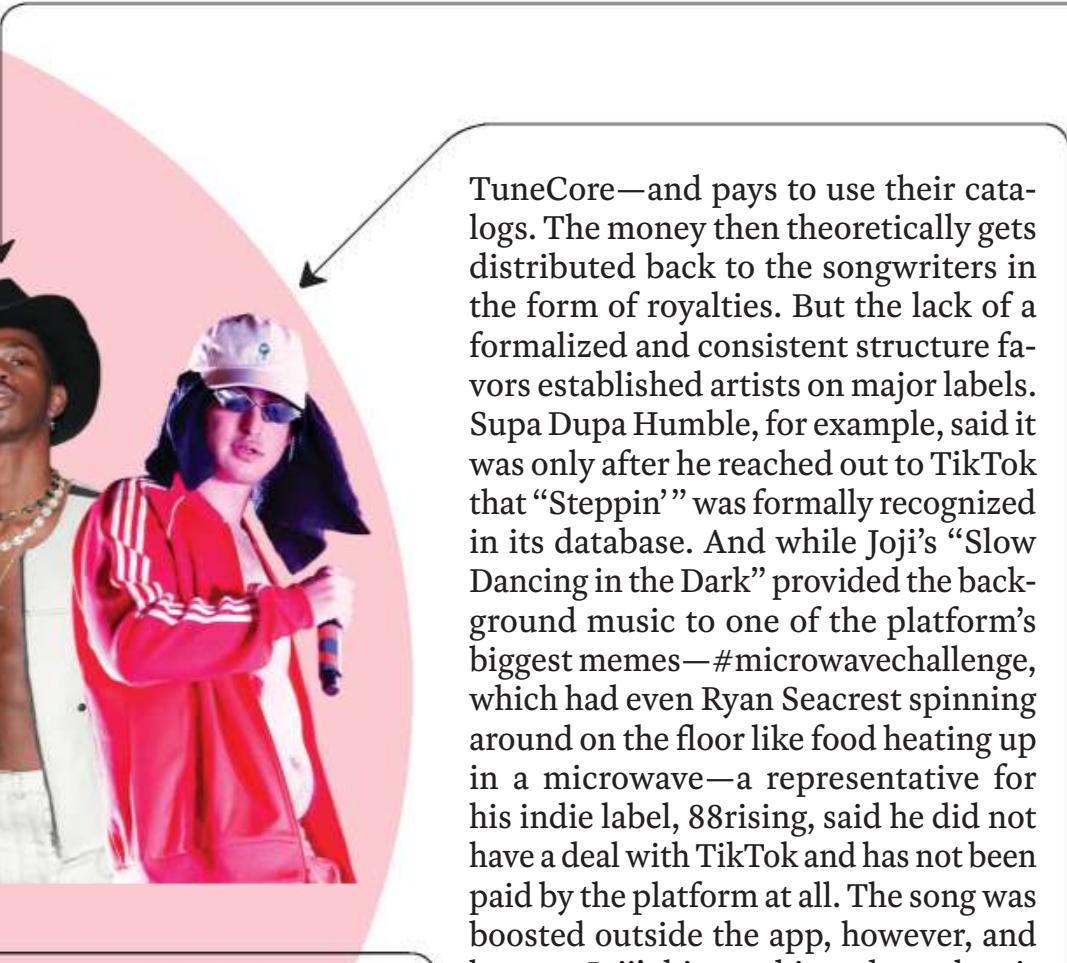
Sleuthing fans like that one did find the song on other platforms, like Spotify and YouTube, which pay artists per stream. But as of publication time, the song is still labeled incorrectly—despite the fact that ZaeHD says his

AVA MAX

Soundtracked two viral memes

I SHOULD MAYBE BE PAYING TIKTOK. THEY REALLY BOOSTED THE SONG.

—LIL NAS X



LIL
NAS X
Wrote No. 1
song in the
country

TuneCore—and pays to use their catalogs. The money then theoretically gets distributed back to the songwriters in the form of royalties. But the lack of a formalized and consistent structure favors established artists on major labels. Supa Dupa Humble, for example, said it was only after he reached out to TikTok that “Steppin’” was formally recognized in its database. And while Joji’s “Slow Dancing in the Dark” provided the background music to one of the platform’s biggest memes—#microwavechallenge, which had even Ryan Seacrest spinning around on the floor like food heating up in a microwave—a representative for his indie label, 88rising, said he did not have a deal with TikTok and has not been paid by the platform at all. The song was boosted outside the app, however, and became Joji’s biggest hit to date when it made the *Billboard* Hot 100 in March.

Asked about a potential imbalance of power, a TikTok spokesperson responded, “TikTok is an exciting way for songs and emerging artists to gain exposure and break through with a wide and varied audience. We work closely with rights holders to build and protect a library of sound on the platform which is available for users to infuse in their own short videos.”

TikTok has also hit some significant bumps in the road. In February it agreed to pay \$5.7 million to settle federal allegations that it illegally collected personal information from kids under 13. In April, India temporarily halted downloads of the app, citing concerns for children’s safety. And the company has come under fire for being slow to tamp down hate speech. (“We continue to enhance our existing measures and roll out further protections as we work to minimize the opportunity for misuse,” a TikTok spokesperson told HuffPost in April. “There is absolutely no place for discrimination, including hate speech, on this platform.”)

If artists do challenge TikTok over their compensation, they will hardly be the first to take on a platform over the issue. Metallica sued Napster in 2000 for putting its music online for free, and Taylor Swift yanked her music off Spotify in

2014. (She returned in 2017.)

Last year, Congress passed the Music Modernization Act, which made it easier for artists to be paid for streams. But because TikTok isn’t a streaming service, the act doesn’t apply, and in part because of TikTok’s relative newness, the music industry has yet to come together to tackle its monetization issues.

But Richard Busch, an attorney who has handled prominent cases relating to copyright infringement—including the landmark “Blurred Lines” case, in which he won a multimillion-dollar judgment against Pharrell Williams and Robin Thicke—says TikTok is too big not to have serious implications for the industry.

“Songwriters, music publishers and owners of recorded music are having their music basically stolen with no incentive for the TikToks of the world to do anything about it,” he says. “You are destroying the value of that music.”

THESE ISSUES ARE only becoming more pressing. The top of Spotify’s United States Viral 50 charts is littered with TikTok-driven songs, and the potential revenue streams are increasing.

