

TIME



WHAT TERROR CAN'T DIVIDE

A SPECIAL REPORT
FROM NEW ZEALAND

by
CHARLIE CAMPBELL

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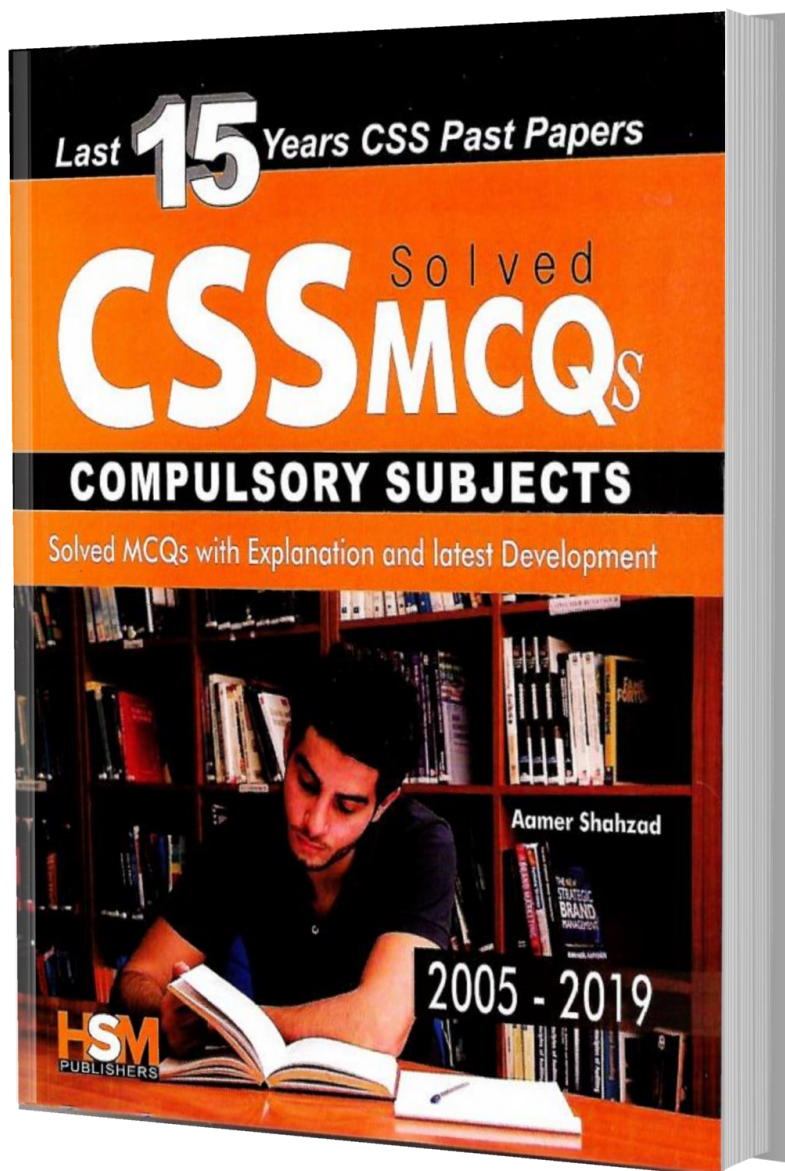
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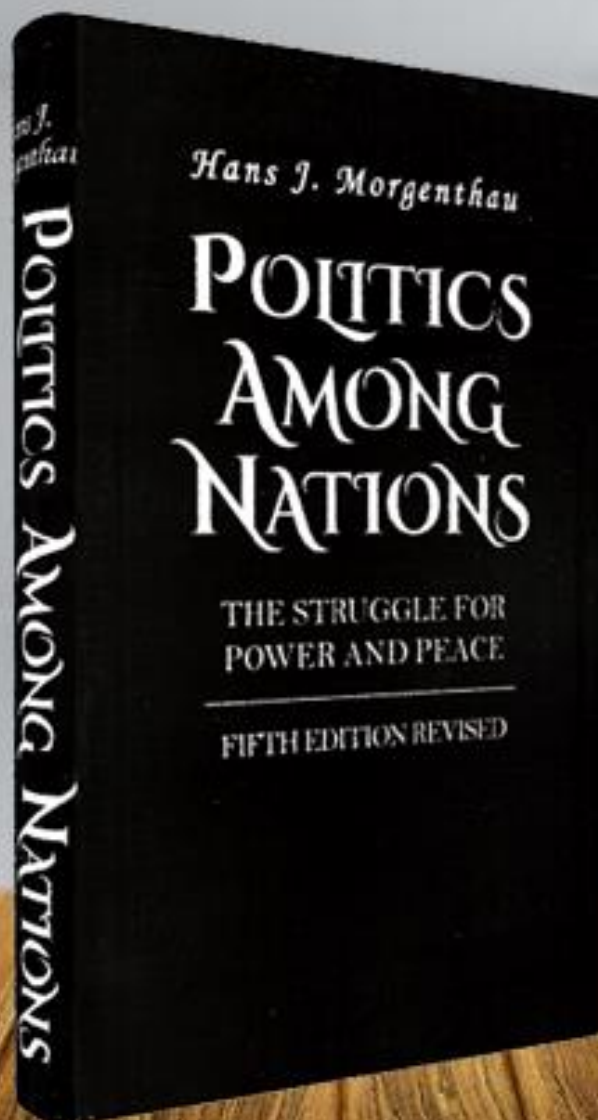


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where 42
worshippers were
killed on March 15

Photograph by
Virginia Woods-
Jack for TIME

ON THE COVER:
Illustration
by Ruby Jones
for TIME



Breguet
Depuis 1775

Breguet La Marine
Chronograph 5527



Conversation

LAUGHING MATTERS

RE “THE QUEEN OF COMEDY: Julia Louis-Dreyfus” [March 11]: What a refreshing treat to see Julia Louis-Dreyfus on the cover this week. I am such a fan of hers and think even more highly of her after learning of her persistence in fighting for her roles in front of the camera and behind the scenes. She is a tough, intelligent, funny and beautiful role model. I’m so glad that her cancer is in remission and can’t wait to see the last season of *Veep* and all her future projects.

Lori Westgard,
FRANKLIN, TENN.

A LIST OF “THE 5 FUNNIEST TV Shows Ever” that omits *I Love Lucy* and *Seinfeld* is like a list of the 5 Greatest Presidents that omits Washington and Lincoln.

Ira Buckman,
TEANECK, N.J.

I MUST TAKE ISSUE WITH your choice of “The 5 Funniest Books Ever.” All the selections were published this century. Not one from the 20th century or earlier. To quote a famous American: “You cannot be serious.”

Peter Kent,
LONDON

HERO’S WELCOME

RE “PRIVATE JONES COMES Home” [March 11]: As a veteran of the U.S. Air Force

and having a brother who served in the Korean War, I was brought to tears by this article. I was not aware of all that the military does to track these missing heroes, like Hoover Jones. It was stirring to read about the care and respect given to the family members, the meticulous preparation of the remains, and the attention to detail for the burial service. Your article made me extremely proud to be an American veteran.

Donald Nanney,
PEACHTREE CORNERS, GA.

CONGRATULATIONS FOR this masterpiece of an article. I will never forget when my mother woke me one morning to say that the Americans were at war in Korea. I remember the disparity of my happy, sunlit bedroom and the dire news of war. It is a war always in the shadow of the other war that followed and that occupied my life every day as a student. At the end of this article, I visualized the drums rolling at Jones’ funeral and realized I had tears rolling down my cheeks.

Ludwig Bartling,
WAIBLINGEN, GERMANY

DATED THINKING

RE “LEARNING WHAT LABELS Mean Makes Your Food Last Longer” [March 11]: Food banks have long benefited from people’s perceptions of “best by” and “sell



by” dates. Many canned goods are often utilized by food banks after these stamped dates. If folks are uncomfortable using such products, they should be aware that many food banks would put them to good use.

Paul E. Babcock,
THE WOODLANDS, TEXAS

DOWNWARD SPIRAL

RE “DEAL OR NO DEAL, THE U.S.-China Relationship Is Beyond Repair” [March 11]: If America’s trade war policies do not change, the nation’s decline may become irreversible. Within 10 years, China will become the world’s largest economy. If America felt threatened by Chinese despotism when the nations’ relationship was harmonious, how much more threatened will America feel when the relationship is beyond repair?

Song Xiaowen,
TAOYUAN CITY, TAIWAN

PAINFUL TRUTHS

RE “POLAND’S JEWISH Community Emerges From Its Dark Past” [March 11]: This timely article highlights the questionable record of Poland regarding its Jews and the Holocaust. As a descendant of Holocaust survivors, I kindly suggest the Polish government rethink its attitude toward the Jewish issue and admit responsibility for the country’s treatment of its Jewish minority during and after the tragedy that almost annihilated it.

Andy Leitner,
HAIFA, ISRAEL

SETTING THE RECORD

STRAIGHT ▶ Because of an editing error in “Move Over, Soccer” (March 18), we misstated the location of Worthington, Minn. It is in the southwestern part of the state. In “Laughing Stock” (March 11), we misstated the age of Daniel Baker, who is known as Desus Nice. He is 37.

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I didn't talk for a very long time

Jacob Sanchez
Diagnosed with autism



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AUTISM SPEAKS®

'Get rid of the Electoral College.'

ELIZABETH WARREN, Massachusetts U.S. Senator and 2020 Democratic presidential contender, at a March 18 CNN town hall

'I was never a fan of John McCain, and I never will be.'

DONALD TRUMP, U.S. President, in response to a reporter's question about his criticism of the late Senator, at a March 19 press conference

'WHAT YOU REALLY NEED TO DO IS SHOW STUDENTS HOW IMPERFECT PEOPLE CAN BE AND STILL SUCCEED.'

KAREN UHLENBECK, mathematician, on being a role model; on March 19, she was named the first woman to win the Abel Prize, a top award in the field

'I feel American.'

TANITOLUWA ADEWUMI, 8-year-old Nigerian refugee and New York State chess championship winner; a crowdfunding campaign has raised more than \$100,000 for his family, which is seeking asylum, to move out of a New York City homeless shelter

'Nobody's ever asked him, did he think he should change his name?'

MONICA LEWINSKY, antibullying activist, asked if she considered changing her name as it became shorthand for the scandal over her affair with President Bill Clinton



2:20:51

Time it took Thomas Panek to become the first blind runner to complete the New York City half-marathon with the help of guide dogs

May
U.K. PM continues to face staunch opposition to her Brexit plan



April
The Internet-famous giraffe gave birth to her fifth calf on March 16

88

Weight, in pounds, of the plastic found in the belly of a dead whale that washed up in the Philippines on March 16



The Brief

FUTURE SHOCK
Students at a rally in
New York City were
among thousands
protesting March 15



INSIDE

A CRACKDOWN DRAWS OUTRAGE
AFTER GAZA PROTESTS

THE FIGHT FOR LITERARY
EQUALITY GOES TO LONDON

RITA DOVE REMEMBERS
FELLOW POET W.S. MERWIN

PHOTOGRAPH BY CHRISTOPHER LEE

The Brief Opener

ENVIRONMENT

After climate strike, students want more

By Suyin Haynes

INSIDE THE U.K. HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT, THE grownups were at work. Outside, thousands of other people—many of whom were not old enough to vote—were doing their best to make sure business was anything but usual. With their chants echoing down the streets, they were among an estimated 1.6 million students in over 120 countries who left school on March 15 in protest of adult inaction on climate change. “It shocks me how great a length we have to go to be heard,” said 16-year-old Miranda Ashby, who’d traveled more than two hours to London with roughly 50 of her classmates. “We are protesting now because if not now, when?”

The school climate strikes started one Friday last August with teen activist Greta Thunberg’s standing vigil outside Sweden’s Parliament. “When I first started this strike, I didn’t really expect anything,” Thunberg told TIME on March 14, shortly after Norwegian lawmakers nominated her for the Nobel Peace Prize.

Helped by social media, Thunberg’s idea has grown into a global movement; the March 15 action was its biggest yet. In Uganda, where drought and desertification are already devastating, the walkout took place despite officials’ blocking strikers from an intended rally location in Kampala. “I realized that my country has to change too,” 14-year-old organizer Leah Namugerwa says. Stateside, 17-year-old Feliquan Charlemagne, national creative director of the U.S. movement, believes the energy of March for Our Lives, the 2018 student-led initiative for gun control, must be harnessed for this

cause as well. “This is not something we can play around with,” he says. “This is literally our future.”

It’s also their present. The warning of the landmark October 2018 report from the U.N.’s Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change—that the planet was only 12 years away from catastrophe unless “far-reaching and unprecedented changes” are made—weighs heavily on the minds of young organizers, who are quick to point out that they are the ones who have to live in that world. The deadline means there’s a lot of work to be done, and they don’t have time to wait to grow up first.

Their most pressing hope is for immediate policy measures to meet the terms of the Paris Agreement, limiting the global temperature increase to 1.5°C this century, as well as specific local action. (In Australia, for example, campaigners want to halt the proposed construction of a controversial mine.) And they’ve had some success already: youth organizers have met with members of the European Parliament, and their strikes have been welcomed by leaders including Germany’s Angela Merkel and U.N. Secretary-General António Guterres. “It really has changed the discourse,” says Sini Harkki, program manager of Greenpeace Nordic.

But for now, that’s perhaps all they can change; the youth that draws them to the cause is also an obstacle. As they battle fossil-fuel lobbies and disbelieving critics, most of the movement’s participants are too young for direct involvement in politics or business. And so they are determined to continue the Friday strikes. The U.K. Student Climate Network is demanding a meeting with political leaders, U.S. activists are planning a mass strike for May 3, and a pan-European organizer meeting is also in the works. And Thunberg, no longer alone, plans to strike every Friday until Sweden reduces its carbon emissions in line with the Paris Agreement. Students worldwide have heard her message loud and clear. It’s up to the world’s politicians to act. □

BY THE NUMBERS

2,233

Number of cities and towns worldwide that saw strikes on March 15

100,000

Estimated number of U.S. participants

BACK IN TIME

When young activists grow up

The activists who rallied March 15 aren’t the first young people to turn fears about the planet’s future into activism. In 1990, TIME dubbed this group the *ecokids*: “a new generation of conservation-conscious, environmentally active schoolchildren” who “may be the best hope for the cause.”

They’d been getting the message their whole lives, from school as well as from TV shows like *Captain Planet* and *the Planeteers*. They were frightened by the ozone hole,

oil spills and animal extinction. And they had “become convinced that they were put on the planet for the express purpose of saving it,” writer Philip Elmer-DeWitt observed.

The world has changed since then, and so have they.

“In the ’80s and ’90s, there was this feeling that we can make a change. Now we have to make a change,” says Maxine Gilmore, 43, whose class was featured for raising awareness about toxic waste. “There is more urgency. It’s kind of sad. I really thought this [cleanup was] going to

make a difference—and it did, there isn’t a toxic-waste site polluting my area—but I’m an adult. I don’t see the world with rose-tinted glasses like I used to.”

For Jeremiah Johnson, 38, it was hard to reread TIME’s description of him, feeling as if he’d “drifted away” from environmental causes even as the problem got ever more urgent. “I’m getting a little emotional,” he says, his voice breaking. “I started to think, What have I done to help move things forward since then?”

—Olivia B. Waxman





STORM STRUCK Residents of Chimanimani township in eastern Zimbabwe search for bodies on March 19 after Cyclone Idai caused widespread destruction in southern Africa. The storm—which brought heavy rain, floods and winds over 100 m.p.h.—affected some 2.6 million people and submerged a 30-mile stretch of land in Sofala, the Mozambique province where the cyclone made landfall on March 14. Officials say that it could be one of the deadliest cyclones ever to hit the region and that the final death toll may top 1,000.

THE BULLETIN

Hamas condemned over a violent crackdown on protests in Gaza

DURING MID-MARCH DEMONSTRATIONS against abject living conditions in the Gaza Strip, the Hamas-led government cracked down on residents of the 140-sq.-mi. enclave, prompting condemnation from human-rights organizations. As cell-phone footage circulated online showing security forces clubbing protesters, a U.N. envoy said March 17 that Gaza’s “long-suffering people” should have the right to express economic grievances without fear of reprisal.

