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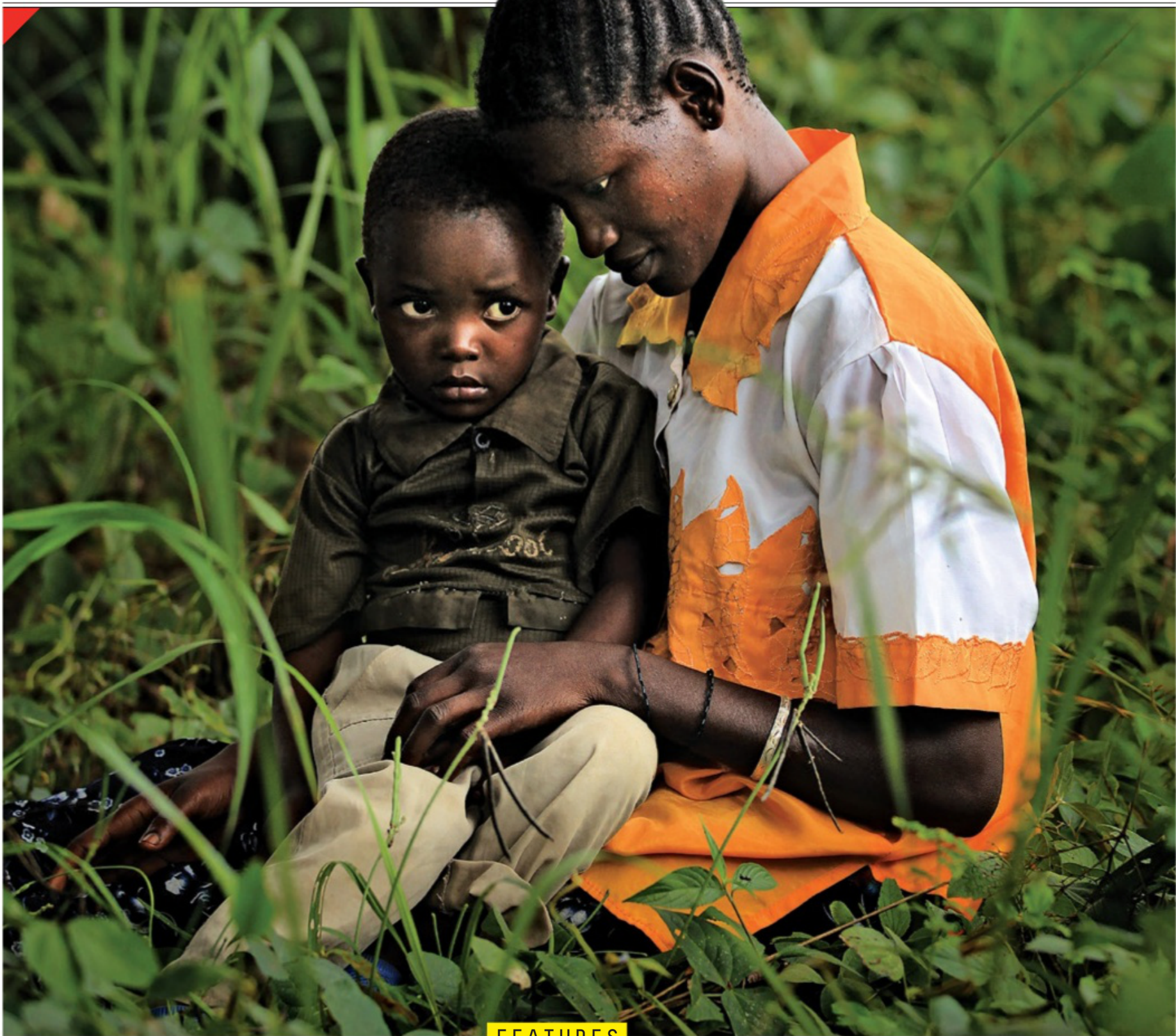
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FEATURES

FREE AT LAST

Juliana Bingo was held in captivity for three years after being abducted by the Lord's Resistance Army in South Sudan. She gave birth to her son, Simon, before being rescued.

COVER CREDIT

Photo illustration by **Gluekit** for Newsweek; Photo of Khamenei by Atta Kenare/AFP/Getty



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If Iran Falls, ISIS May Rise Again

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BY TOM O'CONNOR

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BY AVIVA FEUERSTEIN



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The Archives

1971 “Peanuts will be as much a part of Christmas this week as holly, mistletoe and Santa Claus,” *Newsweek* wrote. Charles M. Schulz, creator of America’s favorite comic strip in 1950, has “given the world a dozen definitions of happiness.” The then-\$150 million empire was flourishing with books, TV specials, movies, a musical and countless branded products. After nearly half a century, the last original Peanuts comic strip was published on February 13, 2000, mere hours after Schulz’s death. His Peanuts legacy lives on in many ways, including through his holiday classic, *A Charlie Brown Christmas*.



1985 “Video has become our teacher, seller and storyteller,” *Newsweek* said of the taped medium that “permeates virtually every corner of our culture.” It is “irrevocably transforming how millions of us define who and what we are.” Today, Instagram, TikTok and Snapchat are extensions of that mighty trend. Just ask our youth.



1993 “By the 1990s, America was awash in nuclear waste,” *Newsweek* reported. From “human guinea pigs in radiation experiments” to “undisclosed nuclear explosions” and “lethal atomic debris,” Americans were victim to these risks. Despite this, the public still doesn’t know the “true dimensions of the toxic mess.” **N**

CLOCKWISE FROM LEFT: ILLUSTRATION BY CHARLES M. SCHULTZ; CARL FISCHER; ENGRAVING OF RAPHAEL CHERUB BY STEINILA/BETTMAN ARCHIVE

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In Focus

— THE NEWS IN PICTURES



THOMAS SAMSON/AFP/GETTY

PARIS

Flip Side

Members of ANV-COP21, an organization of French climate activists, protest their government's lack of urgency on fighting climate change with stolen official portraits of President Emmanuel Macron, at the Trocadero esplanade in front of the Eiffel Tower on December 8. The portraits had been taken from town halls across the country.

→ THOMAS SAMSON





MANDALAY, MYANMAR

Sea of Saffron Robes

Thirty thousand Buddhist monks from Myanmar and Thailand came together to pray, meditate and gather alms at a mass ceremony at Chanmyathazi Airport on December 8. One of the organizers of the event, the controversial Thailand-based Dhammakaya Foundation, has been trying to rehabilitate its public image following an embezzlement scandal involving its spiritual leader more than two years ago.

📷 → KYAW ZAY WIN



WHITE ISLAND, NEW ZEALAND

Slow Recovery

Four days after a deadly volcanic eruption in Whakatane, recovery workers search for missing bodies on December 13. The recovery operation was delayed due to severe risks. The eight specialists wore closed-circuit breathing apparatus as they searched, while the volcano still had a 50 percent chance of eruption. Six bodies were successfully recovered, but two remained missing. Altogether, 16 people died.

📷 → NEW ZEALAND DEFENCE FORCE



ADDIS ABABA, ETHIOPIA

Photo Finish

Horsemen head to the airport as they prepare to welcome Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed Ali on December 12 on his return from the Nobel Peace Prize ceremony in Oslo, Norway. He received the Nobel Peace Prize for “his decisive initiative to resolve the border conflict with neighbouring Eritrea.” The two countries signed a peace agreement in 2018, after 20 years of a frozen border conflict, but much of it has yet to be implemented.

📷 → EDUARDO SOTERAS



CLOCKWISE FROM LEFT: KYAW ZAY WIN/AFP/GETTY; NEW ZEALAND DEFENCE FORCE/GETTY; EDUARDO SOTERAS/AFP/GETTY

THE CHALLENGER

William Weld, the former governor of Massachusetts, is one of two Republicans running against Donald Trump in a bid to be the party's presidential candidate in the 2020 election.

"Figuring out how much schools spend is just the start." » P.16



“I Would Vote For Virtually Any Democrat Against Trump”

He has little or no chance to beat the president in the primary. But Bill Weld still has lots to say when it comes to running-scared Republicans and an attorney general who “is way out there”

➤ EVERYBODY, WELL MOST EVERYBODY, KNOWS former Massachusetts Governor William Weld has mounted a primary challenge against President Donald Trump, along with ex-Tea Party Congressman Joe Walsh from Illinois. And everybody knows he and Walsh have a snowball's chance in hell of winning. Almost 90 percent of Republican voters are sticking with the president. More than half of them believe he is doing a better job than Abraham Lincoln. And to make matters worse, some state Republican parties have already responded by fending off others with canceled primaries.

Weld has a lot to say—and he isn't shy about saying it—from Attorney General William Barr's extreme view

of executive branch powers to the secret anti-Trumpers in the U.S. Senate.

He's still worth listening to, in other words.

Weld's long political career spans five decades, from Richard Nixon's impeachment and includes stints in both houses of Congress and Ronald Reagan's Justice Department. Politically, Weld, 74, belongs to a species—the moderate, country club Republican—rarely seen in the wild in recent years, and presumed by many to have gone extinct or at

least dormant. His combination of liberal positions on social issues (pro-choice), pro-science views (he believes climate change is a man-made emergency) and fiscal conservatism is a throwback to another era.

BY

NINA BURLEIGH

[@ninaburleigh](#)

He contends that once this president is out of office, either by impeachment or by losing an election, Republicans will look on the Trump years as a bad dream. Even so, he thinks the GOP could be so deeply divided by the Trump experience that it will not survive, but split into two new parties, similar to what happened to the Whig Party in the antebellum years.

Newsweek's Nina Burleigh sat down with Weld, on the eve of the U.S. House Judiciary Committee impeachment hearings, to discuss, among other things, the state of modern America. Here are edited excerpts.

You have known Donald Trump for a while in New York. What was your impression of him before he became president?

We would run into Donald and Melania at cocktail parties and occasionally at a dinner party. I knew a bunch of people who did business with him, not too happily, over the years. My impression was, first, that he had a reputation for being the most dishonest businessman in New York or New Jersey. And second, he was not terribly offensive (yet). Matter of fact, he was kind of quiet when he and I would talk at a cocktail party. The braggadocio hadn't quite yet set in.

Why do you think Republicans gathered round him in the first place?

Well, it was not a willing embrace. They resisted for quite a while—and after he began to show in the polls I think they decided he was exciting. Also, the choice of the slogan, drain the swamp, was inspired. I think the reason his support has been so sticky is that people really do think that he has won against thieves so to speak. He's won against whatever's big and mysterious and in Washington, and they don't like it. I don't think

it's going to last until November of 2020. I don't think he's going to win the election. Some international disaster or some disaster for him in the impeachment proceedings will happen. Or it could be just people getting tired of the antics. It's very clear that it's all about him and everything refers back to him. Voters are not stupid. They can pick that up, and over a period of time they may come to resent that.

Where are you picking up on that sentiment?

Wherever I go. Detroit, New Hampshire, Miami, Austin, Texas, but mainly New Hampshire. I was marching in the Concord holiday parade with a big banner in front of me and crisscrossing from side to side of the street shaking hands the traditional way. People would run all the way across the street to clap me on the back and say, "Get that guy out of here. Get that guy out of here." They didn't want to say, "Let's talk about Trump. Isn't he awful?" They didn't want to say anything except, "Can you please get that guy out of here?" That to me is consistent with what I've found around the country, which is people don't want to talk about Trump. I think it's wearing thin.

Has Trump re-branded the Republican Party with respect to the rule of law?

Certainly in the Senate, they are not comfortable with the idea that the rule of law is the enemy. The president has said a free press is the enemy of the people, which is a phrase out of every dictator's handbook. And it's the mark of any would-be autocrat to try to breakdown any bulwark between his aims. A free press is a bulwark, judiciary is a bulwark. The investigative power of Congress is a



bulwark. The fact that you have other people in the administration who are power centers, another bulwark, he has been very clever about how he's gone about it. I think that that's why he prefers to have acting secretaries rather than secretaries. As a veteran of three stints in Washington, one in the House, one in the Senate, one in the executive branch of Justice, I can tell you that, when you go in for Congressional hearings, if you have the word "acting" in front of your title, you have no clout. The president is shrewd about a number of political things and one of them is understanding that that power vacuum at the top means that power devolves back to the Oval Office, which is just where he wants it. He doesn't want

JESSICA RINALDI/THE BOSTON GLOBE/GETTY



MEET AND GREET Weld, here with locals at the Airport Diner in Manchester, New Hampshire, is campaigning hard in the state, hoping to pick up support from crossover voters in the Democratic party.

can't understand is why they're so obsessed with being re-elected, but then I was national chairman of U.S. Term Limits [an initiative to limit time in office for elected officials].

Governor, what does the Republican party stand for right now?

