

TIME

NEXT GENERATION LEADERS

THE TEENAGER
ON STRIKE FOR
THE PLANET

GRETA THUNBERG

PLUS
9 MORE
TRAILBLAZERS
SHAPING
OUR WORLD





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^ *Morgan Lyles and her twins Lena and Maura at home in Columbus, Ohio, on May 11*

Photograph by *Maddie McGarvey* for TIME

Congratulations. Business leadership is now gender equal.*



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

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

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

Conversation



WHAT YOU SAID ABOUT...

“I HAVE A PLAN” Fans of Massachusetts Senator Elizabeth Warren saw Haley Sweetland Edwards’ May 20 profile as a victory for the 2020 Democratic presidential candidate. “She’s FINALLY starting to get the media attention she deserves after what’s been an incredible early-stage campaign,” tweeted activist Adam Best. Conservative pundit S.E. Cupp tweeted that the story was right to point out that Warren “definitely has real policy plans, where many other candidates don’t. Now it’s up to voters to decide if they make sense.” (For her, she added, “they don’t.”) Rodney W. Hanson of Lacey, Wash., wished the article mentioned even more of Warren’s policy positions, particularly those on climate change, but to Facebook user Paul Dukich, all those policies ran together as “more and more taxes.”

‘I was an @SenWarren fan before reading the @TIME profile. I’m a bigger one now.’

@FENBEAST,
on Twitter

“CEOS ARE NOT OVERPAID” Tyler Cowen’s April 22 op-ed on executive pay was a “great write-up on the pay discrepancy between a [CEO] and the average worker,” tweeted @DeanClass. Fred Gibson of

Tahlequah, Okla., worried that a “devastating effect” of that discrepancy would be the “disconnect between CEOs and the rest of society.” On Cowen’s point about CEO raises tied to the value

‘Highly recommended perspective, especially if you disagree.’

@AULDERIC,
on Twitter

of a company, “Imagine tying teacher compensation to the value of the organization in which they teach,” wrote Susan Bosworth Sheridan of Rockingham, Va. “I believe the answer is ... priceless.”



Photograph by
Hellen van Meene
for TIME



Photograph by
Gizelle Hernandez
for TIME

NEXT GENERATION LEADERS It’s been five years since TIME joined forces with Rolex to launch Next Generation Leaders, a biannual selection of rising stars in politics, culture, science, sports and business (page 38). Past honorees have won office, Oscars and Olympic medals. The new class includes cover subjects Greta Thunberg (top), who led climate-change protests worldwide, and Tessa Thompson, who’s shifting the conversation on representation in Hollywood. “The great thing about shaping this list is highlighting young people who are taking risks to create change,” says deputy international editor Naina Bajekal, who oversees the project. “They aren’t afraid to break boundaries.” See video profiles of the honorees at time.com/nextgenleaders



BEHIND THE PHOTO Last fall, a photo of a Honduran mother and her children fleeing tear gas near the U.S.-Mexico border went viral. Now, on TIME.com, learn more about Maria Lidia Meza Castro (above, standing), the woman in the picture. Photographer Federica Valabrega met Castro days before that incident and recently visited her and her family at their Washington, D.C.-area home. Read more at time.com/migrant-mother

KUDOS On May 13, TIME national correspondent **Molly Ball** won the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Foundation’s Distinguished Reporting on the Presidency Award, for work that shed “valuable light on the tumult” of Donald Trump’s second year in office.

SETTING THE RECORD STRAIGHT ▶ In “Elizabeth Warren Has a Plan for That” (May 20), we misstated where Warren first worked as a special-needs teacher. It was in New Jersey.

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The New York Times



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IN PURSUIT OF THE TRUTH

The Weekly

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6.2
SUN **FX**

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NAME-DROPPED IN

519



HIP-HOP TRACKS

THE 2019
ESCALADE



Cadillac

ICONIC FOR A REASON
#KEEPRISING

RED CARPET REGULAR FOR

20 YEARS

AND COUNTING

THE 2019

ESCALADE



Cadillac

ICONIC FOR A REASON

#KEEPRISING

WHAT CELEBS, CEOs AND

SUPER VILLAINS

HAVE IN COMMON



THE 2019
ESCALADE



Cadillac

ICONIC FOR A REASON
#KEEPRISING

CAMEOS IN

1,343



MOVIES AND TV EPISODES

THE 2019

ESCALADE



Cadillac

ICONIC FOR A REASON
#KEEPRISING

‘I think all grand juries are improper. I don’t like the secrecy of it.’

CHELSEA MANNING, WikiLeaks whistle-blower released from jail May 9, on why she won’t comply with a new subpoena

‘His main concern is that turkey season ends this week, and he has not reached his limit.’

THE CARTER CENTER, assuring the public on May 13 that 94-year-old former President Jimmy Carter is expected to fully recover from surgery after breaking his hip while preparing to go on a turkey-hunting trip

‘I didn’t mind explaining photosynthesis to you when you were 12. But you’re adults now, and this is an actual crisis.’

BILL NYE, host of *Bill Nye the Science Guy*, urging viewers to take climate change more seriously, on the May 12 episode of *Last Week Tonight with John Oliver*

‘WE’RE LOOKING FOR IRAN TO BEHAVE LIKE A NORMAL COUNTRY.’

MIKE POMPEO, U.S. Secretary of State, addressing escalating tensions with Iran on May 14; a year after the U.S. pulled out of the Iran deal, the State Department advised citizens not to travel to Iran and partially evacuated the U.S. embassy in Iraq

46 million

Number of Australian banknotes that were printed with *responsibility* misspelled “responsibilty”; the Reserve Bank of Australia apologized and said the error would be corrected for the next print run



\$850,871

Annual potential fine faced by Trump International Hotel & Tower in New York City if it is not upgraded to meet the city’s new environmental standards for buildings

‘All I can do is continue to share the human impact of what it means to be Palestinian.’

RASHIDA TLAIB, Michigan Congresswoman, on the May 13 episode of *Late Night With Seth Meyers*, addressing the controversy over a podcast in which she articulated tension between the need to provide a safe haven for Jews after the Holocaust and the consequences to Palestinians

Constance Wu
The actor caught flak for saying she wished sitcom *Fresh Off the Boat* hadn’t been renewed May 10 so she could take a new role



Wu-Tang Clan
The hip-hop group announced it’s releasing a new EP on May 17

The Brief

CROP DUSTUP
Soybean farms, like this one in Maryland, have been caught up in the U.S.-China trade war



INSIDE

*CUBA RATIONS FOOD IN THE
FACE OF ECONOMIC TROUBLE*

*BREXIT BOOSTER NIGEL FARAGE
RETURNS TO BRITISH POLITICS*

*KYLE MACLACHLAN REMEMBERS
TWIN PEAKS' PEGGY LIPTON*

PHOTOGRAPH BY EDWIN REMSBERG

TRADE

The real trade war: Whose rules will reign?

By John Walcott

RAY GAESSER, A SOYBEAN FARMER IN CORNING, Iowa, is on the front lines of the escalating trade war between the U.S. and China. Last fall, he was optimistic that the world's two largest economies would seal a deal that would keep his crops moving to market in China. But as tit-for-tat tariffs have made his soybeans less competitive, Gaesser, 66, says it will be hard for many growers to turn a profit this year. "Farmers' patience is growing thin," he tells TIME. The question that really scares him: "Are we going to be in this for a long, long time?"

The answer almost certainly is yes. President Donald Trump's efforts to force China to buy more U.S. agricultural products, open up to foreign business and rewrite laws that incentivize intellectual-property theft is part of a bigger challenge. It's not just that the U.S. and China—both of which announced billions of dollars' worth of new tariffs in the first half of May—are competing over who will be the world's dominant economic, technological and military power. It's a question of who writes the rules, not just for trade but also for disputed areas from cyberspace to outer space. And that struggle is just getting started.

The first step for the U.S. is to decide for itself what rules it wants to play by. Trump has talked of abandoning the World Trade Organization (WTO), which has been the arbiter of U.S.-China trade for nearly 20 years. He's won applause in some quarters, including from Democrats on Capitol Hill, for his go-it-alone approach, but others see danger in the U.S.'s facing off with the Middle Kingdom on its own. "For seven decades since World War II, a rules-based framework led by Washington has defined world order, producing an era without war among great powers," Harvard professor Graham Allison writes in his 2017 book, *Destined for War: Can America and China Escape Thucydides's Trap?* "Today, an increasingly powerful China is unraveling this order, throwing into question the peace generations have taken for granted."

Much of the blame lies with Beijing. Successive Western leaders bet that "constructive engagement" with China's leaders would ease the world's most populous nation into the liberal, free-trading world order. After China joined the WTO in 2001 it made occasional nods to Western trade rules, but as it gained economic clout, it increasingly resisted demands to transform its state-controlled economy.

Year after year, it dumped cheap goods overseas and favored Chinese companies over foreign firms, siphoning off intellectual property and trade secrets.

China has used the illicit profits of that engagement to construct a direct challenge to the American-led postwar order. China's Belt and Road Initiative infrastructure plan includes 126 nations and 29 international organizations and is producing global strategic benefits, from a 99-year lease on a new Indian Ocean seaport in Sri Lanka to an overseas military base in Djibouti at the entrance to the Red Sea. China now publicly declares its goal of becoming the world's dominant superpower and has used stolen technology to "[alter] the calculus of global power," according to a March report by the U.S. Navy.

'If someone thinks their own race and civilization is superior and insists on remolding or replacing other civilizations, it would be a stupid idea and disastrous act.'

XI JINPING,
China's President,
at a May 15 conference
in Beijing



THIS SITUATION LEAVES Americans facing something they have never seen before: an adversary that is an economic, technological and, increasingly, military rival. But how to respond to the rule breaking that enables that threat? With a similar abandonment of the rules, or renewed attempts to impose them?

Some Administration officials think sticking by the trade rules is a sucker's game and believe economic isolation through a permanent trade war is the only way forward. "[Trump aide] Peter Navarro and [former adviser] Steve Bannon believe that the Chinese Communist Party is more vulnerable and sensitive to economic harm than is the U.S.," says Zack Cooper of the American Enterprise Institute, who meets with White House officials. Trump himself threatened to abandon the WTO last August.

But many traditional free traders are horrified at the idea of throwing those rules, built over a generation to American advantage, overboard. "The entire Republican establishment is shaking in its boots," says GOP donor Dan Eberhart, CEO of Denver-based drilling services company Canary, LLC. "Trump has picked a fight he may not be able to win, and it's impossible to ascertain how this ends." The politics are complicated by Democratic support for confrontation. Senate minority leader Chuck Schumer, a New York Democrat, urged Trump on May 5, "Don't back down. Strength is the only way to win with China."

That may be, but not if China is stronger. Beijing has a skeptical view of international rules, seeing the WTO as just another extension of centuries-long mercantilist and colonialist Western policies. And getting it to play by the rules will likely take more than just a trade war with the U.S. For Iowa farmer Ray Gaesser, who backs Trump, the answer is allies. "It would have been really good to find support from our fellow countries who export to China and build a team to go after China," he says, "rather than doing it unilaterally." —With reporting by ALANA ABRAMSON, BRIAN BENNETT and JUSTIN WORLAND/WASHINGTON



FOLLOW THE BOUNCING BALL On May 12, in the final seconds of the Eastern Conference semifinals, Kawhi Leonard of the Toronto Raptors arced a prayer toward the ceiling. The shot caught the rim, somehow, and bounced on the basket—once, twice, three times, four times. The arena fell silent, awaiting a season's fate. Finally, the ball dropped in. Bedlam. Toronto beat Philadelphia in the NBA's first Game 7 to end on a buzzer beater; we'll be wondering how that one fell forever.

THE BULLETIN

As rationing begins, Cuba braces for economic impact from Venezuela crisis

FALLOUT FROM THE POWER STRUGGLE IN Venezuela can be felt far beyond its borders, perhaps nowhere more than in Cuba. The U.S. has said Havana's support for strongman Nicolás Maduro is helping him stay in power in Caracas; as punishment, the Trump Administration has imposed sanctions on Cuba. While Havana has pushed back on the accusation, it seems the island cannot escape the effects of the Venezuela conflict. Cuba announced new rations on food and hygiene products on May 10, stoking fears of a worsening economic crisis.

LIMITED SUPPLY Cuba's Interior Commerce Minister, Betsy Díaz Velázquez, said the country would start restricting the purchase of basics such as chicken, rice, beans and hygiene products like soap, to ensure "equal distribution" for all. Rationing had already begun in some parts of Cuba, and shoppers have complained for weeks of empty shelves and long lines. But the new policy will apply across the country and likely have a particularly intense effect on Cuba's burgeoning private businesses, which often rely on state-run stores for supplies because of the government's domination of imports and exports.

FROM AFAR Those imports are at the heart of the problem. Cuba imports two-thirds of its food each year, and Díaz said it's had to find new sources since Washington has expanded sanctions amid controversy over Havana's relationship to Maduro. (Cuba denies military involvement in Venezuela but recently signaled openness to helping negotiate peace there.) Last month the Trump Administration also announced it will limit money Cuban Americans can send family there and allow U.S. citizens to sue for property seized after Cuba's 1959 revolution.

BE PREPARED It's not just food. Cuba's economy grew in the late 1990s and early 2000s thanks in part to an influx of oil from Venezuela, supplies of which have also collapsed in recent months as the situation there worsens. But many Cubans remember the depression that followed the fall of the Soviet Union and worry that food and fuel shortages may be a sign of more trouble to come. "It's not about returning to the harshest phase of [the economic crisis] of the '90s," Communist Party head Raúl Castro said last month. "Although we do have to be ready for the worst." —ABIGAIL ABRAMS

NEWS TICKER

WhatsApp security flaw revealed

The instant-messaging service WhatsApp announced on May 13 that **hackers had been able to inject spyware into phones by exploiting a security flaw**. The company, which is owned by Facebook, urged its 1.5 billion users to update their apps as soon as possible.

Trump welcomes far-right PM

President Donald Trump called Hungary's authoritarian Prime Minister Viktor Orban **"highly respected" and said he is doing a "tremendous job"** during the European leader's May 13 visit to the White House. Human-rights and democracy advocates have criticized Orban's embrace of far-right actions and rhetoric.

Drones hit Saudi oil pipeline

Saudi Arabia said on May 14 that an **oil pipeline in its Eastern Province had been struck by a drone attack**. Houthi rebels in Yemen said they had launched cross-border drone attacks against the kingdom, which has been involved in Yemen's ongoing civil war—and in backing the coalition fighting the Houthis—since 2015.

NEWS TICKER

Top court okays Apple antitrust case

The U.S. Supreme Court on May 13 said it would **let an antitrust case against Apple move forward**, allowing consumers to sue the company over the 30% commission it takes on App Store sales, which the plaintiffs say is an abuse of its power. Apple argued that only app developers should bring such a suit.

CO₂ hits record levels in atmosphere

Scientists said on May 11 that levels of atmospheric carbon dioxide, which contributes to the greenhouse effect, **reached highs last seen more than 3 million years ago**, at which point sea levels were some 50 ft. higher than today. CO₂ now makes up 415 molecules out of every million in the air, up from 400 in 2013.

Barr opens review of Russia inquiry

U.S. Attorney General William Barr has told Connecticut's top federal prosecutor to **investigate how the Russia probe began**, a move President Trump wanted but that law-enforcement officials say is unnecessary. This is the third known Justice Department inquiry into the Russia investigation.

POSTCARD

The Godfather of Brexit returns to rile up the U.K.

WHEN THE SUN SHINES ON CLACTON-ON-SEA on the east coast of England, the town comes alive with sunbathers, kids playing arcade machines and shopkeepers hawking beach balls on the sand-swept promenade. But the sky on a recent spring morning was overcast, and it hung over a different sort of crowd.

Hundreds gathered at Clacton's pier on April 23, many bearing pro-Brexit placards and wearing Union Jack pins. As the man they had come to see, Nigel Farage, stepped up to speak, a local politician hailed him by a nickname: the Godfather of Brexit.

Farage's lobbying was indeed instrumental to the U.K.'s decision to leave the European Union in the referendum of June 2016, especially his vociferous anti-migrant sentiment. But days after the result, he abruptly resigned his position as leader of the U.K. Independence Party (UKIP). "My political ambition," he said at the time, "has been achieved."

Now Farage is back and touring the Brexit heartland in search of another political upset. This time the target is the European Parliament elections scheduled for May 23.

Had Britain left the E.U. on March 29, as originally planned, the vote would not be happening here. But in the months leading up to the date, Prime Minister Theresa May could not persuade lawmakers to ratify her E.U. exit deal and asked for a delay. Now Brexit

has been pushed back to Oct. 31, and the U.K. must, by law, vote for candidates in the European legislature.

That was enough to bring the Brexit Godfather, who left UKIP completely last year, back into politics. In April, he launched the Brexit Party to compete in the E.U. elections. His message is again one of insurgent anger. "We have openly and willfully been betrayed by our government," he told the pro-Leave crowd in Clacton to cheers and applause.