“WE WANT TO LIVE” The Islamist group Hamas has ruled the Gaza Strip since 2007, when it fought a brief civil war against the secular Fatah party. In the past, protests over living conditions and human rights have targeted the West Bank–based Fatah—which says Hamas beat up its spokesman in the March clashes—and Israel, whose 12-year air, land and sea blockade has strangled the Gazan economy. (Israel blames Gaza’s poverty on Hamas’ corruption and mismanagement.) The sustained “We want to live” protests, which began March 14, marked a rare challenge to Hamas leaders.

“REVOLT OF THE HUNGRY” Under slogans like “Revolt of the hungry,” hundreds demonstrated against hikes in the prices of basic goods—devastating changes in a place where about half the 2 million residents live in poverty. Economists say the increases were driven by Hamas’ raising import taxes in a bid to revive Gaza’s collapsed economy. Authorities arrested dozens, raided homes and used live fire to disperse crowds, rights groups say. The U.N. voiced concern over the “brutal beating of journalists.”

AVOIDING WAR? March 14 separately saw the launch of two rockets fired from Gaza toward Tel Aviv—the first time the Israeli city has been targeted since 2014. In response, Israel’s military said, it struck 100 sites in Gaza but also agreed with Hamas that the rockets had been fired by mistake. Many had feared an even larger retaliation by Israel, but analysts said both sides worked to prevent escalation: Israel because it wants to avoid instability ahead of April 9 elections, and Hamas because it cannot afford to do otherwise. —JOSEPH HINCKS

NEWS TICKER

Trump plans closer ties with Brazil

After a March 19 meeting with Brazil’s far-right leader Jair Bolsonaro, **President Trump said he’d designate Brazil a major non-NATO ally**, which would allow it to buy U.S. weapons more easily. Bolsonaro said the two countries share values like “the fear of God” and opposition to “political correctness.”

Colorado backs popular-vote plan

Colorado Governor Jared Polis signed a law on March 15 pledging to **allocate his state’s Electoral College votes to whoever wins the popular vote in the 2020 presidential election**. Eleven states and Washington, D.C., have signed on to the plan, which will take effect only if passed by enough states to represent at least 270 electoral votes.

Italian opera returns Saudi funding

Italy’s La Scala opera house **will give back more than \$3.4 million to Saudi Arabia** after a backlash from human-rights groups, politicians and the public to a funding deal with the kingdom, which would have given the Saudi Culture Minister a seat on the Milan venue’s board.

NEWS TICKER

U.S. doctors change aspirin guidelines

Two U.S. associations of heart doctors issued new guidance on March 17, reversing long-standing advice that many adults should take aspirin daily. It should be used to prevent cardiovascular problems in high-risk patients only, they now say, as the **risk of internal bleeding outweighs the benefits** for most adults.

Japanese Olympic chief resigns

Tsunekazu Takeda, head of Japan's Olympic Committee, said March 19 that he would resign in June, **amid allegations of corruption in Tokyo's winning bid for the 2020 Games.** French prosecutors are investigating possible bribes worth \$2 million; Takeda denies any wrongdoing.

Disney buys 21st Century Fox

Disney closed a \$71.3 billion deal to buy 21st Century Fox on March 19, thus combining two of Hollywood's best-known businesses and giving Disney control of **Fox's movie and TV studios, FX Networks, National Geographic and Fox's stake in Hulu.** The consolidation may eliminate 4,000 jobs.

POSTCARD

A bookstore that's turning a page for women in literature

AMERICAN WRITER A.N. DEVERS WAS AT A rare-book fair in New York City in 2015 when she noticed a Joan Didion title selling for just \$25. Then she saw the price tag of a novel by the equally famous Cormac McCarthy: about \$600. "I realized we don't value women's work the same way we do men's," Devers says. "It's depressing. But it's also exciting, because I can do something about it."

Three years later, after moving to London and joining the U.K.'s thriving rare-book trade, Devers opened the red doors of her new bookstore, the Second Shelf. Tucked away in a quiet courtyard off the busy streets of London's Soho, the store almost exclusively stocks rare books by women (alongside a handful of male-authored books about women). The focus is modern fiction: Elizabeth Bowen novels, romances by Rosamunde Pilcher, poetry by Ntozake Shange.

Devers' knack for finding overlooked gems was honed during a childhood of visits to yard sales in towns across the U.S., a result of her family's following her father's Air Force job. Some of her most sought-after recent finds were works by Miriam Tlali, the first black woman to publish a novel in South Africa. Devers stumbled on her 1975 debut in a thrift store and quickly sourced and sold 15 more Tlali books.

In collecting these works, the Second Shelf

is correcting a historical imbalance that has allowed women's literary achievements to be eclipsed. Bookdealers have tended to be men; much of the trade's early material was collected by "country gentlemen who ran estates and amassed libraries of books to show their wealth and intelligence," Devers says. She argues that they've been like their peers in other male-led creative industries—including television, film and the news media—in that "they focus on themselves."

That past contributes to a stark absence of women's work among the books considered to be valuable cultural artifacts. In January, the Second Shelf went viral on Twitter after Devers pointed out that only nine books by women appeared in a list, compiled by a trade website, of the 500 biggest sales at auction in the books-and-paper field last year. Even among more recently published works, a 2018 study found, titles by women are on average priced 45% lower than books by men.

The Second Shelf is named for a 2012 essay by American novelist Meg Wolitzer critiquing the sexist treatment of women's fiction. And in recent years, calls have gone out to read only books by women for a year and for universities to diversify their curriculums. The observance of Women's History Month in the U.S. has also made March a time for publishers to suggest fitting reading lists. Devers' brick-and-mortar shop is the physical site of that movement challenging the status quo. "We've been taught to find value in something really narrow," she says. "It's time to explore something different."

—CIARA NUGENT/LONDON

ANIMALS

Costly creatures

A high-flying pigeon named Armando, reportedly Belgium's best long-distance racing bird, was auctioned off for \$1.4 million on March 17. Here, other expensive animals. —Madeline Roache

PRICY PANDAS

Zoos around the world can't just go out and buy a panda. Typically they rent the bears from China—at a cost of some \$1 million a year per pair. Many sign a decadelong "panda diplomacy" contract for the creatures.



DEAR DOG

After their beloved dog Sir Lancelot died in 2008, a Florida couple spent \$155,000 to clone the late Labrador. A year later, a biotech firm in South Korea delivered the puppy clone, named Sir Lancelot Encore.

HOLY COW

In 2009, U.S. and Danish investors in Toronto spent \$900,000 for part ownerships of an Alberta cow called Missy. They banked on her pedigree and ability to produce more milk than average to eat the cost.

Milestones

DIED

Mexican journalist **Santiago Barroso**, at 47, on March 15. He was shot in his home in Sonora, likely as a result of his work, the state attorney said.

➤ **Okwui Enwezor**, influential Nigerian curator who pushed the art world to embrace a more global view, at 55, on March 15.

WITHDREW

The Philippines, from the International Criminal Court, on March 17, as the tribunal probes killings linked to President Rodrigo Duterte. It becomes the second country to leave the court, after Burundi.

APPROVED

The **first drug specifically for postpartum depression**, by the U.S. Food and Drug Administration, on March 19.

RAISED

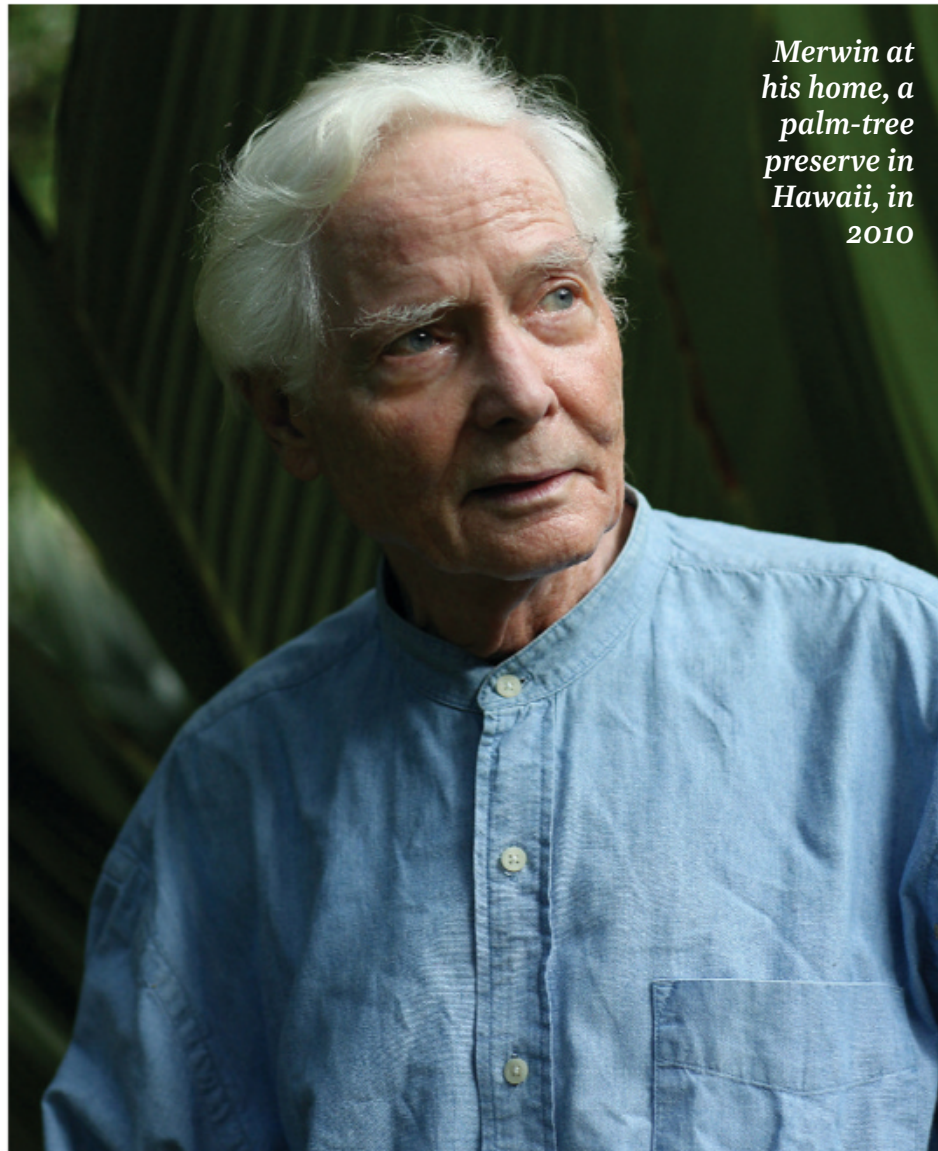
\$6.1 million in the first 24 hours of his 2020 presidential run, by Democrat Beto O'Rourke, according to his campaign, more than any other contender has disclosed.

RESIGNED

Kazakhstan's President **Nursultan Nazarbayev**, on March 19. He came to power in 1989, when the country was still part of the Soviet Union.

FILED

A \$250 million **lawsuit against Twitter** and three users, by Representative Devin Nunes, who alleges the platform allowed him to be defamed as a result of political bias.



Merwin at his home, a palm-tree preserve in Hawaii, in 2010

DIED

W.S. Merwin *Bard of the ephemeral*

By Rita Dove

I FIRST READ AND ADMIRERED W.S. MERWIN, WHO DIED AT 91 ON March 15, long before I met him, in the 1970s. In the '80s we got to know each other at various literary events. By the time we were both poetry consultants for the Library of Congress's bicentennial in 1999, it was like meeting an old friend again.

Once, while he was visiting the University of Virginia to give a reading, we were late for dinner and I was rushing, when I suddenly noticed he wasn't beside me anymore. I turned around to find him at the edge of the parking lot, staring into the evening sky. What was wrong, I asked, and he replied, "Rita, don't you pay tribute to the moon when she comes out?" It might sound funny, but I realized what he meant: Stop and look around; open yourself to wonder. There was just a wisp of a moon, and we stood there for a moment, quiet.

His poems illuminate this covenant with the natural world; they have guided me in determining what should be important in a life and in realizing that communication of the ineffable is part of the mission of poetry. Isn't that what every artist tries to do, to articulate that which eludes us? W.S. Merwin knew it—and did it better than anyone I know.

Dove served as poet laureate of the U.S. from 1993 to 1995

DIED

Birch Bayh *Advocate for equality*

GENDER EQUALITY IN education. The right to vote for those old enough to fight. The process that allows for removing a sitting President. These fundamental aspects of modern America were all shaped by Birch Bayh, a liberal Democrat from Indiana. Bayh, who served three terms as a Senator and died March 14 at 91, was one of the most influential and productive legislators of his time.

When President John F. Kennedy was assassinated soon after Bayh entered the Senate in 1963, he created the 25th Amendment to establish procedures for presidential succession. Bayh then wrote the 26th Amendment, lowering the voting age to 18, and championed the Equal Rights Amendment. When the ERA looked likely to fail, he wrote Title IX and sponsored the 1972 law, which has protected women's rights on athletic fields and in classrooms ever since. "If you give a person an education, whether it's a boy or girl, young woman or young man," he would say 40 years later, "they will have the tools necessary to make a life for families and themselves."

—ABIGAIL ABRAMS





As kids get addicted to e-cigs, treatment options are slim

By Jamie Ducharme

UNTIL RECENTLY, DR. JONATHAN Avery, an addiction psychiatrist at NewYork-Presbyterian/Weill Cornell Medical Center, rarely treated adolescents for nicotine addiction. After years of plummeting youth smoking rates, “we thought we were winning the game on cigarettes,” Avery says.

But e-cigarettes—which can each contain as much nicotine as a pack of cigarettes—have exploded in popularity, causing what the Food and Drug Administration (FDA) is calling an “epidemic” among young people. More than 20% of high school students use e-cigs, even though they are legal only for adults. “Suddenly, there’s all sorts of [young] people looking for treatment, wondering what to do,” Avery says.

E-cigarette use has far outpaced science when it comes to finding treatments for nicotine dependence. Without specific treatment standards for young patients, clinicians often turn teens away or try nicotine-replacement therapies like patches and gum—even

though they’re designed for adults and haven’t been proved to be effective against e-cigarette dependence. “There are no treatment guidelines yet for these products,” says Donna Richardson, clinical coordinator of the Rutgers Tobacco Dependence Program. “We have nothing else.”

20%

Percentage of U.S. high schoolers who use e-cigs, according to federal data

But demand is growing. The FDA is so concerned about youth e-cigarette addiction that this year it began looking into ways to help kids quit. In January, the antitobacco group Truth Initiative launched a text-based e-cigarette-cessation program for young people; 31,000 people have registered, the group says.

Most parents are looking for insurance-covered outpatient care, which “just sort of doesn’t exist,” Avery says. This year he started a counseling-based treatment program for adolescents with e-cig dependence and has treated about 30 kids so far. Soon he expects to have company. “It’s probably going to be picking up everywhere,” he says. “A lot of us in the addiction world are paying attention to this.” □

you asked

Do gummy vitamins really work?

Gummy vitamins are more fun to take than pills—but they’re often not as effective. “It’s a lot harder to make a good gummy than it is to make a tablet or capsule,” says Dr. Tod Cooperman, president of ConsumerLab.com, which tests the safety and quality of consumer products.

Gummies can lose potency over time, which “leads some manufacturers to put in a lot more of certain vitamins than labeled to ensure the product provides at least 100% of the labeled amounts throughout its shelf life,” Cooperman says. (While that may sound like a good thing, some reports have linked excessive nutrient intakes to health problems.) In 2017, ConsumerLab found that 4 of 5 gummy supplements contained more or less than their listed ingredient amounts.

What they consistently do have is sugar: usually at least 1 g per gummy. “It’s like eating Halloween candy 365 days a year,” says Dr. Mark Moyad, director of preventive and alternative medicine at the University of Michigan Medical Center. If you’re looking for the best vitamin, gummies aren’t such a sweet idea.