TikTok recently started testing ads, something brands had been waiting for since its launch. In April the company kicked off an audition contest in South Korea and Japan that places videos of independent singers and dancers hoping to be signed in front of industry insiders. And Busch said there are active licensing talks between TikTok and the National Music Publishers Association, an organization that fights for copyright protection and compensation for songwriters, though he notes that it represents a tiny fraction of music publishers.

For now, the artists driving TikTok’s first year of success are mostly ecstatic about the way it has boosted their careers. Supa Dupa Humble’s monthly YouTube views have more than doubled. He’s watched “Steppin’” memes spread around the world and welcomed a fan base of TikTok users who have stuck around to explore his other music. “People are saying, ‘I came from a meme, but I’m staying because this is fire,’” he says. “It’s dope to see the record actually grow legs on its own.” □

team has talked to TikTok about changing it—and the song’s stream count on Spotify is comparatively much lower, around 5 million.

TikTok has little motivation to change its identification system. The Digital Millennium Copyright Act of 1998 (DMCA) puts the onus on users rather than tech companies to report copyright violations. So an artist like ZaeHD has two main options: try to work with TikTok, which is making its way through similar requests, or send a DMCA takedown notice, which would wipe the song from the platform and slow its momentum.

ZaeHD, 20, isn’t particularly bothered by the lack of recognition, because he says the song’s success is unprecedented for his community. “Where we’re from, this don’t happen,” he says. “Three million views is not seen where we stay.”

But this dynamic—of the world’s most valuable startup profiting off rising musicians who are just grateful for the exposure—has some music legal experts worried. “Unfortunately, a lot of the digital services resist paying for the music that makes their platforms successful, and it’s not right,” says Erin Jacobson, a music attorney who advises clients on intellectual property.

TikTok secures licensing deals with different rights holders in the industry—from labels to publishing platforms like

ZAEHD
& CEO
Accrued over
32 million views
of a song
sample

JOJI
Made
Billboard
Hot 100 for
first time



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art by nino ilievski

TimeOff

HIS SONG
Taron Egerton
stars as Elton
John in a new
biopic that brings
history dazzlingly
to life



INSIDE

A SHATTERING RETELLING OF
THE CENTRAL PARK FIVE SAGA

A NEW BOOK ASKS HOW GENDER
AND LANGUAGE INTERSECT

POLITICAL ART AT THIS YEAR'S
WHITNEY BIENNIAL

TimeOff Opener

MOVIES

A glitter-fueled *Rocketman* blasts off

By Stephanie Zacharek

WHEN YOU THINK ABOUT IT, THE rock-'n'-roll biopic is about as un-rock 'n' roll as you can get, the ultimate in dancing about architecture. You sit through the whole thing, watching a rock star's life unfold before you. How can that compare to the thrill of standing in a sweaty pit in the presence of a magnificent human being who calls out to us, one by one and all together, inspiring joy and lust and a zillion other feelings that we haven't yet invented words for? Who wants to sit down and watch a movie about an art form that makes you wanna shout?

But rock biopics, done right, can jump the synapse between how movies work on us and how music moves us. *Rocketman*—the story of shy Reginald Dwight from North London, who would become showman and songman extraordinaire Elton John—sparks that duotone euphoria. Directed by Dexter Fletcher and starring Taron Egerton as the spangled one himself, *Rocketman* is magnificent and ridiculous, a feathered mélange of clichés and originality, of respectful homage and unrepentant nostalgia. Sometimes it's comfortingly conventional; other times it's gloriously off the charts. Even when it doesn't quite work, it's just so alive, meeting right at the intersection of the human heartbeat and the also-human love for shiny things.

Even people who profess not to love Elton John find they can't resist him, and they certainly can't avoid him: among a string of hits spread throughout a career of nearly 50 years, John's 1970 "Your Song" is a universal anthem of intimacy, a song that just about everybody knows. "I hope you don't mind that I put down in words/ How wonderful life is while you're in the world." Who among us wouldn't want to be thought of that way by another human being? Or who hasn't felt that way about someone else, a person whose presence is as precious as the gift of daylight? *Rocketman* is essentially a movie version of "Your Song," dedicated to the man who wrote the song itself, a jukebox musical with so much ardent affection poured into it—by the filmmakers and by the actors—that it feels like a love ballad. The picture was, it should be noted, executive-produced by John, so there's some vanity involved here—but if Elton John can't be allowed to love himself, what hope is left for this monstrous world? As for moviegoers, I'm sure it's possible to dislike *Rocketman*: there's no avoiding the "Rainbows are overrated, don't you think?" brigade. But resisting *Rocketman* would expend more energy than it's worth. If you're certain you're going to hate



John in the rock opera *Tommy* in 1975

it, just don't go—and leave the pleasure to the rest of us.

OUR FIRST VISION of Egerton as John is a blast of glory: dressed in a winged red devil costume lush with plumage, a pair of curly rams' horns sprouting from the red satin caplet that hugs his head, he pushes through a set of doors that presumably lead to a stage. But he's actually headed to a group-therapy session, where he plunks himself down, costume and all, and begins the story of his life, accompanied by a litany of his problems. This is Elton John circa the late 1980s, and here's what he's up against: He may be one of the world's richest and most successful rock stars, but he's also an alcoholic, a cokehead and a bulimic. He's addicted to sex, and he has an anger-management problem. He loves prescription painkillers, and he can't stop shopping. He's alternately agitated and demonically animated as he rattles off his list of flaws and vexations. The ordinary people seated around him in a circle want to help, and they begin asking questions, beginning with the big one: What was his childhood like?

From there, *Rocketman* takes off like a shot, illustrating each major episode in John's life with lavish production numbers. Fletcher prefers the operatic approach over restraint, and his instincts pay off. The real Elton John is now in his 70s, married and semi-retired from touring as he raises his young family; he has been sober for nearly 30 years. The Elton John of



John with
Taupin in 1969;
and in 2019,
performing on
his farewell tour



Rocketman is both a fantasy and a rendering of a real human being who has seen his share of suffering: though the movie is largely celebratory, there's a forceful strain of melancholy running through it. The opening number, a vibrant song and dance that takes place in a semihallucinatory version of mid-'50s London—set to the proclamatory “The Bitch Is Back”—shows a young, willful Elton (played at this point by Matthew Illesley) punching the air, a piano prodigy ready to conquer the world. Later, though, we see him buckling under the disapproval and indifference of his parents (Steven Mackintosh and Bryce Dallas Howard). Their lack of affection for him sets the jagged course of his life. At one point his mother bestows a wicked-witch curse upon him, telling him that he'll never find anyone who'll truly love him.