It appears to be working. According to one poll, 34% of voters plan to back Farage in the E.U. elections, ahead of both May's Conservatives and the official opposition Labour Party.

The victory would be mostly symbolic, as any elected lawmakers would stand down once Brexit finally happens. But for May, who has been fending off calls to resign for months, a poor performance in E.U. elections might be the final straw for her premiership. For her Conservative Party, it threatens to echo the impact that Farage had on policy as the leader of UKIP in the early 2010s: emboldening Euroskeptics and pushing the government rightward. And for the country, it could add yet another wrinkle in the stuttering political process to bid the E.U. farewell.

No political upset could possibly match the scale of Farage's victory in 2016. But as seagulls circled over Clacton, he warned that 2019 could be the start of something at least comparable. "Do you believe that this political class now needs to be swept aside and replaced by better people?" The crowd roared yes. "Well that is what we are going to do!"

—BILLY PERRIGO/CLACTON-ON-SEA, U.K.

RETAIL

Caught short

On May 9, Party City announced the closure of 45 stores. Among the factors affecting the business was a global shortage of helium gas, which the chain said had "negatively impacted" its ability to meet demand for balloons. Here, other surprising shortages. —Ciara Nugent

BRUSHES DOWN

Amid its postwar housing boom in 1946, Australia ran low on paintbrushes, forcing the national air force to fly to civil war-stricken China to find and bring home 25 metric tons of pig bristles to make new ones.

SILK STOCKING

In the late 1980s, China suffered a lack of the silkworm cocoons used to make raw silk. The *Journal of Commerce* traced the issue to rising demand for the fabric and damage to the mulberry trees the worms eat.



BEER BLIGHT

A large British wholesaler had to ration its beer supply in the summer of 2018, after the temporary closure of several European fertilizer factories led to a shortage of CO₂, needed to make lager effervescent.

ENDORSED

The **Christchurch Call**, New Zealand Prime Minister Jacinda Ardern's plan to push platforms to help eliminate online extremism, by 18 governments and top tech firms, on May 15. The U.S. did not join due to free-speech concerns.

EXTENDED

Sri Lanka's **nationwide curfew** for a second night on May 14, after anti-Muslim violence sparked by the Easter bombings.

PLEADED

Guilty, by actor **Felicity Huffman**, who admitted on May 13 that she arranged for her daughter's SAT exam to be altered as part of the college-admissions scandal revealed this spring.

TESTIFIED

That the New York City police officer who killed Eric Garner in 2014 used a **prohibited choke hold** on him, by an NYPD training official during the officer's disciplinary trial May 14.



Lipton poses for a portrait circa 1967, shortly before *The Mod Squad* made her a household name

DIED

Peggy Lipton Counterculture icon

By Kyle MacLachlan

PEGGY LIPTON'S PERFORMANCE AS JULIE BARNES ON *THE MOD Squad* made a huge impact on my whole generation. The show was decidedly not meant for our parents, and Peggy, who died on May 11 at 72, was a revelation. She represented a type of person not seen on television before, the quintessential example of a new kind of woman, young and hip, with a resilience that complemented a truly gentle spirit.

Later, she played a more personal, yet equally influential, role in my life, when we worked together on *Twin Peaks*. Peggy brought mystery and strength in equal measure to the character of Norma, who ran the Double R Diner. She radiated a sense of purpose, and her performance on the show in many ways mirrored Peggy the unique individual. She was always gracious and ever thoughtful, and moved to her own rhythm. She was wise and seemed all-knowing, and I instinctively felt that her world was full and complete—and far more fascinating than she would ever reveal to the rest of us.

When she poured you a coffee at the counter at the Double R, her smile and calming voice made everything feel all right with the world. And she made one hell of a cherry pie.

MacLachlan is an actor

ANNOUNCED

A 'seismic shift' for fashion

LVMH IS THE LARGEST luxury-goods conglomerate in the world, and it just got a bit bigger—in an unprecedented way. On May 10, Rihanna confirmed the launch of a new fashion house, under her Fenty brand, that will be part of the prestigious LVMH stable, alongside names like Dior and Givenchy. Fenty will be the group's first label led by a woman of color.

The deal reflects Rihanna's brand power, affirmed by the successes of her inclusive cosmetics brand Fenty Beauty and lingerie line Savage X Fenty, which tapped consumer markets most luxury brands don't reach. Perhaps more significant, it reflects a change in the highest strata of the fashion world. Brands like those in LVMH have long asserted an aspirational aesthetic rooted in European power; historian Rhonda Garelick says the deal represents "a seismic shift" in the way the fashion world thinks about prestige. "We must not overlook the potent symbolism," she says, "of a woman of color, from a former European colony in the Caribbean, rising to helm a new luxury brand from this iconic French company."

—WILDER DAVIES



DIED

Actor **Tim Conway**, known for his role on *The Carol Burnett Show*, on

May 14 at age 85.

RE-ELECTED

President **Cyril Ramaphosa** and the African National Congress, by South African voters on May 11.

ENDED

An annual Austrian ball that **raises money for HIV/AIDS causes**, as progress on treatment has made it harder to find sponsors.

Ex-NFL player **John Urschel** gave up the game for a Ph.D.—and a life—in math

By Sean Gregory

ONE RECENT AFTERNOON IN CAMBRIDGE, MASS., John Urschel and I strolled along the Charles River on the way to his office at MIT, where he's pursuing a Ph.D. in mathematics. We were passing some of the MIT athletic facilities when I asked Urschel a seemingly mundane question. Where's the football field? Urschel's response was quick: "You're looking at it."

Now, I'm no MIT math major. But I'm bright enough to know I was staring straight at a baseball diamond. Such a slip would have been innocent enough, if Urschel hadn't spent three seasons as an offensive lineman for the Baltimore Ravens.

In the summer of 2017, Urschel announced he was retiring from the NFL, at age 26, to pursue his mathematics doctorate full time. His decision came two days after the *Journal of the American Medical Association* published a study showing that chronic traumatic encephalopathy (CTE), a degenerative disease, had been found in the brains of 110 of 111 ex-NFL players examined by Boston University researchers. Yes, the findings factored into Urschel's decision. But he insists they didn't tip the scales. He had been thinking hard about stepping away, as he was already taking classes at MIT. Still, the media painted Urschel's choice as more evidence that smart young pros, fearing brain trauma, were fleeing the game. Urschel's story proved irresistible: the MIT mathematician had calculated that the NFL just wasn't worth it.

After I inform Urschel that no, he wasn't looking at a football field, he smiles. "I just don't pay attention," he says. But Urschel doesn't object when I cite his slip as a signal that he's left football far behind. Nearly two years after retiring, he says that while he misses the paycheck—who wouldn't?—he hasn't felt a single pang of regret on football Sundays, when he's wrestling with theorems instead of 300-lb. linemen. "It's a pretty cool life," he says. "I wake up in the morning, I walk to my office. I think all day."

Urschel dedicates much of his new memoir, *Mind and Matter: A Life in Math and Football*—written with his partner, the journalist Louisa Thomas—to espousing the importance of problem-solving. "It's a strange thing," says Urschel in the living room of the Cambridge apartment he shares with Thomas and their year-old daughter, Joanna. "Some people will sort of joke about, 'Oh, I was

never good at math.' But people don't joke about being illiterate. Being mathematically illiterate is quite a dangerous thing."

GROWING UP IN BUFFALO, N.Y., Urschel began his love affair with numbers early. When his attorney mother took him shopping, she'd let him keep the change if he calculated the 8% sales tax before the cashier rang it up. The summer before eighth grade, he audited a calculus class at the University at Buffalo, where his dad, a surgeon, was pursuing a master's in economics. Soon, the junior high kid was helping college students finish problem sets.

He also fell for football. Urschel writes that when he was in high school, he and his father, who played collegiately in Canada, banged helmets in the backyard. In today's concussion-conscious world, doctors frown upon this kind of head-to-head contact. Even so, Urschel says, "These are actually some of my fondest moments with my dad."

Urschel earned a football scholarship to Penn State, where he majored in math. By the time the Ravens selected him in the fifth round of the 2014 NFL draft, he had his master's degree and had published a paper in a top linear-algebra journal. (Urschel specializes in graph theory, the branch of advanced math that studies the connectivity of networks.) After a rookie season in which he started three games, plus two in the playoffs, he felt ashamed that he was putting off his Ph.D. work until he finished pro football. "I felt like I was selling myself short," he says. So he applied to MIT's Ph.D. program and was accepted. The American Mathematical Society named a theorem after Urschel and his co-author. "Let G be a finite connected undirected weighted graph without self-loops ...," the Urschel-Zikatanov theorem begins.

Before the 2015 season, Urschel had suffered a concussion that left him unable to process high-level math for a few months, but he returned to the field. By the summer of 2017, he was weighing his options more closely. He was settling into Ph.D. life, and Thomas was pregnant. Pounding heads seemed unappealing. Then that CTE study was released. Two days later, he informed Baltimore coach John Harbaugh that he was retiring, thinking no one would notice. But his phone rang off the hook. He didn't go outside for days. "It was one of the most unpleasant moments of my life," he says.

A couple of years removed, Urschel insists he doesn't worry that any potential symptoms of CTE—forgetfulness, mood swings, depression—will hinder his career. Sure, as an offensive lineman he absorbed hits to his head. But he points out that just because more than 99% of the brains examined in the study had CTE doesn't mean more than 99% of all ex-players do. Such studies have a self-selection bias: many players offer up their brains

URSCHEL QUICK FACTS

Trophy case

In 2013, Urschel, who earned a 4.0 GPA at Penn State, won the Campbell Trophy, known as the "academic Heisman."

No tackling

Urschel, who did not play tackle football until high school, is a proponent of flag football for kids. "There are so many alternative ways to play football at that age that are really fun and enjoyable."

Film theory

Urschel's favorite math movie is *Good Will Hunting*. (Naturally.)



because they think they may be damaged. So how many players does he suspect have CTE? “It’s not epsilon close to zero,” he says. “And it’s not some large constant fraction of 100. You know what I’m saying? It’s bounded away from both.”

BOOKS WITH TITLES like *Partial Differential Equations in Action* and *Hierarchical Matrices* populate Urschel’s MIT office, along with the usual grad-student fare that fuels late-night research: cans of black beans, sardines and StarKist tuna. Urschel geeks out about the math department’s espresso machine and the equations that fill hallway chalkboards. Math can be as cutthroat as football: Urschel won’t share the subject of his dissertation, lest competition come after it. “But anything on the chalkboard,” he says in the hall, “is fair game.”

Sports teams, which have been staffing up their analytics operations, have come calling with offers. But academic life holds much more appeal. When I ask him to explain the math of the two-point conversion, he does with reluctance. “This is as low-level as you get,” he says. He draws a series

‘Being mathematically illiterate is quite a dangerous thing.’

JOHN URSCHEL, lamenting the frequency with which people joke about being bad at math

of probability tree diagrams in chalk: let’s just say if your team’s down 14 with five minutes to go and scores a touchdown, the coach needs to go for two.

Urschel would rather spend his time promoting math. He visits classrooms around the country. In early May he spoke at the National Math Festival in D.C. He recommends books about calculus via his Twitter feed. “I could obsess over a problem for days, for weeks, thinking of nothing else, the way someone might obsess over a girl,” he writes in his own book. “But no girl I had ever met brought me the singular sense of engagement that I got from proving something difficult.”

He also wants athletes, at all levels, to know they don’t need to compromise their intellect. “The United States, more than any other culture, has the strange marriage of athletics and academics,” Urschel says. “I thought it was important to show that this is something that really can co-exist.” He’s 350 miles from Baltimore but might as well be 35,000. Urschel turns off the office lights, and heads home to eat dinner and finish up some work. More equations await. □

LightBox

WORLD

The siege of Tripoli and shifting alliances

WHILE THE WORLD'S ATTENTION has been everywhere else, Libya remains in chaos. The capital city, Tripoli, home of the government recognized by the U.N., is under siege by the forces of General Khalifa Haftar, who already controls much of the country's east. Almost six weeks of fighting has killed more than 450 people, wounded more than 2,000 and displaced 66,000, according to the U.N.

Haftar, a naturalized U.S. citizen who rose in influence after helping oust Muammar Gaddafi in 2011, launched an offensive to wrest Tripoli from the Government of National Accord on April 4. Although European, U.S. and Gulf leaders have all endorsed the U.N.-backed administration, Haftar's Libya National Army has received support from Egypt, the UAE, Russia and France. In a phone call with Haftar in April, President Trump appeared to signal a shift in U.S. policy, praising his role in fighting terrorism and talking of a "shared vision" for Libya's future.

Magnum photographer Lorenzo Meloni first went to Libya after the uprising that led to the death of Gaddafi. His latest series of photographs depicts the exhaustion of fighters who have again been called to the front line. Many on the ground told him of the betrayal they felt after having been backed by U.S. airstrikes as they ousted ISIS from Sirte in 2016, only to be abandoned now. Libya has now become "a small Syria," Meloni says. "There is fighting but no progress." — JOSEPH HINCKS

Forces allied with the U.N.-backed government reload ammo on the front line outside Tripoli, Libya, in April

PHOTOGRAPH BY LORENZO MELONI—
MAGNUM PHOTOS

► **For an extended version of this photo essay, visit time.com/tripoli**





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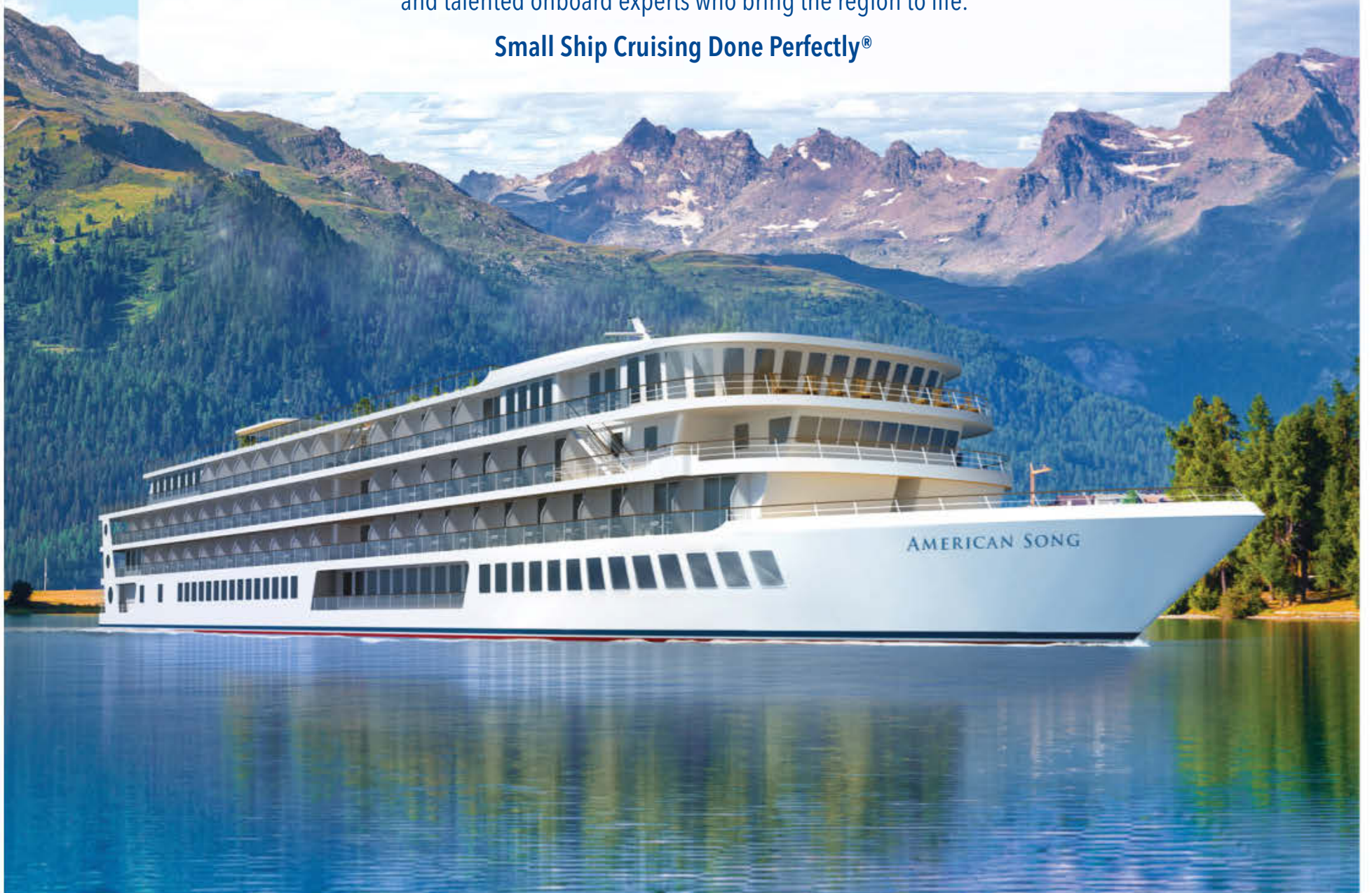


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The View

WORLD

SELLING DEMOCRACY

By Ian Bremmer



Nearly three decades after the Cold War's end, it's no longer clear that American-style liberal democracy has carried the day. Xi Jinping has consolidated power in China on a scale not seen since Mao. Vladimir Putin has served longer than any other Russian leader since Stalin. Even many democracies are being undermined by populism. ▶

INSIDE

RAISING A BLACK CHILD TO
BE CAREFREE IN AMERICA

WHAT THE CHANGES TO STATE
ABORTION LAWS REALLY MEAN

THE FORGOTTEN
COSTS OF FARMING

TheView Opener

Democracy remains the form of government most likely to create lasting security and prosperity. A few oil-producing nations aside, the world's wealthiest countries are democracies, and democracies are also less likely to go to war with one another.