—Markham Heid



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How **Eliza Dushku** is taking back the power after her #MeToo story

By **Eliana Dockterman**

THIS IS AN UNUSUAL INTERVIEW. I AM NOT meeting Eliza Dushku in a Beverly Hills restaurant or a SoHo hotel bar, where celebrity profiles are usually set. Instead, I find her in a coffee shop just off Harvard Square in Cambridge, Mass. Inside, students in hoodies hunch over their laptops. Dushku has become one of these sweatshirt-clad students: she's studying holistic psychology, a therapeutic modality that integrates mind, body and spirit, at Lesley University. After nearly 30 years working in Hollywood, Dushku says she's been getting a lot of calls from friends, a tinge of concern in their voices. "So, you're in Boston?"

Yes, she is. Because Dushku has been thinking a lot lately about the narrative of her life, and she's decided that learning more about how to heal others is her next step. That queasy feeling women who've experienced harassment get every time they hear a new #MeToo story—she wants to study that, because she's experienced it. A lot.

Dushku has played plenty of tough women onscreen—a rebellious vampire slayer on *Buffy*, a foul-mouthed cheerleader in *Bring It On* and a savvy lawyer on the CBS show *Bull*—but offscreen, she's been to hell and back. She says she was molested as a child actor on the set of *True Lies*. For years, she struggled with addiction. Most recently, she was fired from *Bull* after she complained that her co-star Michael Weatherly had sexually harassed her. And she had hard evidence: astonishingly, Weatherly made lewd comments while cameras were rolling. CBS paid her a \$9.5 million settlement, a fraction of what she would have made had she been able to complete a proposed six-year contract.

"I have never been this nervous for an interview," she says. "I've always been outspoken and honest. But I'm not used to being this vulnerable."

I want to talk about the sexual harassment. It's the reason I took a 7 a.m. train to Boston. But that's the other unusual aspect of this interview: Dushku can't discuss the incident or the settlement. In order to be paid for the work she had already done, she agreed to sign a nondisclosure agreement. Nobody would have known about Weatherly's alleged behavior—how, she says, he played "Barracuda" on his phone when she walked by, how he would declare that he wanted to have a threesome with her and yelled, "I will take you over my knee and spank you like a little girl" when she flubbed a line—if it weren't for CBS's systemic harassment problem.

DUSHKU QUICK FACTS

A stake in TV
Dushku was 17 when she started playing a rule-breaking vampire slayer on *Buffy*. She quickly became an icon of female strength.

Local pride
Dushku started Boston Diva, a production company named for her hometown, as a teenager.

Begrudging cheer
Dushku's real-life cringing at the peppy co-eds during her *Bring It On* audition won her the role of a gymnast who becomes a cheerleader as a last resort.

In August, the *New Yorker* published an article chronicling then CEO Les Moonves' alleged sexual misconduct, leading the network to fire him and launch an internal investigation of the company culture. Details of that inquiry—which concluded, among other things, that CBS's handling of Dushku's case "was misguided"—leaked to the *New York Times*. Dushku couldn't comment to the paper because of her NDA, but once she saw *Bull* showrunner Glenn Gordon Caron and Weatherly had given quotes, despite their settlement terms, she wrote an op-ed about her experience for the *Boston Globe*.

But she fears that talking about the complaint further could incite litigation. We can talk around it. And about how she wants to make clear that she has not been exiled from Hollywood. She lost a parent in her hometown of Boston four years ago, and moved back after 18 years in L.A. She always wanted to get a college degree here, where her mom taught at Suffolk University for 47 years.

But the child-star thing happened, so now, at 38, she's back in school. She's living just blocks from where she grew up, where she plans to raise the baby she will soon have with her new husband. The first movie she produced, *Mapplethorpe*, is out now. "I need the distance to recalibrate and start a family," she says. "But I don't want people to think coming forward means ending your career. I could be acting. I just need to be here right now."

YOU MIGHT THINK Eliza Dushku is a badass. Hollywood, at least, always saw her that way. Since she began acting at age 9, she's played a lot of roles in which she's had to fight men. Fans often conflate the person onscreen with the actor. "When I started on *Buffy*, I would get letters that would say, 'Watching the strength in your character made me confront my abuser,'" she says. Dushku felt both emboldened and terrified by these notes, since she had tried to do the same thing years before.

Last year, she wrote on Facebook that when she was 12 and starring alongside Jamie Lee Curtis and Arnold Schwarzenegger in *True Lies*, stunt coordinator Joel Kramer, then 36, molested her. (Kramer has denied the allegations.) Dushku's guardian on set, Sue Booth-Forbes, has said she reported Kramer to a "person of authority," and nothing was done.

For years afterward, Dushku abused alcohol and drugs. "We carry trauma in our bodies. That's where addiction comes in," she says. "People try to numb themselves." It got so bad that her brother wouldn't let her spend time with her niece. That pushed her to get help; she's been sober for 10 years.

Bull was Dushku's biggest role on a broadcast show since Fox's *Dollhouse* in 2009. And when the on-set harassment began, she first tried to resolve the issue privately with Weatherly. Shortly after she spoke with him, she says, she was fired



by CBS. Weatherly, in the *Times* article, claimed he was mimicking comic lines Cary Grant used in *The Philadelphia Story*. In the *Globe*, Dushku argued that his defense suggests “Hollywood behaviors from 70 years ago might be acceptable today.” She wrote that when her representatives spoke to Caron about her firing, Caron defended Weatherly’s behavior by saying, “What does [Eliza] expect? She was in *Maxim*.” (A person close to Caron denied that he made any such comment, and Dushku’s representative declined to comment.)

She’s disappointed but not surprised. In her three decades in the business, she heard warnings about powerful men like Harvey Weinstein. “What makes me angry is people knew. Important people knew,” she says. “They could have done something. And they didn’t.” (*Bull*, now in its third season, is the 10th most watched show on network TV.) I can tell she is growing frustrated with all the things she cannot say: “We’re talking in code. NDAs revictimize people. They give more power to the powerful. And as the less powerful person, you have to live in someone else’s f-cked-up version of reality.”

‘I don’t want people to think coming forward means ending your career.’

ELIZA DUSHKU, on calling out harassment

Dushku is positioning herself to finally be the one with the power. It took 14 years to make *Mapplethorpe*, about the photographer who displayed photos of flowers in the Whitney and ones of bondage in underground studios. He might seem like an unlikely subject, but she was drawn to exploring the artist’s personal struggles, rather than just the controversial work that defined him.

Dushku is still puzzling out what her own story will be. Here’s one narrative, the one in the press: Like many women in Hollywood, Eliza Dushku experienced sexual harassment and was fired. She signed an NDA that hamstrung her from speaking out. She’s since been driven out of Hollywood.

Here’s another: Eliza Dushku fell into acting. She always imagined going to college in Boston, and now she does. She seized her chance to speak about her #MeToo experience. She’s married and pregnant and happy. She wants to act—next she will star in a sci-fi film—but on her own terms: she’ll produce it too. “Humans need a cohesive narrative for who they are,” she says. “And we’re as sick as our secrets. So naming our secrets—that’s a part of healing.” □

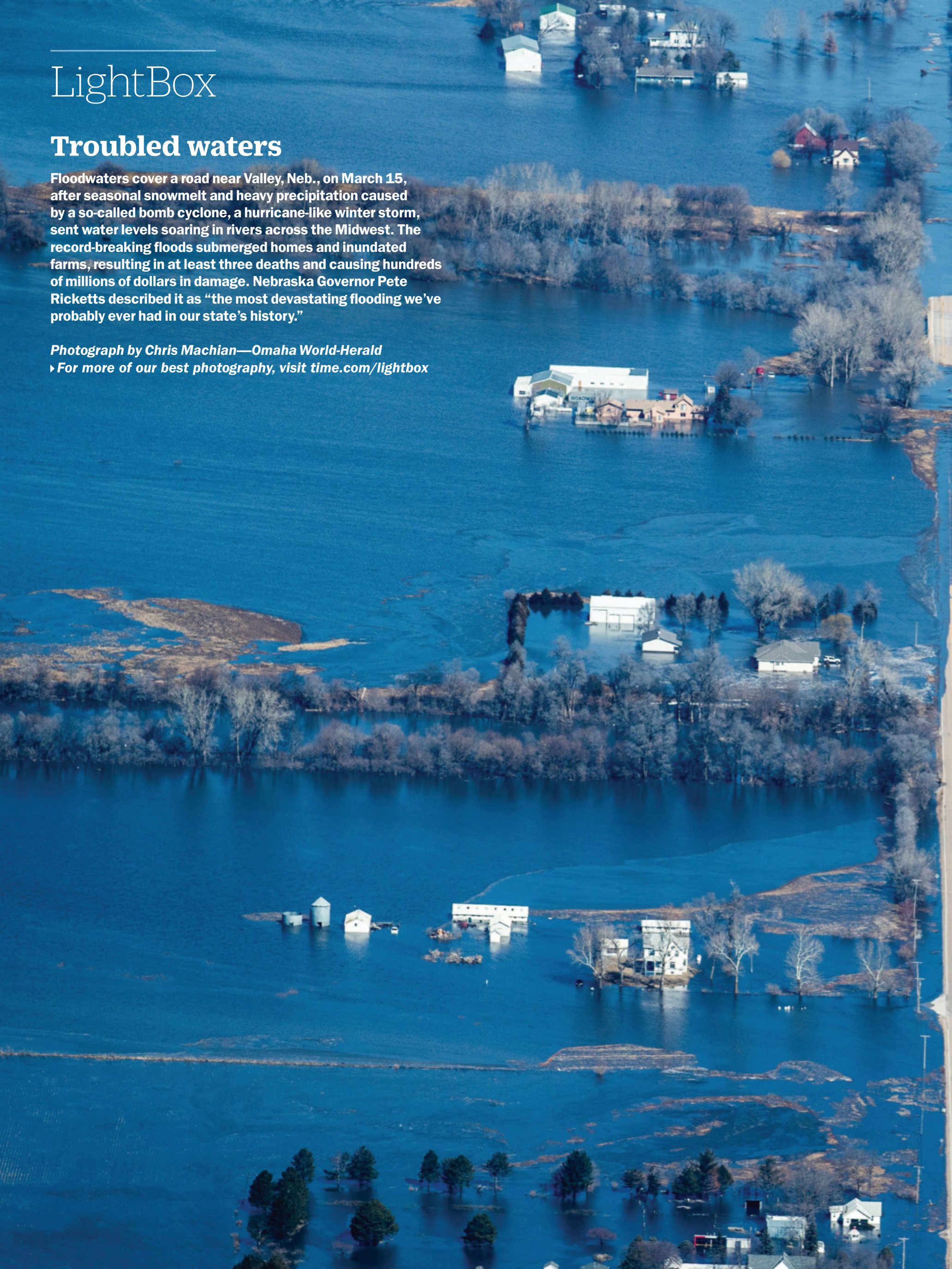
LightBox

Troubled waters

Floodwaters cover a road near Valley, Neb., on March 15, after seasonal snowmelt and heavy precipitation caused by a so-called bomb cyclone, a hurricane-like winter storm, sent water levels soaring in rivers across the Midwest. The record-breaking floods submerged homes and inundated farms, resulting in at least three deaths and causing hundreds of millions of dollars in damage. Nebraska Governor Pete Ricketts described it as “the most devastating flooding we’ve probably ever had in our state’s history.”

Photograph by Chris Machian—Omaha World-Herald

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BAGS WITH A MISSION FOR WOMEN ON A MISSION

FEED Founder, Lauren Bush Lauren, carrying the Leather FEED 1 Bag, which provides 185 school meals.

FEED
FEEDPROJECTS.COM



The View

PARENTING

PUT THAT PHONE AWAY—NOW

By Jean M. Twenge

When I talk to parents about my research on teens and technology, their questions often boil down to this: Is it bad for my teen to be spending so much time on electronic devices? Recently, several analyses have said that the research on this front is a mess or that there is no connection to mental health. Don't believe them. ▶

INSIDE

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TheView Opener

In fact, four large studies of teens from the U.S. and U.K. all show the same thing: happiness and mental health are highest at a half-hour to two hours of extracurricular digital media use a day; well-being then steadily decreases, with those who spend the most time online being the worst off. Twice as many heavy users of electronic devices are unhappy, depressed or distressed as light users.

So why the confusion? The articles concluding the research is a wash share one thing: they present the results using an obscure

statistic called “percent variance explained,” which measures how much a single factor can explain differences in outcomes across a population, compared with the effects of all other possible factors.

Often, this minimizes the association

between a factor and an outcome—especially an uncommon outcome. In the original Salk trials, the polio vaccine explained a tiny 0.0001% of the variance in whether children got polio, but unvaccinated children were over three times as likely to get polio as vaccinated children. A major league baseball player’s skill has been found to explain less than 1% of the variance in the outcome of an at-bat. Similarly, electronic-device use explains only 0.5% to 2% of the variance in suicide attempts, but twice as many teens who use devices five or more hours a day have attempted suicide as those who do so for one hour.

And in the real world, percent variance is irrelevant—parents are not keeping a tally of how much of their kid’s happiness is linked to technology use compared with uncontrollable factors like genetics and past trauma. Instead, they want to know whether too much tech time is linked to depression, and all of the large studies show this is true.

Whether heavy digital media use *causes* depression or unhappiness is less clear; several studies suggest that it might, but more experiments are needed in order to say for sure. However, this doesn’t mean we should do nothing. Had public-health advocates waited for absolute experimental proof that cigarettes caused lung cancer,

they might still be waiting to take action.

The relationship between technology use and well-being is even more important in light of the increasing amount of evidence that teens are suffering. From 2009 to 2017, rates of depression among those ages 14 to 17 in the U.S. jumped more than 60%, and emergency-room visits for self-harm and suicidal thoughts in this age group also increased sharply. According to the CDC, suicide rates among teen girls are at 40-year highs. While it is challenging to determine

the causes of these trends, it is difficult to think of another cultural change that has had as substantial an impact on the day-to-day lives of the largest number of teens as smartphones and digital media have.



In recent years, rates of depression among 14- to 17-year-olds in America have increased significantly

SO, WHAT IS a parent to do? As a Gen X parent

myself, I am aware of our status as digital-parenting pioneers. We worry about our kids’ technology use, but we also worry about standing in the way of progress.

The good news is the solutions are fairly straightforward. These are the rules I follow for myself and my three kids.

First, no phones or tablets in the bedroom at night. If you use your phone as an alarm clock, buy an actual alarm clock. (If you must use a tablet, turn all notifications off.)

Second, no using devices within an hour of bedtime. Just about everything we do on them is psychologically stimulating, and their blue light can disturb sleep. Not getting enough sleep is a major risk factor for depression.

Third, limit device time to less than two hours of leisure time a day. Homework and work involving devices don’t count; the studies thus far don’t examine them.

Think of this in terms of risks vs. benefits. What is the harm in limiting (not eliminating) the use of electronic devices? Very little. What is the harm in doing nothing, if a lot of time on devices might be behind the sharp rise in teen depression? Too much.

Twenge is a professor of psychology at San Diego State University and the author of iGen

SHORT READS

► Highlights from stories on time.com/ideas

Hopes for a little black girl

Damon Young, author of the new book *What Doesn’t Kill You Makes You Blacker*, worries about **the day his daughter will ask him how to become all she wants to be**, given what she will learn about how black people are treated in America. He doesn’t know the answer, he writes, but “I know it’s possible.”

Improving meetings

Vice president of design at Facebook, Julie Zhuo, who wrote the new book *The Making of a Manager*, offers **advice for turning meetings into more than a “necessary evil.”** It includes two questions to ask before initiating one: “What is a great outcome for this meeting?” and “Which people are necessary to make that outcome happen?”

Greater numbers

When we celebrate Pi on 3/14, we perhaps overvalue it, argues TIME’s Chris Wilson. Instead, he suggests we create holidays for other numbers—like e , which helps us understand so much, “from the strings on a piano or your retirement fund.”

THE RISK REPORT

China welcomes Italy into its sphere of influence, unnerving the E.U. and U.S.

By Ian Bremmer



THIRTEEN EUROPEAN countries have already declared themselves open for Chinese business, but the 14th has both Brussels and

Washington on edge.