Oh, it's a mess. It clearly does not stand for being an economic conservative. I think I could be demonstrably the only true economic conservative in that race. I'll stake my own ground on issues like climate change, where I think the environmentally conscious position is the only reasonable position to take. Because if the temperature of the Earth's atmosphere rises by more than 1.5 degrees centigrade prior to the middle of the century, the polar icecap is going to melt. Those are all real things and they're all going to happen if we continue in Mr. Trump's view that this whole thing is a hoax made up by 2,000 scientists who were probably all on the take anyway.

Where will the Republican Party be ideologically after Trump?

I think it'll be the same place it was before. I think the Paul Ryans of the world, maybe not the speaker personally, but his ilk, will come back into command of the affairs of the Republican party. I'm one of those who thinks that when Trump goes—whether it's by removal before November 2020 or during the election of November 2020—the next day Republicans in leadership positions all over the country are going to wake up and say, "Did that really happen? That four years? Holy cow.

independent-thinking decision-makers out there, even in Trumpland.

Can you explain consistent Republican support for him in Congress during the impeachment probe?

Even I was surprised by there being no Republican votes other than backing up the president in the House. [The GOP's House Intelligence] report just said, "There is nothing here." It's like, "I'm happy, happy, happy and look at the emperor's wonderful new clothes." I attribute it to an obsession with getting re-elected. Mr. Trump is finally getting what he wants. Which is to rule by fear, and he's had some success calling people out and causing them to be defeated. I think members of both parties have been obsessed with

“He doesn't want independent thinking decision-makers out there even in Trumpland.”

re-election for a long time. It began in the '94 election and then with hyper-gerrymandering and a bunch of other developments, it's just gotten worse every year since then. It was not invented by Trump, but it's now at it's worst because it's being stoked by the person in the Oval Office who's trying to engender that fear. What I

I really must've tied on one last night because I just can't imagine this."

Where will the party be demographically after Trump?

I don't know. I hope it's a little bit more dispersed than just in the deep south. Obviously, not if they continue the assault on women. These reproductive rights laws that give greater rights to rapists than they do to women are really way out there. And when you think about it, the two huge issues of the deficit and climate change are both guns aimed squarely at the heads of millennials.

Can the party survive without Donald Trump? Will it survive?

Well, no, I'm not sure it can survive. Among other things, if members of the House and Senate cling to Trump through the impeachment and into the 2020 election many, many of them are going to lose their seats. You'll have a Democratic majority in both houses. Maybe even a comfortable majority and then there will be much pointing of fingers, and I've been saying for some time that I think the Republican Party may split into two. That happened to their predecessor, the Whig Party, which split into two in the 1850s over the issue of slavery. But the southern pro-slavery faction became known as the know-nothing party and what characterized them were violent anti-immigrant protests, conspiracy theories and violent rallies. They were forerunners of the Trump movement. And the other half joined John C. Fremont the Free Soilers in the election of 1856 and then went on four years later to elect Abraham Lincoln as president of the United States. I think that could happen again and maybe it wouldn't even be called the Republican Party. Maybe it would be

called the Unity Party, or the Liberty Party and I'm not saying that would be a bad thing for the country.

Let's move on to the Justice Department. You resigned in the 1980s, over Attorney General Ed Meese's issues with the Wedtech scandal, saying a "poison gas" was spreading through the department from his legal troubles. What do you make of Attorney General Bill Barr now and his activist role as AG vis-à-vis this president under investigation?

Well, something has happened to Bill Barr. I knew him in the good old days. He was a strong lawyer in the private sector and a more than reputable attorney general. But the worm began to turn when he submitted that unsolicited memorandum in June of 2018 to the Justice Department plainly auditioning for the job of U.S. attorney general. In it, he said that the power of the president

"It might be impossible to avoid that election being rigged."



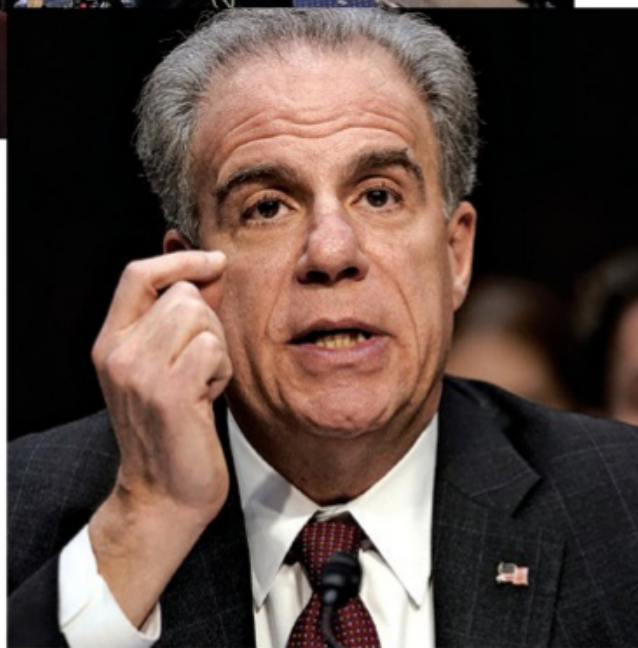
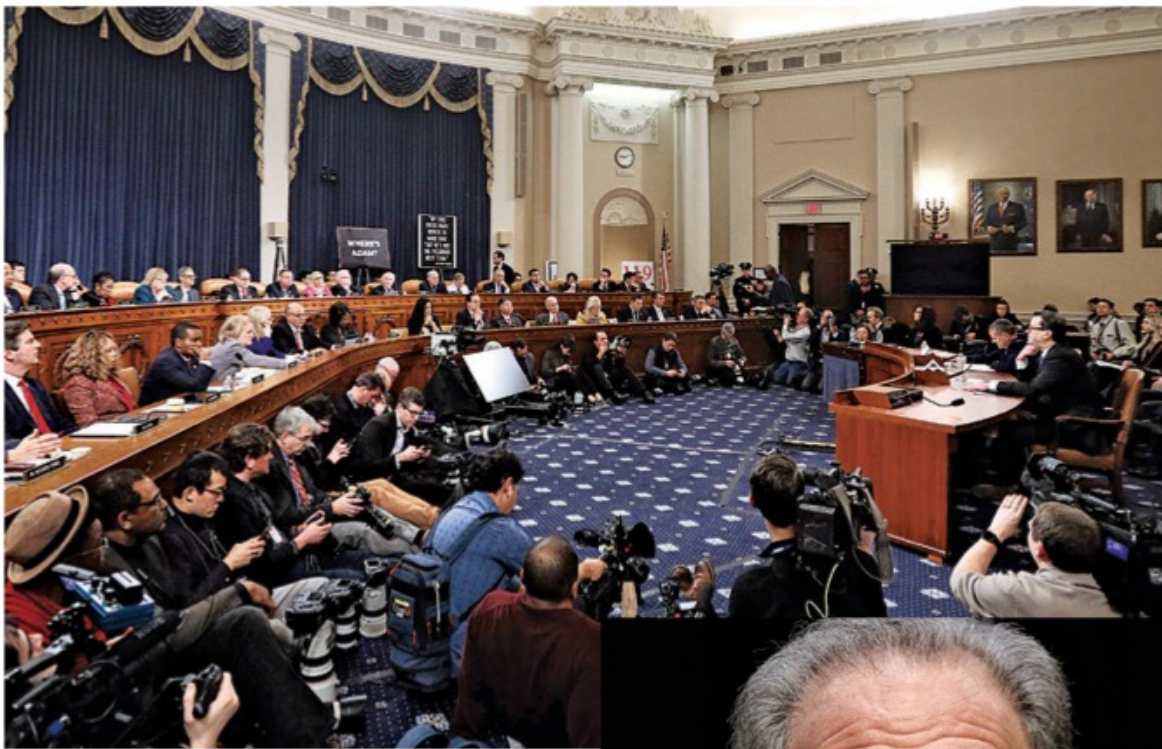
under article two of the constitution is absolute. The thesis expounded by Bill Barr recently is nothing short of the divine right of kings, it's "this man can do anything." The president picked this up soon after Bill Barr came to town saying, "I have an Article Two, which means I can do anything." He may not even know that that Article also describes the duties of the presidency. He didn't read the duties part because the duties part says, "The president shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed." I think Barr is way out there.

What do you make of the DOJ inspector general's report on the FBI's Russia investigation?

I accept IG Michael Horowitz's finding that the investigation into Russian interference was appropriately predicated and am not surprised. Nor am I surprised that Trump trashed the FBI director he appointed, likely before he even read the IG report. Let's not forget that the real validation of the Russia investigation is in the brutal fact that several of Donald Trump's closest associates are today sitting in jail, having been convicted of crimes that investigation found. The IG also found serious problems with the way FISA [Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act] requests were presented and handled. Those problems can't be ignored. We have no choice but to place great faith that the secret FISA courts do, in fact, afford due process to all involved. Any breach of that faith must be taken seriously, and corrected.

Regarding impeachment, you have said you think Republicans are quietly saying they aren't against it. Can you be more specific?

I'm talking about the Senate and those numbers are still small. They're



CLOCKWISE FROM LEFT: BRENDAN SMIALOWSKI/AFP/GETTY; MANDEL NGAN/AFP/GETTY; ALEX WONG/GETTY; WIN MCNAMEE/GETTY

three, four, five. But as former Senator Jeff Flake of Arizona has said, if you put it to a secret ballot in the Senate in this GOP caucus you wouldn't have 20 votes for removal, you'd have 35. I don't think the caucus appreciates it, and I don't think Mitch McConnell appreciates being ordered to walk the plank. The question is how to get the practical effects of a secret ballot. One way would be, let's just take a spot quiz. Everybody write down what they think on a piece of paper, give them to Mitch. The problem with that is then there are pieces of paper and people feel exposed just participating in the exercise. Mitch already damn well knows what's on their minds. And I think if Leader McConnell had to pick, faced with widespread party dissatisfaction with what the president's doing to the Senate caucus, he would tilt toward the Senate before he would

tilt to saving the president at all costs.

What happens if Trump wins 2020?

It's going to get much, much worse. Steve Bannon has said publicly, "If Trump is re-elected you're going to see four years of unrequited payback." One reason why I'm arguing now that the Senate should remove the president from office on the basis of evidence already produced is that if they don't—if he gets away with it so

UNDER PRESSURE Previous page: Attorney General William Barr. Left, from top: Trump supporters at a rally in Sunrise, Florida; House impeachment hearings; Department of Justice Inspector General Michael Horowitz.

to speak—he will be doing that with every foreign power in the world between now and November, to make sure they all interfere in the election in his favor. It might be impossible to avoid that election being rigged.


Your strategy reportedly is all in New Hampshire. You're hoping the Democrats will register as undeclared [voters] and jump party.

I'm focusing on New Hampshire in particular, but in reality I'm focused on all 24 states that permit crossover voting. That's because it wouldn't serve me to spend all my time barking up the tree of the Republican state parties and the...Trump diehards. They're not going to come my way. But there's a universe of potential voters out there. I think all women, not just suburban moderate women, but all women. I think it's hard for millennials and Gen Xers to vote for someone whose policies so obviously fly right into the face of their interests. In New Hampshire, I moved 28 points in one month on Mr. Trump. I went up 11 and he went down 17. If that happens two more months in a row, then I would be at 51 percent.

What do you think about [Michael] Bloomberg jumping in with his \$30 million for advertising?

I'm a big fan of Mike Bloomberg. Know him well from New York City. I wish him all the luck in the world.

Could you vote for him if he gets nominated against Trump?

Oh, in a heartbeat. In a heartbeat. I would vote for virtually any Democrat against Donald Trump. 



EDUCATION

Failing to Make the Grade

One promising student's struggles symbolize all that is wrong with the education system. Would more money save him—and fix inequality in school spending?

➔ “I NEVER RODE A BIKE WITH TRAINING WHEELS,” SAYS TAHEEM FENNEL. One day, when he was four, he just ran and jumped on, his feet pushing forward on the pedals. Taheem is now 13, but his riding has been curtailed. His mother forbids him from tooling around their Quaker Hill neighborhood in Wilmington, Delaware, because she’s worried about his safety. In the summer of 2017, Taheem’s 16-year-old sister, Naveha Gibbs, was shot and killed 20 minutes away; she was with a 26-year-old man thought to be in a gang.

BY

NICHOLE DOBO
@hechingerreport

SCHOOL'S OUT Left: Taheem Jones before his first day at a school beset by funding issues. Opposite: Protesters support Chicago's striking teachers.

In the crisis over income inequality in the U.S., Wilmington is ground zero. For youth, the city is the most dangerous in the country. In Taheem's neighborhood, where students are predominantly black, schools are underfunded and under-resourced.

They're also being neglected by the Trump administration. Education Secretary Betsy DeVos' push for alternatives to the traditional public system would help drive students toward charter schools and private schools at the local level. (Her Obama-appointed predecessor, Arne Duncan, also pushed reforms that favored charter schools.) Enrollment in the lowest-performing public schools in Wilmington has plummeted. The city's lowest performing school, Bayard Middle School, lost nearly half its students in the last 10 years.