For these reasons, Americans have long believed that if all the world's countries were to become democracies, everyone would live safer and more prosperous lives. But is U.S.-style democracy the right path for all?

A new study conducted by the Eurasia Group Foundation (EGF) has produced interesting findings on public attitudes in other countries toward the U.S. and its system of government. Based on surveys of citizens in eight countries—Brazil, China, Egypt, India, Nigeria, Poland, Germany and Japan—the report, authored by Mark Hannah, found support in all these countries for democracy but mixed attitudes toward the U.S. and its democracy.

A few interesting data points:

- Brazilians appear disappointed with their own democracy, but some 70% have a favorable view of American ideas of democracy.
- Respondents in China were three times as likely to want their system of government to become more like the American system as less like it.
- About 80% of Indians surveyed have a very or somewhat favorable view of the U.S. and of the American people, in part because 70% of them have recently had a close friend or family member living in the U.S.
- Those surveyed in Germany and Japan, longtime U.S. allies, were least enthusiastic about U.S.-style democracy. More than half of Germans reported an unfavorable view.

The survey found that in wealthy countries, opposition to President Trump and perceptions of income inequality drove unfavorable opinions of the U.S. Respondents overwhelmingly favor democracy as practiced in their own countries. Those in emerging-market democracies dislike the active role the U.S. sometimes plays in other

countries, but they say that U.S. democracy safeguards the rule of law more effectively than their own democracies do. Most citizens in authoritarian countries do not like U.S. foreign policy, but they do want greater political freedom in their own countries.

The findings from these countries suggest that while democracy remains a popular aspiration around the world, “attraction” will prove more effective than “promotion” as a way to help democracy expand.

The report argues that the U.S. has made four main mistakes in fostering democracy abroad. U.S. policymakers have focused on the laws and institutions of other countries

but not their political cultures. They've assumed that people will forgo near-term security and stability for the chance to vote. They've used military intervention to promote democratic values without accounting for the problems this approach creates. And they've ignored the values and interests of those they hope to persuade.

The survey also finds that allowing foreign-born people to study and live in the U.S. can help to promote democracy: support for American

ideas of democracy is driven largely by immigration and direct connections to diaspora communities. People who report having had family members or close friends who have lived in America in the past five years are significantly more likely to have positive views.

That's one reason U.S. policymakers would be more successful if they found the modesty to promote democracy around the world without the explicit American packaging and with the humility to acknowledge that the U.S. has often failed to live up to democracy's highest ideals. Democracy's appeal comes in the power it gives individuals to set their own course. America should accept that each country will need to find its own path to adopt democracy.

Bremmer is founder and board president of EGF

SHORT READS

► Highlights from stories on time.com/ideas

What went down easy

A new JAMA study found that after Philadelphia imposed a soda tax, “purchases dropped by 38% compared to the year before, translating to **almost a billion fewer ounces [sold]**,” writes TIME's Jamie Ducharme. One study author called these policies a “no-brainer.”

Who's held in contempt

Martin London, a former attorney for Spiro Agnew, analyzes the possible outcomes of holding Attorney General William Barr in contempt of Congress over the Mueller report and concludes that the most likely is: **“Those who will decide the fate of Trump's presidency are the people who gave him a chance in the first place ... the voters.”**

When joy is a concern

When Dani McClain, author of the new book *We Live for the We*, became pregnant, she strategized so that as a black parent in America, she would not raise her child to be afraid. “For black families,” she writes, **“engaging in joyful practices is necessary to our survival, to our ability to fully claim our humanity.”**

HISTORY

A warning from the past on restrictive abortion laws

By Leslie J. Reagan

ON MAY 14 THE ALABAMA SENATE PASSED the nation's most extreme abortion bill. If it goes into effect, it would ban abortion almost entirely in the state—in every stage of pregnancy—and make it a felony for providers to perform the procedure.

It would also send Alabama back to the 19th century. The state first made abortion a crime a bit more than 150 years ago, and others passed similar measures through the middle of that century. These laws punished everyone involved in abortion: providers and assistants; partners who helped pay; even advertisers. All faced jail and fines. And though some antiabortion commentators claim women were not punished when abortion was illegal, many statutes explicitly included them too.

Alabama's new legislation follows other restrictive measures around the U.S.—like the Georgia “heartbeat” law, which bans abortion before many women even know they're pregnant. Because *Roe v. Wade* guarantees the right to an abortion before viability, the point at which a fetus can potentially survive outside the womb, these laws are sure to be challenged as unconstitutional and therefore likely to be put on hold. But if *Roe* is overturned, as many suspect it will be, history tells us a lot about what we can expect.

Once that wave of 19th century abortion bans went into effect, police and prosecutors threatened, arrested, interrogated, investigated and occasionally prosecuted women for the crime of abortion. Police and doctors routinely questioned women who miscarried to determine if they'd had an abortion. If the patient refused to answer, the doctor might refuse

lifesaving treatment for the complications that can follow abortions when the procedure is poorly performed.

In at least one case, police surrounded several women as they left their provider, arrested them and took them to a doctor who performed gynecological exams on them, overseen by police, for evidence. Some women in such situations were told that if they did not testify, they could be subject to prosecution. As far as is known, those patients were not charged, but others throughout history have been.

Making abortion illegal never meant abortion didn't happen. Women of every

class, marital status, religion and race still obtained them. Before *Roe*, hospitals had entire wards for patients experiencing sepsis after shoddy or self-induced abortions. Chicago's Cook County Hospital had 5,000 patients annually in the abor-

tion ward—women who were bleeding, infected and sometimes dying. That fact is part of why the American College of Obstetricians and Gynecologists opposes the new restrictive laws. Dozens of medical historians have also released a statement outlining the historical consequences of such legislation.

If those laws are upheld, we can expect many of the old methods of enforcement to be re-enacted. Unlike the Americans of the 19th century, we already know what that looks like. But we have another thing they didn't, too: a large, organized movement fighting to keep that from happening.

Reagan is a professor at the University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, and the author of When Abortion Was a Crime



Protesters rally against Alabama's new abortion bill in Montgomery on May 14

QUICK TALK

John Chester

The filmmaker discusses the 200-acre farm he and his wife Molly started, with the support of investors, to grow food in a way that regenerates the land; it is the subject of his documentary *The Biggest Little Farm*.

What's wrong with how America grows its food?

In the last 260 years, we've lost a third of our topsoil. We've destroyed 46% of our forests. It would be very shortsighted to think that the ecosystem of this planet will be able to support any kind of farming, let alone any type of economy.

Eggs from your farm are \$15 a dozen. What would we do about people who need to eat for less money?

We've become O.K. with a \$3 carton of eggs and treating chickens inhumanely and eating eggs that are more nutrient-deficient. But we need to ask: What is the value of humane treatment? Of nutrient density? Of not extracting from our environment?

What can consumers do to help restore the soil?

Go to farmers' markets. And I think composting is the seat-belt, no-smoking, recycle mission of this decade.

—Belinda Luscombe



Chester, an advocate for biomimicry in agriculture

*A vigil for the slain
Saudi journalist
was held in
Istanbul on Oct. 25*

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World

THE NEW SAUDI WAR ON DISSENT

ACTIVISTS CONTINUING THE WORK OF JAMAL KHASHOGGI FACE FRESH THREATS FROM RIYADH

BY JOSH MEYER

gi's friends

O

ON APRIL 25, TWO MEN FROM THE Norwegian Police Security Service knocked on Iyad el-Baghdadi's door in the capital, Oslo. The bearded, bespectacled activist is sometimes confused with his political opposite, the ISIS leader of the same name. (His Twitter page announces, NOT THAT BAGHDADI.) But the men at the door were there for a different kind of danger. The officers flashed their badges and got to the point: Baghdadi's life, they told him, could be at risk. They urged him to come with them right away.

Followed by a second team watching for tails, Baghdadi was driven by the officers to a safe location with an electronically shielded room where the agents told the longtime democracy activist what was going on. In recent months, Baghdadi has continued the fight begun by Jamal Khashoggi, the Saudi journalist and *Washington Post* columnist who was killed and dismembered on Oct. 2 by a hit team from Riyadh. Now the CIA had warned the Norwegians that Baghdadi was in danger, he and officials in Norway and the U.S. tell *TIME*. "Saudi Arabia wants to stop my work, even if they need to get physical to do it," Baghdadi says.

He is not alone. In recent weeks, U.S. intelligence and law-enforcement officials have sent out similar warnings to Arab activists in Canada and the U.S., two people who received them and other sources familiar with the matter tell *TIME*. Dissidents based in Europe, the Middle East and North America are nervously exchanging warnings about hacking attempts—and worse. A troubling picture has emerged: eight months after Khashoggi's death, the fight for political

free speech he championed against the autocratic Saudi Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman rages on.

The fight is about more than just a group of exiled dissidents standing up against one Middle Eastern tyrant. Some experts in national security view the unfolding battle as part of a larger, defining war of our time: the contest for control of information. "What's happening in Saudi Arabia today is seen by an increasing number of governments around the world as a road map for how the future will look," says Bill Marczak of Citizen Lab, a cybersecurity and human-rights investigative project at the University of Toronto.

That helps explain why the Saudi threats have drawn the attention of international authorities. The U.N. official charged with investigating and reporting extrajudicial executions, Agnès Callamard, has called for urgent action to protect the safety of individuals she says are directly threatened by Riyadh. "I have sent appeals to two governments regarding information I had received of credible threats against individuals in their jurisdictions," Callamard tells *TIME*, "asking them to take all necessary steps to protect them and their families." Callamard says she wants "all governments" to be on the lookout for similar, unreported threats. In the U.S., House Intelligence Committee chairman Adam Schiff tells *TIME* his committee is investigating the latest Saudi threats and will "consider what actions the U.S. should take in response."

The new threats illuminate Khashoggi's extraordinary legacy. He started his dissident effort hesitantly, a review of text messages and other communications made available to *TIME* reveals. By the fall of 2018, when he traveled to the Saudi consulate in Istanbul to make arrangements for his upcoming marriage, Khashoggi was discreetly but deeply involved in projects involving a loose network of pro-democracy and human-rights activists around the globe, including Baghdadi and others.

It was in Istanbul that the Saudi death squad lay in wait, but if Khashoggi's horrific murder was intended to cow other activists, it had the opposite effect. "The attention that was given to Jamal's case definitely reignited the hope for a



OMAR ABDULAZIZ

The Saudi dissident, who has asylum in Canada, joined forces with Khashoggi to undermine Saudi digital surveillance and harassment, especially on Twitter.

'EVERY SINGLE PROJECT THAT WE STARTED I'M GOING TO KEEP WORKING ON.'

lot of Arab dissidents to just be more active, in general," said Mohamed Soltan, an Egyptian-American human-rights activist and a Khashoggi friend who spent nearly two years in a Cairo prison. "It gave people so much more courage to be more outspoken."

The dissidents' projects have endeavored to reclaim social media—especially Twitter, the most influential public forum in the Saudi political universe—as an open space for political dissent. Authoritarians



IYAD EL-BAGHDADI

From asylum in Norway, the Arab Spring activist presses on with projects to undo autocrats' malign influence in both social and traditional media.

'JAMAL'S IDEA WAS A WATCHDOG TO JAM THE NARRATIVES OF THE SAUDI REGIME.'

like the crown prince fight back with electronic surveillance and domination of social media. Experts at detecting spyware infections in mobile phones report “a new wave of suspicious occurrences among Saudi activists that are not easily explained other than by the presence of hacking or surveillance,” says Marczak, who works with Saudi dissidents.

Authorities now worry that MBS, as the crown prince is known, is stepping up his counterattack, despite the U.S. having publicly judged him as almost certainly responsible for Khashoggi's death. A similar warning to the one given Baghdadi was passed through the Canadian Security Intelligence Service to the Royal Canadian Mounted Police regarding the Saudi dissident Omar Abdulaziz, who worked with Khashoggi, three sources familiar with the episode tell TIME. Abdulaziz says he has been instructed not to discuss his situation, but that he recently began taking security precautions.

Baghdadi says he was warned his

family was in danger as well. “It seems that I am physically safe in Norway but that I am vulnerable if I travel, says Baghdadi. “My family resides in Malaysia; they are refugees, my parents and sister. They said don't go there. Don't travel outside the E.U. And tell them to get out immediately.”

Khashoggi, for his part, saw it coming. “The message is clear,” he wrote in one of his final columns on the Saudi tyrant. “No independent voice or counter-opinion will be allowed.”

FEW WOULD HAVE GUESSED, when Khashoggi arrived in Washington in June 2017, that the war would reach this point. Khashoggi didn't fit the stereotype of a high-living Saudi expatriate. His only new blazer was from Men's Wearhouse (he declined the deep discount for the second one that came with it). He lugged around a thermos for his strong, home-brewed coffee and waited a year to buy a car. He worked

from his condo in a nondescript Virginia suburb he had taken a shine to a decade earlier when he was a spokesperson for the Saudi embassy.

Even in exile, Khashoggi remained an establishment figure. He had left Saudi Arabia abruptly, after a critical jab at the Riyadh government for its embrace of Donald Trump cost him his column at the pan-Arab newspaper *Al-Hayat*. But he was not in the business of defying the royal court. He told friends that his

plan was to stick to the sidelines, writing policy stories about the region as a fellow at the Wilson Center in Washington. But the fellowship fell through after a visa complication, and there was no plan B. “Need a job,” Khashoggi messaged longtime friend Maggie Mitchell Salem, a former U.S. Foreign Service officer. “I might start writing.”

What followed, in the final 15 months of his life, were dramatic changes, both in the journalist and in the Saudi establishment he had carefully challenged but always served. The changes in attitude were recorded almost in real time in some 4,000 WhatsApp text messages shared with TIME by Salem, a friend of 15 years. The texts track Khashoggi’s initial reluctance to assume the role of dissenter; his growing determination to speak out on behalf of fellow Saudis; and a queasy knowledge of the growing risk to his family, if not to himself. “God have mercy on my kids, it’s a turning point for me,” he typed on Sept. 17, 2017, after the *Post* said it would run his first column.

Having navigated the House of Saud his entire career, Khashoggi began his self-imposed exile assuming that constructive criticism remained the best, if not only, way of coaxing change. At first, he obeyed the government’s order to stay off Twitter. Attacking MBS personally would brand him a dissident and outsider, rendering him less influential. “I don’t want to appear like I’m picking on him,” Khashoggi argued in one text. Later he added, “It’s a balancing act.”

It wasn’t easy. On Nov. 4, 2017, he was headed to the Kennedy Center to see *The Book of Mormon* when he heard the crown prince was rounding up senior government officials and princes. “Skipping play, have to write something,” he messaged hastily, “it’s a seismic event for Saudi.” But after composing a sharply critical column, he then tweeted apparent support for the crackdown. He conceded that MBS’s “justice is selective, but as a realest [sic] I accept it.”

The nuance was wasted on MBS. Beginning in March 2018, the crown prince would spend weeks touring the U.S. in a charm offensive meant to rebrand the desert kingdom as a startup worthy of Western investment. But to Saudis, he showed an iron fist, jailing scores of advocates and independent thinkers,

including female activists who supported his most famous reform, allowing Saudi women to drive.

The kingdom policed Twitter with a particular zeal. The platform is the closest thing the kingdom has to a town square, and bin Salman was determined to control it as the state had long controlled newspapers and television. His government employed an army of trolls to shout down dissident voices. Long before his name surfaced in connection with Khashoggi’s death, on the receiving end of phone calls from his killers, the crown prince’s media enforcer, Saud al-Qahtani, issued public threats against Twitter dissenters: “Add every name you think should be added to #The_Black_List using the hashtag,” he tweeted. “We will filter them and track them starting now.”

Khashoggi had a Twitter following of 1.7 million, and by early 2018 he was increasingly critical of MBS. The combination triggered a torrent of retorts from what Khashoggi and others viewed as state-controlled troll farms. “I hate them for doing this,” he wrote to Salem, “but, it’s ok.” There came a point, however, when it was no longer O.K. “I’m losing hope,” he wrote in a June 26 message. “He’s getting uglier.” On Aug. 6 he confided to Salem that because of “Arab tyranny that’s spreading I’m willing to go [a] step beyond.”