Chinese President Xi Jinping is traveling to Rome in late March to officially welcome Italy into his ambitious Belt and Road Initiative, a Chinese-backed plan to unite East and West with railways, ports, tunnels and other infrastructure projects and transform China's economic strength at home into undisputed geopolitical power abroad.

While China has already made inroads into various Eastern European countries, signing up Italy—the euro zone's third largest economy and a G-7 member—has pushed concerns about China's potential to splinter Europe from the periphery to the core, literally and figuratively. On March 12, the E.U.'s executive body published a paper branding China a “systemic rival” and urging stronger oversight of its investments in Europe. Even the White House has telegraphed its concerns, with a spokesperson commenting that there's “no need for the Italian government to lend legitimacy to China's infrastructure vanity project.”

But absent an alternative proposed by Washington or the E.U., Italy is set to become the first G-7 country to enroll in China's signature foreign policy initiative, one that takes square aim at a post-World War II geopolitical order that's already unraveling.

This is not the first time worries about the relations between specific E.U. countries and foreign powers have raised alarm; Russia has also made overtures to certain European countries. But the European leadership could rely on the

fact that the E.U.'s combined economic heft far outweighed whatever meager economic benefits Russia's submerging economy had to offer. Brussels cannot say the same about Beijing.

The concern in Brussels is exacerbated by the knowledge that U.S. President Donald Trump will soon turn his sights to Europe, once his trade war with Xi reaches a conclusion. European politicians have begun bracing for auto tariffs from Washington, which look poised to hit as the global economy begins slowing down. And the U.S.'s

Absent an alternative, Italy is set to become the first G-7 country to enroll in China's signature foreign policy initiative

recent threat to withhold intelligence from allies who sign up for 5G equipment from China's state-championed Huawei signals that Washington will not hesitate to force European allies to choose between Uncle Sam and the Chinese.

That would be a difficult choice even if Chinese investment were being pitted against a transatlantic relationship that was alive, well and supported by common U.S.-E.U. values. In fact, the

relationship is on life support. And when China offers carrots while the U.S. offers only sticks, the choice for governments in Europe—especially populist, nonconformist ones like in Rome—is made all the easier. Other G-7 countries will be watching closely to see if there's any U.S. pushback against Italy.

China, meanwhile, gets to demonstrate yet again that it is capable of driving the global agenda, while providing a type of stability and largesse that its only other genuine geopolitical rival is no longer interested in offering. The Italian government gets to show that it is beholden to neither Brussels nor Washington, burnishing its antiestablishment credentials in the process.

And the U.S. and Europe get to show yet again that the world they knew for the better part of the past century continues to pass them by. □

SPORTS

Baseball's fame problem

MLB executives were surely smiling on March 19 as Mike Trout's name buzzed across the Internet and ESPN's airwaves. Trout, a two-time American League MVP for the Los Angeles Angels, was finalizing a 12-year contract extension worth about \$430 million, the most lucrative deal in U.S. team-sports history. His sudden cultural cachet, however, will inevitably fade. Because Trout, baseball's best player, might be the most anonymous athletic superstar in America.

If Trout walked into your Olive Garden, there's a chance you might keep eating your breadsticks. If LeBron James or Tom Brady did, you might choke on them. According to Q Scores, a market-research firm, Americans generally recognize baseball players at far lower rates than their NBA and NFL counterparts. But Trout's ranking is equal to that of Cleveland Browns quarterback Baker Mayfield, who has played a grand total of 14 NFL games.

Trout has never been keen on self-promotion. Why would he start seeking more famemaking commercials now? If there's one thing Trout doesn't need, it's more money. So, what's good news for him may be bad news for baseball.

—Sean Gregory



Trout, at a July 2018 home game





World

HATRED AND HEALING

With an attack on a peaceful nation at the bottom of the world, white supremacists widen their violence

By Charlie Campbell/Christchurch



Survivors, family members and New Zealanders of every creed and color paid tribute to the victims of the mosque shootings in Christchurch

A FEW YEARS BACK, SOME MEMBERS OF CHRISTchurch's Linwood mosque suggested installing security cameras outside. Anwar Alisaisy thought they were being ridiculous. Since immigrating to New Zealand from the Kurdish region of Iran in 2002, he'd seen no sign of trouble—not at the hairdresser's where he worked nor at the mosque directly across the street where he prayed every Friday. "I said, 'Nobody steals from the mosque. There's no extremists,'" says Alisaisy. "New Zealand is the safest place."

The father of six recalled this while standing at a length of police tape near the house of worship that is now a crime scene. He had been inside on March 15 when a white supremacist showed up with a carload of guns and a video camera on his helmet. "He was standing by the doorway shooting, and I fled to the back room," says Alisaisy. "Children were crying, women yelling, and we could hear him keeping on shooting."

The safety of a South Pacific island nation was not the only illusion destroyed that day. Also undone was the popular conception of international terrorism. The Christchurch attacks on two mosques that took at least 50 lives established white supremacy as a threat to Western societies nearly as formidable as terrorism carried out in the name of fundamentalist Islam—and one that, if anything, appears to draw even more oxygen from the Internet.

Long pigeonholed as "homegrown" or "domestic" terrorism, the violence of right-wing extremists emerged in remote New Zealand as a transnational threat. Here, a widely traveled and heavily armed Australian invoked white nationalism in the name of an international

PHOTOGRAPHS BY VIRGINIA WOODS-JACK FOR TIME

World

campaign against immigration. The magnitude of the attacks would have thrown the spotlight onto rightist extremism even if the killer had not streamed them on Facebook Live.

Jacinda Ardern, New Zealand's Prime Minister, told TIME that governments around the world needed to "take a united front on what is a global issue," especially in tackling the places on the Internet where radicalization takes root. In national-security circles, there were calls for governments to share intelligence on right-wing extremists "in ways previously reserved for groups like the Islamic State," as three veteran U.S. counterterrorism officials wrote on the Lawfare blog.

Adding to the urgency are indications that right-wing extremists have been emboldened by political leaders expressing the same xenophobia and intolerance. "This attack has been brewing for some time," says Clarke Jones, a terrorism expert at Australian National University. The attacker's online expressions of rage against nonwhite, non-Christian immigrants, he says, were "being nearly endorsed by political rhetoric around banning immigration of Muslims and criminalizing refugees."

THE NEW ZEALAND ATTACKS may offer a new window into how we think about terrorism. To Americans, the word has been synonymous with Sept. 11, 2001—shock attacks that came literally out of the blue and were carried out in the name of a faith that most Americans did not know firsthand.

But terrorism is not merely about belief. It's about certainty. Convinced he was a soldier in a war visible only to an enlightened few, the alleged shooter, Brenton Tarrant, was as alarmed as any jihadi by the very things—tolerance, coexistence, inclusion—that drew Muslim worshippers to feel at home in a city named Christchurch. Although New Zealand was only 1% Muslim in the last census, its diversity offered what the shooter, in a self-styled "manifesto" he posted online and emailed to Ardern's office just before the attack, called "as target-rich an environment as anywhere else." The country was singled out, Ardern said, "because we represent diversity, kindness, compassion, a home for those who share our values."

There are many parallels between far-right extremism and ISIS, "from the lost and angry young men targeted by it, to the propaganda, to the operations," says Peter W. Singer, a strategist at the New America think tank and author of *LikeWar: The Weaponization of Social Media*. "Another tactic they both use is offering up a sense of fellowship. It's a strange but very real combination of finding a community and finally feeling understood and appreciated, but they're finding it through the expression of hate."

The numbers bear out the concern, in the U.S. and elsewhere. In 2017, the FBI said it was conducting 1,000 investigations into white supremacists and



other domestic terrorist threats, roughly as many as it had open into people who may have been inspired by the Islamic State, according to the *Washington Post*. From 2012 to 2017, the number of actual white-supremacist attacks more than doubled, from 14 to 31, according to the University of Maryland's Global Terrorism Database. The Anti-Defamation League attributes 73% of extremist-related killings in the U.S. from 2009 to 2018 to the far right.

In Europe, where immigration from Muslim countries has exposed rifts in societies, the political surge to the right has been accompanied by supremacist violence. From 2016 to 2017, far-right attacks in Europe leapt by 43%. In 2016, just days before Britain's divisive referendum on E.U. membership, the U.K. lawmaker Jo Cox was fatally shot and stabbed by a white supremacist who shouted, "Britain first." Fear over how immigration was affecting British society played a major role in the U.K.'s Brexit decision, with 54% of "leave" voters calling Islam a threat to the British way of life. That belief helped feed the violence. "The right-wing threat was not previously organized," the outgoing British counterterrorism chief, Mark Rowley, noted in February 2018. "Every now and then there's been an individual motivated by that rhetoric who has committed a terrorist act, but we've not had an organized right-wing threat like we do now."



That organizing often occurs online. Much has been made of the Internet savvy of jihadis, but right-wing extremists have been at home there since the dawn of the Internet. On Twitter, extremism researcher J.M. Berger found in a 2016 study, “American white-nationalist movements have seen their followers grow by more than 600% since 2012. Today, they outperform ISIS in nearly every social metric, from follower counts to tweets per day.”

But the true breeding ground for these extremists is on less-trafficked forums, like 8chan and 4chan, where anonymous users trade ostensibly ironic memes, jokes and discussions laced with racism and misogyny. It was on one of these where the alleged shooter announced his rampage and posted links to his written justification, as well as the Facebook live feed. Both quickly metastasized onto mainstream platforms—YouTube, Facebook and Twitter—despite the companies’ efforts to take them down. At one point, the video was being uploaded to YouTube at the rate of once a second, the *Guardian* reported.

Not all of the posts were admiring, and morbid fascination no doubt contributed. But the video that stayed in circulation had been altered to bypass the mainstream platforms’ filtering software. Far-right extremists have a proven talent for “exploiting the algorithms and the weaknesses of social-media plat-

▲
Mourners left roadside tributes to victims of the Christchurch mosque shootings in the days after the attacks

forms,” notes Julia Ebner, author of *The Rage: The Vicious Circle of Islamist and Far-Right Extremism*. “They’re able to distort public perception and have a disproportionately loud voice.”

That matters, Ebner notes, because in many Western countries, extremists can now count on the polite attention of politicians. “Over the last few years, across Europe especially, but in general across the world, we have seen a strong surge in the popularity of far-right populist parties, extremist ideologies and in-group vs. out-group thinking,” she says. “Their most common shared enemies are Muslims, migrants, the mainstream media and the ‘corrupt elite.’”

That kind of thinking was on prominent display in the aftermath of these attacks. Australian politician Fraser Anning suggested Muslim immigration was to blame. In Italy, hard-line Interior Minister Matteo Salvini condemned the “odious” killer but later played down the global threat of white supremacists. “The only extremism that merits attention is the Islamic kind,” he said.

President Donald Trump too suggested the white-nationalist threat was merely a “small group of people.” Trump may reject any association with the far right, but his policies have won him the support of a range of extremists; the shooter’s manifesto even named him as a symbol of the white supremacists’ fight. Indeed, on the day of the attacks, Trump spoke to a crowd defending his use of emergency powers to construct a border wall to keep migrants out. “People hate the word *invasion* but that’s what it is,” he said. The same word featured prominently in the killer’s screed.

The hard fact is that, in the U.S. at least, a measurable minority sympathize with the white-supremacist cause. A 2018 study from a University of Alabama researcher found that among white non-Hispanic Americans, 28% “expressed strong feelings of white identity; about 38% expressed strong feelings of white solidarity; and about 27% felt that whites suffer a meaningful amount of discrimination in American life.” In a recent *Military Times* poll, 22% of service members said they saw signs of white nationalism or racist ideology in the armed forces. About 35% called white nationalism a significant threat to the country. In February, a Coast Guard lieutenant was arrested with a cache of arms and a hit list of prominent Democrats. His indictment quoted a draft letter reading: “We need a white homeland as Europe seems lost.”

MOST NEW ZEALANDERS, like Americans, are descended from immigrants. The indigenous Maori people make up more than a sixth of the population, but they are joined by the descendants of British colonialists and more recent arrivals from the South Pacific, Europe, Asia and Africa. The diverse population is united by shared values of affability, self-deprecating humor and sports, particularly rugby and cricket. As

CHRISTCHURCH'S FALLEN

These are the victims of the March 15 shootings

**Ali Mahmoud
Abdullah Al Madani**
A Jordanian national

Atta Elayyan, 33
A soccer player

**Haji-Daoud
Nabi, 71**
An Afghanistan-born
retired engineer

Sayyad Milne, 14
A high school student



Mucad Ibrahim, 3
Attending prayers with
his brother and father,
who both survived

**Naeem Rashid, 50,
and Talha Naeem,
21**
A Pakistani father
and son

**Ghulam Husain;
Karam Bibi; and
Zeeshan Raza, 38**
A Pakistani mother,
father and son

**Syed Jahandad
Ali, 34**
A Pakistani software
engineer

**Syed Areeb
Ahmed, 27**
A Pakistani
accountant

Farhaj Ahsan, 30
An Indian electrical
engineer

Zakaria Bhuiya, 33
A welder; it was his
birthday

Kamel Darwish, 38
Moved to New
Zealand from Jordan

**Mozammel
Haque, 30**
A Bangladeshi dental
student

**Mohammed
Omar Faruk, 36**
A Bangladeshi welder

Abdus Samad, 67
A Bangladeshi
lecturer

**Hafiz Musa Vali
Patel, 52**
A religious scholar

**Khaled, 44, and
Hamza Mustafa, 16**
A Syrian father and
son who moved to
New Zealand last year

**Linda
Armstrong, 65**
A New Zealand-born
Muslim convert

Amjad Hamid, 57
A Palestinian doctor

Matiullah Safi, 55
Husband and father
of seven children

**Hussain
al-Umari, 35**
Originally from the
United Arab Emirates



Tariq Omar, 24
A soccer coach

**Osama Adnan Abu
Kweik, 37**
Came to New Zealand
from Egypt

**Lilik Abdul
Hamid, 58**
A father and engineer

**Maheboob
Khokhar, 65**
A retired manager and
father

Asif and Ramiz Vora
A father and son
who had himself just
become a father

Junaid Ismail
A father of three
children

**Mohammed Imran
Khan, 38**
An Indian restaurant
owner

Ozair Kadir, 25
An Indian student of
aviation

**Ashraf
Ali Razat, 58**
He was visiting New
Zealand from Fiji

**Mounir
Sulieyman, 68**
An Egyptian engineer

Ashraf Morsi
A father of two

**Ahmad Gamaluddin
Abdel Ghani**
An Egyptian national

Ashraf al-Masri
An Egyptian national

**Mohsen Mohammed
Al Harbi, 63**
Originally from Saudi
Arabia

Ansi Alibava, 24
An Indian student
of agricultural
engineering

Abdukadir Elmi, 78
A father of nine from
Somalia

**Musa
Nur Awale, 77**
Originally from
Somalia

**Haroon
Mehmood, 40**
A Pakistani
biochemist

**Kamel Mohamad
Kamel Darweesh**
A Jordanian national

Sohail Shahid
A Pakistani husband
and father



Hosne Ahmed, 44
Her husband survived

**Abdul Fattah Qasem
Ibrahim Qasem, 59**
A Jordanian national

Farhaj Ahsan, 30
An Indian electrical
engineer

**Maheboob
Khokhar, 65**
Visiting from India

in neighboring Australia, the standard salutation is “mate.” To pass someone in the street without offering a greeting would be considered an affront. “New Zealand is such an amazing country,” says Mazharuddin Syed Ahmed, 47, a university academic.

Ahmed was standing in Linwood mosque’s front row directly behind the imam on March 15. “I knew the sound was gunfire straight away,” he says. He took shelter in a small stall and saw the gunman shoot a screaming woman at close range and pull her down. “One of my close friends had his head blown right open in front of me,” he tells TIME with voice trembling. “It was horrific. Bullets were falling right next to me. I could smell gunpowder.” He tried to stem the bleeding of a severely wounded friend. “He couldn’t tell me where he was shot but just kept saying, ‘Please call the doctor! Please call the doctor!’” It took two surgeries but that friend survived.

Many did not. Among the 50 killed in the attack were several children. New Zealand has only 4.8 million people, and proportionally, the loss was larger than 9/11 was for the U.S. “It is certainly now obviously a part of our history,” Ardern told TIME. “It is our darkest of days, there is no question.”