Lately the issue has gotten some attention, however. Parents and advocates are suing in more than a dozen states to increase spending for schools that serve low-income students, including a suit against Delaware. And presidential candidates are starting to talk about it: Former Vice President Joe Biden made increasing school funding central to his education platform, Senator Bernie Sanders proposed tripling Title I funding for low-income schools and Senator Elizabeth Warren proposed limiting support for charter schools and boosting funding for traditional public schools.

But Taheem's experience shows how high the stakes are for the children living, and being educated, in these neighborhoods.

While Taheem was in elementary school, the system seemed to be

FROM LEFT: SAQUAN STIMPSON/SPECIAL TO HECHINGER REPORT; SCOTT HEINS/GETTY

working. His sister was killed about a month before he started fifth grade and, understandably, he was prone to angry outbursts. The school arranged for him to see a counselor, who taught him strategies to cope with feelings of sadness or rage. “When I get mad, I calm myself down,” says Taheem. “I either go in the corner and read a book or count to ten with my fingers and then think of something nice, fun.” The elementary school librarian also helped Taheem find books that he liked to read, such as the *Diary of a Wimpy Kid* series, which helped focus his mind on something positive, his mother, Charmaine Jones, says.

But when Taheem graduated to Bayard, a virtually windowless brick fortress surrounded by a chain-linked fence, matters took a downward turn. In his first month, Taheem got into a fight in math class. In October, he says, eighth-grade boys jumped him in the hallway and left him with a bump on his head and a busted lip. He made friends with boys who drew the attention of the police. His mother was called into school so often to deal with his behavioral problems that she quit one of her jobs as a home health aide. “I had to choose between my other job and my son,” Jones said.

The school, she found, had too few resources to help Taheem cope. It has a library but no librarian to run it—so most of the time it is closed. The school has only one behavioral health consultant for about 325 students, the vast majority of whom, says the school counselor, have experienced trauma. Since the consultant can only take on a dozen or so cases at a time, teachers and administrators serve as ad hoc mental health or social service providers for children in crisis. Taheem eventually saw the counselor, but critical time had been lost. Jones wanted to transfer Taheem to another school,

but she was told there were no spots available until the next school year.

Research shows that a lack of safety takes a big toll on school children, even those who haven’t themselves been a victim of a crime. Students living in unsafe neighborhoods—or go to school with students who live in those places—score one-tenth of a school year behind on academic achievement tests than children who live in safer places, according to a 2018 study of Chicago Public Schools. There are things that schools can do to help—hire more counselors, train

staff in trauma-informed teaching and provide art and music programs—but they need resources to do it.

One of the biggest obstacles to fixing inequality in school spending is figuring out how much schools already spend. The Every Student Succeeds Act, signed into law by President Barack Obama in 2015, required states to publicly reveal how much money each school gets from local, state and federal sources per student. (The Trump administration rolled back some of the ESSA regulations but rules that require school-level spending reports remain in effect.) Historically, public schools have organized spending by category on the district-wide level—teachers, benefits and materials, for instance—but there were no structures in place to calculate how much money was spent in each individual school, causing significant

“I had to choose between my other job and my son.”



delays in releasing the new data.

States have now begun publishing how much is spent in each school, and it's sure to fuel more debate, says Marguerite Roza, director of the Edonomics Lab at Georgetown University. It will be shocking, even to school principals, how much money is spent on individual schools, she says. "It's often jaw-dropping for them," says Roza.

The push for transparency is part of a movement to overhaul school funding formulas so that schools in poorer neighborhoods are provided similar resources to those in wealthy ones. Nationally, schools primarily serving black and brown children receive \$23 billion less than schools primarily serving white students, according to EdBuild, a nonprofit advocacy group.

Advocates hope schools' new numbers will have some effect as they continue trickling out next year, helping pressure state legislatures to spend more money on children from low-income families. Three states, including notoriously stingy Mississippi, have hired a national organization to help change their formulas. The new funding transparency is also giving ammunition to the teacher protests that have swept the country, bringing additional pressure for change from within the classroom. Teachers in Los Angeles, Chicago, Denver, West Virginia and Oakland walked off the job this year over teacher compensation, class size and classroom funding.

Critics of increased funding have argued that the problem isn't a lack of money, it's that traditional public schools in poorer neighborhoods tend to be dysfunctional. Along with high staff turnover, they often lack a coherent approach to address the emotional and academic needs of students.

Hardly anyone would argue that school funding does not make any difference, but academic research on

the effects of school funding on kids' classroom performance and long-term success has been mixed. More money does not always equal better results for students—at least not as can be measured by math and reading assessments. An influx of money at Bayard wouldn't immediately solve troubles like how to attract the best teachers to this tough neighborhood.

Nor would it remove union rules that can block school leaders from picking which teachers get assigned there. Bayard, for example, was given occasional infusions of cash and marched through state-monitored turnaround efforts with few signs of improvement—most recently, about five years ago, when it was given money and assistance supported by Obama's Race to the Top grants. This year, roughly only 4 percent of its students were proficient in math and 13 percent were proficient in reading.

"It turns out when you give schools extra funds they rarely feel like they can actually rethink what they can actually do with them," says Frederick Hess of the American Enterprise Institute, a conservative-leaning think tank. "You end up putting more dollars into schools, and everything they have been doing for 40 years remains intact."

Even still, public schools across the country have been grappling with the messy reality of figuring out how much to spend per child. It's not a straightforward calculation: it also involves accounting for expenditure in administrative offices and teacher

pension liabilities, which can vary widely. After the Every Student Succeeds Act's federal mandate, Delaware was the first state to set rules for how to report the data, and it is expected to release that information next fiscal year. So far, nearly 20 states have published their data publicly. But this fall, an Education Department official complained that states were burying spending reports for fear the public wouldn't be able to understand them.

Many others are grappling with how to best present the complicated data—which can include non-teaching costs and initially weren't calculated uniformly—to the public, Roza said, and they should begin to release their information in the coming year.

Figuring out how much schools spend is just the start. To get a better understanding of what a school lacks, policymakers need to know what the money is being spent on. A recent report from the ACLU, for instance, found 1.7 million children nationwide attend schools where there are police officers but no counselors.

But the years spent dithering about how to send more resources to struggling schools like Bayard, and track where the money is spent, come at a cost even more difficult to calculate. As dysfunctional as some of this nation's schools are, for children like Taheem, who was harmed by violence he can't comprehend, they're the best hope they have.

"Y'all pile them all up in one school, and all these kids have all these problems," says Taheem's mother, who plans to move her family to a safer neighborhood as soon as she can afford it. "It's ridiculous." ■

"In the crisis over income inequality in the U.S., Wilmington is ground zero."

→ This story was produced by **The Hechinger Report**, a nonprofit, independent news organization focused on inequality and innovation in education.

Talking Points

VARIETY

"Good news! This must mean I'm still alive."

—ALAN ARKIN ON HIS GOLDEN GLOBES NOMINATION

FOX NEWS

"THE BANANA TASTED GOOD. IT TASTED LIKE \$120,000."

—PERFORMANCE ARTIST DAVID DATUNA, AFTER EATING AN INSTALLATION AT ART BASEL

David Datuna

AP

"The real danger is when politicians and CEOs are making it look like real action is happening, when in fact almost nothing is being done."

—CLIMATE ACTIVIST GRETA THUNBERG

Instagram icon

"May every little girl... see their faces reflected in mine."

MISS UNIVERSE 2019 ZOZIBINI TUNZI

Zozibini Tunzi

Microphone icon

"THERE IS NO 'US AND THEM.' THERE IS ONLY 'US.'"

—Nobel Peace Prize Winner Abiy Ahmed Ali



Abiy Ahmed Ali

Microphone icon

"A regular president would be under the table, thumb in mouth, saying, 'Take me home, Mommy.'"

—PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP

People

"DON'T EVER LET ANYBODY STEAL YOUR JOY, ESPECIALLY NOT THE INTERNET."

—Singer Lizzo, in response to comments on her cheeky outfit at a Lakers game

FROM LEFT: JOHN LAMPARSKI/GETTY; PARAS GRIFFIN/GETTY; MINASSE WONDIMU HAILU/ANADOLU AGENCY/GETTY

IF IRAN FALLS, ISIS MAY RISE AGAIN

Tehran is embattled at home and abroad. But even foes who benefit from the unrest—like the U.S.—fear that the chaos could help the Islamic State group to rebuild

by TOM O'CONNOR



SOURCE IMAGES: GETTY (6)



PHOTO ILLUSTRATION BY **Ryan Olbrysh**

THE UNITED STATES FOR FOUR DECADES HAS made little secret of its desire to see Iran's revolutionary Shiite Islamic Republic fail, something that could now prove a win for Washington's interests in a region where its policies have more recently been defined by successive setbacks.

Far from bringing peace to the Middle East, however, a significant escalation of demonstrations shaking Iran or any major foreign intervention could end up empowering an even greater enemy—the Islamic State militant group. The organization better known as ISIS rose up years ago from the death and destruction ravaging Iraq and Syria and the jihadis have since sought to tap into movements battling the Iranian government from within, and make good on external forces pushing the country toward implosion.

The Islamic Republic's enemies both at home and abroad benefit from the current chaos across the country, but even Tehran's foes fear that the instability could create the conditions for ISIS to breed.

“Different groups hostile to the Iranian government, including ISIS, separatists or other ones, have and will take advantage of any unrest in the country,” Abas Aslani, a visiting scholar at the Istanbul-based, non-profit, non-partisan Center for Middle East Strategic Studies, told *Newsweek*.

“Any collapse or weakening of a state in the region is likely to fuel into more instability in the region,” added Aslani, who is also editor-in-chief of the Tehran-based *Iran Front Page* private news outlet. “This is also a concern of even opponents in Iran, in so that they are not sure in the case of the collapse of the current system in the country who will replace them and how the situation will be.”

To Iran, the fight against ISIS was always an existential one. Just as the Pentagon began coordinating its own involvement in June 2014, Iran mobilized mostly Shiite Muslim militias in both Iraq and Syria in order to beat back lightning gains made by the Sunni Muslim insurgents who reveled in the mass slaughter of those deemed to be outside of their ultraconservative ideology.

This proved vital in turning the tide against the jihadis, who have been largely defeated in recent years.

Rodger Shanahan, a research fellow at the Lowy Institute's West Asia Program and former director of the Australian Army's Land Warfare Studies Centre, told *Newsweek* that “Iran was critical in providing

logistical and advisory support to Iraqi paramilitary forces who battled ISIS in Iraq, particularly during the early days of the campaign.” As for Syria, he said Iran's support for President Bashar al-Assad “also meant that it has contributed to the anti-ISIS campaign,” but that “it is fair to say that that was by no means the aim of their support for Assad and the targeting of ISIS has been sporadic at best.”

ISIS' so-called caliphate has since been destroyed, but special presidential envoy to the U.S.-led coalition against ISIS James Jeffrey estimated in August that there were about 15,000 militants left in Iraq and Syria. The math is fuzzy, as some members are believed to have joined other groups, gone into hiding or fled altogether. Even Jeffrey admitted this figure had “a standard deviation of significant thousands in either direction.”

Despite battlefield losses, the group lives on through deadly sleeper cells and sophisticated media operations that broadcast propaganda non-stop. Tehran too has built a robust system of non-state actors also hostile to Israel, Saudi Arabia and the U.S. While establishing this so-called Axis of Resistance proved

FIGHTING ISIS

From top left: Iraqi fighters, supported by Iran, show off an ISIS flag turned upside down; forces from the same group seen advancing toward the ISIS stronghold of Hawija, during a recent operation to recapture the Iraqi town from jihadists; a fighter with the American-backed Syrian Democratic Forces stands guard as people are evacuated from the ISIS encampment of Baghouz in eastern Syria; Syrian president Bashar Assad, a key player in the region.

**ISIS HAS MADE IT CLEAR
THAT FIGHTING THE SHIA IS
ONE OF ITS
CORE OBJECTIVES, AS**





A RESULT, IRAN IS A **FIRST-ORDER** TARGET.



a major strategic victory, it came at a steep price.

Iran's campaigns cost capital, both human and financial, and increasingly strict U.S. sanctions have choked up Tehran's access to disposable income. Though the Iranian government is believed to still have access to considerable wealth to run its operations, the dual effects of a U.S.-imposed trade siege and domestic mismanagement have made life more difficult for everyday Iranians unable to capitalize on the economic reforms promised by Iranian President Hassan Rouhani.

The Rouhani administration's decision last month to cut gas subsidies and ultimately transition to a welfare-based system had actually been in the works for some time and was supported by the International Monetary Fund. Still, the sudden shift appeared seismic for many Iranians accustomed to cheap fuel and citizens rose up with a rare intensity. The government's reaction on the ground was swift and, against what officials claimed were rioters, deadly.

Amnesty International has estimated that more than 200 Iranians have been killed during the unrest. Brian Hook, a State Department representative for Iran, placed the casualties at "many hundreds, perhaps over a thousand"—a figure far higher than other estimates provided by human rights monitors. No conclusive count exists and the Iranian government has disputed those numbers.