BY THEN, Khashoggi was working with both Abdulaziz and Baghdadi. The activists saw Khashoggi as a game changer. Abdulaziz, 28, had been a critic of the Saudi government since his college days in Montreal, where he took to YouTube and Twitter to weigh in on the Arab Spring. He says the Saudi government revoked his scholarship, and in 2014 Canada gave him political asylum. A McKinsey & Co. report judged his Twitter account one of the three most influential in forming opinion of a

THE KINGDOM POLICED TWITTER WITH A PARTICULAR ZEAL



Saudi public policy.

That made him a target. His Twitter account, like Khashoggi’s, was attacked by the swarming trolls and bots that served to undermine both their message and their morale. Their solution was to create a swarm of their own: the Bees Army. “It is an army, a peaceful one in the social media to counter the Saudi trolls and the propaganda,” Abdulaziz says. The effort involved sending foreign SIM cards to Saudi dissidents to thwart tracking.

It was only one of the projects Khashoggi embraced in the spring and summer of 2018. Making the rounds of dissenting voices in the Arab world, the journalist managed to overcome his reputation as an establishment loyalist. He spent hours one on one, often over tea or a cigar, discussing how to win back the public square. Among those he met with in this period was Baghdadi.

Palestinian by birth, Baghdadi had



^
Defended by President Trump after Khashoggi's murder, Saudi Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman remains unabashed

become a major figure in the Arab Spring, finding asylum in Norway after being expelled from the UAE, a Saudi ally. With Khashoggi and a third person who has recently been warned of a Saudi threat, but who has asked to remain anonymous because of safety concerns, Baghdadi began work on an institute devoted to monitoring and exposing the abuse of social media, especially Twitter, by repressive Arab governments. The institute, the Kawaakibi Foundation, is named for a 19th century Arab free-speech advocate. Baghdadi also founded ArabTyrantManual.com, an investigative outlet.

Khashoggi brought gravitas to dissident circles. He also brought the

promise of funds, through connections he had made over decades. "People trusted him," says Soltan, the Egyptian human-rights advocate. "He could reach former VPs and Prime Ministers and current Foreign Ministers with a phone call," Soltan says, and that "was huge."

The growing network posed a problem for the Saudi regime, and it took steps to fight back, the dissidents say. On June 28, a notification popped up on a phone owned by Abdulaziz, purporting to alert him to a package delivery. The link embedded in the pop-up led to a domain that would insert spyware called Pegasus, a product of the Israeli company NSO Group, which sells surveillance software to governments, including the Saudis, according to Abdulaziz, a lawsuit he and others filed against NSO and an analysis by Citizen Lab.

Abdulaziz went public with this hacking news in August, warning his

confederates that the Saudis might know what the dissidents were doing. "God help us," Khashoggi replied, according to Abdulaziz. In the weeks after, however, Khashoggi continued work on the projects. He got a visa to visit Abdulaziz in Montreal and made plans to meet Baghdadi at a conference in New York. On Sept. 7, Khashoggi sent word that he could not make it. He would go to Istanbul instead. Citizen Lab published a report on the Abdulaziz hack on Oct. 1, the day before Khashoggi was killed.

KHASHOGGI'S MURDER backfired on the Saudis. In a matter of hours, MBS went from smiling reformer to pariah. Baghdadi and Abdulaziz recommitted to their work, becoming prominent backers of a boycott of the Saudi "Davos in the Desert" conference scheduled just days after Khashoggi's murder. But activists everywhere were energized. "They came together after his death," Abdulaziz says. The Saudi embassy did not return multiple calls requesting comment for this story.

Baghdadi took on new projects. He worked with investigators hired by Amazon billionaire Jeff Bezos, who owns the *Washington Post*, to uncover what they allege was the hacking of Bezos' mobile phone by the Saudis, according to Bezos' lead investigator, Gavin de Becker. "It's not [just] that I was outspoken against MBS," Baghdadi says.

But the fight for political free speech is as important as any battle in the larger war. "We are working on taking away his primary propaganda weapon," Baghdadi says of MBS. The challenge, of course, is that the crown prince has other weapons too, and appears willing to use them. That was the judgment of the CIA, which has a "duty to warn" targets of violence when it comes across information indicating harm may come to them.

For Baghdadi's part, the first warning came months earlier. He says it was in October that he heard from someone in the Saudi government, who wanted to pass on information he had learned in the palace. "He says, 'Listen,'" Baghdadi recalls, "'they're preparing the list of people who are affecting MBS's reputation in the global sphere, in the English-language media. And you're near the top of the list.'" □

Nation

A

family's

value

**Millions of
Americans could
finally get paid
parental leave—
if lawmakers can
agree who pays**

BY ABBY VESOULIS





*Morgan Lyles and
her fiancé Chris
Weien comfort
twins Maura and
Lena in their
Columbus, Ohio,
home*

PHOTOGRAPHS BY
MADDIE MCGARVEY
FOR TIME

For the first five months of Morgan Lyles' high-risk pregnancy with twins, her fiancé Chris Weien was by her side, assembling the double-wide stroller and watching the squiggles of two heartbeats on ultrasound monitors. They'd purchased car seats for their SUVs and confirmed that Lyles would take maternity leave from her job as an attorney for the state of Ohio after the babies were born. But when Weien suffered a series of seizures that sent him to the intensive-care unit for nearly two weeks when Lyles was 20 weeks pregnant, Lyles couldn't afford to be there with him. She had only four weeks of paid family leave

from her job—at 70% of her salary—and was terrified of dipping into her paid vacation and sick time, knowing the twins would need her later. “I’ve got to save what leave I can,” she recalls telling a colleague who was shocked to see her in the office while her fiancé was in the hospital.

It still wasn't enough. Maura and Lena were born on March 2, about two months after their dad was discharged. They were just over 3 lb. each, and both suffered from a minor brain bleed. Lyles exhausted her allotted paid maternity leave before the girls even came home from the neonatal intensive-care unit in April. Though the couple is anxious about the coming deluge of medical bills, Lyles has little choice but to use unpaid leave now too, to care for her premature twins.

Taking time off for a newborn isn't as hard in other countries. If Lyles lived in Bulgaria, which has one of the world's most generous paid-maternity-leave laws, she'd get nearly 59 weeks of maternity leave at 90% of her salary and an additional year of parental leave she and Weien could split. If she lived in Chile, she'd receive 18 weeks at 100% of her salary and an additional 12 weeks to split. Even in Iraq, she'd have gotten 14 weeks at 100% of her salary. In fact, the U.S. is the only industrialized nation on the planet that doesn't guarantee paid parental leave through a federal law.

If an attorney like Morgan Lyles can't cobble together enough paid time off to be with her sick fiancé and care for her babies, the challenges can be even starker for the 83% of civilian workers without any paid family leave at all. “We have every incidence of privilege, and it's still incredibly hard,” Lyles says as she breastfeeds one baby and Weien bottle-feeds the other in the living room of their three-bedroom home in Columbus. “I have no idea what people who aren't similarly situated do. I can't even imagine.”

It's not that the U.S. doesn't recognize the problem. Polls show that voters overwhelmingly back the concept of paid family leave: a 2017 Pew study found that 82% of Americans supported mandatory paid leave for mothers after a birth or adoption. Now this broad public demand has spurred new efforts to fix it. The White House, Republican Senators and big businesses have recently joined traditional advocates on the left to champion paid family leave. Some

states and major corporations have created their own policies, and a variety of proposals are circulating in Congress. It's clear that the odds of Americans getting paid family leave have never been better. What's not clear is whether lawmakers can find a bipartisan solution.

The biggest sticking point is how to pay for it. A handful of Republican Senators have introduced versions of a national paid-family-leave policy over the past year, which would be funded by delaying or reducing a parent's Social Security checks down the road. That's anathema to Democrats like New York Senator Kirsten Gillibrand, who with Connecticut Representative Rosa DeLauro has been pushing a paid-leave bill called the FAMILY Act since 2013. “I don't think it's fair that you have to choose between your retirement and paid leave,” Gillibrand, a presidential candidate, tells TIME. Gillibrand's plan would be funded by a 0.2% payroll tax levied on both employees and employers. That idea won't fly with Republicans. “I don't believe we're going to ever be able to pass a bill anytime soon that will pass the House and Senate, be signed by the President, that creates a new government program, a new mandate on business or raises taxes,” says GOP Senator Marco Rubio, whose New Parents Act, co-sponsored by Senator Mitt Romney, would offer new parents up to three months of paid leave in exchange for future Social Security payments.

Americans don't want it to come out of their pockets, either. Some three-quarters of Americans would support a federal program offering 12 weeks of paid leave that could be used by both new parents and people dealing with their own or a family member's medical issue, but only 54% back the idea if it came with a \$200 annual tax hike, according to a 2018 public-opinion poll by the Cato Institute, a libertarian think tank.

Whether the two parties can reconcile their differences is what stands in the way of tens of millions more adults in the U.S. labor force getting paid family leave. In the meantime, nearly a quarter of employed moms have little choice but to return to work within two weeks of giving birth, according to a 2015 analysis by *In These Times*, a nonprofit magazine. It's a far cry from the six weeks or longer that doctors recommend after most births. But the sparks of progress have advocates hopeful that America may finally be on the cusp of solving one of its most vexing policy challenges.

ON A MILD APRIL AFTERNOON in New Orleans, a group of business leaders and policy advocates gathered around a conference table to sip coffee, nibble on chocolate toffee cookies and talk about the need for paid family leave. The discussion was led by two local bankers and Louisiana Senator Bill Cassidy, a Republican who recently

PAID-FAMILY-LEAVE PROPOSALS

Several plans have been introduced or promised, including a “bipartisan solution” that Senators Bill Cassidy (R., La.) and Kyrsten Sinema (D., Ariz.) are working on.

FAMILY Act

Sponsors: Senator Kirsten Gillibrand (D., N.Y.) and Representative Rosa DeLauro (D., Conn.)

Benefit: Up to 12 weeks of paid leave with a 66% wage replacement capped at \$4,000 per month

Who can use it: Parents and caregivers

What the time can be used for: Birth or adoption of a child, a serious health condition or care of a close relative with a serious health condition

How to pay for it: A 0.2% payroll tax on both employers and employees

New Parents Act

Sponsors: Senators Marco Rubio (R., Fla.) and Mitt Romney (R., Utah)

Benefit: One to three months of paid leave with varying levels of wage replacement

Who can use it: Parents

What the time can be used for: Birth or adoption of a child

How to pay for it: Delay Social Security payments by three to six months per benefit, or proportionately reduce the payments received during the first five years of Social Security eligibility

CRADLE Act

Sponsors: Senators Joni Ernst (R., Iowa) and Mike Lee (R., Utah)

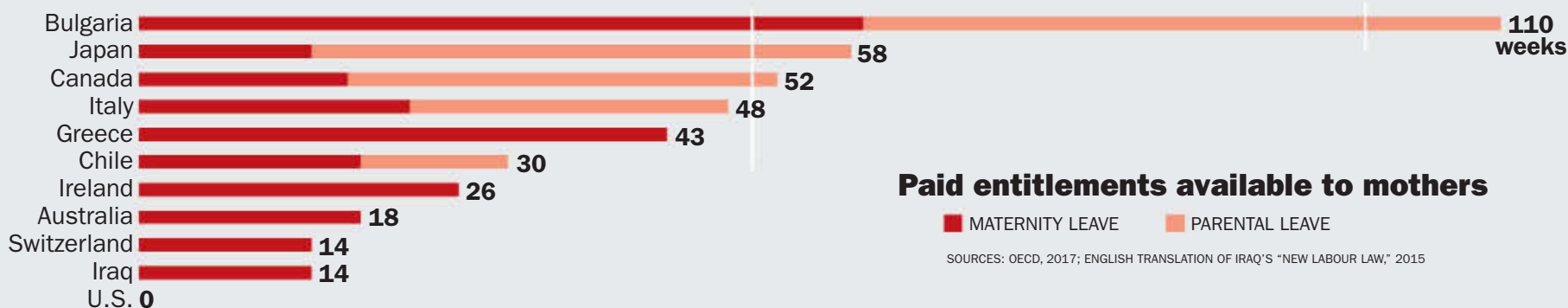
Benefit: One to three months of paid leave with varying levels of wage replacement

Who can use it: Parents

What the time can be used for: Birth or adoption of a child

How to pay for it: Delay Social Security payments by twice the number of months the parent takes off for the birth or adoption of a child

HOW THE U.S. MEASURES UP



announced he was teaming up with Democratic Senator Kyrsten Sinema of Arizona to look for a bipartisan solution to the problem. “When I looked around that room and I saw fiscal conservatives and progressive policy advocates all nodding their heads in unison, I got excited,” says Michael Hecht, the president and CEO of a New Orleans–based economic-development nonprofit. “When rock-solid conservatives and New Deal progressives are agreeing on a policy, it means we are either doing something very smart or it’s the apocalypse.”

The snubbing of paid family leave didn’t start as a partisan fight. While other developed nations, including France and the U.K., began offering or expanding paid maternity leave soon after World War II ended to keep women in the workforce, America’s labor force hadn’t been as devastated by wartime casualties. “The U.S. didn’t have the same kind of crisis in its employment,” says Megan Sholar, a political scientist at Loyola University Chicago and the author of *Getting Paid While Taking Time*. A few stateside policies eventually catered to working women: Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act and, later, the Pregnancy

Discrimination Act made it illegal to discriminate on the basis of pregnancy. But women still had to take leaves of absence when their children were born, and their jobs were not guaranteed when they returned.

When Democrats brought an unpaid-family-leave proposal to Congress in the 1980s, Republicans urged them to change the language of the bill so fewer small businesses would have to comply. It still didn’t pass. President George H.W. Bush, worried that even a watered-down version of the proposal would worsen a recession, vetoed the Family and Medical Leave Act (FMLA) in both 1990 and 1992. “I want to strongly reiterate that I have always supported employer policies to give time off for a child’s birth or adoption or for family illness and believe it is important that employers offer these benefits,” Bush wrote in his 1992 veto statement. “I object however, to the Federal Government mandating leave policies for America’s employers and workforce.”

After defeating Bush, Bill Clinton made signing the Family and Medical Leave Act one of his first acts as President. Since then, people who have worked at least 1,250 hours over the course of a

Nation

year at companies that employ 50-plus people in a 75-mile radius have been eligible for 12 weeks of unpaid leave. But more than 40% of Americans don't work for employers that meet those requirements, according to a 2012 survey conducted by the U.S. Department of Labor.

Most U.S. families struggle to make ends meet if their leave is unpaid. Staci Lowry's daughter Bailee, now 8, suffered a serious stroke in 2014, and Lowry quickly exhausted all her annual vacation and sick days to be by her hospital bed. When Lowry also ran out of the unpaid leave guaranteed by the FMLA, she lost her customer-service job in Michigan. "They fired me while I was still in the hospital with her," Lowry says. "You don't stop being a parent just when the baby is born. You are a parent until your child puts you in the grave, or unfortunately, in some circumstances, you put your child in the grave."

A lot has changed in the years since Bailee's stroke. Businesses eager to recruit strong employees and retain talent in a booming economy have increasingly offered more generous paid-leave policies. Though it costs companies to voluntarily provide paid parental leave, many argue it costs more not to provide it. Researchers for the California employment development department found that after a paid-parental-leave law took effect in 2004, turnover rates dropped on average across the state. That can be a huge cost saver given that, according to data from the University of California, Berkeley, replacing a single employee costs firms an average of \$4,000, while the average cost of replacing a white collar professional exceeds \$7,000.

Silicon Valley has led the way, with many companies offering 18 weeks to a year of paid parental leave. "From a recruiting and retention lens," says Raina Moskowitz, a senior vice president at Etsy, "what's good for families is really good for business." Beginning in April 2016, Etsy began providing its employees 26 weeks of fully paid parental leave.

Corporations are increasingly extending more generous benefits to hourly workers too. Walmart, the country's largest private employer, announced it would dramatically expand its paid-family-leave policy in January 2018, after more than 100,000 people signed a petition pleading that hourly associates be offered the same benefits as the company's executives. The retail giant previously offered full-time hourly workers a six- or eight-week maternity-leave policy at as little as half pay, and no leave for dads or adoptive parents. Under the new policy, which the company says was made possible by recent tax cuts, full-time associates get 10 weeks of fully paid maternity leave, and an additional six weeks of fully paid parental leave is available to both parents.

In addition to keeping workers happy and productive, paid parental leave improves the health of new mothers and their children, likely reducing costs for businesses that provide health insurance to

82%

of Americans say they support paid leave for mothers after the birth or adoption of a child

83%

of civilian workers didn't receive any paid family leave in 2018

SOURCES: PEW RESEARCH CENTER, 2017; BUREAU OF LABOR STATISTICS, 2018



their workers. As many as 1 in 7 women experiences postpartum depression during the first year of their baby's life, but more generous leave policies can significantly lessen that likelihood, according to a 2014 study published in the *Journal of Health Politics, Policy and Law*. Breastfeeding—which the World Health Organization recommends exclusively for the first six months of a baby's life—is also significantly easier for moms who are able to spend the first months of their children's lives at home. Paternity leave is crucial for children's development too: those with more involved fathers tend to perform better on cognitive assessments during the early years, according to a 2013 analysis from the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development.