Under the 38-year-old Prime Minister, New Zealand will boost its annual refugee quota from 1,000 to 1,500 beginning next year. She has called it “the right thing to do.” Yet despite New Zealand’s culture of ethnic harmony, it also felt to some like things were slipping. Stories about minorities in the mainstream media immediately attract hate-filled comments online. Over the past five years, the Islamic Women’s Council complained to government agencies of rising vitriol and hatred targeting the Muslim community, but says nothing was done. According to Jones, New Zealand has 70 far-right groups.

Former soldier Pete Breidahl said he was shocked to see Confederate flags at Dunedin’s Bruce Rifle Club, where the accused shooter was a member, when he visited there in 2017. Breidahl says people there donned camouflage gear and complained that an influx of refugees would lead to a terrorist attack. They were “clearly basement-dwelling nerds living out homicidal fantasies,” he tells TIME. “Why would you want to shoot guns dressed like one of the Columbine massacre shooters?” (The gun club, which reported that it has now closed for the “foreseeable future,” denies that members harbor extremist views.)

New Zealand has about 250,000 licensed gun owners and an estimated 1.2 million registered firearms. But it took just a day for Ardern to say the nation’s gun laws “will change.” By March 18, her Cabinet had agreed in principle to amendments to “make our community safer,” Ardern said. Trade Me, New Zealand’s most popular auction site, announced it was voluntarily banning the sale of semiautomatic weapons. TIME saw shaken teenagers approaching police officers on the street to ask how best they could



hand in their parents' firearms. The killer acquired his weapons legally via an ordinary gun license he obtained in 2017 and kept despite a brazenly xenophobic social-media presence.

In acting quickly to contain public outrage, Ardern followed a course that had worked elsewhere. Australia restricted access to military-style weapons following the Port Arthur massacre of 1996, in which 35 people were killed. The U.K. banned private ownership of handguns in 1997 following the Dunblane massacre, when a gunman murdered 16 schoolchildren and a teacher before killing himself. Both nations have seen gun-related deaths plummet.

New Zealand has also taken the decision not to give the shooter the soapbox he so clearly craves. Ardern has refused to utter his name, and reporting restrictions mean his picture has been banned from newspapers. Instead, New Zealanders have chosen to focus on unity. Christians, Hindus, Jews, Buddhists and Sikhs offered food and support for survivors and victims' families. At flower memorials, hipsters with dyed blue hair comforted women in hijabs. Christchurch Mayor Lianne Dalziel tells *TIME* that the Islamic greeting *As-salaamu 'alaikum*, or "Peace be with you," is "very much an expression of the peaceful city that we were and still are."

Muslim communities around the world are watching how New Zealand responds with sympathy and

▲
*New Zealand
 Prime Minister
 Jacinda
 Ardern hugs a
 worshipper at
 Kilbirnie Mosque
 in Wellington
 two days after
 the attacks*

also with gratitude. "When you have a leader like Jacinda Ardern coming out and defending people under attack, that sends a strong message," said Harun Khan, secretary general of the Muslim Council of Britain. "It's demonstrated the complete opposite of what the terrorist wanted to achieve."

On March 20, the city began laying the dead to rest, bodies facing toward Mecca. Both the al-Noor and Linwood mosques remained off-limits, still strung with police tape. When they reopen, it will surely be with security cameras and other precautions now deemed essential. But some survivors say they won't return. "I chose this country because it's safe for my kids and family," says Mohsan Ali, 37, who survived the al-Noor massacre with his pregnant wife. "But now I think we're not safe."

For Ahmed, it's chilling enough that Christchurch schoolchildren locked down in their classrooms could watch the slaughter unfold in real time on their smartphones. More terrifying was the flurry of cheers and gleeful comments online racists attached to the murderous scenes. "We underestimate the power of hatred," Ahmed says. —*With reporting by* ABIGAIL ABRAMS *and* KARL VICK/NEW YORK; SUYIN HAYNES, JOSEPH HINCKS, CIARA NUGENT, BILLY PERRIGO *and* MADELINE ROACHE/LONDON; *and* ELIZABETH THOMSON, HARRY POLAND *and* CONNOR STIRLING/CHRISTCHURCH □

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Ocasio-Cortez with her chief of staff Saikat Chakrabarti, far right, and other aides in Queens





The Making of AOC

How a 29-year-old rookie is
transforming politics

BY CHARLOTTE ALTER

PHOTOGRAPHS BY
KRISANNE JOHNSON FOR TIME

Every 10 minutes or so, someone knocks on the big wooden door of Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez's office on Capitol Hill. The noise makes staffers stiffen.



It's almost always a harmless fan, one of dozens who arrive each day, leaving neon-colored Post-it notes as devotional offerings. But in her first three months in Congress, aides say, enough people have threatened to murder Ocasio-Cortez that Capitol Police trained her staff to perform risk assessments of her visitors.

This is the daily reality for America's newest human Rorschach test. Wonder Woman of the left, Wicked Witch of the right, Ocasio-Cortez has become the second most talked-about politician in America, after the President of the United States. Since beating 10-term incumbent Joe Crowley in the Democratic primary to represent New York's 14th District last June, the 29-year-old former bartender has pressured 2020 presidential candidates into supporting her Green New Deal, made campaign-finance reform go viral and helped activists banish Amazon from Queens with a couple of tweets. No lawmaker in recent memory has translated so few votes into so much political and social capital so quickly. Her Twitter following has climbed from about 49,000 last summer to more than 3.5 million. Thousands of people tune in to watch her make black-bean soup or re-pot her houseplants on Instagram Live. Immediately after she tweeted the name of her signature red lipstick—Beso, by Stila—it sold out online.

At the same time, she's a freshman legislator trying to get the hang of her first big full-time job. "I miss being able to go outside in sweats," she says in her office one day in March, settling into a black leather chair after a long day of subcommittee hearings. She's much smaller than she looks on TV, with a warm but cautious manner. "I can't go anywhere in public and just be a per-

son without a lot of people watching everything I do."

Ocasio-Cortez represents one vision of the Democratic Party's future. She's a young Hispanic woman, three cornerstones of the party's electoral coalition. She's a democratic socialist at a time when confidence in capitalism is declining, especially among progressive millennials. The issues she ran on—a Green New Deal, Medicare for All, a federal jobs guarantee, abolishing ICE—are animating a new generation of Democrats. She's a political phenomenon: part activist, part legislator, arguably the best storyteller in the party since Barack Obama and perhaps the only Democrat right now with the star power to challenge President Donald Trump's.

The woman everyone calls AOC is as much a villain to the right as she is a hero to the left. She's replaced Hillary Clinton as the preferred punching bag of Fox News pundits and Republican lawmakers, and the hits are taking their toll. Public opinion of Ocasio-Cortez has soured as she becomes better known; according to a Gallup poll conducted in February, 31% of Americans overall have a favorable impression of her, against 41% unfavorable—a 15-point swing since September. The same poll found



The Congresswoman takes a photo with education activist Maria Bautista, center, and New York state senator Jessica Ramos, left, during an education town hall in Jackson Heights, Queens

college. Like Sanders, she seems more concerned with movements than elections; she doesn't talk about flipping seats and votes, but rather of winning hearts and minds. Hers is the politics of the possible, not the practical. "By the time legislation actually gets through, it is five years from now," she says. "So everything we introduce needs to have 2025 or our kids in mind." She's not thinking about how to keep the Democratic majority for another two years; she's thinking about how to define the agenda for the next two decades.

It's a big change in a party that spent the last 10 years following incrementalist leaders like Obama and Hillary Clinton. It's not just that Ocasio-Cortez is pushing for more progressive policies. She's recast the division between left and center as a tug-of-war between the party's past and its future. "There's always this talk about division within the Democratic Party, ideological differences," she says in her office. "But I actually think they're generational differences. Because the America we grew up in is nothing like the America our parents or our grandparents grew up in."

ON OCASIO-CORTEZ'S OFFICE BOOKSHELF, near a picture of her late father and a photo of her with a local Girl Scout troop, two books nestle together in uneasy union. One is the *Federalist* papers, written mostly by James Madison and Alexander Hamilton and published in 1788. The other is *The Uninhabitable Earth: Life After Warming*, written by journalist David Wallace-Wells 231 years later. There's a picture of Wonder Woman leaning in one corner of the office and a giant cardboard cutout of Cardi B's face in another. On her desk are handwritten crib sheets for a February hearing. ("I'm going to be the bad guy," she wrote in pencil.) More than 40 million people watched a subsequent NowThis News clip of her questioning a government-accountability watchdog about campaign-finance laws.

Ocasio-Cortez was born in 1989, a few weeks before the Berlin Wall fell. George H.W. Bush was in his first year as President, Nancy Pelosi had just gotten to Congress, Sanders had already lost two Senate races, and Joe Biden had just bungled his first presidential bid. She was in elementary school during the financial prosperity of the 1990s, eating Dunkaroos while grownups clucked on television about Bill Clinton balancing the budget. "An entire generation, which is now becoming one of the largest electorates in America, came of age and never saw American prosperity," she says. "I have never seen that, or experienced it, really, in my adult life."

She was born into a working-class family in the Parkchester section of the Bronx. Her dad owned a small architecture company; her Puerto Rico-born mother cleaned houses. They were deeply rooted in the neighborhood but also wary of its limitations. Ocasio-Cortez has told friends she learned early on that wearing hoop earrings and nameplate necklaces was fine in the Bronx, but she wouldn't be taken seriously if she wore them to a job interview. The family moved to the prosperous Westchester County suburb of Yorktown Heights when she was about 5 so that she and her

'An entire generation ... came of age and never saw American prosperity.'

—REPRESENTATIVE ALEXANDRIA OCASIO-CORTEZ

that her popularity had increased with Democrats and nonwhites. Her Green New Deal proposal has driven policy debates on the left, but it has virtually no chance of becoming law anytime soon. Her allies plan to boost primary challengers to moderate and conservative Democrats, a push that Ocasio-Cortez has distanced herself from but one that has earned her the enmity of some colleagues. Many House Democrats resent her celebrity and worry it overshadows efforts to reach the moderate voters who propelled the party to the majority. Privately, some admit they're also a little afraid of her.

That's because Ocasio-Cortez threatens the status quo, bringing a youthful impatience to a set of policies popularized by Bernie Sanders' 2016 campaign, like Medicare for All and tuition-free public

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brother could go to better schools, but they returned frequently to see the rest of their family. Those 40-minute drives taught her how ZIP code determines destiny, she says. By the time she was in college, some of her cousins were already having kids.

Ocasio-Cortez describes herself as a “dorky kid” who once asked for a microscope for her birthday. Her 2007 high school microbiology project, on the effects of antioxidants on the life span of roundworms, won second place in the microbiology category at the Intel International Science and Engineering Fair. She often joined her mom to clean the homes of neighbors, and she wrote her college-application essay about the two of them helping a man who’d lost his wife the only way they could—by cleaning out his fridge. She took out student loans to enroll at Boston University, graduating in 2011 with a degree in economics and international relations.

When Ocasio-Cortez was a teenager, her father was diagnosed with lung cancer. Just before she returned to Boston for her sophomore year, she went to see him in the hospital. “I didn’t know that it was going to be the last time that I talked to my dad, but toward the end of our interaction, I started to feel like it was,” she says. “I said goodbye, but I think he knew, and I knew. And so I started to leave, and he kind of hollered out, and I turned around in the doorway, and he said, ‘Hey, make me proud.’”

He died about a week later, in the fall of 2008. The death plunged the family into financial trouble just as the economy was melting down; her mother picked up a job driving school buses to stave off foreclosure on their home. After graduation, Ocasio-Cortez moved back to the Bronx to work at an educational nonprofit, with a side gig as a bartender at a Manhattan taco joint. Most of her peers were piecing together two or three jobs to stay ahead of the bills. “Spoiler alert: the gig economy is about not giving people full-time jobs,” she says. “So it should be no secret why millennials want to decouple your insurance status from your employment status.”

For most of her 20s, she lived paycheck to paycheck. She paid \$200 a month for an Affordable Care Act health insurance plan with a huge deductible. Like 44 million other Americans, she had student-loan debt: about \$25,000 worth, which meant \$300 a month in payments. “We have an entire generation that is delaying or forgoing purchasing houses,” she says. “Our entire economy is slowing down due to the student-loan crisis.”

Ocasio-Cortez had gotten her first taste of politics during college, as an intern in Massachusetts Senator Ted Kennedy’s office. By the time Bernie Sanders launched his 2016 campaign, she was hooked. She volunteered to knock on doors for his campaign across the Bronx and Queens. “I had done grassroots organizing before,” she says. “But Sanders’ race was one of my first times where I crossed that bridge from grassroots community organizing to electoral organizing.”

When Trump won, Ocasio-Cortez was shocked but not surprised. In the weeks after the election, she and her friends piled into a borrowed 1998 Subaru and drove from New York City to the Standing Rock Indian Reservation to join the Lakota Sioux’s resistance to the Dakota Access Pipeline. They drove through the Midwest, stopping in Flint, Mich., on their way to the freezing plains of North Dakota. They had long bull sessions about



whether Sanders would have beaten Trump and whether the media had been in the tank for Clinton. They sang TLC’s “No Scrubs” and subsisted on Red Bull, Clif Bars and Hot Cheetos from gas stations.

The Standing Rock trip was “transformational” for Ocasio-Cortez. She had visited a city poisoned by lead on her way to help a community fight the construction of a massive government-backed oil pipeline. The trip helped her “connect a lot of different dots” about how environmental degradation affects everybody, no matter where you live. “I think the me that walked out of that,” she says, “was more galvanized and more open to taking risks.”

The rise of AOC



Her gregarious dad was her introduction to community organizing, she recalls. He died when she was in college.

She graduated from Boston University in 2011 with a degree in economics and international relations and \$25,000 in student debt.



After graduation, Ocasio-Cortez worked as a bartender to pay her health insurance and student loan bills.





of working-class leaders who might be willing to run. In the end, they got some 11,000 nominations from across the country. One of them was a letter from Gabriel Ocasio-Cortez, 26, touting his older sister Alexandria. She fit the mold exactly. “We looked at the brother telling the story of a sister who wasn’t a giant nonprofit executive, she didn’t go work on the Hill for 10 years,” recalls Alexandria Rojas, now executive director of Justice Democrats, an organization allied with Brand New Congress. “She was someone who watched her family struggle through the financial crisis.”

The campaign was a long shot from the start. “Everyone said, ‘She’s really cute, but maybe next time,’” Ocasio-Cortez recalls. Crowley, the fourth-ranking House Democrat, was a prolific fundraiser who had been in Congress since 1999. Her campaign was mostly volunteers. Staffers wrote their job titles on Post-it notes above their desks in their small Queens office. Ever the activist, her campaign had an informal, flexible structure resembling “leaderless” social movements like the one she saw at Standing Rock.

One of Ocasio-Cortez’s first events was at the home of Jake DeGroot, a former theater lighting designer who had been involved in Occupy Wall Street. After hearing Ocasio-Cortez shout over the air conditioner in his living room to fewer than a dozen people, DeGroot joined her campaign, first as a volunteer and then as digital organizing director. Many of her top volunteers were

▲
The staff and the boss meet in their Queens district office

former actors who had gotten involved with politics during the Sanders campaign and now saw organizing as a second career. (The 14th District contains parts of Astoria, Queens, which is nicknamed Actoria because so many actors live there.) That meant her campaign was infused with the imagination that animates all good drama, and a team that knew how to tell a story. “Theater and politics are very simpatico,” says DeGroot. “Theater done well is politics; politics done poorly is theater.”

More important, there was a shared sense among the young volunteers that they had been screwed. “We were all children of the recession,” says

Then, as she was driving back to New York, she got a call she never expected. Someone wanted her to run for Congress.

ONCE IT BECAME CLEAR that Sanders wouldn’t win the nomination, a few of his former staffers formed a group called Brand New Congress. The goal was to recruit progressives who weren’t wealthy, well-connected white men to run for the House and Senate so that a future progressive President would have allies in the legislature. Saikat Chakrabarti, now Ocasio-Cortez’s chief of staff, and Corbin Trent, now her communications director, began soliciting names

When a new progressive group solicited candidate nominations, her brother Gabriel (top) submitted her name.