That may be a supersimplistic reduction of real human problems, but in the context of the movie's vivid stylization, it's perfectly workable. *Rocketman* shows us an Elton John searching for love and rarely finding it: the movie outlines an early, unrequited love for his longtime lyricist, Bernie Taupin (played, wonderfully, by Jamie Bell). And it plumbs the depths of John's passionate fixation on his onetime manager John Reid (a deviously sexy Richard Madden), who used him as a cash cow.

Through it all, Egerton's Elton prevails, almost like the heroine of a '50s Douglas Sirk melodrama: he falls desperately in and out of love; he buys rhinestone-bedazzled sunglasses and out-of-this-world suits; he flounces around his lavish digs in Versace kimonos. As a young shooting star, he plays the Troubadour in Los Angeles—he levitates at the piano, and the audience levitates with him, their platform shoes hovering above the floor like shiny magic horses' hooves. But success hurts too: he'll later attempt suicide by getting messed up on pills and booze and diving into his pool. Fletcher turns the suicide attempt into an underwater fantasy, complete with a hallucination of tiny Elton the child prodigy, seated at a mini-grand piano at the pool's bottom. Egerton does his own singing in *Rocketman*, and he's affecting and effective: the performance is impersonation as tribute, and it's filled with tenderness.

THIS FILM'S rapturous reception at Cannes, coupled with the surprise worldwide embrace of last year's *Bohemian Rhapsody*, suggests that rock biopics might be satisfying some secret

desire that our hypercurated Spotify lists can't reach. (*Bohemian Rhapsody* was partially directed by Fletcher, who stepped in after Bryan Singer was fired from the production.) Both *Bohemian Rhapsody* and *Rocketman* are set largely in the 1970s, which, to people who weren't alive at the time, may seem like some lost, dazzling world. They're right: it was dazzling, a time of freedom and exploration that began with the advent of the sexual revolution and ended when AIDS descended. Even if you were too young to have sex during the '70s, just listening to the radio was awesome: the artists you heard were often flamboyant, blurring the line between masculine and feminine, and leading us to wonder how much the line mattered in the first place. By the early '70s, young people were already tired of their hippie predecessors, jawing on about how much acid they dropped. In the '70s, electricity of all kinds was welcome, in the form of satin bomber jackets or glittery bell-bottoms or makeup on the faces of girls and boys.

No wonder the Freddie Mercury of *Bohemian Rhapsody* and the Elton John of *Rocketman* are the men of the moment, the people we want to hear from now. Both were masters of self-invention who celebrated love and pleasure even when masking their own heartbreak. The question asked, and answered, by *Rocketman* isn't “Why should we care about Elton John?” but “Why wouldn't we want just a bit of his lightning right now?”

Even if the movie doesn't make one penny ... it's the movie I wanted to make.

ELTON JOHN,
introducing *Rocketman* at its Cannes Film Festival premiere

Technology has made our lives easier, but the trade-off is that it now rules our lives. Work and play are merged in unholy ways. The man in the gray flannel suit, working hard for the life he wants, hasn't disappeared; he's now the man—or woman—in the gray felt Allbirds, putting in long hours to pay off student loans. And here comes a movie with Elton John in a feathered suit, a fabulous and rare songbird at the piano, presenting us with a vision of romance and vitality and wild, polychrome beauty. This, too, can be your song. And you can tell everybody. □

TimeOff Reviews



Birds of a feather: Feldstein and Dever play best friends gone wild

MOVIES

The perils of growing up smart

By Stephanie Zacharek

ONLY RECENTLY HAVE FILMMAKERS BEGUN THINKING seriously about coming-of-age stories told from a young woman's point of view. Olivia Wilde's clever, peppery *Booksmart*—in which Beanie Feldstein and Kaitlyn Dever play two brainy teenage best friends, unpopular with their classmates, who decide to cap off their high school experience by going to an actual party—further opens a door that's right now merely ajar. Wilde's directorial debut joins other recent pictures—like Marielle Heller's 2015 *The Diary of a Teenage Girl* and Bo Burnham's 2018 *Eighth Grade*—that explore universal teenage experiences even as they acknowledge that not all teenage girls are the same.

Feldstein's Molly and Dever's Amy aren't shy, bullied kids. They're smug about their terrific grades and unapologetic about their grand ambitions, so busy grooving on their own awesomeness that they can't see beyond themselves; little wonder no one likes them. But when they learn that some of their classmates have gotten into good schools while also having fun along the way, it dawns on them how much they've missed, a problem they set out to rectify literally overnight.

In one evening, this duo's deepest vulnerabilities are laid bare. Molly hasn't dated at all, perhaps because she's been subconsciously afraid to try. Amy is gay and out of the closet, refreshingly open about who she is and whom she likes, but that doesn't make romance any easier for her. Disappointment awaits both, but there are triumphs too, and as trying as Molly and Amy can be, you want nothing less for them. Feldstein and Dever have a kind of mad, cartoon-chipmunk chemistry, playing characters who know each other so well that they finish each other's sentences and step on each other's lines. What their friendship really needs is a little room to breathe. *Booksmart* is smart about that too. □

QUICK TALK

Olivia Wilde

Fifteen years into a career that has ranged from recurring TV roles on The O.C. and House to films like Tron and Drinking Buddies, the actor, 35, makes her directorial debut. In the high school buddy comedy Booksmart, two friends bound for the Ivy League set out to have one crazy night before college.

This movie has been compared to Superbad and The Breakfast Club. What high school movie tropes did you want to subvert? All of them. We wanted to present these characters who initially seem like stereotypes, but when the movie digs deeper, are completely different than expected. In high school, I felt I never fit in the stereotyped boxes—rebel or nerd or jock, definitely not jock. You can be it all. I want the audience to ask, "Who have I pigeonholed?"

The cast is reflective of a modern high school and represents sexuality on a spectrum. How was your casting process different from that of other films? We evolved the story with the cast. We sat down with each cast member and adapted the character to their personality. It was essential to remove any physical attributes in casting breakdowns. [In other films, I have seen] subtle hints that unintentionally limit roles to white actors.

We've seen a lot of bromances onscreen but fewer loving female friendships. What did you want to show with this one? I asked women about their favorite movies to watch with their girlfriends. Just about everyone from teens to 35-year-olds said *Bridesmaids*. I think there's an authenticity to the friendships in that movie that appeals to all ages. I wanted to show a different stage in a woman's life when your friend is your true soul mate.



The friends discuss masturbation, straight sex, lesbian sex, porn. Why was that important? Often funny movies put male dialogue in the mouths of women. I wanted to show women talk about sex as much as men—they just talk about it differently. Women shouldn't feel ashamed of their sexuality. They should be proud of it.