Realizing the benefits of paid family leave, states have also stepped in to fill the void of a federal plan. Since California became the first to pass a statewide policy, New Jersey, New York, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Washington State and the District of Columbia have all followed suit. Several dozen cities have also passed paid-family-leave laws for municipal workers.

FOR AMERICANS EAGER to see a national paid-leave policy, the brightest development is that congressional Republicans have begun to come around. In addition to Rubio and Romney's proposal, GOP Senators Joni Ernst of Iowa and Mike Lee of Utah recently



▲
Lyles saved all her paid leave to care for the twins, but it barely lasted beyond their hospital stay

introduced the CRADLE Act, which would offer new parents one to three months of paid leave. Like the Rubio-Romney plan, the proposal would be funded by delaying Social Security payments—making them nonstarters with congressional Democrats.

Republican lawmakers have also gotten a boost of encouragement from the White House. “Let us support working families by supporting paid family leave,” President Trump said during his 2018 State of the Union address. Trump’s 2018 budget sought to provide “six weeks of paid family leave to new mothers and fathers, including adoptive parents, so all families can afford to take time to recover from childbirth and bond with a new child without worrying about paying their bills.”

Ivanka Trump, the President’s daughter and senior adviser, has been a key supporter of the policy. She visits Capitol Hill to discuss paid leave several times a month, the White House says, and has met with more than 60 members of Congress on the issue. “Much progress has been made to advance this important policy over the past two years,” Ivanka Trump tells TIME, “and I believe that paid family leave can finally be passed into law if we work across the aisle and encourage honest debate in pursuit of a bipartisan path forward.”

Neither the President nor his daughter has endorsed a specific approach. “The White House and

Ivanka have not stepped in and proposed one bill over another, or even a specific approach over another,” says Rubio. A source close to the Trump Administration said the hands-off approach was designed to give legislators the space to hash out the specifics without interference. Critics have questioned the Trumps’ commitment to the issue, but the endorsement of the concept has given the GOP crucial political cover. “The fact that the White House is behind it,” Rubio says, “makes it an easier sell to get more Republicans interested.”

It’s still not clear how the two parties will bridge the gap over the question of funding. Even political strategists who see paid family leave as an opportunity for the two parties to work together say they don’t see a solution on the horizon, especially with a presidential election looming and a crowded domestic policy agenda. “Parental leave is one of those things that pop up in debates and town halls, but it doesn’t appear to me that it’s got the kind of staying power that would shove other things aside,” says Rich Galen, a Republican strategist and former top congressional aide. “We’ve gotten along for about a billion years without parental leave, and suddenly in 2020, the notion that the Republic will collapse without it just doesn’t meet the ‘We gotta do it now’ test.”

Paid family leave isn’t yet a priority for either majority in Congress. House Democrats are skeptical a solution is near—given the GOP’s approach to paying for the proposals. Senate majority leader Mitch McConnell has made confirming judges his top priority and hasn’t made family leave a must-pass item on the Senate’s to-do list because, while a popular idea, it doesn’t carry much intensity in voters’ minds.

But advocates remain optimistic, believing the pressure to find a solution is beginning to build. “We’ve made a lot of headway in the last two years,” the source close to the Administration tells TIME. “It used to not be even a subject of debate for Republicans or a legislative consideration.”

It often takes Congress years to hammer out deals even on policy matters with broad public support. Criminal-justice reform is one recent example. During President Barack Obama’s second term, Democrats and Republicans in the House and Senate, backed by powerful advocates from all points on the political spectrum, made earnest attempts to craft legislation to address the issue. Their efforts were stymied by a small number of conservative Senators. But the work continued, and in December 2018, Trump signed a landmark prison-reform bill.

For Morgan Lyles and millions of other American parents, the issue is urgent. Weien will soon need brain surgery to correct his worsening seizure disorder, and Lyles won’t have the time off to help him recover. She’s hoping policymakers can agree on a solution before her daughters have families of their own. □

NEXT GENERATION LEADERS

From a refugee boxer to a prolific YouTuber, meet 10 young people forging new paths in politics, music and more

SWEDEN

GRETA THUNBERG

The girl who went on strike for the planet

BY SUYIN HAYNES

“CAN YOU HEAR ME?” GRETA THUNBERG ASKS THE 150 members and advisers in the U.K. Houses of Parliament. She taps the microphone as if to check if it’s on, but the gesture is meant as a rebuke; she’s asking if they’re listening. She asks again later in her speech. “Did you hear what I just said? Is my English O.K.? Is my microphone on? Because I’m beginning to wonder.” There is laughter, but it’s unclear if it’s amused or awkward. Thunberg is not smiling. She’s here to talk climate; a catastrophe is looming, her generation will bear it, and she knows whom to blame. “You did not act in time,” she declares.

Castigating the powerful has become routine for the 16-year-old. In December she addressed the U.N. Climate Change Conference in Poland; in January she berated billionaires at the World Economic Forum in Davos, Switzerland. Her London speech was the last stop of a tour that included meeting the Pope. (“Continue to work, continue,” he told her, ending with, “Go along, go ahead.” It was an exhortation, not a dismissal.)

Just nine months ago, Thunberg had no such

audiences. She was a lone figure sitting outside the Swedish Parliament in Stockholm, carrying a sign emblazoned with *SKOLSTREJK FOR KLIMATET* (School Strike for Climate). She was there for a reason that felt primal and personal. While Thunberg was studying climate change in school at the age of 11, she reacted in a surprisingly intense way: she suffered an episode of severe depression. After a time it lifted, only to resurface last spring.

“I felt everything was meaningless and there was no point going to school if there was no future,” Thunberg says. But this time, rather than suffer

Thunberg photographed in Stockholm on April 26



the pain, she decided to push back at its cause, channeling her sadness into action. “I promised myself I was going to do everything I could do to make a difference,” she says.

Inspired by the survivors of February 2018’s school shooting in Parkland, Fla., she began a weekly schoolwork strike every Friday, turning to social media to implore politicians to support and take steps toward halting carbon emissions. Since the U.N. Climate Change Conference in December, Thunberg’s Twitter following has grown by nearly 4,000%, to reach 612,000; many have also followed her lead offline, striking to demand change. “Before, I never really spoke when I was in my lessons or with my classmates,” she told me shortly after her London speech. “But now I am speaking to the whole world.”

The world is listening. Organizers estimate that on March 15, a remarkable 1.6 million people in 133 countries participated in a climate strike inspired by Thunberg’s solo action—mostly students who walked out of school for a few minutes, an hour or a full day of protest. “There’s a massive intergenerational injustice here,” said U.K. strike organizer Anna Taylor, 18, at the London leg of the global school strike on March 15. “Striking is the only way to make our voices heard.” Since March, the walk-outs have continued, with students around the world united by the #FridaysForFuture and #YouthStrike4Climate hashtags.

At the same time, Thunberg’s life has been transformed. She never expected the whirlwind of interest, saying it was initially tricky to persuade other students to join her action. “I just went ahead and decided to plan it, even if I were

alone,” she says, with a persistence that has yet to waver.

Thunberg attributes her determination to her diagnosis of Asperger’s, a mild form of autism spectrum disorder. “It makes me see the world differently. I see through lies more easily,” she says. “To be different is not a weakness. It’s a strength in many ways, because you stand out from the crowd.”

Not that all the attention has made her terribly impressed. She indulges in a brief smile at a mention of President Barack Obama’s tweet in praise of her, but she returns quickly to her larger message. “I believe that once we start behaving as if we were in an existential crisis, then we can avoid a climate and ecological breakdown,” she says. “But the opportunity to do so will not last for long. We have to start today.”

AFTER THE ROUND of European appearances in April, I join Thunberg and her father Svante on the two-day, 1,200-mile train journey back to Stockholm from London. As one of our trains prepares to depart from Brussels at 6:25 a.m., she takes a photo to share with her 1.6 million Instagram followers before putting on an eye mask for a nap. Five minutes into the journey, a man stops to ask if he can take a photo with the sleeping teenager, saying she has inspired his own daughters. Svante politely replies, “When she wakes up, in Cologne.”

There’s a certain retro glamour in the phrase—redolent of an era when train travel was an elegant indulgence, rather than a time-consuming headache compared with going by air. But for Thunberg, the cost in convenience is marginal compared with the greater savings in carbon emissions. She’s not alone. In what her father



From top: Joining a school strike in Paris on Feb. 22; greeting Pope Francis on April 17; speaking a day earlier at the European Parliament in Strasbourg, France





'BEFORE, I NEVER REALLY SPOKE WHEN I WAS IN MY LESSONS. BUT NOW I AM SPEAKING TO THE WHOLE WORLD.'

environmentalist and author of *This Changes Everything: Capitalism vs. the Climate*. “There’s something very hard to categorize about her, and I think because she’s not looking for approval and is not easily impressed, people don’t know what to do with that.”

Thunberg’s main goal is for governments to reduce carbon emissions in line with the Paris Agreement, limiting global temperature rise to 1.5°C over preindustrial levels. Since the price of failing to do so will be paid by young people, Thunberg believes the school strike follows an inevitable logic. “We are children, saying why should we care about our future when no one else is doing that?” she says. “When children say something like that, I think adults feel very bad.”

WE ARRIVE AT THUNBERG’S SCHOOL 10 minutes late for class, barely two hours after stepping off the train at Stockholm Central. Paradoxically, while ditching school is the animating action of Thunberg’s campaign, working hard in class has become an oasis. Conjugating verbs in French and trying out different instruments in a music lesson have a certain familiarity that addressing Popes and Presidents doesn’t. Glimmers of the surreal outside world appear occasionally—Thunberg has had the peculiar experience of quoting herself when answering questions on current affairs in class—but life at home is mostly unremarkable. In her spare time, she likes cooking vegan food and playing with her two dogs. “Sometimes I feel like it’s not happening, because it’s like two completely different worlds. Here I am just a quiet girl, and there I am very famous,” she says during a break on a school playground, surrounded by woodland.

She manages to live in both worlds, studying for a test and then writing a speech, finishing her homework and then organizing a strike. Unlike most global figures, she doesn’t have a big staff; her parents do what they can to maintain a sense of normalcy for Thunberg and her 13-year-old sister Beata, though Svante no longer answers the phone unless it’s a trusted contact.

Meantime, there is a Greta effect within the home too. Svante and Thunberg’s mother Malena Ernman have given up meat, installed solar panels on their home and stopped traveling by air—decisions they made because they tired of arguments with their stubborn daughter, Svante likes to joke. It’s been a major shift for Malena, an opera singer who no longer flies abroad to performances. “Once she realized the consequences of that lifestyle, she was easy to convince,” Thunberg says, sounding more like a parent than a child.

She and her fellow youth strikers in Stockholm are

planning for the city’s next major strike, on Friday, May 24, two days before the 2019 European Parliament elections. After that, she will pack her bags again to continue spreading the word. A trip to the U.S. seems unlikely for now, given the difficulties of crossing the Atlantic without an airplane. But she is open to traveling to China one day via the Trans-Siberian railway.

I end my week with Thunberg as she participates in a strike outside the Swedish Parliament on a sunny Friday. She is still exhausted from her European trip, but she feels comfortable here—among people passionate about environmental issues, speaking democratically about their ideas. She knows action on climate change won’t happen instantly, but she’s prepared to dedicate years to this cause. “When I grow up, I want to be able to look back and say that I did everything I could,” she says.

But life in the public eye has its drawbacks. Since she came to prominence, Thunberg has been the target of negativity, trolling and even threats. Right-wing commentators and climate-change deniers have called her a “PR puppet” who is paid by a global network of billionaires to spread a “left-liberal” message. Others have criticized her stern appearance and “monotone voice,” a characteristic shared by many on the autism spectrum.

“It’s quite hilarious when the only thing people can do is mock you, or talk about your appearance or personality, as it means they have no argument, or nothing else to say,” she says, reading some negative replies she’s received to a recent tweet. “I’m not going to let that stop me,” she says, “because I know this is so much more important.”



jokingly calls the “Greta effect,” German and Swedish rail operators have reported a year-on-year rise in passenger numbers. Moreover, Swedish airports have seen fewer flyers since September, in part attributed to a phenomenon Swedes have named *flygskam*, or “flying shame.”

It’s impossible to know if travelers with places to be and schedules to keep are really following the lead of a teenager, but Thunberg is widely credited with setting an example. “People are taking their cues from Greta,” says Naomi Klein,



SPAIN

ROSALÍA

Crafting a new kind of flamenco

BY CIARA NUGENT

HANGING OUT IN A PARK IN SUBURBAN BARCELONA IN 2006, 13-year-old Rosalía Vila Tobella heard flamenco—a dramatic, folkloric music popularized by Romani communities in southern Spain—for the first time, blaring from her older friends’ car stereos. “It was so visceral. I had never heard anything like it,” Rosalía, now 25, remembers. “Nothing was the same for me after that.”

After Rosalía spent more than a decade studying flamenco, her innovations in the genre on her second album, 2018’s *El Mal Querer*, catapulted her to the forefront of the Latin pop boom. The album’s concept—which draws from a 13th century novel—originally began as Rosalía’s university thesis. That might sound niche, but the record’s blending of hand-clapping flamenco rhythms with pop and R&B structures have earned her rave reviews and, in April, her first solo North American tour. Industry heavyweights including Pharrell, James Blake and J. Balvin have since come calling.

The complex production on *El Mal Querer* was a radical departure from Rosalía’s minimalist, acoustic 2017 debut album, *Los Ángeles*. “For me, music is about experimentation,” she says, citing Kate Bush, Frank Ocean and the Talking Heads’ David Byrne as inspiration. “I want every record I make to be different to the one before—even though I will probably fail one day.”

As a performer, Rosalía showcases a fierce, hard-edged femininity, both with her raw, defiant vocals and with the menacingly sharp manicures she sports in videos and performances. “I see really long

‘I WANT EVERY RECORD I MAKE TO BE DIFFERENT TO THE ONE BEFORE.’

nails as a form of extreme, radical femininity,” she says. “They make me feel strong.” She says she is inspired by the female characters that populate the films of Spanish director Pedro Almodóvar. This year she joined their ranks, appearing in the filmmaker’s *Pain and Glory*.

The music industry has long struggled to acknowledge women’s creative agency, often casting them as singers but not artists. Rosalía, who composes, writes and produces her own songs, says she wants to challenge that. Her team is almost all women, with her mother and sister serving as manager and creative director. “My generation is changing things,” she says. “More women are working behind the music. We’re fighting for the visibility we deserve.”

ROSALÍA: EDUARDO MUNOZ ALVAREZ—EPA/SIPA USA; CARRYMINATI: SMITTA SHARMA FOR TIME; MIRANDA: GUI CHRISTI FOR TIME

INDIA

CARRYMINATI

Embracing his roots

BY ABHISHYANT KIDANGOOR

WHEN INDIAN YOUTUBER AJEY NAGAR STEPS OUT OF HIS house, even in the summer heat, he wears a black hoodie to disguise himself. Nearly 7 million people subscribe to the 19-year-old's YouTube channel, and Nagar is regularly accosted by teen fans. "I can't go to malls or restaurants," Nagar, popularly known as CarryMinati, tells TIME from his studio in Faridabad, a city bordering the Indian capital of New Delhi.

Nagar posted his first video on YouTube at the age of 10. He tried his hand at video-game live streaming, before finding his niche in 2016: Hindi-language tracks roasting other online videos. His channel has since taken off, alongside soaring Internet access. India overtook the U.S. in 2018 to have with the biggest YouTube audience in the world, with 265 million monthly users. And Nagar, known for his energetic presentation style, is now one of the most followed YouTubers in India.

His career got a massive boost in January when his dis track against controversial Swedish YouTuber Felix Kjellberg, popularly known as PewDiePie, went viral. Kjellberg, who has more than 95 million subscribers, had released a video that mocked the use of broken English by an Indian man. In a video titled "Bye PewDiePie," Nagar responds by rapping in Hindi that "one day, India will rule the whole world." His goal, he says, was to inspire Indians to embrace their identity and stand up to those who ridicule their culture.

Although India is the second largest English-speaking country in the world, most Indians prefer to access online content in their regional languages. Nagar, who has no plans to switch from Hindi, believes his popularity lies in his ability to stay connected to his roots. "I want to send out the message that you should be yourself," Nagar says. "If you try to be someone else, you won't find acceptance."



BRAZIL

DAVID MIRANDA

Representing the vulnerable

BY CIARA NUGENT

FOR HIS FIRST WEEKS IN Brazil's Congress in February, David Miranda was too scared to take the microphone. Far-right firebrand Jair Bolsonaro had just assumed the presidency; violence against LGBTQ people was at near-record levels; and Miranda, a gay, black politician, was taking over the seat of a colleague who had just fled Brazil after receiving homophobic death threats. The 34-year-old was feeling the pressure. "I was shaking," he says. "That place is not built for people like us."