Ocasio-Cortez’s campaign relied on volunteer canvassers. She wore out these shoes as she knocked on doors.



Ocasio-Cortez was behind in the polls for the entire primary, but unseated ranking Democrat Joe Crowley in a surprise upset.



COLLEGE: PRESTIGE PORTRAITS/BOSTON UNIVERSITY; PRIMARY NIGHT: JOSÉ A. ALVARADO JR.; ALL OTHERS: COURTESY OCASIO-CORTEZ

Politics

Waleed Shahid of Justice Democrats. “There’s an overwhelming sense that the economic and political system in our country is rigged.”

That’s why young Americans have become increasingly attracted to democratic socialism, which aims to build a stronger social safety net through democratic elections. After Sanders’ rise in the 2016 Democratic primaries, membership in the Democratic Socialists of America (DSA) soared from fewer than 10,000 members in early 2016 to more than 55,000 by 2019. A 2018 Harvard poll found that 39% of young Americans favor democratic socialism, and even young Americans who don’t identify with the movement overwhelmingly support ideas like Medicare for All, tuition-free public college and a Green New Deal. “Every year, young people are ticking a couple points more left,” says John Della Volpe of the Harvard Kennedy School Institute of Politics, who has been tracking youth political attitudes since 2000. “On literally every single question they’re moving left.”

The DSA endorsed Ocasio-Cortez, and young, enthusiastic volunteers stormed her district in the weeks leading up to the election. In the end, she beat Crowley by about 4,000 votes. The upset made her the new face of the young progressive movement. Within weeks, she was traveling the country, speaking to packed rooms and standing ovations as she stumped for candidates in Kansas, Missouri and Michigan. She pointed to her own unlikely victory and Sanders’ insurgent campaign in the 2016 primaries as evidence that progressives could win across the country. “She has this ability to understand a moment and then how to leverage it,” says Rhiana Gunn-Wright, policy director for the left-wing policy shop New Consensus. “She understands that she has a lot of shine right now.”

And yet most of the campaigns Ocasio-Cortez supported ended up losing. Of 78 candidates endorsed by Justice Democrats in 2018, only four nonincumbents won their seats, all replacing other Democrats in deep-blue districts. Organizers argue that losing isn’t really losing, since progressive primary challengers often pull moderate nominees to the left. Still, “America isn’t her district,” says Joel Benenson, a Democratic consultant who advised Obama’s and Clinton’s presidential campaigns and argues that neither party can win if they don’t win moderates. “Democrats shouldn’t take the bait.”

But this is the paradox facing the Democrats: Ocasio-Cortez represents a merging of movement and electoral politics that hasn’t permeated the rest of the party, let alone the rest of the country. The ideas generating the most enthusiasm among the party’s very loud, very online left flank don’t necessarily win elections. Which to some progressives is beside the point. “The point of a message is not to win an election—it’s to change policy, to move things for people, to lead with your ideals,” says Dr. Abdul El-Sayed, 34, who stumped with Ocasio-Cortez in his bid to become governor of Michigan. “Who cares about winning elections?” Indeed, he lost the Democratic nomination by more than 20 points.

WHEN SHE GOES to meetings in her district, Ocasio-Cortez takes notes, hunched over a single-subject notebook as if she were in science class. As soon as she starts speaking, the room changes. In a hot and stuffy education meeting in the Queens neighborhood of Jackson Heights, the crowd stood up and cheered when she took the microphone, then swarmed her afterward to ask for hugs and selfies. At a community board meeting in an Astoria wedding venue, one older board member slept through the entire session, waking up only to click a few pictures of her on his cell-phone camera. Afterward, Ocasio-Cortez crouched to listen to a constituent’s concerns about the rise of anti-Semitism. Her beige heels, slightly scuffed, were a half size too big.



**‘America isn’t her district.
Democrats shouldn’t take the bait.’**

—POLITICAL CONSULTANT JOEL BENENSON

The reception in Washington hasn’t been quite as warm. Ocasio-Cortez is among the most visible of a group of young, left-wing freshman Democrats—including Representatives Ilhan Omar of Minnesota and Rashida Tlaib of Michigan—who have sparked controversy for their views on everything from impeachment to Israel. Some fellow first-term Democrats welcome the spotlight she brings. “We have this really dynamic rock star who is getting a lot of attention,” says Representative Haley Stevens of Michigan, a co-president of the freshman class. “Why is that a bad thing?” In person, Democratic sources say, Ocasio-Cortez is friendly and respectful, nothing like the firebrand who spars with critics online. “She’s quiet as a mouse” in caucus meetings, says one congressional source.



Yet the attention she gets has also prompted plenty of grumbling from colleagues. “You could go a day without writing a story about AOC,” grouched Representative Mark Pocan, a co-chair of the Congressional Progressive Caucus and a co-sponsor of the Green New Deal.

Many Democrats argue that proposals like the Green New Deal—a nonbinding resolution that won’t become law with Republicans in control of the Senate and the White House—put Democrats in purple districts in a tough spot. Ninety House Democrats have signed onto it. But others who care about climate change are wary of backing a document that contains provisions—like a jobs guarantee—that put off moderates and tee up GOP attacks. At the recent Conservative Political Action Conference, former Trump adviser Sebastian Gorka dubbed the proposal a “watermelon,” because it was “green on the outside, [and] deep, deep communist red on the inside.” Freshman Democrats representing conservative districts, including Representatives Abigail Spanberger of Virginia and Ben McAdams

▲
A trip to a community board meeting in Astoria, Queens, allows a rare quiet moment

of Utah—have been asked about socialism at their town halls.

The old adage in Washington is that there are two types of members of Congress: workhorses who revel in the details of legislating and constituent work, and show horses who crave the cameras. In interviews, a half dozen House Democratic aides described Ocasio-Cortez as the latter. (Her office says she attends more hearings than any of her colleagues.) There’s little question her first months in Congress have included some freshman blunders. Her office botched the rollout of the Green New Deal by inadvertently posting an unfinished version; she took two months longer than any other freshman Representative from New York to open a district office; and conservative groups have filed complaints with the Federal Election Commission alleging improper campaign-finance arrangements. (Ocasio-Cortez has called the allegations “bogus,” and experts have suggested it’s unlikely her team committed significant campaign-finance violations.) She boosted the grassroots effort to block Amazon’s plan to establish a new hub in New York, but critics say the deal’s collapse cost the city jobs. She sometimes responds to tough coverage—including media outlets pointing out errors she’s made—by firing back at the press. “I think that there’s a lot of people more concerned about being precisely, factually and semantically correct than about being morally right,” she told CNN’s Anderson Cooper.

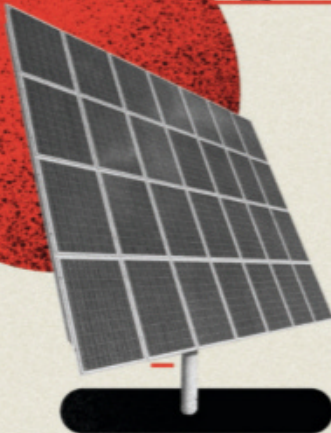
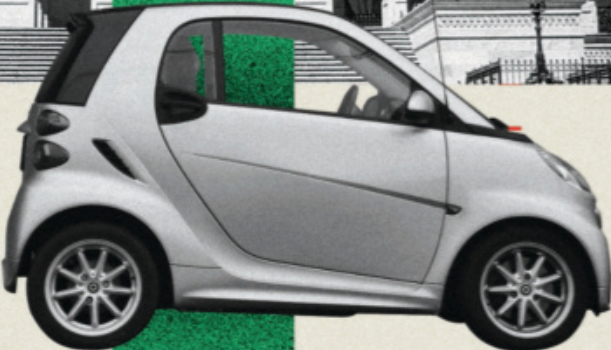
As an activist, Ocasio-Cortez is used to focusing more on moral imperatives than on incremental policy wins. “I don’t think that we can compromise on transitioning to 100% renewable energy. We cannot compromise on saving our planet. We can’t compromise on saving kids,” she says. “We have to do these things. If we want to do them in different ways, that’s fine. But we can’t not do them.”

Capitol Hill’s traditional emphasis on civility and compromise, she thinks, is merely a delay tactic. “There are always these folks that will say, ‘You’re not wrong, but ...’” she says, rolling her eyes. “They avoid the political liability of disagreeing with you, but also they can stall you as much as possible to actually prevent the thing from happening.”

So evaluating Ocasio-Cortez’s success depends on the time frame in which she is judged. Will she help deliver Medicare for All and a Green New Deal in the next two years? No. But having the debate is already making a difference in how D.C. does business. “I used to be much more cynical about how much was up against us,” she says. “I think I’ve changed my mind. Because I think that change is a lot closer than we think.” —*With reporting by ALANA ABRAMSON/WASHINGTON* □



**GREEN
NEW DEAL**



A New Climate For Climate

**How the Green
New Deal jolted
Washington**

BY JUSTIN WORLAND

WHEN A GROUP OF MORE THAN 20 PROTESTERS showed up in the halls of the U.S. Senate on a recent February day, they would have been forgiven for expecting a chilly reception. For the past seven months, sit-ins at a range of offices—from California Governor Jerry Brown’s to Speaker of the House Nancy Pelosi’s—had followed a similar pattern: show up, sing songs, get led away in handcuffs for disrupting the peace. But on that particular Wednesday, things were different.

Instead of being dismissed or arrested, this band of environmental activists from a group known as the Sunrise Movement was warmly welcomed. Democratic Senators’ aides applauded their songs, led them to back offices for meetings and cheered their efforts. “It starts with what you’re doing, from the bottom on up,” Vermont Senator Bernie Sanders told them. “I just want to thank you.” In the weeks that followed, Senate minority leader Chuck Schumer, after years of near radio silence on climate change, gave a series of speeches on the chamber floor. “For the first time in a long time, the Senate is finally debating the issue of climate change, and if you ask me, it’s

about time,” he said. “Climate change is an urgent crisis and an existential threat.”

It’s not just Democrats who suddenly want to focus on climate change. President Trump seized the opportunity to double down on his denial of climate science, while other Republicans began recalibrating their messaging. Florida Congressman Matt Gaetz, an ardent defender of the President who introduced a bill in 2017 to eliminate the EPA, responded to Trump by tweeting, “Climate change is real.” In December, John Cornyn of Texas, who until recently served in GOP Senate leadership, tweeted positively about a tax on carbon emissions, and a month later, Republican Representative Francis Rooney of Florida and Democratic colleagues joined to introduce a carbon-tax measure in the House.

This shift has been a long time coming. Scientists have understood for decades that climate change is happening and that humans are causing it; recent studies, including a landmark report in October from the U.N., have shown that things are even worse than we thought. Global temperatures have already risen 1°C since the Industrial Revolution; if the planet heats by much more than an additional half a degree, we could see some of the most catastrophic effects of climate change, including the death of the world’s coral reefs and the inundation of entire island nations.

That reality has resonated with the public: more than 70% of Americans now understand that climate change is taking place, according to data

Nation

from the Yale Program on Climate Change Communication. A February NBC News/*Wall Street Journal* survey found that two-thirds of Republicans believe their party is “outside the mainstream” on the issue.

Into this new political reality came the Green New Deal—equal parts policy proposal and battle cry. The resolution, introduced by Representative Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez of New York and Senator Ed Markey of Massachusetts, calls for the U.S. to launch a broad “mobilization” to decarbonize the economy while tackling a slew of other social ills. The response was mixed. People loved it. People loathed it. Others were confused by it. But in D.C., where climate has long been relegated to third-tier status, lawmakers could no longer avoid the issue.

Within weeks of the proposal’s release, Democrats competed to burish their green credentials. Nearly every Democratic candidate for the 2020 presidential nomination has endorsed the Green New Deal. Washington Governor Jay Inslee entered the race on a climate-themed campaign—something unthinkable just a few years ago, when Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump didn’t field a single question about climate change in their presidential debates.

Some Republicans scrambled to counter what they saw as a liberal threat: if they didn’t come up with a viable climate position, at least one they could point to rhetorically, they risked further ceding the issue to the Democrats, whose proposal they decry as socialist overreach. Behind the scenes, Republicans gathered in working groups trying to grasp for a solution. Major corporations—including in the oil-and-gas industry—pulled out their checkbooks to support conservative climate measures.

Love the Green New Deal or hate it, the conversation it has unleashed represents a shift in the discussion surrounding climate policy in the U.S., with ripples that will spread across the globe. The outcome of the debate will go a long way toward determining if humanity can avoid the most catastrophic consequences of a rapidly warming world.

EVEN BEFORE OCASIO-CORTEZ released her Green New Deal resolution, critics had begun to scrutinize the program, using every detail as a chance to condemn it. A congressional newcomer, Ocasio-Cortez has developed a reputation for taking critics and their talking points head-on, but in a recent interview with *TIME* she rejected the idea that she should have to defend the particulars.

“It’s a statement. It’s a vision document. And people want to pick it apart to death,” she says, agreeing with those who liken her proposal to the “bold persistent experimentation” that President Franklin Roosevelt advocated to end the Great Depression. “I hope that we start to get to more of an experimental spirit in government,” she says.

The Green New Deal experiments indeed, calling for everything from massive government spending on clean-energy research and development to cleaning up polluted industrial sites, all in service of quickly weaning the U.S. off greenhouse-gas emissions and helping vulnerable communities. The pieces of the package seem jumbled, but they are built on a rich history of ideas. Thomas Friedman first coined the term *Green New Deal* in a 2007 *New York Times* column and described the program as government “seeding basic research, providing loan guarantees where needed and setting standards, taxes and incentives.” Van Jones, the activist and political commentator, published *The Green Collar Economy* in 2008, about solving inequality and climate change at the same time. Chapter 4, titled “The Green New Deal,” outlined his vision for a program that would “birth a just and green economy.”

Around the same time, Inslee, then a Congressman, wrote *Apollo’s Fire*, highlighting stories of Americans’ benefiting from clean energy and calling



for a moon-shot-like program to invest in a green economy. These ideas were so popular that Senators Barack Obama and John McCain pushed for green jobs in their 2008 presidential campaigns, and a handful of states have adopted some Green New Deal policies in recent years.

In California’s agricultural region, for example, former Fresno mayor Ashley Swearengen, a Republican, initiated a comprehensive plan to establish new transit options and redevelop the local economy while reducing greenhouse-gas emissions by 40%. The state as a whole has a plan to achieve

‘It’s a statement. It’s a vision document. And people want to pick it apart to death.’ —ALEXANDRIA OCASIO-CORTEZ

100% carbon-free electricity, a vision that’s gaining adherents in cities big and small and in a range of states from New Mexico to New York. “It’s not radical. By no stretch of imagination,” says Kevin de León, a Democrat who spearheaded many of California’s climate initiatives as president pro tempore of the state senate. California’s GDP is larger than that of all but four countries and its economy continues to thrive, he says, dismissing the critique that environmental reform would kill economic growth.



an unlikely beneficiary of this environmental glasnost, gaining support on both sides of the aisle. “If your goal is to reduce carbon emissions, a carbon tax will do that,” says Congressman John Delaney, a Maryland Democrat who is running for President and has introduced carbon-tax legislation. “It has an opportunity to get pretty broad support, including bipartisan support.”

Carlos Curbelo, a former GOP Florida Congressman who has led efforts for a carbon tax, said the Green New Deal offers a useful political foil. “It’s going to give Republicans and conservatives something that they can clearly oppose, which is always appreciated by the right,” he says. At the same time, he adds, Republicans are aware that public opinion is shifting. “It’s not going to be enough for a lot of members to say the Green New Deal is a massive socialist program. The next question is, What’s your solution?”

DEMOCRATS, OF COURSE, are happy to press that question. With the 2020 presidential campaign already under way, candidates are painting themselves as climate warriors. Nearly all of the dozen-plus Democratic hopefuls have endorsed a version of the Green New Deal, touted their environmental cred and described global warming as an existential threat.