Some of the fiercest resistance to the crackdown has emerged in Iran's western Khuzestan province, where Arab separatist groups such as the Arab Struggle Movement for the Liberation of Ahvaz have reported "violent clashes between residents, occupation forces and militias." While protesters expressed frustrations with the country's economic situation here, too, another potentially more serious peril loomed: separatist groups in key border areas.

Those groups are "the biggest non-state threat to Iran today," Ariane Tabatabai, an associate political scientist at the RAND Corporation and an adjunct senior research scholar at Columbia University's School of International and Public Affairs, told *Newsweek*. The most volatile border areas are Sistan-Baluchistan, Khuzestan and Kurdistan. Watchers worry that any escalation of insurgencies in these parts could propel Iran toward the sectarian strife seen in Syria.

"That's part of what's deterring many Iranians from outright pushing for regime collapse: The lessons of Syria loom large," Tabatabai added.

NO STARS AND STRIPES

Iranian pro-government demonstrators set fire to a makeshift American flag last month during a gathering to condemn nationwide rioting over recently-instituted sharp increases in fuel prices. Iran blames the need for price hikes on U.S. sanctions, which have battered the country's economy.



ATTA KENARE/AFP/GETTY



Insurgencies were waged by separatist Arab, Baluch and Kurdish militias for decades before ISIS, Al-Qaeda or even the 1979 Islamic Revolution that overthrew the pro-West shah, who long-enjoyed the CIA maintaining his rule. The Islamic Republic has largely managed to keep these restive communities in line. But deadly attacks persist, such as a February car bombing that tore through a military bus, leaving up to 27 members of the Revolutionary Guard dead between the cities of Khash and Zahedan in Sistan and Baluchistan province.

The operation was claimed by Jaish ul-Adl, which along with fellow Sunni Islamist group Ansar Al-Furqan, has taken advantage of previous periods of unrest in an attempt to undermine the Iranian government. ISIS, notorious for its ability to build bridges across continents, has actively sought to exploit these national struggles as it does in countries as far away as the Philippines.

Dina Esfendiary, a fellow at The Century Foundation a progressive think tank in New York, told *Newsweek*, “ISIS has made it clear that fighting the Shia is one of its core objectives; as a result, Iran is a first-order target.”

“ISIS will likely help foment discontent in the areas of Iran with smaller ethnic minority communities,” she added. “This has the same effect as the U.S. stating its support for protestors: allowing the Iranian government to develop the rhetoric that foreigners are instigating the protests, which they use as justification for their crackdown.”

The group’s reach within Iran remains fairly insignificant, Tabatabai added. She too explained, however, that “ISIS has mostly focused its efforts in the areas with significant Kurdish and Arab minority populations—because these are populations that have been historically neglected if not repressed by the central authority.

Shanahan told *Newsweek* that, from the very beginning, “Iran was concerned at the threat ISIS posed to Iranian territory, and the possibility of support for low-level insurgencies amongst Arab and Baluch Sunni groups inside Iran.”

“They have limited support inside Iran but they may well seek to exploit security agencies’ focus on the protests to undertake some local tactical actions,” he added, noting, however, that the current demonstrations were “about Iranians’ dissatisfaction with the system as a whole, with the lifting of fuel

subsidies as the catalyst—it's not about minority rights.”

Even with limited success in its infiltration, ISIS managed to strike at the heart of the Islamic Republic in June 2017. Less than two months after ISIS released a Persian-language video, several Sunni Muslim Kurdish militants aligned with the group staged twin attacks on the Iranian parliament and the shrine to the late Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini. Eighteen people were killed.

Mayhem erupted again in September with dramatic scenes of civilians taking cover and soldiers carrying bloodied children in Ahvaz. Gunmen opened fire at a Revolutionary Guard parade commemorating the Iran-Iraq War—during which Saddam Hussein also tried to foster Arab separatism in Khuzestan—in an ambush that killed two dozen people, half of them soldiers, and was claimed by both ISIS and Ahvazi Arab separatists.

A week later, the night skies over Iran's Kermanshah and Kurdistan were illuminated with the flames of Zulfiqar and Qiam missiles as they flew hundreds of miles clear across Iraq and into the eastern Syrian province of Deir Ezzor, an ISIS stronghold at the time under assault by forces backed by Washington and Tehran. The unprecedented strike was seen not only as a message to ISIS, but as a testament to Iran's missile prowess directed toward its top three national foes.

Iran often blames the U.S., Israel and Saudi Arabia for fomenting discord within the country in an attempt to overthrow a government they view as destabilizing to the region. No conclusive evidence of such a conspiracy regarding the current demonstrations has emerged, though top Washington figures, such as war hawk former National Security Adviser John Bolton, have openly courted opposition forces like the People's Mojahedin Organization of Iran, or Mujahedin-e-Khalq (MEK) and Ahvazi Arab separatists.

Back in Tehran, journalist Reza Khaasteh said he doesn't "think protesters agree with such secessionist ideologies, and must be afraid of such groups exploiting their legitimate demands from the government."

Local university student Kiarash (who asked to be identified by his first name only) said, for Iranians, "the trauma of the previous ISIS attack on Iran still hangs around in our mind." He added: "Whether or not these demonstrations could lead to instability caused by ISIS or separatist groups, the fear of it exists in the public. A majority of Iranians are worried that in case of a military conflict with



A COUNTRY IN TURMOIL

(Clockwise, from right) A wounded man, suspected of being part of ISIS, in a Syrian prison cell; Iranian mourners surround the coffins of Revolutionary Guards killed in a suicide attack; a Tehran bank branch damaged in protests over fuel price hikes; Hassan Rouhani, Iran's current president.





CLOCKWISE FROM RIGHT: FADEL SENNA/AFP/GETTY; ATTA KENARE/AFP/GETTY; FATEMEH BAHRAMI/ANADOLU AGENCY/GETTY; ALI MOHAMMADI/BLOOMBERG/GETTY



DESPITE BATTLEFIELD LOSSES, ISIS LIVES ON THROUGH DEADLY **SLEEPER CELLS** AND SOPHISTICATED MEDIA OPERATIONS THAT NON-STOP BROADCAST PROPAGANDA.

the U.S. or Saudi Arabia, or serious turmoil on a domestic level, the situation could lead to instability or even getting attacked by ISIS or other groups.”

While Iran has bolstered its border security in recent years, instability to the point of a government retreat could allow ISIS to summon forces from beyond. Séamus Malekafzali, an analyst with the online *International Review*, told *Newsweek* that, in the event of either an international or civil war, “I have no doubt in my mind that ISIS would swoop in.”

“I’ve never not doubted anything more in my life,” Malekafzali said, adding that, should ISIS establish a foothold in the porous, mountainous badlands between Iran and its neighbors, “I don’t think America would be able to defeat that group.”

All seven individuals interviewed by *Newsweek* said they believed the collapse of the Iranian government was unlikely in the near future, despite the “maximum pressure” campaign by the U.S. against it. Even for Washington, this may not necessarily be a bad thing: It has repeatedly learned that an enemy

government’s loss of control often had far-reaching repercussions in the form of mass refugee flows, the formation of new, more powerful enemies and costly military interventions to fight them.

In the leadup to the 2003 invasion of Iraq, then-Secretary of State Colin Powell warned President George W. Bush, “You break it, you own it.” A year later, the U.S. was technically in control of 25 million people, inheriting a war-torn nation from which ISIS would be born, and the following administration still embarked on new adventures in Libya and Syria.

The fall of Iran—whose population outsizes all three of those countries combined—would likely have even more devastating effects and give ISIS and other underground forces new room to operate. For now, the ISIS threat appears to be under control. But worsening economic woes resulting from U.S. restrictions and infighting among Iran’s hard-liners and moderates ensure the militant group will continue to root for, if not actively seek, Iran’s capitulation. ■

REZA PAHLAVI

Exclusive: The Shah of Iran's son says the Iranian people want a secular democracy, and that trying to appease the country's Islamic regime is a mistake. BY DAVID BRENNAN

IRAN IS BEING CONVULSED BY ITS WORST unrest in 40 years, with cities across the country paralyzed by thousands of anti-government protesters.

Though sparked by a spike in fuel prices, the explosion of anger has been a long time coming. Iranians are living under an authoritarian regime while battling falling living standards and a faltering economy, exacerbated by crippling American sanctions levied to stifle Tehran's nuclear program and regional influence.

Hundreds—perhaps thousands—of dissenters have been cut down in the streets by regime gunmen. Authorities hide away the bodies of the dead to hide the true death toll while throttling the internet to prevent survivors communicating with each other and the world.

According to Reza Pahlavi—the last surviving son and heir of Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, deposed in the Iranian Revolution—the “massacre” shows the desperation and ruthlessness of the regime.

Pahlavi spoke to *Newsweek* from Washington, D.C., where he still lives in exile after his family fled Iran in 1979. He has consistently called for a secular democracy to replace the current system.

Pahlavi said the current turmoil is indicative of widespread anger at the government in Tehran, and that there is only one clear solution.

Q. How should we characterize the current unrest in Iran?

A. The protests in our country are driven by a broad-based, grassroots desire to replace this regime. The 200 percent rise in fuel prices may have been the trigger of this latest round of widespread street protests, but this does not come close to capturing the essence or aspirations of what they have become. These protests represent a rejection of the regime as a whole and communicate a desire to end 40 years of clerical oppression. All one has to do to understand this is to listen to my compatriots in the streets. They do

not chant for reforms, or about fuel prices, they chant “We don't want the Islamic Republic!” and “Khamenei, get out of the country!” By the hundreds they are giving their lives for the cause of freedom.

Q. What does the brutal response of the security forces tell us about the priorities and mindset of those in power?

A. We have known for 40 years that the regime's only priorities are safeguarding and expanding its own power and control, including enriching itself. This massacre is not surprising. It is rather what one expects when such a regime feels threatened. Simultaneously, we are witnessing the beginning of a peeling away of the security forces from the regime. As a result, the Islamic Republic is forced to import foreign nationals to attempt to control the protests. This simply shows that the regime will stop at nothing to protect itself, even at the cost of an effective genocide. Yet despite all this, the people are still fighting. The message they give me to tell the world is “We deserve better than this. Why are you abandoning us?”



Q. What should replace the current regime in Iran?

A. For four decades I have consistently advocated for a secular, democratic system in Iran. Not only have I advocated this for Iran because it is the best way to ensure the human rights, well-being and happiness of Iranians but also because it is my sense that the Iranian people overwhelmingly want and demand such a system. Today's generation of young Iranians, more than ever, are aware of other countries where sovereignty is routine in their liberal and free societies. They would like to have the very same opportunities and self-determination.

Q. Is there any legitimate opposition in Iran that can be trusted in this regard? U.S. officials have previously pushed for the involvement of controversial groups such as the People's Mujahedin of Iran—how do you feel about this?

A. It is less a matter of how I feel and more about fundamental truths. Our national aspiration is to have a secular democracy and therefore the people of Iran will decide what groups, parties or individuals are relevant and constructive to our nation's future. The future of Iran is to be decided by Iranians, not by any foreign leader's advisors.

Q. Would you like to return to Iran and be involved in a political process to establish a new system of governance?

A. I view my role as the advocate of the Iranian people. My aspirations are to support the movement for liberty and dignity and are not driven by any ambition for political power in Iran's future. That said, I am eager to return to Iran and I will always be there for our people to defend their fundamental and inalienable rights against any and all forces foreign or domestic. I intend to be of assistance in any way that I can.

Q. Do you think the Iranian people would welcome the return of royal influence?

A. The future system of government will be subject to intense debate in the constitutional process. It is this process,

THEN AND NOW Reza Pahlavi, son of the deposed Shah of Iran and his third wife Farah Diba, as a young boy with his parents in better days, 1967(left). Today, Pahlavi lives in exile with his family in Washington, D.C..



FROM LEFT: UNIVERSAL HISTORY ARCHIVE/GETTY; COURTESY OF REZA PAHLAVI

these democratic mores, on which I am focused and not on the future system of government. Our country has, apart from this 40-year interlude, a history of monarchic service and tradition. So naturally many Iranians, in line with this history and culture, have an affinity for the monarchy. But the present moment is not about monarchy or republic, it is about the fight to reclaim our nation from an anti-Iranian occupying force and to develop this democratic order.

Q. What do you think of the current U.S. “maximum pressure” strategy on Iran?

A. It is unfortunate for the Iranian people that the regime, through its nefarious, destabilizing and antagonizing behavior in the region and across the world, has brought the ire of so many of its neighbors and of the free world on our country. To the extent that the sanctions limit or reduce the regime’s resources from being used for such actions, this is something the people of Iran understand and appreciate. Iranians realize that they are first and foremost under maximum pressure socially, politically and economically from the Islamic regime itself. Therefore, my

concern and that of the Iranian people is getting rid of this regime. The people don’t chant in the streets against sanctions, they chant against this regime in hundreds of cities across the country.