Miranda, who grew up in the mostly black Rio de Janeiro favela of Jacarezinho and left home at 13, stands out among Brazil's members of Congress—three-quarters of whom are white, compared with just 44% of the broader population. He says coming from a marginalized community means he has never been able to ignore

politics. But he felt "forced onto the front line" in 2013 after being detained by British authorities as he and his husband—American journalist Glenn Greenwald—worked with the *Guardian* to publish leaks from NSA whistle-blower Edward Snowden.

In 2016, Miranda was elected to Rio's city government, one of the city's first two out council members. The other was Marielle Franco, an activist who was shot dead last year. The murder sparked protests around the world, and Miranda believes she was targeted for speaking out against Rio's powerful paramilitary gangs.

Although Miranda says he is facing death threats himself, he is determined to keep speaking up for Brazil's most vulnerable communities. "Marielle had such a bright future," he says. "I need to take everything she did and keep going forward."

U.S.

TESSA THOMPSON

An activist first, an actor second

BY ELIANA DOCKTERMAN

TWO YEARS AGO, TESSA THOMPSON SAID SOMETHING controversial on Twitter—even if, to people outside Hollywood, it might not have seemed that radical. She reminded fans that Valkyrie, the Marvel superhero she plays in *Thor: Ragnarok* and again in this year's mega blockbuster *Avengers: Endgame*, is bisexual, at least according to the comic books that inspired both films. Thompson, who herself identifies as queer, wrote that she believes the onscreen Valkyrie is bi too. But since a scene making Valkyrie's sexuality clear was cut from the film, Thompson found herself in the position of having to speak out about representation—in a way that a cautious behemoth like Disney, which released both films, hasn't done. And so, with just one tweet, she made Marvel's first onscreen queer superhero real.

Thompson, 35, has yet to headline her own blockbuster. But her stature as a queer woman of color in tentpole films and an outspoken feminist on the red carpet means she's a more potent political force than many of her A-list contemporaries. She's famous enough to pressure studios into doing the right thing, but early enough in her career that to do so is still a risk. As we skip over puddles in Central Park on a rainy Sunday morning, Thompson reflects on the incident with the eloquence of an actor and the confidence of an activist. "You don't want to bite the hand that feeds you," she says. "But I think a friendly bite is O.K. Inclusion doesn't happen by mistake. You have to push people. Sometimes shame is a powerful tool." She pauses. "That wasn't necessarily my intention, but I don't mind it being a dare."

Born and raised in Los Angeles, the daughter of a black Panamanian father and a half-Mexican, half-white mother, Thompson began to challenge other people's notions of her identity early on. She helped found what she has called a "racial harmony" club in high school that involved planning sleepovers for kids

of different backgrounds. Starring in school plays, she craved a thoughtful "hmm" of emotional recognition from the audience more than applause. When she watched movies, she saw few people who looked like her in her favorite genres: dramas with magical realism like *Being John Malkovich*, or sexy thrillers like *The Hand That Rocks the Cradle*. She acted for 10 years before her breakout performance as a biracial student leading the protest against a frat party encouraging blackface on her campus in the 2014 indie *Dear White People*. "Before I read that script," she says, "I felt so diminished by what was available: the sassy friend, the slave, the sexy cypher."

She has assiduously avoided such parts since, starring in the capitalist critique *Sorry to Bother You* and dressing up as an actual vagina in a Janelle Monáe music video. Somehow, simultaneously, she's subverted the tropes of typical action fare as a boxer's girlfriend who is

'THERE IS A LONG LIST OF WHITE MALE FILMMAKERS I WOULD LOVE TO WORK WITH. BUT THEY JUST DON'T SEE ME.'

ambitious in her own right in two *Creed* films and a Marvel superhero who's more drunken mess than sex symbol. In this summer's *MIB: International*, she will co-lead her first big studio film with her *Thor* scene partner Chris Hemsworth.

FANS AROUND THE WORLD have written to Thompson that seeing a queer person playing a superhero helped them come out. "I don't think any artist has the responsibility to be the ambassador, especially when

it comes to who you love," she says. "I don't begrudge anyone who wants to keep that separate from their professional life. There's not just a perceived risk of coming out in Hollywood. There's a real one."

But career concerns don't hold Thompson back from pushing for change. She is also an outspoken leader of Time's Up, a movement to end workplace sexual harassment. The past two years at the Sundance Film Festival, she has hosted an event called In the Intersection to find ways to address discrimination. The 4% Challenge, launched in January, came out of such meetings. Women have directed just 4% of the top 1,200 top-grossing films since 2007. From a pulpit at Sundance, Thompson asked studios and actors to commit to working with one female director in the next 18 months. Major studios like Universal and stars like Armie Hammer have taken on the challenge.

More women and people of color in the director's chair will lead directly to a more diverse array of stories. "Every big opportunity I have been provided has always been with people of color," she says. On those sets, she knows that she and the director share an unspoken goal to break barriers. But that's not entirely by choice. "There is a long list of white male filmmakers I would love to work with," she says. "But they just don't see me. They just don't."

Progress can feel slow, though Thompson continues to find ways to assert her worth. She has noticed that she's often called "honey" or "sweetie" on set when her male co-stars, like Hemsworth, are not. Recently she's begun telling people to call her by her name. "If Chris is 'sweetie,' I can be 'sweetie,' too," she says, laughing. "But if he's Chris, I'm Tessa."





AS A RARE WOMAN IN THE MALE-DOMINATED WORLD OF GAMING, GEGURI HAS HAD TO DEFLECT MORE THAN HER FAIR SHARE OF ATTACKS

blows and redirect them toward her opponents in the form of a laser beam.

It's a fitting role for Geguri, who, as a rare woman in a world dominated by men, has had to deflect more than her fair share of attacks. In 2016, as Geguri's impeccable aim was aiding her rise in smaller *Overwatch* leagues, she was accused of using automatic aiming software—cheating, in other words. It's a sin that can get a pro player permanently expelled from their league.

Geguri was cleared of the accusations after an investigation by Blizzard. But the episode took a toll. "I was very taken aback, but my teammates were very supportive so I was able to overcome it," she says.

So far, she has been reluctant to embrace the role of trailblazer, preferring instead to focus on the immediate mission at hand: helping her Dragons recover from their winless first season in the *Overwatch* League. And who can blame her? After all, none of her male colleagues have to worry about representing an entire gender.

Still, she's increasingly aware that she has a bigger part to play. "Since I am the only female player in the whole league, I think there are a lot of people who look up to me," says Geguri. "Knowing this, I'm trying a lot harder to inspire others to get to where I am today."

SOUTH KOREA

KIM 'GEGURI' SE-YEON

Fighting gender bias in gaming

BY ALEX FITZPATRICK

WHO WOULDN'T WANT TO GET PAID TO PLAY VIDEO games all day? Being a professional e-sports athlete sounds like a dream job—until you realize that high-level professional gamers practice and strategize from sunup to sundown. Life can be just as tough as that of a pro athlete in a more mainstream sport, albeit without the fame, million-dollar paychecks and players' unions to match.

That hasn't slowed down Kim Se-yeon, 19, better known by her gamer nickname Geguri. Born in the South Korean city of Daejeon, she started playing games with

her mom when she was just 5 years old. Today, she plays for the Shanghai Dragons in the *Overwatch* League, a professional e-sports league produced by *Overwatch* developer Blizzard Entertainment. *Overwatch* is a popular team-based shooter, in which players pick characters with different skills (soldier, medic, tank and so on) and work together to achieve a goal, like escorting cargo to a certain location before time runs out. Geguri started her *Overwatch* career playing the character Zarya, a powerful tank who can absorb incoming

KIM: BRINSON + BANKS FOR TIME; WEY: DIXIE D. VEREEN—THE WASHINGTON POST/GETTY IMAGES



NIGERIA

TUNDE WEY

Food for thought

BY OSAYI ENDOLYN

SIPPING ZACAPA RUM AT HENRY, A PAN-AFRICAN RESTAURANT IN Manhattan, Tunde Wey is contemplative. The Lagos-born writer and chef is in New York to develop a new project that, like his previous work, uses food as a tool for provocation and social transformation. But his methods are always evolving. “As soon as I see people getting comfortable, I change it,” says the 35-year-old, who is now based in New Orleans.

Wey’s fans and critics have come to expect constant adaptation. In 2016, his Blackness in America dinner series invited white guests to engage with black diners on the impact of systemic racism over Nigerian dishes like *egusi* stew. In 2018, he opened SAARTJ, a temporary New Orleans food stall where black visitors were charged \$12 for a meal while white visitors were asked to pay \$30, reflecting the city’s racial wealth gap. In Nashville, he explored the root causes of gentrification in an event titled

Hot Chicken Sh-t—asking white diners to pledge \$100 for one piece of chicken, \$1,000 for four pieces or a property deed for a whole chicken with sides. And in Pittsburgh, he matched immigrants and U.S. citizens in a blind-date dinner series called Love Trumps Hate. It was inspired by Wey’s own status—he is now a permanent U.S. resident after being undocumented for 10 years.

Wey used to describe his work as “discomfort food” to illustrate how communal dining spaces can prompt meaningful action. But he grappled with a sense that the unease functioned as a kind of entertainment. “It was an

opportunity for me to investigate my own work. I’m not here to cater to white people’s discomfort.”

He’s now developing a company, BabyZooz, that will use profits from wholesale applesauce sales to fund projects addressing high rates of black infant mortality in Kalamazoo, Mich., and later, nationwide. A publishing deal has bought him some time—his greatest asset, he says—to dream up new ways to use food to make change. “Money isn’t power. Money is a tool of power,” Wey says. “Folks are comfortable giving up money. But they’re not giving up their power. That’s what the whole sh-t is about.”

‘FOLKS ARE COMFORTABLE GIVING UP MONEY. BUT THEY’RE NOT GIVING UP THEIR POWER.’



U.S.

ETHAN LINDENBERGER

Standing up for science

BY ALICE PARK

MEASLES WAS DECLARED ERADICATED IN THE U.S. in 2000, but since this January, 764 cases have been reported in 23 states—the largest outbreak in a quarter-century. Like most people who have been vaccinated against the disease, Ethan Lindemberger is relieved that he's protected. Unlike most of his friends, however, the Ohio teen didn't get the shots that help his immune system fight off the virus as a child. He only received them a few months ago, at the age of 18. In March, he shared his story in Congress after a Senate committee asked him to testify about his decision to get immunized against his mother's wishes.

Believing that the shots contribute to autism and brain damage, Lindemberger's parents did not vaccinate him or his six siblings. He didn't question those views until he turned 15 and learned through social media that not everyone shared their antivaccination perspective.

Turning to the Internet for his own research, he found convincing data from the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention confirming no link between vaccines and autism. Knowing his parents disagreed, he posted on Reddit in November asking if he could still get vaccinated and received over a thousand responses directing him to his local public health department.

Lindemberger is now all caught up with his shots, and enjoys providing advice to other children who contact him because they are in a similar situation. His own parents, especially his mother, still don't agree with his decision, but he says he never questioned her as a parent. "I questioned her sources. Misinformed people aren't evil, but misinformation still isn't O.K."

EGYPT

DINA EL WEDIDI

Voice of hope

BY JOSEPH HINCKS

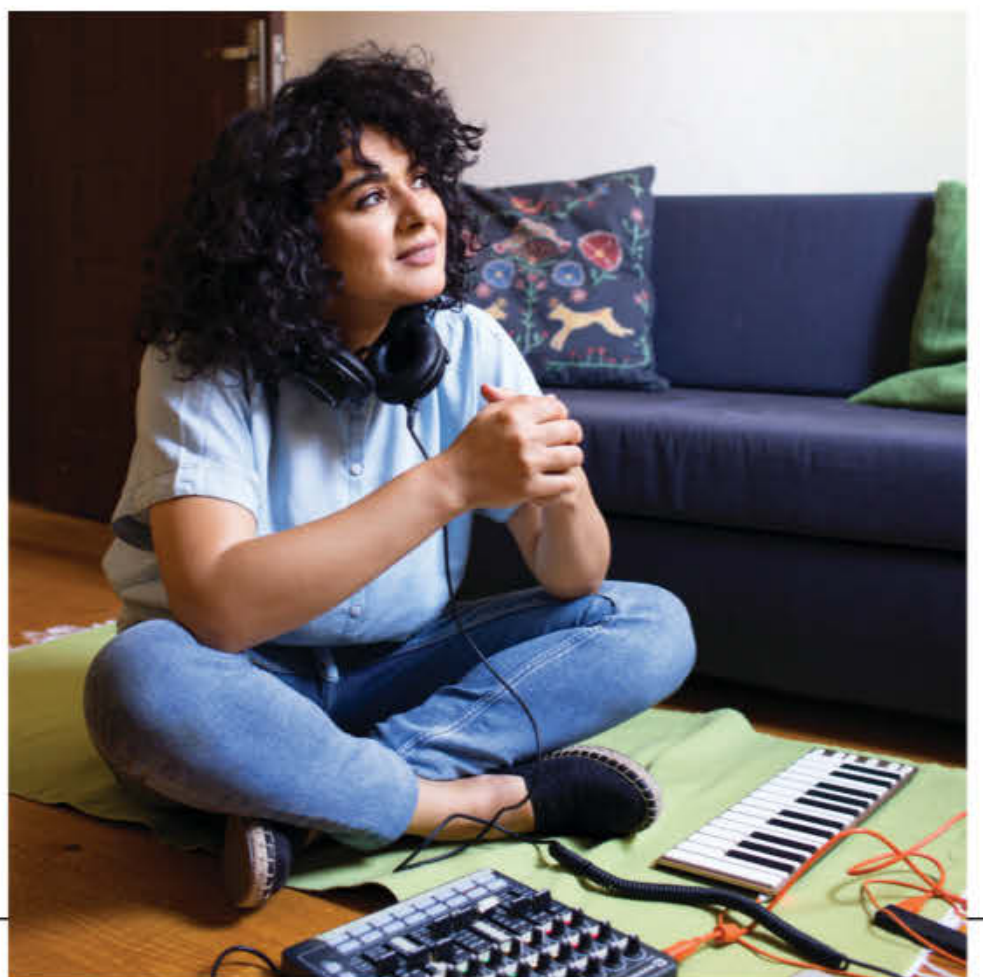
FOR EGYPTIAN MUSICIAN DINA EL Wedidi, each project is a kind of journey. Her debut album in 2014, *Turning Back*, was a trip through history, mining Egyptian folk music and Arab poetry. The collaborative Nile Project she worked on crossed borders, connecting African artists along the river's route in the fight to preserve the critical water resource. And *Slumber*, the album she released last year, invites listeners to ride Egypt's railway. "I sampled Egyptian trains at different stations, the sounds the seats and broken windows make, to create harmonies, melodies and rhythm," says Wedidi, 31.

Wedidi's own musical journey is rooted in the region's history. It began when she learned to sing Egyptian folk songs as a member of a Cairo theater troupe. When she formed her own band in 2011, Wedidi melded heritage

sounds with influences from jazz, underground rock and electronic music. American audiences first heard her perform in 2013, a year after she toured the U.S. under the mentorship of Brazilian icon Gilberto Gil.

Wedidi's rich music has also inspired change. A modern operetta she took part in called *Khalina Nehlam* (Let Us Dream) captured the mood of the 2011 Arab Spring protests that toppled Egyptian dictator Hosni Mubarak. It urged young people to "keep entertaining their different aspirations, and to never lose hope," she says. This fall, she embarks on a European tour as part of a collective called Sodassi, led by Palestinian singer Kamilya Jubran.

The key to creativity, she says, is to keep moving. "You only keep the memories and lessons you learned from each journey, which will take you on to the next one."



LINDENBERGER: SHUTTERSTOCK; WEDIDI: CHRISTINA RIZK FOR TIME; ALI: NICHOLAS J R WHITE



U.K. AND SOMALIA

RAMLA ALI

Punching above her weight

BY BILLY PERRIGO

IT'S THE SECOND DAY OF RAMADAN, AND RAMLA ALI IS wrapping her hands at a boxing gym in London's East End. It's now midafternoon, and as a practicing Muslim, Ali hasn't had any food or drink since before dawn. "I'm still training," the featherweight says as she gets ready for a workout. "Which is obviously really hard."

The first Muslim woman to win an English boxing title, Ali has her sights set on the 2020 Olympic Games in Tokyo. There, should she qualify, Ali will become the

first boxer of any gender to represent her country of birth, Somalia, which sent only two athletes to the 2016 Rio Games.

Her path here hasn't been easy. When she was a child during the Somali civil war in the early 1990s, her family fled their Mogadishu home after her older brother was killed by a stray grenade. They escaped the country via a perilous boat

journey to Kenya, and eventually ended up in London.

At school, Ali was bullied for being overweight, until she discovered boxing in her teens. Even after she started fighting competitively, she hid her passion from her family, worried her mother would think it was immodest. "I knew she would never be supportive," Ali says. The day she won the English title in 2016, she told her family she was going for a run.

As Ali's profile increased, her mother eventually found out and asked her to stop—which she did, if only temporarily. "I understood, because she grew up in a different era to me," Ali says. "But there was resentment at the same time. How can you not understand that this is what I love?"