But activists say most Democratic presidential candidates have a lot of catching up to do: while the party embraces climate science, that’s not the same as proactively fighting to halt dangerous warming. For now, few campaigns are proposing more than restoring Obama-era rules like the Clean Power Plan and recommitting the U.S. to the Paris Agreement.

Senator Elizabeth Warren, who has a 99% voting record from the League of Conservation Voters (LCV), has portrayed herself as the policy wonk among the presidential candidates, but she has introduced only one piece of climate legislation in her six years in the Senate, and her office lacks a dedicated climate staffer. Cory Booker and Kirsten Gillibrand, who both serve on the Senate Environment and Public Works Committee, have drafted a flurry of bills to deal with everything from toxic chemicals to cleaning up polluted sites, but neither has introduced comprehensive legislation to reduce emissions. Beto O’Rourke has come under fire for taking donations from people in the oil-and-gas industry. Kamala Harris, who joined the Senate in 2017, has a 100% score from the LCV but hasn’t proposed any significant climate legislation.

There are exceptions. Sanders, who has a long record of introducing climate legislation big and small in the Senate, plans to unveil a broad environmental plan. It is expected to include massive investment in infrastructure, the elimination of fossil-fuel subsidies and a ban on fossil-fuel extraction on public lands. Inslee and Delaney have both promised big on climate. Inslee says the issue will be a centerpiece of his presidency, while Delaney says a carbon-tax proposal could be enacted in his first 100 days.

But both Inslee and Delaney have thus far attracted only minimal support in presidential polls, and many Democrats fear that climate policy will fade as an issue if it isn’t a focus on the campaign trail. Indeed, many environmental leaders are still upset at President Obama for allowing cap-and-trade legislation to die in the Senate in 2009 after it passed the House. “When Democratic leaders see climate as a No. 7 issue,” says Senator Sheldon Whitehouse,

Still, the Green New Deal faces pushback not just from the political right but also from labor—a longtime stalwart of the Democratic Party. In early March, the AFL-CIO published a stinging critique of the proposal, calling it unrealistic and a threat to “members’ jobs and their families’ standard of living.” The oil-and-gas industry in particular supports millions of jobs, and while the text of the Green New Deal calls for a “just transition” to other industries, it offers few details. Republicans latched on to a talking point suggesting that the proposal would turn the U.S. into another Venezuela, pointing to the resolution’s inclusion of a job guarantee and universal health care, goals that many Democrats agree have no place in a climate package.

But if this ambitious climate plan seemed likely to wrench lawmakers further apart, it may actually do the opposite. In an era of festering dysfunction in Congress, all the green talk has actually sprouted green shoots, encouraging a national discussion around climate and, improbably, creating an opportunity to push real legislation. “If you care about moving the solution up the agenda, you have to salute what’s been accomplished here,” says Eric Pooley, a senior vice president at the Environmental Defense Fund, which has not endorsed the Green New Deal. “The fact that there are different points of view on different policy instruments is healthy.”

A carbon tax—once anathema to the right—is

▲
*Sunrise
Movement
activists call
for a Green
New Deal on
Capitol Hill*

a Rhode Island Democrat who has delivered more than 200 climate speeches on the Senate floor, “it stays a No. 7 issue.”

Behind the scenes, the energy surrounding the Green New Deal debate in D.C. has pushed top national Democrats to develop a policy that is both ambitious and workable. Before the current session of Congress began, House Speaker **Pelosi responded to demands for a Green New Deal** by creating a House select committee charged with laying the ground for climate legislation. In recent weeks, a group of Democratic staffers have convened in regular meetings led by Hawaii Senator Brian Schatz’s office to discuss a path forward on climate legislation. In the meantime, some members of Congress may introduce bits of Green New Deal–related legislation that they think could actually pass Congress now, like a proposal from Sanders on water infrastructure.

Congressional Republicans, feeling the shifting politics, have begun exploring policies that could answer the Democrats. GOP Senators Lindsey Graham of South Carolina and Cory Gardner of Colorado, both of whom are up for re-election next year, established a group for Republican members of Congress in February called the Roosevelt Conservation Caucus that looks for “market-based approaches” to environmental problems. Other GOP lawmakers have convened behind closed doors to discuss what ideas they can bring to the table. That’s a tall order for a party whose officials have ignored or denied the issue in recent years, and it remains to be seen whether the efforts will drive any wholesale change.

The private sector may help. In recent years, major oil-and-gas companies have slowly drifted away from long-standing opposition to climate policy. For an industry that thinks in decades-long time frames, federal legislation to combat climate change now seems inevitable, and industry leaders would rather see a conservative approach than a paradigm-shifting program like the Green New Deal. In recent months, a coalition of corporations has announced plans to spend millions of dollars lobbying for carbon-tax legislation paired with regulatory repeal and protection from climate-related lawsuits. For moderate lawmakers, it’s becoming possible to imagine a grand compromise that could include some elements geared for both sides of the aisle, say, investing carbon-tax revenue in clean-energy research and development, with a tax cut elsewhere and support for ailing coal communities.

But any compromise would face the scrutiny of the activists who at last have helped make climate change a front-of-mind issue. Advocacy groups have promised to ensure that Democrats not only continue to talk about the environment but also commit to bold action. Piecemeal commitments from Democratic lawmakers will not suffice, they say, and weak measures from Republicans should be rejected out of hand. “There are people talking about how a Green New Deal is improving the tax code or people saying that putting a climate provision into the infrastructure package is the Green New Deal,” says Varshini Prakash, executive director of

Inside the deal

The Green New Deal aims to curb greenhouse gases (GHG) through a variety of measures. Other goals are tangential to climate. Here are a few.



POWER
29% of U.S. GHG

Increase renewable, zero-emission energy sources
About 17% of U.S. electricity comes from renewables like hydropower and wind

Upgrade to smart power grids
The U.S. military is estimated to have invested more than \$30 billion on smart grids



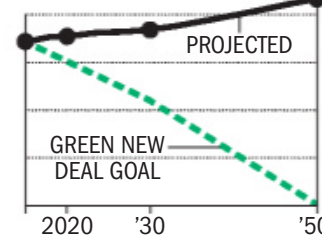
TRANSIT
29% of U.S. GHG

Expand zero-emission vehicle infrastructure and manufacturing
Electric cars made up 2% of new cars sold in the U.S. last year

Build high-speed rail, and invest in clean public transportation
Nearly half the U.S. population has no access to public transit

Global CO₂ emissions

42.8
BILLION
METRIC
TONS



INDUSTRY
22% of U.S. GHG

Stimulate clean technologies
The Department of Energy received \$15 billion for R&D in fiscal 2018

Grow domestic manufacturing
In 2018, 11.6 million Americans worked in manufacturing, the fifth largest industry



BUILDINGS
12% of U.S. GHG

Cut energy use in homes and buildings
California will require all new homes to be net-zero emitters by 2020

Make housing more affordable
The U.S. faces a 7.4 million shortfall in affordable rental homes



FARMING
9% of U.S. GHG

Remove pollution and GHG emissions
Some livestock-manure-management methods have increased emissions

Create systems to ensure access to healthy food
15 million Americans lacked secure food options in 2017

SOURCES: EPA; DOE; USDA; CLEANTECHNICA; AMERICAN PUBLIC TRANSPORTATION ASSOCIATION; NATIONAL LOW INCOME HOUSING COALITION; CRS; U.S. CENSUS BUREAU
NOTE: GREENHOUSE-GAS EMISSIONS DO NOT TOTAL 100% BECAUSE OF ROUNDING

the Sunrise Movement. “All of those things are good to do; they’re not the Green New Deal.”

Where does this leave all of us and the planet we inhabit? Even thinking optimistically, enacting climate-change legislation that matches the scale of the challenge is hard to imagine: the science is damning and the clock is ticking. And while the conversation may be shifting, there’s still a climate-change-denying President in the White House and nothing like a broad consensus on a path forward among Democrats.

In the face of all that, it would be easy to dismiss the new breed of climate activists as noisy but dreamy, idealists distant from the powers who run the show. But that’s the thing about social movements, from civil rights to gay rights. At first the activists may look naive, and maybe they are. But in the rearview mirror, they come to look like instigators of massive and, in hindsight, obvious change. —*With reporting by CHARLOTTE ALTER/WASHINGTON* □

When I grow up,
I want
to be a chef!

Last year Sarah was too sick to dream.
She has Primary Immunodeficiency or PI.
Thanks to the Jeffrey Modell Foundation,
she was properly diagnosed and treated...
Now her future is sweet.

jm Jeffrey Modell
Foundation

info4pi.org

More than 25 years of helping children reach for their dreams.

now I have a chance 





PHOTOGRAPH BY STEPHEN BRASHEAR



Business

SECOND-HAND SAFETY

Investigators probe the FAA and Boeing after two deadly crashes

BY W.J. HENNIGAN

LAST MAY, CONGRESS OBTAINED A WORRYING internal memo written by the inspector general of the U.S. Department of Transportation. The IG's investigators had been probing the safety records of two airlines, but as the officials dug in, they found a broader issue that affected the manufacture and daily operations of most of America's airplanes.

The Federal Aviation Administration (FAA), which since 1958 has ensured the safety of the U.S. aviation industry, had in recent years shifted its "oversight strategy," the IG reported. Instead of "emphasizing enforcement actions," the IG wrote, the FAA was taking an ever more hands-off approach, working with private industry "to address the root causes for noncompliance of safety regulations."

In the wake of the two Boeing 737 Max 8 crashes in Indonesia and Ethiopia that killed 346 people in less than five months, last May's IG memo reads like the latest in a series of missed red flags. Thanks to the FAA's "oversight strategy," some industry players are doing virtually all of their own safety checks: one manufacturer "approved about 90% of the design decisions for all of its own aircraft," according to a recent Department of Transportation audit. And in the fall of 2017—as Boeing scrambled to catch up with its prime competitor, Airbus, which had just introduced a more efficient model for the short-haul

Safety concerns have plagued Boeing since its top-selling plane, the 737 Max, was involved in two deadly crashes in less than five months

Business

market that the 737 served—the aerospace giant reportedly took several liberties with its self-certification.

Those liberties, according to a *Seattle Times* investigation published March 17, included understating the extent to which a new software program could control flight, downplaying the danger that a failure of the program might pose and minimizing pilot training on the new software.

Now multiple law-enforcement and watchdog bodies are looking into whether the same software program may have contributed to the deadly 737 Max crashes. They're also looking at Boeing's handling of the aircraft's production and the FAA's oversight. On March 11, a grand jury in Washington, D.C., issued a subpoena on behalf of a federal prosecutor from the Justice Department's criminal division relating to the development of the 737 Max, according to the *Wall Street Journal*. Representative Peter DeFazio, the top Democrat on the House Transportation and Infrastructure Committee, has called for an investigation into the FAA's approach to certifying the 737 Max. "There will be a great discovery effort to find out if the plane was rushed through to compete with Airbus," says attorney Mary Schiavo, a former Transportation Department inspector general who now represents the victims of airline accidents.

The FAA grounded the 737 Max on March 13, and Boeing promised a software fix by April to address potential problems with its planes. Boeing has overcome tough challenges before, and there's little doubt among pilots, industry analysts and aviation insiders that the aerospace giant will fix the problem. "Once Boeing carries out what needs to be done," says former U.S. Transportation Secretary Ray LaHood, "the American people should feel 100% sure that the planes are safe."

In some ways, the collaborative approach between FAA and the companies it regulates was to be expected. In the years following 9/11, the FAA was stretched thin by new responsibilities. At the same time, the complexity of computer and automated flight systems had made the job of oversight much harder. Unable to double-check engineering in every corner of the sprawling civil-aviation industry, the FAA had chosen to delegate some responsibility for certifying plane safety to makers and carriers. And Congress itself

required the agency to cede safety certification to the industry.

It's also true that the U.S. commercial-aviation accident rate is the lowest it's ever been. But the two crashes in rapid succession raise troubling questions about just how far the outsourcing of safety has gone in a time of rapid technological change.

BOEING HAD MADE ITS NAME on long-haul planes that could fly passengers across the Atlantic and Pacific oceans. But in the '60s, market demand for smaller, short-haul jets increased, and Boeing responded with the twin-engine 737, nicknamed the Baby Boeing. The jet, which now seats about 190, ultimately became the backbone of short-haul fleets worldwide. Boeing has delivered more than 10,000 of the planes, making it the world's best-selling commercial jet-aircraft model.

Just like the smartphone in your pocket, the 737 has been continually updated. The company has long flirted with a new design to replace the 737. But those plans were shelved more than a decade ago when Airbus announced an upgraded version of its direct competitor to the 737, the A320neo. At the time, the market share of single-aisle planes like the 737 was nearly 70% of new aircraft deliveries. Boeing estimated that market would be worth some \$2.5 trillion over the next 20 years, and was not going to cede it.

Enter the 737 Max. Featuring new engines and aerodynamic changes, the grownup Baby Boeing promised carriers up to 20% better fuel efficiency and lower operating costs. There were challenges in the new design. The model's new LEAP-1B engines, for instance, are 20 in. larger than the original engines. So Boeing redesigned the 737's pylons, which hold the engines to the wing, and moved them farther forward. But the more powerful engines in a different location could pitch the jet's nose upward, creating the conditions for a midair stall.

To prevent the stall, Boeing created an automated-flight-control feature called the Maneuvering Characteristics Augmentation System (MCAS). When MCAS sensors detected the nose of the plane pitching up, the software controlling the tail's horizontal stabilizer would automatically push the nose back down. It was a novel fix to a nagging design problem.

But Boeing took a number of steps



that blunted the scrutiny the feature could draw from safety regulators at the FAA. In an early report to the FAA that certified the plane as safe to fly, Boeing understated how much the system could move the horizontal tail, according to the *Seattle Times*. "When the planes later entered service, MCAS was capable of moving the tail more than four times farther than was stated in the initial safety analysis document," the *Times* reported. Also, Boeing failed to account for how "the system could reset itself each time a pilot responded, thereby missing the potential impact of the system repeatedly pushing the airplane's nose downward." And Boeing said MCAS should not be activated if it received data gathered from just one of two sensors—"and yet that's how it was designed," the *Times* reported.

Just as it understated the extent to which MCAS might take automated control of the plane, Boeing, with the support of regulators, decided against extensive training for pilots on the 737 Max, including in how to disable the software. Boeing said additional flight-simulator training for pilots—which costs airlines time and money, and therefore could have dampened 737 Max sales—weren't necessary. Boeing acknowledged that training



guidelines for the 737 Max didn't mention MCAS. These moves got the 737 Max to market faster, allowing Boeing to offer it just nine months after Airbus introduced its single-aisle, fuel-efficient competitor, the A320neo. The Max was an immediate hit, garnering more than 5,000 orders from more than 100 customers worldwide. It received FAA certification in March 2017, and regulators around the world followed suit. Two months later, Boeing began deliveries.

MUCH OF THE CERTIFICATION of the aircraft took place under an FAA program known as Organization Designation Authorization (ODA). In-house inspectors directly managed by Boeing reviewed designs and oversaw testing to ensure industry standards and proper certification.

The ODA program was first introduced in 2005 as a way to streamline FAA procedures. FAA officials were struggling to enforce regulations across the sprawling industry, which encompasses more than 200,000 aircraft, 1,600 manufacturers and 5,400 airlines and operators. Backed by industry groups, the program provided a way to quickly resolve technical issues at different stages of the certification process.

▲
The airline pilot's control panel inside a Boeing 737 Max cockpit

The logic was simple: manufacturers have heavy incentives to build a safe airplane, not least because accidents can significantly harm their bottom line and perhaps even put them out of business. That argument, propounded by lobbyists, carried the day in D.C. The program was fully implemented in 2009, and by 2018 Congress had mandated the FAA to "delegate fully" safety functions to industry.

Federal watchdogs were critical of the FAA's oversight of the ODA program throughout its implementation. The Department of Transportation's inspector general wrote a report in 2011 instructing the FAA to better assess the program's risks. In 2015, the inspector general again warned the FAA about insufficient oversight. "Delegation is an essential part of meeting FAA's certification goals," the report said. "However, robust FAA oversight that is systems-based and targeted to high-risk areas is necessary to ensure that ODA companies maintain high standards and comply with FAA safety regulations."