Q. Was President Donald Trump right to withdraw from the Iran nuclear deal?

A. I do not tell Americans how to run their country, my focus is Iran. I know that any deal or negotiation with this regime and which ignores the Iranian people and their desires and demands are illegitimate. All those who still aspire to finding a solution by negotiating with this regime only prove how out of touch they are with the real aspirations and sentiments of the Iranian people.

Q. Trump’s hardline approach is directly pushing down living standards of normal Iranians—is this a price worth paying to try and contain the Iranian regime?

A. Containment and appeasement have proven to be the policy of sustaining the status quo. It is the policy of continuously taking the same steps and expecting different results. To the extent that the re-

gime is cut off from the resources used to oppress at home and abroad, the Iranian people understand and appreciate that. But the determining factor in Iran’s future will be the Iranian people, not foreign policies. If any nation wants to deal with Iran, it must deal with those who hold the answers to its future: the people, not the regime. I have said for decades that the West has a role to play in supporting the Iranian people because this support and solidarity will lower the cost of our ultimate victory. The burden of conscience lays heavily on all those who claim liberty and freedom as values and are silent now, when their voices are most needed.

Q. Should the White House change its strategy on Iran?

A. After 40 years of failed attempts to appease this irreformable regime, isn’t it time for a different strategy? Do not try to engage this regime. The previous administration made this mistake to disastrous effect for the Iranian people and for the region. Instead, engage the Iranian people and the secular democratic opposition. For example, use the frozen assets of this regime and return them to their rightful owners, the people. Use it to support a strike fund to give my compatriots the ability to go on mass strikes and bring this regime to its knees through widespread, peaceful civil disobedience. The administration should also take measures to promote and safeguard uninterrupted access to the internet, and limit the regime’s ability to promote its own propaganda while it asphyxiates our people’s access to information.

Q. Do you give advice to the Trump administration on their approach?

A. For all of these years, I have communicated the same, consistent message to international leaders, including those in the United States. That message has been simple: You cannot properly develop a policy for the future when you are focused on dealing with this illegitimate regime, you must recognize the people’s demand for fundamental change and you must engage the people. I will continue to advocate this message. The problem is not that the regime has not changed its behavior, because it never will, but rather that the world has not changed its behavior it looking to appease this regime. **N**



THE NEXT BATTLE

Child soldiers, like these former members of an anti-government militia group in DR Congo, face many challenges reintegrating into society. Girls have an especially tough time securing jobs and being accepted back into their communities, partly due to the stigma of sexual violence many have endured.

When Young Girls

Even after
their captivity is over,
the horrors don't end for _____ **FEMALE CHILD SOLDIERS**

are **Forced** to Go to War

by
AVIVA
FEUERSTEIN

JOHN WESSELS/AFP/GETTY

THE FIRST TIME MARTHA WAS FORCED TO KILL,

she was just 10 years old. The long steel machete in her hands dwarfed her slight 4-foot frame as she was ordered to decapitate a villager. Only the night before, men in dark uniforms had plucked her from her bed at home in northern Uganda, tied her with rope and dragged her into a forest. Behind her trailed the rat-tat-tat of bullets, piercing shrieks, the stench of burning flesh.

By the time she was 13, Martha's captors, part of a Ugandan militia group known as the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA), had forced her to decapitate several other people, beat an infant to death on a tree and participate in attacks on numerous villages. She witnessed commanders punish defiant children by hacking off their limbs, piercing their lips with metal padlocks and making them sleep on dead bodies. Together with other abductees of the LRA, which a UNICEF study found had kidnapped more than 66,000 children between 1986 and 2005, Martha lived in the forest, surviving days without food and enduring daily beatings. She dreamed of escaping. Of finally returning home.

A little girl like Martha is probably not the image that comes to mind when you hear the phrase "child soldier." It's a term more commonly associated with gun-toting boys in militia garb, chanting slogans they've been brainwashed to recite. But after traveling to Uganda, Sri Lanka, Indonesia and Colombia between 2014 and 2016 to interview 50 ex-combatants for my graduate thesis and during my time off from working as an NYPD counterterrorism specialist, I learned that many child soldiers are female.

Moreover, the stigma associated with being a former member of an armed group affected girls more than boys, even years after they were rescued or managed to escape. Yet scant attention is paid to the gender-specific challenges these girls face after they return home.

A Crisis of Unknown Magnitude

QUANTIFYING THE TRUE NUMBER OF GIRL SOLDIERS IN CONFLICTS globally is impossible due to access issues, under-reporting and high United Nations verification standards. Despite these barriers, the U.N. has confirmed at least 115,000 cases of children released from armed groups and forces globally since 2000—a number the child soldier research community believes is only a small fraction of the true figure. The U.N. estimates that of its 115,000 verified cases, up to 40 percent are girls.

Some abducted girls are forced to become combat fighters, but many more end up as porters, cooks, spies, medical aides and even child brides. Sexual violence is common. Another former soldier named Janet, who'd been held in captivity for eight years, explained to me that the LRA desired young girls over women because they were less likely to infect their captors with HIV.

The issue of armed groups abducting girls seized international attention in 2014, when the militant group Boko Haram kidnapped 276 school girls in Chibok, Nigeria. When a large number of the

OFF THE WARPATH
Clockwise, from top right: Joseph Kony, head of the Lord's Resistance Army, a Ugandan militia group that abducted more than 66,000 children between 1986 and 2005; a camp in northern Uganda for people displaced by the LRA, which destroyed many local villages; Esther and Martha, two former child soldiers who the author met in her travels.



CLOCKWISE FROM TOP: ADAM PLETTS/GETTY; CHIP SOMDEVILLA/GETTY; COURTESY OF WRITER AVIVA FEUERSTEIN (2)

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OPINION

Chibok girls were subsequently rescued and reunited with their families, many people around the world were swept by a wave of optimism and desire to help. Celebrities amplified the #bringbackourgirls campaign and the Nigerian government established a rehab program to provide them with psychological care, medical attention and an education. Some of the girls were even brought to the U.S. and ended up graduating from U.S. high schools. A few even visited the White House.

This is not, however, how the story ends for most abducted girls. For many, their harrowing pasts are compounded by even worse experiences upon returning home.

A Rough Re-Entry

I MET MARTHA EIGHT YEARS AFTER SHE ESCAPED FOLLOWING three years in captivity. She was then 21. When we spoke, she looked down at the floor in silence, as if ashamed to admit to me, and to herself, what she was about to say: “If I had known my life in freedom would be worse than captivity, I never would have tried to escape the bush.” In other words, the stigma she experienced after returning home was so acute, she wanted to go back to the LRA.

Recidivism is a serious issue. An estimated three in 10 former child soldiers return to militias from which they risked their lives to escape. Based on my interviews, stigma is a leading culprit. Even with rehabilitation and vocational training, discrimination persists, creating long-term barriers to economic and social reintegration. Stigma frustrates post-war recovery and unravels social cohesion. It pits victims against victims, parents against their children, friends against friends.

There are certainly similarities in the reintegration challenges that male and female child soldiers face. But there are stark differences, too. According to many girls I interviewed, former female soldiers find it harder to secure jobs than their male counterparts. Mili, who spent six years in the LRA, recounted how employers were reluctant to hire her because she was a victim of sexual violence and they were concerned about the risks to their reputations. Rebecca, kidnapped for a year, described how girls like her

who fought alongside boys were further regarded as tainted by prospective employers, among others, for having violated cultural norms that view women as nurturers, not perpetrators of violence. Martha tried to build a craft jewelry business after employers refused to hire her, but she says customers refused to pay full price for her products because of her past.

According to the World Bank and the U.N., legal discrimination can also prevent women from raising money and owning land, limiting options for entrepreneurial ventures. These prejudices are magnified where women already face limited mobility and stiff competition relative to men. Without gainful employment, the consequence can be starvation.

The stigma associated with being a former member of an armed group _____

AFFECTED GIRLS MORE

than boys, even years after they were rescued or managed to escape.

Stigma also impedes Martha's ability to marry. A rebel commander forcibly took her as a wife before she was 12. "At 25, I'm still considered 'contaminated,'" she laments. Several women described how they shuffled from town to town, trying to hide their pasts and adopt new identities. But rumors travel quickly.

Even ex-combatant men often reject women who were members of their own militia groups as "damaged goods." Single mothers whose children are products of rape in captivity stay with their offspring, regardless of the circumstances under which they were born, making it more difficult for women than men to dissociate from their pasts. Yet the ability to marry matters deeply in a patriarchal society where marriage is essential to financial stability.

The Children of the Children Suffer Too

THE STIGMA APPLIES TO MARTHA'S CHILDREN, TOO. KIDS IN school call her 6-year-old daughter "a rebel" and refuse to play with her. Jennifer, a young girl who was also born in captivity, described how teachers dismiss her academic achievements, saying, "you're using your rebel father's witchcraft to get to the top."

Even relatives reinforce the stigma. Rose's maternal grandparents, for instance, were overjoyed when her mother returned from captivity, but disowned her—their own granddaughter—because she had been fathered by a rebel.

Former girl child soldiers are also easier prey than males for violent and petty criminals who know that communities have little desire to protect them and are unlikely to demand retribution. In fact, according to a member of the Colombian government's reintegration agency, some former female Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC) members felt so unsafe in local communities that last year they requested and received protections from the government beyond those afforded to the men.

Even the psychological toll of captivity and post-conflict experiences is more pronounced in girls. In empirical studies conducted by researchers at the National Institutes of Health and Harvard University, female child soldiers were found to be more vulnerable to depression and post-traumatic stress disorder than boys after they returned home.

It's no surprise why. Girl child soldiers report significantly higher instances of rape and sexual abuse. Meanwhile, female combatants



"If I had known my life in freedom would be worse



IN THE TRENCHES 1 A former LRA abductee, injured in captivity, lines up with classmates at a rehab center. 2 Girls released by Boko Haram, at a meeting with the Nigerian president. 3 female soldiers in Sri Lanka. 4 Female guerrillas in Colombia. 5 A former LRA captive at a rehab center in Uganda. 6 FARC fighters pose for a picture. 7 Math class for former child soldiers. 8 Families commemorate the Boko Haram kidnapping. 9 A teen soldier who was abducted while pregnant, with her baby.



2



3



5



6

than captivity, I never would have tried to _____ **ESCAPE THE BUSH.**"



8



9

Recidivism is —

— **A SERIOUS ISSUE.**

Three in 10
former
child soldiers
return to
militias from
which they
risked
their lives
to escape.

who assumed leadership roles and experienced degrees of equality in groups like FARC struggle to acclimate to traditional gender roles and entrenched gender biases in mainstream society. A Sri Lankan hair salon owner who taught a beauty workshop to young women who'd broken free of the Tamil Tigers, a militant separatist group, observed an identity crisis that the females went through. "At first, they walked and talked like men, they were forbidden to express their femininity for so long," she noted. "But after the workshop, their behavior changed. They were so emotional, they wept."

The Imperative to Do Better

A MORE EFFECTIVE APPROACH TO SUCCESSFULLY INTEGRATING former female child soldiers into society requires thinking differently about how to counteract the stigma and address the specific challenges these girls face.

International agencies that champion ex-combatant reintegration programs are reluctant to accept that females can be active combatants and, in turn, overlook services for women. A "one-man, one-gun" policy implemented in Sierra Leone disarmed male combatants by offering to exchange weapons for education, vocational training and job placement. Under a false presumption that women in captivity exclusively filled support roles, the policy largely excluded female combatants. Only 8 percent of the 6,845 child soldiers who disarmed through the reintegration process in Sierra Leone were girls, despite estimates that the number of women and girls involved in fighting forces ranged up to 50 percent.

This is a security issue as much as it is a moral one. If we don't do more to help these young women, we allow societal discord to fester long after the ink from peace accords has dried, setting the stage for renewed conflict. Social scientists have long determined that persistent demonization, discrimination and exclusion of an entire class of people can lead to violence. Genocides in Germany, Cambodia and Rwanda were preceded by the stigmatization of a targeted group. When repeated efforts to secure basic needs—such as a job, food, education or friendship—are systematically rejected because of stigma, desperation grows. Returning to the militia becomes a matter of survival. Recidivism ultimately makes the public less safe.

There is a lot the world can do. While girl soldiers are only part of a much larger group of vulnerable women in fragile societies, news organizations can shed more light on their particular issues. The World Bank and U.N. can strengthen partnerships with the private sector to expand economic opportunities for females in post-conflict regions. Tech companies can provide coding tutorials to help former child soldiers secure quality jobs of the future.

FACES OF THE FIGHT

Opposite page: A young soldier at a training camp in Liberia. This page, from top: a child wearing a badge advocating for the release of the girls kidnapped by Boko Haram; and a mother holds a photo of her abducted daughter, still missing after five years.



The State Department's Office of Global Women's Issues can help tailor post-war reconstruction programs for women.

Ordinary citizens can help too. Donors can support UNICEF and non-profit organizations like Children of Peace Uganda and War Child that not only provide psychosocial support, educational scholarships, medical assistance and vocational training to former child soldiers, but also educate communities into which they return about the importance of reintegration and stigma's pernicious effects.