—ELIANA DOCKTERMAN

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TimeOff Reviews



Yusef (Ethan Herisse) and his mom (Aunjanue Ellis) keep their heads up

TELEVISION

Ava DuVernay trains her gaze on the Central Park Five

By Judy Berman

NEARLY AN HOUR INTO AVA DUVERNAY'S NETFLIX MINISERIES *When They See Us*, four of the boys known as the Central Park Five are left alone together in a holding cell. (The fifth, Korey Wise, is locked in with adults because he's 16.) They've just spent hours being interrogated—and intimidated—by police trying to prove they gang-raped a woman in the park and left her for dead. In fact, most of the boys don't even know one another. There's a long silence before they start talking. The camera alternates between closeups of these scared, exhausted, beaten-up kids' faces. They see each other. Hopefully, we see them too.

As the title suggests, the idea of seeing is crucial to this elegant, wrenching interpretation of the Central Park Five story. DuVernay, who wrote, directed and helped produce the miniseries, has a gift for framing a familiar historical moment so that you can really see it for the first time. In this case, the *Selma* director's simplest but most profound decision is to portray five black and Latino boys, ages 14 to 16, as the scared children they are, rather than as the gangsters or delinquents they were made out to be.

Throughout *When They See Us*, which comes to Netflix on May 31, DuVernay lets stark visuals capture what dialogue can't. Wordless shots of the boys and their families after each guilty verdict is read radiate shock, confusion, disbelief, terror. To see Raymond Santana (played by Marquis Rodriguez as a teen and Freddy Miyares as an adult) stepping off a bus after five years behind bars and drinking in the sight of his old block underscores how he was robbed of his youth.

'We've been waiting for 25 years for justice.'

YUSEF SALAAM,
to the New York Times, in 2014

It's a perceptive way of recasting a notorious miscarriage of justice, one that dominated the news following the arrests of Santana, Wise, Antron McCray, Yusef Salaam and Kevin Richardson in connection with the attack on white Central Park jogger Trisha Meili in 1989. Racial invective was hurled. Donald Trump bought newspaper ads demanding the death penalty. But in 2002, when an incarcerated serial killer confessed to the crime (and DNA confirmed it), the convictions were vacated. The five won a \$41 million settlement from New York City in 2014, but the damage to their lives was done.

DUVERNAY SPLITS this 25-year ordeal into four distinct parts: The premiere covers the crime and its immediate aftermath, Episode 2 focuses on the trial, and the third tracks the boys who were convicted as minors from juvenile detention to their bittersweet homecomings. In the harrowing finale, Korey struggles to survive adult prison, where savage beatings force him to choose between constant peril and solitary confinement. This epic sweep allows DuVernay to illuminate the broad implications of a racist justice system, from parole contingent on an admission of guilt to the difficulty of finding employment as an ex-felon.

Yet DuVernay never reduces her subjects to statistics or types. (The lawyers, by contrast, do feel generic.) She and her youngest actors honor each boy as a discrete person. Kevin (played by Asante Blackk, then Justin Cunningham) is a trumpet phenom with an adoring mother (Kylie Bunbury). Yusef (Ethan Herisse, then Chris Chalk) embraces Islam. Raymond leans on his loving single dad (John Leguizamo), while the trial pulls Antron's (Caleel Harris, then Jovan Adepo) guilt-ridden father (Michael K. Williams) away from the family. Korey (Jharrel Jerome) mediates between his transgender sister and a mom (Niecy Nash) who doesn't accept her.

But before their long nightmare begins, the five also embody a universal teenage experience. The giddy group of park-bound kids each boy joins on the night of their arrest could be a knot of white teens trampling suburban lawns. The difference, DuVernay suggests, is how we see them. □



Al (McShane): older, not wiser

TELEVISION

Deadwood rides again

Deadwood got a raw deal. Unlike HBO contemporaries *The Sopranos* and *The Wire*, David Milch's brilliant western didn't get to end on its own terms. But in true Wild West fashion, the show's legend has spread since its abrupt demise in 2006, after three seasons of frontier justice, bold power moves and baroque profanity. The film that will finally air May 31 on HBO reunites most of the stellar original cast and offers fans some closure.

Set a decade after the finale, *Deadwood: The Movie* is more coda than conclusion. The local sage, cutthroat saloon owner Al Swearengen (Ian McShane, reprising TV's best performance), has grown sickly; his priggish foil, Seth Bullock (Timothy Olyphant), is now a family man. Calamity Jane (Robin Weigert) and two-time widow Alma Ellsworth (Molly Parker) are just visiting. So is villain George Hearst (Gerald McRaney), whose return sparks the delicious ire of impetuous ex-prostitute Trixie (Paula Malcomson).

A murder plot emerges, but it's mostly an excuse to take a final look at these indelible characters. *Deadwood* isn't at its best as a movie; longer story arcs gave Milch's Shakespearean monologues more space to breathe. But it does still feel like home. —J.B.

TELEVISION

A fantasy tale of biblical proportions

IN THE BEGINNING—OF TELEVISION, that is—you didn't need much to create an entertaining show. Classic sitcoms were built around a couch, a dinner table and a few cute kids. But production values have been rising ever since, in an evolution that has enabled an entirely new aesthetic on TV. Now maximalist shows like *Maniac*, *Legion*, *The Umbrella Academy* and *American Horror Story* overflow with visual detail, conceptual ambition, lots of cultural references, freaky characters and supernatural flourishes.

The latest is *Good Omens*, a six-part adaptation of the 1990 fantasy touchstone by genre titans Neil Gaiman and the late Terry Pratchett that hits Amazon Prime on May 31. It's maximalist in every sense, from its biblical sweep to its dense script to the size of its ensemble. It may also be the first show to span 6,000 years.

A comic riff on the Book of Revelation, *Good Omens* stirs in a dollop of human error. Charged with delivering the Antichrist, David Tennant's broody demon Crowley hands off the baby to an inept satanic nun—who gives him to the wrong parents. The thing is, Crowley and his angel pal, a timid gourmand named Aziraphale (Michael Sheen), are secretly desperate to avoid the apoca-

lypse. So, in hopes of saving the world, they waste a decade neutralizing a regular kid. The real devil spawn (Sam Taylor Buck) spends his youth tromping around the woods with friends. Meanwhile, the Four Horsemen (bikers, naturally) begin to assemble.