Eighteen months ago, an uncle in Mogadishu eventually helped reassure Ali's mother that the community was happy, not ashamed. By then, Ali had made the decision to represent Somalia, rather than the U.K., at the international level. "He called me up and told me he was really proud of me," she says. "I'd never had a senior family member say that."

Now, Ali's mother is her biggest fan, though she has still never been to see her fight in person. That might soon change. In May, after Ali returned from a tournament in Botswana, her mother made her a promise. "She said, 'If you get to Tokyo, I'll book my ticket and I'll see you there.'"

Ali hopes others will be inspired not to give up on sports. "Don't be deterred just because someone told you it's not what a girl should do," she says. "Just do what makes you happy." □

'DON'T BE DETERRED JUST BECAUSE SOMEONE TOLD YOU IT'S NOT WHAT A GIRL SHOULD DO.'



✓Yes



✓Yes



✓Yes



✓Yes



✓Yes



xNo



✓Yes



✓Yes



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Time Off

END OF AN ERA
As *Game of Thrones* winds down its final season, what happens to watercooler TV?



INSIDE

TILDA SWINTON (AND HER DAUGHTER!) IN A MOVING DRAMA

JOHN WICK COMES BACK WITH A VENGEANCE

THE CULT HIT FLEABAG PUSHES TOWARD THE DIVINE

PHOTO-ILLUSTRATIONS BY JESSE LENZ FOR TIME

TimeOff Opener

TELEVISION

Game of Thrones is over. Is that so bad?

By Judy Berman

GAME OF THRONES FANS HAVE WITNESSED countless deaths in its final season, but the show's most painful casualty is yet to come. As Netflix firehoses content and streaming services keep emerging to spin media giants' intellectual property into gold, critics like me have been fretting over the slow demise of television as mass cultural event. That panic has crystallized around *Thrones*—a series that remains both hugely popular and acclaimed at a time when ratings and prestige sometimes seem mutually exclusive.

This kind of consensus hit can be really healthy for a society as fragmented as ours. Divided by class, politics and identity, 43 million of us can at least come together to watch *Thrones*. If fantasy buffs, academics, proponents of Strong Female Characters, the *Gay of Thrones* recappers, Black Twitter, Barack Obama, J. Lo, Tom Brady and Beyoncé are all losing their minds over the same thing at the same time, the demise of that collective obsession is worth lamenting—or so the argument goes.

Yet I'm not sure I agree. As anyone who's been in the crosshairs of a massive online fan community—*Thrones*' included—can tell you, an entertainment monoculture isn't inherently good. A lively cultural conversation may be desirable, but the content of that conversation also matters. And when it comes to *Thrones*, I'm not convinced that this particular discourse still deserves the hand-wringing.

THIS IS PARTLY the fault of the show itself. Stellar performances, an HBO pedigree and early seasons that invested as much energy in character development and ideological conflicts as they now devote to CGI made *Thrones* the kind of drama everyone was obliged to take seriously. (Even the criticisms about rape and exploitative depictions of female characters that have followed the show for its entire run presuppose that viewers should expect more sophistication out of this narrative than the typical fantasy quest.)

But it's become a very different story since creators David Benioff and D.B. Weiss started diverging from

George R.R. Martin's text, which they outpaced in Season 5. Episodes like "Battle of the Bastards" and beyond-the-Wall battle "Hardhome" built up to April's "The Long Night," which devoted its full 82-minute run time to the fiery, icy, dimly lit Battle of Winterfell. Directed by Miguel Sapochnik, all three episodes were technical marvels on a scale that TV had never attempted before. But it's telling that it's these moments, rather than character beats or ethical dilemmas, that now generate the most anticipation and analysis; Twitter spent days after "The Long Night" poking holes in Jon Snow's strategy. (The next week's big talking point was the stunning sloppiness of a coffee cup left in one shot.) Viewers looking for more than expensive spectacles have spent the past few seasons mourning the witty, thought-provoking show that they started watching. Now, episodes feel too thematically slight to justify all the chatter they inspire.

A lot of that talk has revolved around clues, Easter eggs and callbacks to scenes from 2011 or 2012. To some extent, that's a natural trajectory for a show with such grand ambitions. *Thrones* spent years building Westeros; the payoff is a captive audience's immersion in its history and lore. Yet there's a difference between making the most of an established setting and letting minutiae overtake big ideas. That goes double for a show that in its final season has played so fast and loose with characters, it's made Daenerys a monster, Tyrion a fool and reduced the formidable Brienne of Tarth to a weeping puddle of thirst for Jaime Lannister—arguably without earning any of it.

Meanwhile, for reasons that have as much to do with the Redditzation of cultural criticism as they do with the

Why is Game of Thrones the only show we all agree is good, profound and relatable?

The shifting shape of water-cooler TV

JAN. 19, 1953

Lucy Ricardo gives birth to Little Ricky on *I Love Lucy*

JANUARY 1977

America reckons with slavery as *Roots* breaks ratings records

NOV. 21, 1980

Dallas reveals who shot J.R. Ewing

FEB. 28, 1983

The *M*A*S*H* series finale is the most-watched episode in the history of TV



series' devolution, more substantive conversations of the kind early seasons encouraged have gotten drowned out by fan theories, publicity stunts and character obsession—the kind of stuff that makes my eyes glaze over. Millions of us watched Daenerys and her lover-slash-nephew Jon ride dragons in a Season 8 premiere interlude that played like a preview of the inevitable theme-park ride. What did it do for us as a society?

TO BE CLEAR: This isn't an indictment of TV that entertains more than it provokes thought. (Take it from someone who savored every episode of *Lindsay Lohan's Beach Club*.) Still, with something like 500 scripted series airing every year, it's fair to ask: Why is *Game of Thrones* the only one we all seemed to agree is good, profound and—despite the incest and magic—universally relatable? Many of the answers are obvious: It's based on widely loved books. It predated the streaming boom. It's a one-stop shop for weird sex and TV-MA violence. HBO has sunk enormous sums of money into it, including a marketing budget sufficient to make the announcement of a distant premiere date break the Internet.

This is another way of saying that *Thrones* has flourished largely because it was set up to flourish—because the people who bankroll prestige television decided up front that this story of battles, bastards and butts was worth an episodic budget three times as large as that of the typical cable series. In turn, the kind of viewers who subscribed to a channel that once had the tagline IT'S NOT TV, IT'S HBO—a group that might otherwise have dismissed the show as genre trash—embraced it instead.

This isn't a bad thing in isolation.

Watercooler TV of generations past tended to be grounded in the particulars of contemporary American life; even *Seinfeld* sparked debate over social norms. But authors from Edgar Allan Poe to Octavia Butler have long since proved that genre fiction can speak just as eloquently to the human experience as realism.

What's frustrating is how narrow the brand of entertainment populism that elevated *Game of Thrones* to such an exalted plane of cultural significance, and kept it there even as the quality of its storytelling slipped, tends to be. As with film, it seldom seems to benefit genres or audiences that aren't predominantly white and male. There are exceptions, of course: *Black Panther*. *Gone Girl*. *The Handmaid's Tale*. But the genre releases that spotlight underserved demographics rarely get the funding or respect they deserve. Despite constant calls to diversify Hollywood, the assumption remains that everyone wants to watch white guys and white guys only want to watch themselves.

Consider *Get Out*, which overcame a February release and a budget less than a third the size of one *Game of Thrones* Season 8 episode on its way to becoming a classic “social thriller.” One of HBO's biggest hits in recent years, the female-focused whodunit *Big Little Lies*, has the sizable budget that comes with A-list producer-stars like Reese Witherspoon and Nicole Kidman. (Would it even have gotten made without them?) Yet plenty of critics initially dismissed it as a glossy soap, failing to see that it uses Lifetime clichés just as smartly and subversively as George R.R. Martin deploys fantasy tropes.

As the monoculture surrounding *Thrones* struggles to make a meal out

of the crumbs on offer this season, the genre show that has crossed my mind most often is *Killing Eve*. The devilishly smart, fun, layered, female-led spy thriller debuted quietly last spring on BBC America, a channel previously best known for importing *Doctor Who*. It saw consistent week-over-week audience growth throughout its first season—a rare feat—thanks to a vocal fan base. And after months of muted praise, *Eve* topped many critics' lists of their favorite series of 2018 (including my own). Its Season 2 premiere bested its Season 1 finale in the ratings by an impressive 67%. In terms of audience as well as mass-cultural impact, it doesn't compare to *Thrones*. But it's worth considering that the discrepancy there might say more about the biases of check signers and gatekeepers than it does about the quality, relevance or potential widespread appeal of any one series.

It's nice to have a show that can serve as a cultural lingua franca, especially now that Americans of different ages, races, religions, regions, countries of origin, genders, sexualities and education levels seem to so often misunderstand each other. Yet I can't say I'll really miss that shared experience now that all we ever talk about is the proper use of dragons in combat and whether Arya Stark's heroism is actually believable. (What a funny question to ask of a story that hinges on dragons' capacity to incinerate an army of skeletons.) In any case, amid a TV landscape whose dizzying expansion has fostered scores of “niche” shows that speak to so many different kinds of people, it seems silly to go to pieces over the loss of *Game of Thrones*. If consensus is the price of variety and visibility, I'm happy to pay it. □

MAY 14, 1998

The controversial *Seinfeld* finale polarizes an audience of 76 million viewers

JUNE 11, 2002

American Idol premieres on Fox; it will remain the most popular show on TV for almost a decade

APRIL 17, 2011

Game of Thrones premieres on HBO, beginning its slow climb to a Season 8 average of 43 million viewers

JANUARY 2019

Netflix claims it's on track to draw 40 million viewers to *You* and *Sex Education* within each show's first four weeks on the service





Swinton and Byrne, mother and daughter in real life and in *The Souvenir*

MOVIES

A *Souvenir* of youth and tainted love

By Stephanie Zacharek

PEOPLE WHO WANT TO TELL THE STORY of their youth usually write memoirs; seldom do they make movies. With *The Souvenir*, English filmmaker Joanna Hogg re-creates some version of her own experience as a film student in early 1980s London. Yet the movie feels less autobiographical than simply lived-in, a burnished tilting mirror reflecting the changing nature of memory itself.

Aspiring filmmaker Julie—played, in a lustrous, understated performance, by Honor Swinton Byrne—lives in a house in fashionable Knightsbridge that's funded with family money; her exceedingly dignified mother (Tilda Swinton, Byrne's mother in real life) swoops in now and then to check on things.

But Julie wants to push herself out of that nest. Her dream is to make “real” stories about working-class people, though she fails to see that her ambitions are marbled through with youthful, naive condescension. She meets a similarly posh young man, Anthony (Tom Burke, superb and mysterious in a challenging role), who's a little older and has a job in the Foreign Office. Over a fancy lunch, he listens to Julie as she lets her aspirations fly. Then he offers his own patronizing

observations, informing her that he, personally, is a fan of the films of Michael Powell and Emeric Pressburger—as if his erudition were a gift to her, the same as, or better than, a bouquet of flowers.

What ambitious young woman hasn't met a guy like that? But before long, Julie falls in love with Anthony—and if he talks down to her, he does sometimes ask probing questions that help her clarify her ideas. He also harbors a destructive secret, one that threatens to damage Julie too. And it's the secret—the way Julie lives with it, as you'd condition yourself to live with a leaky roof or a cracked window—that gives *The Souvenir* its smoky aura of wistfulness.

Hogg has made a gorgeous, haunting movie drawn from a very real place and time: Julie goes to parties where the Specials' “Ghost Town” wafts through the air; there's a fleeting but jolting reference to the IRA's 1983 bombing of Harrods. But *The Souvenir* is really about love, the tainted kind—and about how sometimes even the people who seem to be subtracting from us are in fact leaving us with something, a thing whose value doesn't reveal its complicated sparkle until years later. □

MOVIES

Wicked fun

Minimalist hero and aspiring retiree assassin John Wick, as played by Keanu Reeves, sure travels light: in both of the franchise's previous pictures and in the latest, the resplendently violent *John Wick: Chapter 3—Parabellum*, he gets by with a single dark suit that he wears until it's a blood-soaked mess. Even his vocabulary would fit in a 3-1-1 baggie: in *Parabellum*, the longest string of words he utters at one time is “I have served. I will be of service.”

But Reeves' elegant brand of carry-on economy is part of the pleasure of the *John Wick* movies, including this one, directed by Chad Stahelski. The bounty on Wick's head, temporarily postponed, has been reinstated. Baddies descend in droves, brandishing samurai swords and other assorted pointy implements. (The most formidable opponent is Mark Dacascos' killer sushi chef Zero.)

As always in the *John Wick* universe, the violence is cartoonish and operatically orchestrated, à la early-'90s John Woo. And Wick's dog, a soulful pitty known only as Dog, returns as well: his two signature moves are running gallantly in the rain and sacking out on the couch. But then, he's a lover, not a fighter—and a steward of civilization in a world gone mad. —S.Z.



Reeves' John Wick: one good suit can take you anywhere



In *Fleabag*'s second season, creator and star Phoebe Waller-Bridge comes to Jesus

TELEVISION

God bless *Fleabag*

By Judy Berman

THE RULES OF PEAK TV DICTATE THAT no successful miniseries remains a miniseries for long. In recent years, sensations like *Big Little Lies* and *Top of the Lake* have followed *Downton Abbey*'s road map from limited-series Emmy recognition to arguably unnecessary second seasons. Phoebe Waller-Bridge's 2016 breakthrough *Fleabag*—a ferocious British character study that stars the creator as a sex-crazed, guilt-ridden young café owner—didn't seem to demand a sequel. But what could've been a cash-in from Waller-Bridge, the writer and producer behind BBC America's sleeper hit *Killing Eve*, turns out to be a masterpiece.

The protagonist known only as Fleabag hit her nadir in Season 1. Newly single, she mourned the loss of her best friend while self-medicating with sex. Her clumsy attempts to repair broken relationships with her disengaged father (Bill Paterson) and uptight sister (Sian Clifford's Claire) only made things worse. The kicker was, they had an excellent reason to mistrust her.

Coming to Amazon Prime on May 17, Season 2 opens with a bloody-nosed Fleabag promising "a love story." Set at a dinner where her dad announces his

engagement to the smug girlfriend his daughters loathe (another perfect Olivia Colman performance), the masterly premiere finds our heroine reformed. She's celibate. Her café is thriving. Yet it takes only one meal with her family—and the hot, foulmouthed priest (Andrew Scott) officiating the wedding—to threaten a year's worth of progress.

Catholicism becomes the unifying metaphor of 33-year-old Fleabag's "Jesus year." Angelic choruses dominate the soundtrack as she wrestles sinful impulses and attempts the good work of saving Claire from a bad marriage. Breaking the fourth wall is Fleabag's signature; since only the priest notices these asides, could she be talking to God?

Waller-Bridge isn't proselytizing, exactly. The show's humor remains raunchy, and the season's secular patron saint is a tough older woman (the wonderful Kristin Scott Thomas) who credits her comfort in her own skin to the bodily liberation of menopause. The point isn't that Fleabag needs religion. True redemption, the show suggests, takes more than good behavior. It can only come from decades of reckoning with who we really are. □

TELEVISION

Yossarian lives (again)

Traumedy may be a new term, but the genre dates back at least as far as 1961, when Joseph Heller published his World War II classic *Catch-22*. A searing military satire with Red Scare undertones, it chronicles the misadventures of Yossarian, an American bombardier stationed in Italy as the European theater is winding down. At the mercy of the demented Colonel Cathcart, a man with no regard for human life, he begs to be grounded for insanity. The catch-22 is that by showing concern for his safety, Yossarian proves he's sane.

Executive producer and director George Clooney dives into this bureaucratic ouroboros in a perfectly cast miniseries that arrives on Hulu on May 17. Christopher Abbott's *(Girls, It Comes at Night)* Yossarian is a bright everyman forced to complete a Sisyphean quota of risky missions. Kyle Chandler's bellowing Cathcart could be a bizarro-world version of *Friday Night Lights*' Coach Taylor. Clooney and Hugh Laurie have fun in small roles. War profiteering gets a sharp send-up. And to its credit, *Catch-22* doesn't harp on the parallels between Heller's era and today. In 2019, satire means trusting your audience to know that deranged leadership springs eternal. —J.B.



Clooney directed two of the miniseries' six episodes



Greene with his daughter Greta before her accident

MEMOIR

Life after the death of a child

By Annabel Gutterman

IN 2015, 2-YEAR-OLD GRETA GREENE was sitting on a bench with her grandmother when a brick fell from an eighth-floor windowsill and struck her head. She died the next day. Her father, journalist Jayson Greene, recounts the incident and its aftermath in an affecting new memoir, *Once More We Saw Stars*.

Greene pours his grief onto the page, rendering a portrait of a father who is fractured and at odds with a world in which his child is gone. He writes in harrowing emotional terms of the time he and his wife Stacy spent during Greta's days in the hospital. But what sets the memoir apart is his ability to illuminate the mundane moments that become surreal in the midst of trauma and tragedy. His panicked drive with Stacy to see Greta in the emergency room is interrupted when they discover they've forgotten their toll pass. Later, Greene watches Stacy pick at sandwiches after they've been updated on their daughter's grave condition. These are the details he cannot forget—the one he can't recall years later is the image of Greta's injury itself. "My mind either refuses to note it or has erased it," he writes.