Martha and other former female child soldiers scattered around the globe need our help. Surviving war is one thing. Surviving its social and economic repercussions is another. **N**

→ **Aviva Feuerstein** has served for the past decade as a counterterrorism and security specialist at the NYPD, the FBI's Joint Terrorism Task Force and the NBA. She also co-chairs the Innocence Project's Advocates for Justice Committee. The views expressed in this article are the author's own.

BY THE NUMBERS

A Look Back at 2019

While the impeachment inquiry into President Donald Trump's Ukraine dealings has dominated the headlines lately, this was by no means the only noteworthy development of the past 12 months. As the countdown begins to a new year and a new decade, here's a look at the forces that helped shape us as a people and a nation in 2019. —Noah Miller

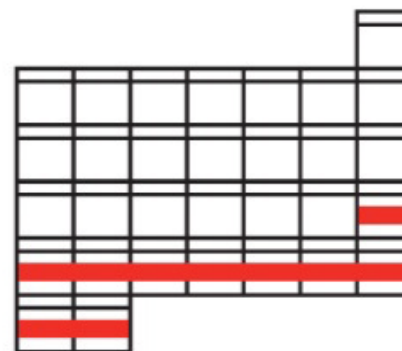
26.4% → The stock market's 2019 gain, measured by the S&P 500, through December 12th—its best performance since 2013

6.5 billion+

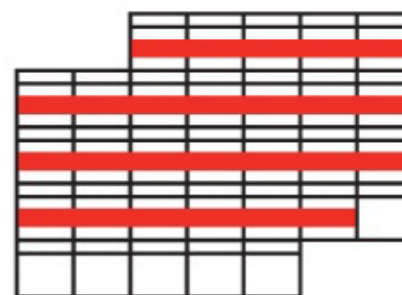
The number of global streams on Spotify for **Post Malone**, the music service's most-streamed artist of the year. No. 2: Billie Eilish (6 billion).



DECEMBER 2018



JANUARY 2019



Thirty-Five

The number of days in the government shutdown that ended on **January 25, 2019**—the longest in U.S. history. Cost to the economy in the first quarter of the year: \$8 billion



69,550

The number of migrant children held in U.S. custody during the 2019 fiscal year, which ended in September. That's a 42 percent jump from 2018 and a dramatic 410 percent leap from 2012.

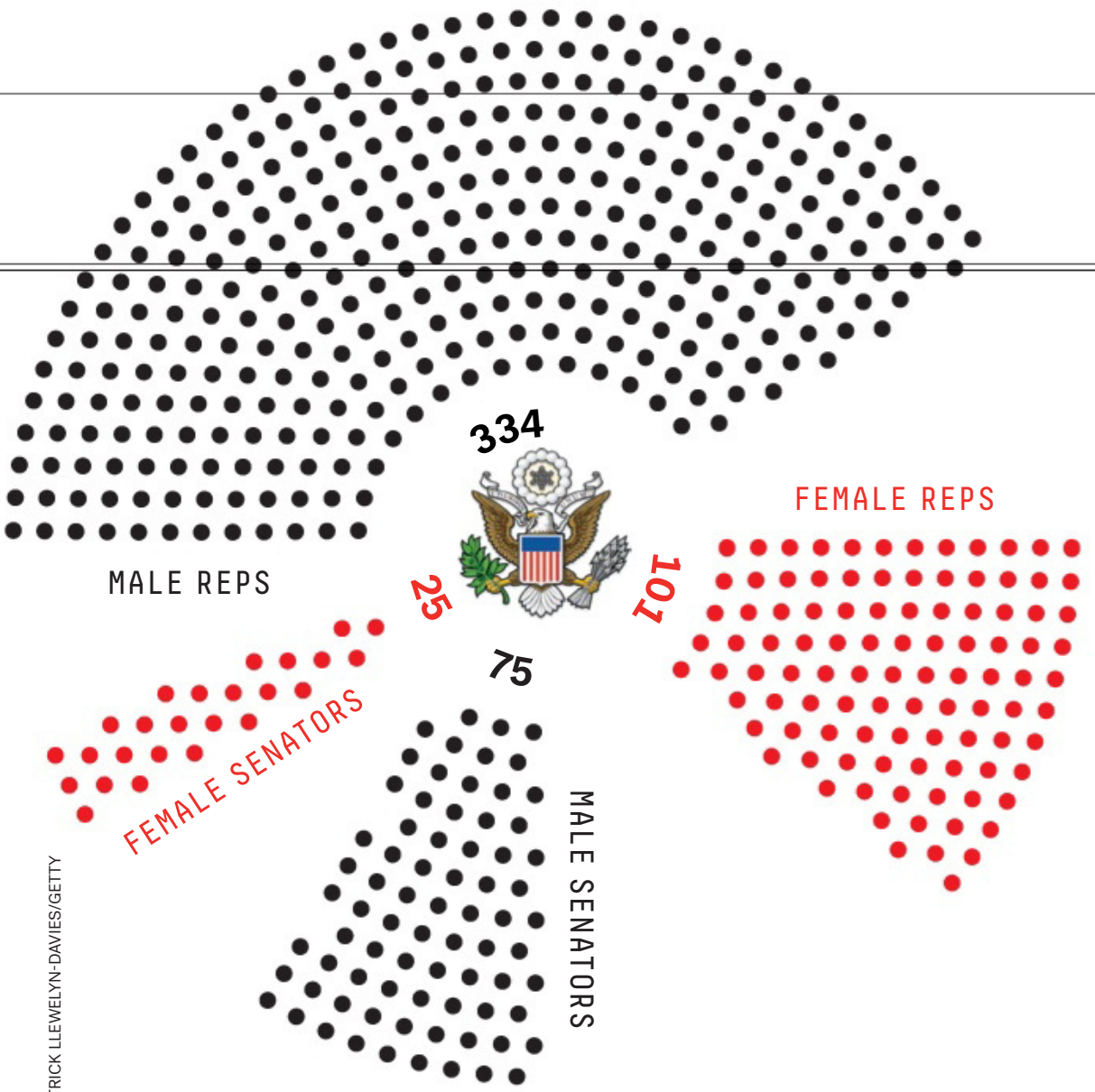


The score in the **U.S. Women's National Team** win over Thailand in their opening match of the Women's World Cup, the biggest margin of victory in tournament history (men's or women's)

SOURCES: MORNINGSTAR, SPOTIFY, ADMINISTRATION FOR CHILDREN AND FAMILIES, CBSSPORTS.COM, CONGRESSIONAL BUDGET OFFICE, CENTER FOR AMERICAN WOMEN AND POLITICS AT RUTGERS, AON, DEADLINE, BOX OFFICE MOJO, GUN VIOLENCE ARCHIVE, CALIFORNIA DEPT. OF FORESTRY AND FIRE PROTECTION, STATISTA/TRUMP TWITTER ARCHIVE

CLOCKWISE FROM LEFT: ICE; KATJA OGRIN/REDFERNS/GETTY; ARCTIC-IMAGES/GETTY; MUSTAFA YALCIN/ANADOLU AGENCY/GETTY

CLOCKWISE FROM TOP: GEORGE NAZLIS (NAZLISART)/GETTY; MUSTAFA MAKI/EYEM/GETTY; HBO; MANDEL NGAN/AFP/GETTY; MARVEL; 777/GETTY; PATRICK LLEWELYN-DAVIES/GETTY



23.6% → The percentage of seats held by women in 2019's 116th Congress, including **35 new female members of the House** and **five new female senators**. That brings the total number of women in Congress to 126, the highest in U.S. history.

\$2,797,800,564

The global revenue of the year's top-grossing movie, **Avengers: Endgame**, including \$858 million generated in the U.S.



394 → The number of mass shootings that occurred in the U.S. in 2019 (as of December 11th) in which four or more people were injured or killed, excluding the shooter



6,869
 The number of wildfires in **California** (through December 8th), resulting in 253,334 acres of burned land—destructive but well below 2018's devastating 7,571 fires over 1.67 million acres



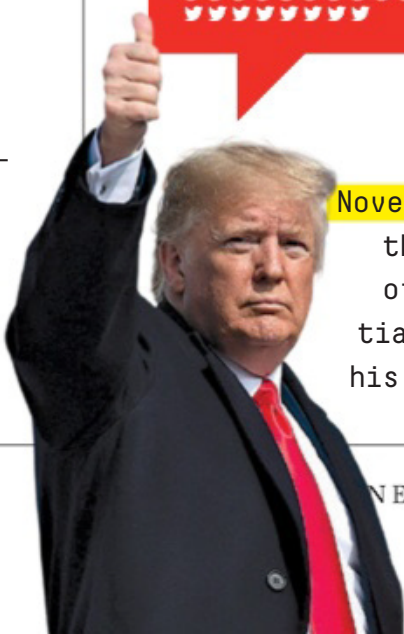
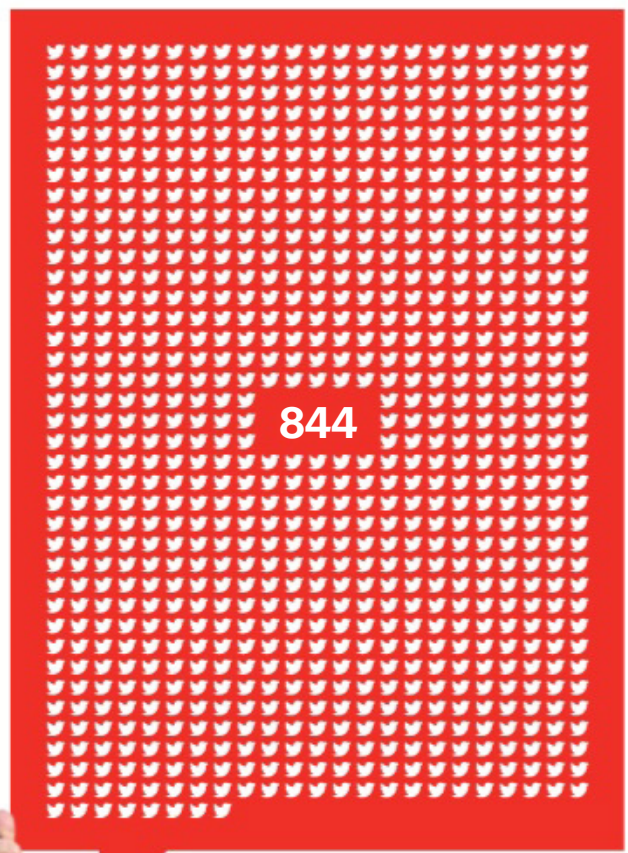
1,303

The number of lives lost in **southern Africa** (Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Malawi) as a result of Cyclone Idai, the year's deadliest natural disaster



19.3 MILLION

The number of viewers who tuned in for the final episode of *Game of Thrones*, a record for HBO. That beat the 18 million who watched the two-part series finale of *Big Bang Theory* after 12 seasons.



The number of tweets by @realDonaldTrump in **November**, a record high for the president, whose use of Twitter grew exponentially in 2019 compared to his first two years in office

MOONSHOTS

Electric Avenues

Entrepreneurs Julie and Scott Brusaw believe one of the keys to a greener planet is right under our tires

➔ *IN CELEBRATION OF THE 50TH anniversary of NASA astronauts landing on the moon, Newsweek is spotlighting pioneers in science and technology, highlighting their very own moonshots and how they hope to change the world.*

Julie and Scott Brusaw are entrepreneurs in Idaho who have launched a company called Solar Roadways. They are working to develop new materials for street and roads that can not only turn sunlight into electricity for the grid but also generate their own light and produce heat to melt ice and snow.

What is your moonshot?

SCOTT: Our goal is to cover all paved surfaces with solar panels that you can drive on.

What are your panels made of?

SCOTT: Think bullet-proof glass, think bomb resistant glass. You can tweak the formula and make it withstand anything an 18-wheeler can do to it.

How do they work?

SCOTT: We've got two pieces of half-inch thick tempered glass, and we laminate these two together with the circuit boards in between. The circuit boards have the LEDs and solar cells, the heating elements and the micro-processor. Solar cells put off DC energy, so if you installed the panels in

your driveway or a parking lot, you would need to take that DC energy and convert it into AC energy. We have a micro inverter we use that takes that DC and turns it into 240 volts of AC. It goes right into a "load center," that's where your fuse box is, so it's feeding your house. If it's a parking lot, it's feeding your business. If it's a road, it can feed anything that's on the power line.

JULIE: And we haven't begun offering them for sale. We aren't in full production yet.

Do you envision the panel installation being more of a thing where governments put them into highways or where homeowners put them into driveways?