It is not an easy problem. Technology and automation are making oversight

harder, and regulators have been spread thin since 9/11. Overseas competitors are pushing U.S. industry to move fast. European aviation authorities have also outsourced safety certification to private contractors. And decades of deregulatory zeal in both parties created a welcome environment for outsourcing safety. Jeff Guzetti, recently retired director of the FAA's Accident Investigation Division, who audited the ODA program when he was with the Transportation Department's office of inspector general, says there's risk anytime the FAA moves further from direct oversight. But he also acknowledged that the delegation of responsibility is needed now that aircraft are increasingly technologically complex. "No one knows the airplane better than the manufacturer, and the FAA just doesn't have the resources, or the speed or the expertise, to keep up with the modern airplane technologies," he says. Ultimately, he says, "There has to be some trust in the manufacturer to ensure their product is safe."

Since the latest crash, Boeing has appointed a new vice president of engineering and dedicated a top executive to the company's aircraft investigations. The planemaker has said the FAA concluded that MCAS "met all certification and regulatory requirements." According to the FAA, the 737 Max's certification followed agency standards and took approximately five years. The FAA, for its part, said it received no whistle-blower complaints or any reports alleging pressure to speed up certification. "The long-standing collaborative engagement between the FAA, Boeing, its customers and industry partners has created the safest transportation system in the world," says Boeing spokesman Paul Bergman.

It will take months for investigators to uncover the causes of the crashes, and months more for them to determine if the FAA or Boeing played a role in the disasters. Even if they conclude that one or both did, the battle to reimpose strict regulatory oversight on the aviation industry may be just beginning. After all, it was Congress itself, prodded by its big-spending friends in the aviation lobby, that mandated safety outsourcing at the FAA in the first place.—*With reporting by ALANA ABRAMSON, HALEY SWEETLAND EDWARDS, ABBY VESOULIS and JOHN WALCOTT/WASHINGTON* □

HELP SAVE THE FRIDGE

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



Spitsbergen, Norway.

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Time Off

**GUARDIAN
ANGEL**
Brit Marling's
mystical—and
mystifying—
Netflix series
The OA returns
for a second
season



PHOTOGRAPH BY OLIVIA BEE

TimeOff Opener

TELEVISION

Mysteries without an answer in *The OA*

By Sam Lansky

ICAN'T REALLY TELL YOU MUCH ABOUT *THE OA*. Netflix has asked journalists to not reveal certain plot points before the second season of its mind-bending serialized drama premieres on March 22—but even if it hadn't, there's just so much about this show that remains so mysterious.

Like what I'm looking at, right now, in a small screening room on the eighth floor of Netflix's Hollywood offices, seated next to its co-creator and star, Brit Marling. From our perch on a black leather couch, we watch this season's dizzying seventh episode in its entirety. This is "QC," or quality control—one last check to make sure every frame and cue is just as Marling wants it, the last step before it gets beamed onto television screens in millions of living rooms. After years of writing and starring in independent films, the reach of the streaming platform that distributes her vision remains bewitching to her. It's something she brings up again and again: just how big it is, especially when the work, to her, is so intimate.

She turns to Blake Holland, who worked on the show with her, and shakes her head. "This is the power of group storytelling," she says. In one scene, her character, who calls herself "the OA," which stands for Original Angel, takes a bath and remembers being underwater in a traumatic childhood incident. They had tried many complicated visual effects to show the OA shifting from her present-day experience into memory, and eventually settled on just changing the color of the water to the blue that she remembers from her childhood. It's a subtle but powerful trick. "It feels like the way you move through memory," Marling says, satisfied.

She and her co-creator, Zal Batmanglij, exhaustively developed the world of the show before selling it, resulting in a multiple-network bidding war; it's disorienting, now, to hear her talking offscreen about cuts and visual effects. They feel like such earthly concerns, while Marling, an ethereal presence in the role of a woman with divine gifts, seems so thoroughly not of this world. Neither is her show.

The first season of *The OA* opened with a tantalizing premise: A young woman, Prairie Johnson (Marling) returns home to her adoptive parents nearly a decade after disappearing. When she left home she was blind; now she can see. She rounds up a band of teenage boys from her neighborhood, along with a middle-aged teacher from their school and—like a suburban Scheherazade—tells them a tale over many nights of how, after a brush with death as a child, she spent years imprisoned in an underground bunker by a scientist obsessed with studying people who had survived near-death experiences. Eventually, she and her fellow captives discovered a series



▲
The show's second season takes the OA (Marling) to an alternate dimension, where she meets a private eye (Kingsley Ben-Adir)

of kinetic movements, like a modern dance sequence, that, when performed together, could transport them to other dimensions.

If this sounds weird, well, it is. Viewers were divided on the show; some critics read it as another fantastical puzzle box for fans to solve, like *Stranger Things* or *Westworld*, and indeed, the show spawned endless message-board threads unpacking its seemingly unsolvable plot. But *The OA* is earnest as it lays out its mythology, like it's daring you to reconsider how much magic might be possible in the real world.

The second season takes more risks, picking up in the alternate reality that the OA and some of her friends have arrived in, and introducing a new mystery that pushes the show into noirish territory, threading the supernatural and the divine into an old-fashioned pot-boiler. It also features interdimensional travel, a mansion that drives people insane, a sinister augmented-reality video game and a giant talking octopus. The first time I watched the episode with the octopus, I didn't get it. The second time, I still didn't get it, but the sight of that octopus made me burst into tears for reasons I couldn't entirely explain.



IN THE AIRY Silver Lake writers' room where Marling and Batmanglij sit for an interview, there are sheets of fabric covering whiteboards where the two have done a postmortem recap of the second season, which I'm not supposed to see. "Before it reaches the world, we ask: What were the risks we took that landed, and which ones didn't?" Marling tells me.

"It's never the ideas themselves," Batmanglij says. "They exist in some other space, and they're perfect. But sometimes in the translation of the ideas, there's a lack of clarity." That's what they're trying to identify, in what Batmanglij calls the "unpasteurized" space before the show comes out and hordes of fans and critics start reacting to it.

Batmanglij and Marling met at Georgetown University, where they both studied. They went on to work together on well-received independent films including *Sound of My Voice* and *The East*—both written together, starring Marling and directed by Batmanglij. Their work is at turns dreamlike and anxious, particularly about the ways in which magnetic people wield influence.

The second season of *The OA* turns that lens on Silicon Valley, home to so

many tech lions who have been credited with changing the world. One key story line involves a tech mogul (played by *Mad Men*'s Vincent Kartheiser) who has possibly nefarious aims.

"Have you seen those photos from the '40s where people are smoking in a movie theater?" Batmanglij asks. "I think that's how we're going to look back at this era. In every public space, everyone has their head down on their phone. Including me."

As they conceived of the second season, they were fascinated by San Francisco. "It's the epicenter of technology, and has been since the Gold Rush, but it's also a peninsula surrounded by water and huge old-growth trees," Marling says. "We liked the idea of a narrative in which we were inside both those spaces and absorbing both of their intelligences."

This tension—between the new and the ancient, the synthetic and the natural, the earthly and the divine—is in the DNA of the show. In the first season, a scientist was studying people who believed, rightly or not, that they had supernatural abilities; in this season, tech plutocrats may be trying to exploit them. Marling tells me she read about Maasai warriors in Africa who, when separated, would dream of one another in a particular geographical location, then wake up, start walking and eventually find each other there. "Why don't we believe in that, but we believe in texting?" she asks. "Why do most of us hear that, cross our arms and say, 'Ah, but did they really? Was there a white male scientist with them? How was this measured?' We want empirical proof, and yet we send each other 1s and 0s through space all day and we just believe."

As an Angeleno who has a collection of crystals and has visited more than one energy healer, this line of thought resonates with me—but it turns out my personal views might be wackier than either of theirs. "A lot of people dub our work as New Age," Batmanglij says. "But for some reason, they don't dub Stan Lee's work that way. I don't under-

stand how our story can be so bonkers, but *Captain Marvel* isn't. A lot of the ideas in *The OA* that seem outlandish are just normalizing as the years go by."

"It only scares us," Marling says, "because we are shamed into accepting that the only valuable intelligence is that of the Excel spreadsheet."

BACK AT NETFLIX, as we are leaving the screening, Marling and I start chatting—it's meant to be just a few minutes, before we go across town to the writers' room—but we end up talking for nearly an hour: about the development process; about how streaming services have upended the parameters of genre and form that have defined film and television for decades; about how the first season was about how trauma lives in the body; about the way science and spirituality sometimes seem like different vocabularies to describe the same phenomena; about why her show's

radical sincerity made it such a polarizing viewing experience; and about all the things that her show both does and does not say. This conversation doesn't feel like an interview. It feels forensic: like two people interrogating why a thing works the way it does, even though she's the one who created it and all I did was watch it. I want

to understand her intentions in making this show—about what she was trying to say. But Marling insists that I have it backward: the more she told this story, the more the story had to say to her. It was more like receiving the story than anything else, she says. I believe her.

I record that conversation on my phone. But when I get home, I can't open the audio file; it just won't play. I try moving it onto my computer. I try to convert it, to edit it. Nothing works.

You could say my phone just glitched, and maybe it did. But to me it feels like there were other, invisible forces at play—like the purpose of that conversation was for us to really see each other, not for me to write an article. I know that sounds New Age. But Mercury's in retrograde. Some mysteries aren't meant to be solved. □

'A lot of the ideas in *The OA* that seem outlandish are just normalizing as the years go by.'

ZAL BATMANGLIJ,
co-creator of *The OA*

TAMKEEN – Enabling an innovative ecosystem

This April, thousands of entrepreneurs, investors and policymakers will converge on the Bahraini capital of Manama for the Global Entrepreneurship Congress (GEC), the annual gathering of the international start-up community. The GEC brings together some of the brightest minds of the business world in one place for a few days each year.



Dr. Ebrahim Janahi
Chief Executive TAMKEEN

Economic historians are likely to look back at this year’s event as a highly significant moment in Bahrain’s transition from an oil-driven state to a fully diversified economy with a strong entrepreneurial and investment ecosystem.

The GEC event will also be a moment of considerable triumph for Bahrain. Organized by Tamkeen, a public authority established in August 2006, the gathering is in line with Bahrain’s Economic Vision 2030, which aims to diversify the Kingdom’s economy away from its dependence on hydrocarbons. Tamkeen’s part in realizing this goal centers on two main aspects: contributing to the growth of private sector enterprises while ensuring that Bahrain’s workforce has the skills and expertise to support the growth of the market.

The great majority of the local businessmen and women who attend the GEC this April will almost certainly already be veterans of one of the estimated 339 programs funded and organized by Tamkeen since it was established. Since Tamkeen’s establishment, more than 183,000 individuals and 51,000 indigenous businesses (or over half of all the Kingdom’s active enterprises) have benefited from one of these programs.

Bahrain provides 100% ownership in most sectors, a cohesive regulatory environment, and a robust legal framework. This means any regional or international investor can base its operations in the Kingdom and serve the GCC (Gulf Cooperation

Council) countries with around 30% lower administrative and operating costs.

“Our role is to empower Bahraini citizens by providing them with the training and skills they need to make them the employee of choice in different sectors of the private sector,” says Tamkeen chief executive Dr. Ebrahim Janahi. “We also aim to be a key driver in empowering and stimulating that private sector as a whole.”

Over the past three years, Tamkeen has helped more than a quarter of Bahrainis employed in the private sector through programs aimed at training and bolstering wages. In 2018 alone, the program’s wage support category witnessed a 207% increase compared to the previous year. If Dr. Ebrahim has his way, this will be just the beginning. GEC delegates from overseas will surely be impressed not just by the can-do attitude of many of the local delegates, but also by their understanding of what makes markets grow and how to implement innovative solutions.

“Bahrain is keen on contributing to the steady growth of the private sector through regular improvements and updates to its financial and economic regulations, in order to meet the local and global markets’ changing needs,” says Dr. Ebrahim. “Launching numerous development initiatives to improve competitiveness of businesses inherently attracts foreign investments, while supporting Bahraini enterprises, including startups and SMEs, to pursue their expansion as local commercial drivers.”

The GEC event also coincides with the start

of a new chapter in Tamkeen’s history. While the twin tasks of supporting a private sector and instilling an entrepreneurial culture into a new generation of the Bahraini workforce are ongoing, Tamkeen is now turning its attention to a third opportunity – fostering businesses that offer diversified solutions that will remain relevant in tomorrow’s economy.

Tamkeen has been the catalyzer for many new private sector businesses, aiding in their progression from start-ups to established enterprises and, finally, to mature businesses. As part of its current three-year plan, Tamkeen aims to realign its support programs and initiatives to maximize their impact and value gained. The focus will be on equipping entrepreneurs with skills and opportunities that enable them to swiftly respond to economic changes.

This new approach, it believes, will also help ensure that each segment of Bahrain’s potential or current workforce has access to appropriate advice and support.

And, thanks partly to its hosting of events like the GEC, the Economic Development Board (EDB) also plans to play a key role in direct investment to help achieve its strategic objectives and to expand and intensify support for Bahrain’s private sector. To ensure that businesses operating in Bahrain are sustainably productive, innovative, competitive and profitable, Tamkeen will also be supporting companies and ventures that enhance the ecosystem for business in Bahrain.

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10 Questions

Preet Bharara In his new book *Doing Justice*, the former U.S. Attorney for the Southern District of New York reflects on his career in an office now investigating the President

Your old office is handling multiple investigations into Donald Trump. Should that worry him more than Robert Mueller? Yes. Unlike the special counsel's office, the Southern District does not have any kind of circumscribed mandate. They are not limited to issues related to collusion or obstruction or interference with the election of 2016. They can look at everything. And that includes bank fraud, tax fraud, money laundering, you name it.

What can the public expect to see when Mueller's investigation ends? If the report is devastating to the President and there are people on earth who know, I don't see how you keep that from the public. If it's not so damaging, I assume [Attorney General] Bill Barr and others would rush to disclose it. The problem will be if it's a mixed bag. Expectations are set so high. It's almost going to be impossible to meet them unless there is a series of smoking guns.

Is impeachment a real threat to Trump's presidency? There is still some reluctance on the part of Democrats, all the way up to Nancy Pelosi, in pursuing the *I* word. Impeachment, people tend to forget, is only the making of an allegation. It's not proving anything. The Senate as currently constituted is not going to end Donald Trump's presidency.

Did the 2008 financial crisis contribute to the "system is rigged" political movement that helped elect Trump? A few things that Donald Trump said when he got elected are correct. He said some people have been forgotten. He's right. He said there's a swamp. He's right. He said a lot of the system is rigged. He's right. My point of disagreement is how you combat those things.

You didn't bring criminal cases against major executives for crimes

“IMPEACHMENT, PEOPLE TEND TO FORGET, IS ONLY THE MAKING OF AN ALLEGATION”



that contributed to the financial crisis. Do you regret that? There was incredible frustration over the tanking of the economy. Everyone had every incentive to hold people accountable criminally. But you can't just charge people because you're angry. You can't bring a case unless you have the law and the facts on your side. And nobody in those circumstances found that to be so.

You teach a class at New York University School of Law. What principles do you try to pass on to the next generation of lawyers? Good judgment. Part of the point of the class is the same as the book, which is you can have great laws, but if the people who are responsible for enforcing or interpreting them are bad people, they can find a million ways to cause miscarriages of justice.

Now you host a podcast. What is your favorite part about podcasting vs. prosecuting? They're very different things. At the end of a prosecution, someone goes to prison. At the end of a podcast, I read an ad for ZipRecruiter.

Was there anyone you were nervous to interview? Jason Goldfarb, the only person who has come on the podcast that my office prosecuted. He committed insider-trading offenses. It felt strange and unsettling to sit across the table from somebody whose indictment bore my name and went to prison. We can forget, and we shouldn't, that every defendant is a human being too.

Who is on the top of your wish list to interview? I'll give you his first name: Bruce.

Springsteen? Is there another Bruce? The highlight of my life [was when] he gave me a shout-out live at a concert. I almost fell off my chair. To this day, if I'm down, I'll find the YouTube clip and play it and giggle like a child. —TESSA BERENSON

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