That's certainly enough story to fill six hours, but *Good Omens* weaves in a 17th century witch's absurdly specific prophecies; a romance between a contemporary witch and a "witch finder"; and a millennium-hopping summary of Aziraphale and Crowley's verboten friendship, beginning in the Garden of Eden. To fully appreciate this show that alternates between childlike hyperactivity and erudite humor, you'll need a grasp of Western history, Judeo-Christian mythology, the occult and classic rock. Did I mention that God—voiced by Frances McDormand—narrates, bustling through reams of exposition?

Like all maximalist TV, *Good Omens* promises to be polarizing. Yet Tennant and Sheen make an ideal duo; their banter does justice to Gaiman (who adapted the novel and is an executive producer) and Pratchett's wit. It isn't necessarily my idea of heaven, but your paradise may vary. —J.B.



Angels and demons: Sheen, left, and Tennant play an unholy odd couple

TimeOff Books

FICTION

From Jamaica, with heartache

By Joshunda Sanders

PATSY, THE STUNNING SECOND NOVEL BY NICOLE Dennis-Benn, chronicles the often hidden sacrifices that black immigrant women make in pursuit of the ever elusive American Dream. As in her first novel, the acclaimed *Here Comes the Sun*, Dennis-Benn crafts a narrative set between her native Jamaica and her current home of Brooklyn, this time following a mother and child on distinctly different paths over the course of a decade. Patsy, 28, is the ambivalent mother to 5-year-old Tru. When Patsy departs Jamaica for the U.S. in 1998, in search of opportunity, she leaves Tru behind.

Readers will judge Patsy at the outset for abandoning her only child, who is wrestling with her own identity back home—approaching adolescence as a gender-nonconforming athlete in a country that offers neither language nor tolerance for what it means to be black, working class or queer. Her mother has chosen a life without her; when Patsy does acknowledge Tru, she sends a package with glittery nail files, hair bows and Hello Kitty stationery—a sign that further distances the mother from the person her child is becoming.

But Patsy is struggling too: she's in conflict over her decision to leave Tru and suffering from an unrequited love for a childhood friend now back in her life. Dennis-Benn forces readers to grapple with an impossible tension within the story, demanding that we examine both our condemnation of Patsy for choosing herself over her child and the array of forces that made her feel she had no other option—forces that continue to keep her down.

In America, just when Patsy thinks she can easily enroll in school or follow a path to success—like the ones told in popular tales of striving immigrants who overcome their lot—her undocumented status relegates her to a certain kind of labor. She cleans bathrooms at a mediocre Jamaican restaurant before becoming a nanny, caring for white children with more focus and intention than she ever offered Tru. The irony crushes her. When she seeks medication to ease her depression, Patsy encounters bias in the medical system all too common for black women and the working poor. And so the cycle continues.

DENNIS-BENN, who herself immigrated from Jamaica to the U.S. as a teenager, depicts coinciding journeys toward self-actualization for characters whose agency is often trumped by the whims of others. When Tru begins menstruating



▲
Dennis-Benn's
follow-up to her
acclaimed debut
follows a mother
and child on
diverging paths

and her father's partner tells her she has to stop playing soccer and climbing trees, Dennis-Benn describes an ache that both mother and child share: "The pain of her immediate isolation," she writes, "is as sharp as the one inside her womb."

Though set in the past, the story and its reflections on borders and boundaries carry an urgent timeliness. Patsy's pursuit of a better life in the U.S. and the costs that come with it mirror the struggles of black women who immigrate with dreams they soon find unreachable. She comes to discover, like so many women, that the bootstrap myth can only inspire so much.

There have been few narrative epics that effectively tally the emotional, logistical, physical, psychological and financial trials of the black female immigrant and mother or, likewise, the impact on the family of a black woman who dares transform herself. Dennis-Benn maps the internal terrain of black women yearning to be free—without romanticizing or ignoring their flaws. Yes, her central characters are persistent, but they can also be naive. Yes, these are strong black women, but they're also human, and they're nearly broken by loneliness, despair and a sense that they'll never belong. Showing us the triumphs and pitfalls of these two parallel rites of passage, *Patsy* fills a literary void with compassion, complexity and tenderness. □

wordslut
/wədslʌt/
a feminist guide to
taking back the
english language
amanda montell

NONFICTION

Free her speech

In *Wordslut*, linguist and reporter Amanda Montell delves into the complex relationships women have with words—both the ones they can be criticized for using too often (*like, you know* and *kind of*) and the ones used to diminish them (*bitch, slut* and *whore*). Men, Montell argues, have determined the meaning of our shared vocabulary for centuries. Now it's time for women to claim their verbal authority.

In sharp and energetic prose, *Wordslut* makes readable deep dives into vocabulary. Montell traces the roots of words now seen as offensive to their innocuous origins (*slut*, for example, was once synonymous with *untidy*) and unpacks the many valuable uses of filler phrases. And she doesn't stop with words themselves—she also examines their delivery. If a woman wants to nail a job interview or debate, for example, she's often told to avoid uptalk and vocal fry. But according to Montell, that's just a needless way to police her speech; in some languages, vocal fry helpfully changes the meaning of a word.

Learning more about our words can improve our communication—and allow women to express themselves more freely. Montell encourages readers to enter a “less judgmental linguistic future” by suggesting that there should be no standard for how we speak. —A.G.

FICTION

The show must go on

By Annabel Guterman

ELIZABETH GILBERT'S 2006 MEMOIR *Eat, Pray, Love* inspired countless women to pursue their own journeys of self-discovery even while drawing criticism for its insular brand of feminism. In her new novel, *City of Girls*, Gilbert sets her sights on a 20th century self-love story, an uneven yet decadently told tale about being a woman in a time when there was only one acceptable way to behave.

It's the summer of 1940, and Vivian Morris, 19, has been kicked out of college and is moving in with her Aunt Peg, who runs a shambly theater in New York City. World War II is looming, but Vivian is focused on costumes, dancing and losing her virginity. She becomes fast friends with a showgirl named Celia; their relationship, the most captivating in the book by far, tests Vivian's privilege (which Gilbert acknowledges by nodding to the character's family wealth) and naivete as Celia teaches her to explore her sexuality. The writing may be nostalgic—illuminated by Gilbert's glowing descriptions of city sidewalks and glitzy fashion—but Vivian and Celia's conversations predict the more modern idea that pleasure shouldn't be shameful. But as a new show opens at the theater, Vivian becomes embroiled in a sex scandal that jeopardizes the entire production and ruptures her friendship with Celia.