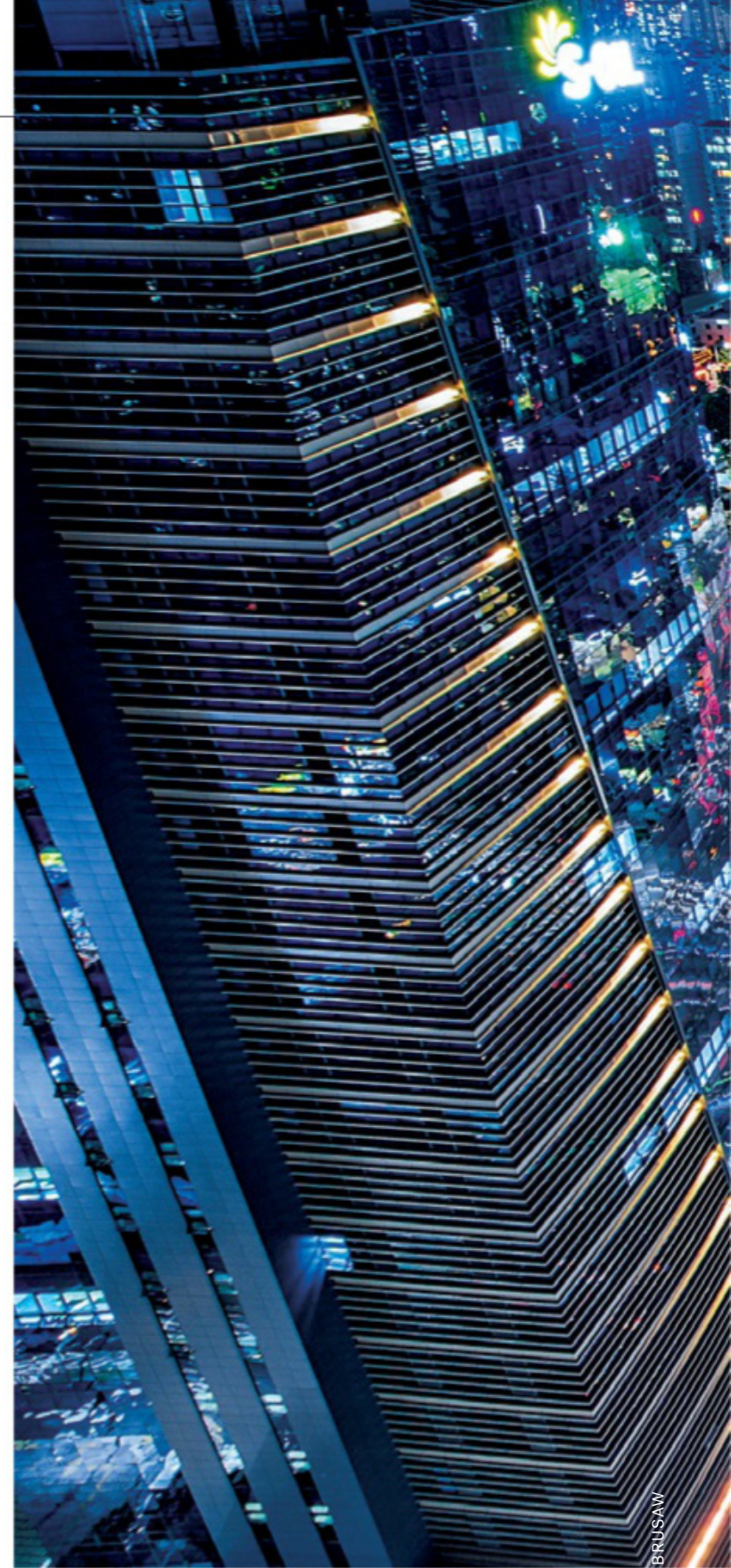
JULIE: All of the above, the public and the private sectors. I've got over 20,000 unanswered emails in my inbox, a mix of homeowners and business owners from all 50 states, virtually every country in the world. We've got interest from military bases, ski resorts, sports stadiums, hotels, resorts, airports, museums, churches, universities and the government.

What are the big challenges you've faced trying to make this a reality?

JULIE: Funding is the main one. We were so fortunate to raise \$2.2 million on our Indiegogo campaign, which

BY

NOAH MILLER

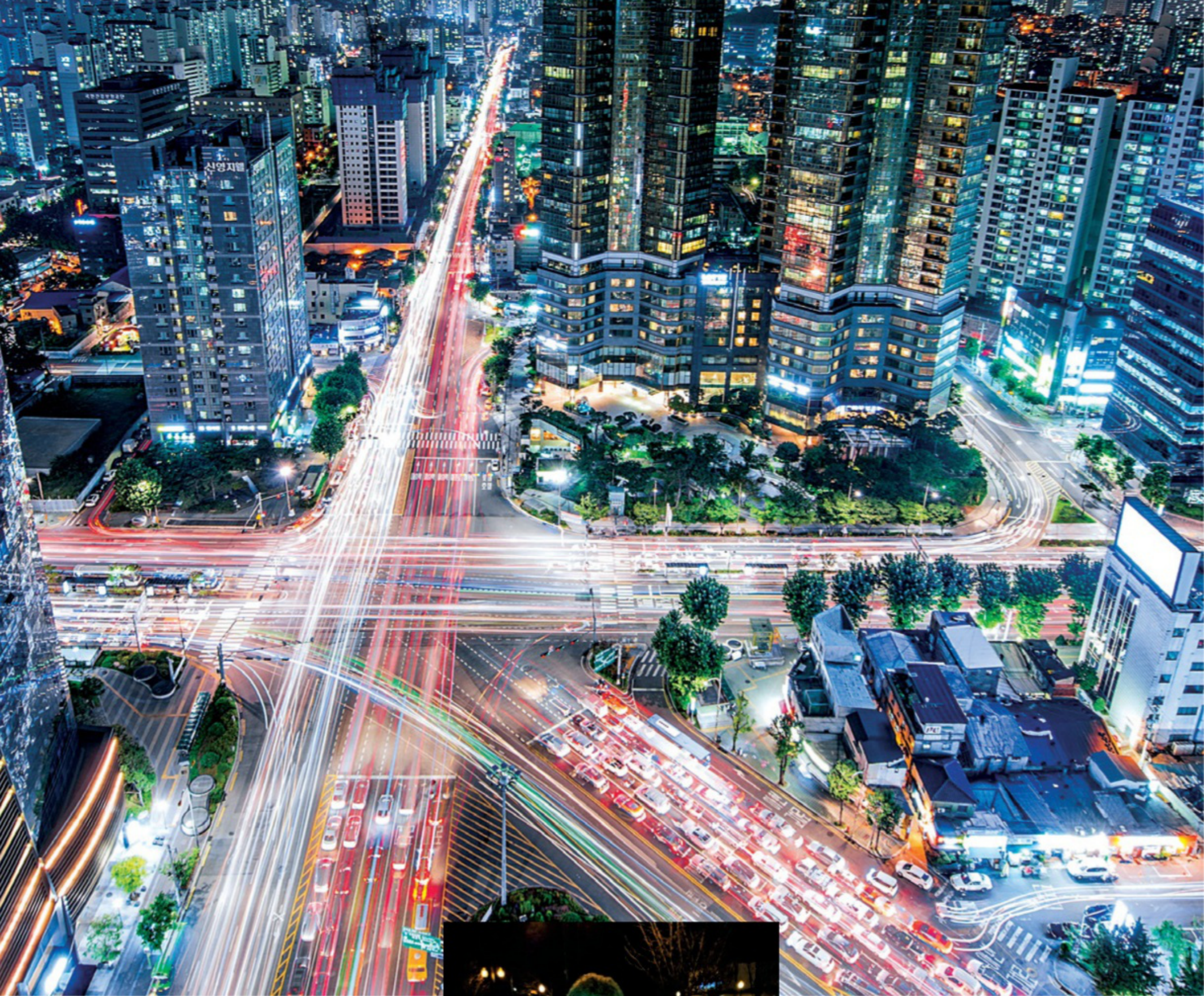


“Our focus is how do we help the planet become sustainable.”

enabled us to buy the building that we're currently in and buy the equipment and hire employees. But, that only goes so far.

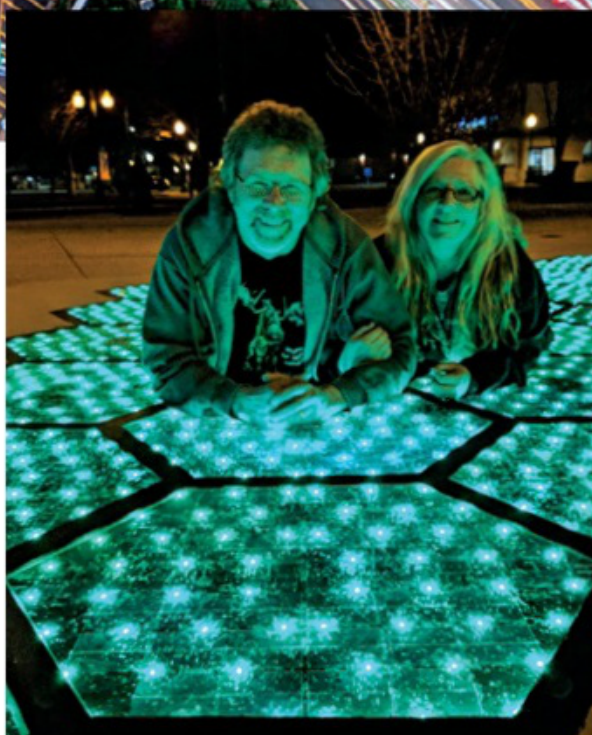
Tell me a little bit about what phase you're onto now.

FROM TOP: GANGIL GWON/EYEEM/GETTY; COURTESY OF JULIE AND SCOTT BRUSAW



SCOTT: We have a manufacturer in Dayton, Ohio, under contract. They're buying equipment now so they can do 1,000 solar panels a day. We have another potential manufacturer in various areas of contract negotiation. The idea is to have a lot of manufacturers out there cranking these panels out as fast as we can because I think we've got a time clock on our planet.

In your wildest dreams, what do you see the world being like in 20 years if you're successful?



GLOW IN THE DARK The Brusaw's solar panels turn sunlight into electricity and also power their own built-in LEDs for nighttime illumination.

SCOTT: Covered in solar roadways.

JULIE: And it seems like the world is moving towards the autonomous electric vehicle, and perhaps people won't own cars anymore. They will just call for an autonomous vehicle when they need to go somewhere, and they can get a small car if it's just them or a large car if they're taking a bunch of people. Those things will help the planet in so many ways. Our focus is how do we help the planet become sustainable, and that's what keeps us going every day. **N**

BOOK REVIEW

The Cautionary Tale of Richard Jewell

The cost of a rush to judgement; how a hero became a media victim





HERO NO LONGER
Richard Jewell holds up the original *Atlanta Journal-Constitution* article that first identified him as the target of the FBI investigation.

COURTESY OF DANA JEWELL; TOP RIGHT: CAMERON SPENCER/GETTY

➤ IN 2019 WE ARE USED TO A 24/7 NEWS cycle driven by social media, cable news, relentless leaks of confidential information and widespread conspiracy theories.

But a lot of that was still novel in 1996, when Richard Jewell was wrongly accused of planting a bomb at the Atlanta Summer Olympics. Spotlighted in a new book *The Suspect: An Olympic Bombing, the FBI, the Media, and Richard Jewell, the Man Caught in the Middle* (Abrams Press) by Kevin Salwen and Kent Alexander, and in Clint Eastwood's movie *Richard Jewell*, Jewell's story is a cautionary tale of rush to judgment.

Jewell was the security guard who spotted an unattended bag containing a pipe bomb in Centennial Park in the early hours of July 27, 1996. The bomb detonated before it could be removed, killing two and injuring 111. If not for Jewell, those numbers would have been much higher.

BY

**MEREDITH
WOLF SCHIZER**

Jewell was initially hailed as a hero, but days later he was identified as the FBI's prime suspect and became the focus of a furious media feeding frenzy. He was wasn't cleared until October. The real bomber was charged two years later.