The nature of Greta's death haunts Greene, as it would any parent, particularly as he reflects on the crumbling infrastructure of New York City. While he tries to make sense of an altered future, Greene is taunted by omnipresent signs of construction and destruction around him—the noise of a jackhammer mangling concrete, the overhead shadow of scaffolding, the sight of air-conditioning units jutting from windows. He conveys his anxieties in potent prose that propels his central question: How can a parent continue living when he is constantly reminded of his child's death?

For Greene, the answer is, at first, to lean into the chaos of the city, screaming into empty spaces. The bigger challenge becomes learning how to grieve in private, as both parents navigate a different kind of sadness that comes as memories shift and fade. But even while the story of Greta's death is irrefutably tragic, *Once More We Saw Stars* offers glimpses of humor, light and love amid the loss. As Greene and Stacy begin to pick up their lives without giving in to fear, they demonstrate that very human capacity to find strength in the face of the unthinkable. □

NONFICTION

Home-run reads

There's no better time than the start of summer to read up on baseball. From the data revolution changing the sport to a pro's life lessons, these three books will improve your game.

THE MVP MACHINE

By Ben Lindbergh and Travis Sawchik

In a post-*Moneyball* world, how do teams use data to boost their rankings? Reporters Lindbergh and Sawchik look at the advances in the technology that helps groom middling players to become stars—and explain why this raises the level of play but makes it less fun for fans.

TEN INNINGS AT WRIGLEY

By Kevin Cook

In 1979, the first-place Philadelphia Phillies faced the floundering Chicago Cubs for what should've been a predictable game. *Sports Illustrated* veteran Cook breaks down what became the highest-scoring face-off in a century of pro baseball.

JUST SHOW UP

By Cal Ripken Jr.

What does baseball have to do with parenting? In 1995, "Iron Man" Cal Ripken Jr. beat Lou Gehrig's record streak of playing 2,131 consecutive games, but he was more concerned with another number—the amount of time he spent with his kids. Ripken's memoir outlines the values he developed on and off the field. —A.G.



TimeOff Trivia

TELEVISION

Cracking the Jeopardy! code

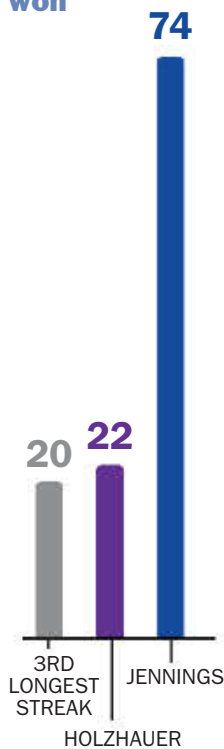
By Emily Barone

JEOPARDY! HAS BEEN A RELIABLE nightly fixture on TVs across America for decades. But current contestant James Holzhauer is showing it's never too late to teach an old show new tricks.

Holzhauer, a professional sports gambler from Las Vegas, had won 22 straight games by the time the show took a break in early May for its Teachers Tournament. That's the second longest streak since *Jeopardy!* lifted a five-game cap for returning champions back in 2003. He's smart and fast, but

his crushing money strategy sets him apart, particularly on Daily Doubles. Anyone can wager large sums on those clues, but few have the stomach for it. "In gambling, we say you are 'on tilt' when your mood gets in the way of making your best decisions," he says. "And nobody plays well on tilt."

Consecutive games won



Consider that the prior record for single-game winnings stood at \$77,000. For Holzhauer, that's an average game. At \$1.7 million, he ranks second in total regular game winnings, not including tournaments and specials, behind Ken Jennings, the *Jeopardy!* whiz who took home \$2.5 million from a 74-game tear in 2004. And the gap is closing quickly.

"It takes a lot of guts" to play the game so differently, Jennings says. "I wager more conservatively, and I have no regrets. Playing to keep a lead is not a crazy strategy."

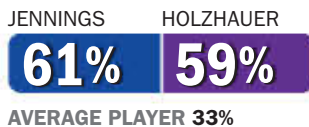
Holzhauer's success doesn't mean his style is the only way to win. But he's certainly making a strong case for it. And he's eager to see if future players copy his game plan. "I would feel like a pioneer if there are imitators, and I find it more exciting to watch a game with big bets," he says. "That said, there is a big difference between shouting, 'All in!' from your couch and actually doing it onstage." □

Mastering the four critical Jeopardy! skills ...

1 BUZZER SPEED

There's a sweet spot between buzzing too early, which locks players out for a split second, and too late.

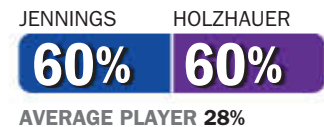
Percentage of time buzzing in first



2 KNOWLEDGE

All contestants pass a test to qualify; some then study up on frequently recurring categories before taping.

Percentage of total game clues answered correctly



3 BOARD STRATEGY

Holzhauer starts at the bottom to win big money and to hunt for Daily Doubles, which are in the fourth row 37% of the time.

Daily Doubles found per game (out of three possible)



4 BOLD WAGERING

For Daily Doubles and Final Jeopardy!, players set the amount they are willing to bet. Holzhauer takes big—yet calculated—risks.

Average wager on Daily Double questions



PHOTO-ILLUSTRATION BY LON TWEETEN FOR TIME; JEOPARDY!: COURTESY JEOPARDY PRODUCTIONS INC.

SOURCES: JEOPARDY.COM; J-ARCHIVE.COM; THEJEOPARDYFAN.COM
NOTES: ALL DATA AS OF MAY 3, 2019; DAILY DOUBLE LOCATIONS DO NOT ADD UP TO 100% BECAUSE OF ROUNDING
TIME GRAPHIC BY EMILY BARONE AND LON TWEETEN

Appreciation

MOVIES

Doris Day had more than charm

By Stephanie Zacharek

CASUAL MOVIEGOERS WHO know Doris Day only from the early 1960s comedies she did with Rock Hudson or James Garner would have enough reasons to love her. In those pictures, Day—who died on May 13 at age 97—was a sunny, carbonated presence whose understated carnality bubbled just under the surface. Part of it was her speaking voice, a mysterious elixir viewed through amber-colored glass. Her singing voice magnified that magic.

Day, born Doris Mary Ann Kappelhoff in Cincinnati, was so charming as a presence that it was sometimes easy to lose sight of what a phenomenal actor she was. In Alfred Hitchcock's *The Man Who Knew Too Much* (1956), she's a devoted mother who is practically feral, so distraught over her son's kidnapping that she reverts to a state of wildness. As a stylized version of 1920s songstress Ruth Etting in *Love Me or Leave Me* (1955), she pulses between vulnerability and conviction, sometimes hitting both in the same beat. Once you get going, there are almost too many Doris Days to count.

Day's career had its ups and downs: in 1968, when her third husband died, she found he had committed her to a TV series she didn't want to do. But Day used the show to champion animal welfare, the cause closest to her heart. There you have yet another Doris Day—but all sprang from the same person. There was only one Doris Mary Ann Kappelhoff, and how lucky we were to have her. □



Day, pictured circa 1965, was surprised when she got her first film role, as she considered herself primarily a singer

Government Melts Over 270 Million Silver Dollars

But collectors get an unexpected second chance

It's a *crime*.

Most Americans living today have never held a hefty, gleaming U.S. silver dollar in their hands.

Where did they go? Well, in 1918, to provide aid to the British during WWI, the U.S. government melted down nearly half of the entire mintage—over 270 million silver dollars. If all those missing silver dollars could be stacked, they would tower over 400 miles into the sky! If laid in a chain, they would span 6,400 miles—enough to stretch from New York to Los Angeles more than 2½ times!

These vanished coins were not just any silver dollar—they were America's largest circulated coin, the beloved Morgan Silver Dollar. Each Morgan Dollar is struck from nearly an ounce of 90% fine silver and measures a massive 38.1mm in diameter. Morgan Silver Dollars were the engine of the American dream for decades. Created by famed American coin designer, George T. Morgan, they feature Lady Liberty's radiant profile and a majestic eagle, symbols of American strength and prosperity. Since their inception in 1878, they jingled in the pockets of famous and infamous Americans like John D. Rockefeller and Teddy Roosevelt, and desperados Jesse James and Al Capone. Today, Morgan Silver Dollars are the most collected coin in America.

Lady Liberty takes a Final Bow

Just three years after the massive meltdown, the government gave the Morgan Silver Dollar a final chance to shine. In 1921, facing a serious shortage, the mint struck Morgan Silver Dollars for one more brief, historic year. Today, the last-ever 1921 Morgan Silver Dollar belongs in the hands of collectors, history buffs, or anyone who values the artistry and legacy of this American classic.

A Private Vault Gives Up its Secrets

Millions *more* silver dollars were melted over the past ninety years and today, private hoards account for virtually all the surviving Morgan Silver Dollars. We should know—we hunt for them every week. In fact, on one buying trip into America's heartland, as we were guided into a wealthy owner's massive private vault, we were thrilled to discover a hoard of nearly two thousand 1921 Morgan Silver Dollars, all having actually circulated in American commerce nearly 100 years ago! We wasted no time in securing the entire treasure trove of silver dollars into our own vault.

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Actual size
is 38.1 mm

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It's been estimated that only 15% of all the Morgan Dollars ever minted have survived to the present day. And the number grows smaller with each passing year. The 1921 Morgan Silver Dollar is the last of its kind. But you can get one now before they're only a memory. Your chance to own this legend won't last long, so get yours today—and at a fantastic value!

Don't Miss Out on this Incredible Low Price Offer

Today, you can secure your very own 1921 Morgan Silver Dollar—the last Morgan Silver Dollar ever struck—for the incredibly low price of just \$29.95 each! Plus, you can buy with complete confidence. If you aren't completely satisfied with your Morgan Silver Dollars, you can return your coins within 30-days for a full refund (less s/h). So don't wait—order your 1921 Morgan Silver Dollars today!

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10+	\$27.95 ea. FREE SHIPPING



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10 Questions

John Paul Stevens The former Supreme Court Justice, 99, reflects on his significant decisions—on and off the bench—in *The Making of a Justice*

You believe that *District of Columbia v. Heller*, which held that the Second Amendment protected an individual's right to bear arms—and from which you dissented—was the worst decision the court made during your tenure. **Why is that?** It's quite wrong on the merits. But beyond that, it seemed to me quite outrageous to depart from a settled rule of law. As history has demonstrated in recent years, the tragedies are multiplying one after another. And the decision of the court in *Heller* has contributed to that.

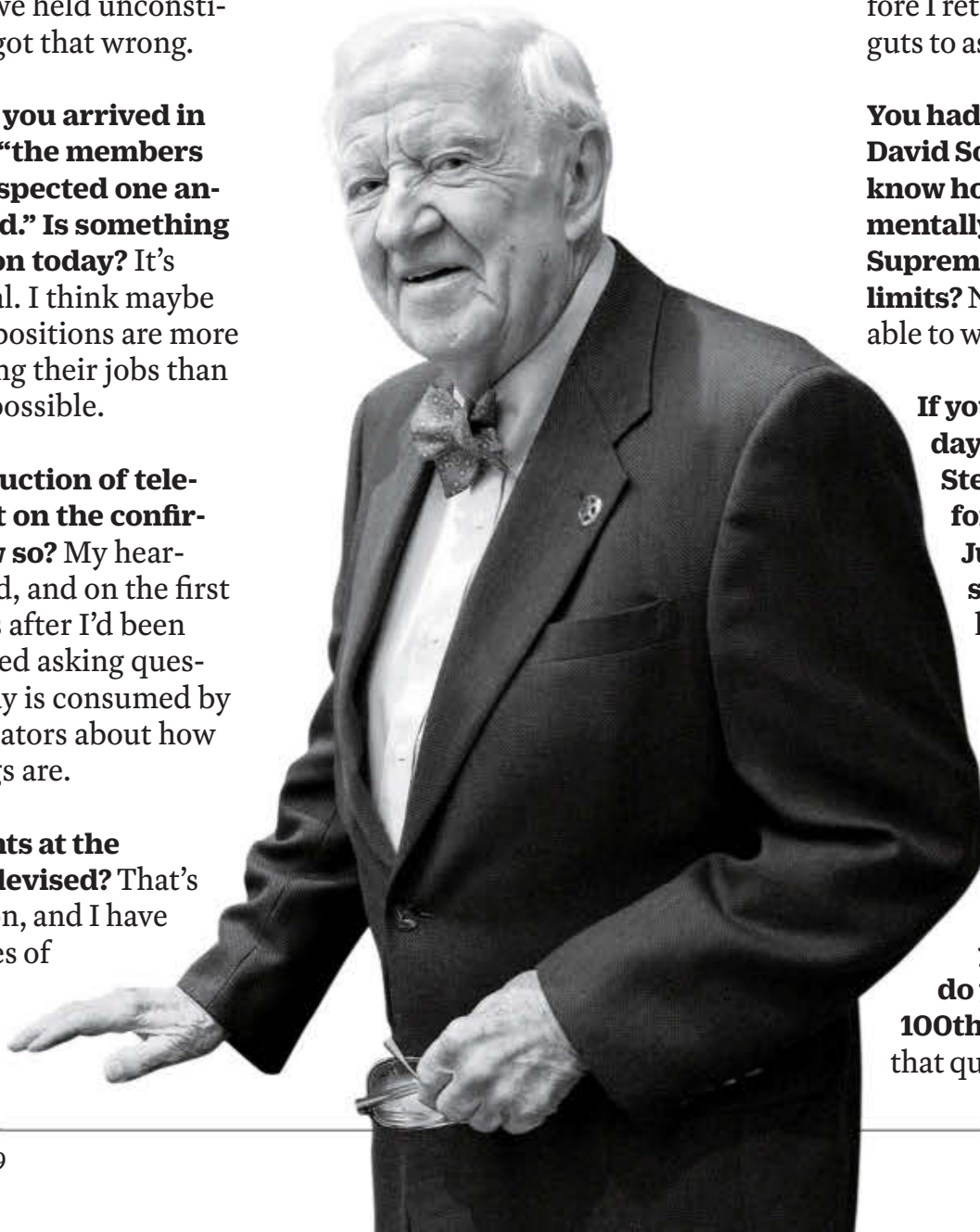
Are there any decisions you personally regret? One of the death-penalty cases in my first year on the court. We should have put [the statute in that case] in the group of mandatory death-penalty statutes that we held unconstitutional. So, I think I got that wrong.

You write that when you arrived in Washington in 1951, "the members of the two parties respected one another and cooperated." Is something broken in Washington today? It's much more adversarial. I think maybe the people in elected positions are more interested in preserving their jobs than in doing the best job possible.

You claim the introduction of television had an impact on the confirmation process. How so? My hearings were not televised, and on the first morning, five minutes after I'd been introduced, they started asking questions. Now the first day is consumed by statements by the Senators about how important the hearings are.

Should oral arguments at the Supreme Court be televised? That's a very difficult question, and I have been close to both sides of it. But I still think the procedure works more effectively without television.

“PEOPLE IN ELECTED POSITIONS ARE MORE INTERESTED IN PRESERVING THEIR JOBS THAN IN DOING THE BEST JOB POSSIBLE”



You write that Clarence Thomas' views on the Constitution were more important to you during his hearings than the controversy over Anita Hill's allegations of sexual misconduct. Do you feel the same way about Brett Kavanaugh and Christine Blasey Ford? I think in both cases, the quality of their judicial work is far more important than the other issues.

What do you think of the idea bouncing around in the 2020 Democratic primary to expand the Supreme Court? I'm not in favor. I think in the long run, the number nine is correct.

You used to have your pilot's license and wrote that you'd always wished you'd flown President Ford. I still have the license. I guess I quit sometime before I retired. I really think if I had the guts to ask him, he might have accepted.

You had an agreement with Justice David Souter that he would let you know honestly when you had declined mentally and should retire. Should Supreme Court Justices have term limits? No. I've always thought they're able to work it out for themselves.

If you had served three more days, you would have tied Justice Stephen Johnson Field's record for the second longest serving Justice. Do you wish you'd stayed on? No, it's not a particularly interesting achievement. And, Justice Field stopped working full time a couple months before he retired, so maybe I should be put in second place.

The memoir was partly inspired by the big party your wife threw to celebrate your 94th birthday. How do you want to celebrate your 100th? I better wait and see. I'll face that question when it's a little closer.

—TESSA BERENSON



WE ALL HAVE

THE POWER



Pearl, childhood cancer survivor; and Arnold, leukemia survivor.

TO STAND UP



TO CANCER



Lori, breast cancer survivor.



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Pictured: Heroes from Marvel Studios' *Avengers: Endgame*. Survivor photos by Kevin Lynch.



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SIR EDMUND HILLARY AND
TENZING NORGAY



TRIESTE EXPEDITION 1960



VOLCANOLOGIST ANDREW MCGONIGLE



NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC PERPETUAL PLANET MOUNTAIN INDEX



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