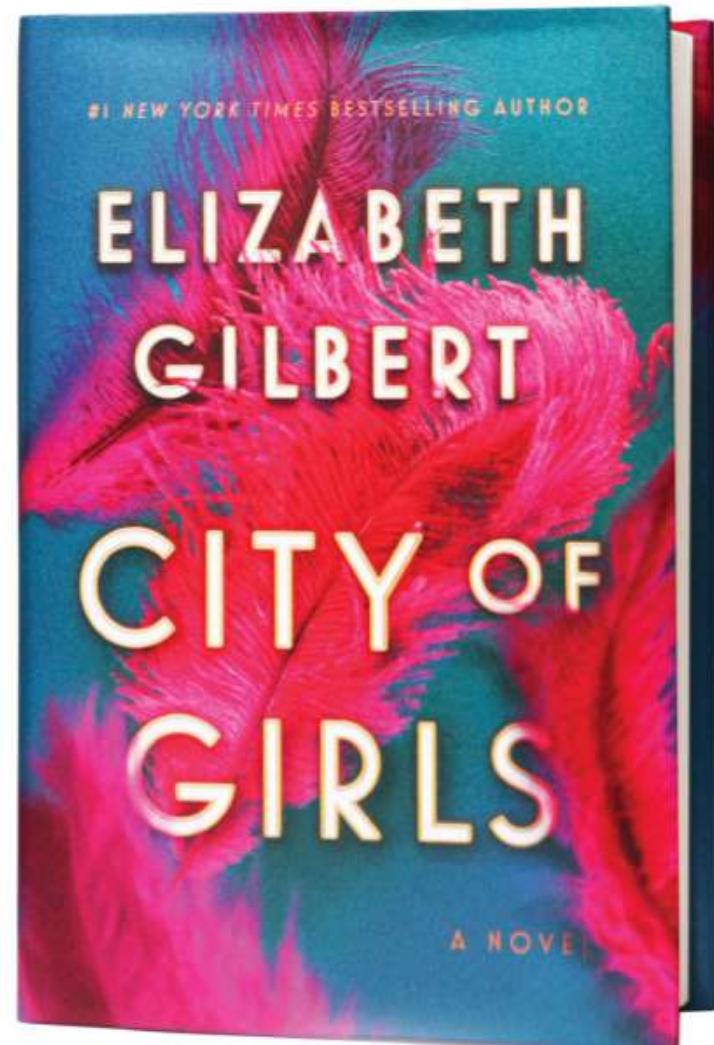
Gilbert, who has written three well-received previous works of fiction in addition to her best-selling nonfiction,

structures *City of Girls* as Vivian's response to a letter she receives at the age of 89. But the narration falters after Vivian's big falling-out with the theater and the dissolution of her life in New York. As the novel speeds up, allowing years of Vivian's life to flash by, the storytelling can't keep up with the emotional weight it's meant to carry. By fleshing out the journey of Vivian's life, Gilbert distracts from the strength of the coming-of-age story and the descriptive power of her prose when she lingers on a moment.

'Sometimes it takes a very long while to figure things out.'

VIVIAN, in *City of Girls*

Still, she paints a compelling portrait of young Vivian's plight and, in so doing, works with themes of freedom, responsibility and empowerment that feel both timeless and timely. In a moment when women's desires are still being governed, this is a story about a woman who recognizes—and embraces—hers. □



Gilbert's new novel examines a woman's empowerment over a lifetime

TimeOff Art

EXHIBIT

State of the art

By Wilder Davies

EVERY TWO YEARS, THE WHITNEY Museum of American Art in New York City presents a survey of contemporary art. Throughout its nearly century-long history, the Biennial has been a fertile ground for conversations about social issues and cultural tensions bubbling beyond the gallery walls—occasionally erupting into protest, as in 2017, when a controversial painting of the body of Emmett Till sparked a debate about institutional racism. Rujeko Hockley and Jane Panetta, the co-curators for the 2019 Biennial, have assembled a show that neither shies away from this history nor provokes for provocation's sake. The exhibit is diverse: a majority of its works are by artists of color, half by artists who identify as women. These six pieces embody its breadth and complexity—and, in turn, that of many of the issues facing America today.



THE VILLAIN, JOHN EDMONDS

Edmonds, a New York City-based photographer, is conscious of the history of representation of black bodies in his medium. In images like *The Villain*, he subverts assumptions about identity. With a sensitivity to light and color that makes his portraits exude a gentle warmth, Edmonds renders his subjects, many of whom are queer, as icons in their own right.



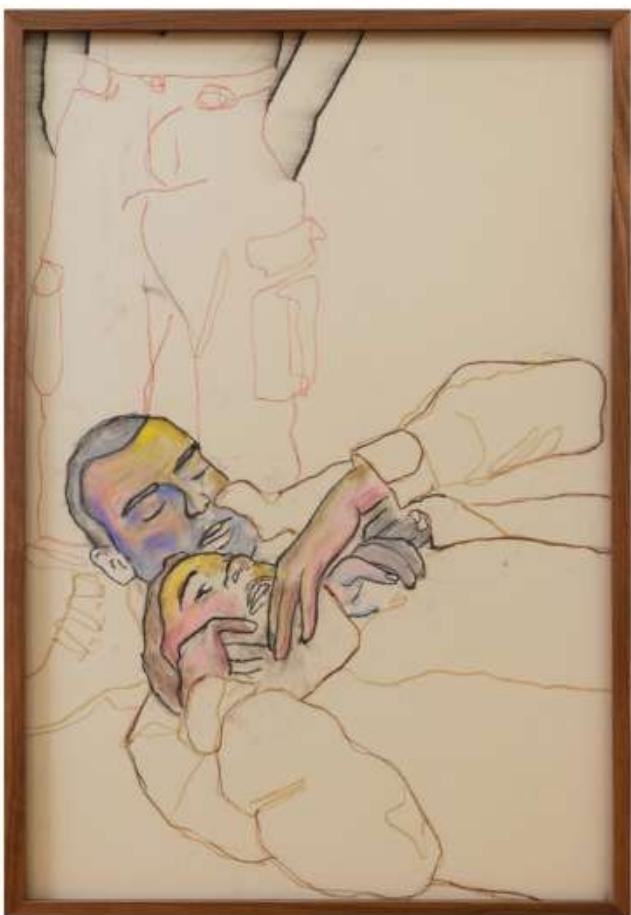
DONKEYS CROSSING THE DESERT, LUCAS BLALOCK

Blalock's surreal digital collage is one of the Biennial's largest works, mounted on a billboard outside the museum. It's accompanied by an augmented-reality component that can be viewed through a smartphone by downloading an app called Donkey Business. Blalock's uncanny, digitally manipulated still lifes, like this rendering of three donkeys, straddle the line between the real and the artificially rendered, a boundary that is becoming more and more permeable in an increasingly digitized world.

NATIONAL TIMES, AGUSTINA WOODGATE

In Woodgate's installation, which reflects on the relationship between labor, control and time-keeping, a row of "slave" clocks lining a gallery wall are controlled by a "master clock" in a system created during the Industrial Revolution to regulate the workday. But over time, the clocks fall gradually out of sync, and a layer of sandpaper Woodgate has attached to the minute hands scrapes away the numbers, rendering a seemingly infallible system useless.





^ **SUGGESTED OCCUPATION 4,
KYLE THURMAN**

Thurman reproduces images from the media of archetypal depictions of men—often athletes or soldiers—omitting their context to highlight “the strangeness around masculinity and men’s bodies being in proximity to each other,” Hockley says.



^ **ILUSTRACIONES DE LA MECÁNICA,
LAS NIETAS DE NONÓ**

Sisters Lydela and Michel Nonó use both theatrical performance and visual art to address themes of colonialism and race. In this performance, the duo conjures the painful history of U.S.-sanctioned forced sterilization of Puerto Rican women, which persisted into the 1970s.



^ **BORN ATHLETE AMERICAN: LAURIE
HERNANDEZ I, JEANETTE MUNDT**

Mundt, whose work often addresses the scrutiny of women’s bodies, created paintings inspired by photos of the winning movements of Olympic gymnasts, capturing the tension between their strength and the glittery femininity of their pristine hair and makeup.

TimeOff Art



PHOTOGRAPHY

A radical mural captures the soul of San Francisco

By Katy Steinmetz

FRENCH ARTIST JR IS FAMOUS FOR TELLING the stories of places through the people who inhabit them. At a housing project outside Paris, he pasted supersized portraits of residents on the buildings; their faces would become a backdrop for riots sparked in 2005. A few years later, in the West Bank, he covered walls with black-and-white photos of Israelis and Palestinians, pictured side by side. His latest work, set to debut at the San Francisco Museum of Modern Art on May 23, attempts a similar feat with expanded ambition. “Why not,” JR says of the project, “do it at the scale of a city?”

Over the course of two months, JR and his team photographed, filmed and interviewed some 1,200 people from neighborhoods around San Francisco. They then spent more than a year assembling those portraits into a “moving mural,” a digital collage in which characters break out of frozen poses with slow, looping movements.

JR, who collaborated with TIME for the 2018 project “Guns in America,” chose San Francisco because it is a city struggling with contradictions—a home of staggering wealth and poverty, a hub of counterculture and mainstream innovation, a tech-industry town where screens are supposed to connect people but instead cause isolation.

The mural “shows all the layers of people from San Francisco and how we don’t see each other anymore. We pass each other, but we don’t talk to each other,” he says. “The power of the mural is that it’s a project that includes everyone, even the people you don’t like.” Among the individuals in his microcosm are millionaires and homeless people, protesters and police officers, drag queens and tech workers. Keen-eyed



1.

JR considered other places, like Chicago and New York City, for the location of this U.S.-based mural. One factor that pushed him toward San Francisco was the prevalence of homelessness, an intractable issue for the city. “It’s something like I’ve never seen anywhere else,” JR says. Because of tolerant policies “the situation is much more in your face.” His team included some of the city’s estimated 8,011 people experiencing homelessness as they sought subjects for the mural.



2.

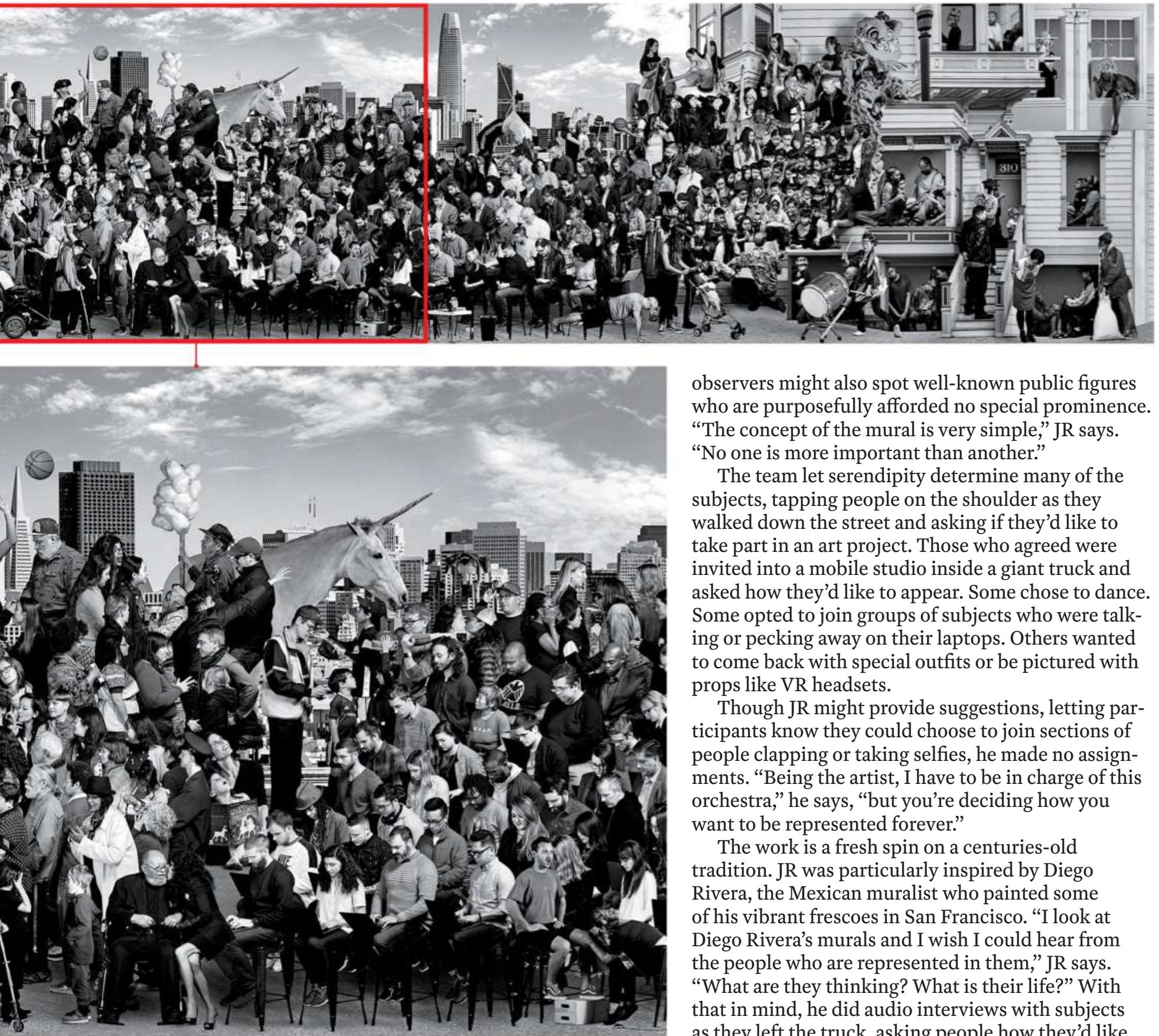
The mural includes iconic features of the city's landscape, such as Victorian architecture, vertiginous streets and the Castro Theatre. It also depicts communities long established in the city, like drag queens and swimmers who do laps in the bay. The latter, pictured in bathing suits, midstroke, double as a reference to the murals of Diego Rivera. The Mexican artist painted swimmers in a fresco known as *Pan American Unity*, part of an exposition held in San Francisco in 1940.

<



3.

In the digital version of JR's "moving mural," which was painstakingly compiled from videos his team made of individuals—and, in some cases, groups—figures move slowly. Some are even transported. On the stage above, for instance, members of the San Francisco Gay Men's Chorus take a bow and the curtain falls. The curtain then rises to reveal other performers, such as a group doing a traditional Chinese lion dance, a nod to strong Asian immigrant communities in the city.



4.

Viewers may recognize some faces in the top left corner of this panel: those of California Governor Gavin Newsom, who was once mayor of San Francisco, and Golden State Warriors star Draymond Green. The majority of subjects in the mural are people who encountered JR's team as they visited neighborhoods around the city. But because he wanted to capture San Francisco's multitudes, the artist invited some subjects to participate. "I wanted everyone to be represented," he says.

observers might also spot well-known public figures who are purposefully afforded no special prominence. "The concept of the mural is very simple," JR says. "No one is more important than another."

The team let serendipity determine many of the subjects, tapping people on the shoulder as they walked down the street and asking if they'd like to take part in an art project. Those who agreed were invited into a mobile studio inside a giant truck and asked how they'd like to appear. Some chose to dance. Some opted to join groups of subjects who were talking or pecking away on their laptops. Others wanted to come back with special outfits or be pictured with props like VR headsets.

Though JR might provide suggestions, letting participants know they could choose to join sections of people clapping or taking selfies, he made no assignments. "Being the artist, I have to be in charge of this orchestra," he says, "but you're deciding how you want to be represented forever."

The work is a fresh spin on a centuries-old tradition. JR was particularly inspired by Diego Rivera, the Mexican muralist who painted some of his vibrant frescoes in San Francisco. "I look at Diego Rivera's murals and I wish I could hear from the people who are represented in them," JR says. "What are they thinking? What is their life?" With that in mind, he did audio interviews with subjects as they left the truck, asking people how they'd like to be remembered. Those stories will be presented at SFMOMA alongside the kinetic version of the work, which is displayed on a canvas of interconnected screens measuring 107 ft. long and 16 ft. tall. (The project is supported by Lynne and Marc Benioff, TIME's owners and co-chairs.)

The artist's ultimate hope is that the mural will kindle human connections in the City by the Bay, that people pictured in it will feel like they're part of a whole and residents who go to see it will be more curious about others they pass blindly on the street. "We're all in this together," JR says. "Sometimes you just need a visual to represent that." □

7 Questions

Niecy Nash The star of *Claws* on the sudsy thriller's third season, her role in a new miniseries and her first directing gig

Claws, which is set in a nail salon, has sex, drugs, dance numbers and a mostly female cast decked out in high Florida glam. **Is it as much fun to make as it is to watch?** It is—from interacting with the cast to figuring out costumes. On a show like *Breaking Bad* or *The Sopranos*, the things that the women [of *Claws*] are doing are reserved for men. But we have badass women doing badass things. Most of the time, it's for a good reason.

You directed an episode of the new season, a first for you. How was that experience? Amazing. First of all, who doesn't love being able to tell people what to do? Second, I felt I was walking in with a gift and a purpose. The thing I loved most was being able to shift the atmosphere on set. I played music between setups: '90s R&B, Stevie Wonder. And because we film in New Orleans, I brought in a second-line band and beignets. When I filmed on a Friday, it was mandatory that everybody wore their pajamas. I learned that I like to direct my actors in private but praise them in public.

You also have a role in Ava DuVernay's Central Park Five miniseries *When They See Us*, which comes to Netflix on May 31. You've cited her as a hero of yours. Why do you find her so inspiring? Ava was able to completely course-correct her life. She was a publicist and got off that train, got on another one and created a whole other life for herself. Anybody who can stand in their truth and bet on themselves, I'm going to see as a hero. You can change your life in the blink of an eye.

In *When They See Us*, you play Delores Wise, whose son Korey was one of five teenage boys of color who were wrongfully convicted in the case of a white woman who was raped and left for dead. How do

IT WOULD BE UNFAIR OF ME TO SAY, "I'M THE BLACK LEAD OF A SHOW, GUYS. WE'RE ALL GOOD HERE."



you go about performing this real person's pain? With care. You have to pay attention to the scope of the life and not the one moment in time. I was happy to be able to speak with her before filming. You have to acknowledge that this is somebody's life, and you have to be [aware of] what bringing up the past may cause them.

When you're shooting such somber material, what is the atmosphere like on set? I've never been on a set like this, that provided crisis counseling to those who needed it. It's hard, being a mother in real life, to watch these children being dragged out of this courtroom and feel helpless. Having the real men who experienced this or their parents on set, too, you feel very responsible.

After raising three kids as a working actor, you're finally an empty nester. How has that changed your life? It makes me feel better about jobs out of town. That is one X factor in this industry that you cannot control. If a job shot in Vancouver or Atlanta or New Orleans and I was based in Los Angeles, it was challenging—because when my children were younger, I felt like I needed to be home. Now, I can go where the work is and feel all right.

You've been in Hollywood for about 25 years. In light of Time's Up and the increasing visibility of people of color in front of and behind the camera, do you see the industry changing in the long term? I do think it's changing, and it still has a ways to go. It would be unfair of me to say, "I'm the black lead of a show, guys. We're all good here." It was a childhood dream, getting a star on the Walk of Fame [as Nash did in 2018]. But there are so many other deserving people who exist beyond the realms of black and white—who are putting in the work and deserve to shine. There are so many stories that still need to be told. —JUDY BERMAN

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