Kevin Salwen calls Jewell "Patient One in the whole rush-to-judgment social media problem that we're now in." Salwen ran area coverage for *The Wall Street Journal* during the Atlanta Games. Co-author Kent Alexander was the U.S. Attorney for the Northern District of Georgia at the time and spent hundreds of hours with the FBI. He also wrote and delivered the letter eventually clearing Jewell of wrongdoing. Researching *The Suspect* over the course of five years, the two conducted 187 interviews and reviewed more than 90,000 pages of documents. They were also brought in as consultants on the movie, which was released this month. The film has been heavily criticized for depicting *Atlanta Journal-Constitution* (AJC) reporter Kathy Scruggs trading sex for information with an FBI contact. Salwen and Alexander issued a statement calling Scruggs, who died in 2001, "first

Culture

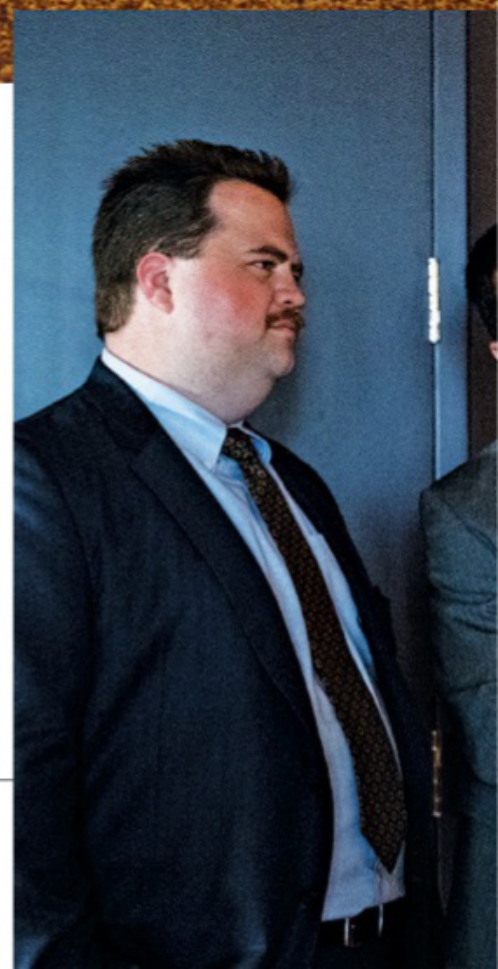
and foremost, an outstanding police reporter.” They add: “Scruggs secured her Jewell scoop from a law enforcement source. We have been asked repeatedly whether we found evidence that Scruggs traded sex for the story. We did not.” They go on to “urge everyone to see this excellent film which conveys the story of Jewell, the unsung hero, in a compelling, dramatic and entertaining manner.”

As Salwen and Alexander explain, Jewell was someone easy to caricature. He was an “overweight guy in his early 30s living in his mother’s apartment with a streak of overzealousness,” says Alexander. “He was the unfair target first of FBI profiling and then later the media.” Jay Leno called him the “Una-doofus.” The *New York Post* called him a “fat, failed former sheriff’s deputy.” *The Suspect* describes the libel lawsuits Jewell later brought which settled out of court as well as his 11-year-long case against the *AJC*, which was the first news outlet to name him as a suspect. Jewell, who died in 2007, ultimately lost the suit.

Salwen and Alexander’s research brings to light for the first time the damning profile used by the FBI. Alexander tells *Newsweek* that the FBI’s Behavioral Sciences Unit’s profiling became “the driving force in the investigation.” He says, “It was an actual profile, not so much of the generic bomber, but of Richard Jewell himself, which I guess was a little unusual. It wasn’t until we stepped back and everybody started really looking at the totality of the reports that it became clearer and clearer that there’s a lot of circumstantial evidence, there’s things that Richard Jewell did and said that were really suspect, but that at the end of the day he was no bomber at all; in fact he was truly the hero.” *The Suspect* also describes the improper way Jewell was informed of his Miranda rights and uncovers the source of the initial FBI leak to Scruggs.

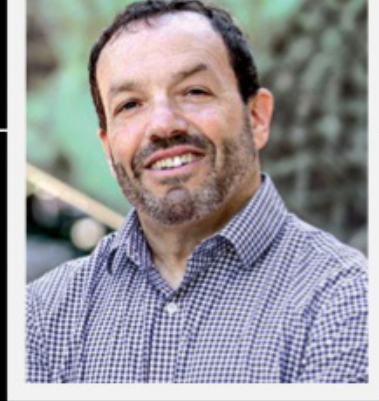
More than 20 years later, what can we learn from Jewell’s nightmare? As the authors of *The Suspect* implore, “value accuracy over speed” and punish officials who leak confidential information. ■

VINDICATING A HERO Clockwise from top: The site of the explosion at Centennial Park in the aftermath; Director Clint Eastwood and actors Sam Rockwell and Paul Walter Hauser (playing Jewell) on the *Richard Jewell* movie set; and Jewell and his mother Bobi during a press conference on October 28, 1996, two days after Kent Alexander delivered the letter clearing him of wrongdoing.





CLOCKWISE FROM TOP: DON LOGAN/WIREIMAGE/GETTY; CLAIRE FOLGER/WARNER BROS.; DOUG COLLIER/AFP/GETTY; SIDEBAR: ALLISON SHIRREFFS; COURTESY OF ABRAMS PRESS



BOOKS

Q&A: Kent Alexander and Kevin Salwen spoke with *Newsweek* about their new book *The Suspect*.

EDITED EXCERPTS:

Is profiling like what was used in the Jewell case still in use in law enforcement? Was it new then?

ALEXANDER: Profiling wasn't new then, but it was maybe at the high water mark as a tool in the investigation. In this case, it was a tool that drove much of the investigation. In fact, the profiling has never been revealed before this book.

How can someone clear their name once they've been exonerated by law enforcement?

SALWEN: It's harder and harder and harder for someone who is falsely accused to clear their name. In many ways, the public moves on, the media moves on, but the only remaining rubble in all of this is the accused. It becomes a very dangerous thing. It requires sort of a collective decision to kind of say, "Why don't we slow down for a minute and get it right, as opposed to getting it first?"

Does this have implications for the #MeToo movement?

ALEXANDER: It has implications for many of the social issues that are right in our face. The reality is that we saw irresponsible and incorrect news out there on a very regular basis and in many ways what social media has done is it has allowed anybody to accuse anyone else, oftentimes behind the cloak of anonymity.

Is there anything we can do about the kind of leaks that happened in Jewell's case?

ALEXANDER: There was no excuse for the law enforcement leaks. It

wasn't endorsed or condoned by supervisors at the FBI. A takeaway lesson is to start prosecuting people for leaking. Criminally.

SALWEN: I also think that if you look at the way Kathy Scruggs sourced the first story and the way that the *Atlanta Journal-Constitution* cautiously decided when to run it, you can have a very interesting discussion within our society about whether they should have run that story. The reality is that Richard Jewell was the lead suspect by the FBI at that point. And then there is the question that you can have inside every single newsroom: "Is it irresponsible to name the guy and write the story that is true?" There are always grays that attract me in a story, and I think that is one of the really interesting grays.

What is the relevance of Jewell's story today?

ALEXANDER: Everybody needs to get back to valuing accuracy over speed and being the first to get the story. There's a real human toll at the end, and law enforcement and media each need to bear that in mind.

SALWEN: Richard Jewell is a hero, and the work that he did saved scores of lives and he deserves to be looked at as something other than the former suspect. If we had slowed down to try to understand the story as opposed to try to sprint through it, for our own convenience and for others, we would have recognized that. **N**



NO ONE IS PERFECT Alexander (top, left) and Salwen attempt to give a complete portrait of Jewell in their book. Salwen tells *Newsweek*, "and I believe that his entire family believes that we have done that."



Culture



01 Hula
— Hawaii

Not just a way to greet tourists, hula dancing was brought to the islands by the Polynesians that settled them and was used to pass down stories and culture before the time of written word. Today, it is used to connect with the islands and share the culture of Hawaii with others.

1

02 Second Line Dancing
— Louisiana

The second line is one of the most iconic traditions in New Orleans—a parade of brass horns, twirling parasols and fancy footwork. The distinctive dance moves in these often impromptu street celebrations are quick, forward-strutting steps.



2

03 Capoeira
— Brazil

A mix of martial arts and dance, this Afro-Brazilian combat dance is a blend of strength and grace, and it includes lots of leg sweeps. It's believed that this athletic acrobatic dance inspired modern breakdancing.



04 Irish Step Dancing
— Ireland

Made famous by the likes of Michael Flatley, the "Lord of the Dance," Irish step dancing has a long history, linked both to European social dancing and ancient Celtic and Druid traditions. Step dancing is easily identifiable by the dancers' stiff arms and upper body, and lightning-fast tapping footwork.



4

5

06 Viennese Waltz
— Austria

What was initially a peasant folk dance in Vienna became the first form of the waltz, and it eventually evolved into a formal high society dance throughout Europe. Due to its close holds and quick spins, waltz was once considered the "Forbidden Dance," though it is now synonymous with highbrow ballroom dance.



01: THINKSTOCK IMAGES/GETTY; 02: CHRIS MACIAS/SACRAMENTO BEE/TRIBUNE NEWS SERVICE/GETTY; 03: RYAN PIERSE/GETTY; 04: DARKBIRD77/GETTY; 05: AITOR ALCALDE COLOMER/GETTY



07 Whirling Dervish
— Turkey

Watching the mesmerizing whirling dervish ceremonies is an iconic part of Turkish culture. Begun as a form of meditation by the Sufi mystic and poet Rumi in the 13th century, this spinning dance known as *sema* blurs prayer, dance and trance. The dervishes are followers of Rumi and honor him with this practice.



09 Bhangra
— India

This high-energy dance started as a folk celebration to rejoice in the harvest season in Punjab, India. Following the beat of the *dhol*, or the Indian drum, dancers are dressed in colorful free-flowing fabrics. Now, the dance has spread all over the world and made its way into fitness classes and TV shows such as *America's Got Talent*.



10 Kabuki
— Japan

A classical dance drama that began in Kyoto more than 400 years ago, kabuki incorporates theatrics and mime with spectacular costumes and staging. But the heart of this traditional art form is the dramatic dancing that tells the story through stylized movements.

08 Maasai Jumping Dance
— Kenya

Known as *adumu* by the Maasai tribe in Kenya and Tanzania, this jumping dance is a tradition performed by young men at a coming-of-age ceremony. The dance serves as a competition for young men to showcase their strength and even attract the attention of potential brides. It's said that the one who jumps the highest will be chosen as chief.



UNCHARTED

Dance Around the World

From Brazilian martial-arts dancing to Turkish twirling meditation and Kenyan warriors jumping, the world moves in mysterious ways. Whether you know the language or not, watching—or better yet participating if invited—in a traditional dance is a powerful way to experience and connect with another culture. Take a whirl around the globe to see some of the most iconic dance moves. —*Kathleen Rellihan*

06: JOE KLAMAR/AFP/GETTY; 07: MARCO SECCHI/GETTY; 08: IN PICTURES LTD./CORBIS/GETTY; 09: CREATIVE TOUCH IMAGING LTD./IUPHOTO/GETTY; 10: VALERY SHARIFULIN/TASS/GETTY

PARTING SHOT

Jennifer Hudson

➤ “WORKING ON THIS FILM WAS DIFFERENT THAN ANYTHING I HAD DONE BEFORE,” says Oscar-winner Jennifer Hudson about her work on the film adaptation (opening this month) of the iconic Andrew Lloyd Webber musical *Cats*. Hudson plays Grizabella, the feline best known for the song “Memory,” originally made famous by Betty Buckley in her 1983 Tony-winning Broadway performance. “Of course it’s such an iconic song, I wanted to honor the original while also bringing my own touch to it,” she says. Webber—who collaborated on the film—“was very trusting and encouraged me to bring what I felt to the song.” The film, directed by Tom Hooper (*The King’s Speech* and *Les Misérables*) and also starring Taylor Swift, Idris Elba and Judi Dench, is so highly anticipated that the trailer went viral. It’s the emotional intensity of characters like Hudson’s Grizabella that is largely responsible for giving the story weight and heart. Hudson says she thought a lot about her character’s “past” and how a rough life impacted her physically. “We wanted people who saw her on-screen to think, ‘What happened to her?’”

“‘Memory’ carries so much of the emotion and heart of the movie as a whole.”



How did you prepare for your role?

A huge part of her story is told through “Memory,” so [its] significance was not lost on me. We spent a lot of time dissecting who Grizabella was, which helped to form her look and how she moved. I thought a lot about her past and how that would affect the heaviness in her walk or the brokenness in her facial expressions.

Your favorite song to perform?

“Memory.” It’s Grizabella’s entire life story, and it carries so much of the heart of the movie as a whole. I got emotional every time I rehearsed it.

What were the costumes like?

The suits we wore were basically like walking green screens that the VFX team would transform into cat fur later.

How was it working with Hooper?

Amazing—to see his vision and to see how dedicated he was to creating it.

What will audiences take from *Cats*?

Tom created an entire world, which audiences will love. It’s also a story about inclusivity and coming together, which will be really powerful and relevant for people right now.

How is the film different from the Broadway musical?

For anyone who loves the play, I think the movie will be an exciting new way to see the story come alive, and for anyone who’s not familiar with it, the movie will be an amazing introduction into this world.—H. Alan Scott

RELIVE THE SKYWALKER SAGA

SPECIAL **Newsweek** EDITION

STAR WARS

CELEBRATING THE CONCLUSION OF THE SKYWALKER SAGA



The magazine cover features a central collage of Star Wars characters and scenes. At the top, a large image shows a character in a hooded cloak (likely Luke Skywalker) looking forward. Below this, there are smaller images of Rey holding a blue lightsaber, Han Solo with a blaster, Kylo Ren with a red lightsaber, and Leia Organa. The background is a dark space with stars and a planet.

**NEWSWEEK'S
TOP MOMENTS
FROM EVERY
EPISODE**

- Behind-the-scenes photos
- *Episode IX* Preview
- Why We Still Need Luke and Leia
- Ranking the Best Lightsaber Duels
- The Story Continues: *The Mandalorian*, *Fallen Order* and More